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Contemporary Attitudes of Maine's Franco Americans

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Franco American Centre Franco-Américain

Occasional Papers

Spring 2013

Contemporary Attitudes of Maine's Franco Americans

Jacob ALBERT
Tony BRINKLEY
Yvon LABBÉ
Christian POTHOLM



University of / Université du Maine
Orono, Maine

FRANCO AMERICAN CENTRE

OCCASIONAL PAPERS

SPRING 2013

NUMBER 1

CONTEMPORARY ATTITUDES OF MAINE'S FRANCO AMERICANS

Jacob Albert
Tony Brinkley
Yvon Labbé
Christian Potholm

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University of / Université du Maine
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University of Maine
Orono, Maine

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INTRODUCTION

In 2012, the 125th Maine Legislature established the Maine Task Force on Franco-Americans. As articulated in LD 1601,¹ the purpose of the Task Force was to gather basic Franco American demographic data, investigate various dimensions of the Franco American heritage in Maine, evaluate the current economic and educational circumstances of this population group, and report to the Legislature its findings by the end of the year. The Task Force was to meet four times. LD 1601 called upon the University of Maine's Franco American Centre to support the Task Force's work.

The Task Force on Franco-Americans was chaired by Representative Ken Fredette of Newport and Senator Thomas Martin of Benton. Other members included Representative Brian Bolduc of Auburn, Juliana L'Heureux of Topsham, Yvon Labbé of Greenville, Severin Beliveau of Hallowell, David Madore of Augusta, Daniel Deveau of Van Buren, Susan Pinette of Orono, Gilman Pelletier of Waterville, Raymond Lagueux of Lewiston, and James Lemieux of Pittsfield. The committee staff consisted of two members: Karen Nadeau-Drillen, legislative analyst,

and Natalie Haynes, legislative analyst, both at the Office of Policy and Legal Analysis, Maine Legislature.

Given the limits of scientific data specific to Franco Americans in Maine, the Task Force determined that it needed not only to examine existing statistics and research material, but also to inquire into current attitudes among Maine's Franco American population, to ascertain first-person views on a number of subjects not covered by other data collection methods, including the most recent U.S. Census.

Toward that end, in keeping with the long-term vision Representative Ken Fredette proposed for the Task Force, the Franco American Centre at the University of Maine commissioned a 600-person attitudinal survey carried out by Command Research, a Maine-based, national public opinion survey company, located in Harpswell.

Funding for this survey was made possible by the generosity of a number of people and organizations, especially the University of Maine, the University of Southern Maine, the University of Maine at Fort Kent, the University of Maine System, the *Forum Francophone des Affaires* (FFA-USA), Representative Ken Fredette, and Juliana L'Heureux.

Command Research conducted field work during late July and early August of 2012. The study consisted of a 55-question survey administered to 600 self-described Franco American adults in Maine who were chosen at random based on the statewide geographical distribution of this population group. The normal statistical margin of error for a study of this type is plus or minus .04 at the 95th level of confidence.

An initial exploration of the findings of this survey, together with important census data and secondary research, provide the basis for this Occasional Paper #1. It is our hope that this paper will stimulate further research into the thousands of pages of findings already generated, and that it will engender further explorations of the attitudes of Franco American communities in Maine—indeed of *all* communities in Maine—on an ongoing basis. The Franco American Centre invites all those who are interested in participating in research on the 2012 survey, and in reading and investigating its findings, to contact Centre staff. Staff contact information is available at the Centre’s website: <http://umaine.edu/francoamerican>.

All concerned are grateful to the members of the Task Force for their focus on Maine’s Franco American communities. We hope that these findings will enable all Mainers to better appreciate the views of their neighbors.

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February 2013

In the Franco Universe

Regrettably, studies of the attitudes of individual ethnic groups in Maine are few and far between. What studies we have for the most part are anecdotal in nature, not scientifically conducted, and often very limited in scope. Indeed, the authors of this monograph believe that the survey that is the subject of this analysis is the only major scientific study of any of Maine's major ethnic groups. This is unfortunate. A comparative examination of the various ethnic groups in Maine would provide illuminating opportunities to see both the differences and commonalities among them, and would shed fresh light on the detail, vibrancy, and interplay of Maine's cultural realities.

Based on 2011 US Census Bureau American Community Survey (ACS) statistics, self-identified Franco Americans make up 23.9% of Maine's current population. This compares with 18% of the population who declare themselves to be Irish Americans. The largest ethnic group in Maine continues to be, as it has been throughout Maine's history, those of English/Scots—or "Yankee"—self-identification. This cohort makes up 27% of the population.²

In the absence of any alternative, various forms of census data have long provided the only available statistics for analyzing the demographic realities of ethnic groups in Maine, and of Franco Americans in particular.³ But while relevant Bureau and other statistics help to establish a context for a cultural understanding of Maine people, they necessarily generalize in ways that can only provide preliminary bases for more in-depth analyses. Moreover, an interpretation of current census statistics for Maine's Franco Americans is perhaps uniquely fraught with a set of semantic issues that make identifying or understanding the basic demography of this ethnic group a particular challenge.

The term "Franco American" as most often used in Maine is loaded with a social and political history that begins either with Acadian settlements in North America or with migrations from Quebec to New England in the 19th century.⁴ At the same time, individuals contained in the demographic group described by this term may identify their ancestry in census as "French," "French Canadian," "Québécois," "Acadian," "Franco," or otherwise, without explicitly identifying themselves as "Franco American," a label whose popular use in Maine is relatively recent.⁵

As a term, "Franco American" occupies a minor space in the ever-changing catalog of demographic categories collected by the US Census Bureau. Self-identifying "Franco Americans" are identified in the available public presentations of census data with a range of other related ancestry designations ("Acadian," "Québécois," etc.) under the census code and heading, "French Canadian."⁶ Other Franco Americans who identify themselves in census simply as "French" are classified under a separate census code and

heading, “French.”⁷ Census analyses of Franco Americans in Maine take as their baseline the sum of these two available ancestry groups.⁸

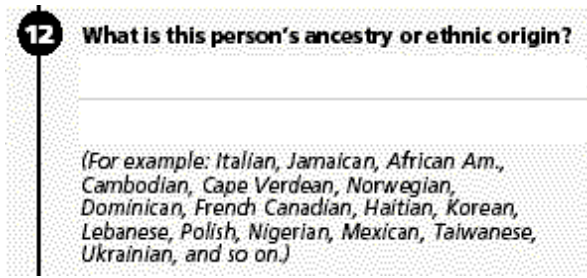


Figure 1: The appearance of the question on ancestry in the American Community Survey mirrors the diction and format of the ancestry question asked by the decennial census in the year 2000. Note the two boxes that allow responders to indicate multiple ancestries. (US Census Bureau, 2012)

For example, the 2011 ACS 1-year estimate places the population of the state of Maine at 1,328,188.⁹ Of these, 216,558 appear under the ancestry category of “French (except Basque)” and 101,141 appear under “French Canadian.”¹⁰ The combination of these two ancestry groups yields 317,699 persons, or 23.9% of the total population of Maine.

How reliable is this estimate? We can of course imagine “French” and “French Canadian” as two separate descriptors for people who might describe themselves as “Franco American.” Those who identify themselves in particular as “French,” however, might see themselves otherwise (recent emigrants from France, for example), without a particular North American heritage, and seek to

be excluded from an interpretation of the population group in Maine that has come to be called “Franco American.”

Given these and other inadequacies of census data,¹¹ current statistics are not enough to accurately represent Maine’s Franco American communities, and to test the validity of historical assumptions that have often accompanied discussions about them. We can imagine the range of cultural realities among these Maine people being at least as wide as their range of terms for self-identification.

There has thus long been a need for a significant, in-depth look at the attitudes of the Franco American communities in Maine. This occasional paper is only an initial step in addressing that need. It is based on a comprehensive overview of the opinions, circumstances, conditions, and standpoints that occur within these communities, and among Franco American people in this state.

In the pages that follow, we shall be providing some of the initial highlights of the 2012 survey broken down by subgroup classification, economic conditions, and political areas of interest. This initial look at the vast amount of data collected by the survey focuses primarily on its top line results; occasional forays into the relevant cross tabulations provide examples or contrasts within the Franco American cohort.

For our purposes, Franco Americans in Maine will be those who identified themselves in the 2012 survey as having an ethnic background best described by the terms “Franco American” and/or “French.” No doubt, this group is a subset of a larger demographic group who could have identified themselves as “Franco American” or “French,”

but did not. It is safe to assume that this larger group might well be greater than the 2011 ACS 1-year estimate of 23.9%.

Occasional Paper #1 represents a first step in the analysis of the rich mine of data that the demographic study has produced. It is designed to give the interested reader a sense of what the total survey contains, with certain examples selected to provide insights into the depth of the cross tabulations.

Cultural Dimensions: Franco American Subgroups by Self-Identification

Various cultural geographers, immigration scholars, and genealogists have supported the assumption that most Franco Americans in Maine could be identified with their Canadian location and cultural milieu of historical origin.¹² Indeed, relevant instances of North American migration and settlement are well known in a number of Franco American communities, and often carry meaningful weight in local oral traditions.¹³ Many Franco Americans in Lewiston and Biddeford can trace their roots to Quebec and relate stories originating there, for example, while many in places like Rumford, Old Town, or especially the St. John Valley, can associate themselves historically with Acadia.¹⁴ And while the histories of these two North American francophone presences are patterned with mobility and intersection in Maine, it is sometimes the case that specifying one's singular ancestral origin holds real meaning.¹⁵ Claims to ancestral differences can bolster unchecked assumptions about cultural exceptionality.

Less clear are the ways in which Franco Americans today might signify their ancestral origins by the terms they choose for identifying themselves. Do word choices hold

cultural or attitudinal significance in Maine? Or can certain subgroups be located geographically in some Maine areas and not others?

As indicated above in this paper's introduction, "Franco American" as a term in itself can sometimes be complicated by contextual and semantic issues that render its meaning variably more static or more fluid than intended. More specific cultural designations are otherwise complicated by historical and geographic conditions. The origins of the term "Acadian," for example, have long been debated in both French- and English-language scholarly and popular literature.¹⁶ Usage of the term "French Canadian" in Maine, hearkening back to nineteenth-century Quebec and the *Canadien(ne)s* or *Canadien(ne)s français(es)*¹⁷ who migrated southward, could now feasibly be substituted by any variety of francophone provincial associations.¹⁸ Maine frequency of the term "Québécois," a designation that came into popular use in Quebec during the nationalist movement of the 1960s and 70s, also raises certain questions¹⁹: it suggests that some Franco Americans have a cultural awareness of their provincial origins much more up-to-date than nineteenth- and early twentieth-century migration patterns afford on their own.^{20, 21}

Therefore, one of the most anticipated findings of the 2012 study was the breakdown of self-identification by respondents within the Franco American community. Indeed, it also proved to be one of the most interesting.

When asked the question, "Into which subgroup of the Franco American background or heritage would you put yourself?" only 7.5% of those surveyed called themselves "Acadian." Another 10% identified themselves as "Québécois." 8.8% claimed to be a combination of various

backgrounds and less than 1% identified themselves as metropolitan French. About a quarter of respondents—23%—said they didn't know. By contrast, 50.5% indicated that they considered themselves to be simply “French Canadian/Canadian/Franco.”²²

There are, of course, other possible subgroup breakdowns of Franco American heritages²³ but for our purposes the question outlined above seemed to pay rich attitudinal dividends. As will be seen below, these findings are of enormous importance when traced through the cross tabulations. Subgroup self-identification turned out to be the single most important determinant of many core values and current attitudes.

Geographically, county-wide percentage distributions of the three major subgroups—Acadian, French Canadian/Canadian/Franco, and Québécois—varied in such a way that made subgroup identification a much more striking point of congruence in survey responses than did locale.²⁴ While certain sub-groups first appeared concentrated in counties across the state—20% of self-identified Acadians being in Aroostook County, 27% of Québécois in York, 20% of French Canadian/Canadian/Franco in Androscoggin, etc.—an analysis of the make-up of individual counties exposed the reality of each county's subgroup diversity. Aroostook County, for example, exhibited a range of subgroup expressions: 59% of respondents there called themselves French Canadian/Canadian/Franco, 18% identified as Québécois, and only another 18% identified as Acadian, while 6% claimed a combination of these.

