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QUEBEC IN THE UNITED STATES: A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

During the period 1840-1930 approximately 900,000 people left Quebec for the United States, most of them settling in the main industrial centers of the northeastern states. This event is rich in documentation. Hundreds, not to say thousands, of commentaries, studies, and analyses were left to us by the observers, the witnesses, and the actors in this epic adventure.¹ Nevertheless, authors describing the general history of immigration to the United States traditionally ignored the Franco-American experience or mentioned it only in a few casual footnote references.² Only recently has French-Canadian migration attracted the attention of Canadian and American university scholars. Today, a constantly increasing number of specialized studies is appearing on both sides of the border. For some years scholars of Franco-American studies have called for an evaluation of both old and new research;³ the present review seeks to respond to that challenge by analyzing the entire body of literature on the subject with an explanation of its nature and scope and the context in which it was produced.

Until the end of the Second World War, the most important books and articles devoted to the Franco-Americans of New England were written by priests, clerics, or journalists involved in the struggle for the promotion and continuation of French culture in North America. This literature was elitist, deeply engaged in and essentially centered on the theme of cultural survival, or "survivance." This was less true of studies published after 1945, when more sociologists, anthropologists, economists, geographers, linguists, and historians, using new

From Claude Savary, Dir., Les rapports culturels entre le Québec et les États-Unis (Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1984), pp. 103-130. Translated by Jacqueline Brimmer, with support from the Canadian-American Center and the Maine Historical Society.



Woonsocket, Rhode Island's "petit Canada" was a typical New England mill town feature. The Franco-American community it bounded responded to a variety of forces, including "Americanization" sentiment from without and calls for cultural "survival" from within. The literature on the Quebec migrants reflects these crosspressures. Jack Delano photo. Photographs in this article, unless otherwise noted, are from the Library of Congress, courtesy C. Stewart Doty.

materials and more sophisticated methods of analysis, progressively took the field. The multiple facets of Franco-American life — of the elite as well as of the working class — secured the attention of the researchers, who were no longer merely interested in themes linked to cultural survival.

The present article will deal with the French presence in New England, with the exception of the Acadians (about 50,000 of them) who live side by side with their compatriots from Quebec. The nineteenth-century emigration of about 150,000 French-speaking Quebecers to the midwestern states, as well as the most recent departures to the sunnier lands of Florida and California, will not be considered.

From the origins to 1945: A literature of commitment

From the beginning, the literature on the French experience in New England has been strongly conditioned by the

debates instigated in Quebec by the phenomenon of emigration, and in the United States by the integration of immigrants into American society. In these debates, the authors of studies, monographs, and syntheses found not only the topics of their works, but also the essence of their interpretations.

From 1840 to 1870, according to the most accurate observers, nearly 200,000 Quebecers crossed the American border. Even though these early migrations were often seasonal and temporary in character, it is easy to understand the panic they inspired among Quebec elites. The nearly 70,000 Quebecers who emigrated during the 1850s alone represented 15,000 more people than the contemporary population of Montreal, the most densely populated city in the province of Quebec.

To check this hemorrhage, which in the long run threatened the very survival of French-Canadian culture, the authorities debated, multiplied investigations, encouraged the opening of new lands to agriculture, and fought for the repatriation of migrants — all in vain!⁴ It was as if Quebec workers, facing unsurmountable economic difficulties, failed to see any remedy other than the call of the New England factories. The image of an America paved with gold, of a “promised land,” reached the most remote corners of Quebec.

The elites, unable to stem this tide, endeavored to discredit it. They attributed emigration to a desire for luxuries, to drunkenness, to laziness, and to improvidence. The emigre was pictured as a weakling who succumbed to the American mirage, a coward afraid of the arduous work of pioneer agriculture, a traitor to French Canada — and a simpleton: for if indeed America was rich, it was owing to the work of these new slaves who toiled and ruined their health in the unsanitary factories of New England. Emigration was the prelude to a sad and hard life, compared to the idyllic advantages offered by the Quebec countryside! American cities were shown to be the realm of infernal forces, where the exiled, left to their own devices, lost their faith and their nationality.

In a work showing great erudition, “*L’image des Etats-Unis dans la littérature québécoise (1775-1930)*,” Guildo Rousseau carefully depicted the sombre literary picture drawn of the

American factory, the city, and the causes of emigration.⁵ A reader who wants eloquent examples of such descriptions may read the texts by Hamon, Mgr. Thomas Cooke, Provancher, Rouleau, and Sulte.⁶

Heavy emigration also gave a mythical cast to elite descriptions of the providential mission of French Canada. This myth, which may have been evoked by Rameau De Saint-Père, was celebrated by many eloquent poets in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. At the golden anniversary of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society of Montreal, the honorable J. A. Chapleau declared, "The French emigrant in the United States, like the Canadian settler in Ontario, is an advanced guard, a scout of the great invasion army whose victory . . . will be won in the following century."⁷ Senator F. X. A. Trudel continued during the same celebrations: "Does it not look as if they [the migrants] were the expeditionary forces sent by Providence to the conquest of all the territory formerly discovered by our fathers and drenched with the blood of our martyrs?"⁸

To lead these pioneers of French expansion and to recreate the *Canadien* motherland, with her churches, her schools, her associations, her newspapers, and her traditions, the Church of Quebec sent hundreds of priests, clerics, and nuns to the United States beginning in the 1860s. Joining other Franco-American leaders, they entered the many struggles against the cultural dangers that threatened new immigrant communities. In their persistent battles with Irish bishops for control of the parishes, they enjoyed the support of Quebec journalists and bishops and French-Canadian experts in canon law, who took their cause to Rome.⁹ To the Quebec elites, French Canada was a reality that extended beyond the frontiers of the province. In the struggle for survival against assimilative forces in the United States, and in particular against the aims of the Irish bishops, the Province of Quebec was the bastion, and the scattered groups of the diaspora were its outposts. "You will be in the United States the forward sentinels of the common motherland, the lightning-rod aimed to divert the storms which might swoop down on your compatriots from Canada," declared Sir A. Chapleau before an audience in Salem in 1897.¹⁰ Journalist

QUEBEC IN THE UNITED STATES

Henri Bourassa exclaimed in 1914: "If we allow the French minorities who are our outposts to be sacrificed one by one, the day will come when the Province of Quebec itself will sustain the attack"¹¹

American and Irish attitudes toward Franco-Americans complicated this group's relations with the Quebec elites. The French-Canadians arrived in the United States in the midst of a massive demographic shift that brought 14 million foreigners to the country between 1860 and 1900. Earlier migrants were mainly English, German, Scandinavian, and Irish; later arrivals were typically Italian and Eastern European. Most of the latter were poor and settled in the cities, where they formed an important part of the new urban working class. These newcomers, with whom the Franco-Americans shared certain traits, drew the enmity of many Americans, as their Irish predecessors had done earlier. Like the Irish, the French-Canadians were Catholics in a Protestant country. Moreover, native workers accused them of driving wages down and diluting union militancy. Finally, people feared that the influx of immigrants would erode traditional American values. Nativist feeling varied in intensity during these years, reaching peaks during the wave of anti-Catholicism of the end of the nineteenth century and the "one-hundred-percent-Americanism" of the World War I and postwar periods.¹²

It would have been surprising if the French Canadians, who constituted a very important part of the new arrivals, had escaped the xenophobia which periodically roused American society. The first French-speaking migrants especially were pictured as vile, ignorant, poor transients whose behavior constituted a threat to the standard of living of the American workers and to the institutions of the country. At the beginning of the 1880s French Canadians were labeled the "Chinese of the Eastern States."¹³ In his writings, Reverend Calvin A. Amaron, a Swiss Protestant pastor, exaggerated the numbers of the Quebec immigrants and pictured them as superstitious, ignorant newcomers, completely under the priests' thumbs, and as desperate foes of Protestantism. French-Canadian leaders, he reminded his readers, called for a New France on American soil.

THE CHINESE OF THE EASTERN STATES

*Reprinted from
L'Avenir National
November 19, 1924*

FOREWORD

As indicated above, the following correspondence, together with the original communication of the writer to America, was published in full in *L'Avenir National* of Manchester, N. H., one of the oldest French dailies in New England. In reprinting these documents in pamphlet form for general distribution among the public libraries, colleges, and universities of our country, the Société historique franco-américaine—whose motto is “Lux et Veritas”—hopes to counteract in some slight measure the pernicious propaganda which appears to have reached its culminating point in the article “Fifty-fifty Americans” by Robert C. Dexter in the August (1924) *World's Work*.

