

Catholics could argue that because Saskatchewan and Alberta were created by the Dominion, they should be endowed with a separate school system and guarantees for the French language, but this ignored the fact that the North-West did have a large measure of self-government and its own Ottawa-approved institutions before 1905. Lupul has discovered that even the minority's legal adviser felt that the Catholics had no constitutional grounds to stand upon. Bishop Legal of St. Albert was prepared to accept the bill, but not so his metropolitan, Archbishop Langevin of St. Boniface, who demanded a complete return of the separate school system of 1875. However most Catholics realized that Langevin's hard line had done little for them in Manitoba, where there were no state-supported Catholic schools, even in name. Consequently, Langevin's position attracted little support from either his fellow bishops or the papal delegate.

If there had been an election on the issue, as in 1896, French Canadians would have been able to vote Liberal with a clear conscience because, Bourassa's statements to the contrary, Laurier had gone as far as possible under the circumstances to protect minority rights in the North-West. Even more than in 1896, most Québécois understood that it was pointless to force their institutions upon a region where they had become hopelessly outnumbered by an unsympathetic majority, particularly when the cost would be more federal power and prestige at the expense of the provinces. The fate of French Canada in the West did not hinge upon the school questions; those issues would not have arisen had that fate not already been sealed.

J. I. LITTLE

### Maine: A Bibliographical Review

Since its founding in 1822, the Maine Historical Society has been the center of research on the State's past. At its location in Portland, the Society houses many of the major document, newspaper, and book collections available within Maine. Besides continuing to improve its capacity to make manuscripts, newspapers, and books accessible, it has steadily enlarged its list of publications and through an arrangement with the New Hampshire Publishing Company at Somersworth has built up a good, brief list. Among the books in print are Neal W. Allen Jr., ed., *Province and Court Records of Maine* (6 vols., Portland, 1928-1975); Ronald F. Banks, *Maine Becomes a State: The Movement to Separate Maine from Massachusetts* (Middletown, Conn., 1970); Gordon E. Kershaw, *The Kennebeck Proprietors, 1749-1775* (Somersworth, N.H., 1975), and various reprints of older, but still useful, Maine books such as the 1865 edition of William Willis' *The History of Portland* (reprinted

Somersworth, 1972). Of signal importance in the Society's publishing program is its Maine History Bibliographical Guide Series, which includes thus far *The Indians of Maine* (Portland, 1972) by Roger B. Ray, *Lumbering and the Maine Woods* (Portland, 1971) by David C. Smith, *Maine During the Federal and Jeffersonian Period* (Portland, 1974) by Ronald F. Banks, *Maine Shipbuilding* (Portland, 1974) by William A. Baker, *Maine During the Colonial Period* (Portland, 1974) by Charles F. Clark, and *Maine Bibliographies* (Portland, 1973) by Elizabeth Ring.<sup>1</sup> The Maine Historical Society also contributes to scholarship in other ways. In 1975, the fourteenth volume of the *Maine Historical Society Quarterly* appeared. Established in June 1961 as a newsletter, the *Quarterly* now regularly includes articles, books lists, and reviews. Still another part of the Society's program is the Annual Prize Essay Contest. The winner receives a financial award and has his essay subsequently published in the *Quarterly*.<sup>2</sup> In 1962 the Maine Historical Society had only a staff of three professional people.<sup>3</sup> Although there are now at least twice that number, the apathy surrounding local historical societies in general and the common lack of funds have been to a great degree overcome in Maine, as elsewhere in New England, only by good presidents of the Society, active standing committees, and the personal effort of the Director.

A second major source of support of research has been the University of Maine. Before the Second World War, one could list the accomplishments of the University of Maine (at Orono) in encouraging research in Maine history very quickly; there were few. After the War, however, a series of M.A. theses appeared, many of them under the direction of Professor Robert M. York of the UMO staff. The flow of theses once started has continued and has been recently joined by several Ph.D. dissertations. Not surprisingly, of the over one hundred M.A.'s done at Orono since 1906, the largest group falls into the category of what may be called town and city history, while the next largest groups in size are those dealing with canals and railroads, with colonial history, and with the Civil War. The Ph.D. program at the University of Maine at Orono has produced six dissertations in Maine history: Ronald F. Banks, "The Separation of Maine from Massachusetts, 1785-1820" (1966); Roger L. Grindle, "The Maine Lime Industry. . ." (1971); Samuel C. Guptill, "The Grange in Maine from 1874-1940" (1972); Edward Schriver, "The Antislavery Impulse in Maine, 1833-1855" (1967); Charles A. Scontras, "Two Decades

1 Miss Ring has also published a *Reference List of Manuscripts Relating to the History of Maine* (3 vols., Orono, 1938-41), which remains the standard bibliographical guide.

