Recent and Current Sociological and Anthropological Research on Franco-Americans

Madeleine Giguère, professeure émérite Department of Sociology University of Southern Maine

There is a new wind blowing in sociological and anthropological research on Franco-Americans – that of working-class analysis. Studies continue to be done from an assimilation perspective and its related «survivance» frame of reference as well as from a demographic perspective. In addition there are papers providing information on Franco-Americans for practitioners as well as an ongoing research project on health attitudes among Franco-Americans.

A NOTE ON METHOD

« Recent and current research » I defined as that published since the appearance of Pierre Anctil's bibliography in 1979 (Anctil, 1979a). In addition to the literature I was familiar with, I had our University Library do searches of a number of data bases looking for titles which concerned French, Franco-American, Acadian, French-Canadian, Québécois, Haitian and Belgian persons of the New England region. The data bases searched included *Sociological Abstracts, Dissertation Abstracts, Arts and Humanities, MLA*, and *Academic Index*. No references on Haitians or Belgians in New England were found in the decade. I also sent a letter of inquiry to all the Departments of Sociology and Anthropology which had had dissertations presented to them on Franco-Americans since 1950 to locate ongoing research.

No ongoing research was located by this means although some master's theses were thus discovered.

While this bibliographical review was underway, I received a copy of *Vie française* with Armand Chartier's recent bibliography (Chartier, 1989) which provided me with some additional citations from Canadian sources which were not uncovered in the computer searches.

WORKING-CLASS PERSPECTIVE

The first bearer of a working-class or Marxist paradigm in sociological and anthropological research is Pierre Anctil in his doctoral dissertation in anthropology at the New School for Social Research, Aspects of Class Ideology in a New England Ethnic Minority: The Franco-Americans of Woonsocket, Rhode Island (1865-1929) (Anctil, 1980). Ashley W. Doane, Jr. in his master's thesis in sociology at the University of New Hampshire, The Franco-Americans of New Hampshire: A Case Study of Ethnicity and Social Stratification, combines Marxist and assimilation paradigms (Doane, 1983). Compatible with a class perspective is Julia Schulz' master's thesis in anthropology at McGill University, Economic Factors in the Persistence of French-Canadian Identity in New England, a case study of the interrelations of church and mill in Augusta, Maine (Schulz, 1985). The report to the Vermont State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights by Peter Woolfson which is resolutely nonideological can also be seen to support a working-class orientation to Franco-Americans in Vermont (Woolfson, 1983a).

Among topics in Pierre Anctil's dissertation are the following: the development of the Franco-American ethnic working class in Woonsocket, the elements of a Franco-American petty bourgeois ideology, the part played by Catholic dogmas in defining a Franco-American ideology, the Sentinellist crisis as an explosion of Franco-American nationalism, and Franco-American mysticism as an ideology of liberation. He did nine months of fieldwork in Woonsocket interviewing French-speaking seniors as well as using the substantial resources of the Mallet Library of the St. John the Baptist Society.

Among the themes which emerge from Anctil's free-flowing interviews are the images of rural existence in Québec. He found that the working-class realities of adult life were overshadowed in daily discourse by rural images of their youth. He says that this « derives from the ideological monopoly held by the ethnic Franco-American petty bourgeoisie» (Anctil, 1980: 55). These small businessmen had a tendency of «leveling out class distinctions apparent in common discourses and replacing them by images favoring national unity and ethnic consciousness. By this ideological distortion, the shop owners and retail store proprietors hoped to attract to their business a national clientele composed largely of industrial laborers... Such was the dominant strategy in Franco-Americana from the turn of the century to the advent of World War II» (Anctil, 1980: 18). This imported discourse from Québec was an important factor in delaying the Franco-American participation in working-class organizations. They were left out of the «recruiting efforts and membership drives » because of lower incomes and a language barrier. « Almost nowhere else in the United States had a complete segregation and isolation of a poor white ethnic proletariat been achieved with such striking results...» Woonsocket's Franco-American workers were «distanced and divorced from their social class equivalents, and as a consequence of their ethnicity were generally ignorant of the average conditions of labor in America or in New England» (Anctil, 1980: 82). After the crash of 1929, the textile industry collapsed and the French unilingual work force became English-speaking, but still a proletariat (Anctil, 1980: 84).

Anctil's working-class perspective carries over to his analysis of the *Sentinelle* controversy of the 1920s. Usually interpreted as a struggle against the hegemony of an Irish bishop over French schools and parishes, Anctil sees the *Sentinelle* as the «final act» of the class struggle of the Franco-American petty bourgeoisie. Later, this small Franco-American entrepreneurial class loses its local leadership and is deprived of its former influence on the French proletariat (Anctil, 1980: 244). Anctil sees the French industrial workers finally integrated into the mainstream of American capitalism in the 1930s (Anctil, 1980: 273).

Since class struggle «was non-existent in the eyes of the truly faithful» (Anctil, 1980: 264), working-class mystic healers, such as

Brother André, become liberators of Franco-American workers. Brother André's « imposition of hands and active mysticism were more effective and consoling for Franco-Americans, than the social and medical services offered by the American bourgeois state or the benefits designed by American craft unions for their workers » (Anctil, 1980: 265).

