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Franco-American Newspapers and Periodicals in the Northeast: An Inventory

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Franco-American newspapers and periodicals occupy an overlapping space between primary and secondary literature, and their shadow looms large over the collective body of historic Franco-American sources. Their significance to the Franco-American community is hard to overstate. These periodical publications complicate issues of identity in the U.S. Northeast and are an integral part of Québec history itself. This article details current work to inventory newspaper and periodical titles (currently over 400) and makes accessible our collectively built, evolving inventory of Franco-American newspapers.

Les journaux et périodiques franco-américains occupent un espace entre la littérature primaire et la littérature secondaire, et leur ombre plane sur le corpus collectif des sources historiques franco-américaines. Leur importance pour la communauté franco-américaine est difficile à surestimer. Ces publications périodiques compliquent les questions d'identité dans le Nord-Est américain et font partie intégrante de l'histoire même du Québec. Cet article détaille les travaux en cours pour recenser les titres de journaux et de périodiques (présentement plus de 400) et rend accessible notre inventaire construit collectivement des journaux franco-américains.

It is no surprise that scholars value the U.S. ethnic press. These newspapers both complement and counter English-language, mainstream newspapers of their time. They echo the personal and political interests of multi-generational migrant populations that cultivated institutions of business, worship, and learning in the U.S. These publications can show a diversity frequently obscured by overgeneralization. Titles reflect local concerns, express varied political affiliations, represent a range of social, religious, and cultural issues, publish serialized literature, and engage in transnational and transoceanic dialogues. Sally Miller's foundational anthology and handbook argues:

The press is the best primary source for an understanding of the world of non-English-speaking groups in the United States, their expectations and concerns, their background and evolution as individual communities [...]. However narrow, inexperienced, or undercapitalized the various newspapers may have been, they nevertheless each offered a reflection of a group experience. (Miller 1987, xii)

Recent research reveals scholars turning to these publications for questions about whiteness, political cultures, transnational belonging, gender, and literary culture.¹

A vibrant scholarly worldwide francophone press research scene parallels this U.S.-based interest in the U.S. ethnic press. Fueled by the digitization of historic newspapers and the international scholarly collaborations of Numapresse, which “veut proposer une nouvelle histoire culturelle et littéraire qui mettra en évidence des lignes de force structurelles de la presse française du XIXe siècle à aujourd’hui” (<http://www.numapresse.org>); Médias 19, which “est consacré à l’étude de la culture médiatique au 19^e siècle” (<https://www.medias19.org>); and Transfopresse, which “se fixe pour objet la promotion d’un objet patrimonial matériel totalement délaissé [...] la presse publiée dans des langues autres que la ou les langues nationales” (<https://www.chsc.uvsq.fr/transfopress>), the latest research on the francophone press explores circulation networks, serialized novels, clippings and clipfiles, journalists, and its connection to opera and the theater.

We find, however, that despite this convergence in both the key contexts relevant to Franco-American studies, there are very few scholarly studies drawing on Franco-American newspaper and periodical titles. This stems in large part from the lack of bibliographic control over them. Scholars and bibliographers do not agree about the number of newspapers there were.² Jean-Philippe Warren claims, “Over the course of a century, from 1838 to 1937, some 275 French Canadian journals of every format were launched in New England alone, some shining like fireflies for a few weeks, others enjoying greater, yet always precarious, prosperity” (Warren 2016, 75).³ Robert Perrault writes: “Of the nearly 500 French-language newspapers that have appeared in the United States since 1780, over 330 were published between 1868 and the present by and for Québécois immigrants and their descendants, the Franco Americans, in the

New England-eastern New York area” (Perrault 1987, 113). The Library of Congress’s *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers* has records for only 95 French-language newspaper titles from the U.S. Northeast. Wikipedia.fr names 126 Franco-American papers; Wikipedia.org identifies 136 titles; and Médias19 lists 24.⁴ Not only do scholars disagree on the number of titles, most do not even know how many issues still exist or where they might be located. The most comprehensive study of Franco-American newspapers, which Guillaume Pinson cites, was Alexandre Belisle’s *Histoire de la presse franco-américaine*. Belisle’s inventory was published over a century ago, in 1911; Maximilienne Tétrault’s 1935 dissertation added 57 titles that were published after 1911. On top of this lack of bibliographic control, hardly any of the papers have been digitized, as Pinson laments (Pinson 2016, 315). Scholars of this corpus have repeatedly pointed out the need to know more about it. Jean-Philippe Warren’s 2016 article is the most recent substantial analysis of the Franco-American ethnic press in compilation and concludes by repeating Robert Perrault’s 1987 exhortation on the same topic: “As a whole, Franco-American newspapers form an invaluable archival body, largely unknown and therefore virtually untapped.’ This comment should serve as an invitation for researchers in Canada and the United States” (Warren 2016, 93; see also Pinson 2016, 10).

We think the neglect of Franco-American newspapers has two main causes. On the Canadian side, publications of U.S.-based diaspora communities do not immediately and easily fall within scopes of focus for scholars or collection developers. The Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (BAnQ) holds many Franco-American master newspaper microfilm copies produced by Société canadienne du microfilm (SOCAMI), but BAnQ’s current nation-based conception of priority work focuses on current-day Québec. On the U.S. side, Franco-American materials are often neglected due to a history of language discrimination, marginalization, and lack of cultural heritage funding and support. Uniquely transnational in the nineteenth century, Franco Americans faced deep-seated antagonism for their loyalty to their home country, perceived willingness to accept low wages, their Catholic religion, and their language. Anti-Catholic and immigrant protests of the Know-Nothings and Ku Klux Klan were common, and English-only laws remained in place until 1969

in Maine, where French remains the language most commonly spoken after English. The 1881 annual report of the Massachusetts Commissioner of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor referred to French Canadian migrants as “Chinese of the Eastern States [...] a horde of industrial invaders, not a stream of stable settlers” (Wright 1881, 469). The *New York Times* echoed this assessment (*New York Times* 1885). Racialized and excluded then, one of New England’s largest minorities continues to be ignored as Franco Americans do not fit into many current research paradigms and are often absent from the digital landscape. Dominant historical narratives posit nineteenth-century immigration to the U.S through Ellis Island. No Franco-American text is included in the definitive tome, *The Multilingual Anthology of American Literature* (Shell and Sollors 2000), even though the first Franco-American novel, *Jeanne la fileuse*, was published in French in 1878 in Massachusetts. Similarly, the foundational myth of quaint, charming New England that continues to define New England states’ self-understanding was developed as an artificial refuge, a refutation of the rapid industrialization that fostered non-Anglo, multi-ethnic migrant labor. Though this cultural denigration has subsided as Franco Americans have become more “white,” traces of this history are indelible. A 2012 Maine state legislature poll found markedly lower economic and educational achievement within this community, and 20 percent of Franco Americans said they or someone they knew had suffered ethnic discrimination (Albert et al. 2013). Franco-American communities therefore represent an untapped and understudied case of changing cultural landscape in language, labor, industrialism, urbanism, government, religion, the arts, education, acculturation, assimilation, transnational migration, and community-building.

The condition of Franco-American newspapers is emblematic of the state of Franco-American source materials overall. Scholars have fought for years to make research on Franco Americans easier to conduct and periodically have published bibliographies and resource guides of the field (Anctil 1979a, 1979b; Chartier 1976; Doty 2000; Frenette 2016; Lacroix 2018; Robert 1949; Sénécal 1983, 1995; Simano 1971). The continued need for such publications highlights the difficulty of finding secondary sources, arising in some part from the lack of a Library of Congress subject heading. Until the subject heading, “Franco Americans,” was defined and established in 2008

– after advocacy by librarians and scholars at UMaine, Keene State, George Mason University, and Yale – any secondary source about Franco Americans was not consistently cataloged. Subject searches for Franco Americans just as easily brought titles of France-U.S. diplomacy or information about a brand of the Campbell Soup Company as they did works on the French-Canadian diaspora in the United States. This situation was not unique, and points in part to the lack of social capital Franco Americans wielded. As Emily Drabinski argues in “Queering the Catalog: Queer Theory and the Politics of Correction:” “In both their activism and their scholarship, librarians have convincingly made the case that Library of Congress Classification (LCC) and Library of Congress Subject Headings (LCSH) fail to accurately and respectfully organize library materials about social groups and identities that lack social and political power” (Drabinski 2013, 95).

