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The French in Vermont : some current views

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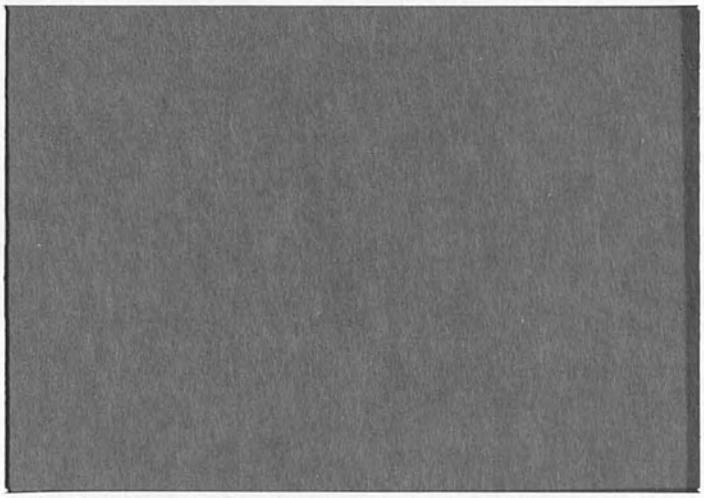

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THE CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON VERMONT
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This publication on the French in Vermont is intended not merely to present the views of these particular scholars and to stimulate the thinking of others, but also to serve as an introduction for those less familiar with the subject.

It is in this spirit that we dedicate Occasional Paper Number Six to Allen Foley (1898-1978), professor, statesman, convivialist, and student of Franco-American life.

The Center and the authors welcome comments and suggestions by readers who may write to: The Center for Research on Vermont, 479 Main Street, The University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont 05405.

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THE FRANCO-AMERICANS OF NORTHERN VERMONT: CULTURAL FACTORS FOR CONSIDERATION BY HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES PROVIDERS*

BY PETER WOOLFSON
UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT

Introduction

The Franco-Americans of northern Vermont represent the largest ethnic and linguistic minority in the region.[1] Most are descendants of French-speaking Québécois who came to Vermont during the period of the "grand migration" from 1840 to 1930. Estimates vary on how many Franco-Americans currently live in Vermont. The 1970 census, for example, reported that 9.5 percent of the population of Vermont grew up hearing French spoken at home.[2] A Civil Rights Commission study based on surnames and average family size, however, presents a larger figure: 23 percent of the population in northern Vermont have recognizably French surnames.[3] Yet, even this number represents an undercount of those Vermonters whose heritage is French-Canadian since many French-Vermonters have changed their names. For example: many Fairfields were Beauchamps, Greenwoods were Boisverts, Busheys were Bouchers, and Sweeneys were Chouinards. Such name changes reflect, as they do for other ethnic groups, the desire of Franco-Americans to blend into the American background. Moreover, since the 1960's the French language--a key component of traditional, French-Canadian identity--has gradually ceased to be a functional means of communication for Franco-Vermonters even in those institutions designed to encourage the maintenance of the French language: the Franco-American national parish churches and parish schools.[4]

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*The following paper was presented initially under the title, "The French-Canadians of Vermont: Cultural Implications for Health and Social Services Providers," at a Grand Rounds meeting sponsored by the University of Vermont's Department of Psychiatry in November, 1981. Support for the study was provided by the University of Vermont through Summer Fellowships.

Though a number of Franco-Vermonters do not display visible trappings of their French-Canadian heritage, many still share, as do other ethnic groups, inherited cultural patterns and values. This paper examines some of these patterns and values with an eye to describing their importance for health and social services providers in particular. There has been considerable interest in the special social and cultural patterns of French-Vermonters as an ethnic group, especially the roles that family members play in interviews and other health and social services contexts.

The French-Canadians who immigrated to Vermont came predominantly from the rural counties of Québec. Their immigration occurred primarily during the periods when the ideological orientation of Québec favored the pious and hard-working farm families. In 1960, however, political ideologies in Québec changed abruptly following the death of Maurice Duplessis[5] whose conservative viewpoint gave way to the new Liberal government's push to modernize Québec through La revolution tranquille ("the Quiet Revolution").[6] As a result, most of today's Québécois live in a highly urbanized and industralized, modern society. Their values and lifestyles reflect the economic and political changes that have taken place in Québec over the last twenty years.

The Franco-Americans of Vermont share very little of Québec's new identity and orientation. Because they left the province before the Quiet Revolution and immigrated to a state whose largest urban center, Burlington, had only 1,585 people in 1850, the Franco-Americans of Vermont had more of a chance of retaining their traditional values.[7] To be sure, Franco-Americans have not maintained this tradition without modification over the past thirty years. Being a Franco-American in itself is an indication of acculturation--a product of the cultural contact between French-Canadian culture and its American counterpart. In addition, some changes had begun before the immigrants crossed the border. They had already rejected self-sufficient, subsistence farming in favor of the North American dream of economic prosperity. Moreover, families had decreased in size as technology reduced the need for manual laborers. Yet, once across the border French-Canadians were also confronted with a different language, a different political system, and a different religious organization and structure. In the larger population centers such as Burlington, Winooski, Barre, and St. Johnsbury, they created their own institutions--churches, schools, and mutual aid societies--to ease the transition into their new environment. None of the new institutions was identical to its counterpart in their home parishes. French-speaking priests may have preached the sermons, but

