Immigrants in the Borderland, 1880-1920

By Tim Garrity

Introduction

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a tourist economy boomed in Bar Harbor, and a wave of foreign immigrants arrived to find a place and culture already occupied by native Mainers and wealthy and influential summer residents. Scottish gardeners, Italian florists, English liverymen, Canadian farmers, Russian-Jewish clothiers, and laborers from a score of European nations found their way to Mount Desert Island to seek work and opportunity.

Immigrants carved a place for themselves in a community whose culture had formed during five generations of residence by the Anglo-American descendants of colonists. Local culture had been increasingly altered in the decades following the Civil War by the annual summer arrival of the families of wealthy capitalists, mostly from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, whose tastes and money reshaped an economy based on fishing, coastal trade, and farming to one dependent on the commercial needs of a wealthy summer colony.

When immigrants arrived, many native-born and summer residents had well-established and powerfully-held ideas about foreigners. Local prejudice had roots in the antebellum years, when a powerful Republican party emerged from the fused political strains of the temperance movement, abolitionism, and nativism. In opposition to the Republicans, the Democratic party of those years had support among foreign-born urban Catholics who drank alcohol, who were embittered towards abolitionists, and whose foreign associations led some to question their loyalty to the American republic.

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At a gathering to dedicate a monument to the First Maine Heavy Artillery Regiment near Petersburg, Virginia, in 1894, Horace Shaw, the regimental historian, expressed alarm at the tide of immigrants that seemed "larger than the hordes that overran Europe and overthrew Rome." Petersburg Index Appeal, September 15, 1894. *Courtesy of Andrew MacIsaac*

As for summer residents, they sought the cool atmosphere of Maine, a place apart from the immigrant crowds they saw on city streets. Along with locals, summer residents shared a widely-held Protestant antipathy towards Catholicism, viewing with suspicion the loyalty of people they perceived to be under the influence of a corrupt foreign papacy; nor did they accept that Jews were capable of assimilation into American society.

This convergence of local people, wealthy summer residents, and foreign immigrants created a cultural borderland and defined a new society and economy for Mount Desert Island in the years before and after the turn of the twentieth century. In time, immigrants overcame long-established prejudice, while locals and summer residents set aside their fears, to create a more accepting community.

The Roots of Prejudice

Thirty years after the end of the Civil War, a group of veterans from both North and South gathered in Petersburg, Virginia, to

dedicate a memorial to the fallen soldiers of the First Maine Heavy Artillery Regiment. The speeches provided the expected notes of reconciliation and of pride in the courage and sacrifices of the survivors and the fallen. But when the regimental historian Horace Shaw rose to speak, the remarks took a curious turn. Shaw expressed his fear that the American nation was once again in peril, and this time, the South might have to come to the aid of the North. He said,

> I have some fear for the future. You have your race problem, and we at the north have our immigrant question. With us it is becoming alarming. Every year for ten years we have suffered a peaceful invasion by an army of immigrants larger than the hordes that overran Europe and overthrew Rome. They do not understand our institutions and are not American. … The time may come when the people of the south must come to the north with arms in the hands to save us from ourselves and to save the nation from destruction by its own, as we did in '61 and '65.[1]

Shaw was expressing a fear common to his time, one that had roots in the politics of the nineteenth century and flowered amid a surge of immigrants who arrived in the United States around the turn of the century. Opposition to immigration was widespread in Maine and embedded in the DNA of the Republican Party that rose to power in the 1800s. Republicans dominated Maine politics, holding the governor's office for all but eleven of the ninety-eight years between the election of Republican Hannibal Hamlin in 1857 and Democrat Edmund Muskie in 1955.[2] The party came to life in the 1850s, formed out of the ruins of the collapsed Whigs and defectors from the Democratic Party and invigorated by the passions of three ideological tributaries: the temperance, abolitionist, and nativist movements. Those who were opposed to the sale of alcohol, the extension of slavery into new territories, and the granting of suffrage to new immigrants found common cause against Democrats who opposed them on all those issues.[3]

The nativists, called "Know-Nothings" for their secretive ways, demanded tough restrictions on immigration and opposed voting rights for immigrants. They strongly suspected the allegiance of

Catholics, whose loyalty to the pope was assumed to be stronger than their fealty to the American nation. In 1854, Know-Nothings in Ellsworth were offended at Father John Bapst's insistence that a Catholic Bible be made available to Catholic students in the public schools. A mob rode him out of town on a rail. While some Protestants decried the Know-Nothings' actions, the mob's work made clear the presence of an intense core of anti-Catholic feeling in eastern Maine.[4]

