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Dorothy A. Blanchard

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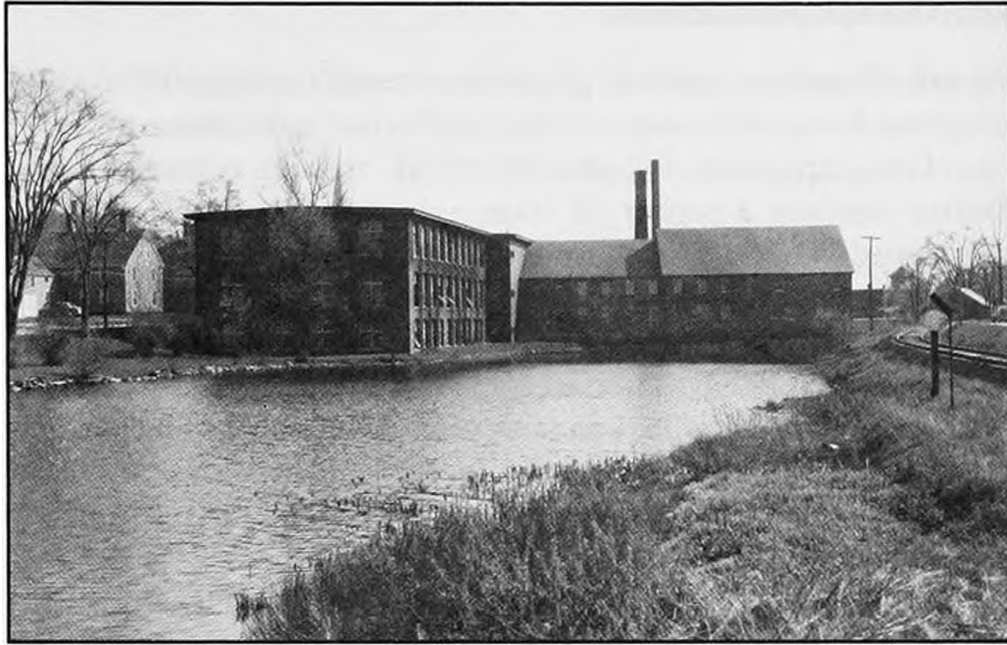
DOROTHY A. BLANCHARD

INTO THE HEART OF MAINE:
A LOOK AT DEXTER'S
FRANCO-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

The study of French-Canadian immigration is generally centered around New England's larger cities; small towns receiving migrants are usually overlooked. This article examines the French-Canadian population in one such rural town. Dexter, Maine, serves as a microcosm of the larger "petits canadas" throughout New England, but it also projects a different type of ethnic experience. Dorothy A. Blanchard discusses the rewards and the hardships of the Franco experience in rural Maine.

One of the more remarkable trends in our society in the last twenty years has been the growing pride Americans have shown in their various ethnic backgrounds. This is especially true of Maine's Franco-American community. Long ignored as a subject for scholarly study, the history of French Canadian migration to this state is now beginning to take shape in the form of community studies, labor analyses, social histories, and personal narratives.¹ Since nearly twenty-five percent of Maine's population has Quebecois and Acadian origins, numbers alone suggest that an examination of the state's most culturally distinctive ethnic group is an important step in understanding its history.²

Between 1840 and 1930 tens of thousands of French-speaking people made their way from Quebec to Maine's industrial towns and cities. An examination of this migration reveals distinct settlement, occupational, and cultural patterns that seem to be similar throughout the state. But are they? To date most of the inquiry has focused on the Petits Canadas of Maine's larger cities,



Dexter's French-Canadian immigrants found work in the town's thriving woolen textile industry. Taking advantage of prime natural and locational features, Amos and Jeremiah Abbott established the first of these mills on the East Branch of the Sebasticook River in 1820. The mill, pictured above in 1941, was owned and operated by the same family for over 150 years.

Bert Call photo courtesy Dexter Historical Society and University of Maine

such as Lewiston, Biddeford, and Waterville, while the less visible, smaller centers are all but ignored. Since much of America's history occurs in its small towns, no study of Maine's Franco-American population would be complete without a closer look at one of these communities.

One such community is Dexter, a small Penobscot County town whose ethnic composition is not widely known outside the local area. Yet in the first decade of this century nearly one-fourth of Dexter's population was Franco-American.³ Generations of Franco families have lived and worked in Dexter, shaping and being shaped by this rural mill town. In some respects their experiences mirror those of their compatriots in the urban industrial areas of the state. But the small-town atmosphere has influenced certain aspects of their lives in ways that the city could not. From the historical development of this ethnic community in the last decades of the nineteenth century to the beginnings of the assimilation process after 1900, it is possible to examine

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French-Canadian social organization, settlement patterns, and religious life in the context of a small rural mill town.