On most of the issue packages tested, concerning the state's geography more broadly, there was little significant

divergence of opinion that could be reduced to a simple North/South split. Whether a Franco American lived in northern Maine or southern Maine, or voted in the 1st or 2nd Congressional District (CD), had less bearing on one's position on some matters than had been expected. For example:

-35% of respondents in the 1st CD were “extremely proud” of their Franco American background and heritage, compared with 37% in the 2nd CD.²⁵

-33% of respondents in the 1st CD felt the ability to speak French was “very important” to one's sense of being a Franco American, compared with 34% in the 2nd CD.²⁶

-73% of respondents in the 1st CD rated the education provided by the University of Maine at Orono “excellent” or “good” compared with 77% of Franco Americans in the 2nd CD.²⁷

-22% of respondents in the 1st CD said Franco Americans enjoy the political power they “could or should have,” compared with 21% in the 2nd CD.²⁸

-30% of Franco American Catholics in the 1st CD said they believe in “virtually all” of Catholic Church doctrine, compared with 31% in the 2nd CD.²⁹

A similar argument could be made for the survey respondents' statements about socioeconomic circumstances in northern and southern Maine:

-58% in the 1st CD said they have private medical insurance compared with 57% of those in the 2nd CD.³⁰

-42% in the 1st CD claimed to work for a large or small company, with 8% self-employed, compared to 43% in the 2nd CD working for a large or small company, with 10% self-employed.³¹

-39% in the 1st CD said their household earns an income of \$20,000 or less, compared to 33% in the 2nd CD.³²

By contrast, the study's findings show that where survey respondents shared one subgroup identification or another, statewide, many of their attitudes and circumstances converged in arguably definitive ways.

We can make two overarching points from this discovery. Firstly, among all subgroups, self-identifying oneself immediately and definitively as "Québécois" became of overriding importance in determining one's stance on cultural matters. Those who called themselves Québécois, for example, were far more likely than other groups to stress the importance of the French language or to identify themselves as strong Catholics. Self-identified Québécois were also more likely than other subgroups to claim to have experienced discrimination. Moreover, 92% of the survey's Québécois professed extreme pride in their heritage – more than nearly any other single cohort yielded in the entire survey.³³

Secondly, and perhaps as noticeably, there existed a frequent similarity in survey responses between the

“Acadian” and “French Canadian/Canadian/Franco” subgroups. This comparison suggests a particular unity among these two groups that contrasts starkly with the responses of the Québécois cohort, and to our knowledge has never before been marked in any substantial, statistical way.

Both of these aspects of subgroup identification stand out in a variety of survey cross-tabulations.

For example, when asked, “How important is the ability to speak French to your sense of being a Franco American or who should be considered a Franco American,” 80% of self-identified Québécois responded “very important.” This compares with only 43% of those calling themselves “Acadian” and 42% of those labeling themselves “French Canadian/Canadian/Franco” (or “just Franco”).³⁴

68% of the Québécois cohort claimed fluency in French compared to only 38%, at most, of any other subgroup.³⁵

On the topic of religion, 86% of Québécois self-proclaimed Catholics said they believe in most or virtually all Catholic Church doctrine. This compares with 59% of the “just Franco” group and 56% of the Acadian group. Only 13% of those who didn’t know into which cultural subgroup they belonged, but claimed to be Catholic, said they believe in most or virtually all Catholic doctrine.³⁶

Politically speaking, 56% of self-proclaimed Québécois felt a candidate’s Franco American heritage was a factor to be taken into consideration when voting. Only 38% of Acadian and 34% of French Canadian/Canadian/Franco respondents agreed.

Certain figures on educational and economic achievement also marked similar, significant divergences between the Québécois subgroup and others:

-52% of self-identified Québécois called themselves college graduates, compared to only 20% and 22% of the Acadian and French Canadian/Canadian/ Franco cohorts, respectively.³⁷

-27% of self-identified Québécois claimed to own a large company, compared to no more than 2% of people who called themselves Acadian or French Canadian/Canadian/Franco.

-Only 2% of Québécois lacked health insurance, compared to 8% of the French Canadian/Canadian/ Franco, 22% of the Acadian, and 23% of those who identified with a combination of subgroups.

These findings provide a most interesting starting point for further examination of unity and diversity within the Franco American communities of Maine on issues of subgroup identification, and begin to raise questions as to the various meanings behind them:

In what ways do these self-identifications signify historical or geographic associations?

What does the use of the term “Québécois” tell us about Franco American ancestral origin? Or what are the more recent patterns of Quebec-Maine immigration?

Does the unity of many Acadian and French Canadian/Canadian/Franco opinions and circumstances change the way we understand these subgroup designations?

What experiences do Franco American communities share across the state?

What other survey cross tabulations can be sites of new knowledge?

Economic and Employment Dimensions

It is not uncommon for Maine's Franco American history to take the form of a story with employment at its core.³⁸ Indeed, the relationship between French Canadian immigration and industrial centers in New England has been chronicled by scholars for over a century.³⁹ Equally familiar are everyday settings like textile and paper mill labor, forestry, farming, or other similar experiences of work, which have sometimes become standard bearers for historical and cultural truth.⁴⁰ One can well argue that Franco American ethnic identification has often hinged upon one's ability to claim experiences like these, and thus upon one's relationship to earning a wage.⁴¹

An analysis of current attitudes toward employment suggests that this historical characterization may be supported by how many Franco Americans now think about themselves. According to the 2012 study, employment registered among respondents as a most serious concern.⁴² When asked to name the "most crucial problem" facing Franco Americans today, nearly 40% of all those surveyed responded "jobs/employment"—almost twice as many as indicated the second most popular opinion, "education."

All age cohorts in the survey under the age of 60, and still a great many older people, showed general agreement on this point.⁴³ It should come as no surprise to readers that this concern proved to be consistent with state and national trends.⁴⁴

A similar sentiment emerged from survey respondents when asked whether “the Franco American population is an economic resource for Maine.”⁴⁵ 64% answered in the affirmative. Many respondents chose to cite one of either a Franco American “skilled workforce” or its long stereotyped “strong work ethic” as the population’s primary economic catalysts for its state.⁴⁶ Some 39% of responses indicated that Franco American cultural tourism was a perceived source of economic growth. Another 31% of responses indicated that trade with France and Canada – Québec, in particular – was an economic opportunity that Maine could attribute to its Franco American citizens. Only 9% of respondents answered “no.” A relationship between individual Franco Americans and the specter of *work* emerged as an overriding element in the study.

These responses suggest that the attitudes of many Franco Americans in Maine have economic and employment dimensions worth our attention. But how do these attitudes compare with current employment conditions? And what can this comparison tell us about the realities of work among Franco Americans? That the opinions shared above are *not* unanimous begins to indicate to us that employment and work, as elements of Franco American identity, are multifaceted and much more complex factors today than their calcified historical portraits may suggest.

A combination of US Census Bureau data and 2012 survey findings allows for a picture of Franco American

employment and economic circumstances to begin to emerge.

. . .

Census statistics have reflected a ballpark similarity in overall rates of employment among Franco Americans, Mainers in general, and the nationwide labor force. In actuality, recent ACS figures for Maine compare slightly favorably to corresponding findings for the USA as a whole. 2011 census projections for the USA, with a labor force composed of 67% of the eligible population, placed the unemployment rate around 10%.⁴⁷ For the same period, Maine unemployment, and that of Maine Franco Americans, hovered around 8.5% of their respective labor forces.⁴⁸

But according to the 2012 study, employment status among Franco Americans is not so comparable with state and national trends. About 56% of Franco Americans claimed to work for a large or a small company, another 9% claimed to be self-employed, and roughly 15% were retired. The remaining 20% of respondents claimed to be unemployed—more than double the ACS projection from one year before, and a high number, indeed.

Why the statistical difference?

It is crucial to understand that when collecting and presenting statistics on employment, the US Census Bureau makes a distinction between those persons who are “*in the labor force*” and those who are “*not in the labor force.*” This latter category accounts for adults who are students, retirees, seasonal workers, or otherwise occupied, and for whom “unemployed” is a misleading designation.⁴⁹ *The 2012 survey does not make this important distinction.*

With this in mind, an adjusted reading of ACS statistics shows us that the number of Franco American adults who do not work—either because of unemployment, or because of being classified as “not in the labor force” (student, retiree, etc.)—was much nearer to the 2012 study’s percentage of Franco Americans who considered themselves out of work on account of unemployment or retirement.^{50, 51}

We can assume that the 2012 study’s very high 20% unemployment rate reflects at least three conditions: the actual unemployment rate of Franco Americans (about 6%, or, 8.6% of the labor force); the failure of the survey’s employment inquiry to account for students, seasonal workers, and others typically outside of the workforce; and a certain self-perception that allowed respondents *who are not currently at work* to align themselves with the unemployed.

Yet in spite of these variable conditions—or perhaps because of them—there remains a unity among this cohort of 20% that was consistently reflected in its opinions on cultural matters. The survey’s capability of presenting the issue of Franco American employment on the basis of the opinions and cultural perspectives of the members of various employment groups is especially useful for analyzing this cohort. Such an analysis is not possible with US Census Bureau data alone.

So, who are they, these 20%?

According to the 2012 study, the overall group was slightly more male than female, 53% to 47%, and urban in self-designation. 64% claimed to live in a city, 19% in a rural area, and 16% in a suburb or small town. Most of this group was comprised of people from Maine’s most

populous counties: York, Cumberland, Androscoggin, Kennebec, and Penobscot.

Roughly 60% of all those who claimed to be unemployed fell between the ages of 18 and 25—about 70% of this age cohort.⁵² Another 26% were between the ages of 26 and 45. Only the remaining 13% were over the age of 45.

This cohort was also the least likely of all employment groups to be politically involved, with only 73% claiming to be registered to vote. Of those registered, Independent or unenrolled voters amounted to $\frac{3}{4}$ of the cohort, a higher percentage than any other employment group.

Compared with other employment groups, this cohort was among the least religious, and was exclusively the least Roman Catholic. About half of the 33% of this cohort who identified with Catholicism claimed that they were Catholic only in name and did not believe or practice religiously.

In terms of cultural awareness, the self-proclaimed unemployed were among all employment groups the least likely to profess an interest in their heritage – only 22% indicating at least some degree of cultural pride. The remaining 78% claimed to be not particularly proud of their heritage, not particularly concerned with it, or unknowing.⁵³ This cohort was also the least likely to be French-speaking. 70% felt the French language was unimportant to one's sense of being a Franco American—again, the most of any employment group.⁵⁴ Most of this cohort claimed to be unaware of its particular French background. 58% of respondents—a higher percentage than any other employment group—claimed they did not know into what subgroup to place themselves.⁵⁵ And when asked

“To you, what does it mean to be ‘a Franco American,’” 58% of this cohort claimed they did not know—about 40 percentage points more than any other employment group.⁵⁶

Regarding education, in terms of their hopes for the future, 79% of this cohort was dismissive, apathetic, or uncertain about their children’s level of schooling.⁵⁷ When asked, “Do you want your children/grandchildren to go on to college,” a similar percentage—76%—expressed uncertainty. 2% responded in the negative.⁵⁸ It is also worth noting that this ambivalence came from a cohort of which 58% currently have children in K-12 education in Maine.⁵⁹

. . .

But what does this cohort think about work, in particular? We can begin to answer this question by analyzing the prompt presented at the outset of this chapter in light of the survey’s employment findings.

When asked, “When you think of the problems facing Franco Americans in Maine, which do you think is most crucial,” this cohort’s number one response—as might be expected—was “jobs/employment.” Though, curiously, only about 31% of the cohort offered this response, one of the lowest percentages of all employment groups, second lowest only after the cohort of self-proclaimed retirees. Instead, even given employment in a list of potential choices, about 63% of the unemployed cohort responded that they did not know the most crucial problem.⁶⁰ This compares with no more than a quarter of self-employed respondents and small business owners, 65% and 55% of whom, respectively, saw employment as the most crucial Franco American issue today. According to the survey, no

less than 40% of all other working Franco Americans agreed.

An identical amount of the unemployed cohort—about 63%—also claimed not to know whether “the Franco American population is an economic resource for the state of Maine.” This figure at least doubles that of self-employed Franco Americans and small business owners. The remaining majority of these two employment groups—and of all other working people, in fact—did identify a variety of ways in which Franco Americans in particular are of certain benefit to the state’s economy.⁶¹

Based on the 2012 study’s findings, a range of Franco American employment circumstances stands beside a comparable range of opinions on a diversity of cultural matters internal to this population group. And in some cases, as seen above, employment circumstances among Franco Americans can be related to opinions or apathies on cultural matters in such a meaningful way as to serve as group-wide indications of particular attitudinal dimensions.

But what this diversity of work realities and cultural attitudes insists, perhaps in a pioneering way, is that a great many Franco Americans’ personal opinions and employment circumstances serve as exceptions to better known historical characterizations. Franco American employment and economic attitudes and realities are not one-dimensional. In terms of numbers, for example, self-declared unemployed persons represent the Franco American experience of work in Maine almost just as well as large and small business owners do.⁶² In matters of identity, for a number of Franco Americans, a particular experience of and concern for employment is not representative. Perhaps we would do well to investigate an

even greater diversity of employment and cultural opinion among this population. It may be worthwhile to explore the preponderance of the “don’t know” response equally with instances of claimed self-awareness, or with other apparent assertions of cultural elements based on heretofore more widely recognized heritage paradigms. It is perhaps the case that a general acceptance of such elements has prevented us from asking the right questions of, and thus from knowing, a great number of Maine’s Franco Americans, or from considering their real economic and employment dimensions.

