

*The Ancestry of Frank T. Craven  
and Nancy Manship Craven  
From Craven, Brook, Kitching, Gough,  
Manship, Kirkham, Durden, Murray, Diven, Linn,  
Junkin, Gettys, and Ramsey Surname Lines*

Appendix A:  
A little history of the woolen mills in Bradford, Yorkshire  
and America, notably Greystone, Rhode Island

I was interested to learn more about the industry which employed so many of the Craven, Kitchings, Brooks, and Goughs in the Bradford area. Perhaps you might be interested as well. So here some selected quotes from internet sites and books about the wool industry in Yorkshire and (later) Rhode Island.

Historically a part of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Bradford rose to prominence during the 19th century as an international centre of textile manufacture, particularly wool. It was a boomtown of the Industrial Revolution, and amongst the earliest industrialized settlements, rapidly becoming the "wool capital of the world". The area's access to a supply of coal, iron ore and soft water facilitated the growth of Bradford's manufacturing base, which, as textile manufacture grew, led to an explosion in population and was a stimulus to civic investment.

At the turn of the 19th century, Bradford was a small rural market town of 16,000 people, where wool spinning and cloth weaving was carried out in local cottages and farms. The Industrial Revolution led to rapid growth, with wool imported in vast quantities for the manufacture of worsted cloth in which Bradford specialized, and the town soon became known as the wool capital of the world. Yorkshire had plentiful supplies of soft water, which was needed in the cleaning of raw wool, and locally mined coal provided the power that the industry needed. Local Sandstone was an excellent resource for the building of the mills, and with a population of 182,000 by 1850, the city grew rapidly as workers were attracted by jobs in the textile mills. Such unprecedented growth did create problems, however. With over 200 factory chimneys continually churning out black, sulphurous smoke, Bradford gained the reputation of being the most polluted town in England. **There were regular outbreaks of cholera and typhoid, and only 30% of children born to textile workers reached the age of fifteen. Life expectancy, of just over eighteen years, was one of the lowest in the country.**<sup>1</sup>

Here's more info about specific mills our ancestors may have worked in and how the industry changed as factory work took the place of cottage work. Also the Benn Co becomes important in our story as they moved operations to Rhode Island, USA:

1845 – The first mill in Clayton, Beck Mill, opened.

1870 – Oak Mills built by **J Benn & Co**, who also stayed on as tenants at Beck Mill. At the time this mill opened many people in Clayton walked to the mills they worked at in other villages.

1873-1898 – regular rows of mill workers housing built by **J Benn & Co** as the mill complex expanded. This period also saw the expansion, building and rebuilding of many institutions in Clayton

as more children attended the schools and Sunday schools and the church and chapel congregations grew.

1878 – Bradford-Thornton railway opened to passengers and freight with a station at Clayton. This helped the mills prosper and attracted commuters from Bradford to the area. At its height, 1,500 Clayton residents held railway passes.

1900 onward – Clayton continued to expand as a commuter settlement, with The Avenue being the main artery of new development. Beck Mill closed in 1927 and Oak Mills in 1942.

The textile industry continued to be the largest employer in Clayton throughout the 19th century, though the nature of the work changed as the century progressed,....“The village of Clayton has for probably a hundred years been noted for worsted weaving, and, like other surrounding villages, it has experienced the varying changes which that craft has undergone.”

The system of a master weaver employing a number of employees who worked a handloom at home continued up until 1840, ..... the introduction of the more efficient and cheaper to run steam-powered looms in the 1830s effectively ended the cottage-based textile industry. Between the 1790s and the advent of powerlooms, yarn was spun by machine in a factory, but the cloth could still only be woven by hand, creating a boom in the settlements near to mills as there was a substantial increase in the amount of yarn produced locally. This accounts for the majority of the cottages built in Clayton between the late 18th century and about 1840. In 1838 there were 1,633 handloom weavers in Clayton Township, which is surely testament to this phenomenon. The sight of weavers wearing their durable leather ‘dicks’ while working was a common sight in the village, but had long since disappeared from other parts of the region.

