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ABSTRACT

Intended to help readers develop an appreciation of the contributions of Franco-Americans to the cultural heritage of the United States, this book, the third of six volumes, presents 17 readings representing many perspectives--from the historical to the sociological--illustrating the thinking and feelings of those in the forefront of Franco-American studies. This volume focuses on Franco-Americans in New England. The following readings are presented: "The French-Canadians in New England" (William MacDonald); "French Catholics in the United States" (J. K. L. LaFlamme, David E. Lavigne, and J. Arthur Favreau); "French and French-Canadians in the United States" (Mason Wade); "The Acadian Migrations" (Robert LeBlanc); "The Loyalists and the Acadians" (Mason Wade); "The Franco-Americans in Maine: A Geographical Perspective" (James P. Allen); "Quebec to 'Little Canada': The Coming of the French-Canadians to New England in the Nineteenth Century" (Iris Saunders Podea); "The French Colony at Brunswick, Maine: A Historical Sketch" (William N. Locke); "The Franco-Americans of New England" (George F. Theriault); "The Laborers of Manchester, New Hampshire 1912-1922: The Role of Family and Ethnicity in Adjustment to Industrial Life" (Tamara K. Hareven); "The Franco-American Working-Class Family" (Laurence French); "Traditional French-Canadian Family Life Patterns and Their Implications for Social Services in Vermont" (Peter Woolfson); "The Presidential Politics of Franco-Americans" (David B. Walker); "A Profile of Franco-American Political Attitudes in New England" (Norman Sepenuk); "The French Parish and 'Survivance' in 19th Century New England" (Mason Wade); "The Shadows of the Trees: Religion and Language" (Jacques Ducharme); and "French National Societies in New England" (Edward Billings Ham). (LH)

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A FRANCO-AMERICAN OVERVIEW

Volume 3

SO 016 727

A FRANCO-AMERICAN OVERVIEW

Volume 3

NEW ENGLAND

(Part One)

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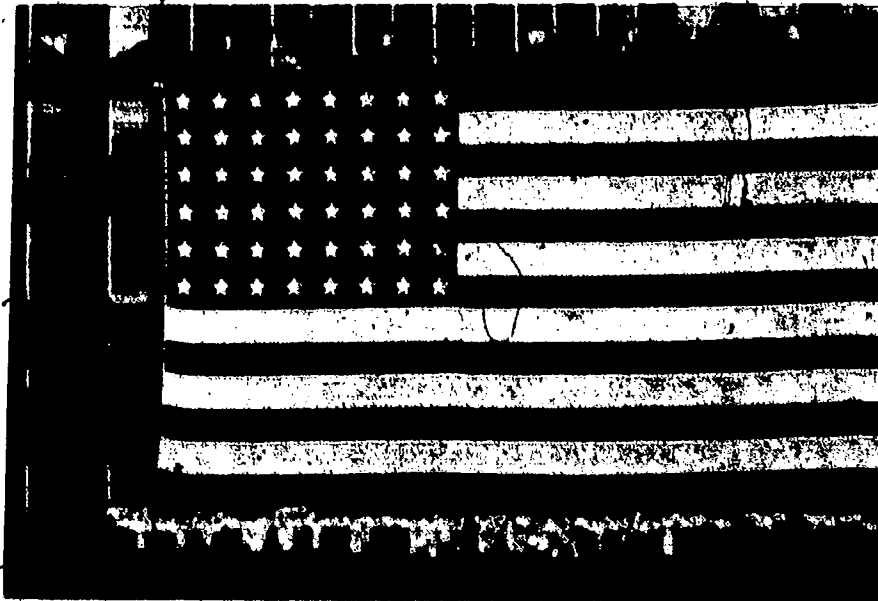

Workers in the Amoskeag Mills, Manchester, New Hampshire, made this American flag in 1914 and posed with it in front of one of the buildings of what was at the turn of the century the largest textile mill complex in the world. A preponderant number of the persons employed in these mills were French-Canadian immigrants from Quebec and their children. (Photo courtesy of Manchester Historical Ass'n.)

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A FRANCO-AMERICAN OVERVIEW

Volume 3

NEW ENGLAND

(Part One)

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PREFACE

This series of volumes, entitled *A FRANCO-AMERICAN OVERVIEW,* is primarily anthological in nature, and is intended for the use of those who wish to find out about or to extend their awareness of *le fait franco-américain* in the United States today. Many of the selections included in this series have been available elsewhere, but several are now out of print or difficult to locate for practical reference. Their compilation and juxtaposition for the first time between the covers of a unique series of volumes dedicated exclusively to the Franco-Americans will serve to enhance, deepen and expand each reader's understanding of this special ethnic group in its many permutations and guises.

Each volume of this *OVERVIEW* series revolves around a general theme or broad area of interest such as the Franco-American population of a definite geographical area of the United States, a specific cultural or linguistic phenomenon, etc. The reading selections and studies chosen for each volume represent many perspectives—from the historical to the sociological—and they illustrate the thinking and the feelings of those who were in the past, or who are now, in the forefront of Franco-American studies.

Volumes 3 and 4, subtitled *NEW ENGLAND,* present a wide array of discussions and research reports on the two major French-speaking populations of the six New England states (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island), i.e. the Acadians and the French-Canadian immigrants from Quebec. The various selections provide information about these two groups from both past and contemporary points of view, with an emphasis on the *sociological* phenomena of note. Rather than organize an exhaustive study of the subject, the chapters of both Volumes 3 and 4 have been arranged to offer a mosaic of facts and impressions about the Franco-Americans of the northeastern United States.

Recognition is due to the following National Materials Development Center staff who contributed directly to the preparation of these *NEW ENGLAND* volumes: Andrea Thorne and Lori Cochrane for the composition of the texts, Eileen Brady for proofreading assistance, Jeff Spring for art and design, and Julien Olivier for some of his original photography.

— Robert L. Paris
N.M.D.C./ French & Portuguese

INTRODUCTION

Who are the Franco-Americans? There are many answers ranging from «Americans of French descent» to «Americans of French-Canadian or Acadian lineage whose ethnicity is manifested culturally and/or linguistically and who identify themselves as Franco-Americans.» The former delineates the potential boundary of the group, the latter identifies the core of the contemporary grouping. Somewhere in between lies the definition informing the development of this volume, namely, «a collectivity of persons within the United States whose members are bound together by a common origin in French-Canada.» In the context of American history the arrival of the French-Canadians and the Acadians was part of the «new immigration» of the latter part of the nineteenth century when the origin of the majority of immigrants was Southern and Eastern European rather than Western and Northern European as it had been earlier.[1] *They came in search of a better means of making a living than was to be found on the crowded farm lands of Quebec and New Brunswick. They were not searching for a new way of life but for a better means of carrying out the old way of life. As a result they developed their immigrant communities as functional replicas of the village parish of the old country. Both within and without the French community this was often recognized and the communities were called* «Petits Canadas» *or «Little Canadas.»*

«New immigrants» such as the French Canadians came to an American society quite unlike the world they left. From the highly personal and informal relationships of their rural agricultural parishes and villages of French-Canada with subsistence farming as a way of life, they entered the urban industrial society of New England and the border states. There the ancestors of today's Francos encountered formal, impersonal social relations geared to productivity goals.

The re-grouping of the Canadians into «Petits Canadas» *was initially an attempt to deal with this cold new world by continuing the kinship, intimacy, mutual support and values of the Canadian village. For the newcomer, these ethnic groupings were channels of information about jobs, rents, recreation, and ways of making this unfamiliar social system work for the individual and his family. The French communities functioned both as refuges from the cold, impersonal Yankee world and as agencies for socialization into the behavior and values of American society. There, for instance, one might learn how to be a «steady» worker—to be punctual, not to loaf on the job, to work when the employer wanted, whether it was New Year's Day or not.*

In settling the new world, the French colonists brought their distinctive institutions with them. But these institutions changed in their transplantation from the old world to

the new. The «seigneurie» was transformed from a feudal political unit to a land-settlement pattern, the «seigneurs» being akin to the contemporary developers of suburban sub-divisions. The parish changed from a village unit with resident pastors to an administrative district with itinerant priests travelling many hundreds of miles to minister to their flocks. Even family institutions changed: ideal age at marriage underwent a sea change from middle and late twenties in metropolitan France to early twenties and late teens in New France; size of family was larger in Canada than in the old country; celibacy in adulthood became illegal in the colony (unless one was a religious) rather than being the structural necessity it often was in the home country. In New France as in other successful colonies, the major institutions of the mother country were adapted to the exigencies of the new environment.

Similarly when the French-Canadians and Acadians migrated from rural Canada to urban United States they brought their institutions with them, but these institutions changed upon contact with the new American environment. For example, one of the characteristics of nineteenth century French-Canada was the scarcity of voluntary associations. In the United States, the relative lack of French clergy combined with the New Englander's example of numerous voluntary associations were conducive to the flowering of many organizations. National parishes were established and from them flowed a whole stream of educational, health, and social service institutions. Cultural organizations such as musical and literary societies were formed. Fraternal groups flourished—providing social centers, insurance services, and leadership for the Franco-American both on a local and regional level.

The migration of the French-Canadians and Acadians to the United States was not simply a movement of people and their institutions to a new locality but it also involved a response and adaptation to the new social environment. In the process Franco-Americans became a unique social group sharing some features with Canadian kin but sharing other features with Yankee neighbors.

The selections presented in this volume document the growth and development of the transplanted French-Canadians into a distinct United States ethnic group—the Franco-Americans.

— Madeleine Giguère

Notes

1. It is to be noted that the French are old settlers in North America, their first settlement of Port Royal having been continuously settled since 1605 two years longer than Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement.

OVERVIEWS

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First published in 1898, in The Quarterly Journal of Economics, *William MacDonald's article on the French-Canadians in New England has for a long time been considered the article to read in Franco-American history. Professor MacDonald's themes have been repeated again and again by students of Franco-Americans. The questions he covered included the immigration, size and distribution of the French-Canadian population in New England, the decline in fertility, the incidence of intermarriage, occupation and income levels, degree of political participation, parish and school organization, language maintenance, the development of self-contained enclaves and the probability of absorption into the larger community. Readers may find it somewhat condescending in tone from time to time, but it remains nevertheless an excellent beginning for the serious study of an unknown ethnic group.*

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THE FRENCH CANADIANS IN NEW ENGLAND

by
William MacDonald

The early history of the French-Canadians in New England is obscure. According to Rev. E. Hamon,[1] a considerable number had settled there before 1776, and some served in the American army during the Revolutionary War, receiving from Congress, in part payment for their services, grants of land in the vicinity of Lake Champlain. After the rebellion in 1837 many French-Canadians sought refuge in the mountainous regions of northern and western Vermont. No statistics for this early period appear to be obtainable; but it is probable that the population was small, and its growth for many years inappreciable. It was not until 1851 that the first French Catholic priest settled at Burlington, systematic efforts to organize and build up French parishes beginning soon after, in 1853, with the elevation of Mgr. Louis de Goësbriand to the bishopric of Vermont.

The great movement of French-Canadian emigration to New England began shortly after the close of the Civil War, the chief determining causes being the demand for labor created by the growth of manufactures, and the relatively high wages obtainable by comparatively unskilled workmen. Before the enactment of the contract labor law, probably the larger part of the French-Canadians came at the solicitation and under the charge of representatives of manufacturing corporations. Advertisements of various kinds, setting forth the advantages to be had in New England communities, were scattered widely over the Province of Quebec, and were re-enforced by the shrewd activity of the immigration agents. It is not surprising that, to the average Canadian *habitant*, the prospect should have appeared irresistibly attractive. His family was large, his farm remote, his life laborious. Taxes and parish charges pressed heavily upon him, albeit his faith in the supreme wisdom and need of the Church was little shaken. Taught by the Church that he who brought many children into the world did God service, the utter disparity between the number to be fed and clothed and the wherewithal to feed and clothe them became every year more apparent. To achieve even a meagre living was difficult: to do more was impossible. Yet he knew no other life, and was cut off, by situation, poverty, and ignorance, from nearly every opportunity for betterment.

But the assurance of steady employment, not laborious, and at wages which to many must have seemed almost fabulous, was a tangible and irresistible appeal. The factory offered a place, not for himself alone, but also for his wife and older children. The more children he had, the larger the sum total of the family income. So the French-Canadians began to come, at first in small parties of young men and women, then by families and companies, then by hundreds and thousands. Those who came first, under contract, sent back enthusiastic accounts of

the new country, together with drafts for more money than the family at home had ever seen.) Others followed in larger numbers and likewise under contract; and they, too, found employment certain, living cheap, and the opportunity for saving considerable. The prohibition of further contracts with mill agents did not stop, though it somewhat checked, the flow, those who came taking the chances, for a while not serious, of finding work, as their relatives and friends had found it before them. Such, in brief, with only unimportant variations in detail, is the history of the French-Canadian immigration for every manufacturing centre in New England in which they are numerous.

The presence of this large and increasing French-Canadian element, its solidarity, and the fact that in certain manufacturing towns and in certain industries it has largely dispossessed not only the native American workmen, but the foreigners of other nationalities as well, have not failed to receive attention from many writers interested in economic and social matters, and particularly from some who affect to see, in the increase of the foreign population, sure signs of moral and political decay. Unfortunately for the purposes of scientific inquiry, any attempt at a thorough investigation of the subject is greatly hampered by the dearth of accurate statistical data. It may be said at once that, for the period prior to 1890, reliable statistics, save at one point, are not to be had. Some incautious statements regarding the French-Canadians, in the report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor for 1881, called forth a vigorous protest, and led to a public hearing, a full report of which forms part of the report of the Bureau for 1882. A large amount of interesting matter bearing on the condition of the French-Canadians in New England was presented at the hearing, together with more complete statistics than are available, so far as I know, elsewhere. It does not appear, however, that entire accuracy or completeness was claimed for them; while much of the data professedly rests on estimates. Father Hamon's book, though indispensable, deals almost wholly, so far as statistics go, with the ecclesiastical phases of the subject. Until 1890 the French-Canadian population was not separately returned by the United States census. Canada, both English and French, and Newfoundland were combined for statistical purposes, as they still are in the statistics of immigration; and since the English speaking Canadian population in this country has for many years been large, and in 1890 outnumbered the French-Canadians more than two to one, comparisons or conclusions based upon the earlier census returns would be of little value.

The best idea of the rapid growth of the French-Canadian population between 1865 and 1890, and its wide dispersion, is to be gathered from an examination of the list of French Catholic parishes, with the dates of their organization. The table on the following page shows the number of such parishes formed in each of the New England States for each of the years indicated, together with the number of mixed parishes in 1890.[2] Of the mixed parishes a large proportion are predominantly French.

The distribution of parishes, as shown in the table, corresponds roughly to the relative importance of the manufacturing interests of the different States. The figures, however, indicate some interesting conditions. No exclusively French parish was organized in Vermont between 1872 and 1890, nor in Maine between 1872 and 1888, although at the end of the period there were fifteen mixed parishes in the former State and six in the latter. The dispersion in Rhode Island seems to have been virtually complete in 1882, although five mixed parishes were reported in 1890. Connecticut appears to have been reached last of all, the first French-

French Parishes Formed in New England

	Me.	N.H.	Vt.	Mass.	R.I.	Conn.	Total[1]
1868	–	–	1	1		–	2
1869	1	–	2	3	–	–	6
1870	–	–	–	3		–	3
1871	1	–	1	5		–	7
1872	1	2	1	2	1	–	7
1873	–	–	–	1	2	–	3
1874	–	–	–	–	1	–	1
1875	–	–	–	2	1	–	3
1877	–	1	–	1	–	–	2
1878	–	–	–	–	2	–	2
1880	–	1	–	–	–	1	2
1881	–	2	–	1	–	–	3
1882	–	–	–	–	1	–	1
1883	–	–	–	1	–	–	1
1884	–	2	–	4	–	1	7
1885	–	–	–	4	–	–	4
1886	–	–	–	3	–	–	3
1887	–	1	–	1	–	1	3
1888	1		–	1	–	–	2
1889	–	–	–	–	–	2	2
1890	1	1	1	7	–	–	10
Total	5	10	6	40	8	5	74
Mixed Parishes	6	13	15	13	5	26	78
Total	11	23	21	53	13	31	152

Canadian parish in that State not having been organized until 1880, at which date thirty-six parishes were in existence elsewhere in New England. The distinctive feature in Connecticut, however, is the great preponderance of mixed parishes, indicating a population not yet largely massed in manufacturing centres or predominating over other classes of foreigners. Massachusetts and New Hampshire show the most steady growth, the greatest gains in the former state being from 1868 to 1877 and from 1883 to 1890. For all the States the years 1873-83 show the smallest proportional gains. It should be remembered, however, that a corresponding increase in the number of parishes in later years is not to be expected, the existing parishes, many of which had but small beginnings, growing in size and importance as the French-Canadian population augmented. A number of places have more than one parish, among them Manchester and Nashua, N. H., Pawtucket, R. I., and Fall River, Worcester, Fitchburg, Holyoke, Lowell, and New Bedford, Mass. The relative rank of the States, as regards the number of parishes in 1890, is shown in the following table:—

French Parishes	Mixed Parishes	Total
1. Mass.	1. Conn.	1. Mass.
2. N. H.	2. Vt.	2. Conn.
3. R. I.	{3. N. H.	3. N. H.
4. Vt.	{4. Mass.	4. Vt.
{5. Conn.	5. Me.	5. R. I.
{6. Me.	6. R. I.	6. Me.

As has been said, an enumeration of the French-Canadian population of the United States was first attempted in the census of 1890. The returns showed 537,298 French-Canadians in the United States, of whom 331,804 were in New England. That the emigration from Canada to this country is by no means predominantly French appears from the fact that the latter constitute but 31.59 per cent of the whole number of persons of Canadian extraction reported by the census. The French population of Canada, according to the Canadian census of 1891, was 1,404,974,[3] or 29.07 per cent of the total population of the Dominion. As compared, therefore, with the French-Canadian population at home, the number who have come to the United States is remarkably large. How large it is in comparison with the total population of the New England States, however, may be seen from the following table:—

	Total Population	French Canadian
Maine	661,086	38,556
New Hampshire	376,530	48,470
Vermont	332,422	32,291
Massachusetts	2,239,943	152,891
Rhode Island	345,506	34,775
Connecticut	746,258	24,821
Total	4,701,745	331,804

These figures show a French-Canadian population of a fraction more than 7 per cent of the total population of New England. In two States only, New Hampshire and Rhode Island, it is as high as 10 per cent. A comparison with the total foreign-born population gives the following results (the French-Canadian column giving the numbers of those having one or both parents foreign-born):—

	Total Foreign-born	French Canadian	Per cent
Me.	150,713	37,776	25.06
N.H.	121,101	47,719	39.40
Vt.	104,337	31,343	30.04
Mass.	1,253,926	149,046	11.89
R.I.	199,969	34,225	17.12
Conn.	374,714	24,337	6.50
Total	2,204,760	324,446	14.71

In this table, as in the preceding, the smallness of the result is significant. Not only are the French-Canadians as yet but a small part of the total population of New England, but they form only a trifle more than one-seventh of the total foreign-born population. Relatively either to the total population or to the whole number of the foreign-born, it is clear that the French-Canadian «invasion» of New England as yet attained but very moderate proportions. The dangers attending the presence among us of this class of foreigners, if dangers there are, must apparently be ascribed to other causes than either their absolute or their relative numbers.

Quite the largest part of the French-Canadian population is to be found grouped together in cities and towns. Drawn to the manufacturing centres at the beginning by the influences already referred to, and finding there employment not only steady and remunerative, but also in agreeable contrast to their former occupations in Canada, they have continued to mass themselves in the neighborhood of factories and mills, and show as yet little tendency to spread themselves widely over the country. Comparatively few are to be found along the seashore or among the mountains. Other forces, also, have operated to keep them together, among which their strong attachment to their religion, and their essentially social nature, are, perhaps, the most prominent. Taking

the six New England States as a whole, the largest proportion of French-Canadians will be found in the smaller manufacturing towns, in a number of which they comprise almost the whole of the foreign element. It is to be regretted that data for a satisfactory determination of the numbers and growth of this urban population are not obtainable. In the three tables following are presented figures which will serve for purposes of practical comparison, although but one of them (the second) rests on such data that statistical accuracy can be claimed. The first table gives the French-Canadian population of twenty-nine cities and towns, from data collected by Mr. F. Gagnon, editor of *Le Travailleur*, a French paper published at Worcester, Mass., and presented at the hearing given by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor in 1881, already referred to. The localities selected were, according to Mr. Gagnon, those «where Canadians are to be found in great numbers.»[4]

Places	Population
Maine	
Biddeford	6,500
Lewiston	5,000
Waterville	1,625
New Hampshire	
Great Falls	2,500
Nashua	3,000
Rochester	600
Massachusetts	
Fall River	11,000
Fitchburg	400
Gardner	766
Haverhill	3,200
Holyoke	6,500
Hudson	450
Indian Orchard	1,653
Lawrence	3,500
Manchaug	1,047
Millbury	1,300
New Bedford	1,200
Northampton	1,360
North Brookfield	800
Southbridge	3,100
Spencer	3,450
Webster	2,400
Worcester	4,327
Rhode Island	
Manville	1,400
Woonsocket	7,000
Connecticut	
Baltic	1,925
Grosvenordale	2,400
Meriden	1,150
Putnam	1,600
Total	81,153

It will be noted that Vermont does not appear in the above table.

The next table gives the French-Canadian population of cities of 25,000 inhabitants or over, according to the census of 1890.[5]

Places	Population
Maine	
Portland	261
New Hampshire	
Manchester	14,081
Massachusetts	
Boston	2,623
Brockton	499
Cambridge	1,923
Chelsea	92
Fall River	18,585
Haverhill	3,098
Holyoke	9,530
Lawrence	4,548
Lowell	15,332
Lynn	1,302
New Bedford	4,976
Salem	3,462
Somerville	535
Springfield	3,490
Taunton	1,875
Worcester	7,413
Rhode Island	
Pawtucket	2,089
Providence	2,638
Connecticut	
Bridgeport	431
Hartford	561
New Haven	315
Waterbury	1,567
Total	101,226

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Statistics for places of less than 25,000 inhabitants are not given by the census.

The figures in the third table, showing the estimated French-Canadian population of thirty-seven cities and towns in 1897, were secured by means of circular letters of inquiry addressed to local officials, prominent French-Canadian citizens, and parish priests. The list is, of course, incomplete, many of the officials addressed being either unable or unwilling to give the information desired. With few exceptions, however, the replies received from French-Canadian correspondents were evidently the result of careful investigation. Where different returns were received from the same locality, the lowest figures have been taken. Most, if not all, of the returns rest, doubtless, upon estimates rather than careful enumeration. As the table stands, however, it is probably a fairly correct exhibit of the French-Canadian population of the places named at the present time.

Places	Population
Maine	
Biddeford	10,000
Brewer	250
Brunswick	2,500
Fairfield	600
Lewiston	10,960
Saco	1,000
Waterville	3,500
New Hampshire	
Manchester	18,000
Nashua	8,000
Vermont	
Burlington	5,000
Rutland	1,500
Winooski Falls	2,900
Massachusetts	
Boston	3,200
Brockton	800
Fall River	30,000
Fitchburg	6,000
Holyoke	15,000
Leominster	1,250
Lowell	21,500
Massachusetts, (continued)	
New Bedford	15,000
North Adams	5,000
Northampton	1,800
Southbridge	5,500
Spencer	4,000
Springfield	5,600
Taunton	1,500
Waltham	1,000
Woburn	500
Worcester	13,000
Rhode Island	
Central Falls	5,000
Manville	4,000
Pawtucket	4,800
Woonsocket	16,000
Connecticut	
Bridgeport	800
Hartford	1,500
New Haven	1,200
Waterbury	8,500
Total	231,660

From the foregoing tables it appears that in 1890 less than a third of the French-Canadians in New England were found in places of 25,000 population or over, and that, of the number so grouped, 74,465, or nearly three-fourths, were found in the seven cities of Manchester, Fall River, Holyoke, Lawrence, Lowell, New Bedford, and Worcester. Portland, Brockton, Chelsea, and Somerville had no important French element; nor had any of the large Connecticut cities except Waterbury. In Boston the French were less than 1 per cent of the foreign-born population in 1890. For the whole of the United States in the same year the French-Canadians having one or both parents foreign-born formed .82 per cent of the whole number of foreign-born. These figures seem to confirm the view that it is not the large cities, as such, that attract this class of foreigners, but the manufacturing centres, and particularly those mainly given over to the textile industries. Whether at the present time the proportionate numbers in the smaller places are as great as they were in 1890

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	French-Canadian Population, 1890	French-Canadian Population, 1897
Manchester, N.H.	14,081	18,000
Boston, Mass.	2,623	3,200
Brockton, Mass.	499	800
Fall River, Mass.	18,585	30,000
Holyoke, Mass.	9,530	15,000
Lowell, Mass.	15,332	21,500
New Bedford, Mass.	4,976	15,000
Springfield, Mass.	3,490	5,600
Taunton, Mass.	1,875	1,500
Worcester, Mass.	7,413	13,000
Pawtucket, R.I.	2,089	4,800
Bridgeport, Conn.	431	800
Hartford, Conn.	561	1,500
New Haven, Conn.	315	1,200
Waterbury, Conn.	1,567	3,500
Total	83,367	135,400

is, perhaps, less certain. Of the 231,660 reported from thirty-seven places in 1897, 97,760, or 42.15 per cent, were in cities and towns which in 1890 had less than 25,000 population each. It should be noted, however, that nine cities, with a French-Canadian population of 17,859, which appear in the table for 1890, made no report in 1897.

How far the data at hand will justify any very positive conclusions as to the growth of the French-Canadian population, especially at the present time, is not entirely clear. Some light will be thrown upon the matter by combining in one exhibit, in the table above, the places from which returns are available for 1890 and 1897.

The fifteen cities in the table just presented show a gain of 52,033, or 62.41 per cent, between 1890 and 1897. Making liberal allowance for overestimates in the figures for the latter year, the indication for these localities is of an extraordinary increase. Moreover, not only is the strong disposition of the French-Canadians to congregate in the industrial centres clearly shown, but it is also apparent that the larger populations grow the fastest. Manchester, Lewiston, Fall River, Lowell, Holyoke, New Bedford, and Worcester are familiar names in the Province of Quebec. They stand for the greatest achievements of the race in the United States, the longest steps toward the realization of that greater New France of which some have dreamed; and they naturally attract to themselves the largest proportion of the immigrants who now come. So it has been in the past, and so it is still.

Nothing is more common in communities where the French-Canadians are numerous than to hear it asserted with positiveness that they are multiplying with great rapidity, the natural fecundity of the race, together with more favorable conditions for survival in New England than in the Province of Quebec, being adduced as proofs. There can, I think, be no doubt that for a number of years the French-Canadian population among us grew apace. While the immigration was at its height, from 1875 to 1890, those who came were numbered by thousands; and, as they took possession of one locality after another, and year by year waxed greater rather than less, it may well have seemed to

some that the movement thus inaugurated would before long sweep the most of French Canada into the lap of New England. In the early years this great addition to the population consisted, naturally, almost entirely of the foreign-born; but, as the number of families increased, the natural growth of the population began to make itself felt, so that, while the great majority of the French-Canadians were still of foreign birth, the proportion of such rapidly decreased. Of the 331,804 French-Canadians in New England in 1890, 93,459, or more than 28 per cent, were born in the United States.

In my opinion, however, there is good reason for thinking that the high rate at which, for a number of years, the French-Canadian population of New England increased is no longer being maintained, and that the present growth presents no extraordinary features. The grounds for this opinion are mainly three. In the first place, immigration in the last few years has greatly declined. There can be no question that the current has ceased to flow strongly from the Province of Quebec to any part of the New England States. Solicited emigration, as has already been observed, has ceased altogether; and the labor market is well supplied. Ten or fifteen years ago the Grand Trunk, Maine Central, Boston & Maine, and Central Vermont Railroads handled the French-Canadian traffic in carload lots: today, on these same lines, one meets occasional families or small parties. For the thirty-seven cities and towns from which reports were received in 1897, as shown in a preceding table, the total number of estimated annual arrivals in the last two or three years, taking the highest estimate in each case, was only 3,750; taking the lowest estimate in each case, 2,800. The annual arrivals at Fall River are given at from 200 to 500; at Manchester, 300 to 500; Worcester, 200; Lowell, 300; New Bedford, 400 in 1896; Holyoke, «a few hundreds»; Pawtucket, 300; New Haven, 50 to 100; Springfield, 150 to 200; Hartford, 25 to 50; North Adams, 500 in each of the years 1895 and 1896. Ten cities and towns, having in 1897 an estimated French-Canadian population of 13,350, report either «very few» arrivals or «none.» Available data seem clearly to indicate that the French-Canadian immigration has largely spent its force, and that for the immediate future, if not permanently, the volume will not be greater than might normally be looked for in view of the numbers already here and the nearness of Canada to the United States.

In the second place, while the French-Canadians are undoubtedly a prolific race, it is open to question whether the natural growth of population among them is noticeably greater than among other races which form parts of our composite American stock. From time to time we are reminded of the extraordinary size of French-Canadian families, with their twelve, fifteen and twenty children. That such cases are not wholly exceptional in the Province of Quebec there is sufficient proof, but I fancy that one would have to search widely and carefully to find many such families in New England. It is true that the French-Canadians marry young, and that the birth-rate is high; but it is equally true that the death-rate, particularly among children under five years of age, is also high. Nowhere, indeed, does the law of the survival of the fittest work more obviously or more ruthlessly than among this very class of our foreign population. And there is no sufficient reason why it should not so work. As we shall see later, neither the remuneration of the French-Canadians nor yet their standard of living is higher than that of others in similar occupations. A majority of them, especially in the larger manufacturing cities, live in crowded quarters, not seldom amid unfavorable sanitary and moral conditions. Precisely the same causes which operate to keep down the numbers of the lower class of laborers everywhere—lessened

	Total French-Canadian population	Both parents French-Canadian, born in Canada	French-Canadian fathers: Mothers born in the United States	French-Canadian fathers: Mothers born in some other foreign country	French-Canadian mothers: Fathers born in the United States	French-Canadian mothers: Fathers born in some other foreign country
Maine	38,556	32,925	2,600	200	2,251	580
New Hampshire	48,470	44,853	1,702	374	1,164	377
Vermont	32,291	23,521	4,968	442	2,854	506
Massachusetts	152,891	136,412	7,595	1,906	5,039	1,939
Rhode Island	34,775	32,235	1,097	196	893	354
Connecticut	24,821	22,592	1,024	261	721	223
Total	331,804	292,538	18,986	3,379	12,922	3,979

initial vitality due to excessive numbers, poor and insufficient food and clothing, bad air, disease, neglect—are active among the French-Canadians; to which should be added, as a factor of some consequence, the widely prevalent use of tobacco among children of tender age. There is no need of argument to prove that the inherent vitality and permanent productiveness of a race are shown, not by the size of the birth-rate, but by the excess of births over deaths; not by the number brought into the world, but by the number who come to maturity. Tested by this standard, it seems improbable that the French-Canadians, if left to themselves, will exhibit a natural increase of population materially greater than that of other races similarly situated.[6]

Thirdly, even though it were true that the French-Canadians are more prolific than other races in the sense of showing a greater proportionate increase in the adult population, any such natural tendency among them would be likely to be checked to some extent by intermarriage with other nationalities. Now, while it is a fact that the French-Canadians have been remarkably successful in preserving the purity of their blood, it is also the case that, among those now in the United States, intermarriage with other racial stocks is not uncommon, and is, on the whole, increasing. On this point some interesting statistics were gathered by the census of 1890. A classification of the French-Canadian population of New England, according as one or both parents were born in the United States, Canada, or some other foreign country, shows the results in the above table.

The table on the following page shows the principal combinations of French-Canadian and foreign parentage:

These facts seem to show no invincible reluctance on the part of the French-Canadians to marrying outside of their own race, notwithstanding the obstacles which language and religion throw in the way of such unions. Of the combinations shown in the following table, that of the French-Canadians and the Irish seems the most remarkable and the one least to be expected. Whether an explanation is to be found in the identity of religious affiliation is somewhat

	F.-C. and Canadian English	F.-C. and Irish	F.-C. and French	F.-C. and English	F.-C. and German
Maine	476	85	80	86	5
New Hampshire	342	143	105	76	21
Vermont	281	276	167	119	19
Massachusetts	1,129	1,209	538	503	78
Rhode Island	202	141	95	54	22
Connecticut	94	188	93	49	26
Total	2,524	2,042	1,078	887	171

doubtful, the history of Catholic parishes of mixed French and Irish recording numerous instances of serious clashing between the two races. The small number of marriages between the French-Canadians and Germans is, doubtless, due in part to the relatively small number of the latter in New England, the number being considerably larger in Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, where the German population is more numerous. In general, it may be said that, while the French-Canadians prefer to marry among their own people, mixed marriages are not infrequent, the English-speaking Canadians, Irish, French, and English being the foreign elements with which alliances are most readily formed.

What has been said justifies, I think, the conclusion that the maintenance among us of a distinct French-Canadian element, largely of one common stock, is not to be looked for. The falling off of immigration, the absence of any unusual rate of natural increase, and the tendency to mixed marriages, all point in that direction. Partaking in as full measure as their circumstances allow of the opportunities and advantages of American life, the impulse to adopt American ways, and, in consequence, the American point of view, is not likely to be permanently resisted; while the disposition to remain by themselves, natural enough in the early years of sojourn in a foreign land, is decidedly weakened by increased familiarity with the English language and a widening range of permanent interests. Such religious and social influences as are brought to bear to induce them to maintain their solidarity, although factors of great importance in determining the probable future of the race in New England, are after all, as we shall see, essentially forces operating from without, appealing, for the most part, to no deeper motives than pride of place and name. To regard the French-Canadians as a permanently insoluble element in New England society is, I am convinced, at once to misinterpret and to disparage them.

Turning now to the question of occupations, we find that the French-Canadians are still, as they have always been in New England, predominantly an operative class. While the circumstances under which they began to come have materially changed, the field in which they then found assured and remunerative employment has continued to attract them more strongly than any other. According to the census of 1890, 58.17 per cent of the French-Canadians engaged in gainful occupations in the United States were found in manufacturing and mechanical industries, this percentage being higher than for any other race. Various forms of domestic and personal service engaged 18.1

	All Occupations		I. Agriculture, fishing, and mining		II. Professions		III. Domestic and personal service		IV. Trade and transportation		V. Manufactures	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Me.	9,100	4,350	982	18	52	34	2,149	312	955	41	4,962	3,945
N.H. . . .	13,687	6,946	1,163	4	78	40	2,603	409	1,413	73	8,430	6,420
Vt.	6,551	725	2,136	16	50	47	1,498	326	548	8	2,319	328
Mass. . . .	39,134	15,647	2,243	12	323	123	6,346	1,260	4,258	252	25,964	14,000
R.I.	8,995	4,217	388	1	72	35	1,515	119	952	36	6,068	4,026
Conn. . .	6,064	2,143	522	3	45	20	738	117	538	32	4,221	2,241
Total. . .	83,531	34,298	7,434	54	620	299	14,849	2,543	8,664	442	51,964	30,960

per cent; agriculture, fishing, and mining, 13.87 per cent; trade and transportation, 8.73 per cent; and professional occupations, 1.13 per cent. The proportion of females employed was very high. The number of foreign-born French-Canadians in gainful occupations in New England in 1890, according to the classification adopted by the census, was as indicated in the above table.

The table below shows, in connection with the total French-Canadian population of each State, the totals for all occupations and for each of the five classes of occupations as above, without distinction of sex.

These figures show that rather more than half of the French-Canadian population of New England in 1890 were engaged in gainful occupations of various sorts. The range of employments is now wide, and tends to increase as the population becomes more stable, and the comparative advantages of different occupations are more clearly perceived. To a considerable extent, the French-Canadians now have their own physicians, lawyers, dentists, and, of course, priests. Many are skilled mechanics, especially carpenters, painters, plumbers, masons, machinists, and engineers, while a respectable number are builders and contractors. Nearly all branches of trade are numerously represented, particularly such as handle the necessaries and more common conveniences of life. Large establishments and wholesale houses, however, are infrequent. Most large shops, in communities where the French-Canadians are numerous, find it to their advantage to employ French clerks or attendants, as well as American. The French-

	Total F.-C. population	All occupations	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
Maine	38,556	13,450	1,000	86	2,461	996	8,907
New Hampshire.	48,470	20,633	1,167	118	3,012	1,486	14,850
Vermont	32,291	7,276	2,152	97	1,824	556	2,647
Massachusetts	152,891	54,781	2,257	446	7,606	4,510	39,964
Rhode Island	34,775	13,212	389	107	1,634	988	10,094
Connecticut	24,821	8,477	525	65	855	570	6,462
Total.	331,804	117,829	7,488	919	17,392	9,106	82,924

Canadians do not seem to like the sea, and very few of them are sailors or fishermen; but they are found everywhere in the logging camps and in rafting operations, especially in Maine. French-Canadian policemen, firemen, and watchmen are common. Farming is not a favorite occupation, although many have taken up farms in remote places, and by industry and frugality have attained fair success. In some parts of Vermont one hears complaint of the extent to which they have taken possession of old and run-down farms, and established themselves where before scarce any foreigners could be found. Many, of course, are common laborers, or eke out an uncertain livelihood at such work as requires the minimum of intelligence and skill. The women, among whom work is honorable, are frequently found assisting their husbands or brothers in shops and stores, while entering largely into the skilled occupations common to their sex. They are not, however, as a rule, very satisfactory as domestic servants, comparing unfavorably with the Irish in this respect.

It is as operatives, however, that the French-Canadians are most commonly thought of, and as such that they are most in evidence. As the statistics show, 82,924, or over 70 per cent of the total number employed in New England in 1890, were in manufacturing and mechanical industries; and, of this number, quite the largest proportion were to be found in factories and mills. As we have seen, there are good historical reasons for this; but much is also attributable to the nature of the workman himself. From the standpoint of the employer, the French-Canadian has many of the qualities of an ideal «hand.» He is quick to learn, active and deft in his movements. He is contented with his work, and, usually, with his wages; and he does not expect undue consideration. Docility is one of his most marked traits. He is not over-energetic or ambitious. His main concern is to make a living for himself and his family, and, if that seems to have been attained, he is little troubled by restless eagerness to be doing something higher than that in which he is at present engaged. Above all, he is reluctant, as compared with the Irish, to join labor unions, and is loath to strike. His easy satisfaction with moderate proficiency partly accounts for the fact, reported by many mill agents, that comparatively few become competent and reliable foremen or overseers, and that the French-Canadians are likely to work best under the supervision of someone not of their own race.

How far, however, the French-Canadians constitute at the present time a distinct factor of much importance in the industrial world of New England, is a question on which it is not altogether easy to pass a confident judgement. It is certain that for a time, when contract immigration was at its height, their numbers and their necessities tended unmistakably to lower wages in the industries in which they were engaged. They were willing to work for less than others, and for that very reason were imported. But I doubt very much if this is as true now as it was formerly. The general testimony of manufacturers, so far as I have been able to obtain it, as well as of many prominent French-Canadians and local officials, is that the wages of French-Canadian operatives are now practically the same as the wages for others, for the same kind and grade of work; and, while this is not the same thing as saying that wages have not declined, any very noticeable decrease due to the presence of this particular class of foreigners would be likely to be remarked by those correspondents plainly hostile to the French-Canadians. Moreover, although the French-Canadian immigration has been large and rapid, it is only a small part of the total foreign immigration which has poured into New England in the past twenty years. Of the cities of 25,000 population or over, noted in a

preceding table, Manchester, N. H., was the only one in which in 1890 the French-Canadians outnumbered the Irish, while in Fall River and New Bedford the numbers of the two races were nearly equal. Only in Maine and New Hampshire did the number of persons having either father or mother French-Canadian born exceed the number of those having one or both parents born in Ireland. There would seem to be no reason why any general effect upon wages should be attributed to the presence of the one class rather than the other. As a matter of fact, of course, wages are the result of the operation of competitive forces, little regardful of race lines; and, even if the French-Canadians were, from any cause, willing to work permanently for lower wages, their numbers are too small to enable them to fix a standard, except, perhaps, for some small community in which they preponderate, and where outside competition is not effective. Of 344,610 persons employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries in New England in 1890, only 82,924 were French-Canadians.

Where the French-Canadians have the advantage of other classes of foreigners is in their ability to live cheaply and, according to their standards, comfortably on a small income, and at the same time save money. To an unusual degree they have the virtues, not too common among the working classes in America, of industry, frugality, and thrift. In spite of moderate ambitions they are not lazy, but prefer to work, if work can be ha[illegible] They live at a minimum, spend less than they earn, and save the difference. Savings-bank deposits, large holdings of real estate, and extensive ecclesiastical properties, not to mention the large sums formerly sent to Canada, offer abundant testimony to their «effective desire of accumulation.» But the French-Canadian is not thereby disposed to work for less. He merely saves more. It is in his evident contentment and prosperity, his command of financial resources as the fruit of economical living, that he most frequently incurs the dislike of his fellow-workmen, and hears his race dubbed «the Chinese of the East.» Rarely is he an object of public charity or poor relief. It is from his own earnings that he pays his physician, provides food, clothing, and shelter for his family, and buries his dead.

I am unable to think, therefore, that the presence of the Canadian French any longer gives to employers advantages which they would not otherwise possess, or constitutes to the laboring classes in New England a menace and a threat. The inevitable tendency to uniformity of condition makes strongly against the perpetuation of incidental distinctions. Employers hire men, not races. Certainly, in comparison with many aliens who throw themselves upon the hospitality of the United States, the French-Canadians represent a relatively high grade of intelligence and morality; and, while they have yet to demonstrate their permanent worth as citizens, industrially they do not seem to be playing either an objectionable or an unworthy part.

For a number of years after the French-Canadians began to come to New England, the permanency of their stay was generally regarded as an open question, with the indications pointing to a negative answer. Certain it is that the larger part of the first arrivals showed little disposition to make permanent homes in «the States.» Driven by poverty at home to seek employment abroad, most of them stayed only long enough to save a few hundred dollars, and then returned to Canada. So there were to be found along the main lines of travel two well-defined movements of population: one from the Province of Quebec to New England; and the other, somewhat smaller and less uniform, from New England back to Quebec. With every energy bent to the accomplishment of the one object of saving the largest

possible amount of money in the least time, the French-Canadians not only accepted employment wherever it was to be had and on whatever terms, but lived often in a manner little adapted to conciliate their English-speaking neighbors. It was essentially a shifting population, with scarce any appearance of permanence. The amount of money sent to Canada from the manufacturing towns of New England was very great, and formed another cause of the ill-will with which these aliens were regarded. Perhaps nothing illustrates better the marked change which has taken place in the status of the French-Canadians than the almost complete transformation at both of these points. Very few of the French now return to Canada to stay, or even look forward to such a possibility; and the amount of money now sent out of the country, while considerable, is very small in comparison with former figures.

Among the surest indications of a disposition to permanency in a foreign population are, first, the increased number of real estate owners, and, second, the number of voters. On neither of these points, so far as the French-Canadians are concerned, does it seem practicable to obtain statistics at once accurate and complete; but such figures as are to be had are in the highest degree instructive. The thirty-seven cities and towns from which returns were received in 1897 reported 7,409 French-Canadian owners of real estate, holding property of an assessed value of $13,579,158. This does not include the very large amount of real property devoted to religious and educational purposes. I have taken the lowest estimates in each case. There can be no question that the totals for all of the New England States, if they could be procured, would far exceed these figures. Both in number and in value the holdings have increased rapidly in the last ten years, and the increase still continues. Aside from church and school property,—the value of which must now be reckoned among the millions, largely free of encumbrance,—the real estate held by the French-Canadians is mainly residence property, though in the larger centres the amount of business property owned by them is considerable. While large numbers of the French still live, of necessity, in corporation tenements and boarding-houses, one of the strongest desires among them is to own their own homes; and, in the accomplishment of this object, they have availed themselves largely of the facilities offered by building and loan associations. It should be remembered that in many small manufacturing towns the individual ownership of real estate is rendered difficult through the ownership of large parcels of land by the corporation, and the requirement that all employees shall live in the tenements of the company. Mr. Gagnon, in his testimony before the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor in 1881, gave a good case in point.[7] Grosvendordale, Conn., including Mechanicsville, had a French-Canadian population of 2,400, of whom only twelve were real estate owners; Gardner, Mass., with a French-Canadian population of only 766, had seventy-three owners of real estate. It is probable that a good deal of the residence property everywhere represents a relatively high cost to its owners, much of it having been bought on various schemes of partial payments, at high rates of interest.

These figures show substantial and permanent gains. No less remarkable is the progress in the direction of citizenship. The same cities and towns from which statistics of property-holding have just been given report 17,448 French-Canadian voters in 1897; and this number, like the other, is undoubtedly much smaller than the total for New England. Taking into account all the circumstances, the showing is highly creditable. It should not be forgotten that the conditions on which suffrage is granted are less easy in New England than in many of the States of

Places	Estimated number of voters	Estimated number or owners of real estate	Estimated value of real estate
Biddeford, Me.	600	200	$300,000
Brunswick, Me.	150	58	100,000
Lewiston, Me.	800	202	623,030
Waterville, Me.	600	350	500,000
Manchester, N.H.	1,350	600	900,000
Nashua, N.H.	500	*	*
Winooski Falls, Vt.	350	300	400,000
Fall River, Mass.	1,500	†	2,000,000
Fitchburg, Mass.	326	328	481,325
Holyoke, Mass.	1,000	*	*
Lowell, Mass.	1,300	305	975,000
New Bedford, Mass.	472	375	902,053
North Adams, Mass.	450	147	816,000
Southbridge, Mass.	400	225	400,000
Spencer, Mass.	350	1,000	200,000
Springfield, Mass.	500	150	12,000‡
Worcester, Mass.	1,407	350	1,000,000
Central Falls, R.I.	650	253	750,000
Manville, R.I.	250	200	*
Pawtucket, R.I.	420	650	350,000
Woonsocket, R.I.	1,300	500	1,500,000
Waterbury, Conn.	600	130	340,000

* No definite report.
† «350 pay taxes of $50 or over.»
‡ Apparently an error.

the Union. While nearly one-third of the States extend the privilledge of voting to aliens who have resided in the country for various periods, not exceeding two years, and declared their intention to become citizens, complete naturalization, conditioned on five years' residence, is required in all of the New England States. Further, in Maine, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, the voter must be able to read the English language, —a requirement of some seriousness in the case of a foreigner already in middle life. A suggestive feature of the matter is seen in the fact that, as a rule, the impulse to seek naturalization has come from the French-Canadians themselves, in the persons of a few of their leaders. The French-Canadians have never been sought after and catered to, in any noticeable degree, by either of the great political parties; nor has their disposition to quality for the franchise been greeted with cordiality by any class of Americans. On the other hand, it may be doubted whether the rank and file have as yet developed a very keen interest in the subject. It is the leaders who, convinced that the race has come to stay, have determined to secure for their countrymen, as rapidly as possible, the privileges and rights of American citizenship.

It will be convenient to combine in one exhibit the statistics of voters, property owners, and valuation, for a number of cities and towns having a large French-Canadian

population, as reported in 1897.

It does not appear that the French-Canadians are inclined to attach themselves *en masse* to any one political party. Although the general introduction of the secret ballot has almost wholly done away with the coercion and intimidation of employees which formerly disgraced elections in not a few manufacturing towns, the French-Canadians are still somewhat prone to take their national politics from their employer, not through fear or servility, but rather from a feeling that the employer, with his obviously greater interests, must be right. In local elections it is frequent testimony that they are not to be counted on to support either party or any general policy, but are liable to put their votes up for sale, not for money, but for political or social concessions. The French-Canadian is not venal, in the sense of being open to bribery with money, but his instinct of self-government is rather rudimentary, and his docility makes him the easy dupe of demagogues, who play upon his ignorance, his pride, or the selfish and temporary interest of his class or race, sometimes with disastrous results.

A respectable number have held political office. The legislatures in each of the New England States have had, as some of them still have, French-Canadian members; and the race is frequently represented in city councils and boards of selectmen in communities in which French-Canadians are numerous. Other offices commonly held by them are those of deputy sheriff, justice of the peace, notary public, assessor and collector of taxes, coroner, and postmaster, together with positions on various State boards, local boards of health, and school committees. Comparisons at this point, for any purpose, should of course be made with the number of voters, not with the total French population.

There remains to be considered the threefold question of religion, education, and language. It is at these points that, from the time of their first arrival in New England to the present day, the French-Canadians have been most seriously disparaged and most bitterly denounced.

The French-Canadians are, with no exceptions worth considering, Roman Catholics. Brought up in Canada in the faith and practices of the Church, they cling to it here as there, and their children do not forsake it. In the early days of their sojourn in New England the Church in Canada was indisposed to exert itself on their behalf. Their coreligionists in their new home viewed them with suspicion and dislike as disturbers of the economic peace, and their language stood as a barrier between them and the ministrations which they craved. In the mixed parishes of French and Irish there was frequent clashing, sometimes open rupture. So far as religious and moral training were concerned, they were as sheep having no shepherd. It is to Bishop Goësbriand of the diocese of Vermont that the credit belongs of first endeavoring to care systematically for these scattered and neglected French. Father Hamon has vividly recounted the arduous and self-denying labors of this zealous prelate, and the long struggle for the acceptance and realization of his policy. That policy was, in brief, to gather the French-Canadians into separate parishes under the charge of French-speaking prists, Bishop Goësbriand being firmly convinced that in this way only could the loss to the Church of many thousands of its members be averted. The extent to which this policy has been adopted may be learned from the list of parishes given on an early page of this article. Opposed for a time by the hierarchy at Quebec, and viewed askance by the authorities of the Church in New England, it has, nevertheless, won its way rapidly to a position of general acceptance. At the present

time, wherever considerable numbers of Canadian French are gathered, French parishes and French priests are the rule; and, while mixed parishes are still numerous, they will usually be found to contain either a small proportion of French-Canadians, or else a small proportion of any other race.

Along with the organization of separate parishes has gone, somewhat less widely, the establishment of parochial schools. These schools, under the direct charge of the parish priests, with teachers drawn from the various Catholic sisterhoods, give instruction in the usual elementary subjects, in both English and French, a half day's session being usually devoted to exercises in each language. Probably a large majority of the French-Canadian children are to be found enrolled in these schools, although I have not been able to obtain figures showing the number; and to a large proportion the parochial school is the beginning and end of the educational course. Save in a few of the larger cities, the public schools make little or no provision for children who cannot speak English; and, while the public schools are free to all, many of those who most need education derive scanty benefit from them because of the obstacle of language. Not many French-Canadian children complete a grammar school course, although the number is much larger than formerly; and comparatively few reach the high school. The love of knowledge among them is not keen, and the temptation of the factory and shop is strong.

These two forces of church and school are the two most powerful agencies for the maintenance of distinctive racial and social characteristics among the French-Canadians. The authority and influence of the priest are very great. He is not only the religious head and guide of the parish, but the adviser and counsellor of every member in it. To him are referred the greatest variety of questions,—personal and family troubles, labor disputes, political programs, financial and business undertakings; and, on each and all, his opinion carries the utmost weight. In the maintenance of law and order his influence is indispensable. Many a community of Canadian French owes its general good peace and orderliness far more to the priest than to the police.

But the parochial school and the Church are also immensely potent in confirming and perpetuating the use of French as the language of common intercourse. With systematic instruction in the use of French, with French-speaking teachers and priests, and with French as one of the *media* in the services of the Church, the Canadian finds his incentive to learn English mainly in the needs of his industrial or business life. Few French-Canadians, when they come to the United States, can speak English; and the older people, especially the women, often do not learn it at all, even after many years of residence. With the young people it is different. To them the mastery of the language sufficiently to make themselves understood is not difficult, and is, moreover, a valuable part of their stock in trade. But, in learning English, they do not cease to use French. In nine cases out of ten the young Frenchman learns to speak an imperfect English, because his chance of earning good wages is thereby enhanced; but he worships in French, and French continues to be the language of his home and his friends.

In the perpetuation of the French language quite the strongest influence, next to that of the Church and the school, is wielded by the societies of St. Jean Baptiste. These societies, in character partly social and partly philanthropic, are to be found in nearly or quite all the French-Canadian parishes, and in many mixed parishes as well. The membership comprises the leading men of the parish, through whom, consequently, the society comes to exercise great weight in

parish affairs. Conducting all their proceedings in French, the spirit and objects of these organizations are well summed up in the motto, *«Notre Religion, notre Langue, nos Moeurs.»* To safeguard and advance the interests of the French-Canadians in the United States, to preserve the unity and identity of the race, and especially its language, customs, and religion, are the chief aims of the national society of St. Jean Baptiste; and to these they have adhered, and still adhere, with resoluteness and tenacity, notwithstanding all the liberalizing and Americanizing tendencies of the Roman Church, and in spite of the condemnation of the Baltimore Congress, in 1889, in its declaration that «national societies, as such, have no reason for existence in the Church in this country.»

It can hardly be necessary for me to say, in this connection, that I hold no brief either for or against the French-Canadians; and I am certainly not unmindful of the enormous impulse to social betterment emanating from the Roman Catholic Church. I can but think, however, that the evident purpose of French-Canadian leaders, lay and clerical, to preserve, if possible, the distinctive characteristics and the language of their race in this country, justly exposes them and their followers to criticism and suspicion. Protestations of loyalty and patriotism, while doubtless sincere, nevertheless ring hollow to the average man, when accompanied, as in this case, by zealous and systematic measures to keep themselves apart. Whatever the reality may be, the appearance is un-American. Neither the spirit nor the conditions of American life are favorable to the maintenance of distinct groups of population, bounded by lines of race, and kept together by the twin forces of a common language and a common religion; and so long as the French-Canadians, either of their own motion or under the direction of their leaders, occupy such a position, no amount of property-holding, no general exercise of the suffrage, and no patriotic declarations or services will suffice to remove the impression that they are still, in essential spirit, aliens and foreigners, living among us because to do so is pleasant and profitable, and not because they genuinely mean to become one of us.

While, however, the attitude of the French-Canadians at this point seems to me to call only for condemnation, I am not inclined to think that the evils likely to result from it, save to the good name and influence of the French-Canadians themselves, are very serious. The very policy of isolation, putting the race as it does on the defensive, seems doomed in the nature of things to failure. For that policy rests upon the theory that a distinct national type, formed in one country during generations of undisturbed growth, can be made to persist in another country where nearly every essential condition of life is wholly different, and where every economic and political consideration demands readjustment and change. For such a theory there is no sufficient justification in experience. Indeed, there is no need to look beyond the present situation in New England, so far as the French-Canadians are concerned, to see how little the theory actually works as it is intended to work. In spite of every effort to prevent it, the use of French as the language of common life is steadily giving way before demands of industry, the desire for active political equality, and the influence of the free public schools. Among the younger native-born generation in particular, the desire to remain in any sense a peculiar people is very much weakened. That New England has any reason to apprehend the creation of an *imperium in imperio*, either social, political, or religious, I think there is exceedingly little ground for believing. Nor do I believe that such an idea, whatever its particular form, has at the present day the firm hold that it once had, even

among the French-Canadian leaders themselves. At the same time, the reactionary policy of which I have been speaking has a moral influence which should not be underestimated, and which is likely to retard, though it cannot prevent, the inevitable absorption of the race in the cosmopolitan American people.

Absorbed or not, however, the French-Canadians are in New England to stay. When the emigration first began to assume considerable proportions, the threatened depopulation of Canadian parishes, and the probable loss to the Church of many who went, caused wide-spread alarm in ecclesiastical quarters; and bishops and clergy made every effort to discourage and check the movement. Failing in this, and the occasion for opposition being partially removed by the organization of French-Canadian parishes among the emigrants, there was started the agitation known as repatriation, having for its object the return of the French to Canada. In 1875 the legislature of Quebec appropriated $60,000 in aid of immigration, to encourage the opening and settlement of new lands. Part of this sum was used to induce French-Canadians in New England to return, and an agent was appointed for the purpose; but the whole scheme failed almost completely, so far as the United States were concerned. Today one hears nothing of repatriation. The Church in Canada no longer actively opposes emigration; and Father Hamon's book, with its outspoken championship of the policy of the French-Canadian leaders in New England, is dedicated to Cardinal Taschereau. Of the thousands who have come, a very small number have ever gone back permanently to their old homes. Many have essayed to do so, only to find their former surroundings no longer attractive; and in a short time they have come again. The old people still cherish the idea of an ultimate return to the land of their fathers, but with the others such an idea has hardly the substantiality of a pleasing hope. They still speak of Canada with affection, but it is here that they will end their days.

In matters of every-day habit and appearance there is still much that is distinctive, and not a little that is picturesque, about the life of the French-Canadians in a New England community. They are still much inclined to live by themselves, in a particular section of the town or city. In some larger places a few individuals and families have attained a measure of social equality with native Americans. For the most part, however, they are regarded as a class apart, and associate but little with persons not of their own race. Nowhere do they seem to be looked upon, as a class, with entire favor; and in private are often spoken of with contempt; but their work is necessary, their trade important, and their political support not to be despised. The women are fond of dress, and in their early years are often unusually attractive; but, with hard work and many children, they fade quickly. The older people complain that the younger generation spends its money too freely, and that frugality and thrift are less general than formerly. Whether such is the case I have no means of knowing. All classes are fond of ceremonies, and make much of weddings, funerals, and church festivals. Even under untoward conditions the general tone of life is buoyant and friendly, as of those who take the world with a light heart.

What the immediate future of the French-Canadians in New England is to be belongs rather to prophecy than to such a discussion as has been here attempted. It may be pointed out, however, in conclusion, that their permanent worth, as an element in the population, is pretty certain to be measured by the extent to which they contribute to the economic sanity and the good citizenship of which the country is just now particularly in need. Whether they have

within themselves the ability to pass from the position of laborers, operatives, and small tradesmen into that of leaders of industry, only time can show. At present the indications are not altogether hopeful. Politically, they are too few in number to exercise more than local influence; and even that will assuredly be minimized, unless they identify themselves completely with the American spirit which they profess to love. The time for apprehension, if such there ever was, lest our institutions should be overborne by this «horde of industrial invaders,» is past. The dangers of the future are for the French-Canadians, not for us.

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Footnotes

1. Rev. E. Hamon, *Les Canadiens-Français de la Nouvelle-Angleterre* (Quebec, 1891). The book falls into two parts, the first being an elaborate discussion of the condition and prospects of the French-Canadians in New England, and the second giving a detailed history of the various French-Canadian parishes, with invaluable statistical data. A garbled and imperfect translation of the first part has been printed as an «anti-Catholic» tract. Father Hamon's volume, the work of an ardent but broad-minded Jesuit, has been a mine whose treasures later writers have repeatedly appropriated.

2. The table is based on data given by Hamon, *op. cit.*, 181, 228, 232, 310, 312, 346, 350, 361, 366, 396, 400, 418, 422, 450. The parishes of Burlington and Swanton, Vt., organized in 1850 and 1856, respectively, are not included, nor twelve parishes in the Madawaska region of Northern Maine, composed almost entirely of American French. The Acadian French, found chiefly in the extreme northern parts of Maine, along the New Brunswick border, appear not to have been greatly affected by the emigration from the Province of Quebec, although French-Canadians are doubtless numerous among them.

3. Objections were made to this figure, and the census does not claim entire accuracy for the enumeration.

4. *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Massachsuetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (1882), 18.

5. Compiled from Tables 52, 55, 56, 61, and 62 of the *Report on Population*, Part I.

6. In an interesting article on «The Growth of the French Canadian Race in America,» in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (September, 1896), Professor John Davidson has shown that the rate of increase of the French in Canada is not abnormal, and that «after the first year the proportion living at any given age varies little from the proportion among other Canadians.» Taking the census decades from 1851 to 1891, only in the latter year was the average size of families greater in Quebec than the average for all Canada, and in both 1881 and 1891 it was considerably exceeded by the average in Prince Edward Island, where the French are comparatively few.

7. *Thirteenth Annual Report* (1882), 20.

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A Franco-American point of view is found in the following Catholic Encyclopedia *article of 1906 by J.L.K. Laflamme, David E. Lavigne and J. Arthur Favreau. This article is particularly informative concerning those aspects of institutional life most important to the Franco-Americans of the period: the parish, the religious orders and the schools; the Franco-American press, and the «provident organizations» as the article terms the national societies, since such societies had been condemned in 1889 by the Baltimore Congress of the Catholic Church. In these few pages the authors managed to respond to the stay-at-home French-Canadians' criticisms of their compatriots who left for the States, to the effect that the latter were forced to leave by their own habits of «luxury and dissipation,» and so were causing a depopulation of the farming communities in Quebec. The authors cite the difficulties of a large family system under conditions of land shortage combined with the long-term neglect of the economic conditions leading to high levels of deprivation of the rural population. With regard to the Catholic Church, the authors tread a narrow path between the French-Canadian militants who in those days willingly called themselves Franco-Americans—a term the article does not use—and the assimilationists who were dominant in the Church.*

FRENCH CATHOLICS IN THE UNITED STATES

by
J.K.L. Laflamme
David E. Lavigne
J. Arthur Favreau

The first Bishop of Burlington, the Right Reverend Louis de Goesbriand, in a letter dated 11 May, 1869, and which appeared in «*Le Protecteur Canadien*», a French newspaper then published at St. Albans, Vermont, made the following statement: «I am convinced from positive information, that when we say that there are 500,000 French-Canadians in the United States, the figures are far below the truth.» The sources from which the late prelate drew his information are unknown to the writers of this article, but it is a fact that today the Diocese of Burlington has a Catholic population of 76,000 souls, of which 50,000 at least are of French-Canadian birth or origin. It is also a fact that the French-Canadian element has increased, both naturally and by immigration, to such an extent that it now numbers nearly 1,200,000 souls in the United States, that it has made its influence felt throughout the Eastern States, in all walks of life, and furthermore that, in point of numbers, it is the predominant element in several dioceses, and an important part of the population in many others. However, except in their own newspapers, or a few little-known books, scarcely anything had been said of the part taken by these immigrants in the civil and religious life of their new country, until, very recently, they took into their own hands the task of reviewing their history, of gathering statistics of their numbers, and of recording their achievements and the progress they have made in fifty years. The task is still far from complete, but enough has been done to demonstrate the progress of the French-Canadians and their devotion to their Church and to their adopted country.

The immigration of French-Canadians to the United States began before the War of American Independence (1775-83). French-Canadians had then already immigrated to New England, and we find them in large numbers in the armies of Washington. After the war the American Congress, in recognition of their services and to prevent their being prosecuted in Canada on the charge of high treason, gave them land on the shores of Lake Champlain, where their descendants are still to be found. That concession of land, situated in the State of New York, has long been known as the «Refugees' Tract». In 1837, after the rebellion in the Province of Quebec, a new immigration to the Eastern States took place, to the State of Vermont, more particularly, where the «Patriots», vanquished in battle, sought refuge with their families. But the chief influx from French Canada to the United States took place after the Civil War. Notwithstanding the fact that they had at that time but few organized parishes, the French-Canadians were here in sufficient numbers during the war to furnish 40,000 soldiers to the Union. The immigration at the close of the war has been ascribed to many causes, the most considerable of which are the unprecedented industrial prosperity that followed the Civil War and the

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inborn love of the French-Canadian for travelling, together with the desire to earn the high wages and to share in the vast opportunities which the Republic offered to its citizens.

Some writers—and many of these in earnest—have given as the principal cause of this French-Canadian immigration, three-fourths of which took place between 1865 and 1890, the necessity in which the farmers of the Province of Quebec found themselves of seeking a new home after leading a life of luxury and dissipation. Undoubtedly this was true of some, but the general moral character of the hundreds of thousands who crossed the border is the best proof that the true cause of this movement must be sought elsewhere. The Jesuit, Father Hamon, writing on this subject, does not hesitate to say:

> The rapidity with which this immigration was accomplished, and the ease with which these Canadians transplanted into a foreign land, have immediately reconstructed the Catholic mould of the parish that made their strength in Canada; the energy shown by them in erecting churches and convents, in grouping themselves together, and in organizing flourishing congregations, supported within by all that nourishes Christian piety, protected without against pernicious influences by the strength of association, and a press generally well inspired; all these elements of Catholic life, organized within a quarter of a century in the very citadel of old Puritanism, seem to indicate a Providential action as well as a Providential mission, the importance of which the future alone will reveal.

Those who do not look higher than material considerations in studying the causes of national movements will not give much credence to this opinion of Father Hamon. Nevertheless, it is today a fact recognized by noted economists, that the French-Canadians, now better known in the Republic under the name of French Americans, are, as labourers and artisans, the most solid and reliable pillar of industry in New England. And New England has received within its borders, more than two-thirds of their total immigration. As Catholics, it is obvious that they have played a rôle no less important, as may easily be seen by the perusal of Catholic Directories. Father Hamon classifies the French-Canadian immigration as temporary, fluctuating, and permanent. Figures show the relative importance of each of these classes and demonstrate the spirit which animated the whole movement. The temporary immigration comprised a class of farmers who came to the United States with the avowed intention of going back to their old homes as soon as they had saved enough money to clear their farms from mortgages and all other financial incumbrances. This class became less numerous from day to day; so much so, that it was practically unnoticeable, as early as 1880. In many cases the intention of returning to the old home was never carried out. Frequently this class, by revealing to their neighbours the opportunities offered across the border, induced many of them to follow in their footsteps. As to the fluctuating immigration, only a mere mention is necessary. Always on the move, from one country to the other, from city to city, from mill to mill, those who formed this class led that kind of life which relies, as Father Hamon says, on the Providence of God for its support. This roving class is still less numerous than the temporary group, and it is to be found not only in all classes of newcomers, but in settled populations as well. The permanent immigration has been the most numerous, and, naturally, the most substantial. It is these permanent French-Canadian immigrants who have organized parishes and parochial schools, erected churches and convents, and now constitute the labouring power *par excellence* in all the industrial centres of New England.

Most of them, if not all, came from the rural districts of Canada, especially from the Eastern townships, from the Dioceses of Trois Rivières and Rimouski, and from the Counties of Beauce, Bellechasse, and others on the borders. Their farms had become insufficient to support large families; in the Eastern townships their titles to the land they occupied were disputed, and they were forced to give up the fruit of many years of labour; they were the victims of the indifference shown by their Governments, both Provincial and Federal, towards colonization and the opening up of new farming districts. The increasing population was thus compelled by circumstances, to look elsewhere, for more land and greater opportunities. At the same time, the reports sent home by those who had taken part in the earlier immigration had widely advertised throughout the whole Province of Quebec, the material advantages of the United States. This migration was called at the time «the desertion of the Fatherland». But those who spoke thus were forgetful of the historical fact, that the French of America have from the very beginning felt perfectly at home in the whole northern part of the continent, on the soil of which their missionaries, their *coureurs des bois*, explorers, and warriors have left their footprints broadcast. In spite of all opposing efforts, hundreds of thousands of French-Canadians, most of them farmers, between 1870 and 1890, left their rural occupation to adopt the more arduous life of the New England factories and the various industries of the Western States. This movement took place quietly, slowly, without creating any disturbance, and almost unnoticed. It was, in a certain sense, a repetition of that other movement which, advocated by Horace Greeley, sent toward the Golden Gate so many young men of the East.

Doubtless, this depopulation on a large scale was a great loss to Canada, where the emigrants might have founded families of colonists. But the nature of this emigration was such that it could not be checked by any special legislation. The movement had set in, and it was too late to forestall an event prepared by many years of economic conditions misunderstood or wilfully ignored. The stream had found its way across the borders, where new industries, phenomenal opportunities, and advantages unheard of before, were ready to absorb and utilize this new and valuable power of production.

In order to present a strictly accurate idea of the importance of the French American element, both numerically and from a Catholic standpoint, the following sources of information have been used for this article: (1) the Twelfth Census of the United States (1900); (2) local enumerations made in New England since 1900, and as late as the present year (1908); and (3) the Catholic Directory of the United States.

The accompanying table, compiled from the first of these three sources, shows, first, the number of French Americans born in Canada and, secondly, this first class combined with those of whom at least one parent was born in Canada.

The figures given for Louisiana are, of course, exclusive of all other inhabitants of French extraction; those relating to California are exclusive of the large population of immigrants from France established in that State, more especially in the city of San Francisco. There were also, 115 persons of French-Canadian parentage in Alaska, and 4 in Hawaii, besides 502 persons of the same parentage in the military and naval service of the United States, stationed abroad and not credited to any State or Territory. Combining with these small figures the totals for the five divisions given in the last column of the table, we get the grand total of 810,105 persons of French-Canadian parentage living

Distribution of French Americans

	Foreign-born	Of Foreign Parentage
Maine	30,908	57,682
New Hampshire	44,420	73,359
Vermont	14,924	40,097
Massachusetts	134,416	244,586
Rhode Island	31,533	55,771
Connecticut	19,174	36,867
New York	27,199	69,236
New Jersey	1,118	2,140
Pennsylvania	1,468	3,603
Totals for North Atlantic Division	305,160	583,341
Delaware	41	77
Maryland	87	178
District of Columbia	97	236
Virginia	104	194
West Virginia	72	165
North Carolina	36	69
South Carolina	31	56
Georgia	80	203
Florida	88	200
Totals for South Atlantic Division	636	1,378
Ohio	2,903	7,034
Indiana	948	3,242
Illinois	9,129	24,477
Michigan	32,483	75,584
Wisconsin	10,091	27,981
Minnesota	12,063	32,406
Missouri	1,059	3,536
Iowa	1,519	5,613
North Dakota	3,162	6,512
South Dakota	1,138	3,516
Nebraska	1,039	3,003
Kansas	1,485	5,547
Totals for North Central Division	77,019	198,451
Kentucky	136	397
Tennessee	119	312
Alabama	89	211
Mississippi	75	141
Texas	400	1,004
Louisiana	253	759
Indian Territory	48	173
Oklahoma	179	702
Arkansas	161	411
Totals for South Central Division	1,460	4,110
Montana	3,516	5,725
Wyoming	150	385
Colorado	960	2,300
New Mexico	84	270
Arizona	153	264
Utah	128	505
Nevada	222	486
Idaho	395	846
Washington	1,899	3,862
Oregon	874	2,169
California	2,410	5,392
Totals for Western Division	10,791	22,204

under the United States Flag. But these figures only represent the first and second generations, i. e. original immigrants still living, and their immediate descendants. In this connexion the director of the census says:

> A small number of the persons reported as of foreign birth, are themselves of native parentage, so that, to a very small extent, the number of persons of foreign birth reported at each census is not included in its entirety in the number of persons reported as of foreign parentage. The figures are sufficiently comparable, however, to show the large body of population which must be added to the foreign born element itself in order to ascertain, even approximately, the number of persons of foreign extraction at any of the census periods considered. Moreover, this is the best figure that can be given as expressing the element of our population which is of foreign extraction, as the census inquiry does not go beyond the immediate parents of each person enumerated, and it is impracticable, at least under present conditions, to endeavor to determine the origin of the people beyond a single generation.

It is obvious, that an inquiry which does not go beyond the immediate ancestors of each person enumerated cannot convey an exact idea of the real number of those who may still be distinctly classified as French Americans, even though both of their parents may have been born in the United States. And when it is remembered that the French-Canadians were early settlers in the northern part of the State of New York, that they were, practically, the first settlers of the State of Maine, and had found their way into Vermont as early as 1830; that French-Canadians were the pioneers of the Western States, where they founded, or assisted in founding, great cities like Chicago, St. Louis, St. Paul, Dubuque, Milwaukee, and Detroit,

it is not difficult to understand that in certain parts of the country at least three generations of French Americans have been recorded by the census of 1900 as native whites of native parents. How far short of the actual number of French Americans are the figures of the National Census, may be estimated by considering the local enumerations taken in the New England States since 1900, with the following results:

Maine	91,567
New Hampshire	84,011
Vermont	58,217
Massachusetts	366,879
Rhode Island	76,775
Connecticut	46,083
Total	723,532

These figures, compared with the total (508,362) of those given in the Census of 1900 for the same six States, show an excess of the local over the national enumeration of 215,170 persons, or more than 42.3 per cent, for New England alone. This excess, explained in part by the fact that the census inquiry of 1900 was limited to only two generations, is also attributable to the continuous flow of immigration and in greater measure to the large birth-rate which is still maintained among the French Americans, it having been scientifically established that the French-Canadians—at least in Canada—double their numbers by natural increase every twenty-six years. Taking into consideration the increase (42.3 per cent) shown by the enumerations in New England over the figures given by the National Census, and also bearing in mind the fact that the figures quoted above do not include the French from France (reported as being 265,441 by the census of 1900) and the French-speaking Belgians, scattered throughout other States than those of New England, we may conclude that the French Americans in the United States today number more than 1,500,000, of whom nearly 1,200,000 can be classified as of French-Canadian extraction. As this immigration of French-Canadians was almost exclusively an immigration of Catholics, we are led to inquire what provisions were made for them in the different dioceses.

The French-Canadians had left behind them in Canada a perfect Catholic organization, with parishes flourishing in all parts of the province, with episcopal sees in Quebec, Ontario, and the West—an organization comprising today many ecclesiastical provinces with archbishops, bishops, a numerous clergy, both secular and regular, as well as educational and charitable institutions of the highest order. It was not to be expected that the immigrants should find in their new country the religious organization they had possessed in Canada. Nevertheless, they had to be provided for, and it became a serious problem for the hierarchy, of New England especially, to determine how these newcomers should be cared for spiritually. The question of language stood in the way from the very beginning. The French-Canadians, though willing to become staunch Americans, did not know the English language, and even when they had learned it, they still preserved a strong attachment for their mother tongue. That this problem puzzled the bishops of New England, is shown by the time taken for its solution, and by the fact that in some instances they were reluctant, or often unable, to deal with the situation in the only proper way, which was, to give to these people priests of their own tongue and nationality. Even today this problem is not adequately solved. It was feared at the beginning, as it is feared now in some quarters, that to grant to the French-Canadian immigrants priests of their own tongue and nationality would encourage them to form a sort of state within the state, thereby causing great harm to the nation as a whole. Time has shown the fallacy of that argument. The patriotism of the French American

element is undisputed. They possess the sterling civic qualities desirable and necessary to promote the best interests of the republic. As a matter of fact, the French-Canadian immigration has created no new state in the state; and the French Americans have willingly learned the English language while remaining as closely attached as ever to their mother tongue, in which they see the best safeguard of their faith.

The progress accomplished for God and country through the organization of French American parishes all over New England is the conclusive proof of their excellency from every standpoint. It proves, at the same time, that further progress, religious and patriotic, can be accomplished by pursuing the same policy. At first, it was necessary to call priests from the Province of Quebec. That policy, inaugurated in the Diocese of Burlington in 1850, by the lamented Bishop de Goesbriand, has proved to be a blessing wherever it has been carried out. These early French-Canadian missionaries, of whom many are still living, knew their people, understood their character and customs, had the same mentality as their flock, and easily succeeded in organizing flourishing parishes entirely devoted to the Church. As early as 1890 Father Hamon notes that these newcomers already possessed 120 churches and chapels, ministered to by Canadian priests, and 50 large schools, affording education to more than 30,000 children. Let us recall a few dates which mark the beginning of this new impulse given to the Catholic Church in the United States.

The first French American parish in the United States, after the foundation of Detroit, Michigan, was that of St. Joseph, at Burlington, Vermont, founded 28 April, 1850, with the Rev. Joseph Quévillon as first pastor. In the same state, the parish of the Nativité de la Sainte-Vierge, at Swanton, was organized in 1856, and that of St-François-Xavier at Winooski, in 1868. In the Diocese of Springfield, Massachusetts, the parish of Notre-Dame du Bon Conseil, at Pittsfield, was organized in 1867. In all, 22 parishes were organized by French Americans from that date to 1890, besides 15 parishes of mixed population, wherein the French Catholics were associated with their English-speaking brethren. In the Diocese of Providence, R. I., the parish of St-Jacques, at Manville, was organized in 1872, that of the Précieux Sang, at Woonsocket, in 1873, and that of St-Charles, at Providence, in 1878. In the Diocese of Hartford, Conn., the parish of St-Laurent, at Meriden, was organized in 1880, and five other parishes between 1880 and 1889. In the Diocese of Boston, the parish of St-Joseph, at Lowell, was organized in 1869, and that of Ste-Anne, at Lawrence, in 1873. In the Diocese of Portland, Maine, the parish of St-François de Sales, at Waterville, was organized in 1869, that of St-Pierre, at Lewiston, in 1871, that of St-Joseph, at Biddeford, in 1872, and that of St-Augustin, at Augusta, in 1888. In the Diocese of Manchester, New Hampshire, the parishes of St-Augustin, at Manchester, and St-Louis, at Nashua, were organized in 1872. Similar results were accomplished in the Dioceses of Ogdensburg, Albany, and Syracuse, and in the Western States. The accompanying table shows the actual religious organization of the French-American Catholics in New England—their clergy, parishes, etc.

Religious Organization in New England

Diocese	Parishes	Missions	Secular Priests	Regular Priests
Boston.	20	2	33	31
Hartford . . .	13	7	14	16
Springfield . .	38	5	59	14
Burlington . .	39	31	48	11
Portland . . .	30	40	40	16
Manchester. .	25	15	38	17
Providence . .	21	—	42	8
Fall River. . .	16	1	28	17
Totals . . .	202	101	302	130

To complete these figures for the United States would necessitate a study of all the dioceses, as there are French Americans in every state and territory of the Union; a few statistics, however, of the priests of French extraction in the principal dioceses will help to give a more definite idea of the organization as a whole: Baltimore has 21; Chicago, 62; Albany, 19; St. Paul, 14; San Francisco, 3; New York, 25; Oregon, 5; Philadelphia, 3; Dubuque, 7; Milwaukee, 9; New Orleans, 96; Syracuse, 5; and Ogdensburg, 63.

Of the distinguished clergymen whose names are associated with the work already described, the following have already been called to their reward: Norbert Blanchette, first Bishop and first Archbishop of Oregon City; J. B. Lamy, Archbishop of Santa Fé, New Mexico; Monsignor Magloire Blanchette, Prothonotary Apostolic, of Walla Walla, Washington; the Rev. P. M. Mignault, of Chambly, Quebec, who in the fifties was vicar-general of the Diocese of Boston, with the special mission of caring for the spiritual needs of his compatriots in the United States; the Rev. Joseph Quévillon, of Burlington, Vermont; Monsignor Brochu, of Southbridge, the Rev. J. B. Primeau, of Worcester, the Rev. L. G. Gagnier, of Springfield, and the Rev. J. B. Bédard, of Fall River, Massachusetts; the Rev. J. Roch Magnan, of Muskegon, Michigan. Mention should also be made of the Right Rev. Bishop Michaud, lately deceased, whose father was a French Acadian, and who had been for many years at the head of the Diocese of Burlington, proving himself a worthy successor to Bishop de Goesbriand. Among the living there are scores of others who have been true pioneers of the Faith, and to whom is due great credit for having so well organized a new and loyal membership of the Church in the United States. Recently one of their number has been elevated to the See of Manchester, New Hampshire, in the person of the Right Rev. George Albert Guertin, consecrated 19 March, 1907.

The religious orders of men and women have been worthy co-labourers with the priests in the building-up of parishes. To them have been entrusted the education of children and the care of the sick and orphans. This mission has been especially well fulfilled in the French American parishes, where the convent of the sisters and the school of the brothers are the necessary complements of the church itself. One does not go without the other, and as a rule the school is built before the church and is used for a church also. The number of members in the different religious communities of women is given in the accompanying table.

