CARVED FROM STONE?
COMMUNITY LIFE AND WORK IN BARRE, VERMONT, 1900-1922

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SHORT TITLE

Carved From Stone? Barre Vermont: 1900-1922.

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines aspects of community life and work in the town of Barre, Vermont during the period of 1900-1922, as seen through the lives of the most dominant social and economic group, the workers in the granite industry. The purpose of this thesis is to present reasons why Barre did not conform to the model small industrialized town of this period as presented in other literature. The result of this investigation and the conclusion of this thesis is that factors found throughout this study point to a lack of a strong community base from which Barre could build its post-boom future.

Barre provided an example of the small industrialized town found throughout New England at this time. Ethnic groups, heavily unionized labor, and social and fraternal organizations were prominent members of Barre's milieu. Organized religious groups and churches were also present and contributed to a bustling community. However contrary to other theories and histories written, Barre presents an anomaly to the standard New England town. The reasons for this difference are the focii of this study.

RESUMÉ

Ce mémoire examine certains aspects de la vie sociale, des institutions communautaires et du travail dans la ville de Barre au Vermont, de 1900 à 1922. Cette étude est basée sur le vécu du groupe socio-économique prépondérant de la ville: les travailleurs de l'industrie du granit. Le mémoire propose des facteurs qui différencient Barre du modèle de la petite ville industrialisée que l'on retrouve dans d'autres ouvrages. Les résultats de cette recherche et la conclusion de ce mémoire présentent plusieurs facteurs qui indiquent que Barre n'avait pas une base communautaire solide sur laquelle elle aurait pu poursuivre son développement dans la période que suivit son essor démographique et économique.

Barre est un modèle de la petite ville industrialisée que l'on retrouvait un peu partout dans la Nouvelle Angleterre durant cette période. Des groupes ethniques, une main-d'oeuvre très syndicalisée, des organismes sociales et institutions communautaires occupaient une place proéminente dans les milieux de Barre. Des organismes religieux et des églises étaient aussi présents et contribuaient à rendre cette communauté pleine de vie. Cependant, contrairement à d'autres théories et histoires écrites, pour une ville ordinaire de la Nouvelle Angleterre, Barre présente une anomalie et les raisons de celle-ci font les objets de cette étude.

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INTRODUCTION

This paper uses both qualitative and quantitative methods in a study of the period between 1900 and 1922 in the history of the town of Barre, Vermont, as seen through the lives of the most dominant social and economic group, the workers in the granite industry. It will study the interaction of workers from different backgrounds, their relationship to the industry in which they labored, their impact on the city, and their legacy to post 1922 Barre. The following chapters show Barre's past and introduce the story of the granite workers in terms of their relationship to; a) the industry and the community, b) the unions, c) the fraternal and other social organizations to which they belonged, d) organized religion and religious feeling within the community, and e) the beginning of the decline of the granite industry, and by extension the town. The evidence suggests that the granite-based society of Barre did not conform to standards found in other industrializing towns of that same period (as seen in studies such as Thernstrom's on Newburyport). Several factors explain this non-conformity. They include; a) relationships between ethnic groups, b) interaction among social classes, c) interest groups, and d) a lack of pillars within the community on which to base a future.

First will be a discussion of the relevant historiography of several of the sub-disciplines of social history. It will attempt to show recent developments in social history, urban history, and

labor history.

Subsequent sections analyze computer-generated data based on information pertaining to the granite workers taken from various sources such as tax rolls, manuscript census rolls, and education details. Although seemingly emphasizing quantitative analysis, the use of this data presents a secondary objective of this paper, to subordinate numerical generalizations to the actual history as revealed through qualitative sources.

Barre, in the 1980s, is a town with a population of approximately 10,000 (9,824 according to the last population census taken in 1980). It lies in a valley surrounded by the Green Mountains of Central Vermont, with a branch tributary of the Winooski River running through it. Although some small villages are to be found on the hills surrounding it, such as Graniteville, East Barre, and Websterville, the town most closely associated with Barre is to be found some 6 miles down the road, the state capital of Montpelier. Indeed the two are often hyphenated when the region is discussed, with Barre receiving first notice (as in Barre-Montpelier).

However, Barre finds itself in a situation similar to that of many older New England industrial towns, aging, eroding not too gracefully, with its streets providing homes for used car lots, fast food restaurants, and empty shop fronts. Indeed, with a reluctance or incapacity to change from its one-industry economic base, Barre's outlook for the future appears to be one

of either continuing to fade as an independent center, or becoming a suburb of its growing state capital neighbor. As proof of this slow decay, the last available census material showed a decline in population of some 3.8%[1] while the state in general was able to show a modest increase from 1970 to 1980. This trend, if anything, has increased as the decade has continued.

However, this decay was not always the case. At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, the hills surrounding Barre provided great quantities of granite that had become popular at that time for many uses, for both construction and ornamental work. Both the quality of the stone, and the quality of the workmanship involved in producing the stone combined to make Barre "the Granite Center of the World[2]". The period of study chosen for this paper captures Barre at the height of its boom. The advantages that Barre provide as a focus of study include a relatively small stable population, a single dominant industry, a comfortable industrialized economy, and a ready supply of primary sources. All of these elements combine to make Barre an example of the towns of this era that provide much of the basis of the so-called "new" social history.

ENDNOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. U.S., Bureau of Census, Twentieth Census (1980), **Report**, Washington, D.C., 1981.

2. Vermont W.P.A. Writers Project.

CHAPTER I - HISTORIOGRAPHY

This section provides an overview of the literature in United States urban history, ethnic history, and labor studies. For convenience, the literature is divided into three periods, approximately 1920-1945, 1945-1965, and 1965-present. It is not intended to criticize the scholarship of any one time period as being outdated. Rather the intention is to review what has been written in the fields in order to understand more effectively the significance of the present thesis.

I. URBAN HISTORY

In the introduction to their work Middletown [New York, 1929], Robert and Helen Lynd categorically stated that "a typical city, strictly speaking, does not exist".[1] Although they strove to find a community that fit into a typical mold, the study of American communities has more often been used in the reverse manner. To test a theory, to present an exception, or to comment on a condition, more often the goal of a community study was to analyze a specific situation, and then try to place it in the larger context of the American society that was the compiled result of many such individual works. As Stephen Thernstrom wrote,

> I have found my most interesting task, however,...to show that the patterns of mobility that existed in Boston were not peculiar to that city but rather were products of forces that operated in much the same way throughout American society in the

> nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Boston had many special attributes, but with respect to those features of its social life that have been examined in this study the city was "a fraction of the civilized world", just as its harbour was "part of the ocean". In both, as Oliver Wendell Holmes saw, there operated "general laws...modified more or less in their aspects by local influences".[2] These "general laws" or societal patterns may be discerned from a comparison of the chief findings of this study with the results of similar investigations in other American communities.[3]

One of the most important benefits that urban history has to offer is the fact that it can provide a clearly defined context for the testing of theories. Within the model, the variables to be studied are easily controlled. Indeed, professionals from many disciplines have presented urban histories in explaining their own theories, so that works of this genre are available from sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and historians.

The studies of urban history have tended to concentrate on one city, town, village, or neighborhood. Rare has been the effort to compare similar or different communities within one work. It appears that it is the magnitude of the research and the opportunity for comparison which explains this emphasis on single community studies. From such early classic monographs as Middletown to more recent works such as Mary P. Ryan's Cradle of the Middle Class [Cambridge, Mass., 1981], comparisons with other communities have tended to be implicit rather than fully developed. This orientation is exemplified in works by Virginia

Yans-McLaughlin or Rudolph Vecoli[4]. In some cases an author expands an article's theme into a monograph to facilitate completion of his work. Very notable in this category is the work on Hamilton, Ontario by Michael Katz[5].

If the studies of communities are singular in the nature of their location, they have also been strikingly varied in their range of topics. This breadth has tended to be the key to the writing of urban history. There has been particular attention paid to class structures. A prominent example of this work is W. Lloyd Warner's Yankee City series[6]. Although published between 1941 and 1959, the research for the five volumes that comprise the series was undertaken for the most part during the early 1930's. Key to his findings was his definition of an economic order that provided the cornerstone for both his work, and that of future efforts by other authors:

> it was believed that the fundamental structure of our society, that which ultimately controls and dominates the thinking and actions of our people, is economic, and that the most vital and far-reaching value systems which motivate Americans are to be ultimately traced to an economic order.[7]

It was also suggested that an individual's position in that economic order, or his social position in the community, was ranked according to a series of factors explained within that economic order.[8] Both his theories and his explanations were to be used again in later studies.

One such study was the work by Thernstrom on the same town described by Warner as Yankee City. Entitled **Poverty and Progress**

[Cambridge, Mass., 1964], this work continued Warner's study on Newburyport, Massachusetts, using many of Warner's own theories, but adding a more historical perspective. As Thernstrom suggests, "Newburyport, it will be argued here, was indeed a reasonably representative community with respect to the problems dealt with in this study. The Newburyport findings, therefore, do enlarge our knowledge of the American past."[9]

More important to Thernstrom's work were his criticisms of Warner's stance on the value of history and the historian to urban history. "To consult the historical record would be to fall victim to the biases and preconceptions of the historian, a man necessarily 'unscientific', 'culture-bound', 'ethno-centric'."[10] By using scientific methods on sources from the past, mostly manuscript census rolls and city directories, Thernstrom was able to arrive at theories regarding class structures and social mobility amongst the unskilled workers of Newburyport. As important as the findings of Thernstrom and his critique of Warner's lack of historical sense were, so too was the sophisticated quantitative methodology. It was this statistical approach to the analysis of the past that marked the departure point for the next phase of urban history.

The advent of the computer has allowed historians of the last two decades to better compare and search for patterns that explain actions or events in the past. Pioneers in this field of computer-assisted research include Thernstrom, Katz, and Peter Knights.

Thernstrom continued testing his theories on a much larger scale in his work on Boston,[11] utilizing quantitative methods to expand on his findings of class structure and social mobility, as well as to introduce theories in areas of geographic mobility and situation persistance. Katz turned to the machine to supplement his work on education in the second edition of his work Class, Bureaucracy and Schools [Cambridge, Mass., 1975].

More recently, the computer has allowed social historians to research in many varied fields, again using the community as the model. Knights is a good example. His work, both with Thernstrom and on his own[12], has shown the machine as a useful tool to test theories, mostly in the areas of mobility.

The quantification of urban history has itself reached a point where it alone is being introduced as a new classification and area of interest among urban historians. Professionals such as Leo F. Schnore and Kathleen Neils Conzen have presented surveys of the new format across the vista of interests of urban social history.[13]

It is felt that the quantification of urban history is the most important explanation for its progression to a full-fledged field of study. In the 1960's, the field was still divided by non-quantified studies by historians such as Eric E. Lampard and Oscar Handlin [14], early efforts at quantification such as those by Warner, and work done by specialists in other disciplines. An example of this style was the work co-authored by Arthur J. Vidich, a sociologist, and Joseph Bensman, a marketing

consultant, Small Town in Mass Society [Garden City, N.J., 1960]. However, quantification has allowed historians to cross over into other disciplines, and allowed other professionals to better use history as another means of supporting their theories. It has allowed discussion on topics such as migration and immigration, ethnicity, social mobility, education, religion, labor, health, politics, and the family [15].

Equally as important as the advent of computer-aided history is the criticism of quantification. As Conzen states:

> On the one hand it [urban history] is castigated for its limited statistical sophistication, its insufficiently critical use of sources, its too frequent unconcern for rigorous model-testing, and for the cultural and class biases inherent in the questions it has chosen to pose. On the other hand, its unwillingness or inability to address the specifically urban context of its subject matter is also attracting criticism. Rejecting the new urban history as a virtual cowbird in the urban history nest, some are calling for an urban inter-disciplinary history grounded in theories of social change. In contrast others advocate abandoning social science pretensions altogether and reincorporating urban history more tightly into the descriptive focus of national history. [16]

It appears that the quantification of urban history has prompted a most positive response to the question of where urban history will go. This response has taken the form of some definitive stands on just what urban history is. By attempting a definition, or definitions, some historians have forced a reaction that has resulted in a process of laying out guidelines

for the writing of urban history.

It was left to Schnore to attempt the first definition. In his prefatory note to a collection of papers presented to one of the first symposiums on the 'new' urban history, Schnore advanced his own opinion of what the two streams of urban history were. Briefly, he listed the details of the 'old' urban history as narrative, substantive, involving traditional periodization, synthetic, and localistic. The 'new' urban history, on the other hand, was quantitative, had greater methodological emphasis, involved urban-relevant periodization, was much more analytic, and was more comparative in orientation.[17]

Schnore's efforts were immediately rejected as being too narrow in definition, but it appears he elicited the desired response as historians began the search for better definition. One of the first attempts was by Thernstrom, who compared the efforts at defining the boundaries of the new urban history with the ever-changing boundaries of the new sprawling metropolis.[18] He presents the contrast between an older urban history, with society studied from the top-down and a new, grassroots, bottom-up approach. As he stated: "the ultimate aim of the new urban historian...is to understand how and why the complex of changes suggested by the concept 'urbanization' reshaped society.[19] Therefore, urban history should not confined by quantification or narrowed by models. Rather the historian

> must draw upon a variety of social sciences, as well as his own historical sense, to identify elements of the historical situation that may have been important and to gain

clues as to how these might be measured and analyzed.[20]

To Thernstrom, at least, the importance of the work in new urban history lies not in the specific studies, details, or methods used. Rather, it is the methodology and ideology of the discipline, based on its historical sensibility that creates a place for urban studies amongst the other fields of social history.

The final word, in this paper at least, on the field of urban history as a sub-discipline, and the direction it may take lies in a commentary written in 1984 by Dana F. White. Entitled "The Underdeveloped Discipline: Directions/Misdirections in American Urban History", the article by White provides an historiographical look at the field from its beginnings to its present state. Further, he calls for the continued advancement of the field to what he calls **applied** urban history [21]. His conclusion reinforces the independent nature of both the topics studied and the manner used in research to such a negative end that it is almost a lament for urban history.[22] Yet he does feel a positive need for the "convenient focus and limit for the researches of historians"[23] and leaves the future of the topic of urban history open. The fact that students of history, such as this writer, are attempting research of this kind seems to answer his question of the future on a more positive note.

II. ETHNICITY

The study of ethnicity in America shows both similarities

and differences to the work on urban history. In terms of multi-disciplinary outlook, many of the same historians who looked at the effects of urbanization studied ethnicity, often within the same work. Advancement in methodology has followed a parallel course as well with the advent of the computer and other significant steps in quantification. So, too, has the bottom-up strategy replaced the top-down approach to the subject matter used in earlier times.

However ethnic history goes back further in the writing of American history. Early ethnic history took the form of reports by government agencies, nativist zealots, pseudo-scientists, and the immigrant himself.

As well, a striking difference is found in the approach to the subject matter of the two fields. Urban history has continued to treat one city at one time, while ethnic history has changed from such an approach. The various approaches range from the study of the Americanization of immigrants, or the melting-pot theory, to a breakdown of American society into its various components classified along past ethnic lines. The following section will show this change over time.

With the arrival of tens of millions of immigrants during the period between 1850 and 1910, the character of the United States had to change. The importance of this change to American society, and the reaction of native-born and even second generation ethnic Americans, was so substantive, that an official recognition and response by the U.S. government was given.

