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UNDERSTANDING THE FRENCH CANADIANS OF  
LEWISTON, 1860-1900:  
AN ALTERNATE FRAMEWORK

Maine's distinctive rural landscape has given the state much of its character. To some, the Pine Tree State invokes images of sand beaches, austere granite cliffs, lobster fishermen, and lighthouses. To others it means a wilderness of uninhabited forests and turbulent rivers. A few might think of potatoes growing in the northern part of the state, where farmers speak the Acadian language and cling to old traditions. But rare is the individual who thinks of Maine in terms of industrial cities such as Biddeford, Waterville, and Lewiston. These centers and others like them, nonetheless, did as much to shape today's Maine as did the better-known rural landscapes.

Industrial cities are synonymous with another poorly understood facet of Maine's past. During the nineteenth century thousands of French Canadians were attracted to Maine's mills and mill towns. Today, in fact, almost one-fourth of the state's population is "French" in origin, a demographic mix surprisingly typical of New England, which received approximately half a million French Canadians between 1840 and 1930. Numbers alone indicate that an examination of the French-Canadian presence is a crucial step in understanding the history of New England and Maine.<sup>1</sup>

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Since the mid-nineteenth century the city of Lewiston has been synonymous with the giant textile mills that dominate the skyline in this turn-of-the-century photo. The French Canadians, who supplied the labor for the mills, adapted to the pressures of urbanization and industrialization. Morris, *Lewiston and Auburn* (n.d.).

Until recently, most of New England's French-Canadian history was written by the same proclerical elite who sought to fashion cultural norms for the French-speaking community.<sup>2</sup> Preoccupied with cultural identity, these historians voiced a common concern for "survivance," the protection of the group's language, values, and traditions from American influences. Since the 1960s, a broader interest in the French-Canadian past has been generated by the rise of the "new" social history, which attempts to recreate the past "from the bottom up," and by the popular quest for ethnic "roots." Although written from somewhat different perspectives, these new works too betray a preoccupation with cultural change and persistence.<sup>3</sup>

Although the importance of culture cannot be denied, it is clear that other forces helped shape the lives of these Canadian migrants. The need for a broader perspective on the shaping of Franco-American history can be clearly illustrated by looking

at a single community: Lewiston, Maine. Here the interplay between the evolving urban and industrial environment, the increasing stability of the French-Canadian population itself, and the rise of class distinctions within the ethnic neighborhoods clearly indicates the diversity of factors that gave form to the community in the years before the turn of the century.

**T**he timing of the arrival of the first French Canadians to Lewiston in the 1860s and 1870s was significant, for Lewiston was undergoing rapid transformation into a prospering industrial-center highly dependent on an immigrant work force. The context into which the French Canadians migrated is critical to comprehending the transformation of the ethnic community's identity. Lewiston, originally settled by Massachusetts residents at the time of the American Revolution, remained at the beginning of the nineteenth century "a struggling self-sufficient agricultural community" of slightly more than one thousand inhabitants. Under the leadership of local businessmen, the economy gradually diversified. By 1842, two small textile factories and several sawmills and gristmills had been drawn to the town's cheap source of abundant power, Lewiston Falls. Despite this economic potential, entrepreneurs were hampered by a lack of locally available capital.<sup>4</sup>

In 1845 Lewiston businessmen organized the Lewiston Water Power Company, and shortly after a major portion of the stock was acquired by a group of Boston capitalists, among them Benjamin E. Bates, soon to become the most prominent figure in Lewiston's growth. Obtaining ownership of most of the land and waterpower rights in Lewiston, Bates and his associates began constructing mills in 1852. In 1857 they formed the Franklin Company. All land and water rights would be bought or leased from the new concern, a strategy that permitted Lewiston industrialists to profit from real estate as well as textile production. Lewiston prospered under the new regime. The arrival of the railroad in 1849 ended the town's isolation, and unlike other mill towns in New England, Lewiston thrived during the Civil War. Gambling on a long war, capitalists there acquired large stocks of raw cotton and

expanded the town's mill capacity. By 1871, seventeen corporations were in operation with an invested capital of \$7 million. More than 220,000 spindles ran in the town's nine cotton mills.<sup>5</sup>

As Lewiston industrialized, its demographic character changed. Population nearly doubled between 1850 and 1870, and a growing proportion (twenty-two percent by 1870) was foreign-born, mostly Irish. Arriving from Boston, Quebec, and the Maritimes to work on railroads and canals and in the mills, the Irish made their first appearance in the late 1840s. In 1850, ninety-five percent of Lewiston's Irish males held unskilled jobs, while most females appear to have been unemployed.<sup>6</sup> As elsewhere in New England, rural Yankee girls constituted the first labor pool for the mills.<sup>7</sup> In 1871, fifty-eight percent of mill workers were females, the majority American-born. Thirty years later, sixty percent of the foreign-born Irish were still laborers. It was only the second-generation Irish who were able to find semiskilled jobs in the mills.<sup>8</sup>

Lewiston's expanding population created housing problems of major proportions. Living in disease-ridden quarters, the Irish exemplified Lewiston's deteriorating urban conditions. Without resources upon their arrival, the Irish built shanties on the land of the Lewiston Water Power Company. Despite the occasional ability of immigrants to move into tenements built by their compatriots, by 1870 very few Irish owned any real estate. Catholic and poor, Irish immigrants faced prejudice which sometimes turned violent. In 1855 a mob burned an Irish chapel on Lincoln Street. It was only with difficulty that the Irish obtained land from the Franklin Company to build a new parish church.<sup>9</sup>

As this growth spurt in industry and immigration radically transformed the city in the two decades following the railroad's arrival in 1849, Lewiston's municipal structure necessarily adapted. Lewiston was incorporated as a city on March 5, 1861, and two years later a charter was adopted. The new mayor-aldermen-common council government, however, was still quite ineffectual in the face of problems created by

urban growth.<sup>10</sup> More streets were being laid out yearly so that by 1873 most of what is today downtown Lewiston had been built. Although construction was proceeding rapidly, lodging was scarce, unsanitary conditions and disease plagued the city for the rest of the nineteenth century, and schools were unable to accommodate the growing number of students and to deal adequately with their diverse origins.<sup>11</sup>

This rapid, sometimes seemingly uncontrolled growth of Lewiston was a result of the Industrial Revolution, during which 37 million immigrants such as the Irish came to this country between 1820 and 1930.<sup>12</sup> In that context special attention must be paid to the similarities and differences between the French-Canadian immigration experience and that of other ethnic groups. In essence the French-Canadian migration was a regional exodus, largely of family units, by a traditionally transient populace.<sup>13</sup> Of all the immigrant groups, only the French Canadians and Mexicans crossed no ocean and completed their regional moves in a matter of one or two days. In the minds of the French-Canadian migrants, the border barely existed, and the proximity of the mother country had far-reaching effects on the evolution of the ethnic group.

The French-Canadian exodus arose out of several economic problems in rural Quebec. In some regions, overpopulation was coupled with an agricultural crisis. Elsewhere in the province, a developing market-oriented economy encroached on traditional farming patterns. In both cases the result was the same: a surplus rural population with few prospects for employment in other sectors. The fur trade was simply a memory, Great Britain's abandonment of preferential tariffs in 1846 had depressed the lumber industry, and Quebec industry was unable to absorb the excess workforce.<sup>14</sup> To this general economic uprooting must be added another more subtle factor overlooked by most scholars. Since the founding of New France, French Canadians, like other North Americans, had been on the move. Structural geographic mobility, exemplified in the fur trade, in the colonization of new land, and in the timber trade, was an essential characteristic of the Quebecois experience.<sup>15</sup>



Young farm women, whose traditional responsibilities on the farm were lightened when homespun cloth gave way to factory textiles, provided the first workforce for Lewiston's mills. The above photo was taken in the weave room of the Continental Mills by F. Larocque. Courtesy Maine Historic Preservation Commission.

