National Park Service
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Olmsted Center
for Landscape Preservation

Cultural Landscape Report for Slater Mill Historic Site

Blackstone River Valley National Historical Park

"...these streams, more steady in their volumes than those of the western country, and descending in their short courses an elevation of from two to four hundred and fifty feet to the tide-waters of the bay and sound, furnish, with their tributaries, innumerable cascades, and a power of propelling machinery almost incalculable in any amount."

Samuel Slater

Cultural Landscape Report for Slater Mill Historic Site

Blackstone River Valley National Historical Park

Pawtucket, Rhode Island

Site History

Analysis and Evaluation

Preliminary Treatment Recommendations

Prepared by:
Jeffrey Killion, Historical Landscape Architect
Clelie Fielding , Conservation Associate
Maryrose Kulick, Cartographer
Eliot Foulds, Senior Project Manager

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation
National Park Service, Boston, Massachusetts, 2021

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Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation
National Park Service
15 State Street, 6th Floor
Boston, MA 02109
www.nps.gov/oclp/

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Cover Image: View looking northeast at the Great Flume, Wilkinson Mill (image left) and Old Slater Mill. (OCLP 2020, IMG-20200105-120650)

Title Page: Painting of the south side of Old Slater Mill from the east bank, c.1840. (H.L. Spencer, "Painting of South Elevation of Slater Mill," c.1840. OSMA Archives)

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FOREWORD

The uninformed visitor's first impression of the Old Slater Mill complex is one of a highly historic commemorative landscape straddling a river in the midst of a dense urban commercial area. This impression has been rightly or wrongly cultivated through a 100-year effort of "restoration" and "reinvestment," culminating in the demolition of the site and immediate area's "industrial blight" courtesy of a 1970s "Urban Renewal" project. The very dense, multi-purpose jumble of industrial and commercial buildings that arose around the Old Slater Mill, Wilkinson Mill and the Slater Mill Dam in the 19th and 20th centuries - precisely because of the successes achieved in and by these historic structures - were swept away in the name of progress to focus the visitor's attention on "the firsts" of Slater and Wilkinson and create a sanitized urban park with an abundance of parking for visitors and local citizens alike to use and enjoy. Relocating the Sylvanus Brown house from its original location elsewhere in Pawtucket to the newly landscaped commemorative park setting completed Urban Renewal's triumphant "recreation" of a place in time that, sadly, never existed historically.

Thankfully, through the research and documentation efforts of the National Park Service's Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, the complex and fascinating history of the Old Slater Mill National Historic Landmark District's cultural landscape evolution is now defined. Blackstone River Valley National Historical Park staff, contractors, scholars, and interested members of the public will use this Cultural Landscape Report for decades to come as a foundational document for public education and interpretation, for legal compliance and for guidance as new changes to the landscape are contemplated.

I add my sincere thanks to that of park staff, members of the Old Slater Mill Association, and Jeff Killion, Eliot Foulds, Bob Page, and the many other professionals on the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation's staff who created this Cultural Landscape Report. We are grateful for the efforts involved and for the resulting comprehensive report we celebrate in this introduction.

Wm. Eric Breitkreutz, Superintendent, Blackstone River Valley NHP

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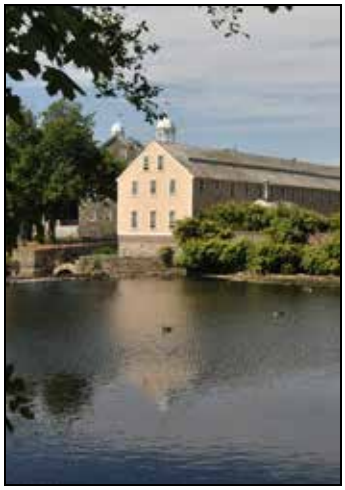
The Cultural Landscape Report for Slater Mill Hisoric Site was a collaborative effort by the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation and Blackstone River Valley National Historical Park. At the Olmsted Center, the report was prepared by Jeff Killion, Historical Landscape Architect. Clelie Fielding and Maryrose Kulick created the period plans and existing conditions plans. Eliot Foulds, Senior Project Manager contributed to the report and served as the project manager. Robert Page, Director, provided project oversight.

The Olmsted Center would like to thank Superintendent William (Eric) Breitkreutz, and his dedicated staff for their invaluable assistance in the completion of this report, including Janine V. Da Silva, Cultural Resource Specialist, Kevin C. Kylberg, Supervisory Park Ranger, and Paul Logozzo, Facilities Manager. We are additionally grateful to Jennifer W. Smith, who served as Acting Superintendent when the project was initiated, and Christopher Beagan, Historical Landscape Architect, who conducted preliminary research at the beginning of the project. We would particularly like to acknowledge Lori Urso, Director of the Old Slater Mill Association, who provided invaluable review comments on the draft CLR, and Eleanor Langham, who provided access to the OSMA's archival collections. Thanks also to Emily Morse, GIS Specialist at the City of Pawtucket, for providing GIS and AutoCad files. We are grateful for the time and care all of these individuals gave to the project.



OCLP

INTRODUCTION

Located on the banks of the lower Blackstone River in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, Slater Mill Historic Site is a component of the Blackstone River Valley National Historical Park, a park unit established in December 2014 (Figures 0.1, 0.2). The park preserves, protects, and interprets the nationally significant resources that exemplified the industrial heritage of the Blackstone River Valley. The 4.23-acre property includes two historic mills and a cottage, a partially reconstructed raceway and tailrace, old stone and concrete river walls, remnant foundations, and a footbridge. These features are set amongst tree-shaded lawns and paved walkways that provide views of the river and Pawtucket Falls (Figure 0.3).

Slater Mill Historic Site is a designated National Historic Landmark, and recognized as the birthplace of the American Industrial Revolution. The core of the site preserves three historic buildings: Samuel Slater's 1793 mill, Oziel and David Wilkinson's 1810-1811 mill, and Sylvanus Brown's 1758 cottage (moved to the site in the 1972). The Old Slater Mill was modeled after English cotton spinning mills and is the first water-powered cotton spinning mill in North America to utilize the Arkwright method of spinning cotton. The Wilkinson Mill played a critical role in the history of textile technology, in steam power generation, and in the development of the machine tool industry. The Brown House is where Brown's pattern-making and carpentry skills helped him produce mechanized textile machinery with Samuel Slater between 1789 and 1791.

Operation of the site as a museum, exhibit area, and public open space for passive recreation and special events was managed by the Old Slater Mill Association until March 2021, when the property was aquired by the National Park Service. "We are honored to become the stewards of this incredibly important National Historic Landmark," said Park Superintendent Eric Breitkreutz. "We look forward to working with our partners, the Old Slater Mill Association, and the City of Pawtucket, to continue the public interpretation of this seminal historic site on the banks of the Blackstone River."[1]

PURPOSE, SCOPE, METHODOLOGY

Cultural landscapes are settings that human beings have created in the natural world. They reveal fundamental ties between people and the land – ties based on our need to grow food, give form to our settlements, meet requirements for

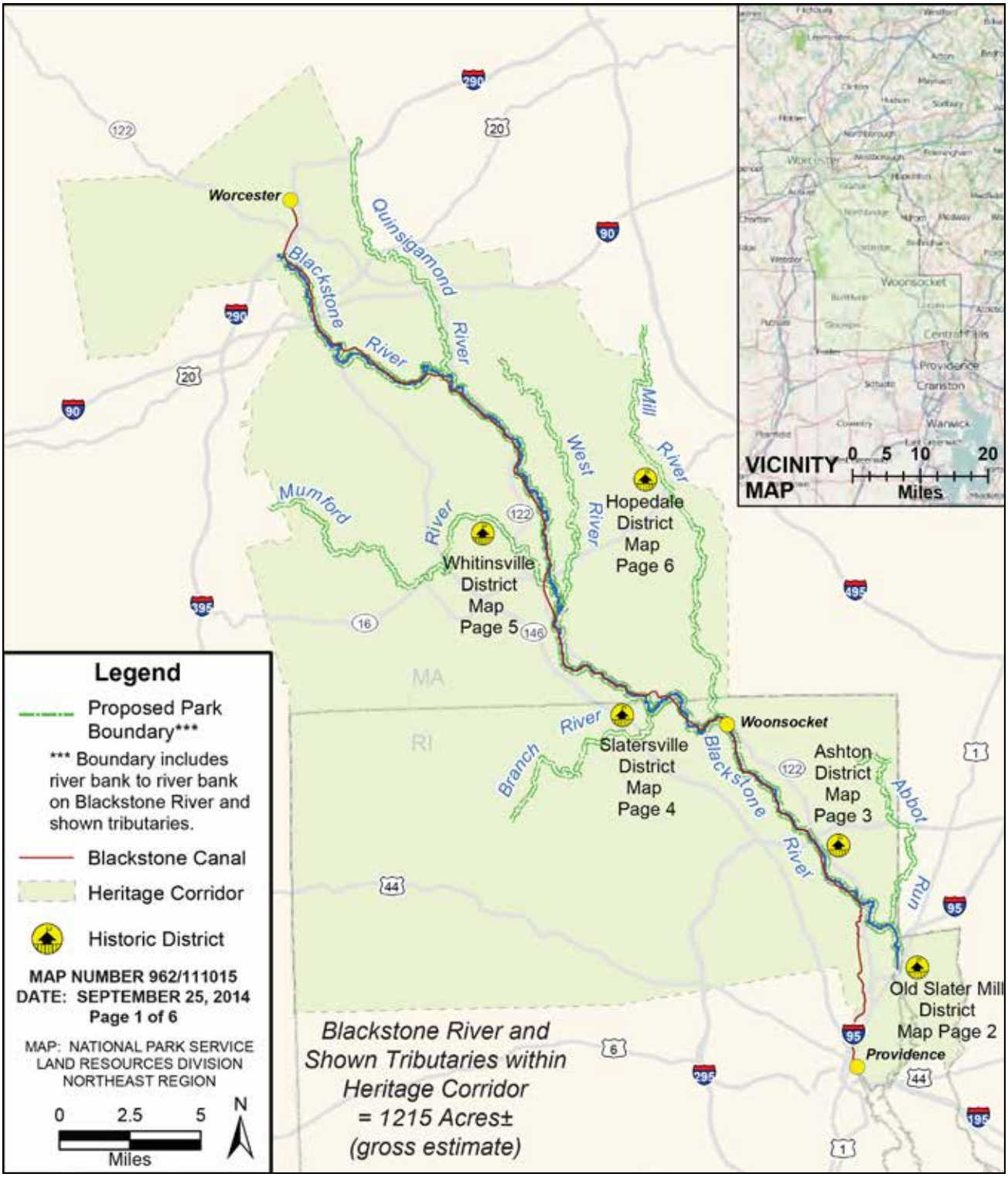


Figure 0.1. Map showing the proposed boundaries of the Blackstone River Valley National Historical Park [hereafter NHP], draft 2014. The Slater Mill Historic Site is at lower image right. (National Park Service, Land Resources Program, LandsNet, http://landsnet.nps.gov/tractsnet/documents/BLRV/Miscellaneous/blrv962_111015.pdf, blrv962_111015-1)

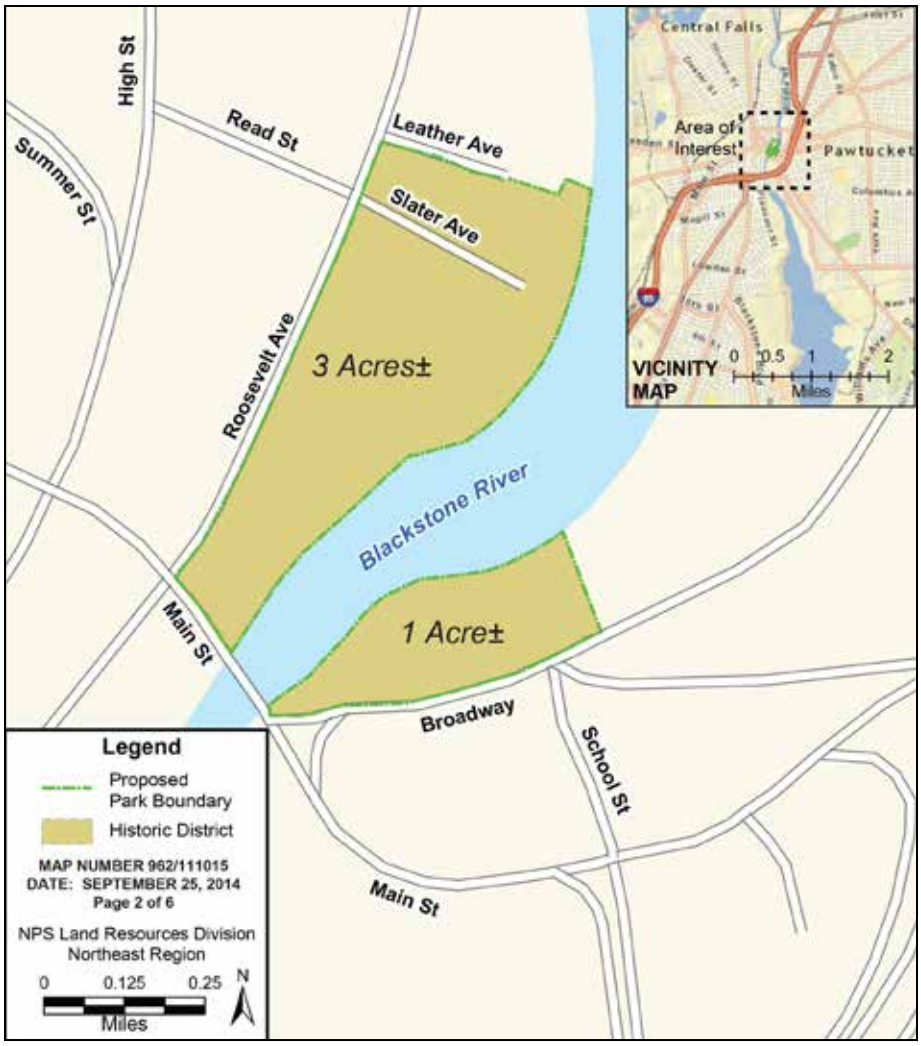


Figure 0.2. Map showing the coterminous boundaries of the Slater Mill Historic Site, the National Historic Landmark District, and the Blackstone River Valley NHP, draft 2014. (National Park Service, Land Resources Program, LandsNet, http://landsnet.nps.gov/tractsnet/documents/BLRV/Miscellaneous/blrv962_111015.pdf, blrv962_111015-2)

Figure 0.3. Oblique aerial view looking northeast at Slater Mill Historic Site and the Blackstone River. The Old Slater Mill (light yellow building) and the upper dam are at image center. (Old Slater Mill Association [hereafter OSMA] Archives)

recreation, appreciate scenic beauty, and find suitable burial places. Cultural landscapes are intertwined patterns of both natural and constructed features – plants and fences, watercourses, and buildings. They range from formal gardens to cattle ranches, from cemeteries and pilgrimage routes to village squares. They are special places – expressions of human manipulation of and adaptation to the land and the environment.

The National Park Service (NPS) uses the cultural landscape report as the primary tool to inform long-term management decisions regarding a cultural landscape. The report follows the general format outlined in *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques* (NPS 1998). The first chapter of this report, Site History, documents the physical history of the landscape with narratives, historic photographs, maps, and period and existing conditions plans. The second chapter, Analysis and Evaluation, reviews the site's historical significance according to National Historic Landmark and National Register criteria, evaluates the historic significance of the landscape, and identifies landscape characteristics and associated features that contribute to the property's significance and historic character. The third chapter, Preliminary Treatment Recommendations, proposes enhancements to existing historic and non-historic landscape features to improve the visitor experience. Overall, the report will provide information needed to inform park compliance and support planning, treatment, protection, and management of the cultural landscape.

The project area for this cultural landscape report encompasses the entire 4.23-acre Slater Mill Historic Site, which is coterminous with the boundaries of the Old Slater Mill National Historic Landmark District. The site straddles the Blackstone River, with the three historic buildings, Hodgson-Rotary Park, and a parking lot on the river's west bank, and Slater Mill Park on the east bank. For purposes of this report, the west side of the site is comprised of three parcels that are named Slater Lot, North Lot, and South Lot, while the east side is named the East Lot (Figure 0.4). The boundaries of the lots are based in nineteenth century plat maps as well as current property boundaries available from the City of Pawtucket. Additionally, although the orientation of Old Slater Mill is north-northwest to south-southeast, it is referenced as north-south to facilitate descriptions of the building and the other features that surround it.

Research for this report was undertaken at an overall "limited" level of investigation as defined by NPS Director's Order #28: Cultural Resources Management (NPS 1998), primarily involving the holdings at the Old Slater Mill Association (OSMA) Archives and repositories local to Rhode Island and Massachusetts. Research also relied heavily on existing secondary sources such as the 1991 Historic American Engineering Record for Old Slater Mill and the 2018 Historic Structure Report for Slater Mill. A detailed analysis of the photographs, aerial images, city histories and atlases, and Sanborn fire insurance maps provided in these reports

Figure 0.4. Aerial map showing the four city lots that comprise Slater Mill Historic Site, and the names ascribed to them for this report. (Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation [hereafter OCLP] 2020; City of Pawtucket GIS, "parcels.shp")

and others, as well as the OSMA archives, made it possible to document the physical development of the 4.23-acre landscape, especially after the 1850s when documentation of the site became more comprehensive.

PROJECT SETTING

Slater Mill Historic Site is located in the heart of downtown Pawtucket, established as a village in 1671 and incorporated as a city in 1885. Pawtucket has a population of 71,148 (2010 census) and is both urban and suburban in nature, containing areas of dense development as well as vast open or vacant areas.[2] Pawtucket lies along a metropolitan corridor that stretches along Interstate 95 from Boston 40 miles to the northeast, to New York City 200 miles to the southwest.

The site is bisected by the Blackstone River and bound by city streets: Leather Avenue, Roosevelt Avenue, and the Main Street Bridge on the west side of the river, and the Main Street Bridge and Broadway on the east side of the river. To the north of Leather Avenue is Pawtucket City Hall and an attached police and fire station. To the west of Roosevelt Avenue is a building housing businesses, a pet food company, and the visitor center for the Blackstone Valley Tourism Council, as well as a parking lot. To the south of Main Street are office and retail buildings. To the east of Broadway are office buildings, parking lots, and a funeral home. Immediately surrounding these areas are a mix of commercial, residential, religious, and civic buildings, some dating to the nineteenth century.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

SITE HISTORY

Early Settlement and Early Industry, to 1793

At a long-established Native American fishing spot at Pawtucket Falls, ironworker Joseph Jenckes, Jr. built a forge and mill in 1671 and founded Pawtucket Village. Beginning in the 1710s, a dam and several raceways were built at the falls to harness the Blackstone River's water, while a longer channel known as Sargeant's Trench was dug originally as a fish passage and later utilized to power Jenckes's anchor shop and other mills. The Jenckes businesses were successful, and spawned other industrial development on both sides of the river, including sawmills, grist mills, oil mills, potash manufacturers, and shipyards. Among those arriving in Pawtucket during this period of growth were Sylvanus Brown, a pattern-maker and carpenter, Oziel Wilkinson, a blacksmith, and his son David, a machinist.

Following the Revolutionary War, there was growing interest in using machines to manufacture textiles. Anxious to reduce the young country's dependency on England, merchants and mechanics attempted to replicate British textile machines, among them Moses Brown in Providence, who with son-in-law William Almy and cousin Smith Brown aimed to turn textile production into a large-scale operation powered by water. Moses Brown, and Almy and Brown, modified existing hand-powered machines in a small fulling mill on the west side of Pawtucket Falls, just above the original Jenckes forge. Sylvanus Brown, the Wilkinsons, and others helped build these experimental models, but were unsuccessful.

The breakthrough came with the arrival of 21-year old Samuel Slater in January 1790, who immigrated to the United States after training under Jedidiah Strutt, who was a business partner with Richard Arkwright, the English inventor of water-powered textile machines. At Moses Brown's invitation, Slater worked with Almy and Brown, rebuilding much of their previously-purchased machinery with new parts fabricated by the Wilkinsons and Sylvanus Brown. By the end of the trial period he had an operational water-power spinning frame using the Arkwright technology. After signing a contract with Almy and Brown, Slater developed the carding and preparatory machines required in the final steps of the spinning process, and in December 1790 began spinning cotton.

Within a year of successful operations and production at Almy & Brown, Moses Brown backed construction of a new water-powered cotton spinning mill, located just upstream from the falls. The new wood-frame, post-and-beam building measured 43 feet in length by 29 feet in width, and was 2-stories high on a stone foundation. To power the mill, a second [upper] dam was constructed upstream from the existing [lower] dam at the falls, which impounded water that fed a

series of new raceways named the Great Flume and Swift Run that connected to Sargeant's Trench. The raceways were lined with stone walls, as was a tailrace that conveyed some of the water from the mill's wheels back to the river under a stone supporting arch. In July 1793 the new mill was essentially complete and production began in August. By this time Almy and Brown formed a separate firm with Samuel Slater.

Almy, Brown & Slater's Mill, 1793-1832

The opening of Almy, Brown & Slater's mill established the country's first successful water-powered cotton spinning mill. Spinning had previously been a small-scale activity, but now machines could transform bales of cotton into finished yarn. With such accomplishments, the firm expanded the mill three times with a 2-story, 57 x 30-foot extension to the north in 1801, a 2-story, 40 by 30-foot extension to the south in 1818-1820, and a 2.5-story, 20 by 18-foot stairtower topped with a cupola in 1828-1832. The last addition introduced a second water wheel and allowed the mill to power more machinery.

Concurrently, land around Almy, Brown & Slater's mill began to fill in with other factories connecting to the raceways. One of the most imposing new buildings was the 3-story stone-constructed Wilkinson Mill, built in 1810-1811, but even it was dwarfed by the White Mill, Yellow Mill, and Great Stone Mill on the east riverbank, massive structures also powered by raceways. The increased demands for water power instigated years of litigation amongst mill owners regarding water rights. Other structures built during this period included a house for Slater and a wood-truss bridge over the falls. For his part, Samuel Slater continued to expand his business interests, including construction of a much larger mill with his brother John around twenty miles upstream in 1806, which included the first planned textile mill village in the country, named Slatersville.

As Slatersville and other factories with large capacities were opening up along the Blackstone River, the influence of Almy, Brown & Slater's Pawtucket mill waned. Some of these mills made use of more efficient steam-powered looms, but at Old Slater Mill the limited water supply and lack of physical space prevented new large-scale manufacturing.

In 1829 an economic collapse forced David Wilkinson to sell his mill, and consequently ended Slater's partnership with Almy and Brown as Slater had to sell his share of the company to pay off David Wilkinson's loans that he had cosigned. Slater avoided financial disaster, however, and at the time of his death on April 21, 1835, at the age of 66, he was a successful, prosperous, and well-known industrialist who had built successful spinning mills all over Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut.

Cotton Weaving and Other Industries, 1832-1876

After Slater's departure, Almy & Brown became Almy & Jenkins, who operated the mill from 1833-1856, followed by Henry and Edwin Jerauld in 1856-1865, and Francis Pratt and Job L. Spencer/Gideon L. Spencer in 1865-1876. The mill was again expanded during this period in c.1850, c.1869, and c.1872, resulting in a three-story addition on its west side, which also helped make the building's former attic space usable. The building's foundation was also raised in 1855 to heighten the ceiling on the first floor. These changes allowed the owners to rent space to other businesses engaged in textile and non-textile pursuits, including the manufacture of sheeting, shirts, yarn, twine, and thread.

Similar business models were employed by owners of other factories nearby, as the roster of tenants changed over the years. New buildings were constructed, occupying available spaces along Mill Street (now Roosevelt Avenue) and other new streets connecting to the stone arch bridge built in 1858 across Pawtucket Falls. Although the riverbanks featured pockets of vegetation, most of the riverfront was characterized by buildings, alleys, and workyards.

From Production to Preservation, 1876-1925

Over the next five decades, new owners were introduced and old partnerships were renewed: Erastus B. Sampson operated the mill from 1876-1886, Gideon L. Spencer returned in 1886-1902, and Job L. Spencer and S. Willard Thayer owned the mill from 1902-1923. In 1895 Job L. Spencer stopped weaving cotton, ending a 103-year history of cotton production at Slater Mill. But the diversity of tenants was at its peak, and included makers of twine and thread, afghan robes, steam carriages, jewelry tools, hats, and shoe strings. The mill even hosted a business that rented bicycles. The diversity of uses at the mill and in the surrounding properties reflected a shift in New England's textile industry, as production began to move first to the South, and ultimately offshore. The one-time industrial dominance of the Blackstone Valley – and New England in general – faded dramatically; half of the mill buildings in the North Lot were gone by 1902. However, many local firms were able to adapt for a time by concentrating on specialized niches in the textile industry, or by diversifying into other industries.[3] During this transition, Old Slater Mill Slater Mill fell into disrepair and suffered from deferred maintenance.[4]

A major shift in the use of Old Slater Mill came in the early 1920s. S. Willard Thayer had purchased the mill and Slater Lot on behalf of the Old Slater Mill Association (OSMA), a group of local businessmen with long ties to the textile industry. The OSMA was one of the first American organizations to focus on the preservation of the country's industrial history. Their purpose in restoring the mill and opening it as a museum was to commemorate the country's first cotton mill and the beginning of the American Industrial Revolution. With the framework of the mill in good condition, the OSMA decided on a c.1835 appearance,

thus removing the west wing but keeping the north, south, and stairtower additions that extended from the original 1793 core, as well as the raised brick foundation. Thayer transferred the property to the OSMA in 1923, and these changes, and the removals of all other buildings on the lot, including Samuel Slater's house, were completed in 1925. The Great Flume, tailrace and arch, and footbridge were retained, but only as vestiges of a former industrial area transforming into a tourist attraction.[5]

Old Slater Mill Museum and Grounds, 1925-1973

The OSMA directed their remaining funds to landscaping the now empty Slater Lot with lawns, trees, and a few paths from 1925 to 1940, but after this effort there was not enough money to develop and open the site as a full time museum. Subsequent fundraising lagged during the Depression and World War II, but several changes were completed to the grounds, including rebuilding the river wall, filling in a portion of the Great Flume east of the mill, and constructing a boiler house to heat the mill. Meanwhile, factory owners in the North, South, and East Lots began repurposing or removing some of their buildings, many of which became informal parking areas. In 1955, the museum opened to the public, with attendance bolstered by special exhibits, outreach programs, and the involvement of local clubs.

The next major change occurred in the 1960s as part of urban renewal, when the construction of the nearby Interstate 95 corridor prompted the City of Pawtucket to reconsider the future of their riverfront and downtown. At this time historic Old Slater Mill, as well as adjacent lands comprised of the North, South, and East Lots, were designated a National Historic Landmark. With the vision of creating a riverfront park, the city and OSMA demolished the remaining buildings and structures on the three lots and replaced them with new lawns, trees, and walks. Of all of the factories razed, only the Wilkinson Mill was saved and restored. The historic cottage of Sylvanus Brown, located south of downtown, was saved and eventually moved to a permanent site between the two mills in 1973, creating the site's three-building core area. The North Lot became a parking lot, while the open spaces in the South and East Lots became Hodgson-Rotary Park and Slater Mill Park, respectively. At this time, a contemporary landscape of new walkways, patio spaces, and plantings was installed to unify the core area and connect it to the rest of the 4.23-acre site, which became known as Slater Mill Historic Site.

Slater Mill Historic Site, 1973-2021

The first substantial loss of industrial buildings in the vicinity of Old Slater Mill had occurred by 1902, and again in 1925 when OSMA cleared the Slater Lot. However, the removal of all other buildings in the adjacent lots in the late 1960s left Old Slater Mill standing alone on the riverbank, and erased all context of the

former industrialized area. The contemporary landscaping installed around the mill by the OSMA and the city transformed the setting into an attractive and popular community space, but further distanced the building and its surroundings from its industrial past.[6] However, this did not prevent the site's inclusion within the boundaries of the Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor, established in 1986 to preserve and interpret the region's pivotal role in the early industrialization of America.

In 1982 archeological investigations allowed the OSMA to reconstruct the Great Flume into and around the Wilkinson Mill. Raceway water, and tailrace water from the Wilkinson Mill, was channeled to an underground pipe that exited through an outlet in the river wall. The grounds surrounding the Great Flume and surrounding core area were redesigned in 2001 to enhance interpretation and improve visitor accessibility, and included new walks and patios, demonstration gardens, and additional trees, shrubs, and lawns. In 2014 Slater Mill Historic Site became part of the Blackstone River Valley National Historical Park, a partnership park established to help preserve, protect, and interpret the nationally significant resources that exemplified the industrial heritage of the Blackstone River Valley. In 2021, the OSMA ended its century-long ownership of Old Slater Mill, transferring it and the 4.23-acre property to the National Park Service.

ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

The 4.23-acre Slater Mill Historic Site possesses national-level significance based on National Historic Landmark and National Register of Historic Places criteria. The "Old Slater Mill" site was designated a National Historic Landmark (NHL) under Criterion 1, Theme XVII-b, Commerce and Industry, on November 13, 1966. According to the documentation, "Old Slater Mill in Pawtucket memorializes the beginning of the cotton spinning industry in the United States. Using British-inspired machinery, the mill opened in 1793 and not only made its owners wealthy but stimulated widespread imitation in America." [7] The "Old Slater Mill/ Slater Mill Historic Site" was documented in the National Register under Criterion A in the areas of Industry and Invention on March 12, 1976. According to the documentation, "Pawtucket, Rhode Island has been called 'the birthplace of America's 'Industrial Revolution.' Here, the English immigrant Samuel Slater perfected America's first successful water-powered spinning machinery in 1790 and, together with the Providence merchants William Almy and Smith Brown, built this country's first successful cotton mill in 1793. Based on this beginning, together with the machine-building skills of local craftsmen who had earlier erected forges and mills for lumber and grain at Pawtucket Falls, the American textile industry was launched."[8]

The 1976 National Register documentation also described the historic Wilkinson Mill, Sylvanus Brown House, and the upper and lower dams, but did not document other features in the landscape, otherwise described as "four acres of parkland." This report has identified additional historic features that are significant under Criterion A in the areas of Industry and Invention: the Great Flume raceway, stone tailrace and arch, stone and concrete river walls/foundation walls, foundation remnants, and the bridge over the Great Flume. These historic landscape features should be documented in a future National Register update.

An analysis of the National Historic Landmark and National Register documentation forms suggests the period of significance for the site begins in 1793 when Old Slater Mill and the raceways became operational, and ends in 1925 when the OSMA completed the Colonial Revival restoration effort at the mill and cleared the remaining buildings and structures on the Slater Lot. This period encompasses the site's historic landscape resources, but does not include the OSMA's restoration efforts at the Wilkinson Mill or Sylvanus Brown House.

Evaluation of Landscape Significance, Characteristics, and Features

The landscape at Slater Mill Historic Site has undergone dramatic change, beginning with the removal of neighboring buildings and structures on the Slater Lot by 1925 and on the other three lots by the late 1960s. These decisions forever changed the site's historic character from a crowded and bustling industrial riverfront to a open and passive recreational space. Therefore, the 4.23-acre landscape as a whole is not significant and does not contribute to the property's National Register listing and historic character. Several individual landscape features –the Great Flume raceway, stone tailrace and arch, stone and concrete river walls/foundation walls, foundation remnants, and the bridge over the Great Flume – contribute to the site's historic significance and character. But the other landscape features that dominate the site – walks, lawns, and plantings – do not contribute, but do provide a pleasant contemporary setting for the site's remaining historic features.

PRELIMINARY TREATMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

This report identifies projects that will improve the legibility and longevity of several extant historic features present around the time of Samuel Slater and endured through 1925. The projects will help visitors appreciate their original designs and functions, and their support of Pawtucket's role in America's industrial revolution. The projects include:

- Reveal the partially filled-in portion of the Great Flume raceway to visibly reestablish the historic connection between the raceway and the Blackstone River and the peninsula-shaped landform between the river and raceway.

- Reconstruct the gangway over the Great Flume to demonstrate how it regulated the amount of raceway water entering Old Slater Mill and other downstream factories.
- Remove vegetation at historic features to maintain and preserve their stone, brick, and concrete construction.
- Advance existing plans improving access to the East Lot (Slater Mill Park) and enhancing views from this area to the river and the core historic buildings on the west riverbank.
- Reveal missing raceway features in the South Lot (Hodgson-Rotary Park), either through design enhancements informed by archeological research or the development of a new water feature that gestures to the important role of water.

ENDNOTES

1 John Warren, "National Park Service Acquires Old Slater Mill," 31 March 2021, https://www.nps.gov/blrv/learn/news/nps-acquires-old-slater-mill.htm

2 *Pawtucket, Rhode Island,* https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pawtucket_Rhode_Island.

3 National Park Service, *Blackstone River Valley Special Resource Study* [SRS], Boston, MA: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Northeast Region, Park Planning and Special Studies, 2011: 26.

4 Review comments, Lauren Laham, 5 April 2021.

5 Sarah Leavitt, *Images of America: Slater Mill*, Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 1997: 9; Emma J.H. Dyson, and Louis P. Hutchins, *Historic American Engineering Record* [HAER], *Addendum to Old Slater Mill, HAER No. RI-1,* Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, August 1991: 22.

6 LeeAnne Brooks and Lauren Laham, *Slater Mill, Historic Structure Report* [HSR], *Blackstone River Valley National Historical Park, Pawtucket, Rhode Island.* Lowell, MA: National Park Service, Northeast Region, Historic Structure, Research, and Documentation Branch, Historic Architecture, Conservation, and Engineering Center, 2018: 29; Leavitt 1997: 9.

7 S. Sydney Bradford, "United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings: Old Slater Mill," 1965: np.

8 Blanche Higgins Schroer, *National Register of Historic Places* [NR], *Inventory-Nomination Form: Old Slater Mill,* Washington DC: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1975, Sec. 8: np.

Old Slater Mill Archives

SITE HISTORY

This chapter describes the physical evolution of the Slater Mill Historic Site, presented in five time periods: Early Settlement and Early Industry, to 1793; Almy, Brown & Slater's Mill, 1793-1832; Cotton Weaving and Other Industries, 1832-1876; From Production to Preservation, 1876-1925; Old Slater Mill Museum and Grounds, 1925-1973; and Slater Mill Historic Site, 1973-2021.

EARLY SETTLEMENT AND EARLY INDUSTRY, TO 1793

This section summarizes the geology of the Blackstone River Valley and the influence of the river on indigenous and European settlers, the establishment of Pawtucket by ironworker Joseph Jenckes, Jr. in 1671, and the successful opening of the country's first water-powered textile mill by Samuel Slater and others in 1793.

THE BLACKSTONE VALLEY AND NATIVE AMERICAN SETTLEMENT

The Blackstone Valley was formed by glacial action during the Laurentide Glaciation, around 15,000 years ago. As the mile-thick glacier moved south it pushed aside rocks and earth, creating a wide trench. With the glacier's retreat, meltwater flowed through the trench to begin a long process of erosion that gradually shaped the river's course, which today covers 48 miles and drops 438 feet in elevation. Beginning in Worcester, Massachusetts, the river heads southeast through Millbury, Sutton, Grafton, Northbridge, Uxbridge, Millville, and Blackstone, and then into Rhode Island through North Smithfield, Woonsocket, Cumberland, Lincoln, Central Falls, and Pawtucket. Just below Pawtucket Falls, the fall line, the Blackstone River becomes a brackish tidal estuary and flows into the Seekonk River just north of Providence, which empties into Narragansett Bay.[1]

Paleamericans arrived in the area about 12,000 years ago, by which time the bare and gouged post-glacial landscape had given way to spruce forests.[2] Over the next 2,000 years the climate warmed and the landscape transitioned to a pine-oak forest.[3] From around 8000 BCE to 1000 BCE, the early Americans followed the seasons, traveling the area in search of food. They developed the atlatl or spear-thrower to extend the range and force of their hunting weapons, made tools and utensils of ground (as well as chipped) stone, including easily-carved steatite from quarries in neighboring localities, and built weirs (traps made of sticks and twigs)

to facilitate the catching of fish.[4] From 1000 BCE to the time of contact with European explorers and settlers, the early Americans introduced pottery, the bow and arrow, and agriculture.[5]

The Blackstone River is named after the area's first European settler, William Blackstone, but its earlier Native American name was "Kittacuck," which meant "the great tidal river."[6] The river served as a boundary among the Narragansett, Wampanoag, and Nipmuc.[7] The Narragansett controlled the southern Rhode Island part of the valley, including the river mouth. To the north and east lay the western boundary of lands dominated by the Wampanoag, whose major territories lay in southeastern Massachusetts. The Nipmuc occupied the northern and western reaches of the river and most of the remainder of Worcester County, Massachusetts.[8]

The Native American groups were loosely organized under local leaders called sachems, and lived in semi-permanent villages where they cleared fields for the annual planting of corn, beans, squash and tobacco, and fished from the clean waters of the river. When the soil was depleted they would move on and clear new fields. In their search for food and fertile soil, they developed a major trail along the length of the river and a number of minor trails throughout the valley.[9] By the early seventeenth century, this pattern of life had already been severely disrupted as a result of infectious diseases unknowingly introduced by early explorers, fishermen, and fur traders. A large part of the population may have been wiped out as early as 1616-1617 and another major epidemic passed over the area in 1633-1634.[10]

Pawtucket Falls

In the lower Blackstone Valley, Native Americans hunted, fished, and camped, as evidenced by lithic technologies and wampum (shellbeads).[11] The falls at "Pawtucket," an Algonquian name for "river fall," was a particularly important gathering place to harvest salmon and smaller fish.[12] Early maps of the river depict a large rock outcropping downstream from the falls, variously named "Fisher Rock" and "Fishing Rock." Several Native American paths converged at Pawtucket Falls, with stepping stones connecting the two riverbanks across a ford below the falls.[13]

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT

The Blackstone River's namesake, Reverend William Blackstone (original spelling William Blaxton), arrived in Weymouth, Massachusetts in 1623, and became the first European settler of present-day Boston in 1625. Blackstone invited the Puritans to settle on his land, but disagreed with the leaders of the Boston church and in 1635 relocated around 35 miles southwest into what was then the Plymouth Colony and later Cumberland, Rhode Island.[14] Blackstone thus became the first

Figure 1.1. View looking east at the historical marker identifying a boundary of the land deed. It is located just north of Pawtucket City Hall at the Exchange Street Bridge. (Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation [hereafter OCLP] 2020, IMG-20200105-114435)

European to settle along the river, which at this point was known by the Native Americans as the Pawtucket River.[15] By 1823 maps labeled the river as both Pawtucket and Blackstone.

The first mention of Pawtucket in connection with the Europeans is with Roger Williams and Narragansett sachems Miantonomi and Canonicus. Seeking religious freedom, Williams had left the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1636 and founded Providence (later the City of Providence) and Providence Plantations (later the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations and now the State of Rhode Island), where there was suitable land for farming and pasturage.[16] Miantonomi's deed given to Williams granted the use of certain meadows up the stream of Pawtucket for a cow pasture. The northern boundary of this territory was "the river and fields of Pawtucket," four miles from Providence, which likely referred to land bordering the river's west bank (Figure 1.1).[17] Over the next few decades, the names of Ezekiel Holliman, Thomas Estance, John Smith, Gregory Dextor, Stukely Westcott, and Abel Potter owned land in this area, while Richard Scott and Daniel Comstack built homes.[18] By 1659 Providence was extended to include all of the west of the river (present-day Providence County) and westward to the present-day state boundary (Figure 1.2).[19] The land on the east side of the

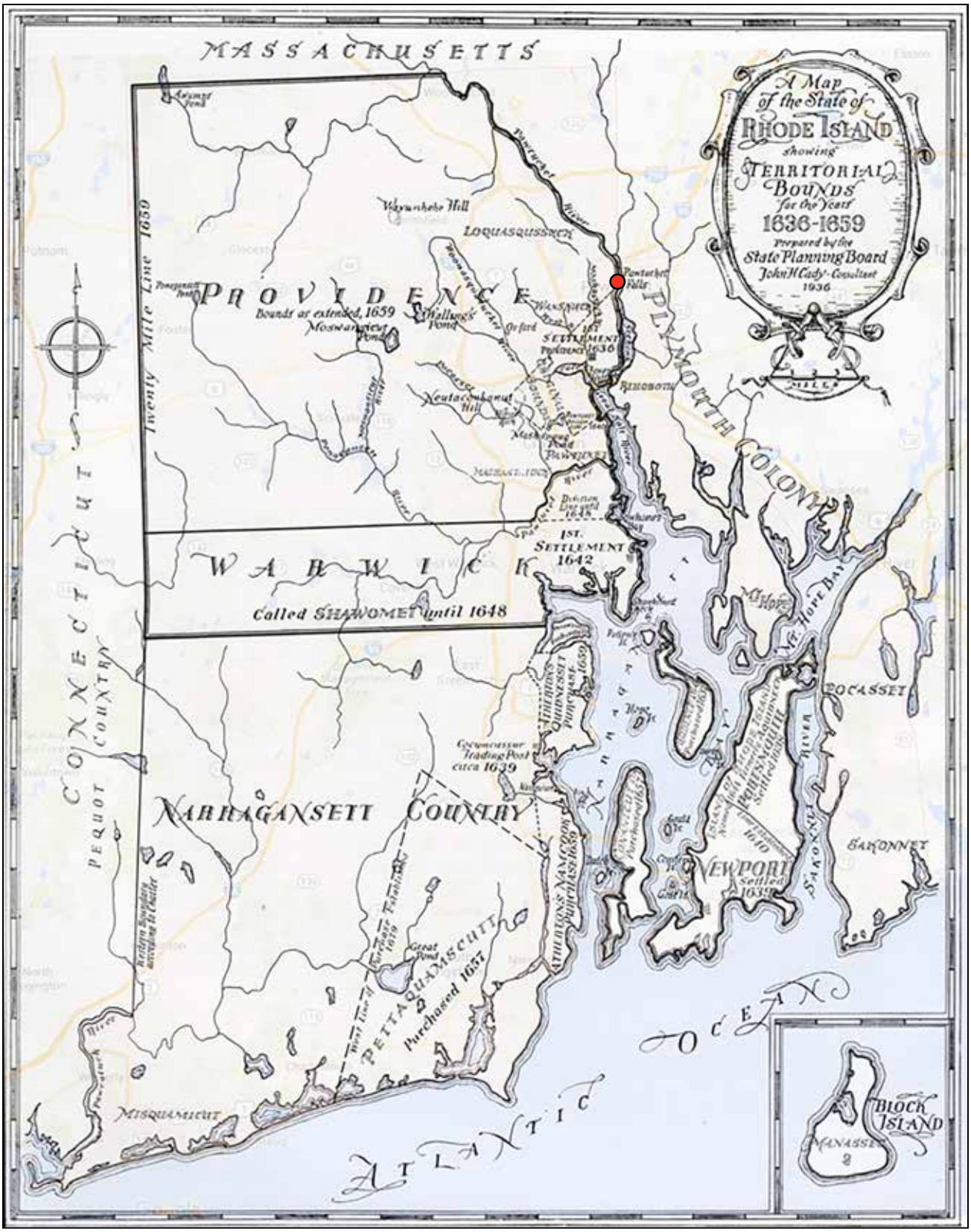


Figure 1.2. Map showing state boundaries in 1659. Pawtucket is shown with a red dot. (John H. Cady and William A. Perry. "A Map of the State of Rhode Island showing Territorial Bounds for the Year 1636-1659, Prepared by the State Planning Board, John H. Cady, Consultant, 1936." From Carter Roger Williams Initiative, "Rhode Island Boundaries," http://www.findingrogerwilliams.com/maps/cady_interactive)

river was part of Rehoboth in the Plymouth Colony, incorporated in 1645.[20] In 1692, the Plymouth Colony, Massachusetts Bay Colony, and other territories became the Province of Massachusetts, part of which today is the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Like William Blackstone and Roger Williams, many of the first European settlers in the Blackstone Valley were religious dissidents fleeing Boston. Many were Quakers, seeking the freedom to practice their religious beliefs in a more tolerant society. Most were farmers, but the valley's generally poor and stony soils made farming difficult. Other settlers saw opportunities in the valley's other natural resources. By the late 1660s a man named Gregory Dexter was mining and processing lime from Lime Rock (now in Lincoln, Rhode Island), one of the country's first and oldest industrial sites. Another was Joseph Jenckes, Jr, who may have been the first individual to put the river to work. A skilled ironworker who arrived in 1671, Joseph, Jr. was attracted by the valley's abundant water power and wood, and the proximity of bog iron.[21]

Joseph Jenckes, Jr. and the Village of Pawtucket

The transition from a sparsely populated spot on the river to the village of Pawtucket is credited to Joseph Jenckes, Jr. (1628-1717), the son of Joseph Jenckes (1599-1683) who was associated with the country's first successful iron works in Lynn (now Saugus), Massachusetts.[22] With the closure of the Lynn operations, Joseph Jr. sought to apply his skills in his own ironmaking enterprise. On October 1671 Jenckes, Jr. purchased sixty acres of land on the west side of the river from Abel Potter, building a forge, saw mill, and carpenter shop, and later operating an iron furnace and foundry.[23] Jenckes and his family also built a home near the forge, on the south side of today's Main Street at East Avenue.[24]

In 1675 the Jenckes home and forge in the village were destroyed during King Philips War, an armed conflict between Native American inhabitants, and European colonists and their Native American allies. European settlers and Native Americans had generally coexisted in the previous decades, engaging in land transactions and trade, but after the death of Wampanoag sachem Massasoit and his son Wamsutta (King Alexander) in 1662, his remaining son Metacomet (King Philip) became the new sachem.[25] Frustrated at the influx of new settlers, Native Americans engaged in increasingly frequent skirmishes with European communities.[26] Nearly every home, cabin, and barn in the Blackstone Valley was burned to the ground, including the late William Blackstone's house. Several communities had to be temporarily abandoned in the northern (Massachusetts) parts of the valley, but in the southern (Rhode Island) parts most communities amounted to no more than a few scattered homesteads at this time. The exception was Providence, which also lost most of its homes.[27]

King Philip died in 1676 and the war ended the following year.[28] Populations of Native American communities subsequently declined, and over time only traces of camps, shelters, quarries, burials, and tool-making sites remained.[29] Reconstruction of colonial villages commenced immediately after the war in the southern part of the valley and but not until the early 1700's in the northern part due to continued but isolated Native American attacks, and the fear of them.[30] Among the individuals returning to the Pawtucket Village was Joseph Jenckes, Jr., who rebuilt his home and business.[31]

At the turn of the eighteenth century, most villages in the Massachusetts part of the Blackstone Valley had been built on similar patterns – a meetinghouse on a village green or common, with houses clustered around the green or dispersed as outlying farmsteads along the principal roads. This plan was evident in the new Massachusetts towns of Sutton (1714), New Sherborn (now Douglas, c.1715), Uxbridge (1727), Grafton (1734), and Upton (1735). A quite different pattern prevailed in Providence, which was consciously and deliberately founded without any establishment of religion. Providence (and the rest of the valley's Rhode Island towns) originally had no green or common, and no church building.[32] In Providence, narrow lots were laid out fronting on the Providence and Moshassuck rivers, and the town's civic center developed around the site of a gristmill erected in 1646 by John Smith. A similar story occurred in Pawtucket, where the small village grew alongside the river and falls.

EARLY INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Europeans continued to flock to the Blackstone Valley in the eighteenth century, attracted by the area's rich and abundant resources. The region remained largely agricultural through the century, though urban centers like Worcester and Providence began to emerge as market and financial centers.[33] Smaller nodes of industrial activity began to form in Pawtucket, with incoming artisans and craftsmen nurturing the village economy of ironworking and machine-building.[34] These successes were due in no small part to the narrow and fast flowing Blackstone River, and especially the thirty-foot drop at Pawtucket Falls, both of which were well-suited to the needs of industry. In addition, Pawtucket was only four miles upstream by navigable water from Providence.[35]

One of the largest problems encountered by the mills was not with the availability of raw materials or labor, but the lack of reliable land transportation to the markets. Former Native American trails had been used and developed into roads by early European settlers, but at the turn of the eighteenth century roads in the valley were uniformly poor, despite sporadic attempts to improve them.[36] Pawtucket had the advantage of being on the primary route connecting Boston and Providence.[37] This route was improved at Pawtucket in 1713 by one of Joseph Jenckes Jr's. sons, Joseph Jenckes III (1656-1740) who advocated for construc-

tion of the first bridge across Pawtucket Falls, one of the earliest bridges in the country.[38] However, a dispute between Rhode Island and Massachusetts concerning who controlled lands to the west resulted in divided responsibility of bridge maintenance that ultimately resulted in its deterioration and removal.[39] Another son of Joseph Jr., William Jenckes (1674-1765), helped build a second bridge at the falls sometime between 1735 and 1741. Both colonies funded the bridge, but it reignited the lingering land dispute matter that was not settled until 1862. This bridge crossing was located at what is now the current Main Street Bridge.[40]

Several modifications were made to the flow of river water at Pawtucket Falls. In 1714 a narrow waterway named Sargeant's Trench was excavated on the west side of the river, using a side river channel that was destroyed by the construction of the first bridge. The trench circumvented the falls and aided the passage of fish upstream, and was later dammed by the Jenckes family to provide power for their growing iron and sawmill concerns. In 1718 a dam was constructed at the top of the falls to control water flow.[41] By 1730 the Jenckes family built an anchor shop, and soon after extended Sargeant's Trench seventy-five to one hundred feet upstream to increase the available water power.[42] Sometime before 1754 the family constructed a second anchor shop nearby. Later historic maps indicate the earlier (lower) anchor shop was near the outlet of the trench and the later (upper) anchor shop was at its approximate midpoint, just south of Main Street (Figure 1.3).[43] These shops firmly established the role of Sargeant's Trench as a millrace.[44]

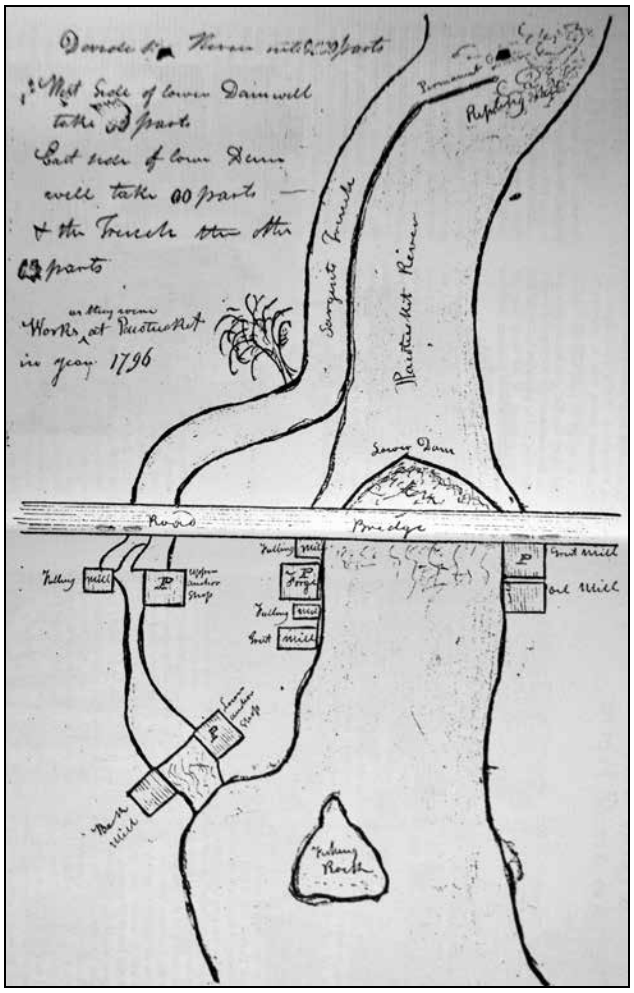


Figure 1.3. Sketch map of Sargeant's Trench, possibly showing conditions in 1796 and the locations of the two Jenckes anchor shops. A survey map from 1823 confirms similar locations (see Figure 1.7). (*The Flyer*, August 1973: 8-9)

The Jenckes forge and other shops became a successful, multi-generational family business, specializing in ships' anchors, firearms, and assorted tools, household implements, and equipment for hunters, fishermen, farmers, and other local residents. Their success attracted more settlement to Pawtucket as well as additional industrial development on both sides of the river, including sawmills, grist mills, oil mills, potash manufacturers, and shipyards.[45]

In 1765 the northern section of Providence became the Town of North Providence, Rhode Island, which included Pawtucket Village on the west side of the Blackstone River. Village land on the east side of the river remained within the Town of Rehoboth, Massachusetts.[46]

Sylvanus Brown and the Wilkinsons

Among the artisans and craftsmen who headed to Pawtucket were Sylvanus Brown and the Wilkinson family. Sylvanus Brown (1749-1822) was skilled at pattern-making and carpentry, and had experience building water-powered mills. He arrived in 1784, purchasing half of a multi-family house built by Nathan Jenckes (grandson of Joseph Jenckes, Jr.) on the west side of the river in 1758.[47] The home was sited on a slope and the front faced west to Quaker Lane (today's East Street), which led to a landing place below the falls. To the north was a Jenckes blacksmith shop, to the east Sargeant's Trench, and to the south a small field.[48] Oziel Wilkinson (1744-1815) was a skilled blacksmith and his son David (1771-1853) was a machinist. They arrived in the mid-1770s from Smithfield, Rhode Island, and set up a forge in the then unused lower Jenckes anchor shop.[49] Later they moved to a shop located north of Main Street that was powered by water from Sargeant's Trench. The Wilkinsons also manufactured nails, screws, and farm implements.[50]

War and Diversification

In the years leading up to the Revolutionary War, the Providence end of the Blackstone Valley was the major focus of anti-British activity. After the opening of formal hostilities, a system of warning beacons was set up along the length of the valley, including one in Cumberland. Many valley men joined the local militias, and Oziel Wilkinson and Stephen Jenckes (grandson of Joseph Jenckes Jr.) reportedly helped manufacture cannon and muskets.[51] Arms were stockpiled at various colonial homes in the valley, but in the end there were no battles in the Pawtucket area.[52] However, to the north Worcester served as a communications center and supply depot, and to the south Providence sold weapons and ships to the Continental Army.[53] Because the economic fortunes of the Blackstone Valley and Providence were so closely interwoven, perhaps the most lasting effect from the war came from the destruction of Newport, Rhode Island, by the British, which allowed Providence to become the state's commercial capital in the decades following the Revolution.[54]

After the war, people of the Blackstone Valley, like the rest of the Nation, quickly turned their attention to the task of making a living.[55] While processing and manufacturing occupied important positions, the area was still largely rural and agrarian. Cattle were raised and their hides were used to make shoes, boots, saddlery, harnesses, gloves, caps, belts and whips, and leather byproducts produced soap, grease, tallow and candles. Wood, an abundant raw material in the valley, was turned into potash, pearl ash, shingles, barrel staves, tool handles, boxes, shoe lasts, spindles, furniture, boats, and wagons in small, decentralized workshops.[56] Quarrying activities were extensive, as the valley was rich in steatite, granite, and limestone.[57] Home-based cottage industries also emerged in the form of weaving

and spinning yarn, which produced straw hats, bonnets, and palm leaf hats and baskets.[58] By 1790 Pawtucket Village consisted of about 50 houses on either side of the Blackstone, several well established industrial enterprises, and a few roads, including Main Street, which crossed the river just below the falls and linked the village with both Providence and Boston.[59]

Although the British had lost dominion over the American colonies during the Revolutionary War, they intensified efforts to restrict the export of technology or skilled mechanics, and thus limit the colonies to the production of raw materials rather than finished goods.[60] One type of goods was textiles, and in the colonies there was growing interest in using machines to manufacture textiles. Attempts to build such machines were encouraged by city and state officials and merchants, and embraced by mechanics who had the skills to construct machines but not Britain's technology. Nonetheless, in the last half of the 1780s experimentation began in Philadelphia, New York City, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and in three towns and villages in Rhode Island, including Pawtucket.[61] For its part, the waters of the Blackstone River would be harnessed even more, positioning Pawtucket to achieve greater things in the coming decades.[62]

Moses Brown and Experimentation

As merchants and mechanics were attempting to replicate British textile machines, a former Quaker merchant and intellectual in Providence named Moses Brown was following these experiments with interest. Brown was one of many venture capitalists who were trying to be the first in America to industrialize thread and cloth production to reduce the young country's dependency on England.[63] Brown operated a textile workshop in Providence with his son-in-law William Almy and his cousin Smith Brown that produced hand-spun and woven goods. When the Revolution disrupted the family's other industries he became determined to turn textile production into a large-scale operation by instituting a system of water-frame machinery.[64]

Seeing the advantage of water-powered machines, but having no access to any, Moses Brown, and Almy and Brown, began the process of creating their own by amending existing hand-powered machines to suit their needs. Early in 1789 Brown purchased several spinning machines and a carding machine, and set them up in a small fulling mill he owned on the west side of Pawtucket Falls, just above the original Jenckes forge.[65] Sylvanus Brown, Oziel and David Wilkinson, Daniel and Richard Anthony, and other local mechanics contributed to the construction of several models as employees of Almy and Brown. However, after several unsuccessful experiments with the locally-designed machinery, the need to find qualified designers and operators of the machinery became clear.[66]

SAMUEL SLATER AT PAWTUCKET

Samuel Slater was born in 1768 in Derbyshire, England, an agricultural area that during Slater's childhood was undergoing intense economic and technological changes. As he grew up on the family farm, the nearby Derwent River was being harnessed to power a growing number of cotton mills. His father had business dealings with a number of the early mill owners and when Samuel was 14 years old, he arranged to have Samuel apprentice with Jedidiah Strutt, a cotton miller.[67] In January 1783 after his father's unexpected death, Samuel Slater signed indenture papers and left home to live with the Strutt family.[68]

Slater apprenticed with Strutt for seven years. Paul Rivard, correcting a popular portrayal of Slater's background, wrote:

> "Contrary to the image that has sometimes been suggested, Slater was not a poor laborer; he was neither a mechanic nor a mill operative. Instead he was really a management trainee. Because of his father's high standing in the community Samuel was accorded the opportunity of pursuing the highest level of management training. He was one of Strutt's right hand men, he lived at the master's home, and through his untouched inheritance he was also wealthy.[69]

Strutt was a business partner with Richard Arkwright, a prominent inventor who established the world's first water-powered cotton mill and employed weavers and their families to work the machinery in his factory.[70] He constructed housing for the families to live in, and kept them on a rigid work schedule in his mill. Because many large families worked in the mill, the majority of Arkwright's employees were children.[71] Slater's training was concerned primarily with bookkeeping, mathematical calculations, and administering a textile mill. The Arkwright machinery with which Slater became familiar during his apprenticeship included machines to card, draw out, and spin cotton, and Slater came to have a thorough knowledge of them. Very importantly, he learned about water-powered machinery, and how to construct, maintain, and improve it.[72]

Slater witnessed the remarkable growth in England's textile industry, especially after Arkwright's patents on the machinery were overturned in 1785, which lead to wide-open competition. After the apprenticeship Slater remained to supervise construction of a new factory, and although he was likely assured a future in England, he began considering emigration to the United States after he came across a Philadelphia newspaper article that offered a "liber bounty" to encourage English textile workers to come to the United States.[73] However, according to Rivard, it was "Slater's concern for the over-extension of the textile industry in England that led him to come to America."[74] Because England in 1789 still prohibited the export of technology and migration of mill workers to protect its cotton industry, Slater sailed to New York City in September 1789 disguised as a farm laborer to avoid getting caught. However, such laws were apparently not strictly enforced, as Slater carried with him his indenture papers as proof of his qualifications.[75]

Samuel Slater and Moses Brown

At 21 years of age, equipped with knowledge of the Arkwright system and the business of manufacturing, Samuel Slater arrived in New York City where he briefly worked for the New York Manufacturing Company, a small textile mill.[76] There he learned of Moses Brown's experiments with the use of Arkwright-type machines, and began corresponding with Brown. "I flatter myself," wrote a confident Slater on December 2, 1789, "that I can give the greatest satisfaction in making machinery," and left New York for Providence the following month.[77]

Moses Brown recorded Slater's arrival in Pawtucket on January 18, 1790, "When Samuel saw the old machines, he felt downhearted with disappointment, and shook his head and said, 'These will not do, they are good for nothing in their present condition, nor can they be made to answer.'" To which Brown replied, "Thee said that thee could make machinery. Why not do it?" The young man then said that he would undertake to construct the machine embodying the Arkwright patents. "Under my proposals," Slater added, "if I do not make as good yarn as they do in England, I will have nothing for my services but will throw the whole of what I have attempted over the bridge."[78]

Slater's Apprenticeship and Early Success

Samuel Slater began a ten week trial period with Almy and Brown to demonstrate his ability at managing the machinery operation. Slater rebuilt much of their previously-purchased machinery, and relied on the skills of the Wilkinsons, Sylvanus Brown, and others to design and fabricate new parts. By the end of the trial period he had an operational spinning frame using water power and the Arkwright technology.[79]

With this milestone, Slater signed a contract with Almy and Brown that permitted the old machinery to be removed and provided money for the construction of more spinning equipment. Slater's most important work in 1790 was on the carding and preparatory machines that were needed to complete the series of steps in the spinning process. Of these machines, the development of a functional carding machine was the most difficult problem and was not resolved until December 1790.[80] At this point Slater hired and trained children to operate the machinery, and began spinning cotton on December 20, 1790.[81]

During 1791 and 1792 Slater worked to establish the policies of industrial management that he had learned in England. Paul Rivard writes that it was in this management work that Slater probably made his biggest contribution to the textile industry in America. Slater insisted, for example, that a successful mill must operate its machinery at its fullest capacity, which was a contrast to the Almy and Brown policy of producing materials only in response to orders received. Slater strived to

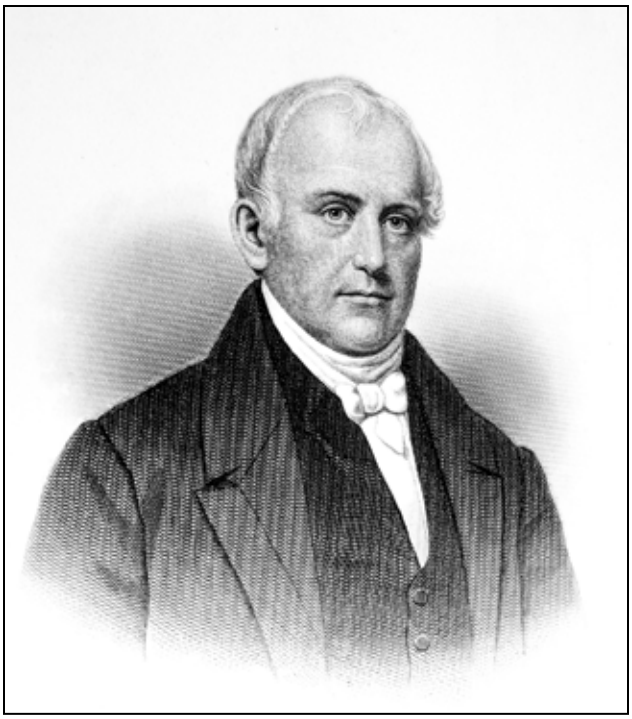


Figure 1.4. Samuel Slater. (Old Slater Mill Association [hereafter OSMA] Archives)

ensure that the machines manufactured as much yarn as possible, and he expected his partners to be developing markets to sell it (Figure 1.4).[82]

CONSTRUCTION OF ALMY, BROWN & SLATER'S MILL

Within a year, operations and production at Almy & Brown had grown enough for Moses Brown to back construction of a new water-powered cotton spinning mill. In late 1791 Brown selected a plot of land about 300 feet upstream from the old fulling mill site, and with Oziel Wilkinson, purchased the parcel from widow Cynthia Jenckes, land that was part of her husband Jonathan's estate.[83] Costing three hundred and fifty Spanish milled dollars, it consisted of approximately seven acres with accompanying water rights situated above the falls, on the west side of the Blackstone River.[84] Samuel Slater's role was to oversee construction and, after completion, to manage the manufacturing process. At this time Almy and Brown formed a separate firm with Samuel Slater, which was distinct from the remainder of their manufactures, for the sole purpose of operating the new spinning mill at Pawtucket Falls.[85]

Dam and Trench

The first order of business for Almy, Brown & Slater was to build a dam to power the new spinning mill's waterwheel. Construction of a wood frame [upper] dam began in July 1792, adjacent to the proposed mill and around 300 feet upstream from the earlier 1718 [lower] dam just above Pawtucket Falls. Oziel Wilkinson, one-third owner of the property and water rights, directed construction of the dam, which spanned the entire 180-foot width of the Blackstone River. By the end of August the builders had completed the framing, comprised of "fifty ox-cart loads of hewed timber, four thousand feet of two-inch plank, and one thousand weight of wrought iron."[86] A setback occurred on August 31 when three local residents, who had water privileges at the falls downstream, destroyed the partially completed structure. Admitting to the charges in court, they claimed the dam prevented the natural flow of water and based their defense on common-law rights to use of the river.[87] Despite of a protracted legal battle that eventually ended in settlement, construction of the dam quickly resumed. It was finished by the end of November when Slater asked Moses Brown to "come up to day as you have not yet seen the water run over the dam."[88]

To direct water to the mill from the mill pond created upstream by the new dam, arrangements were made to enlarge and extend Sargeant's Trench, which cir-

cumvented the main falls down river and powered several small factories. A new entrance to the raceway was dug just upstream from the mill and dam, where a "Great Flume" would take water off the mill pond and direct it to the east side of the spinning mill. The water would then flow through the so-called "Swift Flume" and then into Sargeant's Trench, feeding the water wheels of the mills downstream. Once excavated, flooring was installed in the raceway and gates were erected to control the flow of water under the mill and into the wheel pit. Abisha Washburn, a housewright, completed the "floom" and water sluice by April 1792.[89] In addition to the Great Flume entering the east side of the mill, a tailrace exited to the southwest side of the building and directly into the river.