Irish bishops often controlled the funds.*[8] French-speaking children learned their catechism in French, but studied U.S. history in English in the bilingual parochial schools. Although family patterns and values were not impervious to external influences, they, of any of the French-Canadian traditions, resisted change the most completely. The family was, thus, the institution least affected by the impact of an alien and foreign world.[9]

The Franco-American Family: Center of Orientation

In Elin Anderson's We Americans, a book written in 1937 about Burlington, Vermont, the author quotes a factory foreman: "The French are just happy, easy-going; they are glad to earn enough for today and don't worry much about tomorrow."[10] This stereotype is a familiar one: French-Canadians have a reputation for joie de vivre. Observing Franco-Americans at social events would seem to confirm the impression of a people who are open, friendly, and fun-loving. But at the same time, they have a reputation for "clannishness." Negative stereotyping of French-Canadians can be traced even in governmental publications such as the Massachusetts' Bureau of Statistics Report of 1880 which characterized them as follows: "They do not care to make a home among us, to dwell with us as citizens and so become part of us; their purpose is merely to sojourn a few years as aliens, touching us only at a single point that of work...."[11] In truth, neither the image of excessive joie de vivre nor that of absolute clannishness is quite accurate.[12]

Family ties are strong among French-Canadians and their Franco-American counterparts. They feel most at ease within their own families, and among their own relatives. Both French-Canadians and Franco-Americans rely heavily on a large and extensive network of cousins for friendship patterns. For example: Franco-Americans rarely go on vacations to places where they have no relatives, since one of their major motivations for traveling is to visit members of their families. The period from Christmas to Lent, in particular, is a time for intensive family visiting and partying in many Franco-American households.

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*Although the majority of the bishops of the See of Burlington, which encompasses the state of Vermont, have been of Irish descent, the first was Louis de Goësbriand, a French-speaking Breton. His successor, Stephen Michaud, had an Acadian father and an Irish mother.

Franco-Americans also rely on family members to operate their farms and businesses. In his study of St. Denis (Kamouraska County, Québec), Horace Miner describes a French-Canadian farmer who, looking for someone to help him on his farm, preferred to ask a nephew 300 miles away rather than hire one of the readily available youths in the nearby village.[13] Likewise, many businesses owned by Franco-Vermonters are family-owned and -operated, and include grocery stores, motels, meat markets, laundromats, and hardware stores. These kinds of enterprises provide work for everyone, mirroring roles on the family farm where each family member, no matter what his or her age, could contribute. Few outsiders have found employment in these family-owned and -run businesses. However, when Franco-Americans do hire outsiders, the newcomers become as nearly as is possible members of the family. Franco-Americans, for the most part, do not value impersonal employer-employee relationships where businessmen judge their workers only by the standards of efficiency or productivity. Franco-American businessmen highly value personal commitment and loyalty. In his biographies of well-known Franco-Americans, entitled Silhouettes Franco-Américaines, Rosaire-Dion Lévesque singles out Archibald LeMieux, the owner-manager of the Wright Machine Company of Massachusetts, as the ideal Franco-American employer. Lévesque writes:

> Il y régne une atmosphère familiale qu'on rencontre assez rarement dans les usines de ce genre. Les employés, au nombre de plusieurs centaines--mecaniciens severement entraînes dans la production de pièces mecaniques de grande précision--sont personnellement connus de M. LeMieux qui est vraiment le "père" de la maison. M. LeMieux s'interèsse à leur bien-être, à celui de leur famille; il leur procure des terrains de jeux, des salles de divertissements, dans un esprit tout à fait paternel et généreux.[14]

The familial atmosphere of the shop, LeMieux's personal involvement in his employees' lives, and concern for their well-being are especially noteworthy in a business which relies on complete accuracy for the manufacturing of precision tools.

Franco-Americans also value personal involvement and concern in the helping professions such as medicine and dentistry. It is interesting to note that prominent Winooski physician Dr. Robert E. O'Brien, whose mother was of French-Canadian heritage, is one of the few area medical practitioners whose listing in the Yellow Pages gives not only his office and home telephone numbers, but also that of his summer residence.

A preference for the more personal carries over to the Franco-American's attitude toward the larger health-care institutions. For example: many older Franco-Americans prefer to receive health care at Fanny Allen Hospital in Winooski rather than at Burlington's Medical Center Hospital. They may feel "more comfortable" in a hospital run by a religious order than they do in the more "modern" bureaucratic setting of the larger institution.*

The Role of the Father

The Franco-American orientation to personal relationships is one involving personal commitment and loyalty where the "members of the family" work together for the good of all. But the relationships within "the family" are not egalitarian: M. LeMieux, for example, was "le père de la maison" ("the father of the house"), who treated his employees as would a generous and concerned head of the household.

Traditionally, the French-Canadian father has been vested with considerable authority--authority sanctioned by both the Catholic church and Québec civil law. The Catholic church clearly delineated the man as the head of the household. In a pamphlet for those about to be married called Courtship and Marriage, John C. Reville, S.J., a French-surnamed American priest, wrote:

> In the Catholic family the father rules by authority, the mother by love. The duties of the former bring him directly in contact with the outside world.... The father is the breadwinner of the family. By toil of head or hand he must support his wife and children.[15]

Although Father Reville wrote these words in 1922, the idealized sex roles described here seem to be still in effect. In a Franco-American French-language workbook written for a federally funded Elementary and Secondary Education Act (E.S.E.A.) Title VII French-English Bilingual program in 1971, children learned the following

---

*Fanny Allen Hospital was founded in 1894 at the request of Bishop de Goesbriand by the Religious Hospitallers of St. Joseph, a French order whose mother house is in Montréal. Today, as previously, the sisters of St. Joseph supervise the treatment of patients and the administration of the hospital.

drill:

Papa est le chef de la famille.	(Father is the head of the family.
Il fait des décisions.	He makes decisions.
Il gagne d'argent.	He earns money.
Il travaille pour nous.	He works for us.)[16]

In this drill, "Maman" restricts her activities to the well-known household chores.

