1959

The French Canadian Migration Into Rhode Island

Gerald Joseph Doiron
University of Rhode Island

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.uri.edu/theses>

Recommended Citation

Doiron, Gerald Joseph, "The French Canadian Migration Into Rhode Island" (1959). *Open Access Master's Theses*. Paper 1809.
<https://digitalcommons.uri.edu/theses/1809>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by DigitalCommons@URI. It has been accepted for inclusion in Open Access Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@URI. For more information, please contact digitalcommons-group@uri.edu.

F90
F85
D6

THE FRENCH CANADIAN MIGRATION
INTO

RHODE ISLAND

BY

GERALD JOSEPH DOIRON

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
IN
HISTORY

UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND

1959

LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND
KINGSTON, R.I.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author wishes to express appreciation to Dr. William DeWitt Metz of the University of Rhode Island History and Political Science Department for his guidance, suggestions, and aid in the writing of this thesis. His knowledge of American social history, Rhode Island in particular, was an immeasurable help in the completion of this study.

Appreciation is also extended to Dr. Daniel H. Thomas and Dr. Richard A. Sabatino for their criticisms and suggestions of this work.

Thanks are also expressed to Mr. Theophile Martin, curator of the Mallet Library located in the Saint Jean Baptiste d'Amerique building in Woonsocket, Rhode Island. The author is particularly grateful for the freedom of access to the works located in the library.

Deep appreciation is also extended to my wife, Therese A. Doiron who, along with household duties and care of two children, has skillfully typed this thesis.

ABSTRACT

The population of Rhode Island is a composite of various nationalities which immigrated into the state in the period 1840-1914. Beginning with the large influx of Irish in the 1840's and 1850's, the characteristics of the population began to change, for the foreign born in the period 1860-1900 were increasing four times faster than the native born. Following the Irish, the French Canadians migrated into Rhode Island in the period 1865-1910. During the latter part of the French Canadian movement, the Portugese and the Italians added their strength to the foreign born population living in Rhode Island.

This study is primarily concerned with the French Canadian movement into Rhode Island and the political, social, and economic development of the group within the state in the period 1865-1910. Their immigration into Rhode Island, however, was not separate from the general immigration into New England. The most important reason for the migration into the state was the extensive opportunity for employment in the flourishing textile mills. As a group they had little hesitation over leaving their own established society across the boundary, because farming, which was the basis of their economy, was less profitable by 1865 and held little inducement for them to stay.

Following the Civil War, the French Canadians came into Rhode Island in large numbers, totaling 34,087 by 1910. Approximately 4,000 came in every five years in the period 1865-1910. In some communities, they supplanted the Irish and the native Yankees as the dominant group.

Although their movement into New England caused little excitement, they were frequently resented by the laboring class who felt that the new immigrants with their large families and low standard of living were taking their jobs for lower wages and reducing their living standard in general. However, they were welcomed by the manufacturing employers who were seeking an abundant supply of cheap labor, and by business men who found them to be among their best customers of the latest goods.

The French Canadians in New England faced problems of acculturation which were almost non-existent in Canada. Fearing assimilation into the general population, the French Canadians successfully established their own institutions such as churches, schools, societies, and newspapers. They thus sought, and with some marked success, to create in New England a society patterned after the one existing in Canada.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	vii
 Chapter	
I. FOUNDED OF NEW FRANCE	1
II. IMMIGRATION INTO RHODE ISLAND, 1800-60 . .	7
III. FRENCH CANADIAN IMMIGRATION INTO RHODE ISLAND 1860-1910	15
IV. INTEGRATION IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES	39
V. ACHIEVEMENT OF SOCIAL STATUS	56
VI. GROWTH OF THE FRENCH CANADIAN CHURCH IN RHODE ISLAND	72
VII. IDENTITY AS A NATIONAL GROUP	79
CONCLUSION	95
BIBLIOGRAPHY	104

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	French Canadian Immigration into Rhode Island, 1850-1910	28
2.	Selected Nativities by Counties 1870 . . .	31
3.	French Canadians by Counties 1865-95 . . .	32
4.	Natives of Foreign Birth Living in Rhode Island 1875-1880	34
5.	Selected Nationalities Engaged in Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries in Rhode Island 1880-85	35
6.	French Canadians in the Principal Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries of Rhode Island 1885-1895	48
7.	Percentage of French Canadians in General Division of Occupations 1895	50
8.	French Canadian State and Municipal Officers, State of Rhode Island 1890 .	70
9.	Parishes in French Canadian Centers in Rhode Island 1895	78
10.	Total Number of Intermarriages Between French Canadians and Selected Nationalities up to 1890	83
11.	French Canadian Societies in Rhode Island 1895	87

CHAPTER I

FOUNDING OF NEW FRANCE

New France was discovered and settled as the result of three basic interests which motivated the French. Their first desire was to find the long-sought Northwest Passage, the short direct route from western Europe to the riches of the East. The search led the French up the northern coast of North America into the St. Lawrence River, but the main wealth they found was in the fur bearing animals in the St. Lawrence basin.¹ Their second concern was revealed in the strong religious zeal of the Jesuit missionaries who came to the new continent with the willingness to die if necessary for the Catholic faith. Their third objective was the settlement of colonies under the mercantile policies of ministers such as Jean Baptiste Colbert, finance minister under Louis XIV. The French colonies would provide a market for the mother country and produce for France what it could not produce itself.

Following the explorers, both lay and religious, came the adventurers whose fame as coureurs de bois is well known. In the period from 1608 to 1660, some 1,200 immigrants came into Canada. Many of the immigrants came as

¹John Murray Gibbon, Canadian Mosaic (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1938), p. 19.

colons in order to supplement the small number of homesteaders and were enlisted under the initiative of the trading companies.¹ However, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, under the reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV, New France was regarded as a place for the ruined nobility, although the poorer nobility in many instances regarded the colony, far from the stately courts and palaces of France, as a virtual prison.² These petty nobles were given grants of land known as seigneurie; they then parceled the land out to be farmed by the colonists. This attempt to transfer the feudal system to the new land achieved little success, as the seigneurs had very limited control over the colonists.³

During the 1660's the French monarchy, under the supervision of Colbert, came to the aid of the colony by sending some 2,000 colonists to Canada.⁴ A large portion were soldiers; however, the king sent over a shipload of poor women and orphaned girls as wives for the older colonists and soldiers. In many cases, the bulk of the colonists

¹Charles Wagley and Marvin Harris, Minorities in the New World (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 171.

²Mason Wade, The French Canadians, 1760-1945 (Toronto: Macmillan Co., 1955), p. 3.

³Wagley and Harris, Minorities, p. 172.

⁴Jean Talon, Intendant-General of Justice, Police and Finance in Canada, had a census taken in 1666. The total number of colonists was estimated at 3,215 of which 2,034 were males and 1,181 were females. George M. Wrong, The Rise and Fall of New France (Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1928), p. 384.

coming to New France from 1633 to 1673 were drawn from the provinces of Normandy, Picardy, Ile de France, Maine, Anjou, Tourraine, Poitou, Annis, and Saintange, with the Norman element providing the majority of settlers. All were Roman Catholic and all spoke French.

By 1672, however, immigration from France had practically ceased; less than ten thousand colonists were settled in New France by 1673.¹ The reason for France's lack of interest in Canada was that it had proved a liability to the Crown, while the rich sugar-producing West Indian colonies were an asset and most of France's energy was therefore expended on the islands.² Another reason was that Louis XIV was involved in European wars and lost some of his interest in New France. Consequently, the plea for more colonists was rejected by Colbert on the grounds that emigration was depopulating France. In June, 1673, he wrote to Governor Frontenac that,

His Majesty cannot give any assistance to Canada this year on account of the great prodigious expense that he has been obliged to incur for the maintenance of more than 200,000 men and 100 ships and 25 galleys.³

¹The census of the French colony in Canada for 1667 and 1668 is estimated at 4,312 and 5,870 respectively. In the period 1665-73, about one thousand young girls were dispatched to the Canadian colony. Francis Parkman, The Old Regime in Canada (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1894), pp. 265-80.

²Wagley and Harris, Minorities, p. 171.

³Gibbon, Canadian Mosaic, p. 27.

He also informed the colonists that their prosperity and subsistence in the New World depended on the willingness of the youths to marry early. The colonists did establish a tradition for early marriages and large families which has been a strong force in the survival and growth of the group.¹ The less than 10,000 who emigrated from France in the period 1600-74, and some four or five thousand who came to swell their ranks from 1713 to 1740, became ancestors to some three or four million French Canadians of the present day.² By 1765 the French population had increased to approximately 70,000, and almost every habitant could trace his ancestry in America for several generations. Their long residence in the New World had created a small embryonic nation with a sense of identification separate from the mother country. They were French in origin but Canadians in interest and outlook.³

Following the change of control from France to Great Britain as a result of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, many of the official class and other leading members of the French

¹Wade, French Canadians, p. 18.

²William Wood, "The French Canadians," Chap. III of Immigrant Background, edited by Henry P. Fairchild (New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1927), p. 37. Also see Gibbon, Canadian Mosaic, p. 20; George M. Wrong, The Canadians (Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1939), pp. 414-15. Wood contends that almost no marriages occurred outside the group until very recent times.

³Wagley and Harris, Minorities, pp. 175-76.

society returned to France, thus leaving the clergy in substantial control over the French Canadian subjects. Those of the official class who remained did not form a powerful clique; consequently, the parish and the clergy became the center of French Canadian life. Clerical leadership, with adaptation to new areas, was still practiced by the devoted priests who followed their flock to the Canadian northwest and to the United States in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The people themselves had an unshakable faith in the powers of the church. They were superstitious but were very strong and hard working people. Their homes were simple and lacked many of the luxuries found in the homes of their wealthy neighbors to the south. Large families, which were the rule rather than the exception, increased the burden of peasants farming the land; low crop yields caused by poor soil and poor farm equipment deprived them of funds necessary for purchase of goods they could not produce as well as severely limiting their family food supplies.

It is these people, whose ancestors had lived in America since the seventeenth century, who came to swell the laboring class of Rhode Island in the latter part of the nineteenth century and to replace the Irish as the predominant immigrant group. They were foreigners as far as language, customs, and religion were concerned, but as

immigrants the French Canadians could hardly be classed with those coming from Europe. They were Americans from the outset and shared in common with the thirteen colonies the experiences of establishing settlements in the new land.

They represent one of the oldest settlements on this continent. They have been, in the broad sense, Americans for generations, and their coming to the United States, is merely a movement of Americans across an imaginary line, from one part of America to another.¹

¹Statement by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge in a speech on immigration in the Boston City Club, March 20, 1908, as quoted in J. L. K. LaFlamme, David E. Lavigne and Arthur J. Favreau, "French Catholics in the United States," Catholic Encyclopedia, ed. Charles G. Herbermann et al., VI (1909), 127.

CHAPTER II

IMMIGRATION INTO RHODE ISLAND 1800-60

During the period of early colonization in the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries, France and England engaged in a series of wars which always involved the colonies. Peace was not established until the end of the French and Indian War when Britain formally took over Canada as the spoils of victory in 1763. At the time of the transfer, many French Canadians moved into Maine and Vermont, thus starting the migratory movement of a people who were, within one hundred years, to make many changes in the political, social, and economic complex of New England.¹

During the Revolutionary War a French Canadian regiment fought on the side of the Americans and in return for its service was offered extensive land, "The Refugee Tract," located on both sides of Lake Champlain. After the war the availability of this land led French

¹Thorsten V. Kalijarvi, "French Canadians in the U. S.," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXIII (September, 1942), 133. He also states that French Canadians migrated into Rhode Island as early as the seventeenth century, but gives no statistics.

Canadians to migrate to the United States. During the early part of the 1800's French Canadian migration took place primarily in the northern part of New England, although a few did travel as far as the budding industrial centers of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The first French Canadians to arrive in Rhode Island settled in Woonsocket. In 1815 Francis Froulx and his family were living in the area; then in 1821 the families of Frudent and Joseph Mayer arrived; afterward none are recorded coming in until 1830 when Joseph Arsenault and Peter Arsenault moved in. In the following years other families settled in the Blackstone Valley.¹ By 1846 Woonsocket and mill villages along the river to the south had 332 French Canadians, and of this number 77 were American citizens and 225 retained their Canadian citizenship.²

The growth of the French Canadian population was directly related to the growth of industry in the region. In 1810 Joseph Arnold, Ariel Bartlet, Luke Jencks, and Oliver Leland formed the "Social Manufacturing Company" in Woonsocket and built a factory there. It burned down,

¹Marie Louise Bonier, Débuts de la Colonie Franco-Americaine de Woonsocket R. I. (Framingham; Lakeview Press, 1920), p. 79.

²Ibid., p. 80.

but another, consisting of four stories, was constructed in 1827. In 1842 it was transformed into apartments where many French Canadian families lived before they moved into more comfortable homes.¹

John Slater, brother of Samuel Slater, founded the third cotton manufacturing plant in the United States along the Blackstone river in 1806. He utilized water power, but the mill only carded and spun the cotton. He had to distribute the thread to the families who did the weaving by hand. In 1826 the mill was destroyed by fire, but it was rebuilt and came under the sole management of John Slater. In the following years, many French Canadians came to work for him. The second cotton mill in the area was built in Manville, Rhode Island, in 1812. It was 100 feet long, 32 feet wide, and 4 stories high. This was the beginning of the textile industry in the Blackstone Valley which later became the principal center of French Canadian population in Rhode Island.²

These first families to arrive traveled on foot beside their open wagons which contained food as well as furniture. A cow usually trailed behind. The trip, following established trails, usually took about three

¹Bonier, Débuts de la Colonie Franco-Américaine, pp. 38-39.

²Ibid., pp. 53-54.

to four weeks.¹ Some followed the Kennebec river into Maine, while others came down through New Hampshire, Vermont, or northern New York.² Once these immigrants arrived, they had the problem of securing lodgings and work; however, it was not such a hard task for work was quickly found in the textile mills and lodgings could be rented in the tenement houses owned by the mills.

The reception of the first French Canadians who arrived in the area during the first half of the nineteenth century was not too cordial. The established residents of English ancestry disliked the newly arrived people because of their religion, customs, and language. The pressure was great on the French Canadians to change their religion, names, and customs.³

Many did anglicize their names and changed their religion, for prior to the 1870's there were no French Canadian priests, and the French Canadians that did come before 1860 were so few in number that they had no opportunity to band together for protection of their identity. Between 1814 and the construction of the first Irish Catholic church in Woonsocket in 1844, missionaries came

¹Bonier, Débuts de la Colonie Franco-Américaine, pp. 86-87.

²Robert Rumilly, Histoire des Franco-Américains (Montreal, 1958), p. 30. Book written under the auspices of L'Union Saint-Jean Baptiste D'Amerique.

³Bonier, Débuts de la Colonie Franco-Américaine, p. 87.

from time to time to say mass, and to remarry the young people who had been married by a notary public or a Protestant minister.¹ Until the first French Catholic church was built in 1873, the French Canadians had to depend on the Irish Catholic church; this was another incentive for them to change their language and customs. The French Canadians were disliked by the Irish; the relationship between them was not very friendly, and it was not unusual to hear of drunken Irishmen beating them up.² In fact, they were regarded by many as an inferior group of people and little was done to try to understand them in the manufacturing industries.³ Because they were so few in the community, and since tradesmen anglicized French names for their convenience, many of the French Canadians who arrived before the Civil War changed their proper names. Once changed, the name was retained and passed on to their sons.⁴

¹Bonier, Débuts de la Colonie Franco-Américaine, p. 87.

²Ibid., p. 93.