Because of many subsequent modifications to the Great Flume, the exact configuration of the original raceway and tailrace is unknown. The alignment of the flume between the river and the east side of the mill created an isolated triangular-shaped peninsula, which was only accessible by a bridge or catwalk that held the gate mechanisms. Stone walls were likely built on the sides of the raceway to reinforce the banks and prevent erosion. The stone walls and a supporting stone arch were completed in the tailrace by November 13, 1793. Between this time and c.1840 a stone jetty was installed in the river just upstream from the arch, presumably to prevent the river current from blocking the flow of water exiting the tailrace.[90]

The Mill Building and Water Wheels

The wood-frame spinning mill was built with post-and-beam construction, possibly because wood was an abundant and available resource in New England, by Abisha Washburn and carpenter David Jenckes. According to the mill's plasterer, Benjamin Kingsley, the frame building measured 43 feet in length by 29 feet in width, and was 2.5 stories high (Figure 1.5). It was centered directly over the Great Flume and its primary building materials were white and yellow pine painted by James Mason. The mill had one outer door and twenty-eight windows, and featured a front-gabled, wood-shingled, common-rafter roof. Based on research or the 2018 Historic Structures Report, the building did not at this time have a clerestory or trapdoor monitor section of roofing. The building sat atop a stone foundation, which along with the raceway walls and tailrace walls and arch, was constructed using stone provided by William and Inigo Evelith.[91] Providence merchant Cyprian Sterry sold Almy and Brown a sixty-pound bell for six pounds sterling in November 1793, but it is not known if the bell was hung in a belfry or another location on the structure.[92]

The power system in the new factory differed in arrangement from other water-powered mills in the area.

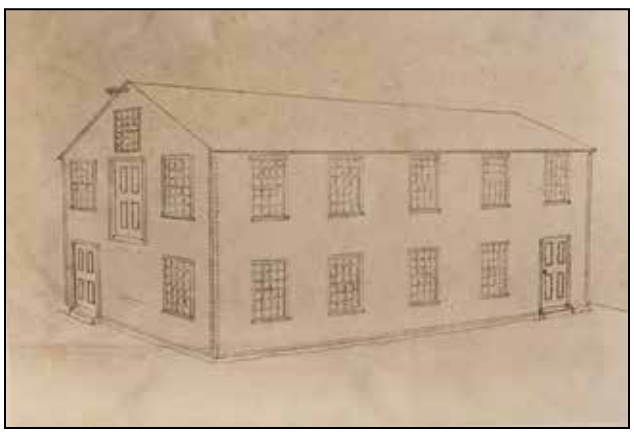


Figure 1.5. Original section of Slater Mill in 1793, based on the dimensions found in Benjamin Kingsley's plasterer's bill. (E.E. Nelson and D.W. Alden, *Original Form of Slater Mill, 1793,* 27 July 1951. OSMA Archives, from LeeAnne Brooks and Lauren Laham, *Slater Mill, Historic Structure Report* [hereafter HSR], *Blackstone River Valley National Historical Park, Pawtucket, Rhode Island,* Lowell, MA: National Park Service, Northeast Region, Historic Structure, Research, and Documentation Branch, Historic Architecture, Conservation, and Engineering Center, 2018: D-11)

Unlike a grist, bark, or fulling mill wheel, which powered one shaft at one particular speed, the water wheel in a spinning mill needed to run a number of different machines such as pickers, carding machines, and spinning frames that operated at different speeds. As such, the new mill necessitated a complex system of power distribution through shafts and pulleys.[93] To use the six and one-half foot drop of the dam to their best advantage, Almy, Brown & Slater likely outfitted the mill with a transversal axis breast wheel, which allowed water to flow directly and evenly onto the wheel. The wheel was located outside the building on the south or river side and covered by a wheel shed, a common arrangement of the period.[94]

Production Begins

Throughout the building period, manufacturing at the old fulling mill was stopped so that Slater could devote his energies towards the new construction, forcing Almy, Brown & Slater to tell one customer "it is not in our power to supply thee at present with the yarn thou wishes for – our spinning mills having been for some time past stopped by unavoidable circumstance."[95] In July 1793 the new mill was essentially completed and production began in August.[96] Correspondence indicates that the mill was lit by oil lamps, although candles were also used, and heating was by stoves. Slater wrote on November 9, "the chimney is like to be done today. Wish you would forward the stoves as fast as possible," but there appears to have been some delay since on November 14 he wrote again, "the children are quivering this morning at seeing it snowy and cold and no stoves."[97] In this same year, Hannah Wilkinson, Samuel Slater's wife and the daughter of Oziel Wilkinson, invented two-ply cotton thread. Samuel and Hannah had married in October 1791 and would have nine children (four died during infancy) until her death in 1812.[98]

LANDSCAPE SUMMARY, 1793

There is not enough information to prepare a period plan for 1793. However, an analysis of the sketch maps from 1796 as well as a later sketch map from 1823 verify the locations of the original section of Old Slater Mill, Sargeant's Trench, Swift Flume, and the Great Flume, all located north of the Main Street Bridge. These features are within the boundaries of the Slater Lot and the South Lot. Water impounded behind the upper dam flowed through these raceways and powered Old Slater Mill. In the coming decades this area would be densely filled with a variety of factories drawing upon the water power. The 1796 map indicates a tree at a turn in Sargeant's Trench. The extent of other woody vegetation at Pawtucket Falls is unknown, as some areas were cleared for building sites and construction of the raceways. Land uses in the North Lot and East Lot are unknown at this period in time.

In the 1796 map, Sargeant's Trench passed under Main Street and continued south of the Main Street Bridge, supplying additional manufactories along its course before draining into the river. Opposite this outlet and in the middle of the river was the "Fishing Rock." Two smaller concentrations of mills sat on both river banks just below the falls, powered by smaller raceways that drew water retained in the mill pond behind the lower dam.

ALMY, BROWN & SLATER'S MILL, 1793-1832

This section traces the growth of Almy, Brown & Slater's mill, which was expanded three times during this period. It also documents the construction of additional factories along the raceways, conflicts concerning water rights at Pawtucket Falls, and the growing influence of larger, steam-powered mills elsewhere in the Blackstone Valley. Space and power constraints at the mill, as well as an economic downturn in 1829, ended Slater's partnership with Almy and Brown in Pawtucket.

NEW CONSTRUCTION ALONG THE RACEWAYS

Almy, Brown & Slater concentrated on spinning in their new mill, and Slater sent the spun yarn to the Almy & Brown facility in Providence. However, related operations were also accomplished in the areas on the north and east sides of the mill, including much of the picking process, the starching of yarns, and the bleaching of cloth.[99] Over the next few years, the firm added new machinery to the inventory and modified the machines themselves, with artisans in Pawtucket and Providence manufacturing the necessary parts to order.[100] But even during this time there were recurring maintenance issues; on multiple occasions in 1795 Slater asked for planks to repair the Great Flume, complaining about its poor condition.[101]

Around the same time, new construction began to fill in the landscape around the mill, most notably a home for Samuel and Hannah Slater. Constructed in the 1790s, the 2-story wood-frame house stood around 100 feet to the west of the mill, where in 1799 Samuel held the country's first Sunday school.[102] In 1794-1795 Oziel Wilkinson built a rolling and slitting mill around 80 feet to the southwest of the mill, along the east side of the Great Flume.[103]

First Expansion of Slater Mill (North Extension, 1801)

After its opening in 1793, the cotton-spinning business at Almy, Brown & Slater's mill had grown steadily enough to warrant increasing the size of the building. In August-December 1801, a 2-story addition measuring 57 feet long and 30 feet wide was built onto the north end of the original mill building. The addition featured a gable roof and a cupola on the northern end of its gable roof, as shown later in a c.1817 sketch (Figure 1.6).[104] That same year, Moses Brown transferred

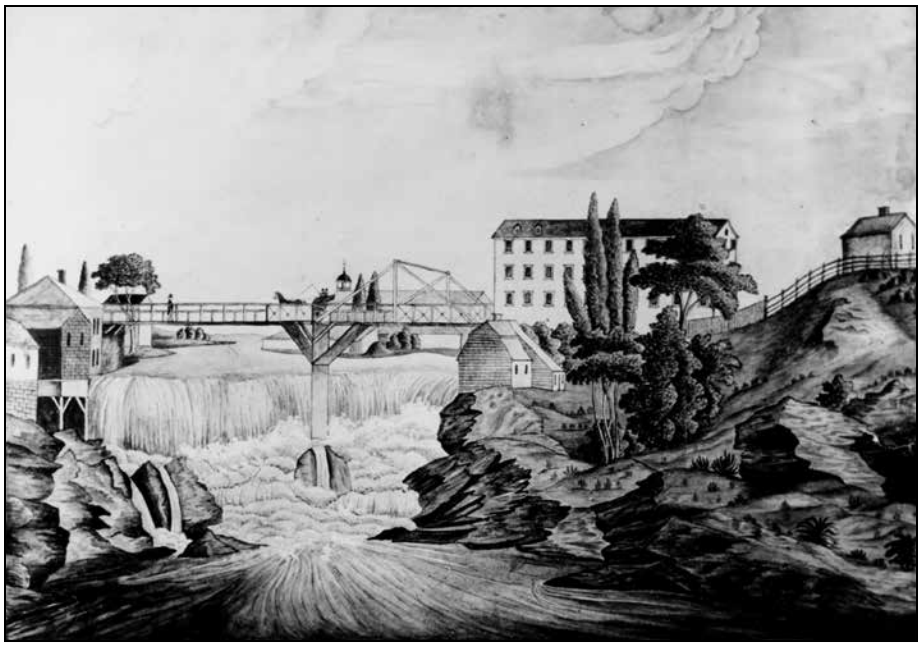


Figure 1.6. Painting looking north at Pawtucket Falls, c.1817. Old Slater Mill is depicted in the background with its 1801 addition and cupola. The three-story building at image right is the yellow mill, dating to 1805. Note the wood-truss Main Street Bridge. ("Pawtucket Bridge and Falls." Blanche Higgins Schroer, *National Register of Historic Places* [hereafter NR], *Inventory-Nomination Form: Old Slater Mill*, Washington DC: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1975)

the mill to William Almy, Obadiah Brown (Moses's son, who replaced Smith Brown), and Samuel Slater.[105]

East Side of River

Development also occurred on the east side of the Blackstone River. In 1797-1798 Slater established a second textile mill north of the Main Street Bridge (in the future East Lot). The "White Mill," as it was called, was opened in partnership with his father-in-law Oziel Wilkinson and Timothy Greene, under the name Samuel Slater and Company. Like the Almy, Brown & Slater mill on the opposite bank, the White Mill was powered by a flume of river water that began at the east end of the upper dam. At the White Mill, Slater employed his philosophy of manufacturing without interference from his more conservative partners. Advertising his yarns throughout the East, he proved the viability of a much larger operation that focused on mass production of specialized products.[106]

In 1805 yet another mill was built at Pawtucket Falls, a 3-story building known as the "Yellow Mill" on the east side of the river and south of the Main Street Bridge.[107] Samuel Slater continued to expand his business interests as well, establishing another mill twenty miles upstream in 1806 with his brother John, who also emigrated from England, and Almy and Brown. The Slaters built a village around the new mill and named it Slatersville.[108]

Mill construction around Pawtucket Falls was consistent with a larger trend in New England, where small- to moderate-sized cotton mills sprang up along the waterways. The need for them to increase capacity began in 1807 when President Thomas Jefferson blocked textile imports from Britain, allowing United States textile firms to avoid competition with the larger British firms.[109] A series of em-

bargoes extended through the War of 1812, which itself resulted in textile shortages.[110] The strict restrictions on imports encouraged many Americans to shop at home for yarn, cloth, and other manufactured goods. As a result, mills and factory villages began to grow rapidly.[111]

Wilkinson Mill

The next major change in the vicinity of the Almy, Brown & Slater mill was the construction of a large mill building by Oziel Wilkinson in 1810-1811, on the west side of the Great Flume and opposite his existing rolling and slitting mill. The 3.5-story story structure was constructed with field stones and measured 70 feet long and 35 feet wide. At the northwest end there was a brick stairtower and a belfry. David Wilkinson's machine shop was on the first floor and Oziel's spinning and weaving operations were in the upper floors.[112] The mill's stone construction proved fortunate, as a fire heavily damaged the adjacent rolling and slitting mill in 1811, and caused minor damage to the Almy, Brown & Slater mill.[113]

Second Expansion of Slater Mill (South Extension, 1818-1820)

In the years following the War of 1812, Almy, Brown & Slater, like other cotton manufacturers, experienced difficult times during the economic depression in 1819.[114] Nonetheless, the firm expanded their capacity with a second addition to the building between 1818 and 1820. The 2-story, 40-foot long by 30-foot wide addition was built onto the south end of the original mill building and extended to the west end of the upper dam, increasing the overall length of the building to 140 feet.[115] The new addition matched the design of the other two sections, and included a clerestory or trapdoor monitor, a raised roof with small windows, that ran along the ridgeline.[116]

There is some speculation regarding the purpose of the mill's second addition. At this time there was not sufficient power to drive any more machinery because there was still only one wheel powering the mill in 1823. For at least the first few years after the expansion, cotton preparation and spinning continued to be the principal tasks carried out in the mill. It has been suggested that the firm may have intended the addition to house power looms, although evidence of power looms working in the building does not appear until 1832.[117]

By around this time Almy, Brown & Slater had built a separate dye house on the east side of the Great Flume and just east of Wilkinson's rolling and slitting mill. The 1-story building was 55 feet long and 20 feet wide.

A CROWDED RIVERFRONT AND WATER RIGHTS ISSUES

By the early 1820s waterfront sites on the Blackstone River had become premium real estate. A detailed plat map produced by Thomas Mann in 1823 indicates thirty mills and workshops in the Pawtucket Falls area alone, some thirty years after the original section of Almy, Brown & Slater's mill was constructed (Figure 1.7). Mann's map shows the Blackstone River and Pawtucket Falls, along with various rock outcroppings and the upper and lower dams. Above the falls and lower dam is the Main Street Bridge, likely the wood truss bridge shown in the c.1817 painting (see Figure 1.6). From the bridge, Main Street extended west while the "Old Road to Boston" and "Turnpike to Boston" stretched east and south, respectively (see Figure 1.7). The Norfolk and Bristol Turnpike was completed in 1803, a straighter alternative to earlier roads connecting Boston and Providence. The turnpike ran from Boston's Dudley Square to the border of Rhode Island and beyond to downtown Pawtucket (Figure 1.8).[118]

The 1823 Mann drawing provides excellent details of the areas surrounding Pawtucket Falls. On the west side of the river and north of the bridge was the raceway paralleling the river, comprised of the 18-foot wide Great Flume, the

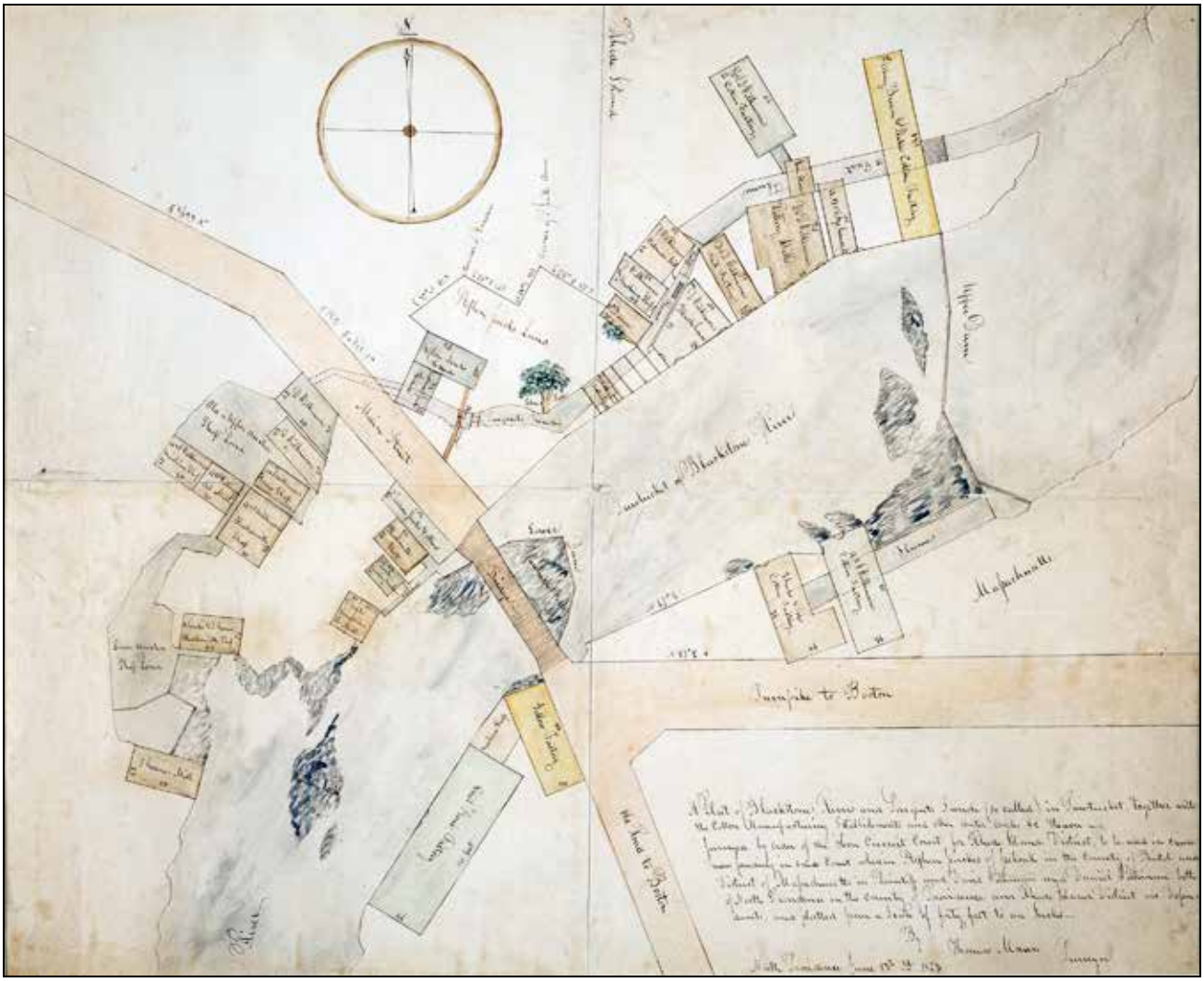


Figure 1.7. Map of Sargeant's Trench and surrounding mills, c.1823. Old Slater Mill is at image top right. (Thomas Mann, *Plat of Blackstone River and Sargent's Trench in Pawtucket, June 13, 1823*. OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-25)

Figure 1.8. Turnpikes in and around Pawtucket in the nineteenth century. Pawtucket is shown with a red dot, and the Norfolk and Bristol Turnpike is at upper image right. (Enlargement of "19th century turnpikes in Rhode Island," Frederic J. Wood and Ronald Dale Karr, *The Turnpikes of New England*, 1919. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/19th-century_turnpikes_in_Rhode_Island)

much narrower Swift Flume, and the variable-width Sargeant's Trench. At the head of the raceway stood Almy, Brown, & Slater's cotton mill building, which by this time featured a gangway over the flume on the east side of the building to control the flow of water. On the other side of the mill was the dye house; a general store; and Wilkinson's cotton factory, rolling mill, nail factory, calendar factory, bleach house, machine shop, barn, and mortar house. A large elm tree stood where the raceway turned away from the river – possibly the same tree shown in the 1817 sketch – and continued to a small stone dam and two Jenckes houses before passing under Main Street. South of the bridge, the raceway emptied into the "Old or Upper Anchor Shop Pond" that was surrounded by Wilkinson's blacksmith shop, screw shop, oil mill, machine shop, and two unknown buildings. The raceway narrowed again and headed back to the river where it drained into the "Lower Anchor Shop Pond" that was bordered by the Jenckes and Greene blacksmith shop and the Greene mill, after which it emptied into river. At the falls, a smaller raceway originating at the west end of the lower dam supplied four small Jenckes buildings alongside the river: a blacksmith shop (possibly the old Jenks forge), corn mill, and an unknown building.

On the east side of the river north of the bridge, a short raceway originated at the east end of the upper dam, connecting to two buildings along the river's edge: the Wilkinson cotton factory and Green cotton factory. One or both of these buildings were likely the 1797-1798 "White Mill," Slater's venture with Oziel Wilkinson and Timothy Green. South of the bridge, there were three buildings along the shoreline, and may have been served by a raceway: the 1805 "Yellow Mill," a machine shop, and the massive "Great Stone Factory," the largest building in the area.

The Issue of Water Power

The water levels of the Blackstone River and the adjacent raceways were fundamental to the operation of the many mills and workshops. Storm water could disturb production up and down the river, since each mill depended on the flow of water into each wheel pit. Gates would be lifted and lowered, and raceways filled and emptied, to account for the change in water levels. Seasonal variations were expected, but floods or droughts could be devastating.[119]

By the early 1820s, water resources at Pawtucket Falls were fully extended; the relatively low head of the upper and lower dams could generate only a limited

amount of power for all of the factories, including Almy, Brown & Slater's mill. In 1823, after two seasons of exceptionally low water in the already drier months of August and September, mill owners on the lower end of Sargeant's Trench and on the raceway next to the lower dam sued the owners on the upper end of the trench regarding the water flow. The court case also involved fish passage around falls, a concern of upstream farmers. The water rights case raged for more than ten years in the Federal Circuit Court of Rhode Island. Numerous testimonies associated with the case, as well as the 1823 Mann map, revealed both the growth of the manufacturing community in Pawtucket between 1800 and 1820, and the crucial role of water.[120]

Third Expansion of Slater Mill (Stairtower, 1828-1832)

The highly combustible nature of cotton fibers and dust sparked a number of major mill fires in Rhode Island in the 1810s and 1820s, forcing some fire insurance companies to restrict or cancel future policies for wood-framed buildings.[121] A second and larger fire occurred at Almy, Brown & Slater's mill in 1828, and although the damage was again limited, it apparently encouraged the firm to take further precautions by building their third addition to the building: a 2.5-story stairtower measuring 18 feet by 20 feet on the west elevation, at the intersection of the original 1793 building and the 1818-1820 addition.[122] Constructed between 1828 and 1832, the tower provided access to all the floors on the mill, yet isolated the stairwell from the machinery, a common means of preventing the spread of fire from one level to another. The tower featured a rooftop cupola, either a new one or possibly the cupola at the north end of the building that was removed during this period.

The stairtower also allowed the firm to install a second water wheel under the new addition, and increase its water power capacity. The gateway aperture under the mill was enlarged almost two and a half times between 1824 and 1836. In 1823, when the surveyor Thomas Mann measured the apertures along Sargeant's Trench for his testimony in the water rights case, he noted that "the Gate Way at Almy Brown and Slater's Factory being the first on the Great Flume is twelve feet, two inches wide." By 1836, the opening was recorded as 31 1/4 feet, which suggests that a greater aperture was needed for the second wheel. The mill's tailrace was presumably widened at this time to accommodate the outlet under the stairtower. The Schedule of Manufactures in Rhode Island report of 1832 reflected the mill's additional power, noting the capacity had increased from 1,500 spindles to 2,300 spindles and that 48 looms had been added to the manufacturing process.[123]

SLATER LEAVES PAWTUCKET

For Almy, Brown & Slater, increasing power at the mill was needed to increase production. By the end of the 1820s, their mill was no longer the dominant fac-

tory it had been; several other mills with greater space capacity and reliable water power were operating in southern New England, including Slatersville and others in Smithfield, Warwick, Scituate, and Cumberland, shifting the focus of the cotton textile innovation and industry away from Pawtucket. Among the reasons for this change was the introduction of steam-powered looms that streamlined the productivity of newer mills and outpaced that of the Pawtucket Falls mill. Almy and Brown decided not to install the power looms in Pawtucket, likely due to the restrictions imposed by the supply of waterpower at Pawtucket Falls and to the lack of physical space to adapt the mill to large-scale manufacturing.[124]

These constraints, and an economic collapse in 1829, brought Slater's partnership with Brown and Almy to an end in August 1829, at which time he sold his portion of the mill property to the two men.[125] Slater's transaction was prompted by the failure of David Wilkinson's mill and the need to pay off Wilkinson's loans that he had cosigned. Slater redirected his focus to other business interests in Connecticut and in Dudley and Oxford, Massachusetts.[126] Wilkinson's mill was sold to William Field and Thomas LeFavour in 1831, after which the building was used for a variety of manufacturing purposes.[127] While the hardships of 1829 spared few, there were still 119 mills in Rhode Island in 1832, a remarkable increase from the 40 cotton mills operating thirty years earlier. By this time, the Blackstone had earned a reputation as America's "hardest-working river."[128]

Changes were also underway in the area's political boundaries. Pawtucket Village land on the east side of the Blackstone River had been within the Town of Rehoboth, Massachusetts since 1645, but in 1828 a portion of Rehoboth became the Town of Pawtucket, Massachusetts. The portion of Pawtucket Village on the west side of the river remained a part of North Providence, Rhode Island.[129]

LANDSCAPE SUMMARY, 1832

Much like the year 1793, there is not reliable information to prepare a period plan for 1832; the earliest maps showing accurate building footprints at the site date to 1870 for the west side of the river and 1848 for the east side. However, a comparison of these maps with that of the 1823 sketch map reveal the rapid growth of industrial land uses at Pawtucket Falls. The 1823 map shows Almy, Brown & Slater's mill with its north and south extensions, the Wilkinson Mill, and numerous other factories owned by Almy, Brown & Slater, the Wilkinsons, and others lining the length of the Sargeant's Trench, Swift Run, and Great Flume raceway. Shorter raceways powered factories on both sides of Pawtucket Falls and on the east side of the river. Other features known to have existed at this time were Samuel Slater's home just northwest of his mill, and the wood-truss bridge carrying Main Street over Pawtucket Falls.

The same tree shown at a turn in Sargeant's Trench in the 1786 map was indicated again in 1823, and labeled as an elm. A second unnamed tree is noted just upstream. It is not known if both were still present in 1832. It is likely there was considerably less vegetation at the falls than in 1793, due to the number of new buildings and raceways.

COTTON WEAVING AND OTHER INDUSTRIES, 1832-1876

This section covers the ownership of Old Slater Mill by William Almy and William Jenkins through 1856, after which the mill was sold to a series of other individuals and partnerships. Old Slater Mill was used for weaving cotton, but over time these owners, as well as those in the adjacent factories, rented space to others engaged in textile and non-textile ventures. To this end, Old Slater Mill was expanded twice with multi-story additions to the west, and had its foundation raised to create more space on the first floor. The quantity of other structures around the mill also increased, which featured a diverse collection of industrial, commercial, and residential uses set along new streets and the Blackstone River.

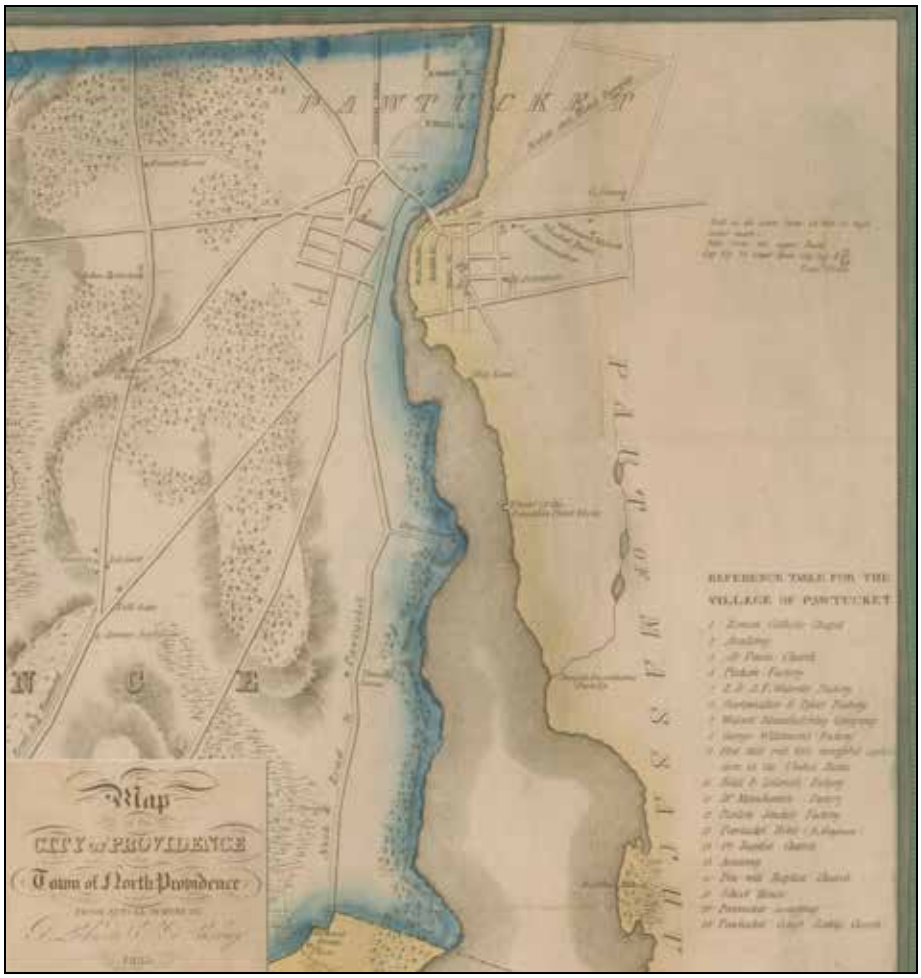


Figure 1.9. Map of Pawtucket, dated 1835. (L.B. Cushing and B. Lockwood, "Map of the City of Providence and the Town of North Providence, Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1835." Pawtucket Public Library, from HSR 2018: D-30)

Figure 1.10. Map of the east side of Pawtucket, dated 1848. (L.M.E. Stone, *Pawtucket Village*, 1"=330 feet, Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1848. Pawtucket Public Library, from HSR 2018: 77)

WILLIAM ALMY AND WILLIAM JENKINS OWNERSHIP, 1833-1856

During this period the Main Street Bridge served as the only river crossing for local residents as well as travelers on the Norfolk and Bristol Turnpike. The bridge was rebuilt or replaced in 1842.[130] Maps from 1835 and 1848 show streets extending outward from each end of the bridge into the village and town. The north-south Mill Street (later North Main Street and now Roosevelt Avenue) and east-west Slater Avenue were established on the west side of the river by 1835 (Figure 1.9). The portion of the turnpike on the east side of the river was known as Front Street by 1848 (Figure 1.10).

Old Slater Mill

By 1833 Obadiah Brown's portion of the Pawtucket Falls mill passed to Anna Almy Jenkins, the daughter of William Almy. William Almy, and Anna's husband William Jenkins, renamed the company Almy & Jenkins.[131] With the Pawtucket Falls mill obsolete for large-scale cotton-spinning, emphasis there shifted from spinning to weaving, with forty-eight looms as well as the 2,300 spindles.[132] The partners then focused their attention to their mills in Smithfield and other nearby towns; the Smithfield mill, for example, operated 9,500 spindles by 1832.[133] In a foretelling event for the future of Old Slater Mill, in 1836 it was reported that "some of the machinery, used at the starting of the factory by Mr. Slater is still in operation and is exhibited to the numerous visitors to the establishment."[134]

Two drawings from c.1840 show for the first time close up views of the mill, calling it "Old Slater Mill" and depicting the building with its stairtower topped with a cupola (Figures 1.11, 1.12). One of the drawings also indicated a wooden wing-wall at the north end of the upper dam, presumably intended to protect the mill's foundation from the scouring forces of the river as it tumbled over the upper dam.

Anna Almy Jenkins became the sole owner of the mill after her father William Almy died in 1836. After her husband William Jenkins died in 1846, she had little interest in continuing the business and leased the entire structure in 1846 to Gideon C. Smith & Company for a term of ten years. Smith & Company was successful; in 1850 it produced 352,000 pounds of sheeting and shirting, and by 1853 it was reported that the mill contained 52 looms.[135]

Figure 1.11. Painting of the south side of Old Slater Mill from the east bank, c.1840. (H.L. Spencer, "Painting of South Elevation of Slater Mill," c.1840. OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: 39)

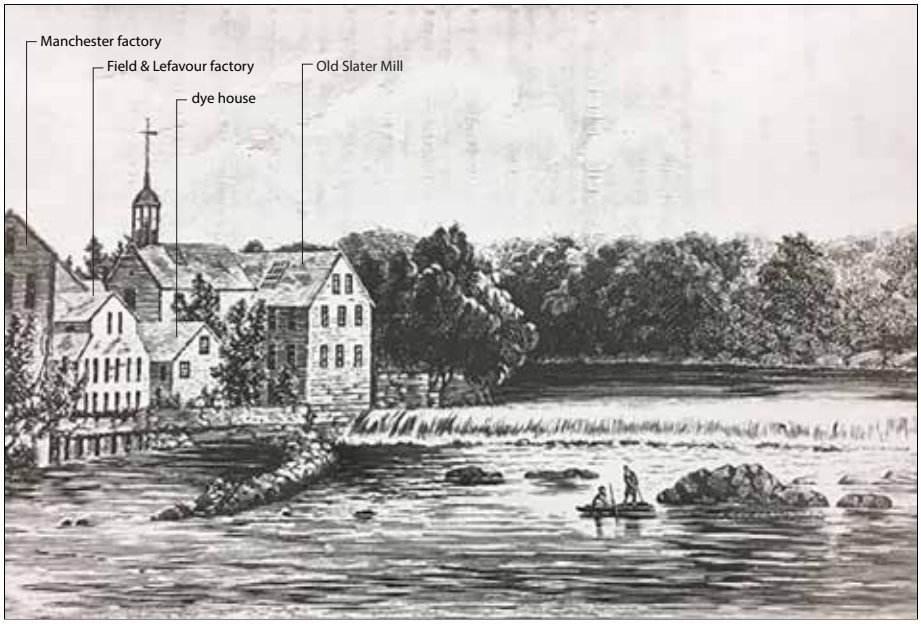


Figure 1.12. Woodcut of the south and west sides of Old Slater Mill from the Main Street Bridge, by 1840. Note vegetation at the stone tailrace arch. (C. Ryder, "View of the Old Slater Mill in 1840, Looking North From Main Street Bridge." OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: 40)

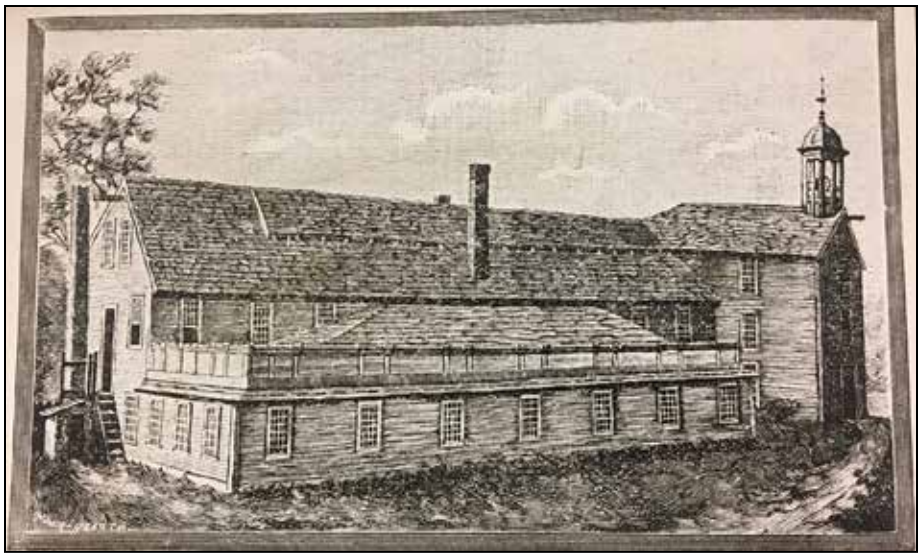


Figure 1.13. Engraving of the north and west sides of Old Slater Mill, c.1850, and the new west addition. Note the depiction of the landscape and path. ("Old Slater Mill, 1815" [sic-misdated]," "Pawtucket Honors a Pioneer," 17 July 1955. Providence Sunday Journal, from HSR 2018: D-36)

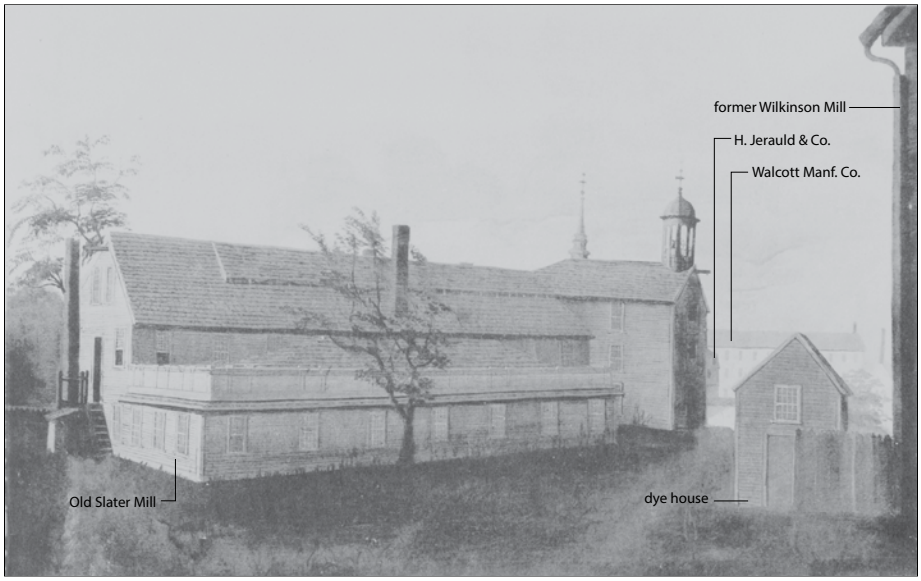


Figure 1.14. Sketch of the north and west sides of Old Slater Mill, c.1850, and the new west addition. Note the presence of the tree, path, and wood fence. ("Sketch, c.1813-1869." Cotton Centennial Program, 1890, from Emma J.H. Dyson and Louis P. Hutchins, *Historic American Engineering Record* [hereafter HAER], *Addendum to Old Slater Mill,* HAER No. RI-1, Washington, DC: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, August 1991)

Fourth Expansion of Slater Mill (West Addition – 1st Floor, c.1850)

In c.1850 a 1-story addition measuring around 57 feet long and 20 feet wide was built on the west side of the mill, extending the depth of the stairtower and running from the north façade southward to as far as the north side of the Great Flume. Two almost identical sketches from this period showed the addition with a hipped roof and perimeter balustrade along the roof line (Figures 1.13, 1.14). Most archival sources date this addition to between 1828 and 1864, but others date it to c.1850, which better coincides with the steady growth that was occurring at Smith & Company and their need for more space.[136]

Raising the Foundation, by 1855

Even after construction of the west addition, there was still a need for more space.[137] This was achieved by raising the entire mill building almost two feet

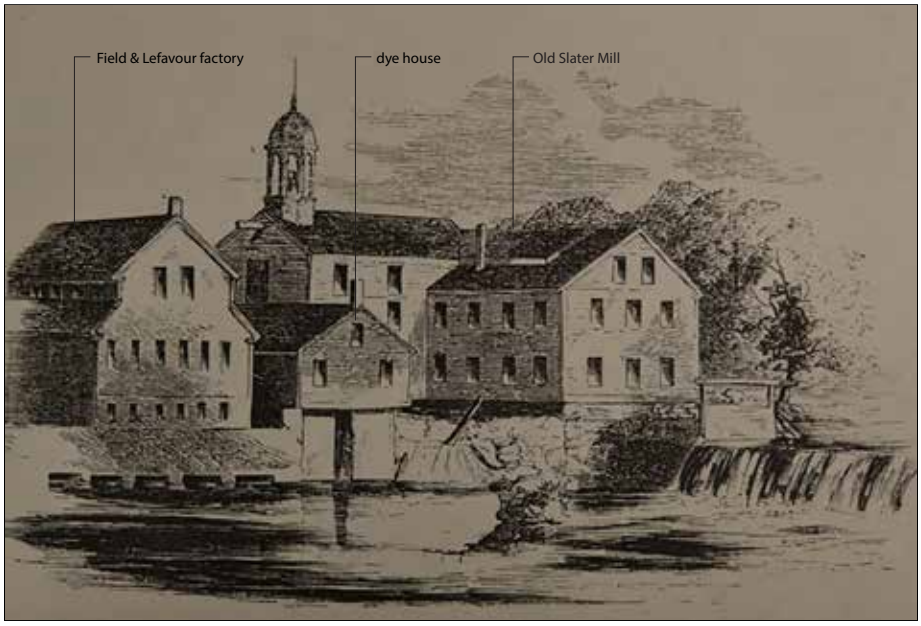


Figure 1.15. Drawing of the south and east sides of Old Slater Mill, 1855, showing the brick foundation. (Maturin Murray Ballou, *Companion. Vol. VIII, No.26-Whole No. 208,* Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room, 30 June 1855, 408-409. OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: 40)

through the insertion of additions at the base of the posts and building the walls up with brick. The first floor was not raised to correspond with the change in foundation height, thus increasing the overall height of the first floor. The 1991 HAER report dates the brick foundation to the late 1860s, but according to the 2018 Historic Structures Report, a drawing of the mill's southwest corner indicates the brick foundation was installed by 1855 (Figure 1.15).[138] Like the west addition, this change likely coincided with the production needs of Smith & Company and would have allowed them to install larger textile machinery. Other changes visible in the 1855 drawing are the addition of clerestory windows on the west slope of the south addition's roof.[139]

Transfer to Samuel Tobey, by 1856

When Anna Almy Jenkins died in December 1849 she left the property to her daughter and son, Anna and Moses Jenkins, both minors at the time. When the children became of age (1852 and 1856) they conveyed the mill to the family attorney, Dr. Samuel Boyd Tobey, "for the more convenient management and the better improvement of said estate and for the security and preservation of the same and to render the same more productive." Tobey was to manage the estate, pay for repairs, insurance, and other expenses out of income generated from the property, and make over the remainder to Anna and Moses for their use.[140]

Slater Lot

A plat map originally drawn in 1856 at the time of the conveyance shows the extents of the Jenkins property (hereafter named the Slater Lot), which consisted of two lots, 'Old Slater Mill Lot' and the 'Bleach Yard Lot,' and encompassed around one acre (Figure 1.16). The Slater Lot was bound by Mill Street, Slater

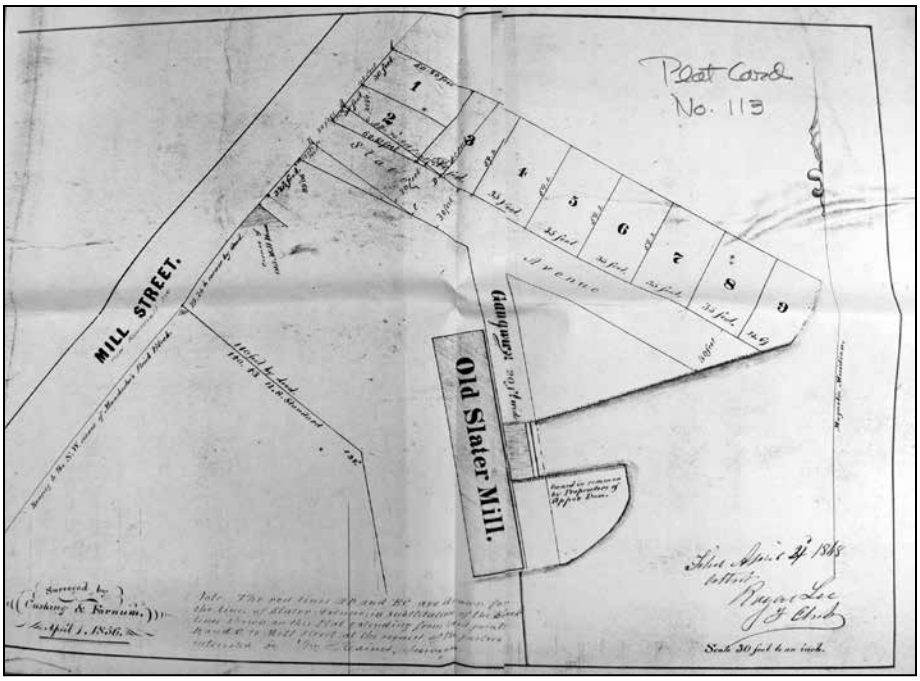


Figure 1.16. Plat map of the approximately one-acre Slater Lot in 1856 and then apparently revised in 1868 to realign the west end of Slater Avenue. (Cushing and Farnum, *Plat Card No. 113*, April 1, 1856. OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-34)

Avenue, the river, and a property line extending alongside the north side of the former Wilkinson Mill and the south side of the dye house. The plat shows the original Slater Mill building and its two north and south extensions, but does not show the stairtower or west addition, although it was present at this time. Except for a reference to the corner of the 'Old Mill House,' there were other buildings present on the property that were not shown on the plat map. The inlet to the Great Flume is shown, but no other elements of the raceway or the tailrace outlet are shown.[141]

The c.1840 drawings provide glimpses of areas within the Slater Lot as viewed from the east bank of the river and the Main Street Bridge (see Figures 1.11, 1.12). The river view indicates buildings just north of the mill that are possibly a 1.5-story storage building and the 2-story former residence of Samuel Slater, and two unidentified 1-story buildings to the east in the former bleach yard north of the Great Flume. The bridge view shows the 1.5-story dye house west of the mill. According to the drawings, there were stone walls lining both sides of the river, a tree on the peninsula, and relatively tall trees and shrubs around the mill's stone tailrace arch. The c.1840 and c.1850 drawings provide additional context, indicating scattered grasses and a tree at the northwest corner of the mill and a path leading to the stairtower (see Figures 1.13, 1.14). One of these drawings also depicts a wood fence at the dye house west of the mill that may have marked the property line that ran between the two buildings.

North, South, and East Lots

The 1856 plat map helps distinguish the Slater Lot from adjacent lots – hereafter named North Lot (Slater Avenue north to Leather Avenue) and South Lot (Slater Lot property line south to Main Street Bridge) – that are now part of Slater Mill Historic Site. In the North Lot several 1- to 1.5-story buildings were aligned along Slater Avenue by c.1840, likely on some of the lots shown in the plat map (see Figures 1.11, 1.16). Later historic maps and photographs suggest they may have been part of a tannery owned by H.L. Fairbrother & Company.

In the South Lot, two buildings were indicated on the 1835 map: 'Dr. Manchester's Factory' and 'Field and Lafavor's [sic] Factory' (the former stone Wilkinson Mill) (see Figure 1.9). In 1840 Field and LeFavour added a brick tower to the west side of this stone building, and around the same time a substantial 2.5-story addition to the east that is shown along the river in one of the c.1840 drawings (see Figure 1.12). A larger 3.5-story building drawn next to it may be the Manchester Factory (see Figure 1.12). Both of these building also appear in the background of a c.1850 sketch. One of the c.1850 drawings also shows the northwest corner of the former Wilkinson Mill (see Figure 1.14).

Directly across the river from the Slater Lot was another industrial area – hereafter named the East Lot (from just north of the upper dam to Main Street Bridge) – that is also currently part of Slater Mill Historic Site. The 1835 map shows two buildings in this area: George Wilkinson's Factory (likely the "White Mill" rebuilt after an 1824 fire) and "Walcott Manufactoring" (see Figure 1.9). By 1848 the Wilkinson building was named the H. Jerauld and Company mill and additional buildings were crowded around it and the Walcott mill (see Figure 1.10). One of the c.1850 drawings shows the Jerauld and Walcott mills in the background (see Figure 1.14).[142]

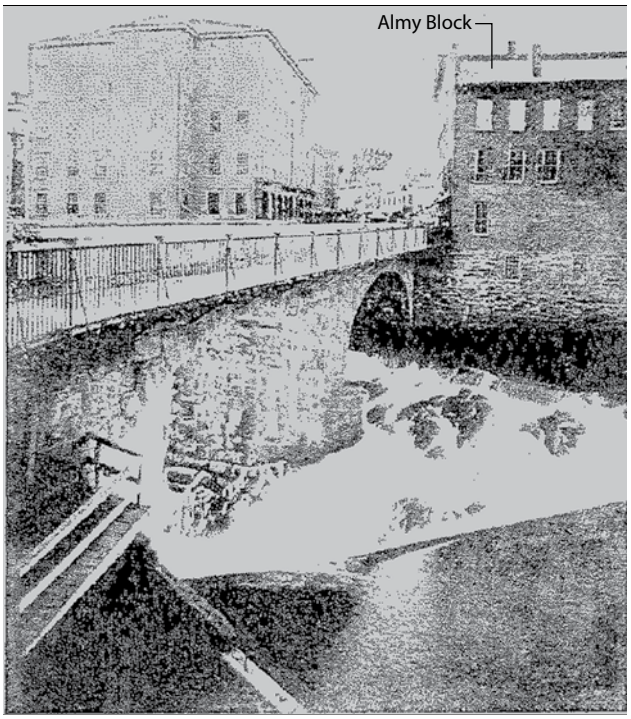


Figure 1.17. View from the east riverbank to the new Main Street Bridge spanning the lower dam, c.1859. (Slater Trust Co., *Pawtucket, Past and Present: Being a Brief Account of the Beginning and Progress of its Industries and a Resume of the Early History of the City*, Boston, MA: Waltor Advertising and Printing Company, 1917: 17)

HENRY AND EDWIN JERAULD OWNERSHIP, 1856-1865

The early 1860s brought a major and lasting change to the jurisdiction of the lands bordering Pawtucket Falls. On March 1, 1862, after a nearly 225 year border dispute between Rhode Island and Massachusetts, the Town of Pawtucket, Massachusetts on the east side of the Blackstone River became part of Rhode Island. However, land on the west side was still part of the Village of Pawtucket within the Town of North Providence.[143] The main connection between the village and town was the Main Street Bridge, which was rebuilt

for the fifth time in 1858. Designed by Providence engineer, Samuel Gushing, the bridge featured twin stone masonry arches and cantilevered walkways with wrought iron railings (Figure 1.17). The central pier of the bridge stood on a ledge immediately below the V-shaped point of the lower dam.[144]

Old Slater Mill

In 1856 Gideon Smith & Company's ten-year lease at Old Slater Mill expired. This coincided with an ownership transfer of the one-acre property from Samuel Tobey to Henry and Edwin Jerauld, "…at a price of $19,000 for "the two lots known as the 'Old Slater Mill Lot' and the 'Bleach Yard Lot' with accompanying water rights."[145] As noted previously, Henry Jerauld operated a mill on the east side (East Lot) of the river in the 1840s, and under the name of H. Jerauld & Son bought the Old Slater Mill property to use as a small cotton spinning manufactory.

Soon after taking over Old Slater Mill, the Jeraulds encountered financial difficulties and were forced to rent it to various types of small manufacturing companies. The first floor was leased to what would become the Pawtucket Haircloth Company, which used the power provided by "ten feet of water as preserved in the upper dam in Pawtucket village and an independent water wheel...and the line of main shafting with pulleys as now fitted up."[146] In 1859 the Jeraulds rented the second floor and attic to the Fessenden Twine and Cordage Company, the contract of which included "all the power contained in a Breast water wheel under said mill together with a main line of shafting now fitted up…"[147]

Slater Lot

Another tenant of the Jeraulds in 1856 was Joseph Smith II, who leased the former bleach yard "for the purpose of erecting a mill for the manufacture of cotton batting...Lessors to furnish four horse power to mill of said lessee as soon as same built."[148] The long, 2-story 100 x 40-foot brick and wood-frame weaving shop was situated parallel to the south side of Slater Avenue and powered by a line of shafting from the Old Slater Mill. A 1856-1867 photograph shows the roofline of the Smith shop, hidden behind the trees on the east side of the mill (Figure 1.18).

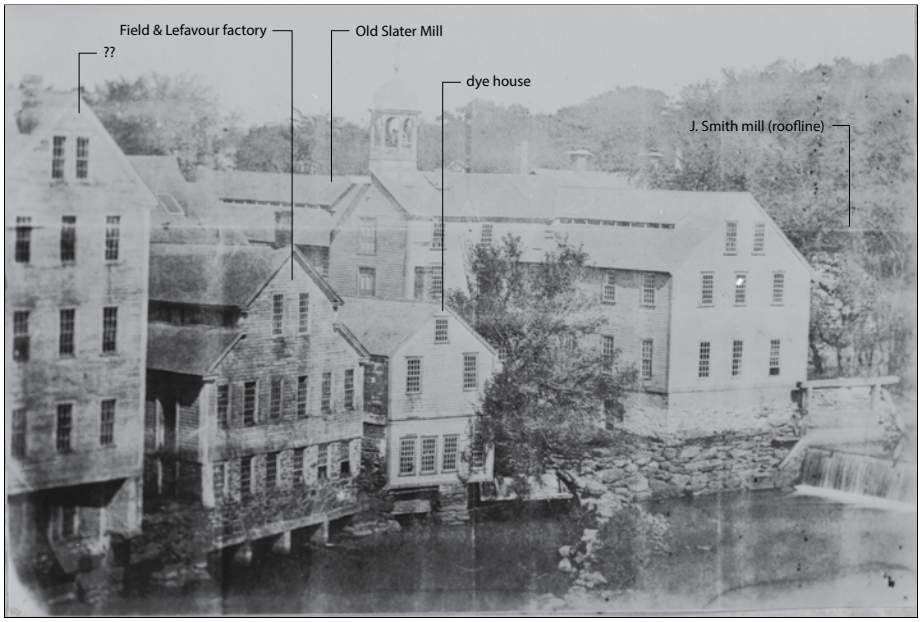


Figure 1.18. View looking north at the south and east sides of Slater Mill, between 1856-1867. This view show the mill's brick foundation, dense vegetation between the mill and the dye house, and the lower floor of the dye house fitted with windows. (Spaulding House Research Library, from HAER RI-1, 1991)

A mass of dense trees and shrubs still grew between the mill and dye house (above the stone tailrace arch), which at some point was fitted with basement windows.

North, South, and East Lots

Unfortunately there is little graphic information for the other lots around the Slater Lot for this ownership period. A sketch that shows the stone arch bridge provided a good view of the brick Almy Block at the south end of the South Lot (see Figure 1.17).

FRANCIS PRATT AND JOB L. SPENCER OWNERSHIP, AND GIDEON L. SPENCER OWNERSHIP, 1865-1876

On the 1856 plat map, there are notations dating to 1869 that appear to indicate a slight realignment of the west end of Slater Avenue, at its intersection with Mill Street (see Figure 1.16). The change may have been intended to create a perpendicular intersection with Mill Street (Figures 1.19, 1.20, 1.21). A historic map from 1870 shows for the first time Leather Avenue, laid out around 150 feet north of Slater Avenue, thus creating a new block (North Lot). Maps also show sidewalks along both sides of Mill Street as well as a streetcar line.