Michelle Caswell in her work on the archival holdings of South Asian Americans calls their experience in the archival realm a “symbolic annihilation:”

Searching through archives, Mallick did not see himself or his community reflected. It was as if South Asian Americans had been symbolically annihilated. Symbolic annihilation, a concept first developed by feminist media scholars in the 1970s, describes what happens to members of marginalized groups when they are absent, grossly under-represented, maligned, or trivialized by mainstream television programming, news outlets, and magazine coverage. (Caswell 2014, 27)

The antidote to this erasure, however, is not just the creation of a subject heading. Joel Wurl, for example, is part of a large group of archivists who have sought to rethink fundamental, grounding notions of archival science, including the notion of provenance and the type of archival document itself:

Documenting immigrant and ethnic life effectively, I believe, requires archivists to traverse some of the boundaries they tend to place on what constitutes archival evidence and to look more closely instead at the ways ethnic communities actually convey information [...]. Archivists, likewise, need to cultivate an openness of thought to how ethnic community life is actually transacted, through communication structures that might not be familiar to the shelves of our repositories. (Wurl 2005, 69)

As part of the rethinking of archival practices, Wurl contends that archivists and historians need to rethink their role from keepers of archives to keepers of memory:

In a “memory” construct of archives, the past is never really separate from what is active and immediate, and documentation, no matter its physical age, is always inextricably tethered to an ongoing process of collective remembering. Ethnic communities [...] are dynamic social systems in a persistent state of formulation. “Things that have gone on before,” be it yesterday or a hundred years ago, are active ingredients of group consciousness and composition at any given point in its evolution [...]. A discerning perspective on the present day’s uses and potential misuses of a living past is one of the most valuable tools any archivist of ethnic societies can possess. (Wurl 2005, 70)

Collaborative efforts among scholars over the past decades have sought to bring attention to Franco-American archives across the research landscape. A 1995 review in *Francophonies d’Amérique* described two projects, one being led by Eloïse Brière at the University of Albany and *l’Action pour les Franco-américains du Nord-est* (l’ActFANE) that sought to create a Franco-American database of resources for specialists across disciplines, and the second by André Senécal and Yves Roby’s Centre de recherche sur les Franco-Américains du Nord-Est (CREFANE) at the University of Vermont to create a complete inventory of Franco-American sources (books, newspapers, archival collections, and more) called *Inventaire franco-américain: The Franco-American Bibliography* (Project INFA) (Presses de l’Université d’Ottawa 1995). Still others have periodically taken stock of the Franco-American archival landscape en masse in order to draw attention to the untapped collective power of its content (Doty 1991; Quintal 2004). Throughout these attempts, scholars signal the existence of the archives and at the same time, highlight the need to think outside the traditional realm of archival records. C. Stewart Doty described encountering “archival surprises” in his historiographical research on Franco Americans, suggesting not just scholarly serendipity due to historical materials’ unusual format or location, but also primary source material that requires flexibility in where and how to look. This includes acknowledging as records oral transmissions, three-dimensional objects and ephemera, folklore, clippings, and clipfiles, or

other forms of cultural knowledge production that might elude and challenge standard archival or bibliographic description.

Franco-American newspapers and periodicals occupy an overlapping space between primary and secondary literature, and their shadow looms large over the collective body of historic Franco-American sources. Their significance to the Franco-American community is hard to overstate (Paré 1979). In her 2004 assessment of the Franco archival landscape, Claire Quintal argues, “En milieu franco-américain, comme dans tout milieu minoritaire, les périodiques, en particulier les journaux, jouèrent un rôle primordial comme miroir de la communauté” (Quintal 2004, 46). Ernest Guillet claims: “Le journal de langue française en Franco-Américanie est peut-être l’archive la plus complète de la vie culturelle et littéraire française en Nouvelle Angleterre. Ce journal s’intéresse aussi à la vie politique, sociale, à l’éducation, à la religion, et tout aspect de la vie des émigrés canadiens” (Guillet 1981, 1).⁵ These assessments echo and point to the primary role of the newspaper in French-Canadian culture, something that Michel Biron, François Dumont, and Élisabeth Nardout-Lafarge also highlight in their book on the history of Québécois literature:

Après la Conquête de 1759 et jusqu’aux années 1830, aucune œuvre littéraire marquante ne voit le jour. Pourtant, cette longue période de transition est déterminante à plusieurs égards, comme le montrent les travaux de Bernard Andrès. On y découvre l’une des caractéristiques fondamentales de la littérature québécoise, à savoir sa relation profonde et comme naturelle avec cette forme nouvelle qu’est le journal [...] Le journal s’impose comme le lieu de diffusion par excellence de toutes sortes de textes: on y trouve des poèmes, des contes, des satires, des textes d’opinion, des écrits de circonstance [...]. Le journaliste et conférencier le plus influent du XIXe siècle, Étienne Parent, parlera élogieusement du journal comme de “la seule bibliothèque du peuple”. La presse périodique, au fur et à mesure qu’elle se développera, semblera le complément nécessaire de la pensée, de l’écriture. (Biron et al. 2010, 62)

Jonathan Gosnell argues that Franco-American newspapers played an even more active role in shaping community and forming a shared language, in particular through the lens of sport: “The readers of French newspapers in New England, including Franco-American baseball fans, made up a community of sorts through the sharing of

information about their sport. They also participated in the creation of a vocabulary to talk about it” (Gosnell 2018, 57).

These periodical publications complicate issues of identity in the U.S. Northeast, as their editors and writers sought to give expression to their communities and negotiate their entrance into mainstream America. Popular turn-of-the-century titles included both male and female editors, and Franco-American women’s commentary frequently appeared. Mark Richard argues that newspapers like Lewiston’s *Le Messenger* are sites where we can witness the active negotiation of Franco-American cultural identity over time (Richard 2008). Gosnell sees Franco-American reporting, particularly in Lowell and Holyoke, as reflecting a cultural transition among readers and writers in those Franco communities, “from a position supportive of exiled French Canadians, who sometimes remembered France nostalgically, to one that conveyed the interests of Franco Americans, a new transnational identity defined by the *Je me souviens* ethos linking France, Québec, and the United States” (Gosnell 2018, 60). Scholars like André Sénécal have also argued that these publications are equally important to the history of Québec, where “the printed contribution of Canadian immigrants to the cultural life of the United States, a very large output in French and English [...] for Canada [...] represents vital chapters of the past [...]. Canada must make peace with its prodigal sons and daughters and confront its amnesia” (Sénécal 1996, 5). Guillaume Pinson makes a similar argument about the role of the Franco-American press to the history of Québec journalism:

Jusqu’à la fin du XIXe siècle, ce système francophone de l’information ne va cesser de croître, vers l’est en Nouvelle-Angleterre et en Acadie, vers l’ouest au Manitoba, à Chicago et à San Francisco, se moquant des distances et des frontières, invitant les chercheurs à ne pas céder aux mirages rétrospectifs des cloisonnements locaux et nationaux. Tout au long du siècle, les corpus et les journalistes voyagent sans cesse en Amérique du Nord francophone et d’importants écrivains-journalistes de l’histoire littéraire, notamment québécois – Napoléon Aubin (d’origine suisse), Louis Fréchette, Arthur Buies, Honoré Beaugrand, pour ne nommer qu’eux –, ont évolué dans cet espace continental, fondant des journaux francophones aussi bien au Canada qu’aux États-Unis, inventant des imaginaires littéraires dont le creuset

fut cette expérience journalistique déployée à la mesure du continent. (Pinson 2016, 8–9)

Jean-Philippe Warren's biography of Honoré Beaugrand argues that it is only by making a place for the New England journalist Beaugrand that we get a better understanding of Québec itself (Warren 2015, 9–10).

Perhaps most indispensable to the work of Franco-American newspaper collective rediscovery has been Senécal's inventory produced during the period of Project INFA, *Newspapers and Periodicals: A Preliminary Checklist* (1995). Senécal's self-published work at the University of Vermont, despite its "preliminary" nature,⁶ represents the most complete, collective description and listing in print of specifically Franco-American newspapers and periodicals to date, including the publication places, dates, and frequencies of over 400 titles,⁷ as well as clarifying notes and – most laboriously – records of their holdings in repositories across North America. Known extant papers – only about half of the number that appear in Senécal's inventory – are scattered across North America in incomplete runs, inconsistent formats, and variable conditions.

Senécal's obscure Franco-American newspaper inventory is the most robust inventory we know of and relies in part upon efforts specifically aimed at preserving newspapers in the U.S. and Canada. For example, the U.S. Newspaper Program (USNP, 1982–2011) brought together the Library of Congress, National Endowment for the Humanities, and local-level institutional partners to fund the creation of local periodical inventories, which sought out local existing newspaper issue hardcopies and microfilm, compiled content inventories and catalog records, and photographed new microfilm of U.S. newspaper materials. Rich inventories and catalog records from this work are now held at state levels and compiled in the Library of Congress's United States Newspaper Directory. In the Franco-American realm, relevant U.S. Northeast partners in the USNP⁸ – Boston Public Library (MA), Maine State Library (ME), New Hampshire State Library (NH), Rhode Island Historical Society (RI), Connecticut State Library (CT), University of Vermont (VT), and New York State Library (NY) – produced rich state-level research. This nationally funded program still did not fully capture the Franco-American press however: only 95 of

Senécal's inventoried titles are cataloged in the Library of Congress's U.S. newspaper directory.

The National Digital Newspaper Program (NDNP, 2007–present) replaced and leveraged the discovery work of the USNP to fund the digitization of these newspapers and imposed rigorous standards on newspaper formatting and digitization in order to ensure their accessibility and preservation for the long term. NDNP's primary goal remains the digitization of newspaper microfilm at the state level in order to improve access to preserved content. The process of identifying candidate newspapers for digitization involves committees of experts learning about and selecting historically rich and representative print materials from their respective states and proposing the inclusion of these digitized newspapers within *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, the joint National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH)/Library of Congress digital corpus. Senécal's work and our subsequent understanding of the magnitude of the Franco–American press signals NDNP omissions in Franco–American spaces that are difficult to ignore. By 2020 only one Franco–American newspaper, *Le Patriote canadien* (Burlington, VT, 1839–1840, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn90000507/>) had been digitized through Vermont's NDNP funding, while just one other, *Le Progrès* (Woonsocket, RI, 1898–1913) was in the process of being digitized through Rhode Island's grant.

By the end of the 1990s, Senécal's work had done much to piece together the deeply fragmented corpus of the Franco–American press, at least in bibliographic form. His team's work laid an intellectual foundation stable enough to inaugurate a process of post-custodial aggregation perhaps only possible with the digital organizational tools that have emerged in the past decade. Individual team members of the Franco American Collections Consortium (FACC) – UMaine Franco American Programs, University of Southern Maine Franco–American Collection, University of Maine at Fort Kent Acadian Archives/ Archives acadiennes, Assumption University French Institute, and Saint Anselm College Msgr. Paradis Archives and Special Collections – collectively inaugurated a push to fully inventory and eventually digitize this corpus. We inventoried our own collections as well as those of the Boston Public Library, Rhode Island Historical Society, Maine State Library, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du

Québec, and others that appear as repositories in Senécal's inventory. This research led to the discovery of additional Franco-American newspapers – at least a dozen titles, and growing – not included in Senécal's inventory, issues of newspapers or periodicals thought to be non-extant, or information about titles that is inconsistent across reference sources.

