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The Grange at Crowley's Junction

Historic Lewiston

The Grange at Crowley's Junction

By Douglas I. Hodgkin

2003

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Cover Photo: Lewiston Grange Hall as it appeared in 1941. From the records of the Lewiston Tax Assessor, courtesy of Joseph Grube.

DEDICATION

This history is dedicated to my parents, both of whom were enthusiastic members of the Grange. The Grange was an important influence during my formative years. I thank both my parents for living and instilling such values as mutual respect, fairness, equality, cooperation, family, and community service reflected in Grange ritual and policy.

As a member of Lewiston Grange, my late father, Clayton P. Hodgkin, worked at the Grange fair, participated in Grange programs as a pianist, contributed to Grange entertainments, and held offices. At age 21, he was elected for the year 1936 as the youngest Master in Lewiston Grange's history. He served a second term during 1947. Little did he expect that his personal diary would be a valuable source of information and of clues to find other material for a research project.

My mother, Laura Meade Hodgkin, joined Auburn Grange and participated on drill teams and in its programs. After her marriage, she transferred to Lewiston Grange, where she served as Matron of the Juvenile Grange. In later years, she joined Pine Tree Grange in Lisbon, where she held several offices and served as reporter to The Maine Granger. She assisted my research significantly as she provided several documents and photographs and contacted several former Grange members for information. I thank her for her enthusiastic help as my research assistant.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many persons enabled me to develop a more complete story of Lewiston Grange No. 2 than otherwise would have been possible. Foremost among these are those whom I interviewed, those who wrote letters, and those who provided pictures and other memorabilia from their personal souvenirs. All were helpful, but I wish to single out Dana and Ilda Witham for especially valuable recollections and materials.

Special thanks are due to Mark Hamby, the current owner of Lewiston Grange Hall. He has saved an historic building and restored its appearance and usefulness. He permitted me to borrow records that he had found in the hall. Moreover, he took precious time out of his work when I showed up to ask questions and to look around.

Steve Verrill, Master of Maine State Grange, and Mike Paradis of the Lewiston Department of Public Works provided access to documents and files.

I also appreciate the help of the staff in Special Collections at Fogler Library and of Patricia Hennert of the Page Farm and Home Museum, both at the University of Maine at Orono.

Finally, the Lewiston Historic Commission and Central Maine Community College have provided the means to make this history available to the citizens of Lewiston and everyone interested in our rural heritage.

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TIME LINE FOR LEWISTON GRANGE NO. 2

- 1874 Lewiston Grange founded
- 1874 Stockholders of the Grange Building construct hall beside
railroad tracks
- 1879 Hall rented to City of Lewiston when Clough School burned
- 1882 Grange library established
- 1885 Land purchased and hall moved further up Crowley Road
- 1893 Grange received title to Grange Hall
- 1901 National Grange met in Lewiston
- 1901 First Fast Day / Patriot's Day all-day meeting
- 1902 Land purchased, hall moved to current location and stable
constructed
- 1907 All-time membership high of 283
- 1926 Membership down to 161
- 1930 Adoption of new by-laws
- 1931-32 Reconstruction of the Grange Hall
- 1938 Membership peaks again at 278
- 1940 Mortgage on the Hall discharged
- 1945 Membership down to 178
- 1946 Juvenile Grange No. 138 established
- 1951 Membership peaks again at 272
- 1959 Juvenile Grange no longer active
- 1970-71 Dances end, downstairs hall leased to auctioneers, meetings held
upstairs
- 1972 Membership drops to 98
- 1986 Mortgage of building for repairs
- 1990 Hall sold
- 1994 Lewiston Grange with 13 members surrendered charter
- 2000 Mark Hamby purchased hall and began renovation

Chapter 1

THE GRANGE AT CROWLEY'S JUNCTION

Lewiston Grange was a founding participant in the establishment of the Patrons of Husbandry in Maine, a state where the organization prospered. The subordinate Granges served many purposes for their members and residents of their communities. The following are examples of some functions of the Grange from the Lewiston experience:

- A farmer in 1874 joined the Grange to purchase meal at a discount at a railroad siding in Crowley's Junction.
- A rural woman escaped, for a time, the isolation of her farm home and enjoyed conversation with others while preparing and serving a Grange supper.
- In 1881, Lewiston Grangers listened to a lecture on "Ireland and the Land Question."
- The members learned about ensilage and commercial fertilizers at a meeting in 1887.
- In 1922, the Grange sponsored a benefit dance to help a member who had broken his leg.
- A teenager mentioned the Grange seventy times in his diary in 1930.
- A woman recalls "the Grange was our life" for social activities in the 1940s.
- A non-member recalls that he earned money in the cloakroom and learned how to dance at Lewiston Grange.
- In the 1950s a college applicant wrote his essay about how participation in Lewiston Grange helped him to develop leadership and public speaking skills.

However, after about 1960, local, state and national membership of the Grange declined rapidly. By 1994 Lewiston Grange No. 2 dissolved. Some diagnose the demise

as a reflection of changes specific to the situation of the Grange as a rural organization in an urban era or as a fraternal organization whose rituals seem quaint and out-of-date. Others attribute the decline to forces that affect all membership organizations that rely upon local chapters, that is, the lure of television and the advent of a generation of Americans who are much less civically engaged than their parents and grandparents (Putnam 2000).

Lewiston Grange serves as a case study of the local or subordinate Granges that once dotted the Maine countryside and that of much of the nation. This is a study of the purposes of such organizations and a study of their eventual decline. The Grange, or the Order of Patrons of Husbandry, was one of several movements that emerged to represent the economic and political interests of farmers in the latter half of the nineteenth century, particularly in the Midwest. It also thrived in New England, especially in Maine, but it was important here primarily as an educational and social organization.

Most of the research on Lewiston's history has focused upon its industrial development and the arrival of ethnic groups such as the Irish and French Canadians (Rand 1975, Leamon 1976, Buker 1973, Frenette 1986). Except when the historian describes the earliest days of the town (Elder 1989), attention has focused upon the urban center that grew up beside the falls around the textile mills.

However, until the suburban development that occurred after World War II, much of Lewiston's territory was rural. One important neighborhood was in South Lewiston around Crowley's Junction. It had its own railroad station, post office, stores, and institutions such as the Clough Meeting House and the Crowley one-room schoolhouse. In addition, beginning in 1874, the Lewiston Grange became an important community organization serving not only Crowley's Junction, but also the rural areas traversed by Ferry, Pinewoods, Dyer, Lisbon, and Old Lisbon Roads. Members came from nearby sections of Webster (now Sabattus), as well.

This is the story of this local branch of a national organization and its role in serving rural needs. Because it was near an urban center, it may not have been typical in all respects, but in most ways it illustrates the larger history of the Maine Grange. This account also serves as a case study of the forces shaping the functions of a vital community organization and ultimately its decline and demise.

Chapter 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

After the Civil War, Oliver Hudson Kelley, as a clerk in the Department of Agriculture, toured the South and found appalling conditions there, as a consequence both of the war and a lack of acceptance of progressive agriculture (Guptill 1973, 6). This tour confirmed his earlier belief that farmers needed a national organization. Kelley found that his membership in the Masons established a fraternal bond that enabled him to overcome the hostility of Southerners, so he decided to establish a similar secret society to improve the life of farmers (Howard 1992, 37-38). Its organization would follow the pattern of the American governmental system with a national body, state affiliates, and local chapters. Its initial purposes were more educational and social than political (Guptill 1973, 8). An early circular indicated that politics and religion were not to be discussed at meetings and each chapter was to establish a library and museum (Guptill 1973, 11).

Kelley and others developed the ritualistic ceremonies and evolved the name "Order of Patrons of Husbandry." They organized on December 4, 1867. Eventually, seven degrees of membership were established, the first four at the local level, the fifth at the county level (Pomona), the sixth the state, and the seventh the national.

The early successes of the organization came as an economic protest movement that achieved the adoption of "the Granger Laws" to regulate railroads in several Midwestern states. They also established economic cooperatives to purchase agricultural supplies and machinery at wholesale rates for the members (Guptill 1973, 17).

The particular economic situation of Maine farmers was quite different from that in the Midwest. In Maine the farms were small. The rise of cities such as Lewiston provided nearby cash markets for farmers' crops. Increasingly they focused on raising crops for market and they started to purchase tools, clothes, and other goods. Living standards rose, "but this new dependence on markets introduced an element of risk and uncertainty that had been largely absent when the farmer had relied on himself rather than on the whim of his indifferent customers for the essentials of life" (Sherman

1972, 18). Maine farmers needed to learn how to become more efficient in order to compete effectively. The Grange evolved as a place for this kind of education.

Moreover, founder Kelley had highlighted the importance of uplifting the farmer socially and culturally. This organization could broaden farmers' horizons, inform them on current issues, and enable neighbors to get together to have a good time (Sherman 1972, 41). Although there were other farmers' clubs in Maine, they were all local without statewide coordination, and they offered little to the rest of the farmer's family (Sherman 1972, 51-52). Both women and teenagers could become members of the subordinate Grange. In 1888, Juvenile Granges were authorized for the children. Therefore, although there were some economic motives to join the Grange in Maine, the educational and social benefits were the primary sources of the organization's vitality.

The first to initiate the organizational process in Maine was Eastern Star Number 1 in Hampden in 1873 (Guptill 1973, 21). Amasa K. Walker had had a government position in Washington, D.C., where he had joined the Potomac Grange, the first subordinate Grange (Sherman 1972, 63). When he returned home to Hampden, he brought the idea of this new farm organization with him. In early 1874, the National Grange sent Deputy Orrin D. Hinkley, to bestow the official charter and to organize other Granges. His efforts met such success that by April, there were eighteen Granges organized in the state.

Chapter 3

THE ORGANIZATION OF LEWISTON GRANGE NO. 2

Was Lewiston Second – Or First?

Lewiston Grange of South Lewiston was among Maine's founding local Granges. The first meeting recorded in the secretary's minutes¹, described as an "adjourned meeting," was on January 24, 1874. It was called to order by National Deputy Hinkley, whose brother Andrew J. Hinkley lived in South Lewiston (Crowley 1920; Lew. Eve. J., Apr. 25, 1902). Those in attendance collected \$38.00, from which they paid the deputy \$21.50 for his expenses, leaving a balance in the treasury of \$16.50. They also chose officers, all men. Then on February 7, five women were added to the membership, and the offices of Ceres, Pomona, Flora, and Lady Assistant Steward were filled. All of the officers were installed on February 28.

According to oral history among local Grangers, the Lewiston Grange actually was the first to be organized, but because the State Master was from Hampden, Eastern Star Grange won the designation as Number 1 (Williams interview). However, in fact, Nelson Ham, the first State Master, was from Lewiston.²

Probably a more accurate explanation is found written on the inside back cover of the first book of Lewiston Grange records, as entered by John L. Ham on January 17, 1920:

At State Grange the matter of numbering the granges came up. No. 1 was given to . . . Hampden as a simple act of courtesy, and that Grange having been the first one in the State to have taken the first preliminary steps towards the organization of a grange.³

¹ The Secretary's minutes are contained in various unnumbered volumes. They will be cited by date and as LGR, meaning Lewiston Grange Records.

² There apparently was widespread confusion in the early oral history of the organization, some of which survives to the present. It was reported erroneously in 1914 that A. K. Walker of Eastern Star was the first Master of Maine State Grange (Me. Farmer, Jan. 1, 1914).

³ According to dictionaries, any use of the words "Grange" or "Granger" in connection with the Patrons of Husbandry should be capitalized. However, it is very common to find the lower case used, and the author has retained these instances in quoted material.

A hand-written history presented at the forty-sixth anniversary meeting in 1920 claims that Lewiston was the first to be organized officially and cites Ham as the source of the sequence of events:

A gentleman from Hampden Me. [A. K. Walker] was at that time a clerk in one of the Washington D.C. Departments and there he was made a patron... Upon returning to his Maine home he got together a sufficient number of charter members to constitute a Grange, but was not authorized to organize it. After Deputy Hinkley had organized this one [Lewiston] and Pine Tree [No. 3 in Lisbon] and Auburn [No. 4] and possibly one or two more he was called to Hampden and organized the one that had been assembled. At the meeting of the Maine State Grange a short time after this, when the matter of numbering the Granges came up for discussion No. 1 was given to the one at Hampden as a simple act of courtesy, that grange having taken the first preliminary steps towards the organization of a grange (Crowley 1920).

Eastern Star was the first to send for papers to organize (*Me. Farmer*, Apr. 4, 1912). In response, Hinkley traveled to Maine, stopped in Lewiston to visit his brother, and organized the Grange in South Lewiston, as well as others, including Pine Tree and Auburn,⁴ before continuing on to Hampden. Lewiston's papers were submitted first, but Eastern Star received the first charter (*Me. Farmer*, Feb. 15, 1911).

The Lewiston Grange adopted its by-laws on March 3, 1874 (LGR). Apparently the by-laws committee proposed a draft based on the by-laws of Eastern Star Grange, for the author found a printed copy of the latter inserted in the first book of records with a few hand-written edits, such as the name of the Grange and a quorum of thirteen rather than fifteen. Lewiston Grange amended its committee's proposal by elimination of an attendance requirement for officers and removal of a meeting time provision (LGR, Mar. 3, 1874).

There are inconsistencies in the determination of the list of charter members. One list is found in the original Roll Book that covers 1874 to about 1895, which probably was used as the "official" list. Historian Georgia Drew Merrill (1891, 289) published a different list. Consultation of the Secretary's minutes finds that neither list is consistent with those records. The accompanying chart includes the names of all those included on one of the lists, mentioned in the records through March 3, the date of

⁴ Auburn Grange also staked a claim as the first Grange in Maine. The sequence of events had N. B. Tracy call a meeting early in the fall of 1873. Those gathered voted to send for an application for a charter. Tracy soon had enough names and sent the application to the national secretary, who referred it to Deputy Thompson of New Hampshire. Thompson never got around to this matter, so when Tracy heard a Grange had been organized at Hampden, he contacted the national secretary O. H. Kelly. Finally, word came that O. D. Hinckley was now deputized to organize Granges in Maine. On March 2, 1874, Auburn Grange was organized. They insisted they should be known as No. 1, but ultimately had to settle for No. 4 (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Nov. 20, 1901). The organizational list published in the State Grange's history apparently uses the first recorded meeting of each grange: Eastern Star No. 1 of Hampden, October 24, 1873; Lewiston No. 2, January 25 [sic], 1874; Pine Tree No. 3 of Lisbon, February 21, 1874; Auburn No. 4, March 2, 1874; and Excelsior No. 5 of Poland, March 5, 1874 (Howe 1994, 76).

Founding Members of Lewiston Grange No. 2

	"Charter Members"	First Mention in 1874 Minutes
Nelson Ham	R, M	Elected Master, Jan. 24
Oram D. Potter	R, M	Elected Overseer, Jan. 24
Henry M. Garcelon	R, M	Elected Lecturer, Jan. 24
Alphonso B. Holland	R, M	Elected Steward, Jan. 24
Benjamin H. Morrill	R, M	Elected Asst. Steward, Jan. 24
Andrew J. Hinkley	R, M	Elected Chaplain, Jan. 24
Calvin Spofford	R, M	Elected Treasurer, Jan. 24
Augustus J. Clough	R, M	Elected Secretary, Jan. 24
Dexter Blethen	R, M	Elected Gate Keeper, Jan. 24
Miss Flora Blethen	R	Elected member and L.A.S., Feb. 7
Minnie (Mrs. A. B.) Holland	R, M	Elected Ceres, Feb. 7
Miss Ellen Dyer	R	Elected member and Pomona, Feb. 7
Lizzie (Mrs. Charles S.) Newell	R	Elected member and Flora, Feb. 7
William S. Foss	R, M	made remarks, Jan. 24
Increase Gould	R, M	made remarks, Jan. 31
Leonard G. Dingley	R, M	not mentioned thru June 2
Martha (Mrs A. J.) Hinkley	R, M	not mentioned thru June 2
Charlotte (Mrs. Dexter) Blethen	R, M	Appointed to a committee, Mar. 17
John L Ham	R	Elected member, Feb. 7
Charles S. Newell	R	Elected member, Feb. 7
Rufus Courson	R	Elected member, Feb. 7
Harriet (Mrs. Rufus) Courson		Elected member, Feb. 7
Amos Davis	R	Elected member, Feb. 7
Mary (Mrs. Amos) Davis		Elected member, Feb. 7
Flora (Mrs. Augustus J.) Clough		Elected member, Feb. 17
Miss Ann Jordan		Elected member, Feb. 17
Willard M. Robinson	R	Elected member, Feb. 21
Mary (Mrs. Willard M.) Robinson		Elected member, Feb. 21
Charles B. Knight	R	Elected member, Feb. 21
Noel B. Potter		Elected member, Feb. 21
Harriet (Mrs. Nelson) Ham	R, M	1st Degree conferred, Feb. 28
Lydia (Mrs. Calvin) Spofford	R	1st Degree conferred, Feb. 28
Clarinda (Mrs. B. H.) Morrill	R, M	1st Degree conferred, Feb. 28
Harriet W. Gould		1st Degree, Feb. 28 (Roll Book)
Miss Hattie A. Robinson		Elected member and 1st Degree, Feb. 28
Miss Eva J. Ham		Elected member and 1st Degree, Feb. 28
John C. Spofford		Elected member, Feb. 28
Adrietta (Mrs. William) Foss	M	not mentioned thru June 2
Harriet Garcelon	M	not mentioned thru June 2

R = Listed as charter member in the Roll Book, 1874-1895.