Utilizing data accumulated both at points-of-entry and during census-taking, a four year study, begun in 1907, climaxed with the 1911 publication of the Reports of the Immigration Commission, known more popularly as the Dillingham Commission Report[24]. This report can be said to be the first detailed study of immigration and ethnic groups in America. Before this, studies had been made, and tracts written for the purpose of advancing nativist sentiments. Most often the data included in these studies was at best biased, and at worst, simply untrue, but the material was presented to native-American groups intent on cleansing their land of impure stock. Examples of these works can be found in the publications of those Social Darwinists of the time, who felt strongly for the greater purpose of ultimate victory of white, English-speaking peoples, in their struggle against immigrant impurities.[25]

If the Social Darwinists did not provide a scientific rationalization for anti-immigrant rhetoric, which did occur under the guise of calls for immigrant restriction, then the next most common call was of a purely racist nature, justified by the use of data found in the Dillingham Report. Examples are Frank Julien Warne's **The Immigrant Invasion** [New York,1913] and John R. Commons' **Races and Immigrants in America** [New York, 1920].

The flow of immigration did stop after 1915, because of World War I and various immigration laws. Racist sentiments and unscientific methods of data and human analysis began to give way to 'normalcy'. So too did the study of ethnicity and immigrant

peoples begin to change from the realm of the social scientist to that of the historian.

In a 1927 article published in the **American Historical Review** [26], Marcus L. Hansen suggested that past writings on immigrant history were too specific and non-humanistic[27], and asked for a more general approach, never forgetting that it was the immigrant himself who made the history, and that it was the historian's place simply to report it. As he put it, "it would be the best guaranty that the history of American immigration be written on the broad and impartial lines that its place in national development deserves."[28] Hansen listed the fields of study on which historians might write. They included; immigration distribution, migration, return, effect of and on industrialization, the social life and history of the individual, community studies, the inter-action with native-born Americans, and the political impact of the immigrant.

Hansen's call for a return to the writing of immigrant history in this manner went mostly unanswered for the better part of twenty-five years. Possibly his humanistic reasoning made it difficult for historians to contend with. As well, the economic impact of the 1930's and the war years led to a general absence of both research and publications in the profession. Indeed, the only work of any esteem to come out in the field during this time was a posthumous publication of Hansen's own work, **The Immigrant in American History** [Cambridge, Mass., 1940]. In a collection of nine essays, Hansen attempted to answer many of his own points

brought out in the 1927 article. Indeed, the article itself was reprinted as one of the essays. However, more important were his essays on the position of the immigrant in relation to the American Dream[29], where he was the achiever of that dream, and not just the one who dreamt it. Hansen contended that the growth of an American culture was a result of the fusion of the different immigrant cultures found in America.[30]

If this work can be said to be the climax of the melting-pot theory, the next major work began the trend that has continued, until today, to break down the theories of assimilation and acculturation, and made the studies of American ethnic history of such diverse nature as they now are.[31] The work began with the publication of Oscar Handlin's **The Uprooted** [Cambridge, Mass., 1951], a work that attempted to show that it was not the pull of America that attracted the millions of immigrants to America's shores. Rather, it was a series of circumstances in their native countries that pushed these foreigners to American cities. Although oft-criticized for his methodology, Handlin nonetheless began the renaissance of American ethnic history in the 1950s and 1960s. Indeed, although historians have claimed that Handlin's **The Uprooted** reinforced the assimilationist theory of American ethnic-history[32], Handlin really became the mentor of the diversity school with his subsequent research.[33]

The question of assimilation/non-assimilation was, and still remains, the key topic in ethnic history to the present day. Begun by Handlin, the trend was picked up and continued by

historians such as John Higham and Milton M. Gordon. Higham's works, beginning with **Strangers in the Land** [Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1955] and continuing with **Send These To Me** [New York, 1975] improved on the theories of the importance of ethnic background in the adaptation of the immigrant to life in his new home.

Gordon went one step further by speaking to the diversities and also to the conflicts created, not only between first generation and native-born,[34] but also between first generation and their offspring.[35] Both Higham and Gordon represented the new group of ethnic historians who isolated the individual immigrant, or his ethnic group, as the vital component of American history.

It might have taken some forty-odd years, but it appears that the breaking down of the melting pot theory has finally provided the impetus for historians to answer Hansen's 1927 initiative. Since the mid-1960's, historians have responded to his appeal for a new humanistic approach to ethnic history, using both traditional and "modern" research methods to re-create the life of the past.

Several areas of research reflect these developments. One of the most significant has been the treatment of the immigration process. The push factors of Handlin's **The Uprooted**, as well as the passage rites of all groups, have been recently discussed, especially considering the recent centennial of the Statue of Liberty/Ellis Island. John W. Briggs' **An Italian Passage** [New Haven, 1978] provides both textual and visual reproductions as to

the effects and experiences of the immigrant's travels to the new country. Briggs' efforts to show compatibility between the experiences of different Italian groups may be criticized for short-coming in proof, but, as we shall see later, are very important.

The migration and distribution of immigrants in different areas in the U.S. have also been studied. Examples are to be found in Leonard Dinnerstein et. al., **Natives and Strangers** [New York, 1979], and Caroline Golab's, **Immigrant Destinations** [Philadelphia, 1977]. Factors of distribution are shown to be a combination of influence of cultural heritage, previous work and/or migratory conditions, other migratory groups in interaction, and the duration of time involved in migratory actions.

Another important work in this area is Thernstrom's **The Other Bostonians.** In this field of study, the difficulties of following up on the movements of individuals using available sources are obvious. Thernstrom's first efforts rank among the best even today, and no matter the results achieved by greater quantification, the difficulties in the availabilities of sources makes this field one of the hardest to control.

Another difficult area to examine is the return of the immigrant to his home country, both in terms of numbers and factors accounting for that migration. Although we know from available outgoing statistics that return rates were significant, the difficulty in distinguishing between the common sojourner and the true returnee make this area a difficult topic to study.

Efforts at dealing with this topic, such as Humbert Nelli's various works on Chicago's Italians, for example **Italians in Chicago, 1880-1930** [New York, 1970], show the attempt, as well as the problems. Thernstrom can be used for this argument as well.

Other categories can be more readily studied, because in part of source availability. For example, the impact of industrialization on the immigrant has now spawned works by many authors showing either positive or negative aspects, acculturation or non-acculturation and the changing of an industry to suit the labor force. Works by Herbert Gutman, Tamara Hareven, Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, and Rudolph Vecoli have all addressed the relationship between industrialization, acculturation and class formation. Indeed, it has been said that the immigrant provided the U.S. with the first true working class.[36]

The study of the social life of the immigrant has also become important, reflected in collections of oral histories as commentaries of the past by people who have lived it. Often supplemented by photos, these collections provide for both the casual reader and student a more impressionistic understanding of the urban experience. Examples of these collections are by Ann Banks and June Namias.[37]

It has been the community that has often provided the model or test group for an ethnic history. Modern quantified studies involve ethnicity as either the main point of the research, or as one of the key factors. It is perhaps this area that has

undergone the greatest amount of quantification in the past 20 years.[38] An example is Kathleen Neils Conzen's work on Milwaukee which introduces the factor of ethnicity as its controlling, 'locational' factor.[39]

The study of ethnic inter-action among immigrant groups, and between immigrants and native-born, is perhaps the most spirited of the fields of discussion. This included the nativism that brought calls for the restriction of immigration, and modern studies that often spoke of the emotions of the participants, with sometimes a violent end.[40] But there were more studies that have provided a more calm arena of interest. Amongst the immigrant groups themselves, two stand out. The first is a collaboration by Nathan S. Glazer and Patrick Moynihan entitled **Beyond the Melting Pot** [Cambridge, Mass., 1963]. The other was Rudolph Glanz, **Jews and Italians** [New York, 1971]. In both works, narratives of disagreements and more violent confrontations amongst the participants are used to show the true emotions found amidst the immigrants and their adversaries, in other immigrant groups. Amongst native-born and immigrants, Higham's works answer questions on this area, as does Peter J. Rose's, **They and We** [New York, 1964].

Finally, politics, the last area of Hansen's study, should be discussed. Over a period of time so many immigrants arrived in America to stay it naturally followed that they would begin to make their presence felt in the political activities of the nation. Sometimes they were targeted as the enemy arriving to

take jobs away from native-born, as seen in Lawrence Goodwyn's **The Populist Movement** [Durham, 1978]. Other times they were burdened with the tags of communist or anarchist and had their civil rights challenged or taken away.[41] At still other times they became either involved in the actions of civic government, such as Tamany Hall in New York City, or were the mass of voters that were coveted by city governments to remain in power, voters acquired legally or not. The study of ethnic participation in politics is one that has recently been heavily quantified in an effort to detect patterns of ethno-demographic change. Good examples are found in the collection of works edited by Tamara Hareven, **Family and Kin in Urban Communities** [New York, 1977].

One discussion which Hansen neglected was the place of class within ethnic communities. Thernstrom, Vecoli, Gutman, and others place the status of class, and its mobility amongst all the others with equal if not greater importance. A second area which has now received fuller attention is the relationship between immigrants and political reform, those aspects which have received attention from John Higham and Moses Rischin, **The Promised City** [New York, 1962].

III. LABOR HISTORY

Just as urban and ethnic histories have changed their approaches to their topics, so too has labor history. The main difference between this sub-discipline and the others is that labor historians have been able to continue both a micro and

macro approach to their research.

The main focus in early labor history was on trade unions as institutions and the effort towards unionization to protect members from the new industrial hierarchies. Organized labor was a new situation in America, one that called for an entirely new outlook in social relations. As such, it fell to a sociologist to complete the first real history of labor, which in effect became a glossary and dictionary for future relations. The work was Mary Ritter Beard's **A Short History of the American Labor Movement** [New York, 1928]. In it, Beard not only offered a summary of labor history to that point, but also a complete guide for future industrial relations. Beard also provided a brief list of effective writings on the subject from the turn of the century, to her own time.[42]

The economic component of the presence of labor in America, the second key factor that co-existed with the social impact, was expounded in another work. This most complete work, **A History of Labor in the United States** edited by John R. Commons [New York, 1918-35] attempted a more intellectual, rather than practical, explanation of the labor situation in the U.S. Summaries of his findings can be found throughout journals of the day.[43]

The gap which existed in the writing of labor history for the next twenty-five years or so reflects both the advancement of labor, both organized and not, to much of its current position in society, as well as the same impact of the depression and war eras that affected all the writings of history. It was left to

the sociologist and the industrial relations expert to write on the growth of labor during this period in America.

Historical work revived with the advent of the "new" social history that began to appear in the mid-1950's and early 1960's. as seen in Lloyd Ulman's **Rise of the National Trade Union** [New York, 1955]. The writings of the 1960's were marked by a critically-acclaimed selection on the same topics found in Commons and Beard. As historian David Brody stated, in a review of the literature of the time, "most of the first generation of writing, and much even of the 1970's deals with the familiar subjects of labor history - leaders, strikes, organizations, politics, the left."[44]

But the time had come for change. A new era in labor history coincided with the publication in 1973 of an article by Herbert Gutman.[45] His work, for the first time, turned attention not only on the hierarchies of labor, but also to the rank and file of organized labor and the unorganized working man. Similar to the other sub-disciplines that we have seen, the direction of study in Gutman's work had reversed. What had been a field for studying the purposes and actions of labor now became a history of the experiences of the working man.

The 1970's have indeed proven to be the renaissance of labor history. But the importance of his ground-breaking certainly carried on. Melvyn Dubofsky's **Industrialism and the American Worker, 1865-1920** [Arlington Heights, 1975], and a collection of essays found in Gutman, **Work, Culture, and Society in**

Industrializing America, provide more than enough of an introduction to this modern labor history. Articles range on many of the same topics discussed in the sections on ethnic and urban histories; political impact, living conditions, health, etc. But new areas were also introduced, such as the impact of leisure time, the rise of organized sport, the purpose of education, etc. Also of importance, the place of women in labor, and the role of the family have gone so far in research as to have their own sub-disciplines within the field of social history.

Quantification has reached into the study of labor history as well. Historians such as Gutman and Brody have taken much of the lead, and others,such as Virginia Yans-McLaughlin's **Family and Community** must be mentioned, not only as an example of the quantification of labor history, but also as a bridge over all the types of histories mentioned above.

Although labor has taken a minor position to the other histories described in this work, it is not to say that its value is any less. Indeed, later chapters will show that it is the experience of the working man that is essential to the theme of this thesis.

The final section of this introduction intends briefly to touch upon some of the other areas that will be discussed in far greater detail later in this work. As such, it will complete the outline of sub-disciplines of social history that this paper intends to research and discuss. Although this research intends

to be a community study of ethnic working men, and will thus include many of the points discussed above, it also plans to include other areas mentioned only briefly, or not at all. These areas include religion, the community, and fraternal organizations.

As such, this research may be considered a bastard combination of many elements of social history. That is the true idea of this work. It is not intended to be a pure treatment of any one of the sub-disciplines, but rather a portrayal of the people, the purpose, I feel, of social history.

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3. Stephen Thernstrom, The Other Bostonians (Cambridge, 1973) pp. 220-1.

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9. Thernstrom, **Poverty and Progress** (Cambridge, Mass., 1964) p. 192.

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27. Hansen, pp. 500-3.

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31. For a brief study of the intervening period, see an article by Vecoli, "European Immigrants", in William H. Cartwright and Richard L. Watson, eds., **The Reinterpretation of American History and Culture** (Washington, D.C., 1973) pp. 81-112, and Edward N. Saveth, **American Historians and European Immigrants, 1875-1925** (New York, 1948).

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33. Oscar Handlin, **The American People in the Twentieth Century** (Cambridge, 1954) and **Race and Nationality in American Life** (Boston, 1957).

34. Indeed the harder native-born Americans forced assimilation on the immigrant, the greater the level of conflict would be. See Milton M. Gordon, **Assimilation in American Life** (New York, 1964) pp. 241-3.

35. Gordon, p. 244

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39. Conzen, "Patterns of Residence in Early Milwaukee", found in Schnore, ed., **The New Urban History**, p. 149.

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41. Higham, **Strangers in the Land**, pp. 229-30.

42. Mary Ritter Beard, **A Short History of the American Labor Movement** (New York, 1928) pp. v-vi.

43. See complete list of commentaries for and against in **Review of Books**, 1928-35.

44. David Brody, "Labor History in the 1970's" in Michael Kammen ed., **The Past Before Us** (Ithaca, 1980) p. 255, as well as his brief list of writings of the 1960's as a guide to his comment. Found in the same paragraph.

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CHAPTER II - THE INDUSTRY AND THE COMMUNITY

I. THE INDUSTRY

From the early 19th century, granite had been quarried from the hills surrounding Barre. The first registered granite company in Barre was Holden's company that began operations in 1817. It is known that the granite used in the construction of the state capital building in Montpelier between 1832 and 1837 was Barre granite.

It is generally accepted that the emergence of a true granite industry in Barre coincided with the arrival of the railroad spur line from the Central Vermont Railroad main line near Montpelier in 1876 and the completion of the quarries-to-sheds spur in 1888. This was the first advancement in the granite industry and allowed for easier transportation of massive granite blocks to both cutting sheds and external markets. An example of the size of these massive blocks can be seen in the photo below. The largest piece, according to contemporary records, to have been quarried was a giant with dimensions of 230' X 65' X 30'.

As well, train-drawn carriages replaced horse-drawn carts. This changed the industry from a seasonal one when the carts could bring granite down the hill without snow or ice as hindrances, to one of year-round production, and greater sales.

Finally, the train service introduced Barre's granite finished goods as well as raw material to national and

international markets. This afforded the opportunity to truly showcase the skills of the Barre granite cutter, as much as his material.