In «La Franco-Américanie ou le Québec d'en bas» (Anctil, 1979b), Anctil introduces some of the themes of his dissertation: the emigration of Québécois to New England in the context of nationalist ideology of the 19th century, Woonsocket as an example of Québécois living in small textile cities and towns, the experiences on the part of Franco-Americans of serious economic reverses in and after the Great Depression, «la petite bourgeoisie» imposing its ideology on the voiceless industrial workers.

A great instability of occupation and residence is found among these «coureurs de factrie» who migrated to New England from marginal farms and part-time farming in Québec. The migrants were often attracted by the availability of paid jobs for the whole family, parents and children. The marginalized rural population of Québec can be seen as a reserve army of manpower for the New England textile mills. Some of his informants believe that their experience with spinning and weaving on the farm prepared them for jobs with power looms and spinning jennies.

With the end of the textile industry in the 1930s and the World War II, assimilation took place. As Anctil says, «le fait français achève d'être assimilé en Nouvelle-Angleterre» (Anctil, 1979b). According to him, the French language in 1979 survived only among the old, within families and in religious activities.

Anctil ends the article by calling upon « la Franco-Américanie » to develop a generation capable of forming a new social and cultural continuity for itself. Anctil provides an effective challenge of Franco-American middle-class or petit bourgeois perception that there are not or at least there are not supposed to be classes in their midst. Henceforward, class and the controlling role of the petty bourgeoisie will have to be taken into account in Franco-American studies. It should force scholars to consider the impact of class on all of the

Franco-American social structures and to reconsider what Franco-American culture really is.

In his master's thesis at the University of New Hampshire, *The Franco-Americans of New Hampshire: A Case Study of Ethnicity and Social Stratification,* Ashley Doane, Jr. examines the relationship of Franco-American ethnicity and social status in a sociohistorical context. He sees a «dual nature of ethnic identification: a primordial, communal affiliation and a rational strategy for the advancement of material interests» (Doane 1983: 32).

Doane says that «any meaningful analysis must, especially in the Marxian tradition, give primary emphasis to the class interests underlying the assertion of ethnic ties... The persistence of ethnicity is linked to its utility as a strategy in intergroup competition.» However, even though class and ethnonational movements may overlap, they are virtually never identical (Doane, 1983: 33-34).

Early in Franco-American history, ethnic interests and class interests coincided. This made for strong group ties. Later as some social mobility took place, divisions developed within the Franco-American community.

«For Franco-Americans upward mobility out of the mills and enclaves was closely tied to the ability to speak English, a fact which militated against French language efforts. The only group for which this was not true was the Franco-American elite – clergy, professionals, merchants – who were the true beneficiaries of attempts at cultural maintenance. Usually bilingual, the Franco-American elite enjoyed high status within the enclaves, a position which was dependent upon the ethnic community» (Doane, 1983: 64).

«For the Franco-American working class on the other hand, « la survivance » proved to be a one-way street... ethnic identification offered mainly social-psychological advantages to the average Franco-American. If opportunities for mobility did exist within the American class system, they could best be attained by crossing ethnic boundaries and assimilating into the dominant group (excepting, of course, the few positions held by the ethnic elite). » This divergence of ethnic and class interests was to sound the final knell for the traditional survivance

leaving the Franco-American community open to the forces of assimilation (Doane, 1983: 65).

From the 1970 census for New Hampshire, Doane found that there were differences in educational attainment, occupational position and income for Francos as compared to Anglo-Americans. The differences were greatest with regard to education, least with regard to income. I found the same pattern for each of the New England states (Giguère, 1982). When the data are arranged by age groups I find that the education gap narrows from older to younger groups and in fact disappears completely with regard to income. The relationship of Francos and Anglos has evolved and there is evidence of some structural assimilation. Yet educational and occupational differences remain, especially at the highest levels (e.g., college graduate, professional workers). The Franco-Americans are seen as having experienced some relative improvement with respect to Anglo-Americans, but they continued to occupy a lower social and economic position. The key variable is education. According to Doane, the reproduction of Franco-Anglo differences took place within educational institutions. Thus, once educational differences are eliminated, we could expect the prestige and income differences to disappear (Doane, 1983: 150).

Regarding the future of Franco-Americans, Doane sees a continuance of assimilation, a reduction in the social and economic distance with dominant groups coupled with that «remarkable persistence», or «survivance», particularly in isolated areas or where there is a demographic concentration and social, psychological and economic advantages. «Eventually, Franco-American ethnicity will no longer be competitively meaningful and «Franco-American» will become a descent category, an ancestral tie with no sociopolitical significance » (Doane, 1983: 158-159). « Group identities or affiliations will persist as long as they continue to confer some competitive advantage...» The Franco-American experience in New Hampshire illustrates how ethnic identity is employed in group interaction to express material interests and how ethnicity evolves over time as a result of intergroup competition and changing interests or perceptions of interests. «Ethnic affiliation» served the New Hampshire Franco-Americans «by facilitating their movement into a middle position in American society. Its role will probably remain strong until Franco-Americans have achieved relative social and economic parity with [the] dominant group» (Doane, 1983: 164).

