

**A Novelist and Her Ethnicity:
Grace Metalious as a Franco-American**

By Richard S. Sorrell



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ÉDITIONS FAROG
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I am a French Canadian [but] I [won't] eat ... salt pork... I [won't] wear filthy rags... or live in a cellar and [yet] I will never get out. Never! (*No Adam in Eden*)¹

In 1924 a girl was born in Manchester, to Alfred and Laurette (Royer) de Repentigny. They named her Grace Marie Antoinette Jeanne d'Arc (Marie Grace for short), but she became better known to the world under her married name, Grace Metalious, author of the scandalous bestseller, *Peyton Place*. Grace spent almost all of her life in New Hampshire and became famous (infamous maybe the better word) to most residents of the state because of the sensational publicity surrounding the publication of her first novel. It supposedly drew upon her experiences in various small towns of New England, in particular Gilmanton, where her husband was employed as a high school principal while she was printing *Peyton Place*.

New Hampshireites were not particularly well disposed towards a woman who caused them to be forever associated in the public mind with small town prurience and hypocrisy. Grace's relationship to New Hampshire is not the primary focus of this essay, however; its concern is a much less publicized aspect of her life and literature: her ethnic background and identity. Many may be surprised to learn that Grace Metalious came from a heritage steeped in maintenance of traditional national and religious values, and famous for militant defense of conservatism, Catholicism, and the family.

Grace de Repentigny was a Franco-American² whose ancestral roots lay deep in the fertile ethnic soil of French Canada. She was not primarily concerned with writing ethnic fiction; obviously most of her readers have not approached her novels with the goal of learning about Franco life. Nevertheless, Grace provides an illuminating case study of how ethnicity can explain much of the outlook of a novelist who is not ordinarily seen as having dealt with such matters. Viewing Grace as a rebel against her national origins provides new insights into someone usually dismissed as a crass purveyor of smutty, bestselling pap. Her Franco-American background should be particularly meaningful to people interested in New Hampshire history, since state's population, the highest proportion in any of the United States.³

One must avoid the trap, however, of simple-minded ethnic determinism, ascribing French Canadian roots as the motivator of all Grace's behavior. It is necessary to separate her ethnicity from other strands of her background, particularly since the role of ethnicity in Grace's life is not clearly defined. Aspects of her persona which might be related to her Franconess can be attributed just as easily to other factors, such as class, sexuality, and psychological makeup. Metalious' matriarchal upbringing featured an incredibly unhappy and insecure family environment, resulting in class status contradictions and a desire for upward mobility, combined with an uncertain sense of what her proper status and role as a woman should be. One can claim that such factors were more influential in determining the person Grace became than was any Franco-American upbringing.

This is particularly the case since her rearing was not as heavily Franco as that which many of her ethnic compatriots received in the "Little Canadas" of Manchester and elsewhere in New England. Her rebellion against her ethnic heritage was so complete and so traumatic in its consequences that she may be seen as the ultimate iconoclast of Franco-American institutions and ideas.

But running away from one's heritage does not mean that one is no longer affected by that heritage. We are defined by what we reject, as well as by what we accept. There is a considerable body of literature which stresses cultural conflict as a key to understanding ethnic identity: children and grandchildren of immigrants, seeking a liberated life but restrained by their traditional ethnoreligious heritage, with resulting ambivalent behavior and psychological frustration; rebellion among these later generations of ethnics, who try to discard their foreign heritage in an attempt to escape "marginal" status ("outsiders" in both the larger American world and in their immigrant communities).⁴ This is not to say that disorganization, ambivalence, marginality, cultural duality,

rebellion, and conflict have been the lot of all, or even most, ethnics of the second generation and beyond. However, they were the fate of our subject of study, Grace de Repentigny.

A more serious problem for someone who wishes to analyze Grace's ethnicity is the paucity of available materials. She wrote only four novels, all of which bear some relation to her life ("All writers draw from their own experiences, and anyone who says they don't is a damned liar"),⁵ but in which she veiled or repressed her own circumstances to a great degree. Only *No Adam in Eden* is focused primarily upon her Franco Ancestry and upbringing. A number of magazine and newspaper articles followed her career from 1956-64, but these provide little information on her ethnicity.⁶ There have been no critical studies, only short reviews of her novels at the time of their appearance.⁷ If it were not for a little known biography of Grace written by her husband, George, it would be impossible to attempt this analysis. *The Girl from Peyton Place* is disorganized, trite and cliché-ridden (a cynic might declare it thus worthy of its subject), but it is the only source which gives considerable insight into Grace's ethnic background and character.⁸

(An interesting sidelight, from the standpoint of researchers of popular culture, is the inaccessibility of such sources. This biography was published as a cheap paperback and is long out-of-print. Such a book is seldom acquired by libraries, so this writer was fortunate to obtain copies of it, and Grace's novels which are no longer in print, through interlibrary loan - the travails of making "art" out of "trash"! Grace was *persona non grata* among Franco-Americans who were aware of her novels and her Franco background. The "modest" and "religious" Francos of Manchester hated her fiction which was considered "dirty" and full of "plain talk," homosexuality, lust, and sex. They were likewise appalled by her "mischievous" life and death. Therefore, during her bestselling days, it was hard to find copies of Metalious' books even in her hometown of Manchester, since nuns in the Franco parochial schools made it clear that they were not acceptable reading matter.)⁹

Both of Grace's parents were born in Manchester, of solely French Canadian and French ancestry. Maurice Zolotow refers to her mother as German-American, but this is based on superficial research. When Mrs. de Repentigny remarried after divorcing Grace's father, it was to a man named Kugel. Zolotow obviously saw this name as indicating German heritage on her part, a danger in using name analysis in ethnic research. The marriage certificate of Grace's parents that both of their mothers had French maiden names, in addition to their French married surnames.¹⁰

Mrs. de Repentigny, a social climber, claimed that Grace's maternal grandfather was a "French count," and that she married beneath herself to Alfred, whom Laurette considered a "French peasant." Apparently reality was just the reverse; it was Alfred's father who was a "former French count... of noble stock" while Laurette's progenitors were "Canadian farmers."¹¹ Whether either of Grace's grandfathers was actually born in France is questionable, but there seems little doubt that someone on her father's side, probably her great-grandfather, emigrated from France to Montreal in the nineteenth century. Her paternal grandmother was French Canadian, so even on her father's side the family spoke a mixture of Parisian and Canadian French. Grace's father's parents the emigrated from Montreal to Manchester shortly before Alfred's birth in 1902.¹²