The new markets sought Barre granite for two varied products. The first was in the form of building materials. Roadwork, building columns, sills and ledges, and hallway sheets are but some areas in which granite was used in construction. With the trends in late nineteenth and early twentieth century architecture returning to a more classical look, the use of granite in construction materials found a vital niche.

The second favorite use of granite was found in ornamental work, in the carvings of statues, gravestones, and other monuments. The artisan stone cutter began to appear more frequently than the cutter required to quarry stone slabs. His skills and talents became as important as his strength. It was in this field that Barre began to rise to the forefront in the national granite industry, until it reached its lofty height as "granite capital of the world".

With the growth in popularity and demand of Barre granite, demand grew as well for greater production. This becomes apparent when figures for growth in production during the period under discussion are examined[1]. Other changes within the industry aided this growth as well. The second was the influx of Italian workers to Barre as will be discussed later in the section on ethnicity.

But the first was the invention in 1894, the earliest date

found, of the pneumatic cutting tool, a tool that replaced steam and water-powered rough cutting implements. This tool provided three key elements to the story of the workers. It first opened the door for far more intricate work, which allowed Barre to compete in the new ornamental market. This was to change the work description of the Barre granite worker.

The tool also changed the production techniques of the industry. Much more of the quarried granite could now be used, and less left for waste, making both the quarrying and cutting of granite a far more profitable venture. This profitability was the second element that suddenly made the granite industry in Barre a far more attractive destination for income seeking migrants and immigrants than other industries in the U.S.

Lastly, the tool did its share in the finality of the industry as it created the granite dust that permeated the industry, the town, and the workers; dust that was to become the hated enemy of the worker. The dust gave birth to; the stone cutter's bane, stone cutter's lung, granite dust tuberculosis, silicosis, all responsible for many more deaths within the industry than related accidents. A recent study on the disease[2] has joined a long line of studies and concerns that date back as early as 1906 into this grave problem.

These three elements, profitability, the changing ethnicity of the worker, and silicosis are the legacies of an industry in change that were left to the granite worker of Barre from 1900-1922.

Briefly then, this was the change in the industry in Barre[3]. The next section intends to look at the community of Barre in an effort to see the means by which Barre found itself in a boom and what it was able to do, or not to do, to keep up with its changing role as a granite center.

II. THE COMMUNITY

Prior to 1876, the advancement of Barre could only be described in terms that would bring a warm glow to the heart of Thomas Jefferson and his concept of the sturdy yeoman farmer. Homesteaders and farmers found Barre to their liking in conservative and unspectacular number. Indeed after its humble beginnings at the first town meeting on March 11, 1793[4], until 1830, the town steadied at a population of approximately 2,000. This continued until 1880 by which time the population had "boomed" until it reached 2,060[5].

The town had been self-sufficient. It was predominantly agricultural in scope, "although tavern keeping was said to have been prominent."[6]

The introduction of the railway and of a far reaching demand for Barre granite turned the town into a mini city. The easiest way to see that is through the increase in population over a 20 year span to the period of this study. Dramatic to say the least, that sleepy little hollow of Barre "farm town" with a population of 2,060 in 1880 grew to Barre granite town with a population of 6,812 by 1890, and to Barre "granite capital of the

world" with a population of 14,928 by 1910, an increase of some 700%.[7]

This peak was maintained, with some fluctuations through to 1922. The population then began to decline for various reasons, until it reached a fairly stable population between 7,500 and 8,200[8].

However during its peak, the city of Barre found itself faced with some critical political and logistical problems. First was housing, and sanitation, followed by questions of health services, education, cultural activities, socio-economic status, religion, and political differences.

In the beginning of the boom, circa 1890, Barre found itself greatly lacking in responses to the demands of both a growing industry and population. As far as the population was concerned, the town found itself with "mud streets, no sidewalks, overcrowded and poorly constructed housing. Sewage disposal was nonexistent and the water system was so poor that it continued to be a source of epidemics into the twentieth century."[9] To control these abysmal conditions, the city provided "no paid professional fire department, and the police force consisted of two elected constables. There was no hospital, no power plant, and two dozen privately owned water companies competed for the privilege of supplying the city with water."[10]

However, the townspeople began to realize that it would have to change both its attitudes and efforts towards the provision of public services if it was to survive and take advantage of its

boom. A combination of events and changing conditions vis-a-vis the granite industry brought the necessity of change to the forefront. Events such as the typhoid epidemic of 1898 and the later discovery of silicosis brought demands for both better water supply and health facilities. Militant, rowdy labor disruptions and the first murders in Barre in 1904 brought violent crime, and the need for its policing, to a head. A change in local government from an external disinterested professional to a granite manufacturer, in 1898, forced the realization of the necessity for paved roads and sidewalks. From that point until 1922 and end of this study, the mayoralty races, as well as the elections for other public officials, would always consist of contests between manufacturers and members of the various unions within the granite industry. An interesting description of Barre's political philosophy can be found in the following excerpt from the **Granite Cutters' International Union Journal** dated April 1906.

> The principal topic of interest in the meantime is our coming city election, which takes place on March 6. There are three candidates in the field for the office of Mayor. One is a prominent granite manufacturer, and the other two are members of our Association who earn their living...the aspirants are honest, capable men and whichever of them wins at the election, I feel assured will perform the duties of the office with credit to himself and the citizens.[11]

Private organizations began to take on other areas of reform as well, examples being found in the fields of education,

religion, and housing. The granite industry itself stepped in both on the manufacturers' side, as well as labor's.

Manufacturers called for improved water services, to improve the water supply for the growing number of water or steam driven tools and cleaning processes, as well as public transportation for its labor force and better roadways for the movement of its products. Labor's voice was raised for better transportation, better living conditions provided by the surrounding neighborhoods which resulted in more strictly regulated housing construction codes, and health facilities for the sick and injured.

A greater demand was also being placed upon social and fraternal organizations to provide the facilities for recreational time fast becoming available to both the worker and the manufacturer. A truly serious call was for improvements both to the quantity and quality of educational services available to a blossoming younger population. This resulted in the opening of more classroom space in locales ranging from church halls to labor halls, to a point that by 1904 there were enough new public school rooms that every student in Barre could be served in a building built as a school[12].

Indeed, despite its relatively small stature, in terms of population, and location in rural Vermont, Barre took on the image of being far more typical of the larger cities during this era of urban reform. When faced with situations more akin to those dealt with by the muckrakers of the larger centers, Barre

seems to have reacted not in a small, rural, agricultural manner, but rather with a vitality and realization that would indeed have made critics proud. One historian has commented on Barre having "the cosmopolitan non Yankee quality which sets it apart from other Vermont communities".[13]

If Barre grew as a small city, and matured as a community both of people and services, a perspective must always be retained on the demands for growth put forward by the granite industry. Being the largest employer, the largest tax payer, the largest consumer and supplier of services, and the basis of economy, certainly the change in the granite industry and the community can be said to be a major factor in the maturing process of Barre.

The next area discussed will be components of ethnicity and mobility as further reasons for Barre's weak community base.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER II

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3. Otto T. Johnson, **Labor Situation in the Granite Industry in the Barre District, Vermont**, Unpublished thesis (Washington, D.C., 1928) p. 30.

4. Carroll Fenwick, ed., **Barre in Retrospect** (Barre, 1975) p. 6.

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9. George E. Hooker, "Labor and Life at the Barre Granite Quarries," Unpublished paper (Barre, Vermont, 1895) p. 11.

10. Hooker, p. 12.

11. **Granite Cutters' International Union Journal**, April 1906, p. 9.

12. Report of the School Supervisor, Barre Vt. January 1905.

13. Federal Writers Project, p. 77.

CHAPTER III - ETHNICITY AND MOBILITY

The following chapter applies some of the theories found today in ethnic history to the Barre example. First Barre's granite working and general populations are examined. Secondly, the lack of factors that would have made Barre a homogeneous and cultural community, and the ethnic composition were simply more reasons that led to the eventual decline in both the industry, and the community.

At the heart of the research into this chapter lie Table 1 to 6 found in the Appendix to this paper. Based on a 1 in 4 sample taken of the workers in the granite industry found in the 1900 and 1910 Federal manuscript census, and the 1920 Barre City directory, these tables, and other information found in the sample, provided a myriad of details that were used to introduce the granite workers, and to allow comparisons with other variables.

Provided with this data, this chapter, using ethnicity as a primary variable, will discuss a) the ethnic composition of the granite industry, b) immigration and occupational trends, c) social mobility, and d) geographic mobility. These will be used to show patterns of stability.

I. POPULATION AND OCCUPATIONAL TRENDS

It is essential to look first at the ethnic makeup of the granite work force and general Barre population, especially in

the years 1900 and 1910. In 1900, the total population of Barre was 8,415[1]. Of this, 1721 reported to the census that their occupation was involved in the granite industry, of which 430 became the sample for this study. That is to say that of the total population 20.4% were in some way gainfully employed by one industry.

As seen in Table 1, the population was comprised of several ethnic groups, including Swedes, Danes, French and English Canadians, and others. Two ethnic groups, however, made up over 51% of the work force, Italians and Scots.

The reasons for the participation of these groups are quite clear. By arriving in America to ply their trade, both their real wages and the buying power of those wages showed dramatic increases over conditions in their home countries, if indeed they had been fortunate enough to have been employed there. For example, many of the Scots who found their way to Barre were leaving an Aberdeen granite industry which displayed an unemployment figure of some 50%[2]. Their wages and work hours were also an incentive, with comparisons between the U.S. and Great Britain running at 0.39 per hour for a 50 hour week in the U.S. as compared to 0.20 per hour for the same work time in Great Britain, the comparison for the year 1900,[3] showing an income advantage of some 95% for the American industry. Similar differences, if not even more distinct, can be found in the case of the Italians, and this even more in terms of pay than in terms of job opportunities, a clear edge.

Not to be outdone, the largest component of the work force was made up of native-born, many of whom had been drawn to Barre by similar attractions of employment and good money. The American contingent sampled numbered some 126, or 29.3% , and when combined with the Scots and Italians totalled over 80% of the total work force. Clearly these were the pre-dominant groups, and as we shall see throughout the study, the prime focus of many of the arguments.

In comparison, 1910 reflected considerable change in the ethnic composition of the work force. By then the population had swollen to 10,847[4]. The granite work force now numbered 2,470, of whom 617 (25%) were chosen for a sample. The numbers for the three prime ethnic groups had changed dramatically, but their proportion of the work force remained remarkably stable at 81.2%. Yet native born were no longer predominant, showing a drop of 6.8% to 22.5%. The Scots showed a modest decline of 0.8% to 26.6%, but the most dramatic change is the influx of Italians who had increased their involvement by 8.1% to 32.1% of the work force. Clearly by 1910, the Italians are the predominant group.

The next discussion to be brought from the sample is immigration and arrival trends of the ethnic groups, notably the Scots and Italians. As seen in Table 7, figures are available for immigration from Scotland and Italy in the periods leading up to 1910. These figures are used as a basis for comparison. The same groups, immigrating to Barre represent far different numbers as can be seen from Table 2. While Italians arrived in Barre for

the most part during the last decade of 19th century, swelling the Italian portion of the population by a staggering 83%, the nation had seen an influx of only 17.6% Italian arrivals. The Scots' number were almost equally distributed in the last two decades at approximately 42%, and this too represented a sizeable difference when compared to the national rates of 3.0% and 1.2%. Certainly Barre was attracting more than its share.

The trend continued in 1910. In 1910, 56.5% of Italians had arrived in the most recent decade, while the number of Scots was 43.8%. These numbers show that the lure of money and employment were still strong draws to the Barre area as the national figures show that Italian immigration during the same period was 32.5%, while Scottish arrivals totalled 1.9%.

The third aspect of this section is the occupational division by ethnic group, based again on a comparison of the 1900 and 1910 material. The three central groups in 1900, Scots (27%), Italians (24%), and native-born (29%), made up 80% of the total labor force in the industry. Only 20% was composed of Irish, English, French-Canadians, English-Canadians, Swedes, Danes and others. Tables 1 and 2 provide a complete breakdown of occupation by ethnic group.

The data in Tables 1 to 4, suggest several conclusions about the labor force and raise questions about the manner in which Barre compares with other studies on this period[5]. The first is the surprisingly high percentage of native-born found in the industry as a whole, and specifically as stone cutters where they

rank third. The high percentage of native-born in the industry in 1900 may be attributed to the fact that the early production of granite was mainly for construction work; little detailed, artisan-based carving was required. The Italians as a whole were noted primarily for their carving skills[6]. Indeed, the importance industry-wide of native-born outnumbering the other two prime groups, is a point rarely discussed in other studies of the workers[7] or in more popular historical literature of the town, with sparse mention in works such as Carroll Fenwick's **Barre in Retrospect** [Barre, Vermont, 1975]. It is also noteworthy that native-born represented the majority of manufacturers found in the 1900 sample. It appears that the lure of employment and better-than-average wages drew not only the foreign-born to Barre.

The Italian immigrants' numbers in the occupation table show some discrepancies when applied to the industry as a whole but not in the areas where Italian workers were most concentrated. Indeed the percentage of Italian stone cutters is very close to the proportion of Italians in the total work force. The most striking fact is that almost all male adult Italians were stone cutters. A very low proportion found their way into other granite-related trades, and none had made the move to manufacturer, surprising when one considers that 14% of Barre Italians in 1900 had arrived in the United States prior to 1887 and 60% prior to 1884. Although discussed more fully at a later stage of this thesis, the infrequency of movement into the

manufacturing sector does suggest limited economic and social mobility.

The Scots came closest to being proportionately representative in most categories sampled. In both stone cutter and manufacturer groupings the Scots were remarkably close to their overall percentage in the population.

An important point should be made of the manufacturer's breakdown, which shows a high, disproportionate percentage made up of English and English-Canadian immigrants. Over 50% of these two groups had arrived prior to 1887. Unlike the Italian example, the English and English-Canadians were able to achieve the positions of ownership in the industry and the greater status that went with it.

The data for 1910 suggests considerable variation from 1900. The Italian representation in 1910, for instance, had changed markedly. Their total representation in the industry was increased by 9% with large gains in the areas of both cutting (13%) and manufacturing (16%). Clearly, this had to do with the influx of Italians who arrived post 1900, 55% of their own ethnic group, 48% of all immigrants arriving in the work force overall in that decade.

The Scots managed to maintain both their position in total work force, losing only a point, and in the field of stone cutting, which remained constant with the 1900 sample. An important change was found in the manufacturing field, where Scots now made up over 1/3 of the manufacturers sampled, an

increase of some 8%. Compared to only a modest drop in the other service sectors, the Scots had managed to maintain their presence, due to a consistent flow of arrivals that matched the numbers from the previous decade.

Other ethnic groups were present in the industry, although their representation in the fields of stone cutting and manufacturing declined. This decline in manufacturing was 24%, while in stone cutting 4%. However a modest increase of 3% across the occupation board was achieved by the other immigrant groups. This was attributed mostly to a continued flow of immigration that accounted for some 20% of the total work force arriving in Barre during the decade from countries other than Italy and Scotland.

If the Italians showed marked gains in the industry, other immigrant groups more modest increases, and the Scots remained relatively the same, then 1910 clearly shows the loss of occupational representation by the native-born. Although they managed to retain their share in manufacturing, as well as in the other trades, they fell sharply among stone cutters, some 13%. This reflected two trends: first, the trend of the industry away from mass construction supply to the production of a more artistic ornamental product, and second, the lure of other opportunities, both in Barre and in other locations.