Often lengthy itineraries from places of origin to places of destination marked the mass migration of French Canadians to the United States. The French-Canadian immigrants to Lewiston in the 1860s and early 1870s often arrived after a stay in another American city.<sup>16</sup> Later on, a definite migration route originated in the lower St. Lawrence and in northern Maine, a route along which migrants stopped for short or long periods in such places as Old Town and Waterville.<sup>17</sup> Some made Lewiston their permanent home; others made it a base from which they traveled in search of better opportunities; some stopped in the city for only short periods of time, continuing farther south or returning to Quebec.<sup>18</sup>

The first French Canadian to arrive in Lewiston was Georges Carignan in 1860.<sup>19</sup> Ten years later, only 720 of his compatriots were in the city, but by 1874 the busy cotton mills had attracted 1,604 French Canadians to Lewiston and Auburn, with the majority residing in the former. In 1880, the U. S. manuscript census listed 4,550 French Canadians in Lewiston alone. By 1900, between 7,000 and 9,000 lived in the city.<sup>20</sup>

Aside from its rapid growth, the French-Canadian population of Lewiston bore two striking characteristics. Unlike earlier migration in other New England mill centers, which had been made up of single men, the migration to Lewiston was composed mostly of families.<sup>21</sup> More importantly, this population displayed a low rate of persistence. Of the 392 French Canadians listed in the city's valuation book in 1880, only 132 (34 percent) were listed in the poll tax records. The rest had left the city or were not to be found. Twenty years later, the persistence rate had more than doubled to 70 percent.<sup>22</sup>

Evidence indicates that the stereotype, "from farm to factory," insufficiently defines the background of French-Canadian immigrants to Lewiston. Many had previous contact with urban-industrial life in Canada or elsewhere in the United States.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, the fact that most French-Canadian immigrants were born in the countryside is not necessarily proof that they had been farmers. And even if they had tilled the land, there is also a good chance that they had been woodsmen in northern Maine at the same time.<sup>24</sup>



These complex migration patterns shaped the experiences of Lewiston's immigrants, not only as individuals but also as an ethnic community. Indeed, the slow growth of social, political, and institutional organizations among the French Canadians prior to 1880 is largely attributable to the group's extremely high rate of transiency. With the expansion and greater stability of the French-Canadian population during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the community grew in strength and ethnic institutions flourished. Therefore, the history of the French Canadians of Lewiston in the nineteenth century falls into two periods: 1860-1880, and 1880-1900.<sup>25</sup>

**T**he first of these two periods was characterized by demographic flux and instability as the migrants often failed to procure the employment they had envisioned. French Canadians came to Lewiston to improve their lives. Many, not finding what they expected, did not stay. As one index of transiency during this earlier period, the valuation book of 1880 shows that among the 260 French Canadians who left the city or were not found by the assessors, 98 percent had no personal property or real estate; they had nothing to lose by leaving Lewiston. Of the 392 persons listed in the book, 354 had to pay only a poll tax; twenty-one had property valued below \$899; five between \$900 and \$1,499; seven between \$1,500 and \$1,999; three between \$2,000 and \$4,999; and two between \$5,000 and \$9,999. This property was mostly real estate.<sup>26</sup> The manuscript census of 1870 shows that a large proportion of "heads of household," especially those older than forty, were listed as laborers or as working in sawmills or other small-scale enterprises.<sup>27</sup> During this earlier period, the factory labor force was still made up mostly of Yankees. Moreover, as in other mill towns, textile managers might have found middle-aged men too old for work in their mills.<sup>28</sup> As a result, many French Canadians found work as laborers working for low pay and uncertain lengths of time and sometimes at some distance from Lewiston. Undoubtedly, the prospect of unemployment or low paying jobs was disappointing to those who had come in search of stable work.<sup>29</sup>



In the late nineteenth century, Lewiston's Lisbon Street demarcated the French-Canadian neighborhoods situated near the mills from the old-stock Yankee sections expanding to the north and east. Morris, *Lewiston and Auburn*.

For those who stayed in Lewiston, housing was critical. Partly because of the French Canadians' meager monetary resources during the 1860-1880 period and partly because of a scarcity of lodging in Lewiston following the city's transformation into an industrial center, immigrants from Canada lived wherever they could find space, several families often temporarily sharing an apartment. They moved often, looking for a better place to stay. For the most part, they were crowded into poorly ventilated tenements where inadequate sewerage encouraged disease.<sup>30</sup>

With the "invasion" of the Irish and French Canadians, Yankees moved north of Lewiston's commercial artery, Lisbon Street. Immigrants concentrated between Lisbon Street and the river, living in the shadow of the mills on streets and in back alleys. Social conditions reflected this neighborhood instability. Drinking alcoholic beverages was a favorite activity;

fight between Irish and French Canadians were a daily occurrence, and even police officers feared to venture alone below Lisbon Street at night. When neighborhood density became too great, both the Irish and French Canadians moved north of Lisbon Street, forcing the old-stock Yankees to take refuge on the outskirts of the city.<sup>31</sup>

In bad times, French Canadians relied on each other for survival. Their familial economic strategy was such that it was very rare that all members of a family would be unemployed at the same time. And even if this did happen, they had the support of relatives or friends. The annual statistics of the overseer of the poor bear witness to the French Canadians' reluctance to rely on public charity, contrary to the tendency among the Irish.<sup>32</sup> In addition, toward the end of the 1860-1880 period the percentage of French-Canadian laborers seems to have declined, as more French Canadians were employed in the textile mills and shoe factories. The French-Canadian population could look forward to increasing job diversification in the 1880s.<sup>33</sup>

The emerging social stability evident in the period 1860-1880 resulted from the growth of important groups of social leaders. Very rapidly a petty bourgeoisie of businessmen, professionals, and religious leaders with roots in the French-Canadian neighborhoods arose, laying the foundation for the social stability that developed between 1880 and 1900. The businessmen apparently came to the United States without capital and seized upon the economic opportunities offered by their new milieu. Alphonse Auger, for example, migrated to Biddeford with his parents and siblings in 1860. After working in the mills there and in Brunswick, he moved to Lewiston in 1866 to work at the Lewiston Bleachery. One year later he became a mule spinner at the Hill Mill. In 1870, acquiring provisions from a wholesale merchant in Portland, he and a co-worker opened a small grocery store. It was an immediate success, and Auger was able to establish a good credit rating. In 1876, with a brother, he opened a larger store near the Grand Trunk station. By 1880 his business was worth \$5,000.<sup>34</sup>

Auger's financial rise was more dramatic than most, but he was not alone in achieving success.<sup>35</sup> The story of other businessmen reads the same: As part of the first wave of French-Canadian immigrants in New England cities, they learned English. They saw the opportunities offered by the mass movement of compatriots who did not master English, were poor, and needed "help." It was not by chance that the Augers located their store near the railroad station. There they could welcome immigrants, help them find places to stay and jobs, and provide them with necessities until their first pay. And the Augers guaranteed the newcomers would meet their obligations by having their wages assigned to the store.<sup>36</sup> Timing of arrival seems to have favored social mobility among this immigrant petty bourgeoisie.<sup>37</sup>