Grace's ancestry may therefore be best described as predominantly French Canadian, intermixed with some relatively recent French stock. Many Americans think of French and French Canadian as one and the same, an error which does not endear them to either nationality. French Canadians are descendants of the few thousand French who settled in New France during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. However, there has been little population flow between the two areas since that time. French people have always felt their culture and language to be superior to those of the French Canadians, the isolated "colonials." French Canadians in turn are proud of their two centuries of survival as a nationality distinct from the French, whom they regard with distrust because of the willingness with which the mother country ceded Canada to England in 1763, and because of conservative French Canadian dislike of the French Revolution.¹³

Grace seemed confused about French and French Canadian as distinct national backgrounds, particularly since her haughty mother would undoubtedly have preferred French ancestry to French

Canadian. (Such confusion concerning French-French Canadian was not confined to Grace. This author's mother, who is Anglo-Saxon and a French teacher, led him to believe for many years that his father's ancestry was French rather than French Canadian.) The result of all this was a submerging of Grace's specifically French Canadian identity. Articles about her referred to her extraction as French on the few occasions when they bothered with such matters; in *No Adam in Eden* two of the characters are given recent Parisian antecedents; even her given middle names, Marie Antoinette and Jeanne d'Arc, seem French affectations rather than typically French Canadian.

Grace's childhood was extremely unhappy. Her father and mother got married only four months before Grace was born,¹⁴ and her father was nonexistent as a parental influence. A printer and pressman, he was a hard worker and met the family's material needs, but gave little of himself. Grace was dominated by her mother and two grandmothers. Both of their husbands had deserted them or been sent packing early in their respective marriages. Alfred and Laurette continued this tradition by getting divorced when Grace was eleven. She and her younger sister Doris (a younger brother died in infancy) were thus raised in a matriarchal household of man-hating women.

This world of "no Adams" was compounded by social class instability. Told by her mother that she was of noble blood and therefore better than neighborhood children (southern and eastern Europeans) with whom she was not to mix, it was not hard for Grace to see that their own circumstances were those of grinding poverty. The alleged "mansions" that the de Repentignys lived in were actually ill-kept apartments in "dirty brown shingled tenements," located near railroad tracks on the fringes of the better parts of Manchester.¹⁵ The result was a girlhood suffused with artificiality and hypocrisy, and accompanying feelings of inferiority, insecurity, inadequacy, loneliness, and isolation.¹⁶ Grace had a constant gnawing need to feel wanted and loved, a need which increased rather than diminished when she was an adult. For a while in adolescence and early adulthood she imitated her mother's status affectations, but for most of her life Grace abhorred pretense and hypocrisy (the "Tight White Collar" of her third novel) in favor of blunt honesty and frank vulgarity.

Always an omnivorous reader and writer, she was described by a close relative as "college material...the way she acted and talked- you never saw a house that had so darn many books!" This relative claimed to have offered to help send Grace to college, but she married instead.¹⁷ In spite of this it seems clear that Grace had desire for upward mobility, for more out of life than Franco Manchester could offer.

What all this indicates is the almost total lack of a traditional Franco environment. Grace apparently spoke some French as a child at home with her maternal grandmother (who lived with the de Repentignys and knew no English) and on the street with Franco companions. Her later cursing, fishwifely manner featured some of this street French. However, she used the language infrequently and spoke only broken French., unlike most relatives. Her paternal grandmother was angry that Grace did not know more French, but most of the blame must be put on her parents, who seldom spoke it to her. As an adult she had little facility in her ancestral language, which she therefore did not teach to her children. Even *No Adam in Eden* features few French sentences or phrases, contrary to the claim of Victor Beaulieu who somehow sees in it "long passages in joul..."¹⁸ She attended public grammar and high schools in Manchester. There is no mention of her ever attending a parochial school, Franco or otherwise, although the city's 27,000 Francos (one-third of the total population) supported schools in each of their seven national parishes during the years when Grace was growing up there.¹⁹

Both of Grace's grandmothers were devout Roman Catholics, so she was raised within their religion. She soon rebelled against this as she did against all strong controls. When she married George Metalious the year after graduating from high school, her two grandmothers were adamant on having the ceremony in the Franco Catholic church in which Grace's parents had been married (St. George's), even though George was not Catholic. He refused to complete the pre-Cana lessons after having an argument with the priest. To pacify her grand-mothers, they were married in a

private ceremony, by the Franco curé who had united Alfred and Laurette two decades earlier. Her paternal grandmother never acknowledged Grace's later divorces, saying they were not recognized in the eyes of the Church. Although Grace did not practice her religion as an adult, she realized that it still influenced her. Her children were baptized at St. George's parish. She vocally decried Catholicism as an institution but refused to allow George, a vehement agnostic, to do the same. Feelings of guilt ("mea culpa, mea culpa") were never totally absent. She kept a rosary with her always; this "glimmer of the cross" surfaced occasionally in her novels.²⁰

Grace passed from this unhappy, only borderline Franco childhood and adolescence to an equally blissless and even less ethnic adulthood. Relations with her parents remained unsatisfactory. Her mother and father had a vicious row when they met briefly at Grace's wedding, and she seldom saw her father after that. (During World War II Alfred joined the Merchant Marine and, after the war, he remained at sea, becoming a ship's steward. He survived Grace and is still living, residing in Oregon.)²¹

During the early years of their marriage, while George was in military service, she lived in Manchester with her mother, sister, and surviving grandmother. But this was not the popular stereotype of the warm, supportive, ethnic family. Although Grace had a child she was forced to work to support them all; her mother complained of ill health while continuing the gallivanting and affairs she had begun when Grace was young.²² After Grace moved out when George returned, the only real contact she had with her mother was a lawsuit initiated by Laurette against her daughter! In 1959 Grace visited her mother, who had remarried and was living in New York City. A car accident apparently ensued; although Grace paid all of her mother's hospital bills and took care of her while she was recuperating, Laurette sued her now affluent daughter. She got only a minimum damages award, but the whole affair scarred Grace.²³

Grace marriage to George Metalious did little to rectify her problems. Like her sister, who interspersed five children among her three marriages, she continued the unfortunate pattern set by the two previous generations of her family. Laurette had never approved of George, whom Grace had known since the third grade, considering him a lowly "Black greek."²⁴ He was poor and coarse, and their life together was difficult. From 1943 until 1956 they lived in even more dire circumstances than her childhood. Grace bore and raised three children and worked at various menial jobs while George went to college and also worked, in textile mills and elsewhere. His Greek relatives and her family provided no help. Their marriage was not particularly happy, as they had little to hold them together except for sexual compatibility. George was insensitive, moody, and self-centered, while Grace had manic-depressive tendencies; each found it hard to live with the other. Both had periodic extra-marital affairs which Grace rationalized on her part by claiming George had started first.²⁵