It has been seen that the Barre granite industry provided a strong attraction for migrant and immigrant labor. The next question to be asked and is indeed essential to the rest of this

study, is; did ethnicity provide any of the key blocks in building a permanence or sense of community amongst the workers? In response, two topics are to be discussed; a) social and b) geographic mobility.

II. SOCIAL MOBILITY

Thernstrom suggested "minor (social) gains...were sufficient to integrate men into the prevailing social order, but there was a serious question whether the traditional level of opportunity in the American past was at all high."[8]. In his two landmark studies of American social mobility cited earlier, Thernstrom attempts to use factors of; a) change in population, b) economic opportunity, c) career patterns, d) social class origins, and other social factors to explain social mobility within a community. The first four are important to the Barre case.

In his Newburyport study, Thernstrom found a steady ebb and flow of working men into and out of the community. His reasons for the incoming changes in population were simple; the lure of the city over the country, and the wave of immigration[9]. This too is found in the Barre example, as seen above by population trends. Thernstrom offered reasons for social mobility to take place if this pattern continued. The Barre growth in population over the period of this study as seen in Table 6 reflects this point as well.

The next point is economic opportunity. Thernstrom, quoting Weber, attempted to unify his working class on the basis of

property[10], and then show in effect that "in the New World the security and respectability insured by property ownership were considered within the reach of even the lowliest laborer."[11] But his findings showed that while property, savings and status combined to offer mobility, it was very limited in scope, and it "tended to close off future opportunities, rather than open them"[12].

In Barre, wages and buying power were higher during the boom period [3]. This was reflected in home ownership by ethnic group. In 1900 29% of Scots owned their own home, as did 17% of Italians and 14% of the native-born. There was an increase in 1910 to 34% of Scots, 34% of Italians and 35% of native-born; but, one must not overvalue these results. It means that at its peak earning power, barely 1/3 of the granite force could own its own home.

There are two conclusions that are to be made from this point. First, that homes were not being constructed quickly enough to become available for buyers, and second, that many of the laborers needed only room and board. In 1900 more workers of the three main groups boarded than owned their own homes. The same can be said of all but the native-born in 1910. Although Thernstrom found that ownership was a goal of even the poorest, Barre's workers appeared to spend their money in other ways.

The third point of Thernstrom's work deals with occupational trends. Once again, although Thernstrom conceded that occupational mobility existed, it was more often of a limited nature[14]. In other studies of Barre, it has been noted that one

of the ways of improving a worker's status in the town was to make the move from stone cutter to manufacturer[15]. At best, this is a doubtful assertion.

It has been said that some manufacturers began operation only as a means of preserving themselves during labor shut downs[16] and did not last as manufacturers long afterwards. Indeed, of the manufacturers found in the 1910 sample, only one was found to be a stone cutter in 1900 city directory. Not only is it questionable that occupational mobility was high in Barre, but ethnicity appears to have been relatively unimportant in determining mobility.

The final point of discussion deals with social class origins. It is difficult to compare directly with Thernstrom's study, for he deals with 'common laborers' to use his own phrase. The majority of granite workers in Barre were far from that. As indicated in the origin section, the primary groups that made up the Barre labor force were skilled tradesmen from the granite quarries of Aberdeen and Carerra.

The exception to this discussion might be the native-born who answered Barre's call. This should be accounted for by reaffirming the type of materials earlier produced in the industry, and the relatively low skills needed in that production and is proven by the drastic decline in native-born cutters in 1910.

The community underwent a significant increase in population. At the same time, the workers showed relatively

little property ownership. According to Thernstrom these were not considered important towards any upward mobility. They did not find occupational change, similar to the common laborer found in both Newburyport and Boston, albeit for different reasons. They were of similar social class that began mostly in home countries, and continued in Barre. Apparently the Barre worker closely fit into Thernstrom's model as not placing high priority on social mobility, per se. This leads to Thernstrom's more important discussion of geographic mobility.

III. GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY

It was Thernstrom's discovery that geographic mobility was not only an equally important area of study as social mobility but also more revealing about the nature of late 19th, early 20th century American cities. An important conclusion was that geographic mobility tended to erode any basis for a community formation[17]. It introduced whether ethnicity is directly related to geographic mobility.

A study of population movement into Barre has already been attempted. This next section deals with the persistence of those workers in the industry and town between 1900 and 1910. Tables 5 and 6 evaluate the persistence of the three main groups in Barre.

On this point a random sample of some 70 workers was chosen from the three prominent groups in 1900. Of the native-born, 56% were found to be still in the granite industry in 1910. Italians from 1900 showed a similar persistence of 57%, while

perhaps surprisingly the Scots had only a 38% staying power.

The 1910 sample shows some clear signs that a) the staying power brought on by the industry was in decline, and b) that certain ethnic groups displayed a greater propensity to leave. Scots this time displayed a higher tendency to stay when searched for in the 1920 city directory, increasing by 4% to 42%. Both native-born and Italians showed substantial declines, by more than 30% to 26% and 25%, respectively. During the preparation of this study, it was noted that almost all of the manufacturers had either stayed or died, so it is clear that among the three groups, and especially the Italians and native-born, the stone cutters found it far easier to move on. A reason for this outward migration included return to the old country, most notable among the Italians, but not unknown amongst the Scots.

The following chapters will suggest why institutions, the community, the industry, and the ethnic groups themselves were unable to stop this constant flow of workers for other reasons. When applied to the conclusions of social mobility discussed above, it is clear that Barre does fit very well into Thernstrom's model. Industrialization and industrialized towns of this era were unable to build on any firm foundation. The city was vulnerable when societal changes took place in the community. Ethnicity and mobility are but two reasons for that weakness.

The next area for discussion in considering what made Barre different rests in a study of the largest community group to be

found in this one-industry town, the labor unions of the Barre granite industry.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. U.S. Bureau of Census. Twelfth Census (1900). **Population of the United States**, vol. I, pt. I, Washington, D.C., 1902.

2. Paul Demers, "Labor and the Social Relations of the Granite Industry in Barre," Unpublished thesis. Goddard College. (Barre, 1974) p. 58.

3. Demers, p. 59.

4. U.S. Bureau of Census. Thirteenth Census (1910). **Population of the United States**, vol. I, pt. I, Washington, D.C., 1913.

5. See many of the same studies as described in the urban history section of the historiography chapter of this paper. Most notable are MacLaughlin, Nelli, and Hareven.

6. Ann Banks, **First Person America** (New York, 1980), p. 103.

7. Demers' thesis, and Marion McDonald, "The Granite Years: Barre, Vermont, 1880 to 1900; a socio-economic history using quantitative methods," Unpublished thesis. University of Vermont. (Burlington, 1978).

8. Stephen Thernstrom, **The Other Bostonians** (Cambridge, 1973) p.4.

9. Stephen Thernstrom, **Poverty and Progress** (New York, 1974) p. 86.

10. Thernstrom, **Poverty and Progress**, p.115.

11. Thernstrom, **Poverty and Progress**, p. 116.

12. Thernstrom, **Poverty and Progress**, p. 137.

13. Discussions of the buying power can be found in Otto T. Johnson, **Labor Situation in the Granite Industry in the Barre District, Vermont**. Unpublished thesis. (Washington, D.C., 1928) p.440, and Paul Douglas, **Real Wages in the United States: 1890-1926** (New York, 1966) p.120.

14. Thernstrom, **Poverty and Progress**, p. 114.

15. Demers, p. 5.

16. McDonald, p. 40.

17. Thernstrom, **Poverty and Progress**, p. 85.

CHAPTER IV - THE UNIONS

I. THE WEAKNESSES OF THE UNIONS

Earlier, factors have been seen that drove wedges into the bonding process of Barre and its people. The antithesis should have been the efforts of organized labor groups within Barre to create a common cause among workers. Yet, the evidence suggests that diversity also characterizes the union movement.

Barre workers from within the granite industry and others as varied as musicians, laundry workers, teamsters, and retail clerks began forming into recognised bargaining units as early as 1882. This formally became the Central Labor Union (C.L.U.) of Barre in 1904[1]. The C.L.U took on an active role in local politics and reforms. With as varied a membership as it had, the C.L.U. was indeed an important part of life in Barre, but as shall be seen in a later section it had rather an auspicious effect on Barre in the early part of the 20th century.

By far the largest union locals, and those with the greatest influence on the day-to-day life of Barre, were the unions of the granite industry; the Barre branch of the Granite Cutters International Association (G.C.I.A.), Polisher's Local 13, and the Tool Sharpener local. Other granite workers belonged either to the Teamsters or the Lumpers, Boxers and Derrickmen's Union, which was not affiliated to the G.C.I.A. These locals, with combined memberships generally ranging from 1,000 to 2,000 members at any one time during this period at times represented

approximately 25% of the population of the town[2].

As important as the numbers were in terms of size of these unions, so too is the input of the unions on the social fabric of Barre. As will be seen, from dances to strikes, from blood drives to riots, from baseball to politics, the unions played a significant part in the day to day life. The major question was whether the unions helped to bring the men closer together, or contributed to driving the Barre granite workers apart.

First, it is necessary to consider the composition of the unions, then their physical activities, the purpose they served, their intentions, and how they went about their activities.

Barre's granite labor became organized over several years in the late 1880's. Indeed the first Barre local of the then Granite Cutters National Union, which would later become the G.C.I.A., was organized in 1886. One of its first goals was the introduction of the closed shop, which was accomplished only after the longest strike had occurred in the granite sheds. In 1892 a strike over the closed shop issue shut down the industry for some 5 months. Only after major concessions on the part of the union over wages, and the granting of the closed shop by the manufacturers were agreed to did the sheds reopen, and life returned to something of a normal state. This was certainly not the last strike to be waged in the granite industry.[3]

During the next 20 years or so the closed shop enabled the union to control the arrival and departure of whatever labor force was needed in the industry. A study of the Union Journal,

combined with a tabulation of the Barre union membership, brings out the first key point in the study of the union. As can be seen in Table 8 in the appendix, the labor force that had begun with approximately some 70 odd men in the late 1880's and early 1890's, reached peak figures of 2200+ in 1908 and 1850+ in 1912.

During these same times the number of manufacturing companies ranged from 15 to 75 with a mean of 45[4]. But, as some of those companies, such as Jones Bros. and the A. Milne Co. represented large hirings that numbered in the three to four hundred range, it is safe to say that a typical shed might be made up of some 15-20 stone cutters.

Another key element in determining the size of the work force was the seasonal nature of the granite industry. Due to the difficulties in both quarrying and transporting the massive pieces of stone, the industry was prone to near-total shut downs in the months of November to March annually. These shut-downs affected the work force in several ways; first the matter of the going out of business of many small sheds, the proof of which lies in the average life expectancy of a small manufacturer being some three to five years[5] and the ongoing merger of some smaller firms with such large ones as Jones Bros. and the Milne Co.

The next matter was the transience and mobility of the cutters within the closed-shop system. This movement was controlled throughout by the use of the union membership card. Another reflection of the temporary nature was seen in the amount of cards on hand at the union local hall. A striking trend shows

new cards, in-visiting cards, and renewals from March onward, turning directly to out-transient cards, non-favor cards, and leaving-the-union-in-good-standing notices increasing dramatically as autumn deepens[6].

Still other proofs of this flow are to be found in the ongoing comments of both the union secretary to the national journal, and daily offerings in the local newspapers. It appears that all that was necessary to work in the trade was one's "kit" and one's "card". While waiting for employment, the men would wait around the union offices for a call-to-work, often spending their hours in some of the 25 to 50 saloons that sprang up in Barre[7]. The first calls would be filled by on-hand unemployed work force. Then the call would go out by the secretary using union publications, or job advertisements would appear both in local newspapers, and those of quarry towns elsewhere, such as Waterbury, Vt.

This constant ebb and flow of men in and out of the union raises questions about the capacity of the union to provide for the needs of its men. Even with the total acceptance of the closed shop in the late 1880's and early 1890's. It is doubtful whether the union achieved either real power in the community, real strength in the industry, or real confidence in the eyes of its members. Suffice it to say when many examples are taken into account, the union, for reasons to be discussed later, simply did not.

In terms of the community, and despite both the hardships

brought on by growth that the town was going through, the financial and logistical power of the union structure, and the voting power of its members, the union was not able to assist in the election of either a socialist, or labor-centric mayor until 1918. Indeed, often the union placed tacit support behind candidates from the manufacturer's association who were running against their own candidates.

The weakness is evident again in union dealings with the Barre Granite Manufacturers Association (G.M.A.) as far as negotiations for wages, working conditions and working hours were concerned. All that is needed to support this contention of weakness is a discussion of the relative successes or failures of labor-management confrontation, including strikes, during this period. The ability of the manufacturers to wait out a strike, import scab labor, or the willingness of the union worker to break ranks locally or find employment elsewhere combined to make any strike up until 1912 at best a limited failure. Although strikes after the first really successful one in 1912 were still evident[8], too often the strike was of a short duration, single issue in negotiation, involved limited gains for the union, and limited cost for the manufacturer, with a certain important exception in 1915.

There were several reasons for the weak strike power in such a large, well-organized, to a degree anarchist-membered, strongly socialist-leaning union. The Barre granite worker was relatively well-off, and the Barre granite manufacturer had too many means

at his disposal to soften the anti-management feelings necessary to breed the type of labor unrest more visible in the garment and steel industries. For example the workers' wages were quite a bit higher than average. His hours of work per week dropped by 1916 to where he was involved in one of the first 40 hour week settlements. It was obvious to the worker that efforts were being made to improve safety and health conditions within his work place, and that greater emphasis was being placed on his post-employment conditions. Important, too, was the fact that these efforts were being made by his employer and community, rather than by his union. Hospitals, sanatorium, and housing improvements were being compared against little effort to stop an outside flow of workers coming in to the existing jobs, or stemming the flow of scabbing at outside work instead of supporting local strikes.

To many, the union's strength appeared to be more intellectual and social than radical and anarchist. It seemed that in many instances that the union showed greater concern in areas of dance organization, friendly baseball competition, outing arrangements, and disappointments of a rainy Labor Day. This is seen through monthly contributions to the **Granite Cutters International Union Journal** by secretary Aleck Robertson.

Within its own structure, the same sense of division can be seen. On the death of a union secretary, his replacement writes "We have lost a friend and brother, with one of the brightest intellects within the ranks of our Association...Yet withal,

Aleck had his faults and failings in common with the rest of mankind, but now that he has passed the great divide, let us forget them and only cherish in our memory that which was good"[9], surely not a glowing epitaph. Over and over comments from union members concerning the executive show a lack of confidence in their stature, both vis-a-vis the union and the manufacturers. Questions about "sellouts" when the union agreed to a 0.02 per hour increase in 1914 were too often found in letters to the national union journal, or in the columns of the various newsletters and newspapers that were published by more radical groups within the Barre locals. The manufacturers were able to take advantage of their sentiments by accepting "good" union men versus "bad" union men, as the anarchists were sometimes called. The ability of the union to create a blacklist of union men did nothing to solidify the rank and file or unify their ideals. On occasion, a good example being the strike of 1915, the union split along ethnic ranks, most often Scots versus Italians. On occasion, intra-union disagreements broke down into pitched battles in the union hall, and marches and riots in the streets[10].

By displaying this weak appearance, the union was little able to stand and present a building block that was deemed essential in the community by all concerned. This decaying trend continued in the post WWI era with a growing nativism amongst the old-time stone cutters and the new transients. Methods used by the manufacturers included long drawn-out lockouts over somewhat

petty issues (1919-20)[11], the welcoming of "good" more-moderate union men, and the subsequent nativist blacklisting of the mostly anarchist-leaning post WWI Italian newcomers, the introduction of the American plan industrial relation ideals (full benefits, company sponsored activities,) and the mass importation of French-Canadian workers who were willing to work under those conditions[12].