On the same rung of the social ladder was a group of French-Canadian professionals who, faced with dim opportunities in their homeland, also had migrated to the United States. These doctors and lawyers found opportunities for social leadership in the French-Canadian communities of New England. Often more interested in public life than the businessmen, they made "survivance" their cause.<sup>38</sup> In Lewiston, Louis-Joseph Martel typified such men. Born in Saint-Hyacinthe, Quebec, in 1851, he came to Lewiston fresh from medical school in 1873. Martel quickly became the leader of the French-Canadian community, founding and participating in several national societies. In the 1880s, this sort of activity led him to politics.<sup>39</sup>

A third group of leaders emerged out of the immigrants' religious activities. French Canadians brought to Lewiston distinctive religious traditions and practices. Unsatisfied with the different language and traditions that they found in the existing Irish-dominated Catholic church, the French Canadians demanded a priest of their own. Because of their growing numbers, they obtained a partial separation from the Irish in 1869. The French Canadians were given the basement of Saint Joseph's Church for their services. Moreover, the Flemish pastor was able to preach the homily in French.<sup>40</sup> One year later,



Religious developments were early signs of growing cultural self-awareness. Dominican Father Pierre Hévey served as pastor to the French-Canadian community between 1871 and 1881. Energetic and enterprising, Hévey directed the financing of Saint Peter's Church. *Paroisse Saint-Pierre et Saint-Paul* (1971).

they were granted their own parish with a resident pastor. They used an old chapel on Lincoln street as their house of worship until 1873, when Saint Peter's Church was built by Father Pierre Hévey, an enterprising new pastor. A leader and builder, Hévey persuaded his parishioners that, poor though they were, they had the resources to build a church. They accomplished this by lending money to the parish, the project taking the form of a savings bank. Hévey laid a solid foundation for the French-Canadian parish of Lewiston.<sup>41</sup>

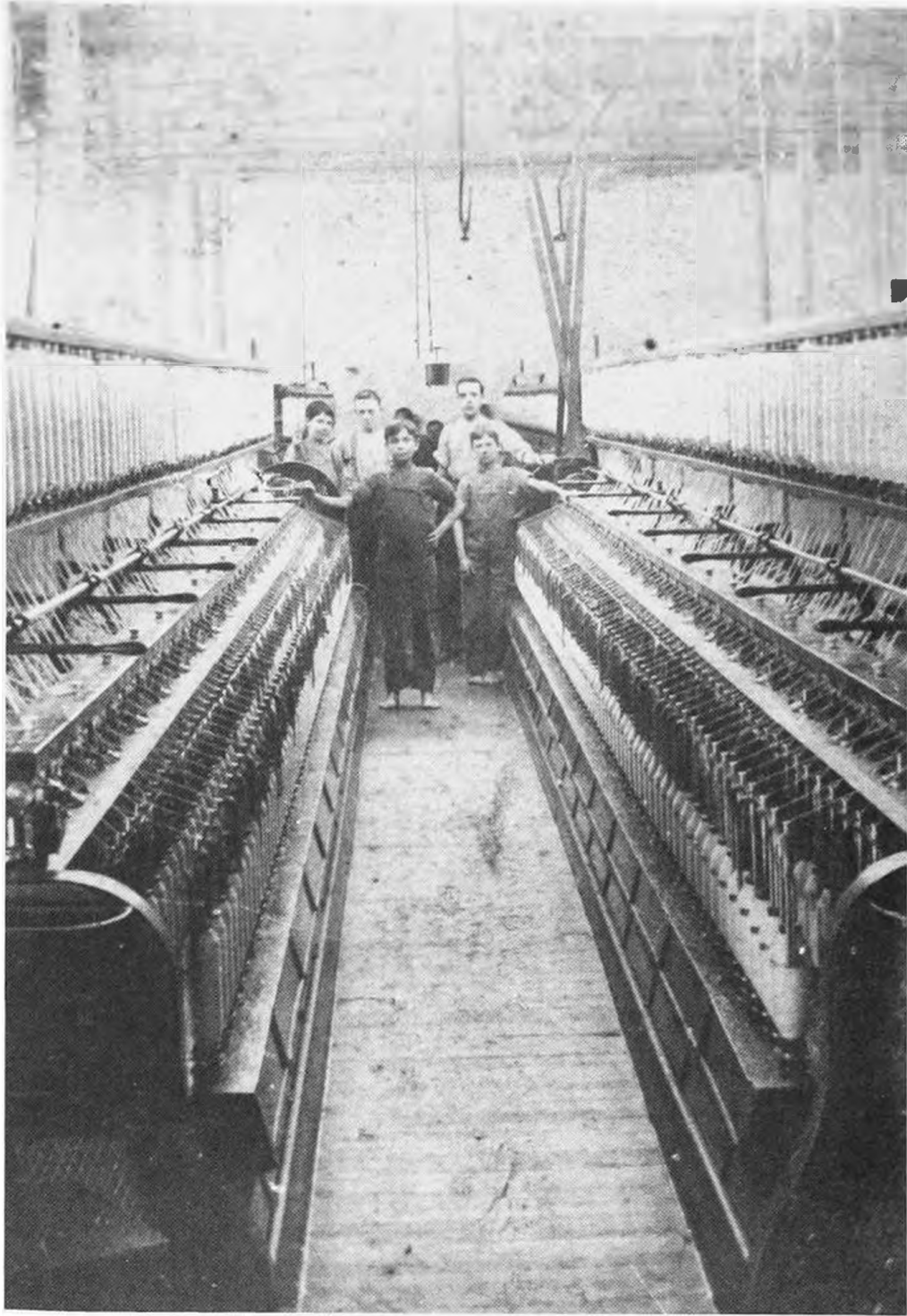
**I**n 1872, Hévey became the principal advocate of a local chapter of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society, a fraternal organization "whose financial goal would be mutual aid in difficult time, and the moral and religious goals, the preservation of national character and faith." The society was also organized to help elevate the French-Canadian image in the United States.<sup>42</sup> Like other ethnic institutions, the new organization was to play a dual role, preserving traditional values on one hand and easing the adaptation of immigrants to their new surroundings on the other.<sup>43</sup> Under the leadership of Dr. Martel, another

fraternal society, the Institut Jacques-Cartier, began meeting in 1873. After a period of rivalry, the two organizations united in 1875, taking the name of the latter. The Institut Jacques-Cartier became a leader in fostering cultural and “national” activities, such as the annual Saint-Jean-Baptiste parades to celebrate the patron saint of French Canadians.<sup>44</sup>

In 1879, still another fraternal society, the Union Saint-Joseph, was formed.<sup>45</sup> The founding of this third association may indicate a growing rivalry between leaders in the immigrant community. The Institut, perhaps, was too interested in cultural activities and was neglecting the welfare of its members. On the other hand, the rivalry may have been political: Martel, a staunch Democrat, guided the affairs of the Institut, and Pierre-X. Angers, a Republican lawyer, was prominent in the Union.