Individual runs and titles have started to be digitized by local communities looking to preserve and document their history. Places like the McArthur Library in Biddeford, Maine (*La Justice* and *La Justice de Biddeford*), the Nashua Public Library in Nashua, New Hampshire (*L'Impartial*), the University of Southern Maine and Maine State Library (*Le Messenger*), and the University of Maine (*Le F.A.R.O.G. Forum* and *Le Forum*) have undertaken solo projects to digitize their historic French-language periodicals for access and preservation. Moved by the advocacy of the Franco American Collections Consortium, the Maine State Library has also committed its final round of NDNF funding to digitizing Franco-American newspapers published in the state of Maine and has even issued a public request seeking newspapers from libraries or members in the community that might possess them.⁹ The recent inauguration of NDNF projects in Massachusetts and New Hampshire also presents new opportunities to advocate for the preservation of Franco-American newspapers and to bring them into a national spotlight.

Our collective work confirms, and we still believe as Senécal did in the 1990s, that the Franco-American newspaper and periodical inventory is incomplete. We also show that achieving bibliographic control of this corpus and maintaining the long-term preservation of whatever remains of it requires coordination and cooperation across research and collecting institutions. To that end, the Franco American Collections Consortium came together in 2018 to build a post-custodial research gateway that would centralize access to Franco-American archival collections that are dispersed across North America.¹⁰ In 2021, the Consortium, seeded by UMaine funding and funded in part by the NEH, launched an open-source, open-access digital platform to Franco-American materials, *Franco American Digital Archives/Portail franco-américain (FADA/PFA)*; (<https://francoamericandigitalarchives.org>) modeled after subject-based projects like *Umbra Search African American History* (<https://www.umbrasearch.org/>), *Digital Transgender*

Archive (<https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net/>) and the *South Asian American Digital Archive* (<https://www.saada.org/>). These portals re-center marginalized histories by curating and co-locating digital records of archival materials held in disparate places. In a similar way, FACC's portal, *FADA/PFA*, identifies Franco-American archival materials wherever they have been collected, describes them in culturally conscientious ways, and directs the public toward their digital presence and the institutions that collect and preserve them. The work of *FADA/PFA* to aggregate information about archival materials acknowledges both the geographically diverse and highly local aspects of Franco-American primary sources, celebrates the unique creation and stewardship of these materials wherever it happens, and provides consortium-backed resources and a forum for these materials to proliferate and cohabit.¹¹ *FADA/PFA*'s ameliorative descriptive practices also improve discoverability of these collections through community-knowledge centered access points, and they supplement archival records with multilingual and other standardized terms where institutional descriptive practices have not always been cognizant of their audiences.

It is through *FADA/PFA* that we are currently building out and making accessible our evolving inventory of Franco-American newspapers, both within the searchable *FADA/PFA* database itself and in a linked set of more descriptive inventory spreadsheets. Throughout the research, development, and growth of collections within *FADA/PFA*, the Franco-American newspaper corpus became something of a monolith to which nearly every possible contributing archival institution offered a formative layer, adding something forgotten, and signaling a new audience of interest. We have linked through *FADA/PFA* our issue-level inventories along with all of the information about these newspapers that we have collectively discovered, including publication locations, coverage dates, links to any digital copies that exist, repositories that hold these newspapers in one format or another, and scholarly notes from Senécal and others. This inventory will continue to be updated and evolve as Franco-American collections of archival material continue to be found.

We believe that the virtual corpus and its new, enhanced accessibility through *FADA/PFA* will generate new uses of these materials and enable a more diverse and inclusive spectrum of users:

community-based researchers can pursue genealogical work and develop new self-understandings as they envision their local experience in the context of a francophone diaspora; local, regional, and national historians will be able to include Franco-American daily life in their analysis of the American experience; francophone and transnational scholars can begin to assess the circulation of ideas and development of popular literary culture through this French-speaking American community; literary scholars can begin to study the serialized stories and poetry in its pages; French-language teachers can begin to build curriculum on North American French; and multi-disciplinary investigators can mine newspaper content in computational analyses based in text and imagery. The searchable *FADA/PFA* portal database places newspaper titles in conversation with a growing body of Franco-American archives and manuscript collections from around the globe; newspaper inventory spreadsheets offer sortable, harvestable data that afford users easy access to information about this corpus in order to explore connections among the Franco-American press across time and space.

Using Franco-American Newspapers and Periodicals in the Northeast: An Inventory

The appendix to this article presents the list of titles currently known and inventoried; to explore a more detailed inventory and in-depth information about each title, visit: <https://francoamerican-digitalarchives.org/newspapers>, an entry link to the Franco-American newspaper collection in the *FADA/PFA* portal (see Figure 1). Each Franco-American newspaper title we are aware of has an entry in the portal. Here, the titles are searchable by keyword, publication date, and geography, and the portal provides access to any digitized copies in existence. Exploring Franco-American newspapers in *FADA/PFA* is useful for getting an overview of the corpus, for searching titles in context with other materials from their place of publication, and for having immediate access to any digitized copies.

On the landing page of *FADA/PFA*'s newspaper collection, we also provide the link to our inventory spreadsheets, *Franco-American Newspapers and Periodicals in the Northeast*. These stacked spreadsheets give access to a more granular level of newspaper detail in a format that can be sorted, copied, downloaded, and manipulated.



Franco American Digital Archives Portail franco-américain

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Franco-American Newspapers / Journaux franco-américains

For a complete list of Franco-American newspapers, visit [Franco-American Newspapers and Periodicals in the Northeast](#).

Displaying results 1 - 10 of 396

Items per page

 Relevance
 ...

Selected Facets

Digitization Status

[Not Digitized / Non numérisé\(e\)](#)
(372)

[Partially Digitized / En partie](#)



Le Messenger, Lewiston, ME (1880-1968)

Le Messenger was published in Lewiston, Maine from March 18, 1880 to May 9, 1968, making it one of the longest running Franco-American newspapers.

Date(s)

1880 to 1968

Member of

[Franco-American Newspapers / Journaux franco-américains](#)

Figure 1 A screenshot of the collection, “Franco–American Newspapers/Journaux franco-américains” as it appears in *Franco American Digital Archives/Portail franco-américain*. Users can browse newspapers within this collection in the *FADA/PFA* portal or click on the link within the collection description to explore the more detailed inventory in spreadsheet format, *Franco-American Newspapers and Periodicals in the Northeast*.

The primary spreadsheet holds the broadest level of information. This top-level contains basic information on all U.S. Northeast Franco–American newspaper and periodical titles:

- location of publication (city and state)
- start date and end date of publication (when known)
- frequency of publication (when known)
- whether the publication is extant or non-extant

- the publication’s digitization status (digitized, partially digitized, or not digitized)
- if extant, the formats in which the publication exists (print original, microfilm, photocopy, or other, including PDF or digital image file).

The default presentation of this top-level list is in alphabetical order of the publication’s title (excluding articles in French and English). This alphabetical presentation does obscure where publications may have changed names over time, where publications are continuations of earlier publications or share the same publisher, or where publications have titles in both French and English. However, the entire list is sortable by each column (title, publication dates, geographic location, etc.), which allows users to see and notice connections as the data is manipulated (see Figure 2).

This top-level spreadsheet has active links (in the first column, through the name of the newspaper) to a second layer, what we are calling a “Title Inventory.” This inventory includes detailed information about each newspaper title individually:

1	Title (click link for more detail)	State	City	Pub Start: YYYY/MM/DD	Pub End: YYYY/MM/DD	Frequency	Related title(s)	Extant/Non-extant	Digitization Status
2	Abelle de social, L'	RI	Woonsocket	1912/10/31	1921/00/00	Weekly		non-extant	Not digitized / Non-numerisé(e)
3	Abelle, L'	MA	Lowell	1880/00/00	1884/00/00	Weekly: 1880 Daily: 1/1881 - 8/1881 Bi-weekly: 9/1881-1884		extant	Not digitized / Non-numerisé(e)
4	Abelle, L'	NH	Manchester	1891/05/00	1891/05/00	Unknown		non-extant	Not digitized / Non-numerisé(e)
5	Action ouvrière, L'	NH	Manchester	1943/01/00	1944/11/00	Monthly		extant	Not digitized / Non-numerisé(e)
6	Action, L'	NH	Manchester	1950/05/21	1971/09/01	Weekly		extant	Partially digitized / En partie numérisé(e)
7	Aigle, L'	ME	Biddeford	1895/12/01	1895/12/01	One issue only		non-extant	Not digitized / Non-numerisé(e)
8	Aigle, L'	MA	Salem	1894/11/02	1896/00/00	Weekly		extant	Not digitized / Non-numerisé(e)
9	Almanach de l'Assomption, L'	MA	Worcester	1924/12/00	1929/12/00	Annual	Printed and disseminated with the December issue of L'Assomption	extant	Not digitized / Non-numerisé(e)
	Almanach franco-américain et catholique: comprenant une liste complète du clergé								

Figure 2 A screenshot of *Franco-American Newspapers and Periodicals in the Northeast* top-level inventory, which contains basic information about all Franco-American newspaper and periodical titles, and links to more specific information about each title.

- information about physical copies: their formats, issue holdings, and the repositories where they are held
- links to all known digital copies of newspaper issues
- links to catalog records of the newspaper in the Library of Congress, Center for Research Libraries, *FADA/PFA*, and WorldCat (when available)
- Library of Congress, WorldCat OCLC, and International Standard Serial Number unique identifiers for each title (when available)
- references to the newspaper title in print and online
- a sample masthead (when available)
- notes on the newspaper title from published and unpublished sources (usually from Senécal's, Belisle, or Tetrault's inventories though sometimes from our own inventory work or research) (see Figure 3).