Québec's civil law, different from its English-Canadian counterpart, reinforces the teachings of the church by giving the man most of the legal authority over his wife and children. For example: until the Québec government liberalized the Civil Code in 1964, a husband had legal control of his wife's property and conducted her financial transactions. If one of his children needed emergency surgery, only he, not his wife, could authorize it.[17]

Likewise, it was the father's responsibility to see to the security and independence of the family by his providing respectable dowries for his daughters and careers for his sons. Traditionally, sons and daughters alike turned over their earnings to their father for fair and just dispensation. Some Franco-Americans in Vermont, now in their forties and fifties, remember handing over all of their paychecks, except for a small allowance, to their fathers.

Today, most Franco-American parents do not attempt to maintain such control over the lives of their mature children. If they are asked what they want for their children, they invariably answer, "To be happy." But it was not always so. In the Franco-American novel, Canuck, written about a mill family in southern New England in the 1930's, Camille Lessard illustrates that the father's control over his children's jobs and finances could lead to bitter conflict. The following scene from the novel describes Labranche's reaction when he learns his son Maurice has changed jobs without asking his permission:

> "It's that Maurice," said Labranche. "Without asking my permission, he changed factories and, because of this, he's going to lose half-a-day's pay."
>
> "Did he switch to a better-paying job?"
>
> "Yes, but he should have spoken to me about it," insisted Labranche. "I learned about it from the others. If I had known, I could have arranged for him to change jobs without losing that half-day's pay."
>
> "His intentions were good," Vic pleaded. "I'm almost certain that if he hadn't acted as he did, someone else would have taken advantage of it to get

> a better job. Before getting angry and causing us grief, wait and see what Maurice has to say about all this."
>
> "Yes, take his side again," Labranche fumed. "What do you care if your father works his heart out in a factory, so long as Maurice has his way? Maurice comes before me, I suppose? I'm going to show you, once again, who is boss here, Maurice or myself! I'm waiting for him, and he's going to get the best spanking he's ever had in his life."[18]

This, of course, is an extreme example drawn from a work of fiction. Caseworkers, however, have reported some instances of spouse and child abuse in Franco-American homes in Vermont that may be linked to the traditional authoritarianism of the male parent. Although alcohol has sometimes played a role in these incidents, there are indications that one factor in the attacks was the man's perception that his traditional authority as head of the household was being undermined.

The Role of the Mother

Traditionally, the French-Canadian woman complemented her husband. While the father's responsibility was the outside world, the "mother's sphere was the home." "Here," writes Father Reville, "she is mistress and queen."[19] As one farm wife in northeastern Vermont put it, "C'est lui, le grand boss, moi le petit."[20] Many Franco-American women continue to see their primary vocation as motherhood. In a survey of working mothers in two northeastern Vermont communities, all the women who still spoke the French language in the home believed that the proper vocation for a woman was that of mother. In the 1971 Title VII bilingual program workbook referred to above, children learned that mothers made sandwiches, mended and made clothes, did the laundry, and cleaned the house.

Theoretically, the father disciplined his children. But, as Father Reville suggests:

> In the home she [the mother] comes in constant, permanent contact with her children. While the father is absent for his daily toil, she remains to watch over them and to protect them.[21]

In fact, the woman did the disciplining of the younger children on a day-to-day basis, although she often did so in the father's name. Gérard Robichaud, in his loving portrait

of a Franco-American family in the novel Papa Martel, illustrates an interesting, if unique, way in which the mother disciplined the children while allowing the father to maintain overall control. At a child's baptism the mother wrote the child's name on a blackboard. During the week she placed white chalk marks beside the child's name for good deeds and red chalk marks for bad deeds. At the end of the week, the father inspected the blackboard and decided what tack to take with each child:

> As the children grew, the act of passing speechless judgment never failed to bring on great silence: in time it became a sacred ritual. Each of them, as they grew, at least once, scorned the blackboard and what it meant, but when Louis came home, on Friday night or Saturday noon, he cast a steely eye on it first thing, and this no one could ignore. He often raised his voice when he began to count the red marks, but never his hand. For the blackboard was also a key to his happy friendship. Whether bad or good, each child got his agreed money allowance, but too many red marks caused Louis to display a mountain of sadness whenever he had to tell one of his children: "For the moment, you are not my friend. Next week perhaps, but right now, no."[22]

The novelist's use of the blackboard as a scoring device cannot be viewed as typical Franco-American practice, yet it illustrates well the traditional Franco-American pattern of relationships in which the mother is responsible for discipline on a day-to-day basis, but the father retains ultimate authority.

More commonly, a Franco-American mother, like many another American mother simply says, "Wait until your father comes home!" An exasperated Franco-American mother may send her mischievous child "au coin"--to kneel in the corner and contemplate his sins. Many Franco-American parents favor corporal punishment in the schools, but prefer scolding or withdrawal of affection as disciplinary methods at home. It should be noted that the father takes most direct control of the adolescent children, especially sons.