Changes in the boundaries of North Providence and Pawtucket occurred again during this period. In 1874 a large part of eastern North Providence was annexed

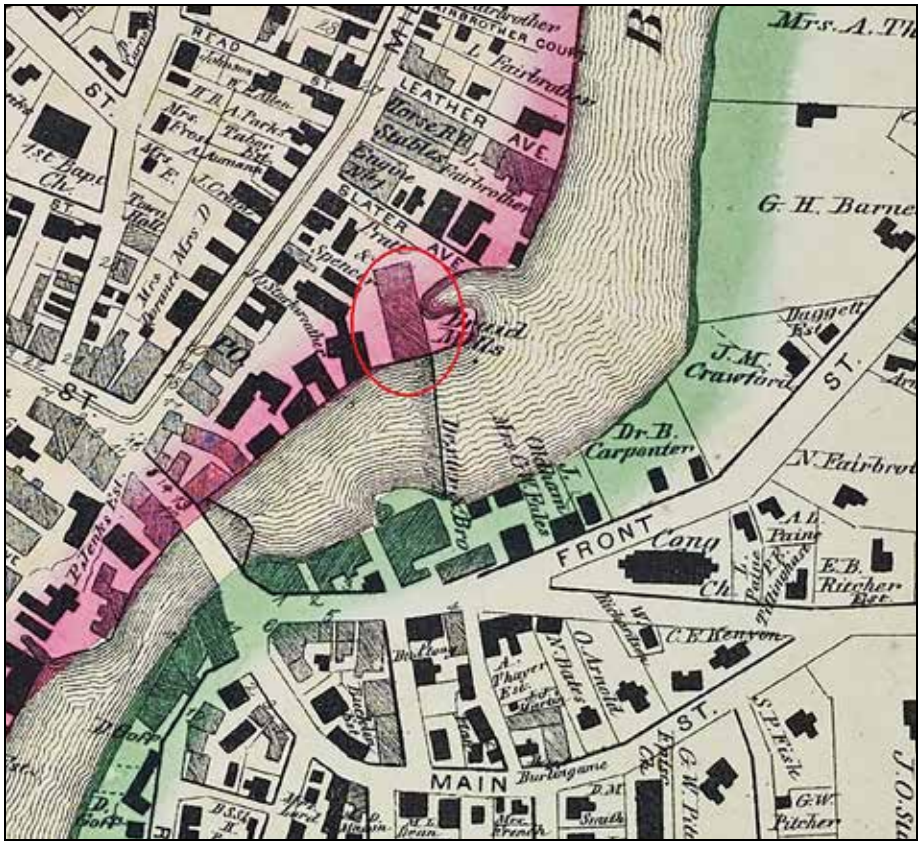


Figure 1.19. Map of Pawtucket Village, dated 1870, with Old Slater Mill circled in red. (D.G. Beers & Co., *Map of the Village of Pawtucket, Rhode Island,* 1"=330 feet. Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1870. Pawtucket Public Library, from HSR 2018: D-41)

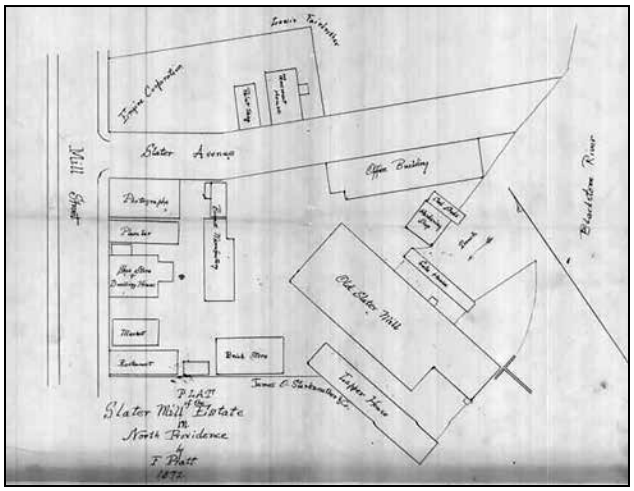


Figure 1.20. Plat map of the Slater Lot, dated 1872. (F. Pratt, *Plat of the Slater Mill Estate in North Providence, 1872.* OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-43)

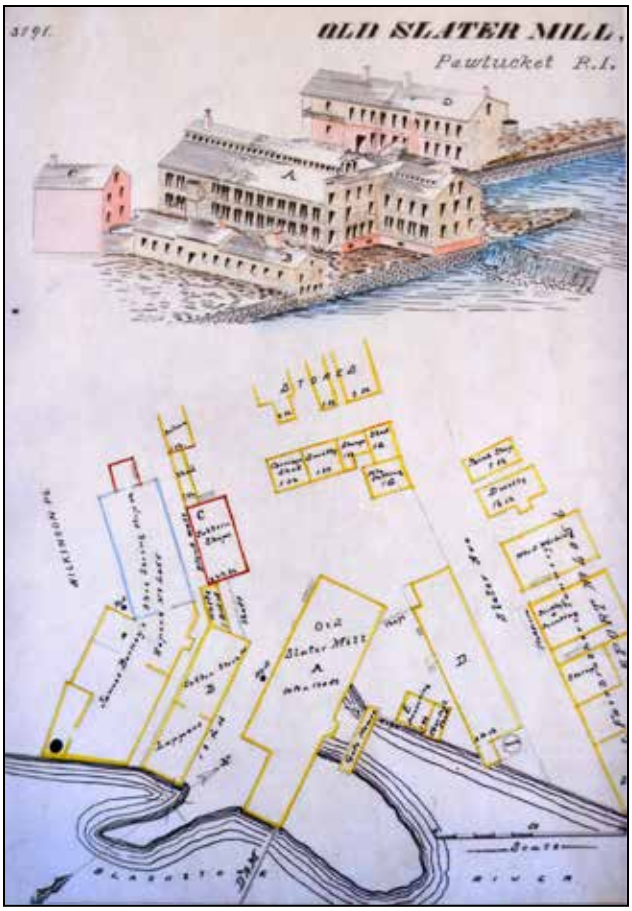


Figure 1.21. Insurance survey map, dated 1876, showing the Slater Lot and portions of the adjacent North and South lots. (Barlow Insurance Surveys, *Old Slater Mill, Pratt and Spencer, No. 3191*, New York, 11 February 1876. OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-45)

to the Town of Pawtucket, thus unifying the Village of Pawtucket on the west side of the Blackstone River with the Town of Pawtucket on the east side.[149]

Old Slater Mill

The financial problems that had beset Henry and Edwin Jerauld continued into the 1860s. Eventually, their company's business and assets, including Old Slater Mill, were given over to trustees in February 1865 until the mill was sold in May 1865. The new owners, Francis Pratt and Job L. Spencer, bought the one-acre Slater Lot, and rights to fifteen sixty-fourths of the water of the Blackstone River, for $28,000. Pratt and Spencer already owned an established yarn, twine, and thread manufacturing business, and they came to Slater Mill with money to invest in the manufacture of cotton. That same year they mortgaged the property to Job's father, Gideon L. Spencer, which allowed them to upgrade the mill's power capacity by replacing the two water wheels with iron turbines.[150]

Pratt and Spencer's operation utilized only the mill's first floor, taking the place of the Pawtucket Haircloth Company that had outgrown the space and moved out in 1864. The Fessenden Twine and Cordage Company vacated the second floor and attic in 1865, and the floors sat empty until April 1867 when Pratt and Spencer rented them to N.P. Hicks & Company, a manufacturer of ring travelers (an

integral part of a machine known as a spinning frame). Hicks & Company merged with E. Jencks and Company in 1871, which expanded the manufacturing to also include cotton banding and twine until at least 1879.[151]

Fifth Expansion of Slater Mill (West Addition – 1st Floor Extension, c.1869)

In c.1869 Pratt and Spencer made two modifications to Old Slater Mill, both financed through a second mortgage with Gideon Spencer. On the west side of the building, they extended the 1-story c.1850 west addition southward to the stairtower, filling in the gap over the Great Flume. Historic photographs show that this new section did not include a brick base, possibly because doing so would add unnecessary weight to the span over the Great Flume. On the east side of the mill they added a toilet tower, which accessed all three floors of the mill. Common in nineteenth-century industrial structures, such structures drained waste into a water source below – in this case, the Great Flume that eventually fed into the Blackstone River. These two changes are depicted in photographs from c.1869 (Figures 1.22, 1.23, 1.24).[152]

The c.1869 views also show the full west addition as well as a small lean to on the corner of the south elevation, likely a toilet shed. A photograph from a few years later indicates that some of the single windows on the first floor of the mill south

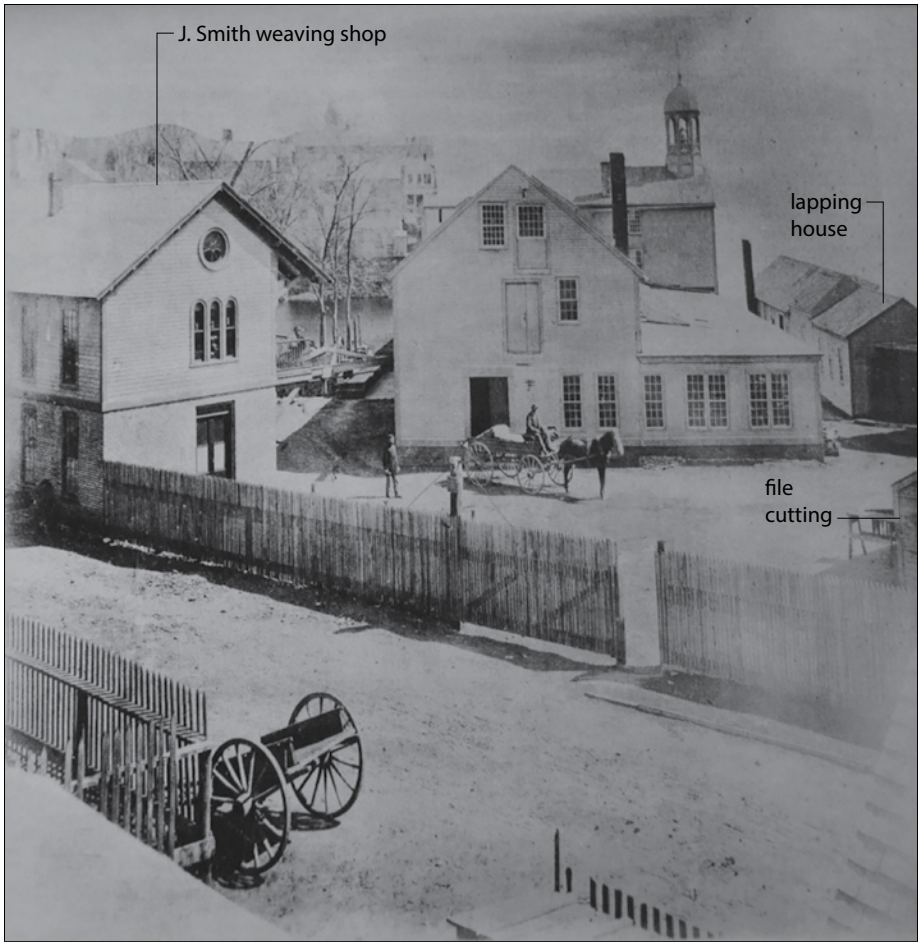


Figure 1.22. View looking southeast at the north side of Old Slater Mill, c.1869, showing the full one-story west addition and toilet tower on the east side. To the east a shaft and brace lead to the Joseph Smith weave shop, while to the west is the lapping house (former dye house). Note the work yard and fencing and similar fencing in the North Lot. (HSR 2018: 48)

Figure 1.23. View looking north at the south side of Old Slater Mill, c.1869, with a toilet room at the river's edge and a gatehouse on the east side. To the east is Joseph Smith's weave shop and the Hicks furnace shop, and the lapping house, pattern shop, and a smith/ carriage house. By this time there are no trees between the mill and the lapping house, but there appears to be a bridge crossing the Great Flume. (OSMA Archives, from HAER RI-1, 1991)

Figure 1.24. Oblique aerial view looking west, c.1869, from the Congregational Church spire. (OSMA Archives, from HAER RI-1, 1991)

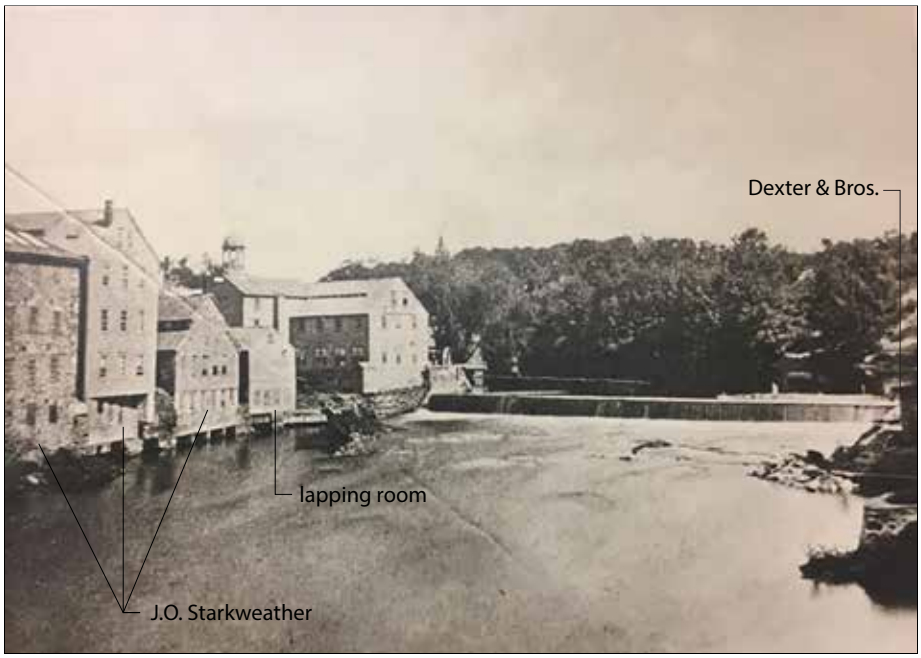


Figure 1.25. View looking north at the south and west sides of Old Slater Mill, c.1871, which features larger windows on the first floor. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: 46)

of the stairtower were replaced with double windows (Figure 1.25). Two of the c.1869 photographs also show a newly built gatehouse on top of the previous gangway during this period on the east side of the mill. The structure straddled the Great Flume to protect the gates and machinery.[153]

Sixth Expansion of Slater Mill (West Addition – 2nd-3rd Floors, c.1872)

The idea of turning unused areas within Old Slater Mill into rental space proved to be a successful business model, so much so that in 1872 Pratt and Spencer nearly doubled the mill's square footage by expanding the 1-story west addition again, this time to a full three stories. The original roof on the original 1792 building and the 1801 north extension was raised to match the new west addition height so that the attic floor formed a full story. The attic was lit by a clerestory along both sides, replacing the old trapdoor monitor. The roof height of the mill's 1818-1820 south extension remained unchanged.[154]

After 1872 Old Slater Mill experienced relatively minor changes in its outward appearance. In September 1873 portions of the mill's roof caught fire during a blaze at a bonnet factory to the west. The fire was quickly knocked down, but the threat of fire remained in subsequent years, as the mill was still lit by gas and kerosene lamps and heated by coal stoves.[155] According to 1876 report, the mill was "in part quite old but in good repair."[156]

Slater Lot

An 1872 plat map and an 1876 survey reveal for the first time details regarding the configuration and use of the Slater Lot (see Figures 1.20, 1.21). The plans show that a work yard occupied the space on the north side of Old Slater Mill and con-

nected to Slater Avenue. The work yard continued as a series of narrow alleys through other areas of the Slater Lot: one alley headed south along the west side of the mill, across the Great Flume via a wood bridge, and ended at the river (see Figure 1.23). Two other alleys headed north and east – one extending along the west side of the former Slater residence to Mill Street, and another along the south side of the residence to Slater Avenue.

To the west along the lot's property line, the 1-story (pre-1823) building housed a lapper room and cotton storage room, a recently built brick 2-story (pre-1870) building was occupied by a pattern shop, and there was a 1-story shed. To the north along North Main Street there were initially five buildings comprised of a 1-story saloon/restaurant and 1-story market, 2-story store/residence (former Slater House), 1-story paint store, and a 2-story photo store, but by 1876 the market building was gone. Just north of the mill were interconnected structures consisting of a 1-story file cutting room, two 1-story storage rooms, and a 1.5-story building used by a smith and carriage shop. To the east along Slater Avenue, the brick/frame 2-story (1856) mill was identified as an 'office building.' N.P. Hicks utilized space in the rear of the second floor of this building, in addition to occupying portions of Old Slater Mill. By 1869 Hicks also built a brick 1-story shop "on the bank of the trench [Great Flume] between weave shop and mill" to house the furnaces used to manufacture metal travelers (see Figures 1.23, 1.24). This 20-square-foot building and an attached coal shed occupied the old bleach yard on the west side of the Great Flume.[157] (HAER RI-1 1991: 18-19, citing Lease dated April 29, 1867. Record of Deeds, North Providence, Book 42, 54) Exterior power shafts connected Old Slater Mill to the pre-1823 building and pre-1870 brick building to the west, and the 1856 mill to the east.

A c.1869 historic photograph shows the earthen-surfaced work yard, which featured a wood palisade-style fence around four feet high alongside Slater Avenue and a sliding gate opening to the street (see Figure 1.22). By this time the mass of trees and shrubs between the mill and the lapping house (above the stone tailrace arch) were gone. Another leg of the work yard extended west to Mill Street. Other photographs from this period indicate at least four mature trees were located in the former bleach yard, including a single tree on the peninsula.

North Lot

The North Lot was packed with several complexes of adjoining buildings separated by interior alleys and work yards (see Figures 1.19, 1.20, 1.21, 1.22, 1.24). The space in the southwest corner was identified as 'Engine No. 1,' which would later be the site of a brick 2-story police and courtroom building topped with a cupola. Horse stables stood in the northwest corner, a complex of buildings in the northeast corner were part of a tannery operated by Lewis Fairbrother, and five buildings along Slater Avenue housed a paint shop and tenement house, as well as

three buildings associated with the tannery: woodworking, smithy/painting, and storage. A wood picket fence faced Slater Avenue, similar to the fence on the other side of the street on the Slater Lot (see Figure 1.22).

South Lot

The South Lot was defined by a U-shaped alley named Wilkinson Place, which provided access into the lot and divided it into four distinct spaces (see Figures 1.19, 1.20, 1.21, 1.24, 1.25). In the north part of the lot, James O. Starkweather initially held the stone 3-story mill (former Wilkinson Mill) and the adjoining buildings to the south, but by 1876 this was called James L. Barney shoe string shop. In the east part of the lot along the river, several unnamed buildings occupied this space. Later maps indicate a portion of the Great Flume was still visible in this area. In the west part of the lot facing Main Street, buildings here were owned or occupied by C.F. Manchester, Spencer and Wilcox, and the Miller Block. One of these structures was labeled as a post office. In the south part of the lot, a group of buildings were identified as Almy Block, J.W. Miller, A. Haynes, and G.L. Spencer.

East Lot

In the East Lot were five buildings, with Dexter & Brothers occupying a series of buildings at the east end of the upper dam. Heading downstream from the dam were N. Bates, J.S. Brown, and the Blackstone Knitting Mill (see Figures 1.19, 1.24, 1.25). Unfortunately, available historic photographs from this period provide minimal documentation of these buildings. However, later maps indicate that the raceway on this side of the river was still in operation at this time. In 1867, the Pawtucket Congregational Church, one of the most prominent buildings in town, was erected across the street from the East Lot. Its tall spire would be visible in the background of many photographs of Old Slater Mill.

LANDSCAPE SUMMARY AND PERIOD PLAN, 1876

Three historic sources – an 1870 atlas, 1872 plat map, and an 1876 plan – make possible the production of a 1876 Period Plan (Drawing 1). When contrasted with the 1823 plat map, the increase in the number of buildings around Old Slater Mill was exponential. Hemmed in by the surrounding city streets and the Blackstone River, workyards and alleys separated the numerous structures, leaving little space for vegetation to grow except along the riverbanks. Mixed in with the factories were new buildings housing commercial businesses and residences, especially along Mill Street (now Roosevelt Avenue) and other streets laid out during this period. By this time, Old Slater Mill had its foundation raised and was expanded with a 3-story addition on its west side. The Sargeant's Trench, Swift Run, and the Great Flume raceway, as well as the raceway on the East Lot, were extant and continued to provide water power to the mills.

Main Street Bridge
Lower Dam
Mill Street
Read Street
Wilkinson Mill
Possible route of raceway
Slater Ave
Slater Mill
Possible route of raceway
Stone arch
Gatehouse
Upper Dam
Leather Ave
Front Street
Blackstone River

Cultural Landscape Report

Slater Mill Historic Site
Pawtucket, Rhode Island

Period Plan, 1876

National Park Service
Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation
www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

1. Map of the Village of Pawtucket, 1870
2. Plat map by F. Pratt, 1872
3. Barlow's Insurance Survey Map, 1876

DRAWN BY

Clelie Fielding, 2019
GIS ArcMap 10.6
AutoCAD 2018
Adobe Illustrator 2019

LEGEND

- CLR boundary 2020
- Buildings
- Roads/paths
- Water
- Earthen surfaces

NOTES

1. Projection: Rhode Island State Plane, NAD83, Feet
2. All features shown in approximate scale and location

0' 17.5' 35' 70'

Drawing 1

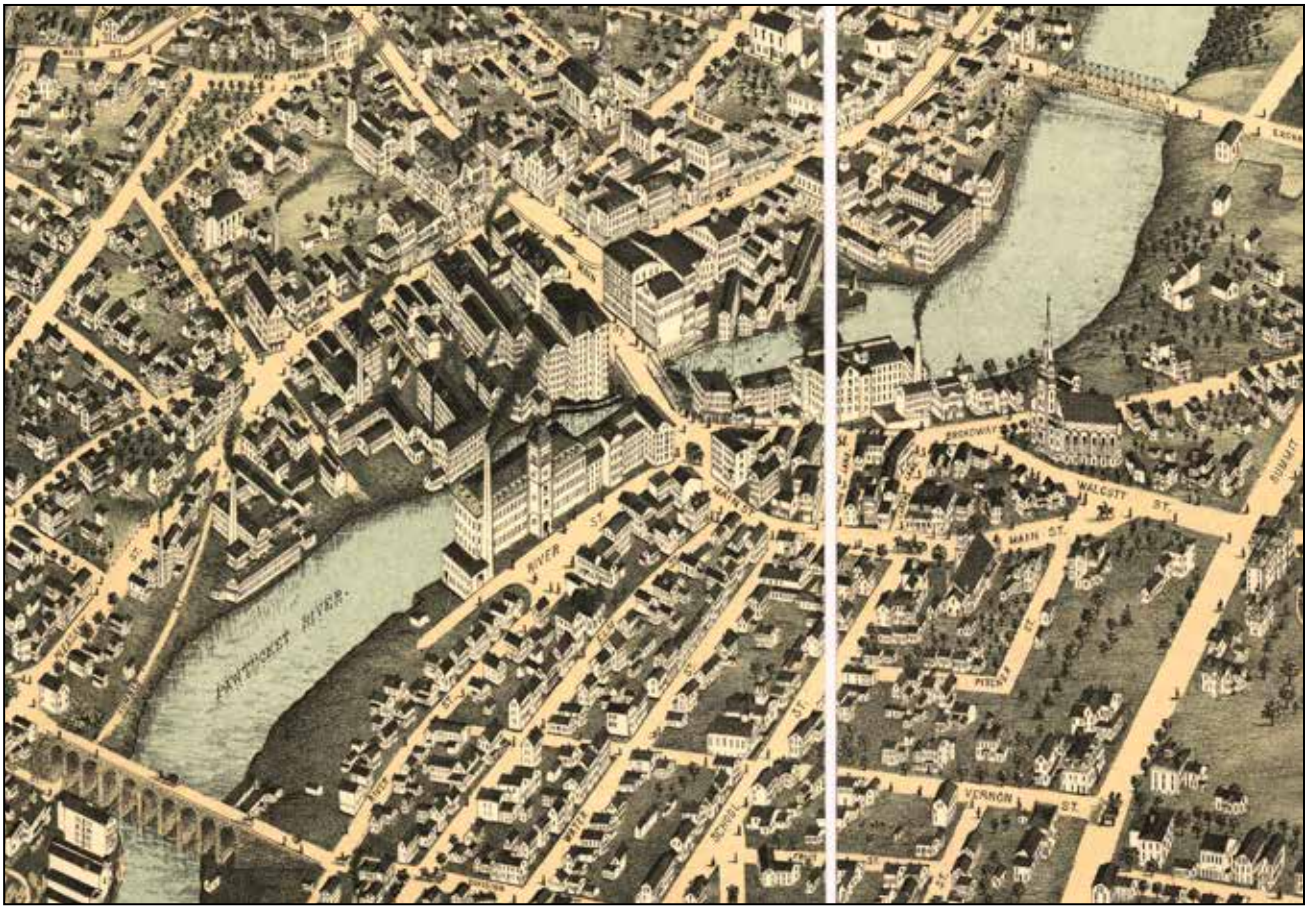


Figure 1.26. Map of Pawtucket, dated 1877. (O.H. Bailey and J.C.A. Hazen. *Bird's Eye View of Pawtucket & Central Falls, RI, 1877*. Pawtucket, RI, 1877. (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, from HSR 2018: D-46)

FROM PRODUCTION TO PRESERVATION, 1876-1925

This section documents the final period of manufacturing at Old Slater Mill, and the efforts by a coalition of local town and business leaders to restore the building as a tribute to Samuel Slater's legacy. Their decisions also transformed the industrial setting around the mill to an open space of lawns and paths. Similar changes were also underway in the some of the adjacent lots.

ERASTUS B. SAMPSON OWNERSHIP, 1876-1886

A bird's eye view of the city from 1877 and an atlas from 1880 show two new bridges had been erected over the Blackstone River to the north (Exchange Street) and south (Division Street) (Figure 1.26). Single gas or electric lights mounted on poles were shown lighting the bridges as well as the Main Street Bridge. Around the same time, Mill Street (on the west side) became known as North Main Street, with some maps still showing both names. Front Street (on the east side) was renamed Broadway. In 1885, the political designation of Pawtucket was changed for the last time when the Town of Pawtucket was incorporated as a city.[158] In February 1886, just over eight inches of rain and snowmelt caused one of the city's worst floods, breaching an unfinished dam upstream and flooding the Slater Lot and neighboring lots (Figure 1.27).[159]

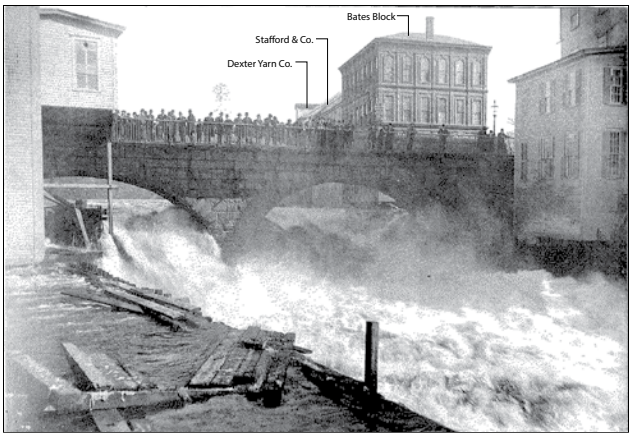


Figure 1.27. View looking east at the Main Street Bridge, during the February 1886 freshet. Beyond the bridge are the Bates Block, Stafford & Co., and Dexter Yarn Co. buildings. Note the electric light on the bridge. (Elizabeth J. Johnson, James L. Wheaton, and Susan L. Reed, *Images of America: Pawtucket, Volume 2*, Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 1996: 80)

Old Slater Mill

Ownership of Old Slater Mill changed hands in November 1876 when Gideon L. Spencer sold the one-acre Slater Lot to Erastus B. Sampson.[160] Like Pratt and Spencer, Sampson also leased Old Slater Mill. Carry over tenants included Pratt & Spencer on the first floor and Jenckes & Company on the second and third floors. In 1878 Pratt & Spencer was replaced by Job L. Spencer, who manufactured twine and thread.[161] Ring traveler manufacturer E. Jenckes & Company departed the mill for a larger space elsewhere in 1879, leaving the second and third floors vacant.[162] The Pawtucket Cardboard Company moved into the second floor in 1881 and remained until 1883.[163]

A drawing from 1880 and a photograph from c.1886 show two views of the mill's three-story west addition (Figures 1.28, 1.29). By c.1886 a rope-pulley elevator was installed on the north end of the mill and electrical lines were present. During this period the heritage of Old Slater Mill was recognized when the owners painted "Old Slater Mill" across the top floor of the north facade.[164]

Slater Lot

Analysis of the 1880 atlas and an 1884 Sanborn map provides information about changes in tenants and uses on the Slater Lot during Erastus Sampson's ownership (Figures 1.30a-b). The maps indicate that the work yard and adjoining alleys remained unchanged during this period. To the west along the lot's property line, the 1-story (pre-1823) building housed a picker/lapper room and a coffee roaster business, the brick 2-story (pre-1870) was occupied by a reel manufactory, and the 1-story shed was still present. To the north along Mill/North Main

Figure 1.28. Drawing looking west from the East Lot, 1880. ("Drawing from 1880 photograph." OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-48)

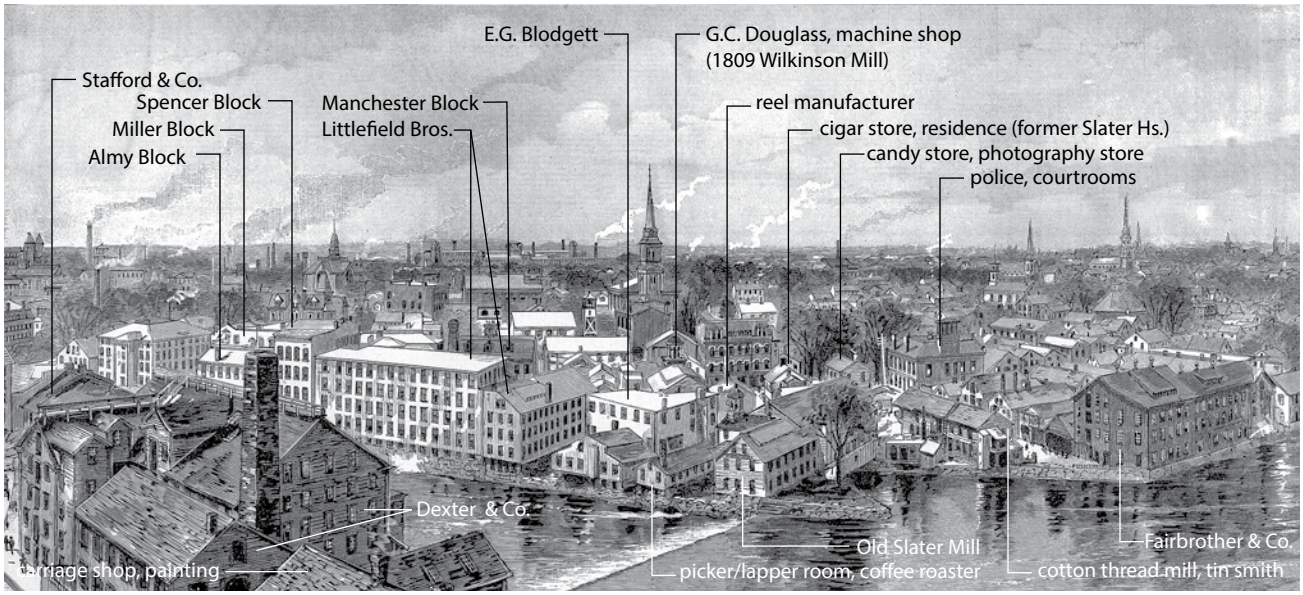


Figure 1.29. View looking south at the north and east sides of Old Slater Mill, c.1886. This is the first view showing the second and third story west addition and the rope pulley elevator, and the former Joseph Smith building to the east. Note the fence that once bordered Slater Avenue is gone. (OSMA Archives, from HAER RI-1, 1991)

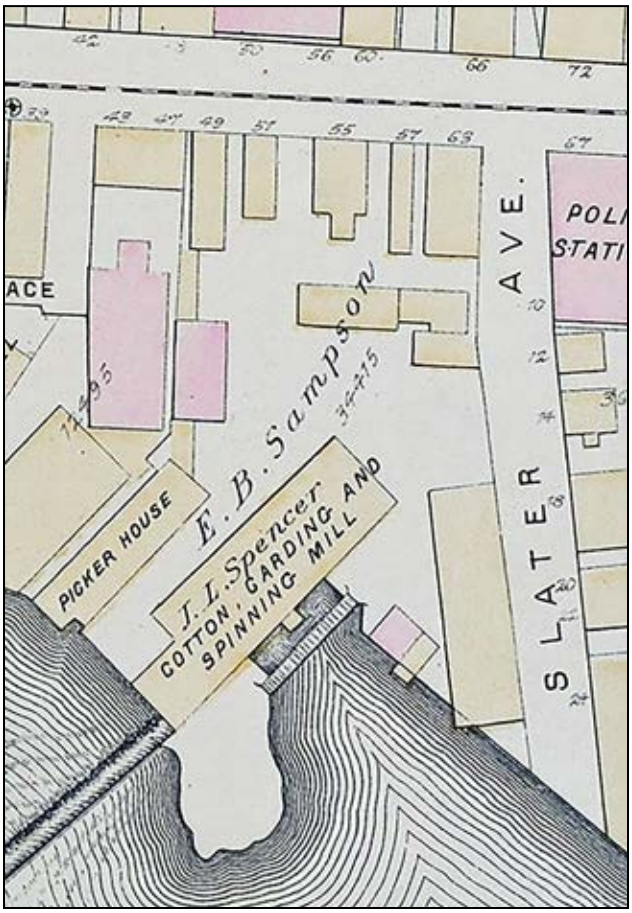


Figure 1.30a. Map of Slater Lot, dated 1880. (G.M. Hopkins, *Pawtucket, Plate B, Atlas of the Town of Pawtucket, RI,* 1"=80 feet, Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1880. Pawtucket Public Library, from HSR 2018: D-48)

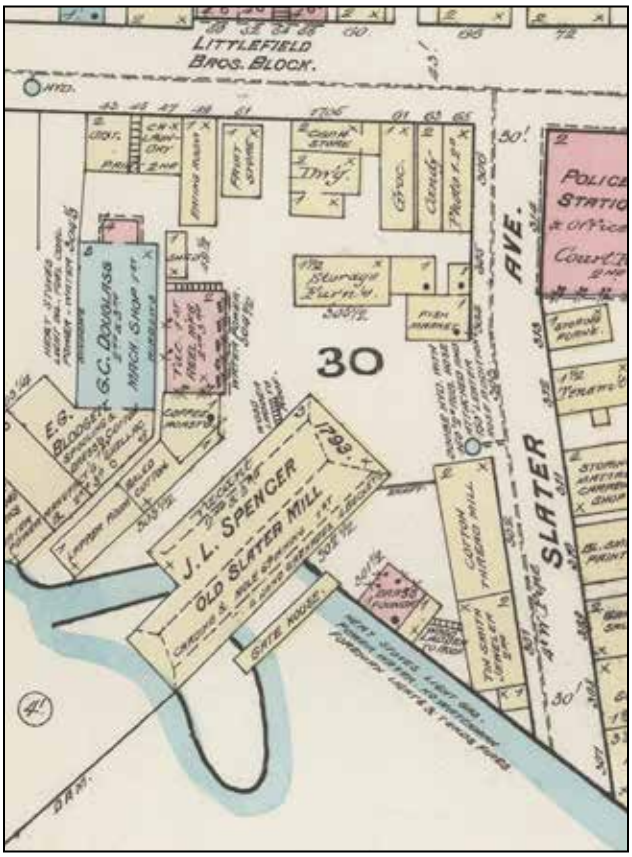


Figure 1.30b. Map of Slater Lot, dated 1884. (Sanborn Fire Insurance Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Pawtucket, Providence County, Rhode Island, Sheet 8, November 1884.* Washington DC: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, from HSR 2018: D-49)

Street there were again five buildings comprised of a 1-story "eating room" and 1-story fruit store, a 2-story cigar store/residence (former Slater House), a 1-story grocery, and a 2-story candy store/photography store. Just north of the mill was a 1-story fish market that replaced the file cutting room, two 1-story miscellaneous buildings, and the 1.5-story building formerly a smith/carriage shop but now used for storage. To the east along Slater Avenue, the brick/frame 2-story (1856) mill housed a cotton thread mill/tin smith, and the brick 1-story (1869) shop remained a foundry. Exterior power shafts still connected Old Slater Mill to the pre-1823 building and pre-1870 brick building to the west and the 1856 mill to the east.

A historic photograph from c.1886 shows that the fence along Slater Avenue that had earlier defined the work yard on the north side of the mill was removed during this period (see Figure 1.29). The tops of trees on the east side of the mill are barely visible in this photograph, but only the tree on the peninsula is depicted in the 1880 drawing (see Figure 1.28). Maps show the inlet to the Great Flume, but no other sections are shown, suggesting it may have been covered over with a bridge crossing.

North Lot

The 1880 atlas and 1884 map offer the first comprehensive picture of building layouts and uses in the North Lot, which at this time was crowded with buildings (Figures 1.31a-b). The brick 2-story police and courtroom building anchored the lot's southwest corner throughout this period, while just to the east of it was a storage building and tenement. A collection of 1-1.5-story buildings in the northwest corner served as a livery until around 1884 when these spaces hosted a variety of stores and manufactories. A sprawling collection of 1- to 3.5-story buildings associated with the H.L. Fairbrother & Company tannery dominated the east half of the lot along the river, while a carpenter and blacksmith faced Slater Avenue. Narrow alleys provided circulation within the lot and connected to Slater Avenue and Leather Avenue. Power shafts connected to several buildings.

South Lot

The U-shaped Wilkinson Place alley continued to define the South Lot (Figures 1.32a-b). In the north part of the lot, the stone 3-story mill (former Wilkinson Mill) housed a machine shop on the first floor and the Douglas & Company shoe string business on the second and third floors. Douglas also occupied the second and third floors of the mill's 1.5- and 3-story additions to the east while the Blodgett Company occupied the first floor. Just to the west along Mill/North Main Street were two 2-story buildings housing a Chinese laundry, oyster shop, and paint store. In the east part of the lot along the river, the Littlefield Brothers operated a complex of connected 3- to 4-story textile buildings marked by a 85-foot tall chimney. The company expanded during this period, as the 1880 atlas

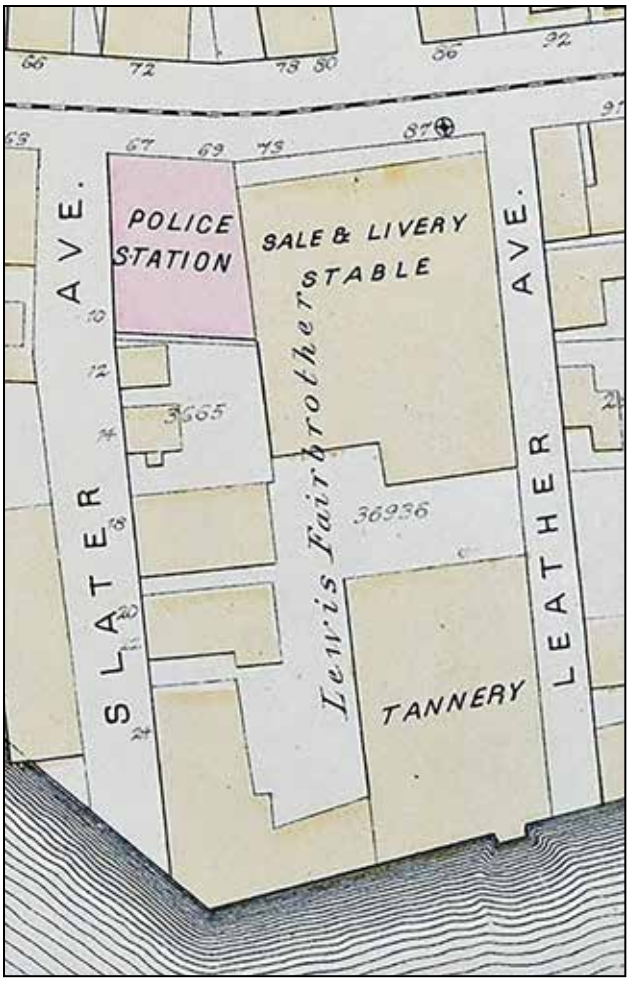


Figure 1.31a. Map of North Lot, dated 1880. (G.M. Hopkins, *Pawtucket, Plate B, Atlas of the Town of Pawtucket, RI,* 1"=80 feet, Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1880. Pawtucket Public Library, from HSR 2018: D-48)

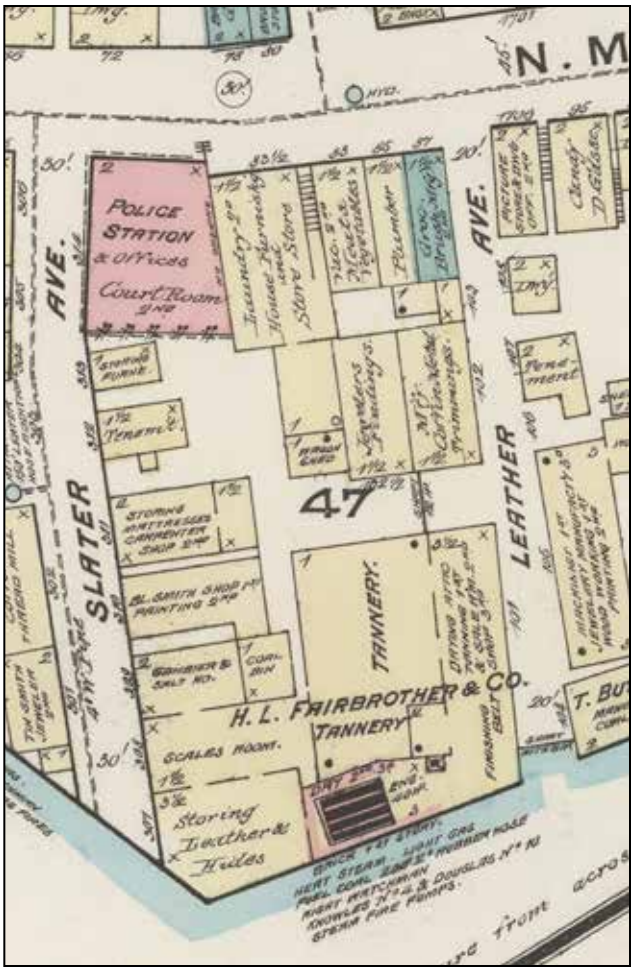


Figure 1.31b. Map of North Lot, dated 1884. (Sanborn Fire Insurance Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Pawtucket, Providence County, Rhode Island, Sheet 8, November 1884.* Washington DC: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, from HSR 2018: D-49)

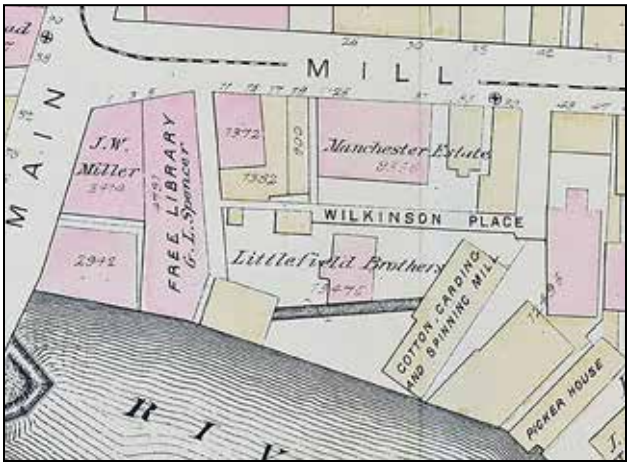


Figure 1.32a. Map of South Lot, dated 1880. (G.M. Hopkins, *Pawtucket, Plate B, Atlas of the Town of Pawtucket, RI,* 1"=80 feet, Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1880. Pawtucket Public Library, from HSR 2018: D-48)

Figure 1.32b. Map of South Lot, dated 1884. (Sanborn Fire Insurance Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Pawtucket, Providence County, Rhode Island, Sheet 8, November 1884.* Washington DC: Library of Congress Prints and Photo Division, from HSR 2018: D-49)

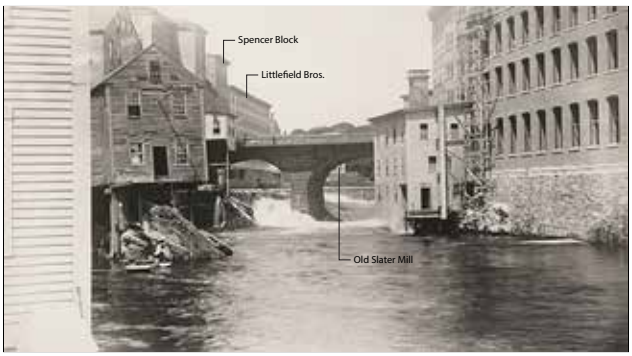


Figure 1.33. View looking north at the Main Street Bridge, c.1884. (Rhode Island State Digital Archives, Rhode Island Department of State, https://sosri.access.preservica.com/home/)

shows an open portion of the Great Flume while the 1884 map shows a building covering it. In the west part of the lot facing Mill/North Main Street, miscellaneous businesses occupied the brick 3-story Manchester and Miller Blocks as well as other 2.5- and 3-story buildings, including a furniture store. In the south part of the lot, various merchants, a library, and a lodge room filled the brick 3- to 4-story Spencer, Miller, and Almy's Blocks (Figure 1.33).

East Lot

The East Lot was a dense collection of buildings and structures hugging the river (Figures 1.34a-b). At the east end of the upper dam, the area was dominated by the complex of 2- to 5-story buildings and a 90-foot high brick chimney operated by the Dexter Yarn Company. One of these buildings stood on a spit of land extending into the river and was connected by a footbridge to a 2-story building at the raceway inlet. Maps show the inlet and outlet of a raceway that passed under the main building. Heading downstream from the dam, the brick and stone 3-story buildings were occupied by the Stafford Company, which one map shows

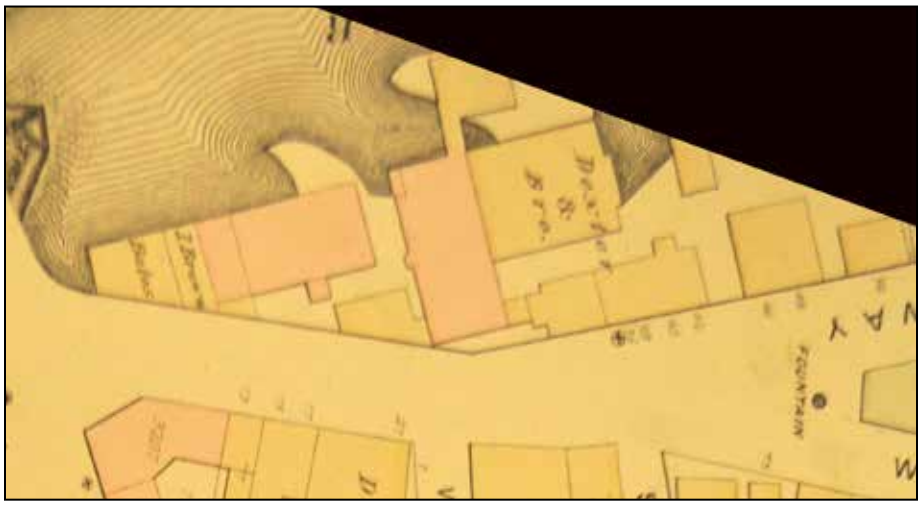


Figure 1.34a. Map of East Lot, dated 1880. (G.M. Hopkins, *Pawtucket, Plate B, Atlas of the Town of Pawtucket, RI,* 1"=80 feet, Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1880. Pawtucket Public Library, from OSMA Archives, DSC-3749)

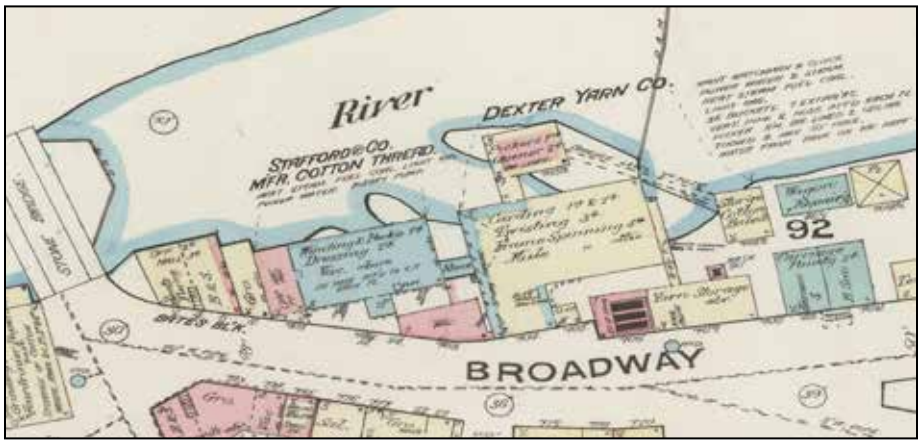


Figure 1.34b. Map of East Lot, dated 1884. (Sanborn Fire Insurance Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Pawtucket, Providence County, Rhode Island, Sheet 8, November 1884.* Washington DC: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, from HSR 2018: D-49)

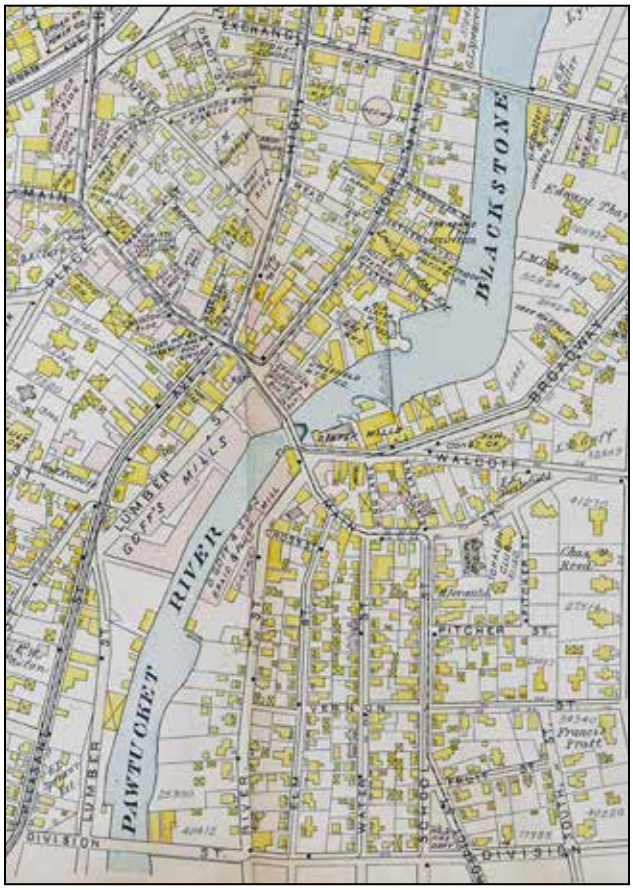


Figure 1.35. Map of Pawtucket, dated 1895. (Everts & Richards, *City of Pawtucket, Plate 3*, 1"=300 feet. New Topographical Atlas of Surveys, Providence County. Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1895. Pawtucket Public Library, from HSR 2018: D-59)

Figure 1.36. View looking southeast across the Main Street Bridge, 1894. (Pawtucket Public Library, from Elizabeth J. Johnson, James L. Wheaton, and Susan L. Reed, *Images of America: Pawtucket*, Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 1995: 28-29)

was connected to the raceway. Other buildings in this area included the 3-story Bates Block next to the Main Street Bridge. Heading upstream from the dam, there were 1- to 3-story buildings that housed a wagon repair shop, carriage paint shop, and harness shop, as well as a 2-story dwelling.

GIDEON L. SPENCER OWNERSHIP, 1886-1902

There were few notable changes in the layouts of streets around the Pawtucket Falls area during this sixteen year period. By this time the name transition from Mill Street to North Main Street was complete (Figure 1.35). By 1894 the streetcar system was extended from the west side of the Blackstone River to the east side, via a single track across the Main Street Bridge (Figure 1.36). At this time wooden walks cantilevered on both sides of the bridge's stone arches. A wrought iron fence with strait vertical railings lined the outboard side of the walkways, while a low pipe rail fence lined the inboard sides.

Old Slater Mill

In March 1886 Erastus B. Sampson sold the Slater Lot back to Gideon L. Spencer.[165] The lone carry over tenant in Old Slater Mill from the period of Sampson's ownership was Job L. Spencer on the first floor. In 1886 J. Crocker & Son, a manufacturer of wire and sheet metal goods and coffin trimmings, moved into the vacant second floor, posting a sign on the north side of the building's second floor. Frank I. Frost, a maker of jewelers tools, shared the space with Crocker, and both remained until 1893. Also in 1886, Henry L. Spencer, Job's son, opened a bicycle sales shop in the building complex north of the mill and used the north

half of the mill's third floor as bicycle riding rink until 1891, and then again from 1896-1900. During this interim, the third floor was used for two years by the Electrical Specialty Company, which dealt in "…electrical light appliances." Two new tenants were added in 1892 on the second floor: Owen E. McKenna, a manufacturer of belting, lace, and leather that stayed for over thirty years, and Charles A. Spooner & Company, "jewelers [sic] manufacturer" who only rented one year. In 1895 John Marshall & Company, hat manufacturers, and James C. Doran, a metal worker, became tenants, but both left in 1897. The year 1895 also marked the end of an era when Job L. Spencer ceased weaving

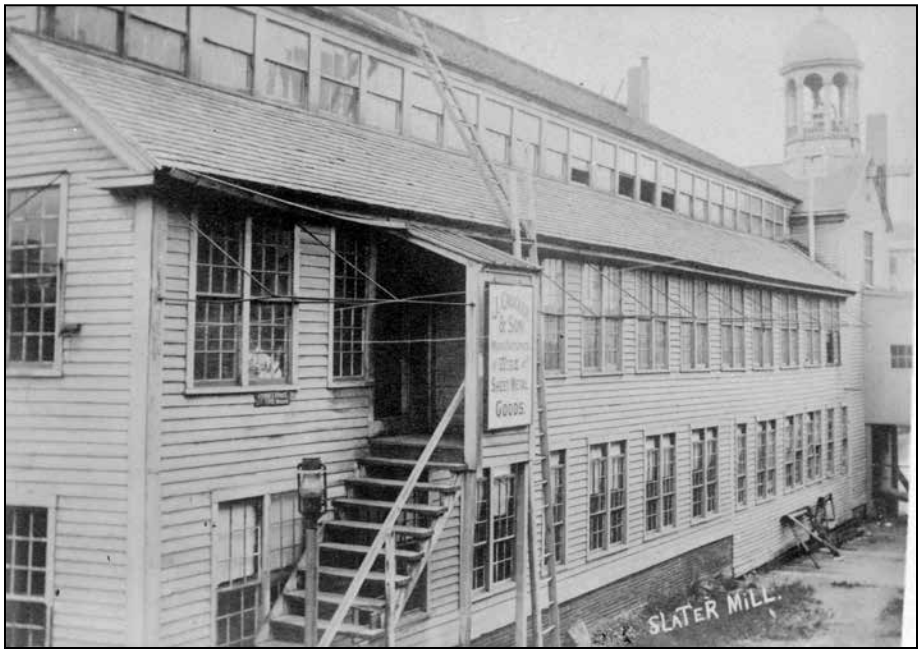


Figure 1.37. View looking east at the west side of Old Slater Mill, c.1886-1893. Note the second floor addition on the stairtower, the wood bridge over the Great Flume, and the lamppost at the bottom of the steps. (OSMA Archives, from HAER RI-1, 1991)

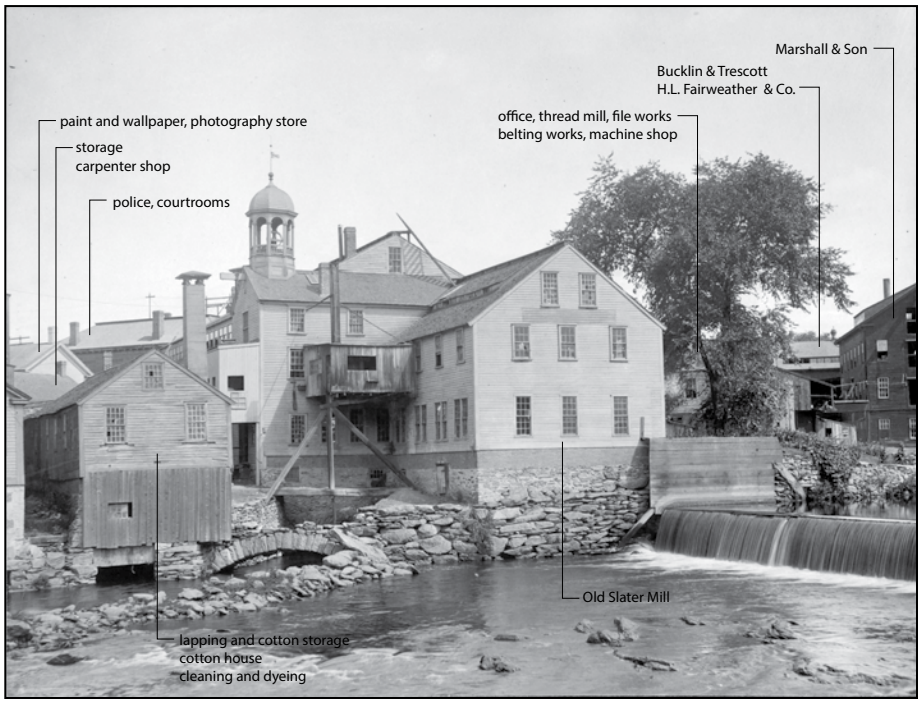


Figure 1.38. View looking north at the south and west sides of Old Slater Mill, 1886-1894, with both additions to the stairtower visible. In the background is the police and courtooms building and the one of the buildings associated with the Marshall & Son Hat hat factory, prior to its removal. Note the missing stones above the tailrace arch and the height of the trees on the peninsula. (Spaulding House Research Library, from HAER RI-1, 1991)

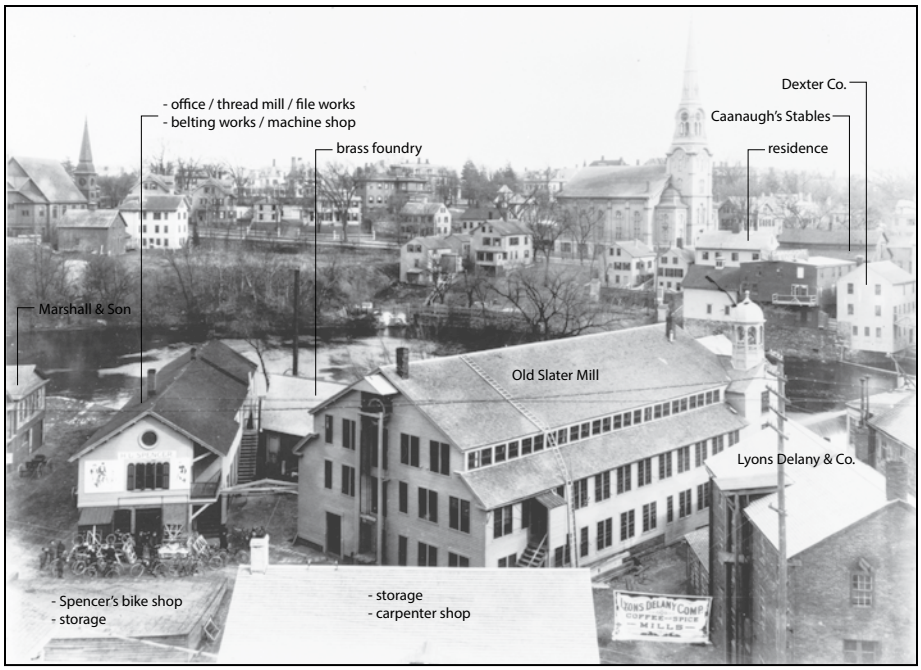


Figure 1.39. View looking east at the north and west sides of Old Slater Mill, 1895-1900, with the stairtower additions removed. (Spaulding House Research Library, from HAER RI-1, 1991)

cotton, ending a 103-year history of cotton production at Slater Mill. During this period small additions were added to the west and south elevations of the stairtower's second floor (Figures 1.37, 1.38). Presumably the two additions were built to meet the needs of the several manufacturing operations inside the mill but they were removed between 1895 and 1900 (Figure 1.39).[166]

At the turn of the century McKenna was joined by four new businesses, anchored by James A. Moncrief and his Pawtucket Steamboat Company that moved into the vacant first floor from their nearby location at 54 East Avenue. Originally operating steamboats on the Pawtucket River, the company changed over to manufacturing "steam carriages" for a short time and operated a successful machine shop until 1923. Also in 1900, William Hill, manufacturer of afghan robes and shawls, rented space at the rear of the first floor until 1912 and the Green Mountain Braiding Company, shoe string makers, occupied space on the second floor until 1902. Daniel A. Every, manufacturer of flannel and linen, briefly ran a shop in the mill during the year 1900 (floor unknown).[167]

The number of photographs of Old Slater Mill taken c.1890 coincided with interest generated by the Cotton Centennial Celebration in 1890.[168] The official brochure of the celebration showed the mill at various stages of its development, and some enthusiasts attempted to reconstruct the original 1793 appearance of the building. Although many of these drawings were inaccurate, they demonstrated the building's special significance in the nation's history.[169]

Slater Lot

Comparisons of Sanborn maps from 1890 and 1902, and a City of Pawtucket map from 1895, reveal changes on the Slater Lot during Gideon Spencer's ownership (Figures 1.40a-b-c). To the west along the lot's property line, the 1-story (pre-1823) building evolved from lapping and cotton storage, to cotton house, to cleaning and dyeing, as well as a "mustard factory," the brick 2-story (pre-1870) housed a spice mill run by Lyons Delany & Company, and the 1-story shed was still present. To the north along North Main Street the five buildings were still comprised of two 1-story "stores," a 2-story store/residence (former Slater House), a 1-story building housing a Chinese laundry, and a 2-story paint and wallpaper/photography store. Just north of the mill was Spencer's bike shop that took over the 1-story fish market and adjoining sheds but by 1902 had become storage, and the 1.5-story building that became 2-stories and changed from storage to a carpenter shop. To the east along Slater Avenue, the brick/frame 2-story (1856) mill housed offices and a cotton thread mill/tin smith until they were replaced by a machine shop, and the brick 1-story (1869) shop continued its use as a foundry. Exterior power shafts still connected Old Slater Mill to the pre-1823 building to the west and the 1856 mill to the east, but a shaft was no longer shown running to the pre-1870 brick building.[170]

During this period the stones above the stone tailrace arch were dismantled, possibly as part of a maintenance project, or had deteriorated or were damaged by flood waters (see Figure 1.38). Vegetation continued to mature on the peninsula, with the tree at the south end of the gatehouse exceeding 50 feet in height. A smaller tree or large shrub appears to grow between them, and low growing vegetation extended to and over the stone river wall.

