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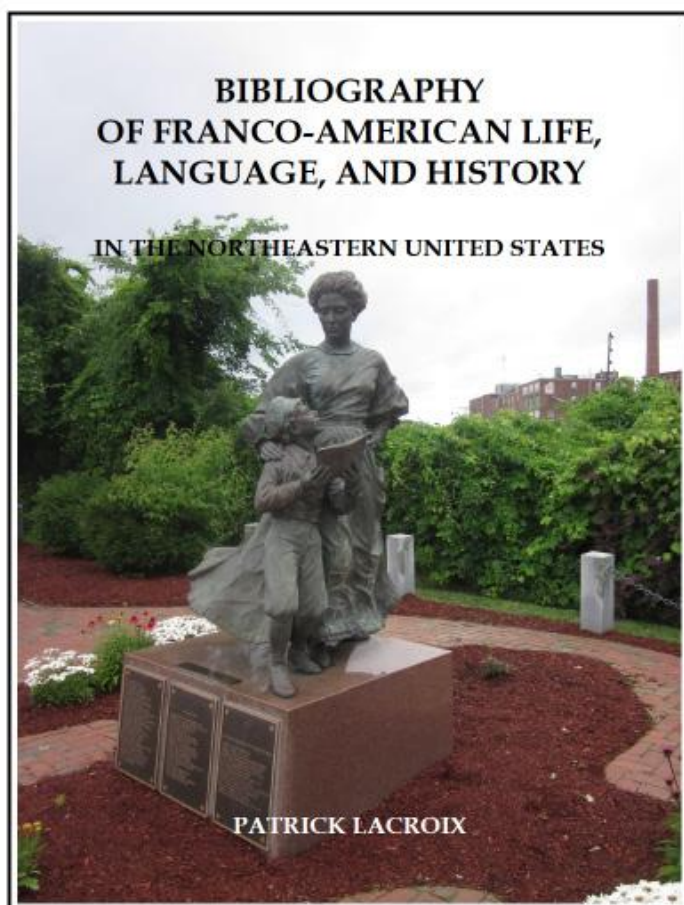
# Franco-American Programs Programmes Franco-Américains

Occasional Papers

Fall 2018

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University of / Université du Maine  
Orono, Maine

FRANCO-AMERICAN  
PROGRAMS

OCCASIONAL PAPERS

FALL 2018 NUMBER 2

Bibliography  
of Franco-American Life, Language,  
and History  
in the  
Northeastern United States

Patrick Lacroix, Ph. D.

Franco American Programs  
University of / Université du Maine  
Orono, Maine

*Cover Photo: Sculpture by Christopher Gowel  
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*Back Photo: Statue of Ferdinand Gagnon, "Father of  
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Franco-American Programs Publications  
University of Maine  
Orono, Maine

ISBN: 978-1-7324681-1-5

Printed by Gossamer Press  
Old Town, Maine

FRANCO-AMERICAN PROGRAMS  
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## INTRODUCTION

### *Franco-American History in Brief*

There is no obvious starting point to the history of Franco-Americans. French Huguenots found refuge in the Thirteen Colonies and other migrants from metropolitan France came to the United States during and in the wake of the American Revolution. This bibliography, as with much of the field of Franco-American studies, is concerned with the more sizable migration of French-heritage people from Canada to the United States. In this regard, scholars might begin with the Acadians who were forcibly relocated to the Thirteen Colonies beginning in 1755, or with the Canadiens who served in the Continental Army and settled in northern New York in the aftermath of the Revolutionary War. Both of these movements of population resulted from the specific and limited circumstances of wartime. Political allegiance, real or alleged, determined the fate of thousands who, in the context of Anglo-Saxon political ascendancy, were set apart by their cultural identity.

In the 1820s, economic conditions in Lower Canada began to fuel a migration that would persist with few interruptions well into the twentieth century. The United States again served as a political refuge with the failure of the Canadian Rebellions in 1837-1838, but it was

deeper structural forces that led to the outmigration of French Canadians and Acadians from their colonial homelands. In the St. Lawrence River valley, demographic growth and an incipient agricultural crisis naturally pushed people outwardly, into the Eastern Townships for instance but also across a border that was still in many respects imaginary. Men sought seasonal work south of the border as farmhands in northern New York and Vermont and as loggers in Maine. Seasonal work gradually led to the transplantation of Canadian families and, through chain migration, of entire communities. Following the U.S. Civil War, rapid industrial growth in New England cities—accessible through an expanding network of rail lines—definitively altered the image of the migrant. French-speaking families clustered in ethnic neighborhoods, often termed colonies, and joined the industrial workforce in Woonsocket, Rhode Island; Fall River and Worcester, Massachusetts; in the factory towns of the Merrimack River valley; in Biddeford and Lewiston, Maine; and in countless other locales. In these cities, they established “national” Catholic parishes, patronized their countrymen’s businesses, and developed a rich cultural life that often centered on the local *société Saint-Jean-Baptiste*.

Many families expected their life in the United States to be a brief sojourn: they would ultimately return to the farms and villages of Canada, American wages in hand. Such was certainly the hope of the political and religious authorities of their home country, who encouraged repatriation. But as “Canadian” institutions developed on American soil, these families became increasingly settled. By virtue of their numbers and urban concentration, their distinct identity was preserved

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for generations. At the same time, the scale of their migratory movement proved disruptive. Like the Irish before them, French Canadians and Acadians felt the force of American nativist sentiments. Even after the Great Depression put an end to the *grande saignée*, Canada's demographic hemorrhage, French speakers throughout New England faced marginalization and discrimination. Cultural adversity encouraged assimilation. Following the Second World War, so did suburbanization, gradual estrangement from the Catholic Church and the closure of national parishes, and increased social mobility. At last, there was no new wave of expatriates to replenish Little Canadas and reinvigorate the distinct culture of Franco-Americans.