³This was due mainly to the fact that their background was unknown and probably not too interesting to the general population.

⁴Max B. Thrasher, "One of the Strangers at our Gate," New England Magazine, XVI (1897), 29. Examples of names that are anglicized:

Boulanger	- Baker	Turcott	- Hitchcock
Bienvenue	- Welcome	Lapierre	- Lapier
LaRoche	- Stone	D'Archambeau	- Shambow
Boisvert	- Greenwood		

When the Civil War started, many French Canadians from Canada enlisted. Some joined out of sympathy for the Union cause, but "some . . . sought the excitement offered by the campaigns as a welcomed break in the routine life."¹ Many others joined because of the liberal bounties that a man enlisting after the first year of conflict could expect. In the state of Rhode Island, the French Canadian population was sufficient to provide approximately fifty-six soldiers to the Union army.² In addition, a large number of French Canadians crossed the border to enlist in the Union forces, forming whole regiments which spoke nothing but French.³ This group is typified by Calixa Lavallee, a nineteen year old musician who enlisted in Providence as a first class musician in the 4th Rhode Island Regiment on September 17, 1861.⁴ The number of those

¹Marcus Lee Hansen, The Mingling of the Canadian and American People (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p. 142.

²Bonier, Débuts de la Colonie Franco-Américaine, p. 85. The author felt that the number of French Canadians who served in the Union army from Rhode Island was probably greater, but it was impossible to discover other names than the list published in her book.

³Edward Pecteau, French Contributions to America (Methuen, Mass.: Soucy Press, 1945), p. 118.

⁴Rumilly, Histoire des Franco-Américains, p. 36. Lavallee received a wound at Antietam, and following his discharge returned to Canada where he composed the Canadian national anthem. He returned to the U. S. and settled in Boston where he taught music and gathered for himself a good reputation as an accomplished musician.

who served in the Union army is between 30,000, which is considered a very conservative figure, and 60,000, which is considered too high; approximately 40,000 is probably the correct figure.¹ The great number of young men who left the Province of Quebec during the Civil War period was not regarded by the government as a great loss to its population. However, the emigration did decrease the size of the French Canadian element in Canada and this was always a threat to its existence. "Several of the Catholic bishops enjoined their parish priests to warn the young men in their congregations against the dangers of foreign military service, . . ."²

The French Canadian migration to the United States thus started en masse during the Civil War period; it gave many young men the opportunity to observe for themselves the standard of living in the States. Many others came to the States to take jobs in labor-short New England. Approximately 7,412 entered the state of Rhode Island during the decade 1860-70. However, during the period 1860-65, only 554 British Americans migrated into Rhode Island, indicating that the war had some discontinuous effect on immigration into this state.³ Canadians during

¹Rumilly, Histoire des Franco-Américains, p. 17.

²Hansen, Mingling of Peoples, p. 146.

³Kurt B. Mayer, Economic Development and Population Growth in Rhode Island (Providence: Brown University, 1953), p. 45.

the early part of the war were advised by their friends to stay at home until such time as industrial and war conditions improved. Another factor was the requirement that all travelers entering or leaving the United States by sea show a passport. To the majority of Canadians a passport was an unknown paper, and since provisions were not made until 1862 for the issuance of passports, this retarded the migratory movement. In March, 1862, the order requiring passports was rescinded, and by 1863 employment conditions changed in the States and the migratory movement started south again.¹ When the war ended, a phenomenal increase occurred in the influx of British Americans into Rhode Island due to the postwar boom in industry.²

¹Hansen, Mingling of Peoples, pp. 140-41.

²Mayer, Economic Development . . . in R. I., p. 42.

CHAPTER III

FRENCH CANADIAN IMMIGRATION INTO RHODE ISLAND 1860-1910

Before the Civil War, French Canadians had been on the verge of crossing the border into New England, but first contacts with the Yankees and the Irish had not been very friendly. However, after the war, Quebec was full of young men eager to cross the border, and even the influence of the Church was not strong enough to direct them to the Canadian West.¹ During the Civil War years, many citizens in New England enlisted in the Union forces, leaving industry with a labor shortage. Mill owners therefore sent agents to the Province of Quebec to engage workers and bring them into New England under contract.²

The French Canadian emigration started en masse in the period of the civil war. . . . Records show that the last week of April, 1869 trains passing through

¹Marcus Lee Hansen, The Immigrant in American History (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940), p. 170.

²Alexandre Belisle, Histoire de la Presse Franco-Americaine (Worcester, Mass.: Ateliers Typographique de L'Opinion Publique, 1911), p. 11. See also William MacDonald, "French Canadians in New England," Quarterly Journal of Economics, XII (1898), 247.

St. Albans brought 2,300 French Canadians. May 3rd, a train carried 600 persons. . . .¹

The French Canadians, desiring to improve their economic conditions, traveled into New England by the thousands.² However, the first to immigrate were slow to blend into the general population for they had little education, usually spoke no English, had no established churches or newspapers or societies, and had no professional men to guide them. However, with the large influx following the Civil War, professional men migrated as well as clergymen, consequently giving the French Canadians a sense of unity, direction and purpose.³

Of the first group to come down into New England, very few intended to stay. Many French Canadians were mostly in need of quick money to pay mortgages on their land, and since they were offered good wages to work at harvest time or in factories, they gladly came. While they were in the States, they did not feel much need for churches or schools, nor did they desire to be naturalized; thus they did not participate in any political or administrative groups.⁴

¹Pecteau, French Contributions to America, p. 121.

²During the period 1860-70, 7,412 French Canadians entered the state of Rhode Island. See Table 1.

³Belisle, Histoire de la Presse Franco-Americaine, p. 12.

⁴Olivier Maurault, The French of Canada and New England, A Newcomen Address in Vermont, N. Y. (Newcomen Society in North America, 1950), p. 14.

Another group that moved into New England could almost be classified as vagabonds, for they were nomads who moved back and forth across the forty-fifth parallel with few or no responsibilities. Mixed in with these two groups was the permanent immigrant, who built schools and churches, established societies, and supported French Canadian newspapers.¹ St. Hyacinth, Trois Rivières, Rimouski, Bellechasse, and La Beauce were the principal centers of emigration.²

Prior to the extension of railroads, it was difficult for many French Canadians to find their way very far south, so they settled in the border states.³ Traveling was arduous and accommodations were limited, so many had to sleep in barns or out of doors during the trip. However, with the extension of the railroad network throughout New England, French Canadians were able to travel south into Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. By 1860 New England had the most complete railroad network in the country.⁴

¹E. H. Hamon, Les Canadiens-Français de la Nouvelle Angleterre (Quebec: N. S. Hardy, Libraire - Éditeurs, 1891), p. 8.

²Kalljarvi, The Annals, CCXXII, 133.

³Belisle, Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américaine, pp. 2-3.

⁴Between 1850-1860, railroad mileage in the Canadian provinces increased from 66 to 2,065 miles. This included the Grand Trunk line from Lake Huron to Portland, Maine. Oscar D. Skelton, The Railway Builders, Vol. 32 of The

In order to get money to pay the railroad fare, the habitant would sell, at an auction, his furniture, farm equipment, and other items which he could not carry with him. Often the auction would be announced on Sunday in church. Following the auction, the farmer and his family would board a train that would bring them to French Canadian centers such as Lewiston, Portland, Lowell, Worcester, and Woonsocket.¹

Hill farms were deserted and began going back to the forest. Villages shrank and the chief cities barely held their own. In Quebec, whole country sides took themselves to the United States, leaving behind abandoned farms and houses with doors and windows boarded over. From the Province people, smitten by what used to be called "la fievre aux Etats-Unis," went to the industries of New England, from Ontario they went to the farmlands of the west.²

The reasons why the French Canadians uprooted themselves and moved south across the border are many and varied. The opportunity to settle in New England, however, was improved by the westward migration of so many Yankees.³ For several decades prior to the Civil War, the American

Chronicles of Canada, ed. G. M. Wrong and H. H. Langton (32 vols.; Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company, 1920), pp. 82, 93.

¹Rumilly, Histoire des Franco-Américains, p. 40.

²Arthur R. M. Lower, Colony to a Nation; A History of Canada (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1946), p. 409.

³Stewart H. Holbrook, The Yankee Exodus (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950), p. 278.

West had been beckoning young men to leave the rocky Northeast farms and move to areas where land was good and cheap. The Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society, established in April, 1854, to help move people into the trans-Missouri West to fight for free soil and limit slavery to the deep South, stimulated additional emigration from the region. The Civil War was probably the greatest drain on the young men of New England, for even many of those who survived the war never returned to their home states.¹ The loss of manpower was filled in part by the Irish immigration which reached its peak before 1860, and by the French Canadians who came temporarily into the States to work on barges plying the waters of Lake Champlain, on railroad construction, or on the farms during harvest time.²

With the end of the war between the States, industrial activity increased. It was a period of mechanical innovations, and products could now be produced faster and cheaper with higher wages paid to the laborers. Letters were soon written to relatives in Canada telling of the opportunities for employment and good salaries. This news

¹Harold F. Wilson, The Hill Country of Northern New England (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp. 56-74. Because the first charter was found faulty, it was discarded, and a new group was formed known as The New England Emigrant Aid Company. Holbrook, The Yankee Exodus, pp. 187-207.

²Rumilly, Histoire des Franco-Américains, p. 27.

was promptly passed on from person to person, exaggerated as it went from one end of the parish to the other.¹ The French Canadians were frequent letter writers despite their scanty education which made their writing of English words particularly difficult to read. For example, several envelopes were posted in a town on the Canadian line. The name of the town to which they were addressed was given as "Rad-e-lan" which meant "Rock Island." The postmaster, unable to understand what it meant, was forced to hold the letters several months until they were translated by a French Canadian. It appears however, that the majority of letters did reach their destination.² Consequently, many immigrants came south by rail in response to letters from friends and relatives already working in the States.

The industrial activity in the United States attracted young men from the Province who would come and work during the summer months, such as in the brick industry, and then would leave in the fall with a new suit of clothes, a gold watch, and money in their pockets.³

¹Belisle, Histoire de la Presse Franco-Americaine, p. 3.

²Thrasher, New England Magazine, XVI, 29. "When I go out to my barn dis morning, my old rooster she jump on de pen, my old sow he grab 'em." This tragedy related to the author by a Canadian neighbor is indicative of the broken English spoken by the majority of French Canadians.

³"I go on Les Etats-Unis, I go dere right away An' den mebbe on ten-twelve year, I be rich man some day, An' w'en I mak' de large fortune I come back I s'pose with Yankee femme from off de State an' monee on my clothes." Lower, Colony to a Nation, p. 407, as quoted from W. H. Drummond, The Habitant (New York; 1900).

Upon their return to the parish, they would be admired by young and old, providing the best advertisement possible of the wealth and good living to be found in the United States.

In 1874 the birthday of St. John the Baptist was celebrated in Montreal, and hundreds of French Canadians from the United States attended, bringing bands which paraded all over the city. Relatives were able to meet once again after years of separation. Many bragged of making \$2.50 to \$3.00 a day, thus encouraging their compatriots to leave the farms, and in 1875 there occurred a large exodus from the rural areas.¹ Displays of wealth, letters, and continuous talking by the returnees operated as a constant pressure on families to leave Canada for the "El Dorado" of the south.²

There were also climatic and geographical causes why the French Canadians left their homes. Farming north of the St. Lawrence was difficult. Settlers were thwarted by the Laurentian Shield which was made up of an underlying formation of pre-Cambrian rocks and was covered

¹Belisle, Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américaine, p. 115.

²Bonier, Début de la Colonie Franco-Américaine, p. 75.

by a soil too scanty to permit agriculture on a large scale.¹ Furthermore, by 1870 hardly any land was available in Quebec; expansion had to take place to accommodate the growing number of French Canadians.² It was not uncommon, for instance, to find families of sixteen, seventeen, or even twenty. Their high birth rate forced many to migrate from the Province of Quebec.³ They could not move north, for the Canadian shield prevented profitable farming. Much of the good land within the Province of Quebec was in the hands of Anglo-Canadian proprietors,⁴ and they could not move east to the untilled sections because the government kept the area closed.⁵ Quebec Province thus was unable to support a growing population. Work in the fields was hard and the harvest was scanty from exhausted soil. The French Canadians made bread the staple diet, and the frequent cultivation of wheat without adequate fertilizer or crop rotation resulted in a decline of the yearly yield per acre. As time passed

¹A. B. Corey, The Crisis of 1830-42 in Canadian American Relations (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 3.

²Brown and Roucek, Our Racial and National Minorities, p. 495.

³Wagley and Harris, Minorities, p. 182.

⁴Hansen, The Mingling of Peoples, pp. 124-25.

⁵Bonier, Début de la Colonie Franco-Américaine, p. 76. See also Murault, The French of Canada, p. 13.

the farm dwindled in size due to division among heirs, and the crops yielded less and less every year. Unable to gain their support from the poor soil, many farm families could not remain as a unit unless some members found employment for wages.¹ They could not find it at home for Canadian manufacturing industry was progressing very slowly. But in New England industrial activity was booming. It is no wonder then that when the habitant began to look for more fruitful fields, his eyes were attracted to the glittering activity of city life in New England.²

Another factor which forced the French Canadians to move south was the increasing church burdens imposed on them. The churches were built in a size and splendor all out of proportion to the community. This was made possible through the system of tithes which were made collectable by law; hence, the construction of a building, properly authorized, could be paid for by putting liens on the property of the parishoners.³ Beside these burdens,

¹Hansen, Mingling of Peoples, pp. 124-25.

²Henry Loomis Nelson, "French Canadians in New England," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, LXXXVII (1893), 180.

³Ibid., 876; also MacDonald, Quarterly Journal of Economics, XII, 246.

the dominion tariff in 1889 increased the price of farm implements, putting the farmers further in debt. Economically, there appeared to be little future for the French Canadians in Canada, and the low rates in railroad fares indirectly encouraged them to emigrate.¹ In brief, the major causes for the migration were the lure of jobs and the better working and economic conditions in New England.

French Canadian emigration to the United States, except that which took place around the trouble period 1837-38, was entirely due to economic causes; it increased or decreased with the tide of prosperity on both sides of the border.²

Although many came for personal reasons, most French Canadians emigrating into New England seem to have been influenced by this general pattern of causes.

The Canadian parliament was asked by the people to alleviate the existing land conditions by opening new land sections; however, instead of promoting programs to ease the plight of the French Canadian farmers, they asserted that those who left were idlers, adventurers, or drunks. They claimed that those leaving their farms had been ruined by luxury and greed, or simply found pleasures in moving. In truth, many left because of the lack of encouragement on the part of the government.³

¹Hansen, Mingling of Peoples, p. 211.

²Murault, The French of Canada, p. 19; Hansen, Mingling of Peoples, p. 159; Lawrence G. Brown, Immigration (New York: Longman, Green and Co., 1933), p. 183.

³Belisle, Histoire de la Presse, p. 4.

Even Canadian newspapers did not want to admit that the emigration movement was serious and deluded themselves by stating that only the undesirable elements were leaving. Sir George Etienne Cartier, a member of the Dominion cabinet, summed up their views very aptly in 1867 when he said, "Let them go, for it is only the rabble that is leaving."¹ The clergy, however, was in a position to detect absenteeism among their flocks. Since they could not overlook the fact that their parishes were depopulating, many began to worry about the seriousness of the movement.