North Lot

Aside from the brick 2-story police and courtroom building, several major changes occurred in the North Lot during this period (Figures 1.41a-b-c). The storage building and tenement just to the east was eventually removed. The series of 1- to 1.5-story buildings in the northwest corner transitioned from small individual stores and factories to furniture and stove businesses. On the east half along the river, the connected 1- to 3.5-story buildings were associated with the H.L. Fairbrother & Company tannery/belting, Bucklin & Trescott belting company, and Marshall & Son hat factory. One of these buildings at the southeast corner was removed by 1895, and by 1902 all of the tannery/belting/factory buildings as well as the carpenter and blacksmith shop were razed, leaving the east half of the lot empty.

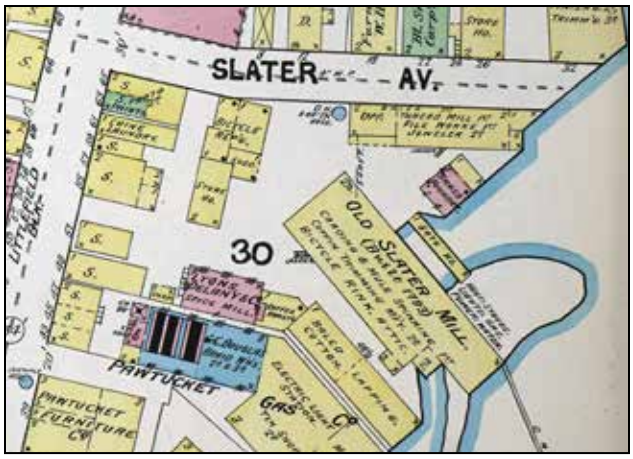


Figure 1.40a. Map of Slater Lot, dated 1890. (Sanborn Map Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Pawtucket, Providence County, Rhode Island, Sheet 15, 1890*. (Washington DC: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, from HSR 2018: D-56)

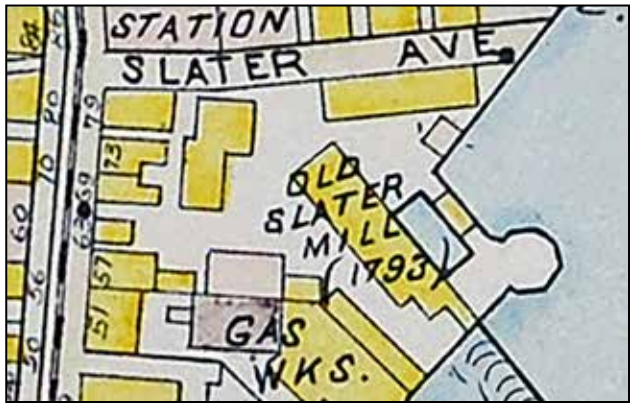


Figure 1.40b. Map of Slater Lot, dated 1895. (Everts & Richards, *City of Pawtucket, Plate 3*, 1"=300 feet. New Topographical Atlas of Surveys, Providence County. Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1895. Pawtucket Public Library, from HSR 2018: D-59)

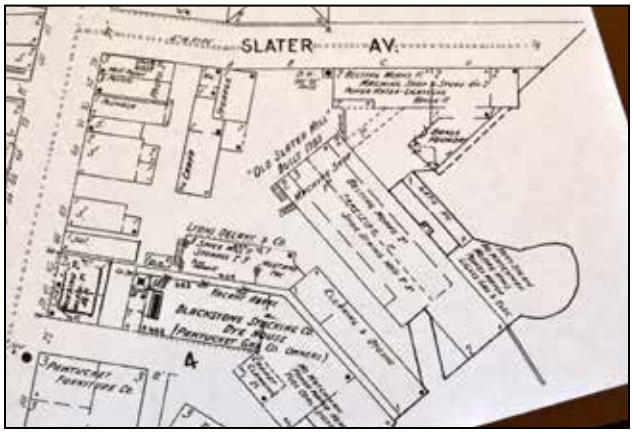


Figure 1.40c. Map of Slater Lot, dated 1902. (Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Maps of Pawtucket: Including Central Falls and Valley Falls, Rhode Island, 1902*. Sanborn Maps for the State of Rhode Island, Brown Digital Repository at Brown University Library, from HSR 2018: D-56)

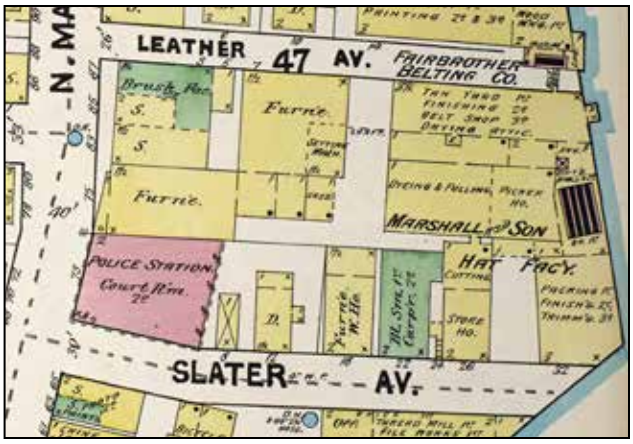


Figure 1.41a. Map of North Lot, dated 1890. (Sanborn Map Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Pawtucket, Providence County, Rhode Island, Sheet 15, 1890*. (Washington DC: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, from HSR 2018: D-56)

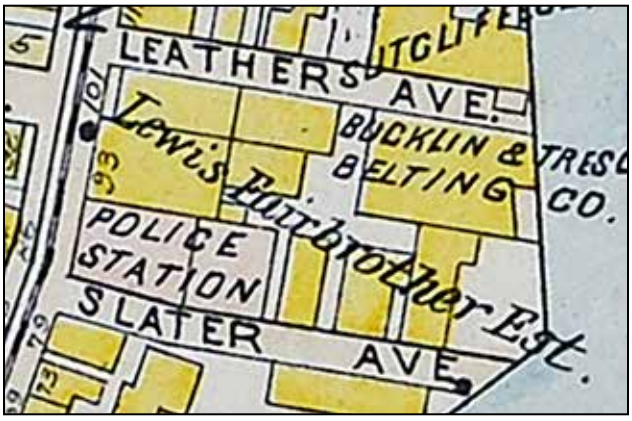


Figure 1.41b. Map of North Lot, dated 1895. (Everts & Richards, *City of Pawtucket, Plate 3*, 1"=300 feet. New Topographical Atlas of Surveys, Providence County. Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1895. Pawtucket Public Library, from HSR 2018: D-59)

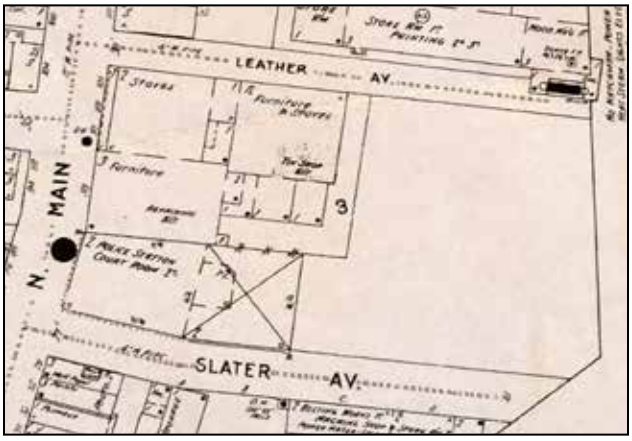


Figure 1.41c. Map of North Lot, dated 1902. (Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Maps of Pawtucket: Including Central Falls and Valley Falls, Rhode Island, 1902*. Sanborn Maps for the State of Rhode Island, Brown Digital Repository at Brown University Library, from HSR 2018: D-56)

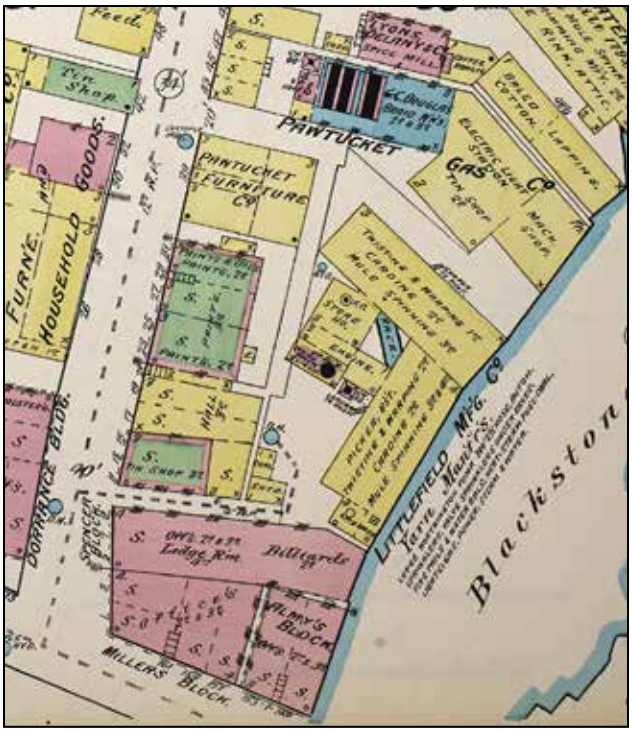


Figure 1.42a. Map of South Lot, dated 1890. (Sanborn Map Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Pawtucket, Providence County, Rhode Island, Sheet 15, 1890*. Washington DC: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, from HSR 2018: D-56)

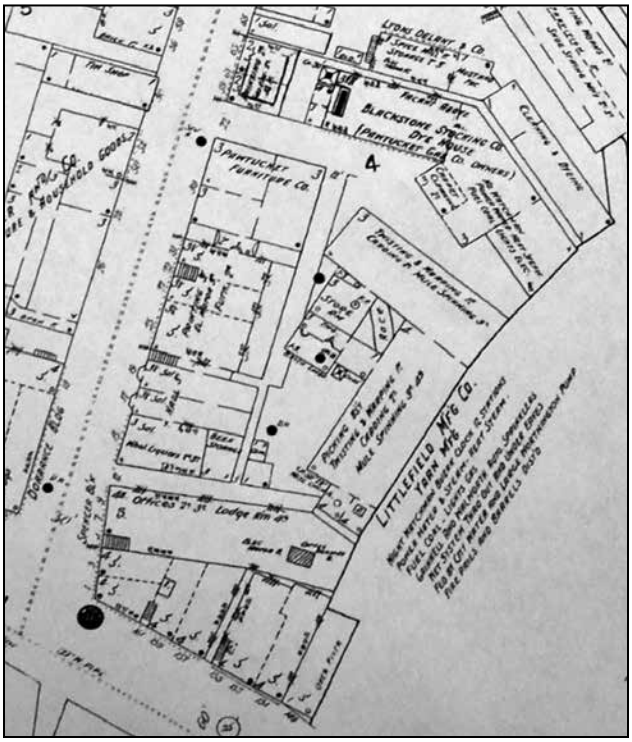


Figure 1.42c. Map of South Lot, dated 1902. (Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Maps of Pawtucket: Including Central Falls and Valley Falls, Rhode Island, 1902*. Sanborn Maps for the State of Rhode Island, Brown Digital Repository at Brown University Library, from HSR 2018: D-56)

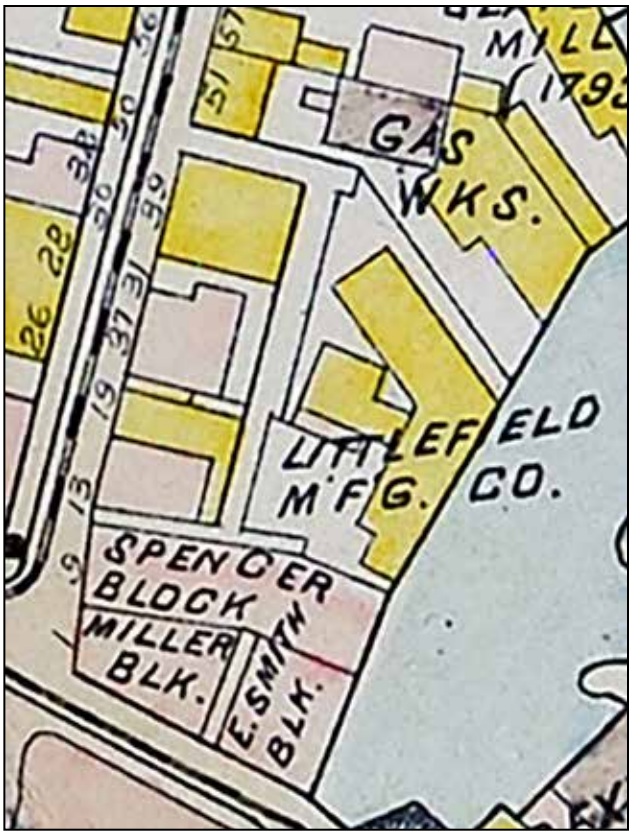


Figure 1.42b. Map of South Lot, dated 1895. (Everts & Richards, *City of Pawtucket, Plate 3*, 1"=300 feet. New Topographical Atlas of Surveys, Providence County. Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1895. Pawtucket Public Library, from HSR 2018: D-59)

South Lot

The layout of the South Lot was unchanged during this period, arranged around the U-shaped Wilkinson Place alley (Figures 1.42a-b-c). In the north part of the lot, the stone 3-story mill (former Wilkinson Mill) was owned by the Pawtucket Gas Company, which built a 90-foot high masonry chimney at the northwest corner of the mill. The Douglas & Company shoe string business continued to occupy the second and third floors of the mill, and were replaced by 1902 by the Blackstone Stocking Company. The gas company also occupied portions of the mill's 1.5- and 3-story additions to the east, using them as a machine and tin shop, and also rented some of this space to a carpet cleaning company. Just to the west along North Main Street was a single 2-story building housing unnamed stores on the first floor and a paint store on the second. On the east part of the lot along the river, the Littlefield Brothers complex of 3- to 4-story buildings and the 85-foot

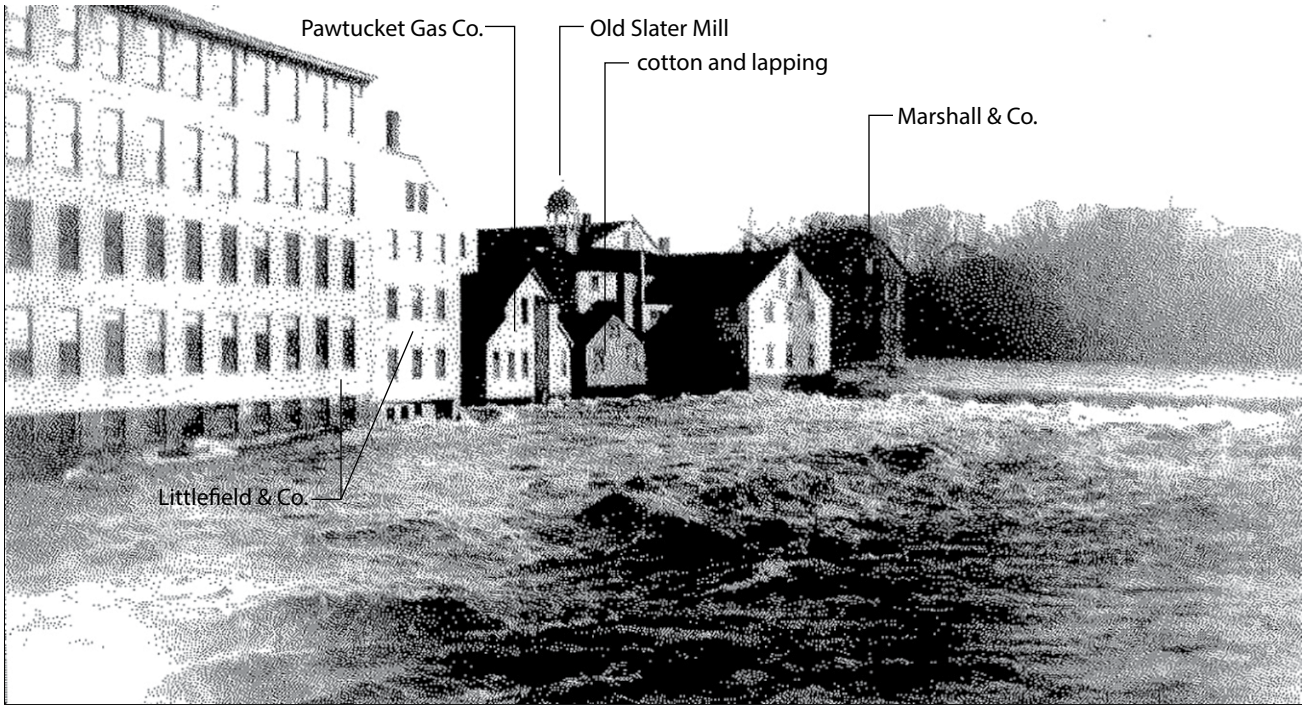


Figure 1.43. View looking north at mill buildings along the west side of the Blackstone, 1890. (Sarah Leavitt, *Images of America: Slater Mill,* Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 1997: 34)

tall chimney continued to dominate this space (Figure 1.43). Unlike the 1880 atlas, the two Sanborn maps from this period show an open portion of the Great Flume next to the buildings. In the west part of the lot facing North Main Street, a variety of businesses continued to operate in the brick 3-story Manchester and Miller Blocks, and in two other 3-story buildings, including the Pawtucket Furniture Company. In the south part of the lot, the library was replaced by offices, but stores and a lodge room filled the brick 3- to 4-story Spencer, Miller, and Almy buildings. By 1895 the Almy Block became the Smith Block, and by 1902 an addition that cantilevered over the river was built on the east side this building (Figures 1.44, 1.45).

Figure 1.44. View looking northwest at the Main Street Bridge, c.1891. At this time the Almy Block addition cantilevered over the river has not been built. (Johnson et.al. 1995: 30)

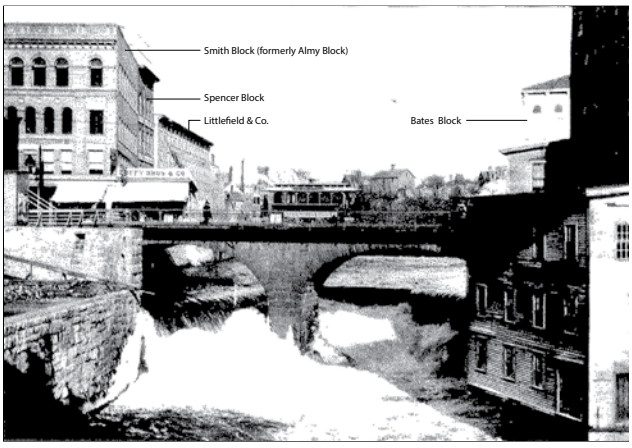


Figure 1.45. View looking northeast at buildings in the South Lot, c.1897. Note the Duffy Bros. electrician and hardware business occupying the wood addition on the Smith Block that is cantilevered over the river. This view of the Main Street Bridge was taken soon before the bridge was widened. (Johnson et.al. 1995: 99)

Figure 1.46a. Map of East Lot, dated 1890. (Sanborn Map Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Pawtucket, Providence County, Rhode Island, Sheet 15, 1890*. (Washington DC: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, from HSR 2018: D-56)

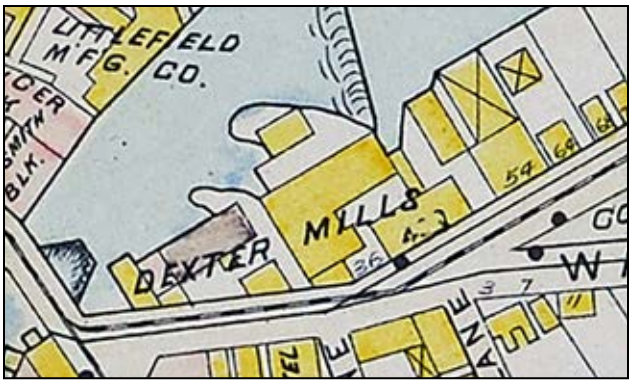


Figure 1.46b. Map of East Lot, dated 1895. (Everts & Richards, *City of Pawtucket, Plate 3*, 1"=300 feet. New Topographical Atlas of Surveys, Providence County. Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1895. Pawtucket Public Library, from HSR 2018: D-59)

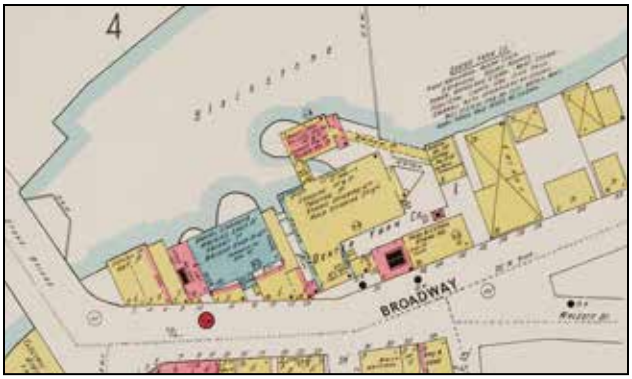


Figure 1.46c. Map of East Lot, dated 1902. (Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Maps of Pawtucket: Including Central Falls and Valley Falls, Rhode Island, 1902*. Sanborn Maps for the State of Rhode Island, Brown Digital Repository at Brown University Library, from HSR 2018: D-56)

East Lot

The East Lot continued to be packed with buildings and structures (Figures 1.46a-b-c). At the east end of the upper dam, the area was dominated by the complex of 2- to 5-story buildings operated by the Dexter Yarn Company, as well as the 2-story building on the spit of land and a footbridge that during this period connected to a 3-story building at the raceway inlet. The spit and the 2-story building are visible in an early c.1890s photograph, which also shows some of the stone walls that armored the spit (Figure 1.47). The raceway passed under a gatehouse (not shown on previous maps) and the main building. Heading downstream from the dam, the raceway still connected to the brick and stone buildings occupied during this period by William Mason & Company and the New England Thread Company, although the 1895 map suggests they were also operated by Dexter. The brick and

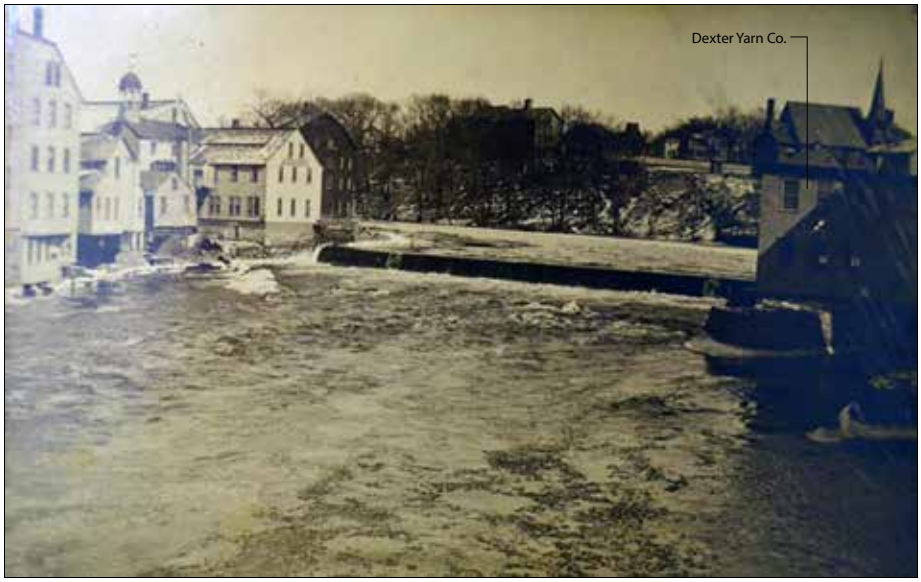


Figure 1.47. View looking north from the Main Street Bridge toward Slater Mill, early 1890s. At image right, a portion of one of the Dexter Yarn Co.'s buildings on the east peninsula is visible. (OSMA Archives. From HSR 2018: D-55)

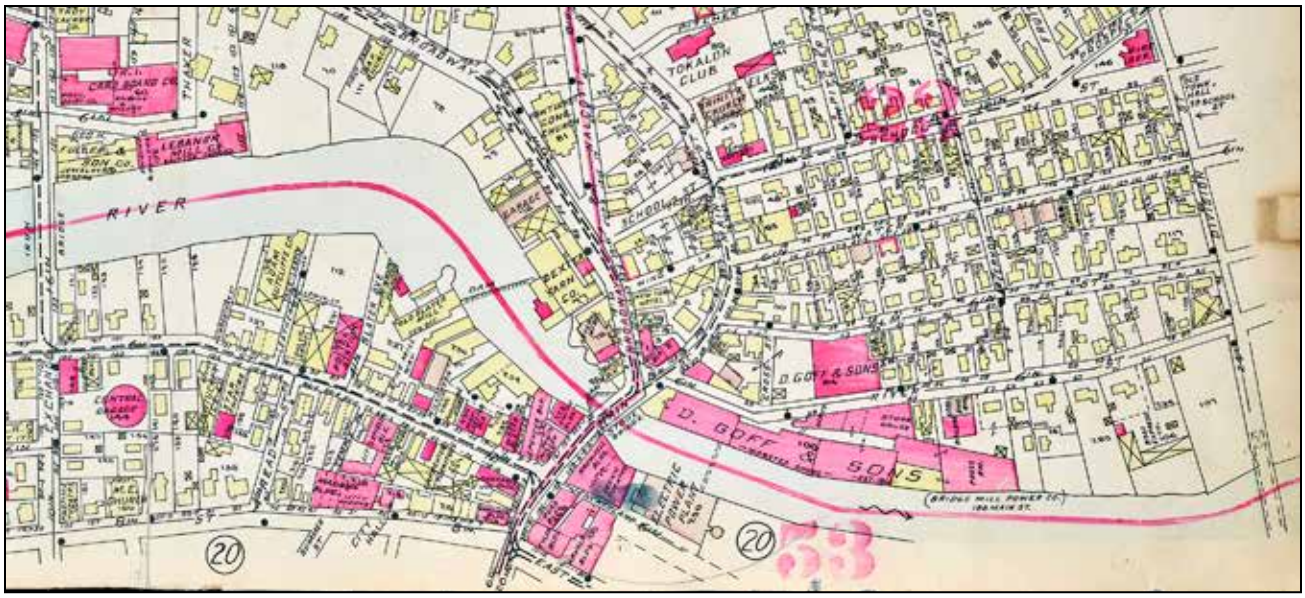


Figure 1.48. Map of Pawtucket, dated 1917. (Richards Standard Atlas, *Pawtucket Business Section, Volume 2, Plate 21*, 1"=150 feet. Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1917. Pawtucket Public Library, from HSR 2018: D-71)

stone 3-story buildings in this area were enlarged from 3-stories to 4- to 4.5-stories during this period. Other buildings included the 3-story Bates Block next to the bridge (see Figure 1.45). Heading upstream from the dam, the 1- to 3-story buildings that housed a wagon repair shop, carriage paint shop, and harness shop were replaced with 2- and 2.5-story buildings operated as Cavanaugh Stable by 1902 (see Figure 1.39).

JOB L. SPENCER OWNERSHIP AND S. WILLARD THAYER/OSMA OWNERSHIP, 1902-1923

During this period the Main Street Bridge was widened northward by 1905, which made possible the installation of a second streetcar line across the bridge. Elevated walks lined both sides of the bridge, and decorative wrought iron railings replaced the earlier simple railings. The bridge expansion brought the northeast edge of the structure much closer to the Bates Block building (Figures 1.48, 1.49).

Figure 1.49. View looking east from the west end of the widened Main Street Bridge, 1914. Note the double streetcar track and the decorative iron fence. (Johnson et.al 1995: 30)

Old Slater Mill

Tenants, 1902-1912

In May 1902, shortly after the death of Gideon L. Spencer, ownership of Old Slater Mill transferred back Job L. Spencer.[171] Carry over tenants at the time of this transition included the Pawtucket Steamboat Company and William Hill on the first floor and Owen E. McKenna and the Green Mountain Braiding Company on the second floor (Figures 1.50, 1.51). New businesses came in soon after, including Thomas J. Brennan, a carpet cleaner and rug weaver who beginning in 1904 re-

Figure 1.50. View looking east at the north and west sides of Old Slater Mill, c.1900-1912. (Spaulding House Research Library, from HAER RI-1, 1991)

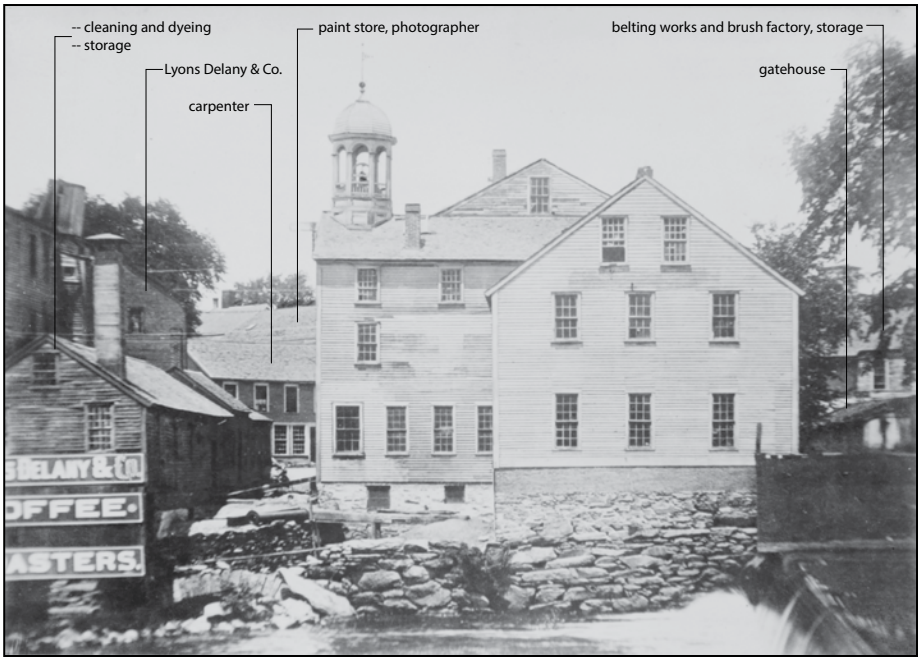


Figure 1.51. View looking northwest at the south side of Old Slater Mill, c.1907. Note the missing window on the second floor of the stairtower, which was earlier modified into a door for access to the second floor addition that was removed by 1900. (Spaulding House Research Library, from HAER RI-1, 1991)

Figure 1.52. View looking east at the north and west sides of Old Slater Mill, c.1913. Note the new clerestory roof and tilt windows. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: 69)

sided in part of the second floor as well as the south end of the third floor. Comparatively shorter rentals came from the following tenants: Clifford G. King, a jewelers' supplier, from 1905 to 1907 (floor unknown); Slade Tubing Company in 1907 (floor unknown); Despard J. Holmes, woodturner from 1909 to 1913 (floor unknown); New England Paper Tube Company from 1909 to 1912 on the north end of the second floor; Pawtucket Saw and Knife Works from 1910 to 1911 (floor unknown); D. Edgar Coe and his U.S. Band Company, maker of household novelties and metalworking in 1910 (floor unknown); Alfred Coe, color-typing, in 1910 (floor unknown); and Conrad Erickson, polishing and nickel plating, in 1912 (floor unknown).[172] Job Spencer added a gable-fronted dormer window to the south slope of the mill roof straddling the clerestory window by 1910 to accommodate one of these businesses.[173]

Fires in 1912

A series of fires in April and May 1912 caused substantial damage to Old Slater Mill and prompted several changes to the structure. The May fire was especially bad, damaging the second and third floors and flooding the first floor. Many of the tenants in the mill were uninsured and sustained major or total losses, and did not return. Spencer nonetheless made repairs, and opted to replace the damaged gable roof north of the stairtower with a flat clerestory roof and tilt windows, except for the gable at the far north end that was retained for continued use of the elevator (Figures 1.52, 1.53, 1.54).[174]

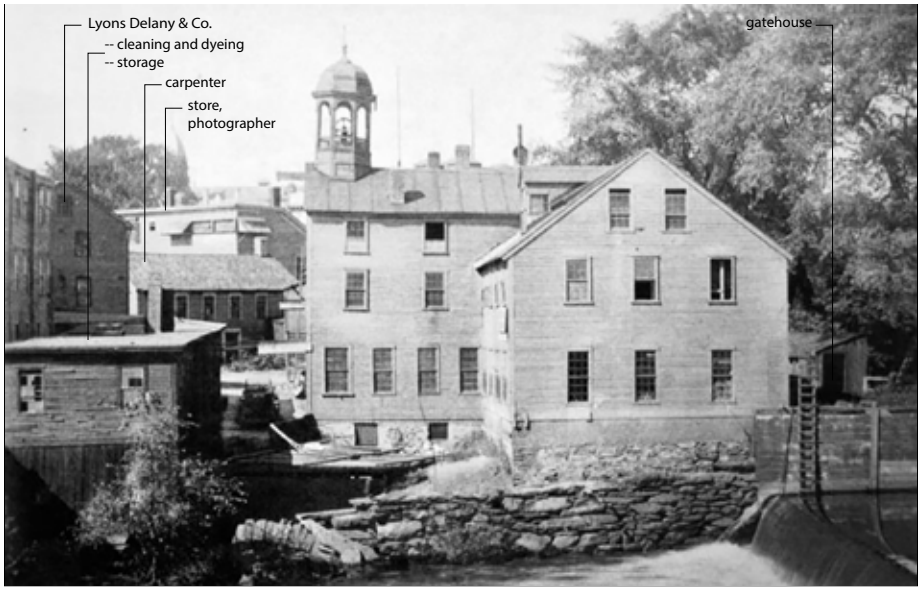


Figure 1.53. View looking northwest at the south side of Old Slater Mill, c.1912, after the roof north of the stairtower was replaced with a flat roof. Note the missing window on the second floor of the stairtower has been replaced, and the gable window on the south slope of the mill. The cleaning dyeing room has a flat roof at this time. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-70)

Figure 1.54. View looking southeast at the north and east sides of Old Slater Mill, c.1912. Two trees are visible on the east side, one along the foundation and another next to the north wall of the Great Flume. (OSMA Archives, from HAER RI-1, 1991)

Tenants, 1913-1921

Despite heavy loss from the fire, Thomas Brennan's carpet and rug business returned, but the rest of the mill was vacant and in need of new tenants. In 1913 Spencer rented the second and third floors to the Pawtucket Electro-Plating Company, which was headed by multiple managers that included A. Lupien, through a lease that lasted until 1923. Sharing the second floor for much of this time was the Pawtucket Standard Braid Company, a textile supply firm that remained until 1921. In 1917 James Moncrief (of Pawtucket Steamboat Company) founded Moncrief Machine Company and began conducting business. Moncreif and the Steamboat Company were associated with the Pawtucket Machine and Tool Company, which also operated out of the mill's first floor. The Union Metal Goods Company, wire manufacturers, rented space from 1919 to 1920 (floor unknown).[175]

Old Slater Mill Association

Old Slater Mill had been memorialized in paintings, photographs, and advertisements for some time, and as early as 1912 there was local interest in preserving the building. But around the time Job L. Spencer died in 1919, the building was clearly showing signs of deterioration.[176] At this time there was interest amongst Pawtucket's textile business owners and executives to preserve the mill as a local landmark before it deteriorated any further. A committee of prominent manufacturers met with local dignitaries, including Mayor Robert A. Kenyon, and agreed to acquire the property under the condition that they "shall forever preserve, maintain and use the said premises as a public memorial or museum in commemoration of the founding upon said premises of the first mill in America for

the manufacture of cotton by Samuel Slater in the year 1793."[177] This committee became known as the Old Slater Mill Association (OSMA).

In 1920, the Slater Trust Company, under the will of Job L. Spencer, sold the property to S. Willard Thayer on behalf of the OSMA, for $30,000.[178] The OSMA was officially formed as a business corporation in March 1921 "for the purpose of historical and educational purposes and for the purpose of acquiring, restoring and preserving the Old Slater Mill at Pawtucket, in the state of Rhode Island, the first cotton mill in America, founded and established by Samuel Slater, and of maintaining the same as a museum of cotton machinery, equipment and appliances and for such other purposes as may be connected therewith and incidental thereto."[179]

Large money-making campaigns and restoration projects had never been done for industrial sites, but OSMA was one of the first organizations in the country to do so, setting a fundraising goal of $250,000 to restore the building, convert it to a museum, and establish an endowment fund to provide income for maintenance. One of the pledges was $25,000 from Mabel Slater, the wife of Samuel Slater's grandson Horatio N. Slater. The title to the mill, held by Thayer, was to be granted to the OSMA once sufficient funds had been secured, and on December 31, 1923, the 0.92-acre property was transferred for $10,000. The slight reduction in acreage was due to the exclusion of land occupied by two 1-story stores facing North Main Street, between the Wilkinson Mill and the former Slater House.[180]

Tenants, 1921-1923

During this transition period, businesses continued to occupy the mill. Carry over tenants from Job. L Spencer's ownership included Thomas Brennan, Pawtucket Electro-Plating Company, Moncrief Machine Company, and the Pawtucket Machine and Tool Company. In 1921 wood turner Despard J. Holmes returned and in 1922 afghan rug maker William Hill came back. In 1923 two new companies, Ideal Thread Works Converters and Blackstone Valley Roll Top Covering Company became tenants, but with the property transfer at the end of the year, they and the other businesses had to relocate.[181]

Slater Lot

Analysis of an 1917 atlas, 1923 Sanborn map, and historic photographs document changes on the Slater Lot during the twenty-one year ownership of Job Spencer and Willard Thayer (Figures 1.55a-b). To the west along the lot's property line, the 1-story (pre-1823) building changed from a cleaning and dyeing room to a storage room, and in 1910-1913 its gable roof was replaced with a flat roof (Figures 1.56, 1.57). The brick 2-story (pre-1870) building housed the Delany & Company spice mill for most of this period but by 1923 it was used as a machine shop, while the adjacent 1-story shed doubled in size. To the north facing North Main Street, the

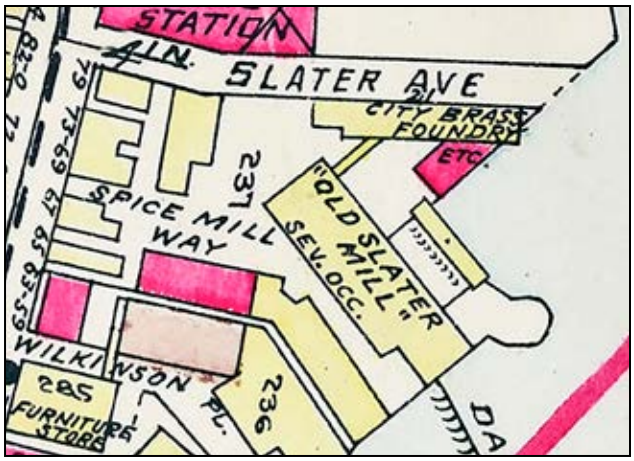


Figure 1.55a. Map of Slater Lot, dated 1917. (Richards Standard Atlas, *Pawtucket Business Section, Volume 2, Plate 21*, 1"=150 feet. Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1917. Pawtucket Public Library, from HSR 2018: D-71)

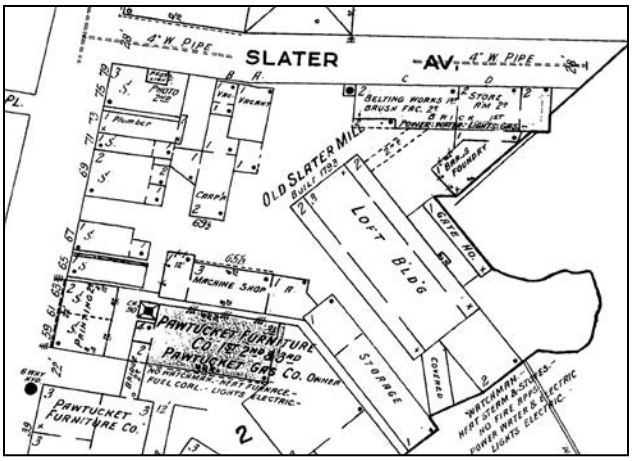


Figure 1.55b. Map of Slater Lot, dated 1923. (Sanborn Map Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Pawtucket, Providence County, Rhode Island, Volume 1, Sheet 4, 1923*. Washington DC: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division)

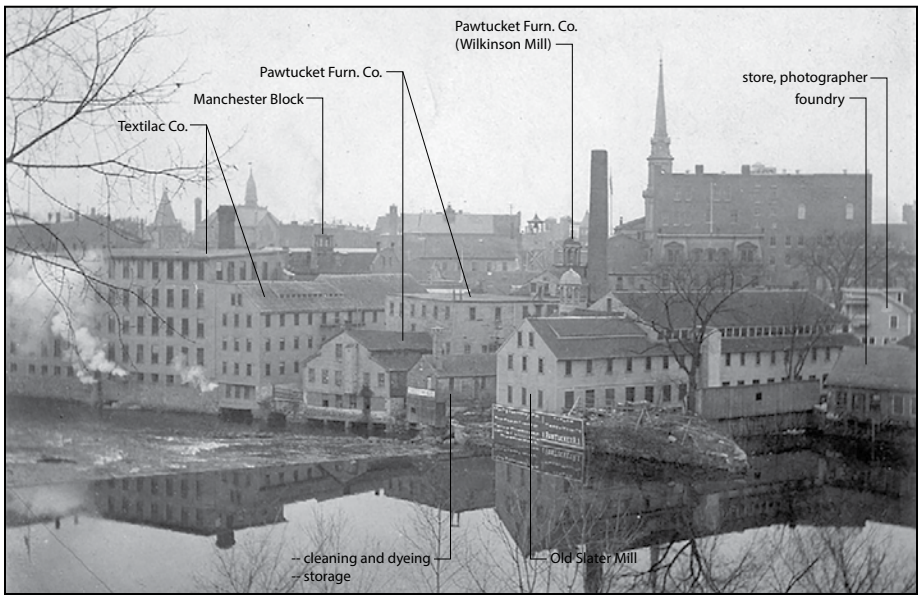


Figure 1.56. View looking northwest at the south and east sides of Old Slater Mill, c.1910. Note the wood frames associated with a drying yard on the peninsula, and a billboard attached to the upper dam's wing wall. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: 66)

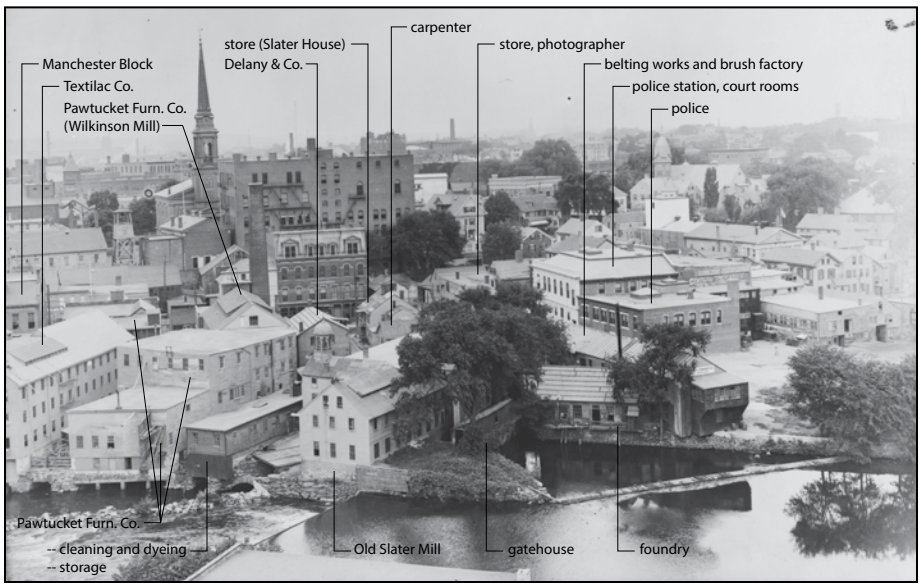


Figure 1.57. View looking northwest at the south and east sides of Old Slater Mill, c.1913. Note the vegetation on the peninsula and the footbridge/ trash screen at the Great Flume inlet. Trees grow along the river in the vacant part of the North Lot. (Spaulding House Research Library, from HAER RI-1, 1991)

five buildings were still comprised of two 1-story "stores," a 2-story store (former Slater House) but no longer used as a residence, a 1-story building now housing a plumber that replaced the Chinese laundry, and the 2-story building occupied by a store and a photographer. This latter building was rebuilt or modified around 1907-1912 into a 3-story structure with a flat roof. Just north of the mill, the connected 1-story structures once occupied by Spencer's bike shop were vacant, while the 2-story building remained a carpenter shop. To the east along Slater Avenue, the brick/frame 2-story (1856) mill housed a belting works and brush factory, as well as a store house. A wooden catwalk with railings linked the second floor of this building with the second floor of the mill (Figure 1.58). The brick 1-story (1869) shop operated as a brass foundry. Exterior power shafts continued to connect Old Slater Mill to the pre-1823 building to the west and the 1856 mill to the east.[182]

The stone wall above the stone tailrace arch remained dismantled and missing throughout this period. In 1907-1910 a wood covering was constructed over most of the open tailrace, possibly making use of the extant beam that once supported the south-facing addition on the stairtower. The purpose of this covering is not known. Early photographs from this period show a small tree or shrub growing out of the river wall at the south end of the arch. On the east side of the mill, there were at least four trees that continued to thrive. One grew on the peninsula at the south end of the gatehouse, surrounded by low shrubs and vines covering most

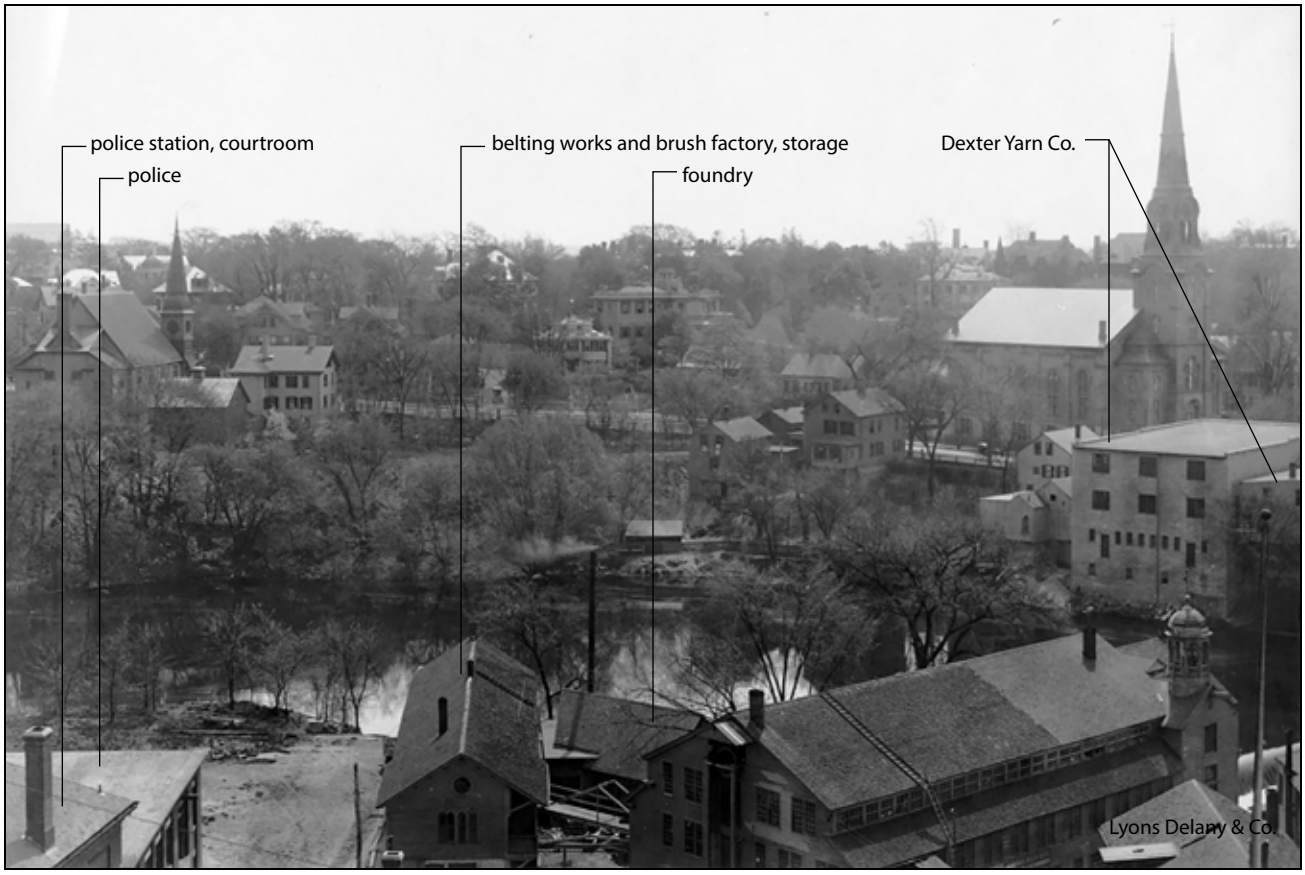


Figure 1.58. View looking southeast at the north and west sides of old Slater Mill, c.1910. A wooden catwalk with railings connects the second floor of the 1856 mill with the second floor of Old Slater Mill. Trees have filled in along the river wall in the North Lot. (HAER RI-1, 1991)

Figure 1.59. View looking west at the east side of Old Slater Mill, 1924. Note the split rail fence along the edge of the Great Flume, between the mill and the gatehouse. (OSMA Archives, from HAER RI-1, 1991)

of the ground, draping over the river wall, and trailing along the bottom of the gatehouse. However, during at least one winter this area was used as a drying yard (see Figures 1.56, 1.57). Two trees grew out the north wall of the Great Flume, one between the gatehouse and mill and another next to the foundry, and another large tree grew next to the foundation of Old Slater Mill (see Figure 1.54). By 1923 there was also a short section of split rail fence on the south side of the Great Flume, between the mill and the gatehouse and possible elsewhere along the flume (Figure 1.59).[183] A photograph from 1923 also shows a footbridge from the peninsula to Slater Avenue; this was likely part of a trash rack to catch river debris (see Figure 1.57).

Circulation within the Slater Lot also changed when the alley that tracked behind the former Slater House toward Slater Avenue was blocked by a 1-story ell (see Figure 1.55b). The alley on the west side of the Slater House was named Spice Mill Way, and appears to have been defined by curbs and walkways. The remaining alleys and the workyard remained surfaced in gravel. Historic photographs also show that several businesses made use of the wood wing wall at the north end of the upper dam as an advertising billboard, and for a brief period the billboard was doubled in length to extend across south side of Old Slater Mill (see Figure 1.56). Delany & Company also erected a billboard on the south end of the pre-1923 building.

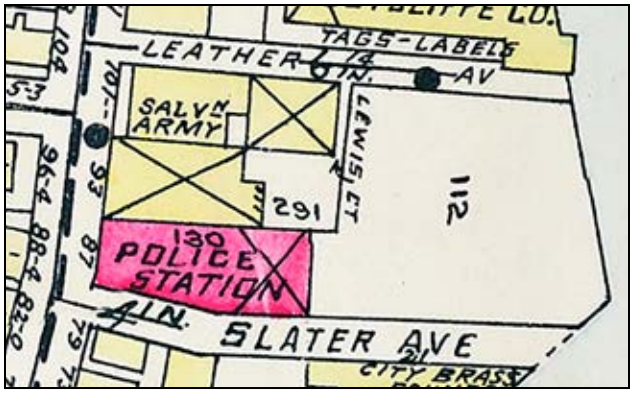


Figure 1.60a. Map of North Lot, dated 1917. (Richards Standard Atlas, *Pawtucket Business Section, Volume 2, Plate 21*, 1"=150 feet. Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1917. Pawtucket Public Library, from HSR 2018: D-71)

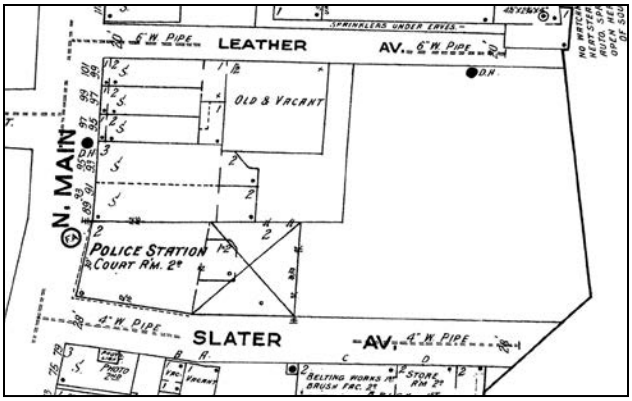


Figure 1.60b. Map of North Lot, dated 1923. (Sanborn Map Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Pawtucket, Providence County, Rhode Island, Volume 1, Sheet 4, 1923*. Washington DC: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division)

North Lot

This period was relatively quiet in the North Lot (Figures 1.60a-b). The cupola on the brick 2-story police and courtroom building was removed, and a brick 2-story addition was built just to the east, where a storage building and tenement once stood. The series of 1-1.5-story buildings in the northwest corner transitioned back to small individual stores from their former uses as furniture and stove businesses. Around 1917 one of these buildings housed a Salvation Army store. The east half of the lot along the river remained empty of buildings, but within ten years of the removal of the former mill buildings here, a substantial number of volunteer trees had become established along the river wall (see Figures 1.57, 1.58).

South Lot

The layout of the South Lot remained unchanged during this period, except that the south leg of the U-shaped Wilkinson Place alley became known as Spencer Court (Figures 1.61a-b). In the north part of the lot, the stone 3-story mill (former Wilkinson Mill) was still owned by the Pawtucket Gas Company and by 1910 was occupied by the Pawtucket Furniture Company. They likely occupied the

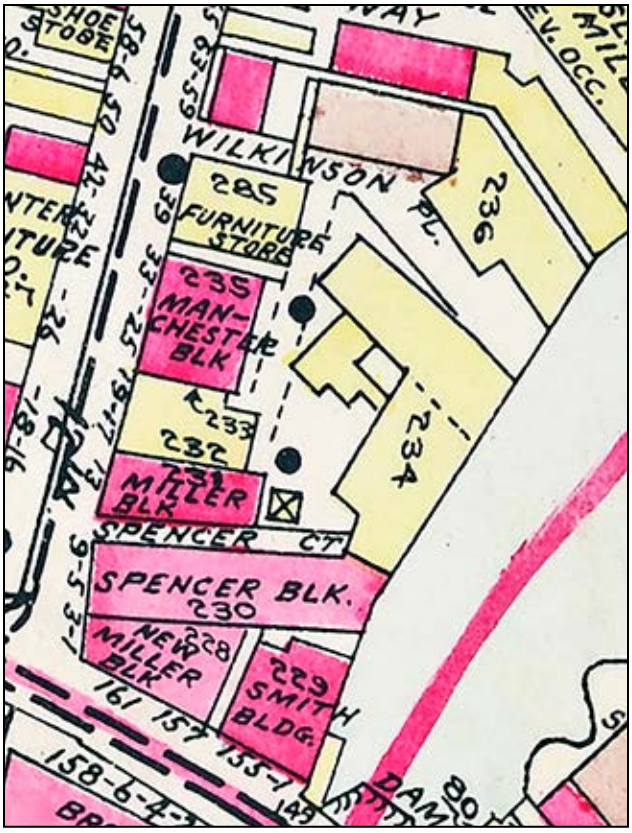


Figure 1.61a. Map of South Lot, dated 1917. (Richards Standard Atlas, *Pawtucket Business Section, Volume 2, Plate 21*, 1"=150 feet. Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1917. Pawtucket Public Library, from HSR 2018: D-71)

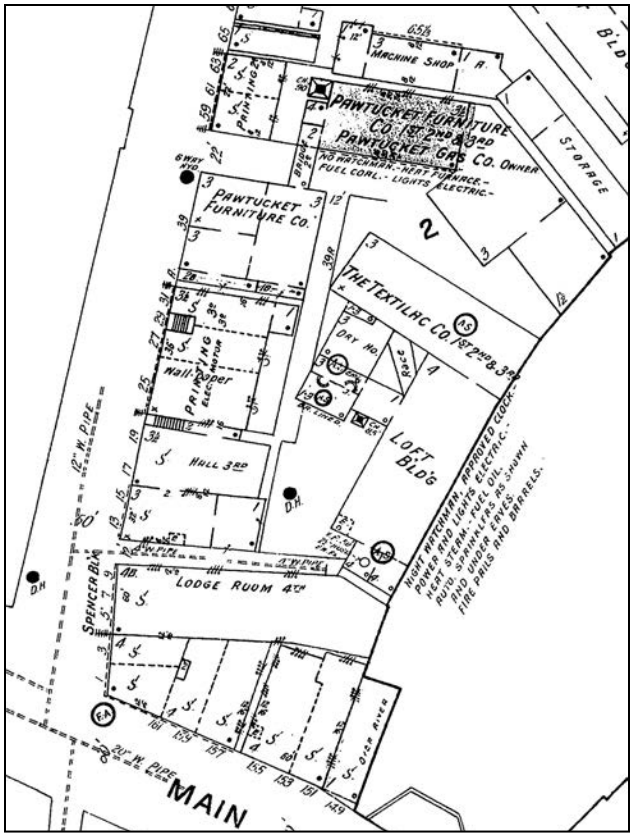


Figure 1.61b. Map of South Lot, dated 1923. (Sanborn Map Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Pawtucket, Providence County, Rhode Island, Volume 1, Sheet 4, 1923*. Washington DC: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division)

1.5- and 3-story additions to the east, as a historic photograph from 1910 shows a massive advertising billboard projecting from this building over the river, facing the Main Street Bridge (Figure 1.62, see also Figure 1.57). The clerestory roof of the 1.5-story addition was replaced with a flat roof in 1910-1913. Just to the west along North Main Street, a single 2-story building housed unnamed stores on the first floor and a printing shop on the second, replacing the previous paint shop. In the east part of the lot along the river, the complex of 3- to 4-story buildings occupied by the Littlefield Brothers became the Textilac Company. The Sanborn map from this period still shows an open portion of the Great Flume. In the west part of the lot facing North Main Street, various businesses continued to operate in the brick 3-story Manchester and Miller Blocks, and in two other 3-story buildings, including the Pawtucket Furniture Company, who by 1917 built a second floor covered passageway over Wilkinson Place to connect to their operations in the stone (Wilkinson) mill (see Figure 1.61b). In the south part of the lot, stores, offices, and a lodge room filled the brick 3- to 4-story Spencer, Miller, and Smith (formerly Almas) Blocks. The cantilevered addition over the river was still extant during this period (Figure 1.63).