Political Dimensions

Francos have long played an extremely important role in the politics of the Pine Tree State.⁶³ This has especially been true since the elimination of the so-called “Big Box,” or straight-ticket voting, in 1972.⁶⁴ Indeed, some observers have gone so far as to assert that Francos are the single most important “swing” voting group in Maine and were central to the election of Bill Cohen (R-Congress and U.S. Senate), Dave Emery (R-Congress), Jock McKernan (R-Congress and Governor), Olympia Snowe (R-Congress and U.S. Senate), Susan Collins (R-U.S. Senate), George Mitchell (D-U.S. Senate), Mike Michaud (D-Congress), John Baldacci (D-Congress and Governor), Angus King (I-Governor and U.S. Senate), and most recently Paul LePage (R-Governor).⁶⁵

The reasons for this vary somewhat by era, and have sometimes been the focal point of political speculation.⁶⁶ But basically, since 1972, Maine’s Francos have been politically “in play” because individual Republican candidates brought their campaigns directly to cities with highly populated, largely Democratic Franco communities: Sanford, Saco, Lewiston, Auburn, Waterville, and

Westbrook, among others.⁶⁷ This practice is consistent with a general reading of the Franco American historical experience, with political observers acknowledging the immigration of French Canadians from rural Canada to these riverside areas. Such a reading has also reinforced the role these large towns have played in historical representations of Maine French cultures.

And while most do remain registered Democrats, Franco Americans across Maine have been characterized historically by a more apparent interest in the strength of institutions outside of government—fraternal, religious, educational, journalistic—not to mention one's family.⁶⁸ This parochialism well-documented in the first half of the twentieth century, though perhaps less applicable today, implies a self-sufficiency⁶⁹ that could have fostered suspicions toward government in general, and that some have argued can be traced along centuries-old attitudes from France to North America, and eventually into Maine.⁷⁰ Quite oppositely, others have argued for a diversity of Franco American value orientations of the sort that would account for their many and, more recently, growing instances of Maine political engagement.⁷¹

One less-discussed aspect of Franco American political activity can be found in the world of small businesses that followed hard on the heels of Maine's 19th- and early 20th-century industrial growth. Barbers, newspaper publishers, hairdressers, self-employed carpenters, small grocers and other shopkeepers, electricians, masons, and small law firm lawyers all confront the popular mill laborer image as an historic dimension of Franco American working life.⁷² This reality suggests that psychographically, many Franco Americans may be more

attuned to the Republican philosophy of supporting small business. By extension, to recognize a Franco American small business mentality is to move toward explaining a proclivity of Democratic Franco Americans to vote for Republican or other candidates who espouse entrepreneurial values.

Moreover, for the last 50 years, there has been a gradual ebbing of Franco Americans in Maine who are registered as Democrats. Most cross over not to the Republican Party, actually, but to unenrolled or Independent status. Indeed, the 2012 survey indicated that only about 14% of Franco American voters in Maine are registered Republicans; 45% remain Democrats. Another 8% of respondents said they belong to another party or would not give their affiliation. None of the survey respondents identified with the Green Party. By comparison, remarkably, 32% said they are Independents.⁷³

Given what we know about Franco Americans in politics historically, what can we learn from the survey about this newly sizable cohort of Independent or unenrolled Franco American voters? What are the attitudes of these Independents toward some of the more traditional aspects of Franco American life in Maine?

Interestingly, but perhaps not surprisingly, this cohort appeared to be among the most deracinated of all those surveyed, its responses standing in stark contrast with those of other voter groups—especially Franco American Democrats.

-Only 17% of Catholic Independents said they believe in virtually all or most Church doctrine. This

compared with *70% of the Democratic Catholic cohort.*

-Only 8% of Independent Franco Americans said they would be likely to go to a doctor or hospital where French is spoken, compared to 56% of Democrats.⁷⁴

-Only 11% of Independents said they are “extremely proud” of their Franco American heritage, compared to 57% of Democrats.⁷⁵

-Likewise, another 66% of Independents claimed no knowledge or pride in their heritage. This compares to only 16% of Democrats.⁷⁶

-Only 7% of Independents claimed to be fluent in French, compared 31% of Republican Franco Americans and 47% of Democrats.⁷⁷

-About 1/4th of Independents claimed the ability to speak French is important to Franco American identity. 58% of Republicans agreed, compared with over 74% of Democrats.⁷⁸

-Only 2% of Independent Franco Americans said they have been discriminated against because of their ethnicity. On the other hand, 18% of Democrats claim past discrimination.⁷⁹

-27% of Independents said they would have a higher opinion of Maine’s public universities and

community colleges if they did more to highlight Franco American history, compared to 75% of Democrats.⁸⁰

On questions that explicitly address political activity and ethnic affiliation, party differences in opinion were perhaps even more suggestive of the existence of distinct Franco American voting blocs:

-Only 7% of Independents disagreed with the statement that Maine Franco Americans “enjoy all the political power they could or should have.” By contrast, 35% of Republicans and 40% of Democrats believed that Franco Americans could be more politically powerful.⁸¹

-8% of Independents claimed to be more likely to vote for Franco American candidates. This compares with 22% of Republicans and nearly 46% of Democrats.⁸²

These figures suggest significant divisions in the cultural attitudes and political opinions of Franco American voters, and add a sense of depth to what has sometimes been characterized as a singular political force. Perhaps more interestingly, though, these figures make clear a group of politically active, independent Franco Americans whose self-described cultural identity did not reflect those traits assumed in the questions asked in the 2012 survey, and whose interests perhaps diverge from what some scholars have historically associated with the whole of Maine Franco American heritage. Indeed such significant departures from

a current understanding of Maine cultural norms are intriguing, and are phenomena into which other readings of this survey's cross tabulations could lend preliminary insight.

. . .

In terms of Franco American political achievement, despite the importance of the group, until recently, only a small number of Franco Americans were successful at the Congressional or statewide level. Congressman Mike Michaud is widely regarded as the first avowed Franco American elected to major office, being chosen in Maine's 2nd Congressional District in 2002. His ancestry can be traced to Quebec.

Lewiston-native Governor Paul LePage is the first Franco American elected governor of Maine, taking office in 2011. His roots are in Quebec as well. In fact, genealogists trace LePage's lineage to a notable 17th-century French immigrant. One René LePage de Ste. Claire, born in the town of Ouanne in France's Bourgogne region, was the 1696 founder and pioneering seigneur of the Quebec town of Rimouski on the banks of the St. Lawrence River.^{83, 84} Paul LePage is but one descendant of this early North American governor whose progenies have become widespread, and whose legacy is deeply entrenched in the beginnings of Quebec.⁸⁵

However, it is important to realize that Margaret Chase Smith, who was first elected to Congress in 1940 and to the U.S. Senate in 1948, was also of Franco American descent on her mother's side.⁸⁶ Although there is ample evidence she did not widely publicize that portion of her heritage, nor did she deny it. Indeed her 1964 authorized

biography by Frank Graham clearly states her “French-Canadian blood.”⁸⁷

Interestingly enough, after her retirement and her pilgrimage to her grandfather’s grave in Quebec, she was long thought to be exclusively of Quebec ancestry. But recent scholarship and pedigree charts now trace her lineage back to the Pierre Morin dit Boucher family of Port Royal, in Acadia. William F. Morin carefully provides us with strong evidence that Pierre Boucher Morin was born in 1634 in Martaize, France, later dying in Port Royal, Acadie in 1690.⁸⁸ Subsequent family members moved to Quebec in the 18th century, thus giving Margaret Chase Smith a richer, more multifaceted lineage than previously assumed.

In addition to the largely unpublicized complex heritage of such a public figure, there are many reasons to study the life and times of Margaret Chase Smith. The impact of her long-lasting and deeply ingrained political paradigm has endured for over 50 years and shows no sign of losing relevance to Maine politics.⁸⁹

. . . .

As an interesting footnote to the continuing relevance of the Franco American voter in Maine, the 2010 election which put Paul LePage in the Blaine House underscores the importance of the Franco American Independent vote—not to mention that of the Franco American Democratic vote. Both groups—Independents and Democrats alike—deserted the Maine Democratic candidate Libby Mitchell in droves, dividing the majority of their votes between the Republican Paul LePage and the Independent Eliot Cutler. Any Democratic chance of regaining the Blaine House in 2016, then, will be determined

by that party's ability to field a candidate with broad appeal to Franco American voters.

CONCLUSION

This monograph leaves out a great deal more than it includes. Even in the above described subject areas, where the significance of economic, political, and cultural statistics is often numerically clear, there remain nuances and oddities in the 2012 survey, questions posed to our secondary sources and historical assumptions that suggest our research work is only just beginning. Indeed the authors of this monograph believe the survey has already told us much about Maine's Franco Americans that *we did not even know* we didn't know—and this only after select, focused readings. The ranges of survey responses, their clusters and frequencies, look different depending on how you hold them in the light.

The importance of slowly and carefully mining the survey's data cannot be overlooked. At first glance, statistics on education and family, and figures divided by age group, religious affiliation, or the urbanity/rurality of Franco Americans tell us a great deal about how this population group's concerns and circumstances correspond with certain of its conditions. The above findings that point to changing work attitudes, independence at the polls, and

variable language competencies suggest that these three areas also might be important lenses through which to read the survey's findings. Local news affiliations, opinions for job training, histories of discrimination: these are also points on which little attention has been given in research, but are now available and a good deal clearer than before this survey was conducted. How richer our understanding of all of these points will be when they are read critically.

The poll appears at the end of this monograph, in appendix B, together with the percentage frequencies of its responses. Even without cross tabulations, these preliminary figures will give readers a broad idea of what the survey's data contains and a sense of where its findings might take us. The poll's ability to elicit public opinion is perhaps its greatest strength, for its discoveries challenge us to see the people around us with new eyes.

At the very least, it is the hope of its authors that this monograph and the survey herein will begin to pay recognition to the various respondents who have given us an unprecedented glimpse at their lives.

We hope that the rich and varied perspectives on the Franco American population of Maine contained in this summary and the data on which it is based will be of interest, not only to scholars and academicians, but also to those charged with making public policy decisions that affect this cohort as well as all the people of Maine.

APPENDIX A

LD 160r: Resolve, To Amend the Resolve Establishing the Task Force on Franco Americans

**Resolve, To Amend the Resolve Establishing the Task Force on
Franco-Americans**

Emergency preamble. Whereas, acts and resolves of the Legislature do not become effective until 90 days after adjournment unless enacted as emergencies; and

Whereas, the Task Force on Franco-Americans was established by Resolve 2011, chapter 102 to find ways to promote and preserve the Franco-American heritage that is shared by a great number of Maine citizens; and

Whereas, the study must be initiated before the 90-day period expires in order that the study may be convened and completed and a report prepared in time for submission to the next legislative session; and

Whereas, in the judgment of the Legislature, these facts create an emergency within the meaning of the Constitution of Maine and require the following legislation as immediately necessary for the preservation of the public peace, health and safety; now, therefore, be it

Sec. 1 Resolve 2011, c. 102, §4, amended. Resolved: That Resolve 2011, c. 102, §4 is amended to read:

Sec. 4 Appointments; convening of task force. Resolved: That ~~all appointments must be made no later than 30 days following the effective date of this resolve. The~~ the appointing authorities shall notify the Executive Director of the Legislative Council once all appointments have been completed. After appointment of all members, the chairs shall call and convene the first meeting of the task force. The chairs may call and convene the first meeting of the task force during the Second Regular Session or any subsequent special session of the 125th Legislature. If 30 days or more after the ~~effective date of this resolve~~ adjournment of the Second Regular Session or any subsequent special session of the 125th Legislature a majority of

but not all appointments have been made, the chairs may request authority and the Legislative Council may grant authority for the task force to meet and conduct its business; and be it further

; and be it further

Sec. 2 Resolve 2011, c. 102, §6, amended. Resolved: That Resolve 2011, c. 102, §6 is amended to read:

Sec. 6 Staff assistance. Resolved: That, notwithstanding Joint Rule 353, the Legislative Council shall provide necessary staffing services to the task force, except that the Legislative Council staff support is not authorized when the Legislature is in regular or special session. The Franco-American Center at the University of Maine shall provide necessary staffing services to the task force when the Legislature is in regular or special session; and be it further

; and be it further

Sec. 3 Resolve 2011, c. 102, §7, amended. Resolved: That Resolve 2011, c. 102, §7 is amended to read:

Sec. 7 Report. Resolved: That, ~~no later than December 7, 2011, the task force shall provide a preliminary report with draft recommendations to the Second Regular Session of the 125th Legislature. The notwithstanding Joint Rule 353, the final report, including findings and recommendations, must be submitted to the joint standing committee of the Legislature having jurisdiction over education and cultural affairs by November 7 December 15, 2012.~~ That joint standing committee is authorized to introduce a bill to the First Regular Session of the 126th Legislature related to the subject matter of the report; and be it further

; and be it further

Sec. 4 Resolve 2011, c. 102, §8, amended. Resolved: That Resolve 2011, c. 102, §8 is amended to read:

Sec. 8 Meetings; outside funding. Resolved: That the task

force is authorized to hold 4 meetings. The task force shall seek funding contributions to fully fund the costs of the study. All funding is subject to approval by the Legislative Council in accordance with its policies. If sufficient contributions to fund the study have not been received within 30 days after the effective date of this resolve, no meetings are authorized and no expenses of any kind may be incurred or reimbursed; and be it further

; and be it further

Sec. 5 Retroactivity. Resolved: That this resolve applies retroactively to July 6, 2011.