Female Religious in New England

Diocese	Total in All Communities	In French Communities
Boston	1567	200
Burlington	268	115
Fall River.	322	254
Hartford	1115	219
Manchester.	435	300
Portland	482	355
Providence	551	222
Springfield	792	320
Totals	5532	1985

These 1985 women are distributed in 30 different orders, bearing the following names: Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Montréal, Filles de Marie (France), Soeurs de Ste-Croix de Montréal, Soeurs de la Providence de Montréal, Soeurs de la Présentation de Marie de St-Hyacinthe, Soeurs de Ste-Anne de Lachine, Soeurs Grises de Montréal, Soeurs de la Merci, Soeurs Grises d'Ottawa, Soeurs de l'Assomption, Soeurs du Bon Pasteur de Québec, Soeurs Dominicaines, Soeurs Franciscaines Missionaires de Marie, Soeurs Grises de St-Hyacinthe, Soeurs de Jésus-Marie de Sillery, Ursulines des Trois Rivières, Congrégation Notre-Dame (Villa Maria), Soeurs de

Catholic Parochial Schools in New England

Diocese	Total Schools	French Schools	Total Pupils	Pupils in French Schools
Boston	76	15	48,192	7,263
Burlington	21	17	5,951	4,009
Fall River	21	14	9,300	6,171
Hartford	69	10	30,275	3,508
Manchester	36	19	12,800	8,833
Portland	23	13	9,138	6,073
Providence	26	14	16,000	7,414
Springfield	55	31	22,780	11,712
Totals	327	133	154,436	54,983

la Sainte Union des Sacrés-Coeurs, Soeurs du Saint-Esprit, Soeurs du Saint-Rosaire, Filles de la Sagesse, Petites Soeurs des Pauvres, Soeurs de St-Joseph (Le Puy), Soeurs du Sacré-Coeur, Soeurs de St-Joseph (Chambéry), Soeurs Servantes du Coeur Immaculé de Marie, les Fidèles Compagnes de Jésus, Soeurs du Bon Pasteur (Angers), Petites Soeurs Franciscaines de Marie (Malbaie), Dames de Sion. The most important of these are: the Soeurs de Ste-Croix, with 18 convents and 149 members; Sóeurs Grises, with 17 convents and 268 members; Soeurs de la Présentation de Marie, with 16 convents and 193 members; Soeurs de Jésus-Marie, with 19 convents and 171 members.

There are a few communities of brothers: Frères de la Charité de St-Vincent de Paul, 27 members; Frères Maristes d'Iberville, 47; Frères de St-Gabriel, 7; Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes, 7; Frères du Sacré-Coeur, 31—making a total of 119 members. Besides these orders entirely devoted to education, the regular clergy has been given charge of a number of parishes which stand today among the most numerous and flourishing. For instance, the Dominican Order has two parishes, Ste-Anne, at Fall River, Massachusetts, and St-Pierre, at Lewiston, Maine. The Oblates are established at Lowell, Mass., and Plattsburg, N. Y.; the Pères de la Salette, in Connecticut and Massachusetts; the Pères du Sacré-Coeur, in Rhode Island and Massachusetts; the Pères Maristes in Massachusetts.

The French Americans have 133 parochial schools, in which 54,983 children receive Christian education. To these must be added the secondary (high school and university academic courses) college established by the Pères de l'Assomption from France, at Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1904, and 14 small academies, commercial colleges, and boarding schools in which there are about 1000 pupils of both sexes. In connexion with the subject of higher education, it may be well to remark that about 3500 French American children attend annually the commercial and secondary colleges in different cities of Canada. French religious orders, both of women and men, also have charge of 2618 orphans in New England. French nuns have charge of 1865 sick and aged adults, wayward women, and working girls.

Besides their religious work, vast and praiseworthy as it is, the French-Canadian immigrants have also displayed industry and activity in other walks of life, and in their closer relations with their fellow-citizens they have shown qualities and traits found only in the best of citizens. In other words they have stood well up to the standard in

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the body politic and in many ways have exercised over their surroundings an influence for the general good of the community such as to fully justify, at least so far as it refers to them, the statement made by Vice-President Fairbanks, that in the American Nation «flows the richest blood that courses in the veins of all the peoples in all quarters of the globe.» In fifty years, they have built up a press that is not surpassed, from the Catholic point of view, by that of any other group of immigrants in the United States. That press is composed today of seven dailies–*«L'Indépendant»*, of Fall River, Mass.; *«L'Opinion Publique»*, of Worcester, Mass.; *«L'Etoile»*, of Lowell, Mass.; *«La Tribune»*, of Woonsocket, R. I.; *«L'Avenir National»* and *«Le Reveil»*, of Manchester, N. H.; *«L'Echo de la Presse»*, of New Bedford, Mass.; two papers issued every other day–*«Le Messager»*, of Lewiston, Maine; *«L'Impartial»*, of Nashua, N. H.; one semi-weekly *«Le Jean-Baptiste»*, of Pawtucket, R. I.; and the fifteen weeklies–*«L'Union»*, of Woonsocket, R. I., official organ of L'Union St-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique; *«Le Canado-Américain»*, of Manchester, N. H., official organ of L'Association Canado-Américaine; *«La Justice»*, of Biddeford, Maine; *«La Justice»*, of Central Falls, R. I.; *«La Justice»*, of Holyoke, Mass.; *«L'Estafette»*, of Marlboro, Mass.; *«Le Progrès»*, of Lawrence, Mass.; *«Le Courrier»*, of Lawrence, Mass.; *«Le Courrier de Salem»*, of Salem, Mass.; *«L'Echo de l'Ouest»*, of Minneapolis, Minn.; *«Le Courrier Franco-Américain»*, of Chicago, Ill.; *«L'Indépendant»* (weekly edition), of Fall River, Mass.; *«L'Indépendant»*, of Fitchburg, Mass.; *«Le Progrès»*, of Woonsocket, R. I.; and *«Le Citoyen»*, of Haverhill, Mass. These newspapers are thoroughly Catholic in spirit, as well as sincerely American. Their editors and publishers met in convention, at Woonsocket, R. I., on 25 September, 1906, and organized the Association des Journalistes Franco-Américains de la Nouvelle Angleterre. At that meeting they adopted resolutions asserting their loyalty to the republic, and advising the French Americans to show themselves true and sincere American citizens, to promote naturalization, to preserve their mother tongue, to learn the English language, to maintain parochial schools, wherein both languages should be taught on an equal footing, and to ask for priests of their own nationality to be their pastors. The resolutions also requested the Holy See to appoint, when feasible and proper, bishops of their nationality, familiar with both the English and French languages, in all dioceses in which the French Americans constitute the majority of the Catholic population. The first French newspaper to appear in the United States was *«Le Courier de Boston»*, which was published weekly during a period of six months in 1789, the first number appearing on 23 April, and the last on 15 October. The editor and publisher was Paul Joseph Guérard de Nancrède, later a bookseller and stationer at Boston, and instructor in French at Harvard University from 1787 to 1800. The next French American newspaper was published in 1825, at Detroit, under the title of *«La Gazette Française»*, which issued only four numbers. In 1817, the Detroit Gazette published a French column during four months and then abandoned the venture. The second French American newspaper in New England was *«Le Patriote»*, published at St. Albans, Vermont, in 1839. Since that time nearly 200 newspapers published in the French language have appeared and disappeared, leaving only those mentioned above.

French American activity, while effectively applied to the enterprises of religion, education, and the press, has not neglected provident organizations. The first French institution of this kind was the Société de Jacques Cartier, founded in St. Albans, Vermont, in 1848, while the Société St-Jean-Baptiste of New York, organized in 1850, is

Membership of National Societies

	Councils or Courts	Members
L'Union St-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique	255	19,576
Association Canado-Américaine	159	11,158
Ordre des Chevaliers de Jacques Cartier	4	897
Ordre des Forestiers Franco-Américains	40	8,500
Artisans Canadiens-Français	100	15,000
L'Assomption	17	1,500

still in existence. In 1868 they had 17 benevolent societies, and since then they have organized more than 400 others, of which about 142 are still in existence. Moreover they have established federations, which have more than four hundred and fifty councils or branches, with thousands of members. To these organizations are due, in a great measure, the existence and prosperity of the most of the parishes. Many of them have inserted in their by-laws articles recommending naturalization. To obtain membership in any one of them the applicant must, in all cases, be of French origin and a practising Catholic. The local societies which still survive are distributed among the different states as follows: Massachusetts, 62; Vermont, 18; New Hampshire, 25; Maine, 12; Rhode Island, 11; Connecticut, 14—making a total of 142. It was in 1900 that, in response to the acknowledged need of a central organization embracing all the groups of the French race in the United States, the Union St-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique was organized, with headquarters in Woonsocket, R. I., through the federation of a considerable number of the local societies. The move has proved to be a very wise one, as is shown by the rapid growth of the new society, which has enrolled over 19,500 members in eight years. The Association Canado-Américaine of Manchester, New Hampshire, established in 1896, has a membership of over 11,000 and is working along the same religious and patriotic lines. In 1906, a new society, the Ordre des Forestiers Franco-Américains, was formed by the secession of a few thousand members from the Foresters of America, and it now comprises 40 courts. All the French American societies, with the exception of the Forestiers, give life insurance, and without exception, they provide for sick benefits. Millions of dollars have been distributed by them to the widows and orphans of their members and to their sick fellow-members. The Société des Artisans Canadiens-Français, though a Canadian Society, and the Société L'Assomption, a society of French Acadians drawing the greater part of its membership from the maritime provinces, also have members in the United States and are therefore included in the above table, which shows the number of councils or courts and the membership of the four national societies in New England.

These societies are all Catholic, and in 1905 the Union St-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique and L'Association Canado-Américaine were instrumental in organizing the Société Historique Franco-Américaine du Denier de St-Pierre, whose sole object is to collect funds for the Holy See. The Société Historique Franco-Américaine, incorporated under the laws of the State of Massachusetts, was organized in Boston in 1899, «for the purpose of encouraging the careful and systematical study of the history of the United States, and especially to bring forth in its true light the exact part taken by the French race in

the evolution and formation of the American people.» With this end in view this society has met regularly twice a year since its organization. Noted American historians and writers, as well as several from France and Canada, have delivered before it addresses which have contributed in no slight measure to enrich the store of French American historical literature. Another organization which seems destined to play an important rôle, at least among the French Americans of tomorrow, is the Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Franco-Américaine, which was formed at Baltimore, Maryland, 4 January, 1908, by twenty-two young French Americans who were students in various universities of that city. This organization aims first of all to form true sons of the Catholic Church and useful citizens of the American Republic. Piety, study, and action constitute its threefold motto. Its first congress, held at Worcester, Massachusetts, 23 and 24 August, 1908, was attended by delegates from circles formed in different New England localities.

Besides the admirable work they have accomplished by means of their parishes, press, and in order to render their efforts more effective, the French Americans have held at different times conventions called for various purposes. The first of these gatherings, destined to promote the interests of the mutual benefit societies then existing, and held under their auspices, took place at New York City, in 1865. Thereafter similar conventions were held annually, the year 1877 excepted, until 1881, as follows: 1865, New York; 1869, Detroit; 1873, Biddeford, Maine; 1866, New York; 1870, St. Albans, Vermont; 1874, New York; 1867, Troy; 1871, Worcester, Mass.; 1875, Glens Falls, N. Y.; 1868, Springfield, Mass.; 1872, Chicago, Ill.; 1876, Holyoke, Mass.; 1878, Troy, N. Y.; 1879, Boston, Mass.; 1880, Northampton, Mass.; 1881, Lawrence, Mass. Since 1880 there have been six general conventions of French Americans, to which all the groups of this element, as well as all their societies, were invited to send delegates. These national gatherings took place as follows: 1880, Springfield, Mass.; 1882, Cohoes, N. Y.; 1884, Troy; 1886, Rutland, Vermont; 1888, Nashua, N. H.; 1893, Chicago, Ill. In October, 1901, delegates (to the number of 742) of the various groups and societies of French Americans in New England and the State of New York met in a «Congress» at Springfield, Mass. The four great subjects of deliberation were naturalization, benevolent societies, education, and the religious situation, and the spirit of the numerous and forcible addresses made on these heads is fittingly and admirably reflected in the resolutions. This congress, undoubtedly the most successful gathering of French Americans held up to that time, appointed a permanent commission consisting of the president of the congress and two delegates from each state represented, authorizing it to take all necessary measures for putting the resolutions of the congress into effect, and giving it the power to call another congress, local or general, according to its discretion.

Besides these general conventions, others have been held at different times and places for the purpose of considering a particular question or the interests of the French Americans of a particular state or diocese. For instance, the French Americans of Connecticut have held eighteen conventions in the last twenty-three years. Political organizations have also flourished among citizens of French-Canadian origin, and naturalization clubs can be found in every city, town, or village where they are sufficient in number to maintain such institutions. In June, 1906, there was organized in the State of Massachusetts the Club Républicain Franco-Américain, with headquarters at Boston, at the first banquet of which, in April, 1907, Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, a member of the Roosevelt Cabinet, was the

guest of honour. The French-Americans, in 1890, had 13 representatives in the Legislatures of Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, besides numerous public servants in the city councils and the municipal administrations; in 1907, they elected senators in Maine, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island; their representatives in New England numbered, in 1907, as follows:–

	Representatives	Senators
Maine	5	2
Massachusetts	6	1
New Hampshire	18	–
Connecticut	2	–
Rhode Island	4	2

–a total of 5 Senators and 35 Representatives. In many instances their candidates for high political honours have been successful at the polls. Such has been the case with the Hon. Pierre Broussard, Congressman from Louisiana; the Hon. Aram J. Pothier, of Woonsocket, R. I., elected governor of his state in November, 1908, after having been its lieutenant-governor and mayor of his city; the Hon. Adélard Archambault, also of Woonsocket, and who has likewise filled the offices of lieutenant-governor and mayor; Judge Joseph A. Breaux, of Louisiana; Pierre Bonvouloir, of Holyoke, Mass., whose service as city treasurer covers a period of fifteen consecutive years; Hugo A. Dubuque, of Fall River, Mass., ex-member of the Massachusetts Legislature, and city solicitor; Alex. L. Granger, of Kankakee, Ill., district attorney; Aimé E. Boisvert, of Manchester, N. H., district attorney; and Arthur S. Hogue, of Plattsburg, N. Y., also district attorney. Studying an earlier period, we find the names of Pierre Ménard, first Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois; the Rev. Gabriel Richard, second Congressman from Michigan (the only Catholic priest who ever sat in Congress), and Louis Vital Bougy, United States Senator from Wisconsin. At the present time, prominent among those who serve the country abroad are the following French Americans: Arthur M. Beaupré (Illinois), Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Netherlands; Alphonse Gaulin (Rhode Island), Consul-General at Marseilles, France; Eugène L. Belisle (Massachusetts), Consul at Limoges, France; Pierre P. Demers (New Hampshire), Consul at Bahia, Brazil; Joseph M. Authier (Rhode Island), Consul at Guadeloupe, West Indies.

In civil life, belonging to the generation departed for a better world, though their names are still present to the memory of their fellow-citizens and compatriots, were Ferdinand Gagnon, of Worcester, Mass., the father of French American journalism; Dr. L. J. Martel, of Lewiston, Maine, his worthy associate in the advancement of the French American element in the New England States; Major Edmond Mallet, of Washington, D. C., recognized as an authority upon the history of the North-West, and whose library (preserved intact by L'Union St-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique) is the largest and most complete collection of documents relating to the French Americans ever gathered; Frédéric Houde and Antoine Mousette, pioneer journalists; Judge Joseph LeBoeuf, of Cohoes, N. Y.; Pierre F. Peloquin, of Fall River, Mass., and a score of others who for years had been foremost among their compatriots as champions of their rights, both civil and religious.

To sum up, the record of the French Americans in their new country has been such that prominent men of native origin, writers and politicians of note, have sung their praise on more than one occasion. In this respect, one will readily remember the homage paid them upon different occasions by the late Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, as well as the marks of high esteem shown them by governors and members of Congress. As recently as 20 March, 1908, Senator

Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, speaking on «Immigration» before the Boston City Club, made the following statement:

> Later than any of these (movements of immigration) was the immigration of French Canadians, but which has assumed large proportions, and has become a strong and most valuable element of our population. But the French of Canada scarcely come within the subject we are considering, because they are hardly to be classed as immigrants in the accepted sense. They represent one of the oldest settlements on this continent. They have been, in the broad sense, Americans for generations, and their coming to the United States, is merely a movement of Americans across an imaginary line, from one part of America to another.

In truth, the sentiment of hostility and suspicion, which rebuked the French Americans at their arrival in the republic, has subsided before their splendid conduct and magnificent spirit, and is replaced today by that tribute of respect which mankind acknowledges as due, and never fails to grant, to men of talent, industry, generosity, and patriotism.

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The New Catholic Encyclopedia *of 1967 carried an article by Mason Wade based on an entire lifetime of academic interest in the Franco-Americans. Wade's article is not only brimming over with information, but the facts are laced together with the sure hand of a scholar of North American history and highlighted by the experience and insight of his French-Canadian studies. It is to be noted that in this edition of the* Catholic Encyclopedia *the section on the religious life of the Franco-Americans treats forthrightly, if not in depth, the controversies with the Irish-Americans, with Protestant proselytism and with the authorities in the Catholic Church.*

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FRENCH AND FRENCH CANADIANS IN THE U.S.

by
Mason Wade

The several million Americans of French or French-Canadian origin, who are among the oldest Americans of European stock, are for the most part human vestiges of the vast continental French empire in North America. The Catholic tradition of this extensive region goes back to the days of the French regime, for missionaries always accompanied the French explorers and sometimes preceded them, and the French outposts were mission centers as well as trading and military posts. At the time of the French cession of Canada in 1763 some 80,000 French were to be found in the French possessions: 60,000 in New France, 10,000 Acadians (of whom some 7,000 had been dispersed among the English colonies in 1755), and 10,000 in Louisiana, in addition to about 50,000 Huguenots who had found homes in the English colonies.[1]

Most Franco-Americans, as they generally call themselves, are of French-Canadian origin, for there were only 633,807 immigrants to the U.S. from France between 1820 and 1950, while French-Canadians probably made up more than one third of the total of 3,177,446 immigrants from Canada during the same period, and more than one half of the 90,367 of French stock reported in the U.S. Census of 1790. The statistical problem remains unsolvable, for while the censuses of the 18th century may be assumed to be fairly accurate for the St. Lawrence Valley and the New Orleans districts, French and British officials in turn despaired of enumerating the scattered, shifting population of the hinterlands of New France, Acadia, and Louisiana: the U.S. census did not make any distinction between English and French-Canadians until 1890; and the Canadian emigration records similarly make no distinction. Thousands of individuals have blithely disregarded border formalities, regarding all of North America as their own domain; while unilingualism on one side and bilingualism on the other have confused the issue. The number of Franco-Americans of Canadian stock is probably four or five times the figure of 1,106,159 reported in the U.S. Census of 1930.

Acadians and Other Early Settlers. The mingling of the French-Canadian and U.S. populations began with the expulsion (1755) of 6,000 or 7,000 Acadians from their homes on the Bay of Fundy, which had come under British rule by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). These Acadians were deported to the English colonies from Massachusetts to Georgia, while another 3,000 or 4,000 took refuge from the continuing English manhunt in the woods of Nova Scotia and surrounding areas. Some of the deportees eventually made their way over the Appalachians to the French settlements of Louisiana and the Middle West, while others drifted back home after the peace treaty of 1763, many of them settling in the St. John Valley of Maine and in New Brunswick. Some remained in the English colonies to swell the French population

whose nucleus was the Huguenot immigrants who had been barred from New France since 1628. About 1,600 Acadians who went to France under the terms of the Peace of 1763 were brought to Louisiana as settlers in 1785, where they were reunited with 3,000 or 4,000 earlier Acadian refugees who had found their way there from the English colonies or the French Antilles. These were the forebears of the Cajuns, who are still predominant in the bayou country.

The American Revolution brought another, though far smaller, migration from Quebec, for some 150 French-Canadians, largely from the Richelieu Valley, who had made common cause with invading American forces in 1775 and 1776, were forced to flee after the collapse of the invasion. They received land grants in northern New York in the Refugee Tract and in the Western Reserve, thus founding Franco-American communities whose numbers increased as casual immigrants followed the Champlain-Richelieu-St. Lawrence trade route. Crop failures, overpopulation of the old seigniories along the Richelieu and St. Lawrence, and popular dissatisfaction with Governor Sir James Craig's anti-French «reign of terror» in Lower Canada (1807-11) produced a swelling stream of southward migration. Three hundred French-Canadian families crossed the border into Vermont in 1808; and the arrival of immigrants from Quebec was reported at Winooski, Vt., in 1814; at Woonsocket, R.I., in the same year; at Manchester, N.H., in 1830, at Lewiston, Maine, in 1831; and at Southbridge, Mass., in 1832. The rebellions of 1837 and 1838 in Lower Canada forced others to seek political refuge in Vermont and New York, with Swanton, St. Albans, Burlington, and Saratoga serving as headquarters for the *patriote* fugitives. Ludger Duvernay, the founder of the St. Jean Baptiste Society of Montreal, began on Aug. 7, 1839, publication of *Le Patriote Canadien* at Burlington, the first of more than 200 Franco-American newspapers that have since appeared and for the most part disappeared. Continued agricultural depression and the decline of the St. Lawrence timber trade drove an increasing number of French-Canadians to emigrate during the 1840s and 1850s.

Early Settlers of Louisiana and the West. The history of the French population of the Great Lakes area and Mississippi Valley is less clear and less well documented than that of the main body of French-Canadians in the St. Lawrence Valley. Under the Treaty of Paris (1763), the middle of the Mississippi was established as the new boundary between the British colonies and Louisiana, which had not been included in the cession of New France. But France had already ceded Louisiana to Spain under the secret Treaty of Fontainbleau (1762). Though the transfer of Louisiana to Spain was kept secret until 1764, orders were immediately sent from Paris to the commanders of the posts east of the Mississippi to evacuate their garrisons as soon as the British arrived to take over. Many of the French colonists of Kaskaskia, St. Philippe, and Fort Chartres crossed the Mississippi to St. Genevieve on the west bank, while those at Cahokia moved across the river to Pierre Laclède's new settlement of St. Louis at the mouth of the Missouri. Under Spanish rule St. Louis remained French in all respects, except for the presence of a few Spanish officials and the partial use of Spanish in a few official documents.

The French population of lower Louisiana, for the most part drawn from France or the Antilles, was swollen by the arrival of refugee Acadians. The French in Louisiana stubbornly resisted Spanish rule from its institution in 1766; Louisiana remained a French colony at heart, though it was under Spanish rule for 34 years. In the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso (1800) Napoleon finally persuaded Spain to retrocede Louisiana to

France. Napoleon's dream of a colonial empire came to an end with the sale of the territory to the U. S. in 1803. Southwestern Louisiana remains more French than any other part of the U. S., and the Vieux Carré of New Orleans rivals Quebec City as a living memorial of the French empire in North America.

The chief trading posts on the Great Lakes, Niagara, Detroit, and Mackinac, which passed into U.S. hands when the British finally gave up the Western Posts in 1796, long preserved a French flavor. As late as 1860 a tourist found the French language dominant in the Detroit marketplace and on both sides of the St. Clair River. There were other French colonies at the lesser posts of Sault Sainte Marie, Green Bay, Fort St. Joseph (South Bend), Fort Wayne, Utica, Peoria, and Starved Rock, while along the Wisconsin and St. Croix Rivers French groups were to be found at Fort St. Croix, Fort Pepin, Fort Winnebago, Fort St. Nicholas, and Prairie du Chien.

The U. S. fur trade was manned principally by French-Canadians, although capital and management were for the most part in the hands of English-speaking settlers. French names, often hopelessly corrupted as in the case of the Picketwire (La Purgatoire) River of southern Colorado, commemorate countless French mountain men who carried on the fur trade on the plains and in the Rockies. All who spoke French and had French names were commonly called Canadians, though some had come to the West via New Orleans directly from France or the Antilles. The slender numbers of the original French traders and settlers in the West were soon swelled by *Métis* or halfbreeds, who were particularly valuable to the fur trade because of their Indian connections. The history of the opening up of the American West is often centered on the great names of Lewis and Clark, Wilson Hunt, Robert Stuart, and John C. Frémont, but an examination of these explorers' records indicates how much they were indebted to the French *voyageurs* or mountain men who guided them over the age-old Indian trails.

Immigrants of the Later 19th Century. A new wave of French immigration to the Middle West began in the 1840s, when the lumber and copper booms in Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin attracted Canadians from the overcrowded St. Lawrence Valley. By 1840, 1,000 French-Canadian families had located in Kankakee County, 50 miles south of Chicago, Ill., and in the 1850s Rev. Charles Chiniquy led many of his followers to Bourbonnais after he was disciplined by Bp. Ignace Bourget. Many French-Canadians settled also in the sawmill towns on the east shore of Lake Michigan, and others found employment in the copper mines along the south shore of Lake Superior. The California gold rush of 1849 attracted many French-Canadians; the 1860 census indicated the presence there of 5,000 Canadian-born. Quebec records reveal how the gold fever swept the depressed St. Lawrence towns, threatening to depopulate Trois-Rivières.

By far the largest influx of French-Canadians to the U. S. after 1850 was to New England, which by the end of the century seemed to anxious Yankees in danger of becoming at last part of New France, despite their ancestors' victories over the French and Indians. About the middle of the century the migration from Quebec, which at first had been seasonal, began to become permanent and to increase as the newcomers found steady work in the brickyards and textile factories of New England's expanding industrial economy. Between 1857 and 1863 the migration dropped, thanks to prosperity in Canada brought by the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, the construction of railroads, and the Crimean War. The Civil War also checked the flow, and from 1860 to 1864 the total number of Canadian immigrants dropped to

10,958, the lowest figure since 1844.

But the Civil War had contrasting effects on what was now an established pattern of migration. On the one hand, Britian's neutrality and proclamation of fines or imprisonment for Canadians who violated the Foreign Enlistment Act, backed by the Quebec bishops' warnings against the religious dangers of foreign military service and by American advice to remain at home until employment opportunities improved in the New England mill towns, induced many French-Canadians to remain at home or to return there from New England. On the other hand, many were attracted by the liberal bounties offered for enlistment after the first year of the war, which by the end of the conflict totaled as much as $1,000. «Crimpers» also were particularly active in Lower Canada (Quebec) recruiting for the Union Army, using money, drink, and other inducements. Estimates of the number of French-Canadians who served in the Union Army (few joined the Confederate forces) vary widely, with 20,000 probably nearer the truth than the traditional inflated estimates of 30,000 to 40,000. Small as the wartime migration was, it paved the way for the great exodus from Quebec that developed in the postwar years and continued until the 1890s, when prosperity returned to Canada.

INCREASE AFTER THE CIVIL WAR. The total migration from Canada increased sixfold to 101,020 from 1865 to 1869; doubled again to 198,693 from 1870 to 1874; slumped to 125,611 during the depression years of 1875 to 1879; and reached a peak of 454,460 from 1880 to 1884, which was not surpassed until 1920 to 1924 when 526,853 Canadians sought refuge in the U.S. from postwar depression in Canada. How much of this total Canadian migration was made up of French-Canadians cannot be determined precisely, but there is abundant evidence that a very large part of it was drawn from Quebec. By June 1873 it was estimated that one-fourth and perhaps one-third of Quebec's farmlands were uncultivated because of the desertion of farm families and the shortage of laborers.

Rev. P.E. Gendreau, appointed by the Canadian government to investigate the number of Canadian-born residents of the U.S. and the possibility of repatriating them, estimated in 1873 that approximately 400,000 French-Canadians were living in the U.S.: 200,000 in New England; 150,000 in the Midwest; and 50,000 «scattered.» Gustave-Lanctot estimated that 200,000 more crossed the border between 1870 and 1890. It is probable that at least 500,000 French-Canadians migrated to the U.S. between 1865 and 1890, and perhaps half a million more between 1905 and 1929, a period when Canadian immigration again became heavy. In 1940 the U.S. census reported the number of French-Canadians born in Canada or of Canadian-born or mixed parentage as 908,000. This figure, of course, does not take into account the descendants of earlier immigrants.

CAUSES. The causes of the great exodus from Quebec in the latter part of the 19th century were primarily economic, though political and social factors may have had some influence. The American abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866 deprived the Quebec farmer, who was already beset by exhausted soil and overdivided lands, of his natural market and reduced him to a subsistence economy that was not sufficient for large families. The financial panic of 1873 heightened a depression that prevailed in Canada until the opening of the West in the 1890s. The decline of the St. Lawrence timber trade and the slow development of industry, which provided only 200,000 jobs between 1839 and 1939, forced the French-Canadian to emigrate «not in quest of a higher standard of living but to avoid a lower,» according to the seventh census of Canada.

A rapidly expanding U.S. and the development of a national market for New England industries provided the employment opportunities that were lacking in Canada. This was particularly true of the textile mills, whose machinery ran night and day to meet the demand for cottons and woolens, and whose managers welcomed the newcomers who were willing to work from dawn to dusk for lower wages than the Yankee farm girls and Irish immigrants who in turn had provided the earlier labor force. The heavy manpower losses of the Civil War and the postwar westward movement began the decline of the native New England stock, which was increasingly replaced by immigrants. In most of the New England mill towns «Little Canadas» sprang up, which soon came to provide a major element in the total population. By 1900 French-Canadians made up 30 per cent of the Massachusetts textile workers and more than 60 per cent of those in New Hampshire and Maine.

French-Canadian Religious and Social Life. In the absence of appropriate census information, the founding of French parishes provides the best index of French-Canadian development, for from the first the parish provided the basic social unit for the immigrants. The first French parish in New England, St. Joseph's, was established at Burlington, Vt., in 1850 as a result of the Canadians' determination to have a church of their own. The Quebec bishops had long turned a deaf ear to reiterated appeals from the bishop of Boston for Canadian priests for Vermont and Maine: In 1828 Bp. Benedict J. Fenwick was unable to obtain a single French-Canadian priest, and in response to his second appeal in 1841 Bishop Bourget replied that he could do no more than send a priest to northern New England three or four times a year. When Bp. L. de Goesbriand, first bishop of Burlington, took charge of his see in 1853, he appealed vainly to Quebec for French-speaking priests. The Quebec clergy had opposed the migration to New England from the start, favoring agricultural pioneering in Quebec or the U.S. Midwest instead, on the grounds that as day laborers in cities and factory towns, the emigrants lost everything that Canadians held dearest: religion, language, and nationality.

Not until 1869 did the Quebec bishops answer Bishop Goesbriand's reiterated appeal for priests. In that year eight French-Canadian priests went to New England to work among the emigrants, and these pioneers were soon followed by other diocesan priests and members of religious orders. The Oblates of Mary Immaculate played a predominant role with missionary centers in Burlington and Lowell (Mass.), as well as three parishes in northern New York. The Dominicans established parishes in Lewiston, Maine, and Fall River, Mass.; while the Marists took over St. Anne's, Lowell (1882); Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, Boston, Mass. (1884), and St. Bruno's, Van Buren, Maine. Nuns and brothers of many orders soon followed to staff the schools, hospitals, and other institutions. Eventually classical colleges, such as Assumption in Worcester, Mass., and Rivier in Hudson, N.H. were founded.

FRENCH-IRISH CONFLICTS. One great stimulus to the foundation of French parishes in New England was the friction between French-Canadian immigrants and their Irish coreligionists, which was reported as early as the middle of the 19th century, and produced some of the bitterest episodes in the Catholic annals of New England when the Irish hierarchy opposed the continuation of national parishes. Though French and Irish shared the same faith, their differences of religious customs, parochial habits, and temperament, as well as language, were so great that one Franco-American priest wondered whether God was going to separate them in heaven.

Though the earlier Irish immigrant had

been looked down upon by the Yankee as a «foreign papist,» he spoke the language of the country and soon made himself at home. The Irish tended to look down in turn upon the later French-Canadian immigrant because he spoke another language, refused to change his native ways, and was willing to work harder and longer for lower wages. For his part the French-Canadian immigrant, accustomed to a well-endowed, semi-established Church in Quebec, found new economic burdens in practicing his religion in the U.S. His reluctance to contribute from his hard-earned wages, which sometimes amounted to only $4 a week for 6 days of dawn to dusk labor, coupled with the fact that he was crowding the churches built at bitter cost by the earlier Irish immigrants, made him unpopular with Irish pastors, often insensitive to French susceptibilities. There was a temperamental incompatibility between French-Canadian and Irishman, reinforced by each group's chosen people complex, strong group consciousness, and mutual aid tendencies, which led to the demand for separate French parishes as soon as the French-Canadians were numerous enough to support them.

Worcester and Woonsocket were the only New England centers that had French colonies nearly as old as Burlington's, and French parishes were established in these cities in 1869 and 1873. But soon Waterville, Lewiston, and Biddeford, Maine; Manchester, Nashua, Suncook, Rochester, and Berlin, N.H.; Lowell, Lawrence, Lynn, Salem, Fitchburg, Gardiner, Spencer, Holyoke, Northampton, Adams, Pittsfield, Taunton, and Fall River, Mass.; Providence, Center Falls, and Pawtucket, R.I.; and Putnam, Willimantic, Meriden, and Waterbury, Conn., had «Little Canadas,» which established French parishes. By 1891 there were 86 Franco-American parishes, with 53 parochial schools attended by 25,000 children. Such parishes numbered more than 100 by 1900, and 178 by 1948, along with 197 Franco-American mixed parishes in which both French and English were used. The parish has remained the bulwark of the Franco-American's remarkable resistance to assimilation in the general population, which surpasses that of any other American immigrant group.

While New England and northern New York were the chief destinations of emigrants from Quebec, there is evidence that considerable numbers were still attracted to the Midwest, where Chicago, Detroit, Bay City, and Crookston became notable Franco-American centers. Employers who had become familiar with the good qualities of French-Canadian workers actively recruited them. But the most effective recruiting agent was the emigrant himself, by means of his letters home and his occasional visits to his native village, where, dressed in city clothes, he personified success in the U.S. His penchant for making invidious comparisons between his new way of life and the old one was still being satirized in the 1940s in Quebec's most popular soap opera, Claude Grignon's *Un homme et son péché.*

NATIVIST CONFLICTS. The rapid growth of the Franco-American group in New England did not take place without friction with the Yankee populace. The Canadian immigration first took on notable proportions at the time when anti-Catholic feeling exploded in the form of «Know-Nothingism» (1854-56). The «Protestant Crusade» of the 1850s was professedly sectarian, but it rested also upon the political basis of changing institutions and upon the economic basis of the immigrant's challenge to the individual Yankee's security. The troubles of the French-Canadians were increased by the hostility of Irish Catholics who were not enthusiastic about the establishment of foreign-language (national) parishes and schools. The Irish believed the rapid Americanization of foreign-born Catholics would relieve anti-Catholic feeling. The rigid authoritarianism

of some Irish prelates and pastors acting on these principles grated on the individualistic French-Canadians, whose insistence on preserving their language and customs, whose cohesive tendencies, and whose love of the full measure of religious solemnity separated them from those whom they came to call the «Irish assimilators.»

FRATERNAL SOCIETIES. In addition to establishing their own churches and schools, the Franco-Americans early displayed a tendency to organize their own fraternal and insurance societies, of which the Société de Jacques Cartier (1848) and the Société de St-Jean-Baptiste of New York (1850) were the first. By 1869 there were 17 such benevolent societies, in which membership was restricted to French Catholics. Subsequently more than 400 were established. Many of these societies became federated in organizations that held national conventions, to which leading Quebec political and religious figures came to speak and to renew the participants' ties with Quebec. Franco-American leaders attended similar gatherings in Quebec. The great Montreal St-Jean-Baptiste Day celebration in 1874, attended by 10,000 Franco-Americans and the leaders of their national societies, disturbed some Yankees by its revelation of the number of the immigrants and their divided loyalties, as did such slogans as the Franco-American journalist Ferdinand Gagnon's «Loyaux, oui, mais Français toujours.» At first both the clergy and the leaders of the national societies opposed naturalization, but the 17th national convention, held at Plattsburgh, N.Y., in 1886, resolved in favor of «naturalization without assimilation.» Naturalization clubs were subsequently formed in the Franco-American centers.

PROTESTANT PROSELYTISM. The realization that New England was becoming in good part French-Canadian roused a new nativist reaction, in which French Protestant missionaries played a part. The crusade was stimulated in part by the influx of Scotch Irish from Canada and Britian, whose clerical leaders regarded the French Protestants as useful allies, as they had been in Canada. Rev. Calvin E. Amaron, son of Swiss Baptist missionaries in Quebec, head of the French Protestant International College in Springfield, Mass., editor of *Le Semeur Franco-Américan*, and pastor of the French Protestants of Lowell, was the foreigner who sounded the loudest nativist trumpet. His books, *The Evangelization of the French-Canadians* (1885) and *Your Heritage: or New England Threatened* (1891), put into print the dark fears that haunted Yankees. Amaron outlined measures to keep New England «Protestant and American,» including the establishment of separate French Protestant churches to bring the Franco-Americans «into contact with Protestant influences, and this is all that is necessary to make of them true Christian citizens, loyal to the Constitution of the nation.»

This movement, at first mainly a Congregationalist effort and then a Baptist one, was notably unsuccessful, for religion was identified with ethnic status and group loyalty to an unusually great extent for the Franco-American. *Survivance*—preservation of religion, language, and customs—had become an obsession with the French-Canadians as a result of their struggle since 1760 to maintain their identity under British rule. The Protestant missionary effort probably did more to strengthen the cohesive tendencies of the Franco-American, and to stimulate nativism and anti-Catholicism among the Yankees, than to win converts.

NATIONALIST CONFLICTS RESOLVED. The troubles over national parishes at Fall River (1884-86), at Danielson, Conn., (1894-96), and at North Brookfield, Mass., (1899), were outbreaks of a conflict that was latent almost everywhere in New England. All three

incidents reflected a hardening of the Franco-American desire for priests of their own language and ethnic origin. The American hierarchy of the day was divided on the question of territorial vs. national parishes. One group sought to hasten the assimilation of Catholic immigrants as much as possible; the other favored the conservation of the foreign heritage in national parishes under priests of the same stock, while encouraging the development of patriotism to the adopted country. Although the issue was settled by Rome in favor of the assimilative party in 1896, there have since been major difficulties involving French parishes in Maine and Rhode Island, and the tendency in New England to turn national parishes into territorial ones continues to be fiercely resisted by the Franco-American old guard, the so-called *patriotes*.

The former dream of some nationalist leaders who sought to create a New Quebec in New England has been doomed, however, by the attitude of Rome and of the American hierarchy, by the end of massive immigration from Quebec, and by the growing Americanism of the Franco-Americans, who were not content to be merely transplanted French-Canadians and soon became integrated into American life. Since 1900 the Franco-American record in industry, business, government, and military service has completely refuted the 19th-century nativist's dire forebodings. Frictions continue in the ecclesiastical world, but the Franco-American has become as typical in New England as the vanishing Yankee and the well-established Irishman. In other parts of the U.S. the Franco-American often goes unrecognized as such, for nowhere outside New England has *survivance* been supported by such an array of religious and social institutions, often assisted from Quebec. Recent efforts from Quebec to reunite the Franco-Americans with the French-Canadians by cultural ties have not found much support even in New England. As early as 1908 Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge declared that the Franco-Americans were hardly to be classed as immigrants, because «they have been, in the broad sense, Americans for generations, and their coming to the U.S. is merely a movement of Americans across an imaginary line, from one part of America to another.»

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No single work is both comprehensive and objective. The following are good introductions to the subject.

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BEGINNINGS

The forced migration of the Acadians in the last half of the eighteenth century has never been more clearly delineated than in the following selection by Robert LeBlanc, first published in the December, 1967 issue of Cahiers de Géographie de Québec. *LeBlanc provides a most useful geographical perspective on the history of an important segment of the Franco-American population.*

ERIC

THE ACADIAN MIGRATIONS

by

Robert LeBlanc

INTRODUCTION

The cultural diversity of people and shifting national boundaries have often led to political instability by the creation of enclaves and exclaves of minority groups. One measure by which such problems may be resolved is the forced migrations of peoples across international boundaries. Perhaps the most recent and well-known example of this were the measures taken in the Central European «Shatter Belt» following World War II to eliminate the minority problems that existed there before the War. The colonial history of North America provides a comparable situation. During the course of the Anglo-French struggle for control of North America, a new boundary was placed on the political map of the continent. The Acadians, French and Catholic, formerly within the French colonial empire suddenly found themselves political members of the English empire. The political instability generated by this new status eventually led to their expulsion in 1755, on the eve of the culminating struggle between the English and the French. For many years thereafter, the Acadian exiles sought either repatriation or a new homeland. They moved across the map always seeking but seldom finding a permanent home. Their efforts toward repatriation were ultimately frustrated. Not until 1800 did the Acadians finally achieve some measure of locational stability. This paper will concern itself with the Acadian migrations, their ephemeral homes and their final settlement pattern.

THE SITUATION OF ACADIA

Acadia was settled by French colonists early in the 17th century. Its location along the littoral of the Baie Française (Bay of Fundy) is important to an understanding of its history (See Map 1). First, Acadia was isolated from the major French settlement in the St. Lawrence Valley. There was little contact between the two and there gradually emerged a cultural distinctiveness despite the common antecedents of both groups. Acadian contact with France was at a minimum. There was little increment to the Acadian population via immigration from France after 1671 (Richard, 1895: 32).

More important was the location of Acadia relative to the New England colonies. In a sense the French and the English faced each other from the opposite sides of a lake (the Gulf of Maine) which provided easy accessibility. Some relatively peaceful contacts generally of a commercial nature were made. Although the Acadians were primarily agriculturists, they carried on some fishing activities and as a result contact and sometimes conflicts occurred with the New Englanders on the fishing banks. Increasingly, Acadia became a battlefield for the English and French. The French garrison at Louisburg

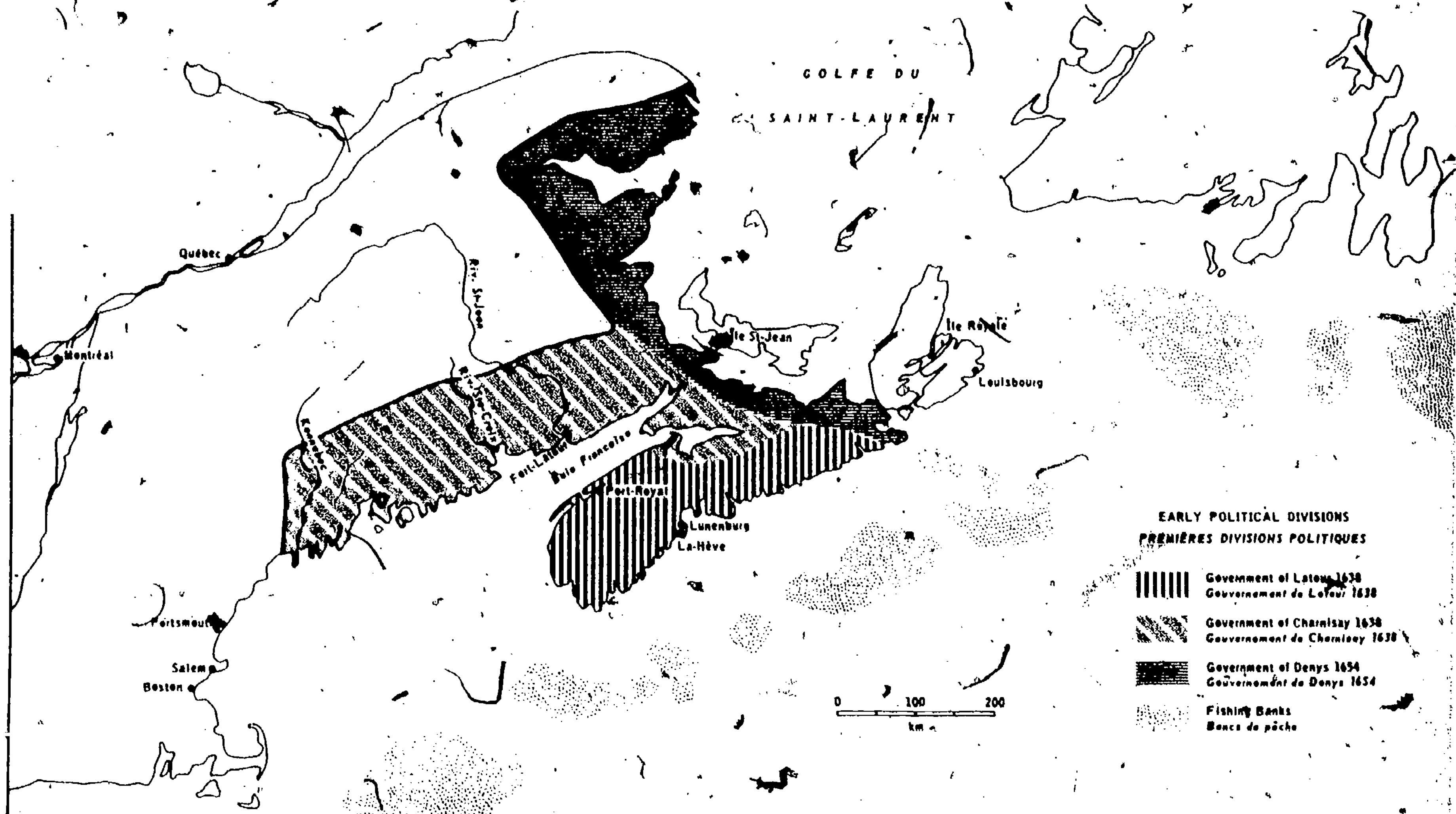
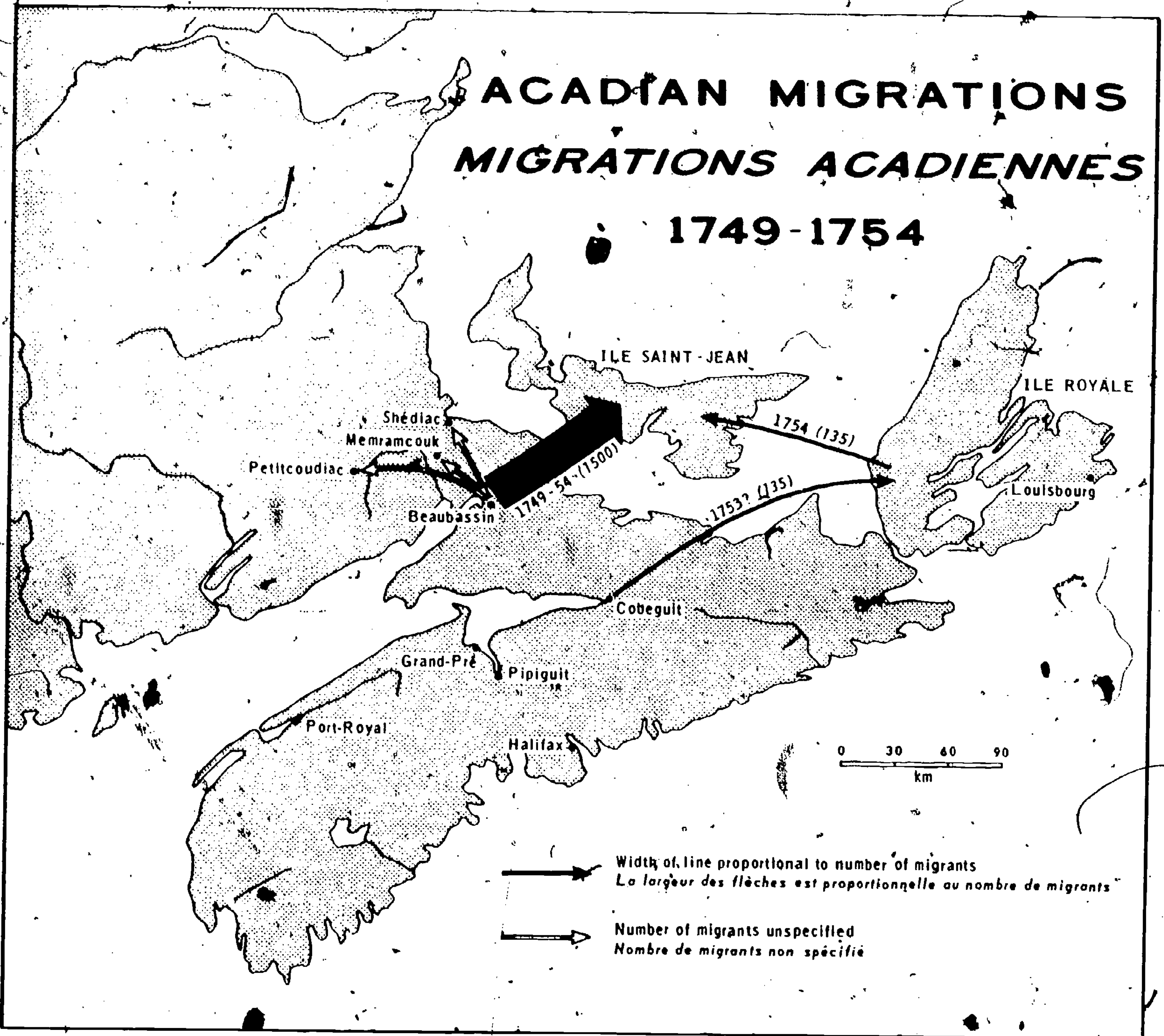


Figure 1



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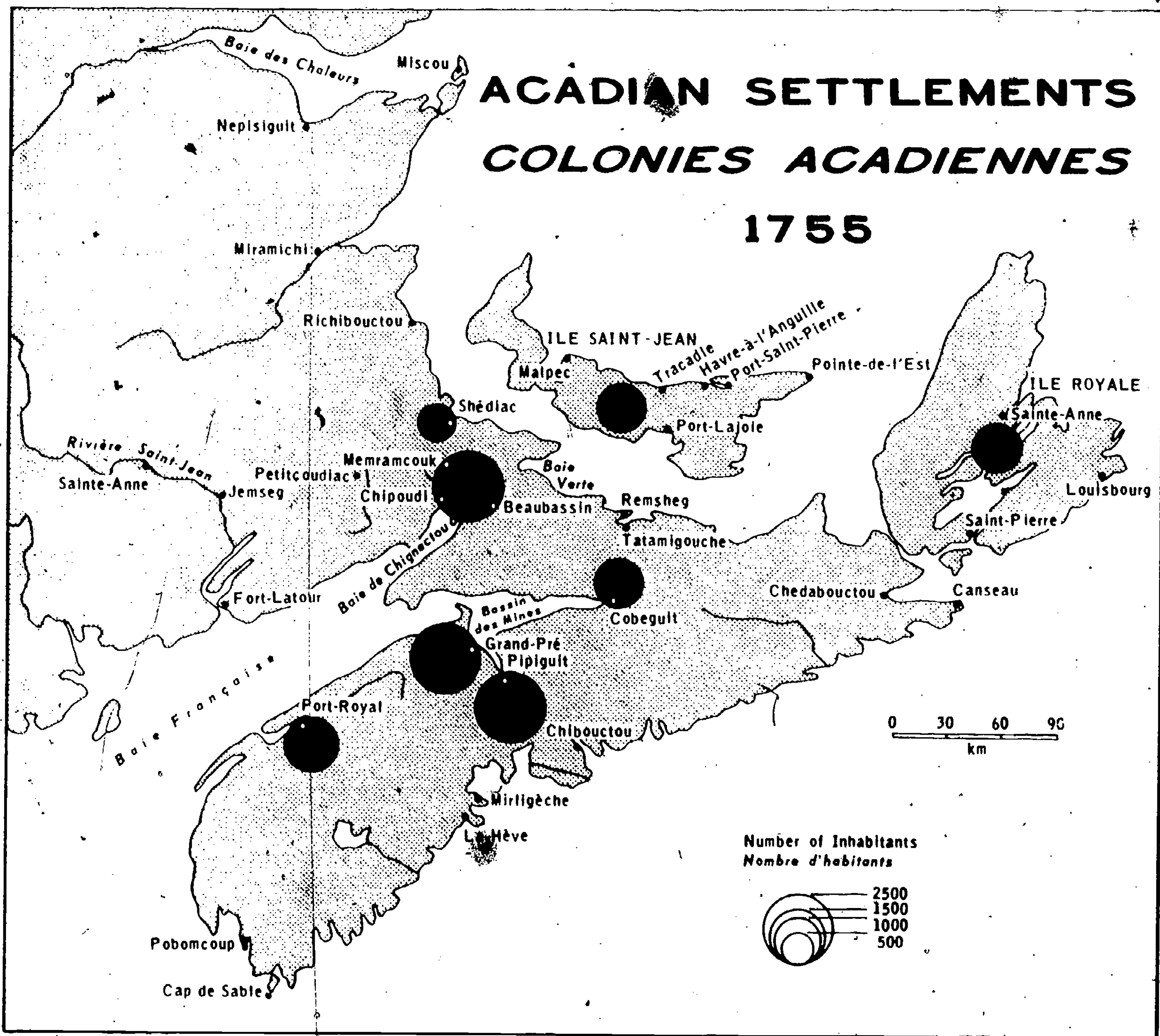

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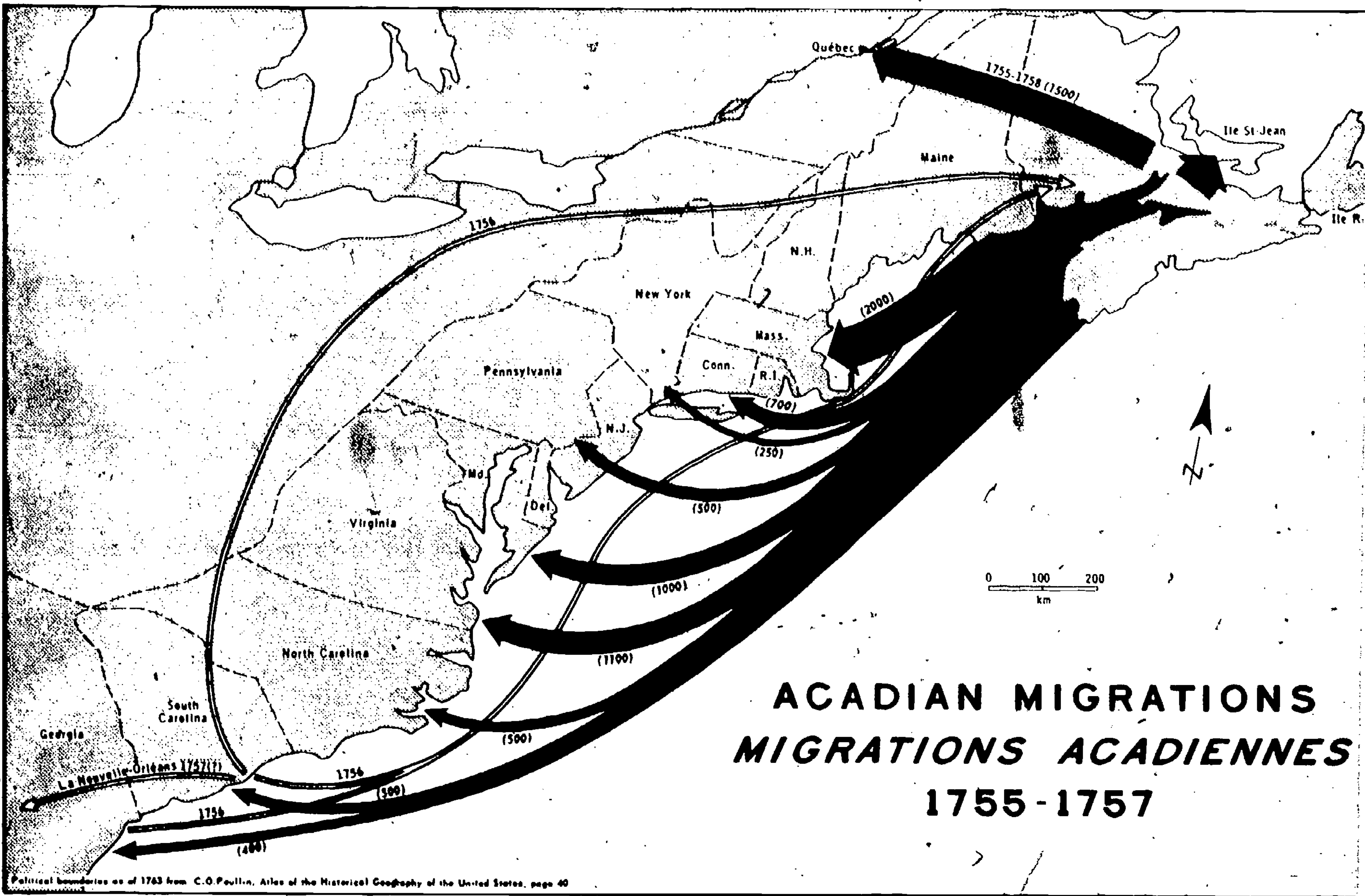

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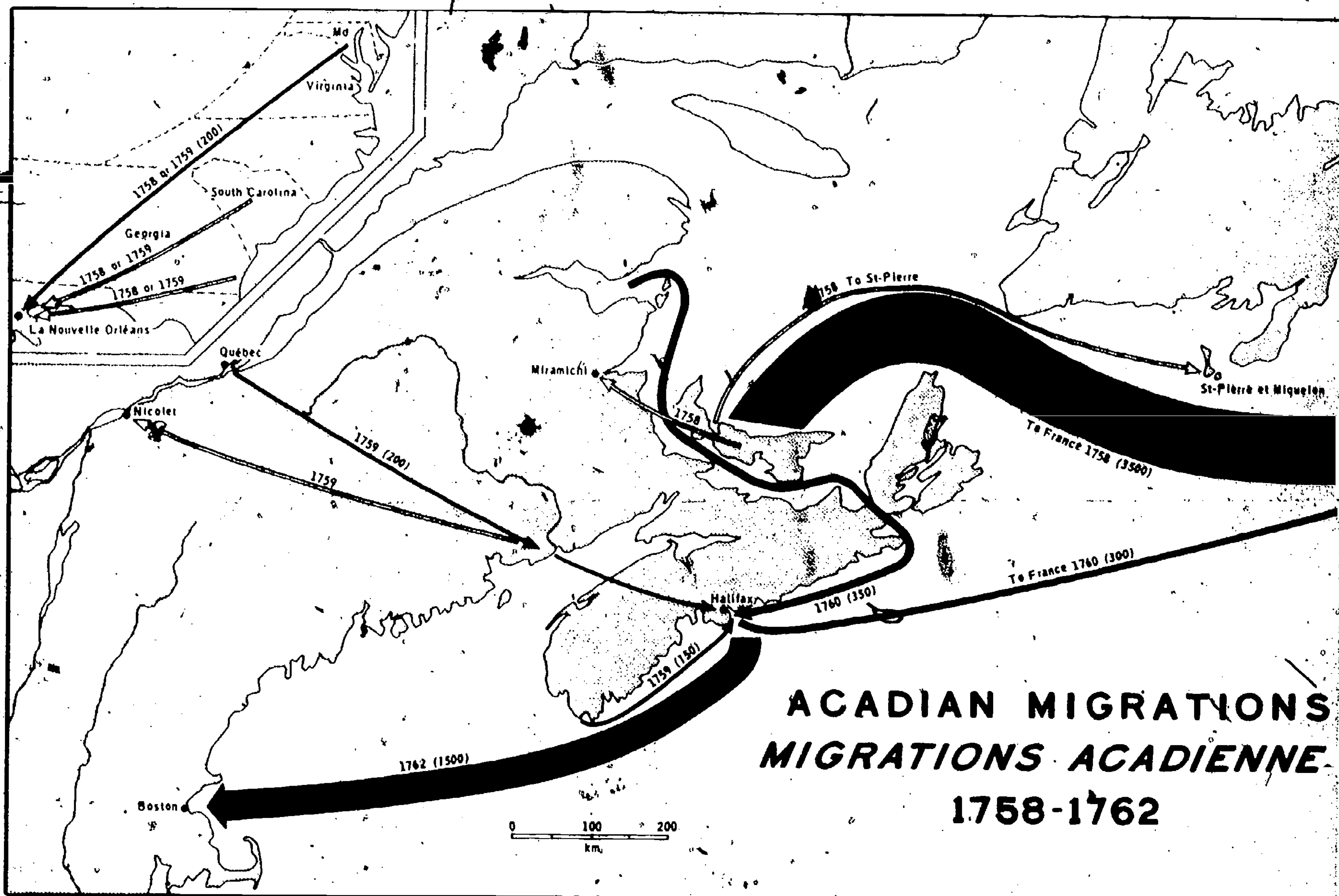

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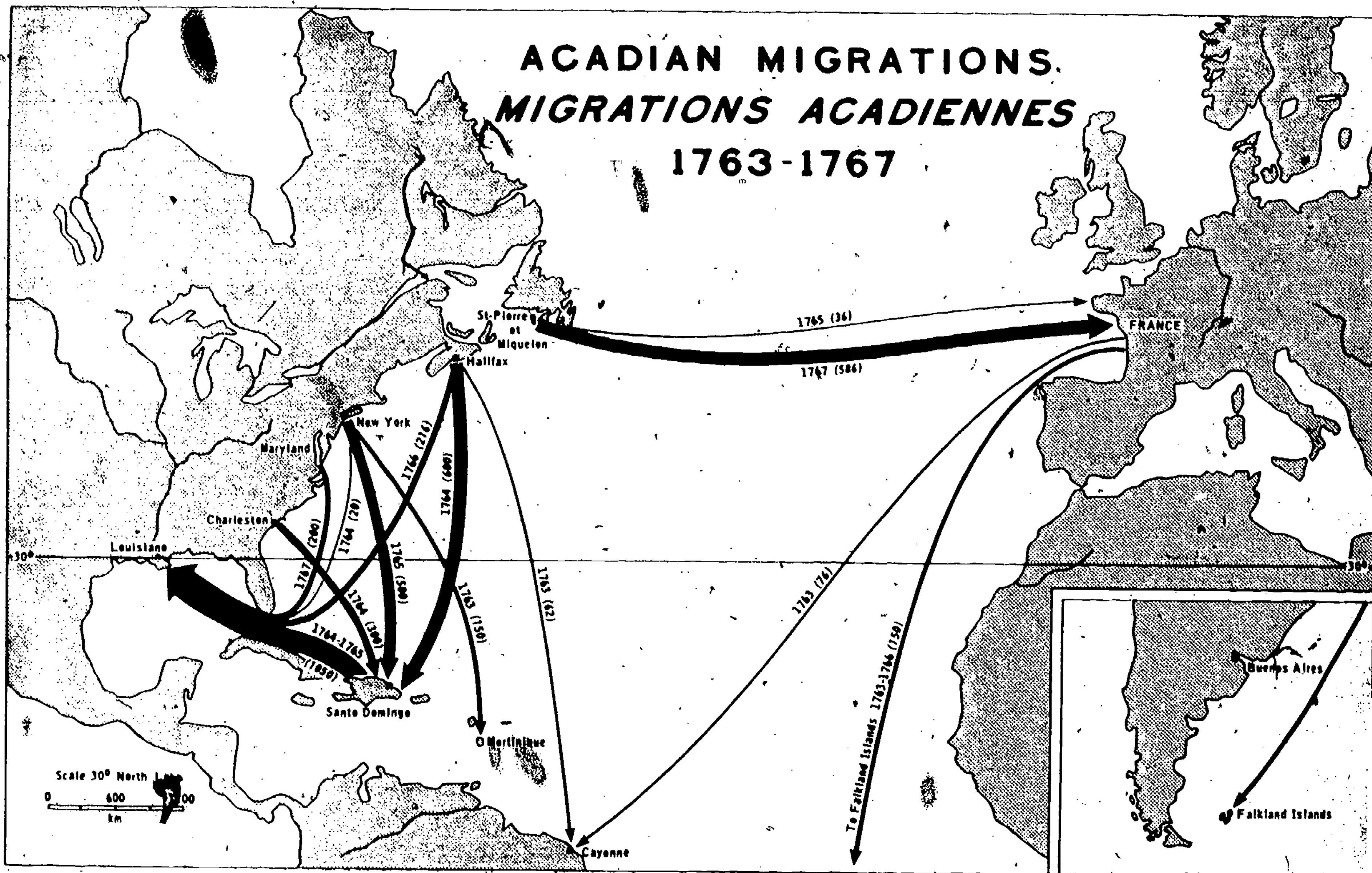

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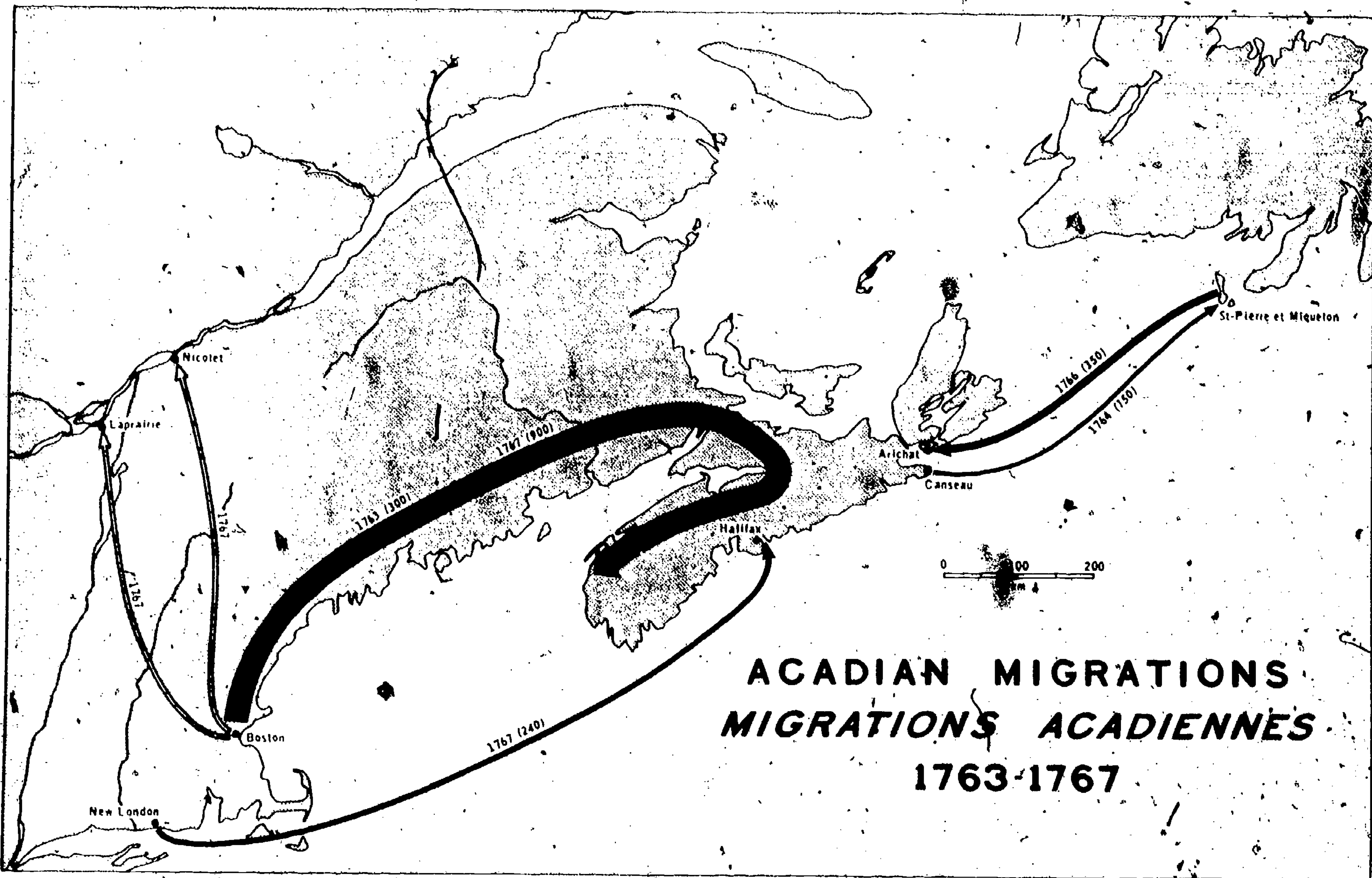

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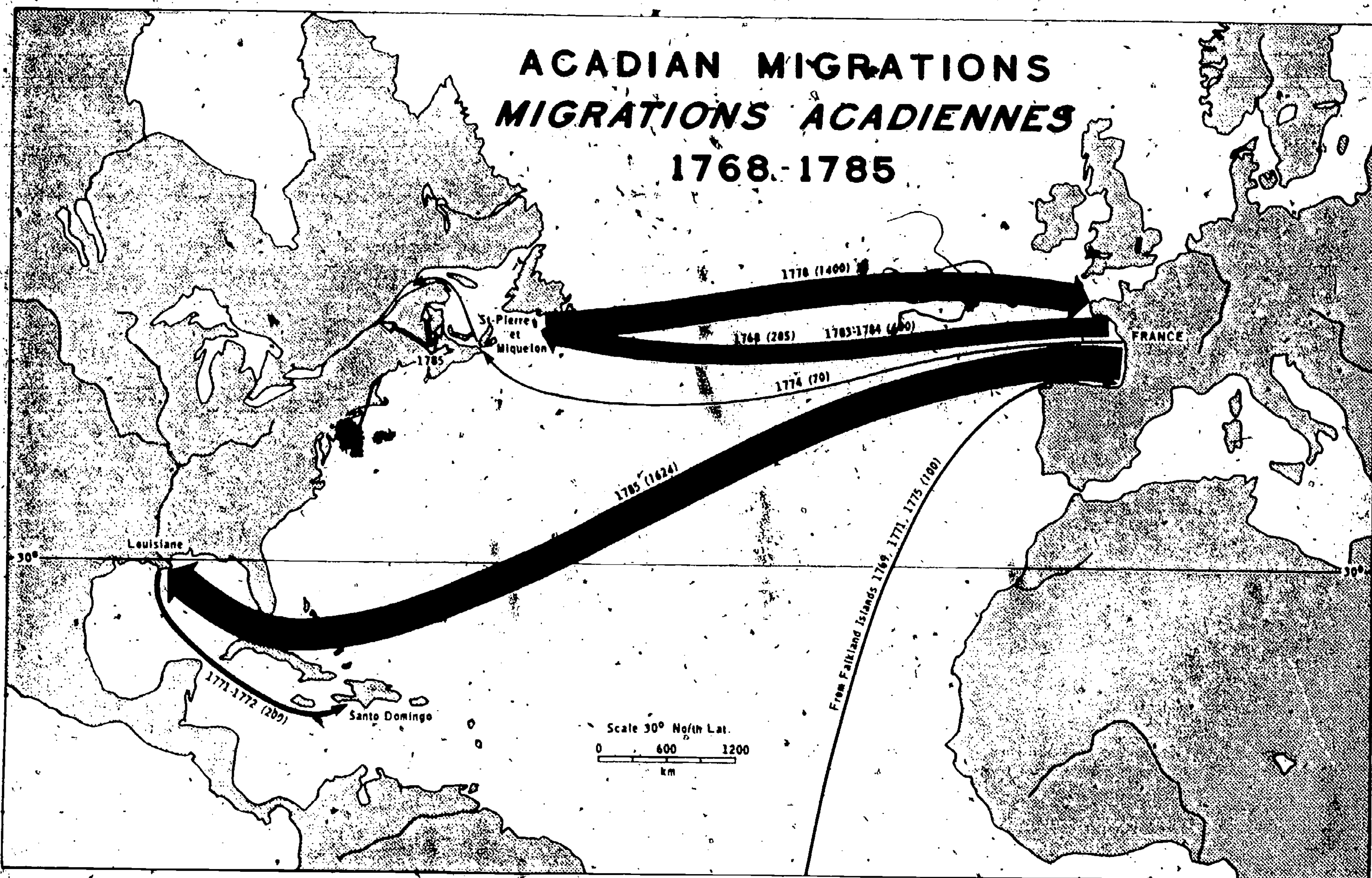

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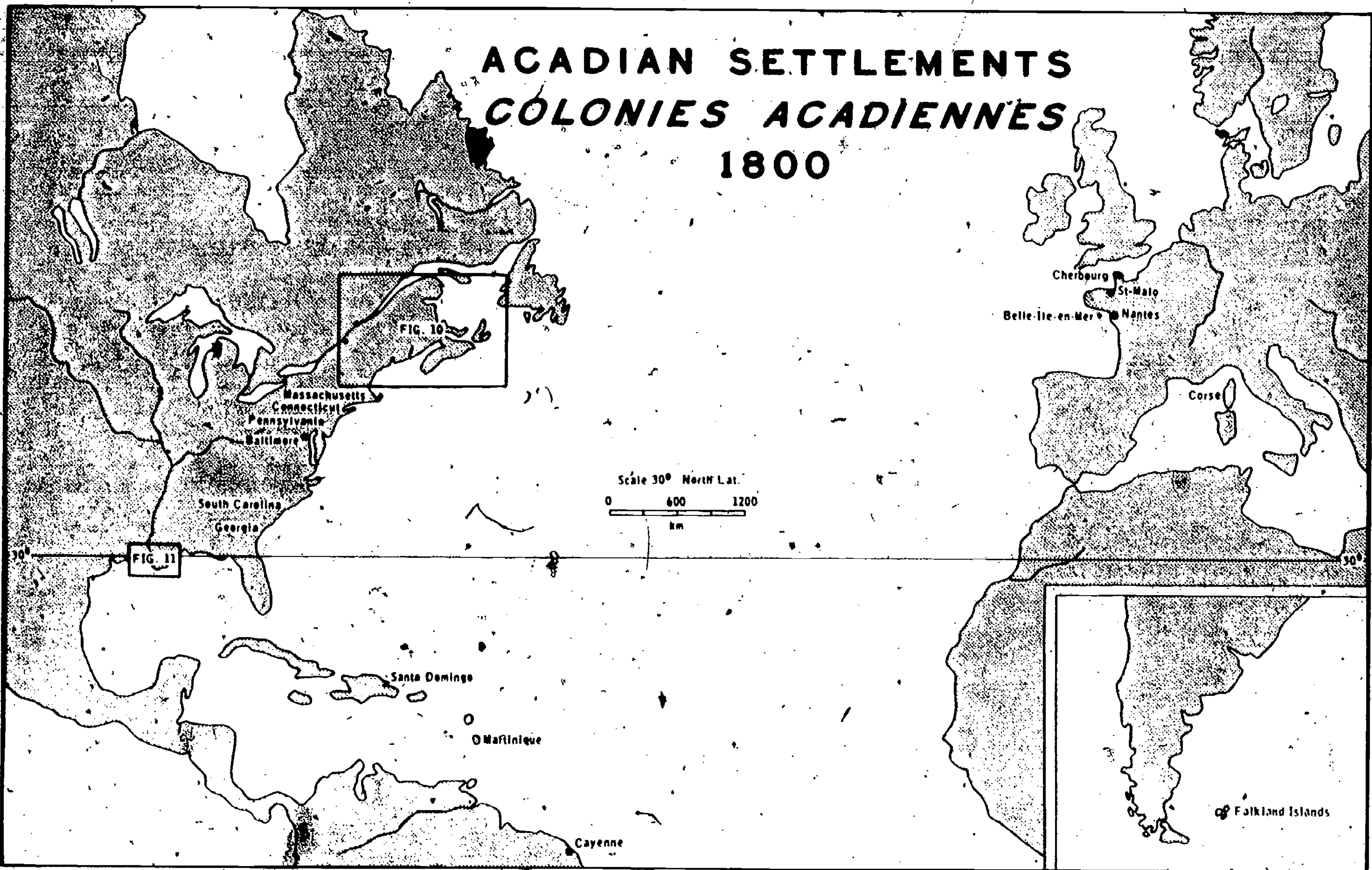

Figure 9

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ACADIAN SETTLEMENTS, EASTERN CANADA
COLONIES ACADIENNES DANS L'EST DU CANADA
1800

Figure 10

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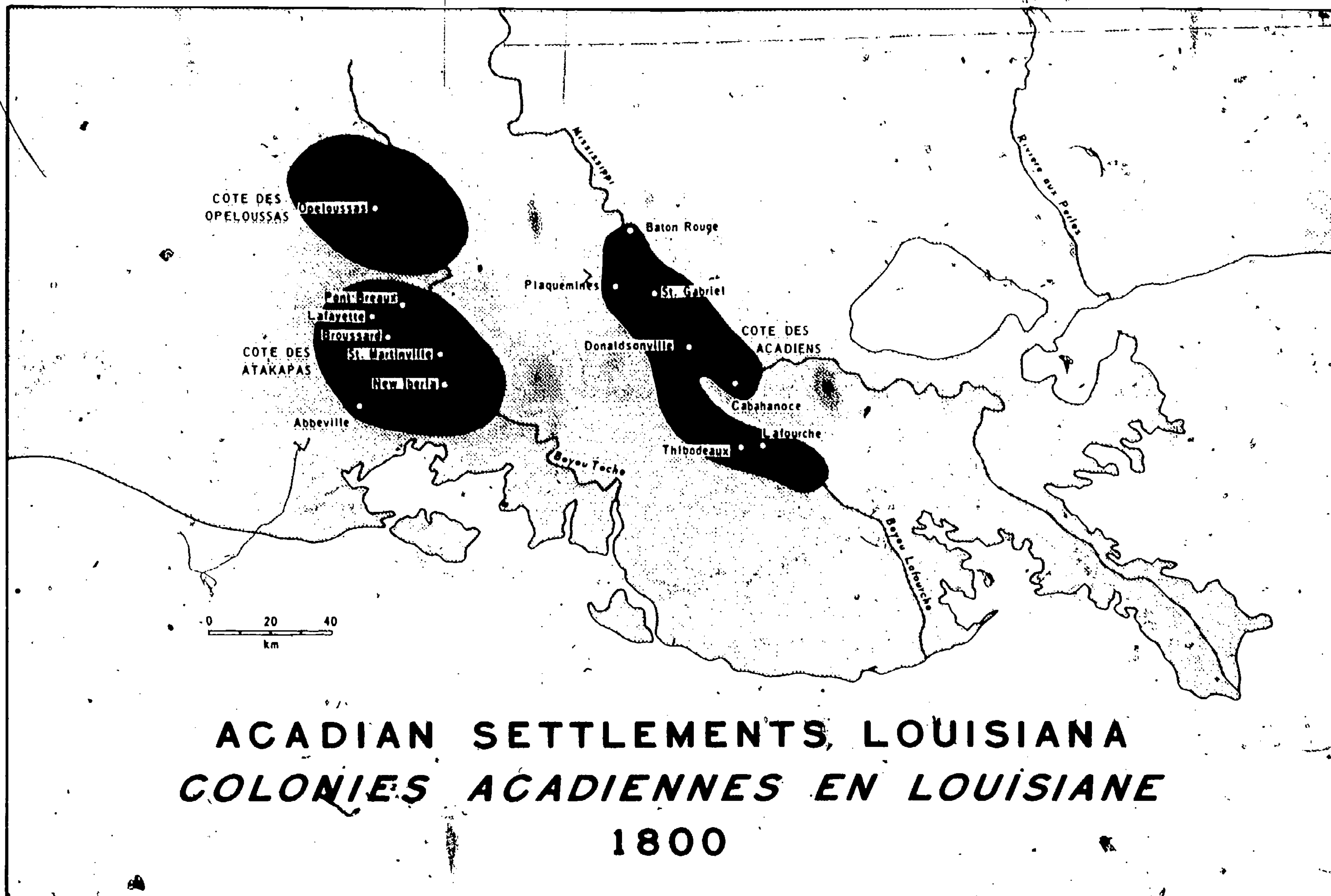

Figure 11

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was often the military objective but the vulnerable position of Port-Royal, the major Acadian settlement in the 17th century, made it the object of plunder by New Englanders on several different occasions. By the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 Acadia was ceded to the English, and the Acadians were made nominal subjects of the British Crown.

With the peace there began a period of prosperity for the Acadians. Their number increased from 2,000 in 1710 to 8,000 in 1739 (Rameau, 1877: 354). New settlements were formed at the northernmost extremities of the Baie Française. As the Acadian population grew, so did the anxiety of the English. The tenuous English control of Acadia was highlighted by the potential threat of renewed hostilities with the French and the fact that their recalcitrant French subjects refused to take an oath of allegiance to the English crown. The events leading up to the expulsion became increasingly complex and cannot be dealt with here. Suffice it to say that Governor Lawrence made the decision without the approval of the English government.[1] In late summer and fall of 1755 the exile was carried out.

