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Annotated Bibliography

1. Lewiston Historical Commission. *Historic Lewiston: Its Architectural Heritage*. Lewiston: City of Lewiston, Maine, 1997.

This is an excellent resource, with some notable caveats that should be explained at the outset. This publication is the fifth in a series produced by the Lewiston Historical Commission, an arm of the city government created in 1969 by Mayor John B. Beliveau. There is no single author credited in the volume, though the preface offers thanks to Ruth Libbey O'Halloran for preparing the information, and the historical commission's website lists her as the author. A native Lewistonian, Dr. O'Halloran held a PhD in medieval church history from the Catholic University of America, and was a teacher for over fifty years at various institutions including the University of Southern Maine, St. Joseph's College, and Westbrook College (now UNE). Given her extensive background in education, it is interesting, then, that no bibliography or sources are provided in this publication. That said, it is not unreasonable to assume that, given Dr. O'Halloran's academic credentials, her work was likely accurate and adhered to scholarly standards.

I dwell on the subject because this is—so far as I have been able to find—the best compilation of information concerning the history of Lewiston's mill buildings, if only because it includes pictures. In a scant ten pages, more details are given concerning the construction, design, and architectural stylings of Lewiston's mighty industrial complexes than I've been able to locate anywhere else. Whether this speaks to a dearth of information concerning the construction of the mills, or just that information's inaccessibility, is hard to say. City records and building permits may well be the next stop. Regardless, in the first chapter of this volume the dates of construction and architects are provided for almost all of the major mill buildings in Lewiston (including some of those that are no longer standing), as well as accurate and tasteful architectural comments about the exterior aesthetics of the mills, many of which exhibit distinctive traits of the Greek Revival and Italianate styles. The presence of the Libbey and Cowan Mills is bittersweet: at the time of publication, both were still extant, the Cowan Mill fell victim to arson in 2009, and the iconic Libbey (or Lincoln) Mill was gutted by fire in 1999. The latter was, before its destruction, the oldest surviving brick Greek Revival structure in Lewiston, dating from 1845, and is still featured prominently on the city's seal.

Online access:

<https://www.lewistonmaine.gov/DocumentCenter/View/1193/Historic-Lew-Its-Architectural-Heritage-1997?bidId=>

2. Leamon, James S. *Historic Lewiston: A Textile City in Transition*. Lewiston: Lewiston Historical Commission, 1976.

The second installment in the *Historic Lewiston* series presents a broader overview of the city's development than is offered in source 1, though with less emphasis on the architectural character of Lewiston's historic industrial structures. Leamon provides excellent information concerning the early development of industry in the city, including pertinent details of economic factors to which the mills were responding. Included, and of special interest, is an aerial photograph dated in the book c. 1950, but perhaps—according to other sources—from as early as 1924, showing the industrial portion of Lewiston between the upper canal and the river, before extensive demolition and renewal projects drastically altered the landscape of this area. Parts of the Irish “Gas Patch” neighborhood that was razed in 1960, many residential structures now demolished, a mill (labeled separately as a portion of the Androscoggin Mill complex) at the very bottom of the frame which no longer exists, and the Lewiston Gas Works, dismantled in the early 2000s, are still visible. Also worth noting is a map of the major mill buildings in the city, which labels for reference the location of mill buildings no longer standing, and an earlier map that labels the structures that comprised Lewiston's fledgeling industry in 1832. Much attention is paid to the post-Bates/Franklin Company ownership of the mills, as Lewiston's mills saw a second boom in the first decades of the twentieth century, crafting an effective narrative that traces industry from its dawn here to the start of its decline. Since 1976, much has changed, and an update to this volume might be warranted. After all, the textile city in transition is still changing.

Online access:

<https://www.lewistonmaine.gov/DocumentCenter/View/1191/Historic-Lew-A-Textile-City-in-Transition-1976?bidId=>

3. Historic Preservation Review Board. *Historic Lewiston: A Self-Guided Tour of our History, Architecture, and Culture*. Lewiston: City of Lewiston, Maine, 2001.