The increased emigration of French Canadians following the war produced alarm, eventually, among Canadian officials as well as within the group itself, for the emigration of the sons of the habitant meant not only a loss of friends, but also a weakening of French Canadian strength. Political and especially clerical leaders would not accept this loss without opposition, so attempts were made to stem the movement south.² The most noteworthy effort was the repatriation movement of 1875. The Canadian government set aside three townships of government

¹Belisle, Histoire de la Presse, p. 14. "Laissez les partir, c'est la canaille qui s'en va." Unfortunately, such statements were read and misinterpreted by the Americans. Native Americans gained the wrong impression of the French Canadians who consequently suffered a damaged social status in the United States.

²Hansen, Mingling of Peoples, p. 123.

land next to the American boundary, designated the tract "La Patrie," and also provided funds for advertisement of the settlement project. Chosen as the American agent was Ferdinand Gagnon, editor of Le Travailleur in Worcester, Massachusetts, probably the most influential person among the French Canadians in the United States.¹ By 1876 the project was considered a failure.

In 1868 Sir George Cartier, minister of militia and defense, pointed out in a speech in Ottawa, that it was unfortunate that so many French Canadians were forsaking their ancestral homes. However, the exodus was attributed to the natural growth and development of the French Canadian race which was not equaled by any other nationality in the world. The growth was causing an overflow forcing many to emigrate from the maternal home,² carrying with them a highly self-conscious culture, strongly resistant to outside influences.³

When the French Canadians first arrived in the United States they concentrated in the border areas such as New England, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, while only a few traveled as far west as California. They were

¹Hansen, Mingling of Peoples, p. 170.

²Bonier, Débuts de la Colonie Franco-Américaine, p. 77. "Il est malheureusement vrai que beaucoup trop de Canadiens français émigrent; mais, malgré cela, c'est-ce que l'accroissement de notre race n'égale point, s'il ne la dépasse pas, le développement naturel de n'importe quelle nation du monde?" As quoted from George Etienne Cartier.

³Brown and Roucek, Racial and National Minorities, p. 496.

not attracted to the big cities; instead, they went to the manufacturing villages where in many instances they became the population majority by 1900 or before.¹

The French Canadians who came into the state of Rhode Island between 1860 and 1910, came because of the general pattern of causes which originally started the emigration. The Blackstone Valley was particularly attractive to them since most of the area was flourishing with textile mills, and opportunity for work was plentiful. Some 31,257 entered the state between 1860 and 1910.²

The total state population in 1860 of 174,620 increased by 1865 to 184,965, a gain of 10,345. Thus, during the period of the rebellion the total Rhode Island population increased by only 5.9 per cent. In fact, eighteen towns declined in population.³ During this period it appears that only 554 British Americans entered the state, bringing their total in Rhode Island to 3,384.⁴

¹Hamon, Les Canadiens-Francais de la Nouvelle Angleterre, p. 12.

²See Table 1.

³Report Upon the Census of Rhode Island 1865 (Providence: Providence Press Company, 1867), p. 39. The decrease was in part caused by the settlement of the boundary dispute between Massachusetts and Rhode Island in 1862. Ibid., p. 16.

⁴The term British Americans applies to English Canadians as well as French Canadians until 1890 when the United States census made a distinction between the two groups. The Rhode Island census for 1865, 1875, and 1885 mentioned that the increase of British Americans into the state in those periods was almost wholly French Canadians.

TABLE 1

FRENCH CANADIAN IMMIGRATION INTO RHODE ISLAND, 1850-1910

Year	R. I. Population Born in Canada	Increase Over Previous Census	Total State Population	Percentage of French Canadians to Total State Population	Total Foreign Born Population	Percentage of French Canadians to total Foreign Born Population
1850 ^b	1,024				23,111	...
1860 ^a	2,830	1,806	174,620	1.62	37,394	7.58
1865 ^b	3,334	554	184,965	1.85	39,703	8.54
1870 ^a	10,242	6,858	217,353	4.72	55,396	18.52
1875 ^c	13,687	3,445	258,239	5.3	71,630	19.08
1880 ^a	18,306	4,619	276,531	6.63	73,993	24.82
1885 ^d	18,594	278	304,284	6.09	85,561	21.72
1890 ^a	22,591 ^f	4,007	345,506	6.54	106,305	21.2
1895 ^e	26,627	4,036	384,785	6.92	122,775	21.8
1900 ^a	31,533	4,906	428,556	7.34	134,519	21.19 ^g
1910 ^a	34,087	2,554	542,610	6.29	176,025	19.1

^aSource: 1950 U. S. Census of Population, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 39, Table 24.

^bReport Upon the Census of Rhode Island 1865 (Providence: Providence Press Company, 1867), p. 13, Table VII; p. 114.

^cReport Upon the Census of Rhode Island 1875 (Providence: Providence Press Company, 1877), p. 13, Table VII.

^dCensus of Rhode Island 1885 (Providence: E. L. Freeman and Sons, 1887), p. 213, Table XVIII.

^eReport Upon the Census of Rhode Island 1895, p. 2; p. 362, Table XX.

From 1850 to 1865 the people from British America showed the largest increase among the various foreign groups entering the state of Rhode Island; many of them were French Canadians who found employment in manufacturing in Barrington, Coventry, Warwick, Burrillville, Cumberland, and Smithfield, and Providence County alone had 1,855 British Americans.¹

From 1865 to 1870, the state population increased by 32,388, or 17.5 per cent. Of this total, the foreign element increased by 15,693, while the British Americans increased by 6,858 or 43.06 per cent of the foreign element, the highest number of such persons entering the state in any five-year period. By 1870 the British Americans were the second largest foreign group in Rhode Island as indicated by Table 2. The Irish were first,

¹Starting in 1890, the U. S. census made a distinction between Canadian French and Canadian English. In that year 22,591 French Canadians were listed in R. I., and 5,343 English Canadians. In 1895, 26,627 were French Canadians and 6,429 were English Canadians. In 1900, 31,533 were French and 7,744 were English Canadians, and in 1910, 34,087 were French and 7,949 were English Canadians.

²In the comparison of the French Canadians to the foreign born population, the rate of percentage is very stable from 1865 to 1900. Between 1900 and 1910 the percentage rate decreases, primarily owing to the large Italian and Portuguese immigration occurring during this decade.

¹Census of Rhode Island 1865, p. lv.

totaling 31,534. In 1875 the French Canadians and their families totaled 13,687, or 5.3 per cent of the total state population which had increased to 258,239.

Table 3 indicates where they were located in the period 1865-95. The largest number were in Providence County which includes the industrial centers of the Blackstone Valley. In Woonsocket the French Canadians equaled nearly one-third, and the Irish did equal one-third of the whole population. In fact, by 1875 eight cities and towns in the state had populations where over half was of foreign parentage.¹ The French Canadians during the period 1870-75, increased by 10,303 or 304.46 per cent. "The increase of natives of British America is actually, as well as proportionately, greater than that of the natives of Ireland. This increase had been almost wholly French Canadian."² The total foreign born population in Rhode Island in 1875 was 71,630, an increase in the five-year period of 16,246. In the period 1865-75 the foreign born population increased 31,927; of this number, 13,687 or 42.08 per cent were British Americans.³

¹Census of Rhode Island 1875, p. lxiv. Percentages were as follows: Woonsocket, 72.48; Lincoln, 69.74; Cumberland, 65.39; Burrillville, 59.63; Pawtucket, 58.82; North Smithfield, 58.24; Warwick, 52.37; Providence, 50.00.

²Ibid., p. lii.

³Ibid., p. lviii.

TABLE 2
SELECTED NATIVITIES BY COUNTIES 1870a

Counties	British American	England Wales	Ireland	Scotland	Great Bri- tain not stated	Germany	France
Bristol	501	148	1,069	66	155	52	4
Kent	1,865	746	1,604	233	...	14	5
Newport	92	558	2,164	92	...	177	46
Providence	7,517	7,381	25,859	1,407	...	867	101
Washington	267	513	838	150	...	91	11
Total	10,242	9,346	31,534	1,948	155	1,201	167

U. S. Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census of the United States: 1870.
Population, I, 370.

TABLE 3
FRENCH CANADIANS BY COUNTIES
1865-95

County	1865	1875	1885	1895
Bristol	231	645	1,062	916
Kent	473	2,560	2,193	4,971
Newport	90	58	527	340
Providence	2,442	10,310	14,539	19,994
Washington	148	125	263	406
Whole State	3,384 ^a	13,698 ^b	18,584 ^c	26,627 ^d

^aCensus of Rhode Island 1865, p. 13, Table VII.

^bCensus of Rhode Island 1875, p. 23, Table XV, showing the parentage of the population. This accounts for the difference of 11 between Table 1 and Table 3. The figure for Table 1 was taken from the table showing how many were born in each foreign country.

^cCensus of Rhode Island 1885, p. 231, Table XXXI.

^dCensus of Rhode Island 1895, p. 263, Table XXX.

In 1880 the British Americans totaled 18,306, a gain of 4,619 over the previous five years, despite the panic in Rhode Island between 1875 and 1880. The state population for this same period increased to 276,531, a gain of 18,292 or 7.0 per cent, while the total foreign born population increased only 2,363 or 3.2 per cent. As seen on Table 4, the British Americans show the only proportional gain while all other major contributors of immigrants to Rhode Island show a decline totaling 2,802. In 1885 the British Americans totaled only 18,584, an increase of only 278. This is in part explained by the business depression beginning in 1883.¹ Table 5 shows the number of people of different nationalities engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries between 1880 and 1885, and the changes owing to the depression in Rhode Island. The economic depression and stagnation which came as a result of the crash of 1873 apparently did not discourage the French Canadian during the decade 1870-80, for a total of 8,064 migrated into the state. But with the slow beginning of prosperity many faced only disappointments and hardships and returned home.² Their stories of hardship no doubt affected the French Canadian

¹Census of Rhode Island 1885, p. 390.

²Hansen, Mingling of Peoples, p. 169.

TABLE 4

NATIVES OF FOREIGN BIRTH LIVING IN RHODE ISLAND
1875-1880

	1875 ^a	1880	Increase or Decrease
Ireland	37,286	35,281	- 2,005
England	12,739	12,500	- 239
Scotland and Wales	3,186	3,209	- 23
British America	13,687	18,306	- 4,619
Germany	2,013	1,966	- 47
France	401	312	- 89
Portugal and Western Islands	561	210	- 351
Sweden and Norway	903	832	- 71
Other Foreign Countries	854	1,377	- 523
Total Foreign Born	71,630	73,993	

^aThe decrease was partly caused by the depression existing in the period 1873-78. Many immigrants utilized this period of unemployment to return home with the money they had accumulated during the time of prosperity. Deaths and the arrest of immigration particularly from Ireland also appears to be a cause for the decrease. Census of Rhode Island 1885, p. 441.

TABLE 5

SELECTED NATIONALITIES ENGAGED IN MANUFACTURING
AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES IN RHODE ISLAND
1880-85a

Year	U. S.	Ireland	Germany	Great Britain	Other Countries	British America	Aggregate
1885	41,893	10,667	969	9,119	1,325	7,722	71,695
1880	40,278	9,108	685	7,060	791	8,238	66,160
Increase 1,615 or Decrease	1,559	284	2,659	534	516	5,535	

Census of Rhode Island 1885, p. 461.

migration into Rhode Island in the period 1880-85, and the recession of 1883 only served to reinforce their accounts of the hard times existing in the States. The state population for the same period, 1880-85, went up to 304,284, a gain of 27,753 or 10.0 per cent. In this same period the foreign population increased from 73,993 to 85,561, a gain of 11,568. As can be seen from Table 5, the recession of 1883 did not stop immigration from other countries.

Between 1885 and 1890, the French Canadians gained by 4,097 and their total in the state increased to 22,591, or 6.54 per cent of the total state population. In the decade 1880-90 they increased by 4,285. They gained 4,036 in 1890-95, and 4,906 in the period 1895-1900. For the decade 1890-1900 the French Canadians gained 8,942 and in the next decade they increased from 31,533 to 34,087, representing a gain of 2,554 and establishing in Rhode Island the highest total number, the peak, of persons born in French Canada. In 1920 they totaled only 28,887, although they increased to 31,501 in 1930. In 1940 they totaled only 23,168. Deaths of the older immigrants from Canada and the reduction of French Canadian migration to New England are contributing factors in the decline.

During the thirties, non-quota immigration dropped as fast as quota immigration because of the lowering incentives brought about by the depression. Another factor is that in September, 1930, the president instructed the

American consuls to apply rigidly the public charge clause which is part of the immigration act of 1917. The clause provided that people entering the United States must first show that they were financially secure and would not have to depend on the government for aid. Restrictions were also imposed on the non-quota immigrants from Canada by the immigration act of 1924 which required visas. In order to obtain a visa, a person had to establish eligibility to enter, character, and financial standing.¹ With the increasing industrial progress in Canada during the war decade which slackened immigration, and the rising number of deaths of first and second generation immigrants, the French Canadians in Rhode Island in 1950 totaled only 19,163.² This figure is comparable to that of 1890 when they numbered only 18,306.

The principal French Canadian center of concentration in Rhode Island has been chiefly in the Blackstone Valley. Woonsocket in particular has been the recipient of the largest number of French Canadian immigrants, enough to become recognized as a chief center of French Canadian people and culture in the United States. The reason for the concentration was the booming textile industry in the area which employed not only the single young men, but whole families, including children between eight and fifteen in age. "Neither age nor sex was

¹William S. Bernard, ed., American Immigration Policy - A Reappraisal (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), pp. 30-35.

²U. S. Census of Population 1950, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 39, Table 24. These figures refer only to French Canadians born in Canada.

a fundamental consideration in the mills; there was work that a child could do and no laws barred even the youngest of them from the factories."¹ Providence County, which includes the Blackstone Valley, has always had the largest total of French Canadians. Out of 26,627 French Canadians in Rhode Island in 1895, 19,994 were located in Providence County, while the smallest numbers were then and are now located in Newport and Washington Counties, principally fishing and farming areas.² Other towns which were French Canadian centers in 1895 are Pawtucket, Central Falls, Warwick, Lincoln, Burrillville, Cumberland, Manville, Centerville, Natick, Warren, Albion, Harrisville, Slatersville, and Georgiaville.³

¹Hansen, Mingling of Peoples, p. 166, as cited from L'Echo du Canada, May 16, 1874.

²See Table 3.

³Histoire des Canadiens-Francais du Rhode Island, Souvenir d'une Fête National le 24 juin 1895 (Woonsocket, R. I.; Eugene Brault, Editeur), p. 119.

CHAPTER IV

INTEGRATION IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

French Canadians were not unknown in the Rhode Island mill communities preceding the Civil War. Following the war, however, they became more numerous and only a few decades later they became the predominant immigrant group, supplanting the native Yankees and Irish in several areas of the state. Although at first they were looked upon with disfavor by the employers because of their unfamiliarity and unreliability with machinery, the employers soon learned that if they recognized certain holidays such as June 24, St. John the Baptist's birthday, the Canadians would work contentedly.¹

When the Civil War ended, New England industry was expanding and was in need of a large supply of cheap labor. Most of the mills were outgrowing their local labor supply, but the fact that the cotton mill manufacturers paid very low wages except for highly skilled workers made it difficult to attract the needed workers. Rapid opening of the West provided many opportunities more attractive to native Americans than those in the

¹Hansen, The Immigrant in American History, p. 170; Thrasher, New England Magazine, XVI, 30. The French Canadians had a custom of planting trees on each side of the street as part of the June 24 celebration. The trees served as decorations.

textile industry.¹ Industrialists therefore became interested in the cheap immigrant labor that was available just across the American-Canadian boundary.