Despite the plentiful and skilled workforce in the area and the proximity of Clayton to both Bradford and Halifax Piece Halls, it was not until 1845 that the first textile mill was erected in Clayton. This was Beck Mill (or Holme Mill) built by John Milner, the majority of which was unfortunately lost in a fire in 1971 ..... A trade directory published in 1851 remarked that “the architecture is remarkably good” and that the mill would be: “a boon to the inhabitants a portion of whom are still engaged in handloom weaving. The village affords many inducements for the erection of two or three additional mills and it has in this respect been completely overlooked.”

The mill was engaged in spinning and perhaps wool combing as the book that these quotes are taken from, also observed that the yarn produced at Beck Mill was “supplied to hand loom weavers in the village of whom were quite a large number” and that in 1851 John Milner & Co employed 317 staff. The company received an honourable mention for excellence of manufacture at the Great Exhibition of 1851, no mean feat in a class which included such giants as J Foster of Black Dyke Mills and Salts of Saltaire. The quality of the produce could not prevent the firm struggling through a slump in the cloth industry and the firm ceased production and sold all of its machinery in 1860. The complex was purchased in 1862 and simultaneously let to Solomon Barsdorf (stuff manufacturer) and **J Benn & Co** (worsted spinners). Barsdorf was a German-born British citizen and **Benn** and his partners were from the local area and were former employees of Black Dyke Mills.

..... in 1865 some 300 to 400 people would walk daily from Clayton to mills in other settlements. .... many Claytonians worked in mills in other settlements (such as Black Dyke Mills, Queensbury <sup>2</sup>) but “did not exchange their dwelling for one elsewhere.” **J Benn & Co** was evidently doing well at Beck Mill and between 1867 and 1870 the firm built its own premises in Clayton, Oak Mills. The complex was used for combing, drawing and spinning and was expanded several times between 1870 and 1911. <sup>3</sup>

More on how the work changed over time, also about children and conditions:

Working conditions in the early British textile factories were brutal. Children, men, and women regularly worked 68-hour work weeks. Factories often were not well ventilated and became very hot in the summer. Worker health and safety regulations were non-existent. Workers who suffered

debilitating injuries from work were simply dismissed without any compensation. The best that can be said for these conditions is that other work for unskilled, landless persons was less consistent throughout the year and from year to year, and offered less possibility for earnings growth for those who adapted well to the work.

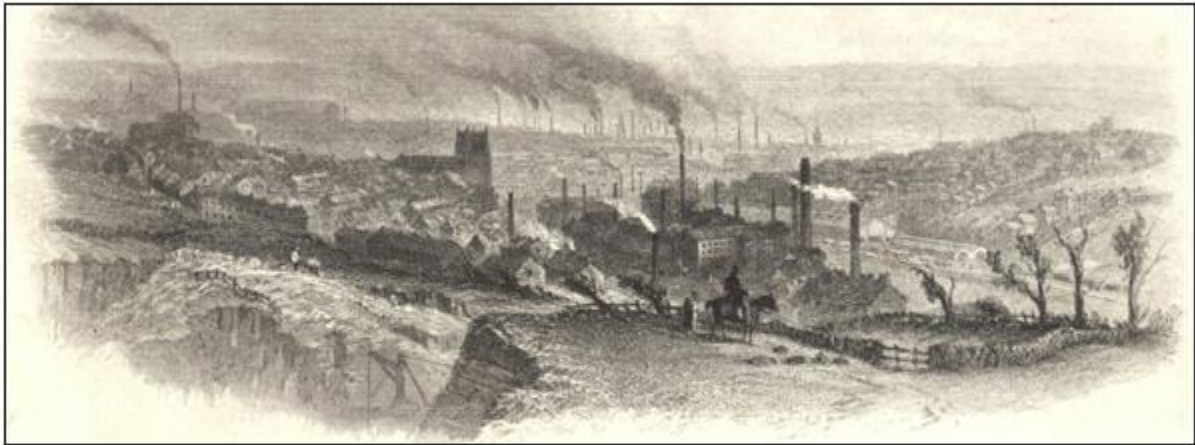
Textile factories organized workers' lives much differently from craft production. Handloom weavers worked at their own pace, with their own tools, and within their own cottages. Factories set hours of work, and the machinery within them shaped the pace of work. Factories brought workers together within one building to work on machinery that they did not own. Factories also increased the division of labor. They narrowed the number and scope of tasks and included children and women within a common production process.