Geographically situated in a hilly area of central Maine, Dexter became a center of economic activity almost from its beginning. One of the reasons for its success was an abundant water supply. The town is bisected by the East Branch of the Sebasticook River which flows out of Lake Wassookeag on its way to the Kennebec. This stream, which drops 142 feet in three-quarters of a mile, was immediately recognized by the first settlers as an important source of power.⁴ It was this potential power source that influenced two Massachusetts men, Amos and Jeremiah Abbott, to choose the site for a mill. The woolen manufacturing business they started in 1820 was not only one of the state's earliest but one that was owned and operated by the same family for over 150 years.⁵ The stability and success of the Amos Abbott Company no doubt influenced other textile manufacturers to locate in Dexter, and by 1865 four such businesses were operating. In addition there were two grist mills, a tannery, a foundry, and several saw mills.⁶ It is apparent that at the close of the Civil War the town, though small and essentially rural, had the beginnings of an industrial core. It was this setting that greeted the first few French Canadians making their way into the central part of the state.

Economic conditions in Quebec in the mid-nineteenth century made traditional farming practices extremely difficult. Most of the arable land had been settled and subdivided to the point where it could not sustain the large families typical of the Quebec countryside. The Canadian West, largely inaccessible prior to the great railroad expansion, offered poor agricultural prospects. The fur trade was disappearing, and Quebec's weak industrial sector simply could not absorb the excess work force.⁷ Migration south into New England remained the best alternative.

Dexter's French Canadians came primarily from the Beauce-Tring area.⁸ Using the Kennebec Valley route (present-day U.S. 201), they veered east into the central part of Maine. Others from southern Quebec traveling the same route kept to the south, eventually settling in Skowhegan, Waterville, and Au-

gusta.⁹ The railroad was extended from Newport to Dexter in 1868, providing an important link to these Franco-American towns to the southwest. The rail line became the primary access route.¹⁰

The timing of the Quebec influx coincides with the expansion of industry in Dexter, but it is unclear whether the textile mills were the attraction. James P. Allen, in a comparative study of Maine Franco-American communities, believes they were, but the assumption seems based on patterns of opportunity in New England's larger textile mill towns.¹¹ Most of Dexter's earliest immigrants were farmers or woodsmen, and when they first arrived, they continued to work in these occupations.¹² For example the nine Cloutier brothers, who were among the first to arrive in the 1860s, "used axes to help clear this town, and (they) kept the Abbott mill supplied with wood."¹³ Unable to speak English, and working at whatever jobs were available, most of the new immigrants became day laborers, and they remained at the bottom of the economic ladder (see Table 1). Some of the younger men with families and the few single males in those early years found employment in the woolen mills. If women worked outside the home (and few did in the first two decades), it was in the mills. Several children as young as age 10 worked there also.¹⁴ The statistics reveal younger workers were employed more often in the woolen manufacturing industry.

Table 1

AGE AND OCCUPATION OF FRENCH-CANADIAN MALES, 1870						
OCCUPATION	AGE					
	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
Mill Workers	4	4	6	1		1
Farmers			1		1	
Laborers	1	10	6	3	2	1

Source: U.S. Manuscript Census, 1870

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In the decade from 1860 to 1870 Dexter's population grew by about 500 individuals. French Canadians accounted for one-third of the increase, or 5.7 percent of the total population.¹⁵ Although a small beginning, this trickle became a flood in the decades following. In the 1870s Dexter actually lost population but the French Canadians, arriving in ever increasing numbers, made up approximately 10 percent of the total count.¹⁶

The town attracted other immigrants as well. People from England, Scotland, and Ireland had arrived before the Civil War, although their numbers did not equal those of the French Canadians.¹⁷ In addition, Canadians from the Maritimes began to settle in central Maine about the same time. Most of these English-speaking immigrants generally found employment in the mills.¹⁸

Aside from its rapid growth, Dexter's French-Canadian population possessed two other notable characteristics. Nearly all came as family units, and they tended to be quite mobile, especially in the period 1860-1880.¹⁹ Families with several children frequently joined relatives already living in Dexter in a classic chain migration. "An aunt and uncle came here first. Times were hard with so many children. Then the news was out: there were four mills here. They were hiring. There were jobs."²⁰

The transience in those early years was indicated by the different French-Canadian surnames appearing at ten-year intervals in the manuscript census reports, 1860-1880.²¹ Some of the new arrivals simply left after a few months for other areas, sometimes moving to the larger industrial cities to the southwest. Most Dexter families, in fact, had relatives living in other Maine and New England locations.²² Perhaps they did not find the job opportunities they expected in Dexter, for many were employed as day laborers (see Table 1). Most had no personal property, and only six families were listed as having any real estate.²³ It is also possible that the woolen manufacturers were not willing to hire older individuals. Only two men over forty worked in the industry during that first decade.²⁴ For whatever reasons, it is clear that instability and transience characterized the first few years of French-Canadian life in Dexter.