During the period of industrial expansion, American capitalists sent agents into the French provinces of Canada to recruit labor. In order to stimulate migration south, agents belittled Canadian progress and glamorized American living standards and opportunities for jobs. The French Canadians on the other hand were willing to come, for the wages received in one month were often more money than they ever saw in one year. Consequently, the willingness of the newcomers to work for low wages at the start fitted in with the aims of those who were promoting industrial expansion.²

The New England textile manufacturers in many instances preferred the French Canadians to European immigrants simply because they were close at hand and had the important qualifications, after a period of orientation, for working in American industry. They were

¹Herbert J. Lahn, The Cotton Mill Workers (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1944), pp. 72-73.

²Rhode Island, A Guide to the Smallest State, Federal Writers Project (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1937), p. 101. They were employed frequently as strike breakers, a role often played by immigrant groups in the United States. Cases were known of French Canadians replacing other French Canadians for lower wages. Hamon, Les Canadiens-Francais de la Nouvelle Angleterre, pp. 16-17, as cited in Iris S. Podesa, "Quebec to Little Canada": The Coming of the French Canadians to New England in the Nineteenth Century, The New England Quarterly, XXIII (September, 1950), 373.

efficient workers, docile, and were willing to work for lower wages than the English or Irish immigrants. Also, they had less objection to working long hours or to employment of child labor.¹ But most important of all was the fact that they had very little knowledge of unions and as a group they disliked strikes.² They claimed that experience had taught them that if they participated in strikes, they would lose their jobs, for others would go to work without telling them the strike was over. Besides, unions had been denounced in Quebec by Cardinal Taschereau. The efforts of union organizers to recruit French Canadian members were not very successful, partly because of this opposition by the Church and partly because they preferred low incomes regularly rather than going without wages in a strike period.³ The French Canadians were also acceptable to employers because of their geographical proximity, for when seasonal or cyclical unemployment occurred, they did not create social difficulties as other immigrant groups. Instead, many returned to Canada and remained at home until they were once again

¹Lahn, The Cotton Mill Workers, p. 73.

²Charlotte Erickson, American Industry and the European Immigrant 1860-1885 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 133.

³Hamon, Les Canadiens-Francais de la Nouvelle Angleterre, pp. 45-47, as cited in Iris S. Podesa, The New England Quarterly, XXIII (September, 1950), 373-74.

needed in the United States.¹

The old stock Yankees and the Irish did not welcome the French Canadians as readily as the employers, particularly the Irish who objected because the habitants worked for lower wages. In the eyes of many other laborers, too, the Canadians were flooding the labor market, hence competing for their jobs.² The fact that the French Canadians could live cheaply and comfortably on a small income gave them a great advantage over the native population and other immigrant groups.³ In 1888 the general belief of the Rhode Island laboring class was that immigration, whether from Europe or Canada, was detrimental to their welfare. A Providence carpenter, for example, stated that Canadian labor was injurious to the labor of the state. "The Canadians come into Rhode Island during the busy season, then return home in the winter leaving the permanent residents to get along as best they can."⁴ A weaver from Warren stated, "Stop immigration from

¹Hansen, The Immigrant in American History, p. 188.

²Nelson, Harper's New Monthly Magazine, LXXXVII (1893), p. 186.

³Hamon, Les Canadiens-Francais de la Nouvelle Angleterre, p. 16. A five room flat rented for twelve or fifteen dollars a month and food cost approximately fifteen to twenty dollars; consequently, at a dollar a day, a man could make good money if he had his wife and several of his children working in the mill.

⁴Third Annual Report of the Commissioner of Industrial Statistics of Rhode Island 1888 (Providence: E. L. Freeman and Son, State Printers, 1890), p. 78.

Canada. The recent immigration of foreign laborers has had a great effect on mill operatives."¹ In the opinion of a Woonsocket laborer, "the immigration of cheap labor from the Canadian Province and also the employment of the cheap labor of European countries, has the effect of keeping down wages,"² while according to another laborer, the immigrants were ready to take a man's job and work for less, for "they will live on any kind of food, wear the shabbiest clothes and have the worst houses and kids."³ In general, the Rhode Island laborers were not in favor of Canadian or European immigration, for they feared for their jobs and wage scale. The U. S. Commissioner of Immigration stated in his annual report of 1897:

Urgent protests from our trade unions, labor societies, and individual working men against the employment of these transitory aliens have been sent to the bureau and to congress, and much irritation has been engendered between the United States and Canada.⁴

Many Americans believed that the Canadian transient workers

¹Third Annual Report of the Commissioner of Industrial Statistics of Rhode Island 1888, p. 67.

²Ibid., p. 79.

³Ibid., p. 65.

⁴A. M. Maclean, "Significance of Canadian Migration," American Journal of Sociology, X (May, 1905), 818, as quoted from United States Commissioner of Immigration, Annual Report, 1897.

were only interested in earning a living and that as a class they were not a valuable asset to the population. In fact, some well informed writers even feared the French Canadians were threatening to overturn the established New England institutions.¹

During the period 1850-1910, a total of 178,025 foreign born people entered the state of Rhode Island, creating a foreign born group which amounted to 32.08 per cent of the total population in 1910. The increase of population in the state in the 1860's was chiefly in the cities and villages while the farming population declined because of the growth of manufacturing in those areas.

By 1865 the number of manufacturing industries reported in the census totalled 1,459 with 36,993 employees.² Since the immigrants from across the border totaled only 3,384, they were relatively unimportant in this period. However, those who were here worked chiefly in the textile industry. By 1870 the French Canadians had increased their number in the state from 3,384 to 10,242. In agriculture, they provided 301 people with 290 classified as agricultural laborers. There were 774 in the professional and personal service categories with

¹Nelson, Harper's New Monthly Magazine, LXXXVII (1893), 186.

²Census of Rhode Island 1865, p. 96.

492 classified as laborers and 200 as domestic servants. In trade and transportation, 78 were employed with 27 classified as clerks, and in manufacturing and mining, 1,403 were employed, 463 as cotton mill operators, 268 as carpenters and joiners, and 178 as brick and tile makers while the rest were scattered in various occupations.¹

In 1875 the total number employed in manufacturing was 56,450 and of this figure, 19,979 were employed in the cotton mills of the state. The average wages paid cotton mill workers was 52 cents a day for males under fifteen, $50\frac{1}{4}$ cents for females under fifteen, $\$1.51\frac{7}{8}$ for males fifteen and over, and $\$1.00\frac{7}{8}$ a day for females fifteen and over.² The British Americans totaled 13,687 or 19.08 per cent of the total foreign born population, while the total state population was 258,239. The cotton manufacturers in 1875 had 135 establishments and employed 22,574 hands.³ By 1880 the French Canadians had taken the lead in supplying labor to the New England

¹Ninth Census of the United States: 1870, I, 755, Table XXX.

²Census of Rhode Island 1875, pp. cxxxviii, cxlvii.

³The census of 1875 provided no break down of the British American labor force; thus it is impossible to estimate the number employed in the Rhode Island textile industry.

cotton mills, surpassing the Irish.¹ In Rhode Island, however, only 8,238 British Americans were employed in manufacturing and the Irish provided 9,108. But by 1885 the French Canadians supplied more people in the cotton industry of the Blackstone Valley than the Irish.² Of the 2,393 industrial establishments in the state in 1885, the cotton goods industry had 93 establishments with a capital investment of \$21,154,255. It was the largest employer in the state, engaging 8,380 males, 11,880 females over fifteen and 3,051 children.³

In 1895 the total French Canadian population in Rhode Island was 26,627, and of this total, 5,109 were unemployed, leaving 21,518 in the active labor force.⁴ The textile industry employed 7,875 in 1895, thus leaving 13,623 then employed in occupations other than textiles. The building industry employed 1,458, agriculture 433,

¹Lahn, The Cotton Mill Worker, p. 71.

²Census of Rhode Island 1885, pp. 266-85, Table XXXVII. In Woonsocket only 250 Irish were cotton mill operatives while the French Canadians provided 1,109 operatives. In Providence, however, 933 were Irish and only 145 were French Canadians. In Lincoln 641 were Irish and 878 were French Canadians; in Burrillville 223 Irish and 223 French Canadians; in Warwick, 159 Irish, 521 French Canadians; and in Warren 125 Irish, 380 French Canadians.

³Census of Rhode Island 1885, pp. 596-7.

⁴Census of Rhode Island 1895, p. 485, Table XXXVII. Unemployed were students, retired, ill, or simply too young.

transportation 549, clerks 409, trade 833, and domestic service 6,659.¹ Also by 1895, the French Canadians were located all over the state from Woonsocket to Westerly with the largest number, 7,481, located in Woonsocket. Approximately 2,500 of the 7,481 located in Woonsocket were employed in seven textile mills, some which had been founded by a compatriot, Aram J. Pothier, industrialist, banker, and Governor of Rhode Island from 1908 to 1911.²

As indicated by Table 6, the French Canadians in manufacturing in 1895 were employed principally in the textile industries. They show an increase of 3,196 of which 1,937, or 60.60 per cent were males, and 1,259, or 39.40 per cent were females. In the building division, they increased 949, or 98.75 per cent. However, they were also well represented in the trade division as merchants and clerks with a total of 892. Of this number, 375 were merchants and 462 were clerks or bookkeepers.³

XXXVII. ¹Census of Rhode Island 1895, pp. 438-485, Table

²Belisle, Histoire de la Press Franco-Americaine, p. 394. The companies were Lafayette Worsted, Dussurmont Worsted, Guerin Spinning, Alsace Worsted, Montrose Woolen, Rosemont Dyeing, and French Worsted Company. Pothier was also treasurer of five of the companies mentioned.

³Census of Rhode Island 1895, pp. 444-452, Table XXXVII, p. 961. The trade division includes merchants, dealers, bookkeepers, accountants, salesmen, and business managers. It does not include those classified under the transportation division.

TABLE 6

FRENCH CANADIANS IN THE PRINCIPAL MANUFACTURING
AND MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES OF RHODE ISLAND
1885-1895^a

	1885	1895	Increase
Textile	5,288	8,484	3,196
Machinery and Metal	446	945	499
Building	961	1,910	949
Jewelry	74	125	51
Rubber Goods	27	216	189
Stone Works	28	72	44

^aCensus of Rhode Island 1895, pp. 964-65.

Table 7 shows that the percentage of French Canadians in the professional, manufacturers, and mechanics divisions surpassed the Irish. In the other divisions, there was a dispersion into other occupations indicating that they were being absorbed into the general economy of the state.

Another indication that they were integrating is that by 1900 the French Canadians who had been in the States for a period of time became conscious of the aims and methods of labor and a few joined the Knights of St. Crispin and the Knights of Labor.¹ Also, some French Canadians at the turn of the century were employed in more skilled jobs, such as weaving, stone cutting, and the manufacture of jewelry, thus earning higher wages.

Property ownership was also suggestive that the French Canadians were fast becoming part of the economic structure of the state of Rhode Island. By 1895 they owned approximately four million dollars of landed property value.² Central Falls had some 253 real estate owners belonging to this racial group in 1897 with a

¹Unions at the turn of the century began to print notices in French. 29th Annual Report, Bureau of Statistics of Labor (Boston, 1899), 620; as cited in Podesa, The New England Quarterly, XXIII (September, 1950), 374.

²This figure was taken from a French Canadian booklet celebrating St. John the Baptist's birthday, June 24, 1895. The actual figure given was \$4,009,700. Histoire des Canadiens-Francais du Rhode Island, 1895, pp. 1-2.

TABLE 7
PERCENTAGE OF FRENCH CANADIANS IN GENERAL DIVISION
OF OCCUPATIONS
1895^a

Occupation	Percentage	
	French Canadians	Irish
Government	2.54	17.05
Professions	4.02	3.54
Domestic	6.84	18.46
Personal Service	6.74	11.52
Trade	4.13	6.07
Transportation	5.73	14.17
Agriculture	3.61	8.01
Manufactures and Mechanics	12.87	10.49

^aCensus of Rhode Island 1895, p. 967.

total estimated property value of \$750,000, while in Woonsocket 500 real estate owners had an estimated property value of \$1,500,000.¹

Although Rhode Island had laws relating to the employment of children under fifteen in the state's industries by 1853, they were disregarded by both the manufacturers and the parents in the immigrant groups.² Between 1850 and 1870, the Irish were the predominant foreign born group in the state and they, too, flagrantly disregarded the law.

In 1865 the total Irish population totaled 27,030

¹These estimates were gathered through a circular letter sent by MacDonald, Quarterly Journal of Economics, XII (1898), 271. He does not indicate whether or not this includes church property.

²In 1853 eleven hours was the maximum working day for children twelve to fifteen in Rhode Island manufacturing industries. U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Monthly Labor Review, CLXV (1916), 246.

Section 21 of the Rhode Island child labor law of 1857 read, "No minor under the age of twelve years shall be employed in or about manufacturing establishments, in any manufacturing process, or in any labor incident to a manufacturing process."

Section 22 provided, "No minor under the age of fifteen years shall be employed in any manufacturing establishment in this state, unless such minors shall have attended school for a term of at least three months in the year next preceding the time when such minors shall be so employed; and no such minors shall be so employed for more than nine months in any one calendar year."

Census of Rhode Island 1875, pp. cviii-cix, as quoted from The General Statutes, Chapter 155, p. 343.

and of the number, 7,313 or 27.05 per cent could neither read nor write.¹ By 1875, the French Canadian population in Rhode Island took the lead over the Irish in neglecting the educational, physical, and intellectual wants of their children by putting them to work at an early age.² Of the total French Canadian population in the state, 4,097 were under fifteen years of age. Of these 1,664, or 40.61 per cent had regular employment, mostly in the cotton goods industry, which was greater than the total number of children from any other nationality.³ The number of children in the state between the ages of ten and fifteen who could neither read nor write totaled 1,408, and of this figure 923 were of French Canadian parentage, while 318 were of Irish parentage.⁴ The French Canadians fifteen years and over who could neither read nor write

¹Census of Rhode Island 1865, p. lxxvi.

²Census of Rhode Island 1875, p. cxvi.

³Ibid., p. cxv.

⁴These figures should not be confused with those fifteen and over who could neither read nor write, 14,919 of which 8,294 were Irish.

Census of Rhode Island 1875, pp. xci - xcii.
Mr. Edwin Snow, the census supervisor, stated in his report that the state should compel the French Canadians and other foreign born, as well as the employers to obey the laws regarding employment of minors. He felt that the provisions for education in Rhode Island were a dead letter since no one paid much attention to them, particularly the foreign born parents and the manufacturers. Ibid., p. cix.

in 1875 totaled 3,604, or 24.32 per cent of the total number of all persons age fifteen and over in the state of Rhode Island.¹ Thus, out of 13,698 French Canadians in the state in 1875, 4,527 or 33 per cent could neither read nor write.² Most of these were regularly employed in the manufacturing towns where the percentage of absenteeism from school was the highest.³ Despite the laws regulating employment of children and women, they worked thirteen to fifteen hours a day. When the inspectors came to check, the children were usually hidden away until the inspection was over.⁴

By 1885 the school law in Rhode Island was well executed in several towns in the state. However, in some towns the law was enforced only on the children of the native born, while in others it was not enforced at all.⁵ In this period, a total of 8,011 children age seven to fifteen had occupations. The foreign born equaled 2,618

¹Census of Rhode Island 1875, pp. xcii-xciii.

²Ibid., p. xcv.

³The census report for 1875 reported a total of 6,133 children under fifteen who had occupations. However, the manufacturers reported 6,510 or 377 more than were reported by parents. The census supervisor stated that the manufacturers' figure was the correct one since parents had a tendency to lie about their children's age.

Census of Rhode Island 1875, pp. cviii, cxiii.

⁴Hamon, Les Canadiens de la Nouvelle Angleterre, p. 43.