While fraternal organizations secured the needs of adult French Canadians, schools were built in the 1870s to help foster French-Canadian nationality, of which the Catholic faith was an essential component. Earlier, the education of children had greatly concerned Yankee civic leaders of Lewiston, for education was synonymous with progress and mobility, and these civic leaders worried about the thousands of illiterate immigrants pouring into the city.<sup>46</sup> The city schools, on one hand, were not equipped to meet this demand. But more important, a large proportion of children worked in the mills rather than attend school. In 1871 Lewiston schools listed 4,316 registered pupils, but the average daily attendance was 1,496. State laws prescribing three to four months of schooling before a child could enter the mills were neither respected nor enforced.<sup>47</sup>

Just as critical to Hévey and other ethnic leaders was the lack of religious instruction in public schools. Catholic faith and Catholic education were essential components of French-Canadian nationality. In 1878, when three Gray Nuns arrived from Saint-Hyacinthe, a parochial school was founded. The education was bilingual, and the sisters also offered evening courses to teach young men and women English and to



Low wages and frequent layoffs dictated the necessity of multiple incomes for the migrant families; many French-Canadian youngsters worked in the mills rather than attend school. Above, barefoot bobbin boys pose for photographer F. Larocque in the spinning room of the Bates Mill. Courtesy Maine Historic Preservation Commission.



Rallying to the call for better schooling opportunities, the French-Canadian community built this impressive red brick schoolhouse in 1881. *Paroisse Saint-Pierre et Saint-Paul*.

acquaint them with American institutions. As a result, French-Canadian enrollment in public schools declined (although it did not disappear).<sup>48</sup>

The growth of the French-Canadian community did not leave Yankees indifferent. They no doubt looked with suspicion on the growing ranks of unskilled laborers who professed a different religion and spoke a different language. However, the Yankees displayed no overt violence. In marked contrast to



the burning of the Irish chapel a few decades earlier, the *Lewiston Evening Journal* saluted the completion of Saint Peter's Church in 1873.<sup>49</sup> Undoubtedly Yankee civic leaders and business interests, whose views the *Journal* expressed, were aware of the importance of a ready and docile workforce and appreciated the stabilizing role played by the Catholic church.<sup>50</sup>

Yet the period between 1860 and 1880 was characterized by population instability. The constant shift between Lewiston, Canada, and other U.S. towns discouraged naturalization. What Stephen Thernstrom wrote of mid-nineteenth-century Newburyport laborers could be said of the majority of French Canadians in Lewiston in 1880: "Many ... lived in the city ... but they were not members of the community."<sup>51</sup> For them, Lewiston was only one of various places where they would spend some time. By 1881 only 4,000 French-Canadian immigrants had been naturalized in the entire United States, and Lewiston counted only a few hundred of these. It is not surprising, therefore, that no French Canadian held public office. In 1879, for the first time, Charles Sabourin, a Franco, ran as municipal councilman. He was not elected. The political weakness of the French-Canadian community underscored its relatively weak structure.<sup>52</sup>

A few, however, established roots in the city, founded a parish, recruited a permanent pastor, and began to establish control over the unstable population. The ethnic community remained weak, but a foundation had been laid. After 1880 the French-Canadian community would flourish.

**B**etween 1880 and 1900, as the city of Lewiston continued its transformation and expansion, the French-Canadian community became more persistent despite continued poverty. During this period, the French Canadians founded their own hospital and French-language newspaper, helped develop Little Canada, and became more active politically. A major factor in the stabilization of the French-Canadian community was the arrival of the Dominican fathers from France, who tried to minimize the allegiance to Canada, supporting Americanization over survivance. During this period, the Yankees, wishing

to flee from the immigrants and their “vices,” continued their exodus to the outskirts of the growing, modernizing Lewiston. The almost doubled French-Canadian community accounted for the steady, but slower increase in population from 19,083 in 1880 to 23,761 in 1900.<sup>53</sup> The approximately eight thousand French Canadians represented about one-third of Lewiston’s population in 1900.

In many ways, however, the character of the French-Canadian neighborhoods remained as they had been in the earlier period, and many changes came from forces external to the community itself. Rooted in the neighborhood below Lisbon Street, the ethnic community expanded outward to the north and into Auburn. Tenement living remained the norm. Eighty-six percent of the French-Canadian population still owned no real estate in 1900, and French Canadians held less than five percent of the total value of Lewiston’s property. Among the most important proprietors were the Dominican Fathers, the ethnic associations, businessmen, and companies. For the majority of small proprietors, real estate consisted of a piece of land and buildings in the rural parts of Lewiston, which may indicate the persistence of farm life as a goal for some immigrants or a complementary means of subsistence.<sup>54</sup>

The Franklin Company, through both sales and rentals, continued to exert strong influence on the geography of the French-Canadian neighborhoods. People often owned their houses but paid a land rent to the company. As land rose in value, the company developed aggressive policies to capitalize on its holdings. About 1879 the company rented parcels on the “island,” a swampy piece of land between the canal and the Androscoggin River, to budding French-Canadian entrepreneurs who built tenements. The area became known as Little Canada.<sup>55</sup> In 1889, the company began selling the land outright, and used prominent “Frenchmen” like Pierre-X Angers to promote sales. Finding the market sluggish, the company resorted to the threat of raising rents.<sup>56</sup>

To Yankees, Little Canada represented the evils of immigrant life. In 1888 the municipal board of health declared the

neighborhood to be the “worst and most dangerous place in the city.” Newspapers reported such incidents as babies “drinking whiskey.”<sup>57</sup> Having internalized such negative attitudes, later generations of Franco-Americans would be torn between seeing New England’s Little Canadas in terms of closeness and family life, and symbols of their low status. Few realized that such neighborhoods were in fact created in part by a group of their own people who used real estate as a means of social mobility.<sup>58</sup>

The industrial milieu in which the neighborhoods developed shaped the community in general. Most French Canadians remained poor: by 1900, eighty percent of the ethnic group still had no personal or real estate. But there were Francos in all occupational categories. A study done at Bates College in 1942 established a sample of the occupations listed in the 1896 city directory. Of 909 French Canadians, 33 percent were laborers; 28 percent worked in the mills; 12 percent were employed in shoe factories; 20 percent were clerks or worked in other skilled occupations. The remaining 7 percent were businessmen and professionals.<sup>59</sup> As immigrant numbers grew and an economic depression settled upon the city in the 1890s, poverty increased, and the city became more involved in charitable operations. Necessities were distributed by the overseers of the poor, who also paid rents and found work for the poor. Sometimes the city provided train fare to send destitute immigrants back to Canada.<sup>60</sup> The city police matron, in addition to helping the police department with “lost” women, visited the needy and distributed clothes and food donated by charitable organizations. In September 1899 the police matron and Bates College founded the College Social Settlement for the children of the poor.<sup>61</sup> Impressed by the connection between sickness and poverty, the city government also inaugurated a formal Board of Health in 1887. The board’s attempts to promote sanitary conditions were frustrated, however, by inadequate funding and widespread public apathy or outright opposition. Entire sections of Lewiston remained dirty and were a continuous source of disease.<sup>62</sup>



French-Canadian clerics, businessmen, and professionals provided leadership for a variety of ethnic societies and associations. Above, a postcard view of the Fanfare St. Dominique. Courtesy of the author.