Most all of what I've been able to find pertaining specifically to the architecture of Lewiston has been prepared by the city government. This walking tour is brimming with useful information, though it suffers from the same problem as source 1 on this list: no citations. It's a tricky business, accepting the information at face value, and there are instances where two or more of these sources will disagree, or another source will present something contrary to the information contained herein. A good example of this is the Kelsey House at 1 Walnut St, which has found new life as the Inn at the Agora, a small hotel. Kelsey was instrumental in designing industrial Lewiston, and oversaw construction of the Androscoggin and Continental Mills, among others. This source lists the construction date of the house as c. 1870, but other sources (including the website of the Inn) list it as closer to 1850. Taking into account the transitional Greek Revival (understated window treatments with simple granite lintels and sills) and Italianate (bracketed cornices, low-pitched roof) elements of the house, as well as Kelsey's long association with Lewiston, would make 1850 seem the more plausible date for the home's construction. Similarly, there is disagreement between this source, source 1, and other accounts in the date of construction for the Continental Mill, with its building being variously dated to 1855, 1858, 1866, and

1872, with no obvious path to consensus. Complicating matters is that that the mills were often built in sections, slowly expanding as business grew, and so have no single, easily traceable year of origin.

That said, there is still a wealth of valuable information included in this source, albeit in unfortunately concise terms. Its function is as a tour of the city, not an academic register of Lewiston's historic buildings, and there seems to me to be an opportunity to expand on the framework presented here, with a more detailed history and description of the listed structures.

Online access:

<https://www.ci.lewiston.me.us/DocumentCenter/View/1141/Walking-Tour-Brochure?bidId=>

4. Leamon, James S. "Little Canada and Vicinity: A Building Survey," in *Historic Lewiston: Franco-American Origins* by Charlotte Michaud. Lewiston: Lewiston Historical Commission, 1974.

The first volume in the wonderful *Historic Lewiston* series, this publication is hiding a wealth of architectural information beneath its unassuming title. The second section in the book is written by James Leamon, author of source two in this list, and it is a fantastic overview of the industrial Island, with a special—and especially interesting—focus on housing, built both by the companies and privately. Some of the buildings addressed are no longer standing, but the detail is uniformly fantastic. The insight Leamon offers here is invaluable.

Online access:

<https://www.lewistonmaine.gov/DocumentCenter/View/1190/Historic-Lew-Franco-American-Origins-1974?bidId=>

5. Candee, Richard M. "Early New England Mill Towns of the Piscataqua River Valley." In *The Company Town: Architecture and Society in the Early Industrial Age*, edited by John S. Garner, 111-138. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

In lieu of sources that focus specifically on Lewiston (there are only a few), it becomes necessary to look elsewhere for relevant information that can be applied to the industrial history of this city. This chapter by Richard Candee focuses on the early nineteenth century mills of the Piscataqua River Valley in New Hampshire, and the distinctions from Lewiston's mills should be made immediately: obviously enough, New Hampshire isn't Maine, and the history of Piscataqua is different from that of the Androscoggin, and many of these mills were operating at peak capacity in the 1830s, twenty years before industry in Lewiston began to thrive. The architectural details are somewhat different, the mills are reacting to different economic and social phenomena, but many of the principles and theories are the same. Of special interest here is the section on company boarding houses and nonindustrial company building projects, which are important elements in Lewiston's industrial history and architectural landscape. While only a handful of such buildings remain in this city (the Continental Mill housing comprising a pair of very fine four-story Italianate structures with typically ornate cornice bracketing, and the Androscoggin Mill Block of three units come immediately to mind), company constructed housing for

workers was a crucial—and ultimately unsuccessful—element of social planning in the New England Mill town.

6. Bradley, Betsy Hunter. *The Works: The Industrial Architecture of the United States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

A detailed and thorough volume of architectural history, Betsy Hunter Bradley's *The Works* is a fantastic overview of American factory *building*, and not just their external architectural details. The book is divided into three parts: an overview of the American factory operation, analysis of the “engineered factory,” and aesthetic appraisal of factories as valuable architectural work. The second section is particularly noteworthy, as Bradley digs into why factories were built the way they were, examining considerations that were made towards enhancing productivity and profit, structural integrity, fireproofing, and adequate light and ventilation for workers. Architectural quirks and idiosyncrasies are revealed to be purposeful design operating to an end, such as using stair towers (a distinctive feature of many of Lewiston's mills) as a method of fire abatement. It is somewhat disappointing that, in such a well-crafted project, Lewiston is never mentioned (not even a whisper of Bates Mill No. 5 in the section on sawtooth roofs), but the information presented here is easily transposable to Lewiston's mill buildings, and gives us some insight into not only how, but *why* these buildings were designed as they were.