⁵Census of Rhode Island 1885, p. 471. Laws were not enforced in areas where the majority population was foreign born.

and the native Americans 5,393. Out of 2,618 foreign born, 1,262 or approximately one-half, were French Canadians and approximately 99 per cent, or 1,203 were employed in manufactures and mechanics.¹ By 1895 the total number of French Canadian minors employed decreased to 2,184. The largest number of these were employed in the cotton mills of the state.²

In summary, the French Canadian families were easily integrated into the Rhode Island economy as opportunity for employment was plentiful during the periods of prosperity between 1860 and 1910. Their major contribution was in the cotton industry which was the largest employer in the state. It was said that "if it were not for the French Canadians, the wheels would stop in scores of New England factories and cotton mills."³ Hence, it was not unusual to find six or seven members of one family working in the same mill, all pooling their earnings, anticipating the day they could buy their own home.⁴ They also contributed labor to the other industries in Rhode Island, for by 1895, 13,623 French Canadians were employed

¹Census of Rhode Island 1885, p. 463.

²Census of Rhode Island 1895, pp. 554-563, Table XL.

³Herbert W. Casson, "The Canadians in the United States," Munsey's Magazine, XXV (July, 1906), 476.

⁴Employers often preferred to engage a family as a unit. Hansen, Mingling of Peoples, p. 166.

in occupations other than the cotton industry. As a group, they were the largest foreign born contributors to the Rhode Island labor force until they were surpassed by the large influx of Italians and Portugese immigrants at the turn of the twentieth century.

The willingness of the French Canadians to permit a large number of their children to work in the mills at the expense of their education, hindered their growth in social status in the state. But their answer to the criticism aimed at them for neglecting and abusing their children's education was that the children were acquiring good work habits and discipline while at the same time giving aid to the families.¹

¹Census of Rhode Island 1885, p. 462.

CHAPTER V

ACHIEVEMENT OF SOCIAL STATUS

Immigrant groups, no matter of what nationality, seek to attain social status in their adopted country. This is achieved first by becoming acceptable to the general population by merging into the cultural pattern of the country; second, by participating in the established institutions of their adopted land, such as politics; and third, by integrating themselves into the economic structure. The French Canadian leaders in the United States realized that the stature of the Canadians would not rise until the group established roots in the United States and became part of the permanent population.¹

The French Canadians were migrating during the latter decades of the nineteenth century when the whole social, political, and economic life of the United States was changing. They were faced with the problem of accepting the new social values and mores of the society existing here, or of maintaining their own. In this complicated situation, the parochial school, a social product of the immigrants, was established to serve a twofold purpose.

¹Leaders were usually professional men such as journalists, doctors, lawyers, and clergymen.

First, it served a religious function, preserving in the young people the faith of their fathers. Second, the schools transmitted to the new generation the language and cultural traditions of the elders and secured social unity for the new immigrants.¹

The attitude of the New Englanders was not very cordial at the beginning of the French Canadian movement into the area. Many Americans in the 1870's looked upon the newcomers as peasants born to obey, and considered them a squalid blight on the New England landscape.² People in the rural areas in New England particularly regarded them as undesirable. The Yankee farmers feared that the arrival of the habitants, whose demands were limited to the barest necessities of life, would lower the living standards of the hill country and force the Yankees out. However, more French Canadians went to the mill towns in the southern part of New England to which they were attracted by the need for labor.³ Much of the resentment against the French Canadians at the outset was caused by the fact that they took no interest in the

¹Brown and Roucek, Our Racial and National Minorities, pp. 598-600.

²Barbara M. Solomon, Ancestors and Immigrants (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), p. 160.

³Wilson, Hill Country, pp. 162-63.

land where they were earning a living, as they moved back and forth across the boundary.¹ Furthermore, many who stayed in the States, worked, lived cheaply, and then sent their savings back to Canada to pay off debtors, hence depriving the Rhode Island community of much needed business.²

The attachment of French Canadians for their Canadian homeland was strong, and some returned there to live out their old age.³ They were encouraged to do this by the repatriation movement in 1875. Canadian officials and church agents travelled to the mill towns to re-awaken patriotism for the home land.⁴ Ferdinand Gagnon, editor of Le Travailleur of Worcester, Massachusetts, was the official agent for the re-patriation movement in the United States. He put notices of the repatriation plan in the various French Canadian newspapers and answered hundreds of letters inquiring about the movement. He also traveled to various French Canadian centers to speak and explain the repatriation process to the people. His

¹Maclean, American Journal of Sociology, X, 818.

²MacDonald, Quarterly Journal of Economics, XII, 268.

³Bonier, Début de la Colonie Franco-Américaine, p. 76.

⁴Hansen, Mingling of Peoples, pp. 188-90.

travels brought him to Woonsocket, a large French Canadian center, and to other areas of Rhode Island where French Canadians were not so numerous.¹ Gagnon, however, also urged those who did not return to become citizens of their adopted country, but with the understanding that they would maintain their identity as French Canadians by speaking French and retaining their faith. In his capacity as repatriation agent, he was concerned only with those who had found exile from the homeland painful, and those who did not wish to face the scorn and resentment of the Irish and native Yankees.² In 1875 at a reunion of the French Canadian journalists, repatriation was one of the major topics discussed.³

In general the repatriation movement was a failure, for only an estimated few thousands were repatriated. When it first began in 1875, the country was in a depression and unemployed Canadians were thinking of returning to Canada to farm in the eastern townships which the Canadian government had recently opened for settlement. However, lack of preparation on the part of Canada

¹Belisle, Histoire de la Presse Franco-Americaine, pp. 101-05, citing a report made by Gagnon to L'Hon. P. Garneau, Commissaire de l'agriculture et des travaux publics, Quebec, P. Q.

²Ibid., p. 93, Gagnon, until his untimely death in 1886 at thirty-seven, was one of the outstanding spokesmen for the group.

³Rumilly, Histoire des Franco-Américains, p. 81.

and disappointing results in crops changed the attitude of many Canadians in the States. Gagnon himself, in a letter addressed to the Canadian officials, told them to hurry their preparations for the incoming colonists. He pointed out that the period, 1875, was the best time for repatriation since many were out of work in many places, and those who were working had had their salaries reduced.¹ But with the return of prosperity in the New England states in the late '70's, the repatriation movement no longer appealed to the French Canadians.² Another reason why the movement was not a success is that many of those who had been repatriated had adopted so many American ways and customs they could not readapt themselves to the Canadian economy and social life.³

The repatriation movement was an official Canadian government project, and its failure did not mean that people who had personal reasons stopped returning to Canada. One paper, La Tribune of Woonsocket, noted

¹Report to the Canadian Commissioner of Agriculture, July 1, 1875, as cited in Belisle, Histoire de la Presse Franco-Americaine, p. 104.

²In the period 1870-80 the total number of French Canadians entering the state of Rhode Island was 8,064, of which 3,445 entered in 1870-75, and 4,619 entered from 1875 to 1880. It is estimated that only a few thousands were repatriated through the official movement, hence more Canadians were entering the States in this period than leaving from the United States.

³Rumilly, Histoire des Franco-Américains, p. 87.

on April 11, 1895, that the annual exodus to Canada was taking place. The day before, thirty-nine people who lived in the village between Hope and River Point, had taken a train heading for Canada. The French Canadians who lived in large French Canadian centers tended to stay, but those in English villages, where there were no Catholic churches, were more likely to remain there only long enough to pick up money and move back to Canada or to French Canadian centers.¹

The industries of the East furnished plenty of employment for the immigrant laborers, but an industrial society is not the most conducive place for the immigrants to establish roots. Organized labor in particular does not like the immigrants who come in with a standard of living far below the existing standard.² Colonel Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Statistics in Massachusetts, stated in his annual report to the Massachusetts legislature in 1880, that the French Canadians were the "Chinese of the East." According to his report, they had no consideration for the political, social, and educational institutions. He claimed that they were not here to become citizens, but that their aim was to return home when

¹La Tribune (Woonsocket), April 11, 1895, p. 1.

²George E. Stephenson, A History of American Immigration, 1820-1824 (New York:Glenn and Co., 1926), p. 96.

they had enough money. They did not become naturalized or send their children to school. Instead, they put them to work in the cotton mills and lied boldly about their children's ages.

His statements produced an outcry of resentment among the French Canadians, and a movement was quickly started to refute the claims made by the Commissioner. In 1881 he agreed to meet with a delegation of French Canadians. They convinced Colonel Wright of his errors, and he agreed to change his statements in his next report. Since the statements made by Wright were aimed at the general population of French Canadians in the United States, the delegation that went to see him was composed of Canadians living in large French centers. Joseph Bounier and P. T. Paradis of Woonsocket were the two representatives from Rhode Island.¹ Clearly, by 1880 the French Canadians were taking cognizance of their status in the United States and were quick to take affront at any derogatory remarks made about them.

Although the French Canadians were rejected at first, many native Americans, particularly employers and business men, soon came to accept them. When they first came, they were poor and ignorant and willingly submitted to the leadership of educated persons such as priests or

¹Rumilly, Histoire des Franco-Américains, pp. 96-97.

employers. As a group, they did not stir up strikes and boycotts. They were polite and considerate, not only among themselves, but toward their Yankee neighbors as well.¹ When the French Canadians first arrived, they were usually dressed in jeans and moccasins, but within a short period they were as a class the best buyers of the latest goods on the market; consequently, they were greatly appreciated by the business men.² By 1890 the French Canadians were the "dressiest" people in town, particularly on Sunday. On that day young men and women would wear the latest in style, and often the mill hand was better dressed than the average middle class Yankee.³ Hence, the French Canadians were accepted in part because they helped the expanding economy of the United States.⁴

The children of the French Canadians were the ones who planted roots deep in the economic and social structure of the United States and as permanent residents replaced the transient worker. Instead of living in the gloomy tenement houses owned by the mills, the family would pool its income and purchase a lot on which to build, or buy

¹Thrasher, New England Magazine, XVI, 31.

²Hansen, The Immigrant in American History, p. 170.

³Thrasher, New England Magazine, XVI, 30.

⁴Maximilienne Tetrault, Le Role de la Presse Dans L'Evolution du Peuple Franco-Americain de la Nouvelle Angleterre (Marseille: Imprimerie Ferran, 1935), p. 52.

a house left empty by the exit of the farm population.¹

As a group the French Canadians became Americanized early. They accepted the American republic and its institutions without question. They were loyal to the laws and the flag of the United States. M. H. Rieg of the Federal Treasury stated that they could class themselves, as a group, the best American citizens without renouncing their language, customs, and faith in the Catholic Church.² Max B. Thrasher, journalist, teacher, and author, after describing the French Canadians as a group stated:

From what I have seen of the French Canadian, I should say that he is among the most desirable of those who seek a residence in the United States. He possesses the power of adaptability to a remarkable degree, and it is his chief desire to merge himself in the new civilization into which he has come. He is bound to become a good, law-abiding citizen in the end, and in the third generation to become thoroughly Americanized.³

The French Canadians as a group had by 1910 established themselves in the industrial centers of New England. Although friction was noted at the start of their migration, they appear to have caused little animosity as a group.⁴

¹Hansen, Mingling of Peoples, p. 167.

²Bonier, Début de la Colonie Franco-Américaine, p. 289.

³Thrasher, New England Magazine, XVI, 32.

⁴Solomon, Ancestors and Immigrants, p. 161.

The French Canadians not only gained social acceptance, but gained politically in the various states in which they were located. In general, their record in politics on the federal level was poor, for the Canadian did not take to politics as naturally as the Irishman. Political interest and influence which existed in Canada were centered around a selected group of clergy and lay people, while the average habitant had little interest or comprehension of politics. To some extent, this attitude was brought over into New England.¹

In the 1890's when politics did become an attraction to the French Canadians, the candidates worked hard to convince their compatriots of the benefits they would have as American citizens and voters. In 1901 Bousquet, of the newspaper L'Opinion Publique of Worcester, stated that those who did not want to become naturalized did not deserve to become members of the French Canadian societies.² Ferdinand Gagnon in the 1880's wrote in his paper Le Travailleur, that the French Canadians would be protected as a group if they sent representatives to the legislature or to political offices on the municipal level. He encouraged them to seek naturalization and then vote for the French

¹A. C. Dexter, "Fifty-Fifty Americans," World's Work, XLVIII (August, 1924), 368; see also H. L. Nelson, "A Discontented Province," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, LXXXVI (December, 1892), 876.

²Tetrault, Le Role de la Presse, p. 79.

Canadian candidates.¹ By the end of the nineteenth century, Canadians had representatives in political offices, but their influence was felt more strongly on the municipal than on the state level.²

The rank and file of French Canadians by 1890 had not yet developed a keen interest in politics; rather it was their leaders who, convinced that they were here to stay, sought for their countrymen the rights and privileges of American citizenship as quickly as possible.³ The agitation for naturalization became a much debated issue in the French Canadian communities in the 1880's. Naturalization, particularly in Rhode Island, promoted the purchase of land because the state law required that a naturalized person must be a property owner in order to vote, whereas the native-born were exempt from this rule.⁴ By 1880 clubs were established where people met to learn English. French Canadian leaders made frequent appearances at the meetings to explain the advantages of naturalization. In Southbridge,

1Si vous avez des représentants Canadiens au Conseil municipal ou a la Chambre de L'Etat, vous serez protégés. Pour cela, prenez vos lettres de naturalisation, et votez pour les Canadiens quand ils seront sur les rangs. Rumilly, Histoire des Franco-Américains, p. 96.

²Brown and Roucek, Our Racial and National Minorities, p. 496.

³MacDonald, Quarterly Journal of Economics, XII, 270.

⁴Hansen, Mingling of Peoples, p. 212.

Massachusetts, for example, sixty Canadians became naturalized after hearing Ferdinand Gagnon in one of the conferences.¹

Through the work of their leaders, the Canadians sought American citizenship by themselves. No political parties sought them or catered to them; neither had their decisions to qualify as voters been greeted with cordiality by any class of Americans.²

The political affiliations of the French Canadians at first were the same as their employers, the industrialists of New England. Since most of the employers were Republicans, the habitant voted Republican. The Irish were Democrats and controlled that party in New England. The resentment between the two groups, the Irish and French Canadians, naturally kept them apart politically.³ However, members of the Republican party soon reverted to the doctrine of the Know-Nothing party, of "America for the Americans," and this philosophy drove many Canadians from the party. In fact, Ferdinand Gagnon appealed for a mass transfer of political affiliation from the Republican party to the Democratic party and it appears that a large majority

¹Tetrault, Le Role de la Presse, p. 79.

²MacDonald, Quarterly Journal of Economics, XII, 270.

³Rumilly, Histoire des Franco-Américains, p. 85.

of Canadians did transfer their political allegiance.¹

In the state of Rhode Island in 1865 the number of British American voters was very small. In fact, there were only sixteen naturalized voters from Canada.² By 1875 the number of naturalized British American voters increased to 267 with the largest number, 131, located in Providence.³ Woonsocket in 1880 counted in the municipal election fifty-three French Canadian voters, and Joseph Bouvier was elected first councilman from the Canadian village. It was in this period that Doctor Gdeon Archambeault, Woonsocket physician, stated that it was time to prepare young men for higher political offices and suggested Aram J. Pothier as a candidate for the state legislature.⁴

In 1885 the number of voters from British America totaled 215, a decrease of fifty-two naturalized voters.⁵ This number jumped to 3,152 legal French Canadian voters in

¹Rumilly, Histoire des Franco-Amricains, p. 85.

²Census of Rhode Island 1865, p. 45, Table XXVIII. Three were in Newport County, five in the towns of Providence County, and eight in Providence city.

³Census of Rhode Island 1875, p. 71, Table XXVII.