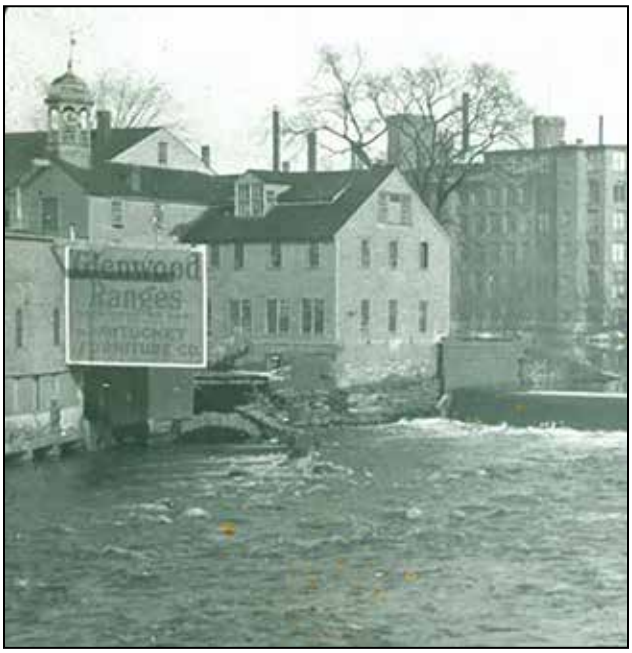


Figure 1.62. View looking north at the advertising sign for the Pawtucket Furniture Company, c.1910. (Ebay.com, from HSR 2018: D-65)

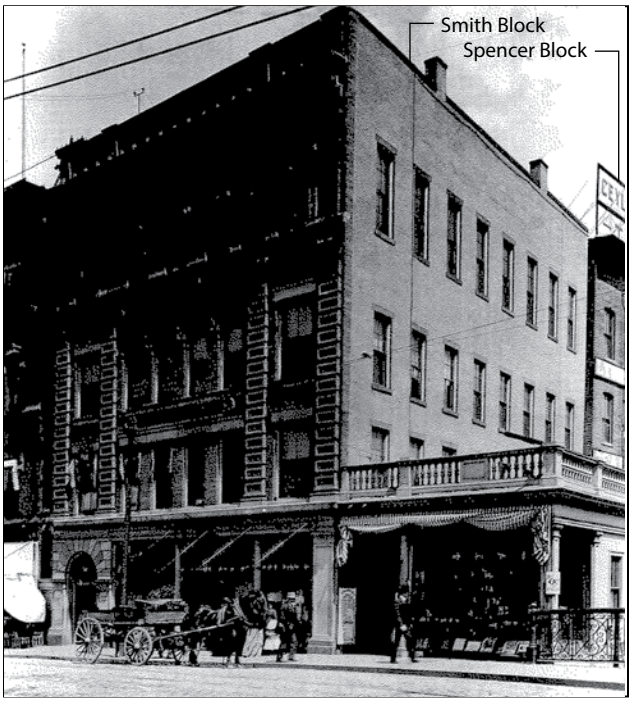


Figure 1.63. View looking northeast at the Smith and Spencer Blocks in the South Lot, 1905. The "Quick Lunch" occupied the wood addition on the Smith Block that is cantilevered over the river. This view from the Main Street Bridge was taken after the bridge was widened. (Pawtucket Public Library, from Johnson et.al. 1995: 27)

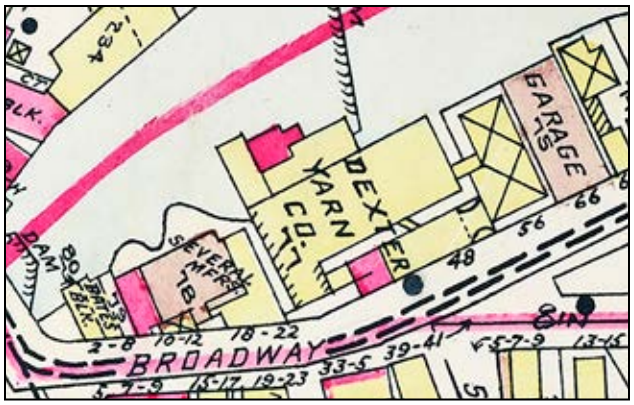


Figure 1.64a. Map of East Lot, dated 1917. (Richards Standard Atlas, *Pawtucket Business Section, Volume 2, Plate 21*, 1"=150 feet. Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1917. Pawtucket Public Library, from HSR 2018: D-71)

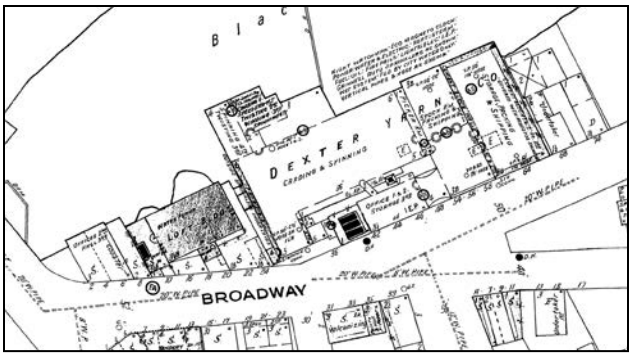


Figure 1.64b. Map of East Lot, dated 1923. (Sanborn Map Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Pawtucket, Providence County, Rhode Island, Volume 1, Sheet 4, 1923*. Washington DC: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division)

East Lot

The East Lot witnessed the most change in the density of buildings and structures (Figures 1.64a-b). At the east end of the upper dam, the complex of 2- to 6-story buildings was still operated by the Dexter Yarn Company, which added a floor to their main building and expanded it across the raceway inlet and over the site of the former 3-story picker room. The 2-story building on the spit of land was increased to four floors and the footprint was enlarged with a 1-story building, eliminating the footbridge. Heading downstream from the dam, the raceway still connected to the brick and stone 4- to 4.5-story building occupied during this period by miscellaneous manufacturers. Adjacent buildings included the 3-story Bates Block next to the bridge (see Figure 1.49). Heading upstream from the dam, the 2- and 2.5-story buildings operated as Cavanaugh Stable became part of the Dexter Company, which also razed an adjacent residence to build a concrete block 3-story building (Figure 1.65, see also Figure 1.58).

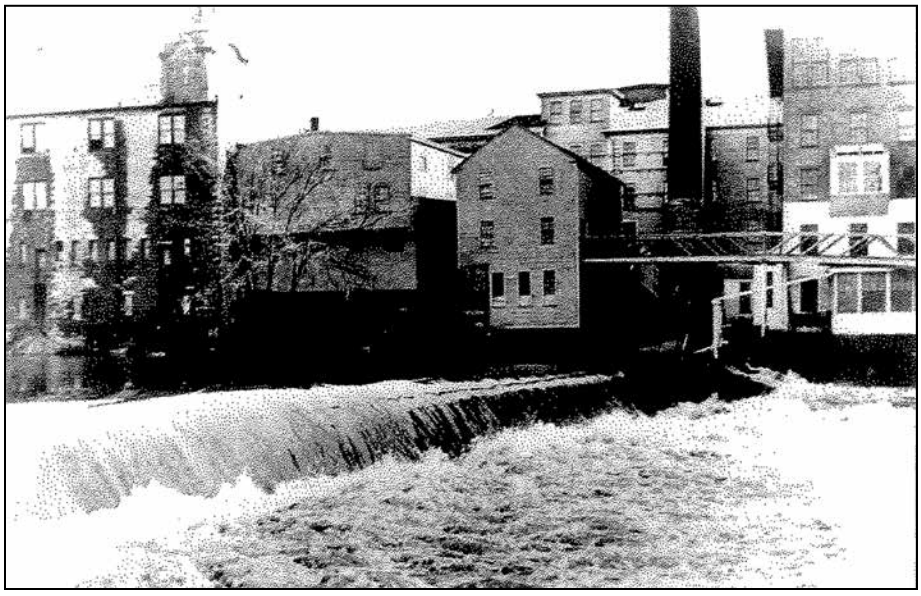


Figure 1.65. View looking east at the Dexter Yarn Co. complex on the east side of the Blackstone River, c.1910-1923. This photograph was taken before the buildings at image right were enlarged and replaced the footbridge, which here spans the inlet to a raceway. (Leavitt 1997: 37)

OLD SLATER MILL ASSOCIATION OWNERSHIP, 1923-1925

Plans for Old Slater Mill and Slater Lot

In 1923 the Old Slater Mill Association hired Boston architects Strickland, Blodget & Law and Pawtucket builders Willmarth-Mackillop to plan and implement the restoration of Old Slater Mill.[184] The 2018 Historic Structure Report chronicled several factors that influenced the decision to restore the building to its circa 1835 appearance, rather than the original 1793 structure:

- reducing the mill to its original structure would have resulted in a much smaller building that lacked the recognizable characteristics of nineteenth-century standard mill construction;
- there may not have been enough information available about the original mill compared to what was known about the building as it existed in the 1830s;
- the mill's exterior was largely untouched for a significant portion of the nineteenth century, which may have made it an ideal target time period;
- it was also around the 1830s that Slater shifted from the mill to other, more productive enterprises, coinciding with the end of large-scale cotton manufacturing in the building.[185]

Henry C. Dexter, the first President of OSMA, was intimately involved in restoration planning at the mill, and in an April 1923 interview with the *Providence Sunday Journal* outlined some of the association's fundamental objectives: removing the additions on the west side of the mill, laying new floors and stair treads, and rebuilding the cupola "which began to go to pieces some time ago."[186] There were also some compromises, namely the mill's pre-1855 raised brick foundation. According to the authors of the 1991 Historic American Engineering Record report, Strickland & Company likely decided that this feature was consistent with the 1835 period, or that it would be too difficult to remove.[187]

Within these parameters, drawings indicate that the architects initially planned to rebuild the mill to a length of approximately 135 feet with eleven bays along the west wall to the north of the staircase, whereas the actual length today is 140 feet with twelve bays. Furthermore, the design incorporated a different form of monitor in the roof and added a tall chimney on the east side to accommodate a heating system in the future.[188] Dexter also reported that OSMA would at this time not restore the wheel pit with the Jonval turbine situated under the staircase or the Francis turbine under the main section of the building, but would replank the trench (Great Flume).[189]

In addition to restoration of the mill to its 1830s appearance, the OSMA made plans to remove other buildings on the Slater Lot, even though some, such as the

2-story Slater House, were present in that time period. Early planning discussions had proposed retaining Slater's home and repositioning it next to the Wilkinson Mill (Figure 1.66). An early plan also proposed a formal monument set within a circular patio, lawns and plantings, and retaining the Great Flume and gatehouse. However, final plans were pared down to focus OSMA's preservation efforts on restoring Old Slater Mill and simply landscaping the surrounding area.[190] Historian Sarah Leavitt writes that the decision not to save Slater's house, "was a departure from the traditional model of historic preservation which concentrated on the places famous people slept, rather than where they worked."[191] Historic photographs by Sydney Strickland illustrate the deteriorated condition of Old Slater Mill and the appearance of adjacent buildings prior to the start of the restoration and clearing project (Figures 1.67, 1.68, 1.69, 1.70, 1.71).[192]

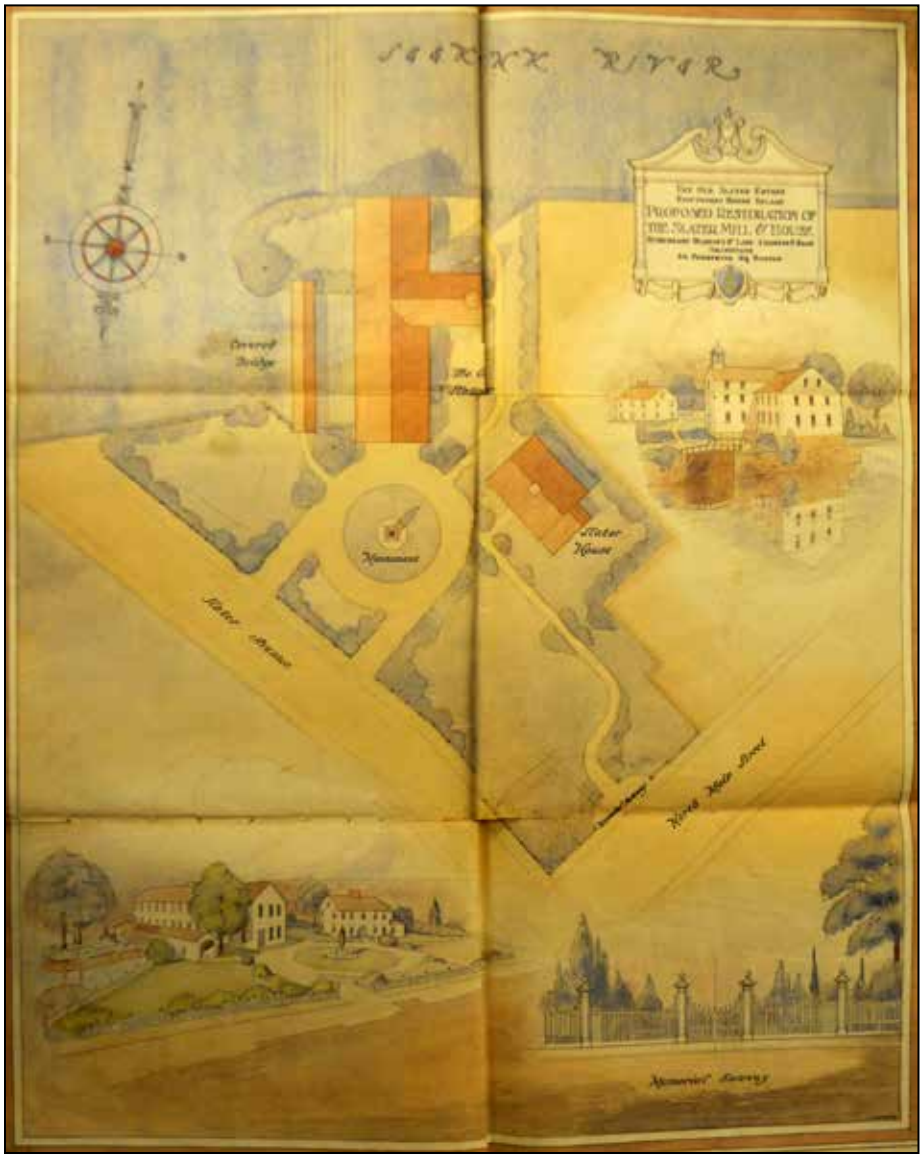


Figure 1.66. Early plan of Old Slater Mill and the Slater Lot, c.1924, showing the relocated Slater House. (OSMA Archives, OCLP 2019, DSC-5514)

Figure 1.67. View looking southwest at the north side of Old Slater Mill, 1924-1925. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: 73)

Figure 1.68. View looking southeast at the west side of Old Slater Mill, 1924-1925, and the restoration of the cupola. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-77)

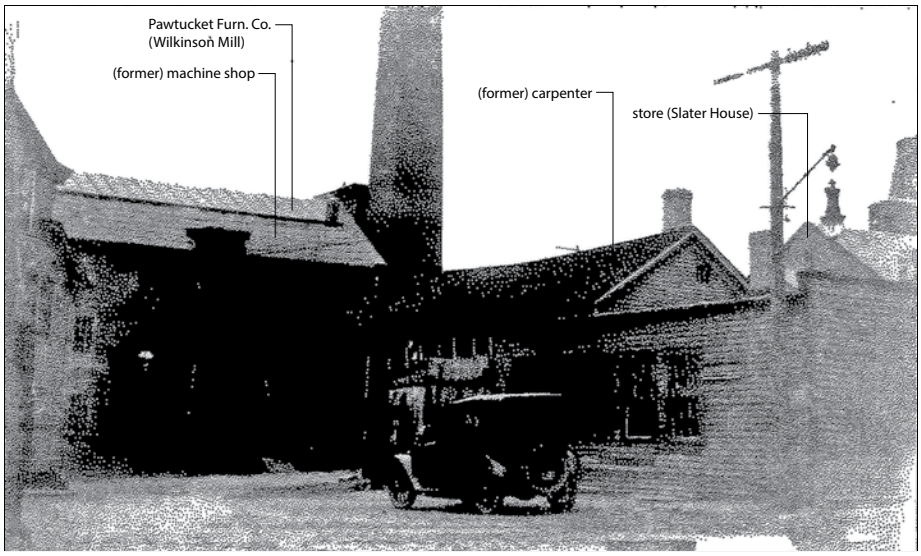


Figure 1.69. View looking southwest at the buildings just north and west of Old Slater Mill, 1924. (Freeman, Brigham & Hussey, Ltd, from Leavitt 1997: 49)

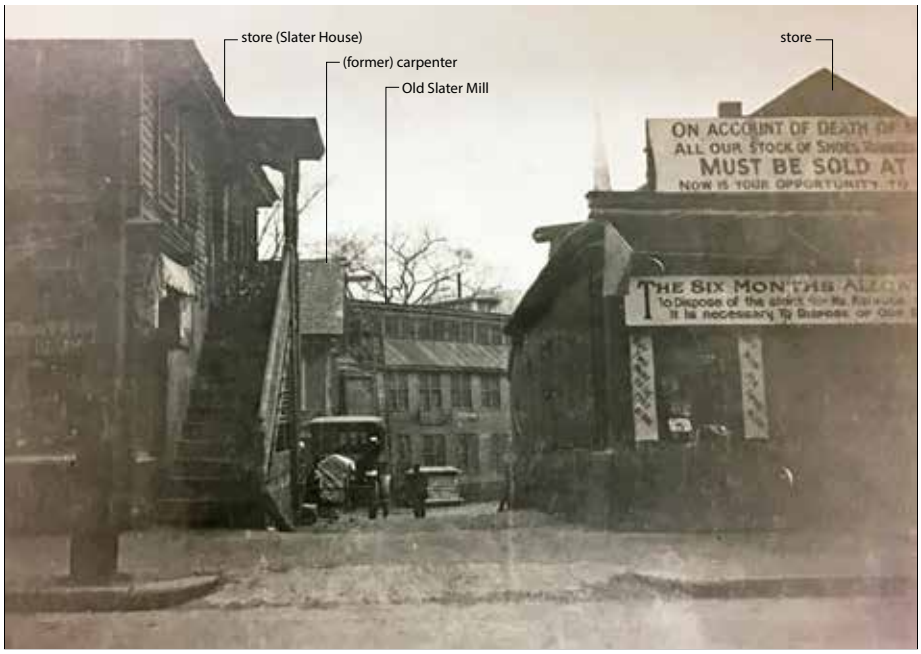


Figure 1.70. View looking southeast at the alley named Spice Mill Way and the buildings facing North Main Street, 1924-1925. The former Slater House is at image left. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-76)

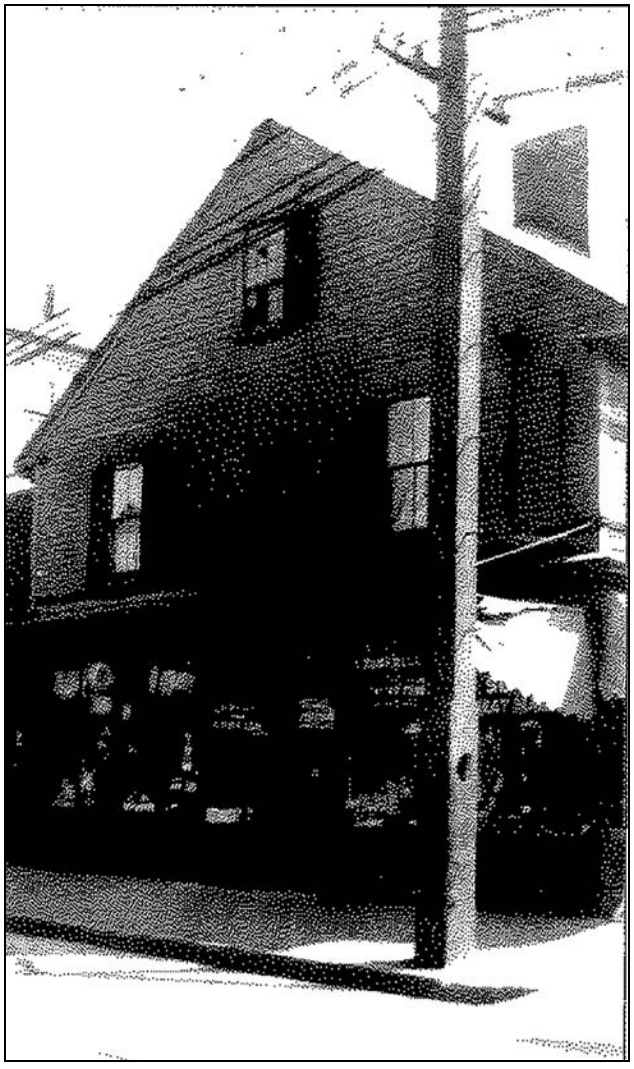


Figure 1.71. View looking northeast at the former Slater House, 1924. (Freeman, Brigham & Hussey, Ltd., from Leavitt 1997: 48)

Implementing Plans for Old Slater Mill and Slater Lot

The last tenants in Old Slater Mill – Pawtucket Electro-Plating and Moncrief Machine Company – left in early 1924. With donations in hand from prominent manufacturers and other private citizens, restoration of Old Slater Mill began in June 1924, with the dual goals of recreating the 1830s appearance of the mill and the improving the surrounding landscape. By October 1924 Henry Dexter reported, "we have all buildings removed from the premises excepting the old Slater Mill."[193] A photograph from the following year showed the cleared lot and the landform that gradually sloped down from North Main Street to the mill (Figure 1.72).

By late 1925 the restoration of Old Slater Mill was complete (Figure 1.73, 1.74). Returning the mill to its early nineteenth-century appearance required removing all post-1830s additions to the building (except for the brick foundation), removing the flat roof over the center and north portion of the mill, and replacing the fenestration. The sides of the mill and cupola were rebuilt "according to authenticated sketches" and mill's exterior was repainted its original yellow color.[194] The restored building's dimensions were 140 feet 6 inches by 29 feet six inches, while the stairtower measured 18 feet 5 inches by 21 feet 2 inches, approximately the size of

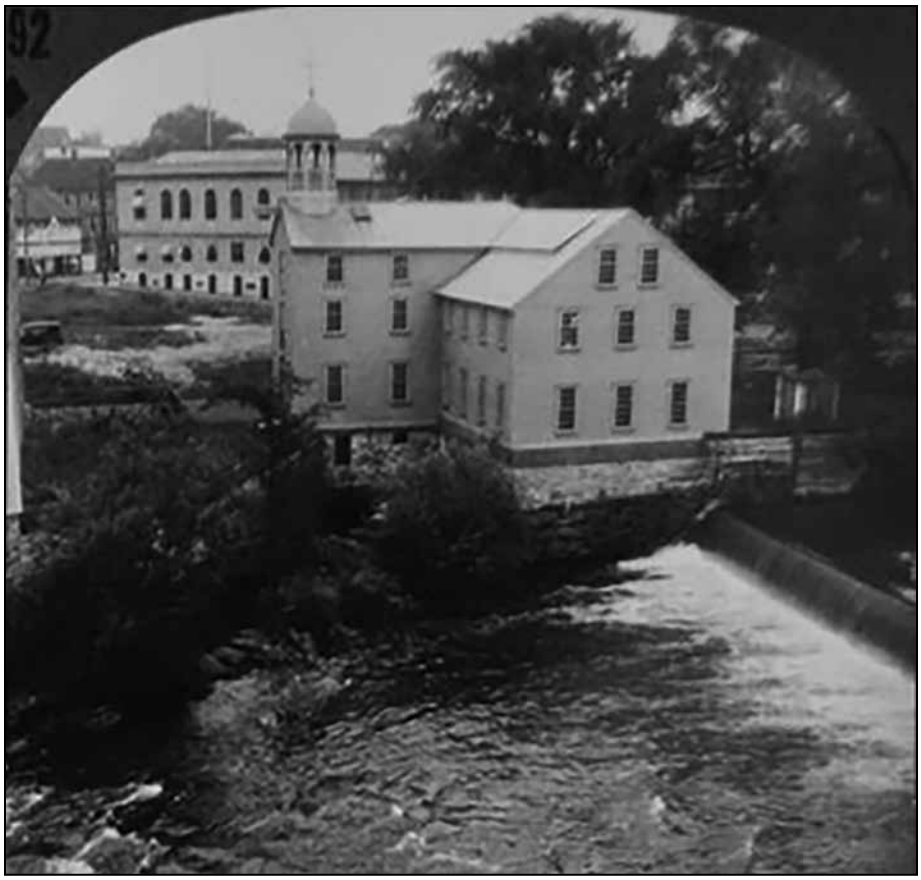


Figure 1.72. View looking northwest at the cleared land at the Slater Lot, c.1925. Note the sloping topography of the lot from North Main Street to the Old Slater Mill. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-86)

Figure 1.73. View looking east at the north and west sides of Old Slater Mill, c.1925, after the building's restoration but before landscaping was completed. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-86)

Figure 1.74. View looking north at the south and west sides of Old Slater Mill, c.1925, after the building's restoration but before landscaping was completed. Note the wood footbridge and iron fence crossing the Great Flume on the west side of the mill, and mature trees on the east side. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-86)

the building in 1835.[195] According to correspondences between Henry Dexter and Strickland & Company, damaged or missing components in Old Slater Mill were replaced by bricks and timbers from the demolished buildings.[196]

Despite earlier plans, the gatehouse spanning the Great Flume on the east side of the mill was also removed, but the Great Flume was left untouched. On the west side of the mill, the tailrace and stone tailrace arch were also left open. An existing footbridge, or more likely a new structure, was built over the Great Flume in this area, to provide access to the door at the mill's stairtower. The footbridge was bordered by iron fencing with vertical posts (see Figure 1.74). At this time the portion of the Great Flume that was under the removed 1823 dye house was opened up and repaired, as directed by Strickland & Company; "the stone work of the flow at the [stair]tower side of the old mill, should be reconstructed where it has been damaged…" This exposed portion of the raceway was around 30 feet in length, extending from the footbridge to the Slater Lot's west property line, where the 3-story building occupied by the Pawtucket Furniture Company still stood.[197]

LANDSCAPE SUMMARY AND PERIOD PLAN, 1925

The 1923 Sanborn map serves as the basis for the 1925 Period Plan (Drawing 2). When compared with the 1876 period plan, the most dramatic change at the site occurred in the Slater Lot, where all buildings were removed except for Old Slater Mill, which was reduced in size by 1925 with the removal of the west addition. In the other three lots, the density of buildings had increased through expansions to previous structures, either by building on previously unbuilt spaces or adding floors, ells, and in some cases cantilevered additions. The exception to this was

the east half of the North Lot where mill buildings were removed and not replaced. All buildings and structures continued to house a mix of industrial, commercial, and residential activities. The use of Sargeant's Trench, Swift Run, and the Great Flume raceway, as well as the raceway on the East Lot, for water power declined, as many businesses had converted to electricity.

Cultural Landscape Report

Slater Mill Historic Site
Pawtucket, Rhode Island

Period Plan, 1925

National Park Service
Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation
www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

1. Sanborn Maps of Pawtucket, 1923

DRAWN BY

Clelie Fielding, 2019
GIS ArcMap 10.6
AutoCAD 2018
Adobe Illustrator 2019

LEGEND

- CLR boundary 2019
- Buildings
- Asphalt surface
- Water
- Lawn
- Deciduous tree

NOTES

1. Projection: Rhode Island State Plane, NAD83, Feet
2. All features shown in approximate scale and location

0' 17.5' 35' 70'

Drawing 2

OLD SLATER MILL MUSEUM AND GROUNDS, 1925-1973

This section describes the early struggles of the Old Slater Mill Association, their eventual success in opening the museum, and the decision to fill in part of the Great Flume raceway. The section also documents the dramatic changes that occurred in the three adjacent lots in conjunction with the City of Pawtucket's urban renewal program. By the end of this period the Old Slater Mill, the restored Wilkinson Mill, the relocated and restored Sylvanus Brown House became the core area of a National Historic Landmark District set amongst landscaped open spaces.

FROM FACTORY TO MUSEUM, 1925-1955

Old Slater Mill and the Slater Lot

Although the exterior restoration of Old Slater Mill was mostly complete in 1925, OSMA did not have enough money to develop and open the site as a full time museum. Most of the available funds had been expended in the restoration process, and what was left was used for landscaping the surrounding grounds, as discussed above. In the following decades the OSMA focused on fundraising efforts, with less attention devoted to creating exhibits. When the Great Depression struck, Pawtucket's textile industry was devastated, and the Association had difficulty gaining monetary support through the 1930s and through World War II. Henry Dexter tried to secure donations at cotton conventions across the country during this period, but with limited success. As such, the building remained closed to the public, except for occasional trade shows and special events.[198] In a sign of the times, in the 1940s Mill Street was renamed Roosevelt Avenue in honor of President Roosevelt.[199]

In late 1949 OSMA painted Old Slater Mill a barn-red color with white trim, colors that were approved by local preservationists as appropriate for a New England historical building. According Historian Sarah Leavitt,

> "By painting the mill building red, the Association attempted to create a different kind of environment from the industrial Pawtucket that residents saw every day. The old mill stood almost alone on the river bank, bereft of its supporting buildings and industries, no longer surrounded by other factories. In effect, by separating the mill from its industrial environment, the association had changed the landscape into a park and the mill into a comforting community center. Pawtucket business executives had made history by preserving the mill, but they did not preserve the industrial setting."[200]

Federal Recognition of Old Slater Mill, Part One

The first acknowledgment of Old Slater Mill's historical significance by the federal government occurred in 1942 when it was documented in the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), the nation's first federal preservation program. Begun in 1933 during the first year of the Roosevelt administration, HABS hired unemployed architects, photographers, and draftsmen to record significant examples of American architecture. HABS was administered by the National Park Service, an agency within the Department of the Interior, but the program lacked legal authority until passage of the 1935 Historic Sites Act, which articulated a "national policy to preserve for public use historic sites, buildings and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States." The HABS form for Old Slater Mill briefly described the building's history, construction, and condition.[201]

Filling in Part of the Great Flume

There are no photographs of Old Slater Mill, or plans and maps of the Slater Lot, from the mid-1920s through the 1930s. During the later part of this span of time, one of the most significant changes to the Slater Lot landscape occurred when the flow of river water into the Great Flume was stopped. It is not clear when the project began, but by 1940 a new stone river wall was constructed by the Works Progress Administration. The river wall tracked in a curve along the riverbank from the existing stone river wall along the North Lot to the existing stone wall that supported the wingwall at the upper dam (Figures 1.75, 1.76). Presumably to provide additional protection from the river, the portion of the raceway near the new river wall was filled in with soil to an elevation that matched the grade of the adjacent Slater Avenue. From there the fill was graded to gradually slope down to

Figure 1.75. View looking north at the Slater Lot, c.1940. Young trees are visible in the lawn southwest of the mill, existing trees east of the mill and in the North Lot, and along Slater Avenue. Note that the buildings that once stood along the river in the South Lot (image left) are gone. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-88)

Figure 1.76. View looking north at the south and west side of Old Slater Mill, c.1940. This summer view shows the vegetation in full leaf. Note the trees in the North Lot along the riverbank. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-88)

Figure 1.77. View looking west at the Slater Lot, 1949, showing the filled in portion of the Great Flume, new fencing atop the north wall of the flume, and existing and new vegetation. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-91)

Figure 1.78. View looking northeast at the Slater Lot, c.1949, and fencing atop the tailrace wall and river wall. Note the young trees and lawns in front of the stairtower. By this time, only foundation walls of former buildings in the South Lot remained, which marked the boundary of the Slater Lot. However, pilings and walls of one of the buildings along the river were removed, leaving a gap in the river wall. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-93)

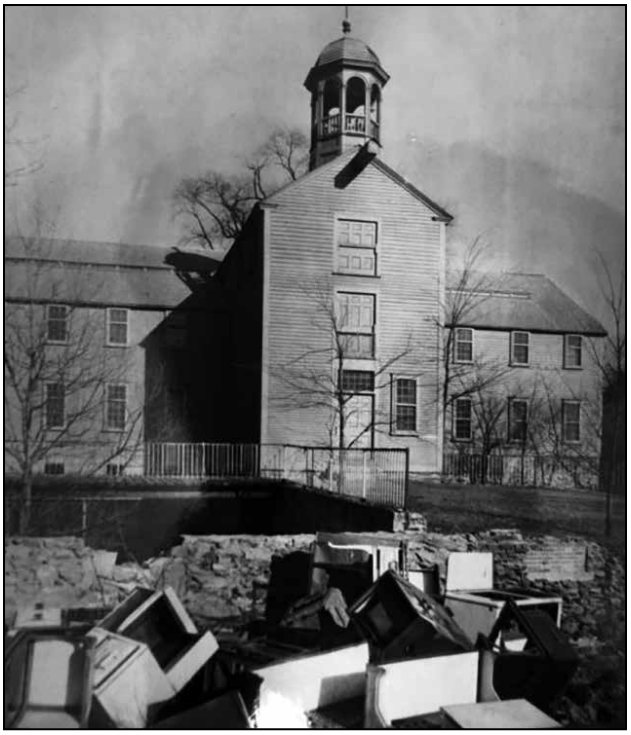


Figure 1.79. View looking east at the Slater Lot, c.1949, and the fencing around the Great Flume. Note the young trees and lawns in front of the stairtower. The Great Flume terminated at the west boundary of the Slater Lot, which at the time of this photograph was defined by foundation walls of former buildings in the South Lot. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-93)

meet the bottom of the flume at the site of the former gatehouse (Figure 1.77). The new river wall and fill work effectively obscured the peninsula that had separated the flume from the river since Samuel Slater's time. Around this time a 50-foot long underground penstock was installed near the former gatehouse to draw river water into the remaining open segments of the flume. The inlet for the penstock was built into the new river wall, while the outlet extended into the flume through a square stone headwall. In a related project, in 1944 the Blackstone Valley Electric Company rehabilitated the upper dam, reinforcing the original 1792 wood cribbing with concrete.[202]

By the late 1940s the OSMA erected additional sections of iron fencing with vertical posts in several areas of the property. On the east side of the mill, a fence was installed atop the flume's north wall to protect visitors from stepping into the remaining open portion of the flume, but no fencing was placed on the flume's south wall (see Figure 1.77). On the west side of the mill, fences were placed atop both sides of the flume and on the stone tailrace wall and stone river wall (Figures 1.78, 1.79).[203]

Plantings and Circulation

Despite the decision to clear the Slater Lot, the OSMA had retained several existing vegetation features as shown in photographs from the 1940s. This included three mature trees on the east side of the mill and the shrubs and groundcovers draped over the stone river wall (see Figure 1.77). Several trees and shrubs that had reestablished around the stone tailrace arch and on the curved jetty were also kept.

Although no planting plan has been located, between 1925 and 1940 the OSMA also installed lawns throughout most of the Slater Lot (Figure 1.80). They also planted several deciduous and evergreen trees and shrubs within the lawns, including deciduous trees in the lawn southeast of the stairtower (at the former site of the pre-1823 dye house) and a grouping of new spruce trees and a hedge along Slater Avenue (at the former site of the 1856 weaving shop), and a hedge along Roosevelt Avenue (former sites of the Slater House and other businesses) (Figure 1.81, see also Figures 1.78, 1.79).

Circulation through the Slater Lot was by a single gently curving pea gravel path, tracking from Slater Avenue, through the former work yard on the north side of the mill, along the west side of the mill and across the footbridge spanning the Great Flume, and to the river (see Figure 1.80). No dedicated paths accessed the areas around the Great Flume or the former peninsula, which had not been landscaped and were apparently allowed to become overgrown.

Building the Boiler House

In May 1952 Daniel Tower was hired as museum curator by OSMA's new director, Donald Shepard.[204] One of the first projects completed by Tower and Shepard was cleaning up the overgrown vegetation in the area east of in the Great Flume and on the former peninsula (Figure 1.82). This work was done to advance a long-deferred decision on how to heat the building. In early 1955 construction began in this area on a small 1-story boiler house on a concrete block foundation. The new building required the removal of one of the Slater Lot's oldest trees (Figures 1.83, 1.84).[205]

North, South, and East Lots, 1930s and 1940s

At the same time the OSMA was implementing their plans on the Slater Lot, several other factory owners began repurposing and removing some of their buildings, as illustrated in a Sanborn map from 1949 (Figure 1.85). In the North Lot, the brick 2-story police/courtroom building became a bowling alley after those services relocated to the new city hall built in 1933 just north of Leather Avenue. One of the former furniture stores in the middle of the lot was removed, but other buildings along Roosevelt Avenue were still occupied by stores. By this time the

Figure 1.80. View looking southeast, c.1949, at the lawns on the north and west sides of Old Slater Mill. The path shown in this photograph served as the primary pedestrian route through the Slater Lot. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-92)

Figure 1.81. View looking southwest at the Slater Lot, 1949, at existing and new vegetation along Slater Avenue. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-91)

Figure 1.82. View looking southwest at the landscaped former peninsula area, 1954. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-108)

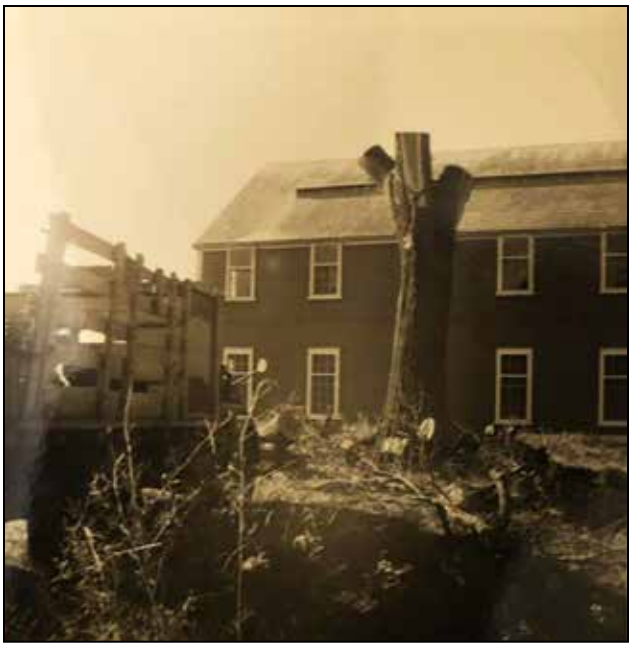


Figure 1.83. View looking southwest at the removal of the large tree on the former peninsula, 1954. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-109)

Figure 1.84. View looking southwest at construction of the boiler house on the former peninsula, 1954. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-109)

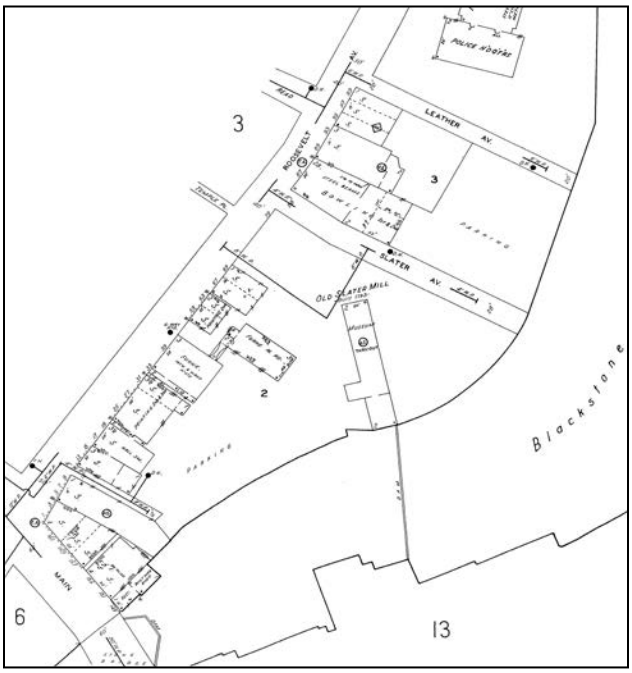


Figure 1.85. Map of the Slater Lot, North Lot, and South Lots, dated 1949. (Sanborn Map Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Pawtucket, Providence County, Rhode Island, Volume 1, Sheet 4, 1949*. Pawtucket Public Library, from HSR 2018: D-90)

east half of the lot was used for parking. Historic photographs show mature volunteer trees along the river wall (see Figures 1.75, 1.76).

In the South Lot, the U-shaped alley named Wilkinson Place and Spencer Court was extant but less defined. In the north part of the lot, the stone 3-story mill (former Wilkinson Mill) still operated as the Pawtucket Furniture Company, but the 90-foot chimney built by the gas company was dismantled (Figure 1.86). The 1.5- and 3-story additions to the east were also removed by c.1940, and it is likely that the section of the Great Flume under the additions was backfilled at this time (see Figures 1.75, 1.86). The stone foundations of these buildings were retained as a boundary along the Slater Lot, but the foundations and pilings along the river were removed, leaving a gap in the river wall (see Figures 1.78, 1.79, 1.86). Just to the west along North Main Street, a single 2-story building continued to house unnamed stores on the first floor and a printing shop on the second. Just to the north were the two 1-story stores (formerly part of the Slater Lot). In the east part of the lot along the river, the complex of 3- to 4-story buildings and the 85-foot chimney were razed and the area became a parking lot (Figure 1.87). The foundations along the river were retained to serve as a river wall, but the section of the Great Flume that had provided power in this area was filled in. In the west part of the lot facing Roosevelt Avenue, various businesses continued to operate in the brick 3-story Manchester and Miller Blocks, and in two other 3-story buildings, including the Pawtucket Furniture Company who still maintained the second floor covered passageway across Wilkinson Place to connect to their operations in the stone mill (Figure 1.88). In the south part of the lot, stores, offices, and a lodge room still occupied

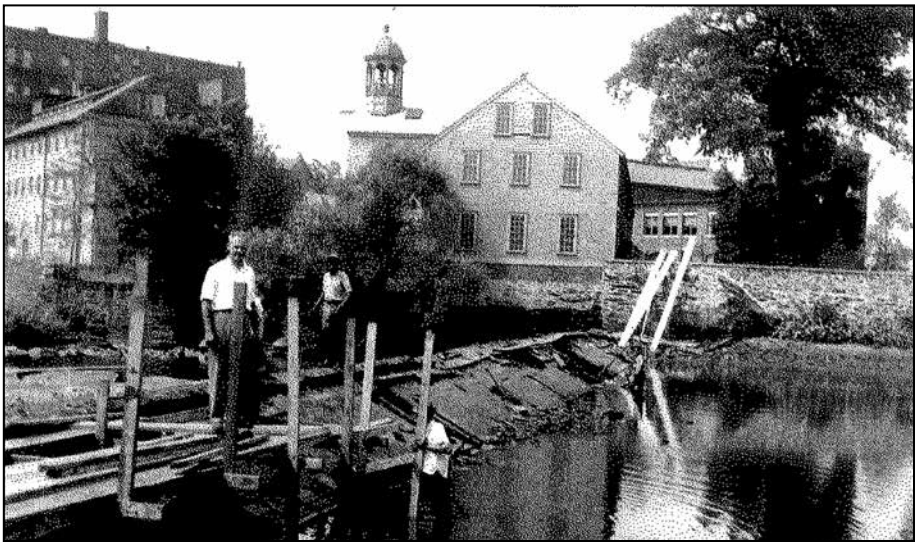


Figure 1.86. View looking northwest at upper dam repairs, 1944. The 1.5- and 3-story additions attached to the former Wilkinson Mill are gone, as is the chimney adjacent to the Wilkinson Mill. (Blackstone Valley Electric Company, from Leavitt 1997: 55)

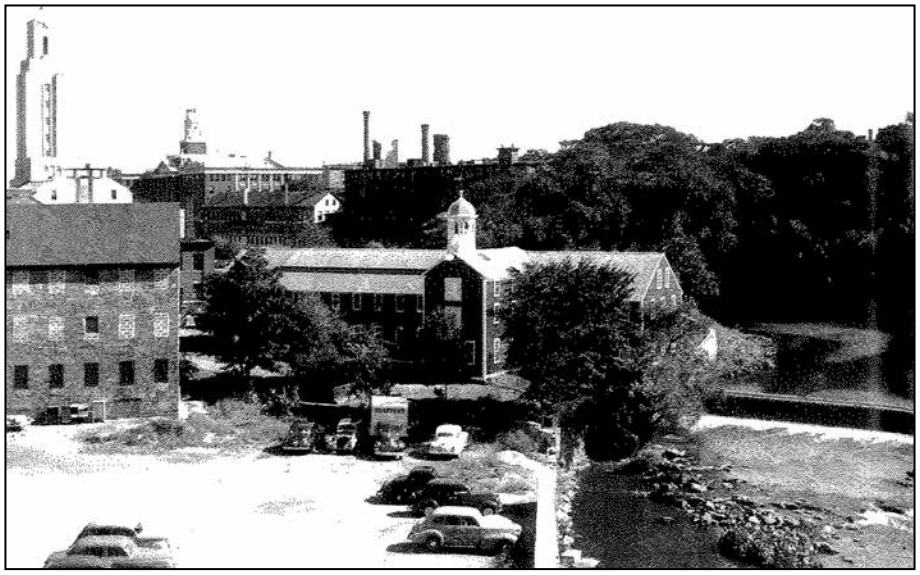


Figure 1.87. View looking northeast at the South Lot, c.1949, after the former Textilac Co. buildings along the river were removed and replaced with a parking lot. (OSMA Archives, from Leavitt 1997: 62)

the brick 3- to 4-story Spencer, Miller, and Smith Blocks, while the cantilevered addition over the river hosted a restaurant. The Spencer and Smith buildings were all that remained of the massive buildings that once lined the riverbank from the Main Street Bridge to Old Slater Mill.

There is little documentation of the East Lot for this period, except for a c.1925-1940 photograph of one of the Dexter Yarn Company buildings (Figure 1.89). Based on that evidence and later photographs, heading downstream from the dam and the Dexter Company, there were the 4- to 4.5-story brick and stone buildings, and the 3-story Bates Block next to the Main Street Bridge. Heading upstream from the dam and Dexter Company were the 2- and 3-story buildings once used by Dexter Company, that included the concrete block 3-story building.[206]

Figure 1.88. View looking northeast at the south side of the former Wilkinson Mill, toward the Wilkinson Place alley, early 1940s, when it housed a furniture store. This photograph was taken before the mill buildings at image right were razed. (Rhode Island State Digital Archives, Rhode Island Department of State, https://sosri.access.preservica.com/home)

Figure 1.89. View looking south, 1925-1940, showing one of the Dexter Yarn Co. buildings on the East Lot. This photograph was taken after the mill was restored and before the factory buildings at image right (on the South Lot) were razed. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-91)

Figure 1.90. View looking southeast, 1955, part of a publicity shot for the opening of the museum. Note the flagpole in the lawn and the hedge and sign along Roosevelt Avenue. (OSMA Archives, from Leavitt 1997: 65)

THE OLD SLATER MILL MUSEUM, 1955-1963

Old Slater Mill and the Slater Lot

In early 1955, the OSMA launched a successful fund-raising program that raised $125,000, and on July 23, 1955 the Old Slater Mill formally opened to the public as a museum.[207] By this time a flagpole with a substantial concrete base was erected in the lawn northwest of the mill and an ornate entrance sign stood along Roosevelt Avenue (Figure 1.90). New plantings included an ornamental tree on the west side of the mill next to the Great Flume, and lilacs along the mill's north and west foundations (Figure 1.91). Unfortunately, a month later back to back hurricanes caused significant flooding on the Blackstone River, inundating the grounds and first floor of Old Slater Mill (Figure 1.92).[208] In 1958 the Pawtucket Garden Club installed the "Industry in Bloom" herb garden on east side of mill, north of the flume. Used to complement the hand spinning and weaving demonstrations in the mill, the garden featured over 50 herbs and plants (Figure 1.93).[209]

The involvement of local clubs like the Pawtucket Garden Club helped generate interest in the museum. In the 1960s a successful outreach program brought dozens of exhibits to the site. Exhibit coordinator and lifelong Pawtucket resident Betty Johnson focused exhibits on popular subjects to draw more visitors, such as Civil Defense in 1962. On the second floor the museum store sold napkins and placemats that were hand woven during public demonstrations. A variety of local festivals and events were held on the well-maintained grounds during this time (Figures 1.94, 1.95).[210]

Figure 1.91. View looking southeast, 1956, at lilacs and ornamental trees on the north and west sides of Old Slater Mill. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-115)

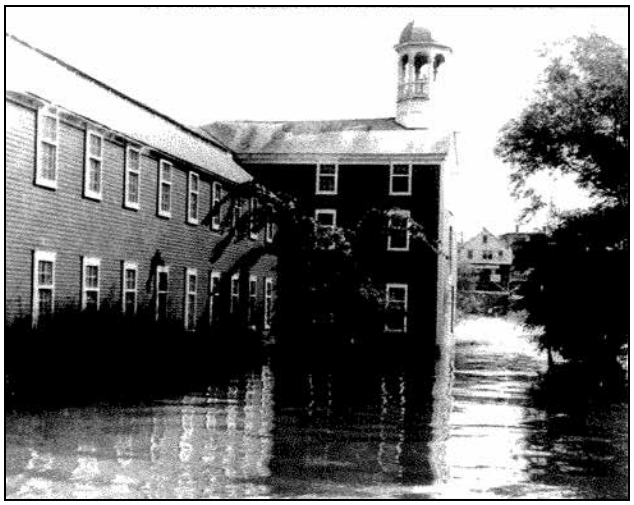


Figure 1.92. View looking southwest at flood waters, August 1955, a month after the museum opened to the public. Note the lilacs along the mill's west foundation and ornamental tree next to the Great Flume. (OSMA Archives, from Leavitt 1997: 67)

Figure 1.93. View looking southwest at the herb garden installed on the east side of Old Slater Mill by the Pawtucket Garden Club, c.1958. (OSMA Archives, from Leavitt 1997: 70)

Figure 1.95. View looking southeast, 1963, at finalists in the Little Miss Maid of Cotton contest standing in the lawn on the west side of the mill. (OSMA Archives, from Leavitt 1997: 74)

Figure 1.94. View looking north, 1961, at the lawn area on the west side of the mill during Pawtucket's Diamond Jubilee. (OSMA Archives, from Leavitt 1997: 75)

Federal Recognition of Old Slater Mill, Part Two

The implementation of the 1935 Historic Sites Act was accomplished through the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, commonly shortened to Historic Sites Survey. The survey was the principal means by which the federal government, through the National Park Service (NPS), identified properties of national historical significance. The adoption of evaluation criteria and historic themes to comprehensively define national significance served as the basic framework for the survey. The Act had also created an Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments (now the NPS Advisory Board) to make recommendations to the Secretary of the Interior.[211]

In 1960 the NPS changed the name National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings to the National Historic Landmarks (NHL) Program, and in that year designated 92 properties as NHLs. In a March 1, 1961 letter to NPS Director Conrad Wirth, Rhode Island Senator Claiborne Pell expressed his interest in the historical significance of the restored Old Slater Mill and asked him to provide the "criteria by which a center of such historic interest is adjudged in order that it may be considered for selection as a National Monument" and to "learn the distinctions between classifications of areas as National Historical Sites and Registered National Historic Landmarks."[212] In a March 7, 1961 memorandum to Wirth, Acting Regional Director George Palmer stated that Old Slater Mill would be considered in the studies of industrial sites under the 'Commerce, Industry, and Agriculture' theme. Palmer also wrote that "the story and the Mill are highly significant in the history of American industry, and based on our present knowledge, we feel sure that the site will be classified as having exceptional value."[213] Palmer sent a follow up letter to Pell on March 21, 1961, stating the project would be completed by December 1961 for consideration by the Advisory Board in 1962. Around the same time, Senator Pell and his colleague Senator John Pastore became Trustees of the Old Slater Mill Association.[214]

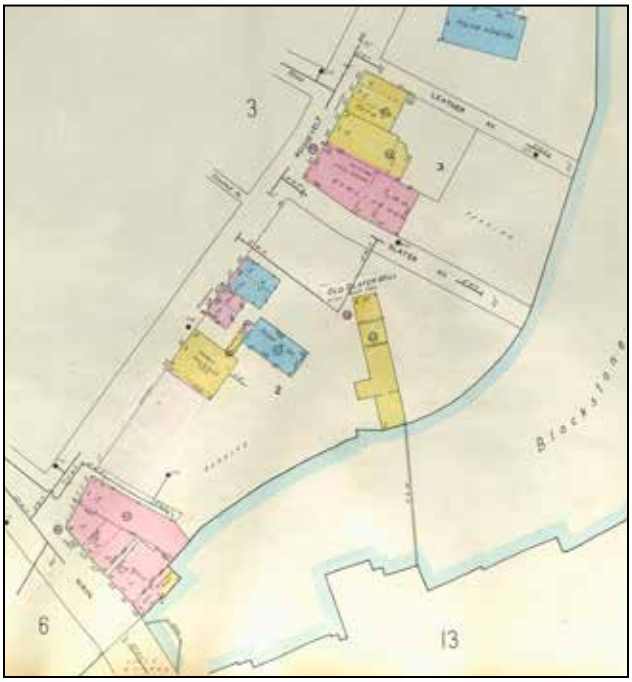


Figure 1.96. Map of the Slater Lot, North Lot, and South Lots, dated 1962. (Sanborn Map Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Pawtucket, Providence County, Rhode Island, Volume 1, Sheet 4, 1962*. Pawtucket Public Library, from HSR 2018: D-116)

North, South, and East Lots, 1952-1963

An analysis of the 1949 Sanborn map, a 1962 Sanborn map, and historic photographs reveals several land use changes during this period (Figure 1.96). In the North Lot the bowling alley continued to occupy the former police/courtroom building and various stores lined Roosevelt Avenue, while the east half of the lot was still used for parking. Historic photographs show mature volunteer trees along the river wall.

In the South Lot, only the Wilkinson Place segment of the larger U-shaped alley remained. In the north part

Figure 1.97. Map of the East Lot, dated 1962. (Sanborn Map Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Pawtucket, Providence County, Rhode Island, Volume 1, Sheet 4, 1962*. Pawtucket Public Library, from HSR 2018: D-116)

of the lot, the stone 3-story mill (former Wilkinson Mill) continued to house the Pawtucket Furniture Company, and just to the west along Roosevelt Avenue a single 2-story building was still occupied by unnamed stores. Just to the north were the two 1-story stores (formerly part of the Slater Lot). In the east part of the lot along the river, parking remained the only use in this area. In the west part of the lot facing Roosevelt Avenue, the brick 3-story Manchester and Miller Blocks were razed, as was the building between them. These vacant areas became part of the parking lot to the east. Only the 3-story building housing the Pawtucket Furniture Company in this area remained, as did the second floor covered passageway across Wilkinson Place that connected to their operations in the stone mill. In the south part of the lot, the brick 3- to 4-story Spencer, Miller, and Smith Blocks still housed stores and offices, and the cantilevered addition over the river served as a restaurant.

In the East Lot, a 1955 historic aerial and a 1962 Sanborn map provide good comparisons for this period (Figure 1.97). The core of the Dexter Yarn Company complex and chimney were removed by 1955 and replaced with a parking lot (Figures 1.98, 1.99). Like the earlier removal of some of the buildings along the west riverbank, these removals also created a gap in the line of buildings along the east riverbank. Heading downstream from the dam and Dexter Company were the 4- to 4.5-story brick and stone buildings, and the 3-story Bates Block next to the Main Street Bridge. Heading upstream from the dam and Dexter Company were the 2- and 3-story buildings once used by Dexter Company, including the concrete block 3-story building.[215]

Figure 1.98. View looking south at the partially demolished Dexter Yarn Co., 1954, on the East Lot. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-106)

Figure 1.99. View looking north at the vacant site of the Dexter Yarn Co., 1958. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-116)

SLATER URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT, 1963-1973

Since the late nineteenth century, most American cities had undergone various episodes of rehabilitation through large-scale programs of new housing, public buildings, parks, roadways, and industrial areas. By the 1960s, many urban renewal projects focused on blighted areas of inner cities, where once thriving factories and tenements sat empty and decaying. Urban renewal was successful in some instances, transforming depressed city centers with new office buildings, sports and transit facilities, and urban parks. However, such plans were not always favorable, replacing blocks of historic structures with vast parking lots and constructing highways through vibrant neighborhoods.

Urban renewal projects were often coordinated with the 1956 Federal-Aid Highway Act, which gave federal and state governments control over new highways, resulting in massive comprehensive plans that promoted modern visions of their cities. Such was the case in Pawtucket, when in the 1960s Interstate 95 was built, connecting Boston, Providence, and New York City with major cities along the eastern seaboard. The six-lane divided highway and its associated on and off ramps tracked through several Pawtucket neighborhoods just south and east of downtown, requiring the removal of hundreds of homes and businesses (Figures 1.100, 1.101).

Concurrent with construction of Interstate 95 was development of Pawtucket's urban renewal plan in 1963, called the Slater Urban Renewal Project. With the restored Old Slater Mill as the centerpiece, city planners initially aimed to build an industrial history village in downtown Pawtucket, converting the surviving old houses in the area into craft and antique stores. Historian Sarah Leavitt writes that the idea was feasible because some nineteenth century houses still remained in the area, but it was soon abandoned due to lack of funds. Although Old Slater Mill remained the centerpiece of the Renewal Project, many other mills, commercial buildings, and houses in the downtown would be replaced with contemporary-designed buildings, riverfront parks, and parking lots.[216]

Moving the Sylvanus Brown House

One of downtown's historic homes saved from demolition was the Sylvanus Brown House, built in 1758. Brown had made patterns and wood parts for Samuel Slater's machines, and the house is reportedly where Samuel Slater spent his first night in Pawtucket. The building had been moved from its original site on East Avenue/Quaker Lane to a location on Marrin Street. In 1962 it was moved to the east end of Slater Avenue on the North Lot, a temporary location until a permanent site within the Slater Lot could be developed.[217]

Figure 1.100. Aerial photograph of Pawtucket, 1963. (Nationwide Environmental Title Research (NETR), "Aerial Photographs, 1963," https://www.historicaerials.com/viewer)

Figure 1.101. Aerial photograph of Pawtucket, 1971. (Nationwide Environmental Title Research (NETR), "Aerial Photographs, 1971," https://www.historicaerials.com/viewer)

Designation as a National Historic Landmark

On April 16, 1963, the NPS informed the OSMA that the National Historic Landmark (NHL) evaluation of Old Slater Mill that was proposed to begin in 1961 would be delayed until the end of 1964. Letters from the OSMA, as well as Senator Pell and Senator Pastore, in July and August 1963 urged the NPS to fast-track the project, but were unsuccessful. Additional delays occurred until 1965 when the site was surveyed by Historian S. Sydney Bradford and a report was sent to the Advisory Council. Finally, on November 13, 1966, the Old Slater Mill building was designated a NHL under the theme, "Commerce, Industry, and Agriculture." On the same date, the building was added to the newly-established National Register of Historic Places, the federal government's official list of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects deemed worthy of preservation for their historical significance. The mill was the first resource to be listed on the National Register, which was created through the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act on October 16, 1966, and administered by the NPS.