The years after 1880, however, brought greater coordination of efforts within the French-Canadian community itself, in large part a reflection of the growing stability of the population within the neighborhoods. Concern for neighborhood sanitation was an important example. French-Canadian leaders, especially doctors, felt that a hospital was needed to serve the Catholic population. By 1888 they encouraged the Gray Nuns to open such an institution, which would also strengthen Catholic influence in Lewiston. The campaign for a Catholic hospital provoked an immediate reaction in the non-French population. Most of the Yankee doctors, along with some Irish doctors, founded their own Central Maine General Hospital and obtained a subsidy from the State Legislature. They characterized the "French Hospital" as deficient in medical care. Nevertheless, the Catholic institution progressed and in 1894



The Sisters of Charity Hospital, built in the late 1880s, served as another cornerstone for the emerging French-Canadian community. Postcard courtesy of the author.

obtained a state subsidy which permitted more efficient medical organization.<sup>63</sup>

To the French Canadians, spiritual health was as important as physical. One important factor in the stabilization of the French-Canadian community was the arrival of the Dominican Fathers in 1881. Seeking asylum from anticlericism in France, many religious orders migrated to Canada and the United States. It is not clear whether the Dominicans were invited to Lewiston by Father Hévey or whether pressure was exerted on the pastor to relinquish Saint Peter's to a group better suited to take charge of the growing parish. In any case, the outcome was an agreement whereby the Dominicans were given Saint Peter's parish in perpetuity in exchange for an annual pension of \$500 paid to Father Hévey. The Dominicans were obliged to carry out all religious services and provide parochial schools. Four strong at the outset, the Dominican fathers soon doubled in number and were helped by four or five brothers.<sup>64</sup>

In Lewiston and Auburn the Dominicans found 6,000 parishioners whose devotion was profound, no doubt a happy contrast to the situation in republican France. On Sundays they were busy from dawn to dusk. In addition to local duties, they were often asked to preach elsewhere in New England. Under their control, a number of religious confraternities and societies were established, the most important being the Association Saint-Dominique, founded in 1886 to protect young men from the dangers of the world and to prepare them to be better Christians and citizens. Although its membership was limited, the association undoubtedly exerted a strong influence upon the community.<sup>65</sup> The Dominicans built schools and persuaded two other European religious orders to help teach in Lewiston: the Marist Brothers (1886-1894) and the Dames of Sion (1892-1904). The Canadian Gray Nuns continued their teaching activities until 1893, when they left this field to turn their efforts to the care of the needy, the true vocation of their order. In addition to their involvement in the new hospital, the Gray Nuns established an asylum for orphans and for children of working parents.

The arrival of the European religious orders opened a breach within the French-Canadian community. For the thousands of French-Canadian children who attended Lewiston's parochial schools, the Dominicans created distinctions between the spoken language of the French-Canadian milieu and the Parisian French that students were taught at school.<sup>66</sup> Dominicans also developed different attitudes toward the larger American society. Grateful to the United States which had welcomed them, the Dominicans were enthusiastic advocates of naturalization and Americanization. In a history of Saint Peter's parish that they wrote in 1899, the Dominicans' frequent references to the virtues of American life and institutions and their pro-American attitudes conflicted with those of the militant nationalist faction of the French-Canadian petty bourgeoisie.<sup>67</sup> From the beginning, conflicts existed between the French Dominicans, especially the vigorous Father Mothon, and the provincial in Saint-Hyacinthe. Behind personality conflicts and questions of procedure were two different

views of the Dominican mission. The Canadians believed that the preservation of French-Canadian culture, especially the language, was essential to the preservation of the faith. Mothon, on the other hand, accepted American society with its religious pluralism while agreeing to Irish domination of the American Catholic church at the expense of more recent immigrants such as the French Canadians.<sup>68</sup>

In addition, as typical elsewhere in Canada and New England, territorial divisions threatened Saint Peter's parish. When in 1889 the Dominicans publicized their project of enlarging the church, which was too small for the increasing population, Auburn French Canadians organized a subscription campaign to build their own house of worship. Although unsuccessful, the movement nonetheless stirred the waters of religious unity. The following year, Little Canada's residents in turn asked for their own church, again without success.<sup>69</sup>

**B**y the end of the century Lewiston's ethnic leaders had gained regional as well as local authority. Under the leadership of Dr. Martel, Lewiston figured prominently in the French-Canadian movement. Martel, one of the most important French-Canadian characters in New England, was very active in conventions on both sides of the border.<sup>70</sup> His creation, the Institut Jacques-Cartier, rose to 575 members in 1899. By then five or six other ethnic associations were also active in the city. In addition, the French-Canadian elite was involved in a broad range of theatrical and musical activities, and it congratulated itself for having made Lewiston "the Athens of French America."<sup>71</sup>

As a voice for the cause, Martel and his associates founded a newspaper, *Le Messenger*, in March 1880. In the pages of this French-language biweekly, the ideology of "la survivance" was expounded, and French-Canadian events throughout New England and Canada were reported. The newspaper also covered local affairs and, taking up the Democratic cause, soon had enemies, among them the *Lewiston Evening Journal*. However, Martel and his friends lacked business skills and



Louis N. Martel, founder of *Le Messenger* and the Institut Jacques-Cartier, was an important figure in New England French-Canadian politics. Martel arrived in Lewiston in 1873 and died there in 1899.

faced growing financial difficulties. Around 1893 Jean-Baptiste Couture acquired *Le Messenger*, changed the orientation, and transformed the paper into a profitable enterprise. The readers found more articles on United States politics and on national sports. Issues in 1897-1898 were devoted almost exclusively to the Spanish-American War. Illustrations, caricatures, and advertising for local and national products appeared. Increasingly, the newspaper played an acculturative function.<sup>72</sup> By 1900, with a circulation of 3,000, *Le Messenger* had become one of the most important French-language newspapers in the United States.<sup>73</sup>

Historians have never given satisfactory treatment to the question of the political allegiance of French Canadians in the United States.<sup>74</sup> It is too soon to access the political choices of Lewiston's French Canadians. But one thing is certain: The seeds of the Democratic domination of the city in the twentieth century were planted in the French-Canadian community of the nineteenth century.<sup>75</sup> In this respect, the role of the elite was crucial. The Democratic party was the choice of a group of leaders who exerted great control over the neighborhood life of



the ethnic community. In trying to understand this choice of a political party, a few factors must be taken into consideration.

Young French-Canadian professionals like Martel held the Canadian Conservative party, in power at the federal and provincial levels for most of the 1880s, responsible for the difficult economic situation that had forced them to emigrate. Moreover, the intelligentsia believed the Orangists, who wished to see the destruction of French Catholicism in North America, controlled this party. Correspondence between Martel and J.D. Montmarquet, the first editor of *Le Messenger*, indicate that they equated the Canadian Conservative party with the American Republican party.<sup>76</sup> The official voice of French Canadians in Washington, Major Edmond Mallet, a staunch Democrat, surely influenced local and regional leaders through his correspondence.<sup>77</sup> In addition, Republican Yankees locally labeled the French Canadians and Irish “rum-sellers” during the prohibition crusades. Continuing political attacks such as these drove many ethnic leaders into the arms of the Democrats.<sup>78</sup>

Eventually, willingly or not, Yankees learned to accept French Canadians as a permanent element of the New England social landscape. Although perhaps still disparaged in private, French Canadians were given increasing consideration in public.<sup>79</sup> Despite one of the lowest rates of naturalization among American ethnic groups, they were a political force to be reckoned with. By 1900 French Canadians in Lewiston constituted 23 percent of city voters.<sup>80</sup> In 1880 they had elected their first councilman, and thereafter they were always present both on the Common Council and the City Council. As a result, they received their share of patronage.<sup>81</sup> At the state level, Martel was elected representative in 1884 and was followed by others. In 1894 he was chosen as the Democratic candidate in the mayoral race. Martel was beaten, however, in part due to numerous French Canadians voting against him, if we are to believe *Le Messenger*.<sup>82</sup>

The beginning of the twentieth century found a French-Canadian community in Lewiston much changed since the

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arrival of the first Quebec migrants in the 1860s. The first twenty years were characterized by a highly transient population, which precluded the formation of a cohesive community. It was only after the development of such social institutions as a parish, schools, and fraternal organizations that the French put down roots. A concomitant factor was a moderate degree of occupational mobility and the emergence of a French petty bourgeoisie composed of businessmen, professionals, and clerics. Yet the key to social and cultural stability in Lewiston's French-speaking population was demographic stability. This, more than anything else, laid the foundations for the French-Canadian community in the city.