Much of the early literature on the French-Canadian experience in New England grew from a need to defend the culture against the onslaughts of “Americanism.” This pamphlet provided documentary and statistical evidence refuting a slur made by Carroll D. Wright, compiler of the United States Census. University of Maine Special Collections Department Collections.

Were these trends of thought prevalent, or were they held only by a minority? In the absence of serious studies on this matter no one can say. Impressions suggest, however, that between 1900 and 1914 the average American had a positive image of the Franco-Americans, who were perceived as frugal, industrious, and trustworthy. Italians, Poles, and Jews had replaced Franco-Americans as favorite targets of the American nativists.¹⁴

Pressures for assimilation came not only from American nativists, but from within the Irish-dominated American Catholic hierarchy as well. Because the Irish were Catholics, for a long time they were the most popular targets of the xenophobes. Not surprisingly, the Irish bishops believed that the assimilation of foreign Catholics was likely to reduce the hostility Catholic groups regularly experienced. The divisions among the Irish bishops on this matter were more apparent than real: Some recommended rapid assimilation and strong action, while others, fearing apostasy, accepted, on a temporary basis, the establishment of parishes based on nationality and the teaching of a language other than English in the parish schools. They favored a progressive, although cautious assimilation.

Franco-Americans joined with German and Polish Catholics in combatting the assimilative aims of the Irish bishops, the largest group in the American high clergy. Franco-Americans were bitter adversaries of the "melting-pot" theory and were supporters of cultural pluralism before the term was coined. Advised, directed, and supported more or less openly by the Quebec clergy, Franco-Americans waged numerous spectacular battles in places like Fall River and North Brookfield, Massachusetts; Danielson, Connecticut; Portland, Maine; and Woonsocket, Rhode Island.

Such considerations provide the context for understanding the literature on the Franco-Americans, a literature that enters into debates raised in both Canada and the United States by the phenomena of emigration and French expansion in New England. But what do we find in this literature? A vigorous

rebuttal of the interpretation given in certain Quebec circles as to the causes of immigration. No, the Canadians who emigrated were not deserters, cowards, sluggards, or black sheep. This was the message of Honoré Beaugrand, Thomas-Aimé Chandonnet, Hugo-A. Dubuque, Edouard Hamon, Edmond de Nevers, Téléphore Saint-Pierre, Jean-Frédéric Audet, and many others.¹⁵

It was essentially poverty, even famine, says Beaugrand, and the incapacity of the Quebec authorities to solve economic problems that induced French Canadians to go into exile. These defenders of Franco-Americans write that one should cease to depict the "émigrés" in the darkest colors, to picture them as slaves at the service of ruthless masters, and as Catholics about to lose their language and their religion. To be sure, they did not live in luxury in New England, but their living conditions were better than those Quebec had to offer. This is what Franco-Americans explained to the Quebecers and what they told one another during their patriotic celebrations and national conventions.¹⁶ Ferdinand Gagnon, the "father" of Franco-American journalism, wanted people to see them as "the advanced guards, not the fugitives or the deserters" of French-Canadian nationality.¹⁷

The authors deplored no less the departure of so many Quebecers which, in their opinion, would truly weaken French Quebec. But they essentially bore witness to the efforts made by the French Canadians to recreate in New England their "Little Canadas," with their churches, schools, associations, newspapers, and national celebrations. The French-Canadian elite, they said, especially the clergy, worked hardest to ensure the continuity of the "moral nation," an expression coined by Ferdinand Gagnon meaning the cultivation of the history, traditions, faith, and language of the forefathers.

Readers who wish to know about the life of the first migrants will find a great deal of useful information in these works. Those who would like to examine more closely the nature and role of such crucial institutions as the parish, the parish school, the press, and the national clergy will find

additional information in the studies of P. U. Vaillant, Charles Daoust, J. K. L. Laflamme, D. M. A. Magnan, Alexandre Belisle, Louis Lalande, Jos. A. D'Amours, Félix Gatineau, Marie-Louis Bonier, Bruno Wilson, and in the works presented to the First Congress of the French Language in Canada held in Quebec City in 1912.¹⁸ These studies are filled with optimism about the strength and unshakeable character of French institutions in New England. On the other hand, they are less than realistic about the rates of success among the French-Canadian migrants and their descendants, about the severity of life in the United States, and about the quality of religious and "national" activities.

The dream of an expanding national group with a providential mission was threatened by the realities of life in New England. Assimilation, analyzed by Edmond de Nevers and others, is one of the multiple traps and lures in the migrants' daily lives. The United States made a tragic error, de Nevers maintained, when it attempted to merge all nationalities in a "melting-pot." Like the Franco-American leaders, he extolled cultural pluralism and affirmed that one may be an excellent American while keeping a native language, religion, and some essential cultural traits. In order to appease American nativists, several authors recommended naturalization. "If we were naturalized, these good Yankees could no longer lash out to us the famous epithet: 'Chinese of the Eastern States'," argued Dr. Camille Côté in 1901.¹⁹ During and after the First World War, the League for the Defense of the French Language in America published several brochures designed to counter the effects of "one-hundred-percent Americanism."²⁰

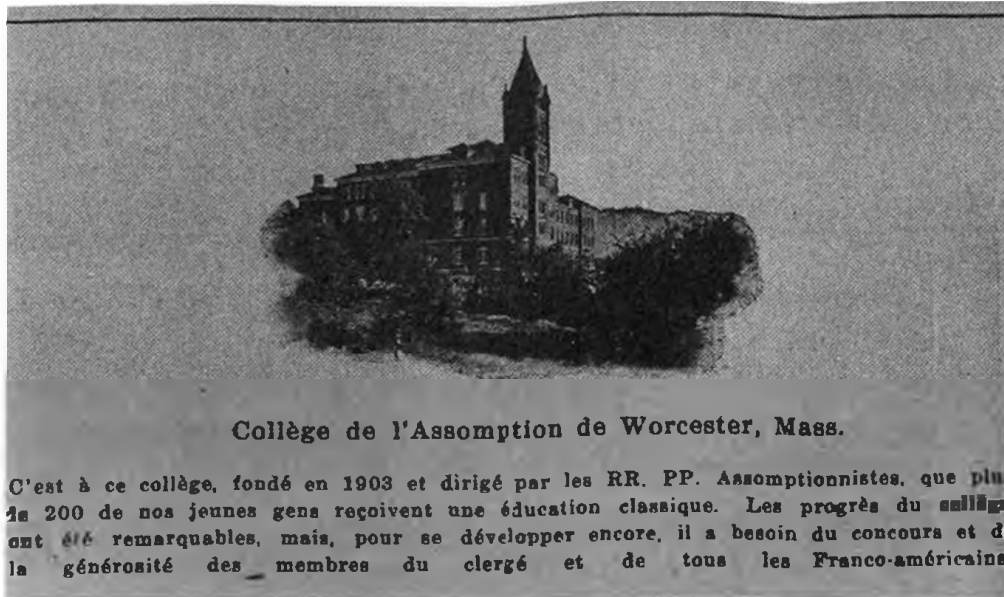
The literature reviewed also reflects the unrelenting struggle which the Franco-Americans waged against the bishops of Irish origin.²¹ The literature, however, is heavily biased. The debate raged most relentlessly in the pulpit, on the platforms of the national conventions, and especially in the press. The combatants based their arguments on the works of tireless compilers whose major preoccupation was to describe the progress of their group and their attachment to their adopted country, to persuade religious authorities to establish national

parishes led by priests of their "race," and even to justify the choice of bishops of French-Canadian origin.²²

The Franco-American leaders won the support and vocal admiration of some influential Quebecers, being, as they were, "in the thick of the struggle, whereas we scarcely have to fight"²³ There was a time, Henri Bourassa stated at the Congress of the Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste D'Amérique, gathered in Worcester in 1915, when Quebecers traveled to New England to comfort the French-Canadian exiles. "Today, it would be more useful for us to go and ask the Franco-Americans for some lessons in dignity and national energy."²⁴

This literature also reflects the divisions within the Franco-American community, as when, on the occasion of the conflict of the "Sentinellistes" in Woonsocket, the Franco-American struggle took an excessive turn. The divisions are manifest in the works of Elphege-J. Daignault, J.-Albert Foisy, and the twenty-six lectures delivered at radio station CKAC of Montreal.²⁵ The Woonsocket incidents, "the darkest page ... in the Franco-American annals,"²⁶ left deep scars. The most radical militants, those who extolled the survival of the French-Canadian heritage and refused any compromise, gave way to the more moderate elements. The times dictated compromise. Because of the economic recession, the United States had practically closed its frontiers to immigration, thus depriving the Franco-American communities of the invigorating contribution of new recruits. The economic crisis also deprived the parishes, schools, newspapers, and ethnic associations of needed income. The optimism of the previous years disappeared and official discourse became at the same time more moderate and critical.