M = Listed as charter member in Merrill, *History of Androscoggin County*.

the adoption of the by-laws, or listed in the Roll Book as taking the first degree on February 28, 1874.

Who were these "founding members"? All lived in Lewiston's Ward 7 in the south end of the municipality or in the southwest corner of the Town of Webster near Crowley's Junction⁵. Often they were close neighbors of one another. Each woman was the wife, daughter, or sister of a male member on the list. The 1870 census listed most of the men as farmers or, in the case of sons still in their fathers' households, as farm laborers. Most Granges admitted people who were not farmers if they had some interest in farming (Guptill 1973, 23). Lewiston Grange's founding men included a cattle broker (Andrew Hinkley), a blacksmith (Omar Potter), a carriage maker (Willard Robinson), a boot and shoe dealer (Charles S. Newell) and a house carpenter (Calvin Spofford).

Nelson Ham, the first Master, was a prosperous farmer and member of a prominent local family. He attended Lewiston Falls Academy. He was a teacher at age 17 and in 1841 and 1842 served on the Lewiston school committee (Hodgkin 2001, I: 455, 464). He moved to Bath and served in town government there. He returned to the family homestead and farm in South Lewiston about 1857 (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Jan. 5, 1901). He served as town surveyor of lumber, 1858-1862 (Hodgkin 2002, II: 117, 141, 161, 183, 207). He was noted as an authority on agriculture who also became first Master of the Maine State Grange (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Jan. 5, 1901) and served as president of the Androscoggin Agricultural Society (*Me. Farmer*, Jan. 16, 1875). On his two-hundred-acre farm on what is now Dyer Road, he produced fruits, vegetables, and dairy products for the Lewiston market. It was reported that he had a large apple orchard, 400 pear trees, a row of crab apple trees, Jersey cows for making butter, and several sheep and pigs. In 1874, he produced forty tons of hay, seventy-five bushels of onions, eight

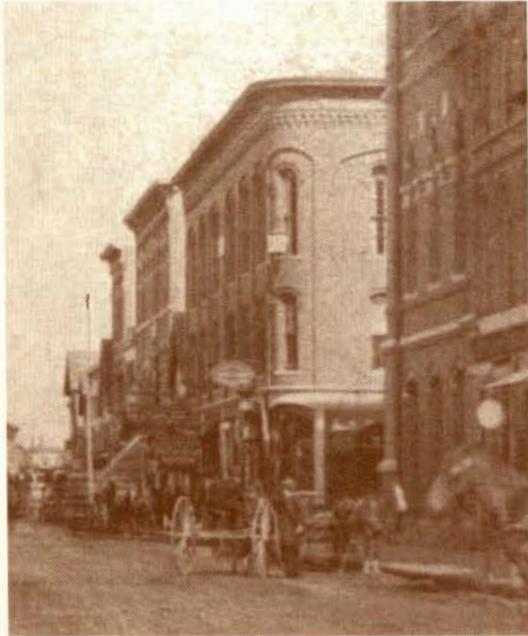


Nelson Ham, first Master of Lewiston Grange (1874) and first Master of Maine State Grange (1874-1877). Howe 1994, p. 5. By permission of Maine State Grange.

⁵ All data in this paragraph are derived from the 1870 Census sheets, National Archives, Microfilm Publications, Microcopy No. 593, Roll No. 536 for Lewiston and Roll No. 537 for Webster.

tons of cabbage, and “several tons of California pumpkin” (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Dec. 11, 1874). In later years, he became a founding elder statesman. “Despite his years, he is still full of earnestness and is always attentively listened to. Few men can command better attention and respect. He is always welcomed, and his utterances eagerly received” (*Me. Farmer*, Nov. 10, 1898).

Lewiston played a prominent role in the establishment of Maine State Grange. Nelson Ham issued the call for an organizing meeting to the eighteen existing subordinate Granges. Masters of sixteen Granges met in Lewiston on April 21, 1874, at the G.A.R. Hall (Guptill 1973, 24) in the Pilsbury Block⁶ on the corner of Lisbon and Pine Streets to organize the Maine State Grange. Lewiston Grange provided two of the first state officers, Nelson Ham as the first State Master and his wife, Harriet P. Ham, as Ceres, both of whom served 1874-1877 (Howe 1994, 113, 117). The first annual session of the Grange was held in Lewiston on December 8 and 9, 1874. The State Grange Secretary reported, “The meeting was harmonious, and when it closed, . . . it was the feeling of all that we had had a profitable session” (Jackson, *Lew. Eve. J.*, Dec. 17, 1874).



The Maine State Grange was organized in the G. A. R. Hall in the Pilsbury Block at Lisbon and Pine Streets, Lewiston, in April 1874, and the first annual meeting of Maine State Grange was held at the same place in November 1874. The building now houses the Lewiston Public Library. The G. A. R. Hall still exists on the third floor on this corner of the building, although the original decor is gone. Gridley Barrows Collection, Lewiston Public Library.

Construction of a Meeting Hall

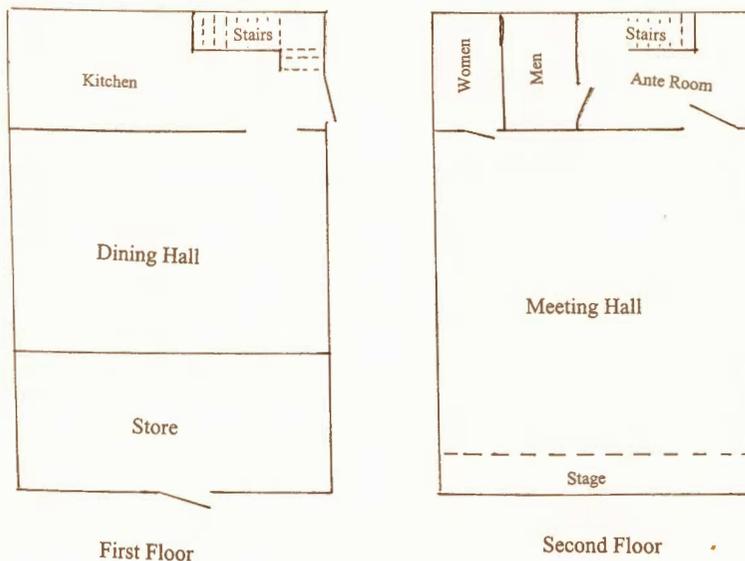
The initial meetings of Lewiston Grange were held in the Clough School House located at what is now 15 Crowley Road, as well as in homes of Grangers (*Lew. Daily Sun*, Jan. 25, 1924). On February 17, 1874 (LGR), B. H. Morrill raised the question of building a hall. By March 3, Calvin Spofford, B. H. Morrill and A. J. Hinkley were appointed as a building committee. At first they considered a lot owned by Hinkley, but then decided to lease a lot.

⁶ It has been claimed that the G. A. R. Hall was in the Savings Bank Block (Monroe Building) on another corner of Lisbon and Pine Streets, but the *Lewiston & Auburn Directory* for 1874-5, page 13, explicitly records the G. A. R. Hall in the Pilsbury Block at that time. The Hall continues to exist on the corner of the third floor.

building purchased in Auburn was dismantled and the materials were used on the hall. The first meeting in the hall was on May 28, 1874, and the hall was dedicated June 24 (*Lew. Daily Sun*, Jan. 25, 1924).

Initially, the Grange rented the hall two evenings each week, including lights and wood, for twenty dollars each quarter (LGR, Oct. 24, 1874). The Stockholders also rented the hall to a temperance organization, the Advance Lodge of the Good Templars (*Lew. Daily Sun*, Jan. 25, 1924). By the end of 1875, the Grangers believed the rent was too high. A committee consulted with the Stockholders and came back with a proposal for fifteen dollars, but the report was not accepted (LGR, Dec. 9, 1875). The next mention of the rent finds it at fifteen dollars (LGR, Mar. 29, 1877). The Grange then voted to pay only eight dollars per quarter "provided the stockholders of the Hall will agree to that sum" (LGR, Oct. 18, 1877). The rent for that quarter was negotiated to \$12.50 (LGR, Dec. 27, 1877), but soon the Stockholders agreed to a rent of eight dollars (LGR, Jan. 10, 1878). The Stockholders were in an interesting position, for as investors they might want maximum return, but as Grange leaders they would desire the lowest possible rent. Eventually, the rent seems to have stabilized at ten dollars per quarter, for this was the amount paid regularly in response to the quarterly bill presented by the Stockholders' secretary W. M. Robinson, as recorded in the Grange secretary's minutes of the 1880s.

Floor plans (1874-1885) of Lewiston Grange No. 2 as conjectured from records and subsequent layouts of the building.



Fifty years later, the following men were reported as the original stockholders, with the number of shares listed for each (*Lew. Daily Sun*, Jan. 25, 1924):

B. H. Morrill	244	W. M. Robinson	38	Amos Davis	10
A. J. Hinkley	140	Dexter Blethen	35	Leonard Dingley	10
O. D. Potter	140	Calvin Spofford	35	Edwin Goss	10
John C. Spofford	115	C. S. Newell	22	John L. Ham	10
Kingston Donnell	70	John Goss	21	Charles Knight	10
Thomas A. Galusha	70	A. B. Holland	21	Noel B. Potter	10
Increase Gould	50	Rufus Courson	20		
Nelson Ham	42	John D. Hodgkins	20		

This arrangement whereby a subset of members of an organization owned the property was familiar to the Grangers in their local churches. A separate group often were constituted the proprietors of the meetinghouse or as the owners of the church pews and held their own meetings for the conduct of the business portions of church governance.

Chapter 4

RUNNING AN ORGANIZATION: LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The earliest years of Lewiston Grange were a time of intense activity. It was necessary to settle several issues of how to run the organization. The Grange also sought to satisfy a variety of needs; it served many purposes for its members. It was an opportunity for farmers to cooperate in economic activity. It was an educational institution to expand farmers' knowledge of farming techniques, of political and economic issues, and of wider cultural horizons. It was a social and entertainment center. However, it encountered issues regarding the ownership, maintenance, and adequacy of their meeting place.

Moving and Expanding the Hall

The Grange members sought to move toward ownership of the hall. On September 29, 1881 (LGR), the Grange members voted to authorize the Master as agent of the Grange to purchase shares as funds permitted at the rate of \$2.50 per share.

In 1884, the Grange took responsibility for repair of the stage and for purchase of a stage carpet. They also obtained a new cook stove (LGR, Apr. 24, 1884). They undertook to remodel to some degree as they decided to cut a door through from the dining room into the store (LGR, July 10, 1884). A more serious question of "repairing up the Store for a refreshment Room" required appointment of a committee to confer with the Trustees of the building (LGR, Aug. 21, 1884). This suggests that as early as 1884, the store was not an important feature of the Grange's activities.

In 1885, the rent bill went up from ten dollars to \$10.50 for each quarter. At the meeting of April 18, 1886, the rent bill, amount unrecorded, was approved, but it generated discussion by several members. The Grange then voted that John Goss make arrangements with the Stockholders for the use of the hall for the next year. After a recess, Goss reported that the following terms had been agreed upon:

First — The Trustees of the Grange Hall are to furnish fuel and lights and a janitor to take charge of said Hall and allow the Association known as Lewiston Grange No. 2 P. of H. to occupy said Hall on Thursday Evening of each week or any other evening in the week for purposes of a special meeting, rehearsing Dramas or preparing for

entertainment except on Saturday evening; Also to have the use of the Dining Room for entertainments and Harvest Feasts. Second The Grange is to pay the sum of forty dollars per year Rent to be paid in four installments as follows, April 14 - July 14 - October 14 - and Jan 14 - Ten dollars each as a compensation for use of said Hall.

The availability of the hall on any evening suggests that the Good Templars were constructing their own hall about this time. Issues had arisen from the cohabitation of the two organizations. At one point the Grange asked that the Templars remove their things from one of the Grange's cabinets. On the other hand, the Grange rented their organ to the Good Templars for amounts from one to two dollars per quarter (LGR, Dec. 2, 1875; July 13, 1876; Aug. 3, 1882).

The City of Lewiston also rented the Grange Hall when the Clough District school house across the road burned on February 25, 1879. The books and furniture were saved (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Feb. 25, 1879). The Lewiston Superintendent immediately contacted the Stockholders of the Grange Hall and arranged to hold classes there the next day (*Lew. Annual Reports*, 1879, 6, 20). The City paid \$14.50 rent for the time the school was held there (*Lew. Annual Report*, 1880, 30). The new school building was built immediately and was ready in just ten weeks (*Lew. Annual Report*, 1880, 20).

Neither the Grange nor the Stockholders owned the land on which the hall sat. When the Grangers started to hold dances, owner Thomas Crowley, who did not approve, took legal action to end the activity (*Lew. Daily Sun*, Jan. 25, 1924). Moreover, there was no room on the lot for sheds in which to stable horses. When Pomona Grange, the county gathering, met at the hall, or when entertainments were organized, it was necessary to rent space to stable the visitors' horses. The Grange thus considered moving the hall either easterly down the road or west toward the intersection with the state road (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Mar. 23, 1932).

It was decided to move east about 1885 (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Mar. 23, 1932; *Lew. Daily Sun*, Jan. 25, 1924). On June 26, 1885, Roscoe A. Bryant sold a quarter-acre lot on the northwest side of the road to Omar D. Potter, Calvin Spofford, W. M. Robinson, N. B. Potter, Dexter Belthen, Benjamin H. Morrill, Charles S. Newell, Nelson Ham, John L. Ham, Leonard G. Dingley, John Goss, and Edwin Goss (Deeds, 117:410).

The stockholders hired Frank Cain of Lewiston to move the hall to the new location for \$119. "As soon as the building was in the highway Mr. Crowley had an injunction put on to stop the moving and it did temporarily. The Grange folks soon had the injunction lifted and the buildings moved to a place near the Dexter Blethen place" (*Lew. Daily Sun*, Jan. 25, 1924).

The Grange added to the land around this site. For twenty-five dollars, they purchased a lot from Roscoe A. Bryant nearer to Lisbon Road, 108 feet along Crowley Road, 82.5 feet back, and 123 feet along the back (Deeds, 161:366). Then in 1897 and 1898, Winnie O. Bryant sold to the Grange the land behind these lots extending back to the railroad tracks and also up Crowley Road to the railroad tracks for \$40.62 (Deeds, 176:590 and 177:4).

At some point during its location at this place, the hall was remodeled by being cut in two in the middle and lengthened by about twenty feet (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Mar. 23, 1932). They constructed sheds in which to stable the horses.

At last, Lewiston Grange received possession of its meeting hall. On June 5, 1893, the Stockholders transferred title of the building to the Grange, apparently at a loss of \$500 (*Lew. Daily Sun*, Jan. 25, 1924). They also purchased the initial quarter-acre lot from Omar D. Potter, Calvin Spofford, and W. M. Robinson of Webster, and Noel B. Potter, Dexter Blethen, Charles S. Newell, Nelson Ham, John L. Ham, Leonard G. Dingley, John Goss, Edwin L. Goss, Emma C. Morrill, Charles O. Morrill and Nellie Morrill of Lewiston (Deeds, 152:428).