Emergency clause. In view of the emergency cited in the preamble, this legislation takes effect when approved.

SUMMARY

This resolve, which is an emergency, amends Resolve 2011, chapter 102, which established the Task Force on Franco-Americans. The resolve extends the time during which appointments may be made for the task force and authorizes the task force to hold 4 meetings. The resolve also provides that the task force chairs may call and convene the first meeting of the task force during the Second Regular Session or any subsequent special session of the 125th Legislature. It also directs the Franco-American Center at the University of Maine to provide necessary staffing services to the task force when the Legislature is in regular or special session. The resolve also adds a retroactivity clause.

APPENDIX B

Maine Statewide Franco American Poll, August 2012 *Poll frequency distributions*

Hello, I'm ---- and I'm calling for Command Research, a national public opinion polling firm. I'd like to ask you a few questions on a strictly confidential basis.

1. Are you 18 years old or older? *(If not ask to speak to adult at this number, if no adult, terminate interview)*

Yes	100%
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2. Which of the following best describes your ethnic background

English/British	1	0
Irish American	2	0
Franco American/French	3	100%
Other	4	0

(If any answer other than Franco American/French, terminate interview)

3. Into which subgroup of the Franco American background or heritage would you put yourself? (rotate choices – very important)

Acadian (Ah cadian)	1	7.5
Québécois (Kay beck wah)	2	10.0
French Canadian/Canadian/Franco	3	50.5
Other (metropole French etc)	4	.1
Combination	5	8.8
Don't know	6	23.0

4. Which of the following best characterizes your personal relation to the French language? (can have more than one answer)

I am fluent in French.	1	28.5
I can read and write French quite well.	2	17.3
I can speak and understand French quite well.	3	18.0
I can understand and speak a little French .	4	14.0
I can understand a little French but can't speak it.	5	14.8
I really don't know French.	6	24.0
Don't know	7	0

5. Is anyone in your household or family fluent in French? (can have more than one answer)

Yes/me	1	10.3
Yes/sibling(s)	2	35.0
Yes/one or both parents	3	34.0
Yes/one or both grandparents	4	24.0
No	5	23.0

Don't know/Not sure about family members	6	7.1
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6. Which of the following comes closest to your own position with regard to your Franco American background and heritage?

I'm extremely proud of that heritage.	1	36.3
I'm somewhat proud of that heritage.	2	24.8
I don't really think about my heritage much.	3	22.8
I'm not proud of my heritage.	4	1.1
Don't know	5	14.8

7. Which of the following comes closest to your own position on how people of Franco descent are regarded by non-Francos?

Most people think <i>very</i> highly of the Franco heritage.	1	4.6
Most people think <i>somewhat</i> highly of the Franco heritage.	2	28.5
Most people think <i>somewhat less</i> highly of the Franco heritage.	3	23.6
Most people look down on the Franco heritage.	4	6.3
Don't know	5	36.8

8. Have you or any member of your family been discriminated against because of your Franco American heritage/culture?

Yes/me	1	10.3
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Yes/family member	2	8.6
No	3	81.0

9. (*If yes*) How were they discriminated against? (open end)
[see Appendix D]

10. How important is the ability to speak French to your sense of being a Franco American or who should be considered a Franco American?

Very important	1	33.6
Somewhat important	2	18.5
Somewhat unimportant	3	20.8
Very unimportant	4	15.3
Don't know	5	11.6

11. To you, what does it mean to be “a Franco American” (*open end but aggregate if possible/can have more than one response*)

French last name	1	38.2
French culture/history important to me	2	46.0
Family gatherings/food/history	3	61.9
French language	4	36.8
Other	5	12.5
Don't know	6	20.2

12. How important would you say it is for Franco Americans to learn and speak English in order for them to succeed in school, college and the workplace?

Very important	1	72.1
Somewhat important	2	24.7
Somewhat unimportant	3	0.8

Not very important	4	0.3
Don't know	5	2.0

13. In terms of your hopes for the future, which of the following best fits your personal position?

I want my children/grand-children to have more education than I had.	1	37.3
I want my children/grand-children to have about the same amount of education I had.	2	23.6
I don't think it matters much.	3	12.6
I don't know.	4	26.3

14. Do you want your children/grandchildren to go on to college?

Yes/strong	1	46.1
Yes/lean	2	14.3
No/lean	3	4.3
No/strong	4	1.8
Don't know	5	33.2

15. (*If "No"*) Why do you say that? (open end)

16. (*If "Yes"*) How would you rate the overall education provided by the University of Maine at Orono, the University of Southern Maine, the rest of the University of Maine System and Maine's Community College System?

Excellent	1	29.5
Good	2	46.6
Fair	3	0
Poor	4	0

Don't know	5	24.8
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17. Would you have a higher or lower opinion of the University of Maine at Orono, the University of Southern Maine, the rest of the University of Maine System and Maine's Community College System if they did more to highlight Franco American history, culture, issues and language?

Much higher	1	20.0
Somewhat higher	2	31.6
Somewhat lower	3	0
Much lower	4	0
Don't know/No difference	5	47.9

18. Would you be more or less likely to encourage your children or grandchildren to go to the University of Maine at Orono, the University of Southern Maine, the rest of the University of Maine System and Maine's Community College System if they did more to highlight Franco American history, culture, issues and language?

Much more likely	1	21.3
Somewhat more likely	2	31.1
Somewhat less likely	3	0
Much less likely	4	0
Don't know/No difference	5	47.5

19. Are you a parent of a child who is or has been in school K-12 in Maine? If so are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the education he or she got or is getting?

No (no children in system)	1	4.6
Yes/very satisfied	2	34.6
Yes/somewhat satisfied	3	13.5

Yes/somewhat dissatisfied	4	2.3
Yes/very dissatisfied	5	44.5
Don't know/not sure	6	0.3

20. *(If dissatisfied) Why do you say that? (open end but aggregate/can have more than one response)*

Bad teachers/teaching	1	24.0
Too crowded	2	70.8
Not rigorous enough	3	44.3
Not enough attention to my child	4	5.0
Not enough French language	5	24.0
Not enough science and math	6	30.3
Not enough preparation for life/jobs	7	37.9
Not enough Maine history of Francos	8	10.1
Not enough local control or representation	9	7.5
Don't know/not sure/combo	10	10.1

Switching from education issues to health issues,

21. Which of the following describes your family health care situation?

We have private medical insurance.	1	57.5
We rely on Medicare	2	16.0
We rely on Mainecare	3	9.1
We don't have health care insurance.	4	16.0
Don't know/not sure	5	1.1

22. Would you be more or less likely to go to a doctor, clinic or hospital who speaks French?

Much more likely	1	20.7
Somewhat more likely	2	12.8
Somewhat less likely	3	3.3
Much less likely	4	16.8
No difference to me	5	35.7
Don't know	6	10.3

23. When you think of the problems facing the Franco Americans in Maine, which do you think is the most crucial right now? (*open end, aggregate but don't read. Can have more than one response*)

Jobs/employment	1	39.5
Respect	2	14.1
Crime	3	0.6
Drugs and alcohol abuse	4	2.0
Education	5	20.0
Working capital	6	9.1
Morals/ethics	7	4.1
Better government	8	13.5
Combination	9	6.1
Don't know	10	35.6

24. (*For those who say "Better Government" 13.5% of sample*) Which level of government serves you and your community best?

National	1	25.0
State	2	18.4
Local	3	28.9
Combination	4	27.6
Don't know	5	0

25. Do you believe that the Franco American population is an economic resource for the State of Maine? (*open end but aggregate, can choose more than one response*)

No	1	9.1
Yes/trade with Canada/France/ Quebec	2	31.0
Yes/skilled workforce	3	23.3
Yes/diversity	4	6.5
Yes/entrepreneurs/business skills	5	9.6
Yes/strong work ethic	6	36.5
Yes/purchasing power/consumers	7	7.1
Yes/promotes cultural tourism	8	38.8
Don't know	9	27.0

26. Do you personally think that Franco Americans in Maine enjoy all the political power they could or should have?

Yes/strong	1	2.1
Yes/lean	2	19.0
No/lean	3	18.3
No/strong	4	7.6
Don't know/won't say	5	52.7

27. Which of the following best sums up your attitude toward Franco American candidates?

I'm more likely to vote for a Franco American candidate.	1	26.8
I'm less likely to vote for a Franco American candidate.	2	1.5
A candidate being a Franco American means nothing to me/it's not a factor.	3	34.6

Don't know/won't say	4	37.0
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28. Do you think that in Maine Franco American communities generally stick together in political matters or do they sometimes resent the success of one of their own and don't usually stick together?

Usually stick together	1	18.3
Only sometimes stick together	2	18.6
Don't usually stick together	3	1.6
Don't know	4	61.8

29. Some people say that Hispanics and other minorities get more special treatment than do Franco Americans. Other people say Franco Americans are white and therefore shouldn't be treated in a special way, as they are not a true minority. Which view comes closest to your own?

Hispanics and others get much better treatment	1	28.0
Hispanics and other get somewhat better treatment.	2	19.0
Franco Americans are white and not really a true minority and shouldn't get any special treatment.	3	12.2
There should be no special treatment for any minorities.	4	24.9
Don't know	5	15.7

30. At work or in your community, if you are upset at an issue or situation, what are you most likely to do about it?

Remain silent about it	1	11.2
Speak about it within my family	2	25.4

Work with others to change it/ join a group	3	8.1
Donate money to groups interested in it	4	.6
Support candidates who agree with me	5	7.3
Don't know	6	47.1

31. (*If "join a group" from Question #30*) Which group would provide the best leadership for issues affecting Franco Americans? (open end)

32. What is your current religious affiliation?

Roman Catholic	1	62.1
Fundamentalist/Born Again Christian	2	6.3
Other Protestant	3	6.6
Jewish	4	.3
Other	5	7.8
Agnostic/Atheist	6	.8
Don't know/Won't say	7	15.8

33. (*If Catholic*) Which of the following best describes your current mind set?

I believe/practice all/virtually all Church doctrine.	1	30.5
I believe/practice most Church doctrine.	2	23.9
I only believe/practice in some Church doctrine.	3	20.7
I'm really Catholic in name only.	4	23.4

Don't know/won't say	5	1.3
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34. The Catholic Church in Maine has had Irish and African American bishops but never a Franco American bishop. Which of the following best sums up your position on this issue?

It bothers me a lot .	1	14.0
It bothers me a little.	2	20.1
It doesn't bother me at all.	3	23.1
Don't know/won't say.	4	42.7

35. Is the Catholic Church in Maine paying the right amount or should pay more or less attention to religious matters of interest to the Franco American community?

Should pay much more	1	7.3
Should pay somewhat more	2	14.3
Should pay somewhat less	3	1.3
Should pay much less	4	0
Paying about the right amount	5	9.1
Don't know	6	67.7

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions for strictly statistical purposes.

36. Are you a registered voter?

Yes	1	93.8
No/don't know	2	6.1

37. Do you consider yourself to be a (an)? (*rotate choices*)

Republican	1	14.1
Democrat	2	45.0
Independent	3	32.2

Green	4	0
Other/Refused	5	8.5

38. Would you say you live in a city, a suburb, a small town or in a rural area?

City	1	22.1
Suburb	2	16.3
Small town	3	27.3
Rural area	4	34.1
Don't know	5	0

39. Age

18-25	1	17.3
25-45	2	38.8
45-60	3	23.1
over 60	4	20.6
Refused/won't say	5	0

40. Education

Grade school	1	3.8
High school graduate	2	66.7
Some college	3	7.1
College graduate	4	20.8
Refused/won't say	5	1.3

41. (*If some college or college graduate*) Did either or both of your parents attend college?

Yes	1	21.5
No	2	76.7
Don't know/won't say	3	1.7

42. *(If no parent a college graduate)* What was the biggest challenge, if any, did you meet trying to go to college?

Cost/money	1	23.2
No role models/aspirations/ nobody in family attended	2	5.2
Parents discouraged/opposed	3	4.1
Teacher/school discouraged	4	.2
Alcohol/drug abuse	5	.4
Unexpected child/marriage/ had to work instead	6	40.5
Other	7	.6
None	8	1.3
Don't know	9	24.