The influx of French Canadians, beginning in 1860, brought a need for a suitable place of worship. St. Anne's, pictured here in 1937, provided the Catholics of Dexter with their own church, although still a mission.

*Dexter Historical Society
photo, courtesy Richard
Whitney*

These complex migration patterns as well as Dexter's rural environment not only affected individuals and families, but also influenced the entire group's social and institutional organizations (or lack of them). The ethnic community was never large enough to support the businesses and institutions found in the *Petits Canadas* of Lewiston and Biddeford. But as in those communities, the Roman Catholic Church played an important role in the lives of the immigrants.

As early as 1845 a priest from Bangor visited Dexter to attend a dying person, and while he was there, he celebrated Mass in the home of one of the few Catholic families. No regular services were held until 1871 when a large number of French Canadian families arrived, necessitating a more suitable place to worship. In that year a church was constructed on High Street, and the mission was attached first to the Waterville parish and later to the Skowhegan parish. French priests visited Dexter while it remained a mission, but when it was elevated to the status of a parish in 1893, the congregation was served by Irish priests.²⁵

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In many of New England's larger textile cities, conflicts arose between Irish Catholics and French Catholics over religious and ethnic issues,²⁶ but in Dexter if they existed at all, they are not apparent in the historical record. The possible exception occurred in the 1920s when an energetic Irish priest became very involved in the lives of his parishioners. Described by a local Yankee as "a busy and enthusiastic worker in the Parish for the material as well as the spiritual welfare of his people,"²⁷ the same man was thought by the Franco-Americans to be "nosy" and "a dictator." Because the French "were not well educated, the priest felt he had to advise them in English. That caused a little trouble."²⁸

It may have been the lack of a French priest that denied the essentially Franco-American parish its other important institution: the Catholic school. The establishment of a church-sponsored school was often a priority in a growing Franco-American community; all of Maine's largest centers supported them.²⁹ That Dexter lacked such an institution may also reflect the parish's mission status and the size and relative isolation of the town. The fact remains that Dexter and another Penobscot County town, Millinocket, were the largest Franco-American centers without any Catholic schools at all.³⁰

Sometime prior to 1890 a school was constructed on Free Street that "was intended for a French [public] school, the idea being that by putting all French-speaking children in one school with a teacher who could speak the language, better progress would be made." This school lasted only a short time, however, with no reason given for its dissolution except for the notation that "it did not work and the idea was abandoned."³¹ The 1890 town report states that the Free Street school "is now unoccupied."³² In any case, this school was not church-sponsored. Rather, it seems to have been an attempt by the local education committee to smooth the way for mainstreaming young French-speaking students into the public school system. Also noted in the 1890 town report were the following figures: of 537 pupils enrolled in public schools, 149 or 27 percent were French Canadian.³³ According to school committee figures, less than

two-thirds of Dexter's school-age children attended school regularly. The rest, the committee reasoned, were working in the mills or hanging out on the streets.³⁴

Young French-speaking children aged five or six, starting school for the first time, understandably had difficulty with lessons conducted in English, but most overcame the language barrier after about two years; in fact, they often skipped grades later.³⁵ Younger children encountered fewer problems if they had older brothers and sisters attending school. Experiencing the most difficulty were those older children attending English-speaking schools for the first time. Frustrated, they lost interest quickly, gave up, and went to work.³⁶

It was a common practice to continue schooling until eighth grade. At that time many children left to work in the mills, as any extra income the family could generate was welcome. But by the 1920s more and more Franco-Americans finished high school and a few managed a post-secondary degree. The latter came at great expense to the individual, and there were instances of students borrowing money from the priests to finish their education.³⁷

The retention of the French language has always been important to the French-Canadian heritage. Traditionally promoted by the Quebec clergy, the language was part of a concern for maintaining a cultural identity in the new land. In general the French Canadians who migrated to Maine have remained closer to their language and traditions than those in other New England states.³⁸ But in Dexter language retention proved more difficult because of the lack of French-language schools. Dexter, in fact, showed a higher degree of language assimilation than any other town surveyed in a study done by James P. Allen in 1974.³⁹

Most first-generation immigrants spoke French all their lives; some never learned English, but they understood enough to get by. Conversations with friends were always conducted in French, and their children learned to speak the language at home. Second- or third-generation Franco-Americans generally spoke French until they went to school, but since lessons were taught in English, they were forced to adopt the new language