Although not explicitly working-class in orientation, Julia Schulz' thesis in anthropology at McGill is compatible with that perspective. Economic Factors in the Persistence of French-Canadian Identity in New England explores «whether economic relations rather than cultural factors » could « best explain the persistence and subsequent decline of French-Canadian ethnicity». She uses both archival data from the mill, city and parish as well as informants from «Sand Hill» or «La Côte», the Franco-American area of Augusta, Maine. Her major hypothesis was that «agents and policies of Augusta's cotton mill, an external economic institution, helped maintain French-Canadian ethnic identity, and in so doing, also preserved the wage-labor status of the French Canadians». Furthermore, she raises the question of whether layoffs and closings «contributed to the loss of French-language and other ethnić characteristics» in this French population. «The implication is that French-Canadians ceased to be a distinct ethnic group when they no longer constituted a single class of wage laborers.» Schulz shows that mills recruited French Canadians to low status jobs. The mill liked French workers because they were willing to work for low wages, willing to put their children to work, willing to put up with poor working conditions, and able to return to their farms in Canada if laid off.

Schulz says that there seemed to be an alliance between the mill and the parish. The Edwards mill gave the land for St. Augustine's two churches. The mill closed its doors on special holidays and provided floats for ethnic parades. The church in town aided the mill by encouraging hardwork and obedience and discouraging conflict. French was the language of work, worship and schooling. Her major hypothesis that mill policies and external economic institutions helped maintain French-Canadian ethnic identity was supported.

She found that in the 1930s and 1940s when French-Canadian immigrants ceased to belong to one class of wage-earners, they did not cease to be a distinct ethnic group but rather reappeared in a new more positive «Franco-American» community identity. I should note

that Schulz found traces of the petty bourgeoisie control that Anctil spoke of in the origins of the famous Club Calumet. «In the 1920s, membership was restricted to those who held *des occupations non-salissantes*, i.e. shopkeepers and professionals» (Schulz, 1985: 82).

Not in a working-class orientation, but supportive of it, is a report written by Peter Woolfson for the Vermont Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Franco-Americans in Vermont: A Civil Rights Perspective (Woolfson, 1983a). Woolfson's discussion of the invisibility of the French in the history books and their negative stereotyping in Vermont literature as well as their negative image in the eyes of some Vermonters documents what many French believed they had experienced in other parts of New England. He points out that Franco-Americans argue against the negative stereotypes and point to their role in the exploration of North America as well as their current occupational achievement. The chapter on status is an outstanding documentation of the differential participation of Francos in education, occupation and income using Committee generated surname data as well as mother-tongue data from the census for Vermont.

ASSIMILATIONIST PERSPECTIVE

The other major theoretical orientation is assimilation, both cultural and structural, and its opposite, ethnic persistence or survivance.

Most explicitly in this mode is James Parker's study of Lewiston, Maine. Using historical data, government documents, survey data, cultural analysis, organizational analysis and participant observation, Professor Parker came to the conclusion that there «was a sudden decline in French language and culture during the 1960s in Lewiston. In less than ten years, French culture and organization had broken down, and French people had been assimilated into mainstream Yankee culture» (Parker, 1983: IX). Professor Parker is obviously correct about the direction of cultural and social change among the French in Lewiston but in the view of this Lewiston Franco-American he overestimates the velocity and possibly the extent of the change. As

Anctil indicates, the assimilation process is of long duration. In Lewiston, assimilation was institutionalized with the establishment of the first « bilingual » parochial school in 1882. The four « French » parishes are still intact despite the inner city status of two of them. Forty percent of their weekend masses are said in French, twenty percent of all weekend masses in the Lewiston-Auburn area are said in French.

A more nuanced approach to assimilation is found in Robert Michael Sweeney's master's thesis *Motivation for Ethnic Identification: French-Canadian Organizations of Willimantic, Connecticut in 1937* (Sweeney, 1985) at the University of Connecticut.

Among the data collected in a WPA study of ethnic heritage in Willamantic were case studies of eleven (nine used) Franco-American organizations. Data on goals, activities and membership in 1937 were extracted along with retrospective data for 1900.

Sweeney tests the hypothesis «that over time, the predominant motivation for ethnic identification will shift from coercive reasons (protective) to utilitarian (material reward) to normative (symbolic and social rewards) and that this shift is roughly equivalent to the shift from first to second to third generation». He finds an unexpected «decline in interest in the normative goals of language, faith and culture, the basic elements of «survivance» ideology» (Sweeney, 1985: 68). He goes on to suggest that if French-Canadian identity survived, it continued in a substantially altered form.

The proportion of utilitarian goals overall tended to increase over time. No organization dropped utilitarian goals such as maintaining insurance or sick benefits. Sweeney says that the continued existence of the organizations with utilitarian goals suggests that structural assimilation had not occurred to a great extent (Sweeney, 1985: 68-69).

Structural assimilation occurs in the areas of intermarriage, social club membership, parish churches, and various other small intimate groups, whereas cultural assimilation relates to the acquisition of the host society's norms, values, language, etc. For Franco-Americans, the learning of English becomes a prerequisite for participation in the larger community (Sweeney, 1985: 89-90).