The early textile factories employed a large share of children, but the share declined over time. In England and Scotland in 1788, two-thirds of the workers in 143 water-powered cotton mills were described as children. By 1835, the share of the workforce under 18 years of age in cotton mills in England and Scotland had fallen to 43%. About half of workers in Manchester and Stockport cotton factories surveyed in 1818 and 1819 began work at under ten years of age. Most of the adult workers in cotton factories in mid-19th century Britain were workers who had begun work as child labourers. The growth of this experienced adult factory workforce helps to account for the shift away from child labour in textile factories.<sup>4</sup>



[ABOVE] The City of Bradford in 1873. A woodcut engraving from *The Illustrated London News*, 1873. When this drawing was made, the township of Bradford had a population of nearly 65,000. The total population of the Municipal Borough of Bradford had risen from 107,000 in 1861 to 147,000 in 1871.

The Illustrated London News.<sup>5</sup>



[ABOVE] A 19th Century Panoramic View of Bradford. In 1801, the township of Bradford, Yorkshire had a total population of 6,393. By 1861, the town's population had risen to 48,648.

19<sup>th</sup> Century Panoramic View of Bradford. <sup>6</sup>



Mill buildings in Bradford, Yorkshire, England area.  
Left to right: Salts Mill, Shipley <sup>7</sup>  
Lister's Mill, Manningham <sup>8</sup>  
Harris Court Mill, Great Horton Rd, Bradford <sup>9</sup>



Mill buildings in Bradford, Yorkshire, England area. Oak Mills, Clayton (left) <sup>10</sup> and Black Dyke Mill, Clayton (right) <sup>11</sup>

And then wool manufacturing moved to the U.S.

#### **Origins of Textile Manufacturing in New England**

The British government at the urging of textile manufacturers forbade by law the emigration of skilled machinists and technologically advanced machinery to discourage competitors throughout the developing world. Still in the 1790s, English immigrant Samuel Slater copied the Arkwright water frame for spinning. American textile industrialization began at Slater's spinning mill, supported by the crafts and metal firms along the Blackstone River in Pawtucket, Rhode Island. The "Rhode Island system" of cotton manufacturing used young rural children under the closest supervision to tend water-powered throstle <sup>12</sup> spinning frames. Rhode Island spinning mills "put out" the yarn to be woven by women on handlooms in rural households then marketed the cloth in the region. <sup>13</sup> The invention of an efficient cotton gin by Eli Whitney of Connecticut in 1793 greatly encouraged these proto-industrial developments. After 1820, investment capital from Providence, Rhode Island, and the whaling industry in New Bedford, Massachusetts, began to develop the village of Fall River in southeastern New England, later the national center of cotton print cloth production.

By 1820 Paul Moody of Waltham, Massachusetts, copied the English power loom in the Boston Associates' machine shops located on the shallow, slow-moving Charles River. These venture capitalists backed by shipping profits saw much bigger opportunities in the thirty-two foot waterfall on the Merrimack River at East Chelmsford, Massachusetts. There they built the textile center of Lowell....

In 1860 New England dominated American cotton textile production with fifty-two percent of the largest mills and seventy-five percent of the spindles. Massachusetts and Rhode Island remained the centers of regional production located in Lowell, Fall River, and the Blackstone River Valley. Manchester, New Hampshire, was developing rapidly, while Philadelphia was the largest cotton-manufacturing center outside of New England. Of an estimated total of 122,028 operatives in 1860, sixty-one percent were female and thirty-eight percent male. Woolen production also flourished in New England, but cotton centers usually had a diversified product as in Lowell and Lawrence, founded by the Boston Associates in 1848. After the Civil War, Lawrence became the New England center of worsted production.