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rather quickly. Commonly parents addressed their children in French, and the children answered in English.⁴⁰ As with most immigrant groups bilingualism disappeared by the third and fourth generations. Of particular interest were the family gatherings in which relatives from Lewiston participated. Recognizing that the city children attended parochial schools, one Dexter Franco-American recalled that "the cousins from Lewiston could barely speak English, but they spoke beautiful French."⁴¹

One of the most common characteristics of a French-Canadian community is the high incidence of Anglicizing French names. There are many reasons for this,⁴² but in Dexter the motive most often cited was to facilitate communication. English-speaking people, especially employers, had difficulty spelling and pronouncing names that fell into certain letter combinations unfamiliar to them. Consequently, when they heard French-Canadian names, they spelled them as they sounded. Most of these changes were phonetic; for example, Rancourt became Ronco. Sometimes French Canadians changed their names voluntarily to help speed up the Americanization process, which they thought would guarantee a better job or improve their social status.⁴³

Not all immigrants changed their names, however, and Dexter's Mount Pleasant Cemetery reveals both French and Anglicized versions. The cemetery itself is an interesting social

A Sample of Franco Variations in the Mount Pleasant Cemetery	
Cloutier - Clukey	D'Amboise - Ambrose
Rancourt-Ronco	Daillon Dyer
Giguere - Higgins	Poulliott-Pullyard

comment on the status of French Canadians in the community. In the original section of the cemetery, all the French-Canadian graves are located in the lower-right corner next to the woods, while Yankee tombstones occupy the rest of the cemetery, which is on higher ground.

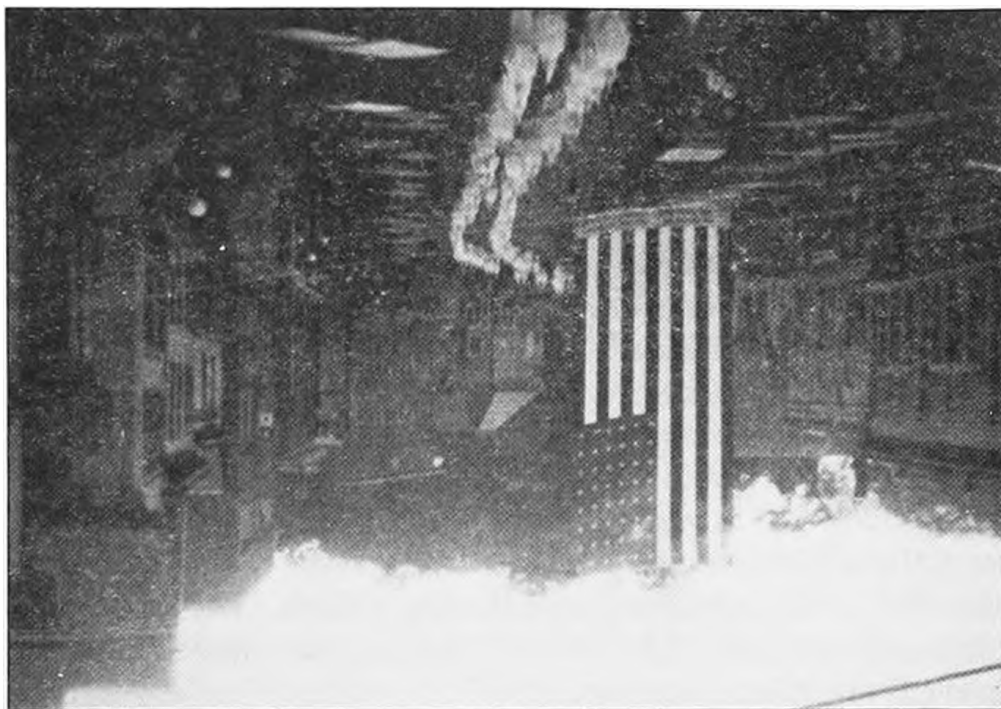
The social life of Dexter's Franco-Americans revolved around the church and the extended family. "We used to go down to

Grove Street on Saturday night and one other night during the week to visit relatives. And we went *no matter what*. The [adults] sat in the kitchen and talked or played cards, while the children played outside with their cousins."⁴⁴ Singing and dancing provided entertainment for large family gatherings or special occasions. There always seemed to be someone who could play the piano or clog dance.⁴⁵

Although working dominated the lives of most Franco-Americans, they always managed to find time for fun and socializing, and families remained close.⁴⁶ New Year's Eve was the holiday that brought the entire family together. Relatives, even those from distant towns, arrived to take part in a celebration that included visiting and sharing a meal. The traditional *tourtiere* meat pies, still a holiday favorite, were served in nearly every Franco-American home.⁴⁷

When the immigrants became less transient after 1880, the French-Canadian settlement in Dexter began to evolve in distinct patterns. They lived primarily in the neighborhoods around the mills: Grove Street and upper Church Street near the depot, and especially in the southern part of town in the low area variously described as "The Hollow" or the "Lower End." This was an area of mixed tenements, boarding houses, and individual residences.⁴⁸ Limited financial resources forced some immigrants to live with relatives until they could afford accommodations of their own. This meant that in the Lower End the population density was much greater than in the rest of the town.