THE MIGRATIONS 1755-1757

Of the total of 16,000 Acadians in 1755 only 50% were under English jurisdiction (LeBlanc, 1964; see Map 2). Ile Royale (Cape Breton), Ile Saint-Jean (Prince Edward Island), and present day New Brunswick were retained by the French in 1713. These were not the major areas of Acadian settlement but served as a refuge for many who fled the large settlements in anticipation, especially in the period 1749-1754 (Harvey, 1926: 133-34). Approximately 7,000 Acadians were exiled; the remaining 1,000 fled to safety. Map 3 shows the salient features which characterized the migrations of this period. First, peninsular Acadia was depopulated. Those who were forcibly removed were distributed throughout the American colonies where they were not as a general rule given a very cordial welcome. The Virginia colony «at public expense» soon shipped off to England its allotment of 1,100 exiles. South Carolina and Georgia made no effort to prevent (and in some cases aided) the Acadians in their attempts to return to Acadia by sea. Some few exiles were able to escape and made their way overland to the St. John River (New Brunswick). Otherwise most of the exiles were scattered throughout the colonies, dispersed in small groups in many towns.

During this period nearly 2,000 Acadians removed themselves to the refuge area of Ile Saint-Jean. Another 1,500 sought refuge in the Quebec City area. With the exception of this latter group which was soon established on the *seigneuries* of the St. Lawrence, the Acadians were in places which would not provide a permanent home. To the fear and distrust of the English colonists for the Acadians we must add the ambition of the exiles to leave their prison-like homes. For those who sought peace on Ile Saint-Jean it was to be but a temporary home.

THE MIGRATIONS 1758-1762

The major migrations during the period 1758-1762 are illustrated on Map 4. Most of the movements took place in Acadia and French Canada. Political and military events were rapidly reaching the culminating point in the Anglo-French struggle for North America.

In July of 1758, the fort at Louisburg fell to the English and with it fell the hopes of the nearly 5,000 Acadian refugees on Ile Saint-Jean and Ile Royale. By the end of the year, the English had embarked 3,500 of the Acadians for transport to France. Of these,

700 perished when two ships sank in an Atlantic storm.

The capitulation of the French forces at Quebec, in September of 1759 gave encouragement to some of the refugees in that city who sheltered the hope of returning to their homeland. More than 100 took the prescribed oath of allegiance to the English king and were given permission by the British authorities to return to Acadia. Upon arrival in Acadia they were imprisoned by Governor Lawrence. Most of these Acadians as well as others who had been captured by British raids at Cap de Sable and Baie des Chaleurs were sent to France in 1760.

This apparently arbitrary action on the part of Governor Lawrence was not without its reason. It had long been his plan to resettle the vacated Acadian lands with New Englanders. He was determined to keep the Acadians away from their original homes until his scheme had been achieved. The deportation of the Acadians in January of 1760 was in fact on the very eve of the fruition of his plans. In June of 1760 the first contingent of 650 families from Boston and Rhode Island arrived to take up the vacated Acadian lands (Brebner, 1937). By 1763, 12,500 New Englanders had been successfully settled in old Acadia.

Table 1 Location of Acadians in 1763

Place	Number
Massachusetts	1,043
Connecticut	666
New York	249
Maryland	810
Pennsylvania	383
South Carolina	280
Georgia	185
Nova Scotia	1,249
St. John River	87
Louisiana	300
England	866
France	3,400
Quebec	2,000
Prince Edward Island	300
Baie des Chaleurs	700
Total	12,618

Despite the resettlement of their homeland or perhaps out of ignorance of this fact, the Acadians were continually turning up in Acadia. Their growing numbers aroused an anxiety in English officialdom. Lt. Governor Belcher, Lawrence's successor, wrote in asking permission to expel the returning Acadians:

> «there are many of the Acadians in this Province who, although they have surrendered themselves, are yet ever ready and watchful for an opportunity . . . to disturb and distress the new settlements lately made and those now forming; and I am perfectly well convinced from the whole course of their behavior and disposition, that they cannot with any safety to this province become again the inhabitants of it» (cf. Akins, 1869: 321).

Once again the decision was made to remove the Acadians. In August 1762, 1,500 left Halifax on five transports bound for Boston. The Massachusetts legislature which had continually objected to the dumping of exiles in their colony, now refused to allow the new arrivals to disembark. They subsequently were returned to Halifax.

It was during this period that Acadian refugees coming from the St. John River established settlements in the Trois-Rivières district of Quebec. This same area was to eventually attract numerous refugees from New England in 1767. This period also marks the establishment of Acadians in Louisiana. The prospect of joining with their French brethren proved attractive to many of the exiles, especially those in the southern American colonies.

THE MIGRATIONS 1763-1767

The location of the Acadians in 1763 is shown in Table 1. It has been compiled from a variety of sources and includes some estimates of this writer wherever figures were not available.

With the exception of the Acadians in Quebec and Louisiana, nearly all were in localities where forces were operating to dictate their removal. This is reflected on Maps 5 and 6. As concerns the numbers involved, the migrations of this period were second only in importance to the original expulsion in 1755. The spatial dislocation was even greater.

Acadian movements during this period fall into three general categories. First, there was a continued exodus of Acadians out of Nova Scotia. Paradoxically this occurred at the same time that many of the refugees were returning to Acadia in large numbers, primarily from the American colonies. Finally, the Caribbean area became increasingly a focus of Acadian movements.

Most of the 3,600 exiles remaining in the American colonies left during this period. The attempts made by local authorities to disperse them in many communities were not successful, as the Acadians continually turned up in major port cities. Boston, New York, New London and Charleston served as such gathering points. Large groups left Boston overland for Acadia or the St. Lawrence Valley. From the middle and southern colonies the movement was to the Caribbean area, either directly to Louisiana or to that refugee haven via Santo Domingo. By this time news of favorable treatment and prosperity of the first arrivals in Louisiana had reached nearly all Acadians.

The Treaty of Paris in 1763 ended the hostilities between England and France in North America. If there was some semblance of a return to political stability, the treaty meant little to the circumstances of the Acadians in Nova Scotia and of the many others returning in this period. Lt. Governor Wilmot genuinely feared the Acadians. He sought permission of his superiors to send the exiles to the West Indies but was refused. The Lords of Trade insisted instead that they be given land agreeable to themselves. Of course the only land falling into this category would have been their old lands on the Bay of Fundy, lands which were now occupied by thousands of New Englanders. Attempts to resettle the Acadians generally failed. The inferior lands allotted to them and the restrictions placed upon their grouping led eventually to their dissatisfaction and voluntary migration to the West Indies, Louisiana, and Saint-Pierre and Miquelon (retained by France in 1763).

The 900 exiles returning from New England did, however, establish themselves successfully and permanently along the shores of St. Mary's Bay, south of old Port-Royal.

THE MIGRATIONS 1768-1785

In 1768 there remained only two major areas of Acadian instability (Map 7). By 1767 the facilities of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon were so strained by the stream of refugee Acadians that some were encouraged to leave for France. (See Map 5). It was not long after their arrival in the French ports that many expressed the desire to return to the tiny archipelago in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. 285 made the return journey in 1768. By 1775 the population of the islands numbered 1,500, again placing a strain on local resources (most of the exiles had to be supported by the government). A new turn of political events provided a temporary solution to this problem.

The sympathy of France for the American cause in the Revolutionary War eventually led to French support of the American military effort in 1778. The English in retaliation sent an expedition to the strategic archipelago and deported to France 1,400 Acadians. By the Treaty of Versailles in 1783, Saint-Pierre and Miquelon were retroceded to France and soon after 600 Acadians returned once more from France (Lauvrière, 1924: 2: 210-215).

France, surprisingly, did not serve as a permanent home for the exiles. The large number of Acadians which arrived from Ile Saint-Jean in 1758 was the nucleus of an exile group which remained in France for nearly 30 years. In 1763 the Acadian group in England (of the original 1,100 from Virginia only 866 remained) was brought to France, while some of the Acadian arrivals from Saint-Pierre and Miquelon throughout this period remained behind. Various attempts to settle the Acadians in France, Corsica, the Falkland Islands and French Guiana all failed. For the greater part of this period in France, the exiles were supported at government expense. The destitution of the Acadians, the desire of the French government to solve a problem which was a severe drain on the treasury, and the eagerness of Spain to strengthen its claim to Louisiana by active colonization all lead to the last of the major Acadian migrations. In 1785 more than 1,600 were transported to Louisiana by the Spanish (Winzerling, 1955).

Table 2 Acadian Population in 1800

Place	Number
Maritime Provinces	8,400
Quebec	8,000
Louisiana	4,000
United States	1,000
France	1,000
Not specified	1,000
Total	23,400

THE FINAL SETTLEMENT PATTERN

By the end of the 18th century the location of the Acadians had taken on some measure of permanency. With the exception of a few subsequent moves involving small numbers, the fifty year period of migrations had come to an end. With the exception of the Acadian population of the Maritime Provinces based on an accurate ecclesiastical census in 1803, only estimates are available for the numbers of each major area (Rameau, 1877: 360-61). Table 2 gives an approximation of the Acadian popuation and its location in 1800.

More than 80% of the Acadians were located on two areas, Eastern Canada and Louisiana. Scattered elsewhere in the United States, the French ports, and the Caribbean were another 3,000.

Map 8 shows most of the places where Acadians were located in Eastern Canada in 1800. In the three areas of settlement in the St. Lawrence Valley, near the cities of Quebec, Trois-Rivières and Montreal, the Acadians generally lived side by side with French Canadians. Elsewhere, along the shores of the Baie des Chaleurs, Eastern Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, the settlements are more distinctively Acadian. One striking feature of the location of the Acadians in the maritime region is their absence from their old homeland on the shores of Baie Française.

Of the new areas of Acadian settlement following the migrations, none, in the course of time, became as distinctive as southern Louisiana (Map 9). The major areas of settlement were in the Attacappas, the Opeloussas, along the Mississippi River south of Baton Rouge, and along Bayou La Fourche. The physical isolation of most of these settlements permitted a high degree of culture retention by the Acadians.

CONCLUSION

In 1800, for the first time since the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the Acadians were located in areas where they were free to pursue their agrarian life and where there was a considerable measure of security from the vagaries of international politics, of which they had so often been the victims and of which they had been so ignorant. Their anomalous position in the first half of the 18th century, a French population in English territory at a time when England and France were struggling for supremacy in the New World, must be cited as the most important factor which precipitated their migrations. The hostile reception they received in the American colonies combined with their resignation to return to Acadia precluded from the very beginning any permanent home for them on the Atlantic seaboard. France, by virtue of the strong cultural ties which existed between the French and the Acadians might have proved a permanent home for the exiles had not the treatment they received there been little better than that received in the American colonies.

The new Acadian settlements in the New World afforded the stability which had been lacking in the American colonies or France. In the maritime regions of Canada they appropriated land which was not previously settled. With land allotted to them or provided for their use in the St. Lawrence Valley they were rapidly incorporated with their French brethren. All of these Acadians were still, one might say, squatters on English territory, but by this time the Anglo-French struggle for North America had been resolved and the French settlers no longer posed a serious threat, whether real or imagined. The Acadians of Louisiana were well received by the Creoles and achieved there the peace and security which had long eluded them.

EPILOGUE

The terminal date for this study is 1800. It was selected because it was not until the end of the 18th century that the map of Acadian locations began to show some measure of stability. The half century period of their migrations had come to an end. The locational stability of the Acadians, however, was by no means permanent. The Acadian map for 1968 would find them scattered in various locations over most of the United States and Canada.

The new migrations of the Acadians were distinct from those of the 18th century because of a new motivating force. No longer were the Acadians moved about with little consideration given to their own desires. They now became willing participants in movements which had as their goals an improvement in economic conditions, the same motivation, in fact, which propelled the large migrations of European people to the United States in the latter part of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

The fountainhead of the new migrations was the Acadian population of Eastern Canada. From 1850 until 1900, Acadians, principally from the Isles de la Madeleine in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, established settlements on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River east of Sept-Iles, on the island of Anticosti, in Labrador, and in Newfoundland. By far the most important of the new migrations was the large scale movement from the St. Lawrence Valley to the growing industrial centers of New England, which began around 1860. It has been most common to treat this migration as one made up entirely of French Canadians. The likely reason is that the Acadians are so similar in culture to the other French inhabitants of the St. Lawrence Valley that there seemed little point in distinguishing one from the other, assuming that researchers have been aware of

the distinction at all. It seems reasonable to assume that the Acadians contributed to this migration in numbers reflecting their relative numerical strength in Quebec. Of the 800,000 Franco-Americans in New England in 1923, one authority (Lauvrière, 2: 525) claims that 50,000 were Acadians. Elsewhere and in smaller numbers they are found today in much of Anglo-America.

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Notes

1. Some authors have not accepted political expediency as the cause for the expulsion but rather point to the greed of Governor Lawrence. See, for example, Richard, 1895: 60-63.

In The French in New England, Acadia and Quebec, *published by the New England Provinces and Quebec Center of the University of Maine at Orono in 1972, Mason Wade documented in his own thorough and well-balanced manner the movement of the Acadians to the Madawaska territory shortly after the American Revolution because of the Revolution's effects on the region along the lower St. John River. It should be noted that American migration data were inadequate in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and are still relatively unsatisfactory. Given the relative paucity of official data, it is surprising to find excellent migration studies on Franco-Americans.*

THE LOYALISTS AND THE ACADIANS

by
Mason Wade

The period between 1764, when toleration rather than expulsion became British policy toward the Acadians and they began to return to their former homes from diverse exiles, and the 1830's, when they began to take part in provincial public life, might be called the «Dark Ages» of Acadian history. Little attention has been paid to this period by either English-speaking or French-speaking historians, for the former have been preoccupied by the resettlement of the Loyalists and the latter have devoted most of their attention to the remarkable achievements of Père Jean-Mande Sigogne in the Baie Sainte-Marie region. This paper discusses the early interaction between the Loyalists and the Acadians in the Maritimes, chiefly in New Brunswick, since this writer has become convinced that the Loyalists, far from dispossessing the Acadians, played a larger part in the rehabilitation of the Acadians than anybody else except a few British officials, a Jersey fishing entrepreneur, and a Swiss professional soldier. The last two individuals may be dealt with first, since their efforts preceded those of the Loyalists.

As early as May 1763, Jacques Robin, a fishing entrepreneur of St. Aubin in the Isle of Jersey, proposed to establish a farming and fishing settlement on the North Shore of New Brunswick at the mouth of the Miramichi, offering lands there to the «French Neutrals.» He dispatched numerous letters inviting the Acadians «from all quarters wherein dispersed» to settle on his lands, promising provisions, the services of a priest, and the free exercise of their religion.[1] But even a Jersey Protestant was suspect to British officialdom at the close of the Seven Years War if he had a French name, and Jacques R[illegible] failed to get his Miramichi grant, which went instead to the Scot William Davidson and John Cort. Three years later the Robins did begin to trade at Arichat and Petit de Grat on Isle Madame, Paspébiac and Bonaventure on the Gaspé Coast, and Caraquet on the North Shore. Thus was founded the business still in existence today under the name of Robin, Jones and Whitman. The Robins brought out considerable numbers of «planters» recruited from the Acadian refugees at Saint-Malo in France, and they gave employment as fishermen to many other Acadians who had taken refuge on the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence from the English manhunts of 1755-1763.

Though in the nineteenth century the name Robin was rarely used by Acadian fishermen without the adjective «maudit,» since the Robins were regarded as ruthless exploiters who bought cheap and sold dear, relations were cordial enough in the early days. In 1769 Charles Robin spent the Christmas holidays with the Petit de Grat and Arichat fishermen, and left this account of his New Year's celebration with Claude Dugas, Louis Boudreau, Rhéne Thériault, and Anselme Bellefontaine:

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> . . . we began to drink Wine, Rum and Punch plenty together & were very merry, by the Time our Dinner was ready none of us were in a condition to know whether we were Eating or Drinking. Soon after we put Lewis Boudrot & Anselme Bellefontaine to bed. I joyned with the others dancing, Claude Dugat got under the lamp & was pretty well annointed, after that we went to bed. We escaped for a few broken glasses.[2]

The two late stayers had four glasses of rum before breakfast the next morning, «& near as many after.» The friendship was not merely a liquid one, for Robin provided a mainsail for Thériault's schooner, and Bellefontaine's wife and her sister cooked for the bachelor Robin when he had the Thériaults for dinner.

It is clear from the remarkable complete records of the Robin enterprise that these Jerseymen deserve considerable credit for developing the Bay of Chaleurs fisheries and for providing employment for the Acadians they induced to settle there, who soon developed a mixed economy of fishing and subsistence farming. The latter rarely flourished and sometimes the crop failure was total, so that the Robins had to advance provisions from their stores to keep the populace alive until the fishing season began. But this industry itself was also cyclical, and waters which had produced rich catches one year might prove barren the next which meant more credit had to be extended. If the traditional fisherman's view was that the Robins exploited them by buying fish cheaply and selling provisions dearly, thus keeping them always in debt, there was also another side to the story. For when competition was brisk the fishermen who had accepted advances from the Robins would take their fish to another merchant who offered better terms or more attractive goods. Recovery of debts from fishermen was difficult, if not hopeless, and this fact proved the downfall of most of the Robins' competitors in the long run. In any case, the Robins deserve credit for providing the Acadians with land and work when they made their way back to the region from which they had been driven in the *Grand Dérangement*.

The Robins were much prompter in undertaking to resettle the Acadians than were the British officials of Nova Scotia, despite the fact that Lord Halifax and the Lords of Trade had laid down such a policy in the spring of 1764.[3] Michael Francklyn, married to a granddaughter of Peter Faneuil, the eminent Boston Huguenot merchant, was the first Nova Scotian governor to grant lands to the returning Acadians in 1768, with the firm approval of Whitehall, despite the objection of Massachusetts-born Chief Justice Jonathan Belcher that lands could not be legally granted to Catholics. Francklyn for his part assured the Acadians that «the Government has not the least desire to molest or disturb them on account of their religion,» and he exempted them from militia training, «which they conceived as a hardship being unprovided with arms.»[4] He also instructed a subordinate: «it is the King's Intention, and I do expect, they be treated by the Officers of Government with all Possible Mildness and Tenderness upon every occasion.»[5] The Acadians were once more to be welcome in their own land, and amends were to be made for the harshness with which they had been treated during the hysterical wartime francophobia of 1755 to 1763.

Another Acadian resettlement project was also launched in 1768 by J.F.W. DesBarres, a Swiss Huguenot who had served as a subaltern at Louisbourg in 1758 and at Quebec in 1759. From 1763 to 1773 he surveyed the coast of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, and in 1777 he published *The Atlan-*

tic Neptune, a magnificent mariner's guide to the North Atlantic coast. In 1768 he obtained an enormous grant of Acadian lands on Cumberland Basin, which he called the «Menudie Estate» or «The Elysian Fields.» It consisted of 7,000 acres, of which 3,000 were dyked lands, cleared uplands and orchards. That same year he installed ten families there, giving each 200 acres. The eighteen original tenants were all Acadians, bearing such familiar names as Bourg, Melançon, Bain, Forêt, Leger, Comeau, and Brin. The marshes were to be drained and dyked at DesBarres' cost, and thereafter maintained at the tenant's cost. He supplied his settlers with breeding cattle and was to receive half this [illegible], one third of the grain, and one quarter of the proceeds of the mills, half of whose cost he assu[illegible].

In 1795 Captain John Macdonald of Tracadie reported to DesBarres, who meanwhile had served as lieutenant governor of Cape Breton from 1784 to 1787, and was later to be lieutenant governor of Prince Edward Island from 1804 to 1812, on the state of «The Elysian Fields» and its Acadian tenants. The dwellings were not impressive, but «in their Barns they are more Sumptious [sic],» the agent noted. Macdonald made some interesting observations on the Acadians, whom he considered «a harmless, inefficient people;»

> Ignorant, & therefore, as well as because several in the County are not the best people in the world, Suspicious, of almost everyone. They keep at a distance from the Intercourse of others, by which, if they improve less in some respects, they degenerate less in other respects. They have customs of their own, of which they are tenacious, some of which are worse and some better than our Customs. The neighbors blame them for being bad farmers and not making of the lands what they might have done; true they are in several respects bad farmers & do not seem to improve; but the whole County are bad farmers & do not seem likely to do Justice to the Lands, and if the Acadians are worse in some points, than our Sort are, they are better in others. I do not see any great things being done by any in the County but the Yorkshire people—I am not decided that the rest of the County people do upon the whole better the Acadians. They readily see the Imperfections on part of the Acadians, as the British in Canada do the faults of the Canadians, because we are a Saucy Nation too ready to despise others, because we have happened to be the Conquerors ...We are of a different origin, Religion, &c: &c: Having taken them in an [illegible] stage, we have destroyed them and the course of their prospective Improvement in their own way, & all that has succeeded since we proudly attribute to ourselves instead of giving any credit for the unavoidable improvement & growth in America of 36 years more time; while we do not perceive the faults on our sides, because they are ours and their ways differ from ours. Sure I am we are not more virtuous or happy than they are and I fear we have made worse men and less happy than they have been.[6]

Captain Macdonald's views on the Acadian reflect a tolerance and understanding more typical of the Scot than the Englishman, and it was to be immigrant Scots and American Loyalists who would help the Acadians to regain the status of first-class citizens in the Maritimes. But this document of 1795 reveals an attitude already far more enlightened than the prevailing views of the Acadians thirty years before. And in 1816 Des Barres gave to «Louis Brodeur and his successors, Missioners to the Roman Church at Memramcook,» the right to build a church or chapel an act unthinkable half a century earlier.*

* (AAM, Fonds Gaudet, Papiers d'Alexis Landry and Otto Robichaud).

Before recounting the relationship of the Loyalists with the Acadians, it is necessary to point out that earlier immigrants from the American colonies had already set an enduring Yankee stamp on the Maritime region, which Thomas Chandler Haliburton, the Loyalist writer and lawyer, noted in the 1830's: «the old stock come from New England, and the breed is tolerable pure yet, near about one half apple sauce and other half molasses, all, except to the Eastward, where there is a cross of the Scotch.»[7] Acadia had long been «New England's outpost,» and once it passed from French to British rule and the danger of French and Indian raids was ended, there was an exodus of the land-hungry from the overpopulated New England colonies to Nova Scotia. New Englanders weary of cultivating rockbound fields had long looked with covetous eyes on the rich dyked marsh lands of the Acadians. The men of the New England seaboard had become familiar with Acadia in their fishing and trading expeditions; others who had served in New England's conquest of Louisbourg in 1745 had acquired first hand knowledge of a fertile British province without British settlers, in which a conquered people were prospering without feeling any obligation to their new rulers. The founding of Halifax in 1749 had opened a new market for New England building materials and supplies, and New England tradesmen responded to the demand for skilled craftsmen. New Englanders who had served in the recent campaigns were offered the same inducements as European settlers in Nova Scotia. The thousand immigrants from the American colonies in Halifax's first year were described as «the best of settlers,» much preferable to the «King's bad bargains» from Europe. The New Englanders soon became the dominant element in Halifax, leaders in public as well as commercial life.

In the minds of both the British officials and these New Englanders, the Acadians with their ties to France and the Indians, were the principal obstacle to the progress of British settlement. It was these groups which combined in 1755 to make the decision to expel the Acadians and to replace them with a «loyal and industrious population.» No sooner had Louisbourg fallen in 1758 and Prince Edward Island been cleared of Acadians than Governor Charles Lawrence issued, in lyrical terms, a proclamation offering the Acadian lands for settlement. After a further proclamation providing guarantees of civil and religious liberties, a considerable immigration to Nova Scotia from New England and the Middle Atlantic colonies got underway. It continued until 1768, when the opening of the Ohio country for settlement by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix diverted migration westward. But by the beginning of the previous year Nova Scotia already had 7,000 American settlers out of a total population of 13,000.

The coming of these pre-Loyalists favored the re-establishment of the Acadians and helped to change the mind of the Halifax Council, which still was of the stubborn opinion in March 1764 «That the safety of this Province depends on the total expulsion of the French Acadians.»[8] For the resettlement of the province was checked by the effects of the terrible gale of November, 1759, which leveled timberlands along the South Shore, and by raising the high fall tides of the Bay of Fundy another ten feet flooded vast expanses of dyked lands with salt water, thus making them «this Three Years to come incapable of bearing Grain.» The dykes, which had been neglected since the expulsion of the Acadians, were largely destroyed.[9] When Governor Lawrence visited the Minas townships the following year, he set on foot the rebuilding of dykes by the new settlers, troops from Fort Edward and Acadian prisoners, «who were best acquainted with works of this kind.»[10] Since the latter were the only persons with skill in the

matter, they directed the continuing work in the spring of 1761. The Acadian prisoners were converted into a labor corps for work on the dykes and roads. When the Board of Trade refused to pay their wages, the government and land proprietors continued to use these «prisoners of war» for the restoration of the dykes.[11] The Acadians became indispensible both as technicians and as common labor. Fourteen English settlers of Horton, Windsor, Falmouth, and Newport petitioned the governor in 1765 to maintain the «military» provision allowance so that the Acadian labourers could work for lower wages, since «we find that without their further assistance many of us cannot continue our Improvements, nor plough nor sow our Lands, nor finish the Dyking still required to secure our lands from Salt water.»[12] The Acadians had become literally hewers of wood and drawers of water for the new owners of their old lands.

Though many remained in this role in the old Acadian country about the head of the Bay of Fundy, to which the returning exiles seemed drawn as by magnet, others ventured to accept lands in the new township of Clare, on the northwestern Fundy shore, which was laid out for them by Francklyn in July, 1768. This Baie Sainte-Marie region was largely settled by refugees returning from Massachusetts. The Clare settlers began by planting potatoes among the trees and then as the lands were cleared, they turned to wheat and oats. They relied on the sea for much of their food and by the 1780's Captain Pierre Doucet was already trading by sea to the West Indies. On this «French Shore» grew up the largest and most prosperous Acadian group in Nova Scotia. Under the leadership of their missionary, Père Jean-Maudé Sigogne, they were to enjoy a close relationship with the Loyalists of Weymouth and Annapolis. In 1775, when Governor Legge called out the militia against the prospect of an American invasion, the Acadians of Baie Sainte-Marie formed two companies, while elsewhere, except in Halifax and Lunenburg, the militia refused to serve, since most of the «Neutral Yankees» of Nova Scotia, who had replaced the once «Neutral French,» found themselves «divided betwixt natural affection to our nearest relations, and good Faith and Friendship to our King and Country.»[13] A few Acadians, headed by Captain Isaiah Boutreau, did participate in Jonathan Eddy's effort to capture Fort Cumberland, but this attempt to make Nova Scotia the Fourteeth Colony was almost exclusively an enterprise of the New England settlers of the Isthmus of Chignecto and of the lower St. John Valley.

It was the aftermath of the American Revolution, rather than the Revolution itself, which had a major impact on the Acadians, who for the last twenty years had been striving to make a new place for themselves in their old land. The coming of some 35,000 Loyalists to the Maritime Provinces had far more drastic effects upon the Anglo-French society which had been slowly developing in the region since the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 than did the arrival of some 6,000 of them in the Province of Quebec. While the arrival of the Loyalists did not create, as it did in Quebec, an Anglo-French society in the Maritimes, which already had one, it did, however, radically alter the balance between French and English in a region where in 1775 there had been a total population of 17 to 18,000, of whom two-thirds or three-quarters were New Englanders and only 1,500 Acadians. Henceforth, the Acadians were to be still more of a minority in a region which was to pride itself upon being pre-eminently loyal and British to the core. As in Quebec, the coming of the Loyalists forced the division of the old Province of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada, so in the Maritimes it led to the division in 1784 of the old Province of Nova Scotia and the

creation of the new provinces of New Brunswick and Cape Breton. Thereafter the Loyalists were predominant in New Brunswick and a major force in Nova Scotia, while the Acadians were once more dispersed in four provinces, as lost in an English-speaking sea as the bitterest enemy of the «Neutral French» in pre-expulsion days could have desired. Not until recent times have they been able to overcome the effects of their division among the three modern Maritime provinces, in only one of which do they form a significant and influential minority, constituting nearly 40% of the population of New Brunswick with an unofficial capital in Moncton, once Benjamin Franklin's Pennsylvania German settlement of «The Bend».

Emotional historians of the Acadians have lamented that, barely reestablished in the St. John Valley after the first expulsion, they were driven out once again by the incoming Loyalists. The facts do not seem to support this view. When Governor Thomas Carleton arrived to establish a government in the new province of New Brunswick in 1784, land grants were his first major business. Grants were issued not only to Loyalists but also to the «old inhabitants» (the pre-Loyalists) and to the Acadians, who had previously been regarded as squatters. Just three days after Carleton's arrival he received a petition from one Augustin Leblanc, in behalf of «the French Inhabitants, subjects of His Majesty King George the third, settlers on the north side of the River St. John.» It pointed out that they had settled above St. Ann's Point in 1762 and remained peaceably on their farms ever since, «notwithstanding both rewards were offered and afterwards threats made use of by the Americans to prevail on them to join in the late Rebellion.» In due course the petitioners received a grant of 2,665 acres, a few miles above St. Ann's and below Keswick Stream.[14]

This region had a long French history. It had been occupied by the French since 1686, when Bishop Saint-Vallier of Quebec had singled it out as a likely Indian mission center. The Acadian village at St. Ann's Point had been destroyed in 1759 by a party of New England rangers, who burned 147 houses, 2 chapels, and all the farm buildings, killing and scalping six Acadians and taking other prisoners. Those who escaped fled to the woods and lived Indian-style until it was safe to return to their devastated homes. In the summer of 1763 Major Gilfred Studholme was instructed to order them to remove. They appealed to the Governor of Nova Scotia to be allowed to remain over that winter:

> If you insist on our removal before the harvest, most of us, being without money or supplies or any means of conveyance, will be driven to live like the savages, wandering from place to place. But if you allow us to stay the winter, in order to secure our crops, we shall then be able to cultivate the lands wherever you may bid us go. We need not tell you that a farmer who takes up new land and without having supplies for a year must inevitably be ruined, and of no use to the government he belongs to. We hope, sir, that you will be good enough to grant us a priest of our faith. Such a concession would enable us to bear with fortitude the troubles insepetable [sic] from such a migration.[15]

Studholme took no measures to dispossess the Acadians of St. Ann's, and their numbers continued to increase. Another Acadian settlement was established at the French Village, near the mouth of the Kennebecasis, some of whose inhabitants were employed by the pre-Loyalist Newburyport traders Hazen, Simmonds, and White in building a dyke on the great marsh east of Saint John. The request for a priest

was granted in 1767, when the Abbé Charles-François Bailly de Messein, later co-adjutor Bishop of Quebec, founded a mission at Aukpaque on the St. John.

Still hewing to the official line of settling veterans of the French and Indian War in the St. John Valley, Provincial Secretary Charles Bulkeley wrote to Justices of the Peace John Anderson and Francis Peabody the following year: «The Lieut. Governor desires that you will give notice to all Acadians except about six families whom Mr. Bailly shall name, to remove from St. John's River, it not being the intention of Government that they should settle there, but to acquaint them that on their application they should have lands in other parts of the Province.»[16] But evidently no action was taken, since in 1783 Major Studholme's exploring party found an Acadian colony above St. Ann's numbering 354 souls (61 men, 57 women, and 236 children). Its report declared:

> Above St. Ann's we found a considerable number of French settlers, many of whom had been in possession for a number of years. They in general appeared to be an inoffensive people, but few if any have a legal title to their lands as they are in general nearly in one and the same situation, we thought it unnecessary to be very particular in our account of every individual. Those who have more than simple possession to plead in their favor we have properly noticed.[17]

The two oldest inhabitants were Joseph Martin who came in 1758, and Joseph Doucet, who arrived in 1763. Thirty-six of the 61 families had come to the region when the Abbé Bailly launched the mission. They were reported to have been fugitives from the Beaubassin Region who had taken refuge in Canada in 1755, only to quit it for the St. John Valley after the cession of 1763.[18]

The Abbé Bailly's parish register shows Cormiers, Daigles, Cyrs, and Heberts from Beaubassin; Martins from Port Royal; Mercures and Thériaults from Isle Saint-Jean; Violettes from Louisbourg; and Mazerolles from Rivière Charlesbourg. Their homes were scattered along the St. John for a dozen miles above St. Ann's. During the American Revolution, which the Acadians called *«La folle guerre,»* Major Studholme employed the Mercure and Martin brothers as couriers to Canada, and he commended no less than five members of the latter family for exerting themselves in the King's service. In November, 1783, Governor Haldimand of Quebec informed Governor Parr of Nova Scotia that «Mercure the Acadian» reported that «many of his countrymen wished to emigrate into this province for the sake of enjoying their religion with more liberty and less difficulty in procuring priests ... My plan is to grant them lands at the Great Falls on the River St. John, which in time may form settlements to extend almost to the River St. Lawrence, which will contribute much to facilitate the communication so much to be desired between the two provinces, and which may be attended with circumstances very favorable to their mutual interests.»[19] The boundary between Quebec and Nova Scotia was then thought to be at Grand Falls. In this proposal may be found the roots of the highly independent «Republic of Madawaska,» which links Quebec and New Brunswick, but regards itself as a separate entity from both.

When the Loyalist troops received their regimental block grants on the St. John early in July, 1784, they showed scant regard for the settlers already established there, whether pre-Loyalist or Acadian. One Irish settler in St. Ann's protested to the governor that the newcomers «took possession of the lands, burnt his fences, threatened his attorney's person, and even went so far as to give . . . formal notice under the pretext of the

sanction of the Government, to desist from his improvements.» [20] An Acadian memorial of February 1786 recounts similar grievances:

> The memorial of the French Inhabitants, which have been deprived of their lands by the disbanded Troops, as also of Joseph Daigle and Paul Potier now residing at Madawaska—Humbly Sheweth:
> That the Memorialists are reduced to a most deplorable condition with their numerous Families for want to Provisions, some having been under the Necessity of selling the few cattle they had to prevent them from starving. That Mr. [John] Biddle [a surveyor] now Possess the Proportion of Land allowed by Government to one of the Memorialists, by name Joseph Doucette, without making him the least restitution for it. That Bona [Benoit] Roy, another of said unfortunate Memorialists has been forcibly compelled to leave his House and received no consideration.
> That the Memorialists thus circumstanced was under the necessity of having recourse to your Excellency for re-dress of their complicated miseries and a supply of provisions.[21]

Joseph Doucet had been resident since 1763; Paul Potier since 1767; and Joseph Daigle, one of Studholme's couriers, since 1769. The memorial was referred for investigation to Lieutenant Colonel Isaac Allen, a newly appointed puisne judge, whose 2nd New Jersey Volunteers had received the Kingsclear grant. Allen was already preoccupied with the case of two disbanded soldiers accused of shooting an Indian named Pierre Benoit. The pair were promptly found guilty, and one was executed and the other pardoned, to the satisfaction of the Indians.

The highhanded and swashbuckling behavior of the Loyalist military settlers probably led Louis Mercure to appeal to Samuel Holland, the surveyor general of Quebec, for land in Madawaska:

> River St. John, 24 Feb. 1785
>
> Sir:
>
> I have the honor to write you this letter to assure you of my very humble respect and at the same time to desire you to have the goodness to inform Monsieur [Pierre] Duperré if it is possible for us to have some land below Madawaska.
>
> In view of the difficulties that exist on the River St. John on account of new settlements, Monsieur Duperré and my brother and I are resolved to go early in the spring and settle ourselves at that place, if it is possible to obtain grants of land.
>
> For my own part, Sir, I have the honour to tell you that I have managed my affairs very well. His Excellency the Governor has done me full justice. But seeing so much difficulty ahead on the River St. John and so much miserable dissipation, I do not want to remain at the place.
>
> Monsieur Duperré will speak to you in the interests of the French at this place.
>
> I conclude, hoping to see you sir,
> I am your humble servent,
> Louis Mercure[22]

Mercure included a list of 24 persons who wanted to apply for lands «one and a half miles below the Falls of Madouwaska.»

Aside from Louis and Michel Mercure and military Captain Pierre Duperré, there were numerous Lizottes, Dubés, Martins; Daigles, Cyrs, as well as a Gaudin, an Ayotte, a Fournier, and a Sansfaçon. Sixteen were Acadians and eight Canadians. The same group also applied to New Brunswick for grants, and Carleton and his council—all leading Loyalists—decided on June 21, 1785:

> They will be allowed to sell their present improvements to the best advantage, together with the lands reserved for them, and titles will be given to the pur-

> chasers. Mercure has permission to settle the petitioners on the lands they may choose at the Madawaska and a grant will pass in due time to each head of family with the usual front of 60 rods.[23]

The council also agreed «that the lands between the Madawaska and rivière blanche, or White River [actually Rivière Verte, or Green River] should be reserved for the proposed French settlement.»

In general Lieutenant Governor Thomas Carleton, Provincial Secretary Jonathan Odell, and Surveyor George Sproule (Odell was a New Jerseyman and Sproule a New Yorker) seem to have taken pains to see that the Acadians, who held no title to the lands they occupied, either were confirmed in possession or given proper compensation for their improvements, if they chose, as many did, to move either to Madawaska or to the North Shore of New Brunswick. For example, Lieutenant John Coombs of the 2nd New Jersey Volunteers was called upon to pay £65 for the improvements made by «Francis Sears» [François Cyr] in fifteen years' occupancy of the lot at Upper French Village drawn by the Provincial officer. The Council also decreed that in laying out the unsurveyed portion of a grant at French Village on the Kennebecasis: «That part of the Tract in the possession of the French Inhabitants to be laid out so as to include their Improvements and to allot thereto two hundred acres each, if the situation will admit.» The Acadians settled at the mouth of the Keswick were confirmed in possession of the lands they occupied, though these were in a tract assigned to the Royal Guides and Pioneers. Joseph Thériault and his wife Marie sold to Captain Frederick De Peyster of the N.Y. Volunteers their Sugar Island farm of one hundred acres for £87 10s. Daniel Gaudin of Lower French Village was ordered to receive $100 recompense for his improvements, in response to the following memorial:

> The Memorial of Daniel Godong humbly sheweth that he is A Old inhabitant in the Loer french Village, that he Built and Cleared a farm which Colo. Alling [Allen] toald him that hee should have and Secretary Odell toald that hee should have his farm; this day Capt. Lee has forwarned me not to do Aneething on the land more.
> Your memorialist humble prays that you Will be so Good as to giv mee my Land that I have improved and not to Let anee other man injoy my Labour and shall rest as in Duty Bound shall everpray.
> Loer french Village the 29 April, 1789
> Daniel Godong.[24]

As early as 1785 a number of Acadians living in the settlements about St. Ann's requested land at Miramichi and compensation for the lands they then occupied. Colonel Isaac Allen and Colonel Edward Winslow were asked to value these lands. Ensign John Brown of the Royal Guides and Pioneers, requesting permission to exchange part of the land he had drawn for some in the possession of Jean-Baptiste Cyr, was informed: «The prayer of the memorial cannot be granted as it would interfere with the rights of a French Inhabitant.»

There was a pattern to the Acadian exodus from the St. John Valley. Those on the east bank above and below Keswick generally moved to Madawaska or the North Shore within seven or eight years after the Loyalists arrived. In the latter region they settled at Caraquet, Tracadie, Baie du Vin, Cocagne, Buctoche, and at Memramcook on the Isthmus of Chignecto. The majority on the west side of the St. John went to Madawaska. This new dispersion was a voluntary one, and the new locations were chosen by the Acadians themselves. The basic reasons for the move were the desire for more land and the regular services of a priest, as it revealed in the petition of the Thibodeaus, Thériaults, and Violettes of French Village:

> That your petitioners are encumbered with large Families for whose settlement in life they look forward with much anxiety and it is their earnest wish to see them settled around them on Lands of their own, which they cannot expect in the part of the Country where they now dwell. That your petitioners are informed that Government offers encouragement in Lands to such persons as shall settle high up the River St. John, which your petitioners are desirous of doing, not only in order to obtain such lands for their families, but that they may have the assistance of a Priest in the performance of the rites and ceremonies of their religion and in the superintendance of their children's education.[25]

And so the petitioners requested the granting of lands «proportioned to the number of their families» at a «place called the Madawaskas.» This was a large order, as Oliver Thibodeau had 8 sons, Joseph Thériault 6 sons, and François Violette 7 sons. In all three families totalled 39 persons. Confronted with this remarkable fecundity, the governor in council ordered: «May sit down on vacant lands and report their situation, which will be secured by proper grants.»

Since the Bishop of Quebec was short-handed for priests and the governor of Nova Scotia was suspicious of French priests, after the activities of the Abbés Le Loutre and Maillard in the French interest before 1763, the Acadians of the St. John Valley received only occasional visits from the missionaries who were charged with their spiritual welfare. Notable among them was the Abbé Joseph-Mathurin Bourg, one of four young Acadian refugees trained for the priesthood at Saint-Malo, and consecrated by Bishop Briand at Quebec in 1772. The following year Bourg was given charge of the mission of «Acadia, Gaspé, and the North Shore.» He made his headquarters at Carleton on the Gaspé coast, but in 1774 he visited the Acadians of the St. John Valley and the North Shore. Named vicar-general for Acadia, he helped to keep Malaceets in the British interest during the American Revolution, and so came to be highly regarded in official quarters at both Quebec and Halifax. Staunchly loyal, the Abbé Bourg dutifully reported to the justices of the peace on the St. John River in 1781 that one «joseph terriot» had described them as «justices of the devil.»[26] But with the coming of Father James Jones of Halifax in 1785, the Abbé Bourg retired to Gaspé, leaving the southern half of his immense territory in Jones' charge.

The desire of the St. John Valley Acadians for French priests was one of the major reasons for their removal, as is shown by the memorial of eight heads of family at Sugar Island in 1786:

> The Memorial of Wee whos names is heer Unto signed Humbly pray that your Excelency Will be pleasid to Give us Land joyning to Carrecut [Caraquet] Village to Begin at the Loer-end of Olllever Lashear Marsh and so to run Up a Long Said Marsh for Eight famelys, as We would Wish to form a French village as we are Assured of a Chaplain as soon as their is a few Moar famelys Settelid their and We as in Duty Bound shall Ever pray.
>
> Joseph tareyo, John Batist tareyo, Peter tareyo, Victoar tareyo, francos tareyo, Domenack penet, peter penet Juner, francis Corme.[27]

The desire to be among their own people and under the spiritual guidance of French rather than Irish or Scottish priests were powerful motives for the Acadian exodus from the St. John Valley.

While some of the Loyalist rank and file clearly regarded themselves as a superior

caste whose services to King and country entitled them to disregard the rights of earlier settlers, whether pre-Loyalist or Acadian, this was not the attitude of the top British officials and the leading Loyalists. In 1787 Lord Dorchester advised his brother Thomas Carleton that the Acadians, like the Indians, should be treated «with civility and kindness.» He had heard that they «have not only been driven off their lands, but in other ways ill treated. To prevent à misfortune of the kind in the future, a Grant should be made out for them in due form.»[28] In the case of the Indians Dorchester had observed: «Besides the policy of this conduct, common justice requires some attention and compensation to these people, whose lands we come to occupy.» Clearly such considerations had weight with Thomas Carleton and his Loyalist council in their treatment of the Acadians. In New Brunswick, as in Nova Scotia, the leading Loyalists befriended the Acadians and aided in their rehabilitation as full citizens. Their motives in doing so were not exclusively high-minded, but were also expedient. There was a desperate shortage of labor and of local expertise among the Loyalist newcomers, and the Acadians were valued for their abilities as woodsmen, frontier farmers, lumbermen, fishermen and builders of dykes and reclaimers of marshlands. Some Acadians chose to remain among the Loyalist settlers on the St. John and were eventually assimilated by them, losing their language and their traditions. But for the most part, because their national and religious spirit was strong, they established themselves in new communities of their own. Thus were founded the «Independent Republic of Madawaska» and the almost solidly French North Shore. Northern New Brunswick—and part of northern Maine—was to be French, and southern New Brunswick English. This distinction still largely persists today.

If the Loyalists overran a considerable part of the old French Acadia, at the close of the eighteenth century, the Acadians were to return the compliment by flocking to New England in the great exodus of the later nineteenth century from the Maritimes, as well as from Quebec. The «ancient limits of Acadia,» so long disputed between France and England, surely must now be considered to include much of industrial New England, and notably Waltham, Massachusetts, the birthplace of La Société Mutuelle l'Assomption which is now the financial fortress of the Acadian people in Moncton.

Notes

1. PANS, N.S., A71, 32, Jacques Robin-Governor, 24 May 1763; *ibid.*, 37, Jacques Robin-Guiguenen, 24 May 1763.
2. A.G. LeGros, «Charles Robin,» Ch IV, pt. I, *Revue d'histoire de la Gaspésie*, III, 3 (juillet-septembre 1965), 152.
3. PAC: Charles Robin's Journal, 243.
4. N.S., A74, 23, Lords of Trade-Wilmont, 15 May 1764; *ibid.*, 73, Halifax-Wilmont, 5 June 1764.
5. N.S., 81, 125, Francklin-Shelburne, 20 Feb. 1768; 131, Belcher's opinion; 135, Hillsborough-Francklin, 26 Feb. 1768.
6. PAC: MG 23, F 1-2, J.F.W. DesBarres Papers, «Menudie Estate, 1768; Tatamagouche Estate, 1795,» Second series: Macdonald's report, 41-5.
7. T.C. Haliburton, *Sam Slick, the Clockmaker, First Series* (1836).
8. N.S., B13, 4, Council, 24 March 1764.
9. N.S., A63, 116, Memorial, Annapolis Twp., 3 Dec. 1759; Memorial, Liverpool, 11 Dec. 1759.
10. PANS; Vol. 37, Governors of Nova Scotia-Board of Trade, 1760-72, No. 2, Belcher-Lords of Trade, 12 Dec. 1760.
11. N.S., A64, 60, Lawrence-Board of Trade, 16 June 1760; *ibid.*, 262, Belcher-Board of Trade, 12 Dec. 1760; A65, 189, Belcher-Lords of Trade, 14 April 1761.
12. N.S., A76, 56, Memorial of the inhabitants of King's County, 23 March 1765.
13. N.S., A94, 300, Memorial of the inhabitants of Yarmouth, 8 Dec. 1775.
14. W.R. Raymond, «The First Governor of New Brunswick and the Acadians of the River St. John,» TRSC, 3rd Series VIII (1914) II, 419-20.
15. *Ibid.*, 421.
16. *Ibid.*, 422.
17. N.B. Hist. Society *Collections*, I, 110-113, 117.
18. Report of Edward Cavanagh, Maine representative, in Abbé H.-R. Casgrain, *Une pélerinage au pays d'Evangéline* (Québec, 1888), 494.
19. Raymond, «First Governor,» 436-7, Haldimand-Parr, 27 Nov. 1783.
20. *Ibid.*, 434, Minutes of Council, 13 July 1785.
21. *Ibid.*, 435.
22. *Ibid.*, 437, Mercure-Holland, 24 Feb. 1785.
23. *Ibid.*, 438, Mercure-Carleton, June 1785.
24. *Ibid.*, 441-6.
25. *Ibid.*, 448-9.
26. N.B. Museum: Hazen & White Papers, Vol. 20, 83, No. 4, Bourg-Justices of the peace, 3 July 1781. For Bourg's career, see Abbé Arthur Melançon, *Vie de l'Abbé Bourg, premier prêtre acadien, missionnaire et Grand-Vicaire pour l'Acadie et la Baie-des-Chaleurs,* 1744-1797 (Rimouski, 1921)
27. Raymond, «First Governor,» 450.
28. W.O. Raymond (ed.), *The Winslow Papers* (St. John, 1901), 339, Dorchester-Carleton, 3 Jan. 1787.

James P. Allen made his own unique contribution to the field of Franco-American studies in 1974, with the publication of the following article in the review Acadiensis. *In it, he documents, as it has never been documented before, the special attraction of the manufacturing industry, especially textile manufacturing, for the French-Canadians in their population movements into and within the state of Maine. Much of Allen's analysis was made possible by a surprisingly reliable private enumeration of the Franco-American population of Maine by Odile Laplante of* Le Messager *of Lewiston early in this century.*

FRANCO-AMERICANS IN MAINE: A GEOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVE

by
James P. Allen

During the last decade the people of the United States and Canada have shown a growing awareness of and pride in their diverse ethnic backgrounds. In Maine this interest appropriately has focused most intently on the Franco-Americans who, apart from the Yankees, constitute the most culturally distinctive and numerically important ethnic group in the state.[1] Yet it would be wrong to assume that members of this group are found throughout the state. They have indeed been numerous in some areas, but, at the other extreme there are portions of the state where there are few if any. The largest centres of French ethnic strength are known to local residents and scholars in a general and rather imprecise way while the less visible centres are usually ignored. However, a knowledge of the changing locations of the Franco-American population would seem a necessary prelude to understanding their significance in the state.

The major purpose of this paper is to depict the geographical characteristics of Maine's Franco-Americans during the twentieth century and to show what changes have occurred in recent years.[2] A private 1908 census and the most recent United States government census are the basic sources regarding spatial patterns and trends. The historical development of various types of Franco-American settlement will be traced, and statistical analyses will demonstrate the extent to which this ethnic distribution has been distinctive. A second purpose of the paper is to describe certain changes in culture and social structure which have occurred as Franco-Americans have experienced assimilation to varying degrees in different places. In this regard, a variety of data from Maine is useful as are recent comparative sociological studies based on national samples of Franco-Americans.

Membership in any ethnic group is basically a function of an individual's sense of identity with the group. Therefore, an ethnic group is most appropriately defined as a group with a shared sense of peoplehood.[3] Although such groups are usually limited to persons who share a common biological and cultural ancestry, ethnic intermarriage and attitude changes have meant that some biological descendants no longer feel an identity with a particular ancestral ethnic group. Such individuals are not properly considered members of that group. The best definition of a Franco-American is thus an American who considered himself or herself a Franco-American and who feels a sense of identity with other descendants of the *Canadiens* and *Acadiens*. The problem with such a definition is that the sense of peoplehood is hard to measure. For this reason various surrogates are often used. Most commonly some distinctive cultural characteristic is identified with most members of an ethnic group and the people who share this characteristic are considered members of the group. Because

nearly all *Canadiens* and *Acadiens* who migrated to the United States were Roman Catholic and French speaking, religious identification and linguistic usage are potential indicators. In general, the former is the better indicator, because Catholic immigrants to the U. S. have tended to keep their religion while typically abandoning the language of the old country in two or three generations. Franco-Americans, however, have been more successful in preserving their French language through several generations than have most other ethnic groups. As a result, a linguistic measure is probably one satisfactory indicator of relative Franco-American strength in different places. Admittedly, a few people who consider themselves as members of this ethnic group were not raised as Catholics and probably a much larger number did not speak French as children. But there is no way of determining how many people are represented in these untypical categories. Moreover, measures of language and religion provide the only evidence available regarding the size and distribution of the Franco-American population.

Social scientists who have studied ethnicity in the United States have frequently used published volumes of the decennial federal census as primary sources. Depending on the year under investigation, measurement of the size of an ethnic population could usually be obtained from data on either 1) the mother tongue of the foreign born population of states, counties and larger cities; or 2) the country of origin of the foreign born and the foreign stock (native born of foreign parentage) in similar types of places. Although these would seem relatively satisfactory indicators, they are greatly weakened by being limited to the first and second generations of immigrants. Like many Americans, the officials who designed the censuses assumed that the grandchildren of immigrants would lose their ethnic identity and the culturally distinctive aspects of their ethnic background. In fact, this has often not been the case. New England's Franco-Americans, especially, have preserved their ethnicity over many more than two generations. For this reason, the use of typical census classifications may result in a serious underestimation of ethnic numbers. Religious preference might provide a further cultural indicator, but since 1936 it has been the policy of the Bureau of the Census to ask no question regarding such a private matter as religion. A second difficulty in the use of the published U. S. Census has been the fact that the data are often not presented in terms of sufficiently small areal units. This situation is exemplified by Maine, a state whose generally large counties encompass many small and often contrasting towns. County-level measurements are simply too gross to illuminate much of the geographic variety of the state, and except for Portland there has been until recently no city large enough to receive detailed treatment.

However, it is possible to overcome these problems and to obtain reasonably good distributional information on Franco-Americans, both at the beginning of the twentieth century and in 1970. For the former, two publications of the late nineteenth century are helpful,[4] but a special 1908 census is most useful. The unusual circumstances behind this census require some brief explanation. It was planned by leaders of the Franco-American communities in order to demonstrate that they represented an ethnic group larger than the Irish in numbers and, therefore, were deserving of more influence within the Catholic Church's Diocese of Portland. The Franco-Americans basically objected to the Church's policy of trying to assimilate them into the English-speaking Catholic population, but they found their desires thwarted again and again by the Church. In an effort to support their claims of numerical superiority the leaders formed

Le Comité Permanent de la Cause Nationale du Maine. This group commissioned Odule Laplante to conduct a thorough survey of the Franco-American population in Maine. In his efforts Laplante traveled over 3000 miles within the state, seeking out Franco-Americans in even the smallest towns. His final count was one in which he expressed great confidence, in spite of numerous admitted difficulties. In 1908 and early 1909, Laplante's findings were published and fortunately they have been recently reprinted.[5] Comparison with federal census figures for 1910 indicates that he was generally accurate, with over-estimates likely only in areas having few Franco-Americans.[6] Because the survey was not restricted to recent immigrant generations and because it was presented in terms of Catholic parish units, the data are more culturally valid and geographically illuminating than most U. S. Census data. His results represent the best ethnic distributional data available from this period.

In interpreting Laplante's data, certain problems must be considered. First, Laplante was, of course, interested in counting the Catholic population of French background, and he relied on parish priests for much of his information. But he never defined the criteria by which a person was to be considered a French Catholic. Although he was able to include many Franco-Americans who were outside the ethnic centers and some who were far from even an Irish Catholic Church, many of these were in the process of abandoning either their language or their Catholicism or both. There was no standardized method for identifying who was Franco-American and who was not, as in cases of children of ethnically mixed marriages. Nor were there any expressed criteria for deciding who should be counted as a member of a parish and who had been so lax and uninterested in practicing his religion as to be no longer considered a Catholic. Indeed the motivation behind the survey would suggest that Laplante was probably not reluctant to include those of French origin who were no longer using the language or practicing the faith. Although these matters do raise questions about the total state numbers, it will be assumed that variations in the accuracy of counting and in the criteria for membership in the Franco-American community did not vary significantly from place to place. As well, one must remember that Laplante's count was made by parish territories, which in much of Maine extended over several towns and often included more than one small Franco-American settlement together with scattered individuals and families. Thus, it is not possible to know the exact location and extent of population clustering within these parishes.

Contemporary distributional data are available in the United States Census of 1970. This was different from past censuses in that the question concerning mother tongue was not limited in application to the foreign born population. All individuals in a 15 per cent random sample were asked to identify the language used in their homes when they were children.[7] For this reason the 1970 data on mother tongue are more useful than those from any previous census. However, it is important to recognize that the data do not indicate the language used at the time the census was taken. Many people who learned French or other languages as their first language have since learned English and today speak English regularly as adults. The item is a good cultural indicator, however, of French ethnic background and, as such, is a good measure of the relative strength of French ethnicity in different places. The fact that only a sample of the population was asked the question does not affect the reliability of the results, except perhaps in towns with fewer than several hundred inhabitants. Another improvement in the 1970 Census is the availability of data

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for smaller areal units. The published volumes of the Census provide somewhat greater detail than in the past, and much more information is available in the form of comupter tapes. A print-out of the results of the mother tongue question for many of Maine's towns is one empirical basis for research on the contemporary distribution of Franco-Americans.[8]

Clearly the 1908 and 1970 data are not strictly comparable since they are based on different criteria. Yet each measures an important aspect of Franco-American ethnicity, and it is indeed possible to compare the two distributions in terms of relative changes between different places in the state. Such comparisons constitute the primary evidence of the twentieth-century trends discussed in this paper.

At this point it is appropriate to examine the historical development of Franco-American settlement in Maine. In general, the ethnic distribution at the beginning of the twentieth century can be seen in terms of the cumulative effect of four major phases of settlement: 1) the expansion of early rural settlement along the upper St. John River, 2) the settlement of formerly seasonal workers, especially in the Kennebec and Penobscot River Valleys, 3) the concentration of large numbers of immigrants in cotton textile manufacturing towns, and 4) later concentrations of both immigrants and natives in certain pulp and paper manufacturing centers. Since these developments laid the foundations for the population changes to be investigated, they will be discussed briefly.

In the late eighteenth century French Acadian pioneers began clearing land for homes and fields along the banks of the St. John River, far upstream from the predominantly British area around Fredericton. From a first landing at St. David near the present town of Madawaska, they soon began to expand along both banks, up and down the river (Map 1).[9] Canadians from the St. Lawrence Valley joined them, and by 1831 there were over 2,000 immigrants in the upper St. John Valley.[10] The settlements,

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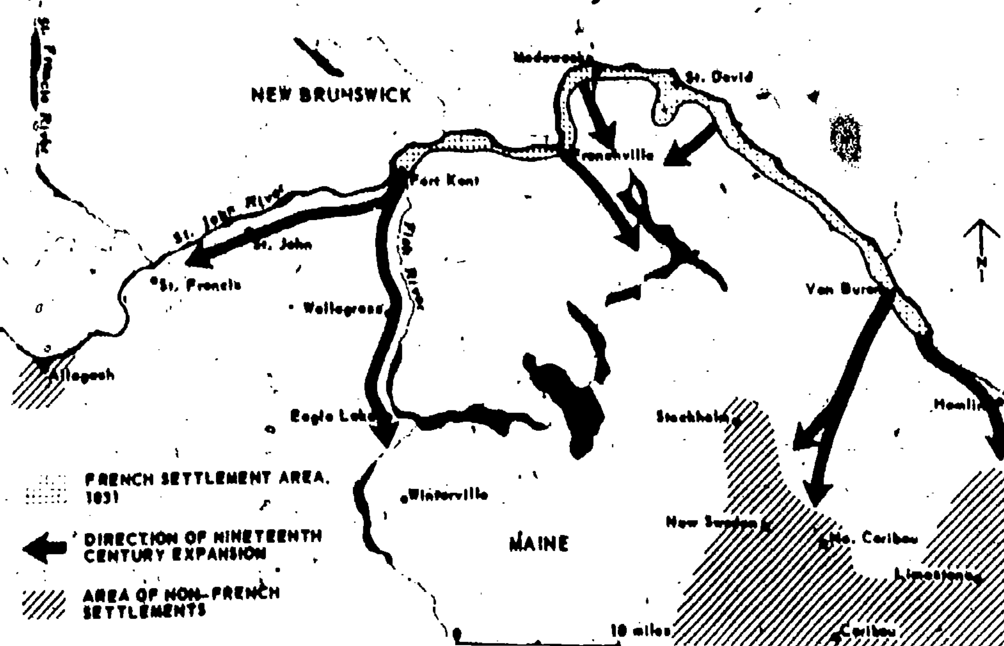
FRENCH SETTLEMENT EXPANSION
SOUTH BANK UPPER ST. JOHN VALLEY



known collectively then as Madawaska, extended from the mouth of the Fish River (Fort Kent) forty-five miles downriver, beyond the parish of *St. Bruneau* (Van Buren). There were some English-speaking people at either end of the Valley, but in the center the inhabitants were almost completely French, with roughly equal numbers of Acadians and Canadians. Ever since the Treaty of Paris in 1783 the entire area had been in dispute between the United States and Great Britian. However, in 1842 the northern boundary of Maine was firmly fixed along the St. John and St. Francis rivers, splitting Madawaska down its river backbone. People who had chosen lots on the south bank became U. S. citizens while those on the north were confirmed as British subjects. Resolution of the boundary dispute brought increased migration and a resulting extension of the area of contiguous settlement. Some people moved up the Fish River along a newly completed road to the south. Also, by the 1850s logging trails penetrated the broad hill country east of Frenchville, and after 1860 this area received its first farm families. Ulitmately these back settlements would be spread over the land some ten miles south of the river. By 1892 the settlement encompassed Hamlin on the east and St. Francis on the west, but the general direction of expansion was to the south.[11] Wallagrass, Eagle Lake, and Winterville were then well populated. The major southward thrust was along the main road from Van Buren to Caribou, with a focus around the parish at North Caribou, established in 1881. A secondary movement of French pushed south from Hamlin toward Limestone.

In contrast to the wild forest land which surrounded most of the French settlements, these lands to the southeast had been opened, if not densely occupied, by the descendants of the Yankee-British pioneers of eastern Aroostook County. At the same time, the Swedish farming colony begun in the town of New Sweden in 1871 was expanding to the north and east. Although the Swedes pushed into the town of Stockholm first, the French would soon follow. Thus, a zone of interlaced peoples was created between Limestone and Hamlin and between Caribou and Van Buren. Also, to the west along the St. John River a smaller settlement of still different character was developing. Scots-Irish loggers and river-drivers from New Brunswick migrated to the Valley and located west of the mouth of the St. Francis River, upriver from the French. In time their descendants and new arrivals formed a small, somewhat unique society, isolated both geographically and culturally. A narrow cultural transition zone was being formed at the town of St. Francis: eastward was an almost exclusively French Catholic area while to the west was Allagash, whose inhabitants spoke English and were most assuredly not Catholic.

Although in-migration to the Valley declined in the last half of the nineteenth century, the population grew rapidly by natural increase. At the same time many individuals left the area and sought their fortune further south. Some worked at the huge sawmill north of Ashland, a few moved to Caribou and Fort Fairfield, and others joined migrants from the Maritime Provinces seeking employment in the sawmills, tanneries, and other industries of the Penobscot River towns.[12]

A similar southward drift was taking place from Canadian settlements closer to the St. Lawrence River. Beginning in the 1830s many French-Canadians from Beauce County were able to find short-term work in southern Maine. In those early years most individuals rejoined their families in Quebec when the jobs were finished, but economic opportunities were so much better south of the border that increasing numbers decided to move permanently to Maine.[13] As early as

1835 thirty families had gathered in Waterville,[14] and by 1860 there were more than 500 French-Canadians in Biddeford and almost as many in Waterville and in the towns along the lower Penobscot River.[15] Skowhegan had over 200 French-Canadians, and there were sufficient opportunities in Augusta, Farmington, Fairfield and Dexter for each to have attracted several French families.[16] After 1853, when the first railroad link between Quebec and Maine was completed, transportation between Quebec and southern Maine's developing manufacturing cities was relatively easy and cheap. This, together with recruitment and the personal contact networks established earlier, made it possible for future French-Canadian migration to be highly responsive to developing job opportunities and income differentials in various places.[17]

The largest employer of French-Canadian immigrants—men, women and children—was the expanding cotton textile manufacturing establishments. After a hesitant beginning in the early nineteenth century, they grew rapidly after the Civil War with the consolidation of smaller mills and the availability of cotton fiber and Boston capital tapped for mill development by resourceful entrepreneurs.[18] This was also a period of vigorous railroad expansion, with each line which pushed north helping to tie more cities into the larger markets of southern New England. Moreover, southern cotton was easily shipped to the port of Portland and from there taken by train to the various mills. Prior to mid-century most workers in the mills were Yankees, often farm girls looking for more excitement and a better life in the city. But because of the monotonous and often dangerous work with long hours and low pay, fewer Americans accepted such jobs, and in the 1850s much of the labor in the mills was being performed by Irish immigrants. With the post-Civil War expansion, even these recent immigrants were able to find better jobs, and French-Canadians were recruited and eagerly accepted mill work.

By 1873, the cotton mill cities of Biddeford and Lewiston were receiving the largest number of French-Canadians.[19] In 1860 nearly 75 per cent of Biddeford's employed French-Canadians were working in the cotton mills.[20] Although the first French-Canadian immigrant to Lewiston may have arrived as late as 1860,[21] the growth of both industry and the French population was so rapid after 1868 that Lewiston soon surpassed Biddeford. By 1890 there were 9,250 French persons in Lewiston compared to Biddeford's 8,155.[22] The Lockwood Mills were built in Waterville and the French community of that town continued to expand. Other cotton mill centers—Brunswick, Westbrook, and Augusta—had fewer French, but only the smallest mills in such places as Hallowell, Kennebunk, Richmond and Yarmouth failed to become foci of major Franco-American communities.[23]

Woolen textile plants, more widely dispersed and smaller than the cotton mills, tended to employ local residents. In towns where both woolen mill employment and French settlement occurred, the relationship between the two was uncertain. Skowhegan, Old Town and Madison all had French communities prior to mill construction; and Lisbon, Lewiston and Old Town were more diverse industrially, with employment opportunities not dependent on woolen manufacturing. Perhaps only in Dexter and Vassalboro could the establishment of Franco-American communities be associated primarily with the woolen mills.[24] However, the importance of the textile industry as a whole in providing employment to the French-Canadian immigrants is clear from the fact that in 1890 over 30 per cent of Maine's employed Canadian-born French males and 84 per cent of employed Canadian-born French females worked in such mills.[25]

In the late nineteenth century another major industry was developing in the state. When the paper industry switched in the late 1870s from rags to wood pulp as a source of paper fiber, the resource potential of Maine's forests was obvious. Over the next few decades numerous pulp and paper mills were established, commonly on the larger rivers—the Androscoggin, the Kennebec, and the Penobscot. The industry built whole new towns on the fringes of the great forest areas and rejuvenated older settlements which had been chosen as sites for the new mills. The rapid growth of the industry meant that wood choppers were in great demand. Knowledge of job opportunities in the woods had been widely disseminated, and in 1871 a railroad connection between Bangor and New Brunswick was completed. By the end of the century a large proportion of the woodsmen were Canadian in origin: Scots, English, Irish and Acadians from the Maritime Provinces together with French-Canadians from across the border to the west.[26]

When the large pulp and paper mills were built, a great variety of people sought work at the plants. The average annual wage was $609 compared to $442 for woolen mill workers, $390 for cotton mill workers, and $415 for lumber and timber workers.[27] The companies recruited a few skilled paper makers, but most of the Yankees, Italian immigrants, and French from Canada and Lewiston who were hired at the mills were anxious for any job at these higher wages. Also, the presence of Acadian French in the paper mill towns differentiated these places somewhat from the other French settlements in southern Maine. Acadians from New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and the upper St. John Valley migrated in handfuls to most of the urban French centers in Maine, but the paper mill towns received easily the largest numbers[28] (Map 2). For example, in 1880 the S.D. Warren Company in Westbrook was described as the largest paper mill in the world; its employees included *Québecois*, but these were later joined by about one hundred Acadian families.[29] Some P.E.I. Acadians settled near the new mill in Yarmouth,[30] and others made their way to the Chisholm and Riley mills in the town of Jay.[31] Millinocket's Franco-Americans came mostly from the upper St. John Valley and the Maritimes, and the largest colony of New Brunswick and P.E.I. Acadians developed in Rumford after the International Paper Company opened its sulfite mill and paper bag plant in 1900.[32] Similarly, in the lower Penobscot River towns some of the French immigrants were from Quebec, but most had come from the Maritime Provinces.[33]

By 1908, then, the Franco-American population was concentrated in the new manufacturing centers, and it is possible to determine statistically the extent to which French urban settlement was correlated with different types of manufacturing. Laplante's data for 1908 and Maine state statistics on manufacturing employment by town in 1908[34] were compared for all towns and cities with over 2,900 inhabitants in 1910. Aroostook County was excluded because Franco-American settlement there was known to be unrelated to manufacturing. Thirty-seven places were included in the analysis.

Results indicate that cotton textile employment was very highly correlated with the Franco-American population (r=.915). Both woolen and pulp and paper manufacturing employment showed positive but much lower correlations (r=.141 and .137 respectively). It is correct, then, to associate the early twentieth century Franco-Americans with the cotton industry. This does not mean, of course, that all Franco-Americans or even a majority were actually working in the industry. It shows only that this industrial employment was sufficient to provide a locational focus for the infant Franco-

American communities, each of which contained many individuals of varied occupational skills. That Franco-Americans had a distinctive geography at this time is further indicated by the fact that correlation between the total population and the Franco-American population of these places was relatively low (r=.391). Clearly, Franco-American settlement was not a reflection of the general population distribution.

Of the places in the above analysis, two were cities with nearly twice the cotton textile employment and Franco-American population of the next largest center. It is quite clear that the correlation was strongly influenced by these two extreme cases (Lewiston and Biddeford-Saco) in which the correlation with cotton textile employment was very high. Therefore, in order to better understand the situation for more typical urban places, a second analysis was made, this time excluding Lewiston and Biddeford-Saco. Analysis of the remaining thirty-five places showed that the Franco-American population was still most highly correlated with cotton textile employment (r=.703), but that pulp and paper industry employment was also strongly correlated (r=.484, statistically significant at the .01 level). Woolen textile employment had a much lower correlation (r=.258, not statistically significant at the .05 level). Correlation with total manufacturing employment (r=.468) was less than that with either cotton or pulp and paper manufacturing, making clear the fact of Franco-American settlement in these specialized industrial centers. Moreover, total manufacturing employment was more highly correlated with the total population (r=.808) than with the Franco-American population.

The data were further analyzed by stepwise multiple regression to determine the cumulative importance of the different manufacturing types in accounting for the Franco-American distribution. The results indicate that half the variation in the Franco-American distribution could be explained by cotton textile employment (R^2=.4942) without even including the two largest cotton mill and Franco-American centers. Furthermore, all three variables together account for over 70 per cent of the distribution of Franco-Americans outside Aroostook County.

Other major features of Franco-American settlement in 1908 can best be seen in terms of county comparisons (Table 2). Aroostook County contained the largest number of Franco-Americans, and the largest proportion of Franco-Americans in the total population was also found there. Settlement was still highly concentrated in the rural upper St. John Valley (Map 2). Because immigration in the late nineteenth century was not large, it was indeed a native-born population that occupied the area. By 1910 only 13 per cent of the French in Aroostook County had been born in Canada.[35] Penobscot County also contained a large number

TABLE 1

RESULTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF FRANCO-AMERICAN POPULATION ON EMPLOYMENT VARIABLES *

Employment Type	R	R^2	Increase in R^2
Cotton textile	.7030	.4942	.4942
Pulp and paper	.7714	.5951	.1009
Woolen textile	.8410	.7073	.1122

*Lewiston, Biddeford-Saco and Aroostook County not included.

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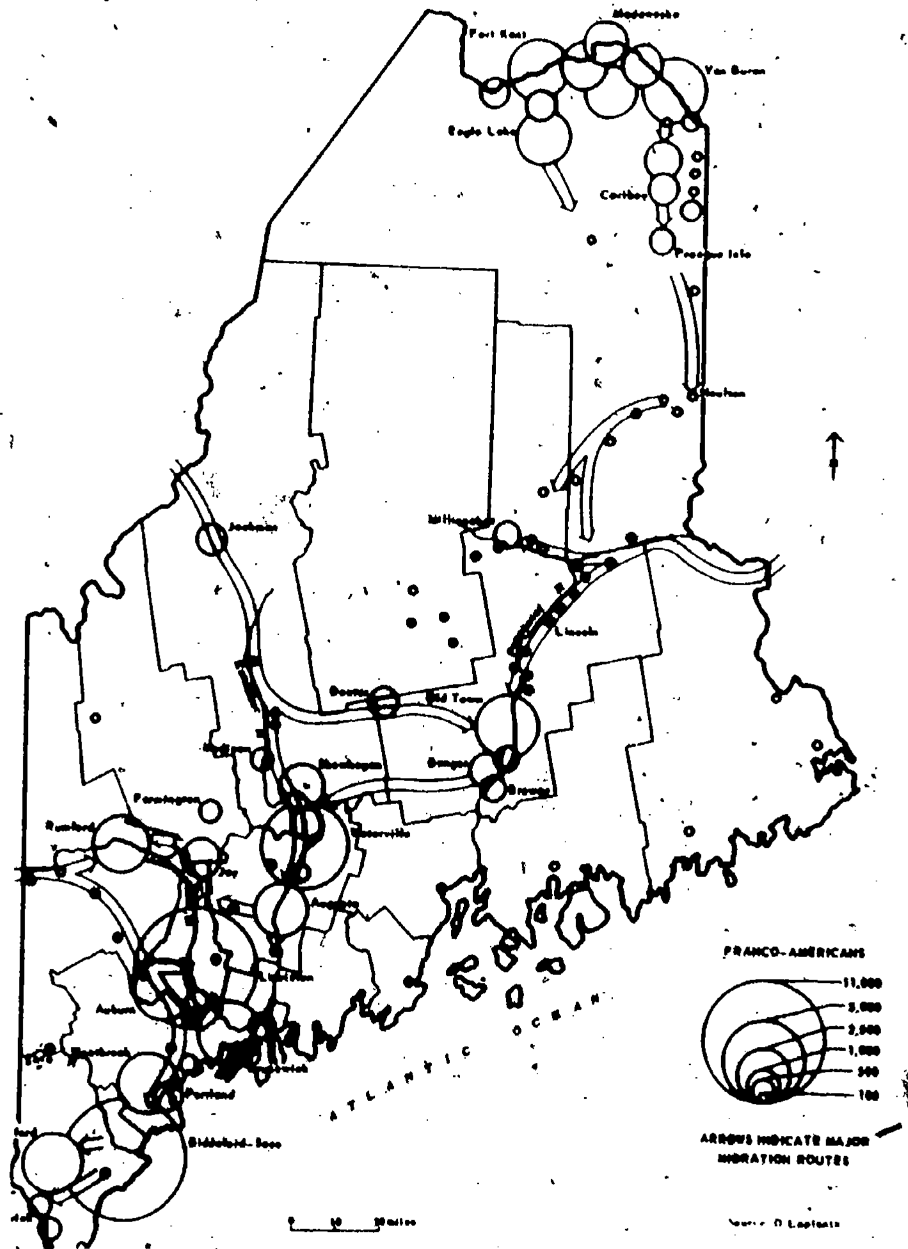
FRANCO-AMERICANS IN MAINE, 1908



of Franco-Americans; and because so many of its residents had migrated from the U.S. side of the St. John Valley or were descendants of very early French Canadian settlers, the percentage of foreign born was exceptionally low (26%) in that county too.

In the southern part of the state Franco-Americans were clearly strongest in Androscoggin and York Counties, with Kennebec County third in numbers. Here most Franco-Americans lived close to the mill operations of the types already discussed. With the exception of Waterville and, to a lesser extent, Biddeford, the French population of these counties was relatively new to the state. Over half the French in Androscoggin and York Counties in 1910 had been born in Canada. The presence of Franco-Americans in such counties as Cumberland, Franklin, Oxford and Somerset can be understood only in terms of particular towns. Because the low numbers and proportions of county totals obscure the local significance of these French settlements, an examination of the distribution by towns is more illuminating.

Table 3 includes only parishes in which the Franco-American population in 1908 was substantially concentrated in one town. Data for smaller places indicate a dispersal of Franco-Americans which made location in terms of towns too uncertain. In those parishes where Franco-Americans were known to be concentrated in one town, but with significant numbers in one adjoining town,

TABLE 2

FRANCO-AMERICANS IN MAINE COUNTIES: 1908, 1970

	1908		1970	
County	Franco American Catholics	Per cent Fr.-Ams. in Total Pop.	French Mother Tongue Population	Per cent Fr. M. T. in Total Pop.
Androscoggin	14,842	25	35,940	39
Aroostook	22,883	31	27,442	29
Cumberland	7,715	7	11,286	6
Franklin	2,351	12	1,559	7
Hancock	22	0	403	1
Kennebec	9,152	15	18,264	19
Knox	112	1	211	1
Lincoln	22	0	200	1
Oxford	3,341	9	3,612	8
Penobscot	9,892	12	8,885	7
Piscataquis	397	2	845	5
Sagadahoc	723	4	1,174	5
Somerset	4,358	12	4,475	14
Waldo	145	1	467	2
Washington	301	1	500	2
York	15,143	22	26,226	24
Total	91,567		141,489	
Average		12		15

Sources: Laplante. «Les Franco-américains du Maine.» *La revue franco-américaine*. II (January. 1909). pp. 206-209. U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Thirteenth Census of the U.S. 1910:* Population. II. pp. 814-816. U.S. Bureau of the Census. *1970 Census of Population. Maine:* Number of Inhabitants. Table 10: General Social and Economic Characteristics. Table 119.

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TABLE 3

FRANCO-AMERICANS IN SELECTED TOWNS: 1908, 1970

	1908		1970	
Town or Parish	Franco-American Catholics	[illegible] ns.	French Mother Tongue Population	Per cent French M.T.
Lewiston	11,180	43	25,037	60
Biddeford (incl. Saco)	10,641	62*	15,599‡	61
Waterville (incl. Winslow)	5,862	51*	8,338	30
Van Buren	3,800	97	3,844	94
Brunswick (incl. Topsham)	3,308	50*	3,152	15
Old Town (incl. Bradley)	3,300	52*	1,980	20
Sanford (incl. Springvale)	2,968	33	5,997	38
Westbrook	2,951	36	2,487	17
Auburn	2,911	19	6,938	29
Fort Kent	2,850	95	3,929	86
Rumford (incl. Mexico)	2,745	41*	2,665	21
Augusta	2,487	19	6,419	29
Eagle Lake	2,400	99	933	95
Caribou (incl. N. Car.)	2,242	43	2,470	24
Frenchville	1,950	99	1,441	97
Skowhegan	1,806	34	925	12
Madawaska	1,600	95	4,800‡	86†
Jay (incl. Liv. Falls)	1,525	51*	1,505	18
Bangor	1,058	4	1,861	6
Millinocket (incl. E. Mil.)	1,039	31*	1,369	13
Dexter	855	24	364	10
St. Francis	805	95	876	79
Portland (incl. S. Port.)	760	1	3,653	4
Bath	674	7	270	3
Presque Isle	641	12	876	14
Brewer	624	11	479	5
Orono	599	17	768	8
Lisbon	567	14	1,135	17

*See text for explanation of probable slight overestimate represented by these figures.

†Estimate.

‡ For Biddeford alone the 1970 French mother tongue population was 12,268.

Sources: Laplante's census, published in issues of *Le Messager* (Lewiston) and reprinted (See note 4).
U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Thirteenth Census of the U.S. 1910:* Population. II. pp. 801-805.
U.S. Bureau of the Census. *1970 Census of Population, Maine:* Number of Inhabitants. Table 6: General, Social and Economic Characteristics. Table 81: 102: Fourth Count of Computer Tapes. Table 23 for towns with fewer than 10,000 inhabitants.

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the second center is indicated as being included as part of the parish total. In such cases the percentage figure for the major town in 1908 is somewhat higher than it should be, as this figure does not take into account the total population in the adjoining town. The case of Biddeford and Saco, for which additional information on French locations is available, illustrates the situation. Because there was no French parish in Saco, even as late as 1908, the more than 1,000 Franco-Americans in Saco[36] were included by Laplante with those in Biddeford to make the total of 10,641. Biddeford would then appear to be 62 per cent Franco-American. But if the 1,000 in Saco are subtracted from Biddeford's total, the revised total of 9,650 Franco-Americans, 57 per cent of the city's people, is more accurate. Still, Biddeford was the leading city in the state in terms of proportion of French in the total population. During this period the city was experiencing also an influx of European immigrants of varied nationalities. At the same time old Yankee families had been moving across the river to Saco to avoid contact with the «new and uncertain peoples.»[37] Saco was considered a serene and prosperous traditional community, epitomized by its old colonial homes and elm-shaded streets. As Biddeford became increasingly foreign and Catholic, Saco became a suburban refuge for the Yankees.