Moreover, the Franco-American elites, now frequently members of the second and third generation and better integrated into the American environment, viewed the Franco-American society uneasily. Critical voices, stifled until then by the more radical element, were heard. Since the beginning of the century moderates had been stressing the maladjustment of young people to their surroundings, suggesting the creation of Catholic colleges in the United States rather than sending



Assumption College, founded in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1903, reflected the growing stability and sense of identity among New England's Franco-Americans. Special Collections Department.

young people to colleges in Quebec, requesting parish schools to adapt to the American way of life, counseling teachers to keep themselves informed of what Americanism entails, wishing young people could learn English faster, and finally deploring overdependence on Quebec. Hoping to dampen the nativism of the Yankees and the hostility of the Irish Americans, moderates condemned excessive French-Canadian nationalism. They maintained that the "nationalist" fanatics were to be feared more than the outside persecutors.²⁷

The leaders of the 1930s looked more critically than did their predecessors on survivance and the ethnic institutions. They still insisted on the essential role of the parish, the national clergy, the parish schools, and the mutual benefit societies. The Franco-American family, however, was invited to play a greater role, to become the cornerstone of survivance. But, significantly, the 1930s leadership developed a new theme, it seems to me: the institutional framework appears to them less threatened from the outside than from the inside. They stressed the erosion of traditional values, which they saw in the frequency of mixed marriages, apathy among the professionals, the use of English in the daily affairs of the associations, the

mixed parishes, and the loss of ardor among the second-generation Franco-American clergy. A lack of conviction and unity of action seemed to threaten the edifice of survivance. "We don't have to fight against the open assimilation of the past," Josaphat Benoit noted; "the main thing we have to do is fight against our own extinction and a careless indifference on the part of young people. That is our problem."²⁸

This lucid and critical scrutiny is found also in Josaphat Benoit's remarkable work and in the more than thirty works presented at the Second Congress of the French Language held in 1937 in Quebec City and published by Mgr. Adrien Verrette in *La croisade franco-américaine*.²⁹ These writings too are optimistic about a program to inculcate national pride among youngsters and a militant spirit among the elders. We find the same, somehow impressionistic preoccupations in the syntheses of Alexandre Goulet, Jacques Ducharme, and the monographs of Maximilienne Tétrault, Mary-Carmel Therriault, and Ulysse Forget.³⁰

In addition to this French-language literature, there is a large corpus of writing in English. The publications cited below, written by university professors, were aimed first of all at an anglophone audience which has not been reached by the works of the Quebec and Franco-American writers, still less by the French-language press.³¹ At a time when negative stereotypes were still important, it is difficult to imagine for this period better supporters than William MacDonald, A.R.M. Lower, Edward B. Ham, R. A. Foley, Granville T. Prior, and Marcus Lee Hansen.³²

Impressed by the phenomenon of Franco-American survivance, all attempted to account for it, some by a global approach, others by the study of more limited examples. Foley's and Prior's ambitious syntheses have become obsolete. It is less so with the other studies. Many contemporary historians would readily endorse the elaborate and comprehensive study by Marcus Lee Hansen on the shifts of population between Canada and the United States. Commenting on the causes of emigration, he placed special emphasis on the attraction of New England industries. MacDonald did the same

thing. In his article he sketched a portrait of the Franco-American group which is entirely contrary to the view given by nativist authors. He maintained that the number of immigrants had been exaggerated and that in the long run they would blend easily into American society. Franco-American workers — thrifty, frugal, skillful, little given to union activities, obedient to an influential clergy — are described as living an orderly and peaceful existence. Professor Ham, a zealous promoter of cultural pluralism, reiterated the fears of the Franco-American writers of the 1930s. Interestingly, he stressed, almost alone among his contemporaries, the fact that nationalist institutions like the press and the ethnic associations were also some of the important tools for acculturation.

From 1945 to the present: A more complete and rigorous vision

In order to understand fully the postwar literature on the Franco-American experience, we must, as we did for the previous period, set it in the milieu which produced it. Profound transformations affected the Franco-American community, as well as American society in general and the world of research. Let us be content to describe the most apparent changes.

“The ‘melting-pot,’ this splendid American kettle, seems to have made a stew with the Franco-Americans and the other nationalities.” This was the brutal fact that Jacques Ducharme presented to the participants of a colloquium held in 1976 to discuss the situation of the Franco-American group and the possibilities for an ethnic renaissance.³³ Ducharme’s observation clearly shows the distance traveled since the founding of the “Little Canadas” in New England in the second half of the nineteenth century. The massive wartime shifts of population, the regional economic transformations, and the programs of urban renewal weakened the Franco-American enclaves whose members were increasingly lured by the “American image” conveyed by radio, television, the cinema, and the surrounding milieu. Indeed, the Franco-American group had not disappeared, but was undergoing a profound mutation. The indices

could not be clearer: numerous parish schools closed their doors; the national parishes and the mutual benefit societies conducted an increasing part of their business in English; the French-language press was moribund; and the gap that separated young people from their elders had continually widened.³⁴ While the elders clung to a glorious past, fashioned at the cost of so much hard work, the young militants wondered about the orientation they would give to their future: What should they keep and transmit of the ancestral heritage?³⁵ These events continued to influence several of the authors who were still looking at the Franco-American experience through the prism of survivance. They had little to do, however, with the growing interest which the Franco-American group aroused in the scientific community.

The United States of the 1960s and the 1970s experienced profound social and cultural transformations. The civil rights movement was perhaps the most spectacular development. This struggle, nourished by the slow pace of desegregation and the poverty of the ghettos in the midst of plenty, manifested itself in many ways. Young blacks, challenging the negative image conveyed by a racist society, fought for a change in university curricula and research programs. Sensitive to changes in society, the various human and social sciences, history in particular, began recovering the true significance of the black experience in American history. The past can be a source of pride and a foundation for change, as the telecast of Alex Haley's *Roots* testified. Other ethnic groups, including the Franco-Americans and the "minorities" (women and workers) not taken into account, reacted to the same forces of change and evaluated their roles in American history while demanding a better place in society. These efforts combined to undermine the doctrine of the melting-pot and to favor cultural pluralism.

It goes without saying that researchers in human and social sciences react to the forces that transform their environment. Scholars question the past from the vantage of their present concerns, their problems, and the aspirations of their



Textile mills in New England recruited heavily among French-speaking migrants. Above: A young boy exits the Amoskeag mill in Manchester, New Hampshire, at quitting time. Below: A neighborhood scene near the Woonsocket mills. Top photo by Lewis Hine; bottom photo by Jack Delano.



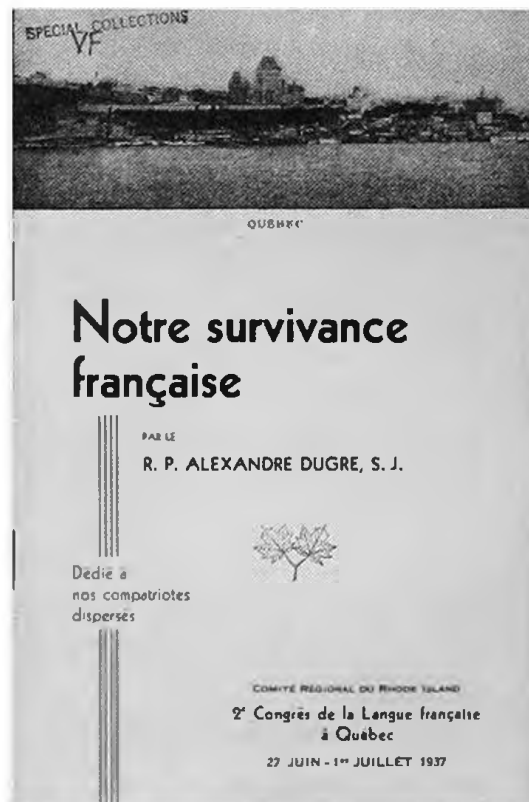
contemporaries. Not surprisingly, the history of ethnic minorities and ethnic groups became a major field of research. During the 1960s historians began devoting as much attention to "ordinary people" as to elites, if not more. These new preoccupations were facilitated by the major transformations — some speak of a revolution — which the historical discipline has been experiencing for the past two decades.³⁶ Today, historians benefit more from the theoretical and conceptual tools of their colleagues in the social sciences; they create new materials, question former postulates; and, with the use of quantitative methods, they participate in the technological revolution.