Evidence of commonplace anti-Catholicism can be found in local archives. An 1840 text titled *The Spirit of Popery: An Exposure of its Origin, Character, and Results* warns of the present and eternal danger posed by a Church infested with superstitious rites, moral depravity, and a slavish devotion to corrupt clergy.[5] False encyclicals, invented confessions of priests and nuns, and reputed oaths of secret organizations circulated widely in Protestant circles.[6] On Mount Desert Island, a bogus Knights of Columbus oath had a Catholic novitiate promising, "That I will … make and wage relentless war, secretly and openly against all heretics, Protestants and Masons." The oath goes on for pages, warning that the oath-taker will "hang, burn, waste, boil, flay, strangle, and bury alive these infamous heretics."[7] The supposed oath enjoyed a long life, circulating in other parts of the country during Catholic Alfred C. Smith's 1928 presidential campaign and reappearing for the campaign of John F. Kennedy in 1960.[8]

In the 1920s, anti-immigrant sentiment found full-throated expression in the literature and rallies of the Ku Klux Klan that attracted hundreds and sometimes thousands to meetings in and around Mount Desert Island.[9] But by then, many immigrants had won friends and wide acceptance in the island community. In the town of Bar Harbor, where immigrants were most numerous, the Klan had a tougher time finding a foothold than in villages where the new arrivals were a less visible part of the community.

Attitudes of Boston Brahmins towards Immigrants

During the Gilded Age, Bar Harbor and Mount Desert Island became a desired destination for wealthy capitalists and their families, who fled the hot and noisome cities for bucolic vacation spots that made up what geographer Stephen Hornsby described

Anti-Catholic books and tracts were common reading material among nineteenth-century Maine Protestants. *Mount Desert Island Historical Society*

as the “pleasure periphery.” The affluent elite, wrote Hornsby, “increasingly saw itself as a class, even a caste, and sought to insulate itself from the rest of American society. Practical concerns about health and social problems of the inner city, combined with the ideological influence of the romantic movement and its celebration of nature, encouraged the elite to move to the country.”[10]

The urban elite of the Gilded Age were attracted to Mount Desert Island for its cool summer weather and magnificent scenery. But also, said Hornsby, they preferred a place where “the local population was old-stock Yankee,” possessing a “racial purity [that] proved irresistible to an elite fleeing the city and its immigrant population.”[11]

Many of the elite of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia held racial views they considered well-grounded in history and science. Men like the eminent historian Francis Parkman so influenced the founders of Acadia National Park that a mountain was named for him.[12] Parkman’s influence extended beyond the historical to include contemporary matters. He called the new immigrants “an invasion

of peasants … thousands and ten thousands of restless workmen, foreigners for the most part, to whom liberty means license and politics means plunder … whose ears are open to the promptings of every rascally agitator."[13]

Through Parkman's writings, New England intellectuals absorbed a view of immigrants from a man who, historian Kim Townsend wrote,

> Regarded himself with pride as a Boston Brahmin, an aristocrat privileged by birth and training to occupy the highest places in society. He made his historical heroes in that same image, as if they were superior to all the lower castes—the immigrant hordes, Indians, and women, who required the leadership of Anglo-Protestant males.[14]

Boston intellectuals, many of whom visited or spent whole summers on Mount Desert Island, often based their anti-immigrant bias on what today is known as "scientific racism." Men like Prescott F. Hall, who married his bride in Northeast Harbor,[15] was the chairman of the American Breeders Association, an organization that promoted a scientific rationale for limiting immigration in order to preserve the purity of the "American race." For a time, Hall considered changing the name of his organization to the "Eugenic Immigration League."[16]

Nathan S. Shaler was the head of the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard and the author of an influential text on the geology of Mount Desert Island. On the basis of his studies in eugenics, he advocated limits on immigration, especially from the nations of Southern Europe. He believed the genetic stock of European peasants had been irretrievably diminished over centuries of misrule. The lowly castes of the old world, Shaler believed, had only two options for escaping serfdom: The most talented and ambitious of them could become Catholic priests, which precluded fatherhood, or they could join the military, where many of them died or returned from the wars too diminished to father children. The genetic stock, Shaler wrote, had been destroyed by "sword or by celibacy." The ruined ancestral lines were concentrated in Southern Europe where the Catholic Church and endless war were most pervasive. "The