In Old Town, also, measurement was complicated by the location of parishioners in neighboring towns. Over two decades earlier, one-fifth of the French members of the parish in Old Town had been living in Bradley and Milford towns.[38] If the relative location of parishioners had not changed, then in 1908 probably only about 39 per cent of Old Town's inhabitants were Franco-Americans. Similarly, some of the people counted by Laplante for St. John's parish in Brunswick actually lived across the river in Topsham. Lewiston may have been the largest Franco-American center at this time but the proportion of French in this second-largest city of the state was lower than one might have expected from its widespread reputation as *the* French city. Lewiston had large numbers of both Yankees and Irish, so that even by 1908 the French were not in a majority. But it had been growing faster than Biddeford, as was indicated by the change in manufacturing employment from 1904 to 1909. While Biddeford grew by only 288 persons in such jobs, there was an increase of 1,540 manufacturing workers in Lewiston-Auburn by the latter date.[39] Waterville was still the third Franco-American city, and new industry had appeared in the area. The Hollingsworth and Whitney pulp and paper plant was constructed across the Kennebec River in Winslow, and a new soda pulp plant at Fairfield also provided jobs for the French community. But more immigrants were heading down the river to Augusta where cotton mill employment had by 1910 grown to ten times its size in 1845.[40] Also, the town of Jay experienced a major influx of people when the International Paper Company developed plants on the Androscoggin River. Few people had been living just north of the town of Livermore Falls when the mills were built. Consequently, in the Chisholm area especially and in the town of Jay as a whole the Franco-American community represented a large proportion of the inhabitants.

In the upper St. John Valley the building of the Bangor and Aroostook Railroad and the development of the potato as a specialty crop permitted much closer commercial ties with the growing urban markets to the south. For farmers the potato represented a gamble for possible large cash gains, and for young people and entire families there were good jobs for a few weeks in late summer picking potatoes. Unfortunately, the prosperity of bumper harvests too seldom compensated for lean years; the Valley remained poor.

lumbering still provided seasonal employment for local men, and some Franco-Americans were able to purchase businesses such as sawmills, starch factories and stores, which had been started originally by Yankee entrepreneurs.[41] And although Franco-American lawyers and doctors were beginning to replace most non-French professionals, there were altogether not enough good jobs to go around. Even though some Franco-Americans were leaving the Valley, the high rate of natural increase plus the departure of some English speakers meant that the populace was becoming ever more dominantly French.[42] Moreover, the total population was growing rapidly. The number of people in the region, from Allagash to Hamlin and south to Winterville and Stockholm, increased from less than 9,000 in 1880 to over 21,000 in 1910. The new Franco-American settlements of Guerette and Sinclair on the lakes southeast of Frenchville were developed in the 1890's while Eagle Lake and Stockholm tripled their numbers between 1900 and 1910. The cultural and geographical separation between the Franco-American settlements in northern Maine and the rest of the state produced the most distinctive cultural region in all New England, one which appeared at this time in little danger of being overwhelmed by the English-speaking Protestant and secular dominance of the rest of the state and the country.

Many French Canadians arrived in New England in the years after 1908. Except for the period of World War I the net southward flow continued until 1930, when the depressed U.S. economy and new immigration restrictions effectively ended the long period of large-scale French Canadian immigration to New England.[43] The development of growing French populations in rural and urban places within the culturally alien state of Maine posed an understandable threat to the integrity of the transplanted French culture. In the nineteenth century French-Canadians felt that their language was inseparable from their religion, that the French language was a necessary bulwark for Catholicism. As long as a person continued to use French rather than English he would remain a Catholic. But *qui perd sa langue perd sa foi*. The priests and other leaders who came to New England were very much aware of the danger of exposure to the alien influences.

The establishment of a Catholic elementary school was often the first concern of the pastor in a growing Franco-American community. In 1908 there were over 9,000 pupils in parochial schools in Maine, and two-thirds of these were in French schools.[44] Usually the teachers were nuns from either France or Canada. Although in some schools there were classes in English, most teaching was devoted to French-language subjects, including religion and French Canadian history.[45] Except in the major Franco-American centers, the attempt to preserve the use of French in everyday speech failed. In most parishes the priests spoke no French, and the acquisition of English language skills was obviously valuable, if not necessary, where Franco-Americans were a local minority numbering a few hundred or less. Even in the larger places many Franco-Americans lost interest in ethnic matters; the 1920's represented the last decade of widespread ethnic support for the use of the French language in all possible affairs of the community.[46] By 1930 the smaller schools had evolved into general Catholic schools with French language study occupying a minor position in the curriculum. Larger schools still emphasized the language, but no longer were the sisters preaching love of Canada and its history.[47] In these schools a bilingual generation of Americans was being produced. In fact, until the 1950's the state of Maine never really enforced the requirement that English be the basic language of instruction in all schools[48] although, until 1969, the state officially

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prohibited the teaching of subjects other than a foreign language in a language other than English.[49]

Enrollments in Franco-American Catholic schools in a typical year during the first half of the century give an indication of those places where the French language was receiving support from the schools. Although the establishment and success of such schools was dependent to some extent on the abilities of the individual pastor, there was a rough correlation with the size of Franco-American communities (Table 4). All the larger communities supported such schools, although Old Town had a much lower enrollment than might have been expected from the number of people in the area. Bangor and Portland had large enrollments in parochial schools too, but these, being Irish, provided no support for French. Millinocket and Dexter were the largest Franco-American centers without any Catholic schools at all.

TABLE 4

FRANCO-AMERICAN PARISH SCHOOL ENROLLMENT: 1930

Town	Pupils	Town	Pupils
Lewiston	2928	Skowhegan	417
Biddeford	2543	Jay*	405
Sanford*	1298	Old Town	385
Waterville	981	Mexico*	295
Brunswick*	875	Fairfield*	253
Augusta	699	Orono*	247
Rumford	600	South Berwick*	158
Auburn	550	Jackman*	140
Westbrook	440		

*Indicates pupils in a parish not officially designated by the Diocese as a French parish but in which the Franco-American population was clearly dominant. In such parishes French was typically studied as a foreign language rather than as the language of instruction.

Source: *Official Catholic Directory*. 1930 (New York. 1930).

Note: In addition, in the upper St. John Valley there were eight public schools which were operating essentially as French parochial schools. See Francis Brassard, «The Origin of Certain Public Schools in the St. John Valley of Aroostook County, Maine.» (Unpublished M.A. thesis. University of Ottawa. 1967). pp. vi. vii. Discussions of these schools and the problems involved with their operation can be found in Ernst C. Helmreich. *Religion and the Maine Schools: An Historical Approach* (Brunswick. 1960). pp. 22-27, and in Kloss. *Les droits linguistiques* (See note 49) pp. 50-53.

In general the French who migrated to Maine remained more closely tied to their language and traditions than those in other New England states. They also had less formal education. Considering only Canadian-born French eleven years of age and older in 1930, the percentage illiterate was higher in Maine than in any other New England state. Maine's position was the same with respect to the illiteracy rates of the second-generation Canadian French.[50] Also, the Canadian-born French in Maine were highest in the percentage unable to speak English, highest in median family size, and lowest in the percentage who had become U.S. citizens.[51] Although such characteristics were partly a function of problems affecting all of Maine, they do suggest that French culture was being Anglicized least in Maine.

The size of Maine's Franco-American population can also be measured relative to the other New England states, and recent changes can be shown by comparable data on mother tongue for 1940 and 1970. In 1940, Maine had the second largest number of people whose mother tongue was French (Table 5). Moreover, Maine contained a larger number of third- and fourth-generation French speakers than any other New England state,[52] but the major explanation for this was the unusually early development of the upper St. John Valley. Since 1940 the percentage of foreign born among those of

French mother tongue has dropped in all the states, an indication of the general reduction in immigration from French Canada. The differences between the 1940 and the 1970 mother tongue figures thus reflect internal migration within New England, natural increase, and differences from place to place in language maintenance.

It is important to note that in all the New England states the last few decades have seen a growth in the number of people who learned French as their first language in the home. This is strong evidence that French ethnicity was much more resistant to change than many people had expected. The greatest absolute gains in Franco-American population as measured by French mother tongue were made in Connecticut and Massachusetts, with Connecticut showing by far the largest percentage increase. This was also the only state in which the French population grew more rapidly than the total population. Changes in the size of the French population do mirror shifts in the total population and seem to accentuate contrasts between the states. There are perhaps some differences between the states in the extent of French language retention. This would appear to be a function of the size of local Franco-American communities, the extent of French language use in schools, and the amount and recency of immigration from French Canada. But the characteristics seen in Maine that differentiate French communities in terms of the potential for language retention are, for the most part, eliminated by aggregation at the state level. Also, there is no indication that rates of natural increase among Franco-Americans differ from one state to another. Consequently, the growth rate differences between states are primarily the result of geographical shifts of the Franco-American population.

The data indicate that Franco-Americans, compared to the total population, have shown a greater net migration out of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont and a correspondingly greater tendency to move to Connecticut. The large net migration to that state makes it now roughly equal to Maine

TABLE 5

FRENCH MOTHER TONGUE POPULATION, NEW ENGLAND STATES: 1940, 1970

States	French Mother Tongue Population 1940	French Mother Tongue Population 1970	Per cent Increase Fr. M.T. 1940-70	Per cent Increase Tot. Pop. 1940-70
Massachusetts	281,960	367,194	30	32
Maine	138,260	141,489*	2	17
New Hampshire	100,580	112,559	12	50
Rhode Island	85,260	101,270	19	33
Connecticut	59,900	142,118	137	77
Vermont	38,580	42,193	9	24

*In 1970 Maine recorded 256 people who were born in France and 796 who were born in the U.S. but had at least one parent born in France. This indicates the insignificant role of that country as a source of French-speaking people in the state

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *1940 Census:* Population. «Nativity and Parentage of the White Population.» Table 2. Data based on a 5 per cent sample of the entire population, not restricted as has usually been the case to the population of foreign birth or parentage. U.S. *1970 Census of Population.* U.S. Summary, General Social and Economic Tables 146, 147. Data based on a 15 per cent sample of the entire population.

in the size of its Franco-American population. Maine, on the other hand, showed the lowest percentage increase of both Franco-Americans and total population, suggesting a very significant out-migration, especially of Franco-Americans. In fact, direct migration from the upper St. John Valley to Connecticut has been well known for decades. With the build-up of U.S. forces prior to the country's entry into World War II, the newly developed aircraft factories and other defense plants in southern New England needed labor. Workers from all over Maine, and especially from the Valley, came to industrial centers like Hartford and New Britain. The migration to such places in central Connecticut has continued through the 1960's,[53] stimulated by the greater job opportunities in Connecticut and the personal contact established through previous migrants.

Within Maine itself certain growth trends and migration flows have occurred. The size of the 1970 Franco-American Catholic population may be estimated by extrapolation from 1908 data. In 1908 the 91,567 Franco-American Catholics included by Laplante constituted 74 per cent of the state's total Catholic population of 123,547.[54] If it is assumed that the French proportion within the Catholic population has remained the same,[55] then in 1970 there were approximately 200,000 Catholics of French background in the state.[56] Interestingly, it appears that 70 per cent of this group did speak French as their mother tongue, a remarkably high percentage for 1970 considering the powerful pressures for linguistic assimilation. In relation to the total state population, 15 per cent of the people in 1970 spoke French as their mother tongue and the Catholic population of French heritage now makes up at least 20 per cent of the population of Maine.

When the mother tongue data by town are used as an indicator of the ethnic population and compared to data based on Catholic parish membership, the fact of place to place differences in linguistic assimilation must be kept in mind, and an analysis of geographic variations in this aspect of culture change will be presented later in this paper. However, the key process behind the 1970 distribution has still been migration, not assimilation. Thus, major changes that have occurred between 1908 and 1970 in the numbers and proportions of Franco-Americans as indicated by the available data are primarily the result of population shifts.

Several significant developments are evident. First, the Franco-American population of the southern industrial areas has grown the most. Androscoggin County's French population grew by over 20,000 between 1908 and 1970 (Table 2). This was twice the increase experienced in any other county, and it made that county the present obvious focus of Franco-American ethnicity. York and Kennebec Counties have grown substantially also, each increasing its Franco-American numbers by roughly 10,000. These counties with their greater economic health have generally been attractive to residents of poorer areas. A second trend has been the dispersal of some Franco-Americans into areas in which they have historically been few in number. Now a majority of towns in the state have some people whose mother tongue was French. Counties along the coast like Hancock, Lincoln, and Waldo have shown the largest percentage increases because their 1908 populations were so small; but in these counties Franco-Americans still constitute less than 5 per cent of the population in even the largest towns.[57]

In Aroostook County the earlier pattern has changed but slightly. The southward drift begun in the last century has continued to the lake resorts of Guerette and Sinclair, and other people have by-passed the intervening woods to settle in Portage Lake, Ash-

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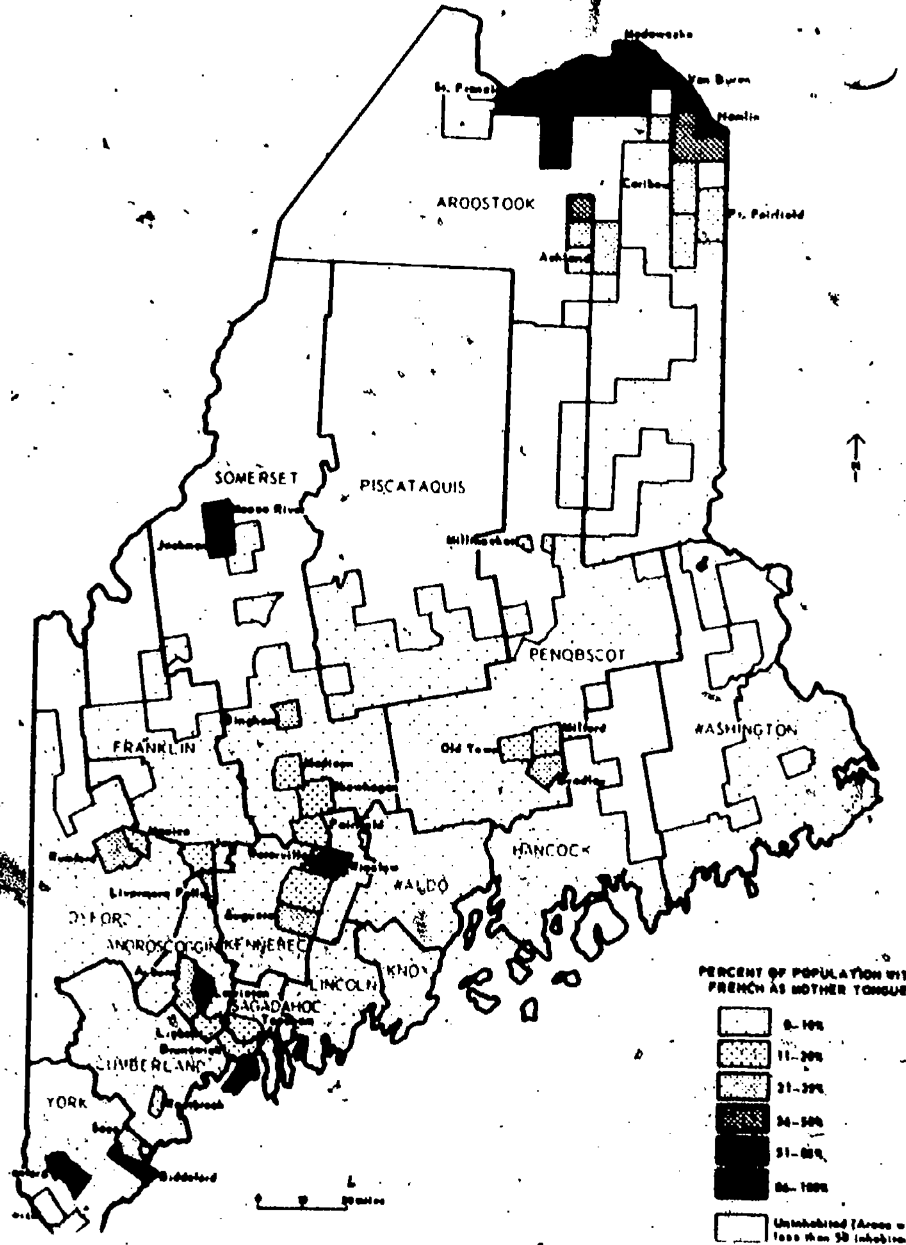
FRENCH MOTHER TONGUE, 1970



land and Stockholm. Settlement south of these towns, however, is still distinctly non-French (Map 3). And to the west, the town of Allagash in 1970 recorded not one person who had spoken French as a mother tongue. With such little in-migration to the county's rural areas, the stability of the cultural boundary between French and non-French areas is not surprising.

The dispersal of Franco-Americans from the earlier concentration in the industrial centers has been most evident in suburban expansion. Auburn and Saco were the first of the suburbs, and soon Old Orchard became a popular suburban resort for Biddeford residents and French Canadian visitors alike. Within Lewiston, parishes created in the 1920's serve many Catholic families who moved to the south and east parts of the city from the older French parishes in *le petit Canada*. Brunswick Franco-Americans had, by 1946, already bought many old Yankee homes outside the city.[58] In the small, growing towns outside the cities in the southern part of the state typically between 4 and 8 percent of the people in 1970 spoke French as their first language. No longer are Franco-Americans so concentrated in the old mill towns. More Franco-Americans now live in Livermore Falls than in the town of Jay, where the original settlement was located. Bradley has a higher percentage of Franco-Americans than does its parent settlement of Old Town, and Bingham shows an unexpectedly high proportion of Franco-Americans, though in both cases the absolute numbers are small. If a comparison of the percentage of a county's Franco-American population which lived within the major urban centers of that county is made for 1908 and 1970, it is clear that a substantially lower percentage of Franco-Americans are living in the older centers of Waterville (including Winslow), Rumford (including Mexico), Lewiston, Biddeford (including Saco), Brunswick, Westbrook, and Old Town.

Another trend has been the development of some new Franco-American centers. Winslow has proved so attractive to Franco-Americans, generally former Waterville residents, that the French mother tongue population of nearly 2,900 represents over 39 per cent of the town's people. The most pronounced change, however, has been the movement of Franco-Americans into Portland, the largest city in the state (Table 3). Historically this city has been a commercial and diversified manufacturing center with few Franco-Americans. Nevertheless, by 1970 the French population numbered over 2700, making it slightly larger than Westbrook and Brunswick, both of which have had a large out-migration. A similar development in Penobscot County has meant that Bangor has now surpassed Old Town in the number of people who spoke French as their mother tongue. Considering the strong pressures for linguistic assimilation in these cities, the growth of the French mother tongue population indeed represents a major geographical shift of Franco-Americans. In addition, Franco-Americans in Auburn, Augusta and Sanford have more than doubled since 1908. And if Franco-Americans in Winslow are not included in the Waterville total, then each of these three cities has substantially more French people than does the formerly third largest center, Waterville.

The cities of Biddeford and Lewiston have been clearly the most important urban centers for the preservation of French ethnicity regardless of the method of measurement. In 1930 only one large city in New England (Berlin, New Hampshire) had a higher percentage of Canadian-born French in its total population than Lewiston and Biddeford.[59] However, a comparison of the two suggests what has happened to make Lewiston and Auburn come to overshadow Biddeford and Saco. In 1908 Lewiston and Auburn contained 13 per cent more French than Biddeford and Saco, although Franco-

Americans in Biddeford constituted a greater proportion of the city's people (Table 3). Yet Lewiston's French culture has continued to be replenished by immigration from Canada, especially during the 1920's, whereas Biddeford has received fewer immigrants. This is evident from the fact that in 1960 Lewiston recorded more than twice as many foreign-born French as Biddeford.[60] Also important has been the fact that the largest and oldest French parish in Lewiston has long been under the supervision of Dominican Fathers from Canada while Biddeford's parishes have had no comparable link with French Canada.[61] As a result, in 1970 total membership in Lewiston and Auburn's French parishes was almost twice that of Biddeford-Saco's, and Lewiston and Auburn together had more than twice as many people who listed French as their mother tongue (Table 3).

Nevertheless, in spite of these developments, the 1970 pattern of Franco-Americans shows a great similarity in features to the 1908 distribution. This is due partly to the lack of geographic mobility of some families but much more to the fact that mobile Franco-Americans tend to move either out of the state or to the major centers where others live and find good employment. Ethnic geographical patterns can thus be preserved regardless of mobility rates.[62] In Maine the older residential pattern could still be preserved as economic opportunities changed after World War II. With the decline of the cotton textile industry, it might be thought that many people would leave the old cotton towns. But in many cases other industries have appeared. When the large Goodall-Sanford cotton mills closed in 1954, most people who were laid off remained in Sanford, and most of those who left returned to Sanford when the town later brought in new industries.[63] One reason why Maine has been able to attract new industries is its labor availability. The new electronics and shoe factories, for instance, have employed many people who formerly worked in the textile mills and could be readily trained in other assembly line tasks. Moreover, the willingness of workers to commute long distances has eased potential labor shortages.[64] The development of the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard at Kittery created jobs for several thousand civilian workers; and when the Bates Cotton mill in Biddeford closed in 1959, an estimated 800 persons found jobs at the shipyard and commuted each day from Biddeford.[65] The automobile has thus permitted employees to reside in the community of their choice while taking jobs elsewhere, and residential patterns of the past are thus less subject to change.

In order to examine general changes in the distribution of Franco-Americans since 1908, a correlation analysis was performed using several 1970 population and manufacturing variables.[66] As in the earlier analysis, Aroostook County was not included because of its special characteristics. Data are available for 53 towns and cities, including all the places in the 1908 analysis and all but three of the other Maine towns having 1970 populations of 4,000 or more.

The geographical stability of the Franco-American distribution during the twentieth century is indicated by the fact that correlation with the 1908 distribution was extremely high ($r=.913$), much higher than the correlation with the total population of the state ($r=.582$). However, the degree of correlation with the total population has increased since 1908 ($r=.391$ in 1908), a demonstration of the fact that Franco-Americans have been moving somewhat out of their earlier more distinctive settlement pattern and are becoming more like the total population in distribution.

Cotton textile mills are now found in only a few of their former locations in Maine,

and even pulp and paper industry employment is no longer correlated with Franco-Americans (r=.043). This figure might have been somewhat higher if Franco-Americans residing in towns adjacent to mill towns had been included, as would be appropriate to the less concentrated residential patterns of today. Replacement of many textiles mills by a wide variety of manufacturing establishments not dependent on riverside locations and internal migration within the state have meant that Franco-Americans are slightly less correlated with total manufacturing employment than they were in 1908 (r=.716, as opposed to r=.808 in 1908, with Biddeford-Saco and Lewiston included). Moreover, this is still less than the correlation between the total population and manufacturing employment in 1970 (r=.771), indicating that neither the past nor the present Franco-American distribution should be thought of as tied to total manufacturing in any special way.

Cultural changes among Franco-Americans are much harder to measure than geographical changes. However, it is possible to make some statements about French language use, political preferences, income levels, religious behaviour and social structure.

Regarding the first of these, there is evidence of striking place to place differences in linguistic assimilation when mother tongue data are compared to Catholic Church data. Records of the Diocese of Portland show for 1965 and 1966 the number of Catholics of different ethnic backgrounds in certain parishes for which such figures were supplied by pastors. These figures are directly comparable to the 1908 data since the same measure was used. The 1965 and 1966 figures were averaged and then adjusted on the basis of the major town's 1960-1970 population trend, so as to provide an estimate of the French Catholic population in 1970 (Table 6). Where a substantial portion of the parish population resides in an adjacent town, the French mother tongue figures for that town were included in the total for the major town. In other cases parish boundaries conform to town boundaries or, in the case of Dexter, 84 percent of the parishioners live in Dexter town.[67] If the 1970 French mother tongue figures are compared to the 1970 totals of Catholics of French background, the result is a rough indication of the extent of language maintenance in different Franco-American centers. The higher the index, the greater the percentage of the local French Catholics who spoke French as their mother tongue. Conversely, a high degree of assimilation to English over the last few decades is indicated by a low index. All percentage figures are somewhat overestimated due to the fact that not all people whose mother tongue was French are Catholics. Also, in the many cases of inter-ethnic marriage, pastors in the large Franco-American parishes probably counted as Franco-Americans those people whose background they did not know.

The index shows that the French language has been retained as the mother tongue most completely in Lewiston, the largest urban French center, and in Frenchville and Fort Kent, St. John Valley towns. In Biddeford and Auburn, French language maintenance has also been relatively high. As the size of the local Franco-American community and its proportion in the total town population decrease, the need for English speaking skills increases and French language maintenance suffers. Thus, French has been retained least in small communities like Dexter. In the still smaller towns of Jackman and Moose River language maintenance has been high because most people are of French background and the nearest larger towns lie across the border in French-speaking Quebec.

In the 1950's, maintenance of French continued to be dependent to a great extent on its use in schools. Those families with the greatest experience in French parochial

schools have been the ones most likely to speak French in their homes.[68] In 1958 the Diocesan Superintendent of Schools stated that in 53 of 93 parochial schools in Maine, French was taught as a language, was the language used for daily religious instruction, and was frequently spoken and written apart from these formal occasions.[69] The value of French as a second language was being emphasized by the teachers, who encouraged its use in school assemblies and in conversation outside school. Interestingly, in 1956 the public schools of Sanford began a program of instruction in French to all students from the fourth grade through the twelfth grade.[70] No other public schools in the state—other than the schools in the St. John Valley—offered this training.

In a 1960 survey sampling Franco-Americans in Brunswick and Lewiston over three-quarters of the respondents stated that French was spoken most of the time in their homes. Only 13 per cent of the parents surveyed had children whose only language was English.[71] However, major changes occurred in the 1960's. The practical erosion of French language was accelerated everywhere, probably most effectively by the influence of television, although the value of bilingualism was being stressed in new, ethnically self-conscious educational programs, especially in the early 1970's. Even in the upper St. John Valley, where well over 90 per cent of the 1970 residents had spoken French as their mother tongue, the actual use of French dropped sharply. Outside the home the young people speak English though the older people are understandably more comfortable with French. A combination of French and English is spoken in most homes (Table 7), and in only 44 out of 271 sample households surveyed in 1966 was French the only language used.[72] The cultural homogeneity of the Valley and the presence of French language radio and television stations

TABLE 6

FRENCH LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE IN SELECTED TOWNS

Towns	French Catholics, 1970*	French Mother Tongue 1970	Index of French Language Maintenance†
Lewiston	25,282	25,037	99
Frenchville	1,461	1,441	99
Fort Kent	4,225	3,929	93
Biddeford (incl. Saco)	18,768	15,599	83
Auburn	8,838	6,938	79
Jackman (incl. Moose R.)	824	599	73
Brunswick (incl. Topsham)	4,454	3,152	71
Caribou (incl. N. Car.)	3,759	2,470	66
Jay (incl. Liv. Falls)	2,354	1,505	64
Rumford (incl. Mexico)	4,465	2,664	56
Old Town (incl. Bradley and Milford)	4,223	2,196	52
Dexter	1,277	364	29

*Calculated by multiplying the percentage increase or decrease in the major town's population from 1960 to 1970 by .4 and adjusting the 1965-1966 average to show this change.
† Index represents the per cent of French Catholics in 1970 who reported their mother tongue as French.
Sources: Annual Reports, selected parishes. Archives of the Chancery Office. Diocese of Portland. U.S. *1970 Census of Population* (See note 8).

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on the Canadian side of the St. John River account for its persistence in Valley communities relative to all other places in the state except Lewiston (Table 6).

The significance of the geographical divide between the French and non-French areas of Aroostook County (Map 3) is especially evident in political references. The voting pattern in recent presidential elections and certain referenda shows a consistent distinction between the Democratic and liberal French towns and the Republican, strongly conservative towns like New Sweden just to the south. The rural and small town areas of Aroostook County west of Caribou and Presque Isle and south to Houlton are some of the most conservative towns in the state. Moreover, the cultural differences expressed in voting behavior also distinguish the French-American urban centers from places like Portland, South Portland, Gorham, Farmington, and Bangor, where Franco-Americans are proportionately weak.[73] In Maine, the proportion of Franco-Americans in a town's population, whether rural or urban, is often the best single predictor of town-by-town variations in voting preferences.

In addition to language and politics, certain other attitudes and behavior distinguished Franco-Americans in the 1950's, but there are indications that many of these have since come closer to the American norm. When the socio-economic levels of second-generation French Canadian, Irish, Italian, and Polish immigrants were compared nationwide in 1950, the French clearly showed the least increase in education, income, and occupational status from levels attained by the first generation.[74] Most immigrants' children improved substantially their status position in American society, yet the French demonstrated little change. Another study based on the interviewing and personality testing of 954 subjects from 62 towns, mostly in Connecticut, found people of French and Italian background were significantly lower in achievement, motivation and vocational aspiration than Jews, Greeks, Protestants, and Negroes. Social class differences accounted for only part of the variation.[75] One observer noted in the early 1960's, «Franco-Americans still read very little and, too often, have what has aptly been termed a low achievement syndrome; they are quite happy if they live comfortably.»[76] A 1964 nationwide sampling of 2,701 Catholics, including 160 Franco-Americans, supported this view, as Franco-Americans showed a low movement into higher education and a low occupational mobility between generations compared to most other Catholics.[77] It would appear that some values characteristic of nineteenth-century French Canadian culture were influential at that time.

However, during the 1960's there have

TABLE 7

LANGUAGE REGULARLY SPOKEN IN THE HOME
WEST END, UPPER ST. JOHN VALLEY, 1966

Town	Per cent French	Per cent French-English Combination	Per cent English
St. John	27	51	22
St. Francis	21	61	18
Fort Kent	64	30	6
Eagle Lake	41	51	8

Source: See note 73.

apparently been some changes. In a well designed 1972 national sampling of over 47,000 homes in all fifty states, respondents were asked to identify their ethnic origin or descent and answer questions regarding income, education and family size.[78] With this research a better indication of the size of America's ethnic populations in terms of self-identification is now available and comparison among groups may be made more reliably. Of significance to the understanding of the long-term influence of ethnic heritage is the fact that over 90 per cent of American households were able to identify their ethnic background. The results indicated that between 5.2 and 5.6 million inhabitants of the U.S. identify themselves as of French descent; this is more than twice the number (2.6 million) who claimed French as their mother tongue in 1970. Most of these people were, of course, of French Canadian or Acadian heritage, as opposed to European French or Belgian.

In contrast to the implications of most previous studies, the sample population was very close to the national means and medians in its characteristics; in most cases there were no statistically significant differences. The median income of male persons 14 years old and over ($7,146) was slightly above the median for the entire survey population; the mean French family size (3.5 persons per family) was the same as that of the total population; and the median number of school years completed for the French population age 25-34 was the same as that for the total (12.6 years). The percentage of male French craftsmen and kindred workers (24.1%) was somewhat higher than that of the total population (20.6%); and the percentage of French professional, technical and kindred workers (11.8%) was but slightly below the figure for the entire sample (13.8%).

It is a reflection of the dominant American culture that most large-scale surveys of this type are concerned with questions of social and economic achievement. Some equally significant comparisons might be made between groups in terms of consumer behavior, life styles, values, personality, religious behavior, or interest and skill in art, music, or various sports and games. Apart from studies of national character and impressionistic, highly personal descriptions, there has been little research along such lines. Nevertheless, with respect to religion, in 1964 first-generation French involvement in the formal requirements of the Catholic religion (attendance at Mass and Communion) appeared high compared to other Catholic ethnic groups, though U.S.-born Franco-Americans (second generation) were somewhat less regular.[79] Also, the strong Franco-American support of Catholic schools was clear, as this group, «regardless of level of education, had over 80 per cent of their children attending parochial schools.»[80]

For Franco-Americans such religious behavior is closely tied to the social structure. Intermarriage with members of other ethnic groups is a direct function of public schooling and the relative absence of religious behavior in the home. Ethnic endogamy, parochial schooling, and religious behavior in the home are all closely related; as ethnic intermarriage increases there is a corresponding decline in formal religious behavior.[81] Such effects have long been predicted by the French. For several decades the many Franco-American social organizations, schools, and the Catholic Church itself were able to discourage social assimilation into non-French society. Inter-ethnic marriage rates were low in the large French centers, and second-generation French showed hardly any increase over the very low rate of ethnic intermarriage of their immigrant parents. Only with the third-generation, those generally maturing in the 1920's, did ethnicity

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lose its extremely tight hold.[82] In the 1950's the old ethnic organizations found it almost impossible to recruit new members from either the elite or the young, for these people had little need for formal organizations or for such ethnically restricted social groups.[83] But because many of Maine's urban Franco-Americans remained in the working class, it is not surprising that in 1960, 58 per cent of Franco-Americans interviewed in Lewiston and Brunswick «claimed that most of their friends were Franco-Americans.»[84]

During the 1950's and 1960's social assimilation generally increased, though in terms of inter-religious marriages in Maine, French Catholics were intermarrying with non-Catholics less than were Catholics of Irish background.[85] For the state as a whole, Catholic sanctioned mixed marriages accounted for a quarter of the total Catholic marriages in 1965. Intermarriage was lowest (3%) in the parishes of the upper St. John Valley, where, of course, nearly everyone was Catholic. However, the rates were almost as low (7%) in the largest French urban parishes, where contact with non-Catholics was relatively minimal. Religious intermarriage rates generally increased as the size and proportion of the local Franco-American population decreased. Rates of intermarriage were highest in parishes without parochial schools and in towns with less than 5,000 people and a predominantly non-French Catholic population. Altogether, these figures point to tremendous differences in the religious life of Franco-American Catholics depending on where they live.

Of course, the significance of Franco-American culture and society changes through time and varies from individual to individual. But every indication supports the notion that its geographic variations—the differences from place to place—are some of the most important and that, in spite of difficulties in measurement, their varied geographic expression must be considered in any cultural assessment. The experience of growing up as a Franco-American in Maine or elsewhere in New England differs very much as a function of the town one lives in.

In summary of these geographical and cultural findings, it is clear that Franco-American settlement in Maine in the early twentieth century was the result of several processes: 1) contiguous expansion of rural settlement east and west along the St. John River, followed by movement along several routes to the south; 2) exploration of economic opportunities by seasonal and, later, permanent immigrants from Quebec, creating the first French urban nuclei in Waterville and the Old Town area; 3) permanent settlement of large numbers of French Canadian immigrants in the cotton mill towns of southern Maine; and 4) later migration from within Maine and from both Quebec and the Maritime Provinces to the pulp and paper mill towns. Geographically, the distribution was very distinctive in its high correlation to the cotton textile and, to a lesser extent, the pulp and paper industries. At the same time, French Catholicism, together with the use of the French language, encouraged so strongly in the home and parochial school, made for a correspondingly great cultural and social distinctiveness on the part of Franco-Americans. Immigration from Canada was sharply reduced in the second quarter of this century, but a new out-migration to Connecticut and population shifts within Maine became important.

The major distributional changes in Maine during the twentieth century have been 1) a wide scattering of Franco-Americans in small towns, especially in the southern portions of the state; 2) the dispersal out of earlier concentrations near various mills to suburban towns; and 3) the development of Portland and Bangor as important Franco-

American centers. Altogether, these trends have made the residential patterns of Franco-Americans in the state more like those of the general population. Yet, perhaps somewhat surprising is the extent to which the 1970 geography mirrors that of sixty years before, although today it is no longer correlated with special aspects of the economy.

During the twentieth century the processes of cultural and social assimilation have eroded some of the distinctiveness of the Franco-Americans, even in the large French centers. Culturally, the greatest change has probably been the decline of French language use, especially in smaller towns but in the 1960's even in the large ethnic centers. Until the late 1960's most young people were uninterested in their linguistic heritage, but the revival of ethnic pride which has enveloped the entire country has produced a new interest in learning French among some of Maine's Franco-Americans. Contrary to the opinions expressed in the late nineteenth century, linguistic assimilation has apparently not weakened ties to Catholicism, although ethnic intermarriage may be having this effect. In 1970 three quarters of the state's Catholics and at least one-fifth of Maine's entire population were Franco-American Catholics.

Most Franco-Americans retain some sense of identification with their ethnic heritage, and in the larger centers a new pride is often in evidence. Nearly five and one-half million people in the United States are of French origin. They constitute a major element in the diversity of cultures which is so striking in this country. Franco-Americans are now at the American norm in terms of socio-economic status, although below-average levels of income for Maine's population as a whole together with a legacy of relatively low Franco-American assimilation may be reflected in a slightly lower position for that state. In addition, the fact that Franco-Americans in Maine are still distinctive in their distribution and that the strength of their ethnic culture varies so much from place to place underscores the significance of a geographic perspective on this, the most important ethnic minority in the state.

Notes

1. The term «Franco-American» in its broadest sense refers to Americans of French Canadian or Acadian heritage. In this paper the label «French» is roughly synonymous but includes also recent immigrants who may still think of themselves as Canadians. In contrast, Maine has long been dominated by people of English and Protestant heritage, constituting a very loosely defined ethnic group often labeled as «Yankee».

2. Portions of this paper are based on material from the author's doctoral dissertation: «Catholics in Maine: A Social Geography.» (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1970).

3. The clearest and most valuable explanation of the ethnicity and the various types of assimilation which ethnic groups in the U.S. have experienced is found in Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York, 1964).

4. Edouard Hamon, *Les Canadiens-français de la Nouvelle-Angleterre* (Quebec, 1891); A. Bourbonnière, *Le guide français des Etats-Unis* (Lowell, Mass., 1891).

5. The results first appeared in issues of *Le Messager*, the newspaper published in Lewiston, Maine, to champion the Franco-American cause. County totals were also reported in *La revue franco-américaine*, II (January, 1909), pp. 206-209, and III (October, 1909), pp. 398-403. The data have been reprinted recently in Ralph D. Vicero's, «Le recensement d'Odule Laplante,» *Recherches Sociographiques*, XII (septembre-décembre, 1971), pp. 373-377.

6. The U.S. Census in 1910 recorded the numbers of foreign born and foreign stock (second generation) French Canadians in counties and larger cities. This census included people regardless of religion, was taken two years later than Laplante's survey, but excluded the grand-children of immigrants. Comparison is appropriate in areas where nearly all French were first- or second-generation immigrants. In the case of the city measures, the U.S. Census excluded members of city parishes who happened to reside outside the limits of the city. In spite of these difficulties, comparisons are useful. For example, Laplante reported 15,143 Franco-Americans in York County, somewhat more than the U.S. Census figure of 13,683 French Canadians; but in Androscoggin County Laplante's total (14,842) was smaller than the government's (15,132). For the cities Laplante's figures were usually slightly higher, but relative position of both cities and counties was almost always the same. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the U.S. 1910:* Population, II, pp. 814-816, 818. For further comparative details, see Allen, «Catholics in Maine,» pp. 166-167, 172.

7. The question was worded, «What language, other than English, was spoken in this person's home when he was a child?» The procedures are explained in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population*, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Appendix B, pp. 7, 34.

8. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population*, Fourth Count tapes, Tabulation P-23, «Mother Tongue and Nativity,» for Maine. These data were supplemented by published data for counties and towns with over 10,000 inhabitants available from the *1970 Census of Population: Maine*, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Tables 102, 119.

9. The author wishes to thank Lawrence Miyaki of the CSUN Geography Department's Cartography Lab for the preparation of maps accompanying this article.

10. Edward Kavanagh and John Deane, «Report,» in *Correspondence and Documents Relative to the North Eastern Boundary*, Vol. II (1828, 1829, 1831), pp. 367-442. The volume is located in the Maine State Library, Augusta, but this handwritten description has been published in W.O. Raymond, «State of the Madawaska and Aroostook Settlements in 1831,» *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society*, III, No. 9 (1914), pp. 344-384.

11. Thomas Albert, *Histoire du Madawaska* (Quebec, 1920), pp. 191, 192, 233, 287, and 437. More details of the spatial expansion of the settlement by this time are evident from a private

religious census. The numbers of Catholics reported for each town can be taken as an indication of the extent of French settlement in that town. Census results were published in the *Bible Society of Maine Quarterly*, I (March, 1893), and in the Bible Society of Maine, *Second Statistical Report* (Portland, 1901), both available at the Maine Historical Society Library, Portland.

12. *Bangor Daily Commercial*, July 2, 1872, p. 3; April 10, 1886, p. 1; June 4, 1873, p. 3; and August 15, 1874, p. 1.

13. James P. Allen, «Migration Fields of French Canadian Immigrants to Southern Maine,» *Geographical Review*, LXII (July, 1972), pp. 370, 371 provides more detail on this early migration.

14. Edwin C. Whittemore, ed., *The Centennial History of Waterville* (Waterville, 1902), p. 248.

15. Ralph D. Vicero, personal communication. These figures are based on revised counts from the manuscripts of the U.S. Census. See Ralph D. Vicero, «Immigration of French Canadians to New England, 1841-1900: A Geographical Analysis,» (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1968).

16. Vicero, personal communication. See also Honorius Provost, «Un chapitre d'histoire religieuse dans le Maine,» *La revue de l'Université Laval*, II (June, 1948), pp. 857, 858; Francis B. Butler, *A History of Farmington* (Farmington, 1885), p. 169; Philip E. Desjardins, «French Canadians, Central and Southern Maine,» *Church World* (Portland), June 1, 1951, p. 4.

17. R.K. Vedder and L.E. Galloway, «Settlement Patterns of Canadian Emigrants to the United States, 1850-1960,» *Canadian Journal of Economics*, III (August, 1970), pp. 476-486.

18. Robert G. Leblanc, *Location of Manufacturing in Nineteenth Century New England in the Nineteenth Century*, Geography Publications at Dartmouth, No. 7 (Hanover, N.H., 1969), esp. pp. 86-96 and 108-122.

19. «Report of Rev. P.E. Gendreau, Special Agent, of his Visit to French Canadians in the U.S., The Minister of Agriculture,» *Sessional Papers* (Canada), No. 9 (1874), p. 67.

20. Vicero, «Immigration of French Canadians,» p. 171.

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54. P.J. Kennedy, *Official Catholic Directory, 1909* (New York, 1909).

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56. In 1970 there were 267,886 Catholics in Maine according to the Diocese of Portland. Felicia A. Foy, ed., *1971 Catholic Almanac* (Paterson, N.J., 1971), p. 512.

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62. The incredibly high residential mobility of the American population throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is being demonstrated by research on population turnover and persistence rates by decades in a variety of cit-

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ies and towns. This research, involving the tracing of individuals rather than measures of net migration and aggregate population change, suggests no major differences in geographic mobility by size of place or ethnic group, when socioeconomic status is controlled. The persistence of ethnic residential patterns, both within cities and between towns, as in Maine, must therefore be accounted for by the existence of distinctive ethnic migration streams, linking together in a circulation system ethnic communities in many places. See Stephan Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), esp. pp. 220-232, for a synthesis of these research methods and findings.

63. W.S. Devino, et al, *A Study of Textile Mill Closings in Selected New England Communities* (Orono, 1966), p. 29.

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67. Personal communications from Rev. Gaston Auger (Dexter) and other pastors concerning the distribution of parishioners within their parish territories, January, 1968.

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78. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 249, «Characteristics of the Population by Ethnic Origin, March 1972 and 1971,» pp. 19-25.

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83. Romeo Boisvert, quoted in Carpenter, «The Franco-Americans,» p. 43.

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Issue no. 23 of the New England Quarterly *of 1950 carried a brilliant summary by Iris Saunders Podea of the conditions of life in the French communities in New England in the nineteenth century as well as a discussion of the prevalent situation in the Quebec region which the Franco-Americans had left behind them in emigrating to the States. The good and the bad—mostly the bad—with regard to conditions of work, of child labor, of housing, of health and of clothing are extracted from numerous governmental reports both American and Canadian, as well as from the relevant French and English language literature. By the turn of the century, living conditions had immeasurably improved for the Franco-Americans.*

QUEBEC TO «LITTLE CANADA»: THE COMING OF THE FRENCH CANADIANS TO NEW ENGLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

by
Iris Saunders Podea

Most American minorities came to the United States from the east, the south, or the west. Only the French-Canadians migrated from the north. They emigrated from Quebec in the 1840s because of depressed conditions in the shipbuilding and lumber industries and because of difficulty in obtaining land, most of which was in the hands of the speculators. Like most other minorities the French-Canadians sought greater economic opportunities. They settled mainly in New England, although some moved to Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and New York and found employment as agricultural laborers, lumbermen, textile operators, and brickyard workers. New England Yankees dubbed them «the Chinese of the Eastern States,» an indication, as Marcus Hansen has written, that New Englanders considered the Canadians ignorant, poor, and degraded; an unwelcome influx that would lower wages and raise the proportion of criminals; and an element that showed no disposition to become «American.» Many natives also thought that the newcomers really were loyal to another country, or, since they were Catholic, ruled by the priesthood. For these worried New Englanders the French-Canadians constituted a dangerous class in the community.

By 1900 New England had about 275,000 French-Canadians; thereafter immigration declined as economic conditions in Canada improved. Diminished entry and the influx of southern and eastern Europeans at the end of the nineteenth century changed the older image of «the Chinese of the Eastern states.» In the 1880s and '90s New Englanders started to describe French-Canadians as industrious, frugal, and quick to learn; the Italians, Greeks, and Syrians had replaced them on the lower rungs of society. Despite partial assimilation and acceptance, the French-Canadians clung to their own language and customs. The refusal to drop their own ways prevented the group from achieving social equality with Yankee New Englanders.

In the following selection Iris Saunders Podea describes the early experiences of French-Canadians in New England.

New Englanders have long been accustomed to hearing the French language spoken in the streets and shops of Lewiston, Manchester, Woonsocket, and other manufacturing towns. This phenomenon may have led to a conjecture whether the «struggle for a continent» still continues, and the presence of the French Canadians in New England is but a phase of Quebec's expansion in North America. The Canadian French invaders who poured into New England in the last three or four decades of the nineteenth century, however, did not come as warriors. They were simply seeking their daily bread, and their peaceful penetration has proved far

more successful than the earlier French efforts at military conquest. Leaving Quebec's impoverished farms, they entered the expanding American industrial life at an opportune moment and were quickly transformed into an urban people. A few, of course, remained farmers, especially in Vermont and New Hampshire, but they constitute a rural minority. This essay will be concerned with the ancestors of today's Franco-Americans, the French-Canadians who migrated to New England mill towns prior to 1900.

This migration southward from their native province of Quebec was induced by a variety of reasons: geographical proximity, colonial struggles, and seasonal opportunities. Lumber camps and farms, canals and railroads, quarries and brickyards, river and lake steamers: all were clamoring for manpower in the growing Republic and Quebec had more than an ample supply. Political unrest in Canada before Confederation also contributed to the migration, but those who came as refugees after the 1837 Rebellion or as malcontents following the union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1840 were relatively few. Higher wages in the United States were always a magnet, but more important than occupational attractions across the frontier or political forces at home was the economic distress which became increasingly intense in rural Quebec throughout a large part of the nineteenth century.

No real understanding of the French-Canadian migration into New England can be gained without some idea of what the French-Canadian left behind. Quebec agriculture presented a dismal outlook, and industry was undeveloped. In his journey through the province in 1819, Benjamin Silliman had commented on the wasteful farming techniques then employed,[1] and this criticism was still valid half a century later. It was the prevailing prejudice that land improvement did not pay.[2] The special committees appointed by the Legislative Assembly in 1849 and 1857 to investigate the extent and causes of emigration from Quebec confirmed the backward state of agricultural affairs.[3] Many French-Canadian youths were landless, while crown lands remained too dear and requirements for settlement too difficult. Little land was available for colonization, and even when it was available, inadequate roads and bridges made it difficult of access and deprived it of markets for its produce. The committees' pleas for better roads, bridges, and other reforms such as homesteads and the guarantee of wood rights went almost unheeded, except by colonization societies, many of which were ineffective.

Quebec agriculture continued to decline. While the Dominion Government was making every effort to induce European immigrants to settle in the Canadian West, French-Canadians continued to leave their farms for the United States, for the West, or for the cities. The *habitants* who remained behind still pursued their old methods of soil depletion and, in addition, the old inheritance system still prevailed. Farms, already small, were repeatedly subdivided among the many children of French Canada's large families, reducing them to strips too narrow to produce an adequate living. It is no wonder that the Seventh Census of Canada stated that it «was not in quest of a higher standard of living but to avoid a lower» that the French-Canadian was impelled to migrate.[4] The people of Quebec, rather than risk the shrinking of an already precarious existence, preferred to leave behind the land of their ancestors. It is hard to believe that a people so gregarious and loyal to their province as the French-Canadians would have chosen to venture into a formerly hostile New England for the sake of uncertain financial gain, had it not been for these disheartening prospects at home.

In view of the predicament in which French-Canadian youth found itself, the Civil War in the United States was a welcome opportunity to many young men. The inducement of bounties for army recruits was irresistible, and it is estimated that approximately 40,000 French-Canadians served in the Union armies, a number of whom undoubtedly were already resident in the United States.[5] The war also coincided with and accelerated an unprecedented industrial development in New England. Labor was at a premium, and improved technology made it possible to employ unskilled workers to an increasing extent, a fact which vastly broadened the opportunities for women, children, and immigrants. With this crying need, it was not surprising that wide-awake mill owners in New England should tap Quebec's overflowing supply, especially when it lay so much nearer than Europe.

New England manufacturers gave French-Canadian workers a ready welcome. Even before the war they had discovered the advantages of importing French-Canadian labor—quick accessibility, low wages, industrious and uncomplaining employees. Factories adopted the practice of sending recruiting agents to Quebec and entire families and parishes were transported to New England. Many are the accounts of desolation in Quebec's deserted villages. Railroads were also instrumental in promoting the migration, first, by facilitating means of travel, and secondly, by stimulating this French-speaking traffic through agents and interpreters. The most effective recruiting agent of all, however, was the *émigré* himself. His letters home spread the *fièvre des Etats-Unis* among relatives and friends, and when he visited his native village dressed in city clothes, wearing the inevitable gold watch and chain, he personified success in the United States.

No more than mere mention can be made here of the growing alarm felt in Canada at increasing emigration from the province, but it was widespread. It became a subject of legislative investigation, ecclesiastical concern, and propagandistic literature. Discrediting motives were imputed to the departing inhabitants in an effort to stay the tide—misconduct, extravagance, love of luxury, adventure, and so on—but emigration continued to gain in volume until about 1896, a date which marked several significant trends. A period of prosperity in Canada followed close on the heels of its return in the United States, and the advent of the first French-Canadian Prime Minister enhanced Quebec's prestige. In this last decade of the century the Canadian-born French in the United States increased by over 90,000 but in the succeeding ten years they decreased by more than 9,000.[6] French-Canadians were apparently beginning to find a more adequate outlet for their talents at home.

In the meantime, what of the thousands of French-speaking workers absorbed in the gigantic maw of the New England mills? By no means the first immigrants to invade the northeastern states, they followed the Irish who had long since achieved the «second colonization» of New England. In many New England towns they were the first sizable group of non-English speaking people and by 1900 they numbered more than half a million in New England alone.[7] Americans looked down upon *habitants* arriving on New England station platforms in rustic garb, followed by broods of children. These large families without financial reserves were obligated to seek work at once, and usually friends from their native village guided them to both jobs and shelter. Mostly farmers, they had no experience in the industrial world. The few who were skilled in various trades were handicapped by language and temporarily had to join the rank and file in the mills.

The cotton and textile industry offered

the greatest opportunity for unskilled labor and absorbed a large portion of these French-Canadians, whose descendants have become «a permanent factor in the labor supply of the cotton mills» of New England.[8] The French-Canadians made themselves felt in this industry in the 1870s, when there were over seven thousand Canadian-born engaged in it in New England. Within thirty years this number soared to nearly 60,000.[9] French-Canadian operatives in cotton rose from 20% to nearly 37% of the total number in Massachusetts between 1890 and 1900, and in Maine and New Hampshire they exceeded 60%.[10] In 1888 over 3,000 French-speaking women were employed in the cotton mills of Lewiston, Biddeford, Saco, and Waterville, out of a total of approximately five and a half thousand female employees.[11] Although fewer French-Canadian women workers than those of any other nationality had ever been employed for wages before coming to the United States,[12] over 40% of those in Massachusetts over ten years of age were employed in 1885.[13]

In 1888 the Maine Bureau of Industrial and Labor Statistics appointed Flora Haines as special agent to survey conditions for women textile workers in that state.[14] After more sordid accounts of textile mills, it is refreshing to come upon her description of a clean and cheerful spinning room with open windows, of the mill girls with neat white linen collars and whisk brooms to brush lint from their frocks. She reported defective eyes as a common ailment among the French and the use of tobacco by French-Canadian children. Women took snuff and signs were posted in French and English requesting those using tobacco not to «spit on the floor.» Most French-Canadian girls lived at home in very crowded quarters, but those who lived in boarding houses enjoyed a good reputation in the community. In view of the French-Canadian retention of their language in the United States, it is worthy of note that Miss Haines recommended the use of textbooks such as those employed in New Brunswick where both English and French instruction was given. She felt that American children in the public schools could profit by learning a little French.

The charge has often been made that French-Canadians, with their large families, had more child operatives in the mills than any other group of workers. Child labor, nevertheless, was prevalent in the textile mills long before the coming of the French-Canadians.[15] They simply followed a long-established custom when they sent their children to work, one further reinforced by necessity. Actually a study of cotton mill workers made in 1905 indicated that the French-Canadian children contributed only one-third of the income in the families covered, while Irish children in the same survey contributed 45% of the family income.[16]

More justifiable was the accusation that the French-Canadians evaded the school laws, sometimes falsifying the ages of their children. The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics went so far as to state in its report of 1881 that when the French-Canadian parents were finally «cornered» by the school officers and «there is no other escape, often they scrabble together what few things they have, and move away to some other place where they are unknown, and where they hope by a repetition of the same deceits to escape the schools entirely, and keep the children at work right on in the mills.»[17] Although much evidence to the contrary was presented by indignant French-Canadians in Massachusetts at a special hearing before the Bureau in 1881 in an effort to disprove this and other equally derogatory statements of the Report, there can be little doubt that very young French-Canadian children were commonly employed and that existing child labor laws were violated. At this time Commissioner Wright, head of the Massachusetts

Bureau of Statistics of Labor, while admitting that the remarks were not true for Massachusetts, indicated that they were applicable to French-Canadians in Connecticut and New York.[18] This was confirmed by the Connecticut Bureau of Labor Statistics in its annual report for the year 1885:

> Another element which affects child labor is that of race. The native American almost always wants to educate his children, The Irishman feels this want even more strongly, and will make great sacrifices for the sake of his family. On the other hand, the French Canadian, in a great many instances regards his children as a means of adding to the earning capacity of the family, and, in making arrangements for work, he urges, and even insists upon the employment of the family as a whole, down to the very youngest children who can be of any possible service.
>
> It is in places like Baltic, with a large French-Canadian population, that these evils have been felt in their severest form. There was a time when the Baltic Mills employed a large number of children under ten years of age. The worst of these abuses seem to have been done away with in that place, but there are many mills, especially among the less important ones, where it has been impossible to stop or even to detect them.[19]

An overseer in Southbridge reported in 1872 that he used to tell the French-Canadians that the law did not permit employment of children under ten years, «and the next day they were all ten.»[20] Reports of factory accidents of the 1860s and '70s included French-Canadian children under ten. Felix Gatineau, in his history of the Franco-Americans of Southbridge, observed the tendency of these first French-Canadians to send children from seven to eight years old to work instead of to school.[21]

It is certain that the school laws were poorly enforced in New England. Not only were parents and manufacturers hostile; the school authorities themselves did not want the schools flooded with the undisciplined children of the working class.[22] Sometimes at the beginning of a semester, children were all turned out of the mills, but within a few weeks most of them were back. Although Massachusetts led in child labor legislation, statistics for 1891 showed a higher proportion of French-Canadian children at work in the cotton industry in that state than elsewhere in New England.[23] Rhode Island likewise found fault with the French-Canadians on the score of illiteracy and child labor.[24] Evidence from a number of sources, therefore, obliges one to conclude that the French-Canadians were conspicuous offenders, even where violations of school and minimum-age laws were common.

As newcomers, they had little choice but to accept the lowest wages. With their large families they were able to get along on less than the native American workers used to a higher standard of living. This and the fact that they were frequently introduced into New England industry as strike-breakers did not endear them to their co-workers. At West Rutland, Vermont, when they were imported into the marble quarries during a turn-out of Irish quarrymen in 1868, bloodshed resulted.[25] In Fall River during a strike in 1879, employers had to build special houses in the mill-yards for French-Canadian «knobstick» spinners, for fear strikers would persuade them to leave town.[26] Many similar instances of strike-breaking occurred. Thanks to this unfortunate role, which immigrants in the United States have often been called upon to play, they won the enmity of organized labor. Nor did they wish to join in strikes and unions. Experience had taught them, they claimed, that when they did participate in strikes they lost their jobs while others went back to work without telling them.[27] The Knights of Labor (condemned in Quebec by Cardinal Taschereau) were not

very successful in recruiting French-Canadian members and tried to influence state legislation against them.[28] French-Canadian influence was held partly responsible for the failure of New England cotton mill operatives to build a stronger organization,[29] but rather than do without wages during strikes they preferred a low income regularly.

On the other hand, there were evidences of a dawning labor consciousness among them before the end of the century. A few joined the Knights of St. Crispin and even the Knights of Labor. At the time Chinese were introduced into the Sampson shoe factory at North Adams in 1870, several French-Canadians participated in the protest against the Chinese.[30] In 1879 sixty French-Canadians at the Douglas Axe Company in Massachusetts struck for a 10% wage increase.[31] Unions, which at first had been indifferent toward immigrants, began to print notices in French.[32] In Worcester, French-Canadian carpenters formed their own union.[33] After being in the United States long enough to understand labor aims and methods, their attitude began to change. In general, however, the language barrier and the influence of their leaders discouraged the early French-Canadian *émigrés* from association with strikes and labor organizations. They prided themselves on refusing to take part and on being law-abiding citizens.[34]

Although general wages and working con-conditions slowly improved, wages in the textile and paper industries lagged behind, a fact especially significant for the French-Canadians. Statistics showed a definite relationship between length of residence in the United States and wages received. French-Canadians were advancing to more skilled positions in industry by the end of the century, and many French-Canadian girls were anxious to leave the cotton mills for something better.[35] Despite the steady upward push toward higher economic, social, and professional levels, distinction was reserved for the few and the majority had to endure the hardships that accompanied their low wage scale. It was the poverty and dirt of their «Little Canadas» in the nineteenth century that gained for them a sorry reputation when they first came to New England.

Nearly every manufacturing town where they settled had its French-Canadian quarter. The usual picture of these squalid «Frenchvilles» dispels at once the Quebec allegation that the *émigrés* departed for love of luxury. Most of them began life in the United States in tenements and were locally referred to as «Canucks.» Sanitation and cleanliness were at a minimum and the high death rate in some of the «Little Canadas» was to be expected in these overcrowded and unwholesome lodgings. Fall River and Holyoke were notorious for their «hell holes,» and William Bayard Hale described French-Canadian tenements in Fall River in 1894 as not fit «to house a dog.» The Slade Mill tenements, he said, were worse than the old-time slave quarters, and in the Globe Mill houses rats had driven out the inhabitants.[36] The first large-scale tenement dwellings in Lowell were built in «Little Canada,» and the population density in these structures was claimed to surpass that anywhere in the United States outside the Fourth Ward in New York City.[37] Darkness, foul odors, lack of space and air, shabby surroundings, all these were universal tenement characteristics, to which the French-Canadians had no exclusive claim, but their quarters were repeatedly singled out as among the worst or most ill-kept in New England. Mill owners, nevertheless, apparently kept their lodgings in better condition than private exploiters who later purchased them. The Granite Mills in Fall River had the best maintained houses in town and vacancies there were rare. If the French-Canadians were provided with good housing, commented a Salem investigator in 1873, they were too proud a people not to keep it that way.[38]

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This, alas, did not always prove true.

French-Canadians, as well as Irish, were a problem to the health authorities. They were frightened by compulsory vaccination and did not understand why wakes were prohibited during a period of epidemic disease. The Lowell Health Department made an earnest effort to reach its «Little Canada.» School children there were generally vaccinated free of charge and parental opposition was attributed more to the necessity of caring for the child's sore arm than to prejudice against vaccination.[39] Detailed child-care instructions were printed in French and English and a medical inspector was sent into the district with two boys acting as interpreters. Disease was widespread among French-Canadian children and infant mortality high, much of it due to improper feeding and ignorance. The Health Department deplored the laziness and indifference of parents who failed to send for the ward physician when their children were ill. People who could afford a funeral better than they could preventive measures were hard to get along with, wrote one health officer despairingly.[40]

These humble and insalubrious beginnings were the common immigrant lot. There was, happily, a brighter side for the French-Canadians. The impression is all too common that the farmer lives an idyllic and healthful life, but evidence often reveals the simple life as a synonym for mere subsistence. In moving to the mill towns of New England, the French-Canadians enjoyed better food than in Quebec and many wrote home that they ate meat every day. «The proud housekeeper,» wrote Archambault in his novel, *Mill Village*, «was the one who would place five pounds of fried pork chops and a half peck of boiled potatoes before an invited guest.»[41] Such a housekeeper was luckier than most, but the French-Canadian laboring man in Massachusetts consumed about five pounds of food per day in 1886, a pound and a half more than his confrere in Quebec. The Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor compared French-Canadian family and boarding-house diets in Holyoke, Lawrence, Lowell, Montreal, Rivière du Loup, and Quebec and found both nutritive value and quantity considerably in favor of Massachusetts.[42]

Clothing also showed improvement. The French-Canadians were quick to adopt the American mode and sometimes sacrificed food or home comforts for fashion.[43] Sewing machines were not unknown in homes of French-Canadian workers and seemed to have a beneficent influence on the aspect of the whole household.[44] French-Canadians were reputedly well dressed, but there were relatively few silks and satins. Necessity at times drove economy to the extreme of avoiding walking to save shoe leather or wearing outgrown garments when there were no younger children to inherit them.[45]

Toward the end of the century, the «Little Canadas» were being abandoned to other immigrants. The coming of the street railway was an important factor in enabling workers to quit the tenements,[46] and in towns such as Worcester and Marlboro where textiles were not the predominant industry, French-Canadian home ownership made progress. Investment in real estate was regarded as an indication of stability and an excellent way to train the French-Canadians in economy through the habit of saving to pay off mortgages.[47] The property requirement for voting by naturalized citizens in Rhode Island was an added stimulus there to the purchase of real estate, but general progress toward home ownership was slow.[48] In view of the French-Canadian reputation for thrift, this pace is disappointing.

Frugality was a Quebec trait which on occasion excited the jealousy or envy of others. The first savings of French-Canadians usually went to the church, and their fine

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record for financing church properties is in contrast to their slower private advancement, at the same time demonstrating their willingness to sacrifice for their faith. The amazing feature about their religious, educational and philanthropic institutions is that they were paid for by small contributions, mostly from the working class, with very few large donations.[49] Saving was encouraged by the clergy, and toward the end of the century special savings institutions for French-Canadians began to appear in New England. Holyoke's second coöperative bank was founded in 1889 to enable French-Canadian workers to buy homes on a monthly installment plan; it was the first Franco-American financial institution in the United States.[50] Woonsocket's Institution for Savings soon had to employ French-speaking clerks to take care of French-Canadian accounts, and Aram Pothier, later Governor of Rhode Island, served in that capacity. In 1900 the first *caisse populaire*, a form of credit union, was founded in Quebec, and this movement soon spread to the United States. Another Quebec habit which promoted savings was the family system, whereby children turned over their earnings to their parents.

French-Canadian thrift, nevertheless, has probably been overestimated. Early *émigrés* had little confidence in banks or investments, their mistrust justified by such experiences as the fraudulent New England Investment Company and the loss of savings deposits in bank failures. The average annual surplus among French-Canadian families in Massachusetts in 1875 was only $10.59, and they saved less than any other ethnic group in the state at that time.[51] Although saving doubtless increased with improvement in occupation, the estimate made by Father Hamon in 1890 that a French-Canadian worker with a family of four children should have about $80 a month left after deduction of major expenses[52] seems high. One of the great mistakes in estimating ability to save has been simply to multiply daily wages by the number of persons working per family and to deduct the cost of living, without regard to age, occupation, or steadiness of employment. Furthermore, both Father Hamon and Ferdinand Gagnon, father of Franco-American journalism, repeatedly exhorted their compatriots to economy instead of spending money on picnics, carriage rent, circuses, and trips to Canada.

The close of the nineteenth century found the French-Canadians a settled people in New England numbering over half a million. By this time they were experienced in industry and, where statistics distinguished the older residents from the new, they had proved themselves able to compete with other workers in New England. It must not be forgotten that the steady influx of new arrivals from Quebec, who yet had to pass through their period of orientation, held back the general average of the group. Instances were even known of French-Canadians replacing other French-Canadians at lower wages.[53] It required time to learn to demand the same working and living standards as native-born citizens in the United States, but unbeknown to themselves, the French-Canadians were conforming to the usual immigrant pattern, starting at the lowest level and surmounting it in the second and third generations. Meanwhile, their United-States-born descendants were growing up bilingual, thus better equipped for broader participation in American life.

Their economic situation gradually improved, freeing them from complete preoccupation with earning a livelihood, and they turned their attention to the problem of their own ethnic survival. It became almost the breath of life to the newly forming mutual benefit societies and the Franco-American press. Unlike European immigrants, French-Canadians did not sever the bond with the land of their birth, for Quebec adjoined New

England, and visits, newspapers, and education in the province were easily accessible. Their dual loyalty, so openly avowed, puzzled Americans and often became suspect when reinforced by aloofness from public schools, non-French churches, and organizations. Thus, friction in the new environment was not confined to labor competition.

Within the limits of the century the French-Canadian migration into New England was still in a state of flux. It had, however, transplanted almost in its entirety the French-Canadian parish, with separate French churches, schools, and homes for the needy. Indeed, theirs was a splendid record in caring for their own. It was too soon to foretell the extent of change from their traditional ways until more Franco-Americans had experienced a generation of life in the United States. The old melting-pot theory has been somewhat discredited in recent years, but economic forces have remained a persistent assimilator. The twentieth century ushered in great change for French-Canadians in Quebec, now become the most highly industrialized province of Canada, and it may give the Franco-Americans a chance to guide their Canadian cousins along the path of ethnic tenacity in an industrial world.

Notes

1. Benjamin Silliman, *Remarks made on a Short Tour between Hartford and Quebec, in the Autumn of 1819,* (New Haven, 1824), 293.

2. *P. Q. Sessional Papers,* 1874-75, VIII, Doc. No. 4, «Rapport général du commissaire de l'agriculture et des travaux publics de la Province de Québec pour l'année finissant le 30 juin 1874,» xlii-xliii.

3. *Rapport du comité spécial de l'assemblée legislative, nommé pour s'enquérir des causes et de l'importance de l'émigration qui a lieu tous les ans du Bas-Canada vers les États-Unis* (Montreal, 1849), *passim; Rapport du comité spécial nommé pour s'enquérir des causes de l'émigration du Canada aux États-Unis d'Amérique ou ailleurs* (Toronto, 1957), *passim.*

4. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931* (Ottawa, 1936), 110.

5. John Bartlet Brebner, *North Atlantic Triangle* (New Haven, 1945), 161-62; *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1913), VI, 272. Other estimates vary from 30-[illegible]0,000.

6. Leon E. Truesdell, *The Canadian Born in the United States* (New Haven, 1943), 77, Table 30. The author is Chief Demographer of the Bureau of Census, Washington, and figures in this book are from the U.S. Census.

7. Truesdell, *The Canadian Born in the United States.* French-Canadian stock in the New England states numbered 518,887, according to the U.S. Census of 1900.

8. Melvin T. Copeland, *The Cotton Manufacturing Industry of the United States* (Cambridge, 1912), 120.

9. Copeland, *The Cotton Manufacturing Industry . . .*, 118-121.

10. *Report of the Immigration Commission, Immigrants in Industries* (Washington, 1911), x, 33, Table 17, and 36, Table 19.

11. *2nd Annual Report of the Bureau of Industrial and Labor Statistics for the State of Maine* (Augusta, 1889), 131.

12. *Report of the Immigration Commission,* X, 72.

13. *20th Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (Boston, 1889), 577.

14. *2nd Annual Report of the Bureau of Industrial and Labor Statistics for the State of Maine, passim.*

15. Samuel Slater had employed children from seven to twelve years of age and then adopted the practice of hiring whole families.

16. *Report of the Immigration Commission,* X, 114, Table 64.

17. *12th Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (Boston, 1881), 469-470.

18. *13th Annual Report, Bureau of Statistics of Labor,* (Boston, 1882), 27.

19. *1st Annual Report, Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of Connecticut* (Hartford, 1885), 48-49.

20. *3rd Annual Report, Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (Boston, 1872), 379.

21. Felix Gatineau, *Histoire des Franco-Américains de Southbridge, Mass.* (Framingham, 1919), 46.

22. Forest C. Ensign, *Compulsory School Attendance and Child Labor* (Iowa City, 1921), 62-63, 96-97.

23. *7th Annual Report, Commissioner of Labor, 1891,* (Washington, 1892), II, 1588-1590, Table XX.

24. *5th Annual Report, Commission of Industrial Statistics, Rhode Island* (Providence, 1892), 44-52.

25. George H. Perkins, «The Marble Industry of Vermont» in *Report of the State Geologist on the Mineral Industries and Geology of Vermont, 1931-1932* (Burlington, 1933), 292.

26. George E. McNeill, editor, *The Labor Movement: The Problem of Today* (Boston, 1887), 230.

27. E. Hamon, *Les Canadiens-français de la Nouvelle Angleterre* (Quebec, 1891), 45-47.

28. E. Hamon, *Les Canadiens-français . . . ,* 45.

29. William Z. Ripley, «Race Factors in Labor Unions,» *Atlantic Monthly,* XCIII (March, 1904), 302.

30. *Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor, 1870-71* (Boston, 1871), 106.

31. *11th Annual Report, Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (Boston, 1880), 51.

32. *29th Annual Report, Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (Boston, 1899), 620; McNeill, editor, *The Labor Movement,* 230.

33. *30th Annual Report, Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (Boston, 1900), 163, 209.

34. *13th Annual Report, Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (Boston, 1882), 25-26.

35. *Report of the Immigration Commission,* X, 177, 289.

36. William Bayard Hale, «Impotence of Churches in a Manufacturing Town,» *Forum* (November, 1894), 298-300.

37. *Annual Report of the Board of Health of the City of Lowell, 1882* (Lowell, 1883), 18.

38. *4th Annual Report, Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (Boston, 1873), 378-379.

39. *Annual Report of the Board of Health of the City of Lowell, 1880* (Lowell, 1881), 5-6.

40. *Annual Report of the Board of Health . . . , 1888* (Lowell, 1889), 37-41.

41. A. A. Archambault, *Mill Village* (Boston, 1943), 126.

42. *17th Annual Report, Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (Boston, 1886), 311-312.

43. William Kirk, *A Modern City* (Chicago, 1909), 114-115.

44. *6th Annual Report, Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (Boston, 1875), 313.

45. Camille Lessard, *Canuck* (Lewiston, 1936), 19, 33.

46. *Report of the Immigration Commission,* X, 342.

47. Hamon, *Les Canadiens-français de la Nouvelle Angleterre,* 18-19.

48. French-Canadians have not come up to the general average or that of the foreign-born in the U.S. for home ownership and median rental, a situation which prevailed down to the census of 1940.

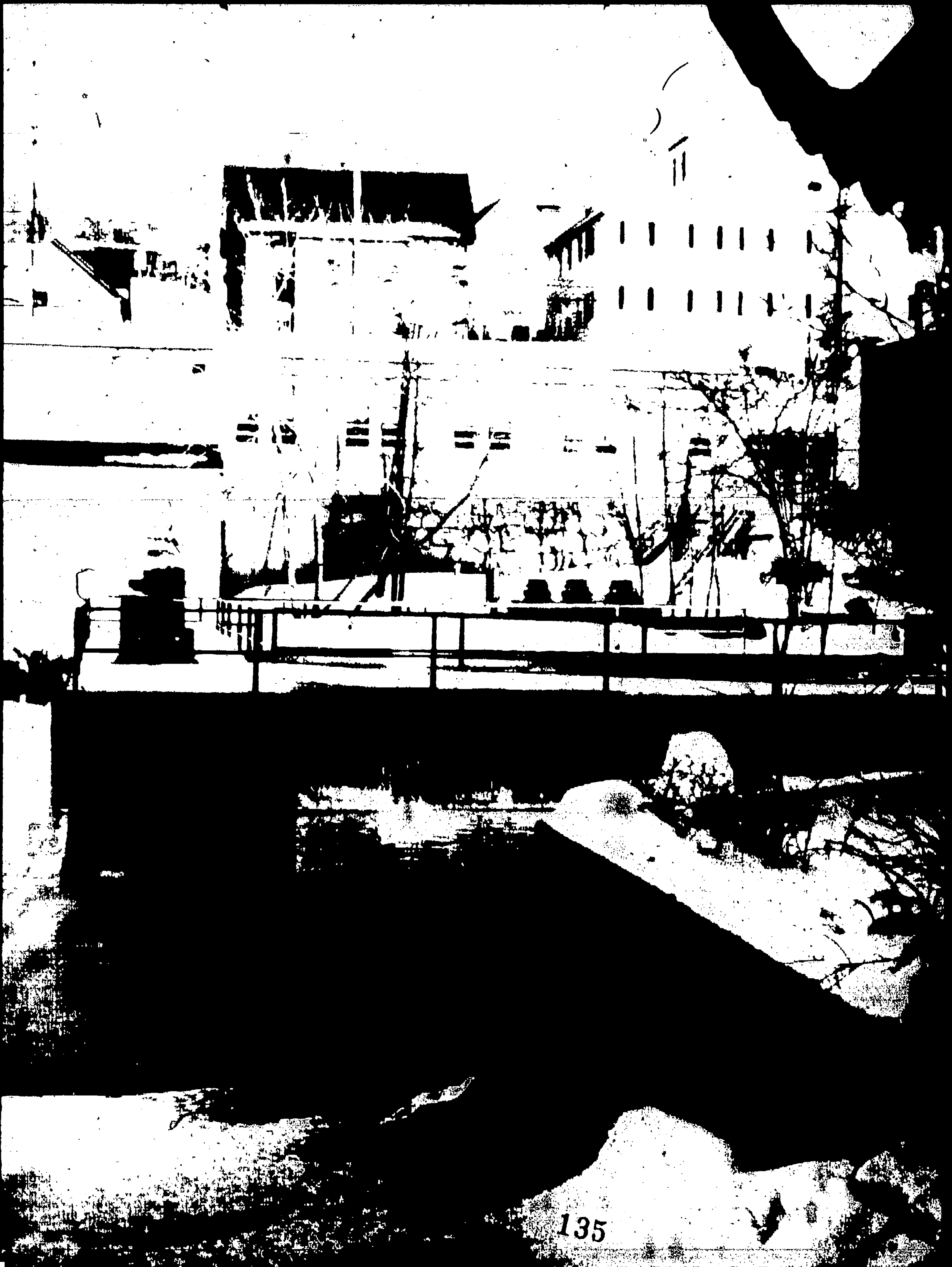
49. Abbé D. M. A. Magnan, *Histoire de la race française aux États-Unis* (Paris, 1912), 283-284.

50. Constance M. Green, *Holyoke, Massachusetts, A Case History of the Industrial Revolution in America* (New Haven, 1939), 171-172.

51. *6th Annual Report, Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (Boston, 1875), 377.

52. Hamon, *Les Canadiens-français de la Nouvelle Angleterre,* 16-17.

53. *Ferdinand Gagnon, Sa Vie et ses oeuvres* (Worcester, 1886), 76.



Testimony to the living conditions in New England Franco communities is offered in William N. Locke's sketch of the French colony at Brunswick, Maine, published in the first issue of Les Archives du Folklore, *Montreal, 1946. Authored by a professor of French, this study combines a social-science empirical tradition with the humanistic tradition of value orientation. Struggle against handicaps is the theme. Success is the perceived outcome. Local data such as naturalization records, parish membership and marriage records, voter registration rolls and tax rolls have never been more effectively used in the study of a community of Franco-Americans.*

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THE FRENCH COLONY AT BRUNSWICK, MAINE: A HISTORICAL SKETCH

by
William N. Locke

There are said to be in the United States some million and a half people of French-Canadian origin. Some of these are descended from early frontiersmen, like those of the old settlements in Missouri,[1] others have immigrated more recently, as for example those in and near the industrial cities of New England. Many of these cities have a mixed population including groups of various nationalities, but in the more northerly of them one often finds a simpler situation with an older, nearly pure Anglo-Saxon group, and a newer group of first, second, and already third generation French people of Canadian origin. A town in the latter category is Brunswick, Maine. Here one can see in miniature the picture of how the French from the North came to New England communities; how they struggled against economic, racial, and linguistic handicaps; how they succeeded in winning equality in one field after another: political, economic, social.

EARLY PERIOD

Brunswick, Maine, is on the seacoast, thirty miles north of Portland. Its history is like that of many another Maine coastal town, rich in traditions of Indian battles and seafaring lore. Bowdoin College was founded there in 1794, and one of the earliest cotton mills in the state was built at the falls of the Androscoggin river. Since it is the French-speaking population of Brunswick which is of interest here, the presence of a generous water-power supply at Brunswick is of capital importance. As the demand for cotton fabric grew, the mill was increased in size. In 1857 the company had 235 looms with 9,000 spindles; it employed 175 people. In 1867 large additions had been made to the buildings, and the mill had 26,000 spindles. The company owned 75 tenements and manufactured its own gas, which it also supplied to the town. In 1877 the mill had 35,000 spindles, employed 550 hands and owned a hundred tenements in which its employees lived, with a store where they traded.[2]

This expansion took place just before and during the Civil War. The local people, plus a certain number of Irish immigrants, who had come to Brunswick when the railroad was built, were the first to work in the mill. But with the rapid growth it was necessary to import labor; so, as was the growing custom in New England, agents were sent to Canada to recruit laborers under contract. The abuses of this system are well known. The importation of contract labor was forbidden in 1885, but the French of Canada continued to come where they knew money was to be earned. In Canada the amount of good land for farming was limited and the market for farm products, poor.

The first men from French Canada to come and settle in Brunswick came between

1850 and 1860, judging from the immigration dates given in naturalization records, but the big movement began after 1865 and continued until 1900.[3] Unfortunately, there are no records except those of naturalizations to show when influxes of Canadians took place. There is one stray item in the *Brunswick Telegraph* for March 28, 1875, «Quite a lot of French Canadians came here last week to work in the Cabor mill,» but this is, as far as I am able to ascertain, the only time the local newspaper mentioned the arrival of workers. For one thing, no one expected these people from across the border to become a permanent part of the community. One man, criticising the mill owners, is quoted as follows in the *Telegraph* for September 20, 1870:

> They afford no real assistance to a place in the way in which the business is conducted. The money for the cotton and the manufactured goods is all turned in Boston, the trade is mostly through one channel, and the operative population is never permanent, especially the French Canadians who all look to a permanent home in Canada.

From time to time in the local newspaper, there appeared items from which we can see that the French population was growing more numerous. In 1873 a summary was printed of a report by Charles Hill on church attendance. He gave 3,066 as the total number attending church in town; 477 of these were French Catholics; 131, Irish Catholics.

An increase of several hundred was not inconsiderable in a town of the size of Brunswick. It had had a population of 4,687 in 1870, of which 4,148 were native born; 539 were foreign born and in 1882 according to the *Telegraph* the total population was 5,384.

Naturally, as soon as the Catholic population of Brunswick began to grow, there was a demand for a priest and then for a church. The first Catholic services held in Brunswick were in 1821, according to the *Telegraph* in 1878, and a—

> ... society of believers in the doctrines of the Church of Rome was begun in this Town about 1860 or a short time previously. Services were at first performed by the priest stationed at Bath. The society, however, gradually increased in numbers and in 1866 purchased their present (1878) church building. . .and Father Powers was soon after sent to them. The society is now numerically by far the largest in the town. About five sixths of the congregation are French-Canadians. They number about eight hundred. The present priest, Father Noiseux, is a French-Canadian.

A school for teaching English to the French-speaking Canadians was started before 1872 by David H. Dennison. This initiative was taken over by the Catholic Church in 1886 when a school was started for French children, though the aim of the latter was to give them a Catholic and a French education. It appears that the Cabot Company, operators of the mill, had also had some sort of school for children. The response to the opening of the Church school was very great. In 1887 there were approximately 200 children enrolled.