Assimilation has easily lent itself to a narrative of cultural decline. But a resurgent interest in the experience of "white ethnics" in the 1970s facilitated the creation of new Franco-American associations, research institutions, and periodicals. State governments have embraced their local connection to the Francophonie and today many of them honor Franco-Americans annually in March and June. Although proportionally few Americans of French-Canadian and Acadian descent speak French at the dawn of the twenty-first century, more than ever they are enjoying the promise that their ancestors had sought in the United States.

### *Evolution and State of the Field*

The outmigration of Canadians prior to the Civil War was noticed by such prominent observers as Lord Durham, the Governor General of Canada, and Henry David Thoreau. It received little sustained attention however. In the 1870s, the



migration of hundreds of thousands of French Canadians and Acadians to industrial centers in New England and New York elicited close scrutiny from the host society, Canadian religious leaders and public officials, and emerging Franco-American elites. Since then, analytical writing concerning Canadian emigration and Franco-American life has evolved through four distinct phases.

During the era of mass migration from Canada, “old-stock” Americans observers assessed the opportunities and, more commonly, the threats posed by the influx of French-speaking Catholics from the north. They pored over the numbers and emphasized the clash of values and institutions that inevitably derived from mass immigration. Their work often conveyed the fears of Anglo-Saxon Protestants whose way of life—and racial ascendancy—seemed endangered. In the same period, Franco-American editors and community leaders penned meticulously descriptive works that asserted their desire to live freely under republican institutions. They also expressed their commitment to the idea of *survivance*. Franco-American almanacs, histories, and other studies reflected the Catholic identity of the majority as well as elites’ cultural combativeness. They made it their duty to preserve the French tongue and French customs in this foreign land. Quebec newspapers and magazines analyzed the migration but also regularly relayed news from the Little Canadas. More substantive and often more cautious works were printed in Montreal.

As the Great Depression rocked Canada and the United States, the lure of American factories vanished and the legal context of cross-border migration changed. While acculturation made

inroads, the literature on Franco- American life took two distinct paths. Franco-American community leaders penned commemorative works often revolving around their Catholic heritage. At the same time, university theses, articles in scholarly journals, and other, larger studies attested to growing sociological interest in Franco-Americans. Researchers, including antiquarians, increasingly turned their focus to this group's idiom and its place in the course of Canada-U.S. relations, for instance. The emergence of continental history in the 1930s and 1940s had great bearing on this line of research. It is noteworthy that much of the scholarship to appear in French in this period was the work of Canadians, not Franco-Americans. Historical research reached an important watershed with the publication of Robert Rumilly's *Histoire des Franco-Américains* in 1958, the most exhaustive survey yet to appear in the field.

Ralph D. Vicero's dissertation at the University of Wisconsin, completed in 1968, announced a new phase, closely tied to larger developments in American and Canadian historical research. From 1968 to 1980, fourteen Ph.D. dissertations with Franco-Americans as their chief protagonists were completed in American universities. Access to government funding, the rise of new research institutions, and a revival of pride in French-Canadian culture encouraged new concern for the Franco-American identity. Archival, sociological, literary, and linguistic research accelerated. The annual colloquia of the *Institut français* at Assumption College and other forums enabled scholars from both sides of the border to share questions and findings. By the early 1990s, intensive research had resulted in historical surveys by Gerard J. Brault, François Weil, Yves

Roby, and Armand Chartier. Other major works appeared in the subsequent decade. Even as Quebec universities began producing the majority of theses and dissertations, American research revealed sustained and coherent lines of inquiry.

In the last twenty years, the state of research has proven more difficult to discern. Some of the most distinguished figures in Franco-American studies became less active (Claire Quintal), pursued other interests (Pierre Anctil), or altogether retired (Yves Roby). As the *Institut français's* conferences came to an end, researchers turned to broader forums, including the *Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française* and the American Council for Quebec Studies. Still, recently, innovative studies have introduced gendered and comparative perspectives and nuanced longstanding narratives. If the works of the last two decades seem disparate, with less discernible axes of inquiry, research continues to appear in print at a rate not far behind the apparent heyday of then 1970, 1980s, and 1990s.

While this bibliography offers no research agenda, some gaps in the field of Franco-American studies are manifest from a perusal of its content. First, the French Canadians and Acadians who settled in the United States' geographical margins, from Clinton County, New York, through Berlin, in northern New Hampshire, to Maine's peripheries, are similarly relegated to the margins of research. The rise of borderland studies provides an opportunity to better understand these migrants' distinctive economic and cultural experience. Second, beyond clergymen and newspaper editors, little has appeared concerning Franco-American professionals and businessmen. The process by which migrants and their descendants earned the economic and cultural capital needed for upward

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mobility remains poorly defined. Similarly, the process of integration that operated in most communities in the decades after the Second World War requires further study. And, third, scholars are still confronted with the task of (1) setting their findings in conversation with the experience of other cultural communities and (2) asserting the relevance of Franco-American studies to larger narratives concerning American history, culture, and national life.

### *Scope*

Works listed below consider the migration, integration, economic and social life, culture, religion, and language of French Canadians and Acadians who settled, permanently or not, in New England and New York State and of their Franco-American descendants. Beginning in the colonial period, individuals and families from both of these groups also migrated to the Midwest, the Plains region, and beyond. Louisiana became a bastion of Acadian life and culture. The implied contention of this bibliography, by virtue of its scope, is that the Franco-American experience elsewhere in the United States differed substantially from that seen in New England and New York. A brief survey of studies on other regions of the country—with no pretense of comprehensiveness—appears in Appendix A with other works that may prove relevant in the study of Franco-Americans.