The turning point for Grace came when she had a tubal ligation after the birth of their third child, since her physical condition would not permit another pregnancy. She became depressed and turned seriously to a writing career she had previously pursued only sporadically and unsuccessfully. The Metaliouses had left Manchester but were still living in New Hampshire, in various small towns where George had low-paying teaching positions. (Grace always remained in New-England; was this an example of Franco regional rootedness? Of the more than two million Franco-Americans living in the United States today, about three-fourths reside in New England, close to the Quebec homeland, making them one of the most regionally concentrated immigrant-ethnic groups in the United States.)²⁶ Setting out to write a bestseller, she chose as her theme the hypocrisy of people in small towns, a theme which resulted in the manuscript that later would be entitled *Peyton Place*. She selected a suave literary agent of continental French descent, primarily on the basis of his French name (- the French Canadian wanting to upgrade herself to France French again?). After many rejections, the manuscript was published in September 1956 and became an immediate bestseller.

The fame and money which came with *Peyton Place* and its successors brought little contentment. Grace made a conscious effort to avoid the pretentiousness she hated. She continued to dress unconventionally and sloppily, and use the frank, earthy language which was her trademark. And yet, contrary to popular impressions, she was not a "heller" (sexually or otherwise) in private life, as she was still basically a shy individual. However, her marriage was collapsing, since her and George's inherent incompatibility was heightened by her new status. Grace began an affair with a local radio announcer (T.J. Martin, "T.J. the D.J. "), who she felt was the first real love of her life. She divorced George, married and soon divorced T.J., who proved to be a scheming Lothario, and began to drink beyond even her enormous capacity.

Grace and George reconciled and remarried in 1960, but they soon separated for a second time. Her relationship with her children, with whom she had always been close, began to disintegrate. After she became famous and was often out-of-town, George assumed much of the responsibility for raising them. It was obvious that her family was dissolving, just like those of her mother and grandmothers before her. Grace's apparent failure as mother and wife disturbed her, leading to further psychological and physical decline. Her daughter's divorce soon after marrying at age nineteen continued the unhappy marital tradition of Grace's family into a fourth generation.²⁷

Grace died in a Boston hospital in February 1964, of chronic liver disease, under a bizarre set of circumstances. In the preceding months she had met an Englishman, John Rees, who became her business manager. Just before her death she registered with him in a Boston hotel as Grace and John Metalious, although Rees had a wife and five children in England. George and her children did not learn of her final illness or death until after-the-fact. In her will she named Rees as her sole beneficiary, not mentioning her children at all, except to say that she was sure Rees would provide for them (they ranged in age from fourteen to twenty at this time). The will was contested by George acting for the children, continuing the grotesque tragedy of Grace's life beyond the grave. The final irony is that her fame not only failed to bring happiness but also lasting wealth. Grace had earned millions of dollars from her books and the movie rights, so it was at first estimated that her estate was in excess of one million dollars. This was progressively scaled down to \$87,000 of assets, which were far outweighed by debts of \$211,000 (mainly the I.R.S.), necessitating the sale of all her personal effects.²⁸ Financially as well as psychologically, Grace Metalious bequeathed her family a negative legacy.

Do the above facts reveal thematic patterns in Grace Metalious' life, particularly in relation to her ethnicity? First, it was not fame that ruined her. Being a celebrity only exacerbated tendencies that were already there; the problem is that Grace desperately hoped that eminence would erase her unhappiness. Paul Chassé sees the social-psychological thread in her often sad life and alcoholic early death as an ethnic identity crisis: tormented by her Quebec heritage and wishing to "pass" as American, she was unable "to betray completely" her origins and thus could not find a satisfactory new identity.²⁹

Outwardly, she rebelled totally against the two triads which have long defined traditional French Canadian and Franco-American *survivance* (national or ethnic survival): *foi* (Roman Catholicism), *langue*, and *moeurs* (French Canadian customs); Family, Church, and Land (in this case, the broader Franco environment found in Manchester's Little Canadas). Yet, she continued to be bound inwardly by some of their strictures; the resulting feelings of guilt meant she could achieve no lasting beatitude.

Such an argument assumes that Grace was at one time in contact with the totality of Franco-American *survivance*, since one cannot rebel against something one never knows. However, her problems may have stemmed more from the lack of a traditional Franco upbringing than from rebellion against such. Grace had no close family environment, no meaningful religious training, and no network of relationships with other Francos. This was made worse by status and sexual dilemmas, such as dissonance between her supposedly aristocratic background and the actual poverty of most of life, and discontentment with her traditional female role. Thus Grace was left with nothing to believe in, no *âme* (motivating principle), be it Franco, spiritual, or otherwise. No

wonder she had such a long view of human nature and believed there were far more ugly people in the world than beautiful.

Grace de Repentigny's attitude towards her rearing and life in general was reflected in her literature. Although she claimed only the desire to make money from her writing, and possessed little literary skill other than a keen eye for narrative pace, her novels reveal far more than the overlying patina of sex and sensationalism.

*Peyton Place*³⁰ has become more than the title of a novel; like *Catch-22* and *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* it has become an evocative phrase meaningful to all, whether or not they have read the book. Not many Americans of the late 1950's failed to do this. *Peyton Place* was one of the first runaway softbound bestsellers of the modern publishing age. Far more important than its 300,000 hardcover copies were the 8-9.5 million paperbacks, making it at the time the largest selling novel of all time (surpassing *God's Little Acre* and *Gone with the Wind*).³¹

If Grace had wanted to inform the United States about her little-known nationality which people New England mill towns, this would have been the chance. Most of the Francos of New England live in a series of small villages and small and medium-sized mill cities which form a large semicircle around Boston, extending from southeastern Maine through southern New Hampshire, central and southeaster Massachussets, northeastern Connecticut, and northern Rhode Island. Manchester, Woonsocket, Lewiston, Fall River, and Lowell are the most prominent of these, but there are scores of others where Francos make up from one-fourth to over one-half of the total population.³² But *Peyton Place*, although set in just such a small mill town (in New Hampshire), makes only one passing reference to Francos, in which one character says, "we've got a whole colony of Polacks and Canuks working in the mills" (p. 95). None of the people in the book, even mill hands, has a French name.

In addition the novel, though set in the 1930's and 40's, tells one little about the effects of the Depression or World War II, since Metalious was either not interested in or incapable of establishing an historical framework. But *Peyton Place* does present a vivid, if stereotyped, picture of the complete domination which a mill owner could have over all aspects of life in s small company town. Such control is broken only by A.F. of L. unionization during World War II, which is backed by the federal government and the threat of cancellation of war contracts (p. 311). Accompanying this domination is rigid class stratification, with less fluidity than in larger cities where there are more opportunities for advancement or decline.