By the 1850s, immigrant labor from England, Scotland, and Ireland had transformed the workforce in many northeastern cotton factories. Lancashire immigrants in Fall River and New Bedford, Massachusetts, "abounded as nowhere else", while other **British workers crowded textile mills in Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.**

Between 1860 and 1910, total employment in American cotton manufacturing tripled... The New England workforce in the woolen and worsted industry represented experienced industrial workers from Belgian, France, and **Yorkshire, England**....<sup>14</sup>

Since the Greystone, Rhode Island mill was so central to Alfred's and Jane's experience, and since it was built by the owners of Bradford area mills, I wanted to learn more about the building of it and the village which surrounded it. Joseph Benn and Sons was a major mill owner in the Clayton/Horton area and came to the U.S. because of tariffs:

Original construction of the Greystone Mill began in 1904 after Joseph Benn, a British mill owner, came to the area in 1900 to escape trade tariffs.<sup>15</sup>

The Benns chose the site at Greystone, R.I., just north of Providence:

Greystone was the site of the Coomer Farm in the late 18th century. In 1813, Captain Olney Angell, Peleg Williams and Materson Latham built a 2-story stone textile mill here, equipping it with twenty looms. It was sold in 1816 to Richard Anthony, of Coventry...he made cotton cloth and sold the business in 1835 to Joseph Westcott; who enlarged the mill to three stories; its dimensions then were 80 feet by 40 feet. In 1862, Zebulon Whipple sold the looms and put -in -spinning frames to manufacture yarn. In 1872, the building was damaged by fire and it was rebuilt by James and George Campbell for the production of rag paper. It burned again in 1877. The following year the White Brothers of Chepachet rebuilt it partially--using it as a gristmill.

By 1882, it was the property of James Campbell, who made shoddy for woolen manufacturers. His son, Elisha, sold the site and the building, as a storehouse, to **Joseph Benn and Company** in 1904. The old mill survived as a ruin, its complex history a telling record of a typical small 19th-century Rhode Island water-power site of marginal economic potential.

**The Joseph Benn Company of Bradford, England**, manufacturers-of mohair and alpaca, planned to relocate here, to escape the heavy British import taxes on wool. They spent over two and one-half million dollars establishing a model industrial community with a new mill, mill housing, a social club and the White Hall Building, where an auditorium, shops and quarters for overseers were located. Greystone became a community of over 1500 people, **many recruited from Lancashire and Yorkshire to work as mill hands and wool sorters**. The village is intact and is an excellent example of an early 20th-century company-owned industrial village.

Greystone Mill 1904 ; Designed by F. P. Sheldon and Sons, mill engineers, it is a 4-story, brick mill using pier and spandrel construction; with a nearly flat roof, bracketed eaves and blind segmental windows with rock-faced granite sills. Two square towers divide the front elevation into thirds; these are stair towers with brick belfries, one with oculi, one with a clock.<sup>16</sup>

In historical accounts of mills in this era, it is frequently stressed that experienced mill workers were recruited from England to work in the US. For more on Greystone, see this endnote.<sup>17</sup>

Dr. Blewett, who wrote one of the articles cited above, also wrote a book almost entirely about the conditions in mills in Yorkshire and then, Greystone Mill and Village in R.I. Particularly interesting to me is the description of women's wages, their sexual activity,

and family “planning” of the time. I reprint here a few paragraphs from Dr. Blewett’s book, *The Yankee Yorkshireman – Migration Lived and Imagined*, 2009:

Children of both sexes under the age of seventeen represented the vast majority of industrial workers in Bradford in 1833-50. Factory owners and overlookers believed that children and young females could be easily subordinated to the rules of mechanized factory life. The great reservoir of cheap labor would be replenished with migrants, a rising birth rate, and early marriage. Working-class family income depended on the pooled wages of low-paid children, adolescents, and married women with children who often returned to the mills. ... The employment of both boys and girls under the age of fourteen had become regulated by the 1874 Factory Acts. Mandatory education meant that “short-timers” under fourteen split the day between the factory and school. Pages 20-24

Born in 1830 as the last of ten children, Joseph Benn of Queensbury, near Bradford, assisted his father, a handloom weaver....In 1860, Joseph Benn set up the Oak Mills spinning operation at the town of Clayton, west of Bradford, as Joseph Benn and Company. ...son Harrison, born in 1851, and his brothers, with the financial backing of their father, purchased the worsted properties of the old Tuner family at the Beckside mills in Great Horton, Bradford. In 1881, Joseph Benn and Sons, Ltd., employed about 900 workers to manufacture alpaca and mohair fabric....Harrison Benn, with his brother William Henry, was the energetic textile capitalist who in 1903 built the mill at Greystone village, North Providence, Rhode Island.....