Internal Governance Issues

The times of regular meetings varied. On December 30, 1886, the Grange voted to meet on the first and third Thursdays through May 1, the first in the evening and the third at 10:00 A.M. On January 20, 1887, this was amended to hold the day meetings at 1:00 P.M. except when there was a lecture and to begin evening meetings at 6:00 P.M. sharp. On May 19, 1887, it was voted to meet every Thursday evening at 7:00 sharp. Then on October 13, 1887, they voted to meet twice a month, one in the afternoon and one in the evening.

Soon the Grange was faced with the matter of delinquent dues. After spending several meetings discussing this matter, they finally voted to expel ten members (LGR, Aug. 30, 1877).

A membership question that seems to have generated the first hard feelings among members arose when they voted to permit Pine Tree Grange to initiate Miss Lizzie A. Hinkley "residing within our jurisdiction." Secretary Noel B. Potter resigned "peremptorily declining to serve longer than the 22nd of this month" (LGR, Feb. 15, 1877). At the next meeting a week later, this seems to have generated a proposal to appoint a committee on the by-laws. The Master resigned effective immediately. Then, "on motion of Bro Goss it was voted to drop all ill feelings caused by the debate of the present and previous meetings" (LGR, Feb. 22, 1877). Ultimately Potter withdrew his resignation and John Goss was elected as Master (LGR, Mar. 1, 1877).

Membership issues could generate contention because after the initial enthusiasm, few joined the Grange. O. D. Potter, who served as Master for 13 years during this period, recalled that about sixty members joined during the first year, but "then the movement stopped. Every one was afraid of being laughed at if they came in and the result was that we were at a standstill" (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Apr. 25, 1902). The Grange suffered nationally from problems of the cooperatives, disorganization, and various scandals and squabbles. Some believed the Grange was not militant enough. These problems all derived in part from the independent character of farmers and their suspicion of their own leaders (Howard 1992, 68-70). However, in the early 1890's, the Grange began to grow again, and Potter attributed this to more favorable coverage by the local newspaper (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Apr. 25, 1902). No systematic data are available for Lewiston Grange membership during the Nineteenth Century.

Masters of Lewiston Grange, 1874-1899

1874	Nelson Ham	1890-91	G. G. Wagg
1875	Charles Newell (2 months)	1892-93	John L. Ham
1875	John Goss (10 months)	1894-97	William G. Snow
1876	Kingsbury Donnell	1898-99	Harry G. Jordan
1877-89	Oram D. Potter		

Chapter 5

MEETING THE NEEDS OF SOUTH LEWISTON FARM FAMILIES

There are many kinds of incentives for people to join organizations. Wilson classifies these into three categories: the material, the purposive and the solidary (1973, 33–34). Members may be able to improve their economic standing from membership in an organization. They may attempt to persuade the government to adopt policies that they believe advance the common good. They may also enjoy social and other personal rewards of membership. We find examples of all of these benefits in the earliest history of Lewiston Grange.

The Economic Incentive

Many groups, such as labor unions and business associations, seek to improve the economic well being of those they represent. Lewiston farmers found a variety of means to help one another and to advance their material interests.

One kind of membership benefit flows from contacts with others that may help one's business or profession. Robert Gould (1946, 154) noted, "Acquaintanceships ripened into friendships, and I found the Grange a great help in doing business." He found that "the Grange was a big help in bringing friends into the store. A trade is a trade, and Grangers knew that as well as I - so we moved along together in good fellowship, and I always considered the Grange a business asset as well as an excellent place to indulge in community betterment."

Lewiston Grange also attempted to assist individual members in need. When it was noted that Brother Morrill was ill and needed help with his planting, members set a date to go to do this after a designated member consulted him as to what was needed (LGR, May 25, 1882).

The Grange occasionally lent items, such as the knives and forks or the dishes or the curtains, to members to take out for occasions such as family reunions, auctions, or school district meetings. Apparently, items sometimes were not returned promptly, for it was decided that no one except Grange members could use the dishes without first receiving permission from the Grange or the Master (LGR, Feb. 14, 1884). Other

votes required the janitor to count the dishes when they were returned and to charge twenty-five cents for the use of the tablecloths when used by outside parties. From time to time in the 1880s, it was voted that an inventory of Grange property be taken. When an inventory committee reported on May 18, 1884, they could only give a partial report "as some of the articles were not present." It was voted to give them another week to complete the list, and on May 22 it was voted to accept the inventory report. Then on May 29 they voted to insure the furniture and other items at \$200, but on June 12 it was reported that \$125 coverage on the furniture had been purchased.

Note that these sorts of benefits were available free to members, but nonmembers needed to pay a rental fee. Such "selective" benefits make membership more valuable. Members are most likely to join and to remain in an organization if that is the only way to attain benefits. If the organization sought only to provide collective benefits, that is, government policies that benefited all members of a large class of people, such as all farmers, potential members would have no special incentive to join and would become "free riders" (Olson 1965, 51-60).

A more important benefit that Grangers sought was economic cooperation to solve farmers' problems and to combat monopolies. If the benefits of economic cooperation were limited to Grange members, this would be a powerful incentive to join. The State Grange established the Patrons Co-operative Agency to become the wholesaler to supply the stores established by local Granges. Granges sold goods at low prices to members and sometimes to outsiders at a profit (Guptill 1973, 30-31). In 1874, Lewiston Grange opened Maine's first local Grange store on the first floor of the hall, with B. H. Morrill as the storekeeper. It occasionally purchased goods in bulk at wholesale prices to enable members to purchase bran, seed, or even groceries at lower prices (LGR, Apr. 28, 1874 to Feb. 17, 1876, *passim*). Initially, the Grange Hall stood beside the railroad tracks, so sales could be made right at the siding or goods could be transferred easily to the Grange store. They could thereby bypass some handling costs and the middleman's markup. Morrill also served as the first South Lewiston postmaster, with the post office in the Grange Hall (*Lew. Daily Sun*, Jan. 25, 1924).

Lewiston Grange also made arrangements with local businesses to provide favorable prices to Grange members. Willis Parsons & Co. of Auburn offered a discount of five dollars on mowing machines, but "requested the patrons to keep the price a secret" (LGR, May 23, 1874). Member Charles Newell offered to sell boots and shoes at only eight percent above cost (LGR, Sept. 1, 1874). On September 19, 1874 (LGR), Master Nelson Ham read a list of approved dealers in groceries and dry goods. Brother Merrill reported that patrons could purchase from Boston Tea Store with a markup of only five percent (LGR, Oct. 14, 1875).

Although many people joined the Grange with the expectation that they would save money, most Grange stores languished. "The hostility of established retailers and wholesalers, incompetent management, and the lack of cooperative spirit among the Grangers themselves may be cited as leading causes for failure" (Sherman 1972, 65). On the latter point, local businesses could temporarily lower prices on goods, Grangers bought their goods there rather than in the Grange stores, and the Grange stores then

went bankrupt (Sherman 1972, 158). The Lewiston Grange store operated about eleven years, 1874 to 1885 (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Feb. 8, 1934).

The major business success was the establishment of cooperative insurance companies, because private companies were reluctant to insure farm buildings except at very high premiums. They were poor risks, for the wooden structures held flammable wood and hay and were in remote locations beyond the reach of organized fire companies and equipment (Sherman 1972, 167). Nelson Ham of Lewiston, who was a prime instigator in the organization of the Androscoggin insurance company, stated at the annual meeting of the State Grange in 1875,

Our rates of insurance are large, and a burden to most of us, and compared with the losses we sustain, we, in the aggregate pay enormous premiums. We should bear our losses mutually and devise some means of securing insurance in our order. Our object is to benefit ourselves, so far as we can, without injustice to others. Surely, a mutual insurance lies within the province of our order (*Grange Herald*, March 1957).

By 1877 three such insurance companies were established in Maine, including Patron's Androscoggin Pomona Mutual Fire Insurance Company to serve farmers in Lewiston, Auburn and the surrounding area. Many farmers joined the Grange in order to take advantage of the lower premiums (Guptill 1973, 32). Crowley (1920) reports that these efforts were "met with active and oftentimes the bitter antagonism of city business men as well also as that of the Press." They argued that one fire would wipe out the insurance company, but the companies did survive. It was estimated that by the end of 1956, Maine Grange members had saved five million dollars in insurance costs (*Grange Herald*, March 1957).

Purposive Goals

The purposive rewards are derived from "the satisfaction of contributing to a worthwhile cause" that may affect both members and non-members, according to the stated purposes of the organization (Wilson 1973, 34, 46). This may include economic benefits or the achievement of societal goals regarding environmental protection, civil rights, or election reform.

The National Grange's Declaration of Purposes discourages discussion of partisan or sectarian questions, but it encourages members to take an interest in the political life of the nation. Moreover, Granges were free to discuss "nonpartisan" issues such as local schools and roads, taxation, and farmers' needs (Sherman 1972, 179). Grangers, particularly in the early years, debated countless resolutions on matters of public policy. As the Grange grew, politicians were pleased to speak at Grange functions and many joined the Grange.

Although State Master Frederick Robie also served as Governor of Maine during the 1880s and the State Grange was active on national and state issues (Guptill 1973, 52-55; Sherman 1972, 202-203), there was little reflection of political effort in the records of Lewiston Grange during this era.

Nevertheless, the Grange could be drawn into local issues. When the City of Lewiston decided that it could no longer permit farmers to sell their straw and hay in Haymarket Square (in the wide portion of Main Street, near the intersection with Lisbon Street), it was proposed that the farmers rent a lot for this purpose. The *Maine Farmer*, the statewide newspaper that spoke for Grange interests, complained, "Probably the grangers can live without Lewiston trade as long as the city without the grangers, and we very much question the success of a policy of throwing the rental on to the farmers" (Oct. 27, 1898).

The Educational Benefit

Gould (1946,158–159) noted that the Grange "literary programs bring a form of much needed education to people who are otherwise without it. The state officers who visit around bring in much of news and opinion, and as a common meeting ground for people with common problems and interests it can't be beaten."

Meetings usually included a Lecturer's program. Sometimes in the early years the members sang, played an instrument, or read a poem or article. Most frequently, however, as was common in Granges at the time (Guptill 1973, 65), there were debates and discussions of matters that helped to educate the members on the increasingly scientific practice of agriculture. This first occurred at Lewiston on March 31, 1874 (LGR), when the Master made remarks on the cultivation of onions and the members generally discussed the value of super phosphates as a fertilizer. The value of commercial fertilizers was a frequent issue of debate and discussion. Sometimes a member sought advice on a matter facing him in the operation of his own farm. Members might ask whether early June was too late to sow oats, what to do about cabbage worms, or when to trim apple trees. On October 6, 1882, Brother Goss volunteered information on how to keep the tail still while milking a cow.

Questions scheduled for discussion concerned the most profitable crop to grow (LGR, Mar. 29, 1877), the relative profitability of dairy cows and hogs (Sept. 27, 1883), the value of ironing clothing (Aug. 19, 1886), and the bushes growing up in the roads (Aug. 16, 1888). The men tended to dominate the discussions, but as early as March 22, 1877, women were urged "to speak on any questions they may choose."

A question that arose a few times was the desirability of moving to the West, that is, the Midwestern states or California. This was a concern as people moved to the cities or out of state. Guptill (1973, 44) cites the 1890 census that revealed that Maine lost 24,381 individuals who had emigrated during the past decade. On November 3, 1887, the discussion question at Lewiston Grange was "had we better build fix up and stay here in Maine or go West." It seemed to be a matter on which nearly all spoke. The Secretary noted that "all but Bro. John L. Ham thought it as well to stay in Maine. Bro. Ham spoke in glowing terms of the West, thought it a very fine Country. But evidently Bro. Ham thinks Maine a good State to live in for he has recently painted all of his buildings in fine style, and is tidying up generally" (LGR, Nov. 3, 1887).

Frequently, a matter was debated in a more formal way, with a resolution formulated in advance and members assigned to speak for the positive or negative. Sample resolves include:

"That stock raising is more profitable than raising produce." (The first debate, LGR, May 27, 1875)

"That it will not be for the interest of the U S to resume Specie payment." (May 3, 1877)

"That the American Indian is more deserving of sympathy than the African." (Dec. 20, 1877)

"That young ladies should fit themselves for housekeeping in preference [sic] to any other occupation." (June 9, 1881)

"That an evening spent with a Grange by a farmer is more profitably spent than the same time would be at any school." (June 30, 1881)

"That the use of Tobacco is the greatest of all evils with one exception." (Aug. 23, 1883)

Occasionally, formal speakers were invited. On February 17, 1887 (LGR), Brother Rufus Prince of Turner spoke on the subject of ensilage. In 1881-1882, Lewiston Grange sponsored a series of five lectures open to the public: "Ireland and the Land Question" by W. H. Looney, Esq., of Portland; "Self Conquest" by the Rev. Hillman of Lisbon; "The Grange" by W. H. Moody of Liberty; "The Life of Garfield" by the Rev. Dennett of Sabattus; and a talk on various subjects by J. B. Ham, the former mayor of Lewiston. The receipts from these lectures were \$32.35, expenses were \$5.66, for net proceeds of \$27.23 (LGR, Apr. 20, 1882).

Early on, Lewiston Grange established a lending library. The Lewiston Public Library did not open until 1903. Past State Master Thing, who was State Lecturer in the 1880s, urged subordinate Granges to establish libraries (Guptill 1973, 51). A bookcase was purchased for sixteen dollars and members were asked to make suggestions for books to purchase (LGR, Mar. 30, 1882). On June 22, 1882, it was voted that books be loaned for no more than thirty days and a one-cent fine would be levied for each day late. Only members of the Grange would be allowed to borrow books. It was voted that Noel B. Potter place written instructions to the above effect in each book.

Social Benefits

Group membership also satisfies social, entertainment, and ego needs. In a fraternal organization, the leaders must arrange successful social events. Any stated public purpose for the group may be a way to justify itself and to distinguish it from other social organizations (Wilson 1973, 40-44). The social incentive can also be a powerful attraction as long as members enjoy themselves in the group or obtain other psychological rewards.

The subordinate Granges realized that the social aspects of the Grange were important. Granges soon built stages in their halls and included music in their programs (Guptill 1973, 34). As early as August 4, 1874, Lewiston chose John Goss as Chorister and Mrs. A. J. Clough as Organist. The organ was acquired for \$115 (LGR, Oct. 31 and Nov. 3, 1874). Lewiston Grange initially held many festivals, such as an ice cream festival, a necktie festival, and even a hulled corn festival, which often served as fund-raisers.

Occasionally the patrons enjoyed lighter fare. A special "Entertainment," a kind of variety show, was held at the observance of the tenth anniversary of the dedication of the Grange Hall (LGR, June 24, 1884). Other entertainments were organized primarily to raise money; those in 1884 raised net profits ranging from \$32.00 to \$8.46.

Another fund-raiser was the dramatic play. On April 23, 1885, they voted to permit the Dramatic Club of South Lewiston to rehearse in the Hall and receive the profits; the Grange received fifteen dollars (LGR, May 28, 1885). Later this became The Lewiston Grange Dramatic Club.

Guptill (1973, 50) noted the increasing importance of the social dimension of the Grange. Meetings provided the opportunity to talk with one another. This probably was particularly important for the women who otherwise would be isolated on their respective farms. The Grange was noteworthy as a fraternal organization that admitted women and teenagers as well as men. The meetings also were occasions for young people to meet others their own age. In sum,

the Grange offers the rural family a chance to participate on equal footing in a program of mystery, education, entertainment, refreshment, and (although not publicly acknowledged) politics. The children as well as the parents attend, and to be a Granger is at one time a distinction and no distinction at all. This paradox arises from the fact that almost everyone throughout the countryside belongs (Gould 1946, 153-154).

A notable dimension of Grange life was the supper. Often the "Harvest Supper," regardless of the time of year, was held after the conferral of the fourth degree upon new members. On the occasion of a "reunion" meeting, former member John C. Spofford of Everett, Massachusetts, wrote a letter in which he sent his regrets, recalled past suppers and imagined the members then

seated at tables loaded with toothsome beans and brown-bread, steaming Indians pudding such as only the sisters of Lewiston Grange can bake; cream pies surpassed in goodness only by their makers, milk more delicious than the fabled Nectar of the Gods, pies cakes and sweetmeats the delight of Epicurean palates (LGR, Jan. 14, 1886).