43. *(If some college or college graduate)* What was the biggest factor in your attending college?

Wanted to get ahead/get good job	1	47.4
Parents encouraged	2	36.2
Teachers encouraged	3	4.3
Other role models	4	1.7
Learning programs	5	3.4
Combination	6	6.0
None	7	0
Don't know	8	.8

44. Approximate total income of household

0-\$20,000	1	35.5
\$21,000-45,000	2	21.3
\$46-\$75,000	3	8.8
\$75,000+	4	1.5
Don't know/won't say	5	32.7

45. Which best describes your current employment situation:

I work for a large company (over 100 workers)	1	25.1
I own a large company	2	4.1
I work for a small company (under 100 workers)	3	17.3
I own a small company	4	9.3
I'm self employed (work construction/carpenter etc.)	5	9.0
I'm retired	6	14.8
I'm unemployed	7	19.8
Won't say	8	.3

46. (*If business owner*) What is the biggest obstacle to expanding your business?

Red tape/too much regulation	1	51.0
Not enough skilled labor	2	23.4
Not enough demand for product	3	3.0
Other	4	3.0
Not interested in expanding	5	18.3
Don't know	6	1.0

47. Speaking of jobs, what do you believe is most important in training people for jobs?

Skills learned at a technical school in high school	1	10.3
Adding a fifth year of high school for technical learning	2	6.5
Attending a community college to learn a trade or profession	3	18.4
Attending a college to learn		

a skill or profession	4	34.0
Attending a college for liberal arts	5	3.5
Enlist in the military and learn skills there	6	.8
Get on the job training or be an apprentice	7	13.7
Other	8	.1
Don't know	9	12.3
48. Source of local TV news		
Portland	1	68.8
Bangor	2	22.5
Presque Isle	3	8.6
<i>(if respondent says "cable" put in proper DMA)</i>		
49. Union/Non Union		
Union member	1	4.8
Union household	2	9.1
Non Union household	3	86.0
50. Sex/Occupation		
Male/works outside the home	1	33.6
Male/works at home	2	16.0
Female/works at home	3	22.5
Female/works outside the home	4	27.8
51. Gender		
All Men	1	49.6
All Women	2	50.3
52. CD [Congressional District]		
1 st CD	1	45.6

2 nd CD	2	54.3
53. Counties of Residence		
Androscoggin	1	14.3
Aroostook	2	8.5
Cumberland	3	14.7
Franklin	4	2.0
Hancock	5	1.6
Kennebec	6	11.5
Knox	7	1.5
Lincoln	8	1.5
Oxford	9	3.6
Penobscot	10	10.7
Piscataquis	11	1.1
Sagadahoc	12	2.0
Somerset	13	4.8
Waldo	14	1.5
Washington	15	1.0
York	16	19.2
54. County Clusters		
York	1	19.2
Cumberland	2	14.7
Androscoggin, Oxford, Franklin, Kennebec	3	31.6
Sagadahoc, Lincoln, Knox, Waldo	4	6.5
Penobscot, Piscataquis, Somerset	5	16.7
Hancock, Washington	6	2.6
Aroostook	7	8.5

Thank you.

APPENDIX C

Maine Statewide Franco American Poll, August 2012
Soft data probes:

Any spontaneous questions/opinions concerning:

The type of French taught in K-12, high school and college in Maine?

Any neglected aspects of the Franco American tradition or identity?

Aspects of future hopes for Francos?

Any French authors mentioned by respondents as capturing the Franco American essence?

Any obstacles to Franco advancement?

Hopes higher or lower for the future than present or past?

APPENDIX D

Maine Statewide Franco American Poll, August 2012
Question 9 soft data:

QUESTION #9. (If "YES" to Q#8 "Were you or any member of your family discriminated against?")

20120728.203019 Androscoggin 16

"My grandparents were given a hard time because they didn't speak English and they did not have an education."

20120728.200401 Androscoggin 3

"It was harder when we were younger. I think it's easier now."

20120728.202218 Androscoggin 11

"Back in the day we had to unionize just to get a fair wage. They did not pay mill workers much."

20120728.204421 Androscoggin 19

"Kids laugh at you when you can't get the right English word out. If I go to Wal-Mart sometimes it's hard."

20120728.201232 Androscoggin 6

"I was called a dumb Canuck in school. I had a very hard time to learn English. "

20120728.200616 Androscoggin 4

"My dad had a really hard time finding work that paid well."

20120729.172224 Androscoggin 25

"I think we've all been laughed at a time or two. "

20120729.203634 Cumberland 5

"My parents struggled for a very long time. They were laughed at and called names. We now send our daughter to L'Ecole Francaise du Maine. We want her to be proud of her heritage."

20120729.202803 Cumberland 1

"My parents say that it was hard in school because they didn't speak very good English."

20120729.195433 Androscoggin 28

"Back at the Hill Mill, those were some tough days. They didn't like Francos very much. It was hard. Today we have a Heritage Center that represents all we went through."

20120729.204449 Cumberland 10

"It was hard to find work as a Franco in the 1950's. The Irish were the ones who got the good paying jobs."

20120729.200018 Androscoggin 29

"I think my grandparents had it tough when they came here. They worked very hard for very little. I don't think it's as bad now to be French."

20120730.202544 Kennebec 7

"Family members had a difficult time in school because the French was different. They were thought to be less intelligent then because they were different."

20120730.194124 Androscoggin 86

"My accent has been made fun of."

20120730.200928 Androscoggin 44

"The 50's were not a good time to be a Franco American. We were laughed at for the way we spoke French and our English was not so good. Today, kids don't care."

20120730.202114 Kennebec 5

"The schools are always cutting French programs and I think that's an abuse."

20120730.194510 Androscoggin 36

"It was real bad when we were younger. Being French meant that you were stupid."

20120730.202900 Kennebec 9

"Family was picked on for not speaking English."

20120731.190328 Androscoggin 52

"Coming here from Canada and working in the mills and shoe shops was not easy. We were always insulted for the way we spoke."

20120731.200004 Cumberland 11

"My grandparents had it hard. They came for a better life but had trouble finding a decent paying job."

20120731.202321 Franklin 8

"Work was always hard. The people were mostly Irish and they did not like us at all."

20120731.200805 Cumberland 16

"Back when I was young others laughed and made fun of the Franco Americans. Today, that is better. Summer brings gatherings from Canada to help celebrate our heritage."

20120731.184912 Androscoggin 46

"My parents worked very hard to learn English, and without it they couldn't get a job. Today there are Spanish and Somali signs everywhere. There never were French signs for those who came over."

20120801.201348 Penobscot 1

"To really understand what went on you should read Wednesday's Child. It hits home."

20120801.201904 Penobscot 4

"My family has been laughed at because we are farmers. Where do these people think their food comes from? I think it's getting better though."

20120801.204451 York 1

"My dad worked in textile mills in the 50's and was often the butt of Frenchmen jokes. But he held his own and did his work."

20120803.202605 Cumberland 44

"I believe the culture as a whole was not accepted back in the 40's and 50's. We worked hard to earn respect."

20120803.200250 Aroostook 51

"My English is not so good."

20120802.211828 Penobscot 24

"My grandparents endured name calling for a very long time. They ended up changing their last name."

20120802.212344 Penobscot 27

"My parents were frowned upon because of the way they spoke. English was quite hard for them to grasp. Now, everyone enjoys the heritage festivals. It's nice to know that change has happened for other Francos."

20120803.201250 Aroostook 50

"My Mom couldn't read English when she was young so she had to work in a kitchen and not be a server."

20120803.201650 Cumberland 42

"Older generations had a harder time. Most Francos came and didn't speak English and for that they were made fun of."

20120802.214631 Cumberland 38

"I think it was bad for my parents. Not speaking English was a real problem and they were chastised for it."

20120803.193133 Androscoggin 2

"It is difficult to talk about."

20120805.111238 Androscoggin 66

"My grandparents were discriminated against back in the day. I've been told that others didn't think they were smart because of the accent."

20120805.095548 Franklin 11

"Mostly because my speech is not so clear. My strong accent."

20120805.093617 Franklin 12

"As a kid, my English was poor."

20120805.114539 Androscoggin 84

"My first job here in Lewiston was at the Hill Mill. The Irish were there first and did all they could to try and chase us out. In the end I think the Francos were harder workers and therefore were accepted."

20120805.112254 Androscoggin 72

"My beef is with the Somalis and all the help they get. My parents came here from Canada in a run-down car with maybe \$50.00 in their pocket. They walked everywhere and most of the time had to work two jobs to pay the rent. That in my opinion is discrimination. Somalis come to town and are greeted with welfare and a place to live."

20120805.090447 Cumberland 87

"Only shop jobs in the mills were made available to my grandparents."

20120805.113024 Androscoggin 75

"We were called names like 'you dumb Frenchman'. And the jokes were always aimed at us."

20120805.193206 Penobscot 38

"In school there were always French jokes going around. My dad always said to hold my head high and be proud to be a Franco."

20120805.192621 Penobscot 35

"They were stereotyped and made fun of for their lack of education."

20120805.195037 Penobscot 51

"French jokes were always directed at farmers."

20120805.195452 Penobscot 54

"'You dumb Canuck' is all I heard in school."

20120805.193551 Penobscot 39

"My parents couldn't go to school during potato season, and they worked until they were exhausted. Because they were behind in school, they just quit going and worked on the farm."

20120805.200508 Penobscot 62

"Times were hard on my grandparents because they didn't speak English."

20120806.090230 Kennebec 27

"We were the butt of French jokes. We just didn't fit in because of our lack of being able to speak English. The others would talk and point at us and laugh."

20120806.100937 Kennebec 38

"I think that when they first came here, it was hard of them. Most didn't speak anything but French, and were made fun of."

20120805.201938 Kennebec 14

"The early years here were very hard. We worked like dogs without any respect."

20120806.104125 Kennebec 41

"Getting a start here was hard. Just because you had an accent, people made fun at you."

20120806.122320 Kennebec 47

"Way back, my parents changed our last name just so we could fit in and not get picked on."

20120806.132642 Kennebec 51

"I went to parochial school and my cousin went to public school. I was never bothered by anyone, but she was always laughed at. I think the state should do a better job trying to keep parochial schools open."

20120806.134043 Kennebec 53

"I think my parents were picked on, but they don't say much except that it wasn't an easy time moving here."

20120806.100136 Kennebec 36

"I think at one time or another we have all been laughed at. People are so quick to judge when you're different. But I wouldn't trade being a Franco for anything."

20120806.143449 Kennebec 60

"We were looked at as strange. It wasn't about color as much as culture. For a time I didn't think we would make it in Maine."

20120806.200809 Cumberland 58

"The Francos weren't wanted in Maine, so non-French they talked badly about us to others."

20120806.201240 Cumberland 61

"Mostly we were laughed at for the way we spoke."

20120806.202226 Cumberland 69

"Being French meant always being in conflict with those who weren't. It was mostly verbal abuse and bad French jokes."

20120806.203412 Cumberland 77

"We were laughed at, called names like 'frogs' and other unpleasant remarks."

20120806.203627 Cumberland 79

"I was called names and spit at. They clearly didn't like us."

20120806.203012 Kennebec 68

"As a kid, I wasn't included in many events because I am French. My family and my parents often misspeak, and it has been difficult for them and for me too."

20120806.204343 Cumberland 85

"My dad was called names like 'Canuck' and 'frog'."

20120807.201437 Aroostook 7

"Early on, Francos were laughed because of their dialect."

20120807.203109 Aroostook 14

"There used to be more different French dialects here, if you were Acadian, folks just made your life miserable. Now people mostly just say they are Franco American."

20120807.200336 Aroostook 2

"We were teased about our heavy accent. I taught my kids English first because I don't want them to suffer like we did."

20120807.204110 Aroostook 20

"The Acadians were not always accepted in this area. It took a very long time. Now most will just say that they're Francos."

20120807.200951 Aroostook 5

"My Acadian grandparents were chased away by those who didn't want them in this area."

20120807.203509 Aroostook 16

"My French was different from what the school wanted and I ended up not making it past the 8th grade."

20120807.202638 Aroostook 12

"Anyone with any kind of accent was always made fun of."

20120807.200806 Aroostook 4

"School was difficult even if you spoke French. Their French was different. My mother tells us how she was ridiculed for her way of speaking."

20120807.200120 Aroostook 1

"Our English was very bad and for that we lost jobs to those who could speak better."

20120807.204255 Aroostook 21

"The English people made it hard for anyone that was of French heritage. It was hard to find some work."

20120808.154822 Aroostook 31

"Because we live in the "County", people assume that we are backwards, thus giving them the right to laugh at us."

20120808.161154 Aroostook 37

"To some, being Acadian was a joke. We were looked down upon because of the way we spoke."