American Commonwealth," wrote Shaler, "could never have been founded if the first European colonists had been of peasant stock." The founders of the American nation, he wrote, "were of the Aryan variety of mankind."[17]

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts was at the forefront of a late-nineteenth-century intellectual and legislative movement to maintain the purity of the Anglo Saxon race by restricting immigration, especially from those he regarded as the dark-skinned peoples of Southern and Eastern Europe.[18] Lodge, who summered on Mount Desert Island and hosted a visit from President Benjamin Harrison in 1890, was esteemed among the Brahmin intellectuals who were part of the summer colony.[19]

Though the intellectual elite sought refuge from cities crowded with immigrants, and locals eyed visitors "from away" with circumspection, many immigrants moved to the "pleasure periphery" to find work. On Mount Desert Island, the three groups eventually became acquainted and learned to get along with each other. Their overlapping cultural domains mixed to create a new society, an Acadian borderland that had room for locals, summer residents, and foreigners.

Immigrants in the Borderland

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a flood of immigrants arrived on the shores of the New World, pushed by economic deprivation in Europe and pulled by the promise of a better life in America. Between 1900 and 1920, the foreign-born population of the United States increased by more than one-third, from 10.3 million in 1900 to 13.9 million in 1920.[20] In these years, foreign-born people comprised 13 to 16 percent of the population in the years 1900 to 1920, rates that are more than triple those of the present day.[21]

The largest number of immigrants to Maine came from Canada, especially the Maritime Provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, which experienced a net population loss of 341,000 between 1870 and 1920, or 41 percent of the 1871 census.[22] Canadian emigrants were driven out by poor farming conditions and the failure of small Canadian factory towns faced with competition from city-based industries, and they were drawn to nearby Maine by

Influential Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge was a leader of congressional efforts to restrict immigration. In 1890, Lodge, President Benjamin Harrison, and Senator James G. Blaine cruised aboard the steamer *Sappho* on Somes Sound. *Courtesy of the Library of Congress*

the growth of mill and factory towns in the central part of the state and the burgeoning tourist trade along the coast.[23]

Between 1880 and 1900 in Bar Harbor, while the US-born population increased by 147 percent, the immigrant population increased more than ten-fold, from only 33 foreign-born people in 1880 to 432 in 1900. In 1920 in Bar Harbor, 306 foreign-born people resided, of whom about half came from Canada, while forty-two came from Ireland, twenty-eight from England, twenty-three from Scotland, and the rest from thirteen other countries. Of the non-English speaking nations, Russia had the largest contingent, with seventeen Russian Jews residing in Bar Harbor in 1920.[24]

These numbers reflect only the winter population. Missing from the census count are the immigrant servants who accompanied the summer colony and the migratory summer workforce of hotel staff, peddlers, shop workers, and laborers. The family of John D. Rockefeller Jr. had the assistance of nineteen servants whose birthplaces included India, Germany, Pennsylvania, Sweden,

Ireland, Norway, Switzerland, England, France, and Finland.[25] The Emery family lived in New York City in the winter and summered at Turrets, their granite castle on the shore of Frenchman Bay. In 1910, John and Lela Emery and their three children came to Bar Harbor in the company of eleven servants: seven from Ireland, and one each from England, Switzerland, France, and Florida.

Foreign-born Residents of Mount Desert Island in the 1920 Census

	Bar Harbor	Mount Desert	Southwest Harbor	Tremont	Total
Canada	155	34	28	11	228
England	28	16	2	0	46
Ireland	42	3	0	0	45
Scotland	23	6	2	0	31
Sweden	16	3	1	0	20
Russia	17	0	0	0	17
Other	25	8	10	2	45
Total Foreign	306	70	43	13	432
Pct of Total Population	9%	5%	5%	1%	7%

Source: Federal Census of 1920 via Ancestry.com

Compared to native-born residents, immigrants tended to be older, single, and to have an occupation requiring hard labor, such as gardener, laborer, or caretaker. Almost all the immigrant males were employed, while just over half of American-born male residents listed an occupation in the 1920 census. Few immigrants were employed in higher-skilled jobs like electrician, physician, or attorney. Foreign women were commonly employed as housekeepers or laundresses. While many native-born women held these positions as well, others worked as teachers, dressmakers, bookkeepers, and stenographers. The average age of both US-born men and women was thirty-one, while foreign-born men and women were typically

in their mid-forties, an average that reflected the scarcity of children among the immigrants.[26]