Permeating the novel is a cynical, caustic, coarse, and pessimistic view of human nature. Mopst of the townspeople are self-righteous hypocrites, more concerned with apperaranace than with reality. Even the much-vaunted sex scenes usually features manipulative, dominating attitudes by the participants rater than love or even sensuality. Reviewers of *Peyton Place* who managed to get beyond taking offense at the sex, took note of this negativism. Carlos Baker, noted literary analyst and chairman of the Princeton University English department, mentioned in the Sunday *New York Times* that Sinclair Lewis would have killed Metalious' attack on "false fronts and bourgeois pretensions"; *Library Journal* saw a town "rampant with murder, incest, adultery, and general disagreeableness"; *The New Yorker* commented on the "dullness of the homes, genteel or sordid, in which they spend their humorless, ungenerous lives"; while the *New York Herald Tribune* pointed out that "even in moments which should be tender and understanding, she injects an offensively crude note".³³

Metalious reserved the full force of her negative cynicism for organized religion, which is presented as an aspect of people's hypocrisy. One of the few sympathetic characters, as a physican, says that he hates three things, "death, venereal disease and organized religion". Another comments on the similarity between Fascists and Jesuits since they both beleive in brainwashing children by age seven and thereby possessing them for life. In *Peyton Place* Protestants and Catholics live in two different worlds of mutual suspicion and hostility. A tragic figure in the novel is Father Fitzgerald, who has rejected Catholicism intellectually and become a Congregationalist minister. His Protestant wife, a virulent anti-Catholic, accuses him of still being a "black Irish Catholic from a Boston slum".

Fitzgerald's continuing opposition to birth control and suicide shows that he still have Catholic beliefs, as does his favorable disposition towards Catholicism's "powerful hold over the people", and his feeling that he has "sinned" and "transgressed", and is therefore "doomed". He reveals his true colors, the longing for the "tight white collar and the daily ecclesiastical wine of the Irish priest", when he refuses to bury a woman who has committed suicide. Called a Papist by his congregation, he resigns and makes his confession to a Catholic priest.³⁴

Peyton Place reveals Grace Metalious, with her "inquiring iconoclastic attitude"³⁵, as a rebel against Franco heritage. There are none of her people in this book, although the setting is their customary milieu. The novel features hostility towards organized religion in general and Catholicism in particular, one aspect of her rearing. But it is significant that there is no positive sense of values put forth which can take the place of religion, hence the pessimistic tone of the book. In a way is Grace not like Father Fitzgerald, a Catholic who tried to reject her heritage, but failed? Was she trying to raise the issue, perhaps subconsciously, of whether people can ever truly escape their ancestral inheritance?

Her second novel, *Return to Peyton Place*, has little bearing on this discussion. Even Grace, who saw her work in primarily commercial terms, considered *Return* nothing but an exploitative sequel, which she wrote only at the insistence of those who wanted to make money off it. (*Return* sold four million copies and was peddled to Hollywood for \$500,000).

The Tight White Collar, published in 1960, is more autobiographical than *Peyton Place* and divulges more about Grace's Franco childhood. It provides more material on her life than any other of her novels. (*No Adam in Eden*, discussed next, is principally concerned with her French Canadian forebears rather than with Grace's rather than with Grace's own life). *The Tight White Collar* was not only Grace's favorite among her novels, it was also in reality her first literary effort. Written in the early 1950's, it remained unpublished until revisions were made in the wake of the success of *Peyton Place*.³⁶

The bulk of *Tight White Collar* has nothing to do with Grace's childhood or with mill town-working class-Catholic-Franco life, since it is set in a small bedroom suburb (Cooper's Station) created by a mill owner as an escape from the environment of the northern New England mill town where he must spend his working days. Consequently most of the characters in the novel are middle and upper class WASP's. But there are occasional glimpses of the cotton mill town (Cooper's Mills) which supplies the wherewithal to support these people. As in *Peyton Place*, these glimpses are uniformly negative:

... the factories, the tenements [with their "subtly decayed quality peculiar to buildings in the manufacturing towns of northern New England"], the sixty-watt light bulbs in the soiled beer joints, the Canucks and the Catholics... the throbbing machines which seemed, to the child, to be living giants that gobbled up bobbins and spewed forth cloth... [and the mill worker who] had been doing her job for such a long time that she had become part of that machine.³⁷

The most interesting segments of *Tight White Collar* are those which deal with the childhood and adolescence of Lisa Anne St. George, and her marriage to Christopher Pappas, two characters obviously modeled upon Grace and George, Lisa, like Grace, is a Franco whose mother (Irene) has delusions of grandeur transcending her origins and class status. Irene's Quebec-born parents had worked for and lived with a rich family, who raised Irene as one of their own. She is brought back to reality when her father loses his gardening job and both her parents die. Returning to Cooper's Mills, she marries a "Canuk" mill worker whom she feels is her social inferior. She continually berates him for being lowly and dirty (see *No Adam in Eden* for a similar tale). The husband eventually runs off with a bar maid, and Irene and Lisa never see him again. Lisa is raised by her mother as a *grande dame*, always being told to remember who she is, but

Lisa was never sure who she was. At school she was just another Canuck kid, brighter than most, but the daughter of mill people all the same...

In high school Lisa falls in love with Christopher Pappas who, like Lisa,

didn't know what he wanted except... to get away from his foreign-talking, foreign-acting, foreign-thinking parents and away far, far away from Cooper's Mills.

Lisa becomes pregnant and marries Chris, against the wishes of her mother, who considers the Pappases to be inferior, unwashed Greek shopkeepers. Chris and Lisa begin their married life in the decaying tenements of Cooper's Mills, but Chris soon goes off to World War II. After the war, he uses the G.I. bill to go to college and become a teacher. As the wife of a college student who later becomes an underpaid teacher, Lisa bemoans her fate - "I'm trapped... Trapped with a husband and a child and poverty, and I can't get out".

The novel ends with the death of Lisa's mother, who has become an alcoholic. Lisa attends the funeral but feels

[n]o sorrow, no pang of loss. There was nothing for her here. nothing she needed or wanted. It was as if she had never lived here at all,

a sentiment echoed by Chris, who comments concerning his Greek parents,

Thank God we go out... We would have died here, and died young, from dirt and boredom and the wanting of something better.