20120808.192430 York 81

"When I was younger it was not cool to be French. You were always made fun of and called names. They thought we were stupid because of our French language."

20120808.155552 Aroostook 35

"Coming from Quebec, the French was very different. Now some folks are Acadian and that's a whole other story. They have a dialect that's called 'Chiac' which was laughed at. Most Acadians now say they are Franco."

20120808.174943 Knox 8

"My mother doesn't speak English very well and it has been hard for her at times. My Dad learned to speak better when he was young, but not Mom."

20120809.171532 Oxford 22

"Sure I was called 'Frenchie' when I was in school. My name is Cyr, you see."

20120810.183213 Oxford 7

"Franco Americans were ridiculed most of the time even though we were hardworking people."

20120810.181356 Oxford 1

"People always gave a hard time about not being smart enough."

20120810.210923 York 26

"I had to prove that, just because my English was bad, I could still be a good worker."

20120810.174940 Oxford 21

"I was excluded from social events as a kid because I came from the other side of the tracks. Mill family."

20120810.184945 Oxford 15

"The Irish kids made fun of us because we sounded funny to them."

20120810.181326 Oxford 1

"People always gave a hard time about not being smart enough."

20120810.195852 Penobscot 64

"I was called 'the dumb Frenchman' in high school. It was hard."

20120810.204637 York 17

"It was always the same every day. People would tell French jokes and point to those of us that were French."

20120811.162131 Piscataquis 6

"My French name has always meant second class. It is hard being French."

20120811.174520 Somerset 12

"We were made fun of because our English was not that good."

20120811.202654 York 108

"Joking about French people will never end. It's better than it used to be, though."

20120811.185051 York 88

"My husband's workplace picked on him a lot. More than once he was called a 'dumb Frenchmen'."

20120811.190021 York 91

"I think being a Franco American will always have a stigma attached to it."

20120811.191451 York 96

"Whether you're French or Polish you're screwed. The bad jokes never end."

20120812.155521 York 45

"My parents tell stories about how they were made fun of because they were French. They were called names right to their faces."

20120812.130107 Somerset 27

"My grandmother was told she didn't speak well enough to work in the school cafeteria, so she had to clean instead."

20120812.160621 York 47

"In the early years, people that didn't like you because you were French and told you to your face. Even the boss was never nice to you. What went on then would never be allowed to happen now."

20120812.143701 Kennebec 11

"When my husband and I first came here places wouldn't hire us. Then we went into farming and nobody would work with us. It was very discouraging but it made us stronger."

20120812.144332 York 117

"There were always poor living conditions and difficult work for my grandparents at the mills."

20120812.142515 Cumberland 52

"The language barrier was tough on my parents. They were called names and laughed at more than once."

20120812.153735 York 36

"Work was hard to find because of my poor English. And because of that they paid me a lower wage."

20120812.153005 York 116

"My grandfather was called Pei as he came from Prince Edward Island. Pei meant 'stupid'."

20120812.153905 Sagadahoc 11

"My great grandfather changed our name to Hart because it would be too difficult if we kept the French name."

20120812.131038 Waldo 9

"My parents always felt that being French was a handicap. They struggled with jobs and housing. Today it is quite different."

20120812.161306 Sagadahoc 9

"My grandmother always said we just had to make do. They didn't have much and felt they owed a debt just being here."

20120812.163636 York 53

"People assume that French people are dumb and ignorant. I don't see that ever changing."

20120812.165751 York 59

"Picking on the French was normal at work in those days."

20120812.173251 York 72

"We endured lots of hardships in farming. We couldn't speak much English so we couldn't sell our grains. Most people just ignored us and we couldn't get credit anywhere."

20120812.171536 York 67

"When I worked in the mill the French people always had to work in the hottest departments."

20120812.182740 Sagadahoc 3

"I think my parents were actually abused at the work place. The working conditions were horrible. They endured overtime with no pay, no breaks and abusive co-workers."

20120812.174106 Sagadahoc 6

"My grandparents worked in the shoe shops in Lewiston. They were hard working and never had much. They lived in the mill houses and spent their spare time with family mostly."

20120812.175937 York III

"Oh yes, back working in the mill. The bosses would call you stupid, work harder, you idiot. That was a normal day at the mill."

20120812.172206 York 68

"The French people were not at all appreciated in this country. My mother tells stories of being paid less than others, and being made to work longer hours for nothing."

20120812.175407 York 109

"I think Maine was awful to those who came over for a better life. Come here today from another country and you get carte blanche for everything you need."

20120812.171436 Sagadahoc 7

"My parents didn't speak English well. They were made fun of and many jokes were made of them. It was a different time you know."

NOTES

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¹ LD 1601 amended LD 656, the original proposal that brought the Task Force to fruition.

² U.S. Census Bureau. Sozor: Selected Population Profiles in the United States, American Community Survey 1-year estimates, 2011. Generated with American FactFinder, January 2013. <<http://factfinder2.census.gov/>>.

³ For early examples of demographic research on Franco Americans in Maine, see the census work of Odule Laplante as published in the Lewiston periodical, *Le Messenger*, and the Montréal journal, *La revue franco-américaine* (1909). Laplante's work is analyzed in Ralph D. Vicero, "Sources statistiques pour l'étude de l'immigration et du peuplement canadien-français en Nouvelle-Angleterre au cours du XIXe siècle. Le recensement d'Odule Laplante," in *Recherches Sociographiques* (1971). For more recent analyses of Franco American demographics in Maine, see the following works of Madeleine Giguère: *Number and Percent of Persons with French Mother Tongue: States, Counties (Parishes), Places of 10,000 or More, SMSA's of 250,000 or More, and Urban and Rural Residence, New England and Louisiana, 1970* (1974); *Social and Economic Profile of French and English Mother Tongue Persons: Maine, 1970* (1974); "Major French Mother Tongue Population Centers" (1979); "The French Ancestry Population: Maine, 1980" (1983).

⁴ Though use of the term "Franco American" within New England often presumes contextual and historical recognition, such an assumption cannot be made for the term's farther reaches. It is therefore common practice for scholars on Franco Americans in Maine and the US Northeast to indicate a precise definition of the term "Franco American" when it is used in

published works. We see examples of this, often in a footnote, across several academic disciplines:

-“The term Franco-American typically designates descendants of Québécois and Acadian migrants from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who settled in the northeast United States, particularly in New England and New York.” (Susan Pinette, “*La langue est gardienne: Language and Identity in Franco-American Literature*,” *Quebec Studies* 53 [2012]: 45-61.)

-“The term Franco-American refers specifically to people of Quebecois and Acadian heritage living in the United States. There are Franco-American communities scattered throughout the United States: some trace their origins back to initial French exploration, some to the Acadian deportation, many more to the great waves of French Canadian immigration that occurred during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.” (Susan Pinette, “Teaching Franco-Americans of the Northeast,” *The French Review* 80:6 [2007]: 1352-1360.)

-“It is also important to note that for the purpose of this paper, the term Franco-American will refer to the French Canadians who immigrated to New England during the great mills migration that began in the 1860s, and ended with the Great Depression in the early 1930s.” (Sacha Richard, “American perspectives on *La fièvre aux États-Unis, 1860-1930 : A Historiographical Analysis of Recent Writings on the Franco-Americans in New England*,” *Canadian Review of American Studies* 32:1 [2002]: 105-132.)

-“Franco-Americans claim a North American French identity that has persisted for 400 years in two countries, the United States and Canada. Descendants of the seventeenth-century settlers of the New World, they include Acadians deported between 1755-1763 (the Great Disruption) from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and Québécois farmers of whom one million streamed to the rapidly growing industries of the Northeast between 1865 and 1930.” (Kristin M. Langellier and Eric Peterson, *Storytelling in Daily Life: Performing Narrative* [2004]: 247.)

-“In this chapter the term “Franco-American” refers to the descendants of French Canadian immigrants. Those who came directly from France to the United States are their descendants are not included.” (Regis Langellier, “French Canadian Families,” in *Ethnicity and Family Therapy*. Monica McGoldrick et al., eds., [1982]: 229)

-“The first Franco-Americans, in the broadest sense of the term, are probably to be found among the Pilgrims aboard the Mayflower, which landed in Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620. These colonists, mainly of English stock, were the first to settle the New England region. What is less well-known is that among these pioneer families one at least was French: that of Guillaume Molines. Like the Molines, other French Huguenots in search of religious freedom also established residence in the thirteen original colonies during the seventeenth century. These settlers of French origin might be called “Franco-Americans,” were it not more or less agreed upon to reserve the term for Americans of Québec or

Acadian origin.” (Armand Chartier, *The Franco-Americans of New England: A History* [2000].)

-“The term ‘Franco-American’ or, more simply, ‘Franco,’ is not universally accepted. It was coined in the late nineteenth century by elite professional males in southern New England. Over the years, the expression has expanded in a haphazard fashion—adopted by some but not by others.^a In this anthology, we guardedly use the term to describe those residents of North America whose mother tongue is French or those who are of French, French-Canadian, or Acadian origin. (Barry Rodrigue and Dean Louder, “Renaissance: Franco Maine in a New Millennium,” in *Voyages: A Maine Franco-American Reader*. Nelson Madore and Rodrigue, eds., [2007]: xxv.)

^a “In its most restrictive use, ‘Franco-Americans’ are considered to be the descendants of French-Canadian factory workers in the cities of the northeastern United States who are Roman Catholic and French-speaking. In its widest application, Franco-Americans are any people of French heritage in the Americas—from the Arctic Archipelago to Tierra del Fuego.” (Ibid. footnote. p.xlii.)

-“...an attempt was made to establish ‘working boundaries’ for Franco-American ethnic identity, taking into consideration the need for access to existing information. While there exists no definitive conceptualization of ethnicity, it is possible to extract common elements from the complex of available definitions. Such characteristics as sense of belonging, common history or descent, and the use of shared

symbolic elements (language, religion, beliefs, customs, etc.) for identification and differentiation all receive sufficiently broad usage to form a basis for discussion. Likewise, while an all encompassing [sic] definition of “Franco-American” remains an elusive quantity, we can focus upon French origins and Quebec descent, identification with the French-Canadian/Franco-American cultural and historical tradition, and relevant shared symbolic elements.” (Ashley W. Doane, Jr., *Occupational and Education Patterns for New Hampshire’s Franco-Americans*, Manchester NH: New Hampshire Civil Liberties Union Franco-American Research Project, 1979.)

⁵Rodrigue and Louder, *ibid.* The term “Franco American” or “*franco-américain(e)*” appears in the New England French Canadian context at least as early as the beginning of the 20th century and notably among political and fraternal organizations, or in the publications of scholars. See, for example, *La revue franco-américaine* of Quebec; Alexandre Belisle, *Histoire de la presse franco-américaine* (1911); Marie-Louise Bonier, *Débuts de la colonie franco-américaine de Woonsocket, R.I.* (1920); “Franco-American foresters meet,” *Christian Science Monitor* (24 May 1909); “Franco-American Congress meets,” *Boston Daily Globe*, (30 Jan. 1911). The term appears otherwise in publications more consistently through the 1930s, 40s, and 50s: Josaphat Benoit, *Catechisme d’histoire franco-américaine* (1939), New Hampshire WPA Writers’ Program, *Festal Days, Songs and Games of the Franco-Americans* (1940); George F. Theriault, *The Franco-Americans in a New England Community: An Experiment in Survival* (1951); Robert Rumilly, *Histoire des Franco-Américains* (1958). By the 1970s, the appearances in print of *Le FAROG Forum* and National Materials Development

Center publications, as well as the names of various cultural festivals throughout New England, signal a growing use of “Franco American” in popular culture. It is worth noting that only within the past decade has the term “Franco American” in the context of French Canadian immigration been given a Library of Congress subject heading. Before this recent designation, a result of the work of Margaret Langford, Patrick O’Brien, Manon Thérout, and others, “Franco-American” was a subject heading generally reserved for resources dealing with France-USA diplomacy.

⁶ As of January 2013, the US Census Bureau applies the major designation “French Canadian” to all those who use the following terms, or variations thereof, to identify their ancestry: French Canadian, Franco-American, Acadian, Acadian French, Cajun, Cajun French, Canadien, Canuck, Canook [sic], PQ, Quebec, Québécois, QC, Canand [sic] (Phone conversation, US Census Bureau Ancestry Branch, January 2013).

⁷ This ancestry code and heading contains within it other cultural designations indicated by expatriates of continental France (Breton, Parisian, etc.), which complicates the data for those seeking in it an expression of Franco American heritage that is more precisely “French Canadian.”