With regard to Franco-American organizations Sweeney found two basic patterns in Willimantic in 1937. The first was that of generational conflict. The second was the loss of faith, language and culture (Sweeney, 1985: 80-83). Also he found that the French-Canadian organizations changed over time. «They accommodated themselves to the assimilation process by making allowances for members who were unable to conform to requirements for the use of French, to intermarriage and intermingling by loosening membership restrictions, and to American by encouraging naturalization and trying to deal with the Willimantic environment through involvement in local affairs » (Sweeney, 1985: 84).

The data concerning the situation in 1937 in Willimantic's French-Canadian community suggest that the motivation for ethnic identification is complex and changes over time. These data show that members of the French-Canadian community had undergone a loss of the ancestral culture and did not live their lives in an ethnic enclave, but still retained a sense of French-Canadian personal identity (Sweeney, 1985: 94).

A nation-wide approach to language assimilation, a form of cultural assimilation, is found in Calvin Veltman's *L'avenir du français aux États-Unis* (Veltman, 1987). The analysis is based on the U.S. Current Population Surveys of 1975 and 1979 and especially on the Survey of Income and Education of 1976. The conclusions are essentially those previously presented in *The Retention of Minority Languages in the United States* (Veltman, 1981) and *Language Shift in the United States* (Veltman, 1983), but the analysis is more extended and focuses on the French language.

Veltman concludes, «l'avenir de la langue française aux États-Unis est très sombre». The future of the use of French language may be even more pessimistic for New England than for the country as a whole since the new francophone immigration made up of Haitians and Southeast Asians has not come to New England but rather gone to warmer climates. Among the native-born French mother tongue persons in New England less than 21 percent in the Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont lived their daily lives in French in 1976, and less than 8 percent in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut (Veltman, 1987). Among young French mother tongue adults aged 25 to 35 in New England, Veltman found over 95 percent spoke English on a daily basis (Veltman, 1981: 25). My unpublished analysis of the 1980 census data for Maine confirms the direct relation of language use with age. In general French language use in Maine is associated with lower educational and occupational levels in a working-class population. But indeed the 1980 Maine data support Veltman's somber assessment of the future of French in Maine. The 1990 U.S. Census has been taken and includes both a language use question as well as an ancestry question as did the 1980 census. I trust Dr. Veltman will apply his formidable analytical tools to these data.

A variation on an assimilation theme is Marcella Harnish Sorg's presentation to the fifth annual colloquium of the French Institute at Assumption College. She examined the endogamy of Acadians of the Old Town region (Maine) in the period from 1835 to 1930. By linking religion, local records and the federal census from 1830 to 1900 and the use of church records for the period from 1900 to 1930, she established the marriage patterns of Acadians migrating from the Madawaska region to Old Town. Endogamy was not the pattern among the Madawaska Acadians in Old Town. She concluded that there was a regional Franco-American ethnic identity which was in the process of developing at the turn of the century and to which the immigrants from the St. John Valley assimilated themselves (Harnish Sorg, 1984: 138-140). (See also her dissertation *Genetic Demography of Deme Formation in a Franco-American Population: 1830-1903*.)

I have reported support for the assimilation hypothesis in my study of occupation and mother tongue in each of the New England states in 1970. The occupational patterns of those of French mother tongue were only marginally different from those of English mother tongue. There was but a small overrepresentation of Franco-Americans in blue-collar occupations (Giguère, 1982).

«SURVIVANCE» PERSPECTIVE

The alternative to assimilation is «survivance» or ethnic persistence. Vaneeta D'Andrea and Michael Guignard are two authors

who are expressly concerned with this paradigm. Vaneeta D'Andrea's dissertation *The Women of Survivance: A Case Study of Ethnic Persistence among the Members of Franco-American Women's Groups in New England, 1950-present* (D'Andrea, 1986) is an attempt to develop a grounded theory of ethnic persistence by studying the Fédération féminine franco-américaine. She did field work, in-depth interviews and analyzed archival materials.

In the process she developed a fascinating profile of the membership: second generation, age 60-80, who became active in midlife, whose membership was not kinship-based, and who resided predominantly in states farthest from the Canadian border. Believing that language maintenance was the essence of survivance, the common characteristic of the membership was the knowledge and use of the French language. The «Fédé» was currently the primary setting in which they spoke French (D'Andrea, 1986: 132). Thus, although they were organizationally committed to the maintenance of the language, the «Fédé» members seemed not to have been successful in doing so in their own primary groups. As is true in many organizations, the leadership was better educated than the membership as a whole. For instance, they were four times as likely to have graduate degrees as the membership at large.