2 The winners of the last two years have been students from the University of Maine at Orono: Kenneth M. Morrison for "Sebastien Racle and Norridgewock, 1724: The Eckstrom Conspiracy Thesis Reconsidered" (1974) and Donald A. Yerxa for "The State of Maine and the New Navy, 1889-1893" (1975).

3 Ring, *Maine Bibliographies*, pp. 12-3.

of Organized Labor in Maine, 1880-1900" (1968); and Richard R. Wescott, "A History of Maine Politics 1840-56" (1966). For its achievements in state and local history, in 1972 the American Association for State and Local History awarded the Department of History at UMO a citation for "Teaching a Maine State and Local History Course based on source materials which has resulted in many valuable contributions to the field." The University of Maine can, of course, always improve upon the good work already accomplished. Until recently, the study of state and local history has not been widely supported in the University and in the private colleges of the State. Only two of the several private colleges in Maine were listed in a recent description of "College Courses in Maine History", College of the Atlantic, Bar Harbor, with a course entitled, "Maine Coast History and Architecture," and Ricker College, Houlton, with one called "History of Aroostock."<sup>4</sup> On the campuses of the University system, an introductory course is the usual offering in Maine history, although on some of the campuses, the course in Maine history is carried in the Continuing Education Division. Hopefully, concern about Maine history will lead eventually to a multi-disciplinary Maine Studies center at one of the University's campuses of the type suggested by Richard Barringer in "A Maine Manifest", published in R. F. Banks, ed., *A History of Maine* (3rd ed., Dubuque, Iowa, 1974), pp. 375-7.

Another facet of the program at Orono is the Canadian-American Center which was founded in 1968 as the New England-Atlantic Provinces-Quebec Center. The Center has been instrumental in stirring up concern about the whole region of which Maine is a part. While the CAC's scope is broader than merely Maine and her relations with her neighbors, the Center continues to exercise a salutary effect on Maine Studies, particularly those studies which relate to cross-border relations. Its publications have been useful to students of Maine history, particularly E. O. Schriver, ed., *The French in New England, Acadia and Quebec* (Orono, 1972); Alice F. Stewart, ed., *The Atlantic Provinces of Canada: Union List of Materials in the Larger Libraries in Maine* (2nd ed., Orono, 1971); and Irene M. Simano, ed., *The Franco-Americans of New England: A Union List of Materials in Selected Maine Libraries* (Orono, 1971). Making use of the CAC's facilities, the UMO History Department's Canadian-American Studies Program has stimulated several Maine-related M.A. theses and Ph.D. dissertations. Among the completed M.A.'s are Richard I. Hunt's "British-American Rivalry for the Support of the Indians of Maine and Nova Scotia" (1973); Kenneth M. Morrison's "Sebastian Rale Vs. New England: a Case of Frontier Conflict" (1970); Michael Sheehy's "John A. Poor and International Railways: The Early

4 Joel W. Eastman, ed., "College Courses on Maine History", *Maine Historical Society Quarterly*, 14 (1974), pp. 62-4.

Years to 1860" (1974); and Thalia Stevens Cowan's "The International Commission Pertaining to the St. John River, 1909-1916" (1969). Among the Ph.D. dissertations in progress are Edwin A. Churchill's work on Seventeenth Century Falmouth (Portland), Richard I. Hunt's on the Loyalists in Maine, Irene M. Simano's on French-Canadian women in Maine mills and factories from 1870 to 1900, and John F. Myers' on the emigration from the Maritimes to Eastern Maine from 1880 to 1910. Of particular interest to the historians of Acadia will be Jean Daigle's recently completed (1975) thesis: "Nos amis les ennemis; relations commerciales de l'Acadie avec les Massachusetts, 1670-1711."