A ceremony acknowledging the Old Slater Mill as a National Historic Landmark was held in Pawtucket on January 31, 1967, and attended by Edwin W. Small, NPS Project Coordinator; Raymond M. Storin, OSMA Director; Governor John H. Chafee; and others. In a February 3, 1967 memorandum reporting the event to the NPS Regional Director, Small wrote that the Old Slater Mill "stands to gain in both appearance and accessibility as the result of urban renewal scheduled to come in the immediate surroundings on the west bank of the Blackstone River."[218]

Uniting the Slater Lot, and the North, South, and East Lots

By mid-1967 plans for the Slater Urban Renewal Project were finalized, its goals impacting the size of the Slater Lot and completely changing the physical appearance of the North, South, and East Lots (Figure 1.102). In the plan, federal funds would be used to purchase and restore the Wilkinson Mill and move the Sylvanus Brown House to a new spot between the Wilkinson and Old Slater Mills, creating a core of three buildings. The North Lot would be used for parking, the South Lot would be transformed into a public park, and the East Lot would become open space to provide a views of the three buildings. Roosevelt Avenue and the North Main Street Bridge would also be widened.[219]

The NPS raised some concerns about the Renewal Plan, which according to NPS Deputy Director Harthon L. Bill, was developed without consultation with the NPS. In an August 18, 1967 letter to Paul R. Baton, Senate Committee on Appropriations, Bill expressed concerns about the demolition of buildings on the remaining properties and the fundamental changes to the surrounding environment. Bill summarized the NPS' position: "We are interested in ensuring the preservation of the Slater Mill and also in seeing that it suffers no adverse effect which might impair the historical integrity of the property."[220]

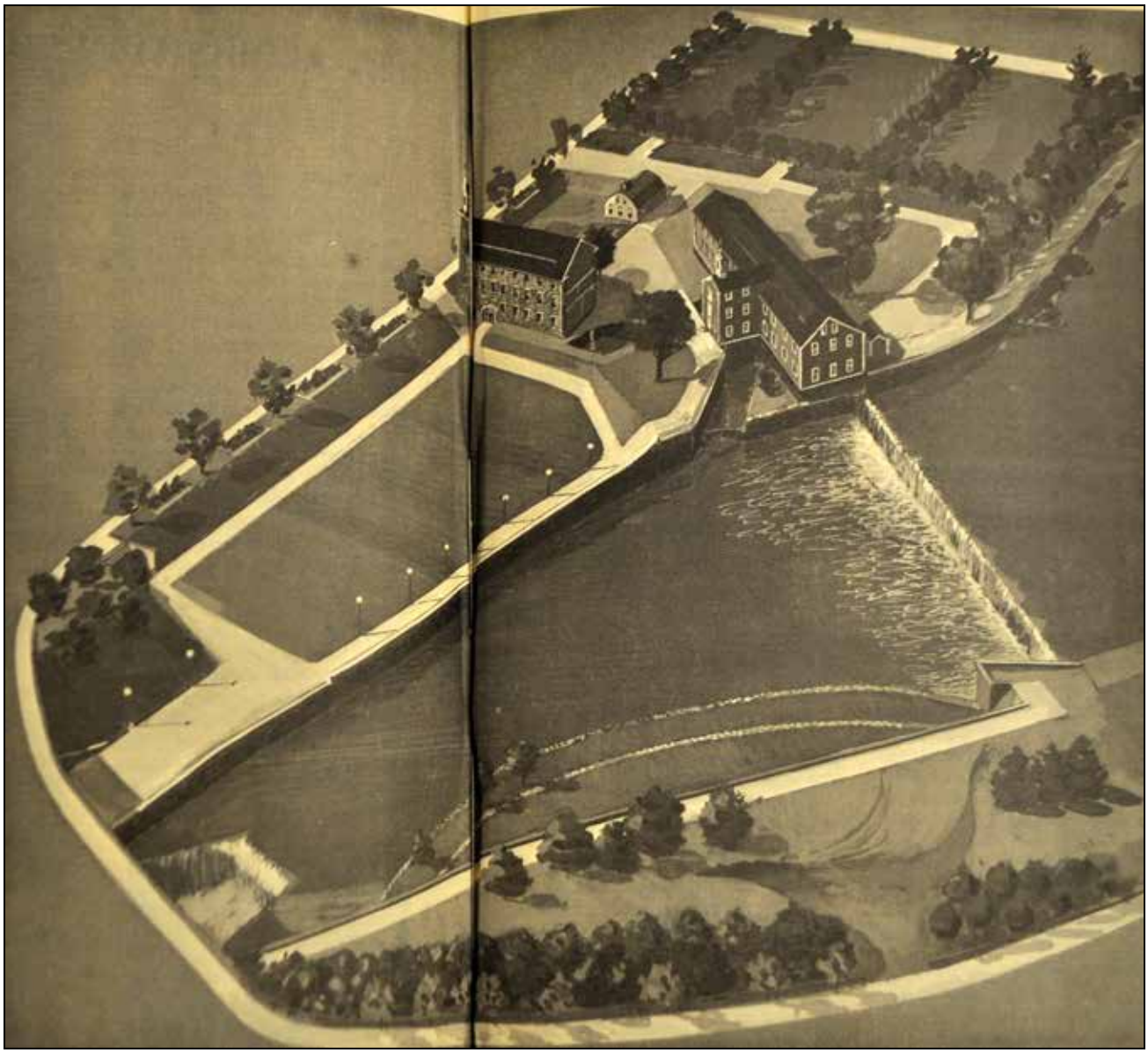


Figure 1.102. Proposed plan of Old Slater Mill and the Slater, North, South, and East Lots, late 1960s. (*The Flyer*, Vol. II, No. 7, July 1971: 6-7, from OCLP 2018, DSC-3851)

In reality, the removal of buildings and structures around Slater Mill had been ongoing for decades; over half of the buildings and structures that were present on the Slater, North, South, and East Lots in 1923 had been removed. At this time, the Slater Lot was still actively used and maintained as a public museum, with visitor attendance in 1962 establishing a new record. But in contrast, the North, South, and East Lots were now characterized by informal gravel parking lots and partially-occupied buildings, some dating to the nineteenth century.[221]

Land Clearing and Street Alterations Begin

Despite reservations of some within the NPS, aerial photographs show that from 1967 to 1969 the City of Pawtucket cleared entire blocks of downtown Pawtucket along Roosevelt Avenue on the west side of the river and along Broadway on the east side of the river. Specifically, this included all remaining buildings on the

North Lot and all remaining buildings except for the Wilkinson Mill on the South Lot. The foundations of the Smith and Spencer Blocks in the South Lot along the river were retained to serve as a river wall, just as had been done earlier with the other factory buildings facing the river. After the buildings were razed, work began on widening both Roosevelt Avenue and the Main Street Bridge to four lanes.

Roosevelt Avenue was widened 20 feet to the east, obliterating all traces of the buildings that once lined the east side of the street, including the Slater House. The new curb line also decreased the size of the Slater, North, and South Lots - in the previous road cross-section, the curb line was 35 feet from the Wilkinson Mill stairtower, but in the new alignment it was reduced to around 15 feet. The widening of Roosevelt Avenue and construction of sidewalks required substantial amounts of fill, upwards of seven feet in some areas. From the sidewalk edge, the fill areas were sloped down to meet the original grades of the Slater, North, and South Lots. Slater Avenue and Leather Avenue were regraded to meet the new elevation of Roosevelt Avenue, but their original alignments were retained. The Main Street Bridge was extended 30 feet to the south with a new span abutting the stone arch bridge. The Renewal Project also transformed the East Lot, clearing all remaining buildings in 1969-1970. At this time the city installed street trees and street lights with square fixtures along Roosevelt Avenue and Broadway.[222]

South Lot becomes Hodgson-Rotary Park

In 1970-1971 the city installed landscape and hardscape elements for the new park space in the South Lot (Figure 1.103). Originally known as Slater Mill Park, the park was renamed Hodgson-Rotary Park before construction began, for Percy Hodgson, a member of the city's Rotary Club and former Rotary International President who donated $50,000 toward the effort. The gap in the river wall was filled with a new stone wall and topped with an iron fence (the portions of the river wall/ old foundations were of sufficient height and did not need fencing).[223]

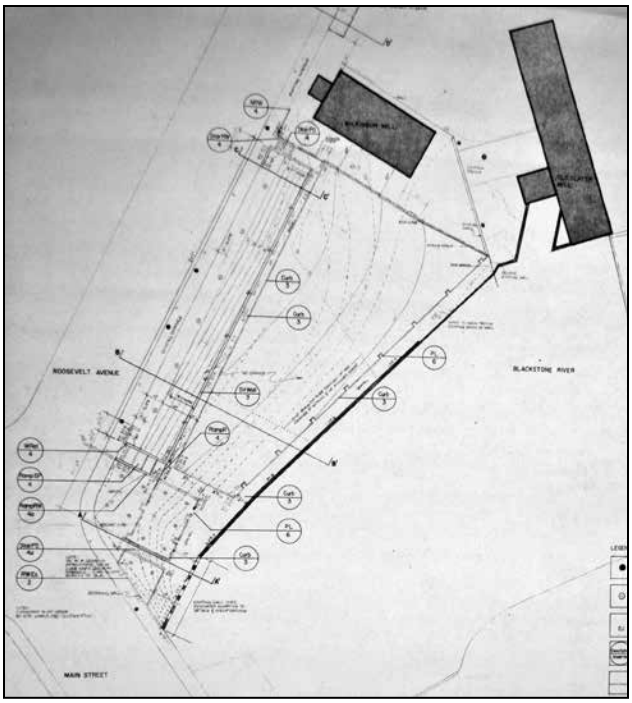


Figure 1.103. Grading plan and layout for Hodgson-Rotary Park in the South Lot, 1969. (Johnson & Hayes, Architects and Alexander E. Rattray, Landscape Architect, *P-3: Grading Plan & Layout, Slater Mill Park,* 1"=20 feet. Prepared for Old Slater Mill Association, 4 April 1969. OSMA Archives, from OCLP 2018, DSC-3945)

The park featured a large, level, roughly triangular-shaped panel of grass bordered on the east by a pea gravel walk paralleling the river wall that connected to the existing pea gravel walk on the Slater Lot, and on the west by a pea gravel walk and seat-high retaining wall at the bottom of the fill slope (Figure 1.104). Stairs at either end of the west walk connected to concrete sidewalks along Roosevelt Avenue and North Main Street. A sloped driveway next to the Wilkinson Mill provided access from the street to the west walk, but the connecting walk from this point to the river, as shown in

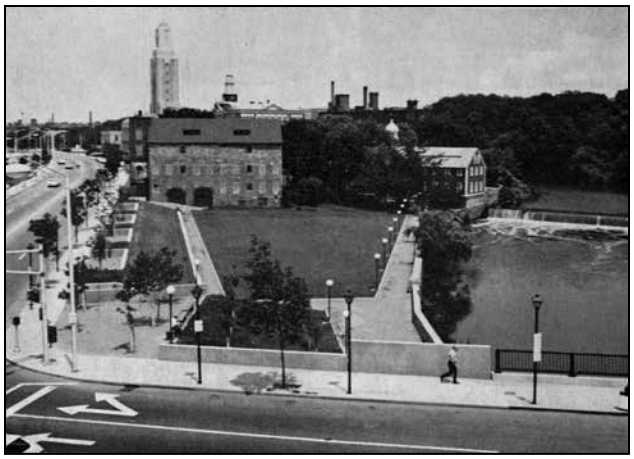


Figure 1.104. View looking northeast at Hodgson-Rotary Park, 1970. ("Hodgson Rotary Park," from www.flickr.com/photos/pawtucketlibrary/albums/72157705896995034)

the late 1960s plan, was not built. (This driveway was in the same location as the former Wilkinson Place alley.) The slope between the Roosevelt Avenue sidewalk and the retaining wall was planted with groundcovers except along the street, where new shade trees were set within evenly-spaced insets in the retaining wall. The southwest corner of the park featured a pea gravel patio with trees and a memorial tablet (Figure 1.105). New trees also occupied a smaller rectangular-shaped planting bed defined by concrete retaining walls. Light posts with white globe fixtures were installed 20 feet apart along the east sidewalk. A few years later young shade trees were planted at the south end of the lawn and a flagpole was erected near the southernmost stair.

Figure 1.105. View looking northeast at the memorial tablet, 1970. ("Hodgson Rotary Park," from www.flickr.com/photos/pawtucketlibrary/albums/72157705896995034)

East Lot becomes Slater Mill Park

During the same period, the city installed landscape elements in the East Lot. This park retained the name Slater Mill Park, and was designed mostly as lawns with a few scattered groupings of trees (Figure 1.106). In contrast with the level conditions of Hodgson-Rotary Park, the land here sloped noticeably from Broadway toward a substantial stone wall paralleling the river and topped with an iron pipe rail fence. An opening in the wall led to a small overlook patio with stone paving and railings, situated at the east end of the upper dam and above the location of the former flume inlet. Stairs at the patio accessed the river bank below, which featured two semicircular terraces separated by narrow stone embankments.

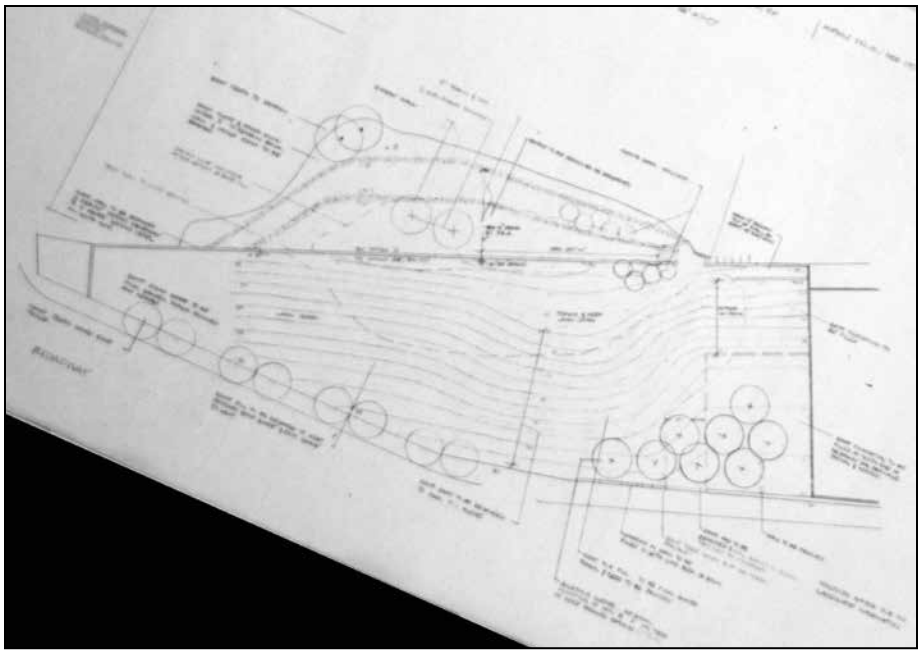


Figure 1.106. Planting and grading plan for Slater Mill Park in the East Lot, 1970. (Johnson & Hayes, Architects and Alexander E. Rattray, Landscape Architect, *P-4: No Title, Slater Mill Park,* 1"=20 feet. Prepared for Old Slater Mill Association, 4 April 1969. OSMA Archives, from OCLP 2018, DSC-3947)

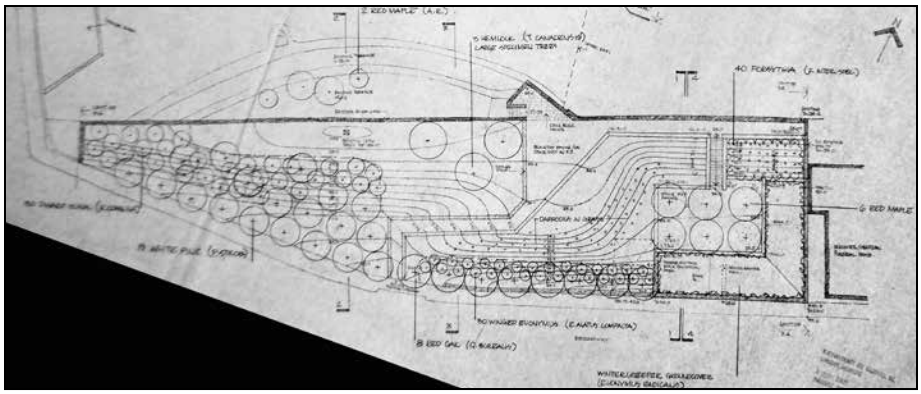


Figure 1.107. Planting and circulation plan of Slater Mill Park in the East Lot, 1970. (Bradford/ Everett & Associates, Landscape Architects, *Slater Mill Park, Parcel P.4., Sketch Plan 2,* 1"=20 feet, 23 October 1970. OSMA Archives, from OCLP, DSC-3769)

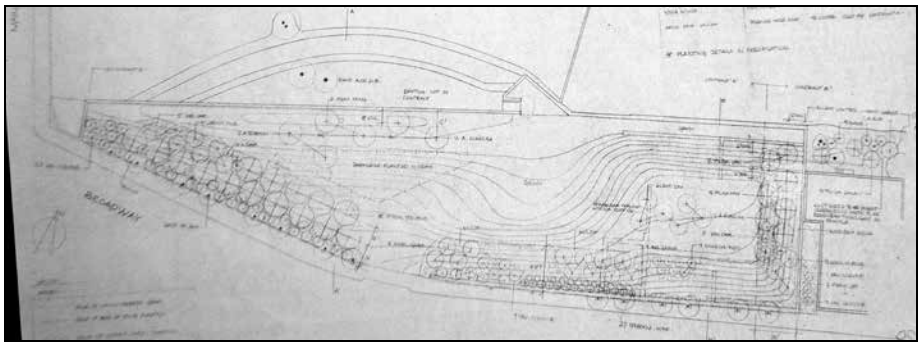


Figure 1.108. Planting plan of Slater Mill Park in the East Lot, 1970. (Slater Mill Park, Parcel P-4. (Bradford/Everett & Associates, Landscape Architects and Irving B. Haynes & Associates, Architects. *Slater Mill Park, Parcel P.4., Plants*, 1"=20 feet, 1970. OSMA Archives, from OCLP, DSC-3772)

The 1970 plan only extended to the edge of the foundation remnants of the Dexter Company's concrete block 3-story building. Two later versions of the plan included the foundation, extending the landscape area eastward to the funeral home. These plans also featured considerably more trees such as white pine and red maple, and various shrubs, that aimed to screen views of the cleared parcels to the south and east that were visible from Old Slater Mill and Hodgson-Rotary Park. One of the plans included a loop sidewalk from Broadway to the patio, making use of the remnant concrete foundation walls and a new staircase (Figure 1.107). However, a later plan eliminated the loop walk and staircase and simplified the plant palette and number of plantings (Figure 1.108). Light posts with white globe fixtures spaced 40 feet apart were installed in the lawn and parallelled the stone retaining wall.

North Lot becomes a Parking Lot

The late 1960s plan featured parking throughout the entirety of the North Lot (see Figure 1.102). However, plans from 1970 proposed less parking, featuring a lighted parking area in the east half of the lot and separated by a low berm, and a higher landscaped berm on the west half (Figures 1.109, 1.110). Lines of Norway maple and Kwanzen cherry trees were proposed in the higher berm, likely to partially screen the parking lot from the core of the site. Trees that once had grown along the river wall were to be replaced with grass. By 1971, however, the entire lot was a paved parking lot. There were no center islands in the lot, but the perimeter was planted with lawns and a mix of white pine, red maple, and crabapples.

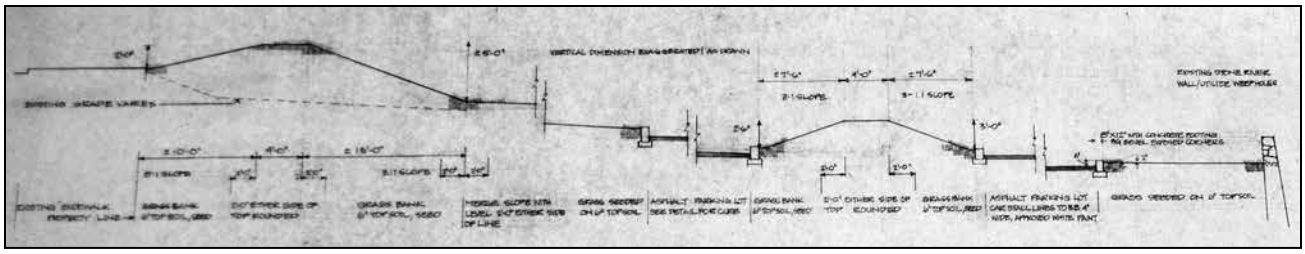


Figure 1.110. Cross-section of the North Lot, 1970. (Johnson & Hayes, Architects and Alexander E. Rattray, Landscape Architect, *Parcel P-2: Parking Lot, Slater Mill Park*, 1"=20 feet. Prepared for Old Slater Mill Association, 4 April 1969. OSMA Archives, from OCLP 2018, DSC-3948)

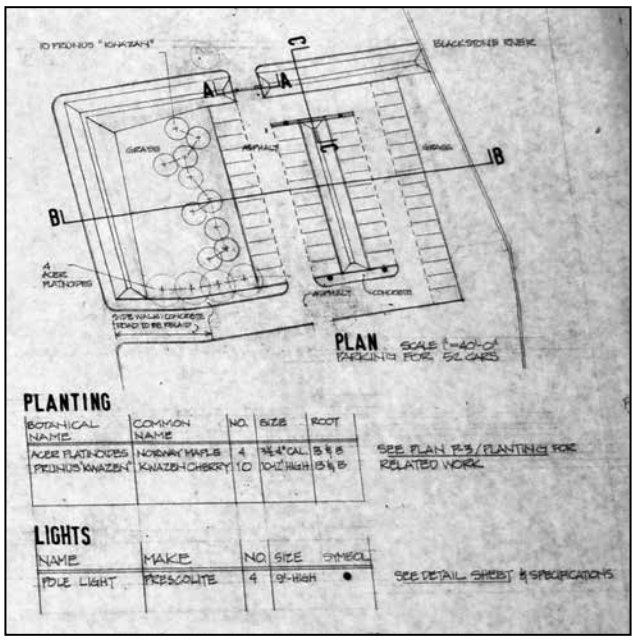


Figure 1.109. Plan of the North Lot, 1970. (Johnson & Hayes, Architects and Alexander E. Rattray, Landscape Architect, *Parcel P-2: Parking Lot, Slater Mill Park*, 1"=20 feet. Prepared for Old Slater Mill Association, 4 April 1969. OSMA Archives, from OCLP 2018, DSC-3948)

A U-shaped concrete retaining wall was built along the west side of the lot, which extended around 50 feet along the north and south sides. A set of concrete steps and a sidewalk was built from the northwest corner of the wall to Roosevelt Avenue and Leather Avenue.

Slater Lot

The OSMA's newsletter, *The Flyer,* published periodic updates in 1970 and 1971 regarding specific plans for the Slater Lot, including a model of the property showing the property's three buildings: Old Slater Mill, Wilkinson Mill, and Sylvanus Brown House (Figures 1.111, 1.112). Plans from 1971 indicate not all of the proposals in the model were implemented, but major changes were undertaken on the fill slopes that extended east from the widened Roosevelt Avenue. By lowering the grade of the slope between the Wilkinson Mill and Slater Avenue, it was possible to reveal all four stories of the mill and also create a space in which to recreate the basement kitchen garden that was known to exist at the Brown House (Figure 1.113).[224]

The Flyer also featured articles that stated the overall vision for the Slater Lot, explaining that one of the considerations in redesigning the property was aesthetics:

> "The museum is located in an urban setting and it is compelled to deal with the juxtaposition of this historic site with the immediate outside environment of progress-oriented development. The museum will work within this reality and not to deny the nature of the surroundings. The Slater Mill is an urban museum and the entire site will always carry a distinctly urban and twentieth century flavor….But at the same time, we hope to create our own 'inner environment' in which the important juxtaposition is one existing between the various buildings and exhibits….Under no circumstances is the exterior site work an attempt to recreate the original site of the Wilkinson and Slater mills. The Slater Mill site does not attempt to recreate an historic village of any sort. While we hope to relate the various buildings and exhibits interpretively, this is not the purpose or product of our site design."[225]

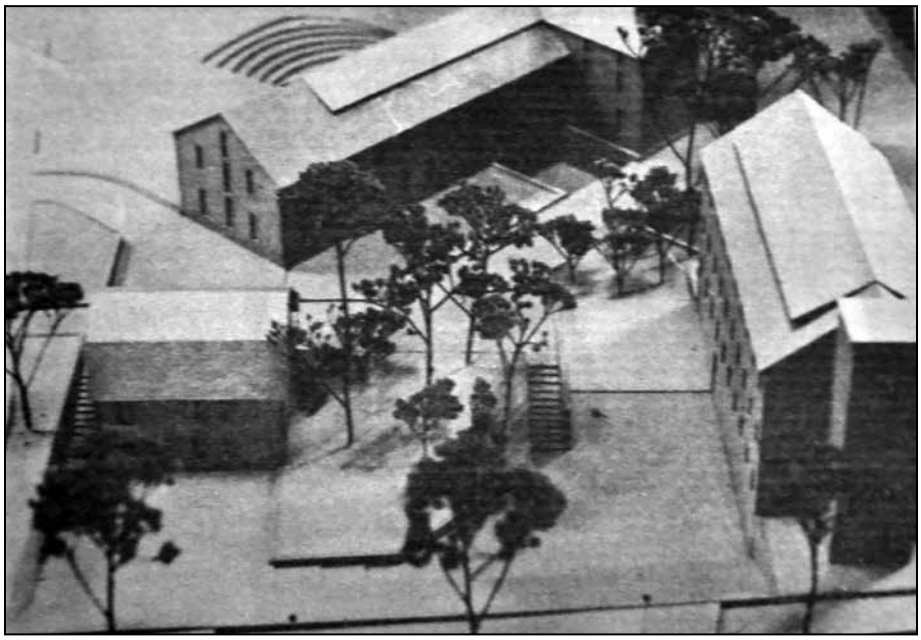


Figure1.111. Photograph of a model of the Slater Lot property, c.1970. (*The Flyer,* May 1970: 3, from OCLP 2019, DSC-3837)

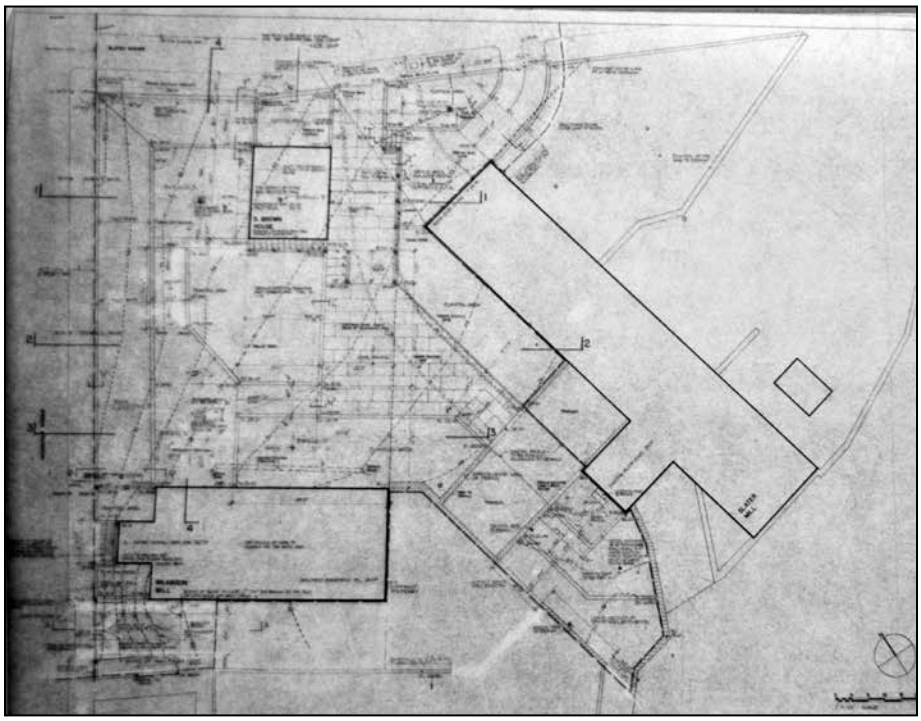


Figure 1.112. Grading and layout plan for the Slater Lot, April 1971. (Irving B. Haynes & Associates, Architects, *Slater Mill Park, Site Improvements & Landscaping, Grading and Layout Plan, Sheet C1-CMP, April 1971*. Prepared for Pawtucket Redevelopment Agency, Historic Restoration Project, Slater Urban Renewal Area. OSMA Archives, from OCLP 2018, DSC-3934)

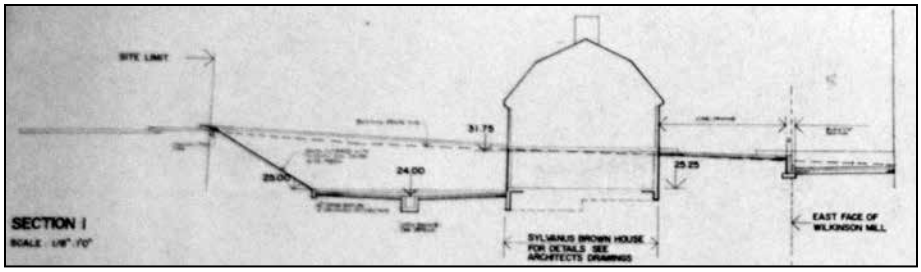


Figure 1.113. One of the section drawings for the Slater Lot, April 1971, looking northwest, with the Sylvanus Brown House at image center and the edge of Old Slater Mill at image right. (Irving B. Haynes & Associates, Architects, *Slater Mill Park, Site Improvements & Landscaping, Sections, Sheet C2-CMP, April 1971.* Prepared for Pawtucket Redevelopment Agency, Historic Restoration Project, Slater Urban Renewal Area. OSMA Archives, from OCLP 2018, DSC-3936)

The OSMA also explained their decisions about the materials that would define this landscape:

> "While grass and planting will be included in the site area, the distinct feeling of the site will be one of 'hard' surface. A large use of granite and paving will convey a sense that is more industrial than pastoral. This treatment will work well with our park development and many aspects of our exterior environment. But, beyond this, the outdoor spaces will also be durable and usable. The spaces will enhance the historic structures but respect the urban nature of the museum."[226]

Sylvanus Brown House and Wilkinson Mill

In 1972 the OSMA moved the Sylvanus Brown House from the east end of Slater Avenue to its new location northwest of Old Slater Mill, in the location where the buildings that housed a carpenter shop and Henry Spencer's bike shop used to be prior to 1925, and more recently, the flagpole in the 1950s. After the new concrete foundation and basement kitchen was built, the house was moved and the chimney was rebuilt. At the same time, OSMA began restoration work at the Wilkinson Mill, cleaning and repointing exterior stone walls and brick stairtower, installing new frames and windows, repairing the roof and monitor windows, and rebuilding the missing cupola (Figures 1.114, 1.115, 1.116).[227]

By 1973 OSMA had essentially completed building restorations and site work in the three-building core area (Figure 1.117). The OSMA modified and expanded the pedestrian circulation system, shifting the site's main entrance to a new 20-foot wide pea gravel walkway extending from Slater Avenue to the front of the Brown House. To provide access to the Brown House, the elevation of this walkway segment was set around three feet higher than the entrance to Old Slater Mill, which required a set of steps from the walkway to the lower pea gravel patio on the north side of the mill and the existing pea gravel walk that extended to Slater Avenue. Just to the south of the Brown House the new walk, and another set of steps, ramped down to a large central patio area that connected to two other paths. One of the paths was a new walk between the Wilkinson Mill and the Brown House and terminating at the basement of the house. The other path utilized the existing pea gravel walk on the west side of the mill for access to the footbridge, stairtower, and the river, where it connected to the new pea gravel walk paralleling the river wall in Hodgson-Rotary Park. A historic photograph shows the lawn area at this junction was rebuilt as a series of pea gravel terraces around the existing mature trees. There was also a set of stone steps on the south side of the Brown House, but at this time there was no walkway connection to the Wilkinson Mill. All of the new walks were around 10 feet wide and bordered by curbs, except for a short section of the new walk in front of the Brown House that featured a retaining wall topped by a granite and pipe rail fencing to account for the 3-foot grade change (Figure 1.118). The same fencing was also installed on either side of the Wilkinson Mill stairtower. To keep visitors off of the steep slopes

Figure 1.114. View looking southeast at the new foundation for the Sylvanus Brown House, 1972. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-121)

Figure 1.115. View looking south at the relocated Sylvanus Brown House, 1972. Restoration work is also underway in the Wilkinson Mill. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-121)

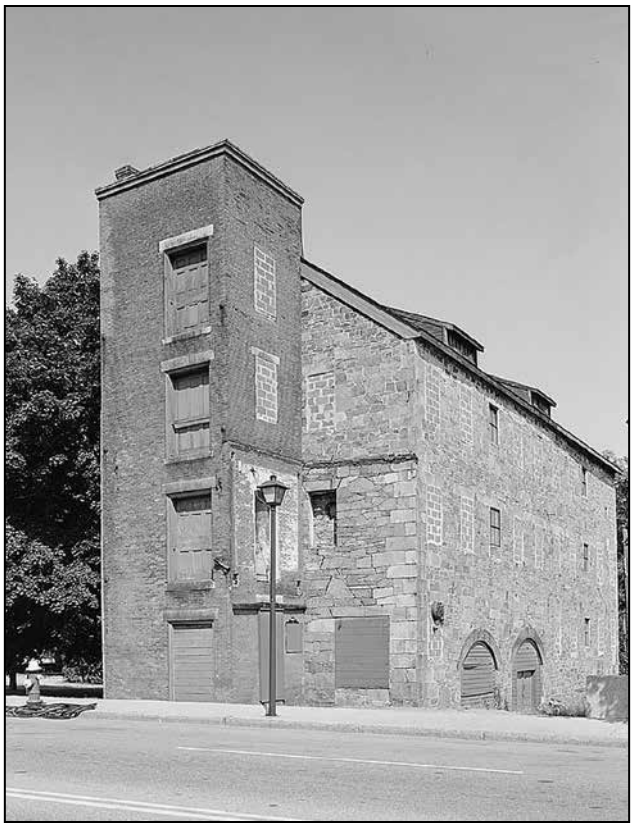


Figure 1.116. View looking south at the Wilkinson Mill, 1971, prior to its restoration in 1972. Note the outline of the second floor passageway on the stairtower, which connected to a building to the south. (G.B. Kulik, *Historic American Engineering Record [HAER], Wilkinson Mill, HAER No. RI-2,* Washington, DC: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, August 1983)

Figure 1.117. View looking southeast at the Slater Lot, 1973, soon after site work was completed. In the background are the bridges associated with Interstate 95. (NR 1975)

Figure 1.118. View looking southeast at the granite and pipe fence on the new walk between Old Slater Mill and the Brown House, 1973-1975. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-121)

along Roosevelt Avenue and Slater Avenue, the OSMA initially erected temporary fencing until permanent iron fencing matching other such fences on the property was installed. The OSMA also planted additional grass and installed trees, including two deciduous trees and a shrub on the north side of the Brown House and a mix of deciduous and conifer trees and shrubs on the south side (Figure 1.119).

LANDSCAPE SUMMARY AND PERIOD PLAN, 1973

A 1971 aerial photograph and a 1971 planting plan for Old Slater Mill serve as the basis for the 1973 Period Plan (Drawing 3). When compared with the 1925 period plan, the most dramatic change at the site occurred in the North, South, and East Lots where all buildings were removed except for the Wilkinson Mill, which was restored, and the widening of Roosevelt Avenue that reduced the size of the Slater, North, and South Lots. By this time the OSMA had relocated the historic cottage of Sylvanus Brown from its temporary location at the east end of Slater Avenue to a permanent location on the Slater Lot, between the two mills. These three-buildings became the core of the site.

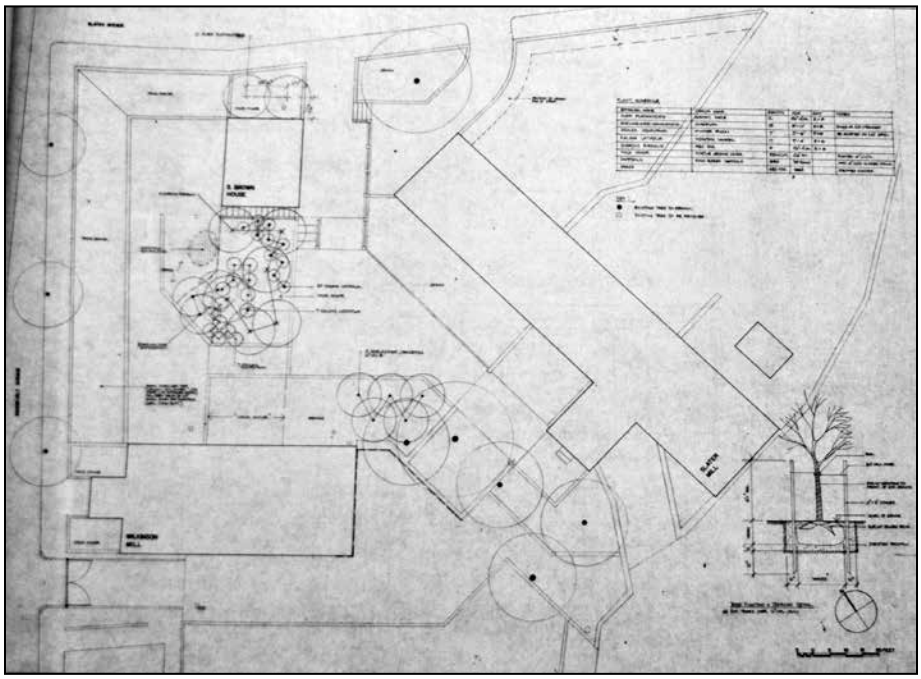


Figure 1.119. Planting plan for the Slater Lot, April 1971. (Irving B. Haynes & Associates, Architects. *Slater Mill Park, Site Improvements & Landscaping, Planting Plan, Sheet C9-CMP, April 1971*. Prepared for Pawtucket Redevelopment Agency, Historic Restoration Project, Slater Urban Renewal Area. OSMA Archives, from OCLP 2018, DSC-3944)

The previous layout of paths and landscaping was updated with new walks, patios, and plantings to unify the core area and connect to a new parking area in the North Lot, and the paths and lawns in the South Lot, named Hodgson-Rotary Park. The East Lot became known as Slater Mill Park and featured an overlook built into the existing river wall and steps accessing the riverbank below. Although no traces of the raceway in the East Lot were saved, several foundation remnants were preserved to hold the steep slopes. On the Slater Lot, the eastern portion of the Great Flume was partially filled in and watered by a penstock pipe leading from the rebuilt river wall to the raceway. The western part of the Great Flume featured stone walls in the vicinity of the Old Slater Mill, but at this time continued to the Wilkinson Mill only as a ditch. The old stone foundations of the mills along the river in the South Lot were partially retained to serve as a river wall.

Main Street Bridge
Lower Dam
Wilkinson Mill
Sylvanus Brown House
Roosevelt Ave
Slater Ave
Leather Ave
Stone arch
Slater Mill
Boiler House
Upper Dam
Inlet pipe and gate
Broadway
Foundation remnants
Blackstone River

Cultural Landscape Report

Slater Mill Historic Site
Pawtucket, Rhode Island

Period Plan, 1973

National Park Service
Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation
www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

1. USGS orthophoto, 1971
2. Planting Plan for the Slater Lot, 1971

DRAWN BY

Clelie Fielding, 2019
GIS ArcMap 10.6
AutoCAD 2018
Adobe Illustrator 2019

LEGEND

- CLR boundary
- Buildings
- Asphalt surface
- Concrete surface
- Water
- Lawn
- Deciduous tree
- Evergreen tree

NOTES

1. Projection: Rhode Island State Plane, NAD83, Feet
2. All features shown in approximate scale and location

0′ 17.5′ 35′ 70′

Drawing 3

SLATER MILL HISTORIC SITE, 1973-2021

This section describes various improvements to the landscape at Slater Mill Historic Site, which included reconstruction of an additional section of the Great Flume raceway. It also documents the site's inclusion in the Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor in 1986 and the Blackstone River Valley National Historical Park in 2014.

SITE IMPROVEMENTS, 1970s

Around 1973 the Slater Lot and the North, South, and East Lots became collectively known as Slater Mill Historic Site. In 1975 a National Register Inventory-Nomination Form was completed for the 4.23-acre property, identifying significance in the areas of Invention and Industry. The Keeper of the National Register accepted the documentation on March 12, 1976, whereupon the site was added to the National Register of Historic Places. Documentation suggests that at this time, the National Historic Landmark designation for Old Slater Mill, which in 1966 only include the mill itself, was increased to include the entire 4.23 acres.

Research into the original exterior color of Old Slater Mill prompted OSMA Director Patrick Malone to repaint the building yellow in 1975. The paint analysis determined that the mill had been painted yellow as early as 1812. According to Historian Sarah Leavitt, "most Pawtucket residents in the 1970s had grown accustomed to the red color and lamented the drastic change."[228] An oblique aerial photograph from 1975-1978 shows the new mill color as well as the grounds of the Slater Mill Historic Site (Figure 1.120).

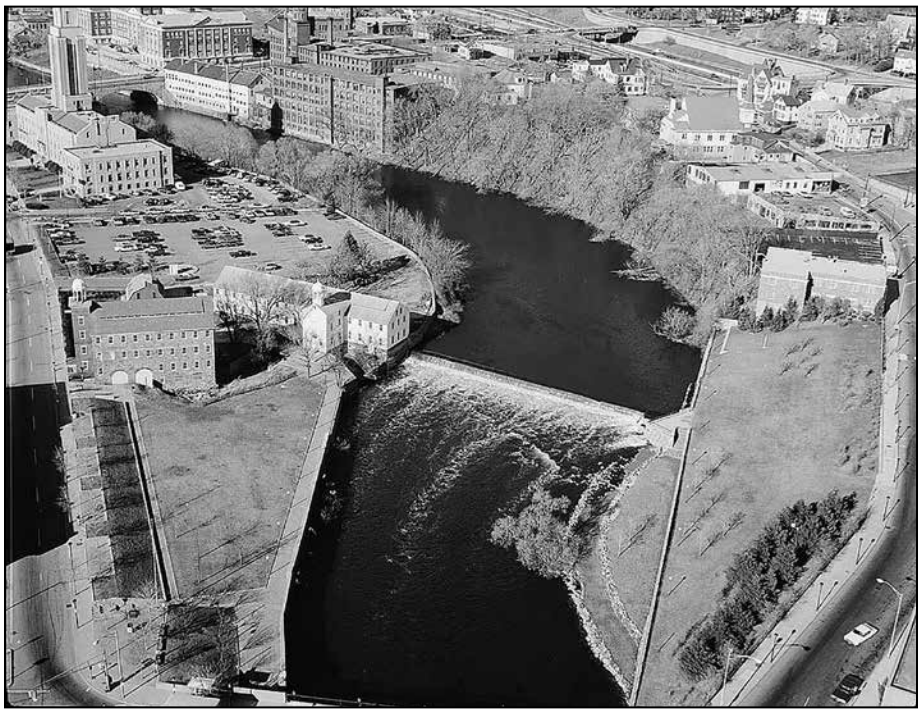


Figure 1.120. View looking northeast at Hodgson-Rotary Park on the west side of the river and Slater Mill Park on the east side, 1975-1978. (Photograph by Jack Boucher, HAER RI-1, 1991)

The addition of the Wilkinson Mill and Sylvanus Brown House marked a shift in OSMA's interpretive programs. Historian Sarah Leavitt writes that Samuel Slater and his mill had been a significant part of the story in the 1950s and 1960s, but in the 1970s tour guides also discussed mill strikes, child labor laws, and social stratification of the work force. The opening of the Brown House created space for demonstrating hand spinning and weaving, and classes in the fiber arts promoted interest in handicrafts.[229]

SITE IMPROVEMENTS, 1980S-1990s

By 1980, the OSMA constructed and operated a new waterwheel in the Wilkinson Mill, which was informed by several excavations in the 1970s. In 1981 archeologists found evidence of the Great Flume under the mill, which made it possible to extend the raceway from the old Slater Lot property line into the mill, as well as around to its southeast corner via a small scupper dam. Below the dam, the raceway's water, and the tailrace water from the Wilkinson Mill, was channeled to an underground pipe that exited through an outlet in the river wall. Stone walls topped with iron fencing lined the raceway and tailrace. By 1982 river water flowing through the Great Flume once again powered the wheel in the Wilkinson Mill (Figure 1.121).[230]

Figure 1.121. View looking east at the extension of the Great Flume and the small dam, 1991, around ten years after it was built. By this time the terraced patio west of the stairtower was replaced with grass, and trees that once grew along the wall of the Great Flume were gone. (Photograph by Joseph E.B. Elliott, HAER RI-1, 1991)

In 1983 the Historic American Engineering Survey (HAER) completed surveys of Old Slater Mill and Wilkinson Mill, which included brief historical narratives and photographs. In 1991 the HAER survey for Old Slater Mill was updated and expanded with additional historical information and photographs, as well as a series of measured drawings for the core area (Figure 1.122). Photographs and plans from the 1991 survey illustrate the changes that occurred at Slater Mill Historic Site in the 1980s.

Overall the site's landscape was characterized by broad, manicured lawns dotted with shade trees. In the core area, the patio terrace just west of the Old Slater Mill stairtower was replaced with grass, and several trees that once grew in and along the Great Flume were gone (see Figure 1.121). The mill's tailrace was partially obscured by a mass of volunteer trees and shrubs, and a row of shrubs marked the top of the fill slope in the Great Flume

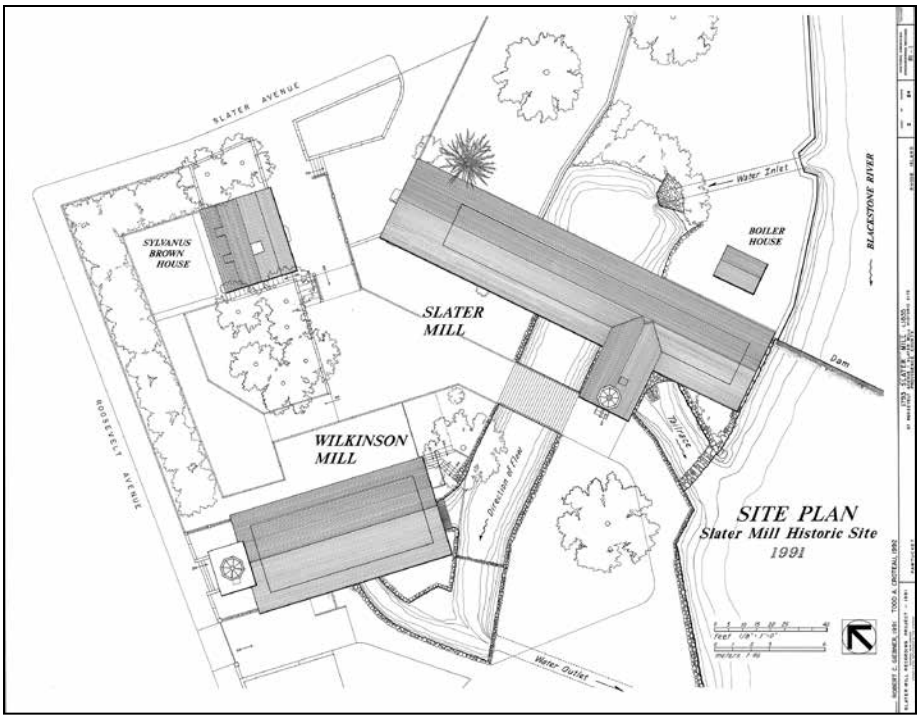


Figure 1.122. Site plan of the core of the Slater Mill Historic Site, 1991. (Historic American Engineering Record, *Site Plan, Slater Mill Historic Site, Sheet 2.* Drawn by Robert C. Giebner, 1991, and Todd A. Croteau, 1992. HAER RI-1, 1991)

east of the mill. A large lilac thrived on the east side of the mill, along with several mature trees in the lawn, but only one of the lilacs remained along the west foundation (Figures 1.123, 1.124, 1.125, 1.126). Some of the shade trees and shrubs planted by OSMA around the Sylvanus Brown House also matured (Figure 1.127). A variety of deciduous and evergreen shade and ornamental trees were present along the perimeter of parking lot north of mill, but none had been planted within the lot (Figure 1.128).

In addition to removing the patio terrace at the stairtower, the OSMA also added a walkway from the east end of the Wilkinson Mill to the central patio (see Figure 1.127). In Hodgson-Rotary Park south of Old Slater Mill, a new Y-shaped walk was built at the north end of the park to link the west walk and driveway to the east walk, and an accessible switchback ramp was constructed next to the driveway for a connection between Roosevelt Avenue and the west walk. The HAER photographs also indicate that all of the walks in the park were paved in red brick by 1991 (see Figure 1.128).

Other changes during the 1980s included the construction of a new penstock inlet in the river wall east of Old Slater Mill, which created a notched inset in the wall to accommodate a trash rack along the river's waterline. The light posts with white globes fixtures were altered: in Hodgson-Rotary Park they were replaced by ornamental poles with acorn-shaped fixtures, and in Slater Mill Park they were replaced with poles with square fixtures, like those along Roosevelt Avenue and Broadway. Ornamental benches were installed in Hodgson-Rotary Park, some facing the lawn and others oriented toward the river (Figure 1.129).

Figure 1.123. View looking northeast at the south side of Old Slater Mill, 1991, and the vegetation in the mill's tailrace. (Photograph by Joseph E.B. Elliott, HAER RI-1, 1991)

Figure 1.124. View looking southwest at the east side of Old Slater Mill, 1991, and the shrubs along the top of the fill slope in the Great Flume. (Photograph by Joseph E.B. Elliott, HAER RI-1, 1991)

Figure 1.125. View looking south at the north and east sides of Old Slater Mill, 1991, and the lawns and mature trees and shrubs. (Photograph by Joseph E.B. Elliott, HAER RI-1, 1991)

Figure 1.126. View looking southeast at the west side of Old Slater Mill, 1991, and the last remaining foundation shrub. (Photograph by Joseph E.B. Elliott, HAER RI-1, 1991)

Figure 1.127. View looking south at the north side of the Wilkinson Mill, 1987, and a ceremony marking the release of the Rhode Island postage stamp on the 200th Anniversary of the signing of the Constitution. Note the canopies of two mature trees, as well as walkway leading to the mill. (Leavitt 1997: 93)

Figure 1.128. View looking west, 1991, at the trees along the perimeter of the parking lot north of the Old Slater Mill. Note the brick walks in Hodgson-Rotary Park. (Photograph by Joseph E.B. Elliott, HAER RI-1, 1991)

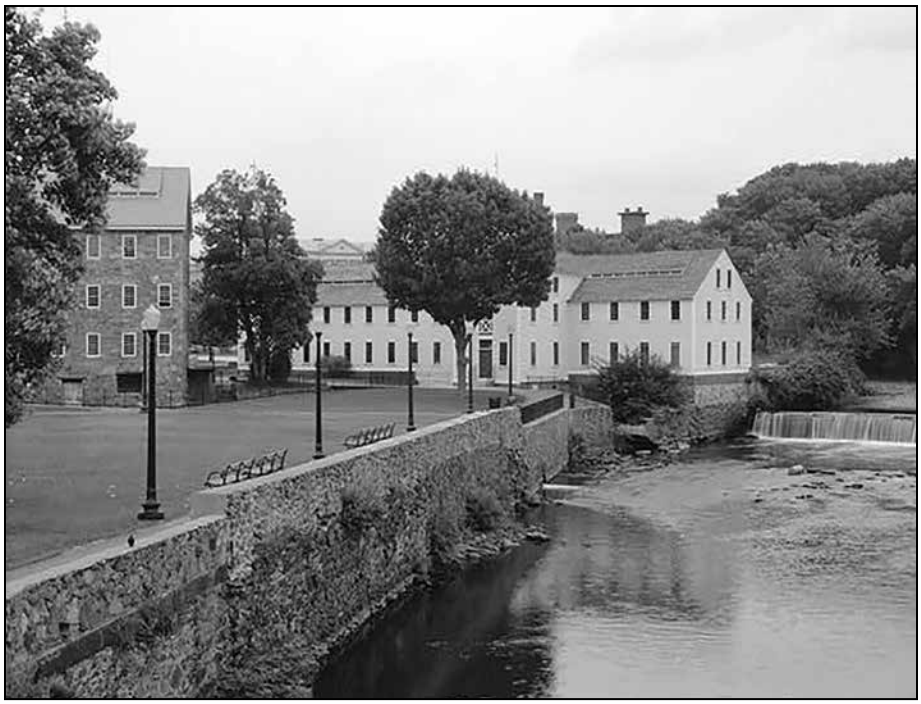
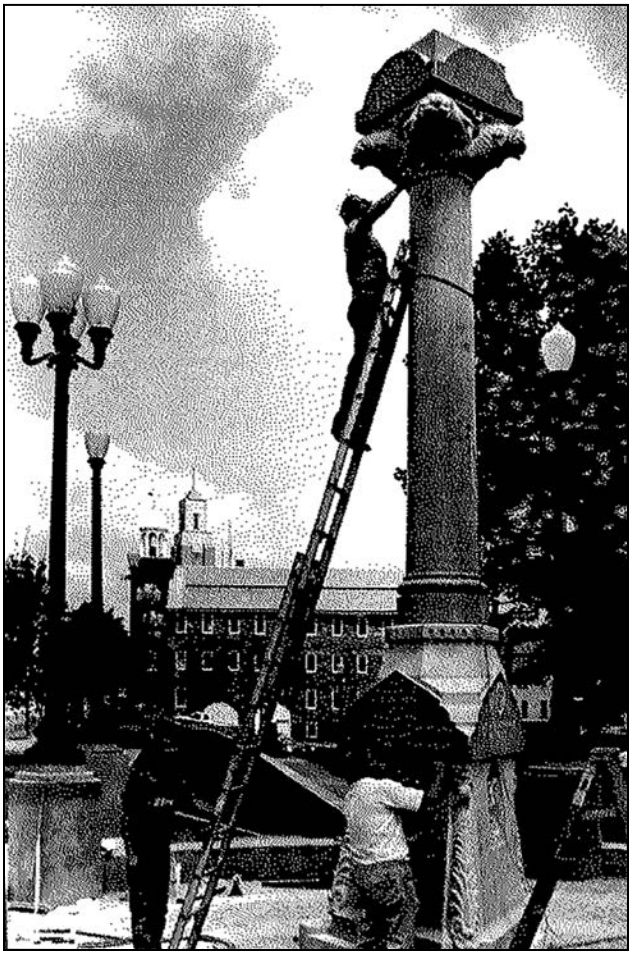


Figure 1.129. View looking northeast, 1991, at new ornamental lights in Hodgson-Rotary Park. Note the ornamental benches face away from the river because the height of the river wall/old foundation blocks the view. (Photograph by Joseph E.B. Elliott, HAER RI-1, 1991)

Figure 1.130. View looking northeast, 1991, at the relocated Cogswell Fountain at the corner of Roosevelt Avenue and Main Street. (Pawtucket Times, from Johnson et.al. 1995: 103)



Perhaps the most significant change at Hodgson-Rotary Park was the installation of the Cogswell Fountain at the southwest corner of the park (Figure 1.130). Replacing the park's original pea gravel patio, the monument was set within a circular gray granite patio at the same elevation as the sidewalks along Roosevelt Avenue and Main Street. This patio transitioned to a smaller rectangular-shaped patio paved in brick next to the Main Street Bridge. The north and east sides of the circular patio were supported by a concrete retaining wall, at the ends of which two staircases led to the walks and lawn areas below. The addition of the monument and the new patios eliminated a small area of trees installed adjacent to this area in 1970, and slightly lengthened the main lawn area southward to abut new brick walks at the base of the retaining wall. It also removed the retaining walls that surrounded the trees along Roosevelt Avenue. The project concluded with the installation of shrubs and additional ornamental lights posts, as well as four large floodlights next to the river pointed toward the Old Slater Mill and the upper and lower dams.[231]

In the 1980s or early 1990s one of the cast iron drinking fountains made by Captain Henry F. Jenks was briefly moved to Old Slater Mill. The fountain was originally

located at Pine Street in the back of Union Wadding, and after Slater Mill was moved to its present location at the Armistice Boulevard entrance to Slater Park. The location of the fountain on the grounds at the Slater Mill Historic Site is not known.[232] However, it was present during the early years of the Labor and Ethnic Heritage Festival, which was hosted by Slater Mill Historic Site and became one of Rhode Island's longest-running folk music and heritage arts festivals.[233]

BLACKSTONE RIVER VALLEY NATIONAL HERITAGE CORRIDOR

On November 10, 1986, Slater Mill Historic Site was included in the Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor, which encompassed 20 communities in Massachusetts and Rhode Island in recognition of the region's pivotal role in the early industrialization of America. The 1985 Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor Act (The Act) created the Corridor for the purpose of:

> "...preserving and interpreting for the educational and inspirational benefit of present and future generations the unique and significant contributions to our national heritage of certain historic and cultural lands, waterways and structures within the Blackstone River Valley" in order to "provide a management framework to assist the states...and their units of local government in the development and implementation of integrated cultural, historical, and land resource management programs in order to retain, enhance and interpret the significant values of the lands, waters and structures of the Corridor." [234]

On November 12, 1996, the boundary of the Corridor was revised to include four additional communities. On November 29, 1999, the Corridor was redesignated as the John H. Chafee Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor, in recognition of the U.S. Senator from Rhode Island who championed the corridor's establishment. In 2014 Auburn, Massachusetts was added as the 25th community in the Corridor.[235]

The Act also created a federally-appointed Commission to oversee activities within the Corridor, staffed by employees of the NPS. The Corridor works in partnership with a variety of federal, state and local agencies, and non-profit and private organizations, to preserve historic and environmental elements of the landscape, promote investment in the historic mill villages, and revitalize the river system. Management of Slater Mill Historic Site, however, remained with the OSMA.

SITE IMPROVEMENTS, 2000s-2010s

In September 1999, the Blackstone Valley Visitors Center opened on the west side of Roosevelt Avenue, just across the street from Slater Mill Historic Site.[236] In anticipation of an increase in visitation to the site as well as the desire to update the early 1970s plan, the OSMA hired the landscape architecture firm of Gates Leighton & Associates to redesign portions of the core area landscape (Figure 1.131). Completed in 2001, the project narrowed the main walkway from Slater

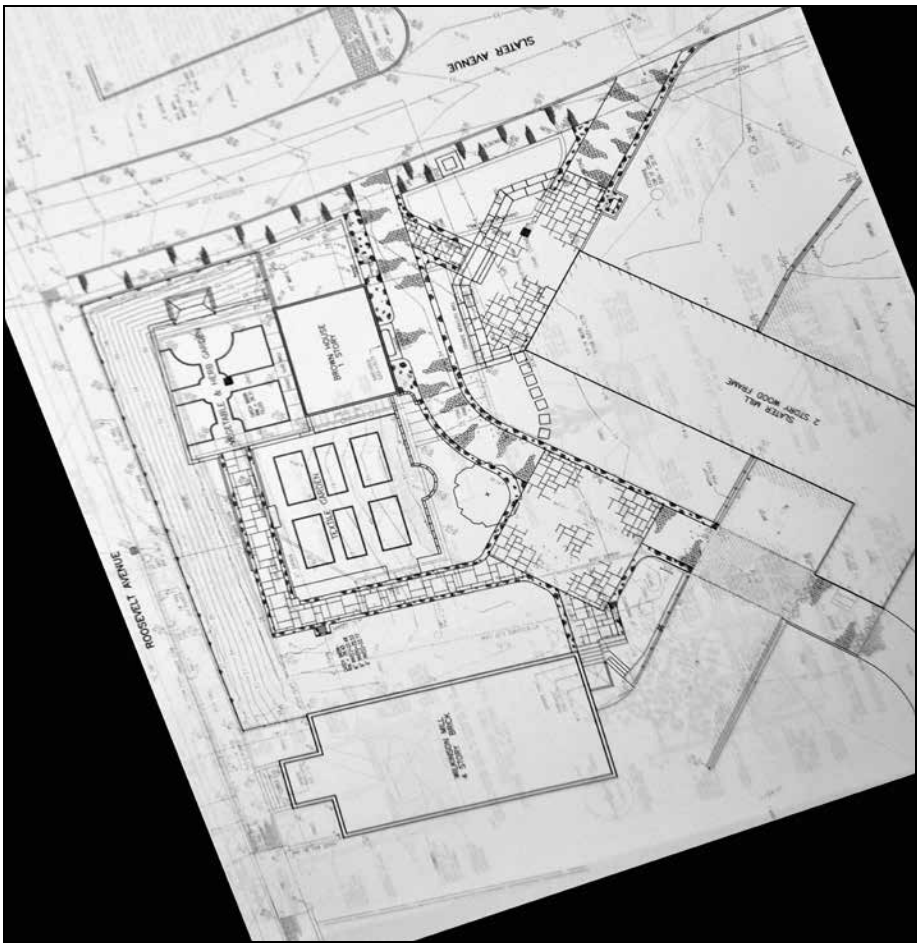


Figure 1.131. Draft site plan of the core of the Slater Mill Historic Site, 1999. (Gates Leighton and Associates, Inc., Landscape Architects, P*lanting Plan, Slater Mill Historic Site, Pawtucket, RI: Sheet L-5, Progress Print, 10 March 1999*. OSMA Archives, from OCLP 2018, DSC-3764)

Avenue, and eliminated the steps on it by shifting the central patio southward, which adjusted the grade and thus eliminated the need for the granite and pipe rail fencing. The walkway heading to the basement of the Sylvanus Brown House was also narrowed, and a new walkway and landing was designed to access the first floor and basement of the Wilkinson Mill. The patio on the north side of Old Slater Mill was reconfigured with a new stone and granite retaining wall and seatwall. This patio was accessed at three points: a new walkway aligned with the front door of the mill and connecting to the main walkway, a run of cobbles set in the lawn connecting to the central patio, and the existing walkway heading to Slater Avenue. Paving materials were also introduced: the main walkway was paved in gray concrete bricks and bordered by a band of mortared cobblestones set at the same grade, while the two patios and other walkways were paved with bluestone and also lined with mortared cobbles.

The Gates Leighton plan also developed two demonstrations gardens next to the Brown House. A textile garden was planted just to the south of the house, set within rectangular planting beds separated by grass paths. This area had formerly been planted with trees and shrubs that had limited success. A vegetable and herb garden was installed on the west side of the house, laid out in four parterres separated by pea gravel paths. A small storage shed was built within the north

slope of this garden area. Several new trees were planted in the grounds, but aside from the two gardens, the core area was dominated by maintained lawns with a few scattered trees.