The traditional theme of «survivance» guides the analysis of the interdisciplinary trained historian Michael J. Guignard of his hometown of Biddeford, Maine in «Geographic and Demographic Forces Facilitating Ethnic Survival in a New England Mill Town» (Guignard, 1983). Proximity to Québec and concentration of the French population into Biddeford and in Biddeford are the geographic factors cited. The demographic factors are the size of the group, the high fertility and the continued «wave-like pattern» of immigration from Québec along with the high rate of transiency of its French population. Some social factors fostering survivance are described such as the repatriation movement, the recruitment of French workers by the Pepperell Company and the nativist reaction against the French. Biddeford is seen as both a refuge and an agency of socialization for the Québec migrants. Yet he concludes by saying, «If the flow of French-Canadians to Biddeford has been permanently curtailed by the Immigration Act of 1965, the closing of St. Louis High School in 1970 could signal the end for other Franco institutions in the city and dealt a deathblow to the quest for survivance.» (See also his book *La foi, la langue, la culture: The Franco-Americans of Biddeford, Maine,* published in 1982.) Thus, both authors who examined ethnic persistence using the «survivance» perspective, document a substantial degree of assimilation.

Are we to say that there is no survivance? Ashley Doane suggests that there are really two survivances (Doane, 1983: 65). One is the attempt to maintain traditional French-Canadian language, religion and culture. A second is a new Franco-American survivance, « one dedicated to preserving an identity uniquely French but clearly American ». Doane says that this « second survivance has not failed, at least not completely » (Doane, 1983: 65). Doane, like Sweeney, sees Franco-American ethnic identity and Franco-American groups lasting as long as they are useful.

There are a number of demographically oriented studies of interest to students of Franco-Americana.

DEMOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE

In an issue of *Critère* devoted to the *francophones d'Amérique*, Yolande Lavoie recasts her masterful demographic reconstruction and analysis of the emigration of Québécois to the United States (Lavoie, 1980). She speculates on what might have been the size of French Québec population without *la saignée* to the United States in the late 19th and early 20th century. Projecting the traditional natural increase in a French Québec population from 1840 (no migration) to 1971 would give a population of around nine million, i.e. some four million larger than the actual 1991 French population of Québec. Doing the same kind of projection for the 1931 Québec French population yields a population similar to that encountered in 1971. These findings support the thesis that losses of population due to net migration are minimal after the closing of the emigration gate to the United States in 1929.

Lavoie asks the question whether this demographic exercise indicates that more than four million Americans are of Québec-

French origin? She questions whether Franco-Americans would have had the same fertility as the Québécois over the years, that they would have practiced endogamy and that all the emigrants from Québec went to the United States. None of these questions can be answered affirmatively. She suggests that less than three million, perhaps only two million Americans were gained at the expense of the Québec-French. Since the Québec-French, Acadians and the French-French are difficult if not impossible to disentangle in the American census, we may never be able to verify the American figures of Québec origin. What we do know is that in the United States in 1980, there were 3,5 million persons solely of Québec, Acadian and French ancestry and some 10,1 million who included French in their multiple ancestries. One and a half million Americans spoke French at home, some 2,5 million lived in families where French was spoken. Lavoie says that barring emigration, it would have been extremely doubtful that the Québécois could have maintained their traditional high level of fertility given the economic and social conditions of the times.

Anyone seriously interested in the study of the emigration of French Canadians to the United States should consult the Paquet and Smith update of the Albert Faucher research agenda. This situates the study of migration within a multiregional setting taking into consideration differential growth rates, manpower demands, wages and other economic returns and standards of living (Paquet and Smith, 1983). Emigration is seen as an equilibrium mechanism. Paquet and Smith detail the progress made in implementing these proposals. Preliminary measures have been devised, and selected soundings have been made which are shared with the reader. Much of the research agenda is not able to be implemented in the light of current knowledge.

Jerry Wilcox and Hilda H. Golden used the household manuscript censuses of 1850 and 1880 to do a comparative study of the fertility of the French-Canadian, Irish and native populations of two western Massachusetts counties. In 1880 the French have the highest fertility of the three as measured by a child-woman ratio. This is a product of the earlier childbearing of the French. Once this is controlled for, the French-Irish gap in fertility disappears, although the French-native gap remains.

Among both the French and the Irish, fertility was highest among the families of the unskilled and lowest in the skilled and white-collar families with the semiskilled households in between. Religious and cultural supports for large families among French-Canadian and Irish immigrants are noted as well as the growth and proliferation of factory employment. «From the perspective of parents, a continuing demand for mill workers meant that their daughters and sons could contribute wages to the household economy. From the perspective of adolescents, mill employment offered the hope of accumulating modest amounts of capital, marrying young, and setting up independent households.» (Wilcox and Golden, 1982: 285). Thus Wilcox and Golden offer a working-class element in explaining the high fertility of the French Canadians in western Massachusetts in 1880.

In a 1984 study seeking to identify potential Franco-American media markets, I reported on the French ancestry data for New England in the 1980 U.S. Census, finding nearly 2 million with some French ancestry, some 800 thousand who reported French ancestry only. Massachusetts had, by far, the greatest number while a quarter of the populations of Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine were of French ancestry. Maine and New Hampshire had eight and seven percent of their state population who spoke French while the figure for Connecticut and Massachusetts was two percent. The mixed French ancestry population was younger, more native-born, more educated and earning higher incomes than the single French ancestry population (Giguère, 1984).