This Title Inventory also provides links to yet another, third-level inventory, what we are calling an “Issue Inventory.” This inventory provides the information we have about individual issues of each newspaper title. It lists all known issues and gives granular information about each known extant issue, including date of publication, length, physical repository, and more (see Figure 4).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
1	Title	Date	City	Library of Congress Catalog Record	Center for Research Libraries Catalog Record	FADA/PFA Record	WorldCat Catalog Record(s)	Google News Archive	ISSN	OCLC	Pub Start (YYYYMMDD)	Pub End (YYYYMMDD)	Explan	Format	Original	Photocopy	Other	Frequency																															
2	L'Action	New Hampshire	Manchester	https://lccn.loc.gov/...	https://rsl.org/...				en-8002368	0256242	19500601	19710901	other	Yes	Yes			PDF	Weekly																														
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Figure 3 A screenshot of the title inventory of *L'Action*, Manchester, NH (1950–1971).

We have chosen to use Google Sheets as the platform for *Franco-American Newspapers and Periodicals in the Northeast* for its ease of use

Issue No.	Date	Frequency	Issue Date (YYYY-MM-DD)	Issue No. (Inv)	Issue No. (Orig)	# of pages	Issue link	Issue format	Issue description	Issue notes	Status
1	1950/06/21	Weekly	1950/06/21	018	002	26	https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5826.2011.00001.x	Original; PCF	St. Jean Baptiste Edition. Stamp "Adelard Javelle B1 Horton St. Lewiston, ME 04247" on Good, but slight top right-hand corner of the title page.		
2	1950/04/10	Weekly	1950/04/10	018	043	8	https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5826.2011.00002.x	Original; PCF	Stamp "Adelard Javelle B1 Horton St. Lewiston, ME 04247" above publication title on title page.		
3	1950/06/28	Weekly	1950/06/28	019	002	8	https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5826.2011.00003.x	Original; PCF	Good		
4	1950/01/22	Weekly	1950/01/22	019	031	8	https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5826.2011.00004.x	Original; PCF	Good		
5	1950/02/19	Weekly	1950/02/19	019	036	8	https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5826.2011.00005.x	Original; PCF	Good		
6	1970/07/14/28	Weekly	1970/07/14/28	021	003 & 004	8	https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5826.2011.00006.x	Original; PCF	Good, some ink		
7	1971/01/13	Weekly	1971/01/13	021	031	4	https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5826.2011.00007.x	Original; PCF	Good, some ink		
8	1971/05/19	Weekly	1971/05/19	021	049	8	https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5826.2011.00008.x	Original; PCF	Good, some fold near the stamp		
9	1971/06/23	Weekly	1971/06/23	022	002	8	https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5826.2011.00009.x	Original; PCF	Good		
10	1971/06/23/30/07.1	Weekly	1971/06/23/30/07.1	022	003-006	8	https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5826.2011.00010.x	Original; PCF	Good, some ink		
11	1971/09/01	Weekly	1971/09/01	022	012	24	https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5826.2011.00011.x	Original; PCF	Good		
12	1959-1971 [range]	Weekly	1959-1971 [range]								Original [not yet ac]
13	1950-1959 [range]	Weekly	1950-1959 [range]								Bound [not yet ac]

Figure 4 A screenshot of an issue-level inventory of *L'Action*, Manchester NH (1950–1971).

and transmissibility; its sustainability and low cost; its ability to easily be edited collectively and to interconnect different inventories, titles and issues; and because it reflects real-time updates and additions to this collective, still-growing resource.

The strength and detail of this project is owed to all of the archivists, librarians, and scholars who have participated in identifying, locating, and preserving publications of the Franco-American press. *Franco-American Newspapers and Periodicals of the Northeast* is necessarily a collective endeavor. This inventory is especially indebted to the professionals who have worked to detail their in-scope holdings, and to include that information here in an accessible way. The production of this inventory is a by-product of several unsuccessful attempts at securing grant funding to digitize the entire known extant corpus of the Franco-American press.¹² Our hope is that by opening up our collective knowledge of this corpus we will spur a more widespread advocacy in support of preserving what is left of these publications and making them more accessible to the wider public.

In our attempt to jump-start work on this corpus of Franco-American journalism, we will be co-editing a special dossier on Franco-American journalism in an upcoming issue of *Québec Studies*. We welcome submissions on any topic that engages with this corpus, but suggest such topics as Franco-American journalists and/

or editors (e.g. Honoré Beaugrand, Yvonne Lemaitre, Ferdinand Gagnon, Camille Lessard-Bissonette, etc.); the circulation of articles and writings between various papers and/or francophone Canada and France (see Ryan 2015 for comparable studies); the poems and literature published in the papers (Guillet's study of *La Justice* of Holyoke, MA, lists 55 different Romans-Feuilletons published in that paper alone); female journalists and women's writings; comparisons between English-language coverage and French-language coverage of events in Franco-American communities throughout New England; the circulation of media between French-speaking communities in New England and New York, Québec, and/or Acadia; the role of the Catholic Church in the Franco-American community, among others.¹³

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Appendix I

This is a complete list of known Franco-American newspaper and periodical titles to-date, with place of publication and dates of publication. Question marks included in the dates of publication indicate that precise days of publication start and/or end are unknown or uncertain.

Title	Place of publication	Dates of publication
<i>L'Abeille</i>	Lowell, MA	1880/??/??–1884/??/??
<i>L'Abeille</i>	Manchester, NH	1891/05/??–1891/05/??
<i>L'Abeille de social</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1912/10/31–1921/??/??
<i>L'Action</i>	Manchester, NH	1950/06/21–1971/09/01
<i>L'Action ouvrière</i>	Manchester, NH	1943/01/??–1944/11/??
<i>L'Aigle</i>	Biddeford, ME	1895/12/01–1895/12/01
<i>L'Aigle</i>	Salem, MA	1894/11/02–1896/??/??

Title	Place of publication	Dates of publication
<i>L'Almanach de l'Assomption</i>	Worcester, MA	1924/12/??-1929/12/??
<i>Almanach franco-américain et catholique...</i>	Fitchburg, MA	1902/??/??-1913/??/??
<i>L'Américain</i>	Springfield, MA	1903/06/06-1903/12/??
<i>The American-Canadian Genealogist</i>	Manchester, NH	1991 -
<i>L'Américaniste</i>	Holyoke, MA	1892/??/??-1892/??/??
<i>L'Amérique</i>	Biddeford, ME	1896/??/??-1896/??/??
<i>Amérique française</i>	New York, NY	1902/??/??-??/??/??
<i>L'Ami des familles</i>	Pawtucket, RI	1883/04/??-1883/??/??
<i>L'Ami du foyer</i>	Manchester, NH	1901/02/02-1902/04/10
<i>L'Ami du peuple</i>	Manchester, NH	1881/04/??-1882?
<i>L'Ami du peuple</i>	New Bedford, MA	18??/??/??-18??/??/??
<i>L'Ami du peuple</i>	Springfield, MA	1881/??/??-1883/??/??
<i>Les Annales historiques</i>	Lowell, MA	1892/06/15-1892/??/??
<i>L'Annexionniste</i>	Holyoke, MA	1889/10/22-1892/??/??
<i>Annuaire catholique...</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1881/??/??-1891/??/??
<i>L'Antonoire</i>	Manchester, NH	1939/??/??-??/??/??
<i>L'Apostolat</i>	Lowell, MA	1935/??/??-1953/??/??
<i>L'Apôtre</i>	Worcester, MA	1923/??/??-1929/??/??
<i>L'Apôtre du Sacré-Cœur</i>	Worcester, MA	1930/06/??-1933/12/??
<i>L'Artisan Canadien</i>	Lowell, MA	1880/11/11-1881/??/??
<i>L'Assomption</i>	Fitchburg, MA	1909/01/07-1911/09/07
<i>L'Assomption</i> (Assomption=Assumption)	Worcester, MA	1924/01/??-1957/06/??
<i>Assumption=Assomption</i> (Assumption)	Worcester, MA	1958/09/?? -
<i>L'Avenir</i>	Southbridge, MA	1940/11/14-1941/01/02
<i>L'Avenir Canadien</i>	Manchester, NH	1888/09/11-1891/07/23?
<i>L'Avenir National</i>	Manchester, NH	1895/03/26-1949/12/23
<i>La B'lette</i>	Lowell, MA	1909/01/14-1910/05/27
<i>La Bataille</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1928/11/29-1928/11/29
<i>Bibliothèque du fidèle messager</i>	Manchester, NH	1892/08/??-??/??/??
<i>Le Bien public</i>	Lowell, MA	1888/04/17-1888/05/01
<i>Le Bien public</i>	Worcester, MA	1879/01/01-1881/03/??
<i>Les Bons Romans</i>	Holyoke, MA	1912/01/01-??/??/??
<i>Le Bourdon</i>	Fall River, MA	1890/04/04-1890/11/28
<i>Le Bulletin</i>	Fall River, MA	1899/??/??-1902/??/??
<i>Le Bulletin</i>	Biddeford, ME	1931/08/06-1938/??/??
<i>Le Bulletin</i>	Hartford, CT	1935/??/??-1944/??/??
<i>Le Bulletin</i>	Manchester, NH	1893/??/??-1893/??/??