Before 1900 there was little mixing of the Yankee and French societies. The barriers of language, economics, and culture kept each in separate sections of town.⁴⁹ But this dual society could not be maintained for several reasons. Dexter's small size and rural nature encouraged cross-cultural contacts. All residents used the same post office and shopped in the same stores. In the workplace members of both societies worked side by side. Most importantly, all school-age children were educated in the same manner. This assured a high rate of assimilation in the French-Canadian population.⁵⁰



The Ku Klux Klan, experiencing a resurgence in membership and popularity throughout the country in the early 1920s, was active in Dexter. Shown here at a 1925 rally in Dexter, the Klan viewed the Franco-American community with animosity and suspicion.

Dexter Historical Society, courtesy Richard Whitney

It was not a smooth process, however. Certain Yankees viewed with suspicion the growing numbers of Franco-Americans who spoke a different language and professed a different religion. There was no outward display of hatred until the Ku Klux Klan, a growing national presence in the early 1920s, organized a chapter in Dexter. The group's membership consisted of residents of Dexter and the surrounding towns and numbered at most about sixty.⁵¹ The local "klavern" received its charter from the national organization in 1924, although the group was active prior to that date.⁵² The Klansmen conducted their regular meetings in rented rooms in the Gerry building on Main Street and frequently marched through town dressed in their robes and hoods.⁵³ Occasionally the group held public meetings to which speakers were invited, and some Catholics attended, although they had little to say. The priest, on the other hand, was quite vocal, and he spent some time defending Roman Catholicism.⁵⁴ About that time an unfounded rumor circulated that a cache of weapons existed in the basement of the Catholic Church.⁵⁵

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The fear and tension generated by these events culminated in the burning of a cross in the Mount Pleasant Cemetery on Bryant's Hill. This act confused and terrified the children and angered the Catholic adults. Some of the young men went up to the cemetery and were involved in a scuffle.⁵⁶ But nothing more came of the incident, even though more cross-burnings followed. The Ku Klux Klan was active in Dexter only for a few years, and after that, the anti-Catholic sentiment gradually diminished.⁵⁷

Stabilization of the French Canadian community brought a noticeable shift in occupational preferences. By 1900 more males were seeking employment in the woolen mills – steady work for heads of households with large families – their jobs often secured through relatives already working there.⁵⁸ In 1870 a majority of working males had been employed as day laborers. Only 38 percent – mostly younger men – worked in the mills.⁵⁹ Thirty years later, the figures were reversed: 64 percent worked in the woolen manufacturing industry, and only 19 percent remained day laborers. In addition, a few Franco-Americans had opened small shops and some held skilled and semi-skilled jobs. (See table 2.)

Table 2

AGE AND OCCUPATION OF FIRST- AND SECOND- GENERATION FRANCO-AMERICAN MALES, 1900						
OCCUPATION	AGE					
	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
Merchants & Clerks		2	1	2	1	
Farmers & Farm Laborers			3	1	2	3
Skilled Trade (Nonmill)				1	2	2
Mill Workers	12	34	15	6	3	2
Day Laborers		2	5	3	7	5

Sources: U.S. Manuscript Census, 1900;
Dexter Town Directory, 1898-99.