With the exception of the section on audiovisual materials, works listed here are of four kinds: monographs; memoirs and published oral histories; book chapters and scholarly articles; and government reports. Some biographies are included, but researchers may want to look beyond this bibliography for information on Quebec-born

individuals who lived in the United States relatively briefly (Olivar Asselin, Honoré Beaugrand) or on Franco-Americans whose fame transcended their ethnic community (William Aubuchon, Louis Cyr, Leo Durocher, Jack Kerouac, Nap Lajoie, Calixa Lavallée, Grace Metalious, Aram Pothier). There is also significant context to be gleaned from local, state, and regional studies, thematic works, and historical surveys of Quebec and Atlantic Canada, though, when such works discuss Franco-Americans, they often rely on the scholarship listed in the present document. Articles in newspapers and popular magazines do not appear below for the simple reason that a bibliography of such articles would require time, energy, and means beyond those permitted by the current project. Fortunately, as digital databases expand it is quickly becoming easier to locate and access full-text periodical articles. In any event, this bibliography is meant as a literature review that helps researchers situate their work on Franco-Americans within a larger conversation, not as an exhaustive list of primary documents. Further guidance is to be found in the listed works' bibliographies and in the resources that appear in Appendix B.

Generally, new editions of a monograph or article do not appear unless it has been substantially revised or expanded, or unless it has been translated. In some cases, when the original edition is no longer available, the work appears under the year in which it was reissued. Thesis and dissertation advisors are named when the information has been readily available.

This is not the first attempt at an extensive bibliography of works on Franco-Americans in the American Northeast. Pierre Anctil published just

such a compendium in 1979, but after nearly forty years of sustained research, the need for a similar, more up-to-date effort is apparent. The Franco-American Centre at the University of Maine hosts, it is true, an online bibliography. The present effort distinguishes itself by its format and structure and can still be searched by keyword in its digital form.

*About the Compiler*

Patrick Lacroix is a native of Cowansville, Quebec, and a graduate of Bishop's University (Sherbrooke, Quebec) and Brock University (St. Catharines, Ontario). After working as a journalist, he taught at the University of New Hampshire, where he earned a Ph.D. in history, and at Phillips Exeter Academy. Beyond his work on Franco-Americans, his research has appeared in *Histoire sociale/Social History*, the *Canadian Journal of History*, the *International History Review*, and the *American Review of Canadian Studies*.

Contemporary Assessments of the *grande saignée*  
(1849-1930)

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- 1851 NELLIGAN, J., et al. *Le Canadien Emigrant ou Pourquoi le Canadien-Français quitte-t-il le Bas-Canada?* Quebec City: Imprimerie Côté et Cie.
- 1857 *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.
- 1859 RAMEAU DE SAINT-PERE, Edmé. *La France aux colonies : Etudes sur le développement de la race française hors de l'Europe – Les Français en Amérique : Acadiens et Canadiens.* Paris: A. Jouby.
- 1872 CHANDONNET, Thomas Aimé. *Notre-Dame-des-Canadiens et les Canadiens aux États-Unis.* Montréal: George E. Desbarats.
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  - “Citizenship,” pp. 93-191.
  - “Fall River, Lowell, and Lawrence,” pp. 193-415.
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- 1887 LAPORTE, Stanislas. *L'héritage des Canadiens-français aux Etats-Unis, ou Notre foi prouvée et défendue*. Montreal: Imprimerie de l'Institution des Sourds-Muets.
- 1887 THIBAUT, Charles. *Le Double avènement de l'Homme-Dieu, ou, Les Deux unités politiques et religieuses des peuples*. Montreal: [n.p.].
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- 2014 LEES, Cynthia. "Identity and the Ethnic Self in Contemporary Franco-American Poetry," *Quebec Studies* 57, pp. 147-170.
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- 2016 MAUDUIT, Julien. “Vrais républicains’ d’Amérique : Les Patriotes canadiens en exil aux Etats-Unis (1837-1842).” Ph.D. dissertation, Université du Québec à Montréal. Advisor: Martin Petitclerc.
- 2016 McEWAN, Eileen. “Into and Out of Quebec: The Transformation of Migrant Cultural Identity in Canuck and La dot de Sara,” *Quebec Studies* 62, pp. 137-155.
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- 2016 WILLISTON, Julie. "L'émigration des femmes célibataires acadiennes vers la Nouvelle-Angleterre (1906-1924)." M.A. thesis, Université de Moncton. Advisor: Phyllis E. LeBlanc.
- 2017 BLACK, Amanda M. "Competing Priorities: French Canadian Women Religious in Biddeford, Maine, 1880-1910." M.A. thesis, University of Maine. Advisor: Jacques Ferland.
- 2017 HARTON, Marie-Eve. "Familles, communautés et industrialization en Amérique du Nord : La reproduction familiale canadienne-française dans les villes de Québec et de Manchester (New Hampshire), 1880-1911." Ph.D. dissertation, Université Laval. Advisors: Richard Marcoux and Lisa Dillon.
- 2017 LACROIX, Patrick. "Americanization by Catholic Means: French Canadian Nationalism and Transnationalism, 1889-1901," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, 16-3, pp. 284-301.

## Audiovisual

- 1976 *A World Within a World: The Amoskeag Manufacturing Company*. Directed and produced by Gary Samson.
- 1977 *Milltown*. Directed and produced by Gary Samson.
- 1980 *Bien des mots ont changé*. Directed and produced by Daniel Louis. Ballon Blanc.
- 1988 *Les Tisserands du pouvoir*. Directed by Claude Fournier. Produced by René Malo and Marie-José Raymond. Ciné Les Tisserands / Malofilm.
- 1988 *Les Tisserands du pouvoir 2 : La révolte*. Directed by Claude Fournier. Produced by René Malo and Marie-José Raymond. Ciné Les Tisserands / Malofilm.
- 1999 *Franco-Americans: We Remember*. Produced by New Hampshire Public Television.
- 2000 *Les 30 jours qui ont fait le Québec. Le 3 novembre 1908 : Un Québécois en exil devient gouverneur américain*. Directed by Jean Roy. Produced by Ronald Brault and Daniel Proulx. Eureka! Productions.
- 2004 *Réveil – Waking Up French. The Repression and Renaissance of the French in New England*. Directed and produced by Ben Levine. Watching Place Productions.