CONSOLIDATION PERIOD

From 1880 on, the French-Canadians began to be accepted as a more or less permanent addition to the town. They were growing rapidly in numbers. The *Telegraph* in December 1887 said that there were 320 families in the French section, whereas there had been but 160 in 1882. Also these Canadians had begun to see that there were definite economic and political advantages to

Immigration and Naturalization
By Five-Year Periods[6]

Period	Immigration	Naturalization
1850-55	1	–
1856-60	1	–
1861-65	1	–
1866-70	35	–
1871-75	50	–
1876-80	70	18
1881-85	64	36
1886-90	77	57
1891-95	74	33
1896-1900	44	108 (all in 1900)
1901-05	36	50
1906-10	30	33 (all in 1906)
1911-15	7	4
1916-20	14	126
1921-25	18	21
1926-30	8	8
1931-35	–	24
1936-39	–	17
Totals	530[7]	535

becoming citizens. The local paper of August 23, 1884, records the following:

> A meeting of French-Canadians was held in the Court Room, Town Hall, Monday evening, Joseph Dufrense being elected temporary chairman, and Louis Trudeau, Secretary. Henry Ragot addressed the meeting in French upon topics in which the people were interested, the result of which was the formation of a permanent organization. President Noel Vandall, Secretary Louis Trudeau, Exavier Payment (Paiement), Ermenigle (Herménégilde) Coulombe, Telesphore La Point (LaPointe), Joseph Machaud (Michaud), Frank Maturin (Mathurin), Jos. Dionne, and Henry Ragot.[5] The subject of naturalization was discussed, the question being: shall the French take out naturalization papers or remain foreigners? It was unanimously decided to naturalize, and 53 were found to be ready for naturalization, others will become naturalized when they become eligible. It was also decided that all possible means of information should be resorted to to gain political information.

The table above shows the immigration and naturalization by five-year periods.

During the '80s there was serious trouble with disease among the French population. The tenements and boarding houses owned by the Cabot Company were crowded and unhygienic as more and more French workers came into the town. The townspeople, led by Editor Tenney of the *Telegraph*, rose up in indignation against the mill owners, as the following editorial of May, 1866 shows:

> What we have stated as to the conditions of affairs at the factory boarding houses on the east side of Main St. near the cove, is enough to cause a pestilence and we were not surprised on Saturday last when Father Gorman informed us that a

good deal of sickness prevails among the French-Canadians working in the factories. He said that since the 1st of January he had buried more children than he had baptized and surely this is a sad state of affairs. Rev. Gorman attributes the present sickness to the said neglect of sanitary conditions in and about the houses which the Canadian people occupy. It is somebody's business to see that the sewers, cesspools, and privies are cleaned out and then, if sickness continues, a look must be taken at the interior of the dwellings; it is of no use to look further after the causes of disease than at the banks of the cove reeking with filth.

Throughout the summer and fall of 1886, the *Telegraph* editorialized, against the neglect of the Cabot Company, which «evidently cares more for the figure of its dividend than for the comfort, or even health, of its employees.» A French-Canadian, Despeaux, was made a member of the Town Board of Health at this time, and 1886 was a turning point in the death rate of the French population. The following table, compiled from the records of St. John's Parish, shows the deaths from 1877 to 1895, 1877 being the first year for which the Brunswick parish has records.

DEATHS

Year	French	Irish
1877	7	–
1878	13	–
1879	4	–
1880	19	–
1881	4	–
1882	46	6
1883	48	4
1884	38	3
1885	28	1
1886	81	2
1887	72	–
1888	41	3
1889	42	2

DEATHS (Continued)

Year	French	Irish
1890	58	3
1891	66	2
1892	60	7
1893	86	5
1894	78	4
1895	66	6

However, not all was black in the life of the newcomers. The *Telegraph* tells of church fairs, «levees,» plays, operettas, picnics, and even dances. Marriages were gay affairs! «A French wedding on Monday morning with twelve teams transporting the bride and groom throughout the streets, all parties apparently enjoying themselves to the fullest extent, though the air was keenly cold, the thermometer being only a few degrees above zero.» In 1883 the good editor thought gayety was going too far:

> Has a crisis arrived with racing on the streets? On Monday morning, as frequently happens, there was a French wedding, a part of the fun always being a ride after the ceremony is over. Three sleighs driven abreast as rapidly as livery horses can travel were going down Federal Street in high glee when William Mountford was knocked down. We humbly suggest that as we have so many churches in the village and religious sentiment is so strong, that a small chapel should be erected at Mere Brook adjoining the new race court.

In most cases the first French-Canadians to come to the United States were the young men. When they had become established, they sent for their sisters and brothers and soon the community in Brunswick had both sexes. The marriage rate rose slowly, and there were some marriages between French Catholics and non-Catholics as is shown in the following table, compiled from the marriage registers of St. John's Church.

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MARRIAGES

Year	French	French-Irish	Irish	Mixed	Other
1877	10	2	4	–	–
18[illegible]	10	1	3	–	–
1879	9	–	1	1	–
1880	8	–	1	–	–
1881	15	–	1	–	–
1882	18	–	1	–	–
1883	21	3	3	–	–
1884	18	1	–	–	–
1885	12	–	1	–	–
1886	15	–	1	–	–
1887	27	–	–	–	–
1888	27	1	–	–	–
1889	19	1	–	–	–
1890	17	–	2	–	–
1891	21	1	–	–	–
1892	29	–	1	2	–
1893	24	–	1	1	–
1894	17	1	–	–	–
1895	25	–	–	1	–
1896	28	–	–	1	–
1897	22	–	–	–	–
1898	14	–	–	2	–
1899	26	–	–	–	–
1900	17	1	–	3	–
1901	35	–	–	1	–
1902	28	1	1	–	–
1903	21	–	–	1	–
1904	26	–	–	–	–
1905	27	–	–	2	1
1906	17	1	–	2	–
1907	17	1	–	2	–
1908	16	–	–	–	–
1909	19	–	–	–	2
1910	28	1	–	–	1
1911	18	2	–	2	–
1912	30	2	1	–	3
1913	23	2	1	–	2
1914	26	–	–	4	2
1915	21	–	–	2	–
1916	22	–	–	1	–
1917	36	–	1	9	3
1918	21	1	1	–	1
1919	35	–	–	4	–
1920	45	1	–	3	1

MARRIAGES (Continued)

Year	French	French-Irish	Irish	Mixed	Other
1921	33	–	–	3	[illegible]
1922	31	–	–	2	[illegible]
1923	36	–	–	1	3
1924	31	–	1	3	2
1925	23	2	–	–	2
1926	27	–	–	3	1
1927	28	–	–	7	1
1928	28	–	–	9	1
1929	24	1	–	6	–
1930	44	2	–	4	3
1931	29	–	–	6	3
1932	19	–	–	–	1
1933	16	1	–	1	2
1934	28	1	–	6	4
1935	28	3	1	6	3
1936	36	4	–	10	4
1937	23	–	–	1	3
1938	24	–	–	1	3

Judging from the *Telegraph*, the French people were liked from the beginning. If there was any resentment against the «foreigners,» it did not creep into the paper. In 1872 Editor Tenny wrote «We have no fault to find on general grounds with the French-Canadians employed in the cotton mill; they are quiet, orderly, and industrious.» In 1885, «The French-Canadians are putting up several dwelling houses, one large structure on lands recently purchased in the northwestern part of the village, and the way they put together a wooden building is something of a marvel.» The French-Canadian doctor, Dr. Paré, was so well liked that at his death in 1887, the mill was closed a day in tribute to him. Professor McDonald of Bowdoin College wrote an article,[8] *The French-Canadians in New England*, in which he said the following of the French-Canadian:

> He is quick to learn, active and deft in his movements. He is contented with his work, and, usually, with his wages; and he does not expect undue consideration. Docility is one of his most marked traits. He is not over-energetic or ambitious. His main concern is to make a living for himself and his family, and, if that seems to have been attained, he is little troubled by restless eagerness to be doing something higher than that in which he is at present engaged. Above all he is reluctant, as compared with the Irish, to join labor unions, and is loath to strike.

Again, in the same article, he writes, «Very few of the French now return to Canada to stay, or even look forward to such a possibility and the amount of money now sent out of the country, while considerable, is very small in comparison with former figures.» He gives the figure of 2,500 as a fairly reliable estimate of the French population of Brunswick in 1897.

In the early years only the men who

were naturalized (some 250 by 1900) could vote, but as the first generation of American-born grew up, they added to the number. The following table is from the Brunswick voting lists. It will indicate the increasing part the French were able to play in town politics, though it should be mentioned that there never was a «French bloc» in Brunswick—the French-Canadians, like their European cousins, are too individualistic.

The economic progress of these newcomers to Brunswick has been amazingly rapid. There follows a table compiled from the records of the Assessors.[10] The accuracy of any individual figure is debatable because it is often next to impossible to determine which names are those of French people. The custom of giving «mill names»[11] to the newly arrived workers resulted in the adoption by many of an English equivalent. Rousseau sometimes became Brooks, for example; so it was necessary a hundred times to make inquiries of the local French people: «Was Blanch White, French or Yankee? Was William Ruest, French? Was the Joe McCarthy that used to live on Water Street Irish or French?» However, these cases were solved and the table represents a reliable, overall picture of property ownership in Brunswick.

A fairer comparison of the relative importance of French ownings is obtained by subtracting from ([14]) the amount of $ 1,665,227, which is the value of non-resident property. This gives $ 2,809,019, property of residents other than French, which is 3.02 times ([13]). People of French extraction therefore owned 1/3 as much property as non-French residents did.

PERIOD OF EQUALITY

Not only in the town proper but in the surrounding country-side, the French people have bought homes, farms, and business property. On many roads leading out of Brunswick, every other name on the mail boxes is a French one. Of the Selectmen in 1940 one was English, one Irish, and one French. The local magistrate named Rousseau died last year, and numerous less important offices are held by people of French extraction. On Maine Street and in the stores, it is common to hear French spoken. Along half the street, the end nearer the mill, French is more common than English; while in the stores nearer the College, English predominates.

REGISTERED VOTERS

Year	French	Other	Total
1869	4	876	880
1870	9	886	895
1875	27	917	944
1880	104	976	1,080
1881	152	1,025	1,177
1885	212	1,028	1,240
1890	369	937	1,306
1895	450	950	1,400
1900	475	1,121	1,596
1905	596	1,026	1,622
1910	272	1,353	1,625
1939	1,050	1,437	2,487

PROPERTY VALUATION

Year	French	Other	Total
1869	$ 425	$1,600,233	$1,600,658
1870	450	1,833,589	1,834,039
1875	None[12]	2,090,180	2,090,180
1880	1,025	1,978,852	1,979,877
1881	4,250	3,322,793	3,326,043
1885	16,100	3,389,660	3,405,760
1890	47,125	3,371,111	3,418,236
1895	95,805	2,349,641	2,455,446
1900	114,340	3,422,051	3,536,391
1905	146,878	3,372,683	3,519,561
1910	195,931	3,588,301	3,784,232
1939	928,755[13]	4,474,246[14]	5,403,001

In Brunswick today there is taking place a partial fusion between the two races. In High School, prizes go sometimes to children of French, sometimes to children of English extraction. At dances it would be impossible to say whose ancestors came from Canada and whose were old native stock. There is nothing in dress or even in features, in many cases, to distinguish the two races. There is, however, one point on which they diverge. In general, the French are Catholic, the Yankees, Protestant. And with Catholicism in Brunswick goes very closely the use of the French language. The Parochial School has classes conducted in French; sermons in the French church are in French at certain hours; and in the homes the majority of mothers and fathers of French origin talk French to their children.

This is so true that we can accept the figures of the size of St. John's parish as the size of the population of French origin. Of course, an exception must be made for a certain number of Irish and other Catholics, but most of these were formed into a new parish around 1930; so it is not too wide of the mark to consider Father Dauphin's report on the parish of St. John for January, 1941[15] as a summary of the present population of French origin. The French who are no longer Catholics and the converts will approximately cancel each other.

The total membership shows a gain of 458 since 1936 when there were 4,110 in the parish; before that it had varied only slightly from year to year.

The parish of St. John's Church includes the Catholic residents of Topsham, across the river, and what is true of the Church is true of most of the life of the Town. Topsham has a separate post office, is in a different county, but it forms a social and commercial unit with Brunswick. Together the two towns had in 1940 a population of 10,992.[16] This figure, compared with the size of the Parish of St. John, 4,568, shows that the people of French origin represent about two fifths of the total group.

ORIGINS

One of the most important factors in the study of a people who have migrated is the regions from which they have come, important from the point of view of their customs, their folklore, and particularly important in respect to their language[17]. The origin of the French of Brunswick can be traced through only two types of records.

1. Complete marriage records of St. John's Parish 1908[18]-1938.
2. The Naturalization records since 1850 of the Sagadahoc County Court at Bath; the Cumberland County Court at Portland; the U.S. Circuit Court at Portland, and the U.S. District Court at Portland, Maine. These courts are those where Brunswick men could be naturalized.

Total membership of St. John's Parish: 4,568

Men	1,322	Women	1,476
Boys (under 21)	874	Girls (under 18)	896
	Families: 1,183		
Marriages	54	Deaths	47
	Baptisms: 95		

316 boys, 329 girls attended the parochial school, taught by Ursuline sisters.

The place of birth, or of baptism, given in these records makes it possible, after eliminating duplicates, to locate the origin of 1,122 immigrants as shown on the following page:

The marriage records of St. John's Church show that, as would be expected, many Brunswick residents of French extraction were born in other New England towns and cities, their ancestors having previously moved there from Canada or, possibly, France. For the sake of comparison with the statistics on Canadian and foreign origins, there follows data for people born in the New England states and the few from outside New England grouped under «Others.»

The French at Brunswick can be said, in general, to have come from along the south bank of the St. Lawrence River from Montreal to beyond Rivière du Loup and particularly from the region within a fifty-mile radius of L'Islet; for out of a total of 914 from Canada, 508 came from the four contiguous counties of L'Islet, Montmagny, Kamouraska, and Temiscouata, the others being widely scattered.

CONCLUSION

The worst slander ever levelled against the French of New England was a simile by Prof. MacDonald of Bowdoin (op. cit.) when he called them «The Chinese of the East.» Never perhaps was such a charge more triumphantly refuted than by the French of Brunswick, the very town where MacDonald wrote. Starting with a few men from the North who came with nothing more than their hands and their brains to help them make a living, the colony grew, in spite of linguistic barriers, until today it is about two fifths of the total population of Brunswick and Topsham. Assuming that this proportion is accurate for each of the towns individually, and it is close to being so, then the French two fifths of Brunswick today owns property assessed at approximately one million dollars—a figure which is all the more impressive when one realizes that this is one quarter of the valuation of the resident-owned property of the town.

The French-Canadian group has its origins in Canada along the south bank of the St. Lawrence and particularly in and near the county of L'Islet. Of the 914 people of Canadian birth whose origins can be traced, 508 (55%) came from the L'Islet region. With the others from every corner of the Province of Quebec, it is evident that the group from near L'Islet forms the hard core of the Brunswick French colony. However, the work was shared by all, and the position of equality held today by the French in the old Yankee town of Brunswick stands as a tribute to the adaptability, the toil, and the fertility of the French Canadians as a race.

States of Birth	Number	States of Birth	Number
Maine (except Brunswick (and Topsham)	133	Rhode Island	6
New Hampshire	16	Connecticut	7
Vermont	6	Others	6
Massachusetts	27	Total	201

ORIGINS BY COUNTIES AND COUNTRIES OF BRUNSWICK PEOPLE

COUNTIES IN PROVINCE OF QUEBEC	NUMBER
Argenteuil	0
Arthabaska	39
Bagot	1
Beauce	28
Beauharnois	0
Bellechasse	3
Berthier	0
Bonaventure	1
Brome	0
Chambly	0
Champlain	0
Charlevoix (See Saguenay, former name of county)	
Châteauguay	8
Chicoutimi (includes modern Lac St. Jean Co.)	36
Compton	6
Dorchester	2
Drummond	2
Essex	0
Farnham	0
Frontenac (See Compton and Beauce)	
Gaspé	2
Hemmingford	0
Hull	1
Huntingdon	0
Iberville	3
Joliette	0
Kamouraska	133
Labelle	1
Lac St. Jean (See Chicoutimi)	
Laprairie	5
L'Assomption	3
Laval	0
Lévis	11
L'Islet[19]	270

OTHER PROVINCES	
New Brunswick	11
Nova Scotia	3
Ontario	14
Prince Edward Island	2
«Canada»	10
Total from Canada	914

COUNTIES IN PROVINCE OF QUEBEC	NUMBER
Lotbinière	4
Maskinongé	0
Mégantic	17
Missisquoi	0
Montcalm	0
Montmagny	58
Montmorency	52
Montreal (Island of)	6
Napierville	5
Nicolet	6
Pontiac	2
Portneuf	1
Quebec (County)	2
Richelieu	0
Richmond	3
Rimouski	11
Rouville	1
Saguenay (modern Charlevois approximately)	7
Shefford	35
Sherbrooke	5
Soulanges	0
Stanstead	4
St. Hyacinthe	7
St. John	4
St. Maurice	10
Témiscouata	47
Terrebonne	1
Two Mountains	0
Vaudreuil	0
Verchères	3
Wolfe	14
Yamaska	0
County unknown, Province of Quebec	13
County unknown, probably Province of Quebec	51

OTHER COUNTRIES	
Newfoundland	1
France	5
Belgium	1
Total	7

Notes

1. See *Survival of French. . . in Missouri* by Ward Dorrance.—U. of Missouri Studies, Vol. 10, No. 2, April 1, 1935.

2. *History of Brunswick*, George A. Wheeler, p. 566.

3. See the table on Page

4. Ninth Census Vol. I, 1872, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

5. The spelling of these names shows that the editor went by his ear alone as a guide. In parentheses I have put the spelling used by people with these names. Another example of a «phonetic» spelling of French names is in a December issue of the *Telegraph* for 1873: «A French boy named Benway while skating on the Androscoggin river here was drowned on Tuesday.» The name was, of course, Benoit.

6. Based on Court records described under 2 on p. 17.

7. To this number must be added 4 people who immigrated first to another town, though residents of Brunswick when naturalized; there remains a discrepancy of 1, caused by the fact that for 2 persons a naturalization but no immigration date is given, whereas for 1 person there is an immigration but no naturalization date.

8. *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for April 1898.

9. Apparently an error but one which is impossible to rectify because of the state of the Town records.

10. Unfortunately much of the information on assessments for the last twenty years is on loose cards more or less scattered, making it impossible to get any fully satisfactory figures.

11. The foremen, at first Yankees and Irishmen, having to write a name for each man on the pay roll, would sometimes simply choose a name for a new man whose name they could not spell. So a Lévesque might be told «You, Levi, understand?»

12. The figures in this column represent only personal property; evidently the assessors did not consider this worth assessing in 1875.

13. Of this, $792,031 is real property; $136,724 is personal.

14. $4,474,246.

15. Printed in the *Brunswick Record*, January 2, 1941.

16. Brunswick, 8,658, Topsham, 2,334, according to 1940 census figures issued by the U.S. Bureau of the Census—*Population of the State of Maine*—Final figures 1940, Series P-2, No. 31.

17. While the question of the language spoken by the people of Brunswick is outside the scope of this paper, it can be stated, on the basis of further material to be published shortly by the author, that the French of Brunswick conserves remarkably well the heritage brought from Canada, showing no sign whatsoever of breakdown or disintegration such as certain ill-informed writers have assumed would be the case in view of the constant close contact with English.

18. 1908 being the date when the place of baptism of the bride and groom was first recorded.

19. Also one non-French, non-Catholic born at L'Islet.

A study of a Franco-American community over several generations is found in George F. Thériault's article published in the University of Toronto 1960 monograph Canadian Dualism: Studies of French-English Relations. *Thériault focusses on Nashua, New Hampshire as a case study. The social and institutional framework within which «la survivance» was achieved are examined. The author describes a whole host of institutions: schools, convents, hospitals and orphanages, cemeteries, newspapers and voluntary associations of all kinds. The common heritage of the Roman Catholic faith, the French language, the wave-like pattern of immigration and the proximity to the mother-country are seen as the basic elements of the effective cultural and structural pluralism of the Franco-Americans. This pluralism did adapt to the unfolding economic differentiation within the French community, the increasing generational remoteness from the Canadian experience and the draft, along with the increasing rates of intermarriage. Twenty years ago Professor Thériault said: «The central institutional structure of 'la Franco-Américanie' even in comparatively large centers such as Nashua is showing increasing signs of weakening.» But, he added, «ways of life, deeply cherished institutions, religion and language, are too centrally in the grain of a people to change rapidly.» His judgement has stood the test of almost a generation.*

THE FRANCO-AMERICANS OF NEW ENGLAND

by
George F. Thériault

Outside the Province of Quebec the largest concentration of people of French-Canadian origin in the New World is found in New England. It is an impressively large concentration, the best estimates placing its numbers somewhere between 900 thousand and one million. The Franco-Americans of New England thus constitute more than one in six of the French-Canadian stock on this continent. On the basis of numbers alone, therefore, they are of considerable importance in any study of French-Canadian society and its culture.

They are of far greater interest and importance, however, when their collective experience in the United States is viewed in the perspective of their response and adaptation, over a period of time extending back nearly a century, to the many-faceted challenges of life and living in an industrial civilization. In the current period of dynamic growth, industrialization, and urbanization in Canada few questions have more far-reaching import for the future of both English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians than this: What happens in the course of time to the traditional French-Canadian way of life, its values, institutions, and customs, when it is transplanted from the isolated rural, parochial, village setting to which it is indigenous to the dynamism of a highly industrialized urban milieu, and is exposed year in and year out for several generations to the ceaseless pressures and influences of a culture embodying in so many respects values antithetical to its own?

Recent studies[1] by Canadian scholars in many fields have reported highly interesting variations in the answers the Canadian scene is producing, and will produce increasingly in the years ahead, to this truly fundamental question. While the dissimilarities between the American and Canadian settings prevent the drawing of precise analogues, the similarities are so numerous and in certain basic sociological respects so crucial that the Franco-American experience has considerable value for comparative purposes.

In the pages that follow I shall outline as fully as a short chapter permits the more important historical, ecological, and institutional features of Franco-American life in New England. In doing so I shall concentrate rather more upon what is implicit in the first than in the second word in the expression «Franco-American,» since our primary interest lies in what has happened in the United States to the French-Canadian heritage of the Franco-American.

It is well for us to have in mind at the outset that the central motif of the Franco-American experiment has been that of combining elements drawn from the past and the present, from different societies and their cultures, from widely disparate traditions, ideals, and philosophies into a viable whole.

It has been, in short, an ambitious attempt to put into practice and to carry forward a particular kind of cultural pluralism. Contemporary leaders of *la survivance* in New England recognize this clearly. A manifesto adopted upon the occasion of the celebration of the centennial of the founding of the first Franco-American parish described Franco-American life in these words:

> Upon the spiritual plane, the Franco-Americans are Roman Catholics; upon the temporal plane, they are American citizens; finally they are by tradition, language, and spirit French; the whole being co-ordinated and combined in such a manner as to produce a way of life without a parallel in this country.[2]

For a minority group living within a larger society dedicated to ends different from its own to embark on and to hold to such a course is at best a precarious enterprise. Its members find themselves oriented at one and the same time to several different cultural worlds. They are subject to both internal tensions and the pull of conflicting interests in their relations with the peoples and institutions of the larger environment that people living in a more centrally integrated society are spared. From a sociological point of view it is not the failure of such undertakings that is surprising but rather the extent and duration of their successful life. On the American scene, which has seen in the past century and a half the testing of the experiments in survival of so many minority groups, only the Spanish Americans of the Southwest have approached the degree of success of the Franco-Americans of New England.

To discover the extent of and the more important reasons for the measure of success they have achieved is the task to which we now address ourselves.

II

Evidence of *la Franco-Américanie* in New England is unobtrusive but catches the eye of the interested observer. It is most in evidence in the older textile centres, large and small, that were by far the most common goal of emigrating French-Canadians in the nineteenth century. From 1865 onward, except in periods of economic stagnation, «the mills» beckoned with jobs, in good times with hundreds and thousands of jobs, that provided the immigrant with an economic foothold in the new land.

Today, nearly four generations later, these cities offer abundant testimony to the vitality and achievement of this hardy *habitant* stock. From Main Street to the neighbourhood grocery, stores bear such names as Gagnon, Lucier, Avard, Ouellette, Thibodeau. The shingles of lawyers and doctors display such names as Morin, Perreault, Menard. Signs and newspaper advertisements publicize such business enterprises as Lacroix, coal dealer; Marcotte, milkman; LeFebvre, radio and television service. In 1955 as in 1880, of course, Franco-American names are common on the employment rolls of textile, shoe, and paper industries. They are also found today in large numbers in industries that are relative newcomers to New England, plastics, electrical appliances, and other diversified industries. Within these firms their names are found all the way from unskilled and semi-skilled jobs to management positions, although their representation at the management level is still smaller than their numbers and long residence in the community would seem to call for. They are, in short, a prominent enough element in these New England industrial centres, alongside the Irish, who preceded them by a generation, and the Poles, Lithuanians, Greeks, Italians, and other south and central European peoples who came into these cities in the 1890's and the early years of this century.

Evidences that the Franco-Americans constitute a sub-community within the larger community are also found. Nearly all these cities have areas within them that both Franco-Americans and other residents generally regard as French. In the nineteenth century these were often spoken of as *p'tits Canadas*, Frenchville, and so on. More often, among the Franco-Americans themselves, these areas were and are known and spoken of by their parish names, St. Louis de Gonzague, Enfant Jésus, St. François-Xavier. While the churches, invariably large, with tall spires topped by the Roman Catholic cross, could not in these cities have the undisputed prominence against the skyline of their antecedents in the villages of Quebec, they have been none the less the nerve-centres of Franco-American life. Clustered around the church are the *presbytère*, the parochial schools—usually separate schools for boys and girls—the nuns' convent, the brothers' home. In the larger communities, parish-built and operated hospitals and orphanages are not uncommon.

These are the most prominent, but not the only, institutional features of the Franco-American sub-community. On the principal streets of these Franco-American areas men's clubs are prominent, with such names as *Les Racquetteurs*, *Club Montcalm*, *Club Gagnon*. In the larger centres a French-language newspaper such as *L'Action*, *Le Travailleur*, *L'Impartial* appears weekly. Insurance and mutual aid societies, as well as political organization at the ward level, are organized along ethnic lines. Each year in some of the larger centres symbolic recognition is accorded *la Franco-Américanie* by special observances, parades, masses, and so forth, on June 24, which is *«la fête de St. Jean-Baptiste.»*

Such are some of the outward evidences of *la Franco-Américanie*. They are, as we have noted, unobtrusive features of the New England scene, taken for granted by both the Franco-Americans and their fellow citizens. Behind this public façade lies the much less readily observable, less easily measurable, massive but elusive reality of the Franco-American way of life. Questions about it abound; answers, firm answers, are hard to come by. How far has assimilation into the main stream of American life gone? How many defections from the faith have the three generations of life in the predominantly Protestant, secularly oriented United States brought about? How has the goal of bilingualism fared; what has happened to *«la belle langue française?»* Just what is the extent of interaction, co-operation, and mutuality of action and interests with French Canada?

These questions, and many others that spring to mind about the Franco-Americans, are not easily answered. Let us first identify and place *la Franco-Américanie* precisely. In speaking of it in the old textile centres we have only identified it with the type of cities with which the Franco-Americans are most commonly associated; where perhaps the experiment in survival has been most successful, but which collectively cannot even come close to accounting for the whereabouts and cultural life of the estimated 900 thousand to one million Americans of French-Canadian stock.

We need first to grasp the distribution of this population in the whole of New England, to sketch in the broad outlines of their regional ecology. We are handicapped by the fact that the United States census covers only the first two generations, whereas the third and fourth generations are vitally important for our purposes. Precise statistics are not available, but reasonably accurate estimates can be made. For our purposes it will only be important to delineate the most general demographic characteristics of *la Franco-Américanie*.

TABLE I

FRANCO-AMERICAN PARISHES IN NEW ENGLAND, 1949*

Diocese	Total R.C.	Fr.-Am. nat'l parishes†	Fr.-Am. mixed‡	Mixed§	Total Fr.-Am.	%
Boston, Mass.	351	30	—	24	54	15.3
Burlington, Vt.	81	6	25	16	47	59.0
Fall River, Mass.	96	19	4	2	25	26.0
Hartford, Conn.	321	7	16	12	35	10.9
Manchester, N.H.	93	20	19	30	69	74.1
Portland, Me.	132	37	29	25	91	68.9
Providence, R.I.	130	18	10	8	36	27.6
Springfield, Mass.	212	41	4	25	70	33.0
Total	1,416	178	107	142	427	30.1

*Comité d'Orientation franco-américaine, «Notre Vie franco-américaine» from a *Mémoire* presenting the principal statistics concerning *la Franco-Américanie* in New England (Boston, 1949), p. 21.

†A parish in which the priest(s) is Franco-American, and such duties as preaching, confession, and the prayers in which the congregation participates are conducted in French.

‡A parish in which the clergy and the majority of the parishioners are Franco-American, but where the priest is required to preach in both French and English, for the benefit of those parishioners who are not Franco-American.

§A parish in which the Franco-Americans constitute an appreciable proportion of the parisioners, but are not in the majority, in which the clergy is rarely Franco-American, and in which services may or may not be conducted in French as well as in English.

The Franco-Americans are by no means evenly distributed in New England; this fact is of crucial importance in understanding *la survivance*. They are found in appreciable numbers in predominantly rural states such as Maine and Vermont, and they have a considerable representation in such rural and «small town» occupations as logging, paper milling, and dairy and potato farming, but they are essentially and primarily an urban group. Massachusetts, heavily industrialized and urban, has more than twice as many Franco-Americans as Maine, which ranks second among the New England states in the number of Franco-Americans in its population. There follow in descending order New Hampshire, in third place, then Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Vermont.

The rural-urban distribution of Franco-American stock within these states attests to the essentially urban character of *la Franco-Américanie*. In Massachusetts the percentage of Franco-American stock of urban residence is 91; in Rhode Island it is even higher, 94. In New Hampshire it is 77; Connecticut, 68; Maine, 63; and Vermont, 38. A reasonable generalization from these figures[3] and other data would appear to be that four out of five Franco-Americans live in an urban environment.

Perhaps the most accurate index, from a sociological point of view, of the scope and character of *la Franco-Américanie* is provided by the numbers and location of parishes that have appreciable numbers of Franco-Americans on their parish rolls. Table I presents

concisely the distribution of the Franco-Americans in the parochial structure of the Roman Catholic Church in New England, and at the same time suggests clearly the degree of concentration of the Franco-American population.

These data reveal that the Franco-Americans constitute practically the entire body of communicants in 178 parishes, and are in the majority in 107 other parishes. In at least 285 Roman Catholic parishes in New England, therefore, very sizable ecological groupings of Franco-Americans exist. It seems reasonable to assume further that in an appreciable percentage of the mixed parishes, numbering in all 142, Franco-American groupings of some size are also found. It would appear reasonable to estimate that 275 of the Catholic parishes in New England have Franco-American populations of 1,000 or more. These parishes may quite properly be regarded as the nerve-centres of the Franco-American experiment in survival.

Another view of these concentrations of population may be obtained from the comparative numbers of Franco-Americans in the cities of New England. Exact statistics are not available, but close approximations may be made that are adequate for the purpose of outlining the scope of *la Franco-Américanie*. The largest urban concentrations of Franco-Americans range from 30,000 to 40,000 persons. Woonsocket, Rhode Island, Fall River, Massachusetts, and Manchester, New Hampshire, are in this category. Ranging from 20,000 to 30,000 are such communities as New Bedford, Lowell, and Worcester, in Massachusetts, and Lewiston, in Maine. A considerable number of communities fall in the 10,000 to 20,000 range; representative of these are Biddeford, Maine; Fitchburg, Haverhill, and Lawrence, Massachusetts; Nashua, New Hampshire; and Pawtucket and Central Falls, Rhode Island. A larger number of communities are found in the 5,000 to 10,000 range, including Auburn, Maine, Burlington, Vermont, and West Warwick, Rhode Island, as representative of such communities. Communities with Franco-American groups of from 1,000 to 5,000 are very numerous.[4]

III

The precise specification of the conditions necessary for the survival of a minority society and its culture within a larger, dominant society is a difficult task. It is perhaps especially difficult when the larger society is the United States, huge, amorphous, dynamic; characterized by tension, conflict, and ambivalence at numerous points; at once tolerant and intolerant of multiplicity; exerting pressures for conformity while simultaneously creating conditions that permit diversity.

The interaction of like-minded persons in some numbers is the fundamental requirement of all societies. A minority society is no exception to this basic sociological dictum. This basic condition was met in the case of *la Franco-Américanie*. The existence of relatively compact sub-communities of Franco-Americans in the industrial cities and towns of New England, organized in parishes that in their churches, schools, and associations gave explicit expression to the central values of their culture, the Roman Catholic faith, and the French language, provided the *sine qua non* of social interaction and regular, formal, institutionalized cultural expression.

Other factors tended to facilitate and enhance interaction and culture-building activities, notably the timing of immigration into these sub-communities and the socio-economic homogeneity of the Franco-American population during the early decades of their development. Franco-American immigration into the United States has been a markedly wave-like phenomenon. Prior to the Civil

War, people of French-Canadian origin in New England were few; still fewer came with the intention of becoming, or remaining as, permanent residents; many were migratory seasonal workers. In the late 1860's the boom in the cotton mills led to the first large-scale influx. In Nashua, New Hampshire, a community the writer has studied intensively, the Franco-American population jumped from fewer than 200 in 1869 to over 2,000 in 1872. The severe depression of the seventies, beginning in 1873, brought an abrupt end to immigration. The upswing of business in 1879 and the boom of the early eighties brought another wave of Franco-Americans into the community, swelling their total number to nearly 5,000. Immigration was again heavy in the early 1890's. After 1895 immigration tended to be more continuous, but on a smaller scale, less marked by heavy swells, except for the boom years of the 1920's. Return migration to Canada has been small. Only in the severe and long depression of the 1930's, and then only for two or three years, did the numbers leaving the United States for Canada exceed the numbers entering. In the past twenty years, comparatively few French-Canadians have come to New England; and few have returned to Canada.

The wave-like pattern of migration, in the writer's opinion, had much to do with the successful establishment and maintenance of *la Franco-Américanie* in New England. The simultaneous arrival in New England's cities of large numbers of like-minded French-Canadians, sharing a strong tradition, similar status as poor, unskilled, uneducated wage workers, and similar problems of finding jobs, homes for large families, and learning how to get along as French-speaking Catholics in a dominantly English-speaking Protestant environment created the necessary conditions for the prompt establishment of a minority sub-society.

The combined effect of the simultaneous arrival of large numbers and socio-economic homogeneity was to quickly bring into existence compact neighbourhoods of Franco-Americans in the cold-water flat and tenement districts clustered around the huge textile mills and shoe factories in dozens of New England industrial cities and towns.

The proximity of the mother country was and is an important factor influencing the lives and cultural destinies of Franco-Americans that, of all the immigrant groups in the United States, they share only with the Spanish Americans of the southwest. However nostalgic the Polish immigrant might feel about his childhood in a peasant village, he had made and knew that he had made an irrevocable commitment in coming to a new and vastly different land. He had turned his face on the past, made a clean and definitive break with it; he and his children looked to the future and a new life.

Not so the Franco-American. If he did not like the United States he could return to Canada. He could look forward to visiting the home country. He could maintain his ties with relatives and friends by correspondence. From time to time many of them joined him. There was much correspondence back and forth across the border, and a surprising amount of visiting back and forth even in the early years when economic resources were slender indeed. Canada as a source of leadership was very important. Priests, nuns, brothers came to lead the way in the reconstruction in New England of the parish, with its church, its schools, perhaps even its orphanages and hospitals—the parish that was the essential cornerstone of Franco-American society and the matrix within which Franco-American culture could be nurtured and sustained. Soon doctors, journalists, other professional men, trained in Canada, could follow and help play an important part in rounding out a viable

structure of associational, fraternal, and community life. It is worthy of note that, once established, these Franco-American sub-communities recruited some of their religious and lay leaders from Franco-American youth of both sexes who were sent to Canada for their higher education.

IV

The social and institutional framework within which *la survivance* was achieved is of such importance that the manner and the order of its creation are worthy of note. For this purpose its development in a representative community may perhaps best suggest the general pattern. Nashua, New Hampshire,[5] is one of the larger centres of Franco-American settlement. Today some 17,000 of its total population of 34,000, or 50 per cent, are of French-Canadian origin. This particular community is therefore in the middle range of Franco-American centres, considerably smaller than the largest, which runs up to 40,000, considerably larger than the many cities and towns whose Franco-American populations run from 1,000 to 10,000. Nashua, by virtue of the size of its Franco-American population, must be regarded as one in which the necessary conditions for the creation and maintenance of the social framework for *la survivance* were unusually favourable. How survival was achieved, and the time-table that was followed, are therefore especially interesting.

French-Canadians were a little later in beginning their migration to Nashua than they were in coming to some other New England centres. In 1865 the local directory listed only thirty-one definitely or probably French-Canadian names. That number increased slowly until 1869, then, reflecting the first huge wave of migration, mounted steeply from 1870 to 1873, to approximately 2,200.

No time was lost in establishing a parish of their own. The Irish, who preceded the French-Canadians by fifteen years or so, established the first Roman Catholic church in Nashua in the 1850's—the Church of the Immaculate Conception. The early French-Canadian settlers attended that church. In 1871 a separate parish, St. Louis de Gonzague, was created. In November of that year, Rev. J. B. H. V. Milette came from Canada to begin a long and extraordinary successful pastorate, and in 1873 a large new church was dedicated.

The period that followed, through the remainder of the nineteenth and the early years of the twentieth century, was one that can only be described as of remarkable vitality and vigorous leadership. Writing of the parallel growth of Franco-American parishes throughout New England during this period, Mason Wade spoke of the movement as «an extraordinary effort, which is matched by no other ethnic group in the United States,» and its leaders as «extraordinary men.»[6] We can do no more than outline the dimensions of this achievement, in one community, and note certain considerations that heighten its stature.

Father Milette's parishioners were, almost without exception, newly arrived day labourers, without special skills. The great majority worked at wages averaging a dollar a day in the huge textile mills of the Nashua Manufacturing Company. Their families were large. They spoke little English and they had had but a few years of poor schooling in inadequate country and village schools. In the space of a generation these people were to invest over a million dollars, at nineteenth-century values, in the property Father Milette led them in building.

In 1875, two years after the church was dedicated, the parish acquired a *presbytère*, and in 1879 a cemetery was purchased. The

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parish grew rapidly: by 1883 its census showed 3,368 souls and 604 families. In that year, the church being almost paid for, the first convent was built, the Soeurs de Sainte-Croix came from Canada, and the first parochial school was opened.

In 1885 the parish was divided and Nashua's second Franco-American parish, St. François-Xavier, came into being with 663 communicants on its rolls. The division did not slow down the growth of St. Louis de Gonzague, however. In 1887 the church was improved. Two years later the boys' school was built. In 1891 a new *presbytère* was constructed. In the same year the boys' school was enlarged and the Frères du Sacré-Coeur came from Canada to take charge. The older parish had by 1890 regained the numbers of parishioners it had lost with the establishment of the new parish. In the early 1890's it grew rapidly; the parish census in 1893 reported 5,621 souls. In 1895 the residence of the brothers was built. In 1896 the church was enlarged. In 1897 a large new school of twenty-one classrooms was built. In 1906 a new boys' school was built. From 1901 to 1903 an orphanage with accomodations for 200 children was constructed, and the Soeurs de Charité came from Montreal to manage it. In 1907 Father Milette crowned his work by building one of the largest hospitals in the state, with 118 beds, which was also placed in the charge of the Soeurs de Charité.

In 1909 St. Louis de Gonzague was again divided and Nashua's third Franco-American parish, Enfant Jésus, was established. Developments similar to those traced above for the original parish, with the exception of hospital and orphanage, occurred in both of the new parishes. In 1910, Nashua's Franco-American population had increased to at least 8,555, or 33 per cent of the community's total population of 26,005.

In the traditional rural French-Canadian society the parish had been, in effect, the community, the all-embracing matrix within which farm, family, social relations had each had their appointed places. So now in the New England textile centre, *pari passu* with the wave-like influx of French-Canadians, this social matrix was reconstituted.

Tall spires of Gothic churches rose in the densely peopled tenement districts clustered around the textile mills. In their shadows parochial schools were built, as quickly as possible, and, however great the strain on the parish's resources, the *presbytère*, a *couvent* for the nuns and a home for the brothers who came from Canada to teach French as well as English to the young and to see to it that the three R's were learned within a system of basic values in which religion had the central place. It is worthy of note that the Franco-Americans were much more assiduous in the building and staffing of bilingual parochial schools than were other immigrant Roman Catholic groups. In Nashua, as has already been noted, the Irish preceded the Franco-Americans by about fifteen years. In the middle 1850's their numbers in the community were already 2,000 and they built their first church, but twenty-five years passed before they built a parochial school. In the larger Franco-American parishes vigorous leadership could cap this basic parish structure with a hospital and an orphanage, as Father Milette did at St. Louis de Gonzague in Nashua.

With the establishment of the parish, the building and staffing of churches and parochial schools, the cornerstone of *la survivance* was laid. The basic goal of retaining the identity of the Franco-Americans as a group was visualized by their leaders as attainable through the three crucially important institutions of the church, the school, and the home. The long experience of the French-Canadians as a minority group dis-

posed them to believe that if these three institutions, closely integrated one with the other, could be formed into havens of refuge impenetrable by outside influences, where the Catholic faith, the French language, and French-Canadian culture were cherished and nurtured, they could thrive, even in the midst of an alien and mildly hostile milieu.

It is well to note how in a community like Nashua (and there were many other cities and towns in which the pattern was duplicated), circumstances favoured in a more general way the attainment of this goal. As we have seen, by 1910 the community as a whole was one-third Franco-American. The implications are far-reaching. When such an appreciable percentage of a community's population speaks French, work and business feel the impact. It becomes «good business» for a Main Street store or bank to have clerks and tellers who can also speak it. French will be heard spoken by workmen on construction jobs, in factories, anywhere where men are associated in work.

Sections of the community, particularly in the thickly settled tenement districts hard by the mills and factories, became after 1871-2 almost exclusively French-speaking neighbourhoods. Thus the ordinary social interaction of everyday life in play groups, neighbourly relations, sports, and friendship lent effective support to the major institutional church, school, and home, in perpetuating French-Canadian culture. The fact that in the formative years, from 1870 to 1900, the Franco-American population was undifferentiated in economic and social status was a potent factor in shaping a homogeneous ethnic sub-community.

This solid community base for a Franco-American way of life likewise provided opportunities for further institutional elaboration and development. Voluntary associations of diverse kinds quickly developed. Parochial associations, charitable societies, societies supporting religions missions in foreign lands, and religious associations serving purely social functions for men, women, and children were formed. Non-parochial but church-sponsored mutual aid societies, burial societies, insurance societies, athletic and fraternal societies were formed. Such large Franco-American sub-communities attracted lay professional men from Canada, especially doctors and journalists. In Nashua a French-language newspaper, *L'Impartial,* still in existence, was launched in 1898.

The Franco-American experiment in survival in New England reveals many continuities in values, attitudes, institutions, and community ecological patterns from 1870 to the present day. Nevertheless, certain characteristics and tendencies clearly differentiate the earlier from the later periods. The assignment of specific dates to these periods is necessarily arbitrary, but if the caution is borne in mind that the dates used below are intended only as generally suggestive, their use has a certain convenience.

The period reviewed in the foregoing pages, extending from 1870 to 1910, was clearly one of most vigorous growth and institutional development. It included the late years of the nineteenth century when thirty years of economic depression in Canada spurred the wave-like movements of population into New England, which, by contrast to Canada, alternately experienced boom years of prosperity and sharp recessions. In the Franco-American sub-communities in New England these were the years in which the traditional parishes were constructed in the New England environment. This task was advanced with great vigor by a number of outstanding priests, of whom Father Milette in Nashua was an illustrious example. These were years in which both the clergy and their parishioners stood firmly

united and adamant in their claim for the development of national parishes. In the centres of relatively large groupings of Franco-Americans the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church made no attempt to oppose the desires of the Franco-Americans for «their own» churches and schools in which the French language enjoyed a status equal to that of English, or for «their own» priests.

In secular life this period in Franco-American society was characterized by the dominant role of the immigrant, who was learning English as a second language but was much more at home in French. Economically *la Franco-Américanie* during these years was undifferentiated. It was a society of wage workers, largely unskilled and poorly educated. Fresh from the rural parishes of the province of Quebec, these new Americans were prepared to adapt themselves to conditions in New England as they found them, particularly as regards work, but they were so numerous and lived so compactly together that there could be no question of making basic cultural choices. They were French, deeply Catholic, profoundly attached to the ethos that was their heritage.

The period that followed, roughly identified as the years from 1910 to 1930, was different in many respects from the first. Immigration from Canada was on a sharply reduced scale except for a few boom years in the twenties, but was fairly continuous, and returnees to Canada were few. The natural rate of increase was high. By 1920, Nashua's Franco-American population had risen to 10,420 or 36.7 per cent of the total population of 28,379, and by 1930 it had reached 12,683, or 40.3 per cent of the total population of 31,463. The sub-communities and their institutions continued to expand. Voluntary associations developed and grew stronger.

The prominent role of the first generation immigrant continued in so far as the traditional institutional activities were concerned, but new features made their appearance. Increasingly the new generation born in the United States, with no personal experience of French Canada, made itself felt. This generation was naturally and truly bilingual, having learned French at home, at church, and in the parochial schools, from friends and cliques, and in athletic and other social activities; and having learned English from the varied, omnipresent, ambient influence of life in an American community. Economic differentiation appeared. Semi-skilled and highly skilled workers developed. White-collar jobs in clerical, sales, and secretarial work came to be filled by the sons and daughters of immigrants. An emergent middle class composed largely of small business entrepreneurs, storekeepers, bakers, milkmen, real estate men, politicians, and office-holders came into existence. A sprinkling of professional men, doctors, and lawyers appeared.

Ecologically, this socio-economic differentiation expressed itself in the emergence, usually on the periphery of the densely populated tenement districts, of lower middle-class and middle-class residential areas, of which the most prominent architectural features in that period were the two- or four-family apartment building and the single and duplex family type of home in a somewhat less congested neighbourhood.

This was the period of the coming of age politically of the Franco-Americans, and their assumption of an increasingly prominent role in local and state politics. Local political leadership developed and found expression, first in naturalization campaigns, and later in the organization and consolidation of political action. Typically, local politics became a subject of lively interest, especially for rising, ambitious young men whose interests it

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served; and identification with their ethnic group played a most prominent role in this development.

Religious leadership tended to change in character. Parishes grew in numbers of communicants, and became institutionally stronger, but the dynamism of the earlier years was replaced by a spirit that seemed to stand principally for consolidation and the maintenance of close identification with the group. Struggles within the Church and in the press reflected a strong insistence upon the rights of Franco-Americans to run their own affairs in their own «national» parishes. Vigour, assertiveness, and some independence were manifest. The tendency away from the earlier dynamism, however, is perhaps best expressed symbolically in the fact that the *curés* who replaced the founders in large urban Franco-American parishes were priests approaching the end of their career, who, as rewards for long service in smaller parishes, were given secure posts where they were *inamovible* (had tenure for life) and would spend the remainder of their days in prestige and comfort, with the services of several curates as assistants. Since these appointments were in the hands of the hierarchy of the Church, it appears likely that the absence of vigorous leadership in the «national» parishes reflected a basic policy of not encouraging the further development of such parishes.

The third period, from 1930 to the middle 1950's is a more difficult one to evaluate in detail, but it also clearly revealed new trends, the most central and most important of which was a sharply increased rate of loss to the minority sub-community of appreciable numbers of individuals of Franco-American background. In the writer's study of Nashua, whose population had grown to 34,666 by 1950, great care was taken to estimate this loss as closely as possible, but only the general findings and some indications of the factors at work can be presented here. Two methods were used to arrive at a close estimate of the percentage made up by people of Franco-American background. A complete tally was made of the ethnic identification of the voters on the community's checklists, and an independent tally was made by using a zoning map and city directory and identifying the residents on an evenly distributed sample of streets in each zone. These two checks independently arrived at a percentage just short of 50 for the proportion of the total population that was Franco-American in origin. It is interesting to compare this percentage with that arrived at in another local study made in 1936 which found that the Franco-American ethnic stock constituted 45.5 per cent of the total population.

Both in total numbers–approximately 17,000–and in percentage of the community's total population, the element that was Franco-American in origin in 1950 represented a considerable increase over the 12,638 found in 1930. However, if we take parochial school registrations in Franco-American parishes as the best single index of identification with the sub-community, we find that they are only very slightly larger in 1950 than in 1930. Our studies indicated that no more than 13,000 of the estimated total of 17,000 could be regarded in the early 1950's as being closely identified with the Franco-American sub-society. Other evidence tends also to support the general conclusion that this sub-community has at best held its own during these years.

Moreover, certain qualitative changes in the «culture climate» of the sub-community during these years seem to indicate a steady erosion of values, traditions, and institutions that were firmly held to in the past and a steady strengthening of the factors and influences making for assimilation into the general American culture in the future. Let us

us examine some of these changes.

In the mid-fifties we are confronted by a population in *la Franco-Américanie* that is in large part three generations and, in increasing numbers, four generations removed from French Canada. Économic differentiation into the varied strata of the working, middle, and upper classes has proceeded apace and brought marked changes in residence, outlook, attitudes, associational affiliations, and cultural values. Even at the lowest levels the habits of life of the community today present the sharpest contrast to those of twenty years ago. Full employment and high levels of prosperity, in spite of the sharp economic readjustments that had to be made in this as in other New England communities by the shift away from textiles to electric appliances and other new industries, have wrought basic changes that tend in the aggregate to weaken the ethnic sub-community.

Specifically, these post-war years have brought military service, more and better automobiles, travel, and television, and participation in other aspects of American mass culture on a larger scale; substantial changes in the ecological distribution of the population away from ethnic concentration toward zonal patterns differentiated on the basis of socio-economic status in the community; and increased inter-marriage among members of different ethnic stocks. These changes have not only loosened the bonds that traditionally bound Franco-Americans together in a mutuality of interests, but have also set in train innumerable intangible influences shaping individual destinies in the social and cultural multiplicities that characterize a contemporary American community.

If we examine the influences at work within the institutional structure of the Franco-American sub-society, as represented in a community which we should again note carefully was one in which the conditions for the experiment in survival were exceptionally propitious, we find little basis for optimism about the prospects for the future. The national parish as the social matrix for Franco-American *survivance* and the French language so closely identified with both sacred and profane activities are the critical featues. If they survive, *la Franco-Américanie* survives; if they pass from the scene, little of any significance of *«notre héritage»* will remain. Their prospects therefore deserve special attention.

In order to understand what is happening to the Franco-American parish in New England in the middle of the twentieth century certain basic background information is indispensable. Of crucial importance is the policy of the American Roman Catholic Church concerning the so-called national parishes. At the Catholic Congress of Baltimore in 1889, when the issue of national parishes assumed great importance because of the swelling tide of Catholic immigrants from south and central Europe, the official policy of the American Church was set in these terms: that «national societies, as such, have no place in the Church of this country; after the manner of this congress, they should be Catholic and American.»[7] Since that time they have been tolerated, regarded basically as a temporary expedient, but they have not been encouraged.

It is especially significant that in recent years the hierarchy of the Church has begun to exert marked pressure upon the traditional Franco-American parishes. In contrast to the indirect methods followed in the middle period, such as the appointment of *curés* who by reason of age and length of service could be expected to pursue a more or less passive course, a number of positive steps have been taken to force changes in the direction of making these parishes conform to the basic policy of the Church. It is reasonable to assume that these steps are not being

taken without a careful reading of the opportunities, even the necessities, created by internal changes in the habits of language and the interests and values of the Franco-American parishioners. Pressures have been exerted to bring the curricula of the parochial schools more closely in line with the standards of the public schools in non-religious subjects. The amount of time allotted to instruction in the French language has been reduced and that allotted to English increased. Prayers must be learned in English, as well as French. English is more frequently heard in church.

The implementation of a policy aimed at reducing bilingualism is not new. It has always been in effect in mixed parishes, and in smaller communities where, although the Franco-Americans might be heavily in the majority, they did not constitute a large or powerful enough community to maintain their «rights» effectively. This has been a lively issue among Franco-Americans from the earliest days of their settlement in New England. What is new is the direct implementation of this policy in the large parishes in centres of heavy concentrations of Franco-Americans—centres such as Nashua and Manchester, New Hampshire, Woonsocket, Rhode Island, and Worcester, Massachuestts. Strident voices of protest are still heard, but popular support for the cries of anguish that appear in the Franco-American press is lacking. The fact that support from the Church is also lacking can be taken to mean only one thing—that the time is ripe for the hierarchy to press for an active start at the process of changing the national parishes into English-language, American-Catholic churches and schools.

Outside of the churches and schools in the everyday life of Franco-Americans, habits of language give every appearance of being in a highly unstable state. Over-all evaluations and predictions are difficult to make, but such indications as one finds do not present a hopeful prospect for the future of French as a language in everyday use. One should not, of course, under-estimate the vitality of a language that is still being used extensively in community centres of the size of the Franco-American community in Nashua. Neither, on the other hand, should one be blind to what appears to be going on.

It is still possible for members of the older generation to transact business, pray, read newspapers, and converse with their neighbours exclusively in French. One may still find individuals who have lived in these communities forty or fifty years without having learned English. When, however, one listens to middle-aged persons, youth, and little children, the speech is very different. It is not uncommon to find among the middle-aged an easy and rapid alternating use of French and English words and phrases with no apparent awareness of switching from one language to another. Such instability in habits of language is not likely to last. Among the young, English tends to be the language in use. French may be understood, and frequently is, but it is much less frequently used. Very often one finds a marked reluctance to speak French.

In the course of the writer's field work in 1950 and 1951, a *fete champêtre* was held in the largest of the Franco-American parishes to raise funds. The title was a misnomer, because this was no more nor less than a small carnival, with booths, merry-go-round, and so on. Held in the parish grounds, literally in the shadow of the church, the carnival was well attended. The writer strolled through the dense crowds for several hours on two evenings and was struck by the marked use of English. French was heard only occasionally, and very rarely indeed from children and young people talking among themselves. Older people sometimes spoke French, sometimes called to their children in French. About half the time the children answered them in English.

It would be rash indeed to predict that the French language will not be heard in communities such as Nashua in ten or even twenty-five years. There are still first and second generation Franco-Americans, among whom the habits and tendencies of bilingualism and biculturalism are and will continue to be fairly strong. The massive inertia of the compact Franco-American neighbourhoods that characterize Franco-American sub-communities of the size of Nashua will doubtless retard and partially hold off the varied influences making for more complete assimilation.

Will the traditional rallying cry of the Franco-Americans, *«Qui perd sa langue, perd sa foi,»* become reality in the not-so-distant future? This eventuality appears unlikely in so far as the majority is concerned. Substantial losses have been and probably will continue to be suffered by the Church. But the measures taken by the Church to counter this threat are impressive. Throughout the history of this Franco-American experiment the «Irish» parish in the community has been available to those who desired to become part of it, either because of intermarriage with Catholics of other national backgrounds or because of changes in habits of language; many have availed themselves of this opportunity in the past. Two new Roman Catholic parishes have been established in the last few years that have carefully avoided identification with one ethnic group. A Roman Catholic college has been established in the community. Several convents that take day students as well as boarders are now available both in the community and within easy commuting distance. For several years there has been much talk of the establishing Roman Catholic secondary schools. If this should happen, the proportion of the community's school population enrolled in the parochial schools—45 per cent at present—would rise to a substantial majority.

The evidence appears to be substantial that the central institutional structure of *la Franco-Américanie*, even in comparatively large centres such as Nashua, is showing increasing signs of weakening. The evidence points to further weakening in the future. This process is unlikely to be reversed; it is equally unlikely that it will be slowed. On the contrary, it will very probably be more rapid in the next twenty-five years than it has been in the past generation. That is not to say that it will be fast, however. Ways of life, deeply cherished institutions, religion and language, are too centrally in the grain of a people to change rapidly.

Whatever the future holds in store for the Franco-Americans of New England, their eighty years' long experiment in survival in the midst of a society and culture as kinetic as that of the United States is no inconsiderable testimony to the vitality and staying power of *«notre héritage.»*

Notes

1. See particularly J.-C. Falardeau, ed., *Essais sur le Québec contemporain* (Quebec: Presses Universitaires Laval, 1953).

2. *Notre Vie franco-américaine,* manifesto adopted at the Franco-American centennial celebration held at Worcester, Mass., May 28-9, 1949 (Boston, 1949), 8.

3. L. E. Truesdell, *The Canadian Born in the United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943), Table 32, 83.

4. The estimates in this paragraph are based on data given in *Sixteenth Census, 1940: Population, Nativity and Parentage of the White Population, Mother Tongue, by Nativity, Parentage, Country of Origin and Age, for States and Large Cities* (Washington, D.C., 1943), a special study tabulating a 5 per cent sample of the 1940 census returns, regarded by census officials as accurate within 10 per cent of the figures of the complete returns.

5. The author's study of this community is reported in *The Franco-Americans in Nashua, New Hampshire: An Experiment in Survival,* unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1951.

6. *The French Parish and Survivance in Nineteenth Century New England, Catholic Historical Review,* vol. XXXVI, no. 2 (July 1950), 176.

7. Wade, *The French Parish,* 185.

MAJOR INSTITUTIONS

Tamara K. Hareven's article in the Spring, 1975 issue of Labor History *squarely confronted the superficial judgements of those who have been too quick to categorize urbanized Franco-American laborers as «passive.» Hareven demonstrates that the French in New England were not the docile and passive employees that they were most often pictured to be. Not only were hiring and placement done along kinship and ethnic lines, but also kinship and ethnic solidarity strengthened the worker's ability to control and slow down the work process during periods of increased pressure for efficiency and maximalization of production. The article emphasizes the resourcefulness and initiative of the ethnic groups in responding to the pressures of industrial life. Would that we had more studies of the quality of this one! The product of original research in the files of the company and of interviews with the former employees, it is informed by a sure grasp of industrial history and sociology. Would also that we make more use of the Franco-American oral tradition!*

THE LABORERS OF MANCHESTER, NEW HAMPSHIRE, 1912-1922: THE ROLE OF THE FAMILY AND ETHNICITY IN ADJUSTMENT TO INDUSTRIAL LIFE

by
Tamara K. Hareven

The extent to which industrial laborers were able to control their working conditions and living environment is one of the central issues of labor history. In recent years, historians have reversed prevailing conceptions of workers' passivity and entrapment in the industrial systems, and have emphasized, instead, the resourcefulness and initiative in workers' responses to the pressures of efficiency and to the hazards of industrial life. These departures from the traditional views have been reinforced by theoretical revisions of prevailing theories of social breakdown. Migration is now being interpreted as a continuous process of the transmission of culture, rather than as a course of disintegration. Modernization ceases to be seen as a linear process by which immigrant peasants, pushed through a tube, emerge as «modern» individuals on the other end: It becomes, instead, a process of interaction by which pre-industrial people bring their own cultural traditions to bear upon the system which «modernizes» them.[1]

This new historical outlook presents workers and immigrants as active agents, who despite the presence of powerful and economic institutions exercised controls over the forces that tended to regiment them. Instead of being submerged and absorbed, newcomers to industrial society tended to shape the system to fit their own needs and subtly exercised a collective strength in their adaptation to industrial conditions, modifying the system to fit their wants and traditions. A first-rate example of these processes is the experience of the laborers of the Amoskeag Mills in Manchester, New Hampshire.[2]

Once the world's largest textile mill, with an average of twelve to fourteen thousand workers a year, the Amoskeag Corporation controlled two-thirds of Manchester's labor force during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Founded in 1831 by the Boston Associates on the model of Lowell, the Amoskeag Mills and the city around them belonged to the group of planned textile communities designed to prove the moral and educational merits of the new industrial order. For the entire subsequent century, Manchester was controlled by the paternalistic policies of the corporation that developed it. At a time when the original ideals of planned New England textile towns were waning in Lowell, Lawrence, and other sister communities, the Amoskeag Corporation not only continued the tradition of paternalism, but actually refined and modernized it. A new employee welfare program was introduced by the corporation in 1910 and lasted until 1922, when it was largely wiped out by the first major strike in the Amoskeag Company's history.[3]

Like the textile companies upon which it was patterned, the Amoskeag Corporation recruited its early labor force among rural New Englanders. From the 1850s on, immi-

TABLE

NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES ON PAYROLL, AMOSKEAG OCTOBER 1st, 1915, WHO HAD BEEN IN THE COMPANY'S CONTINUOUS EMPLOYMENT FOR SPECIFIED PERIODS

Time Period	Total Male	Total Female	Grand Total
Under 3 months	674	678	1352
3-6 months	493	536	1029
6-9 months	415	463	878
9-12 months	164	196	360
1-2 years	1502	1395	2897
2-3 years	1118	996	2114
3-5 years	1078	1035	2113
5-7 years	548	469	1017
7-10 years	238	229	467
10-15 years	337	200	537
15-20 years	247	114	361
Over 20 years	535	245	780
Total Employees:	7349	6556	13,905

Source: Amoskeag Corporation, *Length of Employment of Persons Who Left the Service During the Year Ending December 31, 1915.*

grants from England, Scotland and Ireland began to replace native workers. In the 1860s, following the textile industry's discovery of the French-Canadians as the most «industrious» and «docile» labor force, the Amoskeag Corporation embarked on the systematic recruitment of French-Canadian laborers. By 1900 they constituted more than one-third of the labor force in the mill. While French-Canadian migration continued through the first two decades of the twentieth century, the corporation was also absorbing small numbers of Germans and Swedes, followed by increasing numbers of Polish and Greek immigrants. In 1911, French-Canadians constituted 37.6% of the labor force, native Americans (many of whom were of Irish and Scotch descent) constituted 18.6%, the Irish 14.7%, the Poles 10.8%, and the Greeks 8%. By 1923 the number of French-Canadian workers had increased to 46% of the labor force.[4]

In response to the growing numbers of new immigrant workers in the beginning of the twentieth century, the corporation embarked on a series of programs intended to modernize the system of production by introducing an efficiency plan, and by providing a welfare program aimed at socializing the workers into a permanent industrial labor force. The efficiency system was intended to counteract the informal policies in hiring and firing, and to centralize the personnel policies. Directed primarily against labor turnover, the new personnel registration system was to demonstrate to the workers that they were being held under close surveillance. At the same time, the corporation was hoping to determine, from careful research in the individual personnel records, which immigrant group was most reliable and persistent in its industriousness and discipline, and to concentrate the corporation's hiring policies in that direction. During the period 1911 to 1929, the corporation kept regular computations of the labor force composition of each work room, charted graphs of labor

turnover, and analyzed the age and sex structure of the working populations. Although it seems that even before embarking on these studies, the corporation had settled on the French-Canadians as its first choice.

The welfare measures, introduced simultaneously with the efficiency program, included a home ownership plan, superannuation for a limited number of workers, establishment of a Textile Club and a Textile School, and a playground and dental care program for the mothers. In the short run, management hoped that these programs would develop, among the workers, a sense of loyalty and identification with the corporation as well as socialize them to the requirements of industrial work. The long-range intentions of the program were to shape a permanent labor force by attracting willing workers to the corporation and by reaching their children as a potential second generation of textile workers.[5] Far from being unique, the welfare and efficiency programs were typical of a variety of similar early twentieth-century experiments in American industry along these lines.

Both programs virtually came to an end with the nine month long strike in 1922. Vestiges of the efficiency program persisted, however, in the continued function of the Employment Office which maintained the individual employee files, and remnants of the welfare program survived in the retirement plan which provided for the superannuation of a limited number of aged workers.

Although many of the patterns in the worker's behavior during the first two decades of this century persisted after the strike, there was one significant missing variable in the laborers' relationship with the corporation after 1922: the availability of jobs. Under the pressures of a declining market and growing competition from the Southern textile industry, the Amoskeag Corporation gradually curtailed its labor force during the 1920s. From 1929 until its shutdown in 1935 the corporation operated on a rump labor force, fluctuating from one-fourth to one-fifth of its original payroll. This change drastically changed the relationship which had prevailed between the workers and the corporation in the earlier period.[6]

During the years preceding the strike, however, the workers had exercised careful resistance in the routine of daily work, and had brought their own traditions and primary group affiliations to bear on their relationships with the corporation. The three major areas in which the workers continuously exercised control were job mobility, family regulation of hiring and job placement, and job control.

Job mobility was one of the most important instruments by which the workers exercised choices and tried to maintain control over their own careers. Despite all of the corporation's efforts to tie them down to their jobs, workers succeeded in maintaining this flexibility through World War I, or as long as the labor shortage in the city prevailed. Throughout the first decade of the twentieth century, the company recognized labor turnover as its severest problem. While skilled workers such as loom fixers, and semiskilled workers such as weavers and spinners, commanded high rates of persistence on the job, laborers in other occupations were constantly showing dizzying rates of turnover. A systematic analysis of employee turnover, on which the corporation had embarked in 1914, revealed that in order to maintain a labor force of 13,700, it had to hire at least 24,000 workers. Of course, by comparison with the Ford Automobile Company, where it was necessary at this time to hire 60,000 workers in order to maintain 12,000 the Amoskeag Corporation's rates of turnover were not as dramatic as they appeared to be at first. However, from the perspective of

the corporation the continuous turnover imposed a constant need for new labor recruitment, and undermined the efficiency of the workrooms.[7]

Indeed short-term mobility was the most characteristic feature of the workers' career patterns in Manchester. Admittedly the majority of workers who left the corporation did so only on a temporary basis. In addition to reasons of job mobility, illness, old age, or death, the corporation registered a broad assortment of workers' excuses for their temporary departures from the mill. Altogether about thirty percent to one-half of the workers employed each year were coming and going periodically. The seasonal pattern in the workers' processions in and out of the mill is significant for an understanding of the flexibility in their relationship with the corporation. Women worked until the birth of a child, stopped for about a year, and returned to work until the birth of the next child. Men left for hunting and fishing in the appropriate seasons. Teenagers of both sexes drifted from job to job or alternated between school and the mills. Entire families went to visit relatives in Canada. One-third of the workers were leaving, however, for reasons which reflected their unwillingness or inability to adjust to industrial pressures. «Too much noise,» «too much dust,» «work too hard,» «did not like overseer,» «was too tired,» were frequently cited by the workers as reasons for leaving. Most of these workers were found once again on the job, or on another job in the mill several months or a year later.[8]

Given the short labor supply in the city, the Amoskeag mills had to tolerate the fickleness of the labor force and to readmit those who had left for insufficient reasons. Even those who had been dismissed for disciplinary reasons—stealing cloth, for example—were rehired shortly after their departure. The introduction of the Employment Office in 1912 and the careful registration of entry and departure of each worker, listing their reasons and grading their conduct, did not succeed in curbing employee turnover, at least before World War I. As additional employment opportunities were opening up in the city after 1910, particularly in the shoe industry, workers' dependency on the Amoskeag Corporation was further weakened.

Separation from the mill was not identical, however, with outmigration from the city. Even where it occurred, departure from the city was not habitually terminal. Because of limited data available, most migration studies of nineteenth-century population have treated outmigration as a terminal process.[9] Reconstruction of the careers of the Amoskeag Corporation's workers, on the other hand, shows that most job separations that would have been interpreted normally as terminal were actually temporary. Workers left the city frequently for several months at a time, and sometimes for several years, but eventually returned. During their absence they were in Quebec to settle family affairs or went on to search for better employment in Rhode Island, Maine, or Massachusetts. The fluidity of the labor force can be understood by the fact that the French-Canadians, who comprised about one-half of the company's workers, still considered themselves «temporary,» even after ten or more years of residence in the city.[10]

The certainty that they would be rehired when they chose to return gave the workers an unexpected degree of flexiblity and choice. While their choices of other occupations were ultimately restricted by the city's limited occupational structure, the presence of relatives outside of Manchester extended the opportunities to other French-Canadian communities in New England. Personnel turnover in the Amoskeag mills was thus part of a larger pattern of migration through a series of industrial New England towns.

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Kin and family functioned as conveyor belts in the migration process, thus encouraging mobility through other industrial communities. A French-Canadian resident of Manchester could move through Danielson, Connecticut; Woonsocket, Rhode Island; Brunswick, Maine; Fall River and Lowell, Massachusetts; and back to Manchester, or could settle in any one of these communities with the assistance of kinsmen or former townspeople who were already there.[11]

The corporation tried to curb labor force fluidity by making the city attractive to live in, by providing company housing that has been generally acclaimed by government inspectors and urban critics as the finest corporation-owned housing in New England, and by developing programs that emphasized seniority and permanence such as the homeowners plan which cancelled mortages after five and ten years work with the corporation and the superannuation plan, which was restricted to long-term workers.[12]

These measures were generally more effective in advertising the mills to prospective workers abroad than in tying down the ones already living in the city. With the exception of the rental of corporation housing, proportionally few immigrant workers participated in the welfare and recreational programs or in the activities of the Textile Club. The most important advantage that the company grudgingly offered them was work when they wanted it and the freedom to leave without forfeiting their chances for obtaining a job upon return. (It was precisely because of these factors that French-Canadian workers resented the entry of new Polish and Greek immigrants who lacked the same flexibility and who showed stronger signs of dependency on the mills.)

A series of subtle, informally-structured relationships with the overseers increased the French-Canadian workers' flexibility by affording them partial control over the hiring system and job placement. Laborers continued to obtain jobs directly from the overseers even after the introduction of the Employment Office. Despite the corporation's employment of 14,000 workers or more each year during its peak production periods, hiring practices were still personal and informal. Overseers hired and fired the workers in their own rooms, as they had traditionally done since the 1830s. The major difference introduced by the Employment Office was more efficient bookkeeping. Continuation of the traditional system meant that the workers' preferential access to jobs was determined by their direct connections with the overseers.

Hiring and job placement were frequently carried out along kin and ethnic lines. Workers belonging to the same ethnic groups as the overseers enjoyed preferential hiring. French-Canadians began to develop such controls during the first decade of the twentieth century, despite the fact that only a sprinkle of French-Canadian overseers and second hands began to appear in the mills cotton departments. Polish and Greek immigrants never achieved the same type of entry that the earlier groups had developed. Although the Poles became the third largest group of Amoskeag's workers during the second decade of the twentieth century, not one Polish overseer was to be found in the entire mill.

This hiring and placement along kinship and ethnic lines was functional for the laborers as well as for the corporation, because the system placed the workers in the role of recruitment agents. At the same time, it enabled them to influence their own placement, and their choice of department even among those ethnic groups whose members were not represented among the overseers. The character of a department was basically determined by its overseer, and a work room

—frequently containing one hundred or more workers—was still identified as «Mr. Smith's room,» rather than as «upper weave room number 2.» The overseer was the man in charge of production, management, discipline and distribution of pay slips in an entire work room. He was normally assisted by «second hands» and foremen, and exercised a great deal of autonomy within his own work room. In the Amoskeag mills the overseers were the pillars of the corporation's paternalism. The workers knew very well who among the overseers was lenient, who was tough, who bore grudges, who was partial to girls, and generally who harbored what prejudices. Workers could thus exercise some choice as to whose room they would work in. The informal network was particularly significant in helping them place their wives, and young sons and daughters in departments where they would be least exploited or compromised. Starting in the 1900s, work rooms were frequently dominated by one ethnic group. Certain rooms were referred to as the «Polish» or the «French» room, rather than by their operational designations. Where there was more than one nationality present, the labor force was often segregated by its own choice into ethnic clusters, not unlike the sub-groups in a one-room schoolhouse.

Ethnic and family solidarity strengthened the workers' ability to control and slow down the work process during periods of increased pressure for efficiency and maximalization of production. Immigrant workers created their own «mill language» and outwitted each other as well as the native American overseers. Ignorance of English was also frequently used as an excuse for disregarding orders or instructions. The dismissal of certain workers on the grounds that they did not understand English did not stop others from using language as an excuse for their slow-down, errors or disagreements. In certain departments it became essential for overseers or second hands to be well-versed in the functional terminologies of at least one immigrant language, and the management began to issue all its directives to the workers in several languages.

Job control through slow-downs thus became an important factor in the workers' manipulation of their environment. Entire work-rooms tended to slow down during disagreements with an overseer. Delivery men were often slow in appearing with supplies in certain departments, and the messenger boys who had been specifically introduced by management as a new time-saving device—in order to prevent the overseers and second hands from running back and forth to pick up orders or payrolls—ended up as informal guides for incoming workers who were trying to find their way around the millyard. These messengers, who were also intended to act as interpreters for new immigrant workers, became expert advisors on the different shortcuts a worker could follow in dealing with the corporation.

This does not mean, however, that job controls were always exercised by members of the kin group or ethnic group regardless of skill. It would be simplistic to assume that workers functioned as a homogeneous force. The lines of division were not merely between workers and management. Nor were all slow-downs directed simply against the corporation. The checks and balances often occurred between different groups of workers among themselves—skilled versus unskilled, males versus females (and vice versa), oldtimers against newcomers, and one ethnic group against another.

Loom fixers were in a position to control the work pace of weavers by refusing to respond immediately to their requests. Many workers recall pleading with «lazy» loom fixers, and the loss of precious time and consequent loss of pay in piece rates while

waiting for a loom to be fixed. Loom fixers often took liberties with the women, insulted them, and stirred up conflict among different workers by favoring some and letting others wait. Weavers were also dependent on the battery hands, a less skilled occupation, whose pace of replacing empty bobbins determined the speed of production of cloth. The second hands or overseer could thus seriously jeopardize a weaver's work by attaching to his section an inefficient battery hand. The pace of burlers, all of whom were women, depended on the speed by which the perchers delivered the rolls of newly woven cloth from the weave room. Favoritism determined who received what roll—the more frequent the defects to be repaired, the lower the output and therefore the lower piece-rate pay.[13]

As the corporation was forced to accelerate its rate of production after World War I, the workers found it increasingly difficult to face the staggering demands for speed. Increasing numbers of workers were found «walking about,» hiding in lavatories and smoking cigarettes, or walking out completely because work was «too tiring» or «too fast.» Several days later, these people reappeared in the room from which they had just been dismissed, or in another department.

This mobility rapidly diminished in the post-World War I years, as the company systematically curtailed production and accordingly began laying off workers. After 1918, workers could no longer afford to go back and forth between jobs. Overseers—caught in a bind between management's demands for daily quotas and workers' resistance to speed-up—got rid of «slow» workers. Overseers who earlier had symbolized benevolent paternalism, and who had served as critical integrating agents, now became identified with the new oppressiveness of the system. The grievance files of the Amoskeag Corporation for the period 1922-1935 are full of workers complaints against overseers. «In making selection of operatives to be laid off, I follow the same method I always have, the survival of the fittest,» declared one weave room overseer, who over a period of thirty years had worked his way up from a sweeping boy to overseer. The company's grievance and adjustment committee, consisting of corporation and workers' representatives, upheld his principles and turned down the demands of a young weaver to be rehired.[14]

Workers, in their efforts to retain their own work habits and traditions, relied on two important resources: family and kinship ties, and ethnicity.

Family connections served not only as useful conveyors of jobs and housing. Within certain limits the family group controlled important decisions as to who among its members would be working when and where, at what age sons and daughters would enter the mills, the particular department they would be joining, the amount of pay they would be obligated to plough back into the family's resources. Members of one family were often threaded through a variety of jobs in the same work-room. Childhood friends, cousins, and neighbors worked in the same room for years. Many workers met their spouses in the mill and continued to work there after their marriage. In times of crisis and unemployment, the kin group was an important source of assistance and reinforcement, thus allowing its members flexibility in their persistence on the job which they otherwise could not afford. By making decisions over the work careers and migration of its members within the limits of the system, the family could thus control to some extent the influx and persistence of the laborers in the mill.[15]

Ethnic identification reinforced kinship ties as sources of resilience and control. Ethnicity provided the major organizational

framework for workers' adjustment to the pressures of the factory labor and city life. The ethnic group offered the cultural heritage, the commonality of language, residential cohesion, entertainment in clubs and bars, religious ties, and mutual benefit associations. Most of the work and a good part of the residential patterns were organized around the laborers' ethnic backgrounds. Tight-knit clusters of ethnic residential areas appeared in Manchester in the 1880s and continued thereafter. The French settled on the West Side, the Poles in a downtown neighborhood removed from the mills and the Greeks gradually replaced the Irish in the South Side; each group developed its own parishes, clubs, and grocery stores in the neighborhood.[16]

Ethnic enclaves developed even in the corporation housing. Although these flats had to be secured through individual family applications, residents managed to cluster along ethnic lines in the same manner in which they succeeded in aligning themselves in the work-rooms. Officially, applications for residence in corporation housing had to be submitted long in advance, and workers had to wait their turn. In reality, friends and relatives notified prospective tenants of vacancies and managed to secure those flats ahead of their turn through the help of acquaintances in the office. Sons of former workers recall the invisible but clearly reinforced boundaries between their own gangs, which were organized along nationality lines in the corporation tenements.[17]

In the experience of Manchester's laborers, ethnic solidarity often superseded working-class solidarity and at times ran at cross-purposes. Conflict between different immigrant groups was not uncommon in the mills and in the city. The first Greeks had stones thrown on their heads from above the entry gate to the mills by workers of other nationalities. Only Greek workers went on strike when two of their group were laid off; the other ethnic groups continued working. Fist fights broke out in the South Side when Greeks began moving into a formerly solid Irish neighborhood. Each group of immigrant workers accused the others of being «clannish.» The Poles and French-Canadians, in particular, carried on their quarrels in the work rooms.

The corporation was ambivalent in its response to the workers' ethnic identification. In its efforts to create a loyal labor force, management tried to compete with the functions of familial and ethnic associations. The Amoskeag Textile Club, a corporation-initiated organization, was partly intended to draw workers away from their own ethnic organization. Through its entire period of existence the majority of the club's members were skilled workers of native American origin, primarily overseers and second hands. The club succeeded in enrolling few immigrant workers. Most of them continued to find their recreation in card games with relatives or in the ethnic clubs (which were male institutions.)[18]

It would be simplistic, however, to argue that the corporation opposed the workers' ethnicity and that it tried to homogenize them. The relationship was far more complex. The corporation tolerated the linguistic diversity of its laborers. Rather than forcing workers to speak English, it encouraged overseers to learn Polish, French or Greek. It allowed the celebration of traditional immigrant holidays, encouraged parades in native costumes, and endowed immigrant churches.

The ambivalence in the corporation's stance toward the workers' ethnicity was symptomatic of the general attitude of early twentieth-century industrial enterprises and of contemporary Progressive reformers. On the one hand, they encouraged ethnic diversity as a means of counteracting labor soli-

darity. On the other hand, they tended to keep ethnic activities under control for fear that foreign affiliations would breed radicalism and IWW activity. While the corporation developed competing institutions with the workers' reference groups, it also recognized the strength of the familial and ethnic traditions of its workers, and utilized these as a means of increasing its control.[19]

The collective strength which the workers drew from their familial ties and cultures at times provided a substitute for industrial unions. Prior to 1918, the United Textile Workers Union did not manage to achieve even a foothold in Manchester. Restricted initially to the skilled trades (i.e., loom fixers, weavers, and spinners) the union did not make inroads into the semi-skilled occupations until after World War I. While the 1912 strike was raging in Lawrence, the Amoskeag Corporation's workers attempted to hold several meetings in sympathy with the Lawrence strikers, but these were obstructed by the Manchester police. Following these attempts, families of the Amoskeag Corporation's laborers took care of forty children of the Lawrence strikers, and subsequently held a mass meeting in Hanover Square. At the same time, however, investigators who surveyed the tenements, saloons, and workrooms reported reassuringly to the management about the workers' complacency and dependency on the corporation.[20]

After World War I the narrowing of employment opportunities, the increased pressure for speed in production, and the reduction of wages eroded the flexibilities in the system and deprived them of the opportunity to control their work relations, workers began to resort to union pressures and strikes. Yet during the strike of 1922, many workers were either ambivalent about the strike or against it, and they took seriously the prophecy of the corporation's treasurer that Manchester would return to the sand-bank from which it had originated.[21]

For many workers the strike marked the end of their careers with the corporation. Despite management's commitment not to discriminate in rehiring workers who had participated in the strike, the «X» for strike participation showed up frequently in former strikers' files. Many of these were not rehired. Others left voluntarily and still others were put on the corporation's labor reserve list. «Things were never the same after the strike» reminisced retired overseers, workers, clergymen, and corporation clerks. The strike not only destroyed the chances for the development of a viable union in Manchester, it also undermined the workers' opportunities to retain the flexibility and choices available to them in the pre-strike period.[22]

This essay's emphasis on the workers' strength and autonomy could be easily idealized into an exaggerated reversal of the older view of industrial entrapment. The controls which the workers exercised within the industrial system, however, functioned as double-edged swords. The sources of the workers' strength were also inevitably sources of weakness and vulnerability. The freedom to leave one's job in search for better opportunities did not result in upward mobllity.[23] The circuitous route usually brought workers back to their former job in the mill. The price they paid for their temporary sojourns was in having to accept whatever vacancy there was upon their return, to adjust to another occupation within the mill, and to another overseer.