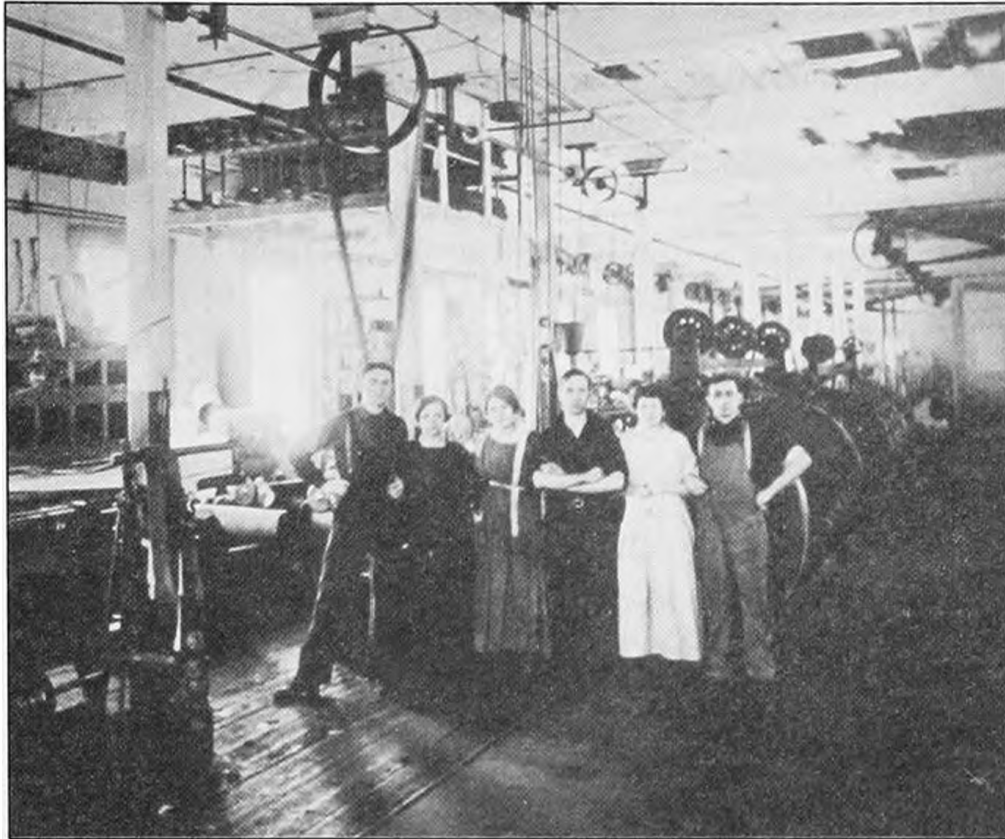
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Dexter's woolen mills continued to prosper in the early years of this century. In addition to the Abbott mill, the Morrison Woolen Company, the Wassookeag Woolen Company, and Dumbarton Woolen Mills expanded after the turn of the century. By 1917 these businesses marketed their goods nationally, proclaiming the most modern machinery, fine workmanship, and superior products.⁶⁰ In fifteen years of operation the Morrison Woolen Company had doubled its capacity to fifty-nine broad looms and eight sets of cards. The mill at that time manufactured "high-class woolens" and employed about 100 people.⁶¹ The Amos Abbott Company, by now a respected leader in the industry, operated eighty broadlooms and eight sets of large cards. With a monthly payroll of \$12,000 the company was manufacturing over a half-million yards of high-quality Mackinaw cloth before the outbreak of World War I.⁶²

Jobs in the textile industry became more specialized in the twentieth century. Entry-level positions occurred in the picker house or dye house while certain skills were required for spinning and weaving. It was possible to advance (in terms of skill and wages) from entry-level spooler to weaver, spinner, loom-fixer, and eventually to "boss" or overseer of a section.⁶³

Dexter's Franco-American population found employment at all levels in the industry. There appeared to be no wage discrimination, and loyalty to a particular company was common. Many Franco-Americans worked their entire lives for a single woolen manufacturer.⁶⁴ More and more women also found themselves at the machines as families struggled to make ends meet. Family size decreased during the second and third generations, but it was not uncommon in 1910 for families to have from five to eight children.⁶⁵

Children were still employed in the mills, as the school attendance figures of town reports relate.⁶⁶ For some, this was part-time work, but for others it was the beginning of a career. During the 1920s young people worried about getting "tied down to the mill" at an early age.⁶⁷ As this suggests, they were exploring alternatives to factory work, which was physically taxing; even the children worked long hours. Frank Jock, who



Expanding with the times, the Dumbarton Mill, like others in Dexter, provided employment for many Franco-Americans. Pictured here is the weave room at the mill (1919). Franco-Americans first found work as dressers, spinners, and spoolers, then went on to find employment in all facets of the industry.

Dexter Historical Society photo, courtesy Richard Whitney

went to work as a teenager in the Dumbarton Mill, describes his duties:

In 1913, in the fall, I went to work for Joe Higgins at the Dumbarton Mill as a filling carrier. I was getting \$9.00 a week. I had to oil up the shafts, lug water to the office, get the ice, get filling from the spinning room, take it down and steam it, pick up the waste, bag it up, weigh it and carry it out to the picker house, pick up the flyings, bag 'em up, and drag 'em up to the storehouse, sweep the floor and take empty bobbins upstairs.⁶⁸

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The Franco-Americans' willingness to put down roots after 1880 also affected the social patterns of the ethnic community. Francos began to form organizations and to participate in community affairs, although to a limited extent. The fire company, especially, attracted several Dexter residents of French-Canadian descent.