The denouement took place with the strike of 1922, which marked a watershed in the growth and boom-era of the stone cutters unions, the end of cordial, sometimes confrontational, but best described as negotiable era of labor-management relations. This strike and its repercussions will discussed later in this study.

This section was meant to display union activities, ideals and actions as being factors in the weak structure of Barre. If this presents the lack of union power in Barre, what of the social impact of organized labor? If labor met with what can best be described as poor success over a period of some 20 odd year, the opposite should be said of labor-assisted social activities. Yet here, too, often the examples to be found can only be said to have divisive effects on Barre.

II. THE SUCCESSES OF THE UNIONS

The Barre chapters of the G.W.I.U. cannot be looked at solely as weak ineffective units. After 1912 especially, the union had more than its share of confrontations with management,

the police, and sometimes its own membership. With some 18 strikes and lock-outs in the period between 1912 and 1922 which represented 8% of the total number of strikes in the various stone industries nationally[13] it can be said that the militancy of the Barre Branches was somewhat admirable when compared nationwide. The results of that militancy can be looked on in a positive vein as well.

During peak seasonal labor demand the union was able to fill job tickets of its members, and often advertised in the pages of the **Granite Cutters International Union Journal** for workers to come to Barre. It was able to place arriving immigrants and transients at the rate of thousands per year. Year round work for those who wished to settle was consistent with the demand for the product.

Working conditions, too, had improved and the union could easily take some of the credit. The early strikes often ended in frustration or stalemate for labor, but these years were not entirely unsuccessful for the granite unions. As far as hours of work were concerned, in 1888 the average was 60 per week. This had dropped to 54 by 1890, 48 by 1900, 43 by 1903 and settled at 40 by 1908[14]. If more hours were worked it was for want of overtime pay when demand required it, as it often did from 1900 to 1915. Or extra pay was used to build a cushion if the possibility existed of a winter lay-off. The work week itself changed from 7 to 5½ days as early as 1904, with the sheds closing at Saturday noon for the weekend, and this practice

continued into the 1920's.

Wages also improved at a pace which made the work attractive both to unemployed and employed cutters in America and abroad, thus guaranteeing a steady supply of workers for the union to place. Union negotiations were the main factor influencing increases in wages.(See Table 9) With the inclusion of overtime bonuses, contract payments, which offered some payments to workers on a job basis and were not included in their day-to-day pay, and other incentives included in several of the labor contracts signed after 1912, it is clear that a fast rising income was being made by all those employed.

If hours decreased and wages improved, so too did the physical conditions under which the cutters plied their trade. As early as 1906, the industry saw the need for greater protection in regards to the health of its men. Oddly enough, considering the type of work the cutters were expected to perform, either at the quarries or in the sheds, in the cutting of huge pieces of rock, industrial accidents were maintained at a low enough level that rarely was it a cause of concern either to management or the unions. So few references were found in a recently completed study of the death records of the granite cutters that industrial accidents were not the cause celebre for union militancy as say was the case in the coal industry[15].

Yet a far more serious threat was posed by an invisible cause of death, a disease named silicosis, caused by the inhalation of granite particles.

> From the late nineteenth century health conditions in the quarries and more significantly in the sheds provided the context for labor-management strife, walkouts, technological innovation, advances in medical knowledge and treatment, federal government studies of the dust problem, and ultimately more systematic efforts to prevent the disease.[16]

An important result of the increasing awareness of the silicosis danger was the effort of the Barre Branches first to make the manufacturers more aware, and then fight for both improvements to, and caring of, the members' health. These efforts took several forms.

As early as 1906, and with the support of the executive of Local 13, the first study into the problem took place. With the findings being made public both in the **Granite Cutters International Union Journal**[17], and the local newspaper, the serious health problem was at last being confronted. For the first time in 1908, better ventilation in the sheds was a plank in the negotiating platform of the branches.

In 1906 the union, having been strained financially by their efforts to offer health cost benefits to retired workers, turned to the municipality of Barre to join in building better facilities for health care. The first results of this cooperation showed in the opening of the enlarged Barre hospital in 1907, followed by the opening of the sanatorium for silicosis cases in 1912.

Other health benefits were also made available by the locals. Although no real workman's compensation existed in

Vermont at this time, the unions also drew from their funds to help any of its members injured on the work site[18]. Although exact rates of compensation were never maintained, the locals attempted to ensure that "a man had enough for his table and his family"[19].

Although it has been seen that the unions were weak supporting characters when it came to city politics, they did have some positive impact. Even if they had difficulty in getting their own candidates elected as mayor, they were able to force, by sheer numbers, some of their own onto town, and then city councils. Indeed one of the union executive, Allen Stewart, was elected to council in 1902, while stating that if elected he would open all the bars "from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m., so that all men could enjoy their piece" (sic) clearly a win based on the 'popular' vote.[20]

Union men were able to win political office throughout the period, although never able to reach the mayoralty until 1910, and were only able to gain victories over the G.M.A. - backed Citizen's Caucus party on only one other occasion during the period of this study (1916). A table showing the results of municipal elections is included in the appendix. On the various committees and boards of municipal government, a union man was often able to address problems that affected the union directly, such as crime, housing, sanitation, liquor licensing, and other points of labor interest.

The main success of the unions during this period appeared

to have been promotion of entertainment among the workers. Above all else the locals, their executives, and members, counted on union support in one prime area; the social activities made available to the workers with the sponsorship of the union. It is here that all the locals put in efforts. From Labor day picnics, to political rallies, to baseball, to match-making, the unions truly concentrated on bettering the off-work hours of their members.

This important area of successful union involvement began with the union hall. The hall saw many uses from rallying point of protest marches, impromptu boxing ring, hangout for unemployed cutters, and schoolroom for apprentices to the art of stone cutting. The largest hall, that of the Barre branch, occupied its own building of two above-ground floors and a basement on Main St., two doors from city hall. A typical week's programme of activities in the hall, and its various rooms, shows both the versatility and frantic pace of this building. Events included two classes in the art of stone cutting, three committee meetings, a general assembly an executive meeting, Friday and Saturday night dances, a smoker (stag party), and two 'outside' activities (rentals).

After the acquisition of the Saturday half holiday in 1901, the social lives of the workers began to increase greatly. Here too, the union locals took an active role. Foremost in this area was the formation of organized sports activities, notably baseball and soccer. The Barre Branch was the largest sponsor,

organizing two semi-professional baseball teams, and teams in local leagues in both sports. The quality of the cutter athletes and the competition grew so high, that on several occasions Barre teams, including one directly sponsored by the union won state baseball championships, and two men who started as Barre stone cutters went on to play professional baseball for the New York Yankees.

Competitive tournaments were also sponsored by the locals, among themselves and against other groups. Sports included quoits, bacci, horseshoes, and several track and field events such as sprinting and shot put, to name a few.

The unions began to sponsor non-athletic free-time activities within the town. Classes were held in the halls for newly-arriving workers, and although mostly taken by recent Italian arrivals, it was not uncommon to see Swedes, Danes, French-Canadians, and others in the same room. As well, the union provided not only apprentice courses but also self-improvement courses in the use of new equipment or techniques for those cutters who wished to improve their status and skills.

The union halls were the centers of the industry labor pool as well. Transient workers would visit the halls to check in, have their union cards and status verified, then be sent to whatever work site needed them. However this was not a locked-in system, what with the quarries having different hiring needs than the sheds, the inclusion of contract work clauses in agreements, and the failure of some smaller out-of-town-center sheds to

accept the closed shop[21]. If no work was available, then the hall became a day time center for lounging, card-playing, more than the occasional fist-fight (for amusement or other reasons) and acquisition of information concerning out-of-town employment possibilities.

The union hall was not the only involvement of the locals in the social life of the workers. The union sponsored such diverse events as operas and horse races. The unions invited guest speakers to address the members on topics ranging from the merits of western settlement, to political or ideological change, or to start a better garden. On more than one occasion the freedom of speech endorsed by the union would touch off mini riots that spread from the union hall up and down Main Street.

The unions were quick to begin the regular practice of Friday and Saturday night dances. Upon seeing the success of the church-sponsored socials, the union's idea of dances was a different one, concentrating on inviting every 'single' girl in the town, and quickly turned the event into a lonely-hearts club meeting place for single, transient cutters. The success rate of this union activity is difficult to determine, but the practice did seem very successful in the number of years it ran.

The highlight of the year as far as the locals' impact on Barre's social life surely took the form of the annual Labor Day celebrations. The closing of the quarries and sheds touched off a day of splendid activities and events, often beginning as early as 8 a.m. and continuing into the next morning, or "until the

last keg was drained"[22]. Parades took place every year, from the center of town out to the surrounding fields. Sporting events, friendly competition, and family events included not only union members but also owners. Plans for the day took the whole year to be planned, and only bad weather would cancel the much-awaited event as it did in 1909, resulting in such a disappointment that the union found it necessary to include a story in the **Granite Cutters International Union Journal.**[23]

Clearly the social presence of the locals was the most visible impact the unions had on the lives of the granite workers during the study. They found him employment, lodging, and sometimes a wife. They offered him an education, chances to improve himself both on the job and in his public life. They gave him a place to go to in times of trouble and in good times, to spend his money, read his mail from home, and listen to guests from the outside world. They would let him drink himself into jail, and sometimes bail him out. Clearly the unions were much involved in the everyday lives of their members. If the unions had their failings, then equal space must be given to their successes.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Paul Demers, "Labor and the Social Relations of the Granite Industry in Barre." Unpublished thesis. Goddard College. (Barre, 1974) p. 15.

2. Otto T. Johnson, **Labor Situation in the Granite Industry in the Barre District, Vermont.** Unpublished thesis. (Washington, D.C., 1928) pp. 370-379, and see Table in Appendix.

3. Marion Blake, "Barre Chronology: 150 Years Activity." Unpublished paper. (Barre, 1943), n.p. and Johnson, pp. 140-170.

4. Marion Blake, "Granite Companies," Miscellaneous manuscript (Barre, 1942), n.p.

5. Blake, n.p.

6. Every monthly issue of the **Granite Cutters' International Union Journal** listed these movements.

7. Barre City Directories under the headings 'restaurants' and clubs. Though never mentioned by name their existence in public and in private are constantly mentioned. Although not formally listed, the presence of the WCTU and other temperance societies supports this point.

8. Some 30 strikes occurred prior to 1912, while 26 took place from 1912 to 1922.

9. **Granite Cutters' International Union Journal**, March 1906.

10. June Namias, **First Generation: In the Words of Twentieth Century American Immigrants** (Boston, 1979) pp. 43-44.

11. Otto T. Johnson, **Labor Situation in the Granite Industry in the Barre District, Vermont.** Unpublished thesis. (Washington, D.C., 1928) pp. 242-293.

12. Johnson, p. 310-340.

13. U.S. Dept. of Labor. **Strikes in the United States, 1890-1936.** Bulletin 651. (Washington, 1938).

14. Source **Granite Cutters' International Union Journal**, various.

15. Randall, Stephen and Albert Desbiens, "Occupational Health, Technology, and the Granite Worker: Barre, Vermont, 1890-1940," Working paper (Montreal, 1987). Used with permission of the authors.

16. Randall, p. 1, n. 2.

17. **Granite Cutters' International Union Journal**, March 1906, p. 1.

18. Johnson, p. 405.

19. **Granite Cutters' International Union Journal**, Nov. 1903, p. 48.

20. **Barre Times Argus**, Oct. 1902. He was unable to achieve passage of this by-law.

21. Source Demers, p. 23, and U.S. Geologist Report on The Granite Industry in Vermont, 1904, p. 27.

22. **Barre Times Argus**, Sept. 8 1901.

23. **Granite Cutters' International Union Journal**, Oct. 1909, p. 14.

CHAPTER V - THE FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS OF BARRE; AND OTHER SOCIAL GROUPS AND INSTITUTIONS THAT WERE PRESENT AT THE TIME.

We have seen that the unions had relative degrees of success and failure in terms of their effects on the workers' lives. Another major source of institutionalized activities for the workers appeared in the form of various fraternal and social organizations within the city structure. Here too, a major point can be made that the clubs were more important to the workers for their non-granite related activities, to such a degree that instead of being centers for fostering class-consciousness, these organizations were more concerned with the social atmosphere of Barre. Organizations did little to promote either class-structuring or awareness in Barre amongst the predominately granite-working membership.

There were three types of organizations, fraternal brotherhoods, the activities clubs and the ethnic clubs, although the functions and memberships sometimes overlapped. The following breakdown should show a relevance of the members of the societies to take part willingly in these groups either by their culture, or social desires. Arguments in the literature can be found for bonding capabilities of the groups under these auspices for various reasons, such as; retention of culture, assimilation, class awareness, societal benefits, pragmatic benefits, education.[1] Of importance to this thesis are the most important results or activities to be seen from these groups, as another

example of the lack of community-oriented spirit that might have been anticipated in such a heavily labor-oriented town.

This section examines the reasons for the formation of many fraternal, religious and social service groups, of which a number appear to have had a strong impact on the day-to-day life of the Barre granite worker. Secondly, the chapter outlines the composition of the groups, the degree of class consciousness, and, finally isolates some examples of the different types of groups.

In 1900, there were approximately 42 secret associations and societies, 8 interest associations, 18 social clubs, 17 sports clubs, and 20 church and religious groups in Barre[2]. With some small fluctuation, this number remained fairly constant during this period of this study, with membership being the only true source of change.

The membership of these clubs ranged from the smallest, the National Council of Jewish Women, Barre chapter (membership 8) to the largest, Clan Gordon No. 12, greatest membership 1000 (1911)[3] with an average of about 250. In many instances the average citizen of Barre belonged to 2 or more of these societies, whether he was a transient or a more permanent resident. This was especially the case among the granite workers who, in addition to holding a union card and taking part in the activities of the union halls, shared in the many different pastimes of these groups.

The goals and pastimes of the organizations were almost as

many as the group themselves. From the town service-oriented Knights of Columbus, to the reform-oriented Anti-Saloon League, from the Canadian Club of Barre hockey team to the Boy Scouts of America (whose first troop, No. 8 was formed in Barre in 1902), from the Granite Manufacturers Association to the Barre Women's rifle team to the Spaulding Alumni Association, all types of interests, policies, and purposes were covered in Barre organizations.

Some had longevity on their side, with some groups, such as Clan Gordon which began in 1891 and the Italian Athletic Club and are still in existence today, as are most of the larger service organizations such as the Fraternal Order of Eagles, Independent Order of Foresters, the Masons, and the Knights of Pythias. Some organizations disappeared, either when their cause was finished, such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union after prohibition, or the New England Order of Protection, a neo-nativist group that eventually dwindled away. Others changed names to reflect changes over time in Barre, such as the United Spanish War Veterans, who merged into the newly-formed American Legion. Others eventually were disbanded or amalgamated with other community groups in the area, especially true in many of the shared organizations between Barre and Montpelier, whose branches now have a hyphenated location title.

Some of the organizations were large and wealthy enough to have meeting places in their own permanent buildings. These included halls erected by the Grand Army of the Republic, the

Masons, and the Odd Fellows. Other groups were provided with buildings by the city as they provided essential services within the community, such as the Barre Volunteer Fire Brigade. Still others had land available to them for regular events, such as Cambridge field on the outskirts of the city, used for many Clan Gordon events, while still other locations were made available to whatever group needed them on a rental basis, such as Granite Hall (union center), which held meetings of the Order of Vasa, a Swedish social and cultural club, and the Granite Finnish Socialist Association to the Castle Park open air theatre, which was used by women's auxiliary of International Order of Foresters for concert presentations. According to event advertisement found in the local newspaper, it was a rare week night, and never a weekend night, that some event, sponsored by an organization, was not taking place[4].