Title	Place of publication	Dates of publication
<i>Le Bulletin</i>	West Manchester, NH	1896/04/09–1899/??/??
<i>Le Bulletin</i>	Manchester, NH	1896/01/??–1899/04/02
<i>Le Bulletin</i>	Fall River, MA	1922/??/??–1926/03/??
<i>Bulletin de la Fédération Féminine Franco-Américaine</i>	Westford, MA	1953/01/??–1991/??/??
<i>Bulletin de la Société Historique Franco-Américaine</i>	Boston, MA	1906/??/??–1973/??/??
<i>Le Bulletin du Dimanche</i>	Fall River, MA	1885/08/??–1885/??/??
<i>Le Bulletin et Charivari</i>	Fall River, MA	1874/12/??–1875/??/??
<i>Le Bulletin français de Lynn</i>	Lynn, MA	1938/02/11–1938/11/18
<i>Bulletin paroissial</i>	Lawrence, MA	1910/03/??–193?/??/??
<i>Le Bulletin paroissial de Saint-Jean Baptiste</i>	Pawtucket, RI	1911/06/??–193?/??/??
<i>Le Bulletin paroissial franco-américain</i>	Lowell, MA	1910/10/??–1948/??/??
<i>Cahier des communiqués de la vérité</i>	Central Falls, RI	1929/02/28–1929/04/04
<i>Le Canada</i>	Salem, MA	1891/??/??–1894/??/??
<i>Le Canadien</i>	Somersworth/Dover, NH	1898/05/06–1903/??/??
<i>Le Canadien</i>	Spencer, MA	1883/04/??–1885/??/??
<i>Le Canadien</i>	Taunton, MA	1903/09/??–1904/02/??
<i>Le Canadien</i>	Waterbury, CT	1934/??/??–??/??/??
<i>Le Canadien des États-Unis</i>	New York, NY	1884/05/01–1885/03/26
<i>Le Canadien-Américain</i>	Worcester, MA	1907/04/14–1907/04/29
<i>Le Canadien-français</i>	New York, NY	1906/04/17–1906/04/17
<i>Le Canadien-français</i>	New York, NY	1930/02/??–1930/02/??
<i>Le Canado-Américain</i>	Holyoke, MA	1892/??/??–1892/11/??
<i>Le Canado-Américain</i>	Norwich, CT	1898/??/??–1902/??/??
<i>Le Canado-Américain</i>	Manchester, NH	1900/10/13–1957/12/??
<i>Le Canado-Américain</i>	Manchester, NH	1958/06/??–1974/04/??
<i>Le Canado-Américain</i>	Manchester, NH	1974/07/??–2009/01/??
<i>Le Castor</i>	Fall River, MA	1882/11/23–1885/03/20
<i>Le Causeur</i>	Manchester, NH	1893/??/??–1893/??/??
<i>Celle qui pleure</i>	Attleboro, MA	1940/??/??–1968/??/??
<i>Le Charivari</i>	Champlain, NY	1869/??/??–1869/??/??
<i>Le Citoyen</i>	Fall River, MA	1886/12/10–1888/12/??
<i>Le Citoyen</i>	Haverhill, MA	1905/10/05–1939/09/22
<i>Le Citoyen</i>	Lawrence, MA	1882/04/??–1882/09/??
<i>Le Citoyen</i>	Lowell, MA	1936/??/??–??/??/??
<i>Le Citoyen</i>	Northampton, MA	1908/04/11–1908/??/??
<i>Le Citoyen</i>	Pawtucket, RI	1905/07/??–1905/08/??

Title	Place of publication	Dates of publication
<i>Le Citoyen</i>	Southbridge, MA	1897/??/??–1897/??/??
<i>Le Citoyen Américain</i>	Boston, MA	1886/??/??–1887/01/01
<i>Le Citoyen Américain</i>	Syracuse, NY	1870/08/15–1871/??/??
<i>Le Citoyen Franco-Américain</i>	Springfield, MA	1888/02/24–1914/??/??
<i>Le Clairon</i>	Fall River, MA	1919/??/??–1920/10/??
<i>Le Clairon</i>	Lowell, MA	1905/??/??–1939/??/??
<i>Le Clairon</i>	Manchester, NH	1927/??/??–??/??/??
<i>La Cloche du Dimanche</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1899/10/14–1900/12/29?
<i>Cœurs français</i>	Manchester, NH	1907/12/??–1908/11/??
<i>Le Combat</i>	Plattsburgh, NY	1889/01/??–1889/02/23
<i>Le Connecticut</i>	Waterbury, CT	1897/??/??–1902/??/??
<i>Contact (Fall River Contact)</i>	Fall River, MA	1938/04/16–1942/03/01
<i>Le Coq</i>	Cohoes, NY	1890/??/??–1891/??/??
<i>Le Coq</i>	Worcester, MA	1901/07/04–1901/??/??
<i>Le Correspondant</i>	Fall River, MA	1909/10/24–1909/??/??
<i>Le Cosmorama</i>	New York, NY	1873/05/03–1874/04/??
<i>Le Courrier</i>	Boston, MA	1884/07/12–1885/??/??
<i>Le Courrier</i>	Holyoke, MA	1898/??/??–1903/??/??
<i>Le Courrier</i>	Lawrence, MA	1895/??/??–1895/??/??
<i>Le Courrier</i>	Lowell, MA	1890/??/??–1892/??/??
<i>Le Courrier</i>	Marlboro, MA	1936/??/??–??/??/??
<i>Le Courrier</i>	Ogdensburg, NY	1890/??/??–1890/??/??
<i>Le Courrier</i>	Providence, RI	1906/05/04–1907/04/26
<i>Le Courrier</i>	Waterville, ME	1894/??/??–??/??/??
<i>Le Courrier Canadien</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1875/09/??–1892/??/??
<i>Le Courrier de Boston</i>	Boston, MA	1898/03/11–??/??/??
<i>Le Courrier de Haverhill</i>	Haverhill, MA	1890/04/??–1892/??/??
<i>Le Courrier de Holyoke</i>	Holyoke, MA	1874/10/08–1875/01/??
<i>Le Courrier de Lawrence</i>	Lawrence, MA	1907/??/??–1981/??/??
<i>Le Courrier de Lewiston</i>	Lewiston, ME	1885/01/??–1885/03/??
<i>Le Courrier de Lynn (Le Courrier)</i>	Lynn, MA	1895/11/01–1914/12/23
<i>Le Courrier de Massachusetts [sic]</i>	Salem, MA	1894/??/??–1894/??/??
<i>Le Courrier de North Adams</i>	North Adams, MA	1897/??/??–??/??/??
<i>Le Courrier de Salem</i>	Salem, MA	1901/08/??–1950/11/03
<i>Le Courrier de Taunton</i>	Taunton, MA	1883/??/??–1892/??/??
<i>Le Courrier de Woonsocket</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1880/08/12–1892/??/??
<i>Le Courrier de Worcester</i>	Worcester, MA	1880/02/06–1892/??/??
<i>Le Courrier des États-Unis</i>	New York, NY	1828/03/01–1938/??/?
<i>Le Courrier du Connecticut</i>	Hartford, CT	1902/??/??–1902/??/??
<i>Le Courrier du Connecticut</i>	Lowell, MA	1892/??/??–1893/??/??
<i>Le Courrier du Maine</i>	Lewiston, ME	1906/07/04–1906/12/07

Title	Place of publication	Dates of publication
<i>Le Courrier du New Hampshire</i>	Manchester, NH	1881/07/15–1890/10/01
<i>Le Courrier du Nouveau Monde</i>	Worcester, MA	1891/06/13–1891/06/13
<i>Le Courrier du Rhode Island</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1873/08/18–1874/09/29
<i>Le Courrier National</i>	Lawrence, MA	1881/12/??–1882/??/??
<i>Le Courrier National</i>	Lawrence, MA	1899/11/??–1907/??/??
<i>Le Cri d'Alarme</i>	Biddeford, ME	1880/11/??–1880/??/??
<i>La Défense</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1928/12/13–1929/02/14
<i>Le Défenseur</i>	Holyoke, MA	1884/09/??–1894/??/??
<i>Le Démocrate</i>	Worcester, MA	1912/??/??–??/??/??
<i>Le Devoir</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1912/03/31–1912/04/28
<i>Le Dimanche</i>	Fall River, MA	1899/??/??–1901/??/??
<i>Le Drapeau Canadien</i>	Lawrence, MA	1874/07/??–1874/??/??
<i>Le Drapeau National</i>	Glens Falls, NY	1880/05/??–1881/06/07
<i>L'Écho</i>	Franklin Falls, NH	1907/??/??–1907/??/??
<i>L'Écho (L'Écho de New Bedford)</i>	New Bedford, MA	1910/06/??–1920/??/??
<i>L'Écho</i>	Springfield, MA	1890/??/??–1890/??/??
<i>L'Écho de la CMAC</i>	Lowell, MA	1953/??/??–1969/??/??
<i>L'Écho de la Presse</i>	Manchester, NH	1906/??/??–1906/??/??
<i>L'Écho de la Presse</i>	New Bedford, MA	1901/??/??–1910/??/??
<i>L'Écho de Lawrence</i>	Lawrence, MA	1892/??/??–1892/??/??
<i>L'Écho de Lynn</i>	Lynn, MA	1894/??/??–1894/??/??
<i>L'Écho de Notre-Dame</i>	Manchester, NH	1931/??/??–1936/??/??
<i>L'Écho des Canadiens</i>	Manchester, NH	1880/07/02–1884/05/14
<i>L'Écho du Bazar</i>	Lewiston, ME	1885/11/18–1885/11/21?
<i>L'Écho du Canada</i>	Boston, MA [Fall River; Lowell]	1875/01/02–1875/06/05
<i>L'Écho du Canada</i>	Fall River, MA	1873/07/19–1875/11/06
<i>L'Écho du Canada</i>	Lowell, MA	1875/01/02–1875/11/06
<i>L'Écho du Congrès</i>	Burlington, VT	1929/??/??–1929/??/??
<i>L'Écho du Congrès</i>	Springfield, MA	1902/04/??–1902/08/??
<i>L'Écho du Dimanche</i>	New Bedford, MA	1914/??/??–??/??/??
<i>L'Écho du Maine</i>	Lewiston, ME	1919/??/??–??/??/??
<i>L'Écho du Soir</i>	New Bedford, MA	1896/??/??–??/??/??
<i>L'Éclairer</i>	Fall River, MA	1902/??/??–1905/??/??
<i>L'Émigré Canadien</i>	Biddeford, ME	1870/05/01–1870/??/??
<i>L'Émigré Canadien</i>	Manchester, NH	1878/08/18–1878/??/??
<i>L'Enfant Terrible</i>	Providence, RI	1892/02/02–1892/??/??
<i>Entre Nous</i>	Manchester, NH	1980/??/??–??/??/??
<i>L'Espérance</i>	Central Falls, RI	1891/03/26–1899/??/??
<i>L'Espérance</i>	Woonsocket, RI	189?/??/??–189?/??/??
<i>L'Estafette</i>	Marlboro, MA	1898/10/14–1912/03/??