Sports teams at the turn of the century had a number of Franco-American participants also. Records of organized baseball kept by Frank Jock show the popularity of the sport in central Maine between 1900 and 1920. Town teams, such as the "North Enders," the "South Enders," and various company teams from the mills, played each other in games held on any available open land or pasture.⁶⁹ In his *Dexter Sports and Recreation*, James Wintle discusses the contributions Dexter's citizens have made to leisure-time activities. Franco-American names appear throughout the book, especially after 1910, as outstanding athletes or members of musical and theater groups.⁷⁰ Sports and recreation appear to have played a significant role in the immigrants' adaptation to the American way of life.

When the United States entered World War I in 1917, men from Dexter and surrounding towns enlisted in the army as part of Company A, 103rd Maine Infantry. There were 70 men in the company when it left town on April 30, 1917; many of the recruits were Franco-Americans.⁷¹ French-Canadians in Quebec, on the other hand, were bitterly opposed to the government's act of conscription, as they had been in the Boer War. Anti-conscription riots broke out throughout Quebec, and 40 percent of the draftees failed to report for duty. French-Canadian displeasure was further seen in the Union Government's failure to win more than three seats in Parliament. In this context, the readiness of Dexter's Franco-Americans to enlist is a further example of putting down roots. In a diary kept by one of the men the activities of Company A are detailed throughout the course of the war, including major battles at Chateau Thierry and Belleau Wood. Printed in installments twenty years later in *The Eastern Gazette*, the diary reveals the contributions Dexter's Franco-Americans made to the war effort.⁷²



Main Street, Dexter. French Canadians found their place, culturally and economically, in this thriving community and began the process of becoming Franco-Americans.

Dexter Historical Society photo, courtesy Richard Whitney

By 1930 the ethnic community in Dexter was vastly different from the small band of immigrants who arrived in the 1860s. Poor, uneducated, and disorganized at first, the French Canadians eventually put down roots in this central Maine town and found steady employment in the woolen mills. The community that evolved was characterized by a loose cohesiveness based on religious, linguistic, and cultural ties to French Canada. But it lacked the strong sense of *la survivance* – ardent Quebecois cultural identity – found in the Petits Canadas of Lewiston and Biddeford, primarily because there was no French Catholic school to promote cultural survival. Dexter's small size, its rural nature, and its isolation from other Franco-American centers also influenced the ethnic community. That the Catholic district

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in that part of Maine remained a mission for nearly thirty years after the first immigrants arrived is certainly significant. Of even greater importance is the fact that St. Anne's Parish did not have a resident French priest until 1931, even though the congregation was predominately Franco-American.

Thrust into an alien rural society that offered them steady employment, Dexter's French Canadians reacted by adjusting to their new surroundings as best they could. Finding little help from the traditional institutions, they relied on each other for important social and cultural contact. Survival in rural Maine required that they adapt to the Yankee way of life. Hard-working and practical, Dexter's Franco-Americans did adapt, and they made generous contributions to the community while doing so. But their roots are deep, and underlying the assimilation process is a profound awareness of who they are and a strong commitment to the proud traditions of their French Canadian heritage.

NOTES

¹Recently published works on the Franco-American experience in Maine and New England have encouraged a broad range of investigation into more specific aspects of the subject and have provided a framework for further critical study. Some of the most useful literature can be found in Gerard J. Brault, *The French-Canadian Heritage in New England* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1986); C. Stewart Doty, *The First Franco-Americans* (Orono, Maine: University of Maine Press, 1985); Yves Roby, *Les Franco-Américains de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1776-1930* (Sillery, Quebec: Septentrion, 1990); François Weil, *Les Franco-Américains* (Paris: Belin, 1989).

²Maine's Franco-American 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.

³*Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910. Abstract and Supplement for Maine* (Washington, D.C., 1912). Also see James P. Allen, "Franco-Americans in Maine: A Geographical Perspective," *Acadiensis*, 4 (Autumn 1974): 47. Since the term Franco-American did not appear until 1900, I will use that term when referring to twentieth-century events. The term French Canadian will be used prior to 1900.

⁴Stanley Plummer, *History of Dexter, Maine, 1801-1901* (reprint, Dexter, Maine: Dexter Historical Society, 1976), p. 12.

⁵"Maine's Amos Abbott Company is Still Family-Owned after 140 Years," *America's Textile Reporter* 75 (April 6, 1961): 9.

⁶Plummer, *History of Dexter*, p. 15.