## NOTES

This article summarizes a study of later nineteenth-century Lewiston, Maine, currently under progress. The quantitative and qualitative examination of available sources in this study until now has focused on federal, state, and municipal documents and business records. Newspapers (The *Lewiston Evening Journal*, the *Lewiston Daily Sun*, and *Le Messager*), rich in observations on every aspect of immigrant life, and religious archives, too often overlooked by the students of the new social history, constitute the bulk of unfinished studies.

<sup>1</sup>Maine's Franco population figures consist of the number of persons who declared themselves to be totally or partially of "French" descent in the 1980 U.S. Census. See Madeleine Giguère, "Y a-t-il de nos jours un marché pour le journal Franco-Américain? Analyse démographique de ce marché," Claire Quintal, dir. *Le journalisme de langue française aux Etats-Unis* (Québec: Le conseil de la vie française en Amérique, 1984), pp. 130-34, 143. New England state percentages are as follows: Connecticut: 11%; Massachusetts: 15%; New Hampshire: 26%; Rhode Island: 19%; Vermont: 28%. See Giguère, p. 143. For works on French-Canadian immigration, see Yolande Lavoie, *L'émigration des Québécois aux Etats-Unis de 1840 à 1930* (Québec: Editeur officiel, 1979); Ralph D. Vicero, "Immigration of French Canadians

to New England, 1840-1900: A Geographical Analysis," Ph.D., University of Wisconsin, 1968; Gilles Paquet, "L'émigration des Canadiens français vers la Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1870-1910: prises de vue quantitatives," *Recherches Sociographiques* 5 (septembre-décembre 1964): 319-70; Lavoie, *L'émigration des Canadiens aux Etats-Unis avant 1930: Mesure du phénomène* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1972; Lavoie, "Les Mouvements migratoires des Canadiens entre leur pays et les Etats-Unis au XIXe siècle," Hubert Charbonneau, dir., *La population du Québec: études rétrospectives* (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1973), pp. 73-88.

<sup>2</sup>The term "Franco-American" appeared only at the turn of the century. Since my work deals with the nineteenth century, I generally use the term "French Canadian," in respect for the self-perceptions of the group I am studying.

<sup>3</sup>For a thorough review of the literature on Franco-Americans, see Yves Roby, "Un Québec émigré aux Etats-Unis: bilan historiographique," Claude Savary, dir., *Les rapports culturels entre le Québec et les Etats-Unis* (Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1984), pp. 103-29. For an example of a nativist account of French-Canadian immigration to New England, see Robert Cloutman Dexter, "The Habitant Transplanted: A Study of the French-Canadian in New England," Ph.D., Clark University, 1923. A work that adheres largely to the "survivance" model is Michael Guignard, *La Foi-La Langue-La Culture: The Franco-Americans of Biddeford, Maine* (n.p., 1982). Typical of the literature that sees Franco-Americans as an ethnic group undergoing the effects of the melting pot is Peter Haebler, "Habitants in Holyoke: The Development of the French-Canadian Community in a Massachusetts City, 1865-1910," Ph.D., University of New Hampshire, 1976.

<sup>4</sup>James S. Leamon, *Historic Lewiston: A Textile City in Transition* (Auburn: Lewiston Historical Commission, 1976), pp. 1, 6-8; Lewiston Public Library, scrapbooks on Lewiston history.

<sup>5</sup>Leamon, *Historic Lewiston*; Nelson Dingley, Jr., *Historical Sketch of Lewiston* (Lewiston: Lewiston Journal, 1871), pp. 10, 21-23.

<sup>6</sup>*First Annual Report of the Receipts and Expenditures of the City of Lewiston for the Fiscal Year Ending February 29, 1864 ...* (Lewiston: George A. Callahan, 1864), p. 145; A. M. Myhrman and J. A. Rademaker, "The Second Colonization Process in an Industrial Community," typescript, Lewiston Public Library, n.d., p. 17.

<sup>7</sup>On this group, see Thomas Dublin, *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826-1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

<sup>8</sup>Margaret J. Buker, "The Irish in Lewiston, Maine: A Search for Security on the Urban Frontier, 1850-1880," *Maine Historical Society Quarterly* 13 (no. 1A, 1973): 6-10, 17. See also Theresa Morrissey, "The Irish in Lewiston, 1860-1870," typescript, University of Maine at Orono, 1984.

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<sup>9</sup>Buker, "The Irish in Lewiston," pp. 17-18, 19-20. I have found the original contracts passed between the Lewiston Water Power Company and twenty-two Irish. See Franklin Company Papers, Shanties Accounts. See also Leamon, *Historic Lewiston*, pp. 15-16, 24.

<sup>10</sup>For an introduction to Lewiston's government, see Geneva Kirk and Gridley Barrows, *Historic Lewiston: Its Government* (Lewiston: Lewiston Historical Commission, 1982), pp. 1-3.

<sup>11</sup>On streets, see *Map of Lewiston and Auburn, Maine, From Actual Surveys* (n.p., Sanford, Everts & Co., 1873); City of Lewiston, City Clerk's Office, *Record of Streets* 1 (November 2, 1840-August 4, 1919). On construction and neighborhood conditions, see city annual reports. By 1872 the number of pupils in Lewiston's schools was increasing by an average of 300 to 500 a year. See School Committee, *Ninth Annual Report ...* (Lewiston: George Callahan, 1872), p. 127.

<sup>12</sup>Leonard Dinnerstein and David Reimers, *Ethnic Americans: A History of Immigration* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), p. 10; Faucher, "L'émigration des Canadiens français," pp. 281-89.

<sup>13</sup>Albert Faucher, "L'émigration des Canadiens français aux Etats-Unis au XIXe siècle: position du problème et perspectives," *Recherches sociographiques* 5 (septembre-décembre 1964): 279.

<sup>14</sup>For an overview of the Québec economy, 1850-1930, see Yves Roby, "L'évolution économique de Québec et l'émigrant (1850-1929)," Claire Quintal, dir., *L'émigrant québécois vers les Etats-Unis: 1850-1920* (Québec: Le conseil de la vie française en Amérique, 1982), pp. 8-20.

<sup>15</sup>Studies on geographic mobility of the Québécois since the seventeenth century are badly needed.

<sup>16</sup>Among other places, one can gather information on the first French Canadians of Lewiston in *Paroisse Saint-Pierre et Saint-Paul, Lewiston, Maine, 1971: centenaire album souvenir* (n.p., n.d.). For a striking illustration of a migrant family, see A. W. Auger, *Wotton*, typescript, Lewiston Public Library, 1947.