Since 1945, survivance has continued to be a theme widely used in the literature on the Franco-Americans. Robert Rumilly made it the focal point of one of his best works.³⁷ According to Franco-American leader Adolphe Robert, "It is a book that smells of gunpowder: the Fall River affair; the affair in Rhode Island, the Chamberlain bill, the Peck bill, etc. It leaves the impression that the Franco-Americans fought twenty-four a day, 365 days a year."³⁸ We may criticize Rumilly, but we shall never cease to consult and quote him.

Chroniclers and specialists continue to scrutinize the nature and the role of the institutional framework. Mason Wade devoted a brief but incisive study to the role of the parish in Franco-American survival.³⁹ Showing great erudition and subtlety, he dealt with the role of the clergy from Quebec and the conflicts with the Irish bishops. In the latter case he revealed both sides of the coin, which few people did before him. Sister Florence Marie Chevalier defended a thesis in sociology on the role of the national associations in the evolution of the Franco-American group.⁴⁰ Those interested in the role of religious communities in the leadership of parishes will find useful and interesting the documents compiled by Gaston Carriere and J.-Antonin Plourde on the presence of the Oblates and the Dominicans in New England.⁴¹ Plourde himself used this documentation in his brief historical account of the Fall River and Lewiston Franco-American communities.⁴²

The fight waged by the Franco-Americans against the enemies from outside — the Yankee nativists and the Irish

Literature on Franco-Americans was often adversarial at a time when the community was defending itself against Yankee nativists and a Catholic church hierarchy dominated by Irish clergy. The publication left illustrates the history of French-Canadian culture in the United States; the table below, from a 1949 publication titled *Notre Vie Franco-Américaine*, demonstrated the imbalance between Franco-American population and French-speaking church leadership. Special Collections Department Collections.



CHIFFRES RELATIFS A LA POPULATION ET AUX ETABLISSEMENTS FRANCO-AMERICAINS

POPULATION				PAROISSES						
Diocèse	Catholique totale	Catholique franco-am.	Pourcentage	Total	Nationales franco-am.	Mixtes franco-am.	Mixtes	Total franco-am.	Pourcentage	Hôpitaux Hospices franco-am.
Boston	1,208,089	126,000	10.4	351	30	24	54	15.3	4
Burlington	96,917	60,000	61.9	81	6	25	16	47	58.0	2
Fall River	201,787	80,000	39.6	96	19	4	2	25	26.0	3
Hartford	667,100	70,000	10.4	321	7	16	12	35	10.9
Manchester	175,834	125,000	70.0	93	20	19	30	69	74.1	7
Portland	207,171	159,000	76.7	132	37	29	25	91	68.9	7
Providence	389,399	125,000	32.1	130	18	10	8	36	27.6	3
Springfield	507,009	180,000	35.5	212	41	4	25	70	33.0	2
Totaux	3,453,306	925,000	26.7	1,416	178	107	142	427	30.1	28

CLERGE				ENSEIGNEMENT						
Diocèse	Régulier Séculier	Franco- américain	Pourcentage	Institutions			Fréquentation			Personnel enseignant franco-am
				Total ins- titutions	Institutions franco-am.	Pourcentage	Totale	Institutions franco-am.	Pourcentage	
Boston	1,712	150	8.7	292	38	13.	115,239	11,642	10.1	522
Burlington	166	59	35.5	42	18	42.8	21,151	4,674	22.1	181
Fall River	311	105	33.7	59	23	38.9	27,839	7,206	25.8	283
Hartford	907	56	6.1	154	15	9.7	51,120	6,493	12.1	172
Manchester	279	158	56.6	83	46	55.4	32,463	13,127	40.4	489
Portland	320	191	59.6	89	48	53.9	34,637	17,650	50.9	559
Providence	488	100	20.4	98	32	32.6	51,103	12,908	25.2	497
Springfield	761	151	19.8	141	44	31.2	44,465	14,397	32.3	602
Totaux	4,944	970	19.6	958	264	27.5	378,017	88,097	23.3	3,305

bishops — arrested the attention of some researchers, although they are fewer than one might think, and the results are uneven. Kenneth Woodbury described a part of the conflict between Franco-Americans and people of Irish descent regarding the nomination of a bishop in the diocese of Portland.⁴³ His study, based almost entirely on *Le Messager*, hardly tells us any more than the readers of Lewiston already knew. Fortunately, other battles have been described more skillfully. The work of Philip Silvia on the Flint affair is a good example. Those of Richard Sorrell, another example, increase our knowledge of the fight waged by Elphege-J. Daignault's Sentinellistes for the autonomy of Rhode Island Franco-Americans threatened by the centralizing aims of the bishop of Providence, Mgr. William Hickey.⁴⁴ Sorrell depicts this conflict not in black-and-white terms, but rather as the outcome of very complex forces which stirred up the community of Woonsocket and divided the Franco-Americans as much from each other as from the Irish Bishops. As the reader of Sorrell's thesis perceives clearly, the Woonsocket incidents are only the most obvious signs of the profound changes which Franco-American communities were experiencing at the time.

The authors of the earlier parochial monographs believed in survivance. They described its high points, acknowledged its weaknesses, denounced its adversaries, and often suggested programs to correct the situation. That is no longer the case with contemporary authors, for whom survivance is a thing of the past. Adopting a broader perspective, they see the struggle for survivance as only a facet — a most important one, needless to say — in a long process of adaptation and integration of an ethnic group to American society. George F. Theriault did pioneering work in this field. In his study of the Franco-American community of Nashua, New Hampshire, he identified the four important steps which turned the French Canadians of the period following the Civil War and their descendants into Americans of French-Canadian origin. Peter Haebler cautions researchers to be prudent, stressing the fact that the Franco-American communities are numerous and varied. Generalizations based on a study of any one New England community he believes, would be unjustified. He suggests a broader

study of different types of communities before drawing conclusions. After a well-documented study of Holyoke in which he challenges many accepted ideas about Franco-Americans, he concludes that resistance to Americanization is weaker in a community like Holyoke, where the Franco population is in the minority, than in places where it constitutes a large segment.⁴⁵ The ethnic communities of Biddeford, Suncook, and Woonsocket also have their historians.⁴⁶

Aside from survivance, there is no longer a unifying theme in the literature on the Franco-Americans. The discourse is increasingly devoted to one or another aspect of the group's experience. All facets of the life of the Franco-Americans have received attention from researchers. Let us examine this situation more closely.

Several writers, especially some Canadians, have researched the phenomenon of migration and have attempted to delineate its causes and chief characteristics. How many French Canadians have emigrated to New England? At what time and at what rate? Why? Where did they go? How many returned? Those are the questions that have challenged and continue to challenge researchers such as Gilles Paquet, Yolande Lavoie, and Ralph Vicero.⁴⁷ These three authors identify the available sources — the American and Canadian censuses, the official investigations, the evaluations furnished by various Franco-American and Canadian authors — and they achieve a remarkable critical analysis of this material.⁴⁸ This is an important primary contribution; critics have not emphasized it adequately. The first two authors provide a broad survey of the migratory phenomenon, while the third focuses attention on migration to New England alone during the last four decades of the nineteenth century. Yolande Lavoie has paid a well-deserved tribute to geographer Ralph Vicero. Stressing that Vicero is the only researcher to have used the American federal census manuscripts and those of several states, and recognizing that Vicero's research is "undeniably the most thorough and best documented ... on this topic," she hopes that there will be a follow-up to this research which will include both the migration of the 1900-1930 period and repatriation.⁴⁹ The works of

Chaput and Little clearly indicate the great interest in identifying not only the number of migrants who returned to Quebec, but their location, the attitude of the Quebec government towards them, and the impact of their return on the Quebec and the Franco-American societies.⁵⁰

It is rather surprising to note that, in spite of the scope of this phenomenon, so few historians have given their attention to explaining in great detail the emigration of nearly one million Quebecers. To be sure, all the authors of syntheses and monographs on the nineteenth- and twentieth-century history of Quebec mentioned it, but too often they simply repeat what their predecessors or contemporary observers said. Albert Faucher stands out as an exception.⁵¹ He invites us to set the study of Quebec migrations in their North American, even in their world context. Then they appear less spectacular, and one sees clearly that the uneasiness they represent is not limited to Canada, still less to Quebec. "The movements of population in North America have the appearance of a cyclone caused by the pull of the rising agricultural and industrial areas of the United States." As for me, I maintain that the intensity often generated by this phenomenon is explained by the combined action of profound economic transformations in Quebec and in the United States, and of the economic crises which the two regions suffer periodically.⁵²

What parts of Quebec do the immigrants come from? To which parts of New England are they going? Why? These are other questions which Ralph Vicero and James Allen approach specifically.⁵³ There are certain general patterns: for instance, Franco-Americans from a New England locality often come from the same area of Quebec. And most of them went where they had family or friends; they were attracted by the shoemaking industry, the brick industry, and, after the Civil War, especially by the textile industry concentrated in New England. The concepts of "migration field" and "chain migration" allow a much more rigorous analysis of the population shifts described until recently by random observations.⁵⁴

Whatever their destination, the emigres did not sever ties with Quebec. The priests who established the parishes, built



Young Fred Normandin of Manchester confronts photographer Lewis Hine in May 1909. Fred and his compatriots worked in the Amoskeag mills.

the churches, and fought for survivance and the clerics and nuns who taught the children and cared for the sick, crossed the border repeatedly. Quebec lecturers, preachers, and artists nourished the cultural life of the Franco-American communities and, like the new migrants, brought it fresh news; the most gifted adolescents studied in Quebec colleges and convents. The ties that united Quebecers to their Franco-American cousins were endless and played an important part in the history of both groups. It is surprising that so few researchers have pondered the dimensions of the problem! Rumilly alone provided a description of these ties, and even his view is a partial one, to be sure.