⁴Belisle, Histoire de la Presse Franco-Amricaine, p. 339.

⁵The census of 1885 noted that there was a discrepancy between 1875 and 1885. The director pointed out that some of those listed in 1875 were probably men who had been naturalized, but were not real estate owners, consequently were not property voters. Census of Rhode Island 1885, pp. 356-57, Table LV; 490.

the state in 1895.¹ In that year, the French Canadians age twenty-one and over totaled 8,578 of which 3,152 were legal voters, 115 were non-voters, and 5,311 were aliens.²

With the extension of suffrage in 1888, the French Canadian influence on the municipal level began to be felt more widely and clearly, as illustrated on the following page. From 1888 until 1920, the office of Mayor in Woonsocket was retained at different times by five French-Americans for a total of fourteen years.³ However, the greatest achievement in politics by the French Canadians occurred when Aram J. Pothier became Governor of Rhode Island in 1908. He had the distinction of being the only governor in forty-six years to be elected for four consecutive terms.⁴ Alphonse Gaulin, and Joseph M. Authier,

¹The major reason for this high number in one decade was the elimination of the property requirement for voting in Article VII of the State Constitution. "How extensively the foreign born have availed themselves of the right to become citizens, which was extended in 1888 by Article VII in amendment to the State Constitution, is shown by the fact that while the foreign born male adults have increased 49.55 per cent during the last decade, the increase of foreign born male citizens is 208.82 per cent." Census of Rhode Island 1895, p. 976.

²Ibid., p. 620, Table XLIX.

³Bonier, Début de la Colonie Franco-Américaine, pp. 292-93.

⁴Pothier was born in Yamachiche, P. Q. in 1854 and received his education in Canada. In 1870 when he was 16, his family moved to Woonsocket. The Woonsocket Savings Institution, where he later became a vice president, employed him as a teller. From 1885 to 1887 he was a member of the school board, and in 1889 he served as a representative to the General Assembly. Pothier was also elected

TABLE 8

FRENCH CANADIAN STATE AND MUNICIPAL OFFICERS
STATE OF RHODE ISLAND-1890^a

Representatives to the Legislature

Abrah Falcon, M. D.	Central Falls
Gédeon Archambeault, M. D.	Woonsocket

City Counselors

M. J. Legris	Artic
Joseph Richard	Manville
P. Boucher	Woonsocket
F. Dulude	"
E. N. Jeanson	"
O. T. Paradis	"

Auditor

A. J. Pothier	Woonsocket
---------------	------------

Tax Collector

Alphonse Gaulin	Woonsocket
-----------------	------------

Superintendent of Lighting

P. Hébert	Woonsocket
-----------	------------

Examiner

L. Goulet	Manville
-----------	----------

mayor of Woonsocket in 1890. In 1900 he was elected city auditor. He became Lieutenant Governor in 1897, and in 1908 was elected Governor with a majority of 1,200 votes over his opponent, a Democrat. Belisle, Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américaine, p. 413.

^aHamon, Les Canadiens-Français de la Nouvelle Angleterre, p. 462.

both residents of Rhode Island, served in the position of consuls for the federal government. Gaulin served as mayor of Woonsocket three times before he was called by President Theodore Roosevelt to act as consul at ^{Le}Havre, France, in 1905. In 1909 he took charge of the American Consular Office at Marseille. Authier, in the same period, served as American consul in Guadalupe, West Indies.¹

The French Canadians not only gained social status through industry and politics, but also through philanthropy. Dr. Gédéon Archambeault of Woonsocket left \$55,000 to \$60,000 to the pastor of the Precious Blood Parish to build a home for the aged people.² Doctor Joseph Hils also left \$75,000 in his will to Father Lauray, pastor of the Precious Blood Parish, for religious works, and \$11,000 to charity.³ By 1910, the French Canadians had attained a good foothold in the social, economic, and political structure of Rhode Island. They were acceptable socially to the general population, they were desired in the economic structure, and they were politically influential on the municipal level and had some achievements on the state level.

¹Laflame, The Catholic Encyclopedia, VI, 277; Belisle, Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américaine, p. 409.

²Dr. Archambeault, like many of his contemporaries, received his liberal and professional education in Canada. In 1870 shortly after his marriage, he migrated to Woonsocket where he immediately took up the pen along with his practice of medicine. He died April 23, 1903. Belisle, Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américaine, pp. 196, 400.

³Ibid., p. 400. Dr. Hils died February, 1906.

CHAPTER VI

GROWTH OF THE FRENCH CANADIAN CHURCH IN RHODE ISLAND

Since both the French Canadians and the Irish were Roman Catholics, it would be expected that they would be drawn close together in New England where Protestantism was strong. However, this was not the case. The French Canadians distrusted the Irish,¹ but the lack of French Canadian priests forced the French Canadians to depend on the Irish clergy for religious guidance and spiritual leadership even when they understood little English. The result was that some, unable to understand the English sermons, did not go to church. One elderly man, for example, explained to a priest, Father Hamon, that he could not understand the sermons, that the music did not appeal to nor touch him, and that when he left the church, he knew little more than before he went in. This was a typical situation which existed all over New England.²

The French wanted priests who thought as they did, and who would work with them to protect three great things close to their hearts: language, religion, and customs.

¹Kalljarvi, The Annals, CCXXII, 125.

²Hamon, Les Canadiens-Francais de la Nouvelle Angleterre, p. 61.

The cry, "We need French Canadian priests," was heard all over New England in the 1870's and 1880's.¹ Since not too many French-speaking priests were available to the Canadians, those in an established parish often travelled to other communities and preached to their confreres. Missionaries came from Canada, and always as they were about to leave, the cry would go up, "Envoyez-nous un prêtre."²

The lack of clergy usually meant that there were no parochial schools, so those Canadians interested in the education of their children sent them back to Canada, under the auspices of the Church, usually at the age of twelve. During the early years of the migration, this was done because of the limited number of parochial schools in New England. Once the French Canadian parochial schools were established, however, it was done for the prestige.³ The conflict between the Irish and the French was also a factor contributing to educating the young people in Canada, for in Irish Catholic schools the Canadian children were scorned. This worried the parents, for the children in their attempts to become

¹Hamon, Les Canadiens-Francais de la Nouvelle Angleterre, p. 65.

²Rumilly, Histoire des Franco-Américains, p. 52.
"Send us a priest."

³Thrasher, The New England Magazine, XVI, 30.

accepted were learning to hate the language and customs which set them apart from the general population.¹

The desire for churches, priests, and schools was strong in all the states where the Canadians had located. Within ten or fifteen years after their arrival en masse, churches, similar in style to those in Canada, began to appear in New England communities. In the diocese of Providence, the first French Canadian priest arrived in 1866 in Woonsocket.² The first French Canadian parish to be organized in the diocese was Paroisse de Saint-Jacques in Manville in 1872.³ A church was started in 1872 and completed on April 24, 1874, and in 1896 a convent was built for the nuns.⁴ The second parish to be organized was Paroisse du Precieux Sang, in Woonsocket in 1873. By 1874 a church was completed, but in 1876 it was destroyed by a hurricane. In 1877 a second church was built.⁵ This parish, however, soon proved to be too small for the number of French Canadians in that city so new parishes were established. In 1890 a group of people broke away from the Precious Blood Parish and formed a new one called Paroisse de Sainte Anne. In 1902 Paroisse de la Sainte

¹Rumilly, Histoire des Franco-Américains, p. 52.

²Albert A. Belanger, Guide Officiel des Franco-Américains (Providence: Guide Franco-Américain, Inc.), 1940, p. 291.

³Catholic Encyclopedia, VI, 274.

⁴Belanger, Guide Officiel, p. 274.

⁵Ibid., p. 291.

Famille was organized; its members were also drawn from the Precious Blood Parish. In that same year another parish was founded, Paroisse de Saint Louis, and in 1909 a fifth parish was established in Woonsocket under the name of Paroisse de Notre Dame des Victoire.¹

Meanwhile, parishes were being organized elsewhere. As early as 1873 Paroisse de Saint Jean-Baptiste was organized in Artic Center and in that same year, a church was constructed. Between 1887 and 1895 a school was built.² In September, 1873, Paroisse de Notre Dame du Sacre-Coeur was founded in Central Falls, followed by Paroisse de Saint Mathieu, founded October 21, 1906. In the year 1874 another parish was organized in Providence called Paroisse de Saint Charles on February 8. On July 10, 1881, the parish church was dedicated, and in 1888, a parish school was constructed. Another Providence city parish was Paroisse de Notre Dame de Lourdes, founded in 1904.³ Between 1874 and 1880, two more parishes were organized in the state. Paroisse de Saint Joseph was organized in Natick in 1875, and Paroisse de Saint Jean was organized in 1877 in Warren. In 1882 a church was erected in the latter town.⁴ On January 1, 1890, Paroisse de Saint Jean-Baptiste, a mission since 1886, was founded in Pawtucket. Then in 1895 another parish was

¹Belanger, Guide Officiel, pp. 291-96.

²Ibid., p. 265.

³Ibid., p. 284.

⁴Ibid., pp. 277, 289.

organized called Paroisse de Notre Dame de la Consolation; a church was constructed in 1896, and a school in 1906. By 1910 a third parish, Paroisse de Saint Cecile, was established in Pawtucket and in 1912 a church and a school were constructed.¹ Albion organized a parish in 1891, Paroisse de Saint Ambroise, and in 1896 Phenix (in West Warwick) founded Paroisse de Notre Dame des Bon Conseils, erecting a church in 1903. In 1905 Mapleville established Paroisse de Notre Dame de Bonsecours.² In 1912 a mission was established in Cumberland Hill, and seventeen years later it became the Paroisse Sainte Jeanne d'Arc.³ Thus from 1872, when the first French Canadian parish was organized, until 1910, a total of sixteen parishes was established throughout the state of Rhode Island. Table 9 shows the French Canadian parishes in Rhode Island in 1895 and the approximate number of families.

Once the parishes had been organized, there was still the problem of building churches. The procedure followed was quite uniform. The French Canadians petitioned the Bishop of the Diocese to send a young active priest to the community to take charge of the building project. Some money to build the church, school, and convent was gathered

¹Belanger, Guide Officiel, pp. 277-78.

²Ibid., pp. 264, 276, 284.

³Ibid., p. 274.

through bazaars, raffles, picnics, and social evenings.¹ A large portion, however, came from the thrifty parishioners who made the church recipient of part of their savings. They were a people willing to sacrifice for their faith. The working class, paying small contributions, was largely responsible for the construction of religious, educational, and charitable institutions. Large contributions were sometimes made, but they were exceptionally few.² The habitants paid penny by penny for the construction of their churches and schools.³

¹Hamon, Les Canadiens-Francais de la Nouvelle Angleterre, pp. 90-92.

²Podea, The New England Quarterly, XXIII, 378.

³Rumilly, Histoire des Franco-Américains, p. 98.

TABLE 9

PARISHES IN FRENCH CANADIAN CENTERS IN RHODE ISLAND
1895^a

Name	Number of French Canadian Families	French Canadian Population	Name of Parish	Pastors
Woonsocket	1,230	12,000	Précieux Sang	Rev. C. Daunay
	1,150		St. Anne	Rev. M. Leclerc
Manville	700	3,500	St. Jacques	Rev. L. J. Jourdain
Albion	100	500		Rev. I. A. Lebel
Central Falls	1,250	6,000	Notre Dame du Sacré Coeur	Rev. J. H. Beland
Pawtucket	600	3,000	St. Jean-Baptiste	Rev. J. A. Garcin
Providence	625	3,075	St. Charles	Rev. E. E. Norbert
Centerville	1,150	6,000	St. Jean-Baptiste	Rev. J. A. Payan
Natick	340	1,700		Irish
Warren	350	1,725	St. Jean-Baptiste	A. Bernard
Harrisville	320	1,800		Irish
Georgiaville	250	1,289		Irish
Slatersville	260	1,300		Irish
Pascoag	185	925		Irish
Total	8,510	42,814	8	9 French Canadian Pastors

^aHistoire des Canadiens-Français du Rhode Island, 1895, p. 119.

CHAPTER VII

IDENTITY AS A NATIONAL GROUP

A chief characteristic of the French Canadians in New England has been their ability to resist assimilation into the general population. The habitants successfully maintained their own society in Canada for over a hundred years of British rule, and in 1867 the French language was officially recognized as a national language along with the English language.¹ The French Canadians, however, faced problems in the United States which were nonexistent in Canada. For example, in Canada the French were concentrated in the Province of Quebec, consequently maintaining unity and identity within a large group. In the United States, however, they located in areas that were primarily Yankee communities, thus coming in contact with new ideas and influences. The absence of French Canadian priests, schools, newspapers, and societies, and the Americanization of the Irish clergy, all served as a threat to the identity of the group.

The group's desire to survive as a separate nationality in the North American continent, determined in part the size of the French Canadian family. The rigorous climate of the North, and rule by an alien people convinced them that

¹Wood, Immigrant Background, pp. 30-31.

survival depended on large families. This idea was carried into the United States by the habitants.¹

The basic philosophy of the group was that culture exists apart from the land, and is not to be confused with political loyalty or allegiance. In fact, the French Canadians believed that by retaining their individuality as a group, they could make the greatest contributions to their country of adoption.²

There are certain factors which helped them retain this identity in New England. Among these are low living standards, a high birth rate, and concentration in large settlements where only French was spoken.³ Nearness to Canada enabled the Canadians to visit with friends and relatives, consequently retaining close contacts with their former homes.⁴

Like other immigrants they live in colonies, surrounded by their own institution. But they are much closer to their native land than are other immigrants. . . . Visits from relatives and other contacts with the home land keep quick their sense of solidarity.⁵

As is true among the Poles and the Irish, the French Canadians have identified loyalty to the Church with loyalty

¹Kalijarvi, The Annals, CCXXII, 134.

²Ibid., 134.

³Brown and Roucek, Our Racial and National Minorities, p. 496.

⁴Ibid., p. 495.

⁵Brown, Immigration, p. 167, quoting from an unpublished manuscript by Everett C. Hughes, Professor of Sociology, McGill University, Montreal.

to their nationality. Hence, religion, nationality, and preservation of the language have been paramount interests of the French Canadians in the United States, and were continuously emphasized in the Franco-American press.¹ The Bishop of Springfield, Massachusetts, while dedicating a French Canadian parish school in Holyoke, stated, "The best method by which the Canadians may preserve their faith, . . . is to conserve their language, to remain attached to their customs, and to instruct their children in the maternal tongue,"² thus stressing the retention of group identity as a means of keeping their religious faith.

After a period of time in the States, however, the French Canadian families became Americanized to a certain degree, for they became accustomed to the American way of life. They also enjoyed food and fashionable clothes which they could not find back home in the seigneuries, so for many, going back home to stay was no longer a motivating force.³ This assimilating process worried the French Canadian leaders who feared that Americanization would mean loss of the Catholic faith. The Anglicization of proper names was considered a serious threat to the French Canadians, for, if widely done, it could be the first step toward losing identity.

¹Robert E. Parks, Immigrant Press and its Control (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1922), p. 260.

²Nelson, Harper's New Monthly, LXXXVII, 184.

³Hansen, Mingling of Peoples, p. 181.