7. Cheney, Oren B. “Eulogy on the Life of Benjamin Edward Bates.” *The Bates Student*, Vol. VI, No. 6. June, 1878.

Here is an exceedingly interesting source, written by the founder and first president of Bates College, Oren B. Cheney. This text is a eulogy Cheney delivered for Benjamin Bates after the latter's death in 1878, delivered to the graduating class of that year, and reproduced in the *Bates Student*. This is the best, and so far as I can tell only, thorough account of Bates' life and work in Lewiston. Interesting to note that, unlike Mr. Storrow of the next source, Bates was not based in Lewiston but stayed in Boston, visiting regularly once a month. The detail here is excellent: Cheney gives a detailed account of Bates' life from childhood, focusing extensively on his early work in Boston before his time in Maine, and then of course dwells on his work with the industry of Lewiston. Cheney also provides an interesting lens for students of the college's history, as he dwells on the deep love Bates had for the college (and his financial support of the fledgling institution) and the city. Perhaps not the most objective angle, considering the context of the piece and Cheney and Bates' close friendship, but one rich in good detail and of great historical interest.

8. Ford, Peter A. “Father of the Whole Enterprise.” *Massachusetts Historical Review* volume 2 (2000): 76-117.

This article is about Charles Storrow, head of the Essex Company, and the “father” of Lawrence, Massachusetts. His story is interesting not only for its details (the article is a good one), but for potentially analogous elements to a far more relevant historical figure in my research: Benjamin Bates. Despite the

ubiquity of his name in Lewiston and the tremendous role he played in the history of this city, there exists no book-length biography about Benjamin Bates, nor even an article detailing the events of his life. The closest I've come to finding an account of his life are a few passages in *Textile City in Transition*, and Oren Cheney's 1878 eulogy for Mr. Bates, published in the Bates Student. That leaves us with little information concerning the role Mr. Bates played as a leader in the Lewiston Water Power Company (later reorganized as the Franklin Company), the head of the Bates Manufacturing Company, and a backer of almost every mill that opened in the city after his arrival in 1847. This is where Ford's account of Charles Storrow's life can prove useful. He describes in detail the operation of the Essex company as holder of the land and water power, building an industrial city from the ground up in the middle of the nineteenth century. Organized under similar principles, Lawrence and Lewiston are bound to share similarities in how they were designed and developed, though it is imperative not to overstep in making these sorts of assumptions. The parallels exist, but the details provided about Lawrence's development are not necessarily comparable to Lewiston's history. I think the right approach to this article is with an eye towards the organization of the company, the role that Storrow played in its operation, and the presence he commanded in Lawrence. These angles might provide us with some insight into Benjamin Bates' work and influence in Lewiston.

9. Breisch, Kenneth, Noel Perrin, photographs by Serge Hambourg, *Mills and Factories of New England*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. Publishers, 1988.

This book, produced in cooperation with Dartmouth College's Hood Museum of Art, is a pleasant collection of photographs from around New England, capturing the romantic grandeur of old industrial buildings. Not simply a coffee table showpiece, this book provides an intriguing look at the architectural development of the New England mill. Lewiston's mill buildings, remarkable as many of them are, were built in a concentrated window of time, and most of those that survive today date from between 1852 and 1880, with Bates Mill No. 5 (1914) being the only outlier. This book expands the timeline back to the wood-frame factories of the late eighteenth century, depicting early mills potentially like those that stood by the Great Falls long ago. The first settlers to "Lewistown" had erected grist and saw mills as early as 1776, and by 1832 there were a dozen small industrial buildings in the town. While those buildings are long gone, contemporaneous structures still stand across New England, and with a source like this it becomes easier to conceive of what the early decades in Lewistown looked like. Another interesting avenue for comparison is analyzing the architectural motifs present in the mills photographed, and how they mirror concurrently constructed buildings in Lewiston. Square stair towers, wooden clock faces, granite window trim, Mansard roofs, belfrys and smokestacks of various designs, all these features of Greek Revival, Italianate, Second Empire, and Victorian industrial design are present in our mills and mills across the region. Finally, as a wistful historical note, page 44 includes a photo of the Continental Mill (Lewiston's only appearance in the book) with its main tower roof still present. The high quality of the image allows for close examination of its detail, corroborating Ruth Libbey O'Halloran's characterization of the wonderful feature, sadly since removed.

10. Spencer, Sarah A. "Preserving the New England Mill Town: Encouraging Adaptive Re-Use by Identifying Community Factors that Contribute to Success in Mill Revitalization Districts." ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. 2014.