Fortunately things are beginning to change. In a book already mentioned, Guildo Rousseau studied the image that Quebec writers had of the United States. Pierre Savard explored

the relations between French-Canadian Catholics and American Catholics at the end of the nineteenth century. Jean-Guy Lalande examined the role of Quebec partisans and adversaries of the Sentinelliste movement. Claude Galarneau studied the presence of the young Franco-Americans in the classical colleges of Quebec. The French Institute of Assumption College devoted its 1981 colloquium to the study of the cultural and religious values of the Quebec emigrant.⁵⁵ There is still much to be done, but the path has been laid out.

Biographies of Franco-American leaders would illustrate to what extent Quebec remains present in their mental universe. But biography is a neglected genre in Franco-American historiography. Aside from the *sourvenir*-portraits, the obituaries, and the hundreds of portraits of Franco-Americans by Rosaire Dion-Levesque⁵⁶ written for *La Patrie*, from Montreal, little has been done. The biography of Ferdinand Gagnon, which I published in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, is an exception.⁵⁷

The most significant and promising research is in social history. The living conditions, the work experience, the adaptation to a new environment, the behavior, values, and institutions of the Franco-American working class are indeed the topics of recent attention. The use of new materials and the perfecting of the quantitative techniques permitted remarkable progress in our knowledge of the common people of Franco-American origin.⁵⁸ The description and analysis of physical surroundings, living conditions, work, activities, and adaptation of the first migrants to the Little Canadas constitute the essential part of the innovating and thorough works of Philip Silvia and Frances Early.⁵⁹ Irish Saunders Podea, with an article coldly received by the Franco-American elite, has broken new ground with much talent. In the works of Daniel Walkowitz, Tamara Hareven, and Early, the working classes appear not like eternal victims of forces and circumstances beyond their control but more like real actors who not only react to their surroundings, but fashion them and, to a certain extent, control them.⁶⁰ The cultural background of the immigrant is seen as a positive tool of adjustment.



Lewis Hine photo.

The Franco-Americans did not spend their entire lives working. They had fun, played at sports, read, and went to the theatre. Richard Sorrell has shown the advantage of studying the role of leisure and sports in the immigrants' adaptation to the American way of life.⁶¹ In his thesis on Holyoke, Ernest B. Guillet gives us a detailed description of the literary life of a

small community, in particular, its numerous drama productions.⁶² One discovers a cultural world which is rather unknown; for even taking into account the searching studies of Paul Chasse on poetry and Richard Santerre on the novel, we have scant knowledge of Franco-American literature.⁶³ In an article replete with valuable information, Armand B. Chartier gives an outline of the work to be done in this regard.⁶⁴ Researchers must hasten to gather, before they vanish, the chief manifestations of oral literature: stories, legends, and songs. Newspapers will provide circumspect collectors with pleasant surprises: a more popular literature appears side by side with lectures and essays directed at the elite.

What conclusions may we draw from such an evaluation? We believe:

- that Franco-Americans deserve more than scornful silence or brief footnotes from the authors of surveys of American history.

- that material exists in sufficient quantity and quality to justify an increased focus on Franco-Americans in the programs of university studies and research, in Quebec as well as in New England. The collection, *A Franco-American Overview* (in six volumes), published by the National Assessment and Dissemination Center for Bilingual/Bicultural Education, reprints dozens of journal articles published since the end of the nineteenth century and constitutes a documentary source of the first quality.

- that for the period 1870 to 1930, the Franco-American community is an important part of the history of French Canada, first, because it feeds the ideological discourse of the elites, and second, because it is for Quebec a window wide open on American reality. Are people sufficiently aware of the fact that Olivar Asselin, J. L. K. Laflamme, and Honoré Beaugrand, to name only a few, learned their trade as journalists in New England? That hundreds of priests, clerics and nuns, after staying in the United States for a while, served in parishes and taught generations of young people in the colleges and convents of Quebec? That tens of thousands of Franco-American vacationers traveled back and forth across the border?

- that it is not very useful to suggest appropriate directions for new research at this time. Research in the human and social sciences adapts to new intellectual and social trends better than it creates them. Societies, like scientific disciplines, have their own dynamics; it would be very difficult to predict the manner in which our successors, responding to changes in their social milieus, will choose to question the past.

- that the new emphasis on the working class must not cause us to overlook that of the elites. Even though we are quite familiar with the discourse of Franco-American leaders, we know little about them.

- that it is essential to provide researchers with better tools. To this end, scholars of Franco-American history should devote energies toward identifying the principal depositories of archives and make an analytical inventory of the principal collections therein. Researchers are seldom aware of the wealth of documents in institutions such as the Lambert collections of the Association Canado-Américaine in Manchester, New Hampshire, the Mallet collection of the Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste D'Amerique in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, the Nadeau funds of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Montreal, the Beaulieu collection of the Boston Public Library, and the Rosaire Dion-Lévesque, Alice Lemieux, and Elphège Daignault collections of the National Archives of Quebec.

Secondly, scholars need better access to, and analysis of the hundreds of Franco-American newspapers of New England. Third, we need to complete the work of Pierre Anctil on Franco-American bibliography and make its data available to researchers. Fourth, we must consider the problem of organizing scholars and identifying a meeting-place for all those who have an interest in the Franco-American experience. It is fitting to recall that the annual colloquium of the French Institute of Assumption College in Worcester is very much alive.

Franco-American studies have experienced considerable development during the past decade. We must see to it that it continues. Our knowledge of Quebec and the United States will benefit from a broader and richer interpretation of the Franco-American experience.

NOTES

¹Pierre Ancil, *A Franco-American Bibliography, New England*, Bedford, National Materials Development Center, 1979, p. vi.

²Jacques Ducharme, *The Shadows of the Trees, The Story of French Canadians in New England*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1943, p. 3; Richard S. Sorrell, "The Sentinelle Affair (1924-1929) and Militant Survival, The Franco-American Experience in Woonsocket, Rhode Island," Ph.D. thesis, New York State University at Buffalo, 1975, p. 400.

³Claire Quintal et Andre Vachon (edit.), *Situation de la recherche sur la Franco-américain*, Quebec, Le Conseil de la Vie française en Amérique, 1980.

⁴For example: *Rapport du Comité spécial de l'Assemblée législative nommé pour s'enquérir des causes et de l'importance de l'émigration qui a lieu tous les ans du Bas-Canada vers les Etats-Unis*, Montreal, Louis Perreault, 1849; *Le Canadien Emigrant, par douze missionnaires des Townships de l'Est*, Québec, Côté, 1851; *Rapport du Comité spécial nommé pour s'enquérir des causes de l'émigration du Canada aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique ou ailleurs*, Toronto. John Lovell, 1857.

⁵Guildo Rousseau, *L'image des Etats-Unis dans la littérature québécoise (1775-1930)*, Sherbrooke, Editions Naaman [1981], in particular, chapter VI, entitled "L'abîme des factoreries," pp. 152-181.

⁶Mgr. Thomas Cooke, *Circulaire*, January 22, 1864 (written by J. F. Laflèche); Edouard Hamon, *Exil et Patrie, Drame en cinq actes*, Montréal, Librairie Beauchemin, [1882], 77 p.; Léon Provancher, "Etudes sur l'émigration des Canadiens français aux Etats-Unis," in *L'Echo du Cabinet de lecture paroissial de Montréal*, vol. XIV, 1872, pp. 736-746; Charles-Edmond Rouleau, *L'Emigration, Ses principales causes*, Quebec, Léger Brousseau, 1896; Benjamin Sulte, "Un besoin pressant," in *Revue Canadienne*, vol. VI, 1869, pp. 807-814.