Two other aids to research in Maine history are found at Orono. The first is the Special Collections section of the Raymond H. Fogler Library which was established in 1970 to collect, preserve, and make available for study and research the archival records, manuscripts and book collections in unique subject areas, particularly those relating to Maine and her people. In 1974, Special Collections published a booklet listing its holdings. The second aid is the University of Maine Press which for years has carried on a small but significant publishing program of Maine materials under the direction of the Maine Studies Committee. Among its publications are *A History of Lumbering in Maine 1861-1960* (Orono, 1972) by David C. Smith; *Ezekiel Holmes, Father of Maine Agriculture* (Orono, 1968) by Clarence Day; *Organized Labor and Labor Politics in Maine* (Orono, 1966) by Charles A. Scontras; and *Go Free: The Antislavery Impulse in Maine, 1833-1855* (Orono, 1970) by Edward Schriver. Worth mention also are some of the reprints of older books: *Length and Breadth of Maine, a Compilation of Place Names in Maine* (Orono, 1972) by Stanley B. Attwood; *Indian Place Names of the Penobscot Valley and the Maine Coast* (Orono, 1974) by Fannie Hardy Eckstorm; *A History of Lumbering in Maine, 1820-1861* (Orono, 1971) by Richard G. Wood; and *An International Community on the St. Croix* (Orono, 1974) by Harold A. Davis.

Supplementing the facilities of the Maine Historical Society and the University of Maine in a general way are several State Agencies. Perhaps the most active are the Maine State Museum and the State Historic Preservation Commission. The Museum, while limited by meager funds, has done good work in its brief existence. Housed in a new cultural building (1971) at Augusta it offers displays, conducts bibliographical searches, and carries out compilations. It has also published a number of worthwhile books: Jennie G. Everson, *Tidewater Ice of the Kennebec River* (Augusta, 1970); James Sullivan, *History of the District of Maine* (1795, reprinted Augusta, 1970); Moses Greenleaf, *A Survey of the State of Maine in Reference to its Geographical Features, Statistics and Political Economy* (1829, reprinted Augusta, 1970); and *Maine Catalog: Historic American Buildings Survey* (Augusta, 1974) with an introductory essay on "The Historic Architecture of Maine" by Denys

Peter Myers. With its photographs and text, *Maine Catalog* may well be one of the most important works published by the Museum.

Important to the study of Maine history is the Historic Preservation Commission under the direction of James Mundy. Also at Augusta are the Maine State Library and the State Archives which houses, among other things, collections of town records, land records, military records, and genealogical records of Maine. Two other groups, the Maine Commission on the Arts and Humanities and the Maine Bicentennial Commission, have provided seed money for various projects. The Bicentennial Commission, for instance, has granted funds for the writing of student and adult histories related to Maine and the American Revolution and has awarded funds to the Maine Historical Society to create and to publish an Historical Atlas of the State of Maine. The local historical societies have always provided a substructure to support these agencies and groups. The Maine League of Historical Societies was organized in the 1960s and claimed sixty-nine institutions as members in 1963. In 1973, the League consisted of nearly one hundred and fifty member institutions. In the spring of 1975, *The Maine History News*, the League's major publication, published its tenth volume.

There are, of course, problems with the framework in which Maine historical studies are now undertaken. One of these is lack of financial support, which certainly is not unique to Maine. Another problem is that of co-ordination. While there is communication between most of the entities considered in this review, there is not as much co-ordination as is possible and necessary. Still a third problem area involves a mental set. Until recently there has been a tendency, despite the persistent efforts of a small nucleus of people in the state university, the local historical societies, and the Maine Historical Society, to drift among those who should be leading. Nonetheless, apathy and drift seem to be beginning to dissipate with the renewed energy and purpose being evidenced in state and local history in Maine.