Title	Place of publication	Dates of publication
<i>L'Étendard</i>	Hartford, CT	1935/??/?-??/?/??
<i>L'Étendard National</i>	Worcester, MA	1872/01/04-1874/12/24
<i>L'Étendard National</i>	Worcester, MA	1869/11/03-1871/10/18
	Montréal, QC	
<i>L'Étendard National</i>	[Worcester, MA]	1872/01/04-1874/12/24
<i>L'Étendard National et le Protecteur Canadien</i>	Worcester, MA	
	[Montréal, QC]	1871/10/19-1871/12/28
<i>L'Étoile</i>	Lowell, MA	1886/09/16-1957/08/09
<i>L'Étoile</i>	Manchester, NH	1895/??/?-1895/??/?
<i>L'Étoile</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1873/??/?-1873/??/?
<i>L'Étoile de l'est</i>	Southbridge, MA	1871/??/?-1871/??/?
<i>L'Étudiant</i>	Boston, MA	1896/??/?-1896/??/?
<i>L'Excelsior</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1925/??/?-1930/??/?
<i>Le Fanal</i>	Orono, ME	1972/06/12-1972/06/12
<i>Le Farceur</i>	Lowell, MA	1887/??/?-1887/??/?
<i>Le F.A.R.O.G. Forum</i>	Orono, ME	1973/09/00-1994/06/00
<i>La Feuille d'Érable</i>	New Bedford, MA	1914/02/07-1914/05/09
<i>La Feuille d'Érable</i>	New York, NY	1887/01/01-1891/04/??
<i>Le Fidèle Messenger</i>	Manchester, NH	??/?/??-1892/??/?
<i>Le Figaro Illustré</i>	Biddeford, ME	1895/12/01-1895/12/01
<i>Le Forestier</i>	Springfield, MA	1910/01/17-1910/??/?
<i>Le Forestier</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1911/??/?-1912/??/?
<i>Le Forestier Franco-Américain</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1911/??/?-1919/??/?
<i>Le Forum</i>	Orono, ME	1994 -
<i>Le Fou</i>	Worcester, MA	1907/10/30-1907/10/30
<i>Le Foyer</i>	Manchester, NH	1886/??/?-1887/??/?
<i>Le Foyer Canadien</i>	Fall River, MA	1894/??/?-1894/??/?
<i>Le Foyer Canadien</i>	Manchester, NH	1908/03/?-1908/06/?
<i>Le Foyer Canadien</i>	St. Albans, VT	1874/10/?-1875/06/?
<i>Le Foyer Canadien</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1892/??/?-1892/11/?
<i>Le Foyer Canadien</i>	Worcester, MA	1873/03/18-1874/09/21
<i>Le Foyer Littéraire</i>	Providence, RI	1911/08/?-1911/??/?
<i>Franco News / Nouvelles Francos</i>	Albany, NY	1980/??/?-2023/06/?
<i>Le Franco-Américain</i>	Fall River, MA	1888/05/?-1888/??/?
<i>Le Franco-Américain</i>	Fitchburg, MA	1912/??/?-??/?/??
<i>Le Franco-Américain</i>	Fitchburg, MA	1922/02/?-1924/??/?
<i>Le Franco-Américain</i>	Lowell, MA	1906/12/16-1907/??/?
<i>Le Franco-Américain</i>	Marlboro, MA	1924/06/04-1925/??/?
<i>Le Franco-Américain</i>	Waterville/Augusta, ME	1929/09/05-1942/12/03?
<i>La Galette</i>	Pawtucket, RI	1915/??/?-1915/??/?
<i>La Gazette Franco-Américaine</i>	New York, NY	1919/01/?-1920/??/?

Title	Place of publication	Dates of publication
<i>La Gazette</i>	Fall River, MA	1913/04/16–1915/??/??
<i>La Gazette</i>	Lowell, MA	1886/??/??–1887/01/??
<i>The Genealogist</i>	Manchester, NH	1973/??/??–1991/??/??
<i>Le Globe</i>	Fitchburg, MA	1898/??/??–1902/??/??
<i>La Guêpe</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1873/07/??–1873/??/??
<i>Le Guide du Peuple</i>	Burlington, VT	1889/12/??–1892/11/??
<i>Le Guide du Peuple</i>	Glens Falls, NY	1881/12/??–1883/05/??
<i>Le Guide du Peuple</i>	Glens Falls, NY	1889/??/??–1892/11/??
<i>Le Guide du Peuple</i>	Haverhill, MA	1892/??/??–1892/11/??
<i>Le Guide du Peuple</i>	Spencer, MA	1884/12/31–1887/??/??
<i>L'Heure Agréable</i>	Attleboro, MA	1911/10/??–??/??/??/??
	Burlington, VT	
<i>L'Idée Nouvelle (The New Idea)</i>	[Worcester, MA]	1869/05/27–1869/07/??
<i>L'Impartial</i>	Nashua, NH	1898/02/03–1964/03/26
<i>L'Impartial</i>	Worcester, MA	1869/??/??–1869/??/??
<i>L'Indépendance</i>	Biddeford, ME	1893/??/??–1893/??/??
<i>L'Indépendance</i>	Lowell, MA	1890/04/04–1890/09/19?
<i>L'Indépendant</i>	Brunswick, ME	1912/??/??–??/??/??/??
<i>L'Indépendant</i>	Fall River, MA	1885/03/27–1962/11/29
<i>L'Indépendant</i>	Fitchburg, MA	1908/10/01–1911/01/26
<i>L'Indépendant</i>	New Bedford, MA	1910/??/??–??/??/??/??
<i>L'Indépendant</i>	North Adams, MA	1896/??/??–??/??/??/??
<i>L'Indépendant de Woonsocket</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1935/02/04–1942/04/04
<i>L'Intransigeant (The Intransigent)</i>	Central Falls, RI	1929/04/11–1929/05/02
<i>Je me souviens</i>	Pawtucket, RI	1978/??/??–
	Northampton, MA	
<i>Le Jean-Baptiste</i>	[Holyoke]	1875/02/20–1883/05/??
	Northampton, MA	
<i>Le Jean-Baptiste</i>	[Worcester]	1883/06/03–1891/??/??
<i>Le Jean-Baptiste</i>	Worcester, MA	1891/??/??–1893/??/??
<i>Le Jean-Baptiste</i>	Pawtucket, RI	1889/??/??–1933/08/11
<i>La Jeunesse</i>	Manchester, NH	1890/05/23–1890/07/11?
<i>La Jeunesse Ouvrière</i>	Manchester, NH	1938/??/??–1940/??/??
<i>Le Joséphine</i>	Epping, NH	1941/??/??–??/??/??/??
<i>Le Jour</i>	Worcester, MA	1895/12/??–??/??/??/??
<i>Le Journal</i>	Fall River, MA	1900/06/30–1901/01/??
<i>Le Journal</i>	Worcester, MA	1907/12/07–1907/12/07
<i>Le Journal</i>	Greenville, NH	1943/01/30?–1943/??/??
<i>Le Journal</i>	Haverhill, MA	1928/04/??–1956/??/??
<i>Le Journal</i>	Holyoke, MA	1904/02/??–1904/??/??
<i>Le Journal</i>	Lawrence, MA	1927/06/24–1928/04/??