<sup>17</sup>On the Madawaska community, see Béatrice Chevalier Craig, "Economie, société et migrations: le cas de la Vallée du Saint-Jean au 19e siècle," Claire Quintal, dir., *L'émigrant acadien vers les Etats-Unis: 1842-1950* (Québec: Le Conseil de la vie française en Amérique, 1984), pp. 120-32; on Old Town, see Marcella Harnish Sorg, "La formation d'une communauté à Old Town, Maine, 1835-1930: endogamie et origines natales parmi les Acadiens," in *ibid.*, pp. 133-47.

<sup>18</sup>Using places of origin gathered from biographies and samples from the U. S. Immigration files James P. Allen has shown that French Canadians in Lewiston-Auburn, unlike the more localized French Canadian migration elsewhere, originated from many counties between Montreal and the lower St. Lawrence. He attributes this to the relatively late and rapid growth of employment opportunities in the Twin Cities and more importantly to the

role of the Grand Trunk Railway in expanding old migration fields and creating new ones. Although helpful, Allen's research covers a large part of the state (southern and central Maine) and is accordingly imprecise on individual communities such as Lewiston and Auburn. Also, his work is flawed by its temporal and spatial limits, since Allen studied the later waves of migrants and took into account only their birthplaces. The fields did not remain the same through time and Allen did not consider the migrants' often lengthy itinerary from the place of origin to the place of destination. See Allen, "Migration Fields of French Canadian Immigrants to Southern Maine," *Geographical Review* 62 (July 1972): 378. For a methodological discussion of migration, see Bruno Ramirez and Jean Lamarre, "Du Québec vers les Etats-Unis: l'étude des lieux d'origine," *Revue d'histoire de L'Amérique française* 38 (hiver 1985): 409-422. In my work, I have used Lewiston birth, marriage, death, and voting records, concentrating on the years 1892-1895 for birth; 1893-1896 for marriage; 1897-1900 for death; and 1896-1899 for voter registration.

<sup>19</sup>For early French-Canadian migrations to other Maine towns, see Albert C. Fecteau, "The French Canadian Community of Waterville, Maine," M.A. thesis, University of Maine at Orono, 1952, p. 5; and R. Glenn Kumekawa, "Laissez-nous tranquille," senior thesis, Bates College, 1950, p. 14.

<sup>20</sup>U. S. Manuscript Census, 1870, 1880, 1900; Pères Dominicains, *Paroisse canadienne-française de Lewiston (Maine): album historique* (Lewiston: Imprimerie du Messager, 1899); p. 18; Leamon, *Historical Lewiston*, p. 22. Most published sources do not list the French-Canadian population of Lewiston and Auburn separately. Moreover, because of a highly volatile population and language barriers, the manuscript census figures are probably understated. There is a discrepancy between the manuscript census of 1900 and the Saint Peter's parish statistics of 1899, for instance.

<sup>21</sup>Family migration patterns are derived from samples of the manuscript censuses; further quantitative analysis is needed to confirm this. On the seasonal emigration of single men, see Lavoie, *L'émigration des Québécois*, p. 13; Robert Rumilly, *Histoire des Franco-Américains* (Montréal: Edité par l'auteur, 1958), pp. 14, 29, 40; Allen, "Migration Fields of French Canadian Immigrants," p. 370.

<sup>22</sup>City of Lewiston, Assessor's Office, *Valuation Book*, 1880, 1900. I am aware of the methodological problems involved in using this source: some people evaded the poll tax. Nevertheless, the valuation books provide an estimate of the high transiency.

<sup>23</sup>Others have noticed this phenomenon. See Tamara K. Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time: The Relationship Between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 122-23.

<sup>24</sup>For case studies, see Frances H. Early, "The Rise and Fall of Félix

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Albert: Some Reflections on the Aspirations of Habitant Immigrants to Lowell, Massachusetts, in the Late Nineteenth Century," Raymond Breton and Pierre Savard, eds., *The Quebec and Acadian Diaspora in North America* (Toronto: Multicultural Society of Ontario, 1982), pp. 25-30.

<sup>25</sup>For a contemporary account of stabilization, see Edouard Hamon, *Les Canadiens-Français de la Nouvelle-Angleterre* (Québec: N. S. Hardy, 1891). For similar periodization, see Gérard Blazon, "A Social History of the French-Canadian Community of Suncook, New Hampshire, 1870-1920," M.A. thesis, University of New Hampshire, 1974.

<sup>26</sup>*Valuation Book*, 1880. In this respect, French Canadians were not different from the laborers of Newburyport studied by Stephen Thernstrom. See *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964).

<sup>27</sup>U. S. Manuscript Census, 1870.

<sup>28</sup>Blazon, "Suncook, New Hampshire," p. 140, has found only 25% of heads of households working in the mills in the 1870s and 1880s. See also Early, "Félix Albert," p. 31.

<sup>29</sup>Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress*, provides the best analysis of laborers' lives in the nineteenth century.

<sup>30</sup>Donat B. Boisvert, "Place Ste-Marie: une carrière en utilité," *L'Unité*, octobre 1979, p. 6; city annual reports.

<sup>31</sup>James W. Oliver, "The History of Lewiston," typescript, Bates College, 1934, p. 13-14; city annual reports; Manuscript Census, 1880; accounts of the City Liquor Agency, Lewiston Public Library. For a colorful description of French Canadian-Irish antagonisms in Lowell, see C. Stewart Doty, *The First Franco-Americans: New England Life Stories from the Federal Writers' Project, 1938-1939* (Orono: University of Maine at Orono Press, 1985), pp. 37-38.

<sup>32</sup>City annual reports. For Lowell, see Frances Early, "The Settling-In Process: The Beginnings of Little Canada in Lowell, Massachusetts, in the Late Nineteenth Century," Claire Quintal, dir., *The Little Canadas of New England* (Worcester: French Institute/Assumption College, 1983), p. 28.

<sup>33</sup>U. S. Manuscript Census, 1880. This amounts to a preliminary evaluation.

<sup>34</sup>Auger, *Wotton*, pp. 10-12; *Valuation Book*, 1880.

<sup>35</sup>Guignard's contention that Franco-Americans had no business success in unsubstantiated. See *La Foi-La Langue-La Culture*, p. 118.

<sup>36</sup>Although it is impossible to quantify this phenomenon, the Franklin Company Papers bear witness to its existence.

<sup>37</sup>For other examples, see Thomas Kessner, *The Golden Door: Italian and Jewish Immigrant Mobility in New York City, 1880-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977); Frances Early, "Mobility Potential and the Quality of Life in Working-Class Lowell, Massachusetts: The French Canadians, ca. 1870," *Labour/Lc Travailleur* 2 (1977): 221; Blazon, "Suncook, New Hampshire," pp. 110-14.

<sup>38</sup>Pierre Anctil, "Aspects of Class Ideology in a New England Ethnic Minority: The Franco-Americans of Woonsocket, Rhode Island, 1865-1929," Ph.D. dissertation, New School for Social Research, 1980, pp. 103 ff.

<sup>39</sup>For a succinct biography of Martel, see *Paroisse Saint-Pierre*, n.p.

<sup>40</sup>Guignard, *La Foi-La Langue-La Culture*, p. 102; Marguerite A. Maillet, "The First Forty Years of Franco-American Foundations in the Lewiston Area," typescript, University of Maine at Portland-Gorham, 1976, n.p.

<sup>41</sup>Antonin Plourde, "Les Dominicains à Lewiston," *Le Rosaire*, 854-855 (août (1970): 11.