Making judgements about the concerns of Maine historians themselves, their approaches, and their weaknesses is somewhat more difficult. Maine historians, as would be expected, are very roughly divided into the professionals and the amateurs, although this division is not rigidly exclusive. One conclusion is certain: they are a disorganized group. While there is opportunity for some cross-fertilization at the local historical society meetings, at the regular and annual meetings of the Maine Historical Society, and at the newly established organization of Maine Academic Historians, Maine historians because of their diverse interests have not yet made effective use of their opportunities to help each other's research efforts. The first attempt on a formal basis to the knowledge of this reviewer to get Maine historians together to begin to hammer out the contours of Maine history and to discern what might be the future course of Maine historical studies, was at the University of Maine at Orono as part of the Sesquicentennial Colloquium on 30 March

1970<sup>5</sup>. The arguments advanced at the Colloquium indicate the need for new approaches. University of Maine Professors Ronald F. Banks and David C. Smith, who were invited to give addresses at the Colloquium directed their remarks to the topics "Maine's Resources and the Nation" and "Maine's Resources and the State" respectively. Banks suggested that historians concentrate their attention on Maine's past performance in comparison with national, social, economic, and political trends. Smith, on the other hand, stressed the issue of Maine's past self-image as well as the outmigration of Maine people in the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Both Banks and Smith have rekindled the process of questioning the nature of Maine's past. That such a new beginning should have occurred as late as 1970 indicates the distance that Maine historians have to travel before they arrive at solid assessments about the State. Thus, while much solid groundwork has been accomplished, the time has come to move beyond this basic work and to pull the threads together in a meaningful, if temporary, pattern. The basic studies should continue enhanced by attempts to frame a coherent theory of Maine history.

Where Maine historians should specifically place their efforts is moot, but there are areas of particular need which most will recognize as requiring attention soon. A new general history of the State is one of these needs. The history of the histories of the State is in itself of some interest. Professor William B. Jordan, Jr. of Westbrook College has presented a comprehensive rundown of general histories in an introduction to the reprint of Louis C. Hatch's *Maine: A History* (1919, reprinted Somersworth, 1974). The initial *History of the District of Maine* (Boston, 1795) was written by James Sullivan. Just over thirty years later William D. Williamson offered his *History of the State of Maine* (1832, reprinted Freeport, Me., 1967).<sup>7</sup> In the late nineteenth century, the Rev. John S. C. Abbott published his error-ridden and moralizing text, *The History of Maine* (Augusta, 1892). In the twentieth century, Louis C. Hatch's *Maine: A History* (1919, reprinted Somersworth, 1974) remains paramount. Thus for the last fifty or so years, there has been no scholarly general history other than Hatch. The time is ripe for a new, updated history of Maine. In the past few years several Maine historians have threatened to take up this task, but as yet no one is seriously at it.

A second project, matching in importance that of a general history of the State, is to research and to publish interpretations of Maine's economic and social past. Professor Arthur M. Johnson has led the way in reiterating this need; he has concluded that on the eve of the 21st century Maine has a society

5 The proceedings of the meeting were published by the University of Maine Press. See A. M. Johnson, ed., *Explorations in Maine History* (Orono, 1970).

6 See, in particular, Smith's argument in *ibid.*, pp. 45-64.

7 It is interesting to note that in the reprint of Williamson, the 1832 edition was chosen over the 1839 edition. This choice of editions is puzzling.

and an economy which has been relatively untouched by the twin blessings of the 20th century, industrialization and urbanization.<sup>8</sup> One automatically asks why this is so, when a century or more ago Maine was vigorously seeking ways to join the national march toward industrialization. Yet Professor Johnson has shown that "Maine's sons and daughters are still leaving the state for more alluring fields of wealth and enterprise." "Traditionally," Professor Johnson notes, "we have solved this problem — in 1851, 1951 and today — by exporting surplus population, along with the relatively unprocessed products of our soil and waters".<sup>9</sup> The problem is not Maine's alone; the Maritime Provinces of Canada have had similar difficulties. Perhaps a comparative study of both situations would bear important results. The task ahead is to examine the evidence and then to write an economic history in the best quantitative and literary sense of the term.