The strength which the family wielded in placing its members in the mill carried its own built-in precariousness. An overseer's favoritism towards certain families could easily change upon his disagreement with one family, and could subsequently affect all members. The dependency of a large family

and kin-group on a single employer frequently placed the family on the poverty line. It meant that during layoffs and strikes, the entire family, or most of its members, was unemployed. The situation was painfully dramatized during the agonizing nine months of the strike of 1922. Finally, intense ethnic group identification and conflict between different groups weakened working-class solidarity.

The relationship between the workers and the corporation was one of mutual interaction. The degree of cooperation or withdrawal depended on a variety of factors for each: the corporation's strategies were governed by labor force scarcity through World War I, and by the necessity to compete for the labor supply with the shoe industry in the city, and with other New England industrial towns, as well as by the pace of production in the mill in response to the demands of the market. The response of the workers, on the other hand, depended on individual and family economic considerations, on their career expectations, on alternative employment opportunities available, on their work habits, on demographic patterns (marriage, fertility, death), on the shifting margin between cultural resources.

The workers in their interaction with the corporation, varied in the style and intensity of their response. They were purposeful in certain situations, and accomodationist or desperate in others. Their response differed significantly depending on their ethnic origin, level of skill, family ties, age, and sex. New arrivals had lesser flexibility available to them than workers who had already established ties and developed connections. Adjustment was more difficult for the Poles than for the French-Canadians, and still more difficult for the Greeks who followed later. The narrowing and final disappearance of opportunity in the period following World War I further reduced the workers' chances to control the world they worked in. The continuous curtailment of the labor force and the subsequent strike tended to limit employment opportunities and to undermine the flexibility which the workers had previously exercised. The dramatic difference between the two periods is expressed in the reasons for separation. Before the strike, about two-thirds of all separations were voluntary. With the continuous decline of the textile industry in the north and the curtailment of production in the Amoskeag mills after 1922, most separations were dismissals or layoffs.[24]

The Manchester study shows conclusively that workers moving from preindustrial backgrounds into a new industrial system were not suddenly stripped of their former habits and traditions and that traditional kin and family groups did not break down under the pressure of migration. The laborers of Manchester transferred their traditional customs and institutions into the industrial system, and drew on their respective cultural ties as sources of continuity. At the same time, they were not «urban villagers.» They continuously modified their cultural heritage to fit new conditions.[25]

The socialization into «industrial» and «urban» life that Manchester's laborers experienced was neither linear nor terminal. Older traditions of language, work and kinship perisited and carried over into the new experience. Workers did not simply accept new conditions and new values. They struggled to shape the industrial environment which they confronted and to modify it in a manner that would facilitate their own compatibility with the new conditions.

The experience of the laborers of Manchester contributes to a further understanding of the relationship between working-class and ethnic behavior in industrial communities. Paradoxically, the corporation's efforts

to assimilate workers and to control their behavior resulted in the formation of a stronger working-class identity. Turnover on the job, family control of hiring, and job control through kinship ties were all manifestations of working-class behavior, but this behavior had its roots in the ethnic and cultural background of the various groups of workers, and was subsequently shaped by the common industrial experience. In the case of Manchester, the «working-class culture» can be shown to be an adaptation of ethnic behavior, which was continuously revitalized through the influx of new immigrants.

Indeed, far from being homogeneous, the «working-class» itself was made up of diverse elements, which were harmonious in certain aspects of their interaction and in conflict in others.

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Notes

1. For crucial revisions of traditional working-class historiography, see E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1963); Herbert Gutman, «Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America, 1819-1918,» *American Historical Review*, LXXVII (June, 1973), 531-88; David Montgomery, *Beyond Equality: Labor and the Radical Republicans, 1862-1872* (New York, 1967) and «Immigrant Workers and Scientific Management,» forthcoming in *Immigrants in Industry: Proceedings of the Conference at the Eleutherian Mills,* to be published Summer 1975, University of Virginia Press. On recent working-class historiography see Paul Faler, «Working-Class Historiography,» *Radical America*, III (March-April, 1969) 56-68, and Robert H. Zieger, «Workers and Scholars: Recent Trends in American Labor Historiography,» *Labor History*, XIII (Spring, 1972), 245-66.

2. The Manchester data is based on preliminary findings from an analysis of reconstituted career and family patterns of a sample 2,000 industrial laborers, representing different ethnic groups in Manchester, New Hampshire, 1910-1940. The unique feature of this study is the availability of a set of individual employee files which the Amoskeag Corporation's Employment Bureau had kept for each worker over his entire career. The combinations of these records with vital records, corporation records, tenement rental contracts, and city directories allow the reconstruction of work careers, family cycles, as well as the reconstruction of kinship networks outside the household. The quantitative data was corroborated by one hundred oral history interviews which were gathered for this project during the years 1973 and 1974. Any study of Manchester is much indebted to an incisive study of the Amoskeag Mills: Daniel Creamer and Charles W. Coulter, *Labor and the Shutdown of the Amoskeag Textile Mills,* Works Projects Administration, National Research Project, Report No. L-5 (Philadelphia, 1939).

3. On classic planned New England textile towns, see Caroline F. Ware, *The Early New England Cotton Manufacture* (New York, 1931); John Coolidge, *Mill and Mansion* (New York, 1942); John Armstrong, *Factory Under the Elms* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968); Vera Shlakman, *Economic History of a Factory Town, Chicopee, Mass.* (New York, 1935). On the significance of the architectural design of the Amoskeag Mills and on its relationship to corporate paternalism and control of the city, see Randolph Langenbach, «An Epic in Urban Design,» *Harvard Bulletin* April 15, 1968, 18-28; *A Sense of Place, A Sense of Time,* forthcoming 1976, Augustus Kelley publishers. On the strike see Creamer and Coulter, 175-81, and Amoskeag Manufacturing Company, *History of the Amoskeag Strike During the Year 1922* (Manchester, N. H., 1924). On paternalism and efficiency in American industry, see Gerd Korman, *Industrialization, Immigration and Americanization: The View from Milwaukee* (Milwaukee, 1967).

4. On the laborers of Manchester in the context of other textile communities, see *Report on the Condition of Women and Child Wage-Earners in the United States,* vol. I, U. S. Senate Document No. 65, 61st Congress, 2nd Session, (Washington, D. C., 1901). On the importance of French-Canadians in the textile industry and on their migration to New Hampshire, see Ralph Vicero, *The Immigration of French-Canadians to New England, 1840-1900* (unpublished Ph.D dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1968).

5. The corporation's welfare program is amply illustrated in the *Amoskeag Bulletin,* vols. I-IV (1912-1918), the publication which advertised and described all aspects of the program and the various activities of the workers.

6. On the decline of the corporation and the fluctuating employment patterns, see Creamer and Coulter, 265-311.

7. See table. In 1914, the Amoskeag Corporation was one of several industrial establishments subject to a comparative study of labor turnover by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. See Paul F. Brissenden and Emil Frankel, *Turnover in Industry: A Statistical Analysis* (New York, 1922), 176.

8. These reasons for leaving are based on a compu-

tation of a sample of 2,000 cases drawn from the individual employee files of the Amoskeag Corporation.

9. Stephan Thernstrom and Peter Knights, «Men in Motion,» in Tamara K. Hareven, ed., *Anonymous Americans* (New York, 1971).

10. This data is derived from tabulations of the «reasons for leaving» in the individual employee files prior to 1922. Compare with reasons for departure computed by Creamer and Coulter (265-84) for the period 1923-1935.

11. This judgement is based on an analysis of employee files and various interviews with former Amoskeag Corporation employees.

12. «The housing of the mill workers in Manchester, N. H., for example, was of a far superior order,» wrote Lewis Mumford in *The City in History* (New York, 1936), 463.

13. This information is based on interviews and on an extensive file of reports gathered by the Amoskeag Corporation's Grievances and Adjustment Committee. On job control in the textile and other industries, see Montgomery, «Immigrant Workers and Scientific Management.»

14. Amoskeag Manufacturing Company, «Adjustment Files, 1818-1935.»

15. These generalizations are based on oral history interviews of 100 former employees of the Amoskeag Mills, which will be published by Pantheon Books, 1977, and on a computerized analysis of workers' kinship clusters in the Amoskeag Mills in general, and in certain work rooms specifically, as well as on an analysis of marriage records of all French-Canadians in the sample. For a detailed discussion see Tamara K. Hareven, «Family Time and Industrial Time: The Interaction Between the Family and Work in a Planned Corporation Town: 1910-1924,» *Journal of Urban History*, I (May, 1975). Further, see also Neil Smelser, *Social Change and the Industrial Revolution* (Chicago, 1959). It is important to remember that the situation was different in non-textile communities. See Margaret F. Byington, «The Family in a Typical Mill Town,» *American Journal of Sociology*, XIV (March, 1909), 648-59.

16. On ethnicity and residential cohesion, see Herbert Gans, *The Urban Villagers* (Glencoe, Ill., 1962); Gerald D. Suttles, *The Social Order of the Slum: Ethnicity and Territory in the Inner City* (Chicago, 1968). For a comparative experience in a textile community, see Donald B. Cole, *Immigrant City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), and Marc Fried, *The World of the Urban Working Class* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973).

17. Based on oral history interviews and on a preliminary survey of the residential clustering in the corporation's tenements and boarding houses by Tamara K. Hareven and Randolph Langenbach. For comparison, see two significant studies of the social space of the urban working class; Pierre Chombard de Lauwe, *La Vie Quotidienne des Familles Ouvrieres* (Paris, 1956) and Andre Michel, «La Famille Urbaine et la parente en France,» in Reuben Hill and Rene Konig, *Families in East and West: Socialization Process and Kinship Ties* (Paris, 1970), 410-441.

18. Club membership lists were published regularly in the *Amoskeag Bulletin*. On sex segregation in ethnic and working-class institutions, see Herbert Gans, *The Urban Villagers* (New York, 1962), and Elizabeth Bott, *Family and Social Network* (London, 1957).

19. See Samuel Haber, *Efficiency and Uplift; Scientific Management in the Progressive Era, 1890-1920* (Chicago, 1964).

20. The sympathy meetings were recorded in the Amoskeag Corporation's diary of «Happenings,» February 2, 1912 and February 24, 1912. (Copies of these reports are in the possession of the author.) See also Samuel Yellen, *American Labor Struggles* (New York, 1936.)

21. Numerous workers remembered the «sandbank» threat when interviewed for this project. Most of them date the end of the Amoskeag Mills in 1922 rather than 1935, even when their records showed that they were still in the corporation's employ after 1922.

22. This is based on a comparison of Creamer and Coulter's calculation (265-84) of employee turnover after 1922 with a rough computation of the reasons for leaving drawn from the sample of employee files utilized in this project.

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23. This is very much reinforced by Stephan Thernstrom's conclusion about the reality of occupational mobility in American society. See, *The Other Bostonians* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 45-75.

24. See Creamer and Coulter, *Shutdown*, 265-84.

25. Herbert Gutman has already made this point eloquently by emphasizing the transfer of preindustrial customs into the industrial system. The Manchester data shows how this transfer was made, and what the role of the family was in this process. See Gutman, «Work, Culture, and Society . . . .»

Laurence French's chapter on the Franco-American working-class family from the book Ethnic Families in America: Patterns and Variations *(C.H. Mindel and R.W. Habenstein, editors; Elsevier, New York, 1976) is a description of the author's own working-class milieu, shaped by his sociological perspective, and set in the context of sociological studies of Quebec. Although the material taken from Canadian sources (especially that which refers to history) may seem questionable, and in spite of the apparent lack of supporting apparatus for this document as a piece of thorough ethno-methodological research, this article is nevertheless a substantial contribution to the sparse literature on the major institutions of Franco-American life.*

THE FRANCO-AMERICAN WORKING CLASS FAMILY

by
Laurence French

Professor Laurence French has written an analysis of the Franco-American family that follows the «critical sociology» approach. Since parts are perhaps controversial we are happy to present his scholarly and research credentials.

«I am of French-Canadian descent,» writes Professor French, «and was born and raised in French-Canadian mill towns, I lived seventeen years in Suncook, New Hampshire (Saint John the Baptist Parish). Our family was a typical working class one with both parents working in the mills. We had nine children during a thirteen year span and my mother left school at 12, which was quite common then, and my father never finished high school. In fact, I was the first in my extended family network to finish high school, and this was against their wishes. I left in 1959 to join the Marine Corps and when I returned eight years later I was now a college student. For the next six years (1966-72) I lived, visited and worked among the French-Canadians as part of an ethnomethological research of my people. This took me to both Canada and other Northern New England communities: Sherbrooke, Coaticook, St. Marie, Quebec City and the Gaspé in Canada as well as mill towns in northern Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine and Vermont.»

INTRODUCTION

The French-Canadians have had a long tenure in the New World and currently share minority status in two North American countries—Canada and America. The French-Canadians are unique for several reasons. First, they have retained their minority status for nearly 400 years, and second they have done this without the aid of any visible racial or physical stigma. Many who have studied the French Canadians would argue that the main reason for their minority status is due more to internal resistance than to external hostilities. The universal presence of the Catholic Church in French-Canadian culture is more than just an added consideration.

This selection looks at the French-Canadian as an ethnic entity, tracing its traditional culture historically through both Canada and New England. The family and the parish (French-Canadian community) are the most important aspects of both the traditional and contemporary French-Canadian culture. One type of family, that of the working class mill worker, is focused upon. Granted not all French Canadians fall into this category, but it is these people nonetheless who seem most responsible for the con-

tinuation of the traditional French-Canadian culture among the numerous mill towns scattered throughout northern New England.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The French in the New World

Unlike most minority groups [in the United States], the French-Canadians initially settled in Canada, and it is there they first established their minority status. In this respect French-Canadian culture in America actually reflects a sub-subculture in that the Canadian French are themselves a subculture of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France. Relevant parallel developments in both French subcultures will be discussed since open lines of communication and influence continue to facilitate the cultural development and identity of French-Canadians in both countries.

The French-Canadians represent a unique minority in that their cultural heritage in the New World equals that of the English dominant group. A French colony, New France, was established in eastern Canada in 1534, 86 years before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth and two centuries prior to American independence. One might ask why they are still ascribed a minority status in both Canada and America when most other Caucasian ethnic groups have overcome this stigma, integrating into the larger dominant culture. The answer to this perplexing question rests in part on the religious ideals and those of the dominant Protestant ethnic. This, coupled with the unusual circumstances surrounding the transfer of French Canada from French to British control, accounts for the unique phenomenon concerning the French-Canadian's minority status. Relevant to these circumstances are numerous historical occurrences that further solidified and polarized the two cultures (French and English). It is in the context of these unique situations that the French-Canadian family and social life have emerged.

The major attributes that distinguish the French-Canadians as a minority group are: (1) They have the longest tenure of any Caucasian minority group in the New World; (2) They hold minority status in two countries in the New World, Canada and America; and (3) The communication channels with the mother country (Canada) are still strong. The general historical background is especially important in that it provides the framework on which the French-Canadian family style emerged.

The family is the basic economic and socializing unit, while the parish is the religious and civil community in which the family functions. The original French in Canada were affiliated with the trading companies, which more or less isolated them from the influence of the European industrial revolution. This enabled them to retain the medieval and feudal life style they brought with them to the New World. The quasi-feudal system that emerged in colonial Canada was patterned after the agrarian family system in France and consisted of: (1) government officials; (2) landlords *(seigneurs)*: (3) the priesthood *(curé)*; and (4) the peasants *(habitants)*.

The wars with England during the eighteenth century greatly altered the status of the French colonies in the New World. This in turn had an effect on the life style of those French-Canadians stranded on the American continent. The 1713 treaty of Utrecht ended the War of the Spanish Succession, granting England important colonies that were previously owned by France (to become Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay territory). A consequence of this treaty was the dispersion of the Acadian French, who previously populated these areas. And in 1755 the English author-

ities finally expelled the remaining Acadians (some 7,000) from Nova Scotia. The Catholic Church refers to this incident as «one of the greatest crimes against civilization known in the annals of America» (Byrne, 1899). According to church sources families were separated in the most cruel manner, and many were forced to migrate to the French territory in America, later known as the «Louisiana Territory», while others fled to the 13 colonies. Only 500 escaped removal, illegally residing in their Canadian homeland. The hostility between the French and English reached such intensity at this time that a major manhunt occurred throughout the 13 colonies during the years 1755-66 in an attempt to rid the colonies of French-Canadians.

In 1763, the Treaty of Paris ended the Seven Years War, more commonly known as the French and Indian War. This document provided for French cession to England of Canada and all the territory east of the Mississippi River. After the defeat of 1760, French government officials left for France, leaving the leadership role to the Catholic Church. The French outnumbered the British 14 to one (70,000 French-Canadians and only 5,000 British) at this time, forcing the British to delegate French-Canadian control to the Catholic Church. With the departure of both government officials and many *seigneurs* (landowners), the Catholic Church conveniently filled the ensuing power vacuum. This endowed the Catholic Church with both sacred and secular powers—a situation closely resembling that of medieval France. With ties of communication severed with France and a lack of British concern, the French-Canadians continued to maintain their traditional pre-industrial life style.

From the beginning, conflict emerged between the normative values of these two Canadian groups. The French-Canadians spoke French, were Catholics, and belonged to an agrarian economic system. The British spoke English, were Protestant, and developed a progressive industrialized society. What resulted was a communication and cultural lag between the French majority and the ruling British government. This situation is reflected in French-Canadians' dissatisfaction over their political impotence, which began in the early 1700s and continues today.

Local autonomy was established, however, when the Treaty of Paris temporarily united North America under the British flag. The British authorities, faced with growing unrest in the 13 colonies, gave up an early attempt to assimilate the French-Canadians. Instead, they established the Quebec Act of 1774, recognizing the major institutions of the French-speaking community, especially the church and the French language. By doing such, the efforts of the rebelling colonies to ally the French-Canadians to their cause failed. Again, in 1791, the Canada Act was enacted to divide Canada for better representation by ethnic background. Yet, by 1834, the French-Canadians, compromising three-quarters of the total population, still held less than one-quarter of the public offices. In 1837 a series of small-scale revolts were staged by the French-Canadians in reaction to the Ex-Quebec Act, which advocated forcible assimilation. The Ex-Quebec Act attacked the Catholic Church indirectly by outlawing the use of the French language and curtailing the parochial education system. This act also encouraged migration to other areas of Canada in an attempt to disperse the French and weaken their solidarity. In 1840 the Union Bill, which established the Province of Canada, proved to be the main vehicle of forced assimilation. In 1867, the British North American Act created the Dominion of Canada. This act reduced some of the harshness of the Ex-Quebec Act by recognizing the French language and allowed each province certain powers of its own, such as educational control.

Migration to America

Meanwhile, during and immediately after the Civil War, the textile industry's rapid growth in New England provided the impetus for French-Canadian immigration to America. In the mid-nineteenth century hundreds of mills were built along New England's many rivers. The Civil War, low status associated with mill work, and westward migration caused a shortage of indigenous laborers. The mill owners desired a readily available, docile, easily controlled, low-salaried work force. Southern Blacks, Filipinos, and other «minority» groups were under consideration, but initial cost of transportation and sensitive racial issues made these groups less desirable to the mill owners than the Caucasian French-Canadians. The French-Canadians met all the ideal prerequisites, while remaining racially invisible.

The motive for migrating was economic, for in Canada the French-Canadians' traditional values and mores kept them out of commercial and industrial activities, and at the same time, their own economic system of farming, lumbering, and trapping began to decline. The large stem family could no longer absorb and support the excess labor force ushered in by the depression of 1873. The New England textile industry's manpower needs seemed at the time to offer the best solution to this crisis. The French-Canadians proved to be an ideal labor source, with their large available work force, their willingness to work for low wages, and the relatively short distance necessary to migrate. The French-Canadians proved to be docile laborers, submissive to authority, with families, following tradition, often working together in the mills.

The French-Canadians' migration and the development of a new Franco-American subculture had an adverse effect on both the prevailing Quebec and New England cultures. The French-Canadian family system in Canada was, and still is, predominantly large and patriarchal, constituting a strong influence on the roles of the individual members. When the French-Canadians came to New England to work in the factories, they did not originally intend to make the host state their permanent residence. Their main intent was that of economic exploitation with plans eventually to return to Canada. Their initial purpose was to work in New England during the Canadian depression in an attempt to alleviate the economic strain on their families left in Canada. While many did not plan to remain, only 10 per cent returned to Canada. The peak influx of the French-Canadians into New England was the decade 1890-1900. The rate dropped off thereafter, and in 1930, during our own Depression, the border was closed.

The French-Canadians' ethnocentricity in New England was strong. While they tried to retain their total ethnic background, they succeeded only in producing a subculture apart from their mother Canadian culture. One reason for this occurrence was that the ethnic code was supported by three diverse classes of people with different motivations: (1) the priesthood; (2) the businessmen, and (3) the bulk of the French-Canadian laborers. The clergy knew from previous experience in Canada that when the French identity was separated from the Catholic Church, the people were prone to reject Catholicism. A case in point was the French-Canadians who had migrated to Canada's western provinces. The businessmen, on the other hand, backed ethnic unity because it was profitable. They virtually held a monopoly on the business in the French-Canadian ghetto communities in the mill towns. Most of the businessmen sent their children back to Canada for their education so they would be properly exposed to and supportive of the Quebec culture. Consequently, because they tended to gain from

the situation, the French-Canadian business group as a whole supported the church's doctrine advocating cultural separatism. The third group, the mass of the French-Canadian laborers and mill hands, nourished nostalgic ties with their mother country through frequent contact with relatives and friends from Quebec and (until 1930) by contact with the renewed supply of immigrants from Quebec.

Ethnic identification was also kept alive by various organizations and institutions that were established to provide for the needs of the immigrants. The organizations took the form of mutual-aid corporations and ethnic activities such as drama clubs and credit unions. The first French-Canadian credit union in America, for example, was established in Manchester, New Hampshire, in 1907. The French newspaper was another medium by which ethnic unity was preserved. The major institution promoting ethnic identification was the Catholic Church with its parishes and parochial schools. The church was the focal point of all organizations, and the priest had influence in both religious and secular matters. Many organizations were established in conjunction with the local parish, since the church's approval often determined their success or failure. French-Canadian parochial education was and still is closely related with the Catholic Church. Most parishes provided at least primary-school facilities. The purpose of the parochial school has been to educate the children within the context of the ethnic culture, hence providing a major vehicle for the preserving and perpetuating of that culture.

In spite of numerous attempts to preserve the French-Canadian culture, the system has undergone change. The old rural family system was threatened by the mechanisms of rational capitalist enterprise and economic organization. The mills were situated in towns and cities, and some 80 per cent of the French-Canadians migrated to urban areas in New England. The people who retained their old traditions were those who kept their old occupations, such as farmers and lumberjacks. Thus, it is ironic that the French-Canadians should be one of the last groups of Western European heritage to be exposed to industrialism, capitalism, and urbanization. After all, it was the French who initially influenced the rest of the world with their own capitalistic and democratic ideas.

The Early French Family in North America

Extended families combining into small parish communities provided the nucleus of an early French-Canadian society, which to a large extent still exists in rural Quebec province and in the Gaspé Peninsula. These families consisted of the ruling patriarch, his immediate family of procreation, and those of his married sons. In this respect the early French-Canadian extended family was both patriarchal and patrilocal. Not only did the eldest male dominate the family, but married sons were expected to take up residence with their fathers. The patriarchs, in turn, were answerable to the parish priest and the priest to the bishop.

A general characteristic of these extended families was their large constituent families of procreation. Incentives were provided by the French crown to stimulate large families, thus strongly supporting the Catholic doctrines regarding procreation and providing a strong cultural value that still persists among French-Canadians. Women were sent from France to become the wives of settlers, while incentive bounties were allotted males who married prior to age 16. Special compensations were given families with 10 or more children, and, *au contraire*, patriarchs who failed to marry off their children at the prescribed ages were fined.

The parish community, which as noted was comprised of extended families, approached an autonomous socioeconomic unit. In such a community the priest, not the landlord, became the center of community life, and the church pervaded all aspects of French-Canadian life from birth to death. Miner (1967:91) writes:

> The philosophy of this religion is ingrained in the people from childhood. Emulation of the socially powerful individuals in the community means the acceptance of Catholic ideology and behavior patterns. All methods of orienting the child in the society are employed to develop in him emotional attachment to this particular set of beliefs. Lack of contact with persons of other convictions and the relative lack of functional problems in the mode of living mean that the particular native belief is seldom questioned.

Religious ritual became an indispensable part of community and family life. All records were kept by the parish priests, and all decisions awaited their approval. Until British rule the only taxes the peasants paid were tithings to the church. Religion and education were inseparable. The only formal education (primary school) was and still is parochial. In short, the church both defined and provided the French-Canadians with their social, cultural, and normative systems.

The family provided the real basis of rural life in the parish. In the early extended family all members, regardless of sex and age, shared in the family enterprise. The females did the spinning, weaving, knitting, sewing, cooking and serving of meals, washing, gardening, milking, and housekeeping, while the males tended the farm. All profit, whether it be capital gain or material objects, was received and handled by the family patriarch. When the patriarch died, the management of the family holdings was transferred to the next eldest male, while the moral leadership of the clan remained entrenched in the patriarch's wife. Daily prayers and compulsory church attendance helped weld the family into a sacred unit. Mores and folkways provided effective informal modes of control both within the family and the larger parish community. Marriages were arranged with the payment of dowries and were closely controlled so as not to disrupt the community balance. The church, in turn, exerted considerable control over the family not only morally but economically. The upkeep of the parish was paid by a yearly *dime* or tithe by which every twenty-sixth minot of grain belonged to the church.

High occupational, political, and social aspirations were not emphasized. Sons took on the occupation of their fathers, such as farming, logging, trapping, or fishing. The women and children held subservient positions in the family scheme. In a hierarchy of control and dominance within the parish community, the priest ranked highest, the extended family patriarch second, his married sons next, while women and children ranked last, playing submissive, subordinate roles. The Catholic Church itself provided the highest aspirations for the French-Canadians. Nearly every family had at least one member in the church, occupying the role of priest, brother, or nun. All this helped strengthen the interrelatedness and autonomy of the parish community. But even in the church women played subservient roles. Nuns or sisters either performed servitude roles for the priest and brothers or taught in the parish parochial schools.

Mill-Town Subculture of Early Franco-Americans

The migration of French-Canadians to New England had a tremendous influence not only on those who migrated but on the life style of their countrymen who remained

in French Canada. The open American-Canadian border from the 1860s to 1930 allowed cultural dissemination not only from Canada to New England but also vice versa. The areas most resistant to these influences were the small farm parishes along the lower St. Lawrence, both in Quebec province and in the Gaspé. In the rest of French Canada there was a trend toward urbanization and industrialization, which eventually replaced the archaic agrarian life style. The new Franco-American life style became the focal point of social change among French-Canadians. By the same token it provided a new French-Canadian subculture. The mill ghettos became autonomous social units, bringing with them their own parish priest, and while the migrants did succeed in retaining a distinct ethnic identity, their life style nevertheless changed considerably. The new economic life style, the exposure to other types of social institutions, and the relatively higher standard of living altered the French-Canadian's social system such that it eventually emerged into a distinct New England, Franco-American subculture.

In the early Franco-American family, French was still the primary language, but contrary to the Canadian situation English was often learned as a second language. Education still consisted of primary parochial education provided by the church. The priest and church still had a strong influence, but the patriarch's dominance diminished as the extended family often broke into conjugal units and no longer remained patrilocal. The male head of the conjugal but usually large family became the dominant figure, while women and children still played subservient roles and often spent long hours in the mills themselves.

THE MODERN FRANCO-AMERICAN FAMILY

Once the French-Canadian immigration to America began, an interesting social phenomenon occurred that altered the life style of French-Canadian families in both countries. The new family structure created in the New England mill communities soon had a reverse effect on the life style of French Canada, providing impetus for Quebec province to industrialize and urbanize, something the British Canadians had tried in vain to initiate for decades. The irony of this situation is that the lines of communication between Franco-Americans and French-Canadians were better established than were those between the dominant British Canadians' culture and the subordinate French-Canadians. What has emerged is a dual French-Canadian subculture along rural-urban lines, with similar characteristics in each subculture in both countries.

The older, rural subculture still exists virtually unchanged in the farm parishes along both banks of the St. Lawrence, while in northern New England (Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine) Franco-American farmers and loggers still maintain a rural existence. Today, however, the rural French-Canadians represent a distinct minority of the French population in both areas. It is estimated that less than a quarter of the residents of both Quebec province and northern New England reside in rural areas. The major difference in the population composition between the two areas is that in Quebec 90 per cent of the population is French-Canadian, while it is estimated that approximately 30 to 40 per cent of northern New England's population is of French-Canadian descent. In southern New England the proportion is somewhat smaller, comprising 15 to 20 per cent of the population. Most of the French-Canadian population, in both areas, reside in urban, industrialized

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settings. This does not necessarily imply large urban settings, for relatively small mill towns with populations varying from 2,000 to 10,000 fall into this category. Interestingly enough, northern New England, which is considered to be an industrialized area, has no cities with a population exceeding 100,000. It is the French family, living in these mill-town industrial areas in both Canada and New England that represents the new French-Canadian subculture that has emerged within the last hundred years and that remains the focus of this chapter.

Social characteristics now to be discussed (family structure, education, occupation, social and physical mobility, and community organization) refer to those Franco-American ghetto mill communities throughout New England that have physically and culturally insulated themselves, effectively resisting outside influences. The communities most susceptible to this life style are those that have managed to retain both French Catholicism and the French-Canadian language while at the same time remaining isolated from divergent cultures.

Family Structure

Today's Franco-American family is basically a conjugal unit, although strong intergenerational kinship ties are maintained. The family hierarchy of social positions and responsibilities still focuses on the «earthly trinity» analogy, whereby the father, like God, dominates, controls, and protects the family interests, while the mother's role, like that of the Virgin Mary, is to be compassionate to the family while remaining subordinate and submissive to the father. Her specific role is to provide moral support for the family. The religious aura encompassing and binding the family together through the use of daily ritual is analogous to the binding effect of the «holy spirit.»

In the Franco-American family model the dominant socioeconomic role is ascribed to the father, while the role of socialization agent is left to the mother. However, unlike the normative conjugal family model, which portrays small family units, the Franco-American family is often large. A generation ago it was not uncommon for there to be 10 members within a Franco-American family unit. Currently, family sizes seem to be decreasing. This phenomenon can be attributed to trying economic conditions and new child-labor and minimum-educational laws that place excessive children as economic liabilities. Nevertheless, children seek to help the family economy, often leaving school as early as possible, seeking employment, and contributing to the household until they themselves marry and set up their own family unit. This system functions because of the unique socialization process and kinship structure of the Franco-American family. Franco-Americans, like their French-Canadian cousins, establish complex primary relationships within their parish communities, whereby reciprocal family, kinship, and religious obligations still supercede the individual's self-interest.

This phenomenon is best explained within the context of French-Canadian kinship. Piddington (1971) noted that French-Canadian kinship patterns more closely resemble those of folk cultures than they do Western societies. The French-Canadians have a wide range of priority kin, coupled with a large number of prescribed social relationships, while in most Western societies the priority of kin are fewer, most being restricted to the closed conjugal family unit. The French-Canadian family is distinguished as a discrete residential and economic unit through its constellation of kinship relationships. And through these kinship networks parish communities in both Quebec and New England are closely linked. The interparish linkage serves to provide acceptable mates and does much to offset the disruptive

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effects of migration. It also provides facilities for social contacts and economic opportunity. From the standpoint of religious organization, the kinship network has long been the handmaiden of a French-Canadian Catholicism that has managed to easily transcend international boundaries in the maintenance of its Quebec and New England parishes.

Male dominance in the Franco-American family and community is readily evident in both Canada and New England. Family status and identity is transferred through the male lineage. Informal nicknames, passed down from father to son for generations, play an important role in the preservation of family status, while at the same time providing a secure identity for the male child. Females assume their husbands' status upon marriage. In this fashion, family and community status is preserved through the male lineage. Even children born out of wedlock trace their status and identity to the biological father if his identity is known.

Early marriages are common among the Franco-Americans mainly because they lack the restraints their Canadian relatives employ, such as matched marriages and dowries. The absence of these controls and the church's continued opposition to birth control have produced a situation among the lower-class Franco-American families in which pregnancy is often the determining criterion for a decision to marry. Accordingly, early marriages, while frequent, are not met with any noticeable reaction from the Franco-American community other than mild token resistance from the Catholic Church. Nevertheless, the practice does contribute to the negative stigma of the ethnic group held by the dominant Yankee culture and fosters further resistance to interaction and eventual assimilation of the two groups. The impact of such resistance manifests itself in interreligious and ethnic marriage taboos, imposed by both the Franco-Americans and the dominant culture. Catholicism, especially French-Canadian Catholicism, has traditionally opposed interreligious marriages. On the other hand, Protestant Yankees are opposed to marriages with Franco-Americans on the grounds that it would lower one's social status. Franco-Americans are also opposed to most types of interracial marriages, the exception being between French-Canadian and American Indians, since intermarriage between these two groups has existed for over 400 years.

Premarital sexual behavior likewise plays an important part in the mate selection process. It is prevalent among French-Canadians in both New England and Quebec and seems to provide one of the few outlets to an otherwise restrictive French-Canadian life style. Illicit sexual behavior, officially condemned by the Catholic Church, has nevertheless emerged as a somewhat expectable mode of behavior in French-Canadian communities in both countries. And, as matched marriages decrease in popularity, mate selection among French-Canadians will become more contingent on chance and correspond more closely to the prevailing American patterns.

The substantial incidence of premarital sex without the safeguards of birth control make illegitimacy a common threat to the working-class French-Canadian community. However, the situation is usually handled without much conflict. Both abortions and adoptions are frowned upon, so in most cases the unwed mother keeps her child, and if she later marries, the child is generally accepted, taking an unheralded place in the new family. Until she finds a spouse, the participating conjugal family units, comprising the unwed mother's larger extended family, help the mother and child secure a position in the community. Their aid is subtle, so that the unwed mother and her

child may appear to be a self-sufficing autonomous social unit, thus improving her chances at marriage. The same holds true when a divorce occurs. Deprived of her husband's status, the estranged wife must revert to her family lineage for social support and identity.

When a couple marries, the new conjugal family unit seeks to establish its own neolocal household. Quite often the family resides in an apartment that belongs to either the husband's or wife's lineal kin. When this situation occurs, it is preferable to reside with the husband's lineage (patrilocal) rather than the wife's (matrilocal), since living with the wife's relative implies dependency on the wife by the husband. Franco-American communities consist physically of mostly tenements and private homes. A family unit generally starts in a rented apartment, with all eligible family members working and saving so that, if successful, they later will be able to buy their own tenement to live in and rent or to purchase a private home.

The tenements are old, plain, two- or three-story wood-frame units, housing from 4 to 12 families. These were popular housing units for previous Franco-American generations because they provided a convenient residence for the entire extended family. Large brick or wood apartment complexes, known as «cooperations,» still provide housing for the immigrant French-Canadian families. Regardless of the nature of the Franco-American family residence, most are adorned with religious objects, personifying the crucifix, child Jesus, and the Virgin Mary. Holy Water receptacles, blessed palms, pictures, and statues are found in most homes. The most affluent families adorn their lawns with larger statues, usually of the Virgin Mary. The function of religious objects in Franco-American families is two-fold, providing both religious continuity to their everyday life and relative community status.

Peer Grouping

Another interesting and relevant attribute of the Franco-American family structure is also shared by their Canadian relatives, that of like-sex peer-group association. These relationships are fostered early in the primary family setting and endure into adulthood. It is within these peer-group associations that males and females encounter each other, with the success of the relationship often being dependent on the approval of either participant's peer group. The female, once married, most likely forsakes her peer-group interests for that of her new marital role. The male, however, continues his peer-group membership all through his adult life, with peer-group interests often superseding those of his immediate family. Membership clubs, licensed to serve hard liquor as well as beer and wine, consist of numerous ethnic and national organizations, including the Knights of Columbus, and American Legion, and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. These drinking establishments are the central social meeting place for the adult males in the Franco-American community. Many men frequent these establishments daily in a more or less ritualistic pattern. In the winter months the clubs and bars are filled with the seasonal construction workers who draw unemployment during the off season. On weekend evenings group socials highlight the commnity's weekly festivities. Consequently, the relatively autonomous Franco-American community is organized to provide two opposite but complementary social functions. The church, through its manifold social and religious activities, provides the moralistic and ideological support for the community members, while the clubs and bars provide acceptable avenues of tension and frustration release. Both functions seem crucial to the maintenance and preservation of the Franco-American subculture.

Education

As noted above, the French-Canadians who originally immigrated to the New England mill communities brought with them their church and parochial educational system. The French Catholic Church, parochial schools, and the French-Canadian language, all closely interrelated, provide the three most crucial cultural institutions responsible for the preservation and perpetuation of the Franco-American subculture. Parochial schools, although currently under considerable economic pressure in New England, still provide the basic educational needs of the Canadian French in both countries. French-Canadians have traditionally been opposed to the public educational system, viewing it as an instrument of the dominant Protestant culture. Public schools are viewed, in both countries, as really being «Protestant schools.» The French-Canadian parochial educational system, through the preservation of its language, culture, and church doctrines, provides the Franco-Americans with their strong sense of ethnocentrism, which in turn keeps them isolated from the larger dominant culture and forestalls assimilation.

Occupation

When the original French-Canadians emigrated to New England, their occupational status changed from that of peasant farmers to factory laborers. The occupational transformation was successful due to the minimal degree of specialization and training required for either occupational role. Correspondingly, the low value placed on formal education provided a socioeconomic situation whereby the French-Canadians were unprepared to occupy the more specialized and prestigious occupational roles available in the commercial and industrial economy of New England. Lacking the necessary managerial and technical skills, and having failed to attain the educational prerequisites required of these occupations, the Franco-Americans find themselves, for the most part, relegated to marginal occupational roles.

The traditional occupation of Franco-American families has been employment in textile mills. During the early 1950s, after nearly a century of operation, the larger textile industries moved South, seeking lower operational costs. Shoe shops, fiberglass and electronic industries, among others, replaced the departed textile industries in the mill towns throughout New England. In northern New England (Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont) woodcutting and other lumber and pulp-related occupations provide employment for Franco-Americans. A third major source of employment is provided through seasonal construction work related to highway, bridge, and building construction.

The above-mentioned occupations account for the employment of the majority of the working-class Franco-Americans. Other occupational specialties range from small-business proprietors to professional occupations. Each Franco-American community has its own small ethnic businesses: clothing and shoe stores, small grocery and variety stores, plus an array of other small community enterprises. Other Franco-American families own and operate their own dairy farms, truck gardens, or small-scale logging operations. Professionals of Franco-American heritage provide the necessary medical, dental, and legal services for the community.

The factories, seasonal construction, and lumber-related industries are not high-paying occupations, yet they seem abundant enough to provide the Franco-American families with a somewhat stable and sufficient source of economic support to sustain their life style. Ironically, the areas of northern New England bordering Canada are those

with the highest rate of unemployment (at least a percentage point higher than the states' average), and out-migration of young adults. This creates a fluctuating manpower shortage, and subsequently bonded and visaed French-Canadians have to be imported to rectify the situation. They are needed on a yearly basis as cutters in the lumber industries and on a seasonal basis in the harvesting of apples. This action requires permission from the U.S. Department of Labor, and although extensive efforts are made to recruit native laborers, each year the effort seems in vain. This fresh source of French-Canadian contact through the imported laborers reinforces the communication lines between the two French subcultures.

Social and Physical Mobility

Social and physical mobility or the lack thereof reflect the degree of internal cohesion within Franco-American working-class communities throughout New England. Both phenomena are closely related to the high degree of ethnocentrism and the resulting process of «resistance within.» Social mobility implies vertical mobility, that is, moving through the various social strata that comprise the larger dominant culture. Physical mobility, on the other hand, represents the degree of out-migration from the Franco-American communities to other more integrated communities within the larger culture. As a consequence of their basic value system Franco-Americans are restricted in both forms of mobility. As previously mentioned, the Franco-American socialization process occurs through a cooperative relationship between the parish church and the primary family situation. Education is a quality that facilitates vertical social mobility in our society by preparing its members to enact occupational roles that are highly valued in themselves. It seems apparent that the low level of education among the Franco-Americans can only serve to restrict vertical, social mobility as they compete both socially and economically within the American system. A result of this situation, and in turn contributing to it, is low-achievement motivation among Franco-Americans. In one such study they ranked lowest among ethnic groups, with Blacks being the only minority group below them (Secord and Backman, 1964:570).

That the most salient criterion for determining high social status among the Franco-Americans, that is, church-related roles, has little relevance to the vertical social-occupational structure of the dominant culture and reinforces and intensifies the ecological boundaries surrounding the Franco-American communities. As a result, the Franco-American communities evolved into psychological ghettos that perpetuate the same values that restrict their social and physical mobility, consequently the assimilation of their members into the larger culture. The selective socialization that occurs among the families and institutions within the context of these protective ghetto communities creates in its members both a psychological and sociological dependency on the community for fulfillment of the basic human needs, while at the same time instilling behavioral patterns and mannerisms that account for the negative image of the Franco-Americans in the eyes of the dominant culture. As a result, encounters with the larger culture are often viewed as being negativistic and undesirable and reinforce the desirability of the Franco-American community, whether it be the home community or an adopted one. Voluntary physical mobility among working-class Franco-Americans is mostly restricted to movements to other Franco-American communities or to communities in Canada in which relatives reside. When involuntary physical mobility occurs, such as military conscription, many return to the relative security of their home community, remaining there for the duration of their lives. Hence, low social and restricted physical mobility among Franco-Americans

results from a unique socialization process that creates the member's community dependency while instilling those social characteristics that make the Franco-Americans visible as a minority group.

Family Life Cycle and Socialization

CHILDHOOD. The birth of a child, since it brings additional social and religious status to both parents, is a significant factor within the working-class family. For the female, childbirth, especially with the first born, signifies her *rite de passage* into adulthood. And while both children of either sex are welcomed, male children are more indulged by both parents. Fathers, as noted above, often give their first-born son their nickname along with the responsibility for continuing the male lineage and tradition. The result may well be rather heavy pressures brought on the son to excel in the same activities as the father, such as hockey, pool, street fighting, and hunting.

Pregnancy, also discussed above, often precipitates marriages between young couples, or when not followed by marriage, the infant is usually accepted by the girl's family. A third arrangement is to have an unmarried couple live together with their children. After a number of years these arrangements become recognized as common-law marriages subject to the same church and community expectations as are church and civil marriages.

Regardless of the father/mother relationship, the child, in order to secure its appropriate position in the hereafter, is baptized as soon as possible. Prebaptismal deaths bring great sorrow to Franco-Americans, mainly due to the belief that the infant's soul will remain in limbo and be denied access to heaven. Considerable affect, attention, and liberties are showered on and made available to surviving children, especially by the mother, grandmothers, and other female relatives. The concern about children, which in its intensity is a relatively new phenomenon, is associated with the smaller Franco-American families and such other factors as pregnancy leaves from work and the greater accessibility to modern conveniences, such as laundromats, diaper services, and the like, which permit more time for the mother to nurture her children.

The preschool child learns both French and English, with its distinctive Franco-American accent, in the home during the first six years. Preschool institutions such as kindergarten, nursery schools, and the like are rare occurrences among this group. Early family socialization is supplemented by the church activities and involvements, with most young children attending church with their mothers on a weekly basis. In all but the high mass, it is not unusual to see numerous mothers holding infants in their arms as well as all other preschool children attending church. School-age children attend church by class and sit in a special section up front accompanied by their teacher-nuns.

Franco-American children learn quite early the norms of sex peer-group separation. The division is maintained even within the family setting, and early-founded peer groups continue to be maintained during the school years. This was especially the case when the parochial school system flourished in New England. The nuns themselves reinforced sexual separation in the classroom, the girls sitting on one side and boys on the other. Similar seating arrangements were made for morning Mass, a compulsory daily activity in the parochial school system. Associated with the primary educational process is the child's first communion, which is the first conscious formal activity for the child and a well-attended ceremony by family, relatives, and friends highlight this activity. In fact, religious ceremonies such as baptism, first communion, confraternity, and marriage

have a seemingly far greater significance than civil ceremonies such as convocations and graduation exercises. All in all, the working-class Franco-American child is allowed considerable latitude in his or her behavior within the family, with its patriarchal overtones, and in most community settings. The church, notably through the parochial school, on the other hand, is more the strict disciplinarian. These contravening behavioral expectations sometimes lead to conflict situations, but when this does occur, the person in these days is more likely to reject the proscriptions of the church.

ADOLESCENCE AND YOUNG ADULTHOOD. Puberty, as a biological phenomenon and confraternity, the social recognition of puberty through a religious *rite de passage*, highlight adolescence in the Franco-American community. Simultaneously, the church, family, and peer group compete for the youth's attention and devotion. The sex peer groups become all the more significant during this period, especially for the males. Within them they find themselves pressured to live up to their father's image. Family expectations are more or less consonant with those of the peer group. To accommodate these demands, the school and church often become less crucial to the adolescent male. The days of complete integration of all local institutions and associations, if they ever existed, are apparently over.

Dating as well as the establishment of socialibility patterns emerge during this period. Although many Franco-American youth have been drinking beer and smoking cigarettes for a few years, the social significance of these activities becomes internalized during adolescence. In fact, most activities, whether they be related to sports, religion, or social events (dating, drinking), are closely tied to the peer-group structure. In this sense, then, the peer group and not the family or church is the ultimate influence in mate selection. Female youth, however, rely less on the influence of their peer group during this period than do their male counterparts. The family, school, and church still play an important role for many Franco-American girls; this is evident for one thing in their higher-educational achievements. Yet the female peer group is an important instrumentality for dating and for determining one's social standing at this time. The main difference, then, between the male and female adolescent peer-group structures is that the former is somewhat more salient and enduring than the latter.

Since it is not unusual for working-class Franco-Americans to marry during their teens, the male's occupational status is often determined during this period. And while the father's occupation is an important consideration, certain occupations are held to be more prestigious than others. Iron workers, truck drivers, machine operators, and construction and mill foremen have considerably more status than laborers or some white-collar workers. The female's occupational status is less crucial since her paramount role is to raise the children and maintain the household. Many females do work, but sporadically, and the primary consideration is her pay rather than the job itself.

The young married couple often lives in an apartment in a tenement owned by one of their relatives. Their children are indulged by the relatives on both sides, again with the first-born male child shown special attention. The young father continues to associate with his peer group, spending considerable leisure time with them. This is important since the peer group specifies and evaluates his social success. Ritualistic drinking, card and pool playing, along with an avid interest in sports such as hockey, baseball, boxing, hunting, wrestling, and horse racing are all important aspects of the lives of young adults. And while most still attend church during this

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period, it is more of a formality than a devotion. Adolescent and young adult males can be seen standing in the back of the church during mass—the last in and the first out. The female, in comparison, establishes a new interaction network, one based on her own and her husband's family and relatives, as well as a new cluster of girl friends who share a life situation similar to hers.

MIDDLE AND OLD AGE. As the male gets older, he comes increasingly to incorporate into his personality his peer group's perception of him. If this is a positive reflection, and is reinforced by his family, community, and church, then the person usually develops a good self-image, at least within the Franco-American subcultural setting. But not all adult males find themselves in this situation. Numerous interaction confrontations are discernible, the most notable occurring between the peer group and the family. When this situation occurs, the peer group usually emerges the victor, and a breaking of the marital bond results. Dependent children normally remain with their mother, and she continues to receive support from both her family and her estranged husband's family, as well as from the community and the church.

The middle years are a particularly important period for those who have adequately adjusted to the working-class Franco-American life style. This is the time when their years of working and saving finally bring their reward. Unlike their middle-class counterparts, these Franco-Americans seldom get involved in long-term loans and mortgages. Instead, they save their money, rent an apartment, and drive used cars until the time when they can afford to buy their own home, new car, and boat. Such affluence as they enjoy is possible also because Franco-Americans are not traditionally burdened with financing their children through an extended and expensive period of adolescence. They help their children with emotional concern and support but do not see the wisdom or need for mortgaging their own future to assure that of their offspring.

Old age, unlike in the larger dominant American society, brings considerable status on both the Franco-American male and female. If both grandparents survive, it is the female who has the higher status. Most social and religious events as well as Sunday-after-mass visits require a stay with *grand-mère*. When both grandmothers are alive they share this status. Considerable reverence is also associated with the grandmother's status, and she is the repository of knowledge concerning the entire family kinship network.

Death to the Franco-Americans carries both religious and social significance. The person has borne his or her cross and now awaits God's judgement. With the exception of death prior to baptism (infant death) death is viewed somewhat philosophically by the Franco-Americans. As with baptism, first communion, confraternity, and marriage, it is a time for formality and social interaction. It is often said that the dead are better off now. This refers to passage of the trial of life and the ultimate reward of everlasting peace or punishment, depending on the final judgement. An interesting social ritual associated with the death of veterans who occupy an important male peer-group membership is a military or paramilitary representation at the funeral, accompanied with a rifle salute and an American flag draped over the coffin. After the burial those participating in the burial ceremony go to the local American Legion Hall, VFW, or Lions Club to drink to the deceased. In any event there is little alienation from the dead. Like birth, it is a phenomenon too mystifying to be dealt with rationally and expeditiously. The knitting up of torn social and personal fabric and the re-establishment of social solidarity require ritualization and for

some period of time ceremonial remembrance.

CHANGE AND ADAPTATION

The current situation in Canada has been turbulent. Distinct polar, political, and social boundaries have been drawn and reinforced between the English and French-Canadians. French radicals view themselves as being oppressed «white niggers,» while a substantial proportion of the less radical French strongly support the separatist policy (Vallieres, 1971). The current political and social indicators seem to imply more chaos and conflict between the French-Canadian subculture and the dominant English Canadian culture.

These turns of events minimize the chances for assimilation, convergence, or homogenization of Canada into one mass life style. Yet some feel that French Canada will long resist assimilation and will remain a strong separatist Canadian subculture. Wagley and Harris (1964:200-201) drew this conclusion from their UNESCO study:

> What will be the future of the French Canadian minority in Canada? It is obviously not a group that will be assimilated into English-Canada society rapidly or easily. It is composed of a large population with an exceedingly high birthrate. It has political power in the nation and political control over Quebec. It has its own schools from the primary level to great universities. It takes pride in its French traditions and cultures . . . French Canada has its national sport and its sporting heroes in ice hockey. The French-Canadians as a group have all the elements in a vigorous social unit which cannot easily be overwhelmed even by the more rapidly expanding English-Canadian group.

And as long as these conditions continue to prevail in Canada, their ramifications will be felt among the Franco-Americans residing below the border in New England. The French-Canadian parent culture has numerous life lines to its New England relatives, and these continue to nourish the Franco-American subculture.

The Franco-American problem, inasmuch as New England is not engaged in any overt political and social conflict with the French minority group, is not as severe. Discrimination is subtle and different in New England. Some states, especially those with other minority populations, openly attempt to accomodate the French much in the same manner they do other minorities. In northern New England, in which the dichotomy between the French and Yankees is more vivid and distinct, the degree of discrimination intensifies. It manifests itself particularly in political, occupational, educational, and residential discrimination. However, some changes are slowly coming about. Maine has recognized it has a French minority problem and has recently implemented Franco-American programs such as workshops for public schoolteachers and university and college faculty. Attempts are being made by some academic institutions to provide Franco-American awareness programs, while other institutions are engaged in collecting and preserving the historical and cultural development of the Franco-Americans.

Another contributing factor that could reduce the isolation of future generations of Franco-Americans is the rapid disappearance of the parochial school system. Due to the rising costs of maintaining these institutions, many are earmarked for closing within the next decade. This changing situation could mean a reduction in the use of the French-Canadian language and a loosening of church control over the primary socialization of young Franco-Americans. However, the successful accommodation and assimilation of

the new generations will depend considerably on how well the public-school system facilitates and supports the family socialization of the Franco-Americans. A total disregard for, or a negative perception of, the Franco-American family life style by the middle-class-dominated public-school system could very well increase the conflict and differences between the minority group and the host culture.

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Despite the fact that the majority of the French-Canadians migrated to Vermont prior to 1930, anthropologist Peter Woolfson finds a strong thread of continuity between the traditional French-Canadian rural family patterns and those of today's rural Franco-Vermont family. Chief among these continuity items are the role structure and the «paradoxical combination of authoritarian structure and individual independence.» It seems plausible and probable that these conclusions apply to many other types of Franco-American families, to the extent that they do, the author's discussion on the implications for the social services are useful beyond the boundaries of rural Vermont. Written from the point of view of the observer rather than the actor, Woolfson securely anchors his article in data from interviews, questionnaires, and observations. One can only wish that we had the same kind of in-depth and reflective studies for all parts of New England and for all classes of Franco-Americans.

TRADITIONAL FRENCH CANADIAN FAMILY LIFE PATTERNS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL SERVICES IN VERMONT

by
Peter Woolfson

Origins

The Franco-Vermonter in Northern Vermont traces his origins to the French-Canadian rural farm family in the period preceding the Second World War. He has little in common with the modern, urbanized Quebecois found in the suburbs of Montreal. Quebec has changed. The 1960s ushered in the modernization process which has been called Quebec's *Révolution tranquille:* the quiet revolution. At the heart of this revolution was a burgeoning new middle class composed of white collar urbanites who were aware of the limits of their economic and political power. The catch phrase of the new emerging ideology was *Maîtres chez nous:* let us become masters in our own house; let us wrest the economic and political power from both the English and the Church. And thus, the cry went out first for *cultural sovereignty* and as resistance intensified to *Independence*—the extreme solution of separation from the Canadian nation—to become an independent nation enclosed within the boundaries of *La belle province,* Quebec.

It comes as no surprise to those who know the Franco-Vermonters well, that this new spirit of nationalism in Quebec has had little impact on the people of French-Canadian origin who live in the state of Vermont. There are several reasons for this. First of all, the French-Canadian farmer has always been parochial in his orientation: the parish was his boundary; his family was his focus. Secondly, the majority of French-Canadians in Vermont immigrated during the period 1840 to 1930, the heyday of the woolen and cotton mills in the state. There was no large scale immigration to Vermont after that: French-Canadians in search of factory work headed for Biddeford, Maine, Manchester, New Hampshire, and Lowell, Massachusetts. The former mill towns—Lakeside in Burlington and Winooski—while still serving as residential bases for the Franco-Vermonter are mere shells of their former selves. The majority of French-Canadians who have immigrated to Vermont after 1930 have come to the less urbanized regions to pursue work in farming, lumbering, and related industries. Some have come to work in the rural factories—the Ethan Allen factory in Beecher Falls; and Butterfield Tool and Die in Newport. Moreover, the emigrants from Canada who came to Vermont were not, to any degree, residents of the highly urbanized centers of Montreal, Quebec City or Sherbrooke. The families which I have interviewed, at least, were residents of the rural Quebec border communities—many of whom had moved less than ten miles from their original homes. In addition, there is very little evidence of much immigration to Vermont after 1965—a period just preceding the political agitation which culminated in the kidnappings and assassination of the FLQ in 1970.

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It is my contention, then, that it is the French-Canadian rural family which forms the traditional base of the Franco-Vermonter. The evolution of the structure and behavioral patterning of the Franco-Vermont family must be seen in the forces at work in the State of Vermont, and not in the evolution of Modern Quebec. [. . .]

The Franco-Vermont Family

In 1970, using the records of the Derby Project, the first Bilingual program in Vermont, and using materials collected by myself in subsequent interviews and questionnaires, I discovered that the French-Canadian model [of the family] was applicable to many of the behavioral patterns and value orientations of my rural Franco-Vermont subjects. The Franco-Vermont parents, who had children in Grade three at the time, fell in the age range of thirty to forty. Most of them were from rural backgrounds in Quebec, Vermont, or other parts of New England. The women, at the time of the study, tended to have large families: 14% had eight or nine children, 52% had four, five, or six children, and 33% had three children. This trend, however, seems to have changed in recent years. Data collected in Canaan, Vermont in the summer of 1975 suggest that birth rates are dropping rapidly. Father Baudet, pastor at St. Albert's, reports that in the last ten years baptisms of infants here have been cut in half.

Educational achievement also followed the Quebec pattern: many of the women were highschool graduates, while few of their husbands had completed even grade school. Nevertheless, all of the Franco-Vermont women who responded to my questionnaire answered that the proper place for a woman was in the home; this in the face of the fact that several of the respondents were employed outside the home at the time they filled out the questionnaires.

There are other reflections of French-Canadian patterning. Discipline remained an important concern both for Franco-Vermont parents and their children. Both these groups preferred external discipline while their Anglo-Vermont counterparts preferred self control. At the same time, both Franco-Vermont parents and children valued independence highly in matters which could be construed as being personal, while Anglo-Vermont parents and children seemed more responsive to outside help and advice. The parallels with traditional French-Canadian families are striking: a strong acceptance of parental authority in matters demanding discipline, but an equally strong orientation towards independence in matters regarded as private and personal. A paradoxical combination of authoritarian structure and individual independence is at the heart of both French-Canadian and Franco-Vermont family life.

Lesley Elton, as part of a field work assignment for a master's degree, worked with me in Canaan, Vermont. Her responsibility was to interview the South Caanan Franco-Vermont families in order to discover patterns of family interaction. Her findings reinforced my own. She writes:

> In examining life on the farms one can still see obvious traces of old tradition and patterns. Certainly change has taken place, an inevitable event with the passage of time and influence of living in the United States, yet certain elements of the culture and ways of the past are still maintained.

One of the elements that remains is the basic division of labor and role structure of the rural Quebec family:

> Since father must spend most of his time outside of the house . . . It is the mother who, to a greater extent possible than a woman in an urban setting, is

largely responsible for the house and the upbringing of the children. Almost all her activity centers on the home with few outside distractions.

Elton asserts that the man represents the authority in the outside world. It is he who decides on matters outside of the home. The wife, however, is responsible for the behavior of the children within the daily routine. As one wife put it, «C'est lui le 'grand boss,' moi le petit.»

Elton also characterizes the South Canaan farm families as large, but not as large as the rural Quebec families. Modern technology, she suggests, is one of the reasons for the smaller size. Modern milking machines, for example, have reduced the number of people necessary to milk the cows. However, these women are also more interested in limiting the size of their families than were their French-Canadian counterparts.

Elton also points out that children are expected to fulfill family obligations and responsibilities, especially after they have started school. A child is expected to do his chores both before and after his classes. Boys have responsibilities involving the management of the farm; girls, like their mothers before them, are expected to work in the house and the barn. Distinct sexual roles are maintained; boys are not usually expected to help with the dishes.

One major change in Vermont farm families is the sense of continuity. Few of the sons have any desire to follow in their father's footsteps. And inevitably as the farm is sold, many of the traditional patterns and values go with it.

Josie Schneiderman, in an individually designed study compared first, second, and third generation Franco-Vermonters. Although traditional patterns diminished somewhat generationally, nevertheless some of the traditional patterns persisted. She writes:

> French-Canadian children are raised to be independent but respectful of authority. American children are raised to be disrespectful of authority, they are expected to develop their independence through discarding authority.

It is interesting that attitudes towards child training remain even in situations where language, life-style, and ethnic awareness have been replaced by more generalized American ones.

Implications for Social Services

There are several implications of these findings for health and caretaking services. It is necessary, however, to qualify the possible use to which these findings can be put. Although many of the characteristics cited here represent common and general character traits, each community, family, and individual is unique. There is a great danger in overapplication of these characteristics. Stereotypes are too easy to apply. Consequently, the implications which are discussed are better seen as areas in which there are potentials for cross-cultural misunderstanding, rather than behavioral antecedents which could have preceded any situation under study.

There are, however, several possible areas of misunderstanding to which an awareness of French-Canadian patterns can aid in becoming a sensitive counselor. For example, in any situation in which the client is a Franco-Vermont juvenile, it is worthwhile to interview the mother carefully, whatever role the father assumes in the interaction. In order to facilitate the instrumentation of any course of action concerning the child, allow sufficient time to present to her what-

ever rationale or whatever benefits can accrue from the specific action recommended. On the other hand, it would be prudent to address the father directly when there is a final decision to be made, especially if it involves outside social or legal agencies.

Be sensitive to the high value placed on the independence and security of the family. Recourse to outside aid, be it Church or social agency, is an indication that the family cannot handle its own affairs—it is a defeat only accepted as a last resort.

Be sensitive to the possibility that the child who appears as passive and subordinate to whom he perceives to be official authorities may, also, display characteristics of stubborn independence, if he perceives that the authority is transgressing what he considers his personal territory, a personal territory which may be quite different from that of Anglo-American children.

Be aware that the father who publicly washes his hands of his son may be saying something quite different. The male Franco-Vermonter is a proud man. In part, his pride may be manifested in the values of the lumberjack: hardworking, hard fighting, and hard drinking. But, it is also manifested in the values of the French-Canadian farmer: a secure and independent family and farm firmly under his control. All of his life has been measured by this standard: it is at the root of his self-identity. Anything which undermines his authority, or suggests his failure in maintaining it, is potentially dangerous to his sense of worth—in this case, it is a child gone wrong, and he feels responsible. He also is vulnerable to the perils of unemployment, underemployment, and debilitating illness. He is proud of his capacity to work—his authority in the family and his respect in the community depend on it.

Be sensitive to the special problems of the Franco-Vermont mother: Her whole life is tied up in her role as mother. When her children are grown, especially if they have moved away as many do, she no longer has a sense of purpose. She does not look forward to her husband's retirement because her education and interests are quite different from his. And, his companionship is unrewarding.

Be sensitive to the potential role that religious ideas play in their Franco-Vermont approach to crisis situations. Often, the French-Canadian tradition displays a strong sense of the miraculous. It is to the Virgin and the Saints that many a troubled Franco-Vermonter turns for intervention. The hope is for some dramatic and spontaneous resolution to the crisis. And if it does not occur, then, the burden must be born with Christian resignation—it will be resolved in the life hereafter. And thus, long term remedies may not be readily accepted.

Be aware that it is often the local priest to whom the troubled Franco-Vermonter turns. Other outsiders are mistrusted—especially those agencies or institutions which are perceived of as governmental. The priest is a man of God, but other outsiders have their own responsibilities to consider, and thus are suspect.

Be sensitive to the fact that many Franco-Vermonters speak English as a second language with what appears ease and comprehension. But one cannot assume that there is near native control. Words which are related in French and English may not mean the same thing. If, as is often the case in second language speakers, an ongoing process of translation is taking place, then there are many chances for misunderstanding: *depressé* in Canadian French means physically exhausted; *depressed* in English means emotionally low. *Disinterested* in English means bored or uninterested; *disinteressé* in

French means unselfish. In cases where English is a second language, it is not difficult to see where it would take considerable sophistication to be aware of these differences. It is also easy to see where language differences can produce cross-cultural misunderstanding.

And so, in the final analysis, one must be aware that there are traits and characteristics which distinguish Franco-Vermonters from other kinds of Vermonters. The better understanding and awareness of these differences health or caretaking workers can have, the more sensitive and effective job they can do.

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Politics is one of the phases of Franco-American history touched upon in some way in each of these Overview *selections. But in his article published in the August, 1962 issue of the* Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, *David B. Walker specifically surveys the political leanings of the Franco's in the presidential elections of 1880 through 1960, using histories and election returns for thirty representative Franco-American communities from 1892 through 1960. The balance of Republican-Democratic party percentages in the presidential vote of these Franco-American communities became decisively Democratic in 1928 and Democratic votes reached their peak in 1960. It is important to note that in both years (1928 and 1960) attacks on the Democratic candidates seem to have been an important factor in the voting patterns of the Franco population.*

THE PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS OF THE FRANCO-AMERICANS

by
David B. Walker

The way the Franco-American views the issues, candidates and the parties largely determines the vote in at least thirty cities and towns in New England.[1] Though constituting about 12 per cent of the region's inhabitants and considered by some as the most unassimilable of all the ethnic groups in the area,[2] the Franco-Americans have not enjoyed the same degree of attention from students of politics that larger, more widely distributed ethnic minorities have received. But a brief survey of their political past and of their vote in the 1960 presidential election will demonstrate that the French provide an excellent case study in ethnic politics.[3]

Migration and other processes swelled the Franco-American population of New England from an estimated 150,000 in 1850, to 400,000 in 1880, to 800,000 by 1908.[4] Though some influx occurred in subsequent decades, especially in Maine, the great migration from French Canada ended by the turn of the century. Overpopulation, a dwindling supply of good agricultural land, and the absence of a good transportation system to the Canadian northwest were the reasons for this exodus southward. Most of the émigrés settled in New England's smaller cities and larger towns, and became textile, leather, or paper-mill workers.

Accustomed to the two-party politics of Canada, practically all of the early Franco-Americans sooner or later associated themselves with one of America's two major parties. But the transition from Canadian to American politics was not easy. Political interest and activity were kept at a minimum by the language barrier, intense concern with economic betterment, and massive efforts to erect the basic institutions of ethnic identity: the French parish, church school, press, and ethnic societies.[5] Many considered their stay in the States as temporary, which strengthened their apolitical tendency. However, from the establishment of this battle for *«la survivance»* and from severe inter-ethnic rivalry in the religious and social spheres, there emerged a drive to set up naturalization clubs so that direct participation in the political life of their communities might be hastened. Led by editors and officers of the ethnic societies, this effort to protect «French rights» against potentially hostile governmental action succeeded in placing more and more French names on the registration lists. Early evidence of growing voter strength was the subsidation of a portion of the Franco-American press by Democratic campaign strategists during the 1892 Cleveland-Harrison canvass.[6]

Paralleling the evolution of other immigrant groups, ethnic considerations primarily shaped Franco-American voting behaviour during the initial phase of their political development. Authorities disagree, however, about which party benefited most from this influence. One view holds that since «the

émigrés were mostly liberals» and «had left Canada because of the high tariff,» they tended to favour the Democrats.[7] Another interpretation contends that the docility of the émigré workers when confronted with the strong Republican bias of the mill owners, coupled with the dominant position of the Irish in local Democratic organizations, resulted in a fairly solid vote for the GOP.[8] The record suggests that neither view is entirely accurate. Careful examination of the historical accounts and the meagre statistical evidence available indicates that a majority of the Franco-Americans favoured General Hancock and Grover Cleveland in the 1880-1892 presidential elections.[9] Such factors as the growing nativism of the Republicans, the religious issue in the 1880 and 1884 campaigns, the low-tariff position of Cleveland, and the forementioned subsidation of the Franco-American press in 1892 worked to the Democrat's advantage during this period.

The histories and aggregate election returns for the thirty representative Franco-American communities reveal a marked political realignment in 1896. Like many other eastern, Catholic minority groups, the Franco-Americans were repelled by Bryan's unorthodox fiscal ideals and fundamentalist, agrarian Protestantism.[10] At the same time, the election figures show that this ethnically inspired distrust for the Great Commoner declined progressively each time he ran. The assertion that Bryan «did his bit for the party by helping to win over Catholic ethnic minorities» applies with some force to the Franco-Americans, but only if his final attempt at the presidency is considered.[11] The increase of 8 per cent in the French Democratic vote from 1896 to 1908 also tends to modify the claim of Abbé Magnan in his *Histoire de la race française aux États-Unis* that Franco-Americans had always preferred the Republicans because of their conservatism, emphasis on order, and advocacy of sane economic doctrines.[12]

TABLE I

Selected Median Democratic Percentages of the Presidential Vote for Thirty Franco-American Communities[13]

Year	Median percentage	Year	Median percentage
1892	50	1932	63
1896	32	1936	67
1900	38	1940	65
1904	39	1944	67
1908	40	1948	66
1916	52	1952	56
1920	41	1956	49
1924	39	1960	71
1928	57		

Nevertheless, if the eight presidential elections from 1896 to 1924 are taken as a unit the Magnan interpretation is basically accurate for a majority of these voters in a majority of these contests. Woodrow Wilson in his campaign for re-election was the only Democratic candidate during this entire period to carry this group decisively. The even voting divisions in 1908 and 1912 indicate that these two elections must be classified as doubtful. In the rest, the majority of the regional group favoured the Republican presidential candidates—in large measure, for ethnic and religious reasons.

A culturally rooted sense of fiscal orthodoxy and an uneasiness over Bryan's wholly alien personal traits motivated the initial realignment. Theodore Roosevelt's friendliness with various minority groups and his publicized reception of prominent Franco-American leaders helped sustain it. The many church disputes during this period over the selection of a French clergy and the building of bilingual parochial schools nurtured an abiding hatred for the Irish that frequently manifested itself in

the political arena. Celtic ascendancy in many of the New England locals and an eagerness to avoid unsettled working conditions engendered an anti-union, anti-strike bias among a sizable number of French workers, and confirmed the Republican orientation of many. The dullness of Taft, the Bull Moose revolt, and the personal magnetism of Wilson helped to conceal this basic tendency in the returns for three successive contests. But by 1920 and 1924 the Republican nominees again carried the Franco-American group by ample majorities. The former election was affected partially by an early version of «revenge politics.»[14] The conscription crisis that rocked Canada in 1917 helped to produce an anti-war, hence an anti-Democratic, vote in the United States in 1920.

Though personality and «pocket book» politics affected Franco-American presidential preferences during this early period, as the 1908, 1916, and 1924 results suggest, clearly the ethnic and religious factors were all-important. The record demonstrates that the Franco-American group did not vote as a unit for either the Republican or Democratic party, in marked contrast to the usual tendency of most minority groups to vote this way during the early, ethnic phase of their political development.[15]

A divisive pattern was even more pronounced on the state and local levels, where the Irish were in one, and the Yankees in the other, political party. No completely satisfactory political domicile was available, and party affiliation hinged largely on which of these two rival ethnic groups was most feared and hated. Certain conditions then tended to create somewhat uniform local results. For example, a stronger political position for the Irish Democrats usually nurtured a sizable French GOP vote, as in Rhode Island. A weaker Irish Democratic party and a potent, more nativist Yankee Republican organization helped to produce more Franco-American Democrats, as was the case in Maine and Vermont.

Despite the apparently standardized character of these variations, the personal reaction of the individual Franco-American voter to these inter-ethnic rivalries was the ultimate determinant. And here the proverbial individualism of the group only served as another ethnocentric force producing an even more variegated pattern of political behaviour.[16] As candidate Martin noted in Foster Furcolo's novel *Let George Do It*, «With the French it was different—they were all leaders and no candidate could tell whether he was coming or going with them.»[17] All in all, the French version of ethnic politics for this initial period produced a far more fractured voting pattern than is normally the case with recently arrived ethnic minorities.

A new Franco-American political era and a modified form of ethnic politics were ushered in with the nomination of Al Smith. Ignoring the New Yorker's ethnic origin and remembering his religious, urban, and immigrant background, the vast majority of the Franco-American electorate moved over into the Democratic camp and stayed there for the next six presidential elections. Smith's personal appeal and the nativist Protestant crusade against him submerged the usual French aversion to an Irish candidate.

The momentum of the realignment accelerated with the advent of the Great Depression. For the first time, the voting Franco-Americans began to follow a nearly monolithic pattern. However, social and economic rather than ethnic motives were behind their vote for Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936. This was particularly true of the latter election. There had been some division along economic class lines in the previous era, but it required the Depression and the New Deal

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to nurture the sharply drawn image of class required for this kind of electoral result. Since most of the group were urban, industrial, «working class» people, much of the older antipathy for other Catholic minorities was blunted and the old-style ethnic politics became a second-rate voting determinant. This development in itself, was not unusual. Most groups in America began to be more affected by the politics of class during the New Deal era.[18] What distinguishes it from parallel developments among other ethnic groups is that it required a non-ethnic factor to produce the first case of large-scale partisan agreement among the French and this in the middle rather than the initial phase of their political evolution.

Unlike the Irish and certain other traditionally Democratic ethnic minorities, no appreciable number of Franco-Americans deserted the Democratic ranks because of the foreign policy and war issues of the 1940 and 1944 campaigns. By this time, the vast majority tended to equate their economic interests with the fortunes of the Democratic party. This identification of interests, added to the personal magnetism of FDR, was sufficient to overcome whatever remained of their earlier isolationism. The immense popularity of Roosevelt in French Canada and the generally internationalist position of most Franco-American editors also help to explain the French failure to follow the lead of many Irish, Germans, and Italians, and practise the politics of revenge.[19] In general, then, the presidential politics of the Roosevelt years were chiefly those of class and personality. Old-style ethnic politics persisted on the state and local levels, but the common economic interests of many within the rival ethnic groups helped reduce its former importance. Another influence in the reduction of ethnic enmities was religious. Since the last major Church dispute occurred in 1924, a more subtle assimilationist policy seems to have been adopted by the Irish hierarchy.

By 1948, an extra ingredient was added to Franco-American politics, for by this time, largely because of the war, they had produced a sizable middle class of thier own. The economic position of many had improved during the war and post-war periods and an exodus began from the old tenement areas to newer residential sections, where many ethnic groups were mingled. The Brunswick-Lewiston opinion survey, which serves as a basis for the contemporary phase of this study, revealed that the vast majority of the sample's intra-urban migrants were high-school- or college-educated, second or more generation American within one of the three middle-class subdivisions and usually had a lower ethnic involvement rating than their less well-to-do compatriots.[20]

The election figures and the data of the Brunswick-Lewiston survey show that the emergence of this class failed to produce any appreciable gains for Governor Thomas E. Dewey in 1948. According to the poll, Truman carried nearly all of the lower-class, grade-school-educated vote and approximately 80 per cent of the middle-class, college-educated vote bringing his total share of the two-party vote to 89 per cent.[21] Though the lapse of time makes individual motives difficult to determine, the available evidence suggests that Sam Lubell's explanation of the «new middle class» voting behaviour in 1948 probably holds for the French as well: a strong Democratic tradition and a belief that they owed their prosperity to the Democratic administration in Washington.[22] Such considerations outweighed the Republican pressures of newly acquired economic and social status. In short, the French, along with the broader group of which they were a part, did not vote according to the politics of status in this Truman-Dewey contest.[23]

With the advent of Eisenhower, some of the broader implications of this development became more evident. Though Stevenson

carried the thirty representative communities by a tiny margin in 1952, the Democrats failed, for the first time since 1924, to carry them by a comparable margin in the subsequent election. A new political era had been launched. According to the poll's findings for the 1956 canvas, the Democrats suffered their heaviest losses among voters of middle-class (50 per cent) and middle-range-educational (52 per cent) backgrounds. This evidence would suggest that the heavy swing to Eisenhower occurred because a significant number of new middle-class Franco-Americans were beginning to be affected by the politics of status.

But this interpretation obviously can apply only to those voters who had actually moved up the economic ladder. It does not explain the circumstance that Eisenhower, according to the data found in the poll, managed to cause sizable defections in nearly all of the demographic subdivisions which were normally Democratic. It does not explain the large Republican vote within the grade-school-educated (42 per cent) and lower-class (39 per cent) groups. Moreover, the aggregate election returns show very little geographic variation in the reduced Democratic percentages for the thirty representative communities. Losses in Pawtucket were comparable to those in Chicopee and in Gardner to those in Biddeford. And when survey respondents were questioned about their individual views of the two parties, the Eisenhower Democrats had the largest proportion of individuals who claimed there was no basic difference between the two major parties (62 per cent) or merely a difference in the candidates nominated (73 per cent).

All of this evidence demonstrates the powerful influence of the now-legendary Eisenhower personality. Basically, then, the interpretation based on the politics of personality explains the great amount of support found in the survey for the Republican ticket in 1956. Loyal Democrats who favoured Eisenhower were able to view their vote as consistent with party loyalty largely because of his aloofness to politics. For the growing number of registered Democrats and Independents who view politics, parties, and professional politicians with increased scepticism, the Eisenhower vote was simply an early manifestation of this change in attitude. The Stevenson image was not an especially popular one, not even with those who voted for him, or so the survey indicated. Briefly, then, the personality of Eisenhower as well as the social and economic changes of the late forties and fifties caused the break with old political commitments and the increase of political independence and scepticism.

These developments, of course, had a profound effect on the 1960 elections. One of the underlying assumptions of Democratic strategists in nominating Senator John F. Kennedy was that his candidacy would help bring the Catholics back into the Democratic party and thus check for a while the normal operation of class politics.[24] For the benefit of the expanding, independent-minded, personality-conscious part of the electorate, a dazzling new personality was to be projected to take advantage of the void left by Eisenhower's retirement. In short, ethnic, religious, and personality considerations were major parts of the Democratic plan for capturing the key industrial states in the North.

However, the question still remained whether the changes of the Eisenhower years had been sufficiently profound to make impossible a re-emergence of the pattern of American politics before 1952. An attempt to discover some early clues about what kind of answer the Franco-Americans would give on November 8th prompted the initial pre-campaign poll of nearly two hundred Franco-American inhabitants of Brunswick and Lewiston.[25] And the results of this survey indicated, at least for those included in the

sample, that the fifties were not merely a freak interlude in their political history.

The figures of the first poll showed that the Democratic nominee would obtain approximately 78 per cent of the Franco-American vote.[26] Kennedy attracted the support of many regular Republicans, roughly four out of every five Democrats who had supported Eisenhower, and practically all of the orthodox Democrats. In terms of the social background of the respondents, Kennedy did well in all educational and class divisions, but his margin of percentage points increased, not unexpectedly, as the lower rungs of the educational and social ladders were approached.

In their attitude toward the parties, most of the Kennedy partisans divided into two basic groups. The first identified strongly with the Democratic party on a basis of clearly perceived social and economic differences between the parties, while the second saw few, if any, basic differences between them and preferred Kennedy because of his personality. The traditional class politics of many of the low-income groups, combined with the personality politics of others in all classes, provided the basic explanation for the results of this pre-Labor Day estimate. The poll showed that a little more than three out of every four Franco-Americans would favour the Massachusetts Senator on Election Day.

But in 1948 Truman had secured approximately 89 per cent of this vote, according to the poll taken of the voters' recollections of their decisions in the Truman-Dewey election. The pre-Labor Day estimate then showed that Kennedy still scored 11 per cent below the probable Truman vote. About half of the traditional Republicans polled favoured Nixon, and, more significantly, about one in every four or five Eisenhower Democrats seemed certain to support him. The data of this survey, as might be expected, showed a steady increase in the percentage of those who favoured the Republicans as the higher levels of the social and economic scales were reached. However, the bulk of the Nixon vote came from lower-middle- and upper-lower-class respondents. The Nixon partisan was more likely than Kennedy's to have a low or low medium ethnic involvement rating.[27]

With regard to party image, those who favoured Nixon tended either to see a definite ideological split between the parties, or to find it difficult to express any opinion at all concerning the parties. This difference in attitude reveals a degree of intellectual diversity that did not characterize the usual Franco-American Republican vote for the pre-Eisenhower period. Ideology was another factor conditioning the presidential preferences of these voters. On the basis of response to questions on foreign policy, civil liberties and the domestic economy, an ideological position was assigned to each respondent. The sample as a whole was divided into four groups. Within the groups there was a fair degree of consistency in the selection of candidates. Liberals and moderate liberals preferred Kennedy by large margins, while the percentage for Nixon increased appreciably on the moderate conservative side.[28]

By Labor Day it seemed certain that the vote of the regular Republicans, based on traditional class politics, would be augmented in 1960 by the support of a number of ex-Democrats and Independents in the «new middle» class, anxious to affirm or raise their status. It would also be augmented by other voters who indulged in the politics of personality and who were favourably impressed by the Nixon image. The Vice-President, then, was aided substantially by the developments of the Eisenhower era. And if Kennedy's anticipated failure to approximate Truman's 1948 French vote was symptomatic

of his problems with larger, normally Democratic minority groups, then the fate of the election seemed likely to hinge on the behaviour of these pivotal Eisenhower Democrats and Independents.