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- 2013 *Louis Cyr*. Directed by Daniel Roby.  
Produced by Christian Larouche. Gaïa  
Films / Cristal Films.
- 2013 *Un rêve américain*. Directed by Bruno  
Boulianne. Produced by Claude Godbout.  
Eureka! Productions.
- 2017 *The Home Road*. Directed and produced by  
Tonya Shevenell. Home Ice Productions.

## APPENDIX A

### *Other Works of Interest*

#### *Community studies*

- 1846 NEWMAN, S. C. *A Numbering of the Inhabitants, Together with Statistical and Other Information Relative to Woonsocket, R.I.* Woonsocket: S. S. Foss.
- 1931 WESSEL, Bessie Bloom. *An Ethnic Survey of Woonsocket, Rhode Island.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press. Reissued by Arno Press in 1970.
- 1939 GREEN, Constance McLaughlin. *Holyoke, Massachusetts: A Case History of the Industrial Revolution in America.* New Haven: Yale University Press. Reissued by Archon Books in 1968.
- 1957 UNDERWOOD, Kenneth Wilson. *Protestant and Catholic: Religious and Social Interaction in an Industrial Community.* Boston: Beacon Press. Reissued in 1961.
- 1958 AMRHEIN, Joseph. "The Economic History of a Northern New England City." Ph.D. dissertation, New York University.
- 1963 COLE, Donald B. *Immigrant City: Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1845-1921.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- 1969 ALBERT, Julie D. *Madawaska Centennial (1869-1969).* Madawaska: [n.p.].
- 1974 CUMBLER, John T. "Continuity and Disruption: Working Class Community in

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Lynn and Fall River, Massachusetts 1880-1950." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan.

- 1976 ENO, Arthur L., Jr. Editor. *Cotton Was King: A History of Lowell, Massachusetts*. Somersworth: New Hampshire Publishing Company – Lowell Historical Society.
- 1978 WALKOWITZ, Daniel J. *Worker City, Company Town: Iron and Cotton-Worker Protest in Troy and Cohoes, New York, 1855-84*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- 1979 CUMBLER, John T. *Working Class Community in Industrial America: Work, Leisure and Struggle in Two Industrial Cities, 1880-1930*. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- 1979 PELLETIER, Martine, and Monica DIONNE FERRETTI. *Van Buren, Maine: History*. Madawaska: St. John Valley Publishing.
- 1988 FORTIN, Marcel B. Editor. *Woonsocket, Rhode Island: A Centennial History, 1888-1988*. Woonsocket: Woonsocket Centennial Committee.
- 1995 SAMSON, Gary. *A World Within a World: Manchester, the Mills and the Immigrant Experience*. Dover: Arcadia.

*Fiction and Other Creative Writing*

The selection below is not a definitive list of works by Franco-Americans, but rather a representative sample of works about Franco-American life. Much of Jack Kerouac's body of work bears the imprint

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of his heritage, but does not directly concern the Franco-American experience.

- 1878 BEAUGRAND, Honoré. *Jeanne la fileuse*. Fall River: Fiske and Munroe.
- 1882 HAMON, Edouard. *Exil et Patrie : Drame en 5 actes*. Montreal: J. Chapleau et Fils.
- 1884 TREMBLAY, Rémi. *Un revenant*. Montreal: La Patrie.
- 1888 DUVAL-THIBAUT, Anna. *Les deux testaments*. Fall River: L'Indépendant.
- 1908 POTVIN, Damase. *Restons Chez Nous!* Quebec City: J. A. Guay.
- 1912 TREMBLAY, Rémi. *Vers l'idéal*. Ottawa: Imprimerie commerciale.
- 1922 CHOQUET, Joseph P. *Under Canadian Skies*. Providence: Oxford Press.
- 1933 GASTONGUAY, Alberte. *La jeune franco-américaine*. Lewiston: Le Messenger.
- 1936 LESSARD-BISSONNETTE, Camille. *Canuck*. Lewiston: Le Messenger.
- 1938 PANNETON, Philippe (alias RINGUET). *Trente arpents*. Paris: Flammarion.
- 1939 DUCHARME, Jacques. *The Delusson Family: A Novel*. NYC: Funk and Wagnalls.
- 1941 PARSONS, Vivian. *Not Without Honor*. NYC: Dodd, Mead and Co.

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- 1943 ARCHAMBAULT, Albéric A. *Mill Village: A Novel*. Boston: Bruce Humphries.
- 1946 BOUCHER, Georges A. *Chants du Nouveau Monde*. Brockton: [n.p.].
- 1950 KEROUAC, Jack. *The Town and the City*. NYC: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich.
- 1959 KEROUAC, Jack. *Dr. Sax*. NYC: Grove Press.
- 1961 ROBICHAUD, Gerard. *Papa Martel*. Garden City: Doubleday.
- 1962 MALOUIN, Reine. *Où chante la vie*. Quebec City: Editions de l'Action catholique.
- 1967 METALIOUS, Grace. *No Adam in Eden*. NYC: Trident Press.
- 1978 PLANTE, David. *The Family*. NYC: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- 1979 PORT-JOLI, *Emma. Mirbah*. Bedford: National Materials Development Center. First published serially in 1910-1912.
- 1980 LAMBERT, Adélar. *L'innocente victime*. Bedford: National Materials Development Center. First published serially in 1936.
- 1988 FOURNIER, Claude. *Les Tisserands du pouvoir*. Montreal: Québec/Amérique.
- 1991 LEDOUX, Denis. Editor. *Lives in Translation: An Anthology of Contemporary Franco-American Writings*. Lisbon Falls: Soleil Press.



- 1999 APRIL, Susan, Paul BROUILLETTE, Paul MARION, and Marie Louise ST. ONGE. *French Class: French Canadian- American Writings on Identity, Culture, and Place*. Lowell: Loom Press.
- 1997 ROBBINS, Rhea Côté. *Wednesday's Child*. Brewer: Rheta Press.
- 2006 BEAUPRE, Normand. *La Souillonne*. Coral Springs: Llumina Press.
- 2011 ROY, Marguerite. *Aurore: My Franco-American Mother*. Published independently.
- 2016 ROBBINS, Rhea Côté. Editor. *Heliotrope: French Heritage Women Create*. Brewer: Rheta Press.