⁷Yves Frenette, "Understanding the French Canadians of Lewiston, 1860-1900: An Alternate Framework," *Maine Historical Society Quarterly*, 25 (Spring 1986): 202.

⁸Interview with Clatus J. Clukey, Jeanette C. Clukey, James E. Clukey, Anita A. Savage.

⁹Allen, "Franco-Americans in Maine," p. 42.

¹⁰Plummer, *History of Dexter*, p. 23; Allen, "Franco-Americans in Maine," p. 39.

¹¹Allen, "Franco-Americans in Maine," p. 40.

¹²U.S. Bureau of the Census, Federal Manuscript Census, Dexter, Maine, 1870.

¹³Interview with James E. Clukey.

¹⁴Manuscript Census, 1870.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶Manuscript Census, 1880.

¹⁷Manuscript Census, 1870.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹Manuscript Census, 1860, 1870, 1880.

²⁰Interview with Clatus J. Clukey.

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²¹Manuscript Census, 1860, 1870, 1880.

²²Interview with Clatus J. Clukey, Jeanette C. Clukey, James E. Clukey, Anita A. Savage.

²³Manuscript Census, 1870.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵Annie Murphy, "A Brief History of St. Anne's Parish in Dexter," *The Eastern Gazette*, December 21, 1939.

²⁶Mason Wade, "French and French Canadians in the U.S.," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 6 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), p. 147.

²⁷Plummer, *History of Dexter*, p. 23.

²⁸Interview with Clatus J. Clukey, James E. Clukey.

²⁹Allen, "Franco-Americans in Maine," p. 50.

³⁰*Ibid.*

³¹E. Alice Bradford, *Interesting Bits of Local History* (n.p., 1929), p. 18.

³²*Seventy-fifth Annual Report of the Municipal Offices of the Town of Dexter, 1890.*

³³*Ibid.*

³⁴*Seventh-third Annual Report of the Municipal Offices of the Town of Dexter, 1888.*

³⁵Interview with Jeanette C. Clukey.

³⁶Interview with Jeanette C. Clukey, Anita A. Savage.

³⁷Interview with Anita A. Savage.

³⁸Allen, "Franco-Americans in Maine," p. 50.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁴⁰Interview with Clatus J. Clukey, Anita A. Savage.

⁴¹Interview with Anita A. Savage.

⁴²Anne Kempers and Beatrice Maltais, "Name-Changing Patterns Among French Canadians in Waterville, Maine," Reprinted in *F.A.R.O.G Forum* (Orono: University of Maine, 1973), p. 5.

⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁴⁴Interview with Anita A. Savage.

⁴⁵Interview with James E. Clukey.

⁴⁶Interview with Clatus J. Clukey, Jeanette C. Clukey, James E. Clukey, Anita A. Savage.

⁴⁷Interview with Anita A. Savage.

⁴⁸Interview with Anita A. Savage.

⁴⁹Interview with Clatus J. Clukey.

⁵⁰Allen, "Franco-Americans in Maine," p. 60.

⁵¹Dexter Historical Society Archives.

⁵²*Ibid.*

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⁵³Interview with Clatus J. Clukey, Jeanette C. Clukey, James E. Clukey, Anita A. Savage, Richard Whitney.

⁵⁴Interview with Anita A. Savage.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*

⁵⁶Interview with Clatus J. Clukey, James E. Clukey.

⁵⁷Interview with Clatus J. Clukey, James E. Clukey, Anita A. Savage, Richard Whitney.

⁵⁸Interview with Clatus J. Clukey.

⁵⁹Manuscript Census, 1870.

⁶⁰"Progressive and Enterprising Dexter, Maine," *Chamber of Commerce Journal of Maine* (Portland) 29 (no. 9, 1917): 261.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 261.

⁶²*Ibid.*, p. 263.

⁶³Interview with Clatus J. Clukey.

⁶⁴Interview with Clatus J. Clukey, James E. Clukey.

⁶⁵Manuscript Census, 1910.

⁶⁶Dexter Town Report, 1888.

⁶⁷Kathryn Haseltine, diary, 1920-21, p. 32.

⁶⁸Frank Jock's description of his duties as a filling carrier appeared in James Wintle's *A History: Dexter Sports and Recreation*, typescript, n.d., Dexter Historical Society Archives, p. 15.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*

⁷¹Frank Jock, diary (World War I), reprinted in *The Eastern Gazette*, beginning April 29, 1937.

⁷²*Ibid.*

Dorothy A. Blanchard was born in Dover-Foxcroft, where she attended school. After raising a family, she re-enrolled at the University of Maine, graduating in 1993 with a B.A. in history (Canadian emphasis). She now lives in Newcastle where she continues to write.