But both the final tally of the votes and the post-election poll indicated that the extraordinary Truman performance had been equalled, if not surpassed.[29] According to the poll taken after the election, Senator Kennedy received approximately 89 per cent of the respondent's votes. In the thirty representative communities, he had gained 70 per cent of the total vote, exceeding that estimated for Truman by 5 per cent. Further, there was an increase in overall turnout of 9 per cent over the high 1956 figure of 670,710. Clearly, none of these figures were in accord with the estimates of the pre-Labor Day survey.

The pertinent question to be answered at this point was why Nixon had fared no better with the Franco-American voters than had Dewey in the 1948 election. The post-election poll taken in 1960 showed that had the election been held some time during the early part of September, before the beginning of the vigorous campaigning, the vote would have been roughly in accordance with the predicted figures. As it turned out, the campaign was the deciding factor with the crucial subgroups within the Franco-American electorate.

Traditional Republicans and regular Democrats supported their parties' nominees at the outset and the campaign served only to confirm their initial bias.[30] However, the campaign apparently generated enough excitement to arouse some 5 per cent of the initial sample, who had formerly been classified as unlikely to vote in November, to register and even to go to the polls on Election Day. Only 3 per cent of the survey group failed to cast ballots, contrasting with the predicted figure of 8 per cent.

But the pivotal Eisenhower Democrats were affected most dramatically. For those who could not state a presidential preference during the first interview, the campaign crystallized their political thinking and produced a nearly unanimous vote for Senator Kennedy. According to the pre-campaign estimate, this particular group would divide approximately 60-40, with Nixon getting the lesser number. This prediction was shown to be false on November 8th. But perhaps most important was the consideration that nearly all of the Eisenhower Democrats who had initially stated a preference for the Vice-President had switched, by election day, to John Kennedy. Somehow, the belief in moderate conservative political doctrines, the desire for status, and the attraction of the image projected by the personality of Richard Nixon had been transformed by the campaign into an approval of Kennedy.

Two major campaign developments, according to the post-election survey, caused these changes of attitude, which produced the extra margin of 11 per cent for Kennedy. The first of these was the personality of the Democratic candidate and that of his family, particularly his wife. The favourable impression created by the Kennedys helped to influence many of those originally in favor of Nixon because of their greater familiarity with his personality, family, and accomplishments.

In retrospect the religious issue was more important in gaining for Kennedy his unexpected support from the Franco-American group. Widely publicized efforts to defeat the Democratic candidate were initiated by fundamentalist and conservative Protestant groups. Most of the Franco-American respondents who behaved differently in November than had been expected in August did so in reaction to these efforts. In the

northern-tier New England states, there was also, perhaps a growing realization that the religious campaign was having its desired effect among many of their Protestant neighbors.

In Maine, the election figures indicate that the religious issue was a primary cause for the Republican outpouring that inundated the Democrats on November 8th. Voter turnout increased 23.5 per cent over 1956 in the rural towns and by 28.5 per cent in the largely non-French cities.[31] The Republican share of the vote in largely Protestant rural hamlets was 69 per cent; the Republican share for the Yankee cities was 61 per cent. In the fourteen communities with the largest proportion of French inhabitants, the increase of votes was 11 per cent over the 1956 campaign. Kennedy received 73 per cent of this vote. When the returns from both the French and Yankee cities were compared, it was found that the increases in both groups neutralized one another, with the total «city vote» being divided between Nixon and Kennedy. The extraordinary increase in the «country vote,» however, provided the needed margin for a victory for both the state and national Republican tickets.[32] Over-all, then, in Maine, the GOP gained by the operation of the ethnic and religious factors in the campaign. But, as we have seen, the price for this victory was the loss of approximately 11 per cent of the Franco-American vote.

In addition to the religious factor in the campaign, a case may be made for the appearance of the politics of personality and status on the side of the Democrats. The politics of personality were obviously not forsaken by those who voted for Kennedy on the basis of his more winning appearance, manner, and speaking ability. And closer examination of the motives of the Eisenhower Democrats and Independents who voted for Kennedy suggests that under the circumstances their vote for Kennedy was not really a rejection of the politics of status. Such a vote might seem to be a denial of their moderate conservatism, since the Democratic nominee was clearly the more liberal candidate. It might also seem to be a vote for the party of high taxes, greater governmental services, and low social status—in short, of the major social and policy positions that a new middle class are supposed to disavow.

However, it might be questioned whether it is a repudiation of status if an aspiring, socially conscious member of this group votes for a wealthy, Ivy-League co-religionist, when there are ranged against this candidate the nativist, agrarian, fundamentalist, and conservative Protestant forces of an older America, and particularly when these forces are seeking to bar this candidate from the highest civil office in the land. Though it turns upside down the usual politics of status, such a vote under such conditions is still a vote for status.

To sum up, 1960 appears superficially to be a return to an ancient pattern of voting where ethnic and religious considerations were dominant. In truth, it was only the third presidential election in a political era launched by the first campaign of Eisenhower for president. This era will, if things continue in their present course, witness a steady erosion of such ethnically determined attitudes as intense party loyalty, ideological extremism, and the tendency to find vivid contrasts between the parites.[33] In one respect, the future should resemble the initial phase of the Franco-Americans' political history, since neither party will be automatically assured of their vote. But in the long run, this future period will be unique, for it will probably witness the disappearance of any such political phenomenon as the «French vote.» How soon this occurs depends in no small measure on

how skilfully the political parties in various states succeed in discharging one of their historically assigned functions, the smothering of «the explosive power latent in the scrambled pattern of race, national origin, and religion.»[34]

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Notes

1. The thirty Franco-American communities that provide the aggregate election figures for this study include Berlin, Somersworth, Nashua, Manchester, Claremont, Franklin, Laconia, and Rochester in New Hampshire since each had a French-Canadian-born population of 5 per cent or more according to the 1950 US census; Lewiston, Sanford, Biddeford, Winslow, Madawaska, Van Buren, Rumford, Mexico, Brunswick, and Waterville in Maine with a 7 per cent or more Franco-Canadian population in 1950; Southbridge, Chicopee, Gardner, Fitchburg, Leominster, North Adams, Fall River, Lowell, and Holyoke in Massachusetts with a 20 per cent or more French-Canadian-born and second generation population according to the 1930 census; and Pawtucket, Central Falls, and Woonsocket in Rhode Island which the State Board of Elections, *Survey of Rhode Island Electors, 1954* (Providence, 1954) indicated had a 24 to 65 per cent Franco-American population based on the ethnic distribution of names on voting lists. The widely scattered character of the Franco-American populations in Connecticut and Vermont prevented inclusion of representative communities from these states in the study's electoral compilations. It should be emphasized that a 5 or 7 per cent figure for the proportion of French born in Canada is indicative of a much larger group of persons of French-Canadian background. Brunswick's 7.1 per cent of French-Canadian-born, for example, suggests the estimated 50 per cent of the community's citizens who are of French stock and Lewiston's 15.8 per cent reflects her approximately 80 per cent Franco-American population. The former figure is used, of course, because it is always reliable. Though use of 1950, 1930, and 1954 ethnic data is not a completely accurate guide for earlier periods, the Franco-American histories and previous census figures underline their basic accuracy.

2. John Gunther, *Inside U.S.A.* (New York, 1947), 465. Note that the terms Franco-American and French-Canadian may be used interchangeably. Franco-American is employed in this study, because it is the term that is preferred by members of this group.

3. A 63-item, «quasi-random» opinion poll was conducted during the winter and spring of 1960 in the Brunswick and Lewiston areas. For details on sampling methods, see M. Parten, *Surveys, Polls and Samples: Practical Procedures* (New York, 1950), 226, 267. Two of the better general Franco-American histories are D. M. A. Magnan, *Histoire de la race française aux États-Unis* (Paris, 1912), and R. Rumilly, *Histoire des Franco-Américains* (Montreal, 1958).

4. G. Prior, *The French Canadians in New England* (unpublished Master's Thesis, Brown University, 1932), 66, 80, 86.

5. Cf. K. Carpenter, *The Franco-Americans in Maine* (unpublished Honor's Thesis, Bowdoin College, 1958), 19-55.

6. J. Ducharme, *The Shadow of the Trees* (New York, 1943), 168.

7. *Ibid.*, 167, 168.

8. Rumilly, *Histoire*, 85, 174.

9. Most of the pre-1892 election figures for the representative French communities or even for portions thereof are unreliable, since the character of these small settlements was uncertain in this period.

10. Cf. W. E. Binkley, *American Political Parties, Their Natural History* (New York, 1958), 320.

11. D. Lockard, *New England State Politics* (Princeton, 1959), 313.

12. *Ibid.*, 297.

13. Cf. D. B. Walker, *Politics and Ethnocentrism: The Case of the Franco-Americans* (Brunswick, Maine: Bureau for Research in Municipal Government, Bowdoin College, 1961), 25.

14. Cf. S. Lubell, *Revolt of the Moderates* (New York, 1956), 52-74.

15. L. Fuchs, «Presidential Politics in Boston: The Response of the Irish to Stevenson,» *New England Quarterly*, Dec., 1957, 435-47.

16. Cf. Ducharme, *Shadow of the Trees*, 169-75.

17. John Foster, (pseud. for Gov. Foster Furcolo), *Let George Do It* (New York, 1957), 58.

18. S. Lubell, *The Future of American Politics* (New York, 1951), 41-57.

19. For a study of Franco-American and French-Canadian war attitudes, cf. E. B. Ham, «French Patterns in Quebec and New England,» *New England Quarterly*, Dec., 1945, 441 ff.

20. Cf. n. 3; a modified SES scale devised by W. Lloyd Warner was used in this study. Cf. W. L. Warner *et al., Social Class in America* (Chicago, 1949), 121-9. To obtain an ethnic involvement index for each respondent, answers to numerous questions dealing with Franco-American life were weighted and the aggregate score placed on a scale which yielded a classification: high, high medium, medium, low medium, and low. Sixty-five per cent of the total sample had a high or high medium rating.

21. Cf. Walker, *Politics and Ethnocentrism*, 32.

22. Lubell, *Future of American Politics*, 59-85.

23. Cf. L. Harris, *Is There a Republican Majority?* (New York, 1954), 189.

24. T. H. White, *The Making of the President* (New York, 1961), 240-3.

25. Cf. n. 3.

26. Kennedy had the avowed support of 64 per cent of the respondents and was given 14 per cent of that group within the sample (18 per cent) that was unable to express any presidential preference. This redistribution was done on the basis of a careful examination of the past voting record, class positions, and attitudinal traits of these «no opinion» respondents.

27. Cf. n. 20.

28. Marring the rational character of this voting pattern were the conservatives who overwhelmingly favoured Kennedy. Non-ideological considerations were apparently more significant as voting conditioners with this tiny group (4 per cent of the total sample).

29. This post-election survey polled the same respondents that had been interviewed for the first.

30. Cf. P. Lazarsfeld *et al., The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign* (New York, 1955), 94-121.

31. The 1960 US Census figure of 2,500 or less for defining a New England rural community was used as the differentiating factor in this analysis. There are some sixty-five largely non-French urban communities in Maine.

32. Rep. Frank M. Coffin, the Democratic gubernatorial nominee, received 53 per cent of the combined urban vote (3 per cent more than Kennedy), but went down to defeat with only 36 per cent of the rural electorate (5 per cent greater than Kennedy's) supporting him.

33. Cf. Walker, *Politics and Ethnocentrism*, 18-22.

34. C. Rossiter, *Parties and Politics in America* (Ithaca, 1960), 58.

The political orientations of Franco-Americans in New England are discussed in depth in Norman Sepenuk's recent paper for the Department of Government at Harvard University. Sepenuk analyzes the reasons for the failure of Franco-Americans to be more successful at the polls. In the process of his examination he provides a masterly summary of the literature relevant to the study of the politics of Franco-Americans, with special emphasis on the conclusions of Josephat T. Benoit.

A PROFILE OF FRANCO-AMERICAN POLITICAL ATTITUDES IN NEW ENGLAND

by

Norman Sepenuk

I. Introduction

In the six New England states, there are well over one million Americans of French-Canadian descent, thus making these «Franco-Americans» one of the largest single ethnic groups in the area.[1] It is estimated that Franco-Americans comprise at least 25% of the population in New Hampshire;[2] 22% in Rhode Island;[3] 16 to 25% in Maine;[4] 10 to 20% in Massachusetts;[5] 12% in Vermont, and somewhat less than 10% in Connecticut.[6]

Despite their numbers, Franco-Americans have not demonstrated the same appetite for political participation and power as some other ethnic groups. This reluctance to enter political life or to exercise political power has characterized Franco-Americans since their French-Canadian ancestors began their mass migration to the United States over a century ago. In this paper, I will explore some of the reasons why this is so.

I should note at the outset that I am not a Franco-American. Prior to my involvement in this subject which started in mid-October 1968, I had no awareness of Franco-American life in New England and no personal experience of New England life politics except for three years (1956-1959) at Harvard Law School. Considering my relatively short exposure (however intense), it is hardly necessary to add that this will not be the definitive work. I have deliberately called this paper a «profile», i.e., an outline of Franco-American political attitudes. I hope simply to provide a hint, to give the feel, and furnish some insight into Franco-American political behavior.

Finally, I will not discuss, except peripherally, the political party affiliations of Franco-Americans[7] or how Franco-Americans vote on candidates and specific issues in city, state and national elections. Rather, my intention is to portray the attitudes of Franco-Americans toward politics and public life generally. My research and interviewing has been primarily in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, secondarily in Maine and Rhode Island, and I know very little about the situation in Vermont and Connecticut. Accordingly, though this paper purports to deal with the situation in New England, the limitations I have mentioned should be kept in mind. However, except where noted, I believe (based on my conversations with long-time observers of Franco-American politics) that my findings and conclusions about Franco-American political behavior are more or less applicable to the entire region.

II. The Nature of the French-Canadian Migration to New England: Impact on Political Attitudes (1865-1900)

The story of the migration of many thousands of French-Canadian rural peasants to find work in the New England mill towns during the post-Civil War Years (1865-1900) has been frequently told[8] and need not be repeated here except as it bears on the evolution of Franco-American political attitudes. There are at least four factors of importance.

First, many individuals and families originally migrated from French Canada with the idea of staying only temporarily. The object was to work for a few years in the mills in order to make enough money to pay off the debt of the farm in Canada or to buy a farm when they returned. For this group, there was little desire to become naturalized or to learn English–let alone to participate in the political life of the community.

Secondly, even those immigrants who intended to stay usually were part of a family and community that had moved *en masse* from Quebec and had formed «Little Canadas»[9] in the New England mill towns. The object of these communities was primarily to preserve their French-Canadian identity and culture, and little thought was given to taking an active part in civic affairs. This desire to survive as a distinct cultural group–*«la survivance»*–usually led by the clergy, required the preservation of the French language by the establishment of French parishes and schools with French-speaking priests and nuns. This struggle against assimilation–aided by the establishment of numerous Franco-American fraternal and cultural societies and the Franco-American press–was remarkably successful; so much so that John Gunther, writing as late as 1951 in *Inside U.S.A.*, called the French-Canadians «the most parochial and unassimilable of all racial groups.»[10] In any event, whether the failure to become «Americanized» was due to either the hope of returning to Canada or some notion of *la survivance*, the fact remains that many Franco-Americans simply did not care enough either to learn English or–perhaps more important for political purposes–to become American citizens. The point is strikingly illustrated by the United States census of 1890 which shows that only 28,465 out of 306,440 male adults of French-Canadian origin had been naturalized.[11] To cite another example, there were 12,000 French-Canadians in Lowell, Massachusetts, in 1883–the great majority of whom worked in the mills–but only 425 persons in this group registered to vote.[12]

Third, the lack of stringent labor and public education laws was particularly deleterious in the case of the Franco-Americans. Franco-Americans produced large families (ten children were not uncommon), and the financial burdens were considerable. Children dropped out of school at an early age to help support the family, and 72 hour weeks were the rule. Only a very small number of the brightest and most economically fortunate children received secondary and higher education–usually at a college in Quebec. Moreover, the relatively few who became priests, doctors, lawyers, teachers, journalists, etc.,–the obvious elite group to lead a political movement–did not always return to their New England mill town communities but chose to settle in some of the larger eastern cities. It is significant that Lowell, Massachusetts, had 12,000 Franco-Americans in 1884 but no Franco-American lawyers[13] –the group usually the most active in politics. By 1893, almost ten years later, there were 20,000 Franco-Americans in Lowell but only three Franco-American lawyers.[14]

Finally, there was a hostility to Franco-American political ambitions first by the Yankee ruling class, including some mill

owners and then by the Irish, the largest immigrant group who preceded the Franco-Americans in New England. The Yankee opposition had a «Know Nothing» flavor and was largely anti-papist. The conflict with the Irish was part of the now familiar pattern of one immigrant group displacing another by accepting lower wages and harsher working conditions—in this case in the New England textile mills. In addition, though both the Irish and the Franco-Americans were Catholics, increasing numbers of Franco-Americans resented both the religious and financial control of parish affairs by Irish bishops and priests. Repeated, and usually unsuccessful, demands were made by Franco-Americans for French-speaking priests and the establishment of French parishes and schools. Failing this, Franco-Americans were loathe to give their hard won earnings to support the English-speaking churches and schools. Though large numbers of French-speaking and teaching parishes were eventually established in Franco-American communities, the struggle with the Irish left a legacy of bitterness that survives to this day. Indeed, the fact that a majority of Franco-Americans apparently were Republicans until the time of the New Deal can be largely explained by this antipathy to the Irish—who were Democrats.[15]

In sum, during the mass migrations in the period following the Civil War, Franco-Americans were slow to enter political life. This was due to the temporary nature of the French-Canadian migration and the struggle to resist assimilation each of which tended to discourage naturalization and the mastery of the English language. Franco-Americans during this time were oriented more toward Quebec institutions than those in this country, and Yankee and Irish attitudes did not encourage Franco-American entry into civil affairs.

The public attitude at that time toward the French-Canadian way of life was perhaps most accurately reflected in an 1881 report on labor conditions in New England which referred to the French-Canadians as «the Chinese of the Eastern States.»[16]

III. Franco-Americans in Politics: (1900-1968)

By the turn of the century, the barriers to Franco-American political participation were beginning to break down. Most of those who had hoped to return to Canada had either done so or, if not, were adjusting to the inevitable. Exposure to an American culture had gradually produced—if not a mastery—at least a satisfactory command of the English language. Beginning in the late 1880s and early 1890s, intensive efforts were made by leading members of Franco-American communities to form Naturalization Clubs and to teach the immigrants the essentials of American government. By 1896, the «Chinese of the East» of only 15 years before had at least reached the point where one observer summed up their situation at the time in an article in the «Nation» as follows:

> As a class, the New England French are treated considerately in public because of their votes, disparaged in private because of general dislike, and sought by all for the work they do and the money they spend.[17]

In fact, by the late 1890s, Franco-Americans had capped a belated entry into politics by being elected to legislatures in every New England state. They gradually began to challenge Yankee and Irish control of local politics in virtually every mill town in the area. In New Hampshire, by 1907, there were 18 Franco-Americans in the state legislature—by far the best record of Franco-American political performance in New England.[18] Four years later, in 1911, there was talk in New Hampshire of running a Franco-American Congressional candidate in the first

district. The Springfield (Massachusetts) Republican, moved by the apparent political vitality of the Franco-Americans in its sister state, commented as follows:

> This interesting movement indicates that the Canadians of the United States are inclined to engage more actively in our political life than in the past. * * * Whether the attempt of the Franco-Americans of New Hampshire is crowned with success or whether it remains unfruitful, we can expect to see in the near future several citizens of French origin take the path to Congress.[19]

However, in the 57 years which have elapsed since this article was written, Rhode Island is the only New England state in which Franco-Americans have approached the political success predicted. It stands alone in producing either a Franco-American Governor (Aram Pothier and Emery San Souci) or a United States Senator (Felix Hebert) and it has regularly elected a Franco-American as one of its two Congressmen for the past 30 years. New Hampshire—despite a Franco-American population of at least 25%—has had only two Congressmen (Alphonse Roy and Oliva Huot) and each of those for single terms in 1936-1938 and 1962-1964, respectively. Neither Massachusetts, Maine or Vermont has had a Franco-American Congressman. Connecticut elected its first four years ago, William St. Onge, who was recently re-elected.

It is only in local politics that Franco-Americans have been significantly represented. By 1929, Franco-Americans were serving as mayors in eleven New England cities: Woonsocket and Central Falls in Rhode Island; Fall River, Southbridge, Chicopee and Fitchburg in Massachusetts; Manchester and Somersworth in New Hampshire; and Waterville, Wrightson and Biddeford in Maine.[20] Thereafter, and to the present time, Franco-Americans continue to be elected as mayors, city councillors, aldermen and selectmen in mill and manufacturing cities throughout New England. These communities, in which Franco-Americans are either a voting majority or have the voting power to determine who gets elected, include Berlin, Somersworth, Nashua, Manchester, Claremont, Franklin, Laconia and Rochester in New Hampshire; Lewiston, Sanford, Biddeford, Winslow, Madawaska, Van Buren, Rumford, Brunswick and Waterville in Maine; Southbridge, Chicopee, Gardner, Fitchburg, Leominster, North Adams, Fall River, Lowell, Lawrence, Salem and Holyoke in Massachusetts; Pawtucket, Central Falls, and Woonsocket in Rhode Island; and widely scattered communities in Vermont and Connecticut including Putnam (Conn.) and Winooski (Vt.).[21]

However, despite the election of Franco-Americans to important positions in these and other cities, veteran observers[22] of Franco-American politics almost uniformly agree that Franco-Americans have not in the past and do not now possess the degree of political power which one would expect considering their numbers in the community. The city of Salem, Massachusetts, may serve to illustrate the point.

Since 1910, the population of Salem has remained fairly constant at about 40,000 people.[22a] There are no completely reliable figures as to ethnic breakdowns of the Salem population, but a generally accepted estimate is that the city, since about 1930, has been 45% Irish, and 40 to 45% Franco-American with the remaining percentage mostly Polish and Italian and scatterings of other ethnic groups (Greeks, Lithuanians, etc.).[23] Though very close in numbers to the Irish, no Franco-American has ever been elected mayor, and since 1918 all the mayors in Salem have been Irish. The city has a mayor-councillor form of government, and of the eleven councillors currently holding

office, there are six Irishmen, three Franco-Americans, one Pole and one Italian. Of the top 20 positions in city government (clerk, tax collector, parks and public works director, school superintendent, etc.), 80% are held by the Irish, and no such office is currently occupied by a Franco-American.[24] While there have always been at least two Franco-American councillors since 1930 (and as high as five during one four year period), it is clear that Franco-Americans have played a decidedly subordinate role to the Irish—a familiar refrain in city politics throughout New England.

The situation as described in Salem holds more or less true in many cities throughout New England where Franco-Americans possess potentially decisive voting power. There is a repeating pattern of the absence of Franco-Americans in one or more of the following: the mayoralty, the city council, or the chief operative positions of city government. Other examples include Fall River, New Bedford, Lawrence, Lowell, Holyoke, Springfield and Webster in Massachusetts; Nashua, New Hampshire; and Lewiston, Maine.[24a]

The case of Lewiston, Maine, is particularly revealing. This city, with a population of 42,000, is about 85% Franco-American, and has been referred to as the «Franco-American capitol of New England,»[25] (although Manchester, New Hampshire and Fall River, Massachusetts, also claim the title). For many years the city has continually elected a Franco-American mayor. However, Lewiston has traditionally been run—not by the mayor—but by various «Commissions» (Police, Fire, Finance, Health and Welfare, Public Works) each of which is composed of five members. A majority of these Commissions have usually been non-Franco-American even though appointed by a Franco-American mayor. According to Robert Coutourier, an able young Franco-American who was Mayor of Lewiston from 1965 to 1967, the reason for this is that the Franco-Americans do not seek these positions and generally are not interested in city government.

Salem and Lewiston provide two illustrations of the failure of Franco-Americans to achieve political power in any proportion to their population in the community—a pattern which persists throughout New England. What follows is an analysis of why this should be.

IV. Franco-American Political Attitudes

To my knowledge, the only material specifically on this subject in either English or French is an article in French written in 1961 by Josaphat T. Benoit, for 18 years the highly respected Franco-American mayor of Manchester, New Hampshire.[26] According to Benoit, Franco-American political progress in New England has been slow and sporadic due to several «defects» in the French character as follows:

First, as a consequence of several centuries of rural life, says Benoit, the Franco-American has shown a timidity and modesty which is inconsistent with public life. Qualified Franco-Americans—whether in government, teaching or the professions—do not play an activist role, and wait to be solicited by others. Generally, a Franco-American seeking political office will simply put forward a rather bare outline of his qualifications, and will not be inclined to a full mobilization of his friends and resources on his behalf.

Second, the Franco-American lacks perseverance. A Franco-American who is defeated for public office—unlike politicians in some other ethnic groups—will rarely run again.

Third, Franco-Americans show certain prejudices against groups who have gained political success because they are more tenacious or aggressive—qualities disliked by Franco-Americans but essential in politics. These ethnic rivalries force Franco-Americans into absurd inconsistencies, as in the case of a Massachusetts Franco-American «who voted for Nixon because Kennedy is Irish, against Gelinas (Franco-American Republican running for district attorney of Worcester County) because he is Republican, but for Furcolo (Democrat) because he is 'Italian' like the pope.»[27]

Fourth, continues Benoit, there is jealousy amongst the Franco-American elite which divides political strength and neutralizes the action of Franco-American leaders. Instead of uniting behind one well-qualified. Franco-American candidate, they often promote several candidacies at the same time.[28]

Fifth, Franco-Americans are inclined to hold political grudges among themselves and against other ethnic groups. Political opponents—aware of this trait—promote and provoke discord between Franco-Americans and thus gain power under the principle of divide and conquer.

Sixth, the Franco-American is disposed to a kind of verbal violence, which encourages and multiplies quarrels. Franco-Americans have not learned a cardinal lesson of politics, i. e., to seek reconciliation even where strong discord exists.

Seventh, Franco-Americans let their emotional feelings overcome reason. Benoit refers to the statement of Sir Wilfrid Laurier: «In Quebec, there are no political opinions; there are only feelings.»[29]

Finally, states Benoit, Franco-Americans are parsimonious in investing their time or money in a political campaign and, as a result, job appointments and other patronage often elude them.

In a recent interview, Benoit—who at age 68 is now the director of the Federal Small Business Administration in New Hampshire, reaffirmed what he wrote seven years ago. He underlined the economic factors involved. Franco-Americans, until relatively recently, said Benoit, had to «work like blazes» to support their large families. This allowed little time either to seek political office or to campaign for others, and even less money for such purposes.

Another approach, suggested by Benoit and other experienced Franco-American political observers, is that the Franco-Americans, unlike some other ethnic groups, «do not vote for their own.» In his book, *Protestant and Catholic*, a study of religious and social interaction in Holyoke, Massachusetts, Kenneth Underwood states:

> French Catholics cannot be counted upon to cast a «block vote» for one of their own people. The French-dominated Wards 1 and 2 in 1936 voted about 3 to 1 for two Irish candidates over the French candidate for County Commissioner * * * [These French Wards], which are also traditionally Democratic * * * supported [in the 1944 elections] the Irish Catholic Democratic candidate for the State House of Representatives against the French Catholic Republican candidate. Holyoke Transcript, November 8, 1944, p.12.[30]

Two other examples out of many may be cited. In the 1960 elections Manchester, New Hampshire, which is over 50% Franco-American and is two to one Democrat, gave a 12,000 majority vote to John F. Kennedy, but a 700 vote majority to the Republican governor Wesley Powell against his Democrat Franco-American adversary Ber-

nard L. Boutin.[31]

In the 1956 Congressional Democratic primary in Maine—where no Franco-American has yet been elected to Congress—the Yankee Frank Coffin was running against a Franco-American. Coffin won the primary and carried by a considerable margin those areas which were heavily Franco-American. An old line Franco-American politician, after hearing of the overwhelming Franco-American support for Coffin, was said to remark with tears in his eyes: «We didn't do what the Yankees said we would—we chose the best man, not the Frenchman.»[32]

However, Franco-American politicians unanimously agree that Franco-Americans (regardless of their party affiliation) will heavily support an outstanding Franco-American candidate—such as Benoit, or Robert Coutourier in Maine. But since most political candidates, like most people, are not outstanding, the reasons for this overall lack of Franco-American voting solidarity are worth examining.

Perhaps the best explanation has been given by Jacques Ducharme, a New England Franco-American, who has offered some penetrating insights into the Franco-American world. In his 1943 book, *The Shadows of the Trees*, a charming and highly personal account of the Franco-Americans in New England, Ducharme looks at some of «the highly original vagaries of Franco-American politics.»[33] After noting the divisions which have characterized Franco-American politics, Ducharme comments as follows:

> The root of all this evil is the individuality of the Franco-American, his insistence on maintaining his own opinion without regard to any party loyalty. [This] intense individualism of the Franco-American is his greatest quality and his worst defect. Everything begins and ends there. * * *
>
> * * * Every nationality has some trait which distinguishes it apart from language or faith, and in the Frenchman, be he from France, Canada, or the United States, it is individualism. The Irish American is very much an individual, also, but he can adapt himself easily to his fellows, whereas the Franco-American makes teamwork difficult. I can remember the trials and wars of the basketball coaches at Assumption [the Franco-American college in Worster, Mass.], when they would try to instill some tactics into the players' heads. In the long run, it was simpler to give them the ball, and let them do what they wanted. * * *
>
> This individualism works in devious ways. Alone or by the aid of others, a Franco-American may rise a little above the rest. Then some will say:
>
> «Il est orgueilleux. He is proud, and forgets that we put him there.»
>
> There may be criticism:
>
> «How is it that he rose to such a position? »
>
> Or jealousy:
>
> «Why shouldn't I have his position? »
>
> It all ends with the failure of the Franco-Americans to support their compatriot, so that any importance he might have had as their representative is lost.[34]

Virtually every Franco-American whom I interviewed[35] agreed that this individuality—whether it is inherent in the French or derived from notions associated with the French revolution, or for whatever reason—is a basic quality of the Franco-American, indeed of all the French, and has considerably weakened Franco-American political strength.

In addition to the factors already mentioned, there are perhaps some deeper explanations for Franco-American political attitudes. Franco-Americans have been slow in seeking political power as a result of an almost unique ethos (outlook, orientation and value system) which has survived for

over three centuries. In sum, this ethos is one derived from a French-Canadian pre-industrial rural society dominated by the religious and social philosophy of the Roman Catholic church. If the Franco-Americans «lack that final touch in politics» (in the words of Henri Goguen, former Secretary of State of Massachusetts)—if they have not shown that ambition and drive for political power—it is to this ethos that we must look.

V. The French-Canadian Ethos

By the time of the British conquest of New France (later to become the province of Quebec) in 1760, the French-Canadians numbered about 65,000.[36] This group in turn was descended mainly from some 10,000 settlers—mostly peasants, artisans and soldiers—who came from France during the preceding century.[37] France, at the time when most of the Canadian immigration was taking place (about 1632-1740) was a strongly Catholic nation; an absolute monarchy by divine right in which parliament played only a consultative role; and an agrarian nation with remnants of feudalism embodied in a seigneurial system under which the King granted land for a periodic fee to a seigneur who in turn deeded parcels of the land to rent paying peasants.[38]

As the French immigrants settled in Canada, these French institutions were continued substantially without change. Settlement and colonization were directed in Canada by officials (the governor and the intendant) appointed by and directly responsible to the King (Louis XIV), who reinstituted the seigneural system. Ecclesiastical administration with schools run by the church was established by 1663 under the authority of Bishop Laval and the creation of Notre Dame de Quebec parish.[39] Though some of these first 10,000 immigrants continued to push west and north, most of them settled on farm lands along the banks of the St. Lawrence. These farmers—*«habitants»*—constituted the group from which are descended the great majority of French-Canadians—including those who later migrated to the New England mill towns in the United States.[40] Accordingly, it is most pertinent to examine the culture and way of life of these *habitants* and the society in which they lived.

By 1760—the time of the British conquest—the situation of the French-Canadian community, as set forth in a 1956 Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Constitutional Problems in Quebec, may be summarized as follows:

> 1) ruined financially, through many years of war;
> 2) cut off from its original mother country * * * from the triple viewpoints of economy, culture and religion;
> 3) beheaded of its civil elite; its public administrators, traders and contracters, as well as the social leaders, had returned to France.
> 4) deprived of its higher education; the colleges of the Jesuits and the Recollets which had provided secondary education, were closed and [of the colleges] the sole survivor was the Seminaire de Quebec;
> 5) separated from major business and consequently from the sources of wealth; * * *
> Its clergy alone remained to direct its religious, cultural, social and even its political life.[41]

In short, by the time that New France was ceded to Britain in 1763, most of the French-Canadian community, except for its clergy, was hardly aware of even «the possibilities of politics»[42] as an instrument for changing social and economic conditions. As Gustave Lanctot has observed:

> The habitants of New France had no experience of common action in political matters. With no organization whatsoever that could group and direct them they had become accustomed to submitting without question to the ordinances of the intendants, to the orders of the governors and to the edicts of Versailles.[43]

As previously noted, of the elite there primarily remained the clergy whose goals were to safeguard the faith and keep its parishioners true to the spirit of *la survivance.* Kwavnick, the Canadian political scientist, has noted that preservation of the faith was no easy task in an Anglo-Saxon controlled «milieu in which life was dominated by materialistic impulses and the Protestant ethic, and in which most changes tended to devalue and undermine religion.»[44] However, the fears of the clergy were soon put to rest for reasons well stated by Pierre Trudeau, the present prime minister of Canada:

> When Canada passed into British hands, the Church naturally concerned herself with safeguarding the faith by protecting her authority. And, as it turned out, she discovered that her position had in a sense improved. For after the debacle of 1760, she remained alone as a social beacon to give strength and guidance to vanquished people, and to the victor she had the potentialities of a formidable opponent. So, after difficult beginnings, both powers found it advantageous to work out a modus vivendi. Loyalty was bartered for religious freedom, and the Church was as good as her word. During the wars of 1775, 1812, 1914, and 1939, the Catholic hierarchy prescribed submission to His Majesty's government; they even launched an appeal against the Fenian raiders in 1870. And at the time of the 1837 rebellion,[45] they used their powers to check the patriots.
>
> When the faith lay safe, no distant call to democratic liberty held much appeal to the churchmen. The reason may have been partly that the torch of freedom so often appeared to be borne by enemies of the faith, as in the case of nineteenth-century revolutionaries whose staple stock-in-trade was anti-clericalism.[46]

For the next one hundred years and more—continuing into the period of heavy migration to the United States (1865-1900)—French Canada remained a clergy oriented rural society—a society, in the words of A. R. M. Lower, «essentially cut off from the rest of the world, turned inward upon itself to a degree few people of English speech can grasp; a society unbelievably parochial but in every sense a strong blood brotherhood.»[47]

By 1860, over 80% of French Canada was rural, and it was almost exclusively the *habitants*—forced from their land due to obsolete agricultural practices resulting in soil exhaustion—who came to the United States.[48] In 1861 and 1862, the French consul at Quebec, Gauldrée-Boilleau, made a study of a typical French-Canadian rural family living in Quebec in St. Irenee Parish on the north coast of the St. Lawrence River. The study (Paysen de St. Irenee) is valuable for its description of the ethos of these *habitants* on the eve of their great migration to the New England mill towns during the next thirty and more years.

«The habitat of St. Irenee,» states Gauldrée-Boilleau, «still [in the year 1861] does not quite understand the importance of education. At the time fixed for the payment of contributions, the school commissioners are sometimes in an open struggle with a sector of the population.»[49] With respect to secondary and higher education, Gauldrée-Boilleau says: «Although several habitants of St. Irenee would be able to

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afford sending their children to college, they do not have that ambition, and only concern themselves with training to be good farmers.»[50] Some reasons for this indifference of the *habitant* to higher education are commented on by Gauldrée-Boilleau as follows:

> The parishoners of St. Irenee claim that most of the children that are sent to the Quebec colleges lose their religious faith there and often learn bad habits. The behaviour of the «seigneurs» —doctors, notaries, and lawyers of the county—is used as proof of this claim. If one is to believe them, this class of educated people fairly frequently give rise to scandals through their immoderate behaviour, their sacrilegious speech and their absence of scruples in financial transactions. These accusations arise, in part, from sentiments of jealousy which exist nearly everywhere in the country against the bourgeois classes; but it is necessary to recognize that the morals of independent wealthy people or of those involved in the liberal professions are in contrast, to a certain extent, in Canada with the simple character and the pious beliefs of the farmers.[51]

To pause for a moment in this narration of Gauldrée-Boilleau's study, it is evident that these attitudes towards education and the liberally educated professions—attitudes which the *habitant* brought with him to the United States—impeded the development of either a politically sophisticated electorate or an elite leadership group. Moreover, as Gauldrée-Boilleau pointed out, the principle of organizing themselves for political purposes «has been neither understood nor exploited by the Canadians of French origin, as has been done by their fellow citizens of English origin.»[52] Indeed, as the study observes, the scorn which the *habitants* displayed for those in the liberal professions was carried over to politics where one *habitant* was quoted by Gauldrée-Boilleau as saying:

> We are simple people, we habitants, said Isidore, one day * * * and because of our ignorance, we are forced to put educated citizens at the head of our municipalities and our administrations, but these leaders basically exploit us and perhaps do not deserve the respect of honest people.[53]

It was only the clergy, of all the educated classes, who were respected by the *habitants* and were the undisputed leaders of all aspects of community life. As Gauldrée-Boilleau noted:

> The authority of the curé is respected; he enjoys the esteem accorded to those whose mission is to teach and to comment on the Gospel. People firmly believe that the priest has supernatural relationships with heaven. The habitants will take the advice of their curé in all important affairs, whether religious or civil. His intervention wards off proceedings at law or terminates them, appeases hate and reconciles enemies. The civil law hardly affects them; they hardly take it into account. On the contrary, for them, religion is a powerful brake and the only one capable of restraining them.[54]

Reflecting on the attitude of both the *habitants* and the clergy toward the state during these years, Pierre Trudeau writes:

> A conquered people therefore not only faced a state which they feared as the creature of a foreign nation, but also belonged to a church which distrusted that state as a rival power and as a child of the Revolution, liable to be dominated by anti-clericals, Protestants, or even socialists. The resulting popular attitude was a combination of political superstition and social conservatism, wherein the state—any state—was regarded as an ominous being whose uncontrollable caprices were just as likely to lead it to crush families and devour crucifixes as

to help the needy and maintain order. Electoral processes for the mass of the people remained mysterious rituals of foreign origin, of little value beyond that for which the individual can barter his vote: a receipted grocery bill, a bottle of whisky, a workman's compensation, a contract to build a bridge, a school grant, a community hospital.[55]

In sum, the many thousands of *habitants* who migrated to the New England mill towns during the years following the Civil War brought with them the attitudes of a rural, clergy oriented, anti-intellectual, anti-state society which did not see political action as very necessary and did not view politics as an honorable way to spend one's life. This, then, is the political ethos which the French-Canadian *habitants* passed on to their Franco-American descendants in New England.

Nor was the force of this ethos much diminished by the transfer from a rural to an industrial setting. For, in New England as in Canada, the life of the new immigrant—social, cultural, and religious—centered around the clergy, who were, with few exceptions, the only natural leaders who had emigrated with the *habitants* from Quebec.[56] As a result, the old values were retained in substantially undiluted form—including the bias against active participation in politics.

In his 1939 novel, *The Delusson Family*, Jacques Ducharme tells the story of Jean Baptiste Delusson, who came from his farm in Saint Valerin, Quebec, in 1874 to work in the mills at Holyoke, Massachusetts. Some years later, when the French-Canadians were making their first effort to break Irish control of city government, Jean Baptists's son, Pierre, indicated an interest in politics. Shortly after the French-Canadians had been defeated in this attempt, Jean Baptiste questioned his son:

«Do you think that you would like public life, Pierre?»

«Yes, father. I think that I should like it very much.»

«But, Pierre, you have seen only one phase of it.»

«What do you mean, father?» asked Pierre, who began to sense that his father's inquiry had a purpose behind it.

His father made a deprecatory gesture, and replied:

«It is not clean work, Pierre. Could you be sincere when you needed votes? And then if you were elected to any office would you abide by the promises which you would have made? And would you keep clear of graft?»

«Why father,» protested Pierre, «I have no intention of entering politics, at least not for a long time. And if I do, I shall try to do my job honestly.»

Jean Baptiste nodded, for he knew that Pierre had much moral sense in him.

«I know that you would, Pierre. It is only that I would rather no son of mine have anything to do with politics. The Irish are at present in the saddle, and in the last campaign I can't say that I cared for their methods.»[57]

Another acute observer of the Franco-American world, George Theriault, (currently a professor of sociology at Dartmouth), made a similar observation in his 1951 Doctoral thesis at Harvard—an intensive study of the Franco-Americans in Nashua, New Hampshire. Drawing from his «notebook of observations of Franco-American life,» Theriault describes the following scene on election night at the Laliberté family of Nashua, New Hampshire:

Suddenly Jean [one of the six Laliberté children], a tall thin youth of seventeen now at home on vacation from St. Charles Barromee, the seminary he attends during the school year at Sherbrooke, in Quebec, Canada, bursts into

> room, crying in almost hysterical excitement, «Les bleus gagnent!» «Les bleus gagnent!» («The Blues are winning!») Jean has been listening to the Montreal radio, with friends next door, and he has just received the first returns on Canadian national elections that had been held that day. His father, Antoine, rebukes him mildly for bursting into the room and says to him: «Tu t'excite pour rien, mon p'tit» (You're getting all worked up over nothing, son.») Jean, abashed and puzzled at the lack of interest in the news which seems to be clearly important to him, turns and leaves the room.[58]

Jean Baptiste Delusson and Antoine Laliberté were typical of the older generation of French-Canadian and later Franco-Americans who held politicians and political power to be unworthy of serious attention. If, as noted by Glazer and Moynihan, politics is viewed as a vehicle to provide «jobs, * * * recognition and prestige and the advancement of group interests,» then clearly it was not a main area of interest for Franco-Americans.[59] For what was important to the great mass of Franco-Americans was not power or recognition—but salvation. Nor was financial success much sought if it meant the diminution of one's faith. Excessive ambition—political or otherwise—was not encouraged, and an acceptance of place and station was a sign of personal humility consistent with the hope of salvation.

Commentators on the Franco-American world have been noting this ethos for many years. For instance, in 1897, W. P. Greenough wrote of the French-Canadians in New England:

> The people are mainly industrious, but to a New Englander would not seem hard worked. Mechanics do not try to turn out the most and best work possible, but only enough to live on, and just a little more if the chance comes. Their habits being simple and their living cheap, they are satisfied with little, and social ambitions do not trouble them much.[60]

A. R. M. Lower, writing in 1929 in «New France in New England,» portrays the French-Canadian character as follows:

> He has the Norman qualities of thrift and industry, all the Latin's sociability and that virtue for which the Latin is not conspicuously famous, honesty, at least honesty in the small things of life. He is medievally conservative. His is not an acquisitive or materialistic nature. He is cast in rather a small mould and is satisfied to have things as his ancestors had them. * * * Essentially religious and spiritual in his outlook on life, he stands at the opposite pole from Protestant materialism and individualism.[61]

Writing in 1937 in her study of ethnic groups in Burlington, Vermont, Elin L. Anderson observed:

> In Burlington those of French-Canadian descent form a bloc of nearly ten thousand people. Although individually volatile, they are as a group unassertive, concerned primarily with maintaining what they have in the way of national integrity—their religion, their language, their customs. They have never had to fight for these in the same way as the Irish. The right was granted them by the British at the time of the conquest and they have preserved the characteristics by constant passive resistance to outside influence whether British of French. Even in Burlington they seem less perturbed than others by the course of outside events; they put their faith in God and quietly produce the future population of the city.[62]

In 1939, Constance Green, a history instructor at Smith College, summarized the early social life of French-Canadians in

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Holyoke, Massachusetts as follows:

> Work, go to Mass, save money, and return to Province Quebec—that was long the order. As time wore on the dream of final return to Canada lost much of its charm and the French Canadian accepted Holyoke as his home. Yet although many of these people became naturalized citizens, they were not soon or easily Americanized. Their children attended French schools; they spoke French Canadian at home; they read the locally published French newspaper; they celebrated their own special holidays, New Year's and St. John the Baptist's Day. Outside their church few knew much pleasure.[63]

Almost twenty years later, Kenneth Underwood—also writing of the interaction of various ethnic groups in Holyoke—notes that Franco-Americans «have not shown so great a drive as the Irish for leadership and social status,» and that «their [the Franco-Americans] stolid temperament and acceptance of the conditions of work made them more acceptable to the Yankee mill owners than the aggressive Irish.»[64]

George Theriault, in his 1951 study, contrasts «the typically American conception of 'going places,' 'getting somewhere in the world'» with the French-Canadian attitude as follows:

> Where, for the American, the father's material achievement is to be surpassed and enlarged upon, for the French Canadian the father's life is a shining example to be emulated.[65]

Theriault's observations have particular significance as a guide to the evolution of Franco-American political attitudes. For, as Jacques Ducharme observed in 1943:

> The part that the Franco-Americans have played in New England is not a showy one. They are the laborers, the small taxpayers, the privates in the Army, the millworkers, the small merchants, the women clerks in department stores, all common people.[66]

Obviously, if this was representative of the group «to be emulated,» then Franco-Americans clearly were not destined—at least for some time—to develop the kind of leadership necessary for political success.[67] Of course, as previously noted, the French-Canadian ethos did not prevent some Franco-Americans from achieving significant electoral victories—particularly in municipalities with heavy Franco-American populations. But the French-Canadian ethos, unlike that of the Irish, for example, did not inspire that «final touch»[68]—that desire to attain the full measure of political power.

VI. The Impact of Assimilation on Franco-American Political Attitudes

Franco-Americans almost unanimously agree that—since the end of World War II—there has been a slow but progressive breaking down of the elements of *la survivance*. Concerned Franco-Americans attribute this gradual loss of their unique culture to many factors. They note the decline of the use of French in the home; the lack of interest in bi-lingualism and the increased use of English by the younger generation;[69] the falling off in attendance at Franco-American churches; the growing popularity of public schools; the number of mixed marriages;[70] the development of a more cosmopolitan world view since World War II; the impact of television; loss of popular interest and support of the Franco-American press;[71] and, simply, the inevitable adoption of the values of the majority group in which they live.[72]

Perhaps the most eloquent spokesman in New England for the maintenance of Franco-

American identity and culture is Wilfred Beaulieu, the editor of *La Travailleur*, a Franco-American weekly «journal of opinion devoted exclusively to the recording and the promotion of Franco-American cultural activities.» I visited Beaulieu on a Saturday afternoon in mid-November (1968) at his office in Manchester, New Hampshire where *La Travailleur* is printed. A short, stocky man with a strong French accent, Beaulieu was there assisting the operator of the printing press in getting out that edition. Beaulieu, who noted that, as editor, he also occasionally swept the floors, made no secret of the uncertain financial status of his journal, and spoke regretfully of the decline of the once vigorous Franco-American press in New England.[73] «When I am dead,» said the 68 year old Beaulieu, «no one will be fool enough to carry on.» Beaulieu blames the decline of the spirit of *la survivance* on the «new breed» of clergy. To quote Beaulieu:

> The clergy of 50 and 75 years ago was educated in Quebec, and brought the mentality and institutions of French Canada with them. These priests were dedicated to «la survivance» and their creed could be summed up by the saying «Qui perd sa langue, perd sa foi.» (Who loses his language, loses his faith.) Since the 1920s, the Irish bishops of New England have pressed for assimilation of all groups within one Roman Catholic Church. Thus, a new breed of Franco-American clergy, born and educated in the United States, has been created. They speak French (but rather poorly), and do not encourage preservation of the language. Nor do they have the same single-minded devotion to maintenance of French culture. I have spent my life trying to preserve Franco-American culture. I, and others like me, are losing the fight.

The impact of assimilation on Franco-American political attitudes is difficult to assess. As previously noted, the spirit of social cohesiveness and identity embodied in *la survivance* was not transferred to the area of politics. The Franco-American, largely because of his individuality and his mistrust of politicians, could not be counted upon to cast a block vote or to support without question a fellow Franco-American. With increasing acculturation and a continual movement to what Banfield and Wilson have called the «Anglo-Saxon Protestant political ethos,»[74] there is even less of a possibility that Franco-Americans will be sympathetic to a politics of ethnic appeal. If a desire for ethnic recognition persists at all, it will probably be manifested in the pride which Franco-Americans have in the newer breed of Franco-American politician—men like the able and articulate Bernard Boutin of New Hampshire[75]—who are representative of the ethnic group «but at the same time display the attributes of the generally admired Anglo-Saxon model.[76]

The difference in political attitudes shown by the older and younger generations of Franco-American politicians is particularly evident. The older politicians whom I interviewed, without exception, take for granted the existence of ethnic factors in political life. Indeed, they view their constituencies largely in terms of their ethnic groupings and usually deplore—some mildly and others vehemently—the voting independence of the Franco-American electorate.

By contrast, the attitude of the younger Franco-American politicians was perhaps the best typified by Emile Bussiere, the 36 year old attorney who was recently defeated as the democratic candidate for governor of New Hampshire. «I have never looked upon the ethnic aspect of political life as of overwhelming significance,» said Bussiere, «and I hope the day will come when ethnic factors will be of no importance whatever.»[77] Similar views were expressed by Richard Guy, 34, a city councillor in Salem, Massachusetts, and Maurice Arel, 31, the President of the

Board of Aldermen in Nashua, New Hampshire.[78] Guy and Arel are examples of the acculturative process at work. Both come from families who stressed the «old values» –religion, the French language, survival of the faith–and a lack of emphasis on the role of education; both reject the old values; both married girls who were not Franco-American; both are sending their children to public schools; both doubt that their children will learn to speak French; both regard religion as subordinate to education and both attend non Franco-American churches. Arel gave an interesting example of the changing conception of the clergy over three generations: «To my grandparents,» Arel said, «the priest was the leader of the community; to my parents, the priest was someone who was probably respected more than anyone else but always seemed to be looking for money; in my family, we don't attend a Franco-American church, and the priest is simply respected.»[79]

Of the younger politicians with whom I spoke,[80] only Robert Coutourier, the former mayor of Lewiston, Maine, championed the cause of *la survivance*. Coutourier is a vocal and energetic spokesman for a small number of young Franco-Americans in New England who seek to resist the erosion of Franco-American identity and culture. To Coutourier, *la survivance* means a way of life that, for cultural purposes, stresses the retention of the French language, and certain of the «best features» of French, French-Canadian, and Franco-American literature and culture.[81] At age 28, Coutourier is married but has not yet had children. «If you have children,» I asked him, «will they learn to speak French?» «They will if they want to stay in this house,» said Coutourier, and he obviously meant it. Coutourier's desire for ethnic identification and cohesion also extends to politics–perhaps an inevitability for a Franco-American politician in a city where Franco-Americans constitute about 85% of the population. Coutourier frankly stated that, upon becoming Mayor of Lewiston in 1965, he made a special effort to appoint qualified Franco-Americans to posts in city government in order to correct the imbalance which had favored non Franco-Americans for many years. (See discussion under Part III, above.) It is this desire to «stick together more closely,» as Coutourier put it, that distinguishes his approach from that of Emile Bussiere and others. «Given two candidates of roughly equal abilities,» said Coutourier, «I would encourage both the people and the political leadership to support the Franco-American.»

Despite the vigor of Coutourier and his small following, there seems little doubt that the waning spirit of *la survivance*, and the accompanying acculturation, has weakened the ethnic identification of the current generation of Franco-Americans, including Franco-American politicians. Moreover, as one would expect in the 1960s, even Coutourier and his group reject most of the values associated with the French-Canadian ethos. Coutourier considers education to be more important than religion and he states that the recognition and prestige associated with political life appeal as much to his group as any other. Finally, it is clear that young Franco-Americans have come a long way from the days of Jean Baptiste Delusson and Antoine Laliberté. Public service is no longer considered a dishonorable way to spend one's life. This alone is a most significant change in Franco-American political attitudes.

Notes

1. The Franco-American population in New England can only be estimated. The United States census of 1960 gives population figures in each state for foreign stock (foreign born or having one parent foreign born) «Canadians» but does not break these figures down further into French Canadians and Other Canadians. The 1950 census gives figures only for «foreign born» Canadian French and Other Canadians. David Walker, formerly at the Bureau for Research in Municipal Government at Bowdoin College, estimated in 1961 that Franco-Americans numbered at least 12% of the New England population. David B. Walker, *Politics and Ethnocentrism: The Case of the Franco-Americans,* Bowdoin College Bureau for Research in Municipal Government, Brunswick, Maine, 1961, 7. The estimate of over one million noted above is that of Josephat T. Benoit, former mayor of Manchester, New Hampshire. Josephat T. Benoit, *Attitudes des Franco-Américaines en Politique,* (Brunswick, Maine: Franco-American Institute), 1961, 17 (in French). Henri Gougen, former Secretary of State of Massachusetts and President of *L'Union Saint Jean Baptiste d'Amérique,* the largest fraternal insurance society in the United States, estimates that there are at least two million Franco-Americans in New England. (personal interview)

2. Josephat T. Benoit, *Attitudes des Franco-Américaines en Politique,* (Brunswick, Maine: Franco-American Institute), 1961, 17, (in French).

3. This percentage is the estimate given to me by August P. La France, Secretary of State of Rhode Island, who states that it is based on a recent survey. Benoit (*op. cit.,* 17) estimates the Rhode Island percentage at 20%.

4. Walker, (*op. cit.,* 7) estimates the Maine percentage as at least one sixth of the state's population. Benoit (*op. cit.,* 17) estimates 20% and Robert Coutourier, the former mayor of Lewiston, Maine, places the percentage at 25%. (personal interview)

5. Ten per cent of the Massachusetts population is the estimate of Benoit (*op. cit.,* 17). Henri Gougen, former Secretary of State of Massachusetts—and perhaps the most knowledgeable Franco-American politician in the state—says that up to 20% of the state's population is Franco-American. (personal interview)

6. The Vermont and Connecticut percentages are estimates of Benoit (*op. cit.,* 17).

7. David Walker has explored this subject in «The Presidential Politics of the Franco-Americans,» *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* Vol. 28, No. 3, August 1962. See also Walker, *Politics and Ethnocentrism: The Case of the Franco-Americans, op. cit.*

8. See, for example, G. T. Prior, *The French Canadians in New England,* (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Brown University), 1932; Jacques Ducharme, *The Shadows of the Trees* (New York: Harper and Brothers), 1943; Herve Lemaire, *Franco-American Efforts on Behalf of the French Language in the United States,* (Language Resources Project: Dept. of Education), 1964, 2-3. Lemaire's study is also contained in Joshua A. Fishman, *Language Loyalty in the United States* (The Hague, Mouton), 1966. I was not able to procure this latter book so my page references are to the «Language Resources Project» which Lemaire kindly sent me.

9. Benoit, *op. cit.,* 13.

10. John Gunther, *Inside U.S.A.,* Revised Edition, 1951, 490.

11. G. T. Prior, *The French Canadians in New England,* (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Brown University), 1932, 251.

12. *Directoire des Canadiens-Français de Lowell, Mass.,* and *Almanac* for the year 1884 (in French).

13. Arthur L. Eno, *Les Avocats Franco-Américains de Lowell* (1886-1936) (in French).

14. *Ibid.*

15. Interview with Josephat T. Benoit, former mayor of Manchester, New Hampshire; Ro-

bert Rumilly, *Histoire des Franco-Américains* (L'Union Saint Jean Baptiste d'Amérique: Montreal), 1958, 85, 174; Prior, *op. cit.*, 294. Another explanation of Franco-American Republicanism prior to the New Deal was offered by Aram J. Pothier, the Franco-American Governor of Rhode Island for several terms in the early 1900s who stated: (Quote from Prior, *op. cit.*, 243) «By instinct, by education, and, I will add, by our religious beliefs, we are conservative; that is why our political tendencies have been generally Republican.»

16. Mass. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Report of 1881, Investigation into Regulating Laws of Labor in New England States, quoted in Prior, *op. cit.*, 193.

17. Quoted in *Les Franco-Américains peints par eux-mêmes* (Association Canado-Américaine, Montreal), 1936, 11.

18. Prior, *op. cit.*, 273.

19. Quoted in Prior, *op. cit.*, 273-274.

20. Prior, *op. cit.*, 293.

21. David B. Walker, «The Presidential Politics of Franco-Americans,» *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, Vol. 28, No. 3, August 1962, 353.

22. For example, Josephat T. Benoit, 68, former mayor of Manchester, New Hampshire, Henri Goguen, 71, former Secretary of State of Massachusetts; Philip Morenzy, 61, former city councillor of Salem, Mass. for 27 years; and others (personal interviews).

22a. Monograph, City of Salem, Mass. Dept. of Commerce and Development, Boston, Mass.

23. This information, together with most of the material on Salem politics, is based on interviews with Philip Morenzy, a former city councillor in Salem for 27 years.

24. Directory of Massachusetts Municipal Officials, 1968-1969, Massachusetts League of Cities and Towns, 67.

24a. Interview with Goguen, *op. cit.*

25. Interview with Robert Coutourier, former mayor of Lewiston, who gave me most of the information on Lewiston politics.

26. See Benoit, *op. cit.*, 14-16. I have tried to discover all the relevant materials in English on the subject and have made some effort (although not an exhaustive one) to root out the French writings. I read French only sparingly and the French materials which were found were read to me by a French-Canadian friend.

27. Benoit, *op. cit.*, 15.

28. This same point is made in Elin L. Anderson's *We Americans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 1937, a study of ethnic groups in Burlington, Vermont as follows: (at pp. 216-217): «The French Canadians * * * say that instead of standing together and helping one of their members to attain public office, as they believe the Irish do, they jealously watch each other's advancement, and frequently hold a member down if he seems to be making too rapid progress beyond the group.»

29. Benoit, *op. cit.*, 15.

30. Kenneth W. Underwood, *Protestant and Catholic* (Boston: The Beacon Press), 1957, 462.

31. Interview with Bernard L. Boutin; See also Benoit, *op. cit.*, 15.

32. Quoted in Duane Lockard, *New England State Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 1959, 317.

33. Ducharme, *op. cit.*, 167.

34. *Ibid.*, 169-173.

35. Including Josephat Benoit, Henri Gougen, Philip Morenzy, Bernard Boutin, Robert Coutourier, *op. cit.*; William St. Onge, United States Congressman from Connecticut; Edward Lampron, formerly city solicitor and Democratic city chairman in Nashua, New Hampshire and currently an Associate Justice of the New Hampshire Supreme Court; Donat Corriveau, for 32 years registrar of deeds in Nashua, New Hampshire, and others. The only politician who differed with this point of view was August P. La France, the Secretary of State of Rhode Island. Although noting that Franco-Americans are a «hard race to organize» and that a «certain

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amount of professional jealousy» exists, La France stated that there is a strong feeling of Franco-American solidarity in Rhode Island which manifests itself at the polls. This solidarity according to La France, is due to the many Franco-American fraternal and cultural societies in Rhode Island, including the largest Franco-American fraternal insurance company in America (L'Union de Saint Jean Baptiste d'Amérique) which has its headquarters in Woonsocket, Rhode Island. For a discussion of the vigorous support which this latter group gave to Franco-Americans in politics in the 1920s, see Prior, *op. cit.*, 280-281.

36. *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Constitutional Problems,* Vol. II, Province of Quebec, 1956, 30.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*, 30-31; See also *Quebec Yearbook, 1966-1967* (Queens Printer: Parliament Buildings, Quebec), 54-55.

39. *Quebec Yearbook, op. cit.*, 55-56.

40. A. R. M. Lower, *Two Ways of Life: The Primary Antithesis of Canadian History* (Canadian Historical Association, Report 1943), Reprinted in «Approaches to Canadian History,» University of Toronto Press, 1967, 17-18.

41. *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry, op. cit.*, 39-40.

42. The quote, as applied to the Irish peasants who emigrated to the United States, is taken from Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, Mass.: the M. I. T. Press), 1963, 225.

43. *L'Administration de La Nouvelle-France* (Paris, 1929), 140. Quoted by Pierre Trudeau in *Federalism and the French Canadians* (Toronto, MacMillan of Canada), 1968, 104.

44. D. Kwavnick, «The Roots of French Canadian Discontent,» *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXXI, 1965, 515.

45. This refers to a rebellion against the government by a fiery French-Canadian, Louis-Joseph Papineau. The uprising, soon crushed, was one over legislative (French) or executive (English) control of the government. (footnote mine)

46. Trudeau, *op. cit.*, 108.

47. A. R. M. L[illegible], *op. cit.*, 18.

48. *Ibid.*, 21; Lemaire, *op. cit.*, 4-8.

49. Quoted from Leon Gerin, «The French Canadian Family–Its Strengths and Weaknesses,» contained in *French-Canadian Society,* Vol.I, Eds. Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin (Toronto: McClelland and Steward Limited), 1964, 51.

50. *Ibid.*, 52.

51. *Ibid.*, 53.

52. *Ibid.*, 54.

53. *Ibid.*, 57.

54. *Ibid.*, 55.

55. Trudeau, *op. cit.*, 109.

56. Lemaire, *op. cit.*, 10.

57. Jacques Ducharme, *The Delusson Family* (New York, Funk and Wagnalls Company), 1939, 192-193.

58. George F. Theriault, *The Franco-Americans in a New England Community* (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis: Harvard University), 1951, 16, 18-19.

59. Glazer and Moynihan, *op. cit.*, 67.

60. W. P. Greenough, *Canadian Folk-life and Folklore* (New York, G. H. Richmond), 1897, 172, quoted in Lloyd W. Warner and Leo Srole, *Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 1945, 77.

61. A. R. M. Lower, *New France in New England* (The Southworth Press), 1929, 281.

62. Anderson, *op. cit.*, 28-29.

63. Constance M. Green, *Holyoke, Massachusetts* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 1939, 371.

64. Underwood, *op. cit.*, 211.

65. Theriault, *op. cit.*, 259-268.

66. Ducharme, *The Shadows of the Trees*, *op. cit.*, 3.

67. It is significant that Franco-Americans have lagged far behind other nationalities in producing lawyers—traditionally the most politically inclined and active group in the community. For example, Lewiston, Maine, with a Franco-American population of over 85%, has 43 lawyers of whom only 6 are Franco-American. (Interview with Robert Coutourier, former mayor of Lewiston.) Nashua, New Hampshire, with a Franco-American population exceeding 50%, has some 70 lawyers but only 3 are Franco-American. (Interview with Edward Lampron, Associate Justice of the New Hampshire Supreme Court.)

68. It will be recalled that this is the expression of Henri Goguen, formerly the Secretary of State of Massachusetts.

69. Dr. Robert A. Beaudoin, President of the Federation of Franco-Americans in New Hampshire and recently appointed to the Advisory Committee on Languages in the United States Department of Education, states that 25 years ago 80% of children starting in Franco-American parochial schools could speak only French. Today, says Beaudoin, 80 to 85% can speak only English. (personal interview)

70. Lemaire, *op. cit.*, 64.

71. Interview with Arthur Clement, former editor of the Franco-American daily newspaper, *L'Etoile*, of Lowell, Mass.; In 1937, there were three daily Franco-American newspapers, and twenty-eight weeklies. Today, no daily newspapers remain and there are only three weeklies. See Lemaire, *op. cit.*, 35, 52-53.

72. For an excellent summary of the foundations of *la survivance*, see George Theriault, *The Franco-Americans in New England*, in Canadian Dualism, Ed., Mason Wade (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 1960.

73. See footnote 71.

74. Edward C. Banfield and James Q. Wilson, *City Politics* (Vintage Books: New York), 42.

75. Boutin, 45, was formerly the mayor of Laconia, New Hampshire, and was the Democratic candidate for the governorship of New Hampshire in 1958 and 1960.

76. Banfield and Wilson, *op. cit.*, 43.

77. Interview with Emile Bussiere.

78. Interviews with Richard Guy and Maurice Arel.

79. Interview with Maurice Arel.

80. Including *op. cit.*, Bernard Boutin (45), Emile Bussiere(36), Maurice Arel (31), Richard Guy (34), and Don Ethier (33), an alderman in Nashua, New Hampshire.

81. Interview with Robert Coutourier.

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An analysis of the problems of the development of New England French Catholic parishes in the nineteenth century is the focus of Mason Wade's article from the Catholic Historical Review *of July, 1950. Wade most adequately portrays the obstacles in the way of the French-speaking 19th century New Englander wishing to fulfill his religious duties in the face of an English-speaking clergy and the initial reluctance of the Canadian hierarchy to support the immigration in any way. It is extremely unfortunate that we do not, at the present moment, have, in English (or in French for that matter), a scholarly survey and analysis of all the difficulties of the Franco-Americans with the Irish Catholic hierarchy in the twentieth century. (Cf. «'La Sentinelle' Revisited» in* A Franco-American Overview—*Volume III of this series.)*

THE FRENCH PARISH AND *'SURVIVANCE'* IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY NEW ENGLAND

by
Mason Wade

The foundation in 1850 of the first Franco-American parish, St. Joseph's of Burlington, Vermont, has been chosen somewhat arbitrarily as the basis for celebrating the centenary of the coming of the French-Canadians to New England. Protests have been made by those who upheld the prior claims of the Madawaska parishes in Maine, the Abbé Ancé's church at Burlington in 1842, a mission at Littleton, New Hampshire in 1846, and the Abbé Zéphyrin Levesque's congregation at Worcester in the same year. No one has quarreled, however, with choosing the establishment of the first Franco-American parish as the real beginning of Franco-American life in the United States. The parish was the basic social unit of French Canada, religiously, scholastically, and municipally;[1] and it played an equally vital role, at least in the first two respects, among the French-Canadian immigrants in New England in the last century.[2] The controversy just mentioned reveals how strong the parochial spirit remains today. Therefore, this discussion of the religious aspects of the immigration will be centered upon the parish, and upon the three-fold concept of preservation of religion, language, and customs which is contained for French-Canadians in the word *survivance.* The first half of the century, which might be called the dark ages of the French-Canadians in New England, will be passed over rather rapidly, in order to do fuller justice to the more significant mission period from 1850 to 1868, and to the period of expansion and conflict from 1869 to 1900.

Though the first French-Canadian families were established at Winooski, Vermont, in 1814; at Woonsocket, Rhode Island, as early as 1814 or 1815; at Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1820; at Manchester, New Hampshire, in 1830; at Lewiston, Maine, in 1831; and at Southbridge, Massachusetts, in 1832,[3] nowhere except in the Burlington-Winooski and Madaswaka regions was there a notable concentration in the first half of the century. Thus the American religious history of the immigrants centers in Vermont, since the Madawaska parishes remained under the Bishop of Quebec until 1842, under the Bishop of St. John until 1852, and under the Bishop of Bathurst until 1870, when they became part of the Diocese of Portland.[4] Yet even in Vermont it is a joint Canadian-American history from the beginning. As early as April 8, 1801, Bishop Carroll accepted the offer of Bishop Denaut of Quebec to have his clergy minister to Canadian Catholics living near the boundary, and empowered his Quebec colleague to confirm in the United States.[5] In 1806 he accepted Bishop Plessis' proposal that a Canadian missionary should visit Lake Champlain, «where there are a great number of Catholics.»[6] In 1811, three years after the Diocese of Boston, then embracing all New England, was established, Archbishop Carroll asked Bishop Plessis to continue work along the border, and for that purpose the Quebec bishop was made a vicar general of Boston, while Bishop Cheverus became a vicar general of Quebec.[7] When Bishop Plessis visited Boston

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and New York in 1815, he was accompanied on his return trip by Father François A. Matignon, the Boston pastor, and at Burlington they found about a hundred Canadian Catholics, who asked for a Canadian priest. Plessis said he had no power to grant their request, but Matignon promised to visit them on his return from Canada and on October 15 he baptized some eighteen children—all with French names.[8] With his enormous diocese boasting only three priests including himself, Cheverus was unable to spare one for Burlington, but he arranged through Plessis for the mission to be served from time to time by Abbé Pierre-Marie Mignault, curé of Chambly.[9] Mignault, who thus became the virtual founder of the Church in Vermont, reported on October 15, 1819, that he was planning to visit the east side of the lake as far as Vergennes, ending his trip with Burlington, for «The people of that district are very eager for my visit.»[10] No Boston priest was resident in the state until 1830, and the Abbé Mignault frequently visited his scattered compatriots until the Diocese of Burlington was established in 1853, «always at his own expense and without remuneration, except for the pleasure of doing good,» as Bishop John B. Fitzpatrick of Boston noted in 1846.[11]

Benedict J. Fenwick, the second Bishop of Boston, vainly sought French-speaking priests for Vermont and Maine in Montreal and Quebec in 1828.[12] He preached at Burlington in both English and French on December 12, 1830, when churches there and at Vergennes, St. Albans, and Swanton were being planned by Father Jeremiah O'Callaghan, the first resident priest, who had been charged with the Vermont mission in that year.[13] The Canadians of Burlington, for whom Fenwick ultimately hoped to provide a separate church, had a separate pastor, the Abbé Auguste Petithomme, from May, 1834, to October, 1835.[14] After the burning of Father O'Callaghan's church, St. Mary's, in 1838, the Canadians began to think of building a church of their own. Stimulated by the dedication of O'Callaghan's new church and by the visit of the Bishop of Nancy in the fall of 1841, they held a meeting on October 12 and passed resolutions in favor of building a church and of obtaining a French-speaking priest.[15] On November 5 Bishop Fenwick replied to R. S. M. Bouchette, the secretary of the group which was headed by Ludger Duvernay—both men were refugees from the Papineau Rebellion of 1837 in Canada—that he favored the plan, and that he would write to Montreal for a Canadian priest. The same day he wrote to Bishop Bourget, speaking of the Canadians' determination «to have a church in Burlington, as well as the American or Irish Catholics, a church in which they may have a Canadian priest to officiate for them, and to deliver to them and their families the word of God in their own mother tongue.» Fenwick noted that in addition to more than a thousand of them at Burlington, they were also to be found in «a hundred other places,» and that he feared that they might relapse into their «former apathy and despondency» if they did not receive a Canadian priest.[16] Bourget replied on December 1 that unless a French priest who had accompanied the Bishop of Nancy remained in Burlington, he would be unable to do more than send a priest there three or four times a year. In February, 1842, however, the Abbé François Ancé arrived to take charge of the Canadians «in that part of the State of Vermont bordering on Lake Champlain.»[17] But this effort to establish a separate French parish, like the earlier one, proved unfortunate; before the end of 1842 Ancé had returned temporarily to Montreal after being deprived of his faculties by Bishop Fenwick, and in October, 1843, he left the Diocese of Boston for good.[18] The Canadian chapel was sold and the congregation reunited with the Irish and Yankee converts of the new St. Peter's, which later came to be known by the old name of St. Mary's.[19]

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After these false starts, a successful one was made in the spring of 1850, when the Canadian colony had been swollen by new immigrants from the Richelieu parishes attracted by the establishment of the Burlington Woolen Mill Company.[20] Abbé Mignault brought Father Joseph Quévillon from Montreal to minister to the Burlington flock. Quévillon said Mass for 300 of them on April 28 in the old court house, and immediately afterward a meeting was held under the chairmanship of Abbé Mignault. A petition to Bishop Fitzpatrick for a separate parish was then drafted,[21] and a committee of laymen, including one Captain N. Tucker, was named to choose a site and build a church. That same day the committee, with Mignault lending them his authority as vicar general, marked out a site on the land given for the first St. Mary's by Colonel Archibald Hyde, who had been treasurer of the committee for the French church in 1841. But the Irish Catholics opposed the division of the parish and refused to cede the chosen cite. Captain Tucker, a personal friend of the bishop, pleaded the French cause in Boston, with the result that the division was approved, though the land question was left open. Another Canadian meeting on July 21 resolved that «considering the opposition of the Irish of this city to the Canadians building on the old land given by Colonel Hyde to the Roman Catholic congregation for the building of a church, it was expedient for the maintenance of peace between the two congregations to yield this right, in truth indeed due, but which might later be a subject of disorder and of scandal for the faith and for our separated brethren.»[22] Another site was acquired on a hill halfway between Burlington and Winooski, and the cornerstone of the new church was blessed on August 22, 1850, in the presence of Abbé Mignault and Father Quévillon. The new church was dedicated to St. Joseph on June 1, 1851.

The early history of St. Joseph's is typical of many another Franco-American parish in its record of friction between the French-Canadians and their Irish co-religionists. Such friction seems to have arisen in the middle years of the century as increasing numbers of French-Canadian immigrants came in the wake of the Irish immigrants of the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s. It did not exist earlier, for in the opening years of the century «the Irish congregation in Boston had no anti-French feeling.»[24] French priests had founded and fostered the Church in New England, and the chaplains of Rochambeau's squadron had helped to weaken eighteenth-century anti-«papist» feeling in New England. But the new Irish immigrant did not share the attitude of his predecessors. Though looked down upon by the Yankee as a foreign «papist,» he spoke the language of the country and soon made himself at home here. The Irishman tended to look down in turn upon the more recent French-Canadian immigrant, who was still more foreign because he spoke another language, and who also represented an economic threat to the Irishman because of his willingness to work harder and longer and for less pay. Though Irish and French-Canadians shared the same faith, their differences of religious customs and parochial habits, of language and temperament, were such as to cause Father Audet, the founder of the French parish of Winooski, to speculate whether God was going to separate them in heaven.[25] Aside from the difficulty that the French-Canadian found in confessing his sins in English and in trying to follow an English sermon, he missed the Gregorian chant and the full measure of solemnity in religious rites traditional in Quebec in a virtually established Church, but largely scanted in New England in deference to Yankee prejudice against «popish pageantry.» There was also an economic question. Many a poor immigrant found, in his own words, that *il en coûte bien cher pour faire sa religion aux Etats.*[26] Seat money, baptismal, marriage, and formal offerings, and Christmas and

Easter collections for the pastor were all on a higher scale or new burdens to the French-Canadian, who had lived under a well endowed Church in Quebec and who found that he had little say in parish affairs in the new country. His reluctance to contribute, coupled with the fact that he was crowding churches raised at bitter cost by the earlier Irish immigrants, made him unpopular with Irish pastors, sometimes rough-spoken and often insensitive to French susceptibilities. Father O'Callaghan, the first pastor of Burlington, whose objections to such current economic practices as interest-taking did not extend to church contributions, used to read from the pulpit the names of those who had given to the Christmas collection for the pastor in this style: «Frank Leclaire of Winooski. Frank is a Frenchman, but not like the rest; he is a gentleman. Thank you, Frank: God bless you.»[27] This François Leclaire, despite such public favor, took a leading role in the foundation of St. Joseph's and of the new French parish at Winooski in 1868.[28] There was a temperamental imcompatibility between French and Irish, reinforced by each group's racial prejudices, strong group consciousness, and mutual aid tendencies, which led to the demand for separate French parishes as soon as the French-Canadians were numerous enough to support them. Before these parishes were established, many Canadians ceased to practice their religion rather than to frequent what they called *les églises irlandaises*. Bishop Louis de Goësbriand records meeting descendants of the first immigrants who had lived for twenty or thirty years in the States when there were no Canadian parishes and few Catholic churches, and who had grown up in complete ignorance of the faith,[29] while returned emigrants shocked their Canadian curés by revealing that they had not frequented the sacraments for years.[30]

Since the opinion was widely held in Canada that the emigrant chose to abandon his faith as well as his country,[31] the Quebec clergy long remained deaf to the reiterated calls for French-speaking priests to care for the religious needs of the New England immigrants. When the exodus could no longer be ignored, about the middle of the century, the Quebec clergy launched agricultural colonization movements for the emigrants, who were to be established either in the province or in the American Middle West, since «as day laborers in cities and factory towns they lost everything that Canadians held highest: religion, language, and nationality—all of which might be preserved under the American as well as the British flag if the emigrants were concentrated in farming communities, preferably in the West where society was still in the process of formation.»[32] A handful of Quebec priests, however, were fired by missionary zeal and followed the growing tide of migrants to New England. In October, 1846, Father Zéphyrin Levesque of Quebec offered his services to Bishop Fitzpatrick of Boston and after making a census of the French-Canadians of Worcester and its neighborhood, he was placed in charge of the 150 families he found there, as well as of «the Canadian Catholics of Manchester, N.H., and those of other places.»[33] In January, 1847, he visited Vermont and Rhode Island, but failing health forced him to retire to New Orleans after six months of laboring—in Fitzpatrick's words—«with much zeal and success amongst the Canadians throughout the diocese.»[34] By October, 1851, however, he was back as pastor of the mixed parish of Millbury, near Worcester, which he used as headquarters for his work among his scattered compatriots.[35] Father Hector Drolet, a New Brunswick missionary returning to Canada, was recruited by Fitzpatrick in January, 1850, and promptly sent off to Vermont where he established a parish in Montpelier in November, after reporting that the people were pleased with the idea of a resident priest and willing to build a church.[36] Father Napoléon Mignault, perhaps a relative of the

zealous Curé of Chambly since he hailed from the same region, was made pastor of Webster, Massachusetts, and of the Canadians of that vicinity. Under him Worcester's forty French-Canadian families bought a lot and started to build a church soon after his arrival in November, 1852. The effort proved too ambitious for their means, and after various vicissitudes the church begun by the Canadians was finally dedicated in 1858 as St. Anne's. Though an English parish, it was much frequented by the Canadians until they finally achieved a parish of their own in 1869, when Father J. B. Primeau founded Notre Dame des Canadiens.[37] Father O. H. Noiseaux, who began visiting the Canadian centers of Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine in the 1840s,[38] replaced Father Mignault at Worcester and served the Canadians as assistant at St. John's until 1857.[39] Subsequently he was missionary to the scattered French-Canadians of New Hampshire, from the Ashuelot to Colebrook, and pastor of Littleton.[40] Mignault finished a church at Webster in 1853 and built another at Oxford in 1856. In that year he said Mass «at Oxford and North Oxford once a month, at each of the Brookfields once every six weeks, at Warren and New Braintree twice a year.»[41] The record of these hardy pioneers, who ministered to scattered flocks in several states in the early days of the railroad and before the automobile, is complete but nonetheless eloquent.

What I have called the dark ages really came to a close with the foundation of St. Joseph's in 1850 and the erection of the See of Burlington in 1853, when the Diocese of Portland was also established, taking in New Hampshire as well as Maine. There seems to have been a project in 1848, hatched by the French Abbé Charles-Etienne Brasseur de Bourbourg, who had served briefly in Quebec and Boston after ordination in Rome in 1845, for the creation of a see to comprise Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, with its center at Burlington or Bangor and himself as Bishop.[42] Rome acted, however, on the recommendation of the First Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1852, and Louis de Goesbriand, the Breton-born vicar general of Cleveland, was chosen Bishop of Burlington. He was consecrated on October 30, 1852, in New York by Archbishop Gaetano Bendini, the nuncio who had been sent to inquire into the trustee troubles, and who after his violent reception by the nativists strongly advised Rome against the appointment of foreign-born bishops on the basis of racial proportions.[43] The new bishop was accompanied to Burlington by Bishop Fitzpatrick who had been his schoolmate at St. Sulpice (Paris), and by Father O'Callaghan. They were met at the station by several thousand Catholics headed by Abbé Mignault who now retired from his long apostolate to the French-Canadians of Vermont.[44] His compatriots at last had a bishop whose language was their own, and who was to do much for them during an episcopate which ended only with the century.