The search for these potential markets was inconclusive. If there is a demographic center to the Franco-American population, it is Worcester county in Massachusetts which had both the largest number of total French ancestry persons and the largest number of single French ancestry persons of any New England county. However a mere sixth of the total mixed and single French ancestry population in Massachusetts spoke French at home. Thus Worcester county and Massachusetts could be Franco-American market targets but not francophone ones.

PRACTICAL PERSPECTIVE

There are two useful articles and a master's thesis directed to practitioners. Peter Woolfson has produced a fine brief introduction to Franco-Americans of Vermont for the professionals who serve them in the «Franco-Americans of Northern Vermont» (Woolfson, 1983b). His synthesis of his own and the research of others focuses on the family. He speaks of the traditional and contemporary roles of the mother, father and child. He takes into consideration changes in the life cycle as well as changes in farm tenure or occupation. Woolfson speaks of the survival of folk medicine and faith healing. He is clear on the decline of the use of French. Much if not all of what he says probably applies to New Hampshire and Maine as well and possibly to the rest of New England. (See also Woolfson, 1982.)

In «French-Canadian Families » Régis Langelier supplements his summary of the sparse literature on the Franco-American family with the product of his interviews and questionnaire responses from some 35 Franco-American educators and psychotherapists (Langelier, 1982). Claire Quintal writes an excellent brief historical and cultural introduction to the chapter. Langelier is aware of the changing nature of the Franco family and its variations by educational level and by residential area. He concludes by saying that «the measure of success with Franco-American families will be behavioral change rather than insight or psychic restructuring» (Langelier, 1982: 244). This writer believes that this would be most true of working-class families.

Among the findings of Rosemary Howe Elliott in her thesis at the University of Wisconsin-Madison was that indeed Franco-American parents of the St. John Valley in Maine advocated more authoritarian child-rearing attitudes than Anglo-American parents did (Elliott, 1985).

In progress is Judith Drew's dissertation at the University of Texas in Austin, which is a naturalistic inquiry into the Health Beliefs, Explanatory Models, and Health Care Seeking Patterns of Franco-Americans in New England. Her sample ranges over five generations of Franco-Americans with a wide variety of educational levels and language capability in a New England urban center.

OTHER RELATED MATERIAL

There are a number of reprints, articles and excerpts from longer works in the sociology and anthropology of the Franco-Americans of New England published in the 1980s. The first is a reprint of George Thériault's Harvard dissertation of 1951 on the survival of «la Franco-Américanie» in Nashua, New Hampshire (Thériault, 1951), known best to us in the abridgement in *Canadian Dualism/La dualité canadienne* (Thériault, 1960) and reprinted in *A Franco-American Overview* (Thériault, 1981).

Textes de l'exode (Poteet, 1987) is a collection of documents on the migration of Québécois to New England and New York from 1850 to this day, reprinted largely from the press and literary sources, supplemented by recent scholarly articles and testimony of contemporary Franco-Americans. In this splendid volume are two pieces of particular interest to sociologists and anthropologists. The first by Annie Marion MacLean was published in the American Journal of Sociology in 1905, entitled « The Significance of the Canadian Migration », is an inquiry into the desirability of the union of Canada and the United States. The second is Pierre Anctil's article on the virtual end of le Québec d'en bas and his challenge to Franco-Americans to provide a cultural continuity for themselves in «La Franco-Américanie ou le Québec d'en bas» reported on above.

In two volumes of A Franco-American Overview (Giguère, 1981: vol. 3 and 4), there is a precursor to the working-class orientation of the 1980s in Laurence French's chapter on «The Franco-American Working Class Family» (Giguère, 1981: vol. 3, 173-190). There are also articles from Sociological Analysis, Recherches sociographiques, Labor History, The American Sociological Review and Man in the Northeast. In addition there are excerpts from Yankee City and An Ethnic Survey of Woonsocket, Rhode Island as well as the chapter from Canadian Dualism/La dualité canadienne mentioned above.

Conclusion

I note that there are a large number of interdisciplinary titles which are of interest to sociologists and anthropologists, a small portion of which are sampled in the following paragraph.

First is the comprehensive survey article on « French Canadians » by Elliott R. Barkan in the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* which contains naturalization data on Francos not otherwise easily accessible (Barkan, 1980).

Then there is that exemplar of working-class analysis, Family Time and Industrial Time: The Relationship between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community (Hareven, 1982), which focuses on the Amoskeag Mill in Manchester, New Hampshire and its workers and their families.

There are a number of unpublished doctoral dissertations with a wealth of data and analysis such as Beatrice Craig's reconstruction of the interplay of family and kinship in community formation in the first half-century of the Madawaska settlement (Craig, 1983) and Yves Frenette's analysis of the beginnings of the French community in Lewiston (Frenette, 1988).

There are also a number of volumes which give selected workingclass Francos an opportunity to tell their story. In none of these volumes are only working-class persons given voice but in all of them some working-class persons are interviewed. The first set of interviews is by journalist Dyke Hendrickson, Quiet Presence: Dramatic First-Person Accounts - The True Stories of Franco-Americans in New England (1980). Historian C. Stewart Doty in The First Franco-Americans (1985) retrieved the life histories of working-class Francos buried in the archives of the Federal Writers' Project of the 1930s. He edited them to bring out the narrative and provided a historical context. In Acadian Hard Times: The Farm Security Administration in Maine's St. John Valley (1991), Doty makes use of old photographs taken as part of the Farm Security Administration's «rural rehabilitation» program to track down and interview family members photographed at the close of the Great Depression and their descendants. By so doing, he provides a graphic description of Acadian life in Maine's St. John Valley. The secondary analysis of oral history interviews of migrants from Québec to New England and some returned migrants from a working-class point of view by Jacques Rouillard in *Ah les États!* (1985) is of great interest to Franco-American studies.