Anglo-Protestants: Canadians, Scots, and English

By far the largest immigrant group, English-speaking Protestants from Canada, England, and Scotland came to America with the advantages of a common language and religion with the majority of native-born inhabitants. Of the Canadians, few were French-speaking Québécois, who instead tended towards the mill towns of central Maine, such as Lewiston-Auburn and Waterville. English-speaking Protestants from Canada, England, and Scotland assimilated readily into the dominant cultures of Mount Desert Island. One reason, Stephen Hornsby noted, is because "The elite received more respect among English and Irish servants, who had been raised in the Old World class system."[27]

Several Canadian immigrants came to the island as ministers. Though Annie J. Gwynne was a single woman from New Brunswick and lived in a boarding home on Mount Desert Street in Bar Harbor in 1920,[28] she served as a Baptist minister in interim and guest roles before moving on to California as the Maine winter approached in November 1920. Though her stay was brief, the newspaper reported, she "won the esteem of many persons."[29]

Others came to marry. Emma McCoubrie left her St. Stephen, New Brunswick, birthplace in the company of Watson Lunt, a schooner captain from Mount Desert who routinely sailed to the border town of Calais to pick up a shipment of lumber, and on one occasion, returned with Emma. Together they started Lunt's dairy farm in Town Hill.[30] Their household grew to include family, in-laws, boarders, and hired hands to support the dairy operation. They held parties large and lively enough to catch the attention of the *Bar Harbor Times*, which reported on the homemade pleasures of harmonica music, dancing, and the laughing company of young people.[31]

George Stafford was fourteen years old when he emigrated from England in 1885. He went to work at his father's Bar Harbor livery stables and took over the business after his father's death in 1898.[32] His Mount Desert Livery became one of the biggest operations in the state. The complex on Cottage Street included a six thousand-

square-foot carriage house, a cook house for the staff, a hay loft where 200,000 pounds of fresh hay could be stored, and a stable with room for eighty horses. He wintered 125 horses on a mainland farm.[33] As the finest livery on the island, George Stafford's business catered to the most prominent wealthy summer visitors, offering beautiful carriages, elegant horses, and liveried coachmen. His brother Andrew was the director of the famed Bar Harbor Horse show at Robin Hood Park, where George's horses often won prizes.[34] But the coming of the automobile eventually put an end to the livery business, and by 1920, George was working as a cemetery caretaker.[35]

With the locals' long history of commerce, correspondence, and intermarriage with people from the Maritime Provinces, and the common language and religion with locals and summer colonists, Anglo-Protestant immigrants from Canada and Europe mixed more readily in the Acadian borderland compared to other arrivals from foreign countries. Slight differences of accent and habit may have been noticeable, but for the most part, their process of assimilation was easier than that experienced by immigrant Catholics and Jews.

European Catholics

European Catholics not only had to overcome significant cultural differences and an ancient religious divide, but in many cases, they had to learn the language of their adopted home. Their assimilation was greatly aided, however, by the presence of a powerful religious community centered in the Holy Redeemer Catholic Church, led by Father James O'Brien, who himself left his father's farm in County Cork for America in 1885. For thirty-two years, without ever taking a vacation, Father O'Brien tended to his immigrant flock, founding both the Holy Redeemer Church and St. Edward's School in Bar Harbor.

Among Father O'Brien's parishioners were men like John Quilty, who in 1892 departed his County Limerick farm for the busy port of Queenstown, where he and his wife Nora boarded the steamship *Ausonia* bound for Boston. They moved on to Bar Harbor, and in time Quilty rose to the rank of head gardener on a private estate.[36] Paul Sablich came from the Kingdom of Dalmatia, a nation on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea that is present-day Croatia. A Catholic who spoke Slovenian, he lived near his countryman Nik

Many Irish immigrants travelled through the port city of Queenstown (known after 1920 as Cobh), shown here in 1903. Detail of stereographic card. *Courtesy of the Library of Congress*

Medina, and together they worked as fishermen. Paul named his son for his friend and sent young Nicholas to St. Edward's School. In 1915, Nik left his fishing career behind to become the new proprietor of Daney's fish market on Cottage Street.[37] The lives of hundreds of foreign immigrants to Bar Harbor followed similar pathways: to immigrate, find a job, establish a career, and make a home.