The district of Bradford, which at mid-century manufactured 80 percent of English worsted goods, included mill sites at Great Horton, the site of the Benn operation, and at Manningham. Surrounding the district dubbed as “industrial Milky Way” were the worsted operations of Shipley, Saltaire, Wilsden, Clayton, and Queensbury. Pages 29-30.

.....The sexual division of labor in work and in unions produced gender antagonisms that shaped Yorkshire factory and village life. Violent sexual conflicts between the growing female factory workforce in Bradford, Yorkshire, and “attacks by men on women operatives” were commonplace during early Yorkshire industrialization...In most accounts,, sexual tensions during industrial change seemed to victimize females into the early twentieth century.....Amy remembered going into the mill when she was twelve. She “hated every minute of it. When I look back at the horrors, the bullying and the dirt—the ignorance and filthy talk that was our daily lot, not to mention the tears I shed.”....

Yorkshire lasses became sexually active in the teens with various partners. Female subculture made abortion an accepted part of working-class life.....Girls as young as ten or eleven entered the worsted mills as doffers. Between fifteen and eighteen as they reached puberty, young women became throstle spinners or weavers. For as long as they remained mill workers, these lasses could expect no advances in their skills or in wages or any role in changing their situation through union activity. Most female workers in the worsted factories would marry and drop out of the workforce. Yorkshire society widely condemned working wives.

For most mill lasses with little future for advancement in the workforce, sexual experimentation would seem the next logical step on the road to marriage and female adulthood, while she turned over her Saturday wage packet to her family. Young women workers....thus defined for themselves the onset of courtship and adulthood, knowing that, unlike many Lancashire working wives, marriage often meant an end to paid work.....female-controlled networks of sex information and abortion became the major means of family limitation in last nineteenth-century Yorkshire. “Courters” often hurried up their wedding plans because “a child was on the way.” ...

Despite the condemnation of working wives by the middle class and trade unionists, older married women weavers in Yorkshire forged a direct connection between family limitation and their return to the workforce. In response to declining wages and depression in the worsted industry beginning in the 1870’s, a generation of working class wives who had found the means to control fertility generally through abortion returned to weaving....In 1851 29 percent of married women over thirty-five worked

in textiles, while thirty years later, in 1881, 63 percent of women working in textiles (presumably largely as weavers) were over thirty-five....

During the first decade of the twentieth century married women represented between 10 and 15 percent of the total worsted labor force. These mature women workers possessed the experience and judgment that made them leaders in the incidents of late nineteenth century Yorkshire labor protest. Pages 34-36

By the 1890's foreign tariffs to protect emerging industry in the United States and Germany, both key export markets for Yorkshire, cut into the worsted and silk trade....The "infamous" McKinley tariff in 1890...cut in half worsted and silk imports into the United States... ....a long-term regional crisis of industrial depression in the Yorkshire worsted and silk trades that created the conditions for **transatlantic labor migration**. Large numbers of Lancashire cotton textile workers and Yorkshire worsted workers had already **left their districts for the United States** in the late 1860's. Page 37-38

Although quantitative measurements indicate that English, Scots, and Welsh people arrived in the United States in significant numbers prior to 1850, the peak periods of English migration occurred between 1851 and 1913....Between 1906 and 1911 British immigration shifted away from the United States to British North America....Australia and New Zealand. Page 40-41

As the American industrial depression eased by 1896, the passage of the Dingley tariffs ended all hope of the resumption of Yorkshire exports to the United States....Some English and West European firms frozen out of American worsted market in 1890 began to move to New England, specifically to establish branch factories in Rhode Island....

Harrison Benn, head of Joseph Benn Ltd. of Great Horton, Bradford, began to rebuild the decayed Rhode Island mill village of Greystone in the town of North Providence....Benn intended to manufacture English-style worsteds: goods equal, of not superior to the same good made in our mills at Bradford, England". Greystone and the surrounding mill villages of Esmond, Graniteville, Centredale, and Georgiaville, clustered along the Woonasquatucket River that flowed eastward toward Providence harbor.....