A third endeavor for future research and study comes under the rubric of conservation history. While there have been two M.A. theses at UMO treating this facet of our past, Richard Davies, "The History of the Penobscot River" (1972) and Charles Roundy, "Changing Attitudes Toward the Maine Wilderness" (1970), much of the spark for conservation history has come from outside Maine historical circles. Mark Willis and Richard Spencer offered the historians a challenge in their legally oriented *Timber Taxation in the Company State* (Portland, 1971), as did William C. Osborn in his Nader sponsored study, *The Paper Plantation* (Washington, 1972). Among other pertinent examples is James Wilson's 1963 Ph.D. dissertation at Syracuse University, "Politics of Pollution: The Case of Maine". While there have been works on Maine's land use policies and their connection with lumbering, a modern conservation history is still to appear. A number of other areas also wait attention. Certainly the place of women merits consideration; historians have not moved much past the stage represented by Helen Coffin Beedy's book, *Mothers of Maine* (Portland, 1895), which less than critically assessed the role of Maine's women. The Indians, while receiving more study than formerly, deserve still more historical treatment, and other important groups such as the Franco-Americans have not yet been accorded adequate attention, although there are indications of a renewed interest in Franco-American studies.<sup>10</sup> The story of religious groups in the State requires re-evaluation and updating. Although two members of the Bangor Theological Seminary faculty (one active and one recently retired) have published brief but solid religious history, Walter L. Cook, *Bangor Theological Seminary: A Sesqui-*

8 Arthur M. Johnson, "The Maine Problem", in Banks, ed., *A History of Maine*, pp. 339-44.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 341.

10 See Michael Guignard, "Maine Corporation's Sole Controversy", *Maine Historical Society Newsletter*, 12 (1973), pp. 111-30 and James P. Allen, "Franco-Americans in Maine: A Geographical Perspective", *Acadiensis*, IV (Autumn, 1974), pp. 32-66.

*centennial History* (Orono, 1971) and Mervin M. Deems, *Maine: First of Conferences: A History of the Maine Conference — United Church of Christ* (Bangor, 1974), histories of the Methodist, Baptist, and Congregational churches in updated form are badly needed and a history of the Jews in Maine is yet to be attempted. William L. Lucey's *The Catholic Church in Maine* (Francestown, N.H., 1957) will soon be twenty years old.

Yet while gaps remain much sound and useful work has been done in the last ten years. One of the crucial sequences in the history of Maine was the separation from Massachusetts in 1820. For many years this story was told in scattered and incomplete articles, theses, and dissertations, but in 1970 as part of the sesquicentennial celebration of this event, Wesleyan University Press in cooperation with the Maine Historical Society published Ronald F. Banks' *Maine Becomes a State*, and in 1973, this book was reprinted by New Hampshire Publishing Company as a paperback. Equally basic to the study of Maine history is David C. Smith's *A History of Lumbering in Maine, 1861-1960*. Although some Maine historians might have wished a stronger and more extended investigation of the conservation issues involved in lumbering and papermaking, Smith's book is, despite these minor criticisms, an important complement to the earlier history of lumbering in Maine by Richard G. Wood which carried the story to 1861.

Another vital segment of Maine's past is covered in Charles E. Clark's book, *The Eastern Frontier: The Settlement of Northern New England, 1610-1763* (New York, 1970), and in the field of biography, H. Draper Hunt's *Hannibal Hamlin of Maine: Lincoln's First Vice-President* (Syracuse, 1969) stands as a solid example. There has been some question about Hunt's stress on Hamlin's prowess as an antislavery reformer in the ranks of the establishment of that time, but this minor issue does not mar an otherwise good book. Solid also is the aforementioned history of Bangor Theological Seminary by Professor Walter L. Cook, a book which presents a good blending of standard history with anecdote. Two books dealing with architecture, *Maine Catalog* and Martin Dribner, ed., *Portland* (Portland, 1972), are useful. A very solid study in the field of industrial history (the result of a Ph.D. dissertation done at UMO) is Roger L. Grindle's *Quarry and Kiln: The Story of Maine's Lime Industry* (Rockland, 1971).

One final category of books is worth a note. Two books about what might be called current history offer the reader an examination of the confluence of Maine's past, present, and very possibly its future. *Where the Place Called Morning Lies* (New York, 1973) by Frank Graham, Jr. purports to be the very personal explanation of why the author and his wife came to Maine and what they found after their arrival. A second book, *Fragile Structures: A Story of Oil Refineries, National Security, and the Coast of Maine* (New York, 1975), written by Peter A. Bradford, former chairman of Maine's Public Utilities Commission, vividly portrays how the affairs of Maine have become en-

meshed with those of entrepreneurs, the federal government, and international events. Ironically at a point in time when we are on the verge of making important discoveries about our past, the people of Maine may well have lost control over their future.

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