Suddenly Lisa is struck by a realization that her mother, like her, "wanted it all", but *instead of the Paris trips and the iced champagne, she'd gotten Wilfrid St. George and Cooper's Mills and the Happy Hour Café.*

She [Lisa] felt a sudden kinship with Irene.³⁸

Lisa vows, nevertheless, that she will not end up like her mother who wasted her life away in regrets, craving, wishing, hoping. Unlike Irene, if she wants something she will go get it. She's married to a good man who is on the way up and will not leave her.

One senses the irony of this vow, which seems more dream than reality, particularly when measured against the facts of Grace's life. *The Tight White Collar* discloses Grace Metalious' hatred of her origins, and her desire to transcend these beginnings. At the same time it demonstrates her essential loneliness and sense of being trapped. Like *Peyton Place* and *No Adam in Eden* (see below), this is a novel of despair and futility. The arbitrary happy ending becomes especially incongruous when one remembers that Grace did end up like her mother, divorced (twice), an alcoholic, with false hopes which did not come true.

What bearing does this have on Grace's ethnicity? Lisa and her mother are, by descent, Franco-Americans. Irene spends most of her life in the Franco section of Cooper's Mills, where Lisa is married (in a Catholic church) and where Irene dies (with a Catholic funeral Mass and with a Franco undertaker and executor). However, Irene and Lisa never really function as an integral part of this "Little Canada." They give no evidence of speaking French, of practicing French Canadian customs, or of focusing their lives around the Church. (Grace does have one kind word for Catholicism. A Catholic home for retarded children is pictured as being preferable to a secular institution, where the personnel work too hard at training the children.

[T]he sisters don't know whether the children can be taught or not but... [t]hey know that the Spirit of God is in every child and they treat every child accordingly.³⁹
Is this one of Grace's "glimmers of the cross?")

Irene and Lisa, like their real-life counterparts Laurette and Grace, are therefore not truly ethnics. In *The Tight*

White Collar, the Franco Catholics of Cooper's Mills have no need for a high school, since most quit school and go into the mills before graduation. Lisa wants more than this, and thinks that the only way to find more is to run away to find more is to run away from her ethnicity. This ethnicity has never been fully implanted within her in the first place, since her father is absent and her mother has her own unresolved, ambivalent feelings on the subject. The few relevant pages of *Tight White Collar*⁴⁰ shed far more light on Grace Metalious as a Franco than *Peyton Place* does.

But it was not until *No Adam in Eden*, her final novel, that Grace brought her French Canadian heritage onto center stage. Published in 1963, only a few months before her death, it was dismissed at the time by reviewers who had always considered her work trash or had long given up hope that the glimmers of talent shown in *Peyton Place* would lead to more substantial work. *Newsweek* took a satirical approach ("Grace Metalious has done it again!... run another one through her typewriter... READ every cliché in the English language... The author's supply of talent is strictly limited."); *Time* felt that Grace had departed from her previous habit of writing about her own life, since she had "creat[ed] a cast of characters that couldn't be anybody,... tract[ing] the roots of their wretchedness to a neighborhood of Quebec that could have been invented only by a writer eager to fix Canada's wagon for banning *Peyton Place*.. Time lets its desire to be cute take precedence over accuracy, since it was in *No Adam* that Grace wrote most autobiographically about her Quebec origins.

Other reviewers noted that, once again, Metalious' fictional universe was bleak. *The New York Times* capsulized the novel as the "sad particulars" and "unedited sorrows" of "two and a half generations of transplanted French Canadians who have terrible with their women"; the *Times* of London *Literary Supplement* saw Grace as "addicted to a strident... vulgarity that infects much of what she writes"; while *Library Journal* was struck by the "fascination of the abomination:... abortion, murder, financial corruption, sexual violence, illness, and death".⁴¹

In contrast to these contemporary reviews, some Franco-American students of literature have held Metalious and *No Adam* in higher esteem. Armand Chartier calls it "undeservedly neglected" since it is her "one truly ethnic novel":

*For its vignettes of French-Canadian life, for its portrayal of immigrants from Québec, it ranks high in modern Franco-American literature.*⁴²

Paul Chassé echoes this praise by declaring Metalious "la plus grande romancière franco-américaine".⁴³ I would not rank either novel or novelist this high. *No Adam in Eden* is written in Metalious' usual turgid style and features her customary obsession with sex, but it is valuable as the ultimate reflection of her attitudes towards her upbringing and the meaning (or meaninglessness) of life.

As early as 1957 Metalious was planning a novel revolving around three generations of French Canadian and Franco-American women. The autobiographical quality of *No Adam* is apparent to anyone familiar with her life, since the women, the time frame (1899-1960's), and the setting (Quebec and New Hampshire) obviously correspond to her family experiences from the time of her grandparents.

The story begins in Quebec at the turn of the century with a rather romanticized picture of "big, brawling, loud-mouthed" French Canadian farm families (with as many as twenty-two children) who drink quantities of homemade alcohol and on Saturday nights exhibit the "juices that ran through the blood of a French-Canadian". The people living in the small villages of Quebec (one store, one saloon and one Catholic church) are "extremely clannish and suspicious of strangers". Life is rugged but seen as preferable to that of the United States, a "nation of factory workers and storekeepers" who are "skinny sticks from the States" with the look of ice". The U.S. is a place on the map, ... a never-never land" from where those who migrate never return. Thus Metalious presented the hostility towards America felt by the Quebec elite who resented *la fièvre aux Etats-Unis* (i.e., those who were deserting the homeland to find work in New England).

Metalious also understood to some degree the distance between French Canada and France, as shown in the reluctance of some French Canadians to fight in World War I in defense of the French. However, her account of this is badly mangled historically, since such reluctance is predicated on a feeling of identity with English Canadians, whom French Canadians actually disliked far more than the French. Metalious also mistakenly made this opposition to the war a minority sentiment in Quebec, as other French Canadians are pictured as eager to help France. In reality most French Canadians resisted conscription since they were isolationist and felt few patriotic ties to France, English Canada, or the war.⁴⁴ Grace's basic problem was she did not realize that few

French Canadians of the early twentieth century had been born in France, or even had parents or grandparents who had been born there. There are far too many recent immigrants from Paris in *No Adam*, possibly an echo of Laurette's preference for such people.⁴⁵

The focus of the novel soon switches to the United States because Grace realized that, protestations notwithstanding, many French Canadians were pushed out of Quebec by hard farm work and low pay (25 cents a day) and attracted by opportunities in New England which seemed an economic paradise compared to Quebec. By the end of the period of great migration, 1860-1930, over one-fourth of all people of French Canadian stock lived in the United States.⁴⁶ *No Adam* does not show life in the tenements and work in the Amoskeag mills of Manchester ("Livingstone" in the novel) to have been easy. The dingy and filthy multi-family tenements have only one toilet apiece, but the workers of the immigrant family in Metalious's novel spend little time there anyway, since they toil from 6:30 in the morning until 7:30 at night for six days a week. Sunday is the only day of rest; Franco-American families go to Mass, have enormous meals, and visit or receive friends and relatives.