Between 1905 and 1911, the huge American Woolen Company in Lawrence, a firm that specialized in Bradford-style worsted cloth established its dominance in New England worsted production. Employing 14,000 workers in 1912, American Woolen....set regional wage rates for the New England worsted industry....owned twenty-nine worsted mills in New England, nine of them in Rhode Island.....To avoid this withering competition, the Benn operation in Greystone sought a niche in black mohair and alpaca coat linings,... Page 52-55

Immigrant and migrant textile workers to Greystone in the early twentieth century remained culturally rooted in Yorkshire and on the move among New England mill towns. They left fish-and-chips shops all over the area. Some became internal migrants, most to other worsted centers..... If they departed the United States, they probably either returned to Yorkshire or went on to other locations within the British Empire. ... those first-generation immigrants who left Greystone, Rhode Island, but stayed in New England must have integrated and assimilated to some degree or other. Those who ended up as American citizens in the worsted trades of Sanford, Maine; Smithfield, Rhode Island; and **Philadelphia, Pennsylvania**, found other Yorkshire people to associate with.....

In the 1920's, when times got hard in the New England textiles, the skilled worsted workers....returned to Yorkshire with their savings. Widows took their children home to Yorkshire, while other migrants relocated to **New Zealand** or English Canada. Pages 14-15

Once built, the Greystone Mill produced fine alpaca and mohair linings for custom-made men's coats, which the managers sold directly and through New York and later Chicago commission houses. Shareholders and banks in Bradford and Providence provided investment capital, while the town on North Providence assured tax-exemption status for ten years....The initial complex for the village featured fifty semidetached rental cottages for 100 operative families, but the company expected to hire more than a thousand workers and quickly built wooden, Bradford-style back-to-back tenements....

In February 1906 Harrison Benn personally supervised the starting up of mill operations, delayed for months by his insistence on importing English machinery. Benn used new textile machinery but insisted that it all be run in the Bradford mills to qualify as lower-taxed used machinery for importation into the United States....An initial contingent of twenty-nine Yorkshire men and women had arrived in the summer of 1904 to help set up operations. Three experienced wool sorters trained local men in English methods for judging color and texture in imported alpaca and mohair. They favored Yorkshire immigrants. No American supplies would be used in production, even to the soap for scouring dirt from the fleeces.....It is doubtful that Yorkshire workers who came to Greystone from Bradford had ever worked in such a setting. Benn had constructed for his own purposes an idealized version of a Yorkshire mill village.....