⁸ See a recent analysis that takes this approach with 2010 ACS data in James Myall, “Franco-Americans in Maine: Statistics from the American Community Survey” (2012) <<http://www.maine.gov/legis/opla/JamesMyallFATFReport.pdf/>>

⁹ US Census Bureau, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ The precision of US Census Bureau ancestry data for Franco Americans in Maine also suffers from the ways in which this data is collected. Beginning with its 2010 decennial census survey, the US Census Bureau removed entirely the category of “ancestry” from its decennial form, to the dismay of several cultural groups (See Niraj Warikoo, “Arab Americans, others feel loss of benefits if ancestry not accounted for” (2009) or Dominic A. Stekula, “National Response to Ethnicity/Ancestry Question, Census 2010.”) Detailed statistics on US population ancestry are now only collected by the US Census Bureau’s interim American Community Survey, “an ongoing survey that provides data every year” from samplings of the US population (US Census Bureau. <http://www.census.gov/acs/www/about_the_survey/american_community_survey/>. Though nationwide in scope, the ACS only collects information from segments of each state, and uses sample statistics to infer general socioeconomic conditions.

¹² There exist several examples of this. For some exceptional ones, see: James Paul Allen, “Migration fields of French Canadian immigrants to Southern Maine,” in *Geographical Review* (July 1972); James Paul Allen, “Catholics in Maine: A Social Geography” (1970); Ralph Dominic Vicero, “Immigration of French Canadians to New England, 1840-1900: A Geographical Analysis” (1968); Robert E. Chenard, *Marriages of St. Joseph’s Catholic Church, Old Town, Maine: 1860-1960* (1993); Roger Paradis, *Papiers de/Papers of Prudent L. Mercure: Histoire du Madawaska* (1998).

¹³ See Nos Histoires de l’Île Group, *Nos Histoires de l’Île: History and memories of French Island, Old Town, Maine* (1999); “Old Town, Maine” in C. Stewart Doty, *The First Franco-Americans: New England Life Histories from the Federal Writers’ Project: 1938-1939* (1985); Franco American Centre,

University of Maine, *Franco-American Oral History Archives*. The importance of Franco American oral history has also been related in works whose coverage extends beyond Maine. For Manchester NH, see Tamara K. Hareven and Ralph Langenbach, *Amoskeag: Life and Work in an American Factory City* (1978); for Manchester NH, Barre VT, and Woonsocket RI, see C. Stewart Doty, *Ibid.*; for Fitchburg MA, see John Chetro-Szivos, *Talking Acadian: Communication, Work, and Culture* (2006).

¹⁴ The Franco-American Collection at Lewiston-Auburn College, the University of Southern Maine, contains and publishes evidence of these ancestral associations being made in the city of Lewiston <<http://usm.maine.edu/franco/explore-collection/>>. Biddeford's McArthur Public Library is also a storehouse of similar examples, with published internet links that cater to its users' interests <<http://www.mcarthurpubliclibrary.org/index.php?id=13/>>. The Acadian Archives at the University of Maine at Fort Kent is an institutional example of identification with Acadia in the St. John Valley, and indeed contains a wealth of published resources and archival materials, including a collection of recorded oral interviews <<https://www.umfk.edu/archives/>>. For evidence of Acadian connections in both Rumford and Old Town, see James Paul Allen, "Catholics in Maine: A Social Geography" (1970), especially pages 134-145 and the author's sources there.

¹⁵ The Acadian claim to specialness can be seen in John G. Reid, *Acadia, Maine and New Scotland: Marginal Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (1981) as well as Beatrice Craig and Maxime Dagenais, *The Land In Between: The Upper St. John Valley, Prehistory to World War II* (2009), Charles W. Collins, *The Acadians of Madawaska* (1902), Claire Quintal, ed., *L'émigrant acadien vers les États-Unis: 1842-1950* (1984), Marie Anne Gauvin,

Linguistic and Cultural Heritage of the Acadians in Maine and New Brunswick (1969), Julie Albert, “The Acadians of Maine,” in *A Franco-American Overview, Volume 1*, Madeleine Giguere, ed. (1979), and Don Cyr, “An Acadian Odyssey,” in *Voyages: A Maine Franco-American Reader*, Nelson Madore and Barry Rodrigue, ed. (2007). Quebec-rooted immigrants and their descendants have other stories to tell. See Iris Saunders Podesa, “Québec to ‘Little Canada’: The Coming of the French Canadians to New England in the Nineteenth Century,” in *The New England Quarterly* 23:3 (1950); Charlotte Michaud, “Lewiston's Franco Americans” in *Historic Lewiston: Franco-American Origins* (1974), Mark Paul Richard, *Loyal but French: The Negotiation of Identity by French-Canadian Descendants in the United States* (2009), Michael Guignard, *La foi, la langue, la culture: The Franco-Americans of Biddeford, Maine* (1982), and the historical novels of Doris Provencher Faucher, such as *Le Québécois: The Virgin Forest* (2001) and the sequels, *The Rapids* (2002), *Imperial Conflict* (2006) and *Imperial Conquest* (2009). One collection of essays, Clare Quintal’s *Steeple and Smokestacks: The Franco American Experience in New England* (1996), holds separate pieces that attend to both Acadia and Quebec. Some of Robert LeBlanc’s scholarship also attends to both ancestral groups individually. See especially “A French-Canadian Education and the Persistence of ‘la Franco-Américanie,’” in *Journal of Cultural Geography* 8:2 (1988) and “The Acadian Migrations,” in *Cahiers de géographie du Québec* 11:24 (1967).

¹⁶For an in depth examination of the terms “Arcadian” and “Acadian,” as well as an important historical look at the Acadians in the St. John Valley, see Beatrice Craig and Maxime Dagenais, *The Land in Between—The Upper St. John Valley Prehistory to World War II* (2009), James Hannay, *The History*

of Acadia From Its Discovery to Its Surrender to England by the Treaty of Paris (1879), Andrew Clark, *Acadia* (1968), NEAPQ Center, *The French in New England, Acadia and Quebec* (1972), and John G. Reid, *Acadia, Maine and New Scotland* (1981). See also Naomi Griffiths, *The Acadians: Creation of a People* (1973), pp. 84. See also Charles W. Collins, *The Acadians of Madawaska* (1902). William Williamson, *The History of Maine From Its First Discovery A.D. 1602 to Separation, A.D. 1820*, two vols. (1832), states that Acadia is the name given to the Royal patent of Pierre de Gast Sieure de Monts, ranging from 40-60 degrees north latitude, “The name given it in the patent was “Acadia,” or “Acadie,” an abbreviation or corruption of Arcadia in Greece.” (p. 188). For his part, Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain was subsequently adamant that “Arcadian” was not correct, saying, “The suggestion of Abbott, *History of Maine* that this name (i.e. “Acadia”) is from the Greek Arcadia is not good, historically or etymologically: General Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain, *Maine: Her Place in History* (1877), p. 22.

¹⁷ See Christian Dufour, *Le défi québécois* (1989), pp.21, 45. See also Yves Roby, *Histoire d'un rêve brisé? Les Canadiens français aux États-Unis* (2007).

¹⁸ The title of a recent book by historian Mark Paul Richard, *Loyal but French: The Negotiation of Identity by French-Canadian Descendants in the United States* (2008) uses both “French” and “French-Canadian” to indicate the heritage Québec immigrants in Lewiston, Maine, identified with in the 19th and 20th centuries. By comparison, the Canadian organization known as *La Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne* (formerly *la Fédération des francophones hors Québec*) uses the terms “*Canadien*” and “*Canadienne*” (that being “French Canadian”) in its mission statement to signify francophone

peoples whose national associations extend across provincial borders <http://www.fcfa.ca/fr/Qui-Nous-Sommes-_1/>, and whose work focuses explicitly on francophone Canadians outside of Québec. See also an earlier analysis of the term in James Paul Allen, “Catholics in Maine: A Social Geography” (1970):

-“Although the term Canadian (*Canadien*) was originally used to refer to French-speaking people from the St. Lawrence Valley settlements and their descendants, the meaning has come to include all citizens of Canada. For this reason, the phrase French Canadian will be used here to designate that particular ethnic group where there is any possibility of confusion. Also, the term French Canadian explicitly designates the French of the St. Lawrence area and their descendants living in Canada, whereas the label Acadian (*Acadien*) refers to an essentially separate group – the French who settled in the Nova Scotia settlements of Acadia and their descendants.” (footnote, p.46)

¹⁹ See Christian Dufour, *Le défi québécois* (1989), pp.74, 80. Also see chapter two, “A word about words,” in Normand J. Demers, *Revolution in Quebec: A Past Rejected—A Future in Doubt* (1995). On the term “Québécois,” Demers writes:

“From the early days of New France until well into the nineteenth century, the French-speaking inhabitants of North America had been known as *les Canadiens*... However, when the English-speaking immigrants to Ontario and Quebec began referring to themselves as Canadians, confusion arose. As a result, after the Act of Union of 1840, the *Canadiens* [sic] became known as *les Canadiens Français* [sic]. Later, following the Quiet

Revolution of 1960, the term *French Canadian* took on pejorative and even offensive meaning [in Quebec]. It was then replaced by Québécois, a word that has become a source of fierce pride, though it excludes those French Canadians who live outside of Quebec as well as the English, Italian, Chinese, and others who live there.”

²⁰ The particularities of the Québécois designation in Maine have anecdotal support. Yvon Labbé, longtime Director of the Franco American Centre at the University of Maine, submits:

“As a member of a Canadian French family which moved to Maine in 1950, my experience was that the term ‘*québécois*’ was not an identity label brought from Beauce, or one which became used in our Maine environment over the next 60-plus years. In my professional life, until the results of this survey began to emerge, I have not experienced a Franco from Maine or New England identify himself/herself as a *québécois(e)*. But I have heard, ‘*je viens, ou, ma famille vient du Québec.*’ Generally the Francos with whom I discussed Quebec around the time of *la révolution tranquille* became super Americans. This was in the 1960s and early 70s, when the term ‘*québécois*’ began to emerge. For Francos, the *parti québécois* was for the most part repulsive - having a heart connection with the homeland, they felt that it would undermine and compromise their integration in the Maine and US community if they were perceived as being interested in, or worse supportive of, the separatist movement. For instance there was a newspaper headline around that time with one Maine Franco declaring, ‘We don’t want another Cuba up

there...’ There were discussions on campus [at UMaine] about Labbé having communist leanings.”

²¹ Worthy of note are several scholarly and other publications that use the term “*québécois*” in a discussion – indeed, an attempted precision – of Franco Americans. See Claire Quintal, ed., *L’émigrant québécois vers les États-Unis: 1850-1920* (1982), Eloïse Brière, ed., *Les Franco-Américains et leur héritage québécois* (1982), and Normand Lafleur, *Les « Chinois » de l’Ést, ou la vie quotidienne des Québécois émigrés aux États-Unis de 1840 à nos jours* (1981). See also Yolande Lavoie, *L’émigration des Québécois aux États-Unis de 1840 à 1930* (1981) as a titular departure from her earlier work, *L’émigration des Canadiens aux États-Unis avant 1930* (1972). See also Raymond Luc Levasseur’s essay, “My Blood is Québécois” <<http://home.earthlink.net/~neoludd/qbq.htm/>>, which makes a subgroup claim with its title, but most often uses and expresses a connection to the term “French Canadian.”

²² See question 3.

²³ Another way of subdividing the Franco Americans of Maine can be found in Juliana L’Heureux, “Franco Americans include Five Cultures,” in *The Portland Press Herald* (April 21, 2010), C3. L’Heureux traces the diversity of French culture in Maine to its Québécois, Acadian, Cajun, Huguenot, and Metis roots.

²⁴ See question 52.

²⁵ See question 6.

²⁶ See question 10.

²⁷ See question 16.

²⁸ See question 26.

²⁹ See question 33.

³⁰ See question 21.

³¹ See question 45.

³² See question 44.

³³ See question 6. Note: We make this assertion on the basis of comparing those survey questions and crosstabs that yielded a statistically viable cohort. The only other of these cohorts that exceeded the 92% extreme pride of the Québécois were those from question number 4 who responded “I read and write French quite well,” and those from question 22 who would be “much more likely” to go to a doctor who speaks French. 96% of each of these two groups claimed extreme pride in their heritage.

³⁴ See question 10.

³⁵ See question 4.

³⁶ See question 33.

³⁷ See question 40.

³⁸ See examples in Yves Frenette, “Understanding the French Canadians of Lewiston, 1860-1900: An Alternative Framework,” *Maine Historical Society Quarterly* 25:4 (1986); Paul Rivard, *A New Order of Things: How the Textile Industry Transformed*

New England (2002); Shirlee Connors-Carlson, *Landings, Logging, & Lumbermen: Memories from St. John, Me., 1901-2001* (2001); FlorenceMae Waldron, “I’ve Never Dreamed It Was Necessary to Marry!”: Women and Work in New England French Canadian Communities, 1870-1930,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 24:2 (2005). For indications of this outside of Maine, see Sarah Orne Jewett, “The Gray Mills of Farley” (1898); Tamara K. Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time: The Relationship between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community* (1982).