*French Canadians in the Midwest and West*

Among the French Canadians who lived for some time in the American Midwest and West are figures of consequence in the history of Canada, including Charles Chiniquy, Louis Fréchette, and Louis Riel, who have merited biographical treatment. But many other Franco-Americans achieved prominence in this region and the list below offers a glimpse of the crucial role they played, individually and collectively, in the development of the United States.

- 1861 RAMEAU DE SAINT-PERE, Edmé. *Notes historiques sur la colonie canadienne de Détroit*. Montreal: J. B. Rolland et Fils.

Occasional Paper #2

- 1878 TASSE, Joseph. *Les Canadiens de l'Ouest*. Montreal: Compagnie d'imprimerie canadienne.
- 1893 PAQUIN, Elzéar. *La Colonie Canadienne-Française de Chicago*. Chicago: Stromberg, Allen and Co.
- 1895 ST-PIERRE, Téléphore. *Histoire des Canadiens du Michigan et du Comté d'Essex, Ontario*. Montreal: Gazette.
- 1900 MAGNAN, J. Roch. *Notes historiques sur la paroisse St. Jean Baptiste à Muskegon, Michigan, et divers renseignements utiles, 1883-1900*. Bay City: J. G. Duval.
- 1907 BELISLE, Alexandre. "The French-Canadians in the Development of Our Country," *Proceedings of the Worcester Society of Antiquity* 23, pp. 59-75.
- 1939 BROUILLETTE, Benoît. *La pénétration du continent américain par les Canadiens Français, 1763-1846*. Montreal: Granger. Reissued by Fides in 1979.
- 1940 ENO, Arthur L. *French Trails in the United States*. Lowell: Franco-American Historical Society.
- 1941 LANCTOT, Gustave. Editor. *Les Canadiens français et leurs voisins du sud*. Montreal: Editions Bernard Valiquette; New Haven: Yale University Press. See Benoit BROUILLETTE, "Le rôle des Canadiens français dans la traite des fourrures, les explorations et les missions, 1763-1846," pp. 143-184.

- 1964 STUDNESS, Charles. M. "Economic Opportunity and the Westward Migration of Canadians during the Late Nineteenth Century," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 30-4, pp. 570-584.
- 1979 McQUILLAN, D. Aidan. "French-Canadian Communities in the American Upper Midwest during the Nineteenth Century," *Cahiers de géographie du Québec*, 23-58, pp. 53-72.
- 1980 MARTIN, André. Editor. *A Franco-American Overview, Vol. II: Midwest and West*. Cambridge: National Assessment and Dissemination Center for Bilingual/Bicultural Education.
- 1984 QUINTAL, Claire. Editor. *Quatrième Colloque de l'Institut français : Le journalisme de langue française aux Etats-Unis*. Quebec City: Conseil de la vie française en Amérique. See Georges J. JOYAUX, "La presse de langue française dans l'Etat du Michigan," pp. 97-116.
- 1996 LAMARRE, Jean. "La migration des Canadiens français vers le Michigan, 1840-1914 : leur contribution au développement socioéconomique de la région." Ph.D. dissertation, Université de Montréal. Advisor: Bruno Ramirez.
- 1998 LAMARRE, Jean. "Modèles migratoires et intégration socio- économique des Canadiens français de la vallée de la Saginaw, Michigan, 1840-1900," *Labour/Le Travail* 41, pp. 9-33.

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- 2000 GAGNE, Peter J. *French-Canadians of the West: A Biographical Dictionary of French-Canadians and French Métis of the Western United States and Canada*. 3 volumes. Pawtucket: Quintin Publications.
- 2000 LAMARRE, Jean. *Les Canadiens français du Michigan : Leur contribution dans le développement de la vallée de la Saginaw et de la péninsule de Keweenaw, 1840-1914*. Sillery: Septentrion. Reissued by Wayne State University Press as *The French Canadians of Michigan: Their Contribution to the Development of the Saginaw Valley and the Keweenaw Peninsula, 1840-1914* in 2003.
- 2001 DuLONG, John P. *French Canadians in Michigan*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.
- 2004 JETTE, Melinda Marie. “‘At the Hearth of the Crossed Races’: Intercultural Relations and Social Change in French Prairie, Oregon, 1812-1843.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of British Columbia. Advisor: Arthur J. Ray.
- 2007 VALDMAN, Albert. “Vernacular French Communities in the United States: A General Survey,” *The French Review*, 80-6, pp. 1218-1234.
- 2008 LOUDER, Dean, and Eric WADDELL. Editors. *Franco-Amérique*. Quebec City: Septentrion. Reissued in 2017.

- 2009 GITLIN, Jay. *The Bourgeois Frontier: French Towns, French Traders, and American Expansion*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- 2011 BURNS, Laurie. "L'identité sans la langue? La Guiannee et les communautés franco-américaines du Midwest," *Rabaska : Revue d'ethnologie de l'Amérique française* 9, pp. 55-67.
- 2013 BROWN, Roberta Stringham, and Patricia O'Connell KILLEN. Editors. *Selected Letters of A. M. A. Blanchet, Bishop of Walla Walla and Nesqually (1846-1879)*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- 2013 ENGLEBERT, Robert, and Guillaume TEASDALE. Editors. *French and Indians in the Heart of America, 1630-1815*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.
- 2013 LOUDER, Dean. *Voyages et rencontres en Franco-Amérique*. Quebec City: Septentrion.
- 2014 BARMAN, Jean. *French Canadians, Furs, and Indigenous Women in the Making of the Pacific Northwest*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- 2015 JETTE, Melinda Marie. *At the Hearth of the Crossed Races: A French-Indian Community in Nineteenth-Century Oregon, 1812-1859*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press.
- 2015 TEASDALE, Guillaume, and Tangi VILLERBU. Editors. *Une Amérique française, 1760-1860: Dynamiques du corridor créole*. Paris: Les Indes savantes.