Moving into the redevelopment portion of my project, this scholarly article outlines a possible approach for mill redevelopment, advocating for community participation in determining how mill sites are revitalized. Sarah A. Spencer, candidate for (and hopefully recipient of) a masters in urban planning from the University of Massachusetts, researched how consideration of community concerns and desires can—and should—be a critical part of the redevelopment process. Spencer argues that, in order for a redevelopment project to be effective or successful, it has to reflect an understanding of the community and respect their wishes. There are points here that are germane to Lewiston’s goals, as firms begin renovating and transforming the mill complexes into offices, commercial spaces, and housing. The redevelopment of Lewiston’s riverfront, or “the Island,” presents the same conundrum countless other cities have faced before: how can an area be remodeled—with respect for historic preservation—to make it open, accessible, and walkable, without disrupting or displacing the communities who are already there? The master plan for Lewiston’s waterfront looks to build new housing, improve navigability for pedestrians and tourists, and transform the mill district into a destination, but is it possible to “revitalize” without gentrifying?

Online access:

https://scholarworks.umass.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1065&context=larp_ms_projects

11. Skelton, Kathryn. “Grand Rounds to Expand into Bates Mill No. 1.” *Lewiston Sun Journal*, October 1, 2019.

The Bates Mill complex is the flagship project in Lewiston’s overall revitalization. Tom Platz, an Auburn developer, has been buying and renovating the buildings in the complex over the past several years, and last summer began work on the large Mill No. 1 (he has previously completed Mills 3 and 6, and Storehouse No. 7). Last month, Grand Rounds, a healthcare company that already has space in Mill No. 6, announced an expansion into Mill No. 1, the next step in the building’s repurposing. This, along with the next two sources, is included to give a sense for where the mill buildings stand now, even as that is subject to frequent change. The redevelopment of industrial Lewiston is underway, and has been for some years now. As work continues to go ahead, it will be important to keep a close eye on local primary sources like the Sun Journal.

Online access:

<https://www.sunjournal.com/2019/10/01/grand-rounds-expands-into-bates-mill-no-1/>

12. Rice, Andrew. Lewiston to Receive Grant to Clean Up Bates Mill No. 5.” *Lewiston Sun Journal*, June 5, 2019.

While the rest of the Bates Mill complex is currently being or has been redeveloped, Mill No. 5 is the exception. The largest of the Bates mills, and the least fit for redevelopment, Mill No. 5 presents a unique set of challenges for developers, the city, and the community. With its distinctive sawtooth roof and thick concrete walls, Mill No. 5 is, in blunt terms, the ugliest of the complex, and thus in the worst position to be repurposed. Unlike the older mills in Lewiston, Mill No. 5 is just two stories high, and

attains its square footage by virtue of its massive footprint. Since most of its interior light came in through the roof, as sawtooth roofs were designed to provide ample natural light, Mill No. 5 has few windows, an obstacle for converting it into housing. The current goal is mixed commercial use, with the potential for a relocation of the Lewiston-Auburn College branch of USM. At this point, however, that is far from certain, and the demolition of the building remains possible.

This article by Andrew Rice focuses on a recent grant announcement for environmental cleanup at the site, to remove the century old building of inorganic chemicals and asbestos. Whether it is redeveloped or demolished, this work is important, and hopefully points towards a viable future for this unique building. Mill No. 5 has seen the longest revitalization saga of any of the mill buildings, and illustrates clearly some of the challenges faced in repurposing industrial structures. This building was built to serve one purpose, and will not be easily fitted to another.

Online access:

<https://www.sunjournal.com/2019/06/05/lewiston-to-receive-grant-to-clean-up-bates-mill-no-5/>

13. Skelton, Kathryn. "New Hampshire Developer With Plans for Housing Buys Lewiston's Continental Mill." *Lewiston Sun Journal*, May 21, 2019.

The Continental Mill is, in my opinion, the crowning achievement of industrial design in Lewiston. Although it's imposing air has been somewhat diminished by the removal of its tower roofs, the building is still an immense monument to the strength of the industry that once powered Lewiston's economy. With 560,000 square feet of space, the Continental Mill has long been eyed for revitalization, given its size, its proximity to the river, and its tasteful Italianate detailing. In 2013, a Bates research project identified the Continental Mill as a major site for potential redevelopment, and since then small steps have been taken to begin work. In May, the building was auctioned and bought by a developer, with tentative plans to transform the building into a mixed use complex, including "nice" market rate apartments. Whether this redevelopment project can work not just in, but *for*, Lewiston remains to be seen, if it gets underway at all.

Online access:

<https://www.sunjournal.com/2019/05/21/new-hampshire-developer-with-plans-for-housing-buys-lewiston-s-continental-mill/>