As of January 5, 1882 (LGR), the membership was 49 and the treasury balance was \$72.61. The Secretary recorded the Treasury balance of \$81.84 on January 10, 1884 and \$89.13 on December 11, 1884. Membership had moved to 98 by 1894 (*Register*). When the *Maine Farmer* surveyed Grange leaders across the state concerning "the outlook for the Grange in your vicinity," Nelson Ham responded for Lewiston that it was "quite as promising as for a long time past" (*Me. Farmer*, Jan. 18, 1894). Lewiston did enjoy a massive growth spurt at the end of the century to reach 242 members by 1902 (*Register*).

Chapter 6

EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY, 1900–1929

The Hall Is Moved Again

When the electric interurban railroad was constructed in 1898 along the Lisbon Road from Lewiston to Brunswick, this provided a quick and economical means for people to travel to Lewiston Grange. We learn that when Androscoggin Pomona, the regional Grange, met at the hall, “a jolly trolley party filling three cars started for South Lewiston” from the city (*Me. Farmer*, Nov. 10, 1898). However, the Grange hall seemed a little too distant for those who might come on this railway (Crowley 1920; *Lew. Eve. J.*, Mar. 23, 1932).

The three-quarter-mile walk to the hall was compared unfavorably with the location of Auburn Grange right on the line to Lake Auburn. Although membership was 250, average attendance at normal meetings was about 25 or 30. Many members believed that a move could improve both figures. Moreover, the Grange’s dramatic club would attract larger audiences (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Apr. 25, 1902).

At an all-day meeting on April 24, 1902, the Grange first voted on whether to buy a field of about five acres on Crowley Road next to the state road and the electric line and to build a new hall, but this failed by a large majority. Then the Grange leaders, including Master C. N. White, John L. Ham, and George K. Davis, urged purchase of the lot and movement of the old hall there. The Grange then voted to purchase the lot and appointed H. J. Carville, W. K. Vickery and H. G. Jordan to negotiate with the owner. Then the Grange voted to move the hall to the new lot (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Apr. 25, 1902).

The decision to move was contentious, and the dissension caused some members to leave the Grange (*Lew. Daily Sun*, Jan. 25, 1924). The hall was transported to its current site of four and a half acres, which Herbert J. Carville, William S. Foss, George K. Davis, C. N. White, and Abram W. Garcelon had purchased from Augustus Clough in 1902 (Deeds, 195:354) for five hundred dollars (*Lew. Daily Sun*, Jan. 25, 1924). In 1903, the Grange sold all of its other land to W. S. Penley for sixty dollars (Deeds, 201:188).

Again, the move did not proceed smoothly. The contractor got the hall into the road and then stopped because he feared that he would not be paid the three hundred dollars he was promised. Apparently, he felt this placed him in a strong bargaining position. Carville and two other men borrowed the money and proposed a counter offer. The contractor would receive one hundred dollars when the building crossed the brook, the second hundred dollars when it crossed the railroad tracks, and the final payment at the conclusion of the move (*Lew. Daily Sun*, Jan. 25, 1924).

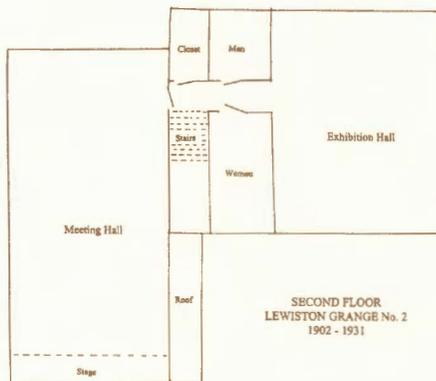
At this time the hall was remodeled again, with Byron S. Adams as head of the building committee (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Mar. 23, 1932). It had been too small, particularly when regional Pomona Grange meetings were held there, for attendance could be as many as 300 persons. For such a meeting in 1898, "the hall was packed to its utmost capacity" (*Me. Farmer*, Mar. 10, 1898).

In order to be moved, the horse sheds had to be separated and many Grangers believed they would be unattractive if reassembled.

This was a source of several arguments but finally it was decided to dispense with the sheds and construct a stable suitable for our needs. This was done and all the sheds disappeared except one which now decorates our property.



Lewiston Grange Hall with the large attached stable (1902-1931). According to a handwritten note on the back of the card, the photograph was taken 10 October 1928. Note the snow, however. Postcard published by Berry Paper Co., in author's collection



Floor plans of Lewiston Grange (1902-1931), as recalled by Dana Witham.

While the stable was being constructed some one conceived the idea that the hall should be enlarged and to do this the ante-rooms were removed from the rear of the hall and placed in their present position over the stable. Then the piazza was built and after the furnace was installed. . . . (Crowley 1920).

The large new ell also included an exhibition hall on the second floor over the stable (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Mar. 23, 1932).

In 1921, the Grange voted unanimously to make repairs on the outside of the buildings, to remove paper from the walls and to paint them, to refinish the woodwork and to fix the ceiling (LGR, Jan. 27, 1921). They also installed electric lights in the hall and the stable (Apr. 28 and Dec. 1, 1921). In 1925, partitions were removed in the stable to make room for automobiles (LGR, May 7, 1925).

Among other business matters noted during this era was the incorporation of Lewiston Grange in April, 1923 (*Lew. Daily Sun*, Jan. 25, 1924). After a profitable Grange fair in 1924, they voted to pay off their debt (LGR, Oct. 23, 1924), and burned the last note of indebtedness, held by Willard M. Robinson (LGR, Nov. 13, 1924; *Lew. Eve. J.*, Nov. 14, 1924).

Grange Activities

The first year of the new century saw one of the major highlights in the history of Lewiston Grange. The National Grange met in Lewiston, November 13 to 21, 1901, at old Kora Temple Hall on Lisbon Street and in Lewiston City Hall. There were only two delegates from each state, and probably no more than fifty attended (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Nov. 13, 1901). However, thousands of observers were expected from all over the State of Maine. Attendance was somewhat dampened by an early snowstorm that derailed electric rail cars and made roads impassible (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Nov. 14, 1901). Eventually, the seventh degree was conferred upon about two thousand members (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Nov. 16, 1901). The newspaper gave most prominence to leaders of Lewiston and Auburn city governments and boards of trade. South Lewiston Grangers mentioned on the committee to decorate City Hall were Mr. and Mrs. Harry Jordan and Mr. and Mrs. F. L. Hoyt (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Nov. 12, 1901). Lewiston Grange's display included "corn, pumpkins, broom corn, mammoth potatoes, vegetables and cut flowers" (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Nov. 14, 1901).

The State Grange continued with its political activities as an aggressive advocate of tax equalization and of political reform, including anti-corruption legislation, initiative, referendum, and the direct primary (Sherman 1972, 228-231). Lewiston Grange also continued to discuss issues of the day. In 1919, it unanimously passed a resolution to endorse the League of Nations (LGR, Mar. 6). They signed petitions concerning water power in Maine (Feb. 10, 1921, and Mar. 31, 1929). At the local level, they sought reduction in fares on the electric railroad to Crowley's Junction (Mar. 27, 1919) and opposed changing the name of No Name Pond in Lewiston (Feb. 10, 1927).

The farmers of the Grange passionately opposed Daylight Saving Time. On May 6, 1920 (LGR), they passed a resolution declaring

That the daylight's saving plan is a great injustice to the people of this

community... This new plan interferes with the Grange meetings makes the procuring of help on the farm almost impossible, causes confliction in business, dealays [sic] with surround cities and towns and brings nothing but general confusion.... Therefore, Be it resolved that Lewiston Grange No. 2 being the oldest Grange in the State go on record as being greatly opposed to the day-light saving plan.

They passed a similar resolution March 31, 1921 (LGR). Moreover, they voted to hold their meetings at 7:30 P. M. *standard* time (May 5, 1921).

During this period, Lewiston Grange attracted important speakers, such as Governors Ralph O. Brewster and William Tudor Gardiner (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Dec. 9, 1927; LGR, Apr. 19, 1928; Apr. 19, 1929; Mar. 13, 1930; Apr. 19, 1930). Erwin D. Canham of Boston, the famous newsman, spoke at the Patriot's Day meeting of 1926, as also did Seth May, the Maine prohibition director (LGR, Apr. 19, 1926; *Lew. Eve. J.*, Apr. 20, 1926).

The Grange also continued its educative function. Discussions included suggestions to help the farmer market products (LGR, June 12, 1919), whether to patronize home industry or to order by mail (Apr. 29, 1920), whether corn or oats was the more profitable crop (Mar. 12, 1925), whether the telephone was of sufficient benefit to the farmer to warrant the expense (Mar. 31, 1927), and how the housewife could make household duties easier (Jan. 20, 1927). They heard addresses on elements of the soil (Mar. 17, 1921), cooperative marketing (Mar. 27, 1924), various methods of farming (Mar. 11, 1926), and actions by the Legislature on agriculture (Apr. 19, 1927). Lewiston Grange participated in a State Grange project to instruct boys in vocational training for ten weeks at the hall (Dec. 15, 1927). Irving Hodgkin spoke on April 12, 1928 (LGR), of the benefits of the school and urged more farmers to attend. He announced that the next session would be on mixing concrete with a demonstration of making a concrete septic tank.

The Grange as Community Social Center

The most significant development during the first years of the twentieth century was the evolution of Grange halls as the social centers of their communities (Guptill 1973, 95). Socials, suppers, dances, and dramas became frequent activities open to the public. However, there was criticism of the local Granges for their focus on sociability and insufficient attention to solving the problems of agriculture.

Lecturer's programs increasingly included musical performances, skits, pageants, and humorous readings (Howe 1994, 25). Less serious discussions concerned whether each bachelor by choice should support one old maid "who is an old maid from necessity" (LGR, Apr. 28, 1927), whether a balky auto or a party telephone line is "more detrimental to a man's morals" (May 12, 1927), and whether "a woman can influence a man more than money" (Nov. 1, 1928). Often teams with captains were appointed to compete in putting on entertaining programs.

On September 27, 1923 (LGR), the Lecturer's program included music on a Victrola on loan from Tainters Music Store. Discussion of purchase of a machine occurred at several subsequent meetings. An informal vote, results not recorded, occurred on



Parade float, about 1920. Howe 1994, p. 26. By permission of Maine State Grange.

Feb. 14, 1924, and proceeds from a minstrel show would go to a special fund (Mar. 6, 1924). Finally, it was decided to purchase an Electrola (Jan. 20, 1927) and to earmark money received from the candy booth to pay for it (Jan. 13, 1927).

In 1901, Lewiston Grange began a unique tradition of holding all-day meetings on Fast Day and then on its replacement, Patriot's Day (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Apr. 19, 1930). Every April 19, Lewiston Grange opened with a business meeting in the morning, fol-



Field Day of Lewiston Grange, Riverview Grange of Lisbon Falls, and Pine Tree Grange of Lisbon, August 19, 1908. Unidentified newspaper clipping, courtesy of Merton Ricker.



Photocopy of dance ticket.

lowed by an extended program that included a full gamut of entertainment, including musical performances by both Grangers and outside talent, readings, skits, and speakers. Large numbers of Grangers from surrounding subordinates came to observe and to participate. At noon there was a large dinner.

The Grange sponsored its own fair in the fall. In addition to a general committee, the committees in 1926 were for agriculture and poultry, supper, entertainment, booths, aprons, orange tree, baby show, chance table, fish pond, fancy table, advertising, ball team and sports, homemade candy, and dance (LGR, Sept. 23, 1926). The meeting hall was brightly decorated and booths were set up around the walls. As reported in 1915, one was devoted to display of fancy work ranging from embroidery to rugs. Other booths featured the sale of artificial roses that hung on a spruce tree, aprons, popcorn, and candy and ice cream (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Oct. 26, 1915). Dana Witham (interview Apr. 9, 2002) recalls that his mother made delicious doughnuts that fair workers purchased for fifty cents a half dozen before the fair opened so that they never became available for other customers. Teenager Clayton Hodgkin sold sweet cider at the Grange fair (diaries, Oct. 18, 1927; Oct. 15-16, 1929; October 27-29, 1930). Other booths were devoted to guessing contests, such as one that involved the sale of guesses on the number of seeds contained in a large pumpkin on display (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Oct. 26, 1915).

Farmers and their families could also create displays of their poultry, fruits, vegetables, and canned goods in the exhibition or agricultural hall above the stable (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Oct. 26, 1915). Livestock sometimes were exhibited in pens outside. In early years the fair lasted two days with literary and musical programs in the evenings. In the 1920s the fair concluded with an evening drama, followed by dancing. The net profit in 1920 was about sixty dollars (LGR, Nov. 4).

Grangers also attended outings. One report told of a clambake and field day at Frosts Park in Lisbon Falls, attended by 200 members of Lewiston Grange, Riverview Grange of Lisbon Falls, and Pine Tree Grange of Lisbon. In the morning, Riverview defeated a team from the other two in a baseball game. In the afternoon, sports events included fifty-yard dashes for boys, girls, girls under 12 years, and men; a sack race; a tug-of-war; running broad jump; standing broad jump; and running high jump (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Aug. 20, 1908).

During the 1920s and 1930s, the Grange held regular Halloween parties at the hall and corn roasts or corn husking bees at the home of Irving Hodgkin.

Although records for the Twentieth Century prior to 1919 are unavailable, it appears that initiatives for the establishment of important future fundraisers occurred in 1921, with the appointment of a committee "to make arrangements for a course of dances" (LGR, Nov. 10, 1921) and the vote to purchase chocolate bars to sell (Dec. 8, 1921), the precursor to a regular candy table. Sources of funds other than dues are crucial to the maintenance and growth of an ambitious organization (Walker 1991, 81-85).

In 1927, Lewiston Grange sponsored a community banquet. The youth originated "the idea ...to bring a group of folks together who would not be apt to meet otherwise for an old-fashioned good time." Grangers were joined by members of the Lewiston and Auburn Chambers of Commerce, the local Rotary Club, community churches and

Bates College. The banquet was held in the main hall with a capacity crowd of 180 persons. The program included speeches by representatives of the respective groups, which was followed by dancing (*Lew. Daily Sun*, Dec. 31, 1927).

There are hints of auxiliary organizations. It was decided to reorganize the Ladies Sewing Circle (LGR, Nov. 6, 1919). The boys of the Grange sought use of the Grange field for a ball ground (Sept. 11, 1924); Fred Wagg was manager in 1927 (LGR, June 23). It was voted "to organize a Musical Club in near future" (May 5, 1927).

The Grange frequently was the site of other gatherings, such as birthday and anniversary parties. In one instance, Lewiston Grange members called a special meeting that turned out to be a surprise birthday party for Master Harry White (*Me. Farmer*, May 18, 1922).

Lewiston Grange continued to help its members. For example, they held a dance for the benefit of Brother Eugene Landry "who had the misfortune of falling from the tower of his Wind Mill and crushing his ankle" (LGR, Mar. 9, 1922).

Lewiston's membership reached its highest point with 283 reported in 1907. It may be noted that around 1920 many new members were admitted, including several persons with French names (LGR, 1919-1921). Lewiston Grange held its regular meetings during the first three decades of the century every Thursday evening, except in July, when a single meeting was held (*Registers*, 1902-1929).

Membership and Masters, 1900-1929

1900	M	Jerry C. Spoffard	1911	226	Frank L. Hoyt	1922	NL	Harry T. White
1901	M	Jerry C. Spoffard	1912	221	Augustus Chadburn	1923	204	Harry T. White
1902	242	Clifton N. White	1913	248	Augustus Chadburn	1924	195	Harry T. White
1903	249	Clifton N. White	1914	227	Harry G. Crowley	1925	182	Leon S. Jordan
1904	236	Abraham Garcelon	1915	NL	Harry G. Crowley	1926	161	Leon S. Jordan
1905	246	Louis M. Adams	1916	222	Ralph A. White	1927	178	Gordon E. Mills
1906	NL	Louis M. Adams	1917	NL	Ralph A. White	1928	182	Gordon E. Mills
1907	283	Everett A. Davis	1918	M	H. B. Lamson	1929	173	Alton A. Cole
1908	267	Walter E. Scribner	1919	247	Ralph A. White			
1909	262	Walter E. Scribner	1920	238	Harry G. Crowley			
1910	244	Frank L. Hoyt	1921	202	Walter H. Williams			

M = Register for that year missing.