When Father O'Brien died suddenly in 1925, the news shocked the entire community, and almost all businesses in town showed their respect by closing for the day of his funeral. Father O'Brien

In this 1900 post card, Jewish Americans welcome Jews emigrating from Russia. The American eagle and double-headed eagle of imperial Russia fly above. *Courtesy of the Library of Congress*

left an estate that exceeded $100,000, a result of frugal living and wise investment. In his will, he generously remembered his faithful housekeeper and his brother, still living in Ireland.[38]

The European Catholics who immigrated to Bar Harbor beginning in the late nineteenth century gathered as a multinational flock under the wings of Father O'Brien and the Holy Redeemer parish. Latin was common to everyone in the mass, and almost all the immigrants learned English well enough to get along in the worlds of work and school. Though the newcomers doubtless retained some nostalgia for their troubled homelands, most of them proceeded to make a new life in America.

The Jews

An even wider cultural divide awaited Jewish immigrants, who in their flight from Eastern Europe were pushed by the prospect of continued deprivation and pulled by the promise of opportunity in a land that might reward the bold and industrious. For millions who fled Europe in the late nineteenth century, the combined forces were sufficient to wrench the adventurer from the tearful grasp of family to leave all that was familiar behind and begin life anew.

Upon arriving in a city like Boston or New York, many Jews wished to keep moving. According to David Freidenreich, a scholar of Maine's Jewish history, "Jews came to Maine because they were dissatisfied with life in the big city, wanted the opportunity to work for themselves, and enjoyed the prospect of living in a place where the climate reminded them of the Old Country."[39]

One of these immigrants was Julius Kurson, who left his home in the Province of Courland in Russia, a place that is now Jelgava, Latvia. Because they were Jews, the Kurson family had been subjected to state-sponsored acts of oppression that ranged from higher taxes and fees to violent pogroms. Recalled one immigrant, "Every Jew in Russia knew that there was nothing left for him in the Old Country. For a young man there was no future to which he could look forward. America seemed to offer the only salvation."[40]

From his homeland, Julius made his way to Hamburg and then to Liverpool, where he boarded the steamship *Cephalonia* along with 132 other immigrants from England, Sweden, Ireland, Scotland, and other countries. He arrived in Boston on February 4, 1888, where he

After immigrating from Russia, Julius Kurson became a prosperous Bar Harbor clothing merchant. *Bar Harbor Times,* July 4, 1906, *courtesy of the Jesup Memorial Library*

told the immigration official that he was a papermaker. He became a naturalized citizen in May 1889, and by 1890, he had opened a men's clothing shop in Bar Harbor, a business that prospered.[41]

In 1897, he married 25-year-old Rose Caro, the Massachusetts-born daughter of a Russian pawnbroker and a Prussian mother. Julius brought his bride back to Bar Harbor, where the family seemed to gain wide acceptance in the community. Julius and Rose had three children and a successful business. He was a 1902 delegate to the Democratic State Convention and a member of social groups such as the Knights of Pythias, Odd Fellows, and the Bangor Lodge of Elks. The *Bar Harbor Record* described Rose as one of the "38 popular matrons" who hosted a big dancing party at the Casino.[42] The family worshiped with the Jewish community centered in Bangor.

But by 1928, Julius and Rose had left Bar Harbor for sunny Los Angeles. Whether the move was prompted by the appeal of a warm place to retire, a desire to be among a larger community of Jews, or other factors is not known, but as Freidenreich observes, "Throughout Maine's history, far more Jews have left than stayed."[43]

Jews had powerful allies at the highest levels of Bar Harbor society. Men like Joseph Pulitzer and Jacob Schiff mingled with the most influential people of the age. Though newspaper publisher Pulitzer was understated about his Jewish identity, Schiff, a prominent banker, was proud of his religious heritage and was generous to Jewish causes. Schiff was a friend of Charles W. Eliot and influenced Eliot's sympathetic view towards Jews and unrestricted immigration. The two took long walks together and exchanged an extensive correspondence.[44] Among their common interests was their opposition to the introduction of automobiles to Mount Desert Island.[45]