Title	Place of publication	Dates of publication
<i>Le Journal</i>	Lowell, MA	1916/04/02–1916/06/25
<i>Le Journal</i>	New Bedford, MA	1910/??/?–1913/??/?
<i>Le Journal</i>	Springfield, MA	1889/10/?–??/?/?/?
<i>Le Journal</i>	Suncook, NH	1943/05/15?–1944/??/?
<i>Le Journal de Berlin, N.H.</i>	Berlin, NH	1941/??/?–1949/12/?
<i>Le Journal de Cohoes</i>	Cohoes, NY	1877/01/?–1877/??/?
<i>Le Journal de la Société Médico-Chirurgicale canadienne-française de la Nouvelle-Angleterre</i>	Lowell, MA	1891/??/?–1891/??/?
<i>Le Journal de Lowell</i>	Lowell, MA	1975/02/?–1995/12/?
<i>Le Journal de Salem</i>	Salem, MA	1902/09/25–1902/??/?
<i>Le Journal de Taunton</i>	Taunton, MA	1882/04/08–??/?/?/?
<i>Le Journal des dames</i>	Cohoes, NY	1875/09/?–1876/02/?
<i>Le Journal du commerce</i>	Lowell, MA	1884/04/?–1885/04/?
<i>Le Journal du dimanche</i>	Lowell, MA	1890/04/?–1893/??/?
<i>Le Journal du Madawaska</i>	Van Buren, ME	1902/12/16–1906/02/?
<i>Le Journal français</i>	Holyoke, MA	1904/02/?–1904/??/?
<i>Le Journal franco-américain</i>	Berlin, NH	1950/03/?–1962/??/?
<i>La Justice</i>	Biddeford, ME	1896/04/24–1907/??/?
<i>La Justice</i>	Central Falls, RI	1906/04/05–1910/04/17
<i>La Justice</i>	Holyoke, MA	1904/11/?–1964/01/13
<i>La Justice</i>	Manchester, NH	1884/07/?–1884/??/?
<i>La Justice</i>	Sanford, ME	1925/01/15–1945/??/?
<i>La Justice de Biddeford</i>	Biddeford, ME	1907/??/?–1950/03/02
<i>La Lanterne Magique</i>	Worcester, MA	1875/07/?–1875/11/?
<i>La Liberté</i>	Willimantic, CT	1908/04/23–1908/06/04
<i>La Liberté</i>	Fall River, MA	1910/05/12–1911/01/11
<i>La Liberté</i>	Fall River, MA	1920/02/07–??/?/?/?
<i>La Liberté</i>	Fitchburg, MA	1920/05/14–1965/??/?
<i>La Liberté</i>	Providence, RI	1916/05/06–1916/??/?
<i>Le Ligueur</i>	Fall River, MA	1931/??/?–1950/??/?
<i>Le Lynnois</i>	Lynn, MA	1910/11/01–1935/07/26?
<i>Le Maine Français</i>	Waterville, ME	1912/??/?–1913/??/?
<i>Mémère and Père</i>	Albany, NY	1988/??/?–??/?/?/?
<i>Le Merrimack</i>	Manchester, NH	1896/??/?–1896/??/?
<i>Le Messenger</i>	Lewiston, ME	1880/03/18–1968/05/09
<i>Le Messenger</i>	New Bedford, MA	1927/05/29–1953/01/25
<i>Le Messenger de Sainte-Thérèse de l'enfant Jésus</i>	Nasonville, RI	192?/?/?–193?/?/?
<i>Mon journal</i>	Worcester, MA	1907/11/30–1907/11/30
<i>La Nation</i>	Manchester, NH	1908/01/15–1908/09/?

Title	Place of publication	Dates of publication
<i>Le National</i>	Burlington, VT	1891/??/??–1891/??/??
<i>Le National</i>	Lawrence, MA	1911/03/??–??/??/??
<i>Le National</i>	Lowell, MA	1890/06/13–1895/10/04
<i>Le National</i>	Manchester, NH	1891/08/03–1895/03/22
<i>Le National</i>	Plattsburgh, NY	1883/06/07–1890/04/29
<i>Le New England</i>	Manchester, NH	1907/10/23–1907/12/??
<i>Le New-York Canada</i>	New York, NY	1890/06/28?–1892/07/30?
<i>Le Nouveau Messager</i>	Lewiston, ME	1966/08/25–1967/01/26
<i>Le Nouvelliste</i>	Marlboro, MA	1888/06/07–1889/01/??
<i>L'Observateur</i>	Biddeford, ME	1893/11/??–1896/05/??
<i>L'Observateur</i>	Westbrook, ME	1901/01/??–??/??/??
<i>Observations</i>	Lewiston, ME	1972/06/23–1972/12/01
<i>L'Opinion Publique</i>	Worcester, MA	1893/01/27–1931/06/30
<i>L'Ouvrier</i>	Southbridge, MA	1903/07/??–1903/08/07
<i>L'Ouvrier Canadien</i>	Fall River, MA	1875/03/18–1875/07/10
<i>L'Ouvrier Catholique</i>	Biddeford, ME	1895/03/08–1896/01/31
<i>Le Paresseux</i>	Worcester, MA	1876/??/??–1878/??/??
<i>Le Paroissien</i>	Taunton, MA	1940/12/15–??/??/??
<i>La Parole française</i>	Manchester, NH	1920/06/18–??/??/??
<i>Le Passe-Temps</i>	Worcester, MA (?)	1895/??/??–1897/??/??
<i>La Patrie</i>	Cohoes, NY	1885/07/??–1891/01/09
<i>La Patrie Nouvelle</i>	Cohoes, NY	1876/02/11–1885/06/??
<i>La Patrie Nouvelle</i>	Southbridge, MA	1896/??/??–1896/??/??
<i>Le Patriote</i>	Lawrence, MA	1911/09/22–??/??/??
<i>Le Patriote</i>	Lowell, MA	1910/01/04–1910/01/15
<i>Le Patriote</i>	Pawtucket, RI	1927/??/??–1928/??/??
<i>Le Patriote</i>	Southbridge, MA	1896/??/??–1896/??/??
<i>Le Patriote Canadien</i>	Burlington, VT	1839/08/07–1840/02/05
<i>Le Pétard</i>	Central Falls, RI	1911/11/??–??/??/??
<i>Le Petit Courrier</i>	Fall River, MA	??/??/??–1902/??/??
<i>Le Petit Journal</i>	Lewiston, ME	??/??/??–1907/??/??
<i>Le Petit Journal</i>	Lowell, MA	1898/11/27–??/??/??
<i>Le Petit Journal</i>	New Bedford, MA	1909/10/8–??/??/??
<i>Le Petit Journal</i>	Providence, RI	1901/??/??–??/??/??
<i>La Petite Presse</i>	Manchester, NH	1894/??/??–??/??/??
<i>La Petite République</i>	Manchester, NH	1886/02/17–1887/??/??
<i>La Petite Revue</i>	Lowell, MA	1910/??/??–1913/??/??
<i>La Petite Revue et l'Abstinence Totale des Brevages Alcooliques...</i>	Boston, MA	1914/03/15–1914/??/??
<i>Le Peuple</i>	Manchester, NH	1906/06/15–??/??/??

Title	Place of publication	Dates of publication
<i>Le Phare des Lacs</i>	Watertown, NY	1859/04/28–1876/??/??
<i>Le Phare</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1948/02/??–1952/07/??
<i>Le Philanthrope</i>	Providence, RI	1892/06/??–1892/12/??
<i>La Presse</i>	Holyoke, MA	1895/??/??–1902/??/??
<i>Le Prince Carnaval et Christophe Colomb</i>	Worcester, MA	1886/??/??–1892/??/??
<i>Le Programme</i>	Hartford, CT	1930/01/??–1930/05/??
<i>Le Progrès</i>	Cohoes, NY	1890/05/??–1890/??/??
<i>Le Progrès</i>	Fall River, MA	1931/08/18–1932/09/??
<i>Le Progrès</i>	Fitchburg, MA	1911/02/02–1920/05/??
<i>Le Progrès</i>	Holyoke, MA	1881/??/??–1884/??/??
<i>Le Progrès</i>	Manchester, NH	1892/??/??–1893/??/??
<i>Le Progrès</i>	Manchester, NH	1930/07/??–1932/08/11?
<i>Le Progrès</i>	Nashua, NH	1892/??/??–??/??/??
<i>Le Progrès</i>	Nashua, NH	1912/03/30–1930/07/??
<i>Le Progrès</i>	Spencer, MA	1890/09/??–1893/??/??
<i>Le Progrès</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1896/09/??–1897/02/19
<i>Le Progrès</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1898/06/24–1913/06/27
<i>Le Progrès</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1906/??/??–1908/??/??
<i>Le Progrès</i>	New York, NY	1909–?
<i>Le Progrès [de Lawrence]</i>	Lawrence, MA	1889/09/20–1908/07/30
<i>Le Progrès de Salem</i>	Salem, MA	1901/??/??–??/??/??
<i>Le Protecteur Canadien</i>	Fall River, MA	1875/12/15?–1881/03/??
<i>Le Protecteur Canadien</i>	Fall River, MA	1892/??/??–1895/??/??
	Great Falls	
<i>Le Protecteur Canadien</i>	[Somersworth], NH	1884/10/01–1886/02/??
<i>Le Protecteur Canadien</i>	St. Albans, VT	1868/05/10–1871/09/??
<i>La P'tite Gazette</i>	Manchester, NH	1911/11/28–1911/12/5
<i>Le Public Canadien</i>	New York, NY	1866/11/??–1867/??/??
<i>Le Ralliement</i>	Cohoes, NY	1892/??/??–1893/07/??
<i>Le Ralliement</i>	Northampton, MA	1886/04/01–1886/12/??
<i>Le Rateau</i>	Manchester, NH	1881/11/05–1882/??/??
<i>Le Rateau</i>	Northampton, MA	1901/??/??–1903/??/??
	New York, NY	
	[Randolph, VT; St.	
<i>Les Récréations Philologiques</i>	Albans, VT]	1882/02/01–1883/11/??
<i>Le Renard</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1903/??/??–1904/??/??
<i>Le Républicain</i>	Boston, MA	1881/01/22–1884/12/24
<i>Le Républicain</i>	Worcester, MA	1892/03/19–1892/??/??
<i>La République</i>	Boston, MA	1875/10/02–1876/02/12
<i>La République</i>	Fall River, MA	1876/02/19–1876/07/04