NL = Membership figure not listed in Register for that year.



Past Masters of Lewiston Grange No. 2 in 1936. Seated: Harry Crowley, Walter Scribner, Everett A. Davis, Louis Adams, and Jerry Spoffard. Standing: Ralph White, Harry White, Leon Jordan, Gordon Mills, Alton Cole, Irving Hodgkin, Elwin Hodgkin, and incumbent Master Clayton Hodgkin. Tash Studio Photo in the author's collection.

Chapter 7

“THE GRANGE WAS OUR LIFE” 1930–1960

Business Matters

This era begins with transactions to clarify the Grange’s legal status. Frank T. Powers, the first attorney to join Lewiston Grange (sometime in the late 1920s), discovered in 1930 “that the property was not owned in the name of the Grange, and that it was not properly incorporated” (*Lew. Daily Sun*, Nov. 12, 1940). Therefore, Herbert J. Carville, Eva S. Spofford, C. N. White, Abram W. Garcelon, and Emma D. Scribner deeded the property to the Grange in 1930 (Deeds, 407:335). Although the Grange reportedly was incorporated in April, 1923 (*Lew. Daily Sun*, Jan. 25, 1924), it apparently had to be done again to certify it as an organization whose purposes were “social and agricultural and to do all things incident and pertaining to those purposes including holding by purchase, gift, devise, bequest of [sic] otherwise, real and personal property” (Deeds, 407:311).

New by-laws were written by a committee consisting of Harry G. Crowley, Rosa E. Tukey, Irving D. Hodgkin, Bessie M. Cole and J. C. Spofford (*Lew. Grange By-laws*). They were scheduled for adoption June 12, 1930 (*Lew. Daily Sun*, June 12, 1930), and took effect July 1, 1930 (*By-laws*). The following are some of the particular provisions. They set weekly meetings at 7:30 P.M. Standard time on Thursdays, except in July and August when meetings were to be only on the first Thursday. On each second Thursday of November through March and on Patriot’s Day there were to be day meetings opened at 10:30 A.M. Each officer’s duties were detailed. The Master was directed to appoint a finance committee to inspect and approve all bills prior to their being presented to the Grange. The executive committee consisted of three persons elected to staggered three-year terms; they had charge of all property belonging to the Grange and of other business matters. Applications for membership were to be investigated by a committee of three. The membership fee was three dollars for men and two dollars for women. Dues were set at thirty cents per quarter.

Reconstruction of the Hall

In 1926, Lewiston Grange initiated discussions to enlarge its hall. A committee chaired by Irving D. Hodgkin reported with a proposed outline for the change. They voted to enlarge the hall and to seek estimates from several contractors and to use Hodgkin's plan subject to improvement (LGR, June 17, 1926). There were occasional further discussions, but no formal action until 1931.

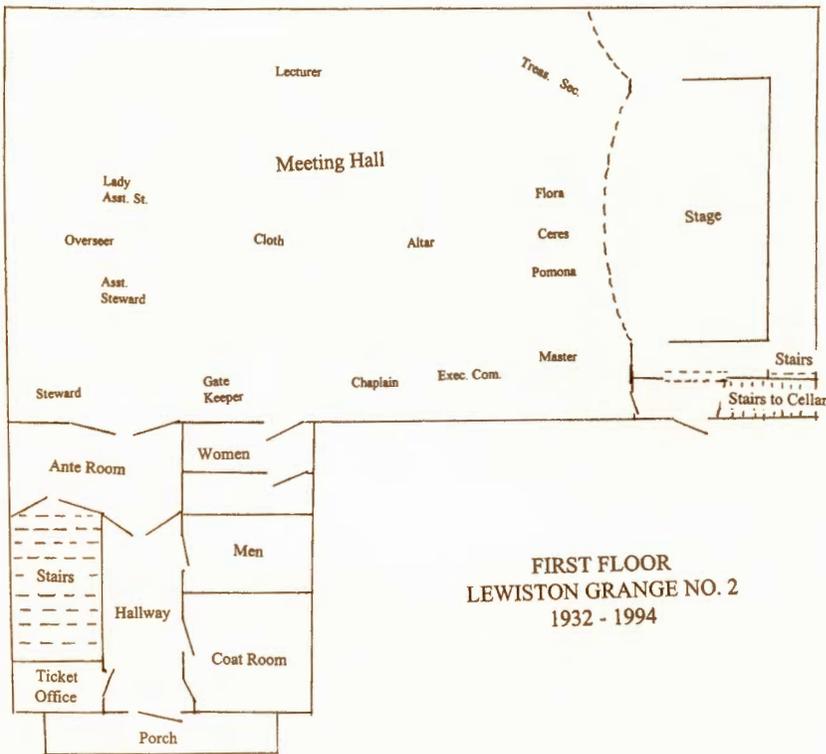
On May 7, 1931 (I. Hodgkin diary), the Grange voted to remodel the hall. Two weeks later it voted the funding (C. Hodgkin diary, May 21, 1931), by a 37 to 8 majority (LGR, May 21). Irving Hodgkin reported that a contractor's estimate of the cost was \$5500 (June 4, 1931). The Grange undertook this project because it sometimes was crowded when Pomona meetings or entertainments were held. A Patriot's Day dinner in 1926 had required two sittings, for example, with 131 at the first and 75 at the second (Lew. Eve. J., Apr. 20, 1926). The Grange also wanted a larger hall on the ground floor in which to hold dances as the major source of income (D. Witham interview, Apr. 9, 2002). Another stated purpose was to provide employment to some of the Grange members during the Depression (Lew. Eve. J., Mar. 23, 1932).

The Grange proceeded to renovate and reconstruct the hall. Many of its "things" were stored at the nearby Good Templars Hall (I. Hodgkin diary, Nov. 14, 1931), which was on the original lot occupied by the Grange between the railroad spurs. Grange meetings were held at the Good Templars Hall and at Thornes Corner Grange Hall on Sabattus Street, Lewiston.

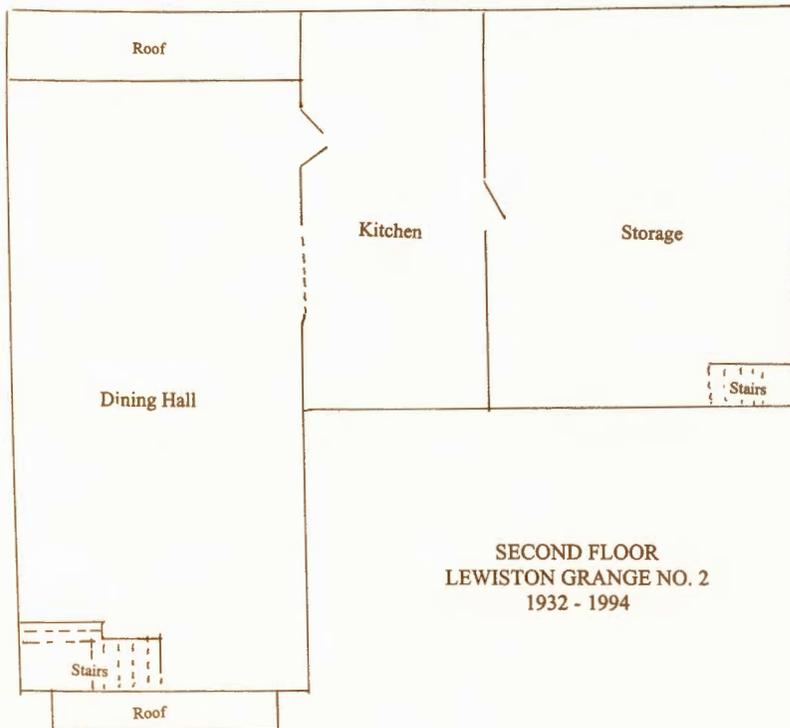
As authorized on November 5, 1931 (LGR), the Grange mortgaged the property to Peoples Savings Bank for \$3000 with interest at six per cent. A condition of the mortgage was that if the mortgage were not fully paid within one year, then at least \$300 must be paid each year (\$75 every three months) on the principal (Deeds, 415:295). The project cost about \$6000 (Lew. Eve. J., Mar. 23, 1932), with funds coming not only from the bank loan, but also from money loaned by members. The latter is indicated by incidental mentions in the Secretary's minutes of creditors who requested immediate payment of their notes (LGR, Sept. 22, 1938; Apr. 4, 1940; June 13, 1940; Sept. 5, 1940).

On November 13, 1931 (I. Hodgkin diary), the building committee awarded the contract to Charles Deblois to raise the building and to construct the foundation. At one point, Irving Hodgkin recorded that the hall was "a foot high" (diary, Nov. 19, 1931). Members apparently dug out the basement (C. Hodgkin diary, Dec. 21, 23, 24, 26, 28, 1931; I. Hodgkin diary, Dec. 4, 7, 28, 1931). Paul Martin (email, Jan. 28, 2002) recalls that horses dragged scoops in this process. Deblois finished his work on January 18, 1932 (I. Hodgkin diary). Members of the Grange did most of the painting, carpentering, and plumbing (Lew. Eve. J., Mar. 23, 1932; I. Hodgkin diary, Jan. 19-22, Feb. 1, 26, March 9, 1932).

The changes constituted a "revolutionary upheaval" of the interior (Lew. Eve. J., Mar. 23, 1932). The stable was eliminated and the meeting hall was moved from the second floor of the north-south wing and placed on the first floor of the east-west wing, with measurements of 66 by 36 feet, including a sixteen-foot stage. The dining hall and kitchen were moved from the first floor of the north-south wing to the upstairs. The



First floor, Lewiston Grange, 1932-1994, as recalled by the author and as observed in recent visits. The basic outline of the building is provided in the records of the Lewiston Tax Assessor.



Second floor, Lewiston Grange, 1932-1994, as recalled by the author.



Lewiston Grange meeting hall interior on the 75th Anniversary of the founding, January 22, 1949. Hammond Studio, courtesy of Laura M. Hodgkin.

dining hall replaced the meeting hall, and the kitchen replaced the men's and women's anterooms (D. Witham interview, Jan. 16, 2002; *Lew. Eve. J.*, Mar. 23, 1932). Construction features included maple hardwood floors, a steel ceiling, and steel girders and lally-columns of iron and cement to support the second floor. The newspaper noted that one furnace burned wood to heat the anterooms and the dining hall, while a second furnace burned coal to heat the meeting hall (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Mar. 23, 1932).

The next project was the construction of bowling alleys in the basement in 1933 (I. Hodgkin dairy, Feb. 25, 27, 28). They were upgraded in 1947 (L.G.R, Jan. 23 and Feb.20, 1947; I. Hodgkin diary, Jan. 19, 21, Feb. 17). Aluminum roofing also was installed the same year (LGR, July 10, 1947). The exterior of the hall was painted in 1949 (Dec. 9).

The author recalls the arrangement of the hall for meetings as indicated in the diagram of the first floor. In addition to the "stations" of the officers with individual chairs and tables, the walls were lined with settees for non-officers – long benches with backs and an arm rest at each end. These could be arranged in rows facing the stage for minstrel shows, dramas, or other entertainments. Sometime in the early 1950s it was decided to sell broken settees that were stored in the attic. While a couple Grange members pulled them from the attic, the dealers took them downstairs and substituted them for the settees in good condition, and loaded the latter into their truck. Too late, a few days later, it was discovered that the Grange had been cheated.

On the walls were various memorabilia, including the service flags memorializing members who had served in the World Wars and various awards and certificates for Grange fair booths and service projects. A very large portrait of Nelson Ham hung on the wall near the Treasurer and Secretary's station. The Grange charter was on the wall behind the Master's station, but was taken down, placed on an easel and draped with a black ribbon at the next meeting following a member's death.

There was a triangular built-in cabinet with a glass door constructed across the corner beside the Steward's station for the storage of the staffs of the Steward, Assistant Steward, Lady Assistant Steward, and Gatekeeper. It also contained the American flag, which was paraded around the room during the opening ceremonies before being placed between the Master's station and the station of the Lady Officers. When there were honored guests, they were escorted to chairs placed when needed in front of the flag.

Upstairs, a spacious dining room held long tables and dozens of chairs. The kitchen was accessed by a large set of doors, as well as a large opening with a counter over which food could be passed.

The Grange voted on November 7, 1940 (LGR), to pay off the balance of the mortgage, and two days later, the loan was repaid in full and the mortgage discharged (Deeds, 512:486). They voted on December 4, 1941, to retire all notes on those holding more than one note, up to the amount of five hundred dollars.

One intriguing incident was the City's attachment of the Grange property on February 4, 1935 due to failure to pay \$20.40 property tax. (Deeds, 472:11). At that point, the City assessed the land at \$150 and the building at \$450. Finally, on December 14, 1937, the City deeded the property back to the Grange (Deeds, 481:247). There is no

indication of whether the Grange had had a cash-flow problem or whether the incident was due to miscommunication or other bureaucratic mix-ups.

Organizational Matters

Meetings continued to be held weekly, except once a month in the summer, until 1936, when the Grange shifted to the second and fourth Thursdays of each month. Despite, or probably because of the Depression, membership increased to a peak of 278. The Grange was the site of camaraderie in hard times and the entertainment available was inexpensive.

In 1941, Lewiston Grange voted to return to meeting every Thursday (LGR, Jan. 23). However, on November 5, 1942, they amended the by-laws to hold regular meetings on the first and third Thursday of each month "for the duration of the war or otherwise voted by the Grange." On February 4, 1943, it was recorded that "State Sec. advised all Granges to limit meetings to regular order of business all socials and dances cancelled [sic] until further notice." Meetings were limited to once a month on the first Thursday for the duration of the war (LGR, Nov. 4, 1943). Gasoline rationing and other shortages required conservation of resources.

The records reflect World War II in other ways. It was voted to pay the dues of members in the Army or Navy until they were released from service (Apr. 9, 1942). The Grange voted to purchase War Damage Insurance with coverage of \$5000 (July 2, 1942). They bought a total of twenty \$100 Defense Bonds at \$74 each at various times from August 6, 1942 to June 7, 1945. They dedicated a service flag to men in the present war on May 6, 1943, and on May 20 they voted to frame the World War I service flag. They sent checks for three dollars each to the boys in the service (Aug. 3, 1944). It was announced that owing to war conditions, that is, sugar rationing, they had to discontinue the candy counter at which members had been able to buy candy in the hall (May 20, 1943) and which had been a source of income.

The War apparently caused a drop in membership. When the numbers decreased from 255 to 186 in one year, concerns were expressed (LGR, May 20, 1943). It was voted on September 23 to purchase a Victrola radio for \$111.90 to interest young people. Master Earl Houghton spoke of arousing interest among young people by giving them use of the bowling alley, Victrola, and other amusements (Feb. 1, 1945). On March 1, 1945, Edna Leighton suggested a committee be appointed to contact young people to join; Clayton P. Hodgkin agreed to be the committee. By the March 15 meeting there were fourteen applications for membership. With the end of the War, membership increased steadily to Lewiston's third peak of 272 reported in 1951 (Roster, 1945-1951).