These represented only the larger gatherings. Frequently, meetings or events took place that were not publicized, were generally closed to the public, or were too small in nature for public notice. Meetings took place in houses, bars, the basements of churches, school rooms, granite sheds, or wherever space became available. Impromptu meetings of the Swedish Brotherhood of America, Granite City Lodge No. 153, often took place after closing time in the granite shed of the Andersen-Friberg Co. since the manufacturer and most of his employees were the members of that lodge[5]. Another example was the informal Italian Pleasure Club, which regularly met at the Scampini and

Scott Penny Arcade.

There is much, too, that can be written, and has been, on the Barre chapters of the more prominent of the national organizations. Examples are to be found in David MacLeod's **Building Character in the American Boy** [Madison, 1983] on the Boy Scout movement, or R.G. Moyles **The Blood and Fire in Canada** [Toronto, 1977], which chronicles the history of the Salvation Army, which has had an active chapter in Barre up until today. Successful groups such as the WCTU or Anti-Saloon League not only won their cause in the form of the 18th amendment, but had succeeded in Barre far earlier with the passage of local prohibition in the 1906 election, albeit for a short term of some 2½ years.

Sports clubs had a large bearing on community life in Barre, with by far the most prominent sport being baseball. With the relative success of Barre baseball players on the state, national, amateur and professional levels, it comes as little surprise that the Barre city baseball league provided such a hotbed for the training of these successful players, almost all coming from the local community. The surprises were the team sponsors, as it reflected examples of different groups interacting. Players were drawn from the rosters of those sponsoring organizations, with very few external "ringers" or exceptions; consequently the baseball league seems to have been a true reflection of community intra-relations. Some of the sponsors were the Barre Granite Cutters Union, the Italian Athletic Club,

the Jones Bros. Granite Co. baseball team, the Knights of Columbus baseball club, the Freemasons baseball club, and the Vincitia baseball club (sponsored by the Elks Lodge). Similar to the mix in the baseball league were the teams of the Barre Bowling League.

Some of the clubs and societies had a more direct goal in mind for its members, and worked towards those goals alone, with little interest in other aspects of community life. A good example was the Bachelor Club, which provided a lonely-hearts club service for unmarried men looking to settle in Barre, or the surrounding area. Service was provided either to find a local match, or to look overseas in the "area of one's heart, to find she who will pleasure your remaining life"[6]. This club appears to have been open to men of any nationality.

Many clubs were aimed at either the ethnic or religious sides of people of Barre. The religious orientation of some of the social aspects of the community is so important as to warrant its own section. However the following discussion will show several important points brought about by the ethnic composition of certain social organizations.

One of the more important results to be noted due to the ethnic makeup of certain social clubs was the lack of discernable class lines amongst the membership. There appears to have been an interaction of workers and manufacturers that worked against animosity on the job-site and serious confrontation during labor disputes. This study has found that in many cases management and

labor would often find themselves partnered in some social event during a dispute, thus ameliorating many confrontational situations.

There was also a high degree of inter-action among different ethnic groups in certain organizations, with the result that the clubs, societies, and associations did their share in attempting to mix various ethnic components and different classes into a more homogeneous community.

As early as the late 19th century, ethnic clubs existed in Barre in an effort to retain ties with the 'old country' in terms of culture, in particular language. As the earliest and largest group of immigrants to settle in Barre due to the granite industry, the Scots had the largest contingent of social groups in the town. From the largest group, Chapter 12 of Clan Gordon, which was founded in 1884, there were eleven Scottish organizations with such diverse purposes as literature, in the Burns Club, soccer, the Rangers football club, and dance, the Scottish Dance Club (male and female). Some were closed societies, such as the Ancient Society of Forestry, or the Grand Order of the Orient (Mount Vesuvius Council #2345). Others were for the benefit of those people from a certain area of Scotland, such as the Gleneugie Club for inhabitants of Aberdeenshire.

Although the clubs averaged approximately 100 members each, the largest by far was the Clan Gordon, which reached a peak membership of 900, interestingly not in 1900 or 1905 which were the peak years of Scottish cutter immigration in Barre, but

rather in 1917[7]. As such, the Clan should be used as the prime example of Scottish social activities in Barre.

Founded in 1884, the purpose of the Clan was to provide not only social benefits to the Scottish community in Barre, as well as ties to the culture left behind in Scotland, but also services to the community as a whole, and to the granite workers in particular. Seemingly, the Clan became an early example of a community social service group similar to many of the more famous organizations in large North Eastern cities at this time.

Socially, the Clan formed the hub of cultural activities and events in Barre. It held dances almost every weekend at Royal Arcanum Hall (the hall of another Scottish group) as well as musical concerts in the Opera House, especially in the winter. During the better summer weather, outdoor activities took the fore with picnics, baseball games, and Highland sporting events (known today as highland games and including various tests of strength) being on the agenda. It also provided such diverse educational programmes as courses in bagpipe playing, Scottish dancing, and the Gaelic language. Indeed the social events were so popular that advertisements for and stories of them, frequently appeared in the local newspapers, both in English and other languages (notably the Italian journals).

But the social events were not the only purpose of the Clan. As important, if not more so, were some of the aid and benefits made available to members or their families. The Clan became the first organization to offer medical benefits to members in 1894.

In the early 20th century, credit was extended to granite workers and their families in Scottish-owned stores during labor disruptions (the strikes of 1908 and 1909) and during winter lay-offs at the recommendation of the Clan.

Another very important, and too-often used, benefit became the payment of funeral expenses to a widow of a granite worker and the follow-up of placement of boarders in her home if she so desired. This was done by either the Clan or the union[8]. These benefits allowed the widow to continue her life in Barre without too much disruption[9] and became, in the boom years of the community an important source of housing.

If these benefits were key results of the Clan Gordon activities, as important to this study is the point of the interaction within the Clan of the different classes of the membership. With a membership that peaked at some 900 in 1917, the Clan always maintained a figure of roughly 8 to 10 % of the general population, and 20-25% of the Scottish population, and therefore can be accepted as the largest single grouping of Scots, and therefore Scottish granite workers, in the community. It is also important to realize that membership in the Clan was found at all levels of the granite industry. Ads in the local granite union newsletters and papers talked of upcoming dances. Notes were passed in the G.M.A. of Clan picnics and games.

Most importantly, executives of the Clan ranged from Aleck Robertson, secretary of Local 13 G.C.I.U., to Alexander Milne, manufacture and owner of Milne Granite Co. The social events

provided opportunities for owner and worker alike to compete, perform, or play together, and became sometimes more important that their positions in the work place. Indeed, during times of lay-offs or work stoppages, the affairs of the Clan became places where food and drink, prepared by the ladies auxiliary became "most easily available". The social gatherings also provided impromptu bargaining opportunities, or strike-breaking hiring sessions (the opportunity to work for another employer not as part of the union, but as part of the Clan). However, these opportunities began to fade as the line hardened in the union in the post-1915 era[10].

If the Scottish societies were able to provide so many services and opportunities to their members, so did the Italian groups. In some cases, even more benefits were made available to Italian simply because more often the immigrant Italians, unable to speak English, were forced to turn to their own organizations for both social and community needs.

If anything, although direct membership in the organizations may have been lower, actual contact with the groups might have included a higher percentage of the Italian granite work force. The largest single organized group in Barre was the Italian Athletic Club (IAC), with a peak membership of around 750 in 1908. Formerly, there were some 12 or 13 organizations, that as well included interests in sports, the All-Italian Football club and the IAC baseball team, culture, the Christofa Colombo and Trans-Atlantic Bands, and certain other luxuries such as the

Italian Pleasure Club, and Independent Clubs which specialized in gambling and other pleasures for men only.

The Italians, too, had their own social locations, such as the IAC fields and baseball park and the Casa Italiana, or Community House, where events, games, and meetings took place. Other examples of successes and failures within the Italian community can be found in those organizations that offered some kind of social benefits to the community-at-large, both to newly-arrived and permanent residents. As seen in the Scottish organizations, benefits offered included social, health, death, and educational. The Italian community sponsored similar programs where health benefits were made available. Both the Italian Citizen Club and Mutico Soccosio, or Mutual Help Society made health benefits available. The former existed from 1902 until after 1922. Similar to mutual aid societies in other Italian communities[11] the Barre ventures provided aid in housing, employment savings, and translation. Unlike the English-speaking cutters as far as employment was concerned, it was far more common for a newly-arrived Italian cutter to find work in Italian sheds, either owned or forenamed by Italians via the societies rather than the union hall, thus circumventing both the administration and control of the union. It also directed the Italian arrival not to mix with non-Italian speaking cutters, unless at some social event. Reasons for this separateness varied. Italian cutters rarely engaged in English language classes made available to them.[12] Italian newspapers, and there

were at least 9 of them in the period under study, discouraged the integration of the Italian community into Barre life[13]. Often, recruitment was done in Italy by the societies. It is questionable if the Italian clubs, organizations, and work places promoted the introduction of newly arrived stone workers to Barre and for that matter, if the Italian community was really committed to the bonding process seen in either Buffalo's or Chicago's Italian Communities? A simple 'no' would be argued by today's Italian descendants of early Barre granite workers[14]. Yet, a qualified yes might be considered more plausible. It can be said that the social organizations and clubs, as many in number as those representing other ethnic groups, notably the Scots, did not succeed as cultural centers within their own ethnic group, or as an point of introduction into the community-at-large.

Another prime factor which weakened the cultural organizations was language. Although classes were offered to all members of the community in either English, to the adult section, or Italian, to the children, at no time were these classes successful[15]. Barre's adult Italian community was in no way being assimilated into the mainstream of Barre life, yet it did little to hinder the same process from its children, encouraging their education in American schools, joining American institutions such as the boy Scouts, and generally aiding in their separation from their parents' community and losing their Italian roots. The transient nature of many of the workers did

little to help the Italian community in the eyes of the other permanent settlers while the split within families as children Americanized caused further rifts within the community[16].

It is necessary here to make obvious the split within the Italian community between the transient cutters and the permanent settlers, and the organizations which seemed to provide services to each. It appears that the more institutionalized and socially visible groups belong to the permanent Italian colony, while the more benevolent organizations were aimed at the transient workers.

On one hand, groups such as the Italian Athletic Club, the Italian Pleasure Club, and the various bands, drama, and literature clubs, seemed to attract the permanent population of Barre's Italians. This is reflected in the similar membership rates that peaked in the early 1900's but did not grow during the boom in Italian immigration between 1905 and 1913.

However, the mutual aid societies become more prominent during this latter period, as can be seen by advertisements and articles that were components in the various Italian journals, such as the '<u>Il Corriere Italiano</u>' and '<u>Cronaca Sooveresia</u>' of the 1915 to 1922 era. During the greatest period of Italian immigration to Barre, it was not uncommon for a member of an Italian society to return to Italy, recruit cutters from an area with promises of work, money, housing and the freedom to return the next winter to Italy when the seasonal layoffs took place. Indeed, it was noted by the union that often "It is strange, but

a fact nevertheless, that men coming into town from other places find employment more readily than many of the cutters who have homes and families...in 90 out of 100 cases"[17].

Once in Barre, the Italian granite worker found himself in a very social atmosphere. He had social activities available to him, sponsored by Italian organizations. From dances to baseball, bacci to opera, band music to dinners, and more, he could partake of any pleasure that he wanted. Yet what feeling did he derive from his associations? Certainly not a feeling for Italy, since "no club or institution in the city is organized with a program for keeping Italian racial traits or contacts with the mother country alive. Several attempts that have been made in this direction have been boycotted by the majority"[18]. Yet he too felt little towards America, as we have seen in his feelings towards language and assimilation. There was some tie to his craft, but even this lasted for the most part only for the season in which he worked. As will be discussed below, there was little connection with his religion, and his political activities sometimes set him apart from, and in combat with, his co-workers.

Suffice it to say, then, that truly the largest motivation for an Italian to lead his life in Barre came not from the organizations and clubs with which he came in contact. In marked contrast with the experiences of the Scot and others, the clubs and groups of the Italian workers did little more than present a necessary source of entertainment and diversion within the

community, and should be looked on as a weakness in the lives of the granite workers in respect to either the Italian community, or Barre.

The Italian community organizations proved to be of little strength in creating the cultural ties attempted by other ethnic groups, through their associations and clubs. Other ethnic groups of different languages were able to use clubs to continue their cultural background and ethnic ties. Examples of these were the Union of Saint Jean Baptiste (1896) and Club Canadien of the Franco-Canadians, the Scandinavian Workers Educational Society, the 'Centro Espanol Soccoros Mutuo' and similar groups of Finnish, Swedish and Irish background. These clubs all prided themselves on offering their members a place to speak their own language, often a center for the teaching of English, and a social environment open to members of the community-at-large for mingling, most often in the guise of sponsored dances or suppers featuring old-country foods, and often the sponsoring of a store that specialized in the sale of old-country products, as in Swedish and Finnish cases.

Often, these organizations would also sponsor membership for teams in the various sporting leagues in town, such as in bowling, baseball, soccer/football, and even hockey, thus providing some inter-mingling of the different ethnic groups. This, too, was unlike the Italian example, where much of the sports rivalries took place on an intramural basis with that ethnic group.

A separate category of organizations were those service clubs which had a higher degree of permanence. These include some slightly more obscure names such as the St. Aldemar Commadery and the Order of the Iron Hall, and more prominent ones, such as various branches of old-country brotherhoods as the Masons, the Knights of Columbus and Pythias, as well as the newer American orders, such as the Modern Woodmen of America, the Loyal Order of Moose, and the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks.[19]

One of the most notable features of the American orders was the makeup of their original charters. A good example can be seen in the Elks founding membership (in 1908) that was comprised of fourteen men all of whom were involved in the granite industry according to the Barre City Directory, yet who apparently came from different ethnic and class backgrounds. At least one manufacturer was found on the roll, while three names were Italian, one was Swedish and the rest bore Anglo-Saxon roots[20]. If the Elk lodge membership can be taken as representative of other American orders, such as the Eagle lodge or the Moose, then it should be assumed that these lodges were far more important in the assimilation process than either language courses or work place, yet they provided another example of a classless situation.

Another group of organizations that must be included for their presence in the Barre community were the various associations that were made up of interest groups within the

commercial life of the community. Although their direct membership rarely included workers from the granite industry, the obvious exception being the G.M.A., they too had a great impact upon the daily lives of the workers. Examples of these groups include those that arose late in the 19th century such as the Barre Entertainment Association and the Barre Teachers Association as well as those important groups formed in the beginning of the 20th century such as the Barre Medical Association, Barre City (Public) Hospital Association and the Barre Retail Merchants Association. The scope of these organizations show the rapid maturing of a town during this boom era. The concrete results of the efforts of these groups have included such buildings as the hospital, the Aldrich Public Library, City Hall (in what was once the Opera House) and the on-going premises of the Granite Manufacturer's Association.

At the outset of this section headings of quasi-religious and religious groups were included in the organizations of Barre. It is here that these headings are to be dealt with.