Finally, Gary Gerstle's recent book *Working-Class Americanism:* The Politics of Labor in a Textile City, 1914-1960 is a significant addition to the sparse scholarly literature on Franco-American unionism and a major addition to Franco-American studies (Gerstle, 1989).

Clearly, the emphasis in the sociology and anthropology of Franco-Americans in the 1980s is on class, especially working-class behavior, culture and social structure. These are difficult to study since they are less likely to leave a paper trail than elite or middleclass behavior, culture and social structure. Personal informants such as those used by Anctil become important elements in working-class studies. We need to ascertain whether there is currently a «survivance» or identity separate from the traditional Québec survivance of «foi, langue et culture ». If there is a separate Franco-American survivance or identity, is it primarily working-class? If so, why does it survive? Both Doane and Sweeney say that ethnicity survives as long as it is useful. How is this Franco-American identity useful and to whom? Where shall we look? Workingmen's clubs, snowshoe clubs, working-class parishes, selected American legion clubs, senior citizen groups and other networks are possibilities. To document the existence or nonexistence of a Franco-American identity and culture, and to tap its variations we need not only personal interviews for exploration and illustration but we also need surveys of representative samples of Franco-American elite and working class. The sociologists and anthropologists of the 1980s have provided Franco-American research with a formidable and critical agenda for the 1990s.

Bibliography

- Anctil, Pierre (1979a), A Franco-American Bibliography: New England, Bedford, (N.H.), National Materials Development Center.
- Anctil, Pierre (1979b), «La Franco-Américanie ou le Québec d'en bas», Cahiers de géographie du Québec, 23, 58 (April), p. 39-52 (rpt in Louder and Waddell, 1983, and in Poteet, 1987).
- Anctil, Pierre (1980), Aspect of Class Ideology in a New England Ethnic Minority:
 The Franco-Americans of Woonsocket,
 Rhode Island (1865-1929), Ph.D. dissertation, New School for Social
 Research.
- Barkan, Elliott Robert (1980), «French Canadians», in Stephan Thernstrom (dir.), Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, Cambridge (Mass.) and London, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, p. 388-401.
- Chartier, Armand (1989), «Nouveaux regards sur la Franco-Américanie: bibliographie descriptive d'études récentes », Vie française, 41, 1 (January-December), p. 63-87.
- Craig, Beatrice Chevalier (1983), Family, Kinship and Community Formation of the Canadian-American Border: Madawaska, 1785-1842, doctoral dissertation, University of Maine.
- D'Andrea, Vaneeta-Marie (1986), The Women of Survivance: A Case Study of Ethnic Persistence among the Members of Franco-American Women's Groups in New England, 1950-present, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut.

- Doane, Ashley W., Jr. (1983), The Franco-Americans of New Hampshire: A Case Study of Ethnicity and Social Stratification, master's thesis, Department of Sociology, University of New Hampshire.
- Doty, C. Stewart (1985), The First Franco-Americans: New England Life Histories from the Federal Writers' Project (1938-1939), Orono (Me.), University of Maine at Orono Press.
- Doty, C. Stewart (1991), Acadian Hard Times: The Farm Security Administration in Maine's St. John Valley, Orono (Me.), University of Maine at Orono Press.
- Elliott, Rosemary Howe (1985), Childrearing Attitudes of Fathers and Mothers in the Franco-American and Anglo-American Populations, master's of Science thesis, Child and Family Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Frenette, Yves (1988), La genèse d'une communauté canadienne-française en Nouvelle-Angleterre: Lewiston, Maine, 1800-1880, doctoral dissertation, Université Laval.
- Gerstle, Gary (1989), Working-Class Americanism: The Politics of Labor in a Textile City, 1914-1960, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Giguère, Madeleine (dir.) (1981), «New England», A Franco-American Overview, vol. 3 (1st part) and 4 (2nd part), Cambridge (Mass.), National Assessment and Dissemination Center for Bilingual/Bicultural Education.