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- 2016 FOXCURRAN, Robert, Michel BOUCHARD, and Sébastien MALETTE. *Songs Upon the Rivers: The Buried History of the French-Speaking Canadiens and Métis from the Great Lakes and the Mississippi across to the Pacific*. Montreal: Baraka Books.
- 2016 LAMARRE, Jean. "Migration et présence des Canadiens français dans le Midwest : bilan historique et historiographique," *Bulletin d'histoire politique*, 24-2, pp. 120-136.
- Immigration Writ Large, Integration, and Americanization*
- 1900 DE NEVERS, Edmond. *L'âme américaine. Tome II*. Paris: Jouve et Boyer.
- 1911 U.S. IMMIGRATION COMMISSION. Final Report, Vol. I-XLI. U.S. Congress, 61st Congress. Also known as the Dillingham Commission Report.
- 1929 HANSEN, Marcus Lee. "The Second Colonization of New England," *The New England Quarterly*, 2-4, pp. 539-560.
- 1930 HAMILTON, Andrew W. "Migration of Population Between Canada and the United States." M.A. thesis, McGill University.
- 1932 WILSON, Roland. "Migration Movements in Canada, 1868-1925," *Canadian Historical Review*, 13-2, pp. 160-182.
- 1938 HANSEN, Marcus Lee. *The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrant*. Rock Island: Augustana Historical Society.

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- 1955 HIGHAM, John. *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. Latest edition: 2002.
- 1956 SOLOMON, Barbara Miller. *Ancestors and Immigrants: A Changing New England Tradition*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- 1968 BOUVIER, Léon, and Inge B. CORLESS. Editors. *An Ethnic Profile of the State of Rhode Island*. Kingston: University of Rhode Island.
- 1971 GORDON, Milton. *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*. NYC: Oxford University Press.
- 1973 ABRAMSON, Harold J. *Ethnic Diversity in Catholic America*. NYC: John Wiley and Sons.
- 1974 LAGUMINA, Salvatore J., and Frank J. CAVAIOLI. Editors. *The Ethnic Dimension in American Society*. Boston: Holbrook Press.
- 1975 DINNERSTEIN, Leonard, and David M. REIMERS. *Ethnic Americans: A History of Immigration and Assimilation*. NYC: Columbia University Press.
- 1981 LIPTAK, Dolores Ann. "The Bishops of Hartford and the New Immigrants (1880-1920)," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 1-2, pp. 37-53.

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- 1982 WILCOX, Gerry, and Hilda GOLDEN. "Prolific Immigrants and Dwindling Natives? Fertility Patterns in Western Massachusetts, 1850 and 1880," *Journal of Family History* 7, pp. 265-288.
- 1982 ZUNZ, Olivier. *The Changing Face of Inequality: Urbanization, Industrial Development, and Immigrants in Detroit, 1880-1920*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 1985 BODNAR, John E. *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- 1987 LIPTAK, Dolores A. *European Immigrants and the Catholic Church in Connecticut, 1870-1920*. NYC: Center for Migration Studies.
- 1988 GOETZ, Stephen H. "The Ku Klux Klan in New Hampshire, 1923-1927," *Historical New Hampshire*, 43-4, pp. 245-263.
- 1993 FINBERG, Luisa Spencer. "The Press and the Pulpit: Nativist Voices in Burlington and Middlebury, 1853-1860," *Vermont History*, 61-3, pp. 156-175.
- 1994 McCAFFERY, Robert Paul. "Islands of Deutschtum: German Americans in Manchester, New Hampshire and Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1870-1942." Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Hampshire.
- 1995 KAZAL, Russell A. "Revisiting Assimilation: The Rise, Fall, and Reappraisal of a Concept in American Ethnic History,"



- American Historical Review*, 100-2, pp. 437-471.
- 1998 WIDDIS, Randy William. *With Scarcely a Ripple: Anglo-Canadian Migration into the United States and Western Canada, 1880-1920*. Montreal/Kingston: MQUP.
- 2000 DeROCHE, Celeste. "How Wide the Circle of We: Cultural Pluralism and American Identity." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maine. Advisor: Marli Weiner.
- 2000 SIMPSON, Jeffrey. *Star-Spangled Canadians: Canadians Living the American Dream*. Toronto: HarperCollins.
- 2001 MEAGHER, Timothy J. *Inventing Irish America: Generation, Class, and Ethnic Identity in a New England City, 1880-1928*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- 2004 READ, Margery. "The Blaine Amendment and the Legislation It Engendered: Nativism and Civil Religion in the Late Nineteenth Century." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maine. Advisor: Scott W. See.
- 2008 DESROSIERS-LAUZON, Godefroy. "Southern Seduction: Canadian and American Snowbirds in Florida since 1945." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Ottawa. Advisor: Donald F. Davis.
- 2010 WIDDIS, Randy William. "Crossing an Intellectual and Geographic Border: The Importance of Migration in Shaping the Canadian-American Borderlands at the

Turn of the Twentieth Century,” *Social Science History*, 34-4, pp. 445-497.

- 2011 HOERDER, Dick, and Nora FAIRES. Editors. *Migrants and Migration in Modern North America: Cross-Border Lives, Labor Markets, and Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- 2014 ADAMS, Bluford. *Old and New New Englanders: Immigration and Regional Identity in the Gilded Age*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- 2014 FINAN, Barbara. “In South Barre, We’re All Americans’: An Immigrant Mill Village Becomes Americanized, 1900-1950.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Hampshire. Advisor: J. William Harris.
- 2017 CLINE, Tyler C. “‘A Dragon, Bog-Spawned, Is Now Stretched O’er This Land’: Nativism and the Rise of Patriotic- Protestantism in the Northeastern Borderlands During the 1920s and 1930s.” M.A. thesis, University of Maine. Advisor: Scott W. See.

*Labor and Economics*

- 1935 SHLAKMAN, Vera. *Economic History of a Factory Town: A Study of Chicopee, Massachusetts*. Northampton: Smith College Department of History.
- 1958 MAYER, Kurt, and Sydney GOLDSTEIN. *Migration and Economic Development in Rhode Island*. Providence: Brown University Press.