Membership and Masters, 1930-1960

1930	179	Irving D. Hodgkin	1942	255	Gordon E. Mills	1952	270	Edna Leighton + Milton Jenkins #
1931	228	Irving D. Hodgkin	1943	255	Fred Jordan			
1932	201	Elwin Hodgkin	1944	186	Earl Houghton	1953	270	Milton Jenkins
1933	222	Elwin Hodgkin	1945	178	Earl Houghton	1954	225	Roland Woodward
1934	216	George Barschdorf	1946	186	Fred Jordan	1955	243	Roland Woodward
1935	232	Clayton P. Hodgkin	1947	191	Clayton P. Hodgkin	1956	213	Roland Woodward
1936	236	Alton Savage	1948	232	Ralph Moyes	1957	198	Ira Kidder
1937	239	Alton Savage	1949	245	Ralph Moyes	1958	185	Ira Kidder
1938	278	Fred Jordan	1950	255	Ralph Moyes	1959	180	Victor Gregoire
1939	273	Fred Jordan	1951	272	Fred Jepson, Jr. *	1960	133	Victor Gregoire
1940	231	Irving D. Hodgkin			Russell Sprague *			
1941	255	Irving D. Hodgkin			Edna Leighton #			

* two months + four months # eight months

A favorite activity after World War II was experimentation with the meeting schedule, undoubtedly to attempt to adapt to changing life-styles and to the increasing non-farm portion of the membership. A new schedule of meetings was adopted December 9, 1950 (LGR), effective the next January 1. Evening meetings were the second and fourth Thursdays each month, but only the fourth Thursday in July and August. Day meetings were to be held on the third Saturday of December, January, February, and March, as well as on April 19 (Patriot's Day) and November 11 (Armistice Day). A proposal to limit day meetings only to the two holidays was defeated January 10, 1952. A subsequent resolution "on day meetings for April 19 and Nov. 11" was adopted, but the details were not specified in the minutes (Feb. 14, 1952)⁷. Then it was voted (Nov. 11, 1952) that beginning in December the meetings would be held on the second Friday at 7:30 P.M., the Lecturer's program at 8:00, and the evening concluded "shortly after 9:00 P.M." On July 10, 1953, they voted to hold meetings the second and fourth Fridays at 7:30 P.M. On November 26, 1954, they changed the meetings to the first and third Fridays at 8:00 P.M. The November 11 day meeting was changed in the by-laws from 11:00 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. and to continue into the evening.

There was difficulty in electing a Master for 1942. Irving D. Hodgkin was unanimously re-elected December 4, 1941 (LGR), but he declined later in the meeting. The person who was elected resigned shortly afterward, so on Jan. 1, 1942, a new election was held. Nine persons were nominated and Gordon Mills was elected.

In 1950 several names were proposed for Lecturer, but all declined, and the person finally elected resigned by the next meeting (LGR, Oct. 13 and 27, 1950). Finally, on November 11, Velma Jenkins, who had declined election on October 13, resigned as Chaplain and was elected as Lecturer. Then after two months' service, Master W. M. Jepson announced he had accepted a position in Connecticut (Jan. 25, 1951), so the overseer would take over. At the next meeting the question was raised as to the need for a written resignation and it was decided that he had verbally resigned and that was sufficient (Feb. 17). Russell Sprague was elected Master on February 22, but he resigned April 26. Edna Leighton was then elected as the first woman to hold that

⁷ Probably this established day meetings only on the two holidays. The author joined the Grange in 1954 and does not recall day meetings other than those.

position. She was re-elected to a full term, but then resigned April 24 and was replaced by Milton Jenkins, May 8, 1952.

In 1949, on request of Lewiston members, Androscoggin Pomona Grange voted that "since Androscoggin Pomona has received a new charter from the National Grange, the original charter for the Pomona be returned to Lewiston Grange to be hung on the wall of that Grange where it remained for so many years" (*Lew. Daily Sun*, Dec. 15, 1949; LGR, Feb. 11, 1950).



Lewiston Grange officers and installation team, 1954. First row: State Secretary Nellie Haskell, regalia bearer Gladys Grant, marshal Fred Young, emblem bearer Edna Young, pianist Velma Vickery. Second row: installing Chaplain Archie Taylor, Master Roland Woodward, Overseer Jesse Woodward, Lecturer Marie Stewart, Steward Frank Smith. Third row: Assistant Steward Ira Kidder, Chaplain Kathy Coffin, Secretary Ilda Witham, Gate Keeper Laurier Mathieu. Fourth row: Ceres Jeannette Woodward, Pomona Fern Woodward, Flora Mary Jones, Lady Assistant Steward Doris Kidder, Executive Committee members Harry Crowley and Clayton Hodgkin. Lewiston Sun-Journal photo, courtesy of Laura M. Hodgkin.

The by-laws were revised April 9, 1954 (LGR) to provide, "All property or funds in excess of the ordinary expenses, are to be held for the relief of the sick, the poor or the distressed or of widows and orphans, or to bury the dead without regard to the source from which said funds are derived, or without limitation to the class of persons for whose benefit they are applied." This probably was adopted to establish the Grange's non-profit status.

Saturday Night Dances and other Fund-Raisers

The sponsorship of dances on Saturday nights, sometimes throughout the year and later only in the summer was a primary source of revenue. On May 26, 1938, the Grange voted to establish a special bank account for the dance profits. However, this fund was dipped into to pay off a loan, to pay current expenses the summer of 1939 (LGR, June 15), to pay current expenses again in the winter (Dec. 7, 1939), and to pay current bills (June 6, 1940). At their height, the dances made a profit of \$2072.80 during 1942 (Nov. 19), constituting about eighty percent of total revenues (Treas., 1937-1946). In 1946, the profit was \$1191.43 on dances and \$328.61 on refreshments (LGR, Nov. 11, 1946). However, there were problems as they received a complaint

about the bottles and cars in the field across the road in front of the Hall. Paul Martin (email, Jan. 28, 2002) recalled,

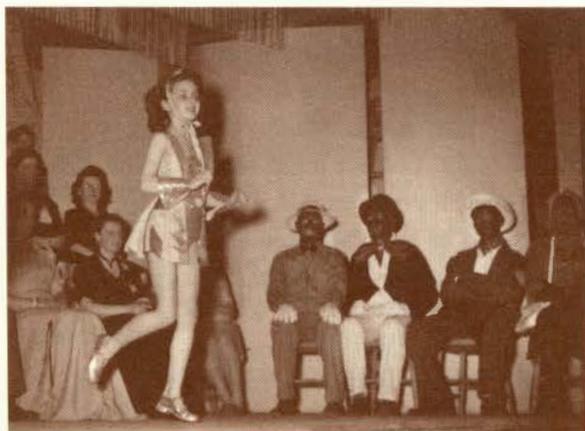
I remember the beer drinking that went on outside in the parking lot while the music and dancing was going on. We would travel to the grange parking lot on Sunday mornings to pick up the beer bottles that we would sell at the Aroostook Variety Store located on the Lisbon Rd.

The Grange voted to hire officers to keep autos and people off the fields and to keep control of the dance crowd (LGR, June 3, 1943).

The music played at these dances was largely waltzes and foxtrots, performed by a small orchestra. In one, Art Lee's Orchestra, which performed about 1948 to 1950, the instruments included a piano, drums, bass fiddle, two (!) accordians, and a saxophone or clarinet. They were paid according to the number of tickets sold (Ricker interview).

By the 1950s, the dances were held from about May to October. However, after some indecision, it was decided not to hold the dances in 1951 (LGR, May 10), although a cooler for soft drinks had been installed (April 12). The dances were resumed June 7, 1952, but it was noted on October 23 that they had encountered difficulties "from the beginning." Apparently, the Grange was facing financial difficulties as several outstanding bills were reported at the meeting. In 1953, the dances were to be run by a different chair each month, and profits were about \$100 each month. Dances were held in 1955 with net profit of only \$395 (Nov. 4). In 1956, Roland Woodward "reported that the dances have not been well attended" (May 17). Although on October 4, 1957, it was voted to discontinue the dances, they did continue in 1958 and subsequent years. Apparently dances raised \$464.94 in 1959 (Nov. 20). Summer dances continued into the 1960s during the time that Roland Woodward and George Yokell served as Master. One band that played then was that of Leslie Jones (interview).

Minstrel shows, often held at the conclusion of the Patriot's Day gatherings, also brought in revenue. These were variety shows that featured Grangers' talents introduced by a master of ceremonies (interlocutor). These included, seated at each side of the stage, the "end men," who wore blackface, told jokes, and performed. Today, this feature is considered racist. Net income of the 1953 minstrel show was \$109.90 (LGR,



The minstrel show, a form of talent show, featured end men, that is, whites in black face who told jokes and sang or played instruments. Their portrayal of African-Americans is now considered racist. This photo about 1950, Jesley Studio, courtesy of Laura M. Hodgkin

June 12). In 1954 the minstrel profit was \$89.22 (May 14) and the show was repeated at South Paris with Lewiston Grange to receive half the profit.

The Grange fair continued as a social function and fund-raiser. The fair included the usual displays of produce and household crafts. The October 27, 1938, report of the fair's profits indicates the kinds of activities besides displays: orange tree, \$5.10; food table, \$2.71; fancy work, \$5.00; candy booth, \$1.18; beano, \$15.44; drama, \$35.07; total, \$64.50. Committees for the 1945 Grange fair listed in the October 10 minutes included orange tree, beano, quilts and aprons, agriculture display, chance table, fancy work, and food table. The Grange fair held in 1951 featured a boiled dinner at noon and a red hash supper (LGR, Aug. 9), which brought in a profit of \$125.20 (Oct. 11).

Mamie Cole ran an "orange tree" that consisted of balls of crumpled crepe paper hanging from a tree. Each contained a number and the purchaser of an "orange" received a corresponding prize. Apparently, "oranges" for the less desirable prizes were placed on the tree for sale first; this encouraged customers to buy additional oranges as the most desirable prizes remained available (D. Witham interview, Apr. 9, 2002). Another booth challenged men to drive three nails into a block of wood, each with a single blow, in order to win a prize (D. Witham interview, Jan. 16, 2002).

A candy table operated from the 1920s into the 1950s at Grange meetings and other gatherings. Its revenues often were near one hundred dollars annually, and reached a peak of \$145.18 in 1941 and \$150.00 in 1942 (Treas., 1937-1946, pp. 38, 46).

Special projects raised funds for particular purposes. A social raised money to paint the hall (LGR, Oct. 13, 1938), and a cookbook was reported as having raised \$32.35 (LGR, Nov. 26, 1954). Hall rentals and banquets catered by Grangers also brought occasional income.

The Social Center of South Lewiston

Guptill (1973, 161) titled his chapter on the 1930s and 1940s "The Social Years." "Many Granges became devoted almost completely to providing good fun and entertainment for their membership, and many became simply fraternal and social organizations, especially the Granges that were more town- or village-centered than rural" (Guptill 1973, 162). Lecturers' programs at Lewiston increasingly included a variety of entertainment, such as vocal and instrumental performances by members or visitors; readings of articles, poems, or jokes; skits and stunts, cake walks, quizzes, and the like. Meetings throughout this period often featured themes to determine special sets of office-holders and those responsible for the program: past masters' night, gentlemen's night, ladies' night, youth night, and guest officers' night. Booster night was an open meeting for nonmembers to attend and to enjoy a special program and supper.

All-day meetings featured local community leaders as guest speakers, major entertainment such as students from a local dance studio, debaters from Bates College, high school student presentations, mixed with Grange talent. Often, Maude Morey of Thornes Corner Grange entertained with memorable recitations of dramatic stories. These day meetings attracted large turnouts. In the 1930s, some visitors traveled by

train to the Crowley's Junction station just down the road. Many others came by trolley to the corner of Lisbon and Crowley roads (D. Witham interview, Jan. 16, 2002) until the trolley discontinued about 1940.

Programs continued to include debates and discussions on selected topics, but with an up-dated flavor. They discussed whether radio or the newspaper were a better medium of publicity (LGR, Apr. 19, 1938), whether buying on the installment plan should be discouraged (Jan. 12, 1939), whether rural schools should be discontinued (Feb. 9, 1939), what the Grange could do for defense (Dec. 11, 1941), the excellence of frozen foods and the necessity of a balanced diet (Mar. 5, 1942), and whether "we can judge people by the clothes they wear" (*Lew. Daily Sun*, May 23, 1931). On one occasion Nora Hodgkin recounted her method of making brown bread (LGR, May 21, 1931).

On at least one occasion, the Grange sponsored a debate held in Lewiston City Hall. Former Governor Brewster and former Democratic gubernatorial candidate E. C. Moran, Jr., examined a proposed referendum on an Administrative Code Bill that would require central purchasing by the state government based upon competitive bidding (*Lew. Eve. J.*, Oct. 21, 1931).

The Grange scheduled many entertainment functions in addition to the regular meetings. For example, the 1936 yearbook for Lewiston Grange listed plans for a January sleigh ride, a February talent show, a March drama, an April minstrel show, a June ball, a July Grange outing, an August flower show, a September exhibit at the state fair and a corn roast, an October Grange fair and drama, a November harvest supper, and a December drama. A strawberry festival and play were held June 24, 1938. The Secretary wrote concerning a Valentine social on February 15, 1945, "In the evening about eighty people enjoyed a pleasant time by dancing games and stunts. It was a successful effort to arouse interest amongst Grangers and friends and it is hoped these will continue through the winter months." Another successful social on the evening of March 15 attracted about seventy persons.

Dramas continued as an activity that both members and nonmembers enjoyed.

During one play at Lewiston Grange, one of the actors had an alarm clock strapped to his arm for a wrist watch. During his performance he accidentally slipped and fell off the stage causing the alarm to go off. It was an embarrassing moment for the actor, but it brought a roar of laughter from the audience (Harris, *Lew. J. Mag. Sec.*, Mar. 9, 1974).

The Grangers even injected humor into their conferral of the degrees that initiated new members. Harris cited a police officer who was required to lead a goat around the hall (*Lew. J. Mag. Sec.*, Mar. 9, 1974). Dana Witham recalled an occasion in the 1930s when initiates were supposed to walk around the hall in their stocking feet, apparently an embarrassment then (interview, Jan. 16, 2002).

Granges were famous for the food served, usually including baked beans, as well as casseroles and other dishes brought by the members. Oyster stew was a treat served on special occasions from the nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth. In the 1930s, at least, the lady officers appointed dinner and refreshment committees at the

beginning of the year for each meeting. We find in the 1936 yearbook a notice from the three lady officers (Ceres, Pomona and Flora):

If any member of the Dining-room Committee is unable to serve,
kindly furnish a substitute or pay twenty-five cents to the matrons.
The chairman of each committee is expected to solicit all food and
take full charge of the meal.

All members are expected to bring food for all dinners and suppers or
pay 25c.

Clearly the Grange was the social center for many residents of the South Lewiston area. The 1930 diary of 15- and 16-year-old Clayton Hodgkin has entries relating to Grange activities on seventy days. Thirty-three appear to be attendance at the regular Thursday meetings and three more were the day meetings that included afternoon sessions and evening entertainment. Several times he went to the hall for rehearsals of the drill team and dramas and to accompany performers on the piano. Nine entries recorded attendance at other Granges as member of the drill team or as part of the program as an accompanist. He attended dances, dramas, a minstrel show, a strawberry festival, a corn roast, and a party for his brother. He made sweet cider one day that he sold at the Grange fair the next. Finally, there were the Grange outing and the day he "went riding with the Grange bunch."

The 1936 yearbook listed three degree teams: a set of officers for the first degree, with a mixed vocal quartet; another set for the second degree, with a female quartet; and a set for the third and fourth degrees, with a double male and female quartet. The drill squad consisted of eight women and eight men, with four alternates.

There were enough young men in the Grange in the 1930s to organize a baseball team. In order to purchase a baseball, the team put on a play, "Womanless Wedding," and charged a ten-cent admission. They traveled to play teams at Sabattus and East Auburn (M. Gagnon interview).

Chantal Dube Gosselin recalls that her father did join the Grange in the 1930s for the lower insurance rate, and she joined as well. About this time many other young people joined and "We woke up the Grange." The hall was where the youth had "good, clean fun." They formed a drill team to put on marching displays between the first and second degrees on one night and between the third and fourth degrees another meeting. The boys wore suits and the girls were in white gowns. There were wiener roasts, corn roasts, plays, dances and suppers. In the winter the boys cleared the ice on the brook behind the hall for skating. At the suppers, the young folks did much of the work of setting the tables and waiting on the diners. The food was placed on the tables, except for the pies kept in the kitchen until the end. The best pies were kept back for the work crew (Gosselin interview).

Many of the new members joining after World War II were young people. In the late 1940s twenty to twenty-five teenagers looked forward to attending meetings every week, for it was a chance to socialize with their peers, including some from other high schools. Lewiston, St. Dom's, and Sabattus High Schools were represented (Damour interview). "Everyone you knew would be at the Grange meeting" (Ricker interview). In her interview, Mary Claire Damour recalled that their lives centered on home,

school, church, and the Grange. They did their homework during the meetings, and enjoyed bowling downstairs, the refreshments upstairs, and the general camaraderie. They revived the marching drill team. Minstrel shows, suppers, dances, and mystery rides sponsored by the Grange were special entertainment attractions. Damour recalled that her mother would not allow her to go to “public” places for entertainment, but it was always permissible to go to the Grange. It was a place with good people and a wholesome atmosphere. The people were “relatives and people that really cared for us.” There was always something going on that involved families. “The Grange was our life,” she concluded (Damour interview).