Other Jews came to Bar Harbor first as peddlers, later becoming storeowners. A peddler's license in Maine cost only $50, half the price of a Massachusetts's license,[46] and thus offered a lower price of entry to the first rung on the economic ladder. Yet many Jews who began their lives in the new world at that lowest rung then proceeded steadily to climb. One peddler was Nathan Povich, whose son Shirley would become a famous sportswriter for the *Washington Post*. The Povich Family spent winters in Bath or Ellsworth but returned to Bar Harbor each summer. Samuel Sheplin, who sometimes reported his birthplace as Russia and sometimes as Germany, was a butcher who immigrated in 1913. He married Dora Schneier, also an immigrant of German-Russian extraction, and together they raised a family in Bar Harbor.[47] Max Franklin was born in Neustadt, Germany, in 1861 and emigrated in 1884. He worked with Julius Kurson to raise funds for Jewish war relief in 1918.[48]

Full acceptance for Jews came slowly. As late as 1972, a high school student reported that she could not get a job in Bar Harbor because of anti-Semitism. When Julie Miller, the daughter of a respected Jewish family in Waterville, told her mother that she and her blond, blue-eyed friends were going to find work in Bar Harbor for the summer, her mother responded, "Robyn will get a job; Nancy

Julie Miller is pictured in 1972, the year she and her non-Jewish friends applied for summer jobs in Bar Harbor. Though her friends found work, she did not. *Courtesy of Julie Miller*

will get a job; Sherrie will get a job; you will not get a job." Julie's mother was right.[49]

How Immigrants Found Their Place in the Borderland

The immigrants who arrived in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries found an Acadian borderland already occupied by two distinct populations: people born locally and summer people.

But in little more than a generation, immigrants made a home for themselves and to a large extent, found acceptance in local society.

Despite the obstacles, they were able to make their place in the borderland for several reasons. First, religious communities connected immigrants to each other; Protestants, Catholics, and Jews all found religious homes among like-minded people. Within their respective religious communities, immigrants took care of each other and helped newcomers adapt in the setting of the church or synagogue.

Second, the world of work and commerce brought immigrants in contact with locals and summer people. The day-to-day social mixing that occurred in the workplace and community created a familiarity among these inhabitants of widely different origins. This was especially true in Bar Harbor, where immigrants were more numerous than in Mount Desert, Southwest Harbor, or Tremont. Through such daily contact, immigrants became familiar; they ceased to be alien.

Third, shared charitable ventures, especially during the First World War, united people of varied origins in common causes. The war created a wider appreciation of the human tragedy in Europe and a unified front against a common enemy. In November 1918, major Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish charities united nationally and locally to raise more than $170 million for the comfort of American soldiers fighting in Europe.[50]

Fourth and finally, alliances among influential immigrant and native-born community leaders hastened wider acceptance. Community leaders formed personal bonds and influenced their respective social networks by example.

Such was the level of acceptance gained by immigrants that when representatives of the Ku Klux Klan came to town in the early 1920s, the Klan received a tepid, if not hostile, reception in Bar Harbor. While it is true that for a few months, the Klan drew crowds of adherents and the curious to its rallies, its influence was short-lived.

Albion Sherman, the editor of the *Bar Harbor Times* wrote, "At first we were inclined to view with alarm the coming of the Klan to Bar Harbor. The knowledge that it has brought distrust, disorder and strife to many communities throughout the land was

the reason for this view. However, the more we consider the Klan and its possibilities here the less we are inclined to take it seriously." The people of Bar Harbor knew too much from personal experience to believe the hate speech promoted by the Klan. Sherman wrote, "Our abiding faith in the sound common sense of the majority of our citizens, regardless of race or creed, is our reason for having no fear of any serious disturbance here."[51]

Immigrants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had good reasons to expect a cool reception when they reached Mount Desert Island. Deep-seated attitudes among locals and summer elite had been inculcated for decades prior to the arrival of large numbers of foreigners. But the people from away came despite all that. They persevered and made themselves a home, and the people here made room for them. Long-held prejudice gave way, and immigrants found their place in the Acadian borderland.

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[16] Higham, *Strangers in the Land,* 152.

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[26] US Census for Bar Harbor, 1920, www.ancestry.com.

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[30] US Census for Bar Harbor, 1940, www.ancestry.com.

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[32] *Bar Harbor Record,* June 29, 1880.

[33] *Bar Harbor Record,* May 24, 1899; July 7, 1904; July 4, 1906.

[34] *Bar Harbor Record*, August 26, 1903.

[35] US Census for Bar Harbor, 1920, www.ancestry.com.

[36] US Census for Bar Harbor, 1940, www.ancestry.com.

[37] *Bar Harbor Times*, November 13, 1915; July 24, 1952.

[38] *Bar Harbor Times*, October 7, 1925; November 4, 1925.

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