³⁹For early examples, see Rowland Robinson, “Emigration,” in *Vermont: A Study of Independence* (1892); William MacDonald, “The French Canadians in New England,” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 12:3 (1898); Léon Kemner, “Revue des faits et des oeuvres : La population française des États-Unis,” *La revue franco-américaine* 2:1 (1908); R.J. Lawton, *Franco-Americans of the State of Maine, U.S.A., and Their Achievements* (1915). For more recent studies, see Yves Roby, “L’émigration québécoise vers les villes industrielles de la Nouvelle-Angleterre au XIXe siècle,” *Bulletin de la Société Historique Franco-Américaine* (1992-1993); Yukari Takai, “The Family Networks and Geographic Mobility of French Canadian Immigrants in Early-Twentieth-Century Lowell, Massachusetts,” *Journal of Family History* 26:3 (2001); Béatrice Craig, “Immigrants in a Frontier Community: Madawaska, 1785-1850,” *Voyages: A Maine Franco-American Reader* (2007); Hassan Melehy, “Literatures of Exile and Return: Jack Kerouac and Quebec,” *American Literature* 84:3 (2012).

⁴⁰ See, for example, chapter 1 (“Work”) of Dyke Hendrickson, *Franco-Americans of Maine* (2010); George Manlove, “Mills neighbors watch history go up in flames,” *Kennebec Journal* (1

December 1989), pp.1, 14; Trudy Chambers Price, *The Cows Are Out! Two Decades on a Maine Dairy Farm* (2004); and Claire Holman, "Lewiston: Off the Tourist Track to a Pretty Nice, Pretty French City," *Salt* 10:2 [38] (1990). For other New England contexts, Pamela Wood, "Antoinette's Patience: A Canadian Family in Epping," *Salt: Journal of New England Culture* 6:3 (1984); and Kim Chase, "Dirt," *Descant* 37:4 [135] (2006).

⁴¹ See an impassioned illustration of this in a recent letter to a Maine newspaper from Paul W. Dutram, "LePage's Franco-American heritage depicted in mural," *Kennebec Journal* (2 April 2011). See also John Chetro-Szivos, *Talking Acadian: Communication, Work, and Culture* (2006); Kristin M. Langellier and Eric E. Peterson, *Storytelling in Daily Life: Performing Narrative* (2004), pp.98-100.

⁴² See question 23.

⁴³ 43% of adults aged 26-45, 55% of those 46-60, and about 27% of those over 60 felt jobs and employment were the most significant problems facing Franco Americans today. It is worth noting, however, that about 36% of all those surveyed had no opinion on this question. 25% of the 60 and older cohort, 22% of 46-60, 33% of 26-45, and 72% of the youngest cohort responded, "I don't know."

⁴⁴ According to a June 2012 Critical Insights poll, when asked to think about their general concerns for the future, 51% of Maine respondents felt economic issues were most important, over half of these citing jobs and unemployment <<http://www.pressherald.com/special/voterpolls.html>>. According to a 2012 Gallup poll running from August to November, at least 64% of Americans felt the most important problem facing their country today to be

economic in origin. Nearly one third of these respondents cited jobs and unemployment. <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/1675/most-important-problem.aspx>>.

⁴⁵ See question 25.

⁴⁶For an early impression of this work characterization in Massachusetts, see the oft-cited quote of Carroll D. Wright (Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *12th Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics and Labor* [1881]):

“With some exceptions the Canadian French are the Chinese of the Eastern States. They care nothing for our institutions, civil, political, or educational. They do not come to make a home among us, to dwell with us as citizens, and so become a part of us; but their purpose is merely to sojourn a few years as aliens, touching us only at a single point, that of work, and, when they have gathered out of us what will satisfy their ends, to get them away to whence they came, and bestow it there. They are a horde of industrial invaders, not a stream of stable settlers.... They will not send their children to school if they can help it, but endeavor to crowd them into the mills at the earliest possible age....These people have one good trait. They are indefatigable workers, and docile. All they ask is to be set to work, and they care little who rules them or how they are ruled. To earn all they can by no matter how many hours of toil...” (pp.469-470).

For reactions and responses to this statement, see Carroll D. Wright, *The Canadian French in New England* (1882).

⁴⁷ U.S. Census Bureau. So201: Selected Population Profiles in the United States, American Community Survey 1-year estimates, 2011. Generated with American FactFinder, January 2013 <<http://factfinder2.census.gov/>>; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Seasonally Adjusted Unemployment Rate, U.S., 2011-2012. Generated January 2013. <<http://www.bls.gov/cps/>>. Note: From January 2011 to December 2012, the Bureau of Labor Statistics seasonally adjusted monthly unemployment rate for the US moved on an almost consistently downward slope, from 9.1% to 7.8%, with only slight exception. The range for 2011 was 8.5-9.1%.

⁴⁸ According to the 2011 US Census Bureau ACS 1-year estimate, 67% of Franco Americans are counted in the Maine labor force. This coincides with statewide figures showing about 65% of all Mainers counted in the state labor force, with a similar 8.6% of the labor force being unemployed.

⁴⁹ According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, “Persons who are neither employed nor unemployed are not in the labor force. This category includes retired persons, students, those taking care of children or other family members, and others who are neither working nor seeking work” <<http://www.bls.gov/cps/lfcharacteristics.htm#nlf/>>. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, “Not in labor force includes all people 16 years old and over who are not classified as members of the labor force. This category consists mainly of students, housewives, retired workers, seasonal workers interviewed in an off season who were not looking for work, institutionalized people, and people doing only incidental unpaid family work (less than 15 hours during the reference week)” <<https://ask.census.gov/faq.php?id=5000&faqId=6863/>>.

⁵⁰ 2011 ACS 1-year estimates for Franco Americans projected a 5.8% rate of unemployment and 32.8% of the adult population

not in the labor force – or a total of 38.6% of the population that does not work. The 2012 study found 15% of respondents “retired” and another 20% of respondents “unemployed” – or a total of 35% not working – without the possibility of being considered “outside of the labor force.” These summary estimates compare evenly.

⁵¹ Other variables may help to account for discrepancies in the two data samples:

-The ACS includes employment estimates on all adults over the age of 16; the 2012 study only begins at the age of 18.

-A comparison between 2011 and 2012 employment data must take into the account the general fluctuation of employment rates nationwide, as evidenced in data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, cited supra.

⁵² Considering the previous point about those “in the labor force” and those “not in the labor force,” and considering that this age group intersects many traditional high school and college age brackets, this high number should not be striking.

⁵³ See question 6.

⁵⁴ See questions 4 and 10.

⁵⁵ See question 3.

⁵⁶ See question 11.

⁵⁷ See question 13.

⁵⁸ See question 14.

⁵⁹ See question 19.

⁶⁰ The remaining 6% of responses were scattered among problems within “education,” “government,” and “respect,” more generally, that each garnered only a handful of respondents— not worthy of note.

⁶¹ This is not to say that all working Franco Americans are in agreement on the question of economic resources. Indeed there are samples that qualify this analysis, to lesser and greater degrees:

-About 17% of the self-employed believe that Franco Americans are not an economic resource for Maine.

-Nearly 70% of retired respondents believe a Franco American economic resource lives in the population’s “strong work ethic” - about 25 percentage points more than any other employment cohort.

-96% of Franco Americans who own large companies and 57% who own small companies believe international trade to be an economic resource for the state particularly due to the Franco American population. Trade was the number one response for both of these employment groups.

-Except for the unemployed cohort, a significant amount of all employment groups felt “cultural tourism” to be an economic strength among Franco Americans.

⁶² See question 45. In fact, the 20% cohort of the “unemployed” compares to about 4% who own a large company and another 9% who own a small company.

⁶³ See David B. Walker, *Politics and Ethnocentrism: The Case of the Franco-Americans* (1961), and Walker “The Presidential Politics of the Franco-Americans,” in *A Franco-American Overview, Volume 3*, Madeleine Giguère, ed. (1981), and Norman Sepenuk, “A Profile of Franco-American Political Attitudes in New England,” in *A Franco-American Overview, Volume 3*, Madeleine Giguère, ed. (1981).

⁶⁴ The irony of the removal of the Big Box in 1972 should not go unmentioned. The close gubernatorial election of 1970 prompted the Democratic Party, assuming small town Republican solidarity, in Maine to examine voting patterns and a commission led by George Mitchell. Instead of finding that the Big Box was a Republican advantage, the commission found that it was a Democratic one. And the Republicans, reversing their support of it, eventually led the fight to remove the Big Box. For greater detail, see C. P. Potholm, *This Splendid Game: Maine Campaigns and Elections, 1940-2002* (2003), pp. 91-99.

⁶⁵ C. P. Potholm, “Up Ye Mighty Francos,” *Delights of Democracy* (2002), pp. 173-176; *An Insider’s Guide to Maine Politics* (1998), especially “Introduction,” pp. 1-24 and “Aces and Bases,” pp. 313-346; “Electoral Politics in Maine: Recent Trends, Enduring Archetypes,” in *Changing Maine*, Richard Barringer, ed., (2004), pp. 315-330. An archetypal example of the mixture of views on government typical of many Franco Americans is found in Georgette Berube, *Thank You Georgette* (2004).

⁶⁶Gerard J. Brault, *The French-Canadian Heritage in New England* (1986), pp.158-159. For a first-person analysis of Franco American politics in Holyoke MA, see Jacques Ducharme, *The Shadows of the Trees: The Story of French-Canadians in New England* (1943) pp. 167-175.

⁶⁷C. P. Potholm, “*Ad astra per aspera* – To the Heavens through Hardship: The Franco-American Rise to Political Power in Maine,” in *Voyages: A Maine Franco-American Reader*, Nelson Madore and Barry Rodrigue, eds. (2007).

⁶⁸ Walker, op. cit.

⁶⁹ Regis Langellier and Pamela Langellier, “French-Canadian Families,” in *Ethnicity and Family Therapy*, Monica McGoldrick et al., eds. (2005) pp.545-554.

⁷⁰ Potholm, op. cit.

⁷¹See Peter Woolfson, “Traditional French Canadian Value Orientations and Their Persistence among the Franco-Americans of Northeastern Vermont” (1973).

⁷² For various examples of small business in Augusta ME, see Maurice Violette, *The Franco-Americans: A Franco-American’s Chronicle of Historical and Cultural Environment: Augusta Revisited* (1976) pp.152-165, and Frank H. Sleeper, *Augusta*, Images of America Series (1995); for Old Town ME, see Nos Histoires de l’Île Group, *Nos Histoires de l’Île: History and Memories of French Island, Old Town, Maine* (1999); for Lewiston ME, see Mark Paul Richard, *Loyal but French: The Negotiation of Identity by French Canadian Descendants in the*

United States (2008); for Madawaska ME, see Julie Albert, *Madawaska Centennial: 1869-1969* (1969).

⁷³ See question 37.

⁷⁴ See question 22.

⁷⁵ See question 6.

⁷⁶ See question 6.

⁷⁷ See question 4.

⁷⁸ See question 10.

⁷⁹ See question 8 and appendix D.

⁸⁰ See question 17.

⁸¹ See question 26.

⁸² See question 27.

⁸³ Thomas J. Laforest and Jeffrey M. LaRochelle, “Chapter 18: Germain Lepage,” *Our French-Canadian Ancestors: Volume II(Rev.)* (1990).

⁸⁴ Correspondence with genealogist Robert Chenard, January 2013:

A – Étienne circa 1635	Nicole Berthelot	1
-Ouanne, France		
1 – Germain circa 1664	Reine Loury/Lory	2
-Ouanne, Yonne, FR		
(b.ca.1639 Ouanne – d. 26-2-1723 Rimouski, age 83)		
Louis 24 Aug 1667	Sébastienne Loignon cont. Duquet	3
2 – René 10 Jun 1686	M.-Madeleine Gagnon	4
-Ste.Anne-Beaupré		
(b.10-4-1656 Ouanne – d.4-8-1718 Rimouski)		

⁸⁵ For proof of the local significance of identifying with the Lepage lineage in Quebec, see information provided by “*l’Association des Lepage d’Amérique, Inc.*” <<http://www.genealogie.org/famille/lepage/lepage.htm/>>.

⁸⁶ Margaret Chase Smith has been the subject of a number of major biographies including Patricia Ward Wallace, *Politics of Conscience: A Biography of Margaret Chase Smith* (1995), Patricia Schmidt, *Margaret Chase Smith: Beyond Convention* (1996) and Janann Sherman, *No Place for a Woman: A Life of Senator Margaret Chase Smith* (2000).

⁸⁷ Frank Graham, Jr., *Margaret Chase Smith, Woman of Courage* (1964).

⁸⁸ William F. Morin, “Presentation of Genealogical and Socio-Anthropology Materials Relating to Margaret Chase Smith Pedigree of the Morin family of Arcadia (sic) and Accounts of Late 19th Century Francos of Brunswick Maine,” (2008).

⁸⁹ C. P. Potholm, “Margaret Chase Smith: The Persistence of a Political Archetype,” *New England Journal of Politics* 4:1 (2010).

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