The Grange nominated candidates to compete for Maine Dairy Princess, Apple Princess, and Poultry Princess. Annie White was a candidate for Apple Princess in 1947 (LGR, Oct. 9) and for Poultry Queen in 1949 (Apr. 28). A Lewiston member, Christine Vachon, was nominated for Dairy Princess March 11, 1950, and went on to become the first to win the state crown. She recalls that her friends “quickly burst my balloon by reminding me that the previous year’s princess had been a Holstein heifer” (Dumais letter).

Even nonmembers remember fondly the dances, minstrel shows, and the bowling alleys (R. Gagnon interview). Paul Martin recalled (email) that the dances were his first social activity as a teenager. He learned to square dance there, and his first job earning money was checking coats.

Community Service and Issues

The Grange continued a tradition of helping members. After a fire at the home of Brother and Sister Nathan Mills, a special dance on May 21, 1940, raised \$82.50 for them (LGR, May 16 and 23, 1940). Members were urged to help with the haying for John Hodgkin, who was in the hospital (LGR, July 2, 1942). The Grange voted to donate \$100 to the benefit fund for Merle Webber (Aug. 3, 1944). A benefit party for Sister Ida Jepson raised \$51.83, of which fifty dollars was used to buy necessary articles and the remainder went to the Grange treasury (Jan. 25, 1951).

Crowley School used the hall for its eighth-grade graduations (D. Witham interview, Jan. 16, 2002; LGR, June 13, 1940, and May 15, 1941). In the spring, the children often provided a program for the Grangers. Lewiston Grange sponsored Christmas parties for the twenty-five school pupils and the children of Grange members (Dec. 16, 1943, and Dec. 21, 1944), many of whom were the same. The nearby church was permitted use of the hall for Old Home Sunday, Aug. 25, 1940. During the 1950’s, when the Clough Meeting House was reopened as the Second Baptist Church, the Vacation Bible School met at the Grange hall several summers (I. Witham interview, Jan. 16, 2002).

The church also used the hall for church school and dinners.

The Grange did take positions on local issues occasionally for the benefit of its own neighborhood. They appointed a committee to meet with the trolley and bus companies regarding service and rates (LGR, Sept. 21, 1932). They voted to petition the City of Lewiston for street lights along Lisbon Road from Pleasant Street to Crowley Road (June 15, 1939), and then decided to appoint a committee to circulate a



Beginners' department class of the Vacation Bible School of the Second Baptist Church of South Lewiston, held in Lewiston Grange Hall. Left to right: Mary Hodgkin, Dianne Spencer, Debbie Spencer, Susan Huffner, Susan Stowe, Donald Kidder, Marshlyn Wing, Clyde Hodgkin, Carl Boynton, Kathy Pelletier, Ann Pelletier and Carole Pelletier. Standing: instructors Mrs. Joseph Goss and Mrs. Dana Witham. Staff photo by Wardwell, Lewiston Daily Sun, June 18, 1958.

petition to extend the street lights and to establish a local fire station (Mar. 7, 1940). Master Irving Hodgkin reported on May 9, 1940, on meeting with the Board of Public Works regarding the lights. A similar petition was circulated in 1947 (Apr. 10).

External issues sometimes came to the attention of members. They discussed the "Evil of Money in Politics" and "How to Remedy It" (LGR, Apr. 19, 1932). They protested the repeal of the Neutrality Act (Sept. 21, 1939). They sponsored a petition to oppose horse race betting (June 9, 1949). During the Korean Conflict, the Grange voted "to offer the use of the hall for any emergency Secy [Secretary] to so notify civil defense committee in Lewiston" (Mar. 17, 1951). A hearing on a third bridge across the Androscoggin between Lewiston and Auburn was reported (Mar. 22, 1951). The Grange adopted a resolution on "vanishing dollars" in which they expressed concern about inflation and called for "some government control whereby fixing the prices of all commodities and stabilizing the wages of all labor," with a copy of the resolution to go to the congressional delegation and the National Grange Master (Aug. 9, 1951). Clayton P. Hodgkin, a dairyman, gave a "talk on the milk situation" (Mar. 27, 1951). In response to a State Grange request for votes on several issues in 1955, Lewiston Grange opposed a \$30-million bond issue, a gas tax increase, the sales tax, an increase in the sales tax, extension of the Governor's term from two to four years, and the exportation of electric power from the State (LGR, Mar. 4, 1955).

During the 1940s the National and State Granges began to place more emphasis on community service projects (Howe 1994, 40). Beginning in 1947, Sears Roebuck Foundation sponsored annual contests to award prizes to the best community service projects sponsored by subordinate Granges (Howard 1992, 190). In 1954, Lewiston Grange received a certificate of recognition (Lew. Eve. J., Nov. 13, 1954). On January 20, 1956, it voted to enter the contest again with projects to construct a skating rink for the neighborhood children, to lobby city officials for street lights "down this way," and to "discuss the condition of the water supply."

The Juvenile Grange

Many young married couples joined after the War, so there was talk of establishing a Juvenile Grange. After a comprehensive talk by State Deputy Edna Young, the Grange voted to organize Lewiston Juvenile Grange No. 138 on February 17, 1944. Many members saw it as a vehicle to recruit youth to join adult Grange. Moreover, many of the active members had children and a Juvenile would provide childcare during the adult meetings (L. Hodgkin interview). Edna Leighton appointed a committee to assist her in the organization (LGR, March 2, 1944). Finally, in 1946 the first juvenile officers were elected, with adult advisors Laura M. Hodgkin as Matron and Beatrice Carver as her assistant (Mar. 21 and Apr. 11, 1946). It is recorded that Ilda Witham retired as Matron at the end of 1949 and Irene Coffin became the new Matron (Dec. 17, 1949). The Juvenile Grange became inactive sometime in 1950, but was revived in 1954 (LGR, Mar. 26) with Doris Kidder as Matron. Ira Kidder became Patron for 1958, with Doris Kidder as Assistant Matron (Nov. 29, 1957). After a period of inactivity, on April 1 and 15, 1960, the Grange discussed plans to reopen a Juvenile Grange, but probably nothing came of it.



Lewiston Juvenile Grange #138 officers and members, 1947. First row: Treasurer Douglas Hodgkin, Gertrude White, Assistant Matron Beatrice Carver, Master Gerard Roy, Matron Laura Hodgkin, Lady Assistant Steward Geneva Hodgkin, Harriet White, Brian Hodgkin. Second row: Steward Edward Roy, Assistant Steward Donald Hodgkin, Secretary Janice Cole, Flora Beverly Carver, Lecturer Carole Carver, Chaplain Annie May White, Ceres Glenys Webber, Pomona Gwendolyn Carver, Harry White, Overseer Norman Dingley, Gate Keeper Bruce Dingley. Hammond Studio, courtesy of Laura M. Hodgkin.



In 1956, an installation team from several granges installed the Lewiston Juvenile Grange officers. First row: Leo Raymond of Thornes Corner, Wayne Sherman of Wales, David Kidder of Lewiston. Second row: Nelson Stewart, Jr., of Lewiston, Richard Merrow of Lewiston, Larry Johnson of Wales. Courtesy of Doris Kidder.

Lewiston Juvenile Grange No. 138: Membership and Youth Masters

1947	23	Gerard Roy	1950	18	Harry Jones, Jr.	1956	asterisk in Roster
1948	23	Gerard Roy	1951-54		inactive	1957	31 Shirley Rivet
1949	27	Glenys Webber	1955	24	Brian Hodgkin	1958	31 Richard Bussiere

Chapter 8

THE FINAL YEARS 1961–1994

Despite the high levels of activity and membership, by the 1950s there was an undercurrent of worry about the health of the Grange. This was reflected in a 1956 poem read at a “Past Masters Night” about the respective living former leaders. In the stanzas about those serving after World War II, the poet characterized the efforts of the masters as those “to keep the grange a going” and “to keep the grange alive.” Both of these phrases were repeated regarding the work of the incumbent who had also served the previous two years (White 1956).

Attendance at meetings was low in the 1950s. All-day meetings sometimes attracted around sixty persons, compared to double that number in earlier years. The two summer meetings of 1959 found the minimum quorum of seven in attendance (LGR, July 3 and Aug. 21). Declining membership of the National Grange prompted a lengthy study of the problem issued in 1963 (Howard 1992, 227).

The evidence of decline became more pronounced during the 1960s. Meetings continued on the first and third Fridays of each month, but day meetings seem to have ceased (*Rosters*, 1960–1969). Reported membership figures fluctuated, but were still at 140 in 1968. Attendance in the 1960s averaged about twenty at the regular meetings (Yokell interview), although this estimate may be on the high side. The *Grange Herald* correspondent reported, “We are looking forward now to a very successful year” (November 1969). However, the inexorable decline in membership and attendance had begun.

Membership and Masters, 1961–1994

1961	171	Jeannette Woodward	1973	95	Arthur Trask*	1985	29	James Williams
1962	155	Charles Nile	1974	93	Maxine Michaud	1986	23	James Williams
1963	153	George Yokell	1975	84	Ethel Glidden	1987	25	James Williams
1964	151	Rose Yokell	1976	M	James Williams	1988	23	James Williams
1965	NL	Arthur Trask	1977	M	James Williams	1989	18	James Williams
1966	136	Arthur Trask	1978	68	James Williams	1990	15	James Williams
1967	M	Lucille Trask	1979	65	James Williams	1991	14	James Williams
1968	140	John Martin	1980	65	James Williams	1992	14	James Williams
1969	NL	Arthur Trask	1981	56	James Williams	1993	14	James Williams
1970	110	Edward Michaud	1982	44	James Williams	1994	13	James Williams
1971	107	Edward Michaud	1983	M	James Williams			
1972	98	Edward Michaud	1984	30	James Williams			

M = Roster for that year missing. NL = Membership figure not listed in Roster for that year.

* Terms of office corresponded with the calendar year until 1973, when Arthur Trask and the other officers held short terms. Officers for 1974 and subsequent years generally were installed in September of each preceding year.

Grange Activities

Initially, Lecturer's programs continued with a mix of Grange talent and outside performers and speakers. Grangers also enjoyed "mystery rides" in which members gathered at the hall and then followed the Master's car to another Grange hall to attend their meeting (Yokell interview). Lewiston Grange participated in three-point or four-point meetings, that is, three or four Granges alternated hosting a meeting, providing the program, and filling the officers' chairs (e.g., *Grange Herald*, April 1972). There were meetings designated for past masters, gentlemen, ladies, scrambled officers, visiting masters, visiting lecturers, youth, or others to take charge of the meeting and program. The Grange continued to set up booths at the Maine State Fair into the 1970s.

Lewiston Grange permitted the Second Baptist Church to use the hall for parties and for its Vacation Bible School into the 1960s (Doris Kidder interview). Grangers visited the church on "Grange Sunday." The Grange also permitted a group of teenagers to use the hall for band practice for their performances at the Lewiston City Hall PAL Hops (David Kidder interview).

Apparently few members were willing to become Master, for we see a pattern of husbands and wives filling the office: Roland (1950s) and Jeannette Woodward, George and Rose Yokell, Arthur and Lucille Trask, Edward and Maxine Michaud. Finally, James M. Williams served for eighteen and a half years as the final master of the Lewiston Grange, September 1975 to March 1994.

Williams had been a member of the Haverill, Massachusetts, Grange and held office at the Pomona level there. He previously filled several other offices in Lewiston. Members of his family also were active. His wife, Nellie, served as lecturer and received a National Grange Lecturer's Performance Award for the year ending 1976. During that year, they presented an original bicentennial play concerning Betsy Ross and the making of the flag. A large homemade flag was the feature prop, which also was used in several local bicentennial events that year (Williams interview).

The dances continued into the 1960's (Yokell and Jones interviews), but they were labor intensive for the Grangers, so they ended about 1970. New sources of revenue were needed. There is mention of beanhole bean suppers every third Saturday of each month in 1971 (*Grange Herald*, July 1971). Beginning about 1971, the Grange leased the downstairs hall to auctioneers such as Frank Norris and John Owcarz (Frankie and Johnny) and Fred Schneble (Williams interview; auction ads in *Lew. Eve. Journal*, 1971-1983). As the Grange's primary source of revenue, the monthly rents ranged from \$140 to \$160 (Lew. Grange Treasurer's accounts). Because the downstairs meeting hall was occupied with the auctioneers' goods, the meetings were moved upstairs to the former dining hall (Williams interview). In January 1977, the *Grange Herald* correspondent invited readers "to come and see the changes we have been making in our meeting hall."

Disposition of the Hall

Maintenance of such a large, old hall was a problem for an organization with small membership and limited revenue. When the foundation began to crumble along

the front side of the main hall, a mortgage of \$10,000 was arranged on the land and buildings with Mid Maine Mutual Savings Bank in 1986 (Deeds, 2001:1). In addition to the foundation, some wiring was replaced and paneling was installed on the upstairs hall (Williams). Northeast Construction Inc. was hired for the work on the foundation in late fall 1986, with much of the work done by Williams and other Grange members with pay for their labor (Treas. Accounts).

When auctioneer Norris, who was also a Grange officer, died in 1985, the Grange was left without income (Williams interview). Williams informed State Grange Master Clyde G. Berry (Oct. 10, 1989) that members Harvey and Sally Courser made the payments on the mortgage, as well as payments for all utilities and repairs. Moreover, he continued, "There is still several thousand dollars necessary to fix our hall up, plus months of hard work. The Coursers are willing to take the job on, but do not wish to continue to do so and invest these thousands unless they own the building." Attendance at meetings was low and there was no money to operate. "We must sell or face losing the hall completely [to the bank] and with nothing to show for it."

On October 5, 1989, after notification of all fifteen members, the nine members present voted unanimously to sell the hall (Williams to Worthy Master, Oct. 10, 1989). They completed the sale to members Harvey and Sally P. Courser of Sabattus on February 20, 1990 (Deeds, 2525:297); on the same day the Coursers borrowed \$40,000 (Deeds, 2525:298). The Lewiston Grange Treasurer's records show the Grange received a deposit of \$500 on October 28, 1989, and then \$25,454.81 on February 20, 1990; apparently much of the difference paid off the mortgage. The latter amount was then paid to Maine State Grange, as provided by State Grange regulations. The sale was conditioned on the Grange's continued ability to meet in the hall (Williams interview). The Coursers used the hall for a flea market.

The Maine State Grange invested the funds, and Lewiston Grange then began receiving monthly interest on this money. This was about \$170-\$175 in 1990, \$149-\$154 in 1991, \$104-\$108 in 1992, and \$82-\$85 in 1993.

In 1988, the City of Lewiston installed a sewer line along South Lisbon Road and a force pump station on Lewiston Grange property across from the Clough Cemetery. Allegedly, a meeting between the Water and Sewer Superintendent and the Grange failed to occur and the Grange had granted no easement. They simply discovered that the installation had occurred without their permission (memo, Webbert to Lebel, Sept. 24, 1992; memo, Lebel to Crovo, Metivier, and Mulready, Oct. 8, 1992). After the sale of the hall, "Master [Williams] reported to Grange on dispute between city and Harvey Courser, the purchaser of our Grange Hall. He said he expects a long fight, but that the Grange and he personally will be helping Mr. Courser" (LGR, Nov. 16, 1990).

Eventually, on January 8, 1992, the Coursers granted the City of Lewiston "a perpetual easement to construct, operate, maintain, repair and replace a public sanitary sewer line, sanitary force pump station, and appurtenances..." (Deeds, 2993:10). The City offered \$2500 damages, but the Coursers believed the placement of the pump station hindered their development of a substantial portion of the land (memo, Crovo to Grube, Mar. 5, 1992). Therefore, the Coursers sought \$10,000, connection to the sewer main at City expense, grading of the fill placed around the Grange hall at City expense, and City indemnification of the Coursers for any liability arising out of the fill

(memo, Webbert to Lebel, Sept. 24, 1992). It has not been possible to determine the resolution of this issue.

The Death of Lewiston Grange No. 2

Membership dropped from 155 in 1962 to 30 in 1984 (*Rosters*). Beginning about 1984, the number of meetings was reduced to once each month (1984 *Roster*). During the final four years, the records show that attendance was very small, usually in the range from seven to twelve, including guests. The purposes of the Grange became two-fold in the last years: to give charitable donations out of the interest income generated from the hall sale and to entertain the small number who gathered for the meetings.