Although, according to the Reverend Paul Blakely, one of the father's duties was "to give his children a Catholic education," the woman in the traditional French-Canadian household often took charge of her children's education in reality, for she had the duty to teach her children "the virtues which should be an ornament of a Catholic household."[23] One of the reasons for her control of the actual

education of the children was her greater experience with the educational system. Until the Quiet Revolution, a boy's Catholic education usually ended with Grade Six when he had completed his training for confirmation. One Franco-Vermonter in his fifties recalls that the parents of a male cousin refused to buy him glasses, since he was already in the sixth grade, and would not be doing much more reading. Girls, on the other hand, received further training in the convent schools, especially in teaching or nursing-skills which could prove useful whether or not they married.

The traditional discrepancy in educational levels for men and women still seems to survive among rural, Franco-American families in northeastern Vermont. In the survey of French-speaking parents in two northeastern Vermont towns referred to above, the majority of the wives had completed high school. Thus, the husband often deferred to his more educated wife in matters of education, confining himself to paying the parochial school bills. In the following passage from Papa Martel, Robichaud dramatizes the woman's role in the education of her children:

> "Father...," began Maman.
>
> "Not now," snapped Louis, his eyes shooting bullets at her.
>
> "Father," said Maman, "we contribute to the special school fund, and we do so gladly, and we send Maurice and Therèse to St. Michel's High School, and Felix and Emile to the Academy...."
>
> "Not now, Cecile," said Louis. "The supper will get cold."
>
> "And," continued Maman, "we were wondering if the curriculum does not leave something to be desired...."
>
> "The curriculum?" gasped Father Giroux.
>
> "Yes," said Maman, more firmly now.
>
> "In what way, Madame Martel?"
>
> "In this way. I wonder if it couldn't be changed a little bit."
>
> "Changed? Madame Martel, now let me tell you...."
>
> "Right now, Father, allow me to tell you, please. You see, I taught school before I was married...."
>
> "Oh, did you, now?"
>
> "Yes, and I think, Father, if you'll forgive me, that too much school time is devoted to things at St. Michel's and at the Academy, which, while meritorious in themselves, do not strictly come under the heading of reading, writing, mathematics, history and other purely educational projects."[24]

Maman Martel, educated as a teacher, feels competent to voice her concerns about her children's parochial school education to the priest in spite of her husband's obvious objections.

Usually, the French-Canadian woman was less direct in confronting male authority figures. To the Catholic church the ideal of womanhood was the "Virgin Mother of God." The role of the woman was to be a positive, loving influence in the household: to lead by example and persuasion.[25] This was especially true in matters concerning her children. Many Franco-Americans in their thirties remember that, when they wanted something such as a bicycle, they would make their case to their mothers, never to their fathers. The mother, if she agreed, would intercede on the child's behalf with their father, as the Virgin Mary would intercede with God on behalf of a petitioner.

Child Raising

Within the clearly delineated French-Canadian system of status and role--a system extending to male and female children--, family members have placed a high value on cooperation and a low value on assertion of one's individual identity. A study done in 1977 by University of McGill psychologists Lambert, Fraser-Smith, and Hamers supports this contention.[26] They found that French-Canadians in Québec and Franco-Americans in northern New England shared similar orientations to child raising. Both groups of parents believed in giving immediate help to a child who asked for assistance. Both groups of parents reacted quickly to their children when they displayed anger toward younger siblings or guests. And both groups of parents ignored their children when they made an obvious bid for personal attention.[27]

In another study of value orientations of third-grade French-dominant and English-dominant children in northeastern Vermont,[28] findings clearly indicated that French-dominant children valued cooperation much more highly among siblings and classmates than did their English-dominant classmates. Franco-American parents in these four northeastern Vermont communities have apparently taught their children to highly value cooperation among siblings and peers, while their Anglo-Vermont counterparts placed a higher emphasis on personal responsibility and achievement.

The Middle-Aged Franco-American

As her children grow up, a Franco-American mother finds that her role has changed dramatically--a condition which may cause social or health stresses. Role shifts resulting from the growing up of children occur for all mothers, but these role changes may have a more severe psychological

impact on Franco-American mothers than they do on other Vermont mothers. In the first place, traditional Catholicism and French-Canadian tradition place a very heavy emphasis on a woman's true vocation being motherhood. Secondly, many French-Canadian women, because they have gone to school longer, seem to have a wider range of interests than their working-class husbands. H.B.M. Murphy, a transcultural psychiatrist at McGill, maintains that French-Canadian women whose children have grown up shift their focus of attention to their husbands. This shift, he suggests, creates a potential area of psychological tension for the woman, because she cannot ignore "the problems of daily life with an inarticulate and narrow-sighted husband." Murphy argues that this tension underlies the high level of schizophrenia found in rural Québec among French-Canadian women in their fifties. The women, he is quick to point out, did not display symptoms of schizophrenia during their early child-bearing or child-raising years.[29]

The continued emphasis on motherhood as the primary vocation for women and the continued discrepancy in educational levels for women and men in some rural communities in Vermont, suggest that similar psychological problems may exist on the U.S. side of the border. Data of the kind Murphy reports are not available for Vermont. Unfortunately, few--if any--mental health agencies or hospitals in Vermont collect data pertaining to ethnicity, even though factors of ethnicity provide very important information for the effective delivery of health care and social services. There are, for example, diseases which appear to be clustered among specific ethnic groups, such as Tay-Sachs among Jews. Second, ethnic groups may react differently to biological or mental symptoms, because they have different beliefs, values, and traditions. In his book, The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnic, Michael Novac argues convincingly that WASPs, Irish, Jews, and Italians all have distinctly different interpretations of the significance of pain and how to react to it. Moreover, ethnic groups do not have identical reactions to health care and social services delivery. Marvin Rosenberg, a social planner at Case Western, argues that, although all working-class people are reluctant to use impersonal health centers, European-Americans are even less inclined to utilize them than other Americans:

> The distant or impersonal mental health center is not an acceptable place to seek help among working-class Americans. It's probably not the most acceptable place to seek help among a lot of Americans, but if you have to go there, you go there. But European-Americans will simply not go there.[30]

A second reason for the paucity of data on Franco-Americans in Vermont's medical facilities is that the most traditional Franco-Vermonters, perhaps because they are much more comfortable speaking French than English, often go to Québec for health services rather than to Vermont agencies. And yet, the same kinds of conditions which underlie the symptoms of schizophrenia among French-Canadian women in rural Québec also exist among middle-aged Franco-American women in northern Vermont.

The Older Franco-American

The traditional woman's role reasserts itself with the coming of grandchildren. Catholic French-Canadians are again provided with an important role model for women: St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin Mary and the grandmother of Christ. St. Anne is the patron saint of Québec and her most important shrine is Ste. Anne de Beaupré near Québec City, which is renowned for its curative powers.

In one sense, older Franco-American women fare better than their husbands, because many of the daily activities which occupy retired people fit into the traditional domain of woman's work: managing the home, health, and leisure-time activities. Franco-American women, like other traditionally oriented women, continue to do the laundry, shopping, cleaning, and cooking--activities that have occupied their time nearly all their lives.

One potential area of stress, however, for the Franco-American woman centers on the need to have an absolutely spotless home. Although most homemakers take pride in having a clean home, few are as compulsive about it as the traditional Franco-American housewife. Typically, a French-Canadian woman would take her home apart every spring:

> Early spring is...the time for the grande ménage. All women of the family clean the house a room at a time. Everything is removed, and wooden walls, ceiling and floor are all scrubbed. All the furniture is wiped over, and rugs and blankets are cleaned and hung out on the porches to air. It requires several weeks for the women to complete the ménage.[31]

One Franco-American resident of Burlington in her seventies demonstrated the persistence of this need for cleanliness when she gave as a reason for giving up her home the fact that she could no longer wash the ceilings!

As indicated earlier, the traditional French-Canadian

justification for the authority of the male in the household is his role as the "breadwinner." Working-class French-Canadian and Franco-American males rarely take pride in having a job that carries a high status. Instead, Franco-American workers pride themselves on working harder than anyone else. Dyke Hendrickson, in Quiet Presence, illustrates the Franco-American working-class, male attitude very well in an interview with Roland Gosselin, a Franco-American textile worker in Maine:

> When looking back on 36 years in the weaving room, Gosselin doesn't talk about repetition or boredom. There is no mention of intellectual stimulation. It was a job....
>
> "I never got bored, because I was so involved with the work," he commented. "I was there to work my day, to do the best I could while I was there. And don't forget, this is piecework. You've got to hustle if you want to earn a good wage. I don't feel that working there was that bad--it was steady work at a good wage."[32]

"Steady work at a good wage" expresses succinctly the meaning of a job for working-class Franco-Americans. For those men whose daily lives have revolved around busy, repetitive work, retirement produces an abrupt change in both behavioral patterning and self-image.

In The Country, a novel about a son's experiences with his aging Franco-American parents, David Plante illustrates what lack of purpose can do to the life of the older Franco-American male. Aunt Claire, the mother's younger sister, worries about the father's listlessness:

> "I ask myself, 'What sustains him?' And I can't answer."
>
> "Yes," I said, "I know."
>
> "When he was bringing up the family, working hard, he knew what he had to do, what his duty was, because he didn't have a choice, but now---" She held up her hands,... "His world has no outside."[33]

Many Franco-American men enjoy leisure-time activities. Many play musical instruments, some carve wood or make jewelry, others enjoy gardening, and almost all display skills as handymen. Nevertheless, many older Franco-American males enjoy these activities, because they are meaningful to members of their families. They feel that they are contributing to the family, by being useful or entertaining. But if they suffer from some incapacitating condition, or if they live a considerable distance from their relatives and friends, then they may become like Adelbert Plante, retired for twenty years and partially paralyzed:

> In some ways Adelbert Plante is an invisible man. His mobility is limited, so he spends virtually all his time at his home....His remaining family is spread around the country, so close personal ties are limited. Even friends from years ago have trouble making contact with the retired mill foreman. The circle of friends is growing smaller by the year.[34]

Men such as Adelbert Plante who come from a tradition that values physical strength and productivity, as well as close family ties and relationships, may find their loss particularly stressful.

The Rural Franco-American

Older, rural Franco-Americans also suffer from the impact of culture-change. A very strong tradition among French-Canadian farmers was the passing on of the family farm from generation to generation. Many French-Canadians came to work in the mills of New England so that they could make enough money to pay off the debts on the family farm. Those who were able to buy farms in Vermont had every confidence that one of their sons would continue to farm the land they had prepared for them. Traditionally, the rule of inheritance was not that of primogeniture: it was not the eldest son who inherited the land. More often, it was a middle son, born some ten years later than his elder brother, who inherited the farm. The father, having reached his early sixties, would continue to run the farm with his inheriting son, but without all of the major responsibilities. This tradition has not survived among Franco-Americans in northern Vermont today. In their grandparents' time, it was enough to have one's own farm, and be one's "own boss." Their children, however, saw farming as a business, and making a profit became an important goal. Today, their own children see their fathers' farms as unable to keep up with inflation and the cost of living, or see themselves as unable to compete with the large, agri-industrial corporations. Raymond Lamarche, the third generation of his family to work his Vermont farm, has recently sold it to a Swiss corporation for $182,000. He wanted to hold on to the 196-acre farm long enough to see if his son, who is in the eighth grade, wanted to take it over, but Lamarche decided under the circumstances, that he could not encourage that. Men such as Raymond Lamarche now find they must abruptly change their vision of what the future holds for themselves and their families.