⁷In P. Ph. Charette (ed.), *Noces d'or de la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Compte rendu officiel des fêtes de Montréal*, Montreal, Typ. of the newspaper *Le Monde*, 1884, p. 177.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 335.

⁹Robert Rumilly, *Histoire des Franco-Américains*, Montréal, published by the author, 1958, passim. Let us mention in particular the *Mémoire sur la situation des Canadiens français aux Etats Unis de l'Amérique du Nord*, Rome, A. Befani Press, 1896, and the struggle led by J. L. K. Laflamme in *La revue franco-américaine*, from 1908 to 1912, against the assimilative aims of

Mgr. Walsh, bishop of Portland, and the Irish bishops in North America. See also certain writings by Mgr. L. A. Paquet: *L'Eglise et les survivances nationales*, Brest, Presses Libérales, 1924; "L'église et les clergés nationaux," *Le Canada Français*, vol. XIV, no. 2 (Oct. 1926), pp. 85-91.

¹⁰Georges Bellerive (ed.), *Orateurs canadiens aux Etats-Unis, Conférences et discours*, Québec, Imprimerie H. Chassé, 1908, p. 155.

¹¹Robert Rumilly, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

¹²See John Higham, *Strangers in the Land, Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 1955; in the case of New England it will be very useful to read Barbara M. Solomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants, A Changing New England Tradition*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1956.

¹³Pierre Anctil, "Chinese of the Eastern States, 1881," *Recherches Sociographiques*, vol. XXII, no. 1 (jan-au-1981): 125-131; Pierre Anctil, "L'identité de l'immigrant Québécois en Nouvelle-Angleterre. Le rapport wright de 1882." *Recherches sociographiques*, vol. XXII, no. 3 (Sept. 1981): pp. 331-361; Calvin E. Amaron, *The Evangelization of the French Canadians of New England*, Lowell, Campbell and Hanscom, 1885; Calvin E. Amaron, *Your Heritage, or New England Threatened*, Springfield, Mass., French Protestant College, 1891.

¹⁴On the American perception of the Franco-American, there are hardly any specialized studies. Besides the numerous commentaries, speeches, editorials, one will find profitable the following works and articles furnished by way of examples: Albert L. Bartlett, "The Transformation of New England," *Forum*, vol. VII (August 1889), pp. 634-644; Robert Cloutman Dexter, *The Habitant Transplanted, A Study of the French Canadian in New England*, Ph. D. thesis, Clark University, 1923; Robert C. Dexter, "Fifty-fifty Americans," *World's Work*, vol. XLVII, no. 4, (August 1924), pp. 336-371; Henry Loomis Nelson, "French Canadians in New England," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, vol. LXXXVII (July 1893), pp. 180-187; William Z. Ripley, "Race Factors in Labor Unions," *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. XCIII (March 1904), pp. 299-308; John Talbot Smith, "The Truth about the French Canadians," *Catholic World* (1899); Egbert C. Smyth, "The French Canadians in New England," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, vol. VII (1892), pp. 316-336.

¹⁵Honoré Beaugrand, *Jeanne la fileuse*, Fall River, Mass., Société de publication de l'Indépendant, 1878; Thomas-Aimé Chandonnet, *Notre-Dame-des-Canadiens et les Canadiens aux Etats-Unis*, Montréal, George-E. D. Desbarats, 1872; Hugo-A. Dubuque, *Les Canadiens-Français de Fall River, Mass.*, Fall River, Le Castor, 1883; Edouard Hamon, *Les Canadiens-Français de la Nouvelle-Angleterre*, Québec, N.S. Hardy, 1891; Edmond de Nevers, *L'Avenir du peuple canadien-français*, Paris, Jouve et Boyer, 1896; and *L'Ame américaine, Les origines, la vie historique*, Paris, Jouve et Boyer, 1900, 2 vols.; Télesphore Saint-Pierre, "La marche ascendante de notre race,

Trois millions de Canadiens-français en Amérique," dans H.-J.-B. Chouinard (publisher), *Annales de la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Québec*, Québec, 1902, vol. iv, pp. 441-462; Jean-Frédéric Audet, *Histoire de la congrégation canadienne de Winooski, au Vermont*, Montréal, Imprimerie de l'Institution des Sourds-Muets, 1906.

¹⁶For the communications of their representatives, see H.-J.-B. Chouinard (publisher), *Fête nationale des Canadiens-français, célébrée à Québec en 1880*, Québec, Imprimerie A. Côté et cie, 1881; P.Ph. Charette (publisher), *Noces d'or de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Compte-rendu officiel des fêtes de 1884 à Montréal*, Montréal, Typ. of the Newspaper *Le Monde*, 1884; Félix Gatineau (publisher), *Historique des conventions générales des Canadiens-Français aux Etats-Unis, 1865-1901*, Woonsocket, R.I., a gold mine for the study of the ideology of the Franco-American leaders.

¹⁷See *Ferdinand Gagnon, sa vie et ses oeuvres*, Worcester, Mass., C.-F. Lawrence et Cie, 1886.

¹⁸P. U. Vaillant, "Notes biographiques sur messire P.J.B. Bédard," *La Revue Franco-américaine*, vol. 2, no. 2 (December 1908), pp. 126-134; vol. 2, no. 3 (January 1909), pp. 212-222; vol. 2, no. 4 (February 1909), pp. 286, 308; Charles Daoust and Eugène Breault, *Histoire des Canadiens-français du Rhode Island, Nos sociétés et nos bienfaiteurs*, Woonsocket, 1895; J.-K.-L. Laflamme, 17 articles entitled "Les Canadiens aux Etats-Unis," published in *La Revue Canadienne en 1901 et 1902*; D.-M.- Magnan, *Histoire de la race française aux Etats-Unis*, Paris, Charles Amat, 1913; and *Notice historique; Notre-Dame de Lourdes de Fall River, Mass.*, Québec, Imprimerie Le Soleil, 1925; Alexandre Belisle, *Histoire de la presse franco-américaine*, Worcester, Mass., *L'Opinion publique*, 1911; and *Livre d'or des Franco-Américaines de Worcester, Massachusetts*, Worcester, Compagnie de Publication Belisle, 1920; Louis Lalande, *Louis LaLande, Saint-Antoine de New Bedford, Mass.*, Montréal, Imprimerie du Messenger, 1913; Joseph-Arthur D'Amours, *Saint-Mathieu de Central Falls, une paroisse de langue française aux Etats Unis*, Québec, l'Action Sociale, 1917; Félix Gatineau, *Histoire des Franco-Américains de Southbridge, Mass.*, Framingham, Mass., Lakeview Press, 1919; Marie-Louise Bonier, *Debuts de la colonie franco-américaine de Woonsocket, R. I.*, Framingham, Mass., Lakeview Press, 1920; Bruno Wilson, *L'Evolution de la race française en Amérique: Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island*, Montréal, Beauchemin, 1921; *Premier congrès de la langue française au Canada, Québec, 1912, Mémoires*, Québec, Imprimerie de l'Action Sociale Limitée, 1914.

¹⁹In Félix Gatineau (ed.), *Historique des conventions générales des Canadiens-Français aux Etats-Unis, 1865-1901*, Woonsocket, R.I., 1927, p. 406.

²⁰By way of examples: Henri d'Arles, *Le français dans le New Hampshire*, 1919, tract no 5; Georges-Albert Guertin, *La langue française et le christianisme*, 1919, tract no 3; D.-M.-A. Magnan, *La paroisse franco-américaine*, 1919, tract no 11.

QUEBEC IN THE UNITED STATES

²¹See in particular the works of Hamon, de Nevers, Laflamme, Magnan, Jules-Paul Tardivel, *La situation religieuse aux Etats-Unis, Illusions et réalités*, Montréal, Librairie Saint-Joseph, Cadieux et Derôme, 1900; and J. B. Geniesse, *Pour aider à la solution de questions qui s'agitent aux Etats-Unis et au Canada*, Rome, 1912.

²²Only by way of examples, because they are too numerous to be recorded in a work of this scope: *Almanach canadien-français religieux et statistique pour la Nouvelle-Angleterre pour l'année 1886*, Woonsocket, R.I., 1886; Albert Bélanger, *Guide officiel des Franco-Américains*, Fall River, Mass., 1922 to 1940; Arthur Baribault, *Histoire et statistiques des Canadiens-Américains du Connecticut, 1885-1898*, Worcester, Mass., Imprimerie de l'Opinion publique, 1899 (essential for the incidents in Danielson); Odile Laplante, "Les Franco-Américains du Maine" [census], *La Revue franco-américaine*, vol. 2, no 3 (January 1909), pp. 206-209.