Firstly the term quasi-religious is not meant to be non-religious as such; rather, it is meant to include those groups whose membership is governed by the specific religious background of its members, yet not directly associated with a specific church. These groups can also be broken down into service clubs, sports organizations, entertainment groups, and social gatherings. Examples of service clubs of this type include the 'Star of Mount Lebanon', a catholic society, the B'nai B'rith

jewish society, and the separate Catholic Order of Foresters. Sports organizations included the 'Choir Boy Athletic Club', 'Ranger's Football Club', and the Gospel Team from the North Barre Community House. Entertainment groups included both theatre and musical groups from the various Knights of Pythias lodges. And the list of social gatherings included picnic, dances, and suppers organized by many of the above groups, either for fund raising, or other reasons.

Fraternal and other organizations had a significant impact on the daily lives not only of the granite workers, but of the entire community. Social functions gave the impression of a classless society as seen in the comment "there is absolutely no aristocracy unless it be the aristocracy of merit and usefulness."[21] Often manufacturer, union executive, or worker would attend the same picnic, playing baseball against each other, or voting together on a member for a service club. The organizations were a very important part of the Barre picture, yet they too added very few pillars to a bonding process that seems to be a key in other industrial boom towns and which sets Barre apart. In the area of religion, to which the following chapter is devoted, the same lack of true community cohesion appears to have been the norm.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. David MacLeod, **Building Character in the American Boy.** (Madison, 1983), and Paul Boyer, **Urban Masses and Moral Order in America**(New York, 1978).

2. Barre city directory, 1900, pp. 3-21.

3. Marion Blake, Miscellaneous manuscript, "Barre Organized Life," (Barre, 1942) n.p.

4. **Barre Times Argus**, various.

5. Transcript of interview with citizen Ransted, as part of Aldrich Public Library Oral History Project, April 1976 to August 1977, Tape R 102.

6. Aldrich Public Library Oral History Project, Transcript of interview with citizen Belazzi, Tape T 103.

7. Aldrich Public Library Oral History Project, Transcript of interview with citizen Imlach, Tape 108.

8. **Granite Cutters' International Union Journal**, Oct. 1908, p. 14.

9. Ann Banks, **First Person America** (New York, 1980) p. 116.

10. Banks, p. 101.

11. Rudolph Vecoli, "The Italian Americans." **Center Magazine.** 1974. 7(4) pp. 32-43, and Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, **Family and Community** (Ithaca, 1977).

12. Roberto Burattini, "Italian and Italo-Americans in Vermont," Unpublished paper. n.d. (circa 1937) p.30.

13. Blake, "Italian Newspapers," n.p.

14. June Namias, **First Generation: In the Words of Twentieth Century American Immigrants** (Boston, 1979) p. 43.

15. Burattini, p. 30-31.

16. Michael Gordon, ed., **The American Family in Social Historical Perspective** (Cambridge, Mass., 1973) introduction.

17. **Granite Cutters' International Union Journal**, Feb. 1909, p.4.

18. Burattini, p.55.

19. Charles Wright Ferguson, **Fifty Million Brothers** (New York, 1937) and William J. Whalen, **Handbook of Secret Organizations** (Milwaukee, 1966).

20. Names taken from plaque found in Lodge Hall on Main Street in Barre.

21. William H. Jeffrey, **The Granite City** (Concord, N.H., 1903), p. 100.

CHAPTER VI - THE CHURCHES AND RELIGION: SEPARATE ENTITIES OF BARRE

Another key factor in the rather loose social structure of Barre in the early 20th century was the impact of organized churches and other religious institutions on day-to-day life. An analysis of the place of the churches in Barre during this period suggests that even this highly institutionalized segment of Barre society was unable to provide a strong force with which the population identified.

Historians of religion and religious institutions have differed over definitions of religion. The more classic approach can be found in the writings of scholars such as Herberg, who describes American religion as the pluralism of societal wants[1]. Another definition is found in Herbert Gutman's interpretation of theories of Hobsbawm and Pope, that American religion is "a passion and morality in which the most ignorant can compete on equal terms" and "a religion 'intimately related to the everyday struggles and vicissitudes of an insecure life".[2]

Another definition sees social scientists such as Andrew M. Greely stating that religion can be studied quantitatively, and the findings reacted upon to form an American perspective.[3] Greely's findings and definition, though similar to Gutman's, places more of an emphasis on a class distinction in both the Protestant and Roman Catholic denominations[4]. It is necessary to fall back on a recent study to define popular religion, in the Barre example, as "what matters"[5], and its implication for the

activities, thoughts, and institutions that comprise Barre's religious life. It is not the question of Barre's religious practices that is important to this study, but rather the effect of the churches and church groups on the people that 'mattered'. The reasoning behind using this definition should become clear as this section progresses.

To say that religion and the churches were unimportant in Barre would be wrong. Indeed they served an important purpose in the day-to-day life, and not just Sunday life, in Barre. The first church in Barre, the Methodist, had been founded in the late 18th century, followed within the next decades by Baptist, Congregational and Universalist assemblies. The first Catholic service in Barre was held in 1881[6] and by 1895, roughly 1/3 to 1/2 of the population was of Catholic beliefs[7].

By 1900, the number of Churches had risen to 13, and this increase continued until its peak towards the end of the first decade of the 20th century, with approximately 19 churches and religious assemblies. The three major faiths, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, were represented by congregations, as were religious interest orders along the lines of the Society of Believers and the Holiness Society. The mainstream Protestant order, such as Baptist and Presbyterian, shared space with such independents as the New Working Man's Church, and the Barre First Progressive Spiritualist Society.

These churches provided a diverse selection of activities and benefits to the community. Since the 1896 granting of the

Sunday closure of the quarries and sheds, the churches were the first to benefit and make use of this leisure time. Services in all denominations (save the Jewish temple) took place throughout the day on Sunday, and provided an ongoing traffic jam of parishioners walking to and from their respective halls, stopping to talk, and enjoying a social opportunity. Sunday school classes were available to children within their faith, as were bible classes for adults, both on Sunday and mid-week.

The churches also provided an active social life for their parishioners. Picnics and sports events, and sleigh rides in the winter were part of church-sponsored activities. So too were the never-ending series of Friday night dances and socials, card nights speaker series, and a host of other religious and non-religious events.[8]

Educational activities of different kinds took place in the churches, both internally and externally sponsored. Apprenticeship courses in the granite trades, sewing classes, cooking classes, all took place in church halls. Church halls provided meeting rooms for organizations that included the Boy Scouts, various bands and local orchestras, ethnic groups and labor union locals. Cultural activities included language classes, English for first generation arrivals, and native language classes for their children. In some instances, as with the Jewish and Finnish communities, private education in all facets of native culture was required of all children.

In sporting events, not only did the churches provide

informal settings for picnic races and baseball games, they also formally sponsored teams in the various Barre sports leagues, with several churches having soccer teams, the Presbyterian Church baseball team, and the Choir Boy Athletics team of the Church of the Good Shepherd being examples. The level of competition was so intense that sometimes a church reverend would remark on the need for victory in an upcoming baseball game from his pulpit on Sunday morning.

For entertainment, the churches were known for their musical and theatrical talents. From the Unitarian Church Theatre Group, to touring companies brought into the Opera House under the auspices of several denominations church-sponsored live theatre became a large component of Barre life. The same can be said in the area of live music.

The benefits of such a wide-ranging selection of activities and events is obvious. To a community so diverse in ethnic composition, yet with a high degree of homogeneity in work place and interest, and relatively small in population, the number of churches and groups suggests considerable community participation.

Financially, the churches appear to have been very secure throughout these years, suggesting a high degree of community support. This is confirmed in the local history of the Methodists[9]. It is here that we first must differentiate between the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches. The cost of church membership in the Protestant Churches was not insignificant, a

further indication of the degree of commitment that was required. As has been noted by religious historian Aaron I. Abell, a higher percentage of middle class attended Protestant churches than working classes[10]. This was the case in Barre where memberships in some of the churches cost from $25 to $50 per year per family, or more. Indeed it was rare for anyone to be chase from a congregation for financial reasons.

It is important to note that membership in the Protestant Churches fell within the range of the national norms for Protestant denominations with some 35% of Barre's Protestant population being regular members.

It appears the cost was relatively low, and the return, both in terms of activities and benefits, high. The churches should have been the central pillar within the community. On the protestant side, they certainly were one of the most important parts of community life.

However, the churches suffered by being the target of negative impressions from the working classes, a phenomenon found throughout America following the Gilded Age. As articulated by both Abell and Gutman, the institutionalized Protestant Church was seen as being against the ideals of the working man, and favoring the middle and upper classes[11]. The numbers showed the various splits that existed in just about any community at this time, and is so highly visible in such a small community. Numbers and class distinctions were the reasons that the Protestant churches were not able to be the unifying factors in

the Protestant community.

On the other hand, it was the lack of choice that weakened the Catholic groups within the city. Based on the 1910 sampling of Barre's population, the Catholic groups of Barre comprised somewhere in the vicinity of 51% For this group there were two Catholic parishes in Barre, Santa Monica and St. Sylvestre, the first being founded in 1882. Two basic problems faced the parishes over time, one of which had its basis in America, and the other in Europe. These two problems split the Catholic community and confused much of the religious community in Barre.

The first problem dealt with the fact that the first parish, Santa Monica, was founded by newly arrived Irish immigrants to the Barre area. In the period 1882 until approximately 1890, the vast majority of Catholics were English-speaking, poor Irish who brought with them their own traditions, customs and practices within the Church.

However, once the granite industry began its boom in 1890's, the Irish found that two new groups were joining their community, with very different ideals, customs, and demands of the church. The first was the French-Canadians, who immediately came to differences with the Irish on language and practice. Despite soon equalling the Irish in terms of numbers, the French were never able to have a French clergy in the church, or mass served in a language other than English. Even holiday events, such as Christmas, were noticed as being "more religious" by French

members of the community that their Irish counterparts[12].

To retain their language, their feeling on religion, and other marks of their cultural heritage, and to continue it to their children, the French community formed a St. Jean Baptiste society, which grew until its membership listed some 900+ people in 1909, and eventually opened its own parish, St. Sylvestre in 1911. This parish quickly included native-born of French descent and French-Canadians, and continues until today. Although English has replaced French in the activities of the church, the mass is still performed in Latin.

During the same period as the ongoing split in the Irish-French Catholic groups in Barre, a more pronounced difference in religious practices and views was taking place as a result of Italian immigration. This difference directly involved many of the newly-arriving Italian cutters, led to a more noticeable split within the Catholic community, and highlighted the weakness of religion as a force for the uniting of Barre's factions.

One must understand that the vast majority of Italian cutters in Barre came from the granite producing areas of Northern Italy, specifically from the province of Lombardi and the townships of Tuscanny, Callabra and Carrera. Their beliefs were based more in the Masonic code[13] than in Roman Catholicism.

At this time the Vatican was trying harder than ever to stamp out much of the Socialist ways of thought found in the Masonic code, and many Italians, arriving in Barre, believed themselves free one and for all from the constraints of organized

Roman Catholicism. This feeling, upon arrival in America, was only strengthened by a parish run in a foreign language or two, English or French. It was continued by Italian propagandists, who would regularly visit the community "to spread anti-religious teachings and doctrines. Thus many people remained hostile to religion under any form or shape. 'Neither God not Master' was the motto which guided many."[14]

This anti-Catholicism was evident even in their reaction to the job-site, with its inherent dangers. "Since fate has given us only a few years of life, why should we spend any time on lugubrious thoughts of a hereafter... If all the churches in Barre should cease to function, few Italians would miss them."[15]

It was not only the Catholic church that suffered this Italian malaise. As early as 1906, and clearly in effort to find a replacement for the missing religious aspect of life, a Methodist Episcopal Mission was opened in the hope of attracting disgruntled Italians to a more liberal Protestant denomination. It especially hoped to reach the community through the Methodist Community House activities programm for children of different ages and religions, and achieved some success by providing young children with a place to play. Not as successful were either the language classes or confirmation classes which were sparsely attended and eventually forced to close. So too were classes in interest activities such as basketwork and sewing. Italians would rather participate in their own social clubs, or impromptu "kitchen" gatherings than in anything remotely connected to

religion. Indeed the success of the Mission was very limited gaining few converts for, as one person put it "the people didn't stop being catholic. They stopped going to the Catholic Church."[16]

Therefore it can be said that religion cannot be seen as a factor that cemented the groups of Barre, ethnic, class or otherwise, into any cohesive union. The Protestant groups, although far more effective in terms of activities and benefits, were too numerous to present a single cohesive presence, and somewhat too class conscious. The Roman Catholic denominations could never present a united front, with two main parishes based on ethnic differences, and the largest single portion of the population antagonistic to organized religion.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. Will Herberg, **Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology** (Garden City, N.Y., 1960) p. 85-86.

2. Hebert Gutman, **Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America** (New York, 1976) p.116.

3. Andrew M. Greely, **The Denominational Society.** (Glenview, Ill., 1972) Introduction.

4. Greely, p93-4.

5. Orsi, Robert Anthony, **The Madonna of 115th Street** (New Haven, 1985) p. xvii.

6. William Barclay, "Barre's Scotch Population." Unpublished paper. (Barre, Vermont. 1936) p. 4.

7. George E. Hooker, "Labor and Life at the Barre Granite Quarries," Unpublished paper (Barre, Vermont, 1895) p. 7.

8. Corinne Eastman Davis, "One Hundred Fifty Years of Methodism in Barre" Pamphlet (Montpelier, 1948) pp. 58-62, and "75th Anniversary: First Presbyterian Church; Barre, Vermont," (Barre, 1954), p. 2.

9. Davis, pp. 58-62.

10. Aaron I Abell, **The Urban Impact on American Protestantism** (London, 1943) pp. 61-63.

11. Abell, pp. 60-68, and Gutman, p. 96 and note.

12. Aldrich Public Library Oral History Project, Transcript of interview with citizen Plante, Tape T 112.

13. See Charles Wright Ferguson, **Fifty Million Brothers** (New York, 1937), especially his chapter on Freemasonry.

14. Roberto Burattini, "Italian and Italo-Americans in Vermont." Unpublished paper. n.d. (circa 1937) p. 40.

15. Burattini, p. 41.

16. Aldrich Public Library Oral History Project, Transcript of interview with citizen Tomat, Tape T 113.

CHAPTER VII - THE DECLINING YEARS OF THE BARRE GRANITE WORKERS.

Throughout this study points have been made as to why Barre, despite going through a boom period of industrialization, had difficulties in establishing a base for either future development, or at least stabilization. Discussions have focused on ethnicity, the industry, organized labor, fraternal organizations, and religion. As well, factors of geographic and social mobility, economic trends, and the individuality of the workers have been introduced. The conclusions of this paper have shown that Barre too often found reasons for a separateness rather than reason for community cohesion.

The city was thus a fragile entity, vulnerable to internal and external shocks. Rather than changing technology, as was the case in many of the textile towns of the North East, it was a series of specific events that began Barre's decline. Four events combined into the catalyst that left Barre in the condition it is found in today. The time period of these events runs from 1915 to 1922. As such, 1922 marks the end of the period of Barre's history under study here, and indeed, is accepted by many historians of Barre as the beginning of the stagnant period of Barre's history.

The four events are not of common theme. They include two labor disputes, a health epidemic, and the social effects of World War I on Barre. Yet they include the points of labor militancy, classlessness, ineffective health control, the inability to bounce back, nativism, and labor disunity that are

themes found throughout this study. To begin this look at events, another key aspect of social history, the first case to be discussed is the General Strike of 1915.

In itself, the General Strike of 1915 represented the peak in the problems found between ethnic groups, organized labor as a whole, and the Barre granite labor unions. It began in March of that year as a strike of the Retail Clerks Union (RCU) against store owners.