The sudden changes in lifestyle that result from selling the family farm have adversely affected inter-generational family relationships, as well. The family farm served as a

gathering place for brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts and cousins, especially during the festive period from Christmas to Lent. Leo Lanctot, a native of Canaan, Vermont, recalls some of the events that took place at New Year's:

> New Year's Day was certainly one day in the year which brought families together. For my grandparents, this tradition goes back quite far.... My great-grandfather observed this day religiously. This tradition was particularly strong for the Poutre family as the entire family reunited. And as the family began to grow so were they to come on New Year's. The memories of meeting aunts and uncles, cousins, will not be easily forgotten. Nor will it be easy to forget the fine foods that Mémère Poutre would have prepared for the family. Mémère Poutre prepared almost everything from tourtières to fruit pies, homemade pickles--sweet and sour--relishes and roasts of pork and beef...The social activities were dancing, singing, and card playing.[35]

Cultural events such as these are very meaningful to traditional Franco-Americans; they serve as rites of intensification that strengthen family ties. But these cultural events are becoming increasingly rare. The selling of the family farm, for one thing, often means the loss of a place big enough to accommodate the traditional large gathering of relatives. For another, it means that the older farmer cannot make a gradual transition into retirement; he does not have the opportunity of continuing to work alongside his son in the day-to-day farming chores. In addition, with family members leaving the rural areas in search of employment, the older Franco-American male can no longer tangibly enjoy his status as patriarch of a large, extended family so evident at the traditional family gatherings. His wife may feel the loss of the close family interrelationships even more than her husband. She no longer plans and prepares the large soirées and veillées that were so important in the Franco-American tradition, and her status as matriarch diminishes, too. But the loss is a loss for the family as a whole: the traditional rites of intensification that strengthened and reinforced its sense of identity no longer exist.

Folk Medicine and Health Care

Although the Franco-American parish no longer caters to the French-speaking parishioner, many Franco-American Catholics have retained French-Canadian folk religious traditions, especially those about faith healing and miraculous cure. Nearly every family has a relative with the

power to stop bleeding. The gift passes cross-sexually from one generation to another, that is, from mother to son, from uncle to niece, and so on. The healer teaches his or her protegé a special, secret prayer. The new healer must keep the prayer a secret, or the power will be lost. Most important as manifestations of the relationship between health and religion are the miraculous cures. An older Franco-American woman recalls that when she was a child her knees were deformed, and she could not walk correctly. Her doctors put her in a plaster cast from the waist down to stem further deterioration, but they held out little hope her condition would improve. Her father decided to take her to the famous French-Canadian healer, Frère André, at St. Joseph's Oratory in Montréal. She remembers that her father walked on his knees up the steps of the basilica, carrying her on his shoulders and saying a Hail Mary on each step. They met Frère André at the top of the steps and she recalls him having a gruff voice and rough mannerisms. Her daughter reports:

> He [Frère André] placed his hand on her head and told [her father] to have the cast removed and she would walk again. They immediately went to the hospital and demanded that the cast be removed. After the removal of the cast [the girl] walked down the hospital corridor to the amazement of the physicians. The family went home and said many thanks for her cure.[36]

Along with their belief in charismatic faith healers, Franco-Americans often believe in the curative power of religious artifacts. The same woman referred to above recalls a time when she had a large tumor-like growth near her left knee. Her brother brought home a medal of Our Lady of Perpetual Help that had been blessed by the Pope and brought home from Rome by their parish priest. The curé had told him that anyone possessing the medal would receive a miraculous cure. The medal was placed on her left leg near the growth, and bandages were wrapped around it. Then:

> a novena, a special series of prayers, was said by everyone in the family.... Nine days later as she watched her brother...play baseball, the miracle happened. As she sat on the fence, she looked down at her legs and discovered that her left leg was covered with blood, but experienced no pain. She was rushed to the hospital, the bandages were removed and the medal fell to the floor without a drop of blood on it. Her leg was washed and the growth had completely disappeared.

The woman recalls that the image of Our Lady of Perpetual Help holding the infant Jesus remained imprinted on her leg for three months, and says, "I still have the medal. It's a good reminder of how powerful God can be and what prayers can do for those who have faith in God."[37]

In both cases, the cure occurred shortly after the appropriate steps were taken. But what happens if a rapid improvement is not forthcoming? The other side of the coin of miraculous cure is the belief that the absence of a cure is also the will of God--to be accepted with Christian resignation.

Language and Cultural Perceptions

The last bastion of maintaining the French language in Vermont was the Franco-American family who spoke French at home. Few Franco-Americans of the second or third generation now use French on a daily basis, but there are still many older Franco-Americans who feel more comfortable speaking their mother tongue, especially in stressful situations. Unfortunately, there are few professional health practitioners in Vermont who are competent in the language, especially the dialect of farm French currently used by the people who emigrated from rural Québec. Yet, even when Franco-Americans are bilingual, they may find themselves in situations where there is cross-cultural misunderstanding. Many French and English words are cognates which have diverged in meaning over the years. For example: the French past participle *depressé* is cognate with English *depressed*. The French form, however, refers only to one's physical condition, while the English word can refer to one's mental state in which context the equivalent French word is *deprimé*. In other words, a French bilingual patient may confuse the two meanings if he is asked whether he is feeling *depressed*. Another example of language similarity producing confusion is the phrase *sang-froid*; in its literal sense, the phrase means "cold-blooded," but the French understand it idiomatically to mean "cool-headed." Errors at this level of understanding can occur even among people who are considered fluent in both French and English. For, although French and English are closely related languages, they do not always describe the same cultural realities.