²³Adjutor Rivard, "L'Action française par les Canadiens en Amérique," *Les Quarante ans de la société historique franco-américaine*, Boston, 1940, p. 172.

²⁴Henri Bourassa, "Les Franco-Américains," *Le Bulletin de la Société historique franco-américaine*, 1956, p. 167.

²⁵Elphège-J. Daignault, *Le vrai mouvement sentinelliste en Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1923-1929, et l'affaire du Rhode Island*, Montréal, Editions du Zodiaque, 1935; J.-Albert Foisy, *Histoire de l'agitation sentinelliste dans la Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1925-1928*, Woonsocket, La Tribune Publishing Co., 1928; and l'Association canado-américaine, *Les Franco-Américains peints par eux-mêmes*, Montréal, Albert Lévesque Editions, 1936.

²⁶Josaphat Benôit, *L'âme franco-américaine*, Montréal, Albert Lévesque, 1935, p. 226.

²⁷Hormidas Hamelin, *Notre-Dame-des-Sept-Douleurs ou une paroisse franco-américaine*, by the author, 1916. Besides this very interesting parochial monograph, one can read by the same author, *Lettres à un ami sur la patrie, la langue et la question franco-américaine*, Montréal, Imprimerie des sourds-muets, 1930.

²⁸Josaphat Benôit, *L'âme franco-américaine*, Montréal, Albert Lévesque, 1935, p. 148. In our opinion, this is the best account of the ideology of survivance.

²⁹Besides the above-mentioned work, see for a summary, Josaphat Benôit, "L'âme franco-américaine," *Bulletin de la société historique franco-américaine*, 1935, pp. 3-10. Adrien Verrette, *La Croisade franco-américaine*, Manchester, L'avenir national, 1938, Mgr. Verrette is an indefatigable chronicler and memorialist to whom we are indebted for a considerable number of parochial monographs, souvenir-albums, articles, and lectures. For this awareness of the Franco-American experience in Quebec, see: Alexandre Dugré, *Notre survivance française, Comité régional du Rhode Island, 2e Congrès de la langue française à Québec, 27 juin-1er juillet 1937*, Montréal, Imprimerie du Messenger, 1937; Paul-Emile Gosselin, "Nos pères des Etats-

Unis,' *Le Canada français*, vol. XXIV, no. 8 (April 1937), pp. 750-759; Cardinal Rodrigue Villeneuve, *Le fait français en Amérique*, Quebec, Librairie de l'Action catholique, 1938.

³⁰Alexandre Goulet, *Une Nouvelle-France en Nouvelle-Angleterre*, Paris, Edouard Duchemin, Librairie de jurisprudence ancienne et moderne, 1934; Jacques Ducharme, *The Shadows of the Trees, The Story of the French Canadians in New England*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1943; Maximilienne Tétrault, *Le rôle de la presse dans l'évolution du peuple franco-américain de la Nouvelle-Angleterre*, Marseille, Imprimerie Ferran et Cie, 1935; Mary-Carmel Therriault, *La littérature française de Nouvelle-Angleterre*, Montréal, Fides, 1946; Ulysse Forget, *La paroisse Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Warren, état du Rhode Island (1877-1952)*, Montréal, Imprimerie populaire, 1952.

³¹Edward B. Ham, "Programme de recherches franco-américaines," *Le Canada français*, vol. XXV, no. 2 (Oct. 1937), p. 216.

³²William MacDonald, "The French Canadians in New England," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. XII (April 1898), pp. 245-279; A. R. M. Lower, "New France in New England," *New England Quarterly*, vol. II (April 1929), pp. 278-295; Edward B. Ham, "Journalism and the French Survival in New England," *New England Quarterly*, vol. XI (March 1938), pp. 88-107; "French National Societies in New England," *New England Quarterly*, vol. XII (June 1939), pp. 315-322; "En marge de la survivance franco-américaine," *La Canada Français*, vol. XXVII, no. 3 (Nov. 1939), pp. 261-280; Richard Allen Foley, "From French Canadian to Franco-American, A Study of the Immigration of the French Canadian into New England, 1650-1935," Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1939; Granville T. Prior, "The French-Canadians in New England," M.A. thesis, Brown University, 1932; and Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1940.

³³Jacques Ducharme, "Après trente ans," in *Les Franco-Américains, La promesse du passé, les réalités du présent*, Colloquium coordinated by the National Materials Development Center for French and Portuguese, 1976, Bedford, N.H., p. 17. The entire communications must be read to appreciate the image the Franco-Americans now have of themselves. One should also consult the twelve lectures delivered during the XIth Congress of the Franco-Americans held in Bedford, N.H. in September 1974: *Le Franco-Américain au 20e siècle*, Comité de Vie Franco-américaine, 1976.

³⁴See the communications of Richard Santerre, Thomas Landry, Paul Paré, and Claire Quintal, at the time of the Colloquium of 1976.

³⁵As examples of an abundant literature, see, besides the above-mentioned studies: Comité d'orientation franco-américaine, *Notre vie franco-américaine*, Boston, 1949; Ernest R. D'Amours, "L'avenir de la culture française en Amérique de Nord," *Le Canado-Américain*, vol. 3, nos. 2 & 3 (1962), pp. 14-20 and 26-32; Thomas M. Landry, *Mission catholique et française en Nouvelle-Angleterre*, Québec, Ferland, 1962; Paul Chassé, "Les Canuks et les

Cajuns, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique," *Culture française*, no. 3 (autumn 1976), pp. 38-49; Richard Santerre, "En quoi le français peut-il encore être utile en Amérique de Nord," *Forces*, nos 46-47 (1979), pp. 48-57.

³⁶As regards the United States, one should read the remarkable conclusions formulated by Michael Kammen: "The Historian's Vocation and the State of the Discipline in the United States," in M. Kammen (edit.), *The Past Before us*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1980, pp. 19-46.

³⁷Robert Rumilly, *Histoire des Franco-Américains*, Montréal, 1958. It is also the major topic of two studies by Hervé B. Lemaire, "Les Franco-Américains de Fall River," in *Conference de l'Institut Franco-Américain*, Brunswick, Maine, Bowdoin College, 1961, pp. 39-49 and "Franco-American Efforts on Behalf of the French Language in New England" in Joshua Fishman (edit.), *Language Loyalty in the United States*, The Hague, Mouton, 1966, pp. 253-279.

³⁸Le Mohican, "Le carquois d'un Mohican," *Le Canado-Américain*, vol. I, no 2 (august-september 1958), p. 9.

³⁹Mason Wade, "The French Parish and Survivance in Nineteenth Century New England," *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. XXXVI no. 2 (July 1950), pp. 163-189.

⁴⁰Soeur Florence Marie Chevalier, "The Role of French National Societies in the Socio-Cultural Evolution of the Franco-Americans of New England from 1860 to the Present, an Analytical Macro-Sociological Case in Ethnic Integration Based on Current Social System Models," Ph.D. thesis, Catholic University of America, 1972.

⁴¹Gaston Carrière, *Histoire documentaire de la Congrégation des Missionnaires des Oblats de Marie-Immaculée dans l'Est du Canada. 2e partie. Dans la seconde moitié die XIXe siècle (1861-1900)*. Vol. X, Ottawa, Editions de l'university d'ottawa, 1972; J.-Antonin Plourde, *Dominicains au Canada, Livre des documents, Vol. 2: les cinq fondations avant l'autonomie (1881-1911)*, s.l., 1975.

⁴²J.-Antonin Plourde, "Sainte-Anne de Fall River," *Le Rosaire* (June-July-August 1969); and "1870-1970, Cent ans de vie paroissiale, SS. Pierre et Paul de Lewiston," *Le Rosaire*, (1970).

⁴³Kenneth Woodbury, "An Incident between the French Canadians and the Irish in the Diocese of Maine in 1906," *New England Quarterly*, vol. LX (June 1967), pp. 260-269.

⁴⁴Richard S. Sorrell, "The Sentinelle Affair (1924-1929) and Militant Survivance: The Franco-American Experience in Woonsocket, R.I.," Ph.D. thesis State University of New York at Buffalo, 1975. For a summary, see Silvia, "Sentinelle Affair (1924-1929)," *Rhode Island History*, vol. XXXVI, no. 3 (August 1977), pp. 67-80.

⁴⁵George F. Thériault, "The Franco-Americans in a New England Community, An experiment in survival," Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1951; a summary of this thesis may be found in "The Franco-Americans of

New England," Mason Wade (ed.), *Canadian Dualism/La dualité canadienne*, Quebec, PUL, 1960, pp. 392-411; Peter Haebler, "Habitants in Holyoke: the Development of the French Canadian Community in a Massachusetts City, 1865-1910," Ph.D. thesis, University of New Hampshire, 1976. It is regrettable that those two studies show an imperfect knowledge of Quebec.