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- 1966 DEVINO, W. Stanley, Arnold H. RAPHAELSON, and James A. STORER. *A Study of Textile Mill Closings in Selected New England Communities*. University of Maine Studies – Series 2. Orono: University of Maine Press.
- 1978 DUNWELL, Steve. *The Run of the Mill: A Pictorial Narrative of the Expansion, Dominion, Decline, and Enduring Impact of the New England Textile Industry*. Boston: David R. Godine.
- 1979 DUBLIN, Thomas. *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826-1880*. NYC: Columbia University Press.
- 1985 ARNOLD, Dexter Philip. “‘A Row of Bricks’: Worker Activism in the Merrimack Valley Textile Industry, 1912-1922.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin (Madison).
- 1985 PEDULLA, Marianne. “Labor in a City of Immigrants: Holyoke, 1882-1888,” *Historical Journal of Massachusetts*, 13-2, pp. 147-161.
- 1995 O’DONNELL, Brian. “The Spindles Stop: Lower, Massachusetts, and Manchester, New Hampshire, Respond to the Collapse of the New England Textile Industry.” Ph.D. dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- 1998 DOHERTY, Maura. “Spindle City Blues: The Impact of the Maturing Industrial Economy on the City of Lowell, Massachusetts, 1947-

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1978." Ph.D. dissertation, New York University. Advisor: David M. Reimers.

- 2000 SAMSON, Gary. *Manchester: The Mills and the Immigrant Experience*. Charleston: Arcadia.
- 2002 MORAN, William. *The Belles of New England: The Women of the Textile Mills and the Families Whose Wealth They Wove*. NYC: St. Martin's Press.
- 2002 RIVARD, Paul. *A New Order of Things: How the Textile Industry Transformed New England*. Hanover: University Press of New England.
- 2009 BERKOWITZ, Christine Ann. "Railway Crossings: The Transnational World of North America, 1850-1910." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto.
- 2015 EATON, Aurore. *The Amoskeag Manufacturing Company: A History of Enterprise on the Merrimack River*. Charleston: Arcadia.

### *Religion*

Aside from the following, scholars may also want to consult histories of specific congregations of men and women religious as well as parish histories published by local committees.

- 1868 DION, J. O. *Souvenir du Révérend Pierre Marie Migneault*. Montreal: La Minerve.

FRANCO-AMERICAN PROGRAMS/PROGRAMMES FRANCO-AMÉRICAINS

- 1885 SMITH, John Talbot. *A History of the Diocese of Ogdensburg*. NYC: John W. Lowell Co.
- 1900 TARDIVEL, Jules Paul. *La Situation religieuse aux Etats-Unis : Illusions et réalités*. Lille: Desclée, De Brouwer et Cie.
- 1903 SMYTH, James W. *History of the Catholic Church in Woonsocket and Vicinity*. Woonsocket: Charles E. Cook. Updated version; first issue appeared in 1878.
- 1934 LARKIN, Mary Teresita. "The History of the Development of Catholic Education in the State of Maine from 1604 to 1933." M.A. thesis, University of Maine.
- 1945 LAURENT, Laval. *Québec et l'Eglise aux Etats-Unis sous Mgr Briand et Mgr Plessis*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press.
- 1954 LALLEMANT, Marie Elise-de-la-Croix. "The History of the Rise and Growth of Catholic Education in Maine." M.A. thesis, Catholic Teachers College of Providence.
- 1957 LUCEY, William Leo. *The Catholic Church in Maine*. Frankestown: Marshall Jones.
- 1959 RAYMOND, Marcel. "A Preliminary Historical Inquiry into the Maine Catholic School System." M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa.
- 1976 CONLEY, Patrick T., and Matthew J. SMITH. *Catholicism in Rhode Island: The*

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*Formative Era*. Providence: Diocese of Providence.

- 1982 HAYMAN, Robert W. *Catholicism in Rhode Island and the Diocese of Providence 1780-1886*. Providence: Diocese of Providence.
- 1983 KANTOWICZ, Edward R. *Corporation Sole: Cardinal Mundelein and Chicago Catholicism*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- 1984 MURPHY, Ronald C. and Jeffrey POTASH. "The 'Highgate Affair': An Episode in Establishing the Authority of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Burlington," *Vermont History*, 52-1, pp. 33-43.
- 1987 DOLAN, Jay P. *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present*. Garden City: Doubleday.
- 1995 HAYMAN, Robert W. *Catholicism in Rhode Island and the Diocese of Providence 1886-1921*. Providence: Diocese of Providence.
- 1998 PARADIS, Wilfrid H. *Upon this Granite: Catholicism in New Hampshire, 1647-1997*. Portsmouth: Peter E. Randall.
- 2001 COFFIN, Howard. *An Inland Sea: A Brief History of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Burlington*. Barre: L. Brown and Sons.
- 2001 HARLOW, Lance W. *Vermont's First Catholic Bishop: The Life of Bishop Louis de Goesbriand, 1816-1899*. Barre: L. Brown and Sons Printing Inc.

- 2006 HUDSON, Susan P. *The Quiet Revolutionaries: How the Grey Nuns Changed the Social Welfare Paradigm of Lewiston*. NYC: Routledge.
- 2003 STERNE, Evelyn Savidge. *Ballots and Bibles: Ethnic Politics and the Catholic Church in Providence*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- 2012 MUWONGE, Charles. "Theocratic Governance and the Divergent Catholic Cultural Groups in the USA." Ph.D. dissertation, Eastern Michigan State University. Advisor: James Barott.
- 2013 PAQUET, Martin, Matteo SANFILIPPO, and Jean-Philippe WARREN. Editors. *Le Saint-Siège, le Québec et l'Amérique française : Les archives vaticanes, pistes et défis*. Quebec City: PUL.