Discussion

A study such as this attempts to illustrate broad themes that may be relevant to a greater understanding of a wide range of people. One must, therefore, make judi-

cious use of the ideas presented here, for a narrow interpretation may cause the reader to fall into the trap of stereotyping. The purpose of this paper is not to present a definitive portrait of a people, nor to give health and social services practitioners a simple blueprint to follow in providing services to Franco-Americans. Rather, it is intended to suggest that cultural differences can be relevant. One must bear in mind, however, that the picture of Franco-American culture presented here is a composite. There is no more a "typical Franco-American" than there is a "typical American." To regard anyone as such would be to do a great disservice. Franco-Americans can be found at all strata of Vermont society; they are doctors, lawyers, accountants, engineers, superintendents of schools, and business administrators, as well as blue-collar workers and entrepreneurs. They also represent different waves of immigration, starting at the turn of the eighteenth century and continuing until the mid-1960s. Moreover, the cultural persistence of French-Canadian traditions, or the assimilation of American ones, is not a uniformly steady process for all individuals who have some French-Canadian ancestry. There are built-in limits to studying an ethnic group such as the Franco-Americans, for one is not dealing with the product of two static cultures that remain constant enough to measure in exact proportions what combination of the French-Canadian and American cultures makes someone a Franco-American. Nor are we able to determine the rate of retention of specific cultural traits cross-generationally. In broad terms, the most French-Canadian Franco-Americans are first generation--the children of French-Canadian immigrants; the least French-Canadian are third generation or more. Beyond that, we are in an area that by its very nature remains ill-defined and imprecise.

At the same time, it can be said that the majority of French-Canadians who immigrated to the New England states came from a relatively homogeneous class of rural farmers or laborers who were enculturated in Catholic parishes both at home and in school to conform to a uniform set of values and expectations. Many of these deep-seated values and expectations continue to be important for numerous Franco-Americans, especially those from working-class or rural families.

The most deep-seated values and expectations revolve around a strong religious and familial base. Both of these have significant implications for health and social services practitioners. The model for interpersonal relations remains the family. In receiving health care or social services, the Franco-American wants visible expressions of personal commitment and caring. Bureaucratic settings and impersonal professional health or social services providers are culturally foreign. They can be barriers to effective

health care or social services delivery. Moreover, many Franco-Americans consider problems such as mental illness or alcoholism to be troubles better dealt with in the family by people they trust, rather than strangers. As Roland Lajoie put it in a letter to the editor of the Burlington (Vt.) Free Press:

> In response to your May 5 editorial concerning Ann Landers, I would think that the "lovelorn, the distraught, the confused, and the lonely" would look first to family and friends before seeking "guidance" from somebody who probably can't solve her own problems any better than anyone else's. I mean, if you can't have faith in your own family, who can you trust?[38]

Franco-Americans, like Roland Lajoie, feel that problems for which the larger American society provides institutional support--physical disability, mental retardation, mental illness and senility--are the responsibility of the family. Many Franco-Americans are thus very reluctant to seek professional aid, or to abandon their responsibilities to professional institutions. Caseworkers in northeastern Vermont, for example, report that they see very few Franco-American clients, yet problems such as alcoholism among Franco-American males are acute, if the number of Franco-Americans who are charged with driving while intoxicated is any measure.

The traditional familial structure brought over the border from Québec best fits the rural farm family. However, technological advancement has reduced the need for the large farm families of the old, labor-intensive system. Since the opening of the mills in Winooski and Lakeside when whole families, including children ten years old and above, worked in the mills, changes in labor laws have also diminished the need for large families. These transformations have had an impact on both the size of today's Franco-American families and the roles family members play. Franco-American women still value motherhood as their primary vocation, but many now work in paying jobs outside the home. Fathers no longer have economic control over their sons and daughters; educational and job opportunities are less manageable than they were in the past. As a result, the strong values of family interdependence and solidarity no longer carry their former weight. Nevertheless, health and social services professionals, in their dealings with parents, would be advised to recognize the traditional status and role expectations of the Franco-American family. Mothers still see themselves

as responsible for the health and education of their children, and health and social services practitioners should feel confident in speaking with them directly about these issues. However, if the situation involves matters outside the home, such as juvenile justice, or extensive financial arrangements, then it is the father who should be addressed. At the same time, the justification for, and the reasoning behind, any course of action should also be given to the child's mother, because of her special role as intermediary between the child and the father.

As Franco-American men and women grow older, the change in their role expectations may become acutely stressful, because of the heavy emphasis on men being "breadwinners" and women being "mothers." Moreover, when they cannot also perform the traditional roles of grandparents, because of the increased mobility of their children and grandchildren, they may experience a further erosion of their sense of self.

One should also note that religion remains an important part of the lives of many Franco-Vermonters. Their traditional faith still values faith healing and miraculous cures. If modern medical practices appear to be unproductive in treating a serious ailment, some Franco-Americans may seek help from faith healers or make pilgrimages to shrines celebrated for their miraculous cures.