After surveying his flock, grouped in seven churches though he had only two priests to help him, Bishop de Goësbriand like his Boston predecessors appealed to Canada for priests. Noting the successful missionary work of the Oblates among the French-Canadians of northern New York,[45] the bishop called upon their provincial in Montreal for missionaries to take over St. Joseph's and to work among their compatriots throughout Vermont. Father Augustin Gaudet was installed as pastor of St. Joseph's and director of the new Oblate house on October 22, 1854, with Father Eugène Cauvin as assistant. But the Oblates gave up this charge on January 12, 1857, when a choice had to be made on economic grounds between abandoning their Plattsburg or their Burlington house. Since Plattsburg was nearer headquarters in Montreal, and missionaries could visit Vermont on their way to the new

French-Canadian centers around Boston, Burlington was sacrificed.[46] Failing to find the help he needed in Canada, the bishop sought priests in Europe and returned in 1855 with seven Bretons, Fathers Salin, Picard, Daniélou, Dugne, Cloarec, Cam and Clavier.[47] Another French priest, Zéphyrin Druon, who had served in Cleveland with the bishop, entered the diocese early in 1854 and shared his superiors's concern for the French-Canadians.[48]

Aside from the Oblates and the Sisters of Providence of Montreal who answered Bishop de Goësbriand's first call, Quebec continued to pay little heed to the religious needs of its exiled sons and daughters, as the Civil War and the post-war boom brought an ever-swelling tide of French-Canadians to New England. Soldiers and millhands were actively recruited in Quebec, and visiting his diocese in the summer of 1864 the bishop found the roads choked with «carts filled with Canadian families headed toward some of the many mills to which they were drawn by the hope of bettering their condition.»[49] Confronted with the even greater post-war immigration, Bishop de Goësbriand made a new appeal in Montreal and Quebec early in 1869 for the Canadian priests whom both he and Bishop John J. Williams of Boston wanted to care for the immigrants. The appeal he made in Canada was printed on May 13, 1869, in *Le Protecteur Canadien*, a newspaper founded a year earlier at St. Albans by Alfred Moussette, organizer of the first New England national convention of the French-Canadians at Springfield, October 7, 1868; and Father Druon, now pastor of St. Albans and vicar general of the diocese.[50] In this eloquent appeal, which was echoed in the years that followed, the bishop estimated the number of French-Canadians in the States at more than 500,000, with the number in his own diocese more than doubled in the last three years. He was among the first to see that this was no mere seasonal movement, as in the past, and that only a few of the immigrants would return to Canada, since thousands had «taken root in a foreign soil by the ties of property, by marriages contracted here, and by the jobs they fill.» He was also the first to advance the theory that the migration, long regarded as a plague in Canada, might be intended by Providence for a high end. «We believe these emigrants are called by God to cooperate in the conversion of America,» he said, «as their ancestors were called upon to plant the Faith on the shores of St. Lawrence.» They needed missionaries of their own stock:

> God in his Providence wishes that nations be evangelized, at least as a general rule, by a[illegible] who speak their language, who know their habits and disposition; that nations be evangelized by priests of their own nationality.

His experience had taught him that the French-Canadians needed churches of their own, since they did not feel at home in other Catholic churches and were reluctant to support them; but given churches of their own, «the liberality of these poor immigrants» was «astonishing.» If Canadian missionaries were supplied, «religion would become as flourishing among them as in Canada.»[51]

This appeal, which played upon themes dear to the Canadian heart, brought results. Father Louis M. Gagnier came from Montreal to East Rutland to found the mission of which the bishop still dreamed, despite the unsuccessful Oblate experience: «It seems to us that a missionary house should be established in some central place, which would not only serve a parish, but give retreats in Canadian centers and help to found parishes as a group became numerous enough to construct a church and maintain a priest.»[52] He was joined by Fathers Pelletier and Lavoie of Quebec, who were to serve additional churches at West Rutland and Fairhaven, and the Sisters of Jesus and Mary, who started

a school at East Rutland. Fathers Gendreau and Audet of St. Hyacinthe, and Fathers Verdier and Boissonault also responded to the call.[53] But the hopes for the new missionary center were not realized, and in 1870, Gagnier left Vermont for the Diocese of Springfield which had been established in that year. Eight French-Canadian priests came to Massachusetts in 1869 as a result of de Goësbriand's appeal, and Bishop Williams no longer needed to remark: «The harvest is great, but the workers rare.»[54] Though after 1869 the great development of French parishes took place in the teeming new «Little Canadas» of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, Vermont saw French parishes established at St. Albans in 1871, at Alburg in 1872, and at Montgomery in 1890, while many others were mixed parishes in which both languages were used in the pulpit and in the schools.[55] Under the hand of Bishop de Goësbriand and his successor Bishop Michaud, born in Burlington of an Acadian father and an Irish mother, the diocese passed almost painlessly through the transition from French-Canadian to Franco-American, which troubled other dioceses badly.

The development which in Vermont was spread over the whole century was telescoped into thirty or forty years in the other New England states, and consequently was not as peaceful. Except for the Madawaska parishes in Maine, the French-Canadians were not among the first Catholics and at first they were a minority, instead of being on equal numerical terms with their English-speaking brethren as in Vermont. Worcester and Woonsocket were the only French centers which had traditions nearly as old as Burlington and Winooski. But soon Waterville, Lewiston, and Biddeford, Maine; Manchester, Nashua, Suncook, Rochester, and Berlin, New Hampshire; Lowell, Lawrence, Lynn, Salem, Fitchburg, Gardner, Spencer, Holyoke, Northampton, Adams, Pittsfield, Taunton, and Fall River, Massachusetts; Providence, Center Falls, Pawtucket, Rhode Island; and Putnam, Willimantic, and Waterbury, Connecticut, had noted French colonies.

The record of the foundation of French parishes reflects the flow and ebb of migration which, in turn, reflected the North American economic picture.[56] In 1869 seven parishes were established, two in Vermont, four in Massachusetts, one in Maine. In 1870 three, all in Massachusetts. In 1871 six, one each in Vermont and Maine, and four in Massachusetts. In 1872 seven, one each in Vermont, Maine, and Rhode Island and two each in New Hampshire and Massachusetts. In 1873 seven, four in Massachusetts, two in Rhode Island, and one in New Hampshire. The depression in the United States then made itself felt, with only one parish established each year until 1878—two in Massachusetts, two in Rhode Island, one in Vermont, and none at all in 1879. The boom which began in the summer of 1879 was reflected by the establishment of three parishes in 1880, two in New Hampshire and one in Connecticut. In 1881 two were established, one in Massachusetts and one in New Hampshire; in 1882 one in Rhode Island; and in 1883 one in Massachusetts. After acute depression in Canada had fostered a new exodus, six parishes were founded in 1884, two in New Hampshire, three in Massachusetts, and one in Connecticut. In 1885 three more, in 1886 two more, and in 1887 one more, all in Massachusetts. In 1888 there were two foundations, in Maine and Connecticut; and in 1889 one in Massachusetts. In 1890 the increase of old colonies and the influx of new immigrants resulted in the establishment of four new parishes in Massachusetts, and one each in Maine, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. By 1891, at the end of the great period of expansion which closed with depression in the United States and returning prosperity in

Canada, there were in New England eighty-six Franco-American parishes, with fifty-three parochial schools attended by 25,000 children, not to mention many other institutions.[57] The Diocese of Springfield led the list with twenty-two parishes, Portland was second with seventeen, Providence third with fourteen, and Manchester fourth with eleven, while Boston with nine, Burlington with eight, and Hartford with five brought up the rear.[58]

The men who led this extraordinary effort, which is matched by no other ethnic group in the Church of the United States, were extraordinary men. Only some of the more notable among them can be mentioned here. Father Louis Gagnier founded or organized eleven parishes in Vermont and Massachusetts before coming to rest at St. Joseph's, Springfield, Massachusetts, where he was pastor for more than twenty years.[59] Father Charles Dauray made Woonsocket, of which he remained pastor until 1930, one of the great Franco-American strongholds.[60] The redoubtable Father J. P. Bédard made a lasting mark on Fall River in his ten stormy years there.[61] Father Joseph Augustin Chevalier achieved such wonders in an anti-Catholic Manchester as renting a Baptist church to house his congregation, persuading the city fathers to maintain his parochial schools and the Amoskeag Company to give land for his church, and taking over an abandoned public school for his parochial one. He and his colleague-rival, Father Pierre Hévey, played a major part in making Manchester a close competitor of Worcester and Woonsocket for the title of Franco-American capital of New England.[62] Aside from these diocesan priests, the Oblates played the most notable role among the religious orders who came from Canada. Under Father André Garin, St. Joseph's in Lowell became a missionary center in 1869 from which St. Anne's, Lawrence, and St. Joseph's, Haverhill, were founded in 1871, and the French-Canadians of many other towns served until resident priests were found for them.[63] The French Dominicans of St. Hyacinthe, who only came to Canada in 1873, took over St. Pierre, Lewiston, in 1881 and St. Anne's, Fall River, in 1888.[64] The Marists, another French order, began their work among the Franco-Americans at St. Anne's, Lowell, in 1882; at Notre Dame des Victoires, Boston, in 1884; and at St. Bruno's, Van Buren, Maine, where they established a college, in the same year.[65] Canadian nuns of many orders, notably the Soeurs de St. Croix, the Soeurs Grises, the Soeurs de Ste. Anne, and the Soeurs de Jésus-Marie, were conducting forty parochial schools by 1890.[66]

This rapid development of French parishes, usually with a full complement of parochial schools, convents, religious and national societies, and close connections with the French press, did not take place without friction with both the original Yankees, who feared that New England was becoming New France, and with the Irish Catholics, who had quickly taken a dominant role in the Church in New England. The immigration from Canada first took on notable proportions and the first French parishes were established, just as anti-Catholic feeling exploded in the Know-Nothing movement, which swept New England in 1854-1856.[67] To the old eighteenth-century hatred of Catholics and foreigners had been added the new hatred bred by the nativist movement which grew steadily from the 1820s onward, feeding on fear of the immigrant, «not only as a Catholic, but as a menace to the economic, political, and social structure which Americans had reared with such care.»[68] This «Protestant Crusade» of the 1850s was professedly sectarian, but it rested upon the political basis of changing institutions and upon the economic basis of the immigrant's challenge to the individual Yankee's security.

When the newcomers from Canada began

to make themselves felt in New England communities, the average Protestant American had been conditioned from birth to hate Catholicism.[69] Anti-Catholic feeling had already led to the burning of the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown in 1834; to the school troubles of New York and Maine in the early 1850s; to the Bedini-Gavazzi riots of 1853-1854, when the nuncio was burnt in effigy on Boston Common and threatened at Bishop Fitzpatrick's home; and to the infamous Massachusetts Nunnery Committee of 1855.[70] Solidarity among foreigners was viewed with suspicion, particularly when it was Carholic solidardarity, for «Nativists who thought that priests bartered the political power of their parishioners for favors and protection for Catholicism were afraid that this unholy alliance would spell the doom of both Protestantism and democracy.»[71] It is not surprising that in this intellectual climate the Irish Catholics, who had borne the brunt of anti-Catholicism thus far, were unenthusiastic about the establishment of foreign language or so-called «national» parishes with foreign language schools. The French-Canadians were much more zealous than the Irish in founding parochial schools, both because of a different tradition in their homeland and because they saw in such schools a means to keep their language and customs, as well as their religion, alive. The Irish believed that rapid Americanization of foreign-born Catholics would ease anti-Catholic feeling. They thought that the French-Canadians were dividing rather than strengthening the Church and creating new anti-Catholic feeling. The rigid authoritarianism of some Irish prelates and pastors, acting on these principles, grated on the individualistic French-Canadians, whose cohesive tendencies as an ethnic group, whose insistence on preserving their language and customs, and whose love of the full measure of religious solemnity separated them from those whom they soon came to call the «Irish assimilators.»

This dual conflict, implicit in the environment, came to a head in the last two decades of the century, though there were earlier skirmishes. The French Catholic troubles have received less historical notice than the Irish ones, because they were characterized by verbal rather than physical violence, but they were bitter nonetheless. In the early days there were numerous incidents of Yankee refusals to sell land or abandoned Protestant churches to the new French-Canadian congregations. Such refusals were circumvented by purchases through dummies.[72] Protestant missionary activity among the immigrants often created minor disturbances. It was started by the American Protestant Society in the 1840s[73] and continued by preachers of the French-Canadian Missionary Society, established in Montreal in 1850, who were driven from Quebec in the heyday of Bishops Bourget and Laflèche, and continued their activity in the New England French centers.[74] Narcisse Cyr, the Baptist missionary, was at work in Vermont, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts in 1869-1873, before he settled in Boston.[75] T. G. A. Côté began proselytizing for the Congregationalists in Lowell and Springfield in 1878, while the Baptists were active in Waterville, Burlington, and Grafton, Massachusetts, at the same period.[76] But these French Protestants, known as *les Chiniquy* or *les Suisses* found little aid from their Yankee coreligionists until the late 1880s, for they, too, were unforgivably foreign.[77]

The great Montreal St. John Baptiste celebration in June, 1874, attended by 10,000 Franco-Americans and the leaders of their national societies,[78] disturbed some Yankees by its revelation of the number of the immigrants and of their divided loyalty. So did such utterances as Ferdinand Gagnon's *Loyaux, oui, Français toujours,*[79] and Father Primeau's *Avant tout; soyons Canadiens.*[80] The first notable disclosure of Yankee anti-French-Canadian feeling came in 1881, with the publication of the *Twelfth Annual Re-*

port of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor which referred to the French-Canadians as «the Chinese of the Eastern States,» in citing them as an obstacle to the adoption of the ten-hour day. It also censured their moral character, their lack of respect for American institutions, their failure to become naturalized, and their opposition to education.[81]

At the hearing which was forced by vigorous Franco-American protests, Colonel Carroll D. Wright, the chief of the bureau and the compiler of the offending report, asked Father J. B. V. Milette of Nashua how the establishment of French parishes affected the permanency of the immigrants. Milette replied, «It brings on what in Canada was feared . . . when we priests were sent to the States to attend to their spiritual needs, it was only then that they saw what the result of their action [was], and that they could not hold the French among them. The permanency of the French population was served.» Father Bédard of Fall River also declared that the influence of the Church favored permanent establishment and opposed repatriation. The report's strictures on the morals of the immigrants were elaborately refuted by employers, prominent citizens, and law officers. In summing up the proceedings Colonel Wright concluded:

> The priest coming from Canada, it may be on missionary work, to take charge of the growing parish, soon found himself permanently established in New England, and his natural desire was to see his flock grow and prosper . . . with strong French churches established in New England, repatriation is a failure.
>
> However much the effort of the French to educate their children in these institutions may be applauded, the parochial school will always excite hostility on the part of the native . . . their establishment by the members of any race will always raise suspicion in the American mind as to the sincerity of professions of loyalty to our government on the part of the founders.[82]

Wright was undoubtedly correct on both counts: the establishment of French parishes meant the permanent settling of the Franco-Americans, despite continued efforts of the Canadian government and clergy to repatriate them; and the French parochial schools have ever since remained a bone of contention.

The publicity given this affair, and the realization that New England was becoming in good part French-Canadian, roused a new nativist reaction, in which the French Protestant missionaries played a part, despite their own recent arrival and foreign antecedents. The new Protestant crusade of the late 1880s and early 1890s was in part a reaction against the Irish Catholics' capture of political control in Boston and New York and against a sense of being swamped by foreigners. But the crusade was stimulated by the influx of Scotch-Irish from Canada and Britain at this period, and the clerical leaders of this group regarded the French Protestants as useful allies, as they had been in Canada.[83]

The Reverend Calvin E. Amaron, the son of Swiss missionaries to the French of Canada, president of the French Protestant International College at Springfield, editor of its organ, *Le Semeur Franco-Américain* (later *Le Citoyen Franco-Américain*), and successor of the Reverend T. G. A. Côté as pastor of the French Protestants of Lowell, was the foreigner who sounded the loudest nativist trumpet call about the French menace.[84] His early efforts in the Lowell press and in a book mildly entitled *The Evangelization of the French Canadians* (Lowell, 1885) had little effect at first. He sadly reported that «the pastors of our churches think they have something else to do than to attack the Roman Catholic Church.»[85] But with the

adoption of more alarmist tactics–the second edition of his book appeared in 1891 as *Your Heritage: or New England Threatened* (Springfield, 1891)–he had more success. He failed, however, to convince ex-Governor Sawyer of New Hampshire, who had attended the national convention at Nashua in 1888 from which Amaron was excluded, that this «anti-Protestant, anti-American, and revolutionary» gathering had «a hidden purpose which was inimical to the Republic and its institutions.»[86] Since President Cleveland, a Presbyterian, sent a letter regretting his inability to be present as planned, it is doubtful whether the Reverend Mr. Amaron's alarm was generally shared.[87]

But Amaron put into print the dark fears which had arisen in the back of many Yankee minds. He warned that «The French are here in large numbers and are increasing at a fabulous rate and will soon have outnumbered you.» He described them as «a foreign state within your state,» which had failed to imbibe «the spirit of your Protestant republican institutions» and had remained «monarchical and priest-ridden,» a group who were «creating a New France in your midst.»[88] Unlike Francis Parkman, who believed that «our system of common schools is the best for Catholics as well as Protestants,»[89] Mr. Amaron regarded the public schools as «liberalizing influences» which might free the French-Canadians from their «old dogmatism,» but would only convert them into «rank infidels.» In evangelizing them lay «their happiness and prosperity and the safety of the nation,» and he outlined measures to keep New England «Protestant and American.»[90] He attacked the French clergy as «the uncompromising foe of our Protestant American civilization,» and the parochial school as a «menace to republican institutions» and as the «most efficient barrier to prevent unification of the two races in New England,» threatening to bring about in the United States a repetition of the religio-ethnic quarrels of Canada.[91] Considering his hyperpatriotic line, it is surprising to find Amaron prefacing his argument with the hope that a «great religious movement on this side of the lines will exert a very great reflex influence upon the Dominion of Canada, and help mightily in freeing it from the weight of an ecclesiastical tyranny unsurpassed in any part of the world»,[92] and concluding it with a plea for separate French Protestant churches. Although his arguments for separate churches were singularly like the French Catholic ones, he held that Protestant churches would further unification of the races, instead of preventing it, since they would bring the French «into contact with Protestant influences, and this is all that is necessary to make of them true Christian citizens, loyal to the constitution of the nation.»[93]

This new Protestant crusade, at first mainly a Congregationalist and then a Baptist effort, although the Methodists were also active in Manchester, Lowell, and Worcester,[94] was largely unsuccessful, like the whole home mission movement among Catholic immigrants, and for much the same reasons.[95] Religion was identified with group loyalty and ethnic identity for the Franco-American to an unusually great extent. *Survivance*, preservation of religion, language, and customs, had become an obsession with the French-Canadians, as a result of more than a century's struggle to maintain their identity under British rule in Canada. The concept still preoccupies today many Franco-Americans who have retained a minority mentality. The whole Protestant missionary effort probably did more to strengthen the potent cohesive tendency of the Franco-Americans, who like their brothers in Canada are never more united than when attacked, and to stimulate nativism and anti-Catholicism among the Yankees, than to win converts. The files of the *Baptist Home Mission Monthly* from 1878 to 1900 record mainly scattered conversions and little success. One missionary commented: «Our work among

the French in New England has at times, and to some, seemed almost barren of results.»[96] The lot of the Protestant missionary or convert was not a happy one in the «Little Canadas,» as street meetings were broken up, churches attacked, and converts ostracized and boycotted.[97] Such incidents occurred because the French-Canadian who turned Protestant was regarded as a traitor to his race as well as to his faith.

The Haverhill school case in 1888-1889 indicated how nativist feeling turned against the Franco-Americans at this period. The Haverhill school board tolerated the establishment of an Irish parochial school, St. James', in September, 1887, but objected from the first to the foundation of a French one, St. Joseph's, under Canadian nuns in the following year. The school was condemned on January 10, 1888, on the grounds that half the instruction was given in French and that various subjects required in the public schools were not taught. In February six parents were brought to court, charged with having sent their children to an unapproved school. Three pleaded guilty and paid fines, while the others contested the charge. On February 9 Judge Carter demolished the school board's position, declaring that «the legislature has always refused to deny the right of parents to send children to the school of their choice.» The French defendants were discharged, and the fines already levied repaid. But the verdict was not a popular one; it was greeted by courtroom comments that Haverhill stood on the brink of another St. Bartholomew's, which somehow also involved «anarchy and socialism,» and the judge was accused of «having gone over to that demon, Rome.»[98]

Aside from these conflicts with militant French and Yankee Protestants, there were conflicts within the Catholic fold. By their insistence on remaining French, the Franco-Americans spoiled the Irish case that it was possible to be both Catholic and American. Both groups cherished a sneaking suspicion that the other was made up of poor Catholics. The ancient doctrine of *Gesta Dei per Francos* came into head-on collision with the equally ancient one that Irish Catholicism was the fine flowering of the Church. Among the Irish clergy there was a certain desire to keep in the saddle, and among the French a desire to strengthen their position. The troubles which arose at Fall River in 1884-1886, at Danielson in 1894-1896, and at North Brookfield in 1899 were outbreaks of a conflict which was latent almost everywhere in New England, but was brought to a head in these instances by personal factors.[99] All three incidents reflected a hardening of the French-Canadians' desire for priests of their language and nationality, which had been noted from their first coming to New England, into an insistence upon it. It is possible to argue that all three incidents supplied evidence that the French-Canadians put the preservation of their language above the preservation of their faith. But the French-Canadians were not alone in believing that loss of their language meant loss of their faith; the Germans, Italians, Portuguese, and other new foreign-language Catholic groups shared this belief.[100]

The American hierarchy was divided in the 1880s and 1890s into two camps on the issue of territorial vs. «national» or foreign-language parishes. One group sought to hasten the assimilation of foreign Catholics as much as possible, so that differences of languages, traditions and customs would disappear in a common American Catholicism. The other group favored the conservation of language, traditions and customs in national parishes under priests of the same stock, while encouraging the development of patriotism to the adopted country. The former thought of national parishes as at best a temporary makeshift, while the latter considered them a necessity for at least a generation or two,

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lest the faith be renounced along with other ancestral traditions. Though Rome favored the national school by urging Bishop Thomas J. Hendricken to give the Franco-Americans of Fall River a priest of their nationality in 1885,[101] in 1887 it shifted to the other side when in response to German-American protests against the assimilative policies of Irish bishops and pastors, it directed that the national parish should be regarded as a temporary expedient.[102] The school of Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland remained dominant, and the Catholic Congress of Baltimore in 1889 stressed that «It must always be remembered that the Catholic Church recognizes neither north nor south nor east nor west nor race nor color.» This resolution, adopted with reference to the German national societies–the congress held that «national societies, as such, have no place in the Church of this country; after the manner of this congress, they should be Catholic and American»–was violently protested by the Franco-American press.[103]

The Franco-Americans were undoubtedly supported and, perhaps, led in their struggle against assimilation by both lay and clerical leaders in Quebec, which was in a very hotheaded state at this period. Bishop de Goësbriand's old idea of the providential mission of the French-Canadians to convert the United States was re-echoed by distinguished visitors from Canada, and sometimes given alarming political overtones. In 1889 Bishop Laflèche of Trois-Rivières, while on a visit to New England, told Father Biron of Springfield that he foresaw the annexation of part of the United States to Canada to form an independent French state. In clarifying his remark in the Montreal press Laflèche observed: «It is perhaps the design of Providence . . . the duty of French-Canadians and Franco-Americans is to conform to it by jealously guarding their language and traditions.»[104] This observation, which was echoed by the Franco-American press, confirmed the worst suspicions of the nativists and led the Boston *British-American Citizen* to warn its readers that the «French Jesuits have conceived the project of forming a Catholic nation out of the Province of Quebec and New England, and this project of making New England French Catholic has already assumed proportions capable of alarming the most optimistic.» Trembling Yankees did not need to fear the union of French and Irish to rule the country for the Pope which the *British-American* foretold, since any union for any purpose between them was highly unlikely.[105] But the extravagant statistics and verbal excesses of St. Jean Baptiste Day and national convention orators continued to disturb uneasy Yankees. The Boston *Herald* on June 25, 1891 viewed with alarm ex-Mayor Charles Thibault of Pawtucket's statement on the previous day that his compatriots constituted the «future rulers of the country.»[106]

Though such Quebec political figures as Honoré Mercier and Senator François X. Trudel attended the national conventions and spoke at other Franco-American gatherings, it was the French-Canadian clergy, from prelate to humble missionary, who strove hardest to maintain the bond between the separated halves of their people. Bishop Racine and two other Quebec bishops prepared a *Mémoire sur la situation religieuse des Canadiens-Français aux États-Unis de l'Amérique du Nord* (Paris, 1892),[107] which was submitted to Cardinal Ledochowski, the new Prefect of the Propaganda. This document was seemingly designed to support the nomination of a French bishop to the vacant See of Ogdensburg, since it stressed the advisability of naming French-Canadian bishops or at least vicars general in the dioceses where the French predominated.

But it also was a plea for the Franco-American parish, rehearsing Bishop de Goësbriand's arguments of 1869 and adding

new ones as to the need of the Franco-Americans for clergy of their own stock. It noted that when priests unsympathetic to their traditions were placed over them, «they become discontented, insubordinate, uncontrollable; and their hearts are left open to the worst influences of heresy»; while when they were given priests of their own nationality, they made the faith flower. Bishop Racine argued that their language and customs were a useful dike, which should be built up rather than torn down, against Protestantism, indifferentism, atheism, materialism, public schools, and «the easy comfortable life or feverish pursuit of fortune which have lost thousands of souls to the Faith in the United States.» Since the Holy Ghost had given the gift of tongues to the apostles and not to the nations, he argued that the priest should learn the language of the people, not the people that of the priest. English might be the language of the Church in the United States in the future, but there was no need to rush matters while half the Franco-Americans could not speak English and considerable immigration from Canada continued. Using Rameau de St. Père's observation on their birthrate, he argued that their rapid increase would soon make Catholicism dominant in several states, and that their loyalty to Rome would be of advantage. Making much of their profoundly Catholic spirit, their apostolic zeal, and their energetic effort to establish Catholic schools, he renewed his plea that they should have priests who knew their language and their customs and were sympathetic to their way of life. These priests should be French-Canadians as far as possible, for «if the Canadians do not have priests of their own race at the head of their parishes, in the end defiance will be found among them; hence a source of endless trouble for ecclesiastical superiors and subordinates.»

The merit of this last view was certainly borne out by the subsequent Danielson and Brookfield incidents in which Franco-Americans left the Church rather than remain under unsympathetic Irish pastors. But with the waning of the immigration and the rise of the American Protective Association, the views of the assimilative party in the American hierarchy prevailed at Rome. In a letter of April 26, 1896, to the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Francesco Satolli, who had shown little sympathy to the Danielson rebels,[108] Cardinal Ledochowski clarified the Propaganda's ruling of ten years earlier on national parishes by laying down the following principles:

> 1. Children born in America of foreign parents whose language is not English are not obliged, when coming of age, to become members of the parish of which their parents are part; but they have the right to enter a parish where the language of the country or English is used.
>
> 2. Catholics not born in America but who know English have the right to become members of the church in which English is used and cannot be forced to submit to the jurisdiction of the pastor of the church established for the use of their nationality.[109]

The dream of a New Quebec in New England cherished by some extreme *patriotes*, was doomed by this attitude of Rome, by the end of large-scale immigration, and by the growing Americanism of the Franco-Americans, who were not content to be merely transplanted French-Canadians and became increasingly integrated into American life.

At the turn of the century there were gloomy forebodings that the assimilative tide would sweep away the great network of Franco-American parishes built by the immigrants in the previous forty-odd years. The old French priests, often more Canadian than American-minded, took a dim view of *survivance* in the face of continued Irish opposition. Their attitude was probably accurately reflected in Father Onésime Triganne's

interpretation of the prophecies of St. Malachy about the popes, when the question of a successor to Leo XIII was being discussed:

> *Ignis ardens,* that will be an Italian: the Italians are ardent and full of fire; *religio depopulata,* that will be an Irishman, the ruin of religion: there will be only holy water and the collection; *flos florum,* that will be a French-Canadian, the flower of flowers.[110]

Jules-Paul Tardivel, who had been born in the United States but had returned to Canada to become the ultramontane journalist of Quebec, argued that assimilation and apostasy were virtually synonymous among the Franco-Americans, in refuting Brunetière's glowing picture in the *Revue de Deux Mondes* of American Catholicism.[111] Edmond de Nevers, a sociologically-minded Canadian historian, held that only faith and pride, «faith in the religion of their fathers, faith in the future of their race, pride in the French name,» could save the Franco-Americans.[112]

This faith and pride have remained, though as de Nevers partially foresaw, the Franco-American has become distinct from the French-Canadian. They have enabled the hundred-odd parishes of 1900 to become 178 today.[113] The French parish has remained the bulwark of the Franco-American's remarkable resistance to complete cultural fusion in the American mass, while the Franco-American record in industry, government, and military service has refuted the nineteenth-century nativist's dire forebodings that the establishment of national parishes meant the end of the Republic. Frictions there have been, still are, and presumably will be in the future, but the Franco-American has become as typical of New England as the Yankee and the Irishman, and has notably enriched it religiously as well as otherwise.

Notes

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2. Josaphat Benoit, *L'Ame Franco-Américaine* (Montreal, 1935), 93-114.

3. J. F. Audet, *Histoire de la Congrégation Canadienne de Winooski au Vermont* (Montreal, 1906), 35; M. L. Bonier, *Débuts de la Colonie Franco-Américaine de Woonsocket, R. I.* (Framingham, 1920), 79; A. Belisle, *Livre d'Or des Franco-Américains de Worcester, Mass.* (Worcester, 1920), 15; W. H. Paradis, *French-Canadian Influence in Manchester, N. H., Before 1891*, Unpublished M. A. Thesis, St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, 1949, 20; R. J. Lawton, J. H. Burgess, H. F. Roy, *Franco-Americans of the State of Maine* (Lewiston, 1915), 31; cited in M. L. Hansen and J. B. Brebner, *Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* (New Haven, 1940), 124; F. Gatineau, *Histoire des Franco-Américains de Southbridge* (Framingham, 1919), 3.

4. T. Albert, *Histoire du Madawaska* (Quebec, 1920), 243-248.

5. J. G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1888), II, 442.

6. *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec, 1929-30* (Quebec, 1931), 242, cited in Abbé Georges Robitaille, «L'Expansion religieuse dès Canadiens Français aux États-Unis,» in G. Lanctôt, *Les Canadiens Français et leurs Voisins du Sûd* (Montreal, 1941), 249.

7. Shea, *op. cit.*, II, 641-642. See also Abbé Ivanhoë Caron, «Msgr. Plessis et les évêques catholiques des États-Unis,» *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, *XXIII* (Ottawa, 1934), 132.

8. Robert Lord, John F. Sexton, Edward T. Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston, 1604-1943* (New York, 1944), I, 687-688.

9. *Ibid.*, I, 704.

10. *Ibid.*, I, 737.

11. *Ibid.*, II, 104-105.

12. Shea, *op. cit.*, III, 154.

13. Lord, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, II, 107.

14. *Ibid.*, II, 148.

15. Bishop Fenwick's Journal, November 5, 1841. I am indebted to the Reverend Robert H. Lord for copies of the bishop's correspondence concerning this matter.

16. E. Chartier, «Les Canadiens Français et les Évêques de Boston,» *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, XXXIX, 1 (January, 1933), 12-13. In both this printed version and in the copy from the Montreal Diocesan Archives in the Boston Diocesan Archives, Fenwick's letter of November 5, 1841, to Bouchette is adressed to «A. S. M. Bouchette.» This initial is correctly given as «R.» in Fenwick's journal for the same date.

17. Bourget-Fenwick, December 1, 1841; Archives of the Diocese of Boston, Fenwick's Journal, February 8, 1842.

18. Chartier, *op. cit.*, 14; A. A. B., Fenwick's Journal, October 21, 1843.

19. Lord, *op. cit.*, II, 276; E. Hamon, *Les Canadiens Français de la Nouvelle-Angleterre* (Quebec, 1891), 183-184; Archives of the Diocese of Burlington.

20. Audet, *op. cit.*, 36.

21. Hamon, *op. cit.*, 184-185, gives the text.

22. *Ibid.*, 186.

23. *Ibid.*, 186-187; Lord, *op. cit.*, II, 571.

24. Lord, *op. cit.*, I, 698.

25. Audet, *op. cit.*, 41.

26. Hamon, *op. cit.*, 59.

27. Audet, *op. cit.*, 39-40.

28. *Ibid.*, 40, 42.

29. Hamon, *op. cit.*, 174.

30. D. M. A. Magnan, *Histoire de la race française aux États-Unis* (Paris, 1912), 256.

31. *Ibid.*, 256.

32. *Mélanges Religieux* (Montreal), August 22, 1851; cited in Hansen and Brebner, *op. cit.*, 128.

33. Lord, *op. cit.*, II, 533; Belisle, *op. cit.*, 19.

34. Lord, *ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*, II, 534; Belisle, *op. cit.*, 19.

36. Lord, *op. cit.*, II, 571-572.

37. Lord, *op. cit.*, II, 534-535; Belisle, *op. cit.*, 19-21, 25-27.

38. Paradis, *op. cit.*, 48.

39. Belisle, *op. cit.*, 20.

40. J. R. Jackson, *History of Littleton, New Hampshire* (Cambridge, 1905), II, 335-336.

41. Lord, *op. cit.*, II, 542.

42. Lord, *op. cit.*, II, 421-422.

43. Theodore Maynard, *The Story of American Catholicism* (New York, 1941), 300.

44. Lord, *op. cit.*, II, 423; Archives of the Diocese of Burlington, Goësbriand's Diary, copy at St. Michael's College, Winooski.

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46. *Ibid.*, 46.

47. Hamon, *op. cit.*, 168.

48. Belisle, *op. cit.*, 25-27; *Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américaine et des Canadiens-Français aux Etats-Unis* (Worcester, 1911), 66-67.

49. L. de Goësbriand, *Les Canadiens des États-Unis*, 3.

50. Belisle, *Presse*, 61-62.

51. Hamon, *op. cit.*, 172-176.

52. *Ibid.*, 170.

53. *Ibid.*, 205; Belisle, *Presse*, 62.

54. Belisle, *Livre*, 21; Lord, *op. cit.*, II, 202.

55. Hamon, *op. cit.*, 227.

56. Hansen and Brebner, *op. cit.*, 168-215.

57. Magnan, *op. cit.*, 269-272, 284.

58. Hamon, *op. cit.*, 179-421.

59. *Ibid.*, 173, 273-275.

60. A. Kennedy, *Quebec to New England* (Boston, 1948). 43-51, 117-118; Hamon, *op. cit.*, 327-331.

61. Magnan, *Notre Dame de Lourdes de Fall River, Massachusetts* (Quebec, 1925), 34-56.

62. Paradis, *op. cit.*, 49-53; A. Verrette, *Messire Chevalier* (Manchester, 1929), *Paroisse de Ste. Marie* (Manchester, 1931).

63. Morriseau, *op. cit.*, 28.

64. Hamon, *op. cit.*, 314, 405; Robitaille, *op. cit.*, 257.

65. Hamon, *op. cit.*, 376-377; Albert, *op. cit.*, 423.

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67. Ray A. Billington, *The Protestant Crusade* (New York, 1938), 430-431.

68. *Ibid.*, 193.

69. *Ibid.*, 345.

70. *Ibid.*, 302.

71. *Ibid.*, 327.

72. Lord, *op. cit.*, II, 163, 534; Belisle, *Livre*, 20.

73. Billington, *op. cit.*, 245; 258 n. 28.

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82. *Ibid.*, 28-31, 90-91.

83. Lord, *op. cit.*, III, 101ff.

84. Duclos, *op. cit.*, 197.

85. Amaron, *op. cit.*, 77.

86. *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, 105-107.

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88. Amaron, *op. cit.*, 2-4.

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90. Amaron, *op. cit.*, 3-4.

91. *Ibid.*, 66-69, 56, 93-97.

92. *Ibid.*, ix.

93. *Ibid.*, 143.

94. Duclos, *op. cit.*, II, 221-223.

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96. *Baptist Home Missionary Monthly*, October, 1886, 241.

97. *Ibid.*, April, 1889, 96; June, 1894; December, 1897, 410.

98. Lord, *op. cit.*, III, 126-129.

99. Hamon, *op. cit.*, 317-320; Magnan, *Notre Dame*, 61-73; H. Dubuque, *Histoire et Statistique des Canado-Américains du Connecticut* (Worcester, 1899), 32-54; M. Tetrault, *Le Role de la presse dans l'évolution du peuple franco-américaine de la Nouvelle-Angleterre* (Marseilles, 1935), 101-105, 113-114; J. P. Tardivel, *La Situation religieuse aux États-Unis* (Montreal, 1900), 290-293.

100. Lord, *op. cit.*, III, 165.

101. Hamon, *op. cit.*, 320.

102. Lord, *op. cit.*, III, 166.

103. Hamon, *op. cit.*, 87, 122-124.

104. R. Rumilly, *Mgr. Laflèche et son temps* (Montreal, 1938), 294.

105. Hamon, *op. cit.*, 134.

106. Amaron, *op. cit.*, vii.

107. Reprinted in *Revue Franco-Américaine*, I (Quebec, 1908), 482-488.

108. Tetrault, *op. cit.*, 103-104.

109. Tardivel, *op. cit.*, 205, n. 7.

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110. H. Hamelin, *Notre-Dame-de-Sept Douleurs d'Adams, Massachusetts* (Montreal, 1916), 227-228.

111. Tardivel, *op. cit.*, 227.

112. E. de Nevers, *L'Avenir du peuple canadien-français* (Paris, 1896), 116.

113. A. Robert, *L'Inviolabilité de la paroisse franco-américaine* (Manchester, 1948).

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We may not have much scholarly work on Franco-American religious problems in this century, but what we do have is the well-informed and judicious journalism of Jacques Ducharme. The chapter on religion in his book The Shadows of the Trees *(Harper & Bros., New York, 1943), gives the flavor of the parish life of the Franco-American community in the first half of the twentieth century. It also deals with the most important «Sentinelle» affair in Rhode Island involving the issue of language and religion. The resolution of that issue foreshadowed today's widespread divorce of language from religious identification for persons of French-Canadian and Acadian descent. Ducharme writes fluently and he is well-informed and careful, but it would seem that these journalistic sketches cannot lead to balanced scholarly accounts of the religious incidents at issue—that research has not yet been done and published.*

THE SHADOWS OF THE TREES
Religion and Language

by
Jacques Ducharme

In a society evolving slowly after four years of civil war, the Franco-Americans were heartily welcomed by the other Catholics of New England. The Church also was in the process of adaptation; it had weathered the Know-Nothing riots, symbol of the innate hostility of New Englanders for «popery.» This process of adaptation was to have far-reaching consequences on the future development of New England.

The majority of Catholics at this time were Irish-Americans. At first they regarded the Franco-American arrivals as benefactors; by swelling their ranks the newcomers reduced their financial burdens. A crisis was not long in developing, however, and the clash between these two nationalities, when it did come, was not based on any theological viewpoint. It was simply a question of the administration of church finances.

One side of the story was told me by the priest of the parish where I was married in Canada. I had heard puzzling references to the *syndique* and it occurred to me to ask the Father:

«Just what is the 'syndique' mon père?»

«Le syndique? It is the parish council. In Canada, the pastors are not directly under the control of the Bishop, but of the parish council. All expenditures must be approved by this body, but the pastor is generally president of it. You do not have that organization in the states.»

«No. It is like the vestrymen in the Protestant churches at home.»

This fact is at the root of all differences between Franco-Americans and the church authorities. The first émigrés were used to local control of their parish funds, and came to New England to find a different system in operation. In the American Church, the pastor is directly responsible to his bishop, in matters spiritual and financial. The Franco-Americans did not react favorably to this method of control, and beyond the ordinary contributions on Sundays, gave nothing to the parishes they attended. The schools did not interest them, for French was not taught there, so they reasoned that they should contribute only to the upkeep of the church. This caused discussions, and often ended with the Franco-Americans absenting themselves from masses altogether.

The other side of the story I have heard in every corner of New England. It is comprised of incidents that broke out in many different Franco-American centers or parishes, always revolving about the same question—local parish control, and the unsympathetic attitude of the church authorities toward the Franco-Americans. The church authorities could not take into consideration the rights of all the minorities

under their jurisdiction, but it is unfortunate that compromises could not have been reached before bitterness was engendered. Often legal measures were called for before peace could be restored.

These incidents have become landmarks in Franco-American annals: the Flint affair, the Danielsonville affair, the Corporation Sole case, the North Brookfield and Woonsocket incidents, and the Sentinelle affair. The last named is the most recent, and is still a sore issue, as those involved are alive and cannot easily forget.

The problem of the maintenance of foreign-language parishes seems unimportant to outsiders, but to the foreign-language minority it is a life-and-death matter. Religion in its teachings is largely abstract. Even though the Franco-Americans eventually mastered English well enough to live without embarrassment, listening to a sermon in the newly acquired language was quite another thing. When their absence from church was criticized, they replied simply that they did not understand the priest, and what was the use of going to church when one did not understand what was being said? Anyone who has attended a service in a language he does not understand can appreciate this point. I do, remembering seemingly endless sermons in Lithuanian and German.

* * *

Of the half dozen disputes mentioned, only the Sentinelle affair seems to have had a lasting effect on the Franco-Americans. The Flint affair revolved around the refusal of Father Bédard, pastor in Fall River, to encourage the strikers of 1883 in their unwillingness to return to work. «A striker has no right to prevent another from taking his place,» he said, thereby incurring the animosity of the Irish, who desecrated his rectory. Jeered at as «Old Knobstick,» he refused to retract his words, and died, it is said, of grief.

The Danielsonville affair was simply the refusal of the Franco-Americans to contribute to the construction of a school where French would not be taught. The Corporation Sole case of Maine was an attempt at assimilation of the Franco-Americans by naming English-speaking priests to French-speaking parishes. As the Bishop was the sole head of the diocesan corporation, he could administer diocesan funds as he saw fit. Recourse was had to the legislature, without avail, but the Franco-Americans gained their point when it was realized that they formed the majority of the Catholics in Maine.

The North Brookfield affair and the St. Anne's incident resembled the Maine case in broad outline, but at St. Anne's in Woonsocket, the parishioners maintained a sort of sit-down strike until a priest who could speak French was named as head of the parish. Most of these incidents were local, and so did not have the repercussions of the «Sentinelle.» There was little publicity accorded them, although the English press was watchful for any excuse to fulminate against the Franco-Americans.

The Sentinelle affair was quite another dish of tea, not so much because of the principles involved as because of the personalities and the resulting publicity.

It was in 1924 that the Bishop of Providence outlined the need for diocesan high schools, especially in Providence. A million dollars was the sum fixed for their construction. As the Catholics of Rhode Island had contributed almost a half million in the five previous years, there was some murmuring at this proposal, but as the donations were to be voluntary the protests were few.

Money was slow in forthcoming, however, and the Bishop announced that he would have to assess the parishes according to their resources. Then all hell broke loose, something in the nature of a civil war. Brother was against brother, friend against friend. It was said that the diocesan authorities were attempting complete assimilation of the Franco-Americans. The newspaper *La Sentinelle* was founded to carry on the battle.

The real beginning of the quarrel is still obscure. Some say that Elphège Daigneault hoped to obtain a judgeship, and was using this occasion as a steppingstone. Some say that the leaders of French societies saw in the quarrel a chance to consolidate their positions. Others claim that it was simply the old distrust between Irish and French coming to the surface.

Many were vitally interested, as may be seen by the fact that fifty thousand dollars were subscribed for the foundation of *La Sentinelle*. J. Albert Foisy was called from Canada to be editor.

Foisy and his successors found ample grist for their mill. Understanding that the proposed diocesan schools would not teach French as a major subject, they reasoned that the Franco-American parishes should not be asked to contribute. A few Franco-American parishes even went so far as to set up parish councils, entrusted with the administration of parish funds, but in the long run these were of no avail. It was the old story of local control of parish funds.

In Rhode Island, however, there was already central control of church funds, and here the Sentinellists thought of a solution. They knew that eventually the matter would be decided legally, so pointed out that the Bishop could be considered in the light of a private individual, apart from his status as head of the diocese. Daigenault, it must be remembered, was a lawyer.

The Sentinellists were bested from the start, because the Franco-Americans were divided on the question. Many sympathized secretly, but opposing the Bishop openly was another matter. But as the Bishop was attacked on two fronts, two decisions were necessary to defeat the Sentinellists. In the Rhode Island courts, the Bishop was upheld as having the right to tax parishes for diocesan works. The second decision against the Sentinellists was to have more weight.

For they had made an appeal to Rome, requesting the Pope to stay the Bishop's hand. Their request, however, construed in the light of a revolt against ecclesiastical authority, was doomed to failure, and the refusal of Rome carried with it the dread sentence of excommunication along with suppression of the newspaper. Officially the case of the Sentinelle was closed, but its effect on the morale of the Franco-Americans was just beginning.

In time money was raised for the high schools, although the drive would languish whenever workers came into a Franco-American parish. It seemed for a brief space that everyone had an ax to grind, and the editorials in *La Sentinelle* were anything but reserved. Epithets flew, especially when Foisy went over to *La Tribune*, and Daigneault became editor of *La Sentinelle*.

In the last analysis, more harm than good was done to the Franco-Americans, for their adversaries learned that they could be divided on important issues. The affair literally tolled the knell of Franco-American influence in Rhode Island.

«Some funny things happened,» commented one participant. «I can remember going with my father to a banquet. When he

saw a Sentinellist there, he walked out, taking me with him. People of one parish wouldn't talk with those of another. Some businesses were affected, and when it all blew over, both of the French newspapers had disappeared. It's nice to say that my father was a Knight of St. Gregory and was buried in his uniform, but think of all those who must have been bitter against him because of that. He was estranged from a good number of his friends, simply because they were against him on this one question.»

I spoke with others, men who had not seen eye to eye with the church authorities, men who had been Sentinellists openly or quietly. They all deplored the affair, but I could see that the old resentment still existed.

My last source of information was my uncle, who is pastor at St. Joseph's in Worcester.

Now my uncle is a diplomatic person, and it is difficult to get a pronouncement from him on any such question. I told him what I wanted and he said:

«I'll tell you. In any discussion between the Bishop and those under his jurisdiction one must give reason to the Bishop. You must remember that he acts for the general good. As you say, some may be offended, there is always a minority in any question, but the general good is what matters.»

«Well, what about the *Sentinelle?*»

He shrugged:

«I didn't follow it very closely. I had just been transferred to Worcester, and had quite enough to do here without becoming involved outside. You must remember it was at that time that the new church was built.»

«That's true. I had forgotten.»

I had to smile, for my uncle had skillfully evaded giving me any direct answer, beyond stating the policy of the Church in ecclesiastical matters. He must have sensed that I was not satisfied, for he added:

«You have to remember that Franco-Americans inherit their religious attitude from the French. Faith is governed by the intelligence. Then, Canada was settled in the time of Louis XIV, when Gallicanism existed. France belonged to the Church, but persisted in self-government of its hierarchy. That is why the French-Canadians and Franco-Americans desire some sort of control over their clergy. As the system did not exist here in New England, a clash was inevitable.»

«Which explains *La Sentinelle,*» I said.

«If you want to put it that way.»

* * *

On another occasion, my uncle pointed out:

«The members of the Franco-American clergy are generally models of self-effacement. They are not politically minded, in the ecclesiastical sense—that is, they are not ambitious—and they anticipate no renown outside their own diocese. They confine their efforts to their parish, generally. There are exceptions, of course, priests with a penchant for literature, gifted musically, born orators, but the rank and file of the Franco-American clergy is noted for its modesty, if I may call it that.»

«What would you say the reaction of the parishioners towards their pastor would normally be?»

«I'm not speaking for myself?»

«No. But you must have had some impressions from your parishioners.»

«Yes. Well, to them, monsieur le curé is a personage. He may be called upon to arbitrate disputes, as an adviser in temporal affairs, a friend in time of need. On the other hand, the Franco-American looks upon his pastor as a man, also, and reserves a right to criticize him personally. You can trace the whole attitude of the Franco-Americans to the intense parochialism of the French peasants who came to Canada. The outside world, everything outside his parish, was foreign. Central authority was not bothered with. The local leaders, political and religious, were the only ones that mattered.»

«You mentioned Gallicanism once, when we were talking about the *Sentinelle*.»

«Yes, but you mustn't take it too literally. I mentioned it as a tendency of the Franco-Americans, and the result of it is the desire for parish control of parish finances, and not the central control as it exists in the United States.»

«There's the question of assimilation. I always thought the Church encouraged it.»

«What do you mean?»

«Well, there were quite a few marriages in the early days between the French and Indians. I don't ever remember reading any comment on it.»

«The policy of the Church is for assimilation, but not by force. As for the marriages of French with Indians, it was better to countenance them than to forbid them. The latter would only have encouraged the practice.»

«Well, what about the tendency of Franco-Americans to adopt new sects, like that of Father Chiniquy, and Jehovah's Witnesses?»

«I think the explanation of that lies in the intense individuality of the Franco-American, who is after all a Frenchman. You know that the Frenchman is perfectly content with authority so long as he feels that he can be independent of it any time he wants. The chance to belong to this or that small group has an irresistible appeal for many Franco-Americans, but eventually the greater number of them return to the fold. You can call it intellectual pride, if you want. It is the source of his charm, just as it is the source of all his griefs.»

«Couldn't it be novelty that draws them away temporarily from the faith?»

«Perhaps, but that would make the Franco-Americans seem pretty lightheaded. No, it's the desire for freedom of thought that leads them astray.»

«What do you think of the future as far as the Franco-Americans are concerned?»

«It's hard to say. Experience has shown us that faith and language are almost synonymous. The rise or fall of the clergy is the rise or fall of the whole nationality. The grouping into parishes as a sort of social entity shows that the Franco-Americans instinctively recognize their pastors as their leaders. Societies cannot enjoy the same prestige. They are dependent on goodwill, whereas the clergy partakes of the continuity of the Church, receiving their authority from an unbroken line of bishops. That last fact alone means something.»

It was a day in May, and we were at the family home in Wendell. Here my uncle could relax from his dignity, just as my father and

aunts and uncles could bend to the soil or look to the sky. The family had returned to the way of life of their ancestors, and my uncle joined them when his priestly duties permitted. Here, on the hilltop, he could forget momentarily the formalities of his calling; all that mattered was the lilac in bloom, the buds on apple trees, a new bird family in the house nailed to the maple tree. —Such things as the problems of the Franco-Americans, and the relation of their clergy to these problems, seemed far away and alien. Perhaps it was just as well.

When Sundays came my uncle would be in his church, robed in the vestments of his office. He would mount the pulpit to address his *Bien chers frères,* thereby performing his duties instinctively in the tongue he had learned as a child. All the discussions we had had together were unimportant compared with this simple manifestation of survival. For my part, I also would be in church elsewhere, listening to our pastor expound the faith. The tongue would be the same as that of my uncle, and I also would be continuing the great tradition.

* * *

As you see, the story of the Franco-American clergy is not like that of the Jesuits of the heroic days who carried the cross at the bow of their canoes as they threaded unknown streams and lakes. The missionaries in New England trod humbly, their task the preaching of the Word and the organization of groups into parishes. There were the councils with the wealthier émigrés, the drives to raise enough money to buy land and to build a church. Then, when the parish was well begun, there was thought of the school, and finding nuns to teach, and always maintenance of the old tradition—the word of God in French. This was the beginning and the end of all their labors.

It is not surprising that a forest of steeples should have arisen in the valleys of New England, always a land of religious fervor, to blend with the landscape. In the quiet one can hear a murmur . . . *Je vous salue Marie* . . . or *Mes bien chers frères* . . .

Franco-Americans are indebted to Edward Billings Ham for writing English-language histories of two of their major institutions, the national societies and the Franco press. In the following article, first published in the New England Quarterly *of June, 1939, Ham allots praise and criticism to the various societies with a seemingly even hand. How even-handed he really was, is difficult to ascertain in the absence of other scholarly assessments. The objective history of the past forty years of the Franco national societies is still waiting to be written. In retrospect, however, we know that Ham was correct in evaluating the opportunities for development open to La Société de l'Assomption—they have indeed greatly expanded over the past four decades.*

FRENCH NATIONAL SOCIETIES IN NEW ENGLAND

by
Edward Billings Ham

Authoritative research concerning most minority groups in the United States has long been sadly lacking. Since New England's large Franco-American population is no exception to this neglect, the present sketch[1] is designed to outline one of the little known aspects of their struggle to preserve some semblance of racial integrity. Their vigorously organized resistance to assimilation is scarcely understood outside their own group, except in the obvious sense that all foreign-language minorities resort to essentially analogous methods. French culture patterns in New England are, of course, reinforced above all by close proximity to Quebec, and also by ties of family tradition, religion, and language, by parochial education in schools and colleges, by Irish-American hostility, and by newspapers and societies devoted to preservation of the French heritage. None of these agencies is so little known to the Anglo-Saxon community as that of the mutual benefit societies, which claim upwards of a hundred thousand New England members, supposedly interested in French survival. No French account of these organizations is impartial, and no English account even exists. A rapid survey is therefore desirable regarding the character of the Canadian French national societies and their contribution to New England life.

The formal purposes of all these societies are essentially the same: mutual benefit insurance, maintenance of the lodge system, furtherance of French Catholic interests, cultural advancement, and protection of the French language. Mere recital of these purposes falls short, however, of an answer to three inescapable questions: how effectively are the societies realizing their aims today, how seriously are the leaders continuing to uphold these objectives, and how hopefully may these organizations view their future? These questions manifestly invite appraisal of a variety of specific factors: characteristics of administration; proportional effort devoted by the societies to French culture traits (*e.g., language*) on the one hand and to economic solidarity on the other; methods by which the societies are seeking to retard acculturation; means of support and sources of opposition; handicaps imposed by the diminishing social visibility of the Franco-American communities and by the increasing diversity of their individual interests; and possible disparities between so-called American culture patterns and special norms fostered by the societies.

The history of French-Canadian national societies goes back to the political troubles which led Ludger Duvernay to found the first Société St-Jean-Baptiste in 1834 at Montreal. Fourteen years later, the first society in the United States was established at Malone, New York, to be followed in rapid succession during the next few decades by over four hundred similar fraternal or mutual benefit organizations. Many of these

local units have disappeared, and many more have been absorbed by the present-day national societies. There are, however, still numerous Sociétés St-Jean-Baptiste in New England, each independent of the others, some operating minor systems of mutual benefit, some existing for primarily social purposes, and all modelled in varying degree upon the original organization in Montreal.[2]

The more spectacular accomplishments of the Société St-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal will suffice to indicate the very modest aspirations of its local imitators in New England. In the financial field, the main society established over thirty years ago a *Caisse Nationale d'Economie*, a *Caisse de Remboursement*, a *Société Nationale de Fiducie*, and more recently a *Ligue de l'Achat de chez Nous*. The society has constantly aided French education, financially and otherwise, in various parts of Canada; it continues to publish quantities of literature in behalf of all aspects of the French cause; its *Oeuvre du Livre et du Disque français* is distributing over fifty thousand books and records each year; it has organized many lecture courses, concerts, and broadcasts; by correspondence and by visits it maintains close relations with other Sociétés Saint-Jean-Baptiste in Canada and in New England; it coöperates in various specific ways to the advantage of the Catholic Church; and its St. John's Day pageants have become classic in the Province of Quebec. The Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal today counts some eight thousand active members, who constitute a powerful force for the furtherance of intelligent nationalism in French Canada.

Between 1865 and 1901 the French-Canadians in the United States depended on frequent conventions of national scope to unify their interests and to protect their racial tradition in this country. The ephemeral character of these meetings made increasingly apparent the need for agencies which would be more stable and more cohesive, and which would function with continuity. In Canada the Société des Artisans Canadiens-Français and the Union Saint-Joseph du Canada, for example, already constituted models of long standing. It was therefore natural to combine many local mutual benefit societies in New England into organizations of wider range and of greater strength. Thus in 1889 four Cercles Jacques-Cartier in Rhode Island united to form what is now the Société Jacques-Cartier. Similarly, the Association Canado-Américaine arose in 1896 from a grouping of Sociétés Saint-Jean-Baptiste in New Hampshire; and in 1900 the Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique resulted from a parallel movement initiated by the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste of Holyoke, Massachusetts. The Acadian French convention of 1902 at Waltham, Massachusetts, provided the necessary impetus for the establishment of the Société l'Assomption at Fitchburg, in the following year. Somewhat different, however, was the origin of the Ordre des Forestiers Franco-Américains, founded in resistance to some pressure for linguistic assimilation. In 1901 the Catholic Order of Foresters forbade any member to represent it at the French-Canadian convention in Springfield, an action which led to many withdrawals in favor of the then embryonic French benefit societies.[3] Four years later the Foresters of America voted the exclusive use of English in all official activities, thereby alienating their French-speaking lodges and leading to the formation of the Forestiers Franco-Américains in 1906; this society was merged into the Association Canado-Américaine in December, 1938.

At present there are four national societies with main offices in New England, while three more, operating from Canada, have substantial Franco-American membership. By far the largest and strongest of the New England societies is the Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique,[4] with headquarters in

TABLE I

	Adult	Juvenile	Total
Social members	241	———	19,384
Beneficiary members	16,375	2,768	
Insurance in force	$10,634,973	$1,544,250	$12,179,223
Average per policy	$649.46	$557.90	———

TABLE II

	Lodges	Members
New Hampshire	73	6,948
Massachusetts	70	3,554
Rhode Island	25	2,279
Connecticut	18	810
Maine	8	669
Michigan	8	298
Vermont	8	150
Province of Quebec	92	4,676
Totals	302	19,384

Total insurance benefits paid since 1896–$5,360,820.78.
Life insurance policies issued from $100 to $5,000.

Woonsocket, Rhode Island, and a membership exceeding 56,000. Next in numbers is the Association Canado-Américaine with nearly 20,000 members, the Société Jacques-Cartier with 1,300, all in Rhode Island, and the Société Acadienne d'Amérique with about 1,000, in Massachusetts and Maine. Rumors circulate constantly concerning possible fusions, particularly of the two smaller groups, into some larger Franco-American or Acadian organization; in fact, members of the USJBA entertain the hope of eventually uniting all New England groups into a single national society. Absorption of salaried officers is, however, a serious obstacle. The Acadian Société l'Assomption, although founded at Fitchburg, has had its main office in Moncton, New Brunswick, since 1913; its New England membership is in the vicinity of 5,000, mostly in Maine and Massachusetts. Two Canadian organizations, the powerful Société des Artisans Canadiens-Français and the Alliance Nationale, have respectively some 21,000 and 6,000 members in the New England states.

Since the activities of the different societies are sufficiently alike to warrant limitation of detail in this survey, study here may well be centered primarily upon one of them, namely, the Association Canado-Américaine. The ACA not only is accurately typical of the national society, but also, while it is smaller than the USJBA, it functions in an area more conducive to French ethnic survival, and it recognizes more tangibly the need for Canadian coöperation in resisting assimilation.[5] Except for the Société l'Assomption in its relation to peculiarities of the Acadian French survival, other societies will be mentioned here only incidentally; but the generalities which are valid for one are essentially applicable to all.

The above tables may summarize the material strength and geographical divisions

of the ACA (as of March, 1939).[6]

The essential features of the society's formal administration require only brief comment, as it is perfectly typical of the American lodge system. By that token, incidentally, the Franco-American mutual societies have already yielded a slight point to the habits of the majority civilization within which they exist. Restriction of membership to French-speaking Catholics, however, remains for the present a solid barrier to assimilation. Members are recruited in the main by local field-workers. Officers of the ACA, elected at a quadrennial convention, include a president (M. Adolphe Robert since 1936), four vice-presidents, chaplain, secretary, treasurer, legal and medical advisers, and general directors. The executive board, known as the *Haute-Cour*, manages the affairs of the society from a central office in Manchester, New Hampshire. Individual chapters elect the delegates who represent various geographical districts at the convention. All the societies are violently criticized from time to time by Franco-Americans who consider officials more zealous for votes than for duty. While political consciousness is unavoidably rife, it is no more conspicuous here than elsewhere, and need be noted only as one of the evident defects in all such enterprises. A less frequent though more important criticism deplores the recognition accorded to women members in the national societies; the validity of this comment is enhanced by the well-known fact that the women of all minority groups yield most slowly to assimilative forces.

Like most of the New England societies, the ACA has made impressive advances during the past three decades: its present assets of over $3,000,000 are the result of steady increases each year (even since 1929) from barely $55,000 in 1913. If these figures, or even those of the USJBA, with its total assets of $6,600,000 and its total insurance policies of $23,500,000, seem somewhat modest, they should be set against the many economic difficulties which Franco-Americans have had since their first extensive infiltration from Canada eighty years ago. In this connection, it is also pertinent to recall the intense loyalty of the Franco-American in supporting his parish and its school.

By 1906 the ACA had established itself in New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Michigan, Connecticut, and Quebec, but it did not enter Maine until 1914 or Massachusetts[7] until as recently as 1925. The relative strength of the ACA in New Hampshire and Quebec gives value to numerous organized Franco-American visits in Canada and to relations between Canadian and American members. Despite the almost negligible competition which the ACA can offer the strong Canadian mutual societies in the Province of Quebec, its activities there effectively confirm the fact that the Franco-American survival must be constantly nourished from across the border. This policy of the ACA may of course be criticized as aiding discriminatory group attitudes, but the criticism is relevant only if such a policy aggravates admitted conflict of cultural elements.

The work of the ACA is divided among insurance, education, social and religious activities, emergency aids, and Franco-Canadian research. Under the administration of M. Robert, the ACA is perhaps in a better position than other New England national societies to work realistically against assimilation and at the same time to seek cultural compatibility with its Anglo-Saxon environment. The avowed objective of the ACA, as of all such societies, is «protéger le foyer familial, encourager la pratique de l'économie, contribuer à fortifier une oeuvre qui, tout en se proclamant catholique d'abord, veut aussi assurer notre survivance comme groupe distinct et éviter par là 'la chute dans l'insignifiance.'»[8]

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The details of the insurance activities of the society are not important to the present study. It is, however, important, although difficult, to know the proportional value which directors attach to their financial activities. In many quarters, the tendency is to regard the national societies more and more as mere business concerns. Numerous individual lodges rarely have meetings which attract members other than the officers. Indifference to French interests is probably not confined to the subordinate branches alone; preoccupation with the purely business future of a society is likely to manifest itself in the main office as well.[9] Leaders who are pessimistic or cynical are often less concerned over the survival (either linguistic or ethnic) than their official statements would imply. The tendency to stress merely the insurance features will doubtless acquire more and more adherents as the likelihood of extensive group-acculturation increases. In fact, there are very few Franco-Americans unrealistic enough to believe in any possiblilty of extensive linguistic survival in New England; many of the leaders have come to think of the language merely as a temporary, although powerful, asset to their traditions, and they are more hopeful that the Franco-American element will maintain its economic and social identity even if French ceases to be spoken. For the present, however, there are still numerous officials who are unstinting in their work for French religious, linguistic, and cultural betterment. One can therefore only conclude that the character of all the societies is still very much in the balance, and partisans of the survival can merely hope to elect officers capable of continuing such policies as those of the ACA under its present régime.

It is undoubtedly in the field of education that the national societies are doing their most effective work toward enlightened cultural differentiation. Not without significance is the fact that both the ACA and the USJBA are receiving incidental appropriations for educational purposes from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as from the provincial government in Quebec. It was not until 1924 that the ACA established a *Sou de l'Ecolier* for scholarships available to children of members. Acute financial need, the candidate's school record, and the desire for distribution by states constitute the basis for award. A scholarship may be renewed at the discretion of the *Haute-Cour* of the society, and on the average the tenure is for four or five years; in a few instances, however, over $2,000 has been awarded to single individuals. Some $42,000 has been allotted to over 100 students of preparatory school and college standing; the forty-seven *boursiers* for 1937-1938 received about $100 each. Recipients are not obliged to attend French-language institutions. In addition to its program of scholarships, the ACA has from time to time added various other educational works in New England; witness numerous subscriptions for the Franco-American Collège de l'Assomption in Worcester, contributions to the Cercle des Étudiants Franco-Américains de Boston, organization of the children's annual *Concours de Français* at Fall River.

Functioning since 1915, the *Caisse de l'Ecolier* of the USJBA yields more information concerning the effect of such educational subsidies in French New England. *Boursiers* are chosen by competitive examination and with reference to geographic distribution, to attend schools or colleges, preferably bilingual, in New England or Canada. Normally the appointee is about thirteen or fourteen years old, and receives an average annual allotment of about $165 ($184 in 1937-38); the average tenure has been for six years. For more advanced study, either local or abroad, *protégés particuliers* (average yearly allotment about $125; average tenure three years) are chosen on the basis of financial need without competitive examination. Nearly

300 students, of whom a few have held both *bourses* and *protections*, have received over $160,000 since the foundation of the society's *Caisse de l'Ecolier*.

Even more than the New England societies, it is the less wealthy Acadian Société l'Assomption which has been most active educationally. Frankly recognizing the unusually inadequate educational facilities among Acadians, this society has, since its beginning, made a *Caisse Ecolière* its first consideration.[10] Since 1904 it has granted nearly $200,000 to about 350 boys in classical colleges and girls in convent schools. In general, the subventions are open to members between 18 and 20, to children (between 11 and 18) of members, and to orphans sponsored by priests or other members.[11] Each year from ten to twenty-five new *protégés* are chosen, who continue to receive aid until the end of their course. Preliminary sorting of candidates is made in terms of geographic distribution and aptitude tests; the final selections are drawn by lot. This method is intended to adjust pronounced disparities in the instruction available in different Acadian localities. The Société l'Assomption has also been able to loan over a million and a half dollars for the construction of French churches (e.g., the memorial church at Grand Pré), schools, convents, and hospitals.

It is still too soon to judge the results of these several educational enterprises, particularly in the case of the ACA, whose scholarship holders are too young to have contributed appreciably to the maintenance of French tradition. Obviously the national societies are well aware of the increasing difficulties of fostering race patriotism among Franco-Americans born in the United States. Although they are generally regarded as more tenacious of race traits than other minority groups, the generations more and more remote from Canada show, of course, the same familiar tendencies toward eventual acculturation. If the national society scholarships accomplish their purpose, the ranks of the survival propagandists will be more adequately reinforced among successive Franco-American generations. While in the eyes of Anglo-Americans this effort is merely quixotic, it must for the present be counted as only part of an extensive resistance to racial absorption in New England.

In this connection, the very frank records of the USJBA are already helpfully informative. It has been possible for the writer to conclude that over three-quarters of the society's scholastic beneficiaries retain at least a formal sympathy with the work of the organization. Perhaps ten per cent may now be regarded as active partisans of the French survival. It also appears evident that about half of the former *boursiers* have fully met the society's expectations of them as scholars. All the societies attach special importance to the priests among their ex-recipients of grants-in-aid; the Société l'Assomption in particular considers that the thirty-five or so priests among its former *protégés* are contributing extensively to Acadian survival. This emphasis does not, however, detract from the efforts of the national societies in behalf of the lay professions.

The fact that both ACA and USJBA subsidize some students in English-language institutions must be regarded as at least a partial concession to the forces of ethnic assimilation, even despite the rarity of strictly Franco-American schools and colleges in New England. It has of course long been common knowledge that education tends to lessen social stablity, and with it cultural differentiation; the French societies are accordingly setting themselves a delicate problem for the future administration of their scholarship funds. In any event, however, their present policy should provide a valuable correction to a well-known condition which the president of the ACA himself describes with

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surprising vigor: «Les choses de l'esprit ne nous intéressent guère, et nous sommes au point de vue intellectuel, d'une légèreté inconcevable et d'une paresse incorrigible.»[12]

It is in the social and religious fields that the national societies are most deficient. Here, also, they suffer from the disapproval so often felt for the lodge system as a whole. To be sure, the lodge system effects tax exemption and proportionately lower insurance rates; it should also provide French societies with a practical rallying point for bestirring members in behalf of the survival and other causes. Unfortunately, despite all the efforts of the main office, the programs of chapter meetings can rarely be both pertinent to the society's objectives and interesting to the generality of Franco-Americans. The average member is anything but intellectually resourceful, and he is soon bored by unrelieved patriotism. It is therefore inevitable that meetings are seldom given over to Franco-American problems or even to entertainment, musical or otherwise, of a French character. Many meetings are wasted in social trivalities having nothing to do with the purposes of the organization; M. Robert has not hesitated, even in addressing the Quebec Congress[13] of 1937, to deplore the «terre à terre dans lequel se traîne lamentablement le cercle local.» Further reasons for this situation are not hard to find: the widespread apathy toward racial survival among the Franco-Americans, their relative temperamental aversion to organized social life of any sort,[14] the social mediocrity which many of them ascribe to their national societies. Concerning this last factor, it is again M. Robert who has spoken the most candidly: «Des gens en sont venus à concevoir que les sociétés, c'est bon pour le *vulgum pecus*, mais qu'il n'est pas chic pour un homme d'affaires ou un professionel d'y adhérer. Si, par hasard, on en fait partie, on condescend à l'avouer, mais avec cette réserve que la participation se limite au paiement des contributions.»[15] What better testimony to indicate the desire for more and more social mobility, particularly in second and subsequent generations of Franco-Americans?

In view of this gloomy picture, the positive achievement of the national societies is only the more commendable. The ACA, for instance, has been able to provide important emergency aid for many of its members, notably after the 1936 floods and after the collapse of the huge Amoskeag textile mills in Manchester. In Manchester, the ACA is responsible for a *Société des Conférences*, a *Société d'Opérettes*, and a radio *Heure française*, all intelligently designed to counteract the falling away from French traditions. These activities reflect awareness of the need for recapturing cultural contact with France, concerning which the average Franco-American is woefully ignorant and indifferent. The ACA has given occasional commissions to Franco-American artists, makes frequent contributions to the Franco-American press, has been a conspicuous participant in the French language congrèsses in Canada, and has provided substantial aids to numerous Catholic parishes.

Of more interest in the religious field, however, is the hostility of the church during the earlier years: in 1889 the Baltimore Catholic Congress denounced all national societies on the ground that «as such, [they] have no reason for existence in the Church in this country.» Church authorities, especially if of Irish descent, have often continued to look at them askance, but the tendency is now toward more sensible coöperation. Recognizing, at least ostensibly, the position of the clergy in Canada, New England bishops are adopting a sympathetic attitude toward Franco-Americans and their organizations. One is tempted to wonder, nevertheless, if this circumstance is not related to the recognized fact that active hostility encourages rather than retards Franco-American resis-

tance to assimilation.

With little or no coöperation from the bulk of their members, the directors of the ACA have made a praiseworthy record in terms of Franco-American studies. For the student of French New England, the society's most valuable asset is the Bibliothèque Lambert, located in the attractive ACA building in Manchester. This excellent collection[16] is richer in Franco-Canadiana than any other in the country; yet it is rarely consulted by Franco-American readers. In addition to the *Canado-Américain*, monthly review of finances and other activities, the ACA has published *Les Franco-Américains peints par eux-mêmes*, a series of 26 essays on most aspects of the New England survival; this book is an able record of Franco-American attitudes between 1932 and 1936. To the ACA's *Société des Conférences* is due the useful chronicle of *La Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Manchester, New Hampshire* (Manchester, 1938). In the *Vrai Mouvement Sentinelliste en Nouvelle-Angleterre* (Montreal, 1936), E.-J. Daignault, a former president of the ACA, has published an extensively and faithfully documented account of the pitiful *Affaire du Rhode-Island*.[17] Two volumes, relating to Franco-American literary activities and history, will shortly be published by M. Robert.

The national societies are supported almost exclusively by membership dues and by their insurance departments. Occasional gifts are received, such as the appropriations from Canada and France, but donations such as the $152,000 Labrecque legacy to the ACA are extremely rare. On the other hand, opposition to the societies has always been present: in particular, the passive opposition of some ninety per cent of the New England French population who are non-members. Inter-society dissensions and political intriguing have also retarded the growth of these organizations. Similarly, the language issue has handicapped the French societies in many ways for years. At the Springfield convention of 1901, for instance, competition of the English-language organizations was already a primary source of anxiety. Orators were declaiming even then about the indifference of the French to their own groups: «Le pansaxonisme bénéficiera de notre apathie. Nous regarderons s'accomplir cet exode avec une impassibilité qui ne sera pas dérangée même par le râle d'agonie de nos propres sociétés qui se meurent d'inanition . . . Maint bon Canadien se sent grandir de six bon pouces, mesure anglaise, chaque fois qu'un de ses collègues d'une société pansaxoniste quelconque l'appelle *brother*.»[18] A measure of the problem today may be seen, for example, in the rolls of the «pansaxonist» Knights of Columbus, who count some ten thousand members in French New England alone. While a fair number of these belong to one or two French-language societies as well, it must be emphasized that most of the French-speaking population is simply not interested in any French society. Not only are the English-language societies benefiting from French membership, but even in the USJBA, concessions to English are already present. The *Statuts et règlements* (page 6) specify French as the only language permitted «excepté, toutefois, dans les centres franco-américains où les membres ne pourraient raisonnablement pas le faire; dans ce cas l'usage de l'anglais est permis.» According to the *Union* of January, 1934, thirty-six *conseils* in Illinois, Michigan, New York, and Vermont were no longer functioning in French.

From the foregoing paragraphs it should not be difficult to envisage the handicaps imposed on the national societies by the diminishing social visibility of the Franco-American population. In some respects the work of these organizations, despite their efforts, is really leading toward the precise identity of cultural environments which makes for eventual assimilation. The failure of many lodges in this country to perpetuate transplanted

leisure activities bears out the same conclusion. It is also true that in this country Franco-Americans are not necessarily interested in other Franco-Americans merely for racial reasons. The enlightened cultural program of the main office of the ACA thus becomes an indispensable part of its very struggle for an ethnic *raison d'être*. In this sense, the attempt of the national societies to reconcile preservation of racial integrity with good American citizenship becomes, in part, an act of sheer self-defence; and by this token, it is impossible now to doubt the realism of leaders who are often regarded by Anglo-Americans only as visionary propagandists.

This survey should not be concluded without a word on the conflict, if such there be, between the aims of the French national societies and American culture patterns. On this issue assimilationists usually disagree with partisans of a double culture in New England. But if the sincerity of the Franco-Americans is conceded, as it must be, there is no place for debate. Assimilationists hope to see opposing cultural elements synthesized; the Franco-American leaders are in complete accord with exactly this view,[19] and this despite, or because of, the refusal of Franco-Americans to regard themselves as invaders in New England: «nous ne sommes pas une race adventice, nous sommes une race constituante.»[20] It is no longer possible, for example, to accept MacDonald's attribution to Franco-Americans of «zealous and systematic measures to keep themselves apart.»[21] Social isolation has been due less to Franco-American prejudices, albeit considerable, than to their servile acceptance of superior-inferior group status imposed by economic differences and by Anglo-American ethnocentrism. The national societies are working for no special norms other than a bilingual culture, and such observances so may preserve respect for ancestral tradition in the same degree of freedom enjoyed by other American groups.

An attempt to answer the three questions raised at the outset of this study is now relevant:

(1) The national societies, with an enrollment amounting to scarcely a ninth of the New England French population are far from complacent about their material accomplishment to date. Even among members they have had little success in maintaining the strong emotional fixations which marked the loyalty of earlier generations of French-Canadian culture patterns. They have achieved a measure of inter-society solidarity, as shown by the membership of many individuals in two or more French fraternal groups. The societies may already take justifiable pride in their record of aid to Catholicism, to French education, to French journalism, to social cohesion, and to economic security among their people.

(2) While many of the leaders have lost interest in anything but the material progress of the societies, numerous officials are still striving earnestly and realistically for the betterment of group relations in terms of an American citizenship enriched by compatible French culture traits.

(3) The national societies are justified in viewing their economic future with optimism; their progress, especially since 1929, seems to guarantee continued business stablilty. The record of the Société l'Assomption has in this respect been particularly impressive, primarily because of the wide scattering of its present and prospective members. Upwards of forty thousand Acadians are to be found in New England, but this element has no important geographic cohesion except in northernmost Maine and in parts of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. On the other hand, the Société l'Assomption is without any serious rival in its field, and many of its *succursales* in the Maritime Provinces are actively established on property of their own. Consequently, if the society can further

break down indifference among the Acadians themselves, it will remain an important organization for the furtherance of their racial integrity.

Outside the financial field, the national societies may be adding a modicum of longer life to the French language in the three southern New England states, and with the aid of other agencies, they should contribute to a permanent, although reduced, linguistic survival in localities nearer to the Province of Quebec. But regardless of the fate of the language, the societies will doubtless continue to function, not merely as a business concerns, but as meritorious agents of a differentiated Franco-American group with sound standards of American citizenship.

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Notes

1. As of April, 1939. For information and suggestions generously given, the writer wishes to thank the following officers of the different societies: MM. N.-P. Comeau, Jean Gosselin, Pierre LeBlanc, A.-J. Léger, L.-B. Lussier, C.-H. Martel, W.-J. Mathieu, Adolphe Robert, Alphonse de la Rochelle, C.-F. Savoie, Elie Vézina, and the Abbé P.-L. Jalbert. To this list should be added the names of MM. Wilfred Beaulieu, J.-T. Benoit, and Alexandre Goulet.

2. For typical details, see the Manchester *Avenir National* (June 25, 1938), 3-24 and 29-36.

3. Felix Gatineau, *Historique des Conventions générales des Canadiens-Français aux Etats-Unis, 1865-1901* (Woonsocket, 1927), 359-360, 390, and 399-400.

4. In referring to the Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique, and the Association Canado-Américaine subsequently in this essay, the abbreviations USJBA and ACA will be used, respectively.

5. The official position of the USJBA should, however, be cited: «Sans doute, sa sphère d'action est restreinte, mais les Congrès généraux sont encore d'avis que le champ franco-américain est assez vaste et assez important pour occuper tous les moments et absorber toutes les énergies.»

6. The society's total admitted assets, as of December 31, 1938, amounted to $3,159,160.92; the valuation ratio was 115.79%.

7. The ACA has been obviously handicapped in this case by the earlier activities of the USJBA, which at present counts more than 23,000 members in Massachusetts alone, a locality less favorable, however, than northern New England to lasting French survival.

8. A. Robert, *Association Canado-Américaine* (pamphlet; Manchester, 1930), page 8.

9. See *Le Travailleur*, Worcester, *passim*.

10. *Cf.* A.-J. Léger, *Les Grandes Lignes de l'histoire de la Société l'Assomption* (Quebec, 1933), 179.

11. Compare Articles 247ff. of the Society's by-laws.

12. *Deuxième Congrès de la Langue française au Canada, Compte Rendu* (Quebec, 1938), 428.

13. *Ibid.*, 430. It may also be noted that the Société l'Assomption has a much greater proportion of profitably active *succursales* in the Maritime Provinces than in any New England state.

14. *Cf.*, for example, E. L. Anderson, *We Americans* (Cambridge, 1937), 147-148.

15. *Les Franco-Américains peints par eux-mêmes*, Adolphe Robert, editor (Montreal, 1936), 124.

16. Described in *Modern Language Notes*, LII (1937), 542-544.

17. Concerning this interminable controversy about the right of the Bishop of Providence to aid English-language institutions with money collected in French parishes, *cf.* E.-R. d'Amours, *New England Quarterly*, X (1937), 601-605.

18. Gatineau, *Conventions générales*, 390-391; *cf.* also L.-B. Lussier in *Les Franco-Américains peints par eux-mêmes*, 201-205.

19. The Franco-American position is excellently stated by J.-T. Benoit, *L'Ame franco-américaine* (Montreal, 1935), 63.

20. Mgr Camille Roy, in *Le Travailleur*, April 29, 1937.

21. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XII (1898), 276. This article is in other aspects a very competent survey of the Franco-Americans before the turn of the century.

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