In the 2010s the OSMA made several repairs in the Great Flume, dredging the raceway for sediment in 2010 and rehabilitating the gate and trash rack at the penstock inlet in 2012-2013.[237] Sometime after 2016, the highest section of river wall in Hodgson-Rotary Park, which was a leftover part of a former mill foundation, was lowered to the same grade as the adjacent brick walkway. Iron fencing was installed atop the lowered wall, after which the benches in this area were reoriented toward the river. Restoration work was also completed in 2012-2018 on the site's three buildings, including exterior finishes and cupolas (see *Slater Mill, Historic Structure Report,* 2018).[238]

BLACKSTONE RIVER VALLEY NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

In July 2011, after several years of study, the NPS released a *Special Resource Study of the Blackstone River Valley*. The study determined if the sites and landscape features within the National Heritage Corridor that contributed to the understanding of the Blackstone River Valley as the birthplace of the industrial revolution in the America were eligible for inclusion as a unit of the National Park System. The study recommended several sites and features as part of "Management Option 3," which included the "Old Slater Mill National Historic Landmark District (+/- 4 acres)." Other resources included mill villages of Slatersville (in North Smithfield, RI), Ashton (in Cumberland, RI), Whitinsville (in Northbridge, MA) and Hopedale, MA, and the "Blackstone River and the tributaries of Blackstone River, and the Blackstone Canal." The historical park would be a "partnership park," similar to New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park and Boston National Historical Park, with the NPS owning very little property and instead working with private property owners, non-profits, and historic sites. For example, Slater Mill Historic Site would continue to be owned by the OSMA but operated with support from the NPS.[239]

A bill to establish the Blackstone River Valley National Historical Park within the existing National Heritage Corridor was introduced in Congress in October 2011. The purpose of the park was to help preserve, protect, and interpret the nationally significant resources that exemplified the industrial heritage of the Blackstone River Valley. The park would support the preservation, protection, and interpretation of the urban, rural, and agricultural landscape features (including the Blackstone River and Canal) of the region that provide an overarching context for the industrial heritage of the Blackstone River Valley.[240] On December 19, 2014, President Barack Obama signed the legislation that established the park, the 402nd park in the system. The same legislation also extended the authorization of the Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor for six years, through

the end of Fiscal Year 2021, and added the Town of Auburn, Massachusetts, and additional portions of Providence, Rhode Island to the Corridor.[241]

In January 2021 the NPS announced it had acquired Old Slater Mill and other key historic buildings in the Slater Mill Historic District, but not the upper dam. The 4.23-acre donation from OSMA to the NPS was finalized on March 31, 2021.[242]

PLANNING STUDIES

Concurrent with the recent National Historical Park designation, several planning projects have been completed for the Pawtucket area. They include the *Pawtucket Downtown Design Plan* (2011), *River Corridor Management Plan* (2013), and the *Pawtucket Comprehensive Plan* (2017). The plans have impacted the Slater Mill Historic Site through improvements to transportation linkages and infrastructure, views and public access, and interpretation and education. The three plans are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, Preliminary Treatment Recommendations.

LANDSCAPE SUMMARY AND EXISTING CONDITIONS PLAN, 2021

See the next chapter, Analysis and Evaluation, for a description of existing conditions, as well as Drawing 4, 2021 Existing Conditions.

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ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

This chapter summarizes existing National Historic Landmark and National Register of Historic Places documentation for the Slater Mill Historic Site, and provides recommendations for future National Register documentation. The site's recent inclusion within the Blackstone River Valley National Historical Park is examined as it pertains to an evaluation of the landscape's significance. Lastly the site's landscape characteristics and associated features are evaluated to determine the extent to which they retain their historic significance and historic character from the period of significance (1793-1925).

EXISTING NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK AND NATIONAL REGISTER EVALUATIONS

The preservation of historic properties and resources that reflect our American heritage became a national policy through the passage of the Antiquities Act of 1906, the Historic Sites Act of 1935, and the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended. The Historic Sites Act authorized the Secretary of the Interior to identify properties of national significance (National Historic Landmarks) in United States history and archeology. The National Historic Preservation Act authorized the Secretary to expand this recognition to properties of local and state significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture. The National Register of Historic Places is the official federal list of these recognized properties.

According to the National Register, some part of a property's districts, sites, buildings, structures, or objects must meet at least one of the four criteria defined by the National Register of Historic Places Program. The properties must also have sufficient integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, or association.

- Criterion A: Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of history; or
- Criterion B: Associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
- Criterion C: Embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, method of construction, or represent the work of a master, or possess high artistic val-

ues, or represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

- Criterion D: Yield or be likely to yield information on prehistory or history.

A National Historic Landmark (NHL) is typically identified through "theme studies" that consider related properties within a specific historic context, or through special studies of individual properties. The aspects of a NHL nomination that differ from a National Register nomination are national significance, national context, high level of integrity, and a different set of criteria.

- Criterion 1: Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained; or
- Criterion 2: That are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States; or
- Criterion 3: Represent some great idea or ideal of the American people; or
- Criterion 4: Embody the distinguishing characteristics or an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for the study of a period, style, or method of construction, or that represent a significant, distinctive, and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- Criterion 5: That are composed of integral parts of the environment not sufficiently significant by reason of historical association or artistic merit to warrant individual recognition but collectively compose an entity or exceptional historical or artistic significance, or outstandingly commemorate or illustrate a way of life or culture; or
- Criterion 6: That have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation of large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have yielded, or which may reasonably be expected to yield, data affecting theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree.

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK STATUS

"Old Slater Mill" was designated a National Historic Landmark on November 13, 1966 under NHL Criterion 1, Theme XVII-b, "Commerce and Industry." According to the 1965 NHL documentation form:

> "Old Slater Mill in Pawtucket memorializes the beginning of the cotton spinning industry in the United States. Using British-inspired machinery, the mill opened in 1793 and not only made its owners wealthy but stimulated widespread imitation in America."[1]

The form described Samuel Slater's early training and relocation to America, his establishment of the mill in Pawtucket, and his successful career that peaked in 1829. The form also described the mill's original construction and later additions, and restoration of the building in 1924-1925 by the Old Slater Mill Association (OSMA) to the "way it appeared in about 1840." The form did not describe any other resources, but according to correspondences with the NHL Program Office, the designation also included the Wilkinson Mill, the Sylvanus Brown House (moved to the lot north of the mill in 1962), and surrounding park land that collectively became known as the 4.23-acre Slater Mill Historic Site (see below).[2] At the time of the NHL designation, obtaining the North, South, and East Lots, which were then privately owned and partially filled with buildings, was under consideration by the OSMA in conjunction with the city's Slater Urban Renewal Plan.

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES STATUS

As an NHL, Old Slater Mill was automatically listed in the National Register of Historic Places on November 13, 1966, and was the first property to be listed in the National Register. However, it was not until March 12, 1976, that a documentation form for "Old Slater Mill/Slater Mill Historic Site" was prepared and accepted by the Keeper of the National Register. The documentation form identified national significance in the areas of Industry and Invention under Criterion A for the periods 1700-1799 and 1800-1899, with the specific date of 1793, the year the original mill was completed and began production. According to the documentation form:

> "Pawtucket, Rhode Island has been called the birthplace of America's 'Industrial Revolution.' Here, the English immigrant Samuel Slater perfected America's first successful water-powered spinning machinery in 1790 and, together with the Providence merchants William Almy and Smith Brown, built this country's first successful cotton mill in 1793. Based on this beginning, together with the machine-building skills of local craftsmen who had earlier erected forges and mills for lumber and grain at Pawtucket Falls, the American textile industry was launched."[3]

In addition to describing Old Slater Mill, the form described the Wilkinson Mill (1810), Sylvanus Brown House (1758, moved to present location in 1972), and the two dams (1718, 1792), and noted that "extant parts of the early waterwheel machinery under the mill structures are important features associated with the Slater Mill and form a complex which well illustrates the work done there." The Slater Mill Historic Site was classified as a 4.23-acre district comprised of around "four acres of parkland" surrounding the two dams built at the falls of the Blackstone River (see Figure 0.2).[4]

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

The period of significance is the span of time for which a property attains historic significance based on National Register criteria. The period usually begins when a significant event or construction began giving the property its historical significance. The dates are also tied to resources that have historic integrity, which is the extent to which a property retains its historic appearance.

Documentation associated with the 1966 National Historic Landmark designation or the 1976 National Register listing does not clearly articulate a period of significance for Slater Mill Historic Site. However, an analysis of both documentation forms suggests the current period of significance is 1793-1925. The period begins when Old Slater Mill and the raceways were completed and operational, establishing the first cotton mill in the nation. The period ends when the OSMA completed the Colonial Revival restoration effort at the mill and cleared the remaining buildings and structures on the Slater Lot.[5]

OTHER NATIONAL REGISTER DOCUMENTED RESOURCES

Several National Register-listed resources are located near the Slater Mill Historic Site. Those that are the visible from the site are the 1858 Main Street Bridge (local level of significance, November 18, 1983) and the 1893-1894 South Bridge Mill Power Plant (state level, November 18, 1983) to the south; the 1867 Pawtucket Congregational Church (state level, September 18, 1978) to the east; and the 1935 Pawtucket City Hall (state level, November 18, 1983) to the north. To the west is the Downtown Pawtucket Historic District (state level, April 5, 2007), encompassing part of Pawtucket's central business district where the greatest concentration of historic buildings still survives, and where the streetscapes still provide a strong sense of a late nineteenth and early twentieth century urban center despite the loss of some buildings and the intrusion of some modern structures.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE NATIONAL REGISTER DOCUMENTATION

The following individual landscape features are not adequately described in the site's existing National Historic Landmark and National Register documentation forms, and should be further developed in future updates.

Great Flume and Tailrace

The Great Flume and tailrace are significant in the areas of Industry and Invention, for their crucial roles in harnessing and processing water to power Old Slater Mill, as well as factories located downstream. The Great Flume and tailrace

were built in 1793, and the tailrace was enlarged in 1828-1832. The flume began along the riverbank east of the mill and channeled river water under the east side of mill where it turned the waterwheels. The water would then either exit the mill through a tailrace on the southwest side of the mill or flow south through the flume until it narrowed through the so-called "Swift Flume" and then into Sargeant's Trench, which passed under Main Street and supplied water power to the factories below Pawtucket Falls. The floors of the flume and tailrace were covered in wood planks and reinforced with stone walls. Gates were erected to control the flow of water through the flume, while the outlet of the tailrace was reinforced with a stone arch as a buttress against the flow of the river. The Great Flume and tailrace were restored in 1924-1925, and although part of the raceway has been filled in, the remaining open sections, and the tailrace, have been maintained since that time.

River Walls / Foundation Walls

The river walls/foundation walls are significant in the areas of Industry and Invention, for their important roles in protecting the factories and workshops from the waters of the Blackstone River. The stone walls were in place by c.1840, and in the South and East Lots these walls were incorporated into the foundations walls of the mills alongside the river. After the historic period, the portion of the river wall in the North Lot and Slater Lot (east of mill) was rebuilt by the Works Progress Administration by 1940. When factory buildings in the South and East Lots were removed, the foundation walls were retained to continue their roles in protecting the riverbank.

Foundation Remnants

The remnant foundation in the East Lot are significant in the areas of Industry and Invention, as the only above ground representation of the many buildings and structures that covered the East Lot during the historic period. The foundation has been backfilled and planted with grass, but is clearly discernible in the landscape. There are likely other buried building foundations and possibly the raceway in the East Lot, as well as in the three lots on the west side of the river.

Bridge over Great Flume

The bridge over the Great Flume is significant in the areas of Industry and Invention, as the primary means of crossing the raceway in the Slater Lot during the historic period. This crossing appears to have been present by c.1869, but may have existed as early as c.1823 to provide access over the raceway that was bordered by buildings and structures. The bridge was retained after other buildings were removed on the Slater Lot in 1925, and would have been the only practical way of reaching the river in this area.

LEGISLATIVE AND POLICY CONTEXT FOR EVALUATION

Slater Mill Historic Site became part of the Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor on November 10, 1986, which encompassed 20 communities in Massachusetts and Rhode Island in recognition of the region's pivotal role in the early industrialization of America.[6] Boundary revisions in 1996 and 2014 increased the number of communities to 25. On November 29, 1999 the Corridor was redesignated as the John H. Chafee Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor.[7]

In July 2011 the NPS released a Special Resource Study of the Blackstone River Valley, which determined if the sites and landscape features within the National Heritage Corridor that contributed to the understanding of the Blackstone River Valley as the birthplace of the industrial revolution in America were eligible for inclusion as a unit of the National Park system. The study recommended several sites and features, including the "Old Slater Mill National Historic Landmark District (+/-4 acres)." On December 19, 2014, President Barack Obama signed the legislation that established Blackstone River Valley National Historical Park, the 402nd park in the system.[8] The park was created out of a smaller portion of the National Heritage Corridor, and both park units now exist as cooperative entities.

A National Historical Park (NHP) is an area that generally extends beyond single properties or buildings, and its resources include a mix of historic and sometimes significant natural features. As such, the park is not itself 'historic,' but can be called 'historical' when it contains historic resources. In other words, it is the resources that are historic, not the park.[9]

To date no National Register documentation has been completed for the NHP, but several individual properties and historic districts within its boundaries, such as Slater Mill Historic Site, are designated National Historic Landmarks and listed in the National Register. Historical units of the national park system such as NHPs are by default listed on the National Register by law as required by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. All physical components of such parks are considered "listed" in the National Register whether or not they are identified in a National Register nomination.[10] The two following sections of this report consider previously unevaluated landscape characteristics and features that are not articulated in the 1976 National Register documentation.

EVALUATION OF LANDSCAPE SIGNIFICANCE

The National Register documentation form used the term "parkland" to describe the 4.23-acre area surrounding the two dams and the cluster of three historic structures – Old Slater Mill, Wilkinson Mill, Sylvanus Brown House – at the west

end of the upper dam. In addition to the Slater Lot, the remainder of the site includes, Hodgson-Rotary Park (South Lot), Slater Mill Park (East Lot), and a parking lot (North Lot). The documentation form did not evaluate the significance of the landscape, or describe or evaluate any specific landscape features within these areas.

In the early 1920s all four lots were densely packed with buildings and structures housing small manufacturers, commercial businesses, and residences, set within crowded streets and narrow alleys. At the same time, the Old Slater Mill Association was established to "forever preserve, maintain and use the said premises as a public memorial or museum in commemoration of the founding upon said premises of the first mill in America for the manufacture of cotton by Samuel Slater in the year 1793."[11] The OSMA purchased the Slater Lot, and by 1925 restored the Old Slater Mill to its 1830s appearance. The OSMA also removed all remaining buildings that stood on the Slater Lot. The intent was to replace the immediate area around the mill with open space comprised of lawns, trees, and paths that would improve the mill's setting. Creating such an aesthetically pleasing environment around a historic building was consistent with the Colonial Revival movement of the time, which encouraged Americans to visit sites connected with their Colonial heritage. There are no known landscape plans or designs for this area, and except for a portion of the Great Flume raceway, tailrace, and stone river walls, no traces of past buildings and structures were retained or interpreted. By 1940 a portion of the Great Flume was filled in and the stone river wall was rebuilt, but the museum in Old Slater Mill did not open until 1955.

In the early 1970s the OSMA expanded the site by restoring the c.1810 Wilkinson Mill and relocating and restoring the 1758 Sylvanus Brown House to a new location between the two mill buildings. Within this core area of three historic buildings, the OSMA reconfigured the existing landscape to improve access and aesthetics, as reported in the organization's newsletter; "This treatment will work well with our park development and many aspects of our exterior environment. But, beyond this, the outdoor spaces will also be durable and usable. The spaces will enhance the historic structures but respect the urban nature of the museum." As shown in plans and models from this period, the OSMA increased the amount of hardscape to "convey a sense that is more industrial than pastoral."[12]

Concurrent with these efforts, the OSMA acquired adjacent lands to the north and south, and across the river to the east (North, South, and East Lots), thus creating the 4.23-acre Slater Mill Historic Site. As part of Pawtucket's downtown urban renewal project, all remaining buildings in these lots were also razed. The South Lot and East Lots were laid out with paths, lawns, and trees and became known as Hodgson-Rotary Park and Slater Mill Park, respectively, while the North Lot was made into a parking area. According to the OSMA, the two park areas were intended to enhance the setting of the three historic buildings in the core; "Under

no circumstances is the exterior site work an attempt to recreate the original site of the Wilkinson and Slater mills. The Slater Mill site does not attempt to recreate an historic village of any sort."[13] Since the early 1970s, portions of the landscape at Slater Mill Historic Site have been updated with new walks, retaining walls, site furnishings, and wayside signs to improve accessibility and interpretation.

The landscape at Slater Mill Historic Site has undergone dramatic change, beginning with the removal of buildings and structures on the Slater Lot by 1925 and on the other three lots by the late 1960s. These decisions forever changed the site's historic character from a crowded and bustling industrial riverfront to a passive recreational greenspace. Therefore, the 4.23-acre landscape as a whole does not contribute to the property's National Register listing and historic character, and is not eligible for listing on the National Register. The three extant historic buildings and several individual landscape features – the Great Flume raceway, stone tailrace and arch, stone and concrete river walls/foundation walls, foundation remnants, and the bridge over the Great Flume – do contribute to the site's historic significance and character. However, other landscape features that dominate the site – walks, lawns, and plantings – do not contribute, but do serve as a contemporary setting for the site's remaining historic features.

EVALUATION OF LANDSCAPE CHARACTERISTICS AND FEATURES

This section presents an analysis of landscape characteristics and their associated features. It also includes an evaluation of whether the feature contributes to the property's National Register eligibility and historic character for the primary historic period (1793-1925), or if it is non-contributing, undetermined, or managed as a cultural resource. If a feature is non-contributing, it is evaluated as "compatible" (visually congruent with the historic character of the landscape) or "incompatible" (visually incongruent with the historic character of the landscape). For organizational purposes, some of the landscape evaluations are organized by the parcel in which they are located: Slater Lot, North Lot, South Lot, and East Lot (see Figure 0.4). At the end of this chapter is a table that summarizes the evaluations, and Drawing 4, Existing Conditions.

NATURAL SYSTEMS AND FEATURES, TOPOGRAPHY

Historic Conditions and Existing Conditions

Natural systems and features are the natural aspects that have influenced the development and physical form of the landscape, and can include geology, geomorphology, hydrology, ecology, climate, and native vegetation. Topography is the three-dimensional configuration of the landscape surface characterized by features (such as slope and articulation) and orientation (such as elevation and solar aspect).

The glaciers that once covered the Blackstone River Valley left behind a landscape of gently rolling hills and rocky acidic soils.[14] The valley lies within two major physiographic regions, the Narragansett Basin and the New England Upland Region. Topography ranges from the low hills and plains of less than 200 feet above sea level in the Narragansett Basin (located in the southern portion of the valley) to elevations ranging from 300 to over 1,000 feet above sea level in the New England Region (located in the northern portion). The soil profile in the valley is typically fine deposits (flood plains only) underlain by glacial outwash or till, and bedrock. The fine deposits are a loose mixture of clay, silt, and sand that may or may not be sorted. The outwash and till are dense heterogeneous mixtures of clay, silt, sand, gravel, cobbles, and boulders.[15]

Flowing through the valley is the Blackstone River, which begins at an elevation of approximately 1,300 feet at the confluence of the Middle River and Mill Brook in Worcester, Massachusetts, and then travels southeasterly into Rhode Island and eventually empties into Narragansett Bay at Providence. Along its 48-mile course the river drops 438 vertical feet as it passes through the second and third largest population centers in New England – Worcester and Providence, respectively.[16] The last 50 feet of drop occurs in the river's final two-mile run through Pawtucket, most of which is at Pawtucket Falls, after which the river becomes tidal.[17]

The Blackstone Valley includes areas of farmland and forests. Commonly occurring tree species include red maple and white pine, as well as lesser amounts of white cedar and black spruce. Understory vegetation includes high bush blueberry, arrowwood, common elder, swamp azalea, skunk cabbage, and cinnamon fern. Riparian habitat in the valley is primarily dominated by red maple, with white pine and oak common in drier locations. Typical species in scrub-shrub riparian habitat include alder, dogwood, willow, and buttonbush.[18]

Indigenous habitation in the valley likely altered the natural systems and topography through development of trails, fisheries, shell middens, and other features. Beginning in the late 1600s, these landscape characteristics were manipulated by European settlers. At Pawtucket Falls, vegetation was cleared away to build workshops and factories, and the river was impounded by dams that diverted wa-

Figure 2.1. View looking west at the Slater Lot, 2019. The Old Slater Mill's stone foundation, stone retaining walls, and earthen banks define the river edge. (Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation [hereafter OCLP] 2019, DSC-5478)

ter into raceways dug into the riverbanks. These conditions and events led to the birth of the American Industrial Revolution.

Slater Lot

The Slater Lot sits astride the Blackstone River, which flows over the upper dam, dropping around six feet in elevation. At the dam the river edge is defined by the stone foundation of Old Slater Mill (Figure 2.1). Above the dam the river is bound by a stone retaining wall, as well as an earthen bank covered in riparian vegetation that slopes from the wall down to the river. Below the dam the river is bound by the stone walls and arch of the mill's tailrace.

The overall landform of the Slater Lot gradually slopes northwest to southeast, from an elevation of around 36 feet at Roosevelt Avenue to 30 feet at the land side of the river wall on the east side of the mill, and 20 feet at the land side of the river wall on the west side of the mill. In the western part of the lot the landform is bowl shaped, sloping down to an elevation of around 25 feet (Figure 2.2). The OSMA created this topography in the early 1970s by cutting into the fill slopes created by the widening of Roosevelt Avenue. This regrading project provided access to the basement level of the relocated Sylvanus Brown House and also revealed the lowest level of the adjacent Wilkinson Mill. The restored segments of the Great Flume raceway west of Old Slater Mill are around six feet below the adjacent grades, while the filled in portions of the flume east of the mill vary in elevation, sloping from 30 feet to around 24 feet (Figures 2.3, 2.4). The fill in

Figure 2.2. View looking northeast at the depressed landform in the western part of the Slater Lot, 2019. Pictured are the Sylvanus Brown House and the garden shed. The brick walk at image left was replaced with a concrete walk in late 2020. (OCLP 2019, DSC-5451)

Figure 2.3. View looking northeast at the restored Great Flume raceway and bridge crossing on the west side of Old Slater Mill. (OCLP 2020, IMG-20200105-120650)

Figure 2.4. View looking north at the partially-filled Great Flume on the east side of Old Slater Mill. (OCLP 2021, IMG-20210111-142600)

Figure 2.5. View looking north at the stone river wall and earthen bank that defines the river's edge in the North Lot. (OCLP 2021, P1010043)

Figure 2.6. View looking north at a portion of the parking lot concrete retaining wall in the North Lot. The entrance to the lot is in the background at image right. (OCLP 2021, P1010001)

Figure 2.7. View looking southwest at the stone river wall / foundation walls that define the river's edge in the South Lot. (OCLP 2021, P1010011)

Figure 2.8. View looking north at the topography in the South Lot, known as Hodgson-Rotary Park. Concrete retaining walls account for the change in grade between the park and Roosevelt Avenue to the west. (OCLP 2019, DSC-5440)

Figure 2.9. View looking northwest at part of the restored Great Flume as it enters the Wilkinson Mill. (OCLP 2020, IMG-20200105-120440)

Figure 2.10. View looking east at the upper dam and the river's edge on the East Lot. (OCLP 2020, IMG-20200223-130935)

the raceway has hidden a unique topographic feature at the site – the peninsula-shaped landform that extended east from the mill and separated the raceway from the river.

North Lot

The North Lot sits along the Blackstone River, which at this point in its course is characterized by flat water conditions created by the pool above the upper dam, located just downstream. The river edge is defined by a stone retaining wall fronted by an earthen bank covered in riparian vegetation, as well as weed trees such as Ailanthus altissima (Figure 2.5).

The overall landform of the North Lot generally slopes west to east, from an elevation around 38 feet at Roosevelt Avenue to around 32 feet at the land side of the river wall. On the west side of the lot, a portion of the landform is depressed around three feet for the parking lot (Figure 2.6). This condition was created in the early 1970s by cutting into the fill slopes associated with the widening of Roosevelt Avenue.

South Lot

The South Lot borders the Blackstone River, which at this point in its course is characterized by fast-moving water conditions created by water flowing over the upper dam just upstream and over the lower dam, which stands just above Pawtucket Falls. The river edge is defined by a stone retaining wall, itself comprised of remnant foundations of former mills and factories (Figure 2.7).

The overall landform of the South Lot generally slopes northwest to southeast, from an elevation of around 32 feet along Roosevelt Avenue to between 22-27 feet at the land side of the river wall. Most of the lot features level topography except along the south and west edges, where the sloped topography is defined by sets of steps associated with the patio around the Cogswell Monument, a sloped planting bed set within two retaining walls, steps and an accessible pedestrian ramp, and a sloped vehicular driveway (Figure 2.8). The restored segment of the Great Flume that enters the South Lot is around 6-8 feet below the adjacent grade, but there are no longer any above-ground traces of the Swift Flume or Sargeant's Trench raceways that tracked through the South Lot (Figure 2.9).

East Lot

The East Lot borders the Blackstone River, which flows over the upper dam, dropping around six feet in elevation, and the lower dam at the top of Pawtucket Falls, dropping another 30 feet. Above the upper dam the water flows slowly, but quickens after flowing over the upper dam and then tumbling over the lower dam and through the falls (Figures 2.10, 2.11). The river edge is defined by a stone retaining

wall and a small overlook with built-in steps. The portion of the wall from the steps to the lower dam is fronted by an earthen bank filled with riparian vegetation (Figure 2.12). The bank itself is comprised of two barely discernible lines of large stones.

The overall landform of the East Lot generally slopes southeast to northwest, from an elevation ranging from 35-50 feet along Broadway to around 30 feet on the land side of the river wall. The slopes of this lot average approximately 20 percent. At the far east end of the lot, remnant foundation walls of one of the Dexter Yarn Company buildings retains the hillside just above the river wall. There are no longer any above-ground traces of the raceway in the East Lot.

LAND USE

Historic Condition (to 1925)

Land uses are the principal activities in a landscape that form, shape, and organize the landscape as a result of human interaction. Through the seventeenth century, Pawtucket Falls was an important trail crossing for Native Americans and gathering place to fish and hunt. The river's abundant water power and wooded banks then attracted European settlers, including Joseph Jenckes, Jr. who arrived in 1671 to establish a forge, saw mill, and carpenter shop. The falls proved to be an ideal site for inventors like Samuel Slater, who with his partners built the country's first successful water-powered roller spinning textile mill in 1793. Other artisans and craftsmen followed, building their workshops and factories alongside the river and falls, and growing the small village of Pawtucket into a thriving city. Commercial and residential buildings sprang up along new streets extending from the Main Street Bridge, creating a densely-packed collection of manufactories and businesses.

In the early 1900s many of the factory buildings had fallen into disrepair, and some, such as those in the east half of the North Lot, were removed. At this time there was interest to preserve the Old Slater Mill as a local landmark before it too deteriorated any further. In 1920 S. Willard Thayer bought the mill to save it, and in 1923 the Old Slater Mill Association took possession and removed all the other buildings and structures on the Slater Lot, including Samuel Slater's former home. The mill itself was envisioned as a museum commemorating the accomplishments of Samuel Slater. On the other three lots, however, industrial, commercial, and residential activities continued.

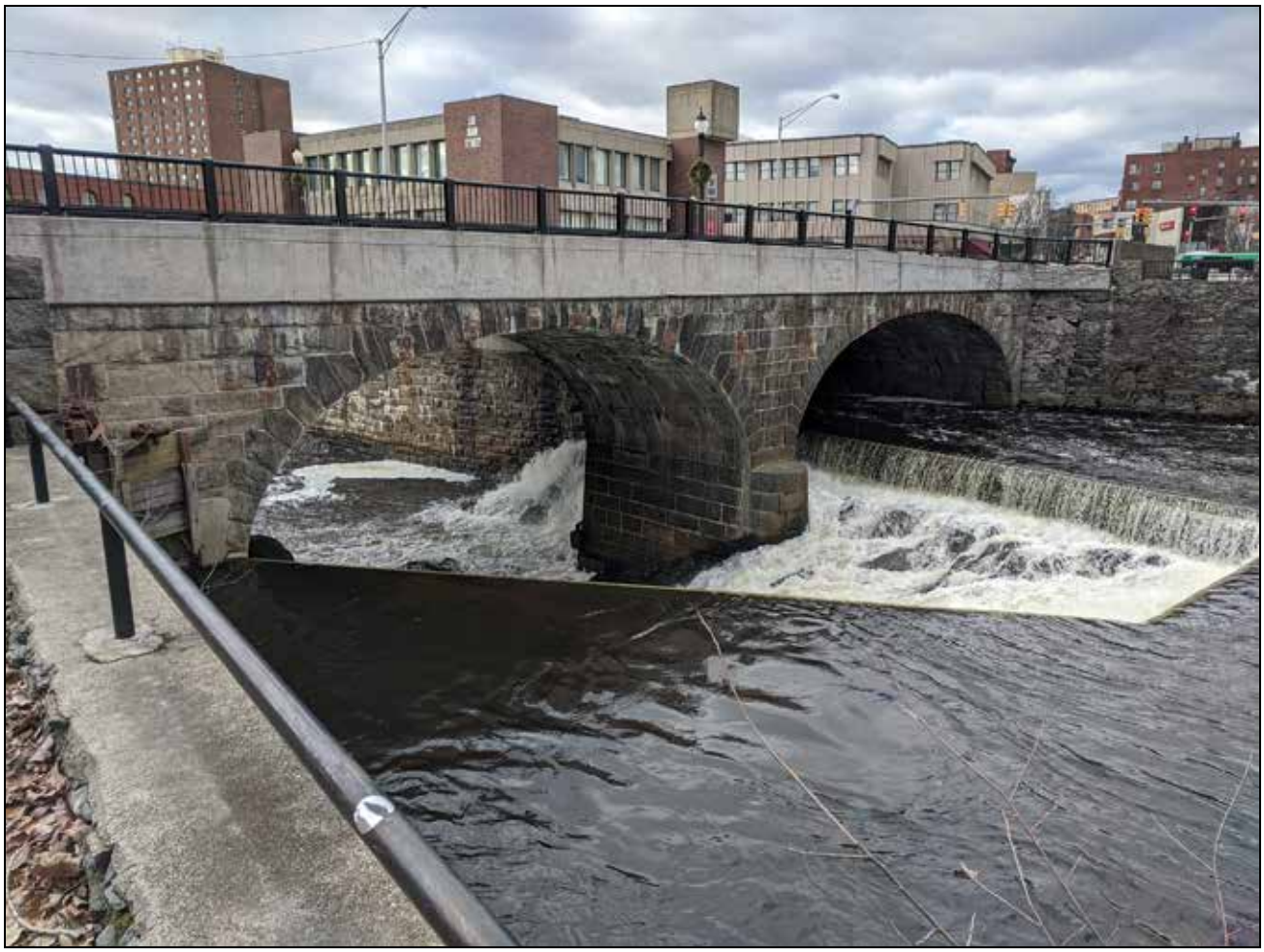

Figure 2.11. View looking west at the Main Street Bridge and the lower dam above Pawtucket Falls. (OCLP 2020, IMG-20200105-122315)

Figure 2.12. View looking east at the stone river wall and earthen bank on the East Lot, known as Slater Mill Park. (OCLP 2020, IMG-20200105-122156)

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions

The OSMA added paths and landscape around Old Slater Mill, but plans to open the building as a museum were delayed until 1955. In the early 1970s, the Slater Mill Historic Site expanded their interpretive programming to include the Wilkinson Mill and the relocated Sylvanus Brown House, all of which were set in a landscape of lawns, trees, gardens, and paths. In the three adjacent lots, land use change was even more dramatic, as industrial, commercial, and residential uses gradually gave way to recreational uses by the late 1960s and early 1970s. The new park spaces and parking lot improved access to the river itself, which had for centuries been obscured by industrial uses.

Slater Lot

The Slater Lot represents the core of the Slater Mill Historic Site. Old Slater Mill houses a museum and gift shop on the first floor and event and exhibit space on the second floor. The building is normally open March through November for museum tours, and by appointment during the winter months. A portion of the restored Great Flume passes under the mill and is watered for interpretive purposes. The Sylvanus Brown House is typically open as part of the guided museum tour, and contains a loom, spinning wheels, and other tools used to make cloth by hand. Period herb and textile gardens are on display west and south of the house.

North Lot

The primary use of the North Lot is parking for visitors to Slater Mill Historic Site, as well as patrons conducting business at Pawtucket City Hall just to the north. The parking lot covers the entire lot and features marked parked spaces along the north, west, and south sides, and spaces perpendicular to the three interior islands oriented north-south.

South Lot

The Wilkinson Mill houses a replica breast wheel in the basement and an interpretive workshop on the first floor that includes all the belts used to power the equipment. The offices and archives of the OSMA occupy the upper floors. A portion of the restored Great Flume terminates on the east end of the Wilkinson Mill, and is watered for interpretive purposes. The remainder of the South Lot is occupied by Hodgson-Rotary Park and is open for passive recreation and special events. A series of walkways lead to various lawn areas and benches, which provide views of the Blackstone River. The sidewalk along Roosevelt Avenue currently includes a bus shelter and also serves as a segment of the Blackstone River Bikeway.

The South Lot has also been the site of the City of Pawtucket's annual Christmas display, which included a creche for about 40 years. This led to the 1984 U.S.

Supreme Court Case, Lynch v. Donnelly, about the legality of including a religious symbol in a city sponsored Christmas display.[19]

East Lot

The East Lot is also known as Slater Mill Park, a passive recreational area. Unlike Hodgson-Rotary Park, there are no paths or seating areas. The overlook and steps to the riverbank are currently closed, but there are still views available to the river. This area's main purpose is to provide views to Old Slater Mill, and to block views from the mill to the buildings to the south and east with masses of evergreens.

SPATIAL ORGANIZATION

Historic Condition (to 1925)

Spatial organization is the three-dimensional organization of physical forms and visual associations in a landscape, including the articulation of ground, vertical, and overhead planes that define and create spaces. The layout of built features and spaces around Pawtucket Falls was driven by the course of the Blackstone River and adjacent raceways, which supplied water power to the various buildings erected alongside them. Beginning in 1713, the Main Street Bridge that spanned the falls became another early organizing feature, as new turnpike routes and local streets were built to connect to the bridge. These roads were generally oriented parallel and perpendicular to the river and the bridge, and in between them lot lines were laid out, including those of the Slater, North, South, and East Lots by 1856. Together, the roads and lot lines shaped the sizes and designs of subsequent buildings and structures at the falls, and the workyards and alleys between them. Spatial organization became less defined beginning in 1902 when the east half of the North Lot was cleared, and again in 1925 when the Slater Lot was cleared (except for Old Slater Mill).

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions

From the end of the historic period to the late 1960s and early 1970s, the masses of buildings and structures in the North, South, and East Lots were gradually removed and replaced with lawns and trees, leaving Old Slater Mill and Wilkinson Mill as the site's only built vertical elements. By 1973, the Sylvanus Brown House was added to the site, creating a core of three buildings that exists today. Beyond this core the most predominant vertical elements are trees, while lawns and paths define the ground plane. Like the buildings that once stood here, these public open spaces are oriented toward the river.

Slater Lot

The Slater Lot is bound by the former alignment of Slater Avenue and the North Lot to the north, the Blackstone River and the upper dam to the east, the South Lot and Wilkinson Mill to the south, and Roosevelt Avenue to the west. The Slater Lot, and Old Slater Mill in particular, serve as the focal points of the historic site. The 2.5-story Old Slater Mill is generally oriented north-south, aligned with the upper dam and perpendicular to the river's edge and the Great Flume. The 1.5-story Sylvanus Brown House stands northwest of the mill and is generally oriented northeast-southwest, parallel to Roosevelt Avenue and perpendicular to Slater Avenue. The Old Slater Mill and the Brown House are two of the three buildings that comprise the core area of Slater Mill Historic Site. The third building is the 3.5-story Wilkinson Mill (in the South Lot), which marks the south edge of the Slater Lot and stands perpendicular to Roosevelt Avenue. A series of walkways and patios aligned orthogonally with the buildings direct visitors through the core area. Lawns and demonstration gardens border the walks, along with scattered trees and shrubs. The varying heights and massing of the three buildings, and the configuration of walkways, lawns, and vegetation, combine to create narrow and focused viewsheds in the Slater Lot.

North Lot

The North Lot is bound by Leather Avenue to the north, the Blackstone River to the east, the former Slater Avenue to the south, and Roosevelt Avenue to the west. The layout of the North Lot reflects its use as a parking lot, with painted stall lines around its perimeter and within its interior. Panels of grass with scattered trees separate the parking lot from the two adjacent streets, the stone river wall and riparian vegetation delineates the east edge, and a sidewalk defines the south edge along what was once Slater Avenue.

South Lot

The South Lot is bound by the Slater Lot and Old Slater Mill to the north, the Blackstone River and the lower dam to the east, Main Street and the Main Street Bridge to the south, and Roosevelt Avenue to the west. The 3.5-story Wilkinson Mill stands at the north edge of the South Lot and is perpendicular to Roosevelt Avenue. The mill is one of the three buildings that comprise the core area of Slater Mill Historic Site. The layout of the remainder of the lot is defined by walkways and retaining walls in Hodgson-Rotary Park that parallel the river and the two roads. Between these features are lawn areas of various sizes, dotted with trees. At the corner of Roosevelt Avenue and Main Street, the Cogswell Monument and its surrounding patio serves as a focal point and entrance to the park. The presence of the Wilkinson Mill to the north, and the shrubs and trees along the west

and south edges of the park (as well as street trees on Roosevelt Avenue) contrasts with the open conditions along the east side of the lot.

East Lot

The East Lot is bound by the Manning-Heffern Funeral Home to the north, Broadway to the east, Main Street and the Main Street Bridge to the south, and the Blackstone River to the west. The East Lot is known as Slater Mill Park, and features a retaining wall that parallels the river and separates the lot into two distinct areas. Above the wall is a mix of lawns and trees; the northern half is more open with trees and shrubs confined around the north and east edges, while the southern half is primarily trees. Below the wall and accessed by steps are two earthen banks roughly separated by boulders and filled with riparian vegetation.

BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES

Historic Condition (to 1925)

Buildings are elements constructed primarily for sheltering any form of human activity in a landscape, while structures are elements constructed for functional purposes other than sheltering human activity. The sheer number of buildings and structures at the site was indicative of the Blackstone River's capability in delivering water power. Mill and shop owners crowded their operations around the falls, riverbanks, and raceways, and over time added new floors and ells to builldings to increase production capacity or accommodate new tenants. Almy, Brown & Slater's mill reflects this timeline: after constructing their original 2.5-story building in 1793, the partners extended it to the north in 1801, to the south in 1818-1820, and added a stairtower in 1828-1832. Subsequent owners of Old Slater Mill added a 1-story west wing in c.1850, raised the entire building's foundation in 1855, extended the 1-story west wing in c.1869, and added a second floor to the west wing in c.1872. In 1925, the OSMA removed the mill's west wing, and restored the building to its c.1830s appearance. All other buildings on the Slater Lot were razed, including the home of Samuel Slater, dating to the 1790s, and the mill's gatehouse, built as a gangway by c.1823 and a gatehouse by c.1869.

While a majority of the buildings at the site were of wood construction, several others featured more fire-resistant materials, including the 3.5-story Wilkinson Mill, built in 1810-1811 with stone rubble. Like the Old Slater Mill, this mill was expanded with a stairtower in 1840, a chimney by 1902, and large multi-story wood-frame additions to the east. Stone was also used to build sturdy walls along both sides of the riverbank. Stone was also used to build sturdy walls along both sides of the riverbank. These walls also served as foundation walls for the mill buildings abutting the river.

Figure 2.13. View looking southeast at the west side of Old Slater Mill. Note the retaining wall, steeping stone path, and two concrete pads that once supported benches. (OCLP 2019, DSC-5351)

Figure 2.14. View looking south at the boiler house on the east side of the mill. (OCLP 2021, P1010012)

Figure 2.15. View looking north at the east side of the Sylvanus Brown House. (OCLP 2021, P1010026)

Figure 2.16. View looking south at the low granite retaining walls in the herb garden area. (OCLP 2019, DSC-5343)

Figure 2.17. View looking north at the Wilkinson Mill. (OCLP 2019, DSC-5415)

Figure 2.18. View looking northeast at the concrete retaining walls along the accessible ramp in Hodgson-Rotary Park. (OCLP 2021, P1010031)

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions

Slater Lot

Old Slater Mill was painted red in 1949 and then back to its original yellow color in 1975 (refer to the 2018 Historic Structures Report for a full description of projects at the mill) (Figure 2.13). The OSMA constructed a boiler house on the former peninsula on the east side of the mill in 1955. The wood-frame structure measures 15 by 12 feet and features a gable roof and yellow siding (Figure 2.14). In 1962 the OSMA relocated the 1758 Sylvanus Brown House to the site to save it from demolition, and moved it again 1972-1973 to its current location on a new foundation between the two extant mills. The 2-story house measures 30 by 20 feet and features a gambrel roof and red siding (Figure 2.15). In 2001, a small garden shed was built at the herb garden. It measures 13 by 8 feet and features a gable roof and red siding (see Figure 2.2).

The stone river wall east of the mill was rebuilt in 1940 by the Works Progress Administration (see Figure 2.1). In 1973 several retaining walls and steps were constructed in conjunction with new paths. Some of the walls were modified in 2001 and constructed with mortared stone (see Figure 2.13). Retaining walls in the herb garden area are comprised of large granite blocks, while smaller walls constructed with dimensional lumber are positioned on the hillsides above them to hold the slope and plantings (Figure 2.16).

North Lot

All remaining buildings were removed in the late 1960s. The stone river wall was rebuilt by 1940 by the Works Progress Administration, and in 1971 concrete retaining walls and a set of steps were constructed in the west edge of the lot to accommodate a parking lot (see Figure 2.6). In 2020 the retaining wall was shortened and the steps were removed as part of a redesign of the parking lot.

South Lot

The Wilkinson Mill's chimney and additions were removed in the 1930s and 1940s, and the building was restored in the early 1970s (Figure 2.17). As for the other South Lot buildings, around half were removed in the 1930s-1940s and the rest between 1967-1969. The stone foundations of factories that abutted the river were retained for use as a river wall (see Figure 2.7). A gap in the river wall was filled with new stone wall in 1970-1971, and a small segment of the river wall was lowered to meet the grade of the adjacent walk in 2014 (as part of a Federal Emergency Management Agency project). As part of the development of Hodgson-Rotary Park, concrete retaining walls and steps were built along the west edge of the lot to address the grade change between the park and Roosevelt Avenue (see Figure 2.8). Additional concrete retaining walls were built at the north end in

1991 for an accessible ramp between the park and street (Figure 2.18). That same year, the existing retaining walls were modified for the installation of new concrete retaining walls and steps around the Cogswell Monument (Figure 2.19). Walls were also reconfigured along Roosevelt Avenue to provide more space for a bus stop (Figure 2.20).

East Lot

The middle portion of the building and structures in the East Lot were removed by 1955, and the remainder were taken down by 1969 for the creation of Slater Mill Park. However, foundation walls incorporated into the river wall were retained. The foundations associated with one of the Dexter Company buildings were also retained to hold the steep grade at the north end of the lot (Figure 2.21). At this time repairs were made to the stone river wall, except for a section abutting the east end of the upper dam that was removed for a curved stone wall overlook, which included a set of stone steps leading down the riverbank (Figure 2.22). Two low stone walls were built parallel to the riverbank but are barely discernible today.

CONSTRUCTED WATER FEATURES

Historic Condition (to 1925)

Constructed water features are the built features and elements that utilize water for aesthetics or utilitarian functions. In 1714 Joseph Jenckes, Jr., along with his sons or others, constructed Sargeant's Trench, a raceway that originated just

Figure 2.19. View looking west at the concrete retaining walls and steps at the Cogswell Monument. (OCLP 2020, IMG-20200223-130908)

Figure 2.20. View looking northeast at the concrete retaining walls along Roosevelt Avenue. Note the extant and missing trees, which were installed in 1970 and formerly surrounded by low retaining walls. (OCLP 2019, DSC-5444)

Figure 2.21. View looking southeast at the remnant foundation wall in the East Lot. (OCLP 2019, DSC-5338)

Figure 2.22. View of the stone steps and walls at the overlook in the East Lot. (OCLP 2021, IMG-20210111-144529)

upstream from Pawtucket Falls and flowed southeast under Main Street. In 1718 a dam (now the lower dam) was constructed atop the falls to create a mill pond and improve the flow of water through Sargeant's Trench. The Jenckes family then extended the trench further upstream in the 1730s to increase the raceway's available water power. In 1793 Almy, Brown & Slater built a second dam (now the upper dam) around 300 feet upstream from the first (lower) dam for their new textile mill. This dam created an impoundment that fed two new connected raceways called the Great Flume and Swift Run, which then drained into the existing Sargeant's Trench. A short tailrace exited the southeast side of the mill and drained into the river, and was enlarged in 1828-1832 to accommodate a second water wheel. There was also a raceway built on the east end of the upper dam in 1797-1798 to power mills in the East Lot.

The floors of the Great Flume and tailrace were covered by wood planks and the sides were armored with stone walls. Additional reinforcement was built at the end of the tailrace in the form of a stone arch, which buttressed the tailrace walls against strong river currents during high water events. No details are known about the treatment of the floors or sides of the other raceways. A photograph from 1923 shows a footbridge across the inlet to the Great Flume, likely the top of a trash rack that intercepted river debris. As part of Old Slater Mill's restoration in 1925, the OSMA repaired some of the stone walls of the Great Flume and tailrace, and the stone arch. At this time the Great Flume ended at the Slater Lot/South Lot property line. It is not clear if water exited the raceway through a pipe, or if water was allowed to simply pool in the flume.

Figure 2.23. View looking northeast at the partially filled in Great Flume, and the stone headwall around the outlet of the penstock pipe (image mid-right). (OCLP 2021, P1010015)

Figure 2.24. View of the trash rack and gate at the inlet of the penstock pipe. (OCLP 2021, IMG-20210111-140514)

Figure 2.25. View of the tailrace stone walls and stone arch. (OCLP 2020, IMG-20200105-121104)

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions

Slater Lot

By 1940, in conjunction with reconstruction of the stone river wall, much of the Great Flume east of Old Slater Mill was filled in with soil. The grade of the fill at the river wall matched the grade of the adjacent Slater Avenue, and then beginning at around 60 feet from the east side of the mill, the fill gradually sloped down to meet the original grade of the flume (Figure 2.23). At the same time, a penstock was installed from the river into the flume to control the amount of water into the still-exposed portion of the raceway. The pipe was replaced in the 1980s and in 2012-2013 the inlet was rebuilt by creating an insert in the river wall to accommodate the machinery and trash rack (Figure 2.24). The stone walls and stone arch on the tailrace have been recently restored (Figure 2.25).

North Lot

No constructed water features were present historically in the North Lot.

South Lot

Historic maps indicate short sections of the Great Flume, Swift Run, and Sargeant's Trench raceways in the South Lot after the historic period, but their uses and configurations are unclear. It appears portions of the raceways were altered after 1923, and most were filled in by 1949, which corresponds to the first phase of buildings removals, after which the vacant land was used for parking. In 1981 archeologists confirmed the location of the Great Flume from the Slater Lot/ South Lot property line to the Wilkinson Mill, allowing for the reconstruction of the raceway and tailrace stone walls. This made it possible to have water in the Slater Lot portion of the Great Flume to flow into the new section, which via a check dam could be directed into the Wilkinson Mill or around it. Water exiting the raceway and Wilkinson tailrace was then directed into a new underground pipe that headed to the river (Figures 2.26, 2.27, see also Figure 2.9).

East Lot

Documentation of the raceway on the East Lot is minimal, but it appears that it was removed or filled in by 1955, likely around the same time that the first group of buildings had been razed. Old machinery associated with the raceway inlet is still visible, but its installation date requires additional research (Figure 2.28).

CIRCULATION

Historic Condition (to 1925)

Circulation refers to the spaces, features, and applied material finishes that constitute systems of movement in a landscape. The Native American crossing at Pawtucket Falls became the site of the village's first bridge in 1713. It was replaced by wood-frame structures in 1735-1741, 1817, 1842, and by a two-span stone arch structure in 1858. The Main Street Bridge was crucial to the development of Pawtucket Village and to the larger transportation network that connected the village to Providence and Boston. The Norfolk & Bristol Turnpike (later Front Street, now Broadway) was built on the east side of the bridge by 1803. Mill Street (later North Main Street, now Roosevelt Avenue) and Slater Avenue were constructed on the west side of the bridge by 1835, followed by Leather Avenue by 1870.

Connected to the local streets were numerous workyards and alleys that developed in the open spaces between the many buildings and structures. One of the earliest sketches of Old Slater Mill, from c.1840, shows a rough path leading to the stairtower, while a photograph from c.1869 shows a workyard on the north side of the mill and a wood footbridge on the west side of the mill spanning the Great Flume. Some of the alleys were named, including Spice Mill Way in the Slater Lot and Wilkinson Place and Spencer Court in the South Lot.

Figure 2.26. View looking northeast at the check dam on the Great Flume and the Wilkinson Mill tailrace. (OCLP 2020, IMG-20200105-120554)

Figure 2.27. View looking southeast at the pipe inlet that carries water from the Great Flume and the Wilkinson Mill tailrace back to the river. (OCLP 2020, IMG-20200105-120816)

Figure 2.28. View looking northwest at the remnants of the raceway inlet on the East Lot. (OCLP 2021, IMG-20210111-144655)

When buildings were razed the workyards and alleys between them also disappeared, as was the case in the east half of the North Lot by 1902. By 1925 all buildings and structures in the Slater Lot (except for the Old Slater Mill) were taken down, erasing all traces of circulation features except for a footbridge on the west side of the mill that spanned the Great Flume.

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions

The Main Street Bridge was rehabilitated and widened in 1968, adding a second span on the downstream side of the stone arch bridge, thus preserving its upstream stone façade. The total length of the bridge is 124 feet with its longest span being 40 feet and a width of 63 feet (see Figure 2.11).

Slater Lot

Although the museum in the Old Slater Mill did not officially open until 1955, the OSMA laid out a series of pea gravel walkways in 1925-1949. However, the paths only offered access within the Slater Lot, as the adjacent North and South Lots were still occupied by private businesses. In 1973 the configuration of walks in the Slater Lot was modified in response to the addition of the Sylvanus Brown House to the site. At this time, two patio areas were created, a small one on the north side of the Old Slater Mill, and a larger central patio located roughly in between the three buildings. As part of accessibility improvements in 2001, some paths were rebuilt to eliminate a set of steps on the walk near the Brown House. At this time, pea gravel surfaces were replaced with several types of paving material including concrete pavers, Belgian blocks, and bluestone bordered with bands of small mortared cobblestones (Figures 2.29, 2.30, 2.31, 2.32, 2.33). Paths in the herb and textile gardens remained as pea gravel and grass, respectively. In 2020 the brick walk along Roosevelt Avenue was replaced with a concrete sidewalk.

North Lot

In 1967-1969, the buildings in the west half of the North Lot were demolished, and by 1971 the informal parking lot that had occupied the east half of the lot was expanded west, at which time the entire lot was paved and striped. In 2020 the lot was redesigned, relocating the lot's ingress/egress from Roosevelt Avenue and Slater Avenue to two locations on Leather Avenue (Figure 2.34, see also Figure 2.6). The new configuration essentially eliminated Slater Avenue (although a street sign remains). Landscaped islands divide the lot into 82 marked spaces and 5 accessible spaces. The project also replaced brick walks along Roosevelt Avenue and the former Slater Avenue with slightly reconfigured concrete walks (Figure 2.35). Note: on the north side of the North Lot is a paved segment of the Blackstone River Bikeway that was built as part of the project. It is a continuation of a paved trail section on the east side of Pawtucket City Hall that opened in 2015.[20]

Figure 2.29. View looking northwest at the walk and wood footbridge on the west side of Old Slater Mill. (OCLP 2020, IMG-20200105-120946)

Figure 2.30. View looking southwest at the walk between Old Slater Mill and the Sylvanus Brown House. (OCLP 2019, DSC-5326)

Figure 2.31. View looking southwest at the patio on the north side of Old Slater Mill. (OCLP 2019, DSC-5368)

Figure 2.32. View looking north at the central patio area, in 2019. (OCLP 2019 DSC_5353)

Figure 2.33. View looking east at the paved walks heading down to the pea gravel walks in the herb garden (image far left). Note the grass paths in the textile garden. (OCLP 2019, DSC-5336)

Figure 2.34. View looking southeast at the recently-constructed entrance to the parking lot from Leather Avenue. The wide sidewalk accommodates the Blackstone River Bikeway. (OCLP 2021, IMG-20210111-142220)

Figure 2.35. View looking south the new sidewalks and trees along the former alignment of Slater Avenue. In the backgtround is the rehabilitated fence that surrounds part of the Slater Lot. Note the remnant street sign on the light post. (OCLP 2021, P1010004)

South Lot

As with the North Lot, alleyways and workyards in the South Lot remained intact until buildings were removed. The first period of building removals was over by 1949 when the east half of the lot was cleared and made into parking. The remaining buildings were gradually removed in the 1950s and 1960s, and in their place the parking area was expanded. The last of the buildings (except Wilkinson Mill) were taken down by 1969.

The parking lot in the South Lot was replaced in 1971 with Hodgson-Rotary Park. Circulation in the park was through a series of pea gravel paths laid out parallel the river and Roosevelt Avenue. The path along the river connected to the Main Street Bridge to the south and the path system in the Slater Lot to the north, which allowed visitors to easily move from one area of the site to another. At this time a short driveway was built on the south side of Wilkinson Mill to provide service access from Roosevelt Avenue down into the park. This driveway generally followed the route of the Wilkinson Place alley. By 1991 an accessible ramp was built next to the driveway and a granite block patio was constructed around the new Cogswell Monument. At this point all of the pea gravel surfaces in the park were replaced with brick pavers (Figures 2.36, 2.37, 2.38, see also Figure 2.8).

Figure 2.36. View looking southeast at plantings in Hodgson-Rotary Park. (OCLP 2019 DSC-5365)

Figure 2.37. View looking east at the granite patio surrounding the Cogswell Monument. (OCLP 2020, IMG-20200223-131053)

Figure 2.38. View looking northwest at the driveway connecting the park to Roosevelt Avenue. (OCLP 2020, IMG-20200105-120804)

Figure 2.39. View looking northeast at the overlook and steps in the East Lot. (OCLP 2021, IMG-20210111-144804)

East Lot

Of all lots that comprise Slater Mill Historic Site, the East Lot likely had the least number of workyards and alleyways due to the tightly-packed arrangement of buildings and the steep topography. Rather, circulation was likely by way of footbridges and boardwalks, some of which appear in historic Sanborn maps. The lot's first buildings were removed by 1955, after which these areas became an informal parking lot until the lot's last buildings were razed in 1969. At that time the parking was removed and entire lot was planted with lawns and trees as part of the new Slater Mill Park. In 1970-1971 part of the stone river wall at the east end of the upper dam was removed for a walled overlook area and staircase that accessed the riverbank below. The overlook and stairs remain as the only constructed circulation feature in the East Lot. Scouring from river water flow is evident at the bottom of the overlook walls (Figure 2.39).

VEGETATION

Historic Conditions (to 1925)

Vegetation includes deciduous and evergreen trees, shrubs, vines, groundcovers, and herbaceous plants and plant communities, whether indigenous or introduced in the landscape. The riverbanks at Pawtucket Falls were likely covered in vegetation when Joseph Jenckes, Jr. arrived in 1671, but eventually much of it was cut down for building material and firewood. Jenckes himself probably downed trees to build his forge and other structures, and to make way for the Sargeant's Trench raceway. Almy, Brown & Slater, as well as the Wilkinsons, likely removed

vegetation to construct their mills and the Great Flume and Swift Run raceways. However, sketch maps from 1796 and 1823 show that at least one tree was saved – a large elm at a bend in Sargeant's Trench, in what is today's South Lot. It is unknown how long this tree survived.

Several sketches of Old Slater Mill from the 1840s show trees and shrubs along the edge of the river. Although the artists may have added some plantings for effect, the presence of vegetation is confirmed in an 1856 photograph. Over the next seventy-five years, trees and shrubs grew along the river edges, at the tailrace stone arch, on an adjacent stone jetty, and on the peninsula. These were the only spaces where plants could grow, as the rest of Pawtucket Falls area was occupied by streets, buildings, alleys, and workyards.

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions

Slater Lot

After removing the buildings and structures, the OSMA planted lawns and trees on the Slater Lot to improve the setting around Old Slater Mill. For a brief period there were lilacs planted along the mill's foundation. Volunteer vegetation was periodically allowed to grow at the tailrace arch and in the Great Flume where the fill slope met the water. A large tree on the peninsula that likely dated to the late 1800s was removed in 1955 to build the boiler house. A demonstration garden was planted on the east side of the mill in the 1950s, but was removed in the early 1970s, around the same time plantings were updated in conjunction with new walks and patios. The plantings were updated again in 2001 when the circulation system was improved for accessibility. At this time OSMA installed two new demonstration gardens on the south and west sides of the Sylvanus Brown House, focused on textiles and herbs, respectively. Today, shrubs and shade trees that include ash, red maple, beech, cedar, pear, crabapple, and lilac dot the well-maintained lawns, while the two gardens are thriving and carefully maintained (Figures 2.40, 2.41, 2.42, 2.43). The park has recently removed some of the vegetation in the Great Flume, mostly weedy ailanthus and rose.

North Lot

Ornamental trees, red maples, white pines, and grass were planted on the edges of the parking lot around 1970. Reconfiguration of the parking lot in 2020 included removal of trees that had declined in health and stumps of previously cut trees, but several mature trees on the north and west edges of the lot were retained. Additional young trees were planted along the north and west edges, as well new trees and shrubs in the newly built parking lot islands, along Roosevelt Avenue, and along the former alignment of Slater Avenue (Figure 2.44, see also Figure 2.35).

Figure 2.40. View looking northwest at the red maple and lilacs at the Wilkinson Mill. (OCLP 2019, DSC-5360)

Figure 2.41. View looking southwest at the yellowood tree on the east side of Old Slater Mill. (OCLP 2019, DSC-5377)

Figure 2.42. View looking southeast at the textile garden. (OCLP 2019, DSC-5334)

Figure 2.43. View looking north at the herb garden. (OCLP 2019, DSC-5338)

Figure 2.44. View looking northwest at some of the new trees in the parking lot, planted in late 2020. Mature trees dating to the 1970s and in good health were retained along the north and west edges of the lot. (OCLP 2021, IMG-20210111-140748)

Figure 2.45. View looking south at plantings in the South Lot, known as Hodgson-Rotary Park. At image right is a restored turbine from Old Slater Mill. (OCLP 2019, DSC-5408)

Figure 2.46. View looking northeast at lawns and trees in the East Lot, known as Slater Mill Park, and riparian vegetation below the wall. (OCLP 2019, DSC-5461)

Figure 2.47. View looking north at plantings in the East Lot, known as Slater Mill Park. (OCLP 2019, DSC-5468)

South Lot

The South Lot was void of vegetation until trees, shrubs, and lawns were installed as part of Hodgson-Rotary Park in 1970-1971. The park's landscape was laid out with large areas of lawn that could accommodate special events, with trees generally planted around the edges. Several trees at the south end of the park were removed in 1991 to install the Cogswell Monument. Plant species present today include red maple, juniper, birch, holly, and lilac. Today, the lawns are in good condition but many of the shrubs are in fair condition, and some trees are missing along Roosevelt Avenue (Figure 2.45, see also Figure 2.20).

East Lot

The East Lot became Slater Mill Park in 1970-1971. The lot was predominantly turf, but featured extensive plantings of white pine, red oak, red maple, and masses of shrubs along Broadway to screen the buildings and parking lots across the street. Today the white pines and red maples remain but most understory plants are gone, except for several abelia. Planting plans show the riverbank area below the stone river wall was intended to be mostly open but today it is overgrown with riparian vegetation (Figures 2.46, 2.47).

VIEWS AND VISTAS

Historic Conditions (to 1925)

A view is the expansive and/or panoramic prospect of a broad range of vision that may be naturally occurring or deliberately contrived. A vista is a controlled prospect of a discrete, linear range of vision, which is deliberately contrived. Views and vistas were not a consideration at the time Samuel Slater and his partners constructed their mill at Pawtucket Falls. However, after Slater left and his legacy

grew, the Old Slater Mill became the subject of many sketches, paintings, and photographs. Most views of the mill were from the Main Street Bridge and the East Lot, showing the river and upper dam in the foreground and other mills in the background. The OSMA's decision to remove all buildings on the Slater Lot in 1925 was aimed to improve the setting around the mill, which at that time was flanked by old and dilapidated structures.