Father Dauray, pastor of the Precious Blood Parish in Woonsocket, refused to marry Canadians who had their names anglicized on the official municipal marriage certificate. He would usually send them back to the city clerk's office with orders to change the names.¹

Although intermarriage did occur between French Canadians and members of other groups, it never really became a serious problem. Table 10 shows figures of marriages with five other national groups. The figures are relatively high between Canadian English and French Canadians, but part of the explanation is found in the close contacts which bred familiarity between the two elements in Canada. The explanation for the high number of Irish and French Canadian marriages can be found in the religious affiliation which facilitated such marriages. In these cases, only language and customs might be lost to the children while faith in the Roman Catholic Church was still maintained. Mixed marriages between the French who emigrated from France and the French Canadians was simplified by the absence of the language barrier. In Rhode Island the estimated number of mixed marriages in 1890 totaled only 514.² Considering the fact that the French Canadian population in Rhode Island then was 22,591, there were therefore relatively few intermarriages

¹Rumilly, Histoire des Franco-Américains, p. 101.

²McDonald, Quarterly Journal of Economics, XII, 161.

TABLE 10

TOTAL NUMBER OF INTERMARRIAGES BETWEEN
FRENCH CANADIANS AND SELECTED NATIONALITIES UP TO
1890a

State	French Canadian & Canadian English	French Canadian & Irish	French Canadian & French	French Canadian & English	French Canadian & German
Maine	476	85	90	86	5
New Hampshire	342	143	105	76	21
Vermont	281	276	167	119	19
Massachusetts	1,129	1,209	538	503	78
Rhode Island	202	141	95	54	22
Connecticut	94	188	93	49	26
Total	2,524	2,042	1,078	887	171

aMcDonald, Quarterly Journal of Economics, XII,
p. 261.

with members of other groups.¹ The French Canadian clergy strongly opposed unions with persons outside the group and they were supported by the French Canadian societies and the press. Le Guide Francais de Fall River, published in 1909, devoted five full pages to the French Canadian attitude toward marriages with persons outside the group. The author of the article quoted the Bible and the prophets to show that mixed marriages were wrong. His argument was that it was against the commandments of God.² The fact that his premises were based on religious beliefs meant that his argument would be very influential among people with strong religious faith such as the French Canadians.

The English Canadians who migrated to the United States tended to seek employment as skilled workmen, foremen, or clerks. As a group, they were able to mix more readily within the community because their cultural and political backgrounds were similar to those existing in the States. Consequently, they attracted little attention that made them appear distinct from the native Yankees. The French Canadians, however, constituted a distinct cultural group apart from the general population and retained that distinction in the first,

¹Census of Rhode Island 1895, p. 948.

²Le Guide Francais de Fall River (L. J. Gagnon et Cie., 1909-1910), pp. 236-41.

second, third, fourth, and even later generations.¹ This distinction was likewise maintained in Canada where the French Canadians had successfully resisted assimilation under British rule.²

Preceding the Civil War, the many French Canadians in the United States sensed a need for organizations to unite them in order to retain their language, faith, and traditions. The first organization to be founded in Rhode Island was the local chapter of St. John the Baptist in Woonsocket, which was incorporated in 1869. Its purpose was to reunite the habitants on June 24 of every year, and to form a fraternal as well as a beneficent society.³ In case of the death of a member, each member would be assessed one dollar, and the receipts would be given to the widow and her family.⁴ This local chapter was modeled after the chapter in Montreal and not only served as a fraternal and beneficial organization, but was also a center to maintain the cultural distinctions of the French Canadians. Seven other chapters were established in other communities by 1895. The use of the French language,

¹Thorsten V. Kalijarvi, "Canadian American," One America, eds. F. J. Brown and J. S. Roucek (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945), p. 343.

²Wood, Immigrant Background, pp. 30-31. In the Canadian Constitution of 1867 French as well as English became the official language of the Canadian Parliament.

³Bonier, Début de la Colonie Franco-Américaine, p. 382.

⁴Rumilly, Histoire des Franco-Américains, p. 44.

particularly in the home was stressed.¹ Some organizations were established for cultural attainment such as Le Cercle Dramatique Francais and Cercle Litteraire, but the retention of language, faith, and traditions was still the basic aim of all these societies. Table 11 shows that by 1895 a total of twenty-three such societies was established in Rhode Island with a total membership of 3,443.

In 1876 l'Institut Canadien-Francais was founded as a beneficial and fraternal society in Woonsocket. It also provided help for the members to receive an education.² In 1900 members of the local chapters of St. Jean Baptiste realized the need for a central coordinating headquarters encompassing all of the various locals in the United States. In that year, by means of federation of local chapters, l'Union St. Jean Baptiste was organized with general headquarters in Woonsocket, Rhode Island. Within eight years, the enrolled membership had grown to 19,500 members, and by 1911 the society counted 24,000 members.³

The dual role which the societies served did not meet with the Irish clergy's approval. In the Catholic Congress which met in Baltimore in 1889, the Irish voiced their

¹"Au dehors, l'anglais pour les affaires, mais à la maison, rien que du francais." Rumilly, Histoire des Franco-Américains, pp. 43-44.

²Bonier, Début de la Colonie Franco-Américaine, p. 329.

³Belisle, Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américaine, p. 432. It should be noted that membership included persons born in the United States of French Canadian parents as well as natives of Canada.

TABLE 11

FRENCH CANADIAN SOCIETIES IN RHODE ISLAND
1895^a

City or Town	Society	Membership
Woonsocket	Saint Jean Baptiste	465
"	L'Institut Canadien-Francais	300
"	Cercle National Dramatique	76
"	Garde Richelieu	50
"	Fanfare Canadienne	25
Manville	Association Saint Jean Baptiste	104
"	Cercle Jacques Cartier	93
"	Fanfare Canadienne	25
Central Falls	Société St. Jean Baptiste	350
"	Cercle Jacques Cartier	235
Pawtucket	Band Philharmonique	25
"	Cercle Dramatique Francais	27
Wood Lawn	Union Saint Jean Baptiste	190
Providence	Société Saint Jean Baptiste	250
"	Garde Lamoricière	45
"	Cercle Littéraire	43
"	Club de Naturalisation	200
"	Coeur Canadien	25
Centerville	Société Saint Jean Baptiste	435
"	Club Dramatique	26
Natick	Société Saint Jean Baptiste	253
Harrisville	Société Saint Jean Baptiste	73
Warren	Garde LaFayette	127
"	Cercle Jacques Cartier	---

^aHistoire des Canadiens-Francais du Rhode Island,
p. 121.

opposition, stating that the societies should be organized for religious purposes only, and not for the maintenance of national or cultural distinction. National societies, they pointed out, have no right to exist in the Catholic Church in the United States.¹ These assertions caused an uproar in French Canadian quarters throughout the United States. French Canadian newspapers strongly protested the Irish attitude. L'Indépendant, of Fall River, Massachusetts, stated on November 22, 1889,

We protest against those who, by their position and influence, seek to make us disappear as a race, and who under the guise of false loyalty, command others to do what they would never do themselves.²

The French Canadian press played a large role in the struggle to maintain the identity of the French Canadians in the United States.³ The dominant interests and most widely discussed items in their papers were the preservation of their language, religion, and identity as a group. The press, to some extent, remained under the influence of the Church, for the French Canadians were strict Catholics who felt that

¹Hamon, Les Canadiens-Francais de la Nouvelle Angleterre, p. 122.

²"Nous protestons donc contre ceux que, par leur position et leur influence, cherchent à nous faire disparaître comme race, et qui, sous le prétexte d'une archi-loyauté, commandent aux autres de faire ce qu'ils ne voudront jamais observer eux-mêmes." Ibid., p. 123, quoting L'Indépendant, Fall River, Mass., November 22, 1889.

³Parks, The Immigrant Press and Its Control, p. 57.

loyalty to the Church was the same as loyalty to nationality.¹ The Franco-American press was not used to attempt changes in the national government, nor to impose their ideas, customs, or faith on the American people. Its primary purposes were to preserve the language, and to serve as an educational medium explaining the American governmental system and American customs to a people new to the United States.²

The establishment of French Canadian newspapers in Rhode Island was erratic to say the least. The first publication was L'Etoile founded in 1873 in Woonsocket by M. C. Desmarais. However, its first number was also its last. Desmarais, in July of that same year, founded La Guêpe which lasted only a few months. The third French Canadian newspaper to appear was Le Courrier du Rhode Island published in August, 1873. Its founders were Ferdinand Gagnon and Frederic Houde. In the summer of 1874 the paper was discontinued. Le Courrier Canadien of Woonsocket was founded in September, 1875, by Godfroi Labelle and J. A. Daigneault.³ In April, 1876, Dr. Gedeon Archambeault became its editor, but the paper ceased

¹Parks, The Immigrant Press and its Control, p. 260: Language and faith were part of the Nationalism which they preserved in Canada and the French Canadians were not willing to lose it in the United States. Hansen, Mingling of Peoples, p. 164.

²Tetrault, Le Role de la Presse, pp. 63-64.

³J. A. Daignault lived in Massachusetts for a time, where he started several newspapers. He moved to Woonsocket, Rhode Island and in partnership with Labelle started Le Courrier in 1875 and became its editor. On December 9, 1876, at the age of thirty-two, he died of tuberculosis. Belisle, Histoire de la Presse Franco-Americaine, p. 194.

publication in June, despite great efforts to keep it going. Gagnon noted on the occasion of the Courrier's death that since Dr. Archambeault had become its editor, the paper had become instructive, religious, and patriotic.¹

In April, 1883, L'Amie des Familles was published in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, as a monthly review but it lasted only a short time.² In March, 1891, J. M. Authier of Central Falls founded L'Espérance. For several years an edition was also published in Woonsocket under the editorship of a Mr. de Tannancour. In 1895 the papers were transferred to Ambroise Chaquet but ceased publication shortly after he took over.³ Benjamin Lenthier published, in 1892, Le Foyer Canadien as an edition of National de Lowell. In that same year, publication of Philanthrope was started in Providence. It was a thirty-two page literary review which published only two numbers.⁴ By 1895 Woonsocket still had no newspapers. On April 7 of that year, Adelard E. Lafond founded La Tribune with Olivar Asselin as editor. It was the first French Canadian newspaper in the United States to start as a daily.⁵

¹Tetrault, Le Role de la Presse, p. 23.

²Belisle, Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américaine, p. 197.

³Ibid., p. 197.

⁴Ibid., pp. 197-98.

⁵After a couple of years, control of the paper shifted to the creditors who formed a company and continued publications. Asselin, the first editor, resigned in 1898 to join the American forces in Cuba. He was succeeded by M. J. Vekeman,

Dr. J. H. Boucher in 1896 published Le Progrès de Woonsocket, which lasted until 1901 when it was taken over by the Tribune. The owners then published it as a weekly edition.¹ In 1902 L'Union was published as the official organ for the Society of St. John the Baptist. Then in March, 1906, Arthur Laberge and Joseph E. Brochu started La Justice in Central Falls. David Legoult founded Voix de la Vallée in Artic Center in the period 1909-10.² By 1911 Rhode Island had a total of eight active French Canadian publications; Le Jean Baptiste, Pawtucket, 1889; La Tribune, Woonsocket, 1896; Le Progrès, Woonsocket, 1896; L'Union, Woonsocket, 1902; La Vérité, Central Falls, 1911; Le Foyer Littéraire, Providence, 1911; Bulletin Paroissial, Pawtucket, 1911; and Le Pétard, Central Falls, 1911.³

Besides the societies and the newspapers, the French Canadians also employed conventions as an effective means of maintaining their identity. Delegates would come from every section of the country representing various societies. The conventions were usually established by a national society to promote a definite plan of action relating to the welfare

a Belgian with the pen name "Jean des Erables." In 1901 he was replaced by J. L. K. LaFlamme who had the habit of signing his name under what he wrote. This was not done by any other French Canadian editor, although it was widely practiced in France. Belisle, Histoire de la Press Franco-Américaine, p. 198.

¹Ibid., p. 213.

²Ibid., p. 201.

³Ibid., pp. 216-17.

of the French Canadians.¹ In 1869, at the Detroit convention, the encouragement and teaching of the French language in the public schools was one goal.² At the seventeenth national convention in 1888 in Nashua, New Hampshire, an invitation was extended to President Cleveland to attend. Major Edmond Mallet, who headed the invitation committee, explained to Cleveland that the invitation was to the President as Chief of State, rather than leader of a political party. However, Cleveland had to decline since he had a previous commitment to meet with the national committee of his party. He also felt that a trip at that time might be construed as catering to a national group for their vote.³

Between 1865 and 1901, there were nineteen general conventions held in various states. Besides these conventions, there were also state conventions. In Massachusetts, conventions were held every year from 1878 to 1889. Starting in 1881, the French Canadians of Rhode Island joined their compatriots in these conventions held in Massachusetts.⁴ The major topics of discussion at the state and national conventions were usually temperance, establishment of schools,

¹Belisle, Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américaine, p. 433.

²Felix Gatineau, Historique des Conventions Générales des Canadiens-Français aux États-Unis 1865-1901 (Worcester: Imprimerie L'Opinion Publique, 1927; édité par L'Union Saint Jean Baptiste D'Amerique, Woonsocket, R. I.), p. 14.

³Ibid., p. 248.

⁴Gatineau, Historique des Conventions, pp. 6-7.

naturalization, language, and how to help the new immigrants coming from Canada. Language was particularly a matter of great concern since it was the basis of the whole culture of the group. The leaders in stressing language would appeal to the emotions, patriotism, and cultural background of the people by noting that it was the language of their fathers. They also pointed out that it was the one through which they could best express their ideals and experiences, as well as being the most beautiful language in the world, both speaking and singing.¹ Father Hamon, in answering the question as to what would happen if the French language was lost to the French Canadians, said that they would be dispersed and submerged in the masses of American Catholics. Hence, they would have no reasons to ask for special parishes of their own, nor to stay together. Eventually their social identity would be lost in the general characteristics of American civilization.²

The few French Canadians who migrated before the Civil War were slowly assimilated into the general population. However, with the large influx after 1865, the French Canadians established their own parishes with French speaking priests, schools, newspapers, societies, and held general conventions on a yearly basis to emphasize and guard against the threats

¹Gatineau, Historique des Conventions, pp. 331-37, quoting a speech by l'Hon. Honore Mercier at the eighteenth congress of French Canadians in the United States, Chicago, August 24, 1893.

²Hamon, Les Canadiens-Francais de la Nouvelle Angleterre, p. 78.

to their identity. As a group they were loyal to their adopted country, but they preferred to remain separate.

While admiring the republic and loyally discharging their duties to it, many preferred to . . . maintain a distinctive nationality within a nation, as in the dominion.¹

By 1910 the French Canadians were a distinct nationality, for with the establishment of their own institutions, they founded a society similar to the one they had left in Canada.

¹Prosper Bender, "A New France in New England," Magazine of American History, XX (1888), 393.

CONCLUSION

The French Canadians are a segment of the American population whose separate history and traditions go as far back as the thirteen original colonies. A century of conflict between the French and the English in the colonial period resulted in the annexation of French Canada in 1763. During the American Revolution many who favored the English Crown fled to Canada to escape persecution by the American rebels. This large influx of English speaking people into French speaking Canada marked the beginning of minority status for the French Canadians as a group in North America.¹ The French Canadians thereafter were unable in many instances to impress their opinions, ideas, and wishes on the English government. Lack of responsible control in the affairs of government, food shortages, and the beginning of a financial depression, led in 1837 to an open revolt by a dissatisfied element of French and English Canadians.²

By 1860 the French Canadians were feeling the effects of large families, poor methods of farming, and the burden of church support. Hence, when a call came from the industrial

¹Magley and Harris, Minorities, p. 167.