The mill owners are depicted unsympathetically. They are not evil men, just Yankee capitalists concerned solely with profits who display a condescending paternalism towards their workers. The principal owner gives a yearly address in English to his mill hands, never realizing that few of them understand the language. The owners' lack of concern is epitomized by their refusal to shut down the mills during the 1918 influenza epidemic, for profits are more important than the disease spreading through the workers. Both Armand Chartier and Victor Beaulieu have been impressed by the dehumanization and sordidness depicted by Metalious, Beaulieu in particular commenting on the

*human rags sunk to their ears in the old rotted dream of a Quebec 'down there'... burned up by alcohol, the factory and contempt.*⁴⁷

What they may not realize is that, although such a picture is not wholly inaccurate, it derives as much from Grace's inherent pessimism as from any depiction of reality.

Tamara Hareven, in recent studies of Manchester's Franco-American mill workers based on Amoskeag employee records and oral history interviews, does not come to as negative a conclusion. Hareven feels that in a paternalistic company town like Manchester, where the Amoskeag management viewed itself and its workers as one family, it was possible for the traditional family work structure of rural Quebec to be transplanted. Family and kin acted as a conveyor belt for the workers, socializing and cushioning them against urban disorganization and social breakdown. Most workers in the mills, forty percent of whom were Francos, adapted to their new environment, preferring it to the grinding poverty of their homelands. They were aware of the control of the company had over them, but still identified with Amoskeag. Rather than anomie and fragmentation, there was a sense of place, aided by tightly knit kin and ethnic associations. Realists rather than passive fatalists, they sought security through hard work and family employment, deferring upward mobility through schooling and better jobs to the third generation. (Ironically, the third generation never achieved this, cheated by the Depression and the closing of the Amoskeag mills.)⁴⁸

Hareven's view of the Francos of Manchester and Amoskeag may be overly roseate, just as Metalious' picture is too bleak. At any rate, sociological depiction of life and work in Manchester is not Grace's main concern in *No Adam*, whose real focus is three generations of Franco women. The first generation, the emigrants from Quebec, is represented by Monique, both of whose Québécois parents feel superior to their neighbors, especially the mother who has Parisian blood. After the mother's death, Monique accompanies her father and the other children to Manchester, where she is forced into the mills at age fourteen. She hates the life depicted in preceding paragraphs and dreams of escape by becoming a nun. In particular she despises the role expected of her as a traditional Franco housewife, the woman who was

a hard-working French-Canadian wife who kept her house as clean as possible and her family as well fed as circumstances would allow. Regularly she lay on her back without arguments or pleasure for the convenience of her husband and bore his children without complaint. All she

*expected from life was that those around her be as diligent and patient as herself... [Such women] lived in dark, dirty, overcrowded tenements and had a child every year. A child who would eventually be pulled out of school to go to work in the mills so that more and more children could be fed and clothed... [They] grew old too soon and died young after living lives filled with nothing but dirt and drudgery, piggish husbands and squealing children.*⁴⁹

Monique hates the Franco inability to be upwardly mobile, which she blames on their lack of desire to escape the mills. She gets out by going back to Quebec and marrying a French-Canadian who she convinces to move to a small New Hampshire town where there are no mills, no other Francos, not even a Catholic church. Thus she is labeled a rebel who openly rejects all the tenets of *la survivance*. But Monique is an aimless rebel, one without a cause. She replaces her old life with no new vision, for she refuses to accept the logical consequence of her rebellion and become assimilated to American ways. Monique is close to no one, not even her husband and only child; she speaks only broken English, continues to converse almost entirely in French, and spurns American citizenship. She is the epitome of negative, atypical dissidence, the quintessence of marginality.⁵⁰

Her daughter Angelique is also a rebel, but one with a goal: she wishes to assimilate as soon as possible. This representative of Marcus Hansen's second generation immigrant hypothesis is running away from the heritage which threatens her. "She could do anything just like an American". Angelique and her mother move back to Manchester when she is a child, after the death of her father. They reenter the Franco community there, where Angelique is rejected by her Franco peers because she speaks only English and is thus regarded as "Irish" (the principal antagonist of Franco-Americans in the Church, the marketplace, and politics, hence the worst thing one Franco could call another). She does not have any "terrible Canuk accent... not even when she used words with the horribly difficult 'th' in them.

Angelique wants nothing to do with Francos either, but her grandfather makes her go to one of their parochial grammar schools to learn French. Upon graduation she commits the double sin, in the eyes of the Franco-American community, of going not only to high school (instead of entering the work force) but also to the public high school, called "Protestant" by Francos. She associates only with Anglos, but encounters the full force of American nativism. Ethnics have often been twice damned by the host society, put in a Catch-22 position: remain in place and you are labeled inferior, attempt upward mobility and you are accused of trying to rise above your natural station. Angelique is rejected by her Anglo boyfriend's parents who see her as a mill worker and inform him that "Endicott men don't marry Canucks". Her erstwhile Anglo girl friends in turn call her a "little Canuck mill rat".

Unable to escape her heritage, she marries within her nationality, to a working class Franco whom she proceeds to loathe for being what he is. This hatred is really detestation of her own ethnicity, which she cannot live with but is not allowed to flee from. Angelique is therefore not that different from her mother, since both are rebels who fail to find an alternative life and so despise existence within their own nationality (the difference is that mother does not try to find something else, while daughter tries in vain). Angelique's husband is really speaking of her when he condemns a Jewish physician for ethnic self-hatred:

*If a man is a Jew he ought to act like one. It's not right for a man to be ashamed of this religion. It's not right, a Jew going to a Protestant Church and eating pork... It'd be like us eating meat on Fridays and not going to Mass.*⁵¹

The third generation resolves the ethnic dilemma to some degree. The children have non-French names: Alana, Lesley, Stephen. Alana becomes assimilated to the point that she no longer even considers herself Franco. However, she has no moorings or values, and suffers a series of divorces. Lesley marries a working class Italian and seems to be the only member of the family in all three generations to find happiness, although mother Angelique sees this as downward mobility. She who has experienced nativism becomes in turn prejudiced versus those southern and eastern Europeans she considers inferior. (Francos often did occupy such a middle position on the nativist pecking order: below the already established Anglos and Irish, they saw themselves as superior to

later arriving Mediterraneans.) Angelique calls Italians "peasants" and "guineas", mispronounces their names ("never could get the hang of foreign names"), and insists "[t]hose Italian families are all alike, they wallow in each other".