Title	Place of publication	Dates of publication
<i>La République</i>	Lewiston, ME	1887/02/17–1887/05/05
<i>La République</i>	Lewiston, ME	1896/12/28–1897/??/??
<i>La République</i>	Lowell, MA	1876/??/??–1876/??/??
<i>La République</i>	Lowell, MA	1901/03/21–1902/??/??
<i>La République</i>	Manchester, NH	1936/??/??–??/??/??
<i>Réveil</i>	Fall River, MA	1942/??/??–1954/??/??
<i>Le Réveil</i>	Biddeford, ME	1956/05/31–??/??/??
<i>Le Réveil</i>	Fitchburg, MA	1895/??/??–1897/??/??
	Great Falls	
<i>Le Réveil</i>	[Somersworth], NH	1889/10/??–1889/10/??
<i>Le Réveil</i>	Lowell, MA	1908/09/14–1908/10/??
<i>Le Réveil</i>	Manchester, NH	1890/10/02–1890/12/18
<i>Le Réveil</i>	Manchester, NH	1894/06/??–1895/??/??
<i>Le Réveil</i>	Manchester, NH	1908/09/14–1910/08/10
<i>Le Réveil</i>	Manchester, NH	1927/01/??–1930/??/??
<i>Le Réveil</i>	New York, NY	1937/??/??–??/??/??
<i>Le Réveil</i>	Putnam, CT	1922/??/??–1924/11/??
<i>Le Réveil</i>	Worcester, MA	1894/??/??–1894/??/??
<i>Le Réveil</i>	Worcester, MA	1895/05/03–1897/??/??
<i>Le Réveil</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1875/04/??–1876/12/??
<i>La Revue</i>	Augusta, ME	1911/01/??–??/??/??
<i>La Revue</i>	Lowell, MA	1902/08/07?–1906/??/??
<i>La Revue</i>	Waterville, ME	1911/04/??–??/??/??
<i>Revue Antialcoolique des Cercles Lacordaire et Jeanne d'Arc</i>	Boston, MA; Fall River, MA	1915/01/15–1942/12/??
<i>La Revue Canadienne</i>	Burlington, VT	1839/06/??–1839/??/??
<i>La Revue de Médecine Franco-Américaine</i>	Lewiston, ME	1906/01/15–1906/01/15
<i>La Revue des Familles</i>	Manchester, NH	1909/??/??–1909/??/??
<i>La Revue Littéraire</i>	Holyoke, MA	1904/04/??–1904/??/??
<i>La Revue Minière</i>	Manchester, NH	1909/05/15–1911/??/??
<i>La Revue Rose</i>	Manchester, NH	1906/11/02–1906/12/07
<i>La Rose Effeuillée</i>	Manchester, NH	1941/??/??–1963/??/??
<i>Samedi Soir</i>	Burlington, VT	1896/??/??–??/??/??
<i>La Semaine Paroissiale</i>	Fall River, MA	1911/03/12–1929/??/??
<i>Le Semeur Franco-Américain</i>	Ware, MA	1887/03/29?–??/??/??
<i>La Sentinelle</i>	Lowell, MA	1879/??/??–1880/01/??
<i>La Sentinelle</i>	Waterville, ME	1897/??/??–1898/??/??
<i>La Sentinelle</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1924/04/04–1928/05/24
<i>Le Signal</i>	Lewiston, ME	1929/01/??–??/??/??

Title	Place of publication	Dates of publication
	Pawtucket, RI	
<i>Le Signal (The Signal)</i>	[Woonsocket, RI; Boston, MA]	1924/01/30–1924/08/16
<i>Le Soleil</i>	Lowell, MA	1888/10/??–1888/11/??
<i>Southbridge Journal</i>	Southbridge, MA	1881/??/??–1883/??/??
<i>Le Souvenir</i>	Manchester, NH	1895/??/??–1895/??/??
<i>Supplément du Bulletin Paroissial Franco-Américain de Lowell, Mass.</i>	Lowell, MA	1911/??/??–1916/??/??
<i>Le Travailleur</i>	Worcester, MA	1874/10/16–1892/12/13
<i>Le Travailleur</i>	Worcester, MA	1931/09/10–1978/10/??
<i>La Tribune</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1895/04/06–1934/12/24
<i>Le Tricolore</i>	Lynn, MA	1896/??/??–1896/??/??
<i>L'Union</i>	Lowell, MA	1889/03/01–1890/04/??
<i>L'Union</i>	Nashua, NH	1884/??/??–1890/??/??
<i>L'Union</i>	Ogdensburg, NY	1860/11/12–1861/??/??
<i>L'Union</i>	Warren, RI	1891/09/??–??/??/??
<i>L'Union</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1902/11/??–1987/??/??
<i>L'Union</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1987/04/??–2002/06/??
<i>L'Union Canadienne et Le Charivari</i>	Vergennes, VT	1869/01/29?–1869/07/??
	Vergennes, VT (?)	
<i>L'Union Canadienne</i>	[Plattsburgh, NY (?)]	1868/??/??–1868/??/??
<i>L'Union Continentale</i>	Boston, MA	1893/??/??–1893/??/??
<i>L'Union Nationale</i>	Manchester, NH	1881/06/24?–1881/??/??
<i>L'Unité</i>	Lewiston, ME	1976/??/??–1984/??/??
<i>La Vedette</i>	Holyoke, MA	1908/??/??–??/??/??
<i>Vérité (Truth)</i>	Lewiston, ME	19??/??/??–??/??/??
<i>La Vérité</i>	Central Falls, RI	1911/07/16?–1913/??/??
<i>La Vérité</i>	Holyoke, MA	1901/04/24–1901/??/??
<i>La Vérité</i>	Lowell, MA	1910/08/15–1910/11/19
<i>La Vérité</i>	Woonsocket, RI	1928/05/28–1928/11/22
<i>Vers L'Idéal</i>	Worcester, MA	1912/11/??–1923/06/??
<i>La Vie</i>	Lowell, MA	1892/05/??–??/??/??
<i>Le Visiteur Paroissial</i>	Lynn, MA	1899/??/??–1907/??/??
<i>La Voix de la Vallée</i>	Artic, RI	1909/12/16?–1910/??/??
<i>La Voix du Peuple</i>	Manchester, NH	1869/02/25–1869/09/15
<i>La Voix Française de Rivier</i>	Nashua, NH	1958/10/??–1969/??/??

Notes

1 See, for example, Lovoll 2010; Morales 2021; Shore et al. 1992; Zecker 2011.

2 Different inventories may reflect scholars' different criteria for aggregating titles into a single group: chronology (all pre- or post-1868, for example); geography (New England, Louisiana, and Midwest inclusive or exclusive); language (French regardless of U.S. geography; French-English bilingual; English dominant); publication frequency (weekly; monthly; one-off) or type (professional or religious periodical; ephemeral; etc.); or, differences might just reflect the lack of complete inventories and bibliographic control.

3 We agree with Jean-Philippe Warren's overall organization of the French language press of the United States: "One must begin by emphasizing the diversity of the French-language press in the United States, which served three broad groups: French Canadians, Franco-French émigrés, and francophones in Louisiana" (Warren 2016, 76). We are focusing on his first classification – French Canadians – but broadening it to include Acadians and to highlight that inclusion, changing the name to Franco American. We recognize that it took time for French Canadians and Acadians to become Franco Americans but we think that the term "Franco American" recognizes the scope of our project better: French-Canadian and Acadian migrant newspapers and periodicals in the U.S.

4 Médias19 lists only those Franco-American titles that have been digitized as part of the Google News Archive (<https://news.google.com/newspapers>), which stopped adding content in 2011. While this archive is useful for browsing historic newspapers as images, its search functionality is limited and contains content in text or image that is difficult to retrieve. In addition, several different Franco-American titles are currently aggregated with other titles of the same name in this database.

5 Guillet's *Essai de journalisme*, published by the National Materials Development Center for French in 1981, concludes with an appendix listing the titles of 55 roman-feuillets and seven pages of the names of poets that were published in the Holyoke, MA paper alone.

6 Senécal introduces his inventory with an account of its incompleteness: "The *Checklist* is a preliminary inventory designed as a working tool for the searchers involved in the completion of the INFA 2 Project [...]. The preliminary, 'work-in-progress' nature of the present list needs to be underlined. As the INFA 2 searchers graduated from defining the field to documenting it, they noted the unreliability of previous bibliographies, especially Belisle's *Histoire de la presse franco-américaine* [...]. In all cases, we have attempted to verify the available information on a specific title. To complete this authentication procedure, we inspected the periodicals themselves or we accepted reliable contemporary testimonies [...]. However, the user of this checklist should note that the construction of such authority is completed for less than 50% of all the titles listed, and that, for at least 30% of all entries, the available evidence discourages all verification" (1995, i).

7 This title count represents yet another figure among those we present from scholars earlier in this paper. Though this number is incomplete, we accept this

number as a baseline, including the criteria Senécal applied where newspapers whose names changed over time are counted as separate publications.

8 See <https://www.neh.gov/us-newspaper-program>.

9 See https://digitalmaine.com/franco_newspapers/ for the Maine State Library's online request in writing, or <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aOYAXysaXAY> for local news coverage of the request.

10 We appreciate the working definition of the term “post-custodial” used by another model project, Latin American Digital Initiatives (<https://ladi.lib.utexas.edu/en/about>): “Post-custodialism is a collaborative, non-extractive, mutualistic approach to providing access to archival collections within their original contexts of creation. Through these collaborations, [the project] aims to support the development of partners’ archival capacity, particularly in the areas of digitization, preservation, arrangement, description, and access [...]. This work is guided by a commitment to nurturing reciprocal relationships between a network of local and international collaborators. We aim to build a horizontal community of post-custodial practice by connecting [...] partners with one another while decentering our own role in the network.”

11 As of this article’s writing, *FADA/PFA* provides access to over 1,000 records at 22 different contributing institutions. FACC inventories of North American archives acknowledge at least 80 institutions holding upwards of 500,000 additional in-scope records. Our goal with our current round of NEH funding is to build access to these remaining institutions and records over the next two years.

12 FACC remains in the process of trying to find funding to digitize the extant papers in order to preserve them and improve their access. For more information about this process or to participate, visit <https://faconsortium.org>.

13 Please contact the authors or the journal’s editors for more information: spinette@maine.edu, lchoquet@assumption.edu, jmrogers@macalester.edu, or ranso1aj@cmich.edu. Brief proposals (title, abstract, author bio) due 1 January 2025 or earlier; complete manuscripts of 6,500–7,500 words due 1 March 2025.

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