²Corey, The Crisis of 1830-1842, pp. 22, 26.

centers of New England for unskilled labor, thousands left the farms, cities, and towns of upper Canada. Within a few decades, they became the leading foreign element in New England, in many cases supplanting the Irish and native Yankees. The migration from French Canada took place quietly and very slowly, beginning in the Revolutionary period with hardly a disturbing incident. The unrestrained migration into New England made the whole movement almost unnoticed in the period of large immigration into the United States.¹

Beginning in 1870 and continuing until 1900, approximately four thousand French Canadians migrated every five years into the state of Rhode Island. By 1910, the peak year, 34,087 persons born in French Canada resided in Rhode Island.² After 1910 the total number living in the state began to decrease until 1950 when the federal census reported only 19,163 French Canadian natives living in Rhode Island.

Seasonal migration was characteristic of the French Canadians at the beginning of the movement south. Those who remained were not apt to seek American citizenship; however, after a period of time, the more permanent element established roots. They bought property, became naturalized, and began to take an active interest in municipal and state politics. But some native Yankees remained hostile toward the French

¹Catholic Encyclopedia, VI, 272.

²See Table 1.

Canadians, despite their efforts to establish homes in their adopted land, feeling that the habitants contributed to the problem of illiteracy, and lowered the general intelligence of the established societies in the communities in which they resided. This may have been true at the beginning since many French Canadian families avoided the public schools and were substantially under the influence of their priests. However, with the growth of parochial schools, the illiteracy rate decreased and the influence of the American society gave them a broader outlook which made them less susceptible to the priests' influence on secular matters.

In the early years of their migration, the idea of returning to the maternal home was strong; consequently, a deep attachment was formed between the French Canadians across the boundary. But with the purchase of homes, development of new friends, and adoption of American customs, foods, and standard of living, the idea of repatriation lost its attraction for most of the group. The French Canadians in the States tended to remain there.¹ But the close connection with friends and relatives in Canada was maintained and still prevails at the present time. Geographical proximity has helped maintain the close ties between French Canada and the French Canadians in New England.²

¹Bonier, Début de la Colonie Franco-Américaine, p. 76.

²Maurice R. Davie, World Immigration (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936), p. 212.

The reason why they were relatively acceptable as a group, with their advent creating little stir, is that the French Canadians are of the same color as the dominant race and were not very different except for language and religion.¹ Their contribution to the expanding economy, both as laborers and consumers of goods, made them exceedingly desirable to manufacturers and merchants. They were industrious, conscientious, and well mannered toward other people.

As laborers it was felt that they lowered for a time the standard of living wherever they located. This probably was true at the beginning of the migration, but by 1900 their wages were equal to those of other groups for the same type of work. It should also be noted that the French Canadian migration was only a small part of the whole foreign immigration movement into the United States.² Consequently, there is no reason to attribute the general impact of immigration on wages to any single group of immigrants. In 1890 approximately 344,610 persons were employed in manufacturing and mechanics in New England, and of this number, it is estimated that only 82,924 were French Canadians.³ Labor saving devices

¹Wagley and Harris, Minorities, p. 197.

²Henry E. Tiepke, Commissioner of the Bureau of Industrial Statistics for Rhode Island, noted in 1893 in his report to the Governor that the immigration from Canada comprised only about 1 per cent of the total immigration entering the United States in that period. Sixth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Industrial Statistics (Providence: E. L. Freeman and Son, 1893), p. 206.

³MacDonald, Quarterly Journal of Economics, XII, 265-66.

more than anything else, had been a chief factor in the lowering of money wages in the short-run. The effect of the mechanical inventions was to displace some skilled workers for unskilled laborers who were naturally engaged at lower wages. The fact that many of the unskilled were immigrants, made it appear to the displaced workers and to the casual observer as though native mechanics were being replaced by cheap immigrant labor.¹ Native unskilled laborers were particularly affected by the foreign born, for their jobs became highly competitive with the large supply of labor migrating into the state.

One objective stood out above all others, and was emphasized by both leaders and followers alike among the French Canadians in all the New England states. This primary concern was to retain their proper names, and to speak their language, particularly the latter since they felt it was the only way to keep their identity as a group, and preserve the religious and cultural traditions of their fathers.² Consequently, clubs, smokers, newspapers, and parochial schools were established to preserve their solidarity. In the parochial schools both French and English

¹Isaac A. Hourwich, Immigration and Labor (2nd ed., New York: B. W. Huebsch, Inc., 1922), pp. 4-6, 9-12, 20, 23, 35; as cited in Oscar Handlin, Immigration as a Factor in American History (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959), pp. 58-59.

²Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1921), pp. 140, 290.

classes were conducted on a half day basis, hence, increasing the chances for employment, while at the same time teaching the maternal language to the young people.¹ In order to promote unity within the group, the French Canadians throughout the United States demanded French Canadian parishes with French speaking priests to administer to their spiritual needs. This resulted in several clashes with the Irish clergy. The French Canadians received support from the bishops, however, and throughout New England their churches, copied from those in Canada, began to dot the landscape. Hence the Church and schools acted as a strong force in maintaining the distinctive national and social characteristics of the Canadian French.²

Assimilation was the greatest fear and worry of the French Canadians. They therefore strongly disapproved of mixed marriages. But by 1900, increasing interest in the opportunities and advantages of American life, and increasing familiarity with the English language weakened the solidarity of the group. However, religious and nationalistic influences did appeal to the motive of pride in the past, thus keeping most of the French Canadians within the group.³

French Canadian societies were also influential in promoting the daily use of the French language as well as serving as a focal point of unity for the group. Meetings,

¹Thrasher, The New England Magazine, XVI, 30.

²MacDonald, Quarterly Journal of Economics, XII, 274.

³Ibid., XII, 261-62.

socials, picnics, and entertainment were part of the overall program to keep the French Canadians, first and foremost, French. Societies also served as a contact between those in Canada and those in the United States. For example, La Société des Artisans Canadien-Français had its main office in Montreal, but a large membership existed in the United States, and La Société de l'Assomption had its office in Moncton, N. B., with many local chapters in the New England states. L'Association Canado-Américaine with its main office in Manchester, N. H. had approximately one-third of its membership in the Province of Quebec. All these societies met in general conventions, read each other's books, and exchanged lecturers and social visits.¹ The spirit and objective of these organizations is summed up in the motto, "Notre religion, notre langue, nos mœurs," and the French Canadians followed this motto with resoluteness in spite of the Irish Catholic Congress of 1889, and the liberalizing ideas of Americanization in the Irish Catholic Church. The French Canadians, by maintaining their rigid position, left themselves exposed to the criticism, suspicion, and scorn of the other people, and no amount of property holding, or voting, or patriotic declaration would fully remove the impression that they were in spirit aliens and only lived in New England because it was pleasant and profitable.² However, despite the scorn and criticism of their

¹Kalljarvi, One America, p. 345.

²MacDonald, Quarterly Journal of Economics, XII, 275-76.

neighbors, they were of the opinion that "a race does not separate itself from its past any more than a river separates itself from its source."¹ Hence, they tended to maintain their distinctive characteristics as a group while at the same time maintaining loyalty to their adopted country. In 1906, for example, J. L. K. Laflamme, editor of La Tribune of Woonsocket, called for a general convention of French Canadian editors to meet in Woonsocket to organize and to establish a common program for the defense of the French Canadian interests. At the convention, a resolution was adopted calling for the naturalization of those who were not yet citizens. The convention also recognized that the English language was the official language; however, they affirmed the right to preserve their native tongue while learning English since knowledge of both would be a sign of superiority rather than hostility.²

Newspapers had an important role in the lives of the French Canadians, for they helped to explain existing institutions in the new land. They were particularly important in maintaining the solidarity of the group by continually stressing the speaking of the French language. However, the

¹"Un peuple ne se sépare pas de son passé, pas plus qu'un fleuve ne se sépare pas de sa source." Josaphat Benoit, Catéchisme D'Histoire Franco-Américaine (Manchester, N. H.: Ateliers Typographique L'Avenir National, 1938, publié sous les auspices de la Société Historique Franco-Américaine), p. 3.

²Belisle, Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américaine, p. 317.

newspapers also faced hardships and failure, for in the period between 1838, when the first French Canadian newspaper was established, and 1911, approximately 262 such newspapers were founded and disappeared in the United States.¹ In Rhode Island approximately thirteen papers failed between 1873 and 1901, and fifteen failed from 1903 to 1932.² At the present time only a few weeklies exist in strong French Canadian centers, such as Le Messager of Lewiston, Maine.

The movement of people across the northern boundary separating the United States and Canada has been reciprocal; however, the balance of migration favored the American side since economic opportunities in the United States were much more favorable.³ The cumulative effects of migration into Rhode Island over a fifty to sixty year period, were changes in the ethnic and religious composition of the state. The Yankees became a minority but still retained political, social, and economic control in the state, while Catholicism became the faith of the majority of people living in Rhode Island by 1905.⁴

¹Belisle, Histoire de la Presse Franco-Americaine, p. 27.

²Tetrault, Le Role de la Presse, pp. 35-41.

³William S. Bernard, ed. American Immigration Policy-A Reappraisal (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 214.

⁴Kurt B. Mayer and Sidney Goldstein, Migration and Economic Development in Rhode Island, (Providence: Brown University Press, 1958), p. 19.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Belanger, Albert A. Guide Officiel Des Franco-Américains 1940. 13th ed. Providence: Guide Franco-Américain, Inc., 1940.
- Belisle, Alexandre. Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américaine. Worcester, Mass.: Atelier Typographique de L'Opinion Publique, 1911.
- Benoit, Josaphat. Catéchisme D'Histoire Franco-Américaine. Manchester, N. H.: Atelier Typographique de L'Avenir National, 1938.
- Bernard, William S. (ed.). American Immigration Policy - A Reappraisal. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950.
- Bonier, Mlle. Marie-Louise. Debuts de la Colonie Franco-Américaine de Woonsocket, R. I. Framingham, Mass.: Lakeview Press, 1920.
- Brown, Francis J., and Koucek, Joseph S. (eds.). Our Racial and National Minorities. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939.
- Brown, Lawrence Guy. Immigration. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1933.
- Corey, A. B. The Crisis of 1830-42 In Canadian-American Relations. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.
- ✓ Davie, Maurice R. World Immigration. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936.
- Erickson, Charlotte. American Industry and the European Immigrant 1860-1885. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957.
- Fecteau, Edward. French Contributions to America. Methuen, Mass.: Soucy Press, 1945.
- Gatineau, Felix. Historique des Conventions Générale des Canadiens-Français aux Etats-Unis 1865-1901. Worcester, Mass.: Imprimerie de L'Opinion Publique, 1927, édité par L'Union Saint Jean Baptiste d'Amerique, Woonsocket, R. I.

- ✓ Gibbon, John Murray. Canadian Mosaic. Toronto: McClelland and Stuart, Ltd., 1938.
- Hamon, E. H. Les Canadiens-Francais de la Nouvelle Angleterre. Quebec: H. S. Hardy, Libraire-Editeur, 1891.
- ✓ Handlin, Oscar (ed.). Immigration as a Factor in American History. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959.
- ✓ Hansen, Marcus Lee. The Immigrant in American History. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940.
- _____. The Mingling of the Canadian and American People. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940.
- Histoire des Canadiens-Francais du Rhode Island. Souvenir d'une fete national le 24 juin, Woonsocket, R. I. Eugene Brault, Editeur, 1895.
- Holbrook, Stewart H. The Yankee Exodus. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1950.
- Kalljarvi, Thorsten V. "Canadian Americans," One America. Edited by F. J. Brown and J. S. Roucek. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945.
- Lahne, Herbert J. The Cotton Mill Worker. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1944.
- Le Guide Francais de Fall River 1909-1910. L. H. Gagnon et cie., 1910.
- ✓ Lower, Arthur, R. M. Colony to a Nation; A History of Canada. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1946.
- ✓ Maurault, Olivier. The French of Canada and New England. A Newcomen Address in Vermont. 1950.
- Mayer, Kurt B. Economic Development and Population Growth in Rhode Island. Providence: Brown University Press, 1955.
- Mayer, Kurt B., and Goldstein, Sidney. Migration and Economic Development in Rhode Island. Providence: Brown University Press, 1958.
- Parkman, Francis. The Old Regime in Canada. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1894.
- Parks, R. E. Immigrant Press and Its Control. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1922.

Parks, Robert M. and Miller, Herbert A. Old World Traits Transplanted. New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1921.

Rhode Island, A Guide to the Smallest State. Federal Writers Project. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1937.

Rumilly, Robert. Histoire des Franco-Américains. Montreal: 1939, written under the auspices of L'Union Saint Jean Baptiste d'Amerique.

Skelton, Oscar D. The Railway Builders. Vol. 32 of The Chronicles of Canada. Edited by George M. Wrong and H. H. Langton. Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Co., 1920.

✓ Solomon, Barbara Miller. Ancestors and Immigrants, A Changing New England. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956.

✓ Stephenson, George Malcolm. A History of American Immigration 1820-1924. New York: Ginn and Co., 1926.

Tetrault, Maximilienne. Le Role de la Presse dans L'Evolution du Peuple Franco-Americain de la Nouvelle Angleterre. Marseille: Imprimerie Ferran, 1935.

The Catholic Encyclopedia. Herbermann, Charles G., Pace, Edward A., et. al. (eds). Vol. VI of XV. New York: The Encyclopedia Press Inc., 1909.

✓ Wade, Mason. The French Canadians, 1760-1945. Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1955.

Wagley, Charles, and Harris, Marvin. Minorities in the New World. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958.

Wilson, Harold F. The Hill Country of Northern New England. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936.

Wood, William. "The French Canadians," Immigrant Background. Edited by Henry P. Fairchild. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1927.

✓ Wrong, George M. The Canadians. Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1939.

_____. The Rise and Fall of New France. Vol. I. Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1928.

Articles and Periodicals

- Bender, Prosper. "A New France in New England," Magazine of American History, XX (1888), 393.
- Casson, Herbert J. "The Canadians in the United States," Munsey's Magazine, XXXV (July, 1906), 473-87.
- Dexter, R. C. "Fifty-Fifty Americans," World's Work, XLVIII (August, 1924), 366-71.
- Kalijarvi, Thorsten V. "French Canadians in the United States," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXIII (September, 1942), 132.
- MacDonald, William. "The French Canadians in New England," The Quarterly Journal of Economics, XII (April, 1898), 245-79.
- MacLean, A. M. "Significance of Canadian Migration," American Journal of Sociology, X (May, 1905), 814-23.
- Nelson, Henry Loomis. "A Discontented Province," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, LXXXVI (December, 1892), 873-81.
- _____. "French Canadians in New England," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, LXXXVIII (May, 1893), 180-87.
- Podea, Iris S. "Quebec to Little Canadas: The Coming of the French Canadians to New England in the Nineteenth Century," New England Quarterly, XXIII (September, 1950), 365-80.
- Thrasher, Max B. "One of the Strangers at Our Gate," New England Magazine, XVI (1897), 28-32.
- La Tribune. Woonsocket. 1895.

Public Documents

Rhode Island. Report upon the Census of Rhode Island: 1865.
Providence: Providence Press Company, 1867.

_____. Report upon the Census of Rhode Island: 1875.
Providence: Providence Press Company, 1877.

_____. Census of Rhode Island: 1885. Providence:
E. L. Freeman and Son, 1887.

_____. Census of Rhode Island: 1895. Providence:
E. L. Freeman and Son, 1898.

_____. Third Annual Report of the Commissioner of
Industrial Statistics. Providence: E. L. Freeman
and Son, 1890.

_____. Sixth Annual Report of the Commissioner of
Industrial Statistics. Providence: E. L. Freeman
and Son, 1893.

U. S. Bureau of the Census. Ninth Census of the United
States: 1870, Population, Vol. I.

_____. Eighteenth Census of the United States: 1950,
Population, Vol. II, Part 39.

U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review.
Vol. CLXXV, 1916.