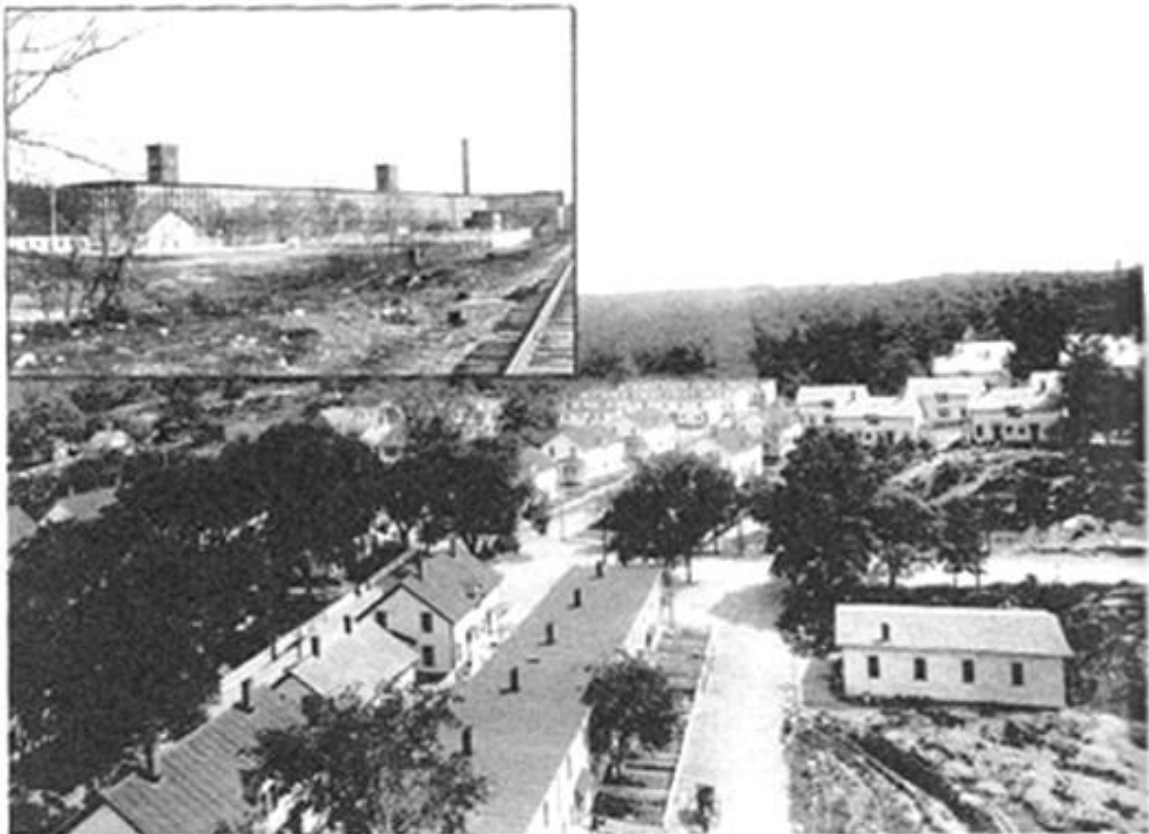


Figure 2. Greystone Village, North Providence, Rhode Island, n.d., courtesy the Rhode Island Historical Society. Inset: The Greystone Mill, 1925, courtesy of Sam Smith and Portia Thompson. Thanks to Bruce Lepore.

Benn carefully avoided American anticontract labor laws by personally **recruiting a workforce, family by family, in Bradford....** After worsted production began, the village grew quickly as the company laid out a pattern of streets, one named Becksie Road after the Benn mill in Great Horton,

Bradford. Hundreds of dwellings were built, provided with both running water and electric light by the mill. Most were multiple-family attached rowhouses with a few single and semi-detached or double residences. A large, very utilitarian boardinghouse provided housing for single male and female workers....

Page 58-61

Greystone itself was overwhelmingly populated with English-born people who worked in the local worsted mill....Of the total population of Greystone village in 1910, which was 842 people living in 166 households, the English-born represented well over three-fourths or 84 percent of the residents. In addition, there were fifty-four Rhode Island-born children and infants, forty-eight of whom were the children or grandchildren of the English-born residents. The village was indeed an enclave of English immigrants (no doubt from Yorkshire) and their immediate families. Page 66

In 1906 managers at the Benn operation altered Yorkshire-style wages and working conditions in an attempt to undercut their New England competitors....In April 1906, the entire workforce of Greystone's worsted weavers, men and women, went on strike to oppose unfair cuts in the piece rates and changes in work customs....Greystone wool sorters struck twice in February 1907 over wage rates for handling "rubbishy" imported wool....Additional strike activity among discontented worsted workers in northern Rhode Island mill villages, many of whom were English immigrants, occurred in 1907 and again in 1910.

Page 68-70

In late 1912 and 1913 the restive Greystone weavers, men and women, joined by others in the adjacent mill villages of Esmond, Centredale, Georgiadale, and Graniteville, played a key role in organizing worsted workers in North Providence to increase wages.....

....., the 250 weavers and 150 throstle spinners at Greystone struck on November 12, 1912, ...the Greystone strikers settled on December 19, 1912, for a 7.5 percent wage compromise....After the settlement the Greystone strikers organized Local 838 of the IWW's "United Textile Workers of the World", thereby linking the customs and practices of Yorkshire labor activity with the most radical, inclusive and multicultural movement in American textile unionism....According to the Socialist press in Providence, Harrison Benn's hopes to isolate his Greystone mill workers from the American labor movement had been "rudely shattered".