*Popular Periodicals*

The last two decades of the nineteenth century witnessed a tremendous outpouring of writing concerning the challenge of Franco-American migration. This brief list is provided to suggest what "old-stock" and Irish Americans were reading about the newcomers in popular periodicals.

- 1884 CHAMBERLAIN, Joseph Edgar. "The Foreign Elements in Our Population," *The Century; A Popular Quarterly*, 28-5, pp.761-770.
- 1889 BEAUGRAND, Honoré. "The Attitude of the French Canadians," *The Forum*, vol. 7 (July), pp. 521-530.

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- 1889 BARTLETT, Albert L. "The Transformation of New England," *The Forum*, vol. 7 (August), pp. 634-644.
- 1891 START, Edwin A. "A Model New England Village," *The New England Magazine*, 9-6, pp. 701-719.
- 1892 BENDER, Prosper. "The French Canadians in New England," *The New England Magazine*, 12-5, pp. 569-577.
- 1893 ATKINSON, Edward. "Reply," *The Forum*, vol. 15 (March), pp.115-126.
- 1893 HYDE, William DeWitt. "The Transformation of New England: Is It Decay or Development?" *The Forum*, vol. 15 (March), pp.107-115.
- 1893 NELSON, Henry Loomis. "French Canadians in New England," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 87-518, pp. 180-187.
- 1894 RICH, George A. "The French Element in American Population," *The Social Economist*, vol. 6 (February), pp. 95-103.
- 1896 MacDONALD, William. "French Canadians in Maine," *The Nation*, 63-1633, pp. 285-286.
- 1897 THRASHER, Max Bennett. "One of the Strangers at Our Gates," *The New England Magazine*, 22-1, pp. 28-32.



## **APPENDIX B**

### ***Additional Resources***

#### *Research Material*

In Canada, the most important center for primary-source research on the history of Franco-Americans is the Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (BAnQ), which is home to the Elphège-J. Daignault, Rosaire Dion- Lévesque, and Robert Rumilly fonds. Its website offers free access to digitized Quebec newspapers, many of which proved very consistent in sharing news and opinion regarding emigration and Franco-American communities.

The University of Maine's Franco-American Centre in Orono has a physical library consisting chiefly of published material; it also hosts an online bibliography, the Franco American Library, which includes links to digital materials. The Centre provides access to issues of *Le Forum* (formerly *Le FAROG Forum*), which has appeared almost continuously since 1972. The University of Maine has issues of *Le Messenger*, Lewiston's defunct French-language newspaper, on microfilm. A library begun as the Centre d'héritage franco-américain in Lewiston, Maine, was transferred to the University of Southern Maine in 1989. There it became the Franco-American Collection and remains accessible. The Collection's holdings include oral histories, individual fonds, and rare publications.

St. Anselm College in Manchester, N.H., purchased the substantial library of the Association Canado-Américaine (ACA), which had recently ended its activities, in 2008. The ACA/Lambert Franco-

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American Collection has since been culled but still covers the entire range of Franco-American history. It holds issues of *Le Canado-Américain*, long published by the ACA, *La Vie franco-américaine*, and *La Revue franco-américaine*. At Assumption College in Worcester, Mass., the French Institute also houses a collection of documents from the ACA and issues of the *Bulletin de la Fédération féminine franco-américaine*. Among the Institute's other resources are the Félix Gatineau Collection, the Paul-P. Chassé Papers, various parish histories, and some newspapers.

Original material also lies in the Beaulieu, Santerre, and Franco-American newspaper collections at the Boston Public Library; the Richard Santerre Collection at the University of Massachusetts (Amherst); and the Papers of Anna Duval-Thibault at Harvard (the BANQ has additional Duval-Thibault material). Harvard's Baker Library holds the business records of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company (1831-1836) and many other industrial establishments that employed Francos in significant numbers. Some papers, including *Le Travailleur* and *l'Indépendant* are available on microfilm at the University of Vermont. Most Catholic dioceses have preserved the history of national parishes and correspondence between church leaders and the Franco-American community; in some locations, municipal archives feature property records and tax and voter rolls. Further information concerning local particularities may be gleaned at such institutions as the Winooski Historical Society at the Champlain Mill in Winooski, Vt., the Berlin and Coös County Historical Society in upstate New Hampshire, the Rhode Island Historical Society Library in Providence, and the Museum of Work and Culture in Woonsocket, R.I.

Web resources abound. The Quebec-based portal Erudit, similar to JStor, holds decades-worth of scholarship, especially journal articles. Numerous nineteenth- and early twentieth-century works that appear in this bibliography can be found on two databases, Archive.org and HathiTrust.org. The former notably has a great many issues of the *Bulletin de la Société historique franco-américaine*. By virtue of its census returns, vital and military records, and more, Ancestry.com remains one of the premier sources of raw data. Even amid funding constraints, many of the institutions mentioned above have begun digitizing primary-source material, including their own newsletters.

#### *Cultural Resources*

Across New England, supported by the French Consulate and the Quebec Government Office in Boston, organizations continue to host French-language activities and other events celebrating French-Canadian and Acadian heritage. Among them are the Franco-American Centre of New Hampshire (based on the campus of St. Anselm College), the Franco-American Centre in Orono, and the Gendron Franco Center in Lewiston. In Lowell, the Franco-American Day Committee organizes annual events in celebration of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste. The Lowell National Historical Park provides tours of former mills and tenements and contextualizes the Canadian migrants' urban experience in the United States. In Manchester, Roger Lacerte's *Librairie Populaire* carries a broad selection of French-language books, including some works on Franco-American history.

At last, genealogical societies are preserving the history of Franco-American families. Many organize

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events, publish bulletins, and offer members and visitors access to physical libraries and digital databases. They include: the American-Canadian Genealogical Society (Manchester), the American-French Genealogical Society (Woonsocket), the French-Canadian Genealogical Society of Connecticut (Tolland, Ct.), the Northern New York American-Canadian Genealogical Society (Dannemora, N.Y.), and the Vermont French-Canadian Genealogical Society (Colchester, Vt.).

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