Beneficiaries of donations included WCBB public television at sixty dollars annually in the late 1980s (Treas. Accounts), the Theatre at Monmouth at five hundred dollars annually, 1990-1992 (LGR, June 15, 1990; June 21, 1991, June 19, 1992) toward the purchase of the Monmouth Grange Hall and for the endowment, and Pine Tree Grange in Lisbon with chairs and \$500 to assist in their renovation project (Sept. 21, 1990). They gave \$500 for a pacemaker for Master Williams's mother (July 1, 1991) and \$800 to the Lighthouse Baptist Church for their steeple and roof renovations (Aug. 20, 1993; Treas. Accounts).

The members voted in 1990 to hold winter meetings in their homes and to purchase refreshments from Grange funds (LGR, Oct. 17, 1990). This practice continued in subsequent years, with monthly expenditures of between sixty and eighty dollars for "meeting expenses" (Treas. Account Book). The Secretary's minutes indicate that sometimes they gathered at a restaurant.

Lecturer's programs became routine readings and other simple presentations. The tradition of discussions was maintained with topics that included the respective vacations of the members and their respective techniques of "yard-saling" (May 15 and July 24, 1992).

In 1986, membership had declined to twelve dues-paying members, plus eleven Golden Sheaf members who had been members for more than fifty years and excused from dues payments (Treas. Records; *Roster* 1986). By 1993, there were ten dues-paying members and three Golden Sheaf members (Treas. Records; *Roster* 1994). There were insufficient members to fill all the offices.

Moreover, the hall would no longer be available. Courser announced his intent to sell the hall. Williams "explained that should such sale occur, we probably would be required to seek another hall or join another Grange" (LGR, Feb. 19, 1993).

At last, the decision was made to disband with a vote on May 21, 1993, to seek admission to Pine Tree Grange in Lisbon. A final vote was taken October 22, 1993. Master James M. Williams then wrote to State Master Clyde Berry (Nov. 20, 1993),

We find that we cannot get enough attendance anymore at our Grange to continue to hold any meaningful meetings. Many times we don't even have enough to hold a meeting. Ill health and moving out of state has taken some of our most loyal members from us on many occassions [sic]. We now have no choice but to consolidate or surren-

der our charter. We chose to consolidate with our sister Grange, Pine Tree #3 in Lisbon.

However, the State Grange hesitated because there had been ten members at this meeting. Unless this was an unusual number, the Grange might continue because other Granges with an average attendance less than ten were not considering termination. The Executive Committee requested the minutes of Lewiston Grange for the previous two years (Berry to Williams, Dec. 22, 1993).

The permission apparently did not come, so all of the members of Lewiston Grange requested and voted themselves demits, that is, transfers of membership to Pine Tree Grange (Williams to Berry, March 1, 1994). They sent the balance in their accounts of \$682.52 to the State Grange but requested that the money be given to Pine Tree Grange.

As members of Lewiston Grange #2, this is our last wish. We know and realize that the transfer of all our membership to Pine Tree #3 will be time-consuming and of at least some initial expense to their Grange. We believe that this is a nice final gesture on our part, as well as the only fair thing we can now do; having been told that our wishes to merge and transfer the building fund to them will not be allowed (Williams to Berry, March 1, 1994).

The final entry in the secretary's minutes follows:

March 1, 1994

This is the final entry for Lewiston Grange #2. We have this date closed our account at the bank and issued a check to Maine State Grange on the balance, which is this date \$682.52.

We have asked all members be granted a demit to Pine Tree Grange #3, effective immediately upon vote of Lisbon Grange. We have also asked the State Grange to please give our balance check amount to Pine Tree #3 to help cover our expenses and our balance of our yearly dues.

The master, James Williams, is to meet with Master Clyde Berry and turn over all Grange Property to him as soon as possible. Master Clyde Berry is the Master of the Maine State Grange.

It is with regret that we now surrender our charter on behalf of all the Members, Brothers and Sisters all, of what is now with the signatures below, and our seal thereon, the former Lewiston Grange #2.

Fraternally,

Nellie E Williams

Treasurer

Elizabeth Jean Williams

Secretary

James M. Williams,

Master

The final officers of Lewiston Grange No. 2, all of whom had served in the same positions at least since 1990 (LGR, May 18, 1990; June 21, 1991; June 18, 1992; Sept. 17, 1993) were the following:

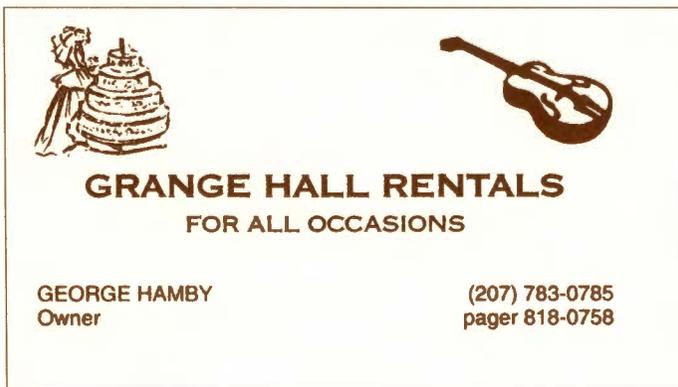
Master	James Williams	Ceres	Arline Mills
Overseer	George Yokell	Pomona	Jessie Lamontagne
Lecturer	Sally Courser	Flora	Catherine Savage
Steward	Harvey Courser	Exec. Com.	George Yokell
Asst. Steward	Fred Jordan		Sally Courser
Lady Asst. St.	Jenny Williams		Rose Yokell
Chaplain	Rose Yokell	C. W. A.	Nellie Williams
Treasurer	Nellie Williams		Jean Williams
Secretary	Jean Williams		Rose Yokell
Gate Keeper	Sean Prince		

The Restoration of the Grange Hall

On May 3, 1999, Harvey E. Courser of Dilley, County of Frio, State of Texas, sold the property to Pier Properties, a Portland real estate speculation firm (Deeds, 4224:14). On September 27, 2000, George Mark Hamby purchased the property at auction for \$42,500 (Deeds, 4532:213 and 215).

Hamby proceeded to rescue the building. He found it full of trash and overrun with rats, mice, and squirrels. The drain was plugged in the cellar, so three feet of water had accumulated there. This had weakened the foundation and caused the first floor and walls to sag. The bowling alleys had rotted away. Hamby spent more than a year repairing the damage and painting the exterior. He has continued the restoration with installation of a small kitchen and bar in place of the ladies' ante-room, addition of an outside deck, construction of a large parking lot, and conversion of the cellar to garage space. However, his goal has been to maintain the basic Grange Hall structure and appearance. The hall now is the site of Grange Hall Rentals, a facility for functions such as receptions, parties, and family reunions (Hamby interview; Chmelecki, *Sun-Journal*, Jan. 12, 2002).

On May 15, 2002, the Lewiston Historic Preservation Review Board awarded a certificate of recognition to George M. Hamby for his rescue of the historic Grange Hall building (*Sun-Journal*, May 9, 2002).



Business card of the current owner of the Grange Hall.

CONCLUSIONS

The Grange was a vibrant organization until about the middle of the twentieth century. Local Granges played an important role in the lives of their members and in their communities. However, now many have closed. They appear to have lost their ability to perform valuable functions that provided incentives for people to join and to remain active.

One part of the explanation is the shift in the economy that reduced the farmer base of Grange membership. The common occupational bond disappeared and the agriculturally referenced ritual became more irrelevant to the lives of many members. The reports of the Census Bureau reveal the reduction in the number of farms in Maine and in Androscoggin County. In recent years, many of these farms may have been only secondary sources of income for their owners. Moreover, the few remaining farms of the county provided a highly constricted pool of potential members for the several Granges in the area. Lewiston Grange, located in a highly urban-suburban section of the county, clearly was at a disadvantage in recruitment from this pool.

Number of Farms in Maine and Androscoggin County, 1880–1992

Year	Maine	Androscoggin	Year	Maine	Androscoggin	Year	Maine	Androscoggin
1880	64,309	2981	1940	38,980	2111	1974	6436	342
1890	62,122	2868	1945	42,184	2231	1978	6775	345
1900	59,299	2924	1950	30,358	1543	1982	7003	355
1910	60,016	2979	1954	23,368	1009	1987	6269	343
1920	48,227	2235	1959	17,360	888	1992	5776	302
1930	39,006	2322	1964	12,875	627			
1935	41,907	2062	1969	7971	412			

Source: Various U. S. Census Bureau reports.

Moreover, Putnam notes that the National Grange membership constituted a decreasing portion of the rural population by the mid-1950s (2000, 55, 441). This occurred even though the Grange as early as the 1920s admitted non-farmers and even city people to membership. A wide variety of occupations could be found among Lewiston's members. The Grange of much of the twentieth century was attractive to potential members for reasons other than its role as advocate for the farm segment of the economy. The National and State Granges continue to debate and pass resolutions on farm policy and rural concerns, but local Granges only occasionally addressed such issues.

As farm membership has declined, the local Granges not only neglected attention to farm issues, but also reduced their role as schools of better farming methods. Although this was a major contribution of the Grange during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, farmers now can rely upon the federal government's Extension

Service, state universities, and farm publications for information and advice on improvements in productivity and health.

The Grange no longer provides distinctive selective material benefits. The Grange insurance companies do not charge favorable rates to members over nonmembers. The National Grange does advertise many benefits on its Internet site, including discounts for long distance telephone service, Internet access, web hosting service, hotels and motels, a credit card, Gateway computers, Beltone hearing products, long term care insurance, life insurance, prescriptions, and medical care. However, this list is similar to what many, many other organizations provide.

Because dues are often insufficient to maintain the organization, other sources of revenue are needed. Fund-raising projects, such as Lewiston Grange's dances, were a good way to raise funds and to involve members, but the same societal forces that undermined Grange membership provided entertainment competition to the dances. Some groups obtain subsidies from the provision of selective benefits, but these tend to fund the national and/or state organizations, doing little for the budgets of the local chapters. Others seek government contracts or foundation grants (Walker 1991, 81-83), but this seems not to be the case with the Grange at any level.

What remained as a core attraction for local Granges was the social function.

The social purpose was the back-bone of the order's success and carried it for the first half of the twentieth century. The lights in hundreds of grange halls brightened the otherwise drab existence of rural Maine and gave more to the enhancing of the lives of the population than any other force including the school or church (Guptill 1973, 177).

Nevertheless, other organizations could provide fun and camaraderie, for the Grange held no monopoly. Particularly in a more mobile society, people could travel easily anywhere in the greater Lewiston-Auburn area or beyond. Rural people could hop into their automobiles and drive to a nearby city for entertainment.

People also found entertainment in their own living rooms in front of the television set. Putnam (2000, 231-234) has concluded that watching television reduces many forms of civic engagement, including participation in community projects and attendance at club meetings. This is because television watching consumes large quantities of time and creates psychological passivity (Putnam 2000, 237-245). As television permeated Lewiston households in the 1950s and 1960s, Grange membership, attendance, and vitality suffered.

The fraternal dimension also remained, but the young in particular find "degrees, passwords, and secret signs an anachronism" (Guptill 1973, 180). Fahey (1996, 10) summarizes literature on the decline of fraternal organizations as attributable to such factors as the

new generation's acceptance of the changing social and economic order, a growing secularism uncomfortable with quasi-religious ritual, alternatives to fraternal insurance and sociability, more years of schooling as a substitute for the growing-up experience that youthful membership in a fraternal lodge had provided, the competition with

service organizations, and the partially successful effort to defeminize middle-class Protestantism.

Putnam (2000, 284) considers this generational change the most important explanation for decline in civic engagement and includes the community-building effects of World War II and its creation of a “civic generation” as an important backdrop for the relative lack of civic involvement among the baby boom generation and its successors.

The rise and decline of Lewiston Grange No. 2, therefore, can be understood in the context of major social, economic and technological forces over the past century and a quarter. Historians of the Maine Grange agree on the importance of these trends, as well as on the more important contributions that Granges made to their communities:

It was the clubhouse, the restaurant, the theatre, the dance hall, the school, the entertainment hall, the sports arena, the library, the forum, and the focal point for almost all community activities. For many years, the best of Maine rural life was found in the box-like halls scattered over the state. Before electric lights, radios, television, autos, paved roads, movie theatres, good communication, and constant mobility, the grange penetrated their isolated existence and gave it light (Guptill 1973, 177).

So far as the Grange was defeated, it was by forces beyond its control – by the relentless growth of the twentieth century American industrial state. So far as the Grange succeeded, it was in bringing to farms and villages the technology, the knowledge, and much else that this new America could offer. To a thousand tiny hill towns [in Maine and New Hampshire], the Grange gave something of laughter, life, and hope in a difficult age (Sherman 1972, 386).

Howe (1994, 66) agrees that the Grange’s greatest achievement was as a social and educational center. It brought pleasure to “otherwise bleak lives.” This was particularly important for women, and their inclusion enabled women to have a role in influencing policy.

Lewiston Grange was truly meaningful in the lives of many residents of Lewiston, Lisbon, and Sabattus (Webster). The author’s interviews with former members revealed an enthusiastic fondness for the activities and friendships experienced as Grange members. Memories came pouring forth. The author, too, can testify to the importance of Lewiston Grange in his early life. While, for most of the respondents and for the author, changes in lifestyle and other commitments did indeed intrude upon active membership, the Lewiston Grange Hall remains an important reminder of the heritage of the City of Lewiston and its residents.

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Grange Documents

A note on the Secretary's records: These records are scattered and many volumes are missing. The books for 1874-1878 and 1938-1945 were purchased on ebay, the Internet auction site; both are now at Fogler Library in Orono. Fogler Library also purchased five books for the peri-

ods 1919-1929, 1931-1937, 1946-1950, and 1956-1961, as well as other materials. Those for 1881-1889 and 1950-1956 were found in the Grange Hall and are owned by George Mark Hamby. The book for 1990-1994 was turned over to the Maine State Grange when Lewiston Grange closed, and now it has been transferred to the Special Collections in Fogler Library. At the time the author consulted these materials at Fogler Library, most had not yet been catalogued.

The fate of the remaining volumes is somewhat uncertain. It is said that Herbert J. Carville, a secretary for many years, refused to return his records to the Grange when he was ousted from office under a cloud of suspicion of wrong-doing (D. Witham interview, April 9, 2002). Because the records for Carville's terms through 1919-1929, when he was replaced in the 1930 election of officers, are available, Witham could be referring to financial records rather than meeting minutes. It is reported also that records stored in the ticket office under the stairs got wet and were ruined by rats and mold, so they had to be thrown away (Williams interview). One corner of the 1946-1950 book does exhibit some minor chewing damage. It is also rumored that an auctioneer or flea-market occupant of the hall may have sold some of the records; this may explain the appearance of several books on the open market.

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THE AUTHOR

Douglas I. Hodgkin is a native of Lewiston and a graduate of Lewiston High School. He joined the Lewiston Juvenile Grange when it was organized in 1946 and became a member of Lewiston Grange No. 2 in 1954. A fourth-generation member of the Patrons of Husbandry, he now is a member of Wales Grange No. 40, as well as of Androscoggin Pomona Grange No. 1.

Hodgkin earned the B.A. at Yale University and the M.A. and Ph. D. at Duke University, all in political science. He taught two years at Bowdoin College (1964-1966) and then served as a member of the Bates College faculty (1966-2002). His teaching and research interests were American politics and government with a focus upon political parties, voter behavior, and interest groups. His research usually employed data from Maine and Lewiston.

On the occasion of Lewiston's bicentennial in 1995, Hodgkin produced *Lewiston Memories: A Bicentennial Pictorial*. Hodgkin has transcribed Lewiston's town meeting records (1795-1863) and the vital records for the same period, published in two volumes by Picton Press. He has also served as an officer and member of the board of directors of the Androscoggin Historical Society. He has been editor of the Society's newsletter since 1990. As historian of High Street Congregational Church in Auburn, Hodgkin writes a monthly column for the church's newsletter. He is a member of the Lewiston Historic Preservation Review Board.

Hodgkin now is engaged in research on the government, politics, and policy development in the Town of Lewiston prior to the Civil War.



Photo by Dennis Stires