Page 73-77

By 1920 75 percent of Greystone's residents (excluding boarders and children under ten) in 1910 had left the village. .... nearly half (41%) resided in neighboring towns or mill villages.... Another half (49%) stayed in Rhode Island, moving to mill operations in places such as Pawtucket, Smithfield, Woonsocket, and Providence. **Nine former residents moved to Pennsylvania**, and the rest scattered to Maine, Massachusetts, Oregon, Michigan, and Connecticut....The movement of three-quarters of Greystone residents between 1910 and 1920 marks the failure of the Benn project. One by one families appeared to abandon the village for better jobs and working conditions in larger communities or left the industry entirely. If they could not change their working lives at Greystone, they chose geographical mobility or return migration. Still, in the late twentieth century, traces of Yorkshire dialect still informed the Rhode Island voice.

....Harrison Benn died at seventy of heart trouble....Determined to keep the Rhode Island operation going as his brother had wished, William Henry Benn managed both the mills in Bradford and Greystone until his death in 1939 when the Rhode Island mill and its property were sold to American interests.

Pages 90-92 <sup>18</sup>

## Endnotes:

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<sup>1</sup> <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bradford>. Also see:  
<http://midgleywebpages.com/bradford.html>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.johnfosterdirect.com/john-foster/>  
<http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/39557>  
<http://www.flickr.com/photos/meerstone/4322519104/>

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.bradford.gov.uk/NR/rdonlyres/35F3D3BF-0C5C-48ED-8875-84D41204EC9F/0/ClaytonConservationAreaAssessmentFinal.pdf>

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.statemaster.com/encyclopedia/Textile-manufacture-during-the-Industrial-Revolution>

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.photohistory-sussex.co.uk/EastbnVielerRW.htm>

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.photohistory-sussex.co.uk/EastbnVielerRW.htm>

<sup>7</sup> <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saltaire>);

<sup>8</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lister%27s\\_Mill](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lister%27s_Mill)

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.westlakeandco.co.uk/pdfs/1247499034.pdf>

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.claytonvillage.janandrich.me.uk/images/q2/clayton3.jpg>

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/39557>

<sup>12</sup> a spinning machine formerly used to twist and wind fibers of cotton or wool continuously

<sup>13</sup> Gary Kulik, "Pawtucket Village and the Strike of 1824: The Origins of Class Conflict in Rhode Island", *Radical History Review* 17 (1978), pp. 5-37; Jonathan Prude, *The Coming of the New Industrial Order: Town and Factory Life in Rural Massachusetts, 1810-1860*, Cambridge, UK, 1983).

<sup>14</sup> *Textile Workers in the American Northeast and South: Shifting Landscapes of Class, Culture, Gender, Race, and Protest*, Mary H. Blewett, Professor of History Emerita University of Massachusetts Lowell  
National overview USA, Textile conference IISH, 11-13 Nov. 2004  
[www.iisg.nl/research/usa.doc](http://www.iisg.nl/research/usa.doc)

<sup>15</sup> [http://www.projo.com/ri/northprovidence/content/HO\\_Greystone\\_01-24-10\\_18H48RF\\_v40.1b9029d.html](http://www.projo.com/ri/northprovidence/content/HO_Greystone_01-24-10_18H48RF_v40.1b9029d.html)

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<sup>16</sup> Historic and Architectural Resources of North Providence, Rhode Island: A Preliminary Report, Rhode Island Historical Preservation Commission, April 1978  
[http://www.preservation.ri.gov/pdfs\\_zips\\_downloads/survey\\_pdfs/north\\_providence.pdf](http://www.preservation.ri.gov/pdfs_zips_downloads/survey_pdfs/north_providence.pdf)

<sup>17</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greystone\\_Mill\\_Historic\\_District](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greystone_Mill_Historic_District)  
<http://www.greystonelofts.com/history.html>  
[http://www.projo.com/ri/northprovidence/content/HO\\_Greystone\\_01-24-10\\_18H48RF\\_v40.1b9029d.html](http://www.projo.com/ri/northprovidence/content/HO_Greystone_01-24-10_18H48RF_v40.1b9029d.html)  
[http://www.preservation.ri.gov/pdfs\\_zips\\_downloads/survey\\_pdfs/north\\_providence.pdf](http://www.preservation.ri.gov/pdfs_zips_downloads/survey_pdfs/north_providence.pdf)

<sup>18</sup> The Yankee Yorkshireman – Migration Lived and Imagined; Mary H. Blewett, University of Illinois Press, 2009