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions

With the last of the buildings and structures removed on the North, South, and East Lots, the crowded industrial scene that had defined the Pawtucket waterfront since 1793 was replaced by open park land. The new park spaces provided new views of Old Slater Mill and the Blackstone River that had long been obscured by industrial buildings. Since 1973, these views have essentially remained unchanged except for the growth of riparian vegetation along the riverbank in the East Lot (Figures 2.48, 2.49, 2.50).

SMALL-SCALE FEATURES

Historic Conditions (to 1925)

Small-scale features are elements that provide detail and diversity for both functional needs and aesthetic concerns in the landscape. Details regarding small-scale features during the historic period is limited to historic photographs, which indicate fencing, signs, and other items used by building tenants. Most of these features were transient; they came and went depending on the needs of the various workshops and factories. By c.1869 a wood picket fence and gate defined the Slater Avenue side of the workyard at Old Slater Mill, while a similar fence ran along the other side of the street. Both were gone by 1886 and 1910, respectively. A post and rail briefly existed atop a portion of the Great Flume walls by 1923. Signs were attached to many of the buildings, as were several billboards oriented so they would be visible from the Main Street Bridge. For a time, letters spelling out "Old Slater Mill" were found on the north side of the mill.

Post-Historic and Existing Conditions

Slater Lot

Iron fencing was installed on top of the walls of the Great Flume and on the river wall on the west side of the mill by 1949. They are extant today, but some are bent or are in need of new paint. Ornamental fencing was also erected on the property line along Roosevelt Avenue and part of Slater Avenue by 1973. In 2017-2018 they were refabricated, and additional sections were added (see Figure 2.35). Coincid-

Figure 2.48. View looking northeast from Hodgson-Rotary Park. (OCLP 2020, IMG-20200105-121401)

Figure 2.49. View looking north from the Main Street Bridge. (OCLP 2021, P1010033)

Figure 2.50. View looking northwest from the overlook at Slater Mill Park. (OCLP 2020, IMG-20200223-132845)

ing with the museum's opening in 1955, a flagpole and entrance sign were erected. The flagpole was removed in 1972 for the relocation of the Sylvanus Brown House, but the date of removal for the entrance sign is not known. Granite bollards built into the center of the walks that intersect Slater Avenue were installed in 2001 as part of site improvements (see Figure 2.31). Wayside signs can be found throughout the lot, which feature two supports that hold panels displayed vertically or at an angle. Wood picnic tables are located on the east side of the mill. Two benches stood along the north side of the central patio until 2017, but their concrete pads are still visible (see Figure 2.13). Lastly, a 3-foot diameter bell with the inscription "F Fuller 1871 Providence RI" rests in the lawn strip alongside Slater Avenue. The bell may have been hung in the bell tower of one of the mills in this area.

North Lot

Small-scale features in the North Lot include single and double acorn-style light posts in the parking lot islands and industrial-sized trash bin and wood enclosure fence at the southeast corner of the parking lot. These features were added in 2020-2021 as part of the parking lot improvement project, as was a granite bollard on the new pedestrian entrance along Roosevelt Avenue (see Figure 2.35). The same project also removed several small-scale features: two wood and concrete benches at the steps in the northwest corner of the lot, a park entrance sign at the northwest corner, and a parking sign on the south entrance of the parking lot. A street sign that identifies the location of Slater Avenue is still attached to an acorn-style lamp post (see Figure 2.35).

South Lot

In 2011-2012 a Francis turbine was salvaged from Old Slater Mill and restored, and placed on a concrete pad near the Wilkinson Mill.[21] Today, this object is painted black (see Figure 2.45). Other small-scale features in the Slater Lot are associated with Hodgson-Rotary Park. Part of the iron fencing atop the stone river wall/foundation walls was installed in 1970-1971. When the top of a portion of this wall was lowered in 2014, additional iron fencing was erected. The original globe fixture lights were installed in 1970, and replaced with acorn style fixtures in the 1980s. Four massive floodlights dating to 2004-2005 are located next to the Main Street Bridge and are positioned to light the river and two dams (Figure 2.51). The flagpole at the south end of the park dates to 1970-1971, and the wood and steel benches to the 1980s. Some of the benches are missing slats. Wayside signs were installed in the 2000s.

The most prominent small-scale feature is the Cogswell Monument, installed in 1991 at the southwest corner of the park (see Figure 2.37).[22] This Temperance-era feature was moved from another location in the city, and features a triangular base

that supports a column, on top of which is a bronze sculpture of a heron (that replaced a figure of the designer). On each side of base are bas-relief figures of animal heads, a horse, a frog, and a dog, set above the basins of small fountains. Numerous inscriptions can be found on the monument, including "Presented By, H.D. Cogswell D.D.S. of San Francisco, To The Citizens Of, Pawtucket And Central Falls, And Their Descendants Forever." A smaller memorial tablet once located at the southeast corner of the park is now located on the west retaining wall and acknowledges the establishment of Hodgson-Rotary Park (Figure 2.52). The tablet is set at an angle on a granite base and is flanked by two overgrown spruce trees.

East Lot

Small-scale features in the East Lot include wayside signs installed in 2000 and square fixture light posts dating to the 1980s, which replaced the original globe fixture lamps from 1970-1971. Many of the current lights are missing their lamps. The iron pipe rail fence atop the stone river wall and around the overlook dates to 1970-1971. Sections of this fence were missing for years until they were replaced in 2020. Two benches manufactured with recycled plastic are located in the lawn near the overlook. Lastly, a square concrete pad is located on the hill near the overlook. The pad once supported a piece of sculpture that has since been removed.

Figure 2.51. View looking north at the river floodlights. (OCLP 2020, IMG-20200105-121825)

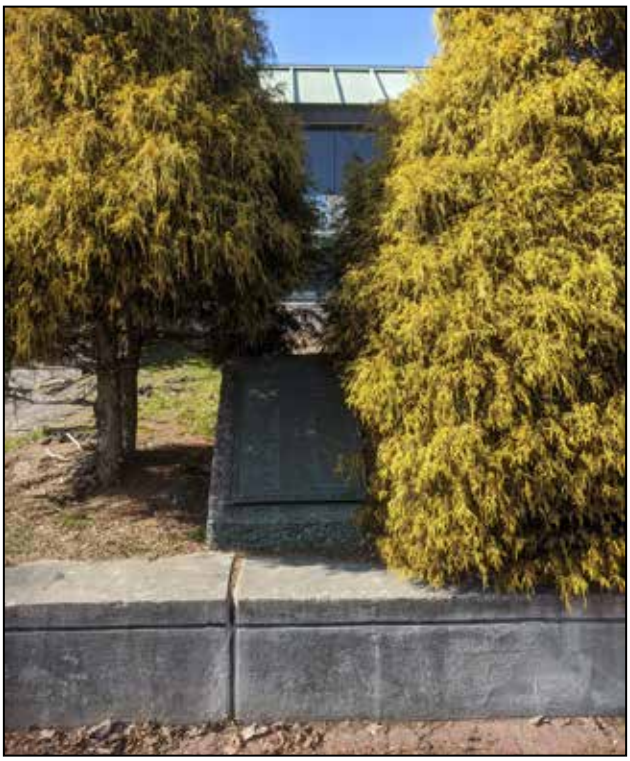

Figure 2.52. View of the Hodgson-Rotary Park Tablet. (OCLP 2020, IMG-20200223-130556)

Summary of Landscape Characteristics and Features								
Characteristic or Feature	**Extant 1793**	**Extant 1832**	**Extant 1876**	**Extant 1925**	**Extant 1973**	**Extant 2021**	**CLR Evaluation**	**Notes** **C** (contributing), **NC-C** (noncontributing-compatible), **NC-I** (noncontributing-incompatible), **U** (undetermined)
Site Wide								
NATURAL SYSTEMS AND FEATURES								
Blackstone River / Pawtucket Falls	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	C	
TOPOGRAPHY								
Landforms Slope to River	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	C	
Island Peninsula	✔	✔	✔	✔	no	no	--	created by Great Flume in 1793; most gone by 1940
LAND USE								
Industrial / Commercial / Residential Uses	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	no	--	by 1793, ended 1967-1969
Museum / Exhibition Uses	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	by 1955
Recreational Uses	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	1971
SPATIAL ORGANIZATION								
High Density of Buildings and Structures	no	✔	✔	✔	no	no	--	
Lot Boundary Lines	no	no	✔	✔	✔	✔	C	by 1856; altered 1868 and 1923
CONSTRUCTED WATER FEATURES								
Upper Dam	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	U	built 1793; altered 1944 and 2019
Lower Dam	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	U	built 1718
CIRCULATION								
Main Street (and Bridge)	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	U	built 1713, 1735-1741, 1817, 1842, 1858 (stone arch), and 1968
Roosevelt Avenue	no	no	✔	✔	✔	✔	U	by 1835 (Mill Street, North Main Street, Roosevelt Avenue); altered 1970
Slater Avenue	no	no	✔	✔	✔	no	U	by 1835; altered by 1869; removed 2020
Leather Avenue	no	no	✔	✔	✔	✔	U	by 1870
Broadway	no	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	U	by 1803 (Norfolk & Bristol Turnpike, Front Street, Broadway)
Slater Lot								
BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES								
Old Slater Mill	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	C	built 1793; altered 1801, 1818-1820, 1828-1832, c.1850, 1855 (foundation), c.1869, and c.1872; restored 1924
Gangway / Gatehouse	no	✔	✔	no	no	no	--	by 1823; altered by c.1869 (gatehouse); removed 1925
Slater House	no	✔	✔	no	no	no	--	built 1790s; removed 1925

Summary of Landscape Characteristics and Features								
Characteristic or Feature	**Extant 1793**	**Extant 1832**	**Extant 1876**	**Extant 1925**	**Extant 1973**	**Extant 2021**	**CLR Evaluation**	**Notes** **C** (contributing), **NC-C** (noncontributing-compatible), **NC-I** (noncontributing-incompatible), **U** (undetermined)
Sylvanus Brown House	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	C	built 1758; moved to site in 1962; moved/restored 1972-1973
Other Industrial / Commercial / Residential Buildings	✔	✔	✔	no	no	no	--	by 1794-1795; removed 1925
Boiler House	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	built 1955
Garden Shed	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	2001
Stone River Wall	no	no	✔	✔	✔	✔	C	built by c.1840; altered by 1940
Concrete-Stone Retaining Walls and Steps	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	built 1973, some rebuilt with stone 2001
Granite Retaining Walls – Herb Garden	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	built 1973; some altered 2001
CONSTRUCTED WATER FEATURES								
Tailrace	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	C	built 1793; repaired 1924-1925 (west half); altered 1828-1832
Great Flume	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	C	built 1793; repaired 1924-1925 (west half); altered by 1940 (east half); dredged 2010
Penstock and Inlet/Gate	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	built by 1940; altered 1980s and 2012-2013
CIRCULATION								
Work Yard and Alleys	no	no	✔	no	no	no	--	by 1872 (Spice Mill Way by 1923); removed 1925
Bridge over Great Flume	no	no	✔	✔	✔	✔	C	by c.1869; altered 1925
Walkways – Paved	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	2001
Walkways – Pea Gravel	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	built 1925-1940; altered 1973; paved 2001 (except herb garden)
Patio – North Side, Slater Mill	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	1973; altered 2001
Patio – Central	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	1973; altered 2001
VEGETATION								
Maintained Trees, Shrubs, Lawns	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	after 1925; altered 1972-1973 and 2001
Herb Garden, at Mill	no	no	no	no	no	no	--	built 1958; removed by 1972
Vegetable and Herb Garden, Brown House	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	2001
Textile Garden	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	2001
SMALL-SCALE FEATURES								
Wood Fence / Gate along Slater Avenue	no	no	✔	no	no	no	--	by c.1869; removed by 1886
Wood Fence along Great Flume (east side of mill)	no	no	no	✔	no	no	--	by 1924; removed in 1940s
Iron Fencing on Great Flume	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	by 1949

Summary of Landscape Characteristics and Features								
Characteristic or Feature	**Extant 1793**	**Extant 1832**	**Extant 1876**	**Extant 1925**	**Extant 1973**	**Extant 2021**	**CLR Evaluation**	**Notes** **C** (contributing), **NC-C** (noncontributing-compatible), **NC-I** (noncontributing-incompatible), **U** (undetermined)
Iron Fencing on River Wall (west side of mill)	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	by 1949
Iron Fencing – Perimeter (Roosevelt Avenue and Slater Avenue)	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	after 1973; rehabilitated 2017-2018
Entrance Sign	no	no	no	no	no	no	--	by 1955; removed n/a
Flagpole	no	no	no	no	no	no	--	1950s; removed 1972
Bell	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	
Bollards	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	2001
Wayside Signs	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	2000s
Picnic Tables	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	
North Lot								
BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES								
Other Industrial / Commercial / Residential Buildings	no	no	✔	✔	✔	no	--	by 1840s; some removed by 1902 ; remainder removed 1967-1969
Stone River Wall	no	no	✔	✔	✔	✔	C	built by c.1840; altered by 1940
Concrete Retaining Wall – Parking Lot	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	1971; partially removed 2020
CONSTRUCTED WATER FEATURES								
n/a	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
CIRCULATION								
Alleys	no	no	✔	no	no	no	--	removed 1967-1969
Parking Lot	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	by 1949 (east half), by 1971 (west half); redesigned 2020
VEGETATION								
Maintained Trees, Shrubs, Lawns	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	1971; altered 2020
SMALL-SCALE FEATURES								
Wood Fence along Slater Avenue	no	no	✔	no	no	--	--	by c.1869; removed by c.1910
Slater Avenue Sign	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	
Trash Bin and Fence	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	2020
Lights – Acorn Fixtures, Parking Lot	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	2021
South Lot								
BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES								
Wilkinson Mill	no	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	C	built 1810-1811; altered 1840; 1886-1902 (chimney); altered 1930s-1940s (chimney); restored 1972
Other Industrial / Commercial / Residential Buildings	✔	✔	✔	✔	no	no	--	by 1794-1795; some removed 1930s-1940s; remainder removed 1967-1969
Stone River Wall / Foundation Walls	no	no	✔	✔	✔	✔	C	by c.1840; altered 1930-1940s, 1970-1971, and 2014

Summary of Landscape Characteristics and Features								
Characteristic or Feature	**Extant 1793**	**Extant 1832**	**Extant 1876**	**Extant 1925**	**Extant 1973**	**Extant 2021**	**CLR Evaluation**	**Notes** **C** (contributing), **NC-C** (noncontributing-compatible), **NC-I** (noncontributing-incompatible), **U** (undetermined)
Concrete Retaining Walls and Steps	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	built 1970-1971; extended 1991
CONSTRUCTED WATER FEATURES								
Great Flume	✔	✔	✔	✔	no	✔	C	built 1793; altered after 1923; filled in by 1949; reconstructed 1981
Swift Flume	✔	✔	✔	✔	no	no	--	built 1793; altered after 1923; filled in by 1949
Sargeant's Trench	✔	✔	✔	✔	no	no	--	built 1714; altered 1730s, after 1923; filled in by 1949
CIRCULATION								
Alleys and Workyards	no	no	✔	✔	no	no	--	by 1876 (Wilkinson Place by 1876, Spencer Court by 1917); removed 1970-1971
Parking Area	no	no	no	✔	no	no	--	by 1949 (east half); expanded by 1962; removed 1970-1971
Walkways – Paved	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	1970-1971 (pea gravel); paved 1991
Steps, Accessible Ramp	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	by 1991
Patio and Steps – Cogswell Monument	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	built 1991
Driveway	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	built 1970-1971
VEGETATION								
Maintained Trees, Shrubs, Lawns	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	1970-1971; altered 1991
SMALL-SCALE FEATURES								
Iron Fence on Stone River Wall / Foundation Walls	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	1970-1971; extended after 2016
Lights – Acorn Fixture	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	1980s
Lights – Globe Fixture	no	no	no	no	✔	no	--	1970; removed 1980s
Lights – Flood Lights	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	2004-2005
Flagpole	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	1970-1971
Benches	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	1980s
Cogswell Monument	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	installed 1991 (built c.1920s, relocated from another site in city)
Hodgson-Rotary Memorial Tablet	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	erected 1970; moved c.1991
Wayside Signs	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	2000s
Trash Cans	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	
Francis Turbine Display	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	installed 2011-2012

Summary of Landscape Characteristics and Features								
Characteristic or Feature	**Extant 1793**	**Extant 1832**	**Extant 1876**	**Extant 1925**	**Extant 1973**	**Extant 2021**	**CLR Evaluation**	**Notes** **C** (contributing), **NC-C** (noncontributing-compatible), **NC-I** (noncontributing-incompatible), **U** (undetermined)
East Lot								
BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES								
Industrial / Commercial / Residential Buildings	no	✔	✔	✔	✔	no	--	by 1835; some removed by 1955; remainder removed 1969
Stone and Concrete River Wall / Foundation Wall	no	no	✔	✔	✔	✔	C	built by c.1840; altered 1970-1971
Overlook Steps	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	1970-1971
Lower Stone Walls	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	1970-1971
Remnant Foundation Walls	no	no	no	✔	✔	✔	C	by 1923
CONSTRUCTED WATER FEATURES								
Raceway	no	✔	✔	✔	no	no	--	built by 1797-1798; removed by 1955
CIRCULATION								
Parking Area	no	no	no	no	no	no	--	by 1955; removed 1969
Overlook	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	1970-1971
VEGETATION								
Maintained Trees, Shrubs, Lawns	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	1970-1971
SMALL-SCALE FEATURES								
Iron Fence Rail on River Wall	no	no	no	no	✔	✔	NC-C	1970-1971
Lights-Square Fixtures	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	1980s
Lights-Globe Fixture	no	no	no	no	✔	no	--	1970-1971; removed 1980s
Sculpture Pad	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	2000s
Benches	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	
Wayside Signs	no	no	no	no	no	✔	NC-C	2000s

ENDNOTES

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5 LeeAnne Brooks and Lauren Laham, *Slater Mill, Historic Structure Report* [HSR], *Blackstone River Valley National Historical Park, Pawtucket, Rhode Island*, Lowell, MA: National Park Service, Northeast Region, Historic Structure, Research, and Documentation Branch, Historic Architecture, Conservation, and Engineering Center, 2018: 6.

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12 *The Flyer*, December 1971: 3-6,11.

13 *The Flyer*, December 1971: 3-6,11.

14 Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor Commission, *Cultural Heritage and Land Management Plan* [LMP] *for the Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor*, 1989: 28.

15 National Park Service, *Blackstone River Valley Special Resource Study* [SRS], Boston, MA: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Northeast Region, Park Planning and Special Studies, 2011: 40-41.

16 SRS 2011: 41.

17 NR 2006, Sec.8: 2.

18 SRS 2011: 41.

19 Review comments, Blackstone River Valley NHP, 9 March 2021.

20 "Blackstone River Bikeway," Rhode Island Department of Transportation, http://www.dot.ri.gov/community/bikeri/blackstone.php.; Review comments, Lori Urso, 22 March 2021.

21 Review comments, Lori Urso, 22 March 2021.

22 Review comments, Lori Urso, 22 March 2021.

Cultural Landscapes Report

Slater Mill Historic Site
Pawtucket, Rhode Island

Existing Conditions, 2021

Vegetation Species List

Code	Botanical Name	Common Name	Code	Botanical Name	Common Name	Code	Botanical Name	Common Name
Aa	*Ailanthus altissima*	Tree-of-Heaven	Cs	*Cornus sericea*	Dogwood	Pc	*Pyrus calleryana*	Callery Pear
Ac	*Amelanchier*	Serviceberry	Fa	*Fraxinus americana*	White Ash	Po	*Philadelphus coronarius*	Sweet Mock-Orange
Ag	*Acer nigrum*	Black Maple	Fj	*Fallopia japonica*	Japanese Knotweed	Ps	*Prunus serrulata*	Japanese Flowering
An	*Acer negundo*	Boxelder	Gb	*Ginkgo biloba*	Ginkgo	Pt	*Pinus strobus*	White Pine
Ap	*Acer platanoides*	Norway Maple	Is	*Ilex spp.*	Holly	Qb	*Quercus bicolor*	Swamp White Oak
Ar	*Acer rubrum*	Red Maple	Jv	*Juniperus virginiana*	Eastern Red-Cedar	Sv	*Syringa vulgaris*	Common Lilac
As	*Acer saccharinum*	Silver Maple	Lo	*Ligustrum ovalifolium*	California Privet	Ts	*Taxus spp.*	Yew
Bn	*Betula nigra*	River Birch	Lt	*Liriodendron tulipifera*	Tuliptree	Vc	*Viburnum carlesii*	Korean Spice Viburnum
Ck	*Cladrastis kentukea*	Yellowwood	Mp	*Myrica pensylvanica*	Bayberry	Vl	*Viburnum lantana*	Wayfaring Tree
Co	*Celastrus orbiculatus*	Oriental Bittersweet	Ms	*Malus spp.*	Crabapple			

National Park Service
Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation
www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

1. CLR Existing Conditions Map, 2019
2. Pawtucket CAD Data, 2019
3. Rhode Island Imagery, 2019

DRAWN BY

Kelsey Little and Maryrose Kulick, ArcGIS Pro 2.5, 2020

LEGEND

- CLI boundary
- NPS boundary
- Topography
- Building
- Brick pavers
- Road
- Concrete Surface
- Water
- Lawn
- Woods
- Deciduous tree
- Evergreen tree
- Decorative lamp
- Wayside
- Bench
- Slate path

NOTES

1. Map requires field verification
2. Projection: NAD83 UTM Zone 18N
3. Contour Interval = 2'
4. All features shown in approximate scale and location

0 15 30 60 90 Feet

Drawing 4

OCLP

PRELIMINARY TREATMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

Slater Mill Historic Site is situated within the boundaries of both the Blackstone River Valley National Historical Park and the City of Pawtucket. This chapter discusses the status of management and planning documents as they pertain to the park and city, and concludes with treatment recommendations that aim to improve the visitor experience, and the visitor's understanding of the site's nationally significant history.

STATUS OF PARK MANAGEMENT DOCUMENTS

In 1986 Slater Mill Historic Site was included in the Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor, which encompassed 20 (now 25) communities in Massachusetts and Rhode Island in recognition of the region's pivotal role in the early industrialization of America. In 2011 a *Special Resource Study of the Blackstone River Valley* was prepared to determine if sites and landscape features within the National Heritage Corridor were eligible for inclusion as a unit of the National Park System for their contributions to the understanding of the valley as the birthplace of the industrial revolution in America. The report recommended the establishment of a new park unit, called the Blackstone River Valley Industrial Heritage National Historical Park, which would include Slater Mill Historic Site and other nationally-significant historic sites and districts in the valley. The report also identified the site as a candidate for full or partial-fee acquisition by National Park Service (NPS).

In 2014 Slater Mill Historic Site was included within the legislated boundaries of the Blackstone River Valley National Historical Park (NHP). The purpose of the historical park is to help preserve, protect, and interpret the nationally significant resources that exemplified the industrial heritage of the Blackstone River Valley. The park will support the preservation, protection, and interpretation of the urban, rural, and agricultural landscape features of the region that provide an overarching context for the valley's industrial heritage. The historical park is a "partnership park," with the NPS owning very little property and instead working with private property owners, non-profits, and historic sites. Slater Mill Historic Site was owned by the Old Slater Mill Association (OSMA) until March 2021

when ownsership was offcially transferred to the federal government for management by National Park Service (NPS).

The Special Resource Study recommended preparation of a General Management Plan (GMP) for the park, a planning document that sets forth the basic management philosophy and provides strategies for addressing issues and identifying management objectives over a 5- to 10-year period. The study recommended that the GMP for the Blackstone River Valley NHP should be prepared with the regional partner that will operate the park in cooperation with the NPS, and that collectively priorities would be identified for the acquisition (full fee or partial fee) and protection and public use of the resources. GMPs are approved through an NPS planning process that includes public review and comment.

In 2020 a Foundation Document was completed for the Blackstone River Valley NHP. The Old Slater Mill Complex was identified as a fundamental resource: "Defining features of the Old Slater Mill Complex include Slater Mill, Wilkinson Mill, Sylvanus Brown House, waterpower system, the smells and sounds of a working mill, machinery, and the collections." Fundamental resources warrant primary consideration during planning and management processes because they are essential to achieving the purpose of the park and maintaining its significance. If fundamental resources are allowed to deteriorate, the park purpose and/or significance could be jeopardized.

SELECTION OF TREATMENT APPROACH

The selection of a treatment approach is consistent with guidance set forth in a General Management Plan or other approved planning documents, and is based on factors pertaining to enabling legislation, management objectives, and proposed uses. The Secretary of the Interior has approved standards, policies, and guidelines for four distinct, but interrelated, approaches to the treatment of historic properties: preservation, rehabilitation, restoration, and reconstruction. Collectively, these standards serve as the philosophical basis for achieving long-term landscape preservation. In general, the amount of physical intervention in a landscape increases from preservation to reconstruction.

Defining a primary treatment is important because it ensures consistency in treatment activities. This is emphasized in *The Secretary of Interior's Guidelines for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for Treatment of Cultural Landscapes*. In selecting a primary treatment, each treatment action is evaluated on the basis of the landscape's value as a cultural resource. One goal of the primary treatment is to ensure that the historic features contained in the landscape actually existed together. A landscape's period of significance provides the best frame of reference for evaluating the congruity of treatment actions. A recommendation

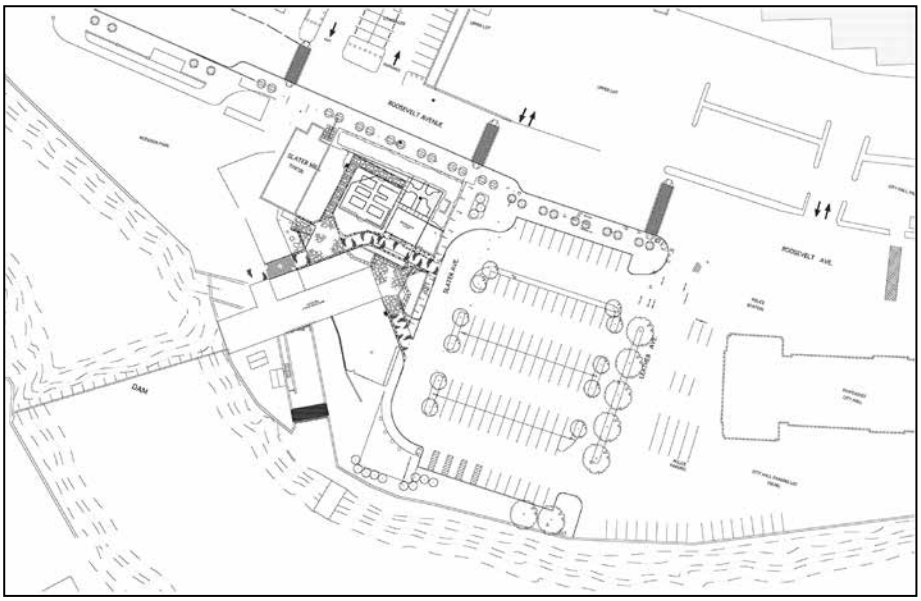

Figure 3.1. Drawing from 2007 showing proposed changes to the Great Flume raceway and the parking area in the North Lot. ("Slater Mill _ 1. Story," City of Pawtucket, GIS Department, from folder "externalcaddrawingsfromthecity")

to remove or reconstruct a feature, for example, should be evaluated based on whether the feature was present around the end of the period of significance.

To date, a General Management Plan has not been completed for Blackstone River Valley NHP, nor has a treatment approach been identified for Slater Mill Historic Site or any of the historic districts or sites identified in the enabling legislation. Because of this status, this report offers preliminary treatment recommendations aimed at improving the visitor experience at Slater Mill Historic Site.

RECENT NON-NPS PLANNING DOCUMENTS

In 2007 the Cityof Pawtucket prepared a draft site plan for the Slater Mill Historic Site (Figure 3.1). The drawing showed the Great Flume raceway reopened to the Blackstone River, with what appears to be a gatehouse spanning the raceway, though not in its historic location, as well as an unknown building on the restored peninsula landform next to the existing boiler house overlooking a new weir or sluice in the raceway. The drawing also proposed circulation changes, which were completed in the fall of 2020: reconfiguring the parking area in the North Lot, relocating the ingress/egress to Leather Avenue, and closing off access from Roosevelt Avenue to Slater Avenue.

Concurrent with the completion of the Special Resource Study was the preparation of several planning reports by the Cities of Pawtucket and Central Falls. Three reports in particular – the 2011 *Pawtucket Comprehensive Plan,* the 2011 *Pawtucket Downtown Design Plan*, and the 2012 *Pawtucket-Central Falls Riverfront Corridor Market Analysis Market Study* – identified the Blackstone River as an important natural and cultural asset, and Slater Mill Historic Site as a major destination. The reports proposed several projects:

- Construction of fish ladders under the Main Street Bridge and at the upper dam for alewife, shad, salmon and other freshwater fish.
- Extension of the Blackstone Valley Bikeway into the area, via the east side of Roosevelt Avenue and the north side of Leather Avenue.
- Development of riverfront viewpoints at each end of the Main Street Bridge, the northeast corner of the North Lot, and the east end of the upper dam in the East Lot, with a new pedestrian link across the river near Pawtucket City Hall.
- New crosswalk across Roosevelt Avenue between Old Slater Mill and Blackstone Valley Visitors Center.

To date, the crosswalk and bikeway projects have been implemented. The bike route tracks along new sidewalks on the east side of Roosevelt Avenue and the south side of Leather Avenue (north and west edges of the North Lot). Additionally, waysides have been installed at two of the above viewpoints - the west end of the Main Street Bridge and the east end of Leather Avenue.

RIVER CORRIDOR MANAGEMENT PLAN, 2013

By 2013 the City of Pawtucket had begun implementing changes to traffic circulation in the downtown and was making plans to relocate the bus hub on Roosevelt Avenue, away from the Slater Mill Historic Site, to eliminate congestion between bus, vehicular, and pedestrian traffic. This coincided with the completion of a *River Corridor Management Plan* in 2013 by Vanasse Hangen Brustlin, Inc. The plan's goals included coordination of various real estate development opportunities and planned public transportation improvement projects, with an end goal of creating a regional destination and quality space.

All of the proposed improvements in the plan shared an underlying theme of re-engaging the river in various ways, whether visual or physical. For the Slater Mill Historic Site area, improvements included the following:

- Create a Downtown "Hub" of Activities. Short term improvements would include moving the Roosevelt Avenue bus operations to High Street to create a less congested and safer connection between the Visitors Center and Old Slater Mill; and implement parking improvements and the off street bikeway at Old Slater Mill (Figure 3.2). Long term improvements included creating a grand civic space and view to link High Street to Old Slater Mill, Wilkinson Mill, and the river; reconfiguring the parking area in the North Lot and installing new paths and plantings; and planting trees along the entire west riverbank (Figure 3.3).

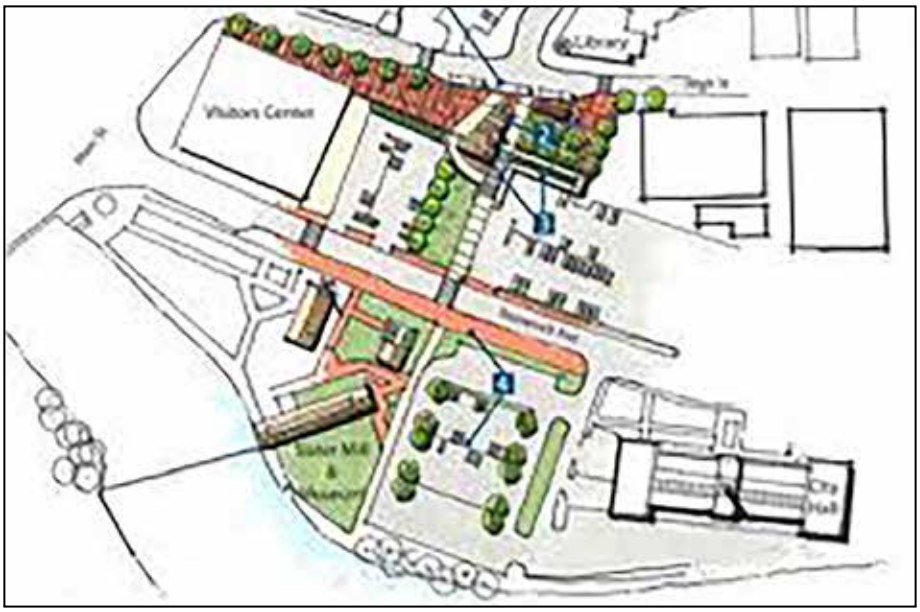

Figure 3.2. Proposed short-term improvements at and around the west side of Slater Mill Historic Site. (Vanasse, Hangen & Brustlin, Inc., "Short Term Improvements," *River Corridor Development Plan (Draft)*, September 2013: 47. https://www.vhb.com/Pages/Experience/Projects/Planning)

Figure 3.3. Proposed long-term improvements at and around the west side of Slater Mill Historic Site. (Vanasse, Hangen & Brustlin, Inc., "Long Term Improvements," *River Corridor Development Plan (Draft)*, September 2013: 47. https://www.vhb.com/Pages/Experience/Projects/Planning)

Figure 3.4. Proposed improvements at and around the east side of Slater Mill Historic Site. Vanasse, Hangen & Brustlin, Inc., "Blackstone River/Slater Mill Park," *River Corridor Development Plan (Draft)*, September 2013: 49. (https://www.vhb.com/Pages/Experience/Projects/Planning)

- Enhance the Riverfront at Slater Mill. Key improvements included selective trimming and clearing of existing vegetation, adding additional landscaping along new accessible pathways, adding fish ladder viewing areas at the upper and lower dams with educational signage, and enhancing the existing overlook. The overlooks would be designed with materials and architectural details that reflect the style of Old Slater Mill (Figure 3.4).

The plan identified eight actions for short-term implementation, among them the creation of a new bus shelter, waiting area, and plaza on High Street; enhancement of the landscaping and existing overlook at Slater Mill Park; and construction of the fish ladder overlooks and walks. To date, the short term improvements associated with the "Hub" have been implemented.

PRELIMINARY TREATMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

As discussed in Chapter 2, the 4.23-acre landscape at Slater Mill Historic Site is not significant and does not contribute to the property's National Register eligibility and historic character. The landscape features that dominate the site – walks, lawns, and plantings – do not contribute to the site's historic significance, but instead serve as a contemporary setting for the site's remaining historic features that include Old Slater Mill, Wilkinson Mill, Sylvanus Brown House, the Great Flume raceway, stone tailrace and arch, stone and concrete river walls/foundation walls, foundation remnants, and the bridge over the Great Flume.

Old Slater Mill Association purchased Slater Mill in 1923, with a clear direction of restoring the mill to its circa 1830s appearance and commemorate its peak of industrial success. Three of the following five projects focus on extant landscape features that were present around the same time period, which also falls within the current 1793-1925 period of significance. The intent is to improve the legibility and longevity of these historic features, with the goal of improving the visitor experience and understanding of the site's nationally significant history. Another project aims to improve circulation in the East Lot and enhance views from this area to the river and the site's core historic buildings. The last recommended project proposes to reveal the course of the missing raceways that once flowed through the South Lot (Hodgson-Rotary Park), either through a design based on archeological research or installation of a new water feature that gestures to the critical role of water at Slater Mill Historic Site.

REVEAL THE GREAT FLUME RACEWAY AND THE PENINSULA LANDFORM

The goal of this project is to visibly reestablish the historic connection between the Great Flume raceway and the Blackstone River. The project will allow visitors

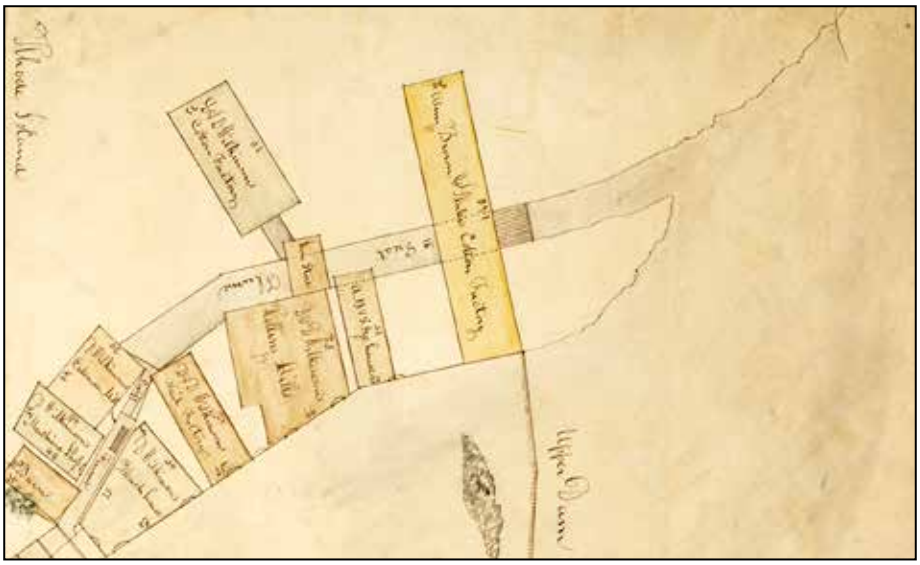

Figure 3.5. Detail map of Sargeant's Trench and surrounding mills, c.1823. On the east side (image right) of the Old Slater Mill is the Great Flume raceway, peninsula landform, and a gangway. (Thomas Mann, *Plat of Blackstone River and Sargent's Trench in Pawtucket, June 13, 1823*. OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-25)

to better understand the original design of the raceway and its vital function in providing water power to Old Slater Mill and other downstream factories.

The Great Flume was built by Almy, Brown, and Slater in 1793 in concert with construction of the upper dam and the original block of Old Slater Mill. The raceway began upstream from this dam, and its course left behind a peninsula-shaped landform on the east side of the mill (Figure 3.5). River water impounded by the dam flowed into the raceway and into the mill's basement where it turned the massive wheels that supplied power for the cotton spinning machines above. The Great Flume then continued downstream to power the Wilkinson Mill, and then to other factories along the Swift Flume and Sargeant's Trench raceways. The sides of the Great Flume were lined with stone walls and the floor was covered in wood planks, but volunteer vegetation eventually took hold alongside the raceway and on the peninsula, some of which grew into mature trees as shown in sketches and photographs from the mid-1800s (Figures 3.6, 3.7, 3.8). By 1940 the Great Flume's inlet was blocked and the raceway was partially filled in as part of the reconstruction of the stone wall along the river bank. The fill also covered the raceway's stone walls, thus eliminating the peninsula landform that became the site of the mill's boiler house. A pipe was built under the fill to allow a controlled amount of river water to enter the remaining open portions of the raceway.

A well-maintained lawn and picnic area is located just to the north of the filled raceway today. Until recently, the area beyond the iron fence that tops the raceway's extant north wall was characterized by a lawn area and overgrown vegetation. Very few visitors experienced this area of the Slater Mill Historic Site. However, the park has recently removed some of the overgrown vegetation (Figures 3.9, 3.10, 3.11, 3.12, 3.13, 3.14). The eastern end of the filled in raceway near the river wall features recently reseeded lawn. The western end of the filled in raceway near the mill features patches of scrub vegetation. The iron fencing atop the still visible portions of the raceway walls are in poor condition or are missing.

Figure 3.6. Painting of the south side of Old Slater Mill from the east bank, c.1840, and one of the first sketches of the Great Flume and peninsula. (H.L. Spencer, "Painting of South Elevation of Slater Mill," c.1840. Old Slater Mill Association [hereafter OSMA] Archives, from LeeAnne Brooks and Lauren Laham, *Slater Mill, Historic Structure Report* [hereafter HSR], *Blackstone River Valley National Historical Park, Pawtucket, Rhode Island,* Lowell, MA: National Park Service, Northeast Region, Historic Structure, Research, and Documentation Branch, Historic Architecture, Conservation, and Engineering Center, 2018: 39)

Figure 3.7. Oblique aerial view looking west, ca. 1869, at the Great Flume, peninsula, and the gatehouse. (OSMA Archives, from Emma J.H. Dyson and Louis P. Hutchins, *Historic American Engineering Record* [hereafter HAER], *Addendum to Old Slater Mill,* HAER No. RI-1, Washington, DC: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, August 1991)

Figure 3.8. One of the last photographs of the Great Flume and peninsula. (OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-86)

Figure 3.9. View looking northeast at the railing on top of the Great Flume stone wall. At image left is the lawn and picnic area, at image right is the is the filled-in Great Flume. (Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation [hereafter OCLP] 2021, P1010025)

Figure 3.10. View looking southeast at woody vegetation in the Great Flume, the outlet of the penstock pipe, and the boiler house on top of the former island peninsula. (OCLP 2021, P1010020)

Figure 3.11. View looking west at woody vegetation in the Great Flume. (OCLP 2021, P1010017)

Figure 3.12. View looking north from the filled in raceway, at what may be the top of the raceway wall and/ or former building foundation. (OCLP 2021, P1010019)

Figure 3.13. View looking east at the filled in Great Flume, with the stone river wall at image right. The North Lot parking area is in the distance. (OCLP 2021, 20210111_142532)

Figure 3.14. View looking south at the filled in raceway and the stone river wall. (OCLP 2021, P1010021)

Recommendations

- Conduct archeological investigations to determine the locations and conditions of the raceway walls under the fill.
- Remove the top three feet of the existing fill in the raceway, from the stone river wall to where the existing fill is three feet below the existing raceway walls.
- Restore or reconstruct the newly-exposed portions of the raceway stone walls.
- Install iron fencing along the tops of the restored or reconstructed walls to match the existing iron fencing.
- Plant grasses in the raceway and replant the missing tree on the peninsula (see Figures 1.23, 1.74, 1.75, 1.82). This should replace the proposed plantings of new trees along the stone river wall as shown in the 2013 *River Corridor Management Plan* (see Figure 3.3).
- Install a barrier of plantings or bollards at the southeast corner of the parking lot to prevent vehicles from entering the raceway.
- Remove all woody vegetation greater than 2" in diameter that is within one foot of the stone river wall.
- Install waysides explaining the project and the role of the Great Flume.

RECONSTRUCT THE GANGWAY OVER THE GREAT FLUME

The goal of this project is to reconstruct the historic gangway, a critical component of the Great Flume raceway. The project will allow visitors a better understanding of the structure's function in regulating the amount of raceway water entering Old Slater Mill and other downstream factories. It will also restore access to the former peninsula landform and to the views of the Blackstone River as it pours over the upper dam.

The gangway historically spanned the Great Flume on the east side of Old Slater Mill, supporting the mechanisms required to control the flow of water in the raceway as well as a trash rack to intercept debris before flowing into the mill. The first documentary evidence that suggests the presence of a gangway is an 1823 map, although some type of earlier structure would have been needed at this location when the raceway and mill were constructed in 1793 (see Figure 3.5). The first plan to show the gangway in detail dates to 1856 (Figure 3.15). The first photograph of the gangway dates to c.1869, but another photograph from around the same time is the first to show a gatehouse structure on top of it, which was presumably built to protect the machinery from the weather (Figure 3.16, see also

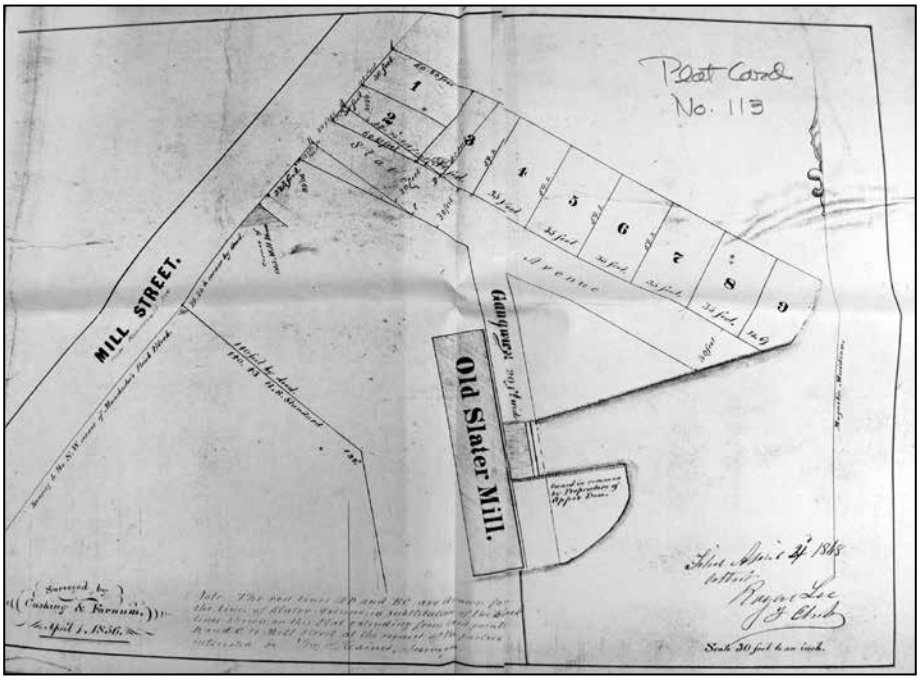

Figure 3.15. Map of Sargeant's Trench and surrounding mills, c.1823. This is the first plan to show the gangway. (Cushing and Farnum, *Plat Card No. 113*, April 1, 1856. OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-34)

Figure 3.16. View looking southeast at the north side of Old Slater Mill, c.1869. This is the first photograph of the gangway on the east side of the mill. (HSR 2018: 48)

Figure 3.7). The first reference to a gatehouse is a plat map from 1872 (see Figures 1.20, 1.21). Subsequent maps and photographs also depict the gatehouse (see Figures 1.30a-b, 1.35, 1.40a-b-c, 1.51, 1.53, 1.55a-b, 1.56, 1.57). The last photograph and plan showing the gatehouse dates to 1924-1925 (see Figures 1.59, 1.66).

Recommendations

- Reconstruct the gangway, using documentary evidence referenced in this report and from additional sources and repositories as required. The gangway should include handrails.

- Conduct additional research regarding the mechanisms and machinery that may have been attached to the gangway to control the flow of water. Obtain and install similar machinery to the gangway if possible.

- Note: restoration of the gatehouse is not recommended, as this feature was added after the period of restoration. The gatehouse could become a safety hazard if not properly secured during off hours.

REMOVE VEGETATION AT HISTORIC WALL FEATURES

The goal of this project is to maintain the integrity of the stone, brick, and concrete materials that comprise the site's historic features. The project will allow visitors to experience preserved features from the historic period.

Stone was the most common building material used for most foundations and walls in the Blackstone Valley, and was later supplemented with concrete and brick in the nineteenth century. Examples of historic stone and brick construction are extant at Old Slater Mill and Wilkinson Mill, as are stone and concrete walls along the riverbanks that served as both building foundations and protection from the river. Masonry materials deteriorate over time, allowing the growth of woody vegetation between the stones and bricks or in cracks in the concrete. Such vegetation can threaten the integrity of the structure by displacing stones and mortar, forming and widening cracks, and creating openings for moisture to freeze and thaw. Historic photographs reveal several time periods where trees and shrubs were growing along and over the river wall in the North Lot, next to the stone and brick foundation of Old Slater Mill, and in the river walls/foundation walls in the South Lot. These conditions were present until late 2020 when the park removed the vegetation (Figure 3.17). However, invasive woody plants are still growing next to the historic stone wall in the North Lot (Figure 3.18).

Recommendations

- Remove woody vegetation from faces of all stone, brick, and concrete walls.
- Remove all woody vegetation greater than 2" in diameter that is within one foot of all stone and concrete walls.

ADVANCE EXISTING PLANS FOR NEW CIRCULATION AND VEGETATION FEATURES IN THE SLATER MILL PARK (EAST LOT)

The goal of this project is to improve public access to the East Lot and the riverfront, and improve views to Old Slater Mill. The project will preserve historic features and reestablish visual and physical connections that have been blocked by the growth of riparian vegetation.

The East Lot was historically filled with mills and workshops fed by a raceway, but by 1955 buildings in the middle portion of the lot were razed and replaced with parking. In the late 1960s the remaining structures in the north and south por-

Figure 3.17. View looking north at vegetation growing in the river wall/foundation walls in the South Lot and North Lot, 2019. The park removed this vegetation in 2020. (OCLP 2019, DSC-5432)

Figure 3.18. View looking north at invasive trees close to the stone retaining wall in the North Lot. (OCLP 2021, P1010007)

Figure 3.19. View looking southwest at the river wall and the overlook at the upper dam. (OCLP 2021, P1010038)

Figure 3.20. View looking north at volunteer vegetation growing in the lower area of the East Lot. (OCLP 2021, P1010045)

Figure 3.21. View looking northeast at vegetation growing in the lower area of the East Lot. (OCLP 2020, IMG-20200223-130935)

Figure 3.22. View looking northwest at remnant stones and volunteer vegetation in the lower area of the East Lot. (OCLP 2020, IMG-20200223-133021)

tions were removed and the area was transformed into Slater Mill Park, leaving behind only the historic river wall and a few remnant foundations. There is currently no accessible circulation feature that leads to the existing overlook (Figure 3.19). Volunteer riparian vegetation in the lower area blocks views from the lawns above the wall toward Old Slater Mill (Figures 3.20, 3.21, 3.22). The 2013 *River Corridor Management Plan* recommended a new walkway along the riverfront, enhancement of the existing overlook and a new overlook at the proposed fish ladder, and installation of new plantings and management of existing plants (see Figure 3.4).

Recommendations

- Locate a new walkway adjacent to the river wall, which at the south end should connect to the sidewalks along Broadway and the Main Street Bridge. At the north end of the lot, the new walk should utilize the level space between the river wall and remnant concrete foundation wall.
- Many of the large stones that comprised the two c.1970 free standing walls in the lower area have become dislodged or have been swept away by flood waters. Remaining stones should be repositioned along the waters edge to form one freestanding row of stones.
- Remove all woody vegetation greater than 2" in diameter that is within one foot of all stone and concrete walls.
- Woody vegetation in the lower area less than 6 inches in diameter should be removed to improve public access and restore framed views from the upper area lawns to Old Slater Mill.
- Replace existing light fixtures with the acorn-style lamps used in Hodgson-Rotary Park (South Lot).
- Replace the handrails on the stone stairs at the existing overlook.

REVEAL THE COURSE OF THE RACEWAYS IN HODGSON-ROTARY PARK (SOUTH LOT)

The goal of this project is to interpret the courses of the historic Great Flume, Swift Run, and Sargeant's Trench raceways. The project will educate visitors on the critical role that raceway water played in powering the factories that dominated the riverfront and started America's Industrial Revolution.

The South Lot was historically filled with stone, brick, and frame buildings housing factories, businesses, and offices, separated by alleys and workyards. Factory owners relied on water power from the raceways to power their mills and workshops (Figures 3.23, 3.24, 3.25, 3.26, 3.27). When most of the buildings in the east

Figure 3.23. Detail of map from c.1823 showing the course of the Great Flume, Swift Run, and Sargeant's Run raceways through the South Lot, now Hodgson-Rotary Park. (Thomas Mann, *Plat of Blackstone River and Sargent's Trench in Pawtucket, June 13, 1823*. OSMA Archives, from HSR 2018: D-25)

half of the lot were razed in the 1930s and 1940s, the raceways were filled in to create a parking area. The remainder of buildings were removed in the late 1960s for development of Hodgson-Rotary Park. Today, the park serves as a well-used destination for passive recreation and frequently hosts special events such as festivals, exhibits, and concerts (Figure 3.28).

Recommendations

- Conduct archeological investigations to determine the locations and conditions of the raceways in the park. Consider replanting the tree shown in 1823 map (see Figure 3.23) if there is sufficient information.
- Based on the archeological findings, workshop ideas that show the courses of the raceways across the existing surfaces of lawns and walks, through the use of hardscape and plant materials.
- Alternatively, transform the sloped planting bed on the west side of the park into an interactive water feature that gestures to the historic presence of the raceways. This bed is currently defined by concrete retaining walls with a mix of shrubs, grasses, and the Hodgson-Rotary tablet (Figures 3.29, 3.30).
- Plant new trees along the brick walk that parallels the stone river wall/foundation, as shown in the 2013 *River Corridor Management Plan* (see Figure 3.3)

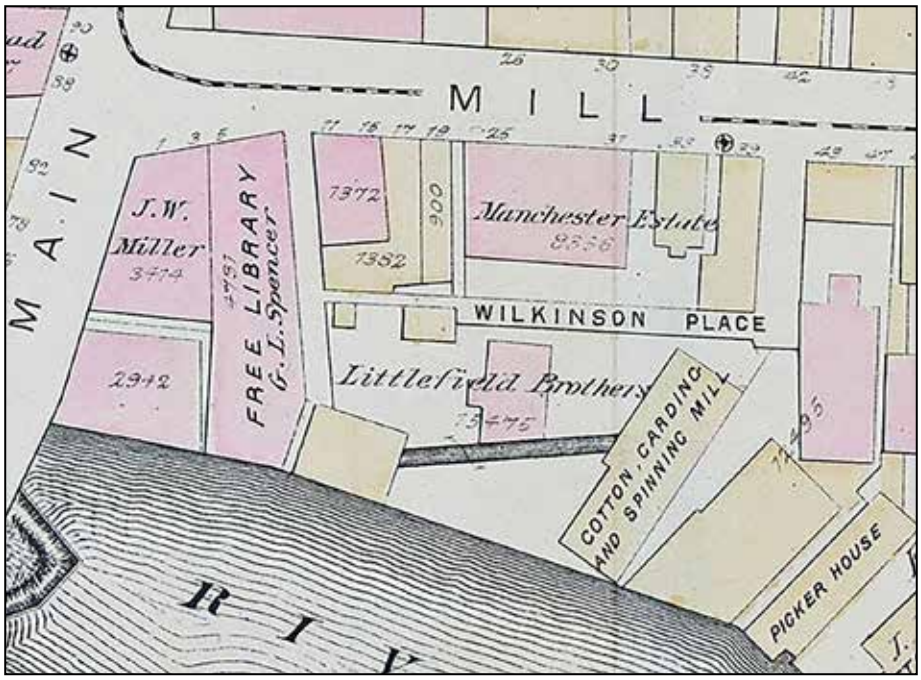

Figure 3.24. Map of South Lot, dated 1880, and what is likely the Swift Run raceway. (G.M. Hopkins, *Pawtucket, Plate B, Atlas of the Town of Pawtucket, RI,* 1"=80 feet, Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1880. Pawtucket Public Library, from HSR 2018: D-48)

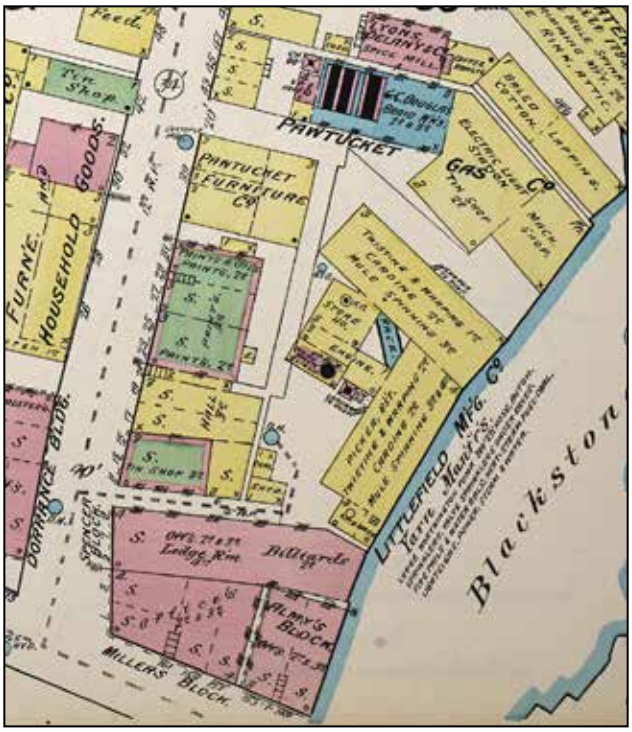

Figure 3.25. Map of South Lot, dated 1890, revealing a short segment of Swift Run. (Sanborn Map Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Pawtucket, Providence County, Rhode Island, Sheet 15, 1890*. Washington DC: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, from HSR 2018: D-56)

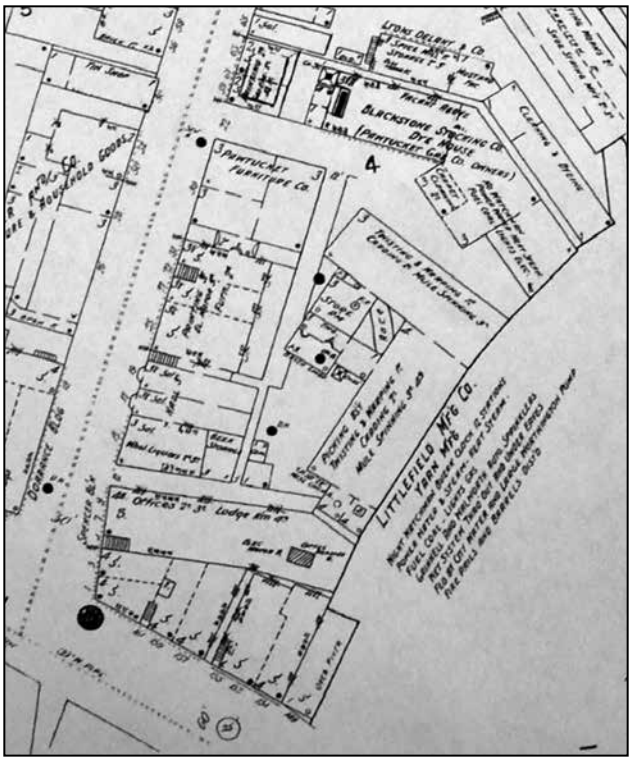

Figure 3.26. Map of South Lot, dated 1902, revealing a short segment of Swift Run. (Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Maps of Pawtucket: Including Central Falls and Valley Falls, Rhode Island, 1902*. Sanborn Maps for the State of Rhode Island, Brown Digital Repository at Brown University Library, from HSR 2018: D-56)

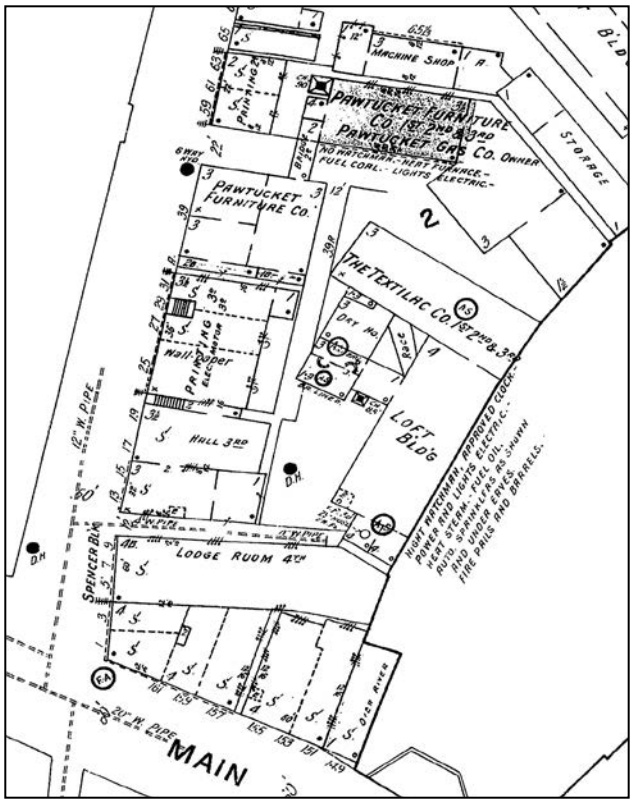

Figure 3.27. Map of South Lot, dated 1923, revealing a short segment of Swift Run. (Sanborn Map Company, *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Pawtucket, Providence County, Rhode Island, Volume 1, Sheet 4, 1923*. Washington DC: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division)

Figure 3.28. View looking southwest into Hodgson-Rotary Park. (OCLP 2019, DSC-5409)

Figure 3.29. View looking north at the lower wall of the sloped planting bed on the west side of Hodgson-Rotary Park. (OCLP 2019, DSC-5440)

Figure 3.30. View looking northeast at the upper wall of the raised planting bed that defines Hodgson-Rotary Park. (OCLP 2019, DSC-5444)

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National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation
15 State Street, 6th Floor
Boston, MA 02109
Phone: 617.223.5099
www.nps.gov/oclp/