It is the divorcée Alana who summarizes the family's experiences-

*Much-married me and nutty Lesley and whorish Mama Angelique and crazy old Grammy Monique. There had been Papa Etienne who wanted out and had got out, in the middle of the Pacific, in the last days of the war. To say nothing of Mémère Simone and the big fat aunts... plus retarded Uncle Remy, and the old lush Uncle Christophe. Yep. Quite a tribe. The de Montigny [de Repentigny?] tribe of Livingstone [Manchester], New Hampshire.*⁵³

What can one make of this squalid tale of three generations of French Canadians and Franco-Americans? The rebellious or assimilating women all reject their customary, ascribed status. None wants any or many children, and those who have more than one do so under duress, literally under the weight of their husbands. Only Lesley, who marries the Italian, wants and bears a number of children. The others are selfish, evil women who hate all men and ignore the dictates of their nationality, class, and sex. It is obvious that Grace Metalious was decrying such attitudes and actions. What is less clear is what she thought should be the proper role for such ethnic women. Should they accept the conventional role laid out for them? This is what Lesley does (Lesley = Grace, Alana = Doris?), but note that she achieves this only by marrying outside of her nationality, and becoming downwardly mobile rather than seeking movement upwards.

Armand Chartier sees an inverted spirituality in *No Adam*, implicit in the book's supposed denunciation of sin, evil, and satanism. The selfishness, hate, and bitterness of these "vicious, venomous, violent, and vile" women ends in their destruction. Thus Metalious demonstrated a "deep spirituality inherited from a... Franco-American past".

Chartier may be stretching the evidence too far in an attempt to uncover some positive sense of values within Grace's Franco identity. The utterly negative, bleak, and repellent existence "seen through a glass most darkly". Her ambivalence towards her ethnic background is an important aspect of this. In effect, *No Adam in Eden* says there is no hope within one's nationality but it is equally hopeless to try to rise outside of the group. All one can do is be an aimless rebel inside, or marry out but do not try to climb in status. The life which Grace led showed that such advice was no more useful in reality than in fiction. Francos may take heart, at least, from the fact that her unhappiness seemed more a function of deficiencies in her ethnic rearing than the inevitable result of trying to maintain *la survivance* in New England.

By reading novels such as *Peyton Place*, *The Tight White Collar*, and particularly *No Adam in Eden*, one can learn something about the adaptation, or lack thereof, of French Canadians to a new urban-industrial existence in New England. Even more importantly, by studying the life of Grace Metalious, it is possible to achieve insight into the psychological problems inherent in ethnic identity, and the cultural conflict experienced by children and grandchildren of immigrants. The purpose of this essay, however, has been neither to present ethnicity in a negative light, nor to claim that Grace de Repentigny Metalious was in any way a typical Franco-American. Most Francos preserved aspects of their traditional French Canadian *survivance* at the same time that they acculturated to life in the United States in far more successful and happy a fashion than did Grace. Yet her life and literature, no matter how atypical and bizarre, do serve as a reminder that ethnicity identification can be confining and disruptive, as well as warm and romantic. This is something which today's proponents of neoethnicity would do well to remember.

Richard Sorrell is a professor of history at Brookdale Community College.

1. N.Y., Trident Press, 1963, 57.

2. "Franco-American" and "Franco" are the terms used to describe those French Canadians who emigrated from Quebec to the United States (primarily between 1860-1930), and their descendants born in this country. "French Canadian" will be used here primarily to refer to those living in the Quebec homeland (either the emigrants *before* they left, or those who remained).

3. Leon E. Truesdell, *The Canadian Born in the United States* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1943), 72-73 and 86-89; "Du Nord au Sud: Les Franco-Américains", *Le Farog-Forum* (janvier 1978), 7; Don Guy, "New England's Franco-Americans: Vive la Différence?" *Yankee* (July 1976), 73.

4. Burton Ledoux, "Chronique Franco-Américain", *Culture* 6, No. 2 (June 1945), 210-212; Irvin L. Child, *Italian or American? The Second Generation in Conflict* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1943); Marcus L. Hansen, "The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrant", reprinted in Oscar Handlin, *Children of the Uprooted* (N.Y.: Universal Library, 1966), chap. 18; Handlin, *The Uprooted* (N.Y.: Universal Library, 1951); Richard Weiss, "Ethnicity and Reform: Minorities and the Ambience of the Depression Years", *The Journal of American History* 66, No. 3 (December 1979), 579-580 and 583-584, describes how this viewpoint dominated discussions of ethnicity in the 1930's and 40's.

5. George Metalious and June O'Shea, *The Girl from "Peyton Place": A Biography of Grace Metalious* (N.Y.: Dell, 1965), 70-71.

6. *Life*, 12 Nov. 1956, 104; *Look*, 18 March 1958, 108-118; Maurice Zolotow, "How a Best-seller Happens", *Cosmopolitan*, August 1957, 36-41; *Publishers Weekly*, (9 March 1964, 44; and of course the invaluable indexed *New York Times*, which contains articles on various controversies surrounding her stormy life (and death), from 23 Jan. 1957-25 March 1966.

7. *Peyton Place* (all 1956 reviews): *Book Review Digest*, 1956, 640; *The New York Times*, 23 Sept., VII, 4; *The New Yorker*, 20 Oct., 197; *The Catholic World*, Nov, 152; *Time*, 24 Sept, 100; *Saturday Review*, 6 Oct. 46; *Library Journal*, 15 September., 1993-1994.

8. Complete citation above, in note 5. Where no citation is given in this essay for statements about Grace's life, the reader may assume that the source is this biography. Emily Toth of the English Department at Pennsylvania State University is currently at work on a biography of Grace, which she expects to complete in late 1981. She has presented some of her preliminary findings to the 1979 and 1980 meetings of the Popular Culture Association ("Grace Metalious and *Peyton Place*: A Biography in Progress", and "Grace Metalious: Notes Toward a Feminist Biography"), and in an article forthcoming in the *Journal of American Culture*, "Fatherless and Dispossessed: Grace Metalious as a French-Canadian Writer". We have pursued our respective research and writing independently of each other: we did not become aware of our common interest in Metalious until after I had finished this essay, which is part of a larger study I am making of Franco-American English language novelists (Jack Kerouac being the most prominent). Toth's research and goals are different than mine, since she is undertaking a full-scale biography and is more interested in Grace as a woman-feminist, while my focus is primarily upon ethnicity.