⁴⁶Michael Guignard, *La foi. La langue. La culture. The Franco-Americans of Biddeford, Maine*, Michel Guignard, 1982; Gerald Blazon, "A Social History of the French-Canadian Community of Suncook, New Hampshire (1870-1920)," Ph.D. thesis, University of New Hampshire, 1974; Pierre Anctil, "Aspects of Class Ideology in a New England Ethnic Minority: the Franco-Americans of Woonsocket, Rhode Island (1865-1919)," Ph.D. thesis, New School for Social Research, 1980; Pierre Anctil had already drawn our attention to the importance of his topic in "La franco-américanité ou le Québec d'en bas," *Cahiers de géographie du Québec*, vol. 23, no. 58 (April 1979), pp. 39-53. Since, for various reasons, I have not read the three theses above-mentioned, I consider it wise not to comment on them.

⁴⁷Gilles Paquet, "L'émigration des Canadiens français vers la Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1870-1910: prises de vue quantitatives," *Recherches sociographiques*, vol. V, no. 3 (September-December 1964), pp. 319-371; Yolande Lavoie, *L'émigration des Canadiens aux Etats-Unis avant 1930. Mesure du phénomène*, Montreal, PUM 1972; and "Les mouvements migratoires des Canadiens entre leur pays et les Etats-Unis au XIXe et au XXe siècles, étude quantitative" in Hubert Charbonneau (ed.), *La population du Québec: études rétrospectives*. The editions of the Boréal Express, 1973 (Coll. Etudes d'histoire du Québec, vol. 4), pp. 73-88; and *L'émigration des Québécois aux Etats-Unis de 1840 à 1930*, Quebec, official editor of the province of Quebec, 1979; Ralph D. Vicero, "Immigration of French Canadians to New England, 1840-1900: A Geographical Analysis," Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1968.

⁴⁸Besides the above-mentioned studies, see: Ralph D. Vicero, "Sources statistiques pour l'étude de l'immigration et du peuplement canadien-français en Nouvelle-Angleterre au cours du XIXe siècle," *Recherches sociographiques*, vol. XII, no. 3 (September-December 1971), pp. 361-377.

⁴⁹In Claire Quintal (ed.), *Situation de la recherche sur la Franco-Américaine*, First Colloquium of the French Institute of Assumption College, March 1980, Quebec, 1980, p. 30. For this period and the following, supplementary information will be found in: Rolande Boulanger, "L'émigration canadienne-française aux Etats-Unis: 1920-1930," M.A. thesis, McGill, 1972; and Claude Dionne, "L'émigration du Canada aux Etats-Unis de 1945 à 1968," M.A. thesis, Université de Montréal, 1971.

⁵⁰Donald Chaput, "Some Repatriement Dilemmas," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. XLIV (December 1968), pp. 400-412; and John Little, "La Patrie: Quebec's Repatriation Colony, 1875-1880," *Communications historiques*, 1977, *A selection of communications presented at the annual meeting of the SHC (CHA)*, Fredericton in 1977, pp. 66-85.

⁵¹Albert Faucher, "L'émigration des Canadiens français aux Etats-Unis au XIXe siècle, position du problème et perspective," *Recherches*

sociographiques, vol. V, no. 3 (September-December 1964) pp. 277-317; and "Explications socio-économiques des migrations dans l'histoire du Québec," *Memoires de la Société Royale du Canada*, 1975, Quatrième série, vol. XIII, pp. 91-107.

⁵²Yves Roby, "L'évolution économique du Québec et l'émigrant (1850-1929)," in *L'émigrant québécois vers les Etats-Unis: 1850-1920*, Le Conseil de Vie française, 1982, pp. 8-20 (Deuxième colloque de l'Institut français du Collège Assomption, Worcester, Mass., mars 1981). See also Jean Hamelin and Yves Roby, *Histoire économique de Québec, 1850-1896*, Montreal, Fides, 1971.

⁵³Ralph Vicero, op. cit.; James Allen, "Migration Fields of French-Canadian immigrants to Southern Maine," *Geographical Review*, vol. LXII, no. 3 (July 1972), pp. 366-383 and "Franco-Americans in Maine: A Geographical Perspective," *Acadiensis*, vol. 4, no. 1 (aut. 1974), pp. 32-66. See also Sylvie Rimbert, "L'immigration franco-canadienne au Massachusetts," *Revue canadienne de géographie*, vol. VIII, nos. 3-4 (July-October 1954), pp. 75-85.

⁵⁴See for instance: Rémi Tremblay, *Pierre qui roule. Souvenirs d'un journaliste*, Montréal, Beauchemin, 1923.

⁵⁵Pierre Savard, "Relations between French-Canadian and American Catholics in the Last Third of the Nineteenth Century," *Culture*, vol. XXXI, no. 1 (March 1970), pp. 24-39. Savard has already devoted a searching study to the presence of the United States in the works of Tardivel, *Jules-Paul Tardivel, la France et les Etats-Unis*, Quebec, PUL, 1967. See Jean-Guy Lalande, "Le mouvement sentinelliste: réflexions sur un problème de survivance" M.A. thesis, Univ. Laval, 1971; Claude Galarneau, *Les collèges classiques au Canada français*, Montreal, Fides, 1978. See especially the article by Nive Voisine, "Les valeurs religieuses de l'émigrant québécois," Quebec, Le Conseil de la vie française en Amérique, 1982, pp. 21-38.

⁵⁶Regrouped under the title, *Silhouettes franco-américaines*, Manchester, Publications de l'Association canado-américaine, 1957.

⁵⁷Yves Roby, "Ferdinand Gagnon," *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada*, vol. XI, Quebec, PUL, 1982, pp. 362-364.

⁵⁸The volumes of Tamara Hareven and Randolph Langenback. *Amoskeag: Life and Work in an American Factory-City*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1978; of Dyke Hendrickson, *Quiet Presence: Histoire de Franco-Américains en New England*, Portland, Maine, Guy Gannett Publishing Co., 1980; and of Normand Lafleur, *Les "Chinois" de l'est ou la vie quotidienne des Québécois émigrés aux Etats-Unis de 1840 à nos jours*, Montréal, Leméac, 1981, clearly demonstrate the wealth of information which may be derived from oral enquiries.

⁵⁹Philip Silvia, "The Spindle City: Labor, Politics and Religion in Fall River, Massachusetts, 1870-1905," Ph.D. thesis, Fordham University, 1973; Antony Coelho, "A Row of Nationalities: French-Canadians of Fall River, Massachusetts, 1850-1890," Ph.D. thesis, Brown University, 1980; Frances Early, "French-Canadian Beginnings in an American Community: Lowell, Massachusetts, 1868-1886," Ph.D. thesis, Université Concordia, 1979; see also all the works presented at the third annual colloquium of the French Institute

of Assumption College, Worcester, held March 1982: *The Little Canadas of New England*, Assumption College, 1983.

⁶⁰Iris S. Podea, "Quebec to Little Canada, the Coming of the French Canadians to New England in the Nineteenth Century," *New England Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 3 (September 1950), pp. 365-380; Daniel Walkowitz, *Worker City, Company Town, Iron and Cotton-Worker Protest in Troy and Cohoes, New York, 1855-84*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1978; Tamara K. Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time, The Relationship between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982; Frances H. Early, "The French-Canadian Family Economy and Standard of Living in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1870," *Journal of Family History* (Summer 1982), pp. 180-200.

⁶¹Richard Sorrell, "Sports and Franco-Americans in Woonsocket, 1870-1930," *Sports* (Autumn 1977), pp. 116-126.

⁶²Ernest B. Guillet, *French Ethnic Literature and Culture in an American City, Holyoke, Massachusetts*, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, 1978.

⁶³Paul Chassé, "Les poètes franco-américains de la Nouvelle-Angleterre (1875-1925)," Ph.D. thesis, Université Laval, 1968.

⁶⁴Richard Santerre, "Le roman franco-américain de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1878-1943," Ph.D. thesis, Boston College, 1974. The same author has prepared an impressive anthology of Franco-american literature for the National Materials Development Center: *Littérature franco-américaine de la Nouvelle-Angleterre. Anthologie, 1980-1981*, 9 volumes. See also François Roche, *Les Francos de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, Anthologie franco-américaine (XIXe et XXe siècles)*, Larc Editions, 1981; Armand B. Chartier, "Pour une problématique de l'histoire littéraire franco-américaine," in Claire Quintal (ed.), *Situation de la recherche sur la Franco-Américaine*, Quebec, Le Conseil de la Vie française en Amérique, 1980, pp. 81-100.