<sup>42</sup>*Cinquantenaire de l'Institut Jacques-Cartier* (Lewiston, 1925), p. 5 (free translation); Plourde, "Les Dominicains," p. 14.

<sup>43</sup>On ethnic institutions, see Raymond Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants," *American Journal of Sociology* 70 (September 1964): 193-205.

<sup>44</sup>*Cinquantenaire*, p. 7.

<sup>45</sup>Donat B. Boisvert, "1879: Rapatriement ou naturalisation," *L'Unité*, juillet-août 1979, p. 11.

<sup>46</sup>On the attitudes of Yankee elites toward education, see Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress*, pp. 76-77. In Biddeford, Guignard found 84% illiteracy. See *La Foi-La Langue-La Culture*, p. 120.

<sup>47</sup>City of Lewiston, *Eighth Annual Report ...* (Lewiston, Journal Steam Press, 1871), p. 8.

<sup>48</sup>Plourde, "Les Dominicains," pp. 15, 40; City of Lewiston, *Seventeenth Annual Report ...* (Lewiston: Lewiston Journal, 1880), pp. 11, 18-19. On Italian immigrants and schools, see John W. Briggs, *An Italian Passage: Immigrants to Three American Cities, 1890-1930* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1978), pp. 201 ff.

<sup>49</sup>*Lewiston Evening Journal*, May 5, 1873. On Yankee attitudes toward Francos, see Roby, "Un Québec'émigré," pp. 108-09; Early, "The Settling-In," pp. 27-32.

<sup>50</sup>For a similar viewpoint, see Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress*, p. 172; Blazon, "Suncook, New Hampshire," pp. 39, 73.

<sup>51</sup>Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress*, p. 32.

<sup>52</sup>Donald Chaput, "Some Repatriement Dilemmas," *Canadian Historical Review* 49 (December 1968): 405; *Cinquantenaire*, p. 27; City of Lewiston, City Clerk's Office, *Record* 3 (September 27, 1875-April 3, 1879): 542; City of Lewiston, annual reports, 1874-1879.

<sup>53</sup>City of Lewiston, annual reports; Myhrman and Rademaker, "Second Colonization Process," p. 17.

<sup>54</sup>Courtney Burnap, "Canadian Background of the Franco-Americans of Lewiston," senior thesis, Bates College, 1938, p. 22; Lewiston Public Library, scrapbook no. 3, "Auburn in its Earlier and Later Days"; *Valuation Book*, 1900.

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<sup>55</sup>Boisvert, "Place Ste-Marie," p. 11.

<sup>56</sup>I have consulted the Franklin Company letterbooks, especially 1889-1891. Androscoggin County Registry of Deeds would be another possible source.

<sup>57</sup>City of Lewiston, *Twenty-fifth Annual Report ...* (Lewiston: Journal Office, 1888), p. 112; Priscilla Howe Kendrick, "Americans in Process," senior thesis, Bates College, 1942, p. 16.

<sup>58</sup>On real estate activities among French-Canadian petty-bourgeois, see Paul-André Linteau, *Maisonneuve ou comment des promoteurs fabriquent une ville, 1883-1918* (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1981).

<sup>59</sup>*Valuation Book*, 1900; Kendrick, "Americans in Process," p. 54. Kendrick's findings must be used with caution.

<sup>60</sup>City of Lewiston, City Clerk's Office, *Records of the Overseers of the Poor* (1879-1900); City of Lewiston, *Record 6* (March 22, 1886-April 22, 1890): 138.

<sup>61</sup>See city annual reports.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, especially mayor's address for 1898, p. 16.

<sup>63</sup>Pères Dominicains, *Paroisse canadienne-française*, pp. 59-61; *Album souvenir du 75<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de la paroisse Saint-Pierre et Saint-Paul de Lewiston, Maine, 1871-1946* (Lewiston, 1946), p. 50.

<sup>64</sup>Plourde, "Les Dominicains," pp. 18-22; Pères Dominicains, *Paroisse canadienne-française*, p. 39.

<sup>65</sup>Plourde, "Les Dominicains," pp. 24, 53; Pères Dominicains, *Paroisse canadienne-française*, 53-57, 58, 84-94; *Cinquantième anniversaire de l'Association Saint-Dominique, Lewiston, Maine 1886-1936* (Lewiston, n.d.), p. 13. On the concept of social control, see Blazon, "Suncook, New Hampshire," p. 87. Lewiston's Dominicans interfered in a strike at the Bates Mill in 1886. See Plourde, "Les Dominicains," pp. 7, 32.

<sup>66</sup>See Pères Dominicains, *Paroisse canadienne-française*, pp. 47-52, 68-69.

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 5, 25, 102-03; Plourde, "Les Dominicains," p. 26.

<sup>68</sup>Plourde, "Les Dominicains," pp. 27-30.

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 33. Auburn's French Canadians got their own parish in 1902, and Little Canada in 1907.

<sup>70</sup>See Rumilly, *Histoire des Franco-Américains*, pp. 113, 118, 120, 127; Fonds Mallet, correspondence between Lewiston French-Canadian leaders and Major Edmond Mallet, ca. 25 letters, Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique.

<sup>71</sup>Pères Dominicains, *Paroisse canadienne-française*, pp. 96-100; Rumilly *Histoire des Franco-Américains*, p. 166.

<sup>72</sup>Paul-M. Paré, "Les vingt premières années du *Messenger* de Lewiston, Maine," in Quintal, *Le journalisme*, pp. 82-83; Fonds Mallet, J.-D. Montmarquet to Mallet, 13 letters; Emile H. Tardivel to Mallet, July 6, 1887.

<sup>73</sup>Paré, "Vingt premières années du *Messenger*," p. 93.



<sup>74</sup>For a recent assessment of this question, see Ronald A. Petrin, "Culture, Community and Politics," in Quintal, *The Little Canadas*, pp. 66-83.

<sup>75</sup>On Franco-Americans as Democrats, see Steve Beale, "Minority Group Politics in Maine," honors thesis, Bowdoin College, 1964; Ronald L. Bissonnette, "Political Parties as Products of their Environments: A Case Study of Lewiston, Maine," honors thesis, University of Maine at Orono, 1977.

<sup>76</sup>Fonds Mallet, correspondence between Lewiston French-Canadian leaders and Major Edmond Mallet, ca. 25 letters.

<sup>77</sup>Information on this important character can be found in Rumilly, *Histoire des Franco-Américains*, especially p. 36.

<sup>78</sup>The Lewiston mayors' addresses and the city marshalls' reports in the city annual reports indicate the importance of the liquor issue.

<sup>79</sup>Haebler, "Habitants in Holyoke," p. 10; Guignard, *La Foi-La Langue-La Culture*, p. 92. See also Roby, "Un Québec Emigré," pp. 108-09. For an example of racism, see Edward L. Wood to Stephen Lee, October 30, 1902, Franklin Company Papers.

<sup>80</sup>Haebler, "Habitants in Holyoke," p. 47. On the low rate of naturalization among French Canadians, see Norman Sepunik, "A Profile of Franco-American Political Attitudes in New England," typescript, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 1968. Votes were tabulated from City of Lewiston, City Clerk's Office, *List of Voters*, 1900.

<sup>81</sup>See city annual reports and records of the City Council.

<sup>82</sup>Records of the City Council; Harold R. Cox, "The French-Canadian Ethnic Factor in Maine Politics," M.A. thesis, University of Maine at Orono, 1972, pp. 104-05, 113; Paré, "Vingt premières années du *Messenger*," p. 90.

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