9. The quotes come from an interview with Georgianna de Repentigny Mc Connell, Grace's paternal aunt, 29 Jan, 1979, undertaken by Robert Perreault of the Association Canado-Américaine in Manchester. Mr. Perreault has graciously supplied me with his interview notes. I have used this source cautiously, since Mrs. McConnell admitted that some of her information was second-hand and conjectural, more in the nature of gossip rather than items personally verified by her. Consequently, the interview is not the source of any major interpretations or facts in this essay (which was virtually completed before I received the interview notes). It is used mainly to add details to already established points. Mr. Perreault, a life-long resident of Manchester, is also the source of the comments on the unavailability of Metalious' novels, and the attitude of the nuns (conversations with me, 11-17 August 1977).

10. Zolotow, 39; *New York Times*, 29 Sept. 1959, 29; Copy of the marriage certificate is on file at the Association Canado-Américaine, Manchester, New Hampshire (hereafter referred as ACA).
11. Metalious and O'Shea, 12-17 and 23. This is corroborated by the interview with Giorgianna McConnell, who said that Grace's maternal grandfather was a lumberjack and the grandmother worked in a textile mill. However, Mrs McConnell is from Grace's paternal side of the family, so prejudicial bias may be present.
12. Interview with Giorgianna McConnell.
13. Mason Wade, *The French Canadians, 1760-1967*, 2 vols. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1968); Cameron Nish, ed., *The French Canadians, 1759-1766; Conquered? Half-conquered? Liberated?* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1966).
14. Copies of their marriage certificate and of Grace's birth certificate indicate that the marriage took place on 12 May 1924 and that Grace was born 8 September 1924. On file at the ACA.
15. Metalious and O'Shea, 19 and 23.
16. *Ibid*, 12-28.
17. Interview with Giorgianna McConnell.
18. Victor-Lévy Beaulieu, *Jack Kerouac: A Chicken-Essay*, translated from the French by Sheila Fischman (Toronto: Coach House Quebec Translations, 1975), 23. Where these are a mystery to me.
19. Robert Rumilly, *Historie des Franco-Américains* (Montreal: Union St.-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique, 1958), 462; "L'Annuaire des Paroisses Franco Américaines de la Nouvelle Angleterre, 1948", unpublished survey in the archives of the Union St.-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique, Woonocket, Rhode Island.
20. Metalious and O'Shea, 17-18, 36-37, 53, and 182; Interview with Giorgianna McConnell; Copies of marriage certificates on file at the ACA.
21. Interview with Geogianna McConnell. (See Notes and Documents).
22. Metalious and O'Shea, 12-17 and 41-42.
23. Metalious and O'Shea, 132-137; *New York Times*, 29 Sept. 1959, 29.
24. Metalious and O'Shea, 30 and 33-35.
25. *Ibid*, 48-50, 57-62, 66, 78, and 87-89.
26. Truesdell, 72-73; Rumilly, 462; *Le Farog-Forum*, 7.
27. Interview with Giorgianna McConnell. This divorce is not mentioned, however, in Metalious and O'Shea, who speak only of the daughter's marriage (to a Franco-p. 176).
28. Metalious and O'Shea, 151-156; *Publishers Weekly*, 9 March 1964, 44; *New York Times*, 26 Feb., p. 35, 27 Feb., p. 17, 28 Feb., p. 29, 2 March, p. 29, 30 June, p. 23, 25 Nov., p. 48 (all 1964), and 9 May 1965, p. 60.
29. Paul-P. Chassé, "Jack Kérouac, 1922-1969", *Le Canado-Américain* 6 (jan-fév-mars 1970), 20. My translations, from his French text.
30. N.Y., Julian Messner, 1956. My pg. citations from this , and succeeding novels, are from the hardcover editions.
31. *Publishers Weekly*, 9 March 1964, 44; *Look*, 18 March 1958, 108-118; Metalious and O'Shea, 156-162.
32. Truesdell, 55 and 86-91; *Le Farog-Forum*, 7; Rumilly, 462; Ralph D. Vicero, "Immigration of French Canadians to New England, 1840-1900: A Geographical Analysis" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1968), 289-294 and 343.
33. See note 7 for citations. *The New York Herald Tribune* review is 23 Sept. 1956, 8, but I read it excerpted in *Book Review Digest*.
34. Pp. 2, 175-180, and 241-244.
35. *New York Times*, 26 Feb. 1964, 35.
36. Metalious and O'Shea, 18, 71-72, 170 and 172-176; *Publishers Weekly*, 9 March 1964, 44; Zolotow, 37.
37. Pp. 11, 16-17, 57, and 162, hardcover edition (N.Y., Julian Messner, 1960).

38. Quotes from pp. 42, 43, 69, 281, and 285.
39. P. 252.
40. Pp. 34-58 and 272-288.
41. See note 7 for citations. The *Times* of London review was 15 Jan. 1964, 41, which I read excerpted in *Book Review Digest*.
42. Armand Chartier, "The Franco-American Literature of New England: A Brief Overview", in Wolodymyr T. Zyla and Wendell M. Aycock, eds., *Ethnic Literatures since 1776: The many voices of America* (Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech Press, 1978), 193-215.
43. Chassé, 20.
44. See Wade, II, chaps. XI-XII.
45. The Quebec section of *No Adam* is 3-39, and the quotes in preceding paragraphs are from 6,7,10-11,16,39, and 130. All page references are to the hardcover edition cited in note 1.
46. Wade, I, XV.
47. *No Adam*, 40-57; Chartier, 193-215; Beaulieu, 23.
48. "Family and Work Patterns of Immigrant Laborers in a Planned Industrial Town, 1900-1930", in Richard Ehrlich, ed., *Immigrants in Industrial America, 1850-1920* (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1977), 47-66, is based primarily upon Amoskeag employee files and other statistical data; *Amoskeag: Life and Work in an American Factory-City* (N.Y.: Pantheon Books, 1978), coauthored by Randolph Langenbach, features the oral interviews.
49. Pp. 65 and 70.
50. Pp. 34-35, 40-41, 47, 57, 70-125; Chartier, 193-215.
51. P.225. Preceding quotes are from 126, 151-152, 175-179, and 189.
52. See, for instance, Barbara Miller Salomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants: A Changing New England Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), particularly 160-163.
53. P. 307. Other quotes are from 291 and 295.
54. Chartier, 193-215. The "vicious... vile" quote is from Metalious and O'Shea, 178.
55. I am indebted to Professor Paul J. Bohannon, director of the "Dual Culture Heritages in the United States" seminar at the University of California, Santa Barbara, for providing me with new insights into ethnicity. This year-long seminar (1978-79) was sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship in Residence Program for College Teachers; it allowed me the time to begin work on this essay.