Under the auspices of the Central Labor Union (CLU), the call was made for a general strike to go into effect in support of the R.C.U.[1] In its call, the CLU called on members to boycott all stores blacklisted.[2] This represented about 60% of the commercial establishments in the town, and most of them belonged to long-time Scottish residents and store owners.

The response to this call for a general boycott reached its zenith in argument amongst the members of the GCIU local 13, as is logical since it represented over 50% of the membership. In the union, the battle lines were quickly drawn between Italian and Scottish cutters. Articles in Italian socialist newspapers pushed for a strengthening of the resolve of the strike[3]. On the other hand, the members of Clan Gordon, in response to the organization's request were continuing to support store owners who were members of the clan.

The situation deteriorated to the point where it became an issue in union elections of April/May of that year. Power moves on both sides of the Scot-Italian confrontation led to

disagreements on voting procedures, and what followed was a spirited fist-fight in the union hall, and a near riot in the streets[4]. The results of the election were cancelled as a consequence, leaving the two sides openly antagonistic towards each other. This undid much of the good will that had grown over the first fifteen years of the decade, partly embodied in the fact that it had been Italian craftsmen that had built the statue erected in honor of Robbie Burns, and his Scottish brothers, in Barre. Indeed, it has only been recently that an Italian statue, in tribute to one of the greatest cutters, has been erected in Barre in response.

The strike had been long but ineffective. After some two and a half months of a boycott that at best could be described as weak, the RCU went back to work in June with no financial gain, and a great loss of income.

The consequence of the strike far outweighed the direct results. Italian granite cutters now had reasons to distrust the union, the management and the commercial establishment of the town. This almost single-handedly forced the Italians to withdraw into their own community even more, and offered more reason for transience out of Barre when work was no longer available.

The next factor to apply to the decline of Barre was not a single event, such as the 1915 strike. Rather from the end of 1915 until 1918, Barre suffered through the same weakness that affected many small communities. This was a combination of the

pre-WWI armament, and WWI participation. The reasons that Barre was so affected are tied to the reasons many of the granite workers had come to Barre in the first place.

The munitions factories of New York State, Pennsylvania, and other large industrial centers required a high degree of employment to prepare for and fight the war. It was willing to pay good wages and offer many hours of work on a year-round basis. This greatly attracted the Barre granite workers who faced the normal seasonal layoffs, and a declining market, beginning in the winter of 1915-16.[5]

The Barre worker had seen these incentives for the reason for coming to Barre in the first place. This was especially true for native-born workers. If one looks at the staying numbers of native born from 1910 to 1920, the drop is from 56% to 25.9% with most attributed to the increase in demand for munitions plant workers. After some 20 years of enjoying the ability to induce workers to come to Barre, the community for the first time had to fight against the same factors as seen in earlier chapters. It found it had little to draw upon when tasked.

The third situation attacked the very health of the city, and was responsible for more deaths than had taken place in the granite industry as a result of accidents since the turn of the century. It is known as the Influenza epidemic of 1918.

The city was just starting to return to vibrancy in 1918 when the war was finishing. The demand for granite was beginning to rise again[6], workers were returning from munitions plants and

being rehired for what looked like at strong summer season[7]. The town was burying its war dead[8]. The U.S. Bureau of Labor was printing its first official study on silicosis, and the general health of the granite workers[9]. There seemed to be much optimism in the town.

However, that optimism was quickly crushed. With its beginnings in the Spring of 1919, Barre was hit by a serious influenza epidemic. The severity of this can only be measured by the numbers. Within a period of some four months over 2,700 cases were reported, or 29% of the population. Of these cases, 265 deaths were directly attributed to the disease by October 1919. It was said at the time that "there was not unemployment in town, as every man who could was working carrying the sick on boards".[10]

In many of the interviews found in researching this paper, this event is prominent in many of the memories. As one granite worker said, "there is not one person alive in Barre who did not lose someone to the 'flu epidemic'"[11]. The epidemic was another shattering blow to the community, who took some time to recover from more than the physical effects.

The schools were closed for most of the next school year, and when graduating, students found themselves one year behind other graduates. The newspaper published daily accounts not only of deaths, but also of prominent individuals who came down with the sickness, and the status of hospital and doctors' care. It can only be imagined how a serious epidemic of this type would be

reacted to today.

Finally, one last hurdle rose up to confront the community, and specifically the granite industry. It was to be the most influential event on the industry, and its effect was to finally put an end to the Barre boom.

In 1919, the Barre chapter of the G.C.I.U. had given up its right of individual negotiation with the G.M.A. in favor of applying itself instead to the national wage scale[12], negotiated by the National Union for all its members. Despite the failures and successes of the union over the 25 years or so since acquiring the closed shop, it had never before though of giving up its independence founded by being the largest local in the N.U.

While the union was changing its status, so too was the GMA introducing new conditions to industrial relations in the granite industry. These modifications had taken the form of the introduction of the American Plan, and its benefits, costs, and production techniques to the industry by 1919[13].

By 1922, almost all the sheds were running under the American Plan. To some manufacturers, it seemed the only way to respond to what they perceived as a greater militancy on the part of the union. However to the union, it represented just another threat to workers' gain in wages and hours worked. When negotiations for the new contract began in March of that year, the goal of the union, as expressed in the journal, was to bring an end to the American Plan[14]. It became clear that little hope

existed for a negotiated settlement. As reported in the Barre newspaper, a strike was "more than likely, imminent."[15] This time, when the strike took place in early May, there were some similarities, and one marked difference with strikes of the past. Soon after the strike was called, sheds began to close down. Within two weeks, all but three of the seventy sheds in Barre were closed.

One of the closed sheds belonged to a native-born manufacturer of French Canadian descent named Lerade. Since he no longer felt responsible to the Barre union who had given up their independent status, he felt able to attempt any means to stay in production. He was aware of French-Canadian cutters who had been locked out, against their wishes, of their quarries in the area of Quebec near Montreal at the request of the union. Using the standard incentives of plenty of work at the existing wages, he managed to lure some 60 cutters to his shed.[16]

This was just the beginning. Soon other sheds began to import French-Canadian scabs, in spite of calls for solidarity and brotherhood by the union. This influx brought the various factions of the union together not on the basis of negotiation, but rather on a nativist principle. The irony of Italian and Scots binding together against another nationality was a new phenomenon, not from a nativistic point of view, but rather in combined Barre outlook.

By the time the strike was over, some 800 French Canadians

had been imported[17]. When all the sheds re-opened, not all of them wished to return to their original quarries. This created a surplus of employment that worked against the union, and to the benefit of the employer, who could and did use it to force pay scales down.

The strike brought wages down. It also introduced into the community a large group of French Canadians which upset the ethnic balance that had developed until then. It strained the local French Catholic organizations who were not sure how to accept scabs that had taken the jobs of some of their members. For the same reason, the French Catholic parish was in a difficult position. The strike of 1922, and the influx of French Canadian scabs was the final straw in the events that ended Barre's industrial boom.

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1. **Barre Times Argus**, April 4, 1915, p. 1.

2. **Granite Cutters' International Union Journal**, April 1915, p. 12.

3. Marion Blake, "Italian Newspapers," Miscellaneous manuscript (Barre, 1942) section on "Lo Scalpellino."

4. June Namias, **First Generation: In the Words of Twentieth Century American Immigrants** (Boston, 1979) pp.44-45.

5. As seen in number of granite workers employed in Table 8 in Appendix.

6. As seen in number of granite workers employed in Table 8 in Appendix.

7. **Barre Times Argus**, April 1918.

8. 44 Killed In Action, Blake, "Barre Chronology: 150 Years Activity," Unpublished paper (Barre, 1943) n.p.

9. Stephen Randall and Albert Desbiens, "Occupational Health, Technology, and the Granite Worker: Barre, Vermont, 1890-1940," Working paper (Montreal, 1987) p. 2.

10. Aldrich Public Library Oral History Project, Transcript of interview with citizen Bixby, Tape 111.

11. Aldrich Public Library Oral History Project, Transcript of interview with citizen Bixby, Tape 111.

12. Blake, "Barre Chronology: 150 Years Activity," n.p.

13. Otto T. Johnson, **Labor Situation in the Granite Industry in the Barre District, Vermont**, Unpublished thesis (Washington, D.C., 1928) p.374.

14. **Granite Cutters' International Union Journal**, March 1919, p. 10.

15. **Barre Times Argus**, April 2, 1919, p. 1.

16. Carroll Fenwick, ed. **Barre in Retrospect** (Barre, 1975) p. 8 and Blake, "Barre Chronology: 150 Years Activity," n.p.

17. Namias, p. 43.

APPENDIX

OCCUPATIONS AND ETHNICITY OF THE WORKERS OF BARRE VERMONT								TABLE 1	
1900	Scots	Ital	NatB	Irish	Eng	FrCan	EnCan	Others	TOTAL
Stone Cutters	101	99	91	11	12	14	20	9	357
Manufacturers	4	0	6	0	2	0	4	0	16
Polishers	4	2	12	1	1	2	1	3	26
Lumpers	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Derrickmen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Draughtsmen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	9	2	16	0	0	2	1	0	30
TOTAL	118	103	126	12	15	18	26	12	430

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census. Twelfth Census (1900). Population of the United States, vol. I, pt. I , Washington, D.C., 1902.

OCCUPATIONS AND ETHNICITY OF WORKERS OF BARRE, VERMONT								TABLE 2	
1910	Scots	Ital	NatB	Irish	Eng	FrCan	EnCan	Other	TOTAL
Stone Cutters	127	181	56	14	15	11	13	29	446
Manufacturers	11	5	11	0	1	0	2	1	31
Polishers	6	3	8	1	1	1	2	3	25
Lumpers	1	1	10	3	0	3	2	0	20
Derrickmen	0	1	4	0	1	1	1	0	8
Draughtsmen	5	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	8
Others	13	6	47	1	3	3	4	2	79
TOTAL	163	197	139	19	21	19	24	35	617

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census. Thirteenth Census (1910). Population of the United States, vol. I, pt. I, Washington, D.C., 1913.

TABLE 3	OCCUPATION BY YEAR OF ARRIVAL IN THE UNITED STATES				
OCCUPATION/ SAMPLE YEAR	1900 1910	To 1887 1900 1910	1888- 1900 1900 1910	1901-05 1910	1906-1910 1910
Stone Cutters	266 387	78 34	188 149	76	128
Manufacturers	10 20	8 5	2 12	3	0
Polishers	14 17	5 3	9 8	4	2
Lumpers	0 10	0 3	0 2	1	4
Derrickmen	0 4	0 1	0 2	0	1
Draughtsmen	0 5	0 0	0 2	3	0
Others	14 32	8 5	6 17	7	3
TOTAL	304 475	99 51	205 192	94	138

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census. Twelfth Census (1900) and Thirteenth Census (1910). Population of the United States, vol. I, pt. I, Washington, D.C., 1902 and 1913.

TABLE 4

ETHNICITY BY YEAR OF ARRIVAL IN THE U.S.

ETHNICITY	1900 1910	To 1887 1900	 1910	1880-1900 1900	 1910	1901-1905 1910	1906-1910 1910
Scots	118 163	50	28	68	64	29	42
Italian	103 197	14	3	89	85	44	65
Irish	12 19	3	3	9	9	3	4
English	15 21	11	5	4	7	2	7
Fre. Cdn.	18 19	7	1	11	13	3	2
Eng. Cdn.	26 24	12	10	14	10	0	4
Others	12 35	4	2	8	10	6	14
TOTAL	304 478	101	52	203	198	87	138

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census. Twelfth Census (1900) and Thirteenth Census (1910). Population of the United States, vol. I, pt. I, Washington, D.C., 1902 and 1913.

TABLE 5

HOME OWNERSHIP STATUS

OCCUPATION	1900 1910	HOME OWN 1900 1910	HOME RENT 1900 1910	BORDER 1900 1910	RELATION 1900 1910
Cutters	357 446	60 130	122 87	125 175	50 54
Manufact.	16 31	15 23	0 3	1 3	0 2
Polishers	26 25	11 10	9 6	6 6	0 3
Lumpers	1 20	0 8	1 3	0 7	0 2
Derrickmen	0 8	0 2	0 4	0 2	0 0
Draughtsmen	0 8	0 4	0 1	0 1	0 2
Other	30 79	9 27	10 13	8 12	3 27
TOTAL	430 617	95 204	142 206	140 206	53 90

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census. Twelfth Census (1900) and Thirteenth Census (1910). Population of the United States, vol. I, pt. I, Washington, D.C., 1902 and 1913.

TABLE 6

HOME OWNERSHIP STATUS

ETHNICITY	1900 1910	HOME OWN 1900 1910	HOME RENT 1900 1910	BORDER 1900 1910	RELATION 1900 1910
Scots	118 163	34 55	33 27	40 56	11 25
Italian	103 197	18 66	34 35	38 69	13 27
Native-Born	126 139	18 49	45 27	48 40	15 23
Irish	12 19	3 8	3 3	6 6	0 2
English	15 21	2 7	7 6	2 7	4 1
Fre. Cdn.	18 19	7 8	6 3	4 6	1 2
Eng. Cdn.	26 24	10 4	7 7	5 9	4 4
Others	12 35	3 12	4 5	2 10	3 8
TOTAL	340 617	95 209	139 113	145 203	51 92

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census. Twelfth Census (1900) and Thirteenth Census (1910). Population of the United States, vol. I, pt. I, Washington, D.C., 1902 and 1913.

TABLE 7

SCOTTISH AND ITALIAN IMMIGRATION TO THE U.S., 1871-1910

YEAR	TOTAL IMMIGRATION*	SCOTS*		ITALIANS**	
		No.	%	No.	%
1871-1880	2,622,000	87,564	3.3	55,759	2.1
1881-1890	4,966,000	149,869	3.0	307,309	6.2
1891-1900	3,711,000	44,188	1.2	651,893	17.6
1900-1910	6,294,000	120,469	1.9	2,045,877	32.5

Source: * Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups.
** Historical Statistics of the U.S., Colonial Times to 1970.

TABLE 8 MEMBERSHIP IN BARRE LABOR UNIONS			
Year	Cutters	Polishers	Tool Sharpeners
1901	1331		119
1902	1356		116
1903	1371		122
1904	1374		123
1905	1521		126
1906	1511	106	129
1907	1750	127	150
1908	1750	132	147
1909	1750	135	138
1910	1750	149	135
1911	1800	129	142
1912	1722	130	127
1913	1850	145	120
1914	1820	150	103
1915	2050	166	111
1916	1900	178	94
1917	1661	183	87
1918	1550	169	80
1919	1450	178	74
1920	1450	174	68
1921	1256	188	65
1922	1050	158	63

Source: Otto Johnson, "Labour Situation in the Granite Industry in Barre, District, Vermont," Unpublished thesis (Washington, D.C., 1928), p. 330-A.

TABLE 9 WAGES IN THE GRANITE INDUSTRY			
Year	Hourly Rate	Daily Rate	Hours/Day
1903-07	0.375	3.00	8
1908	0.375	3.00	8
1909	0.38	3.04	8
1910	0.3875	3.12	8
1911-14	0.40	3.20	8
1915	0.42	3.36	8
1915	0.45	3.60	8
1916-19	0.50	4.00	8
July 1918-19	0.60	4.80	8
March 1919	0.69	5.52	8
August 1919	0.70	5.60	8
Rest of 1919	0.75	6.00	8
1920	0.80	6.40	8
1921-22	0.825-1.00	6.80 - 8.00	8

Source: Otto T. Johnson, "Labour Situation in the Granite Industry in the Barre District, Vermont." Washington, D.C. 1928, p. 440.

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