- Giguère, Madeleine (1982), «The Franco-Americans: Occupational Profiles», in Raymond Breton and Pierre Savard (eds.), The Quebec and Acadian Diaspora in North America, Toronto, The Multicultural Historical Society of Ontario.
- Giguère, Madeleine (1984), « Y a-t-il de nos jours un marché pour le journal franco-américain? Analyse démographique de ce marché d'après le recensement de 1980 », in Claire Quintal (ed.), Le journalisme de langue française aux États-Unis, Fourth Colloquium of the French Institute at Assumption College, Québec, Conseil de la vie française en Amérique, p. 128-159.
- Guignard, Michael J. (1982), La foi, la langue, la culture: The Franco-Americans of Biddeford, Maine, privately printed.
- Guignard, Michael J. (1983), « Geographic and Demographic Forces Facilitating Ethnic Survival in a New England Mill Town: The Franco-Americans of Biddeford, Maine», in Claire Quintal (ed.), The Little Canadas of New England, Third Colloquium of the French Institute at Assumption College, Worcester (Mass.), French Institute/ Assumption College, p. 1-22.
- Hareven, Tamara K. (1982), Family Life and Industrial Time: The Relationship between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Harnish Sorg, Marcella (1983), Genetic Demography of Deme Formation in a Franco-American Population: 1830-1903, Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University.
- Harnish Sorg, Marcella (1984), «La formation d'une communauté à Old Town, Maine, 1835-1930: endogamie et origines natales parmi les Acadiens»,

- in Claire Quintal (ed.), L'émigrant acadien vers les États-Unis: 1842-1950, Fifth Colloquium of the French Institute at Assumption College, Québec, Conseil de la vie française en Amérique, p. 133-147.
- Hendrickson, Dyke (1980), Quiet Presence: Dramatic First-Person Accounts – The True Stories of Franco-Americans in New England, Portland (Me.), G. Gannet Pub. Co.
- Langelier, Régis (1982), « French-Canadian Families », in M. McGoldrick, J.K. Pearce and J. Giordano (eds.), Ethnicity and Family Therapy, New York, Guilford Press, p. 299-246.
- Lavoie, Yolande (1980), «Québécois et francophones dans le courant migratoire vers les États-Unis aux XIX° et XX° siècles», *Critère*, 27 (spring), p. 205-219
- Louder, Dean R., and Eric Waddell (dir.) (1983), Du continent perdu à l'archipel retrouvé: le Québec et l'Amérique française, Québec, PUL.
- Paquet, Gilles, and Wayne R. Smith (1983), «L'émigration des Canadiens-Français [sic] vers les États-Unis, 1790-1940: problématique et coups de sonde», L'Actualité économique, 59, p. 423-453.
- Parker, James Hill (1983), Ethnic Identity: The Case of the French Americans, Washington (D.C.), University Press of America.
- Poteet, Maurice (dir.) (1987), Textes de l'exode: recueil de textes sur l'émigration des Québécois aux États-Unis (XIX° et XX° siècles), Montréal, Guérin littérature.
- Rouillard, Jacques (1985), Ah les États! Les travailleurs canadiens-français dans l'industrie textile de la Nouvelle-Angleterre d'après le témoignage des derniers migrants, Montréal, Boréal Express.

- Schulz, Julia (1985), Economic Factors in the Persistence of French-Canadian Identity in New England, master's thesis, McGill University.
- Sweeney, Robert Michael (1985), Motivation for Ethnic Identification: French-Canadian Organizations of Willimantic, Connecticut in 1937, master's thesis, University of Connecticut.
- Thériault, George F. (1951), «The Franco-Americans in a New England Community: An Experiment in Survival », Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University.
- Thériault, George F. (1960), «The Franco-Americans of New England», in Mason Wade and Jean C. Falardeau (eds.), Canadian Dualism/La dualité canadienne. Studies of French-English Relations/Essais sur les relations entre Canadiens français et Canadiens anglais, Toronto/Québec, University of Toronto Press/PUL, p. 392-411.
- Thériault, George F. (1981), «The Franco-Americans of New England», in Madeleine Giguère (dir.), «New England», A Franco-American Overview, vol. 3 (1st part), Cambridge (Mass.), National Assessment and Dissemination Center for Bilingual/Bicultural Education, p. 139-153.
- Veltman, Calvin J. (1981), «The Retention of Minority Languages in the United States», in Ronald J. Pedone (dir.), The Retention of Minority Languages in the United States: A Seminar on the Analytic Work of Calvin J. Veltman. May 13, 1980, Washington (D.C.), National Center for Education Statistics, p. 3-45.
- Veltman, Calvin J. (1983), Language Shift in the United States, New York, Mouton.
- Veltman, Calvin J. (1987), L'avenir du français aux États-Unis, Québec, Éditeur officiel du Québec.

- Wilcox, Gerry, and Hilda Golden (1982), «Prolific Immigrants and Dwindling Natives? Fertility Patterns in Western Massachusetts, 1850 and 1880», Journal of Family History, 7 (autumn), p. 265-288.
- Woolfson, Peter A. (1982), «Le Franco-Américain campagnard dans l'État du Vermont», in Claire Quintal (ed.), L'émigrant québécois vers les États-Unis: 1850-1920, Second Colloquium of the French Institute at Assumption College, Québec, Conseil de la vie française en Amérique, p. 81-98.
- Woolfson, Peter A. (1983a), Franco-Americans in Vermont: A Civil Rights Perspective, Report of the Vermont Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Vermont.
- Woolfson, Peter A. (1983b), «The Franco-Americans of Northern Vermont: Cultural Factors for Consideration by Health and Social Services Providers», in Peter A. Woolfson and André J. Senecal (eds.), *The French in Vermont:* Some Current Views, series of occasional papers, Burlington (Vt.), Center for Research on Vermont, p. 1-26.