The belief in the power of prayer and miraculous intervention can be a source of comfort in situations which are particularly stressful or all but hopeless. But at the same time, when miraculous cures are not forthcoming, the lack of divine intervention may also be interpreted as God's will. As a result, Franco-American patients may not be willing to undergo therapy or treatment, especially if the problem is mental illness, which shows few immediate, tangible results. They may, instead, look upon the problem as a cross to be borne, accepting it fatalistically, pessimistically or with Christian resignation.

The language barrier between Franco-Americans and health and social services practitioners is not as great as it was twenty-five years ago. Yet, as a result of cross-cultural differences there are times when words or non-verbal communication patterns may be misunderstood. Bilingualism does not always mean biculturalism. One should never assume that people who use the same words are talking about the same realities, and one should not assume that people's expressions or gestures mean the same thing.

This report is specifically concerned with cultural factors that should be recognized by health and social services providers who work with Franco-American clients, especially in northern and rural Vermont. Certainly, health care and social services professionals should learn skills which are appropriate for patients or clients of any nationality or background, as it is important that they know the individual and family histories of their patients and clients. At the same time, cultural patterns vary for people from recognizable ethnic groups. Knowing the important cultural patterns--especially attitudes, beliefs, and values--can result in the better delivery of health care and social services. The cultural patterns described in this paper suggest that knowledge of Franco-American social structures, beliefs, and values can assist a health care or social services practitioner in providing more effective services to people who share this heritage.

NOTES

1. Since 1970, I have conducted anthropological research in several Vermont communities, most notably Derby, Holland, Island Pond, Newport, Beecher Falls, Canaan, South Canaan, and Burlington. In addition, students under my supervision have done research in places like Beebe Plain, Derby Line, Richford, Barre, St. Albans, Swanton, St. Johnsbury, and Winooski. Although this research does not cover Vermont comprehensively, it does cover rather extensively northern Vermont, where the 1970 census places the majority of "mother-tongue" French.

Although I have conducted fieldwork in which I used a variety of techniques such as questionnaires, I have relied primarily on the classic ethnographic techniques of participant-observation and interviews with key informants. In order to protect the confidentiality of much of my data, I do not cite specific individuals who have provided me with information. One of the advantages of this kind of research is an intimate knowledge of the culture; its liability is, of course, the lack of verifiability of the data.

2. 1970 data comes from Madeleine Giguere's Social and Economic Profile of French and English Mother-Tongue Persons (Portland-Gorham: University of Southern Maine, n.d.). The relevant 1980 data will not be available until 1983. The questions asked in the 1980 census, however, are quite different and more narrow in focus, and will not be comparable to the 1970 census data.

3. In 1975 the Vermont Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights formed a subcommittee to investigate issues of civil rights pertaining to the state's Franco-American population. The subcommittee immediately confronted the problem of numbers from the 1970 census and faced the prospect of having to wait eight more years for more comprehensive data. The subcommittee decided to conduct its own tabulation of the state's Franco-American population based on surname data. The group felt that, because of the limitations of time and staffing, the study should be limited to four counties in Vermont: Franklin, Essex, Chittenden, and Windsor. To obtain data for the survey, the advisory committee used the telephone directories for 1975. Having collected the appropriate directories for the counties under study, the committee included every name that could be identified as French (business phones were ignored unless they were also clearly identifiable as residences), and each surname was assumed to represent one household. In order to turn the names into a population estimate,

the committee felt that some estimate of size of household was necessary. Mary Deming, a demographer formerly at the University of Vermont, provided the average family size for the towns and counties of Vermont based on the 1970 census. The committee made the assumption that each household multiplied by average family size would provide a workable population figure for Franco-Americans in these counties. The figures still represent an undercount because of name changes and marriage patterns.

4. For studies of Franco-American patterns of assimilation, one should consult: Florence Chevalier, "The Role of French National Societies in the Sociocultural Evolution of the Franco-Americans from 1860 to the Present" (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University, 1972); Donald Dugas, "Franco-American Language Maintenance Efforts in New England: Realities and Issues" in Identité culturelle et francophonie dans les Amériques, ed. Emile Snyder and Albert Valdman (Québec: L'Université Laval, 1976); Norman Sepunuk, "A Profile of Franco-American Political Attitudes in New England," in Franco-American Overview, ed. Madeleine Giguere, 2 (Bedford, N.H.: National Materials Development Center for French and Haitian, 1980); and George Theriault, "The Franco-Americans in a New England Community" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1951).

5. Maurice Duplessis, premier of Québec from 1943 to 1960, gained most of his support from the rural ridings in Québec. These are the ridings from which studies show the majority of Vermont's French-Canadians came.

6. For an introduction to the Quiet Revolution, I suggest: Marcel Rioux, The Question of Quebec (Toronto: Lewis and Samuels, 1971); Gerald Gold and Marc-Adelard Tremblay, Communities and Culture in French-Canada (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973); Dale Posgate and Kenneth McRobert, Quebec Social Change and Political Crisis (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976).

7. "Rural" is, of course, a relative term. It refers more to population densities which are relatively small. "Rural" should not be equated with "farms." Much more goes on in rural areas than farming, including industries such as logging, recreation, and even manufacturing. Towns such as Newport, St. Johnsbury, and St. Albans may appear as urban areas when compared with other towns in Vermont, but there is no comparison with a city such as Montréal or even Québec City. Nearly half of Québec's population lives in the Montréal area. The lifestyle of Montréalers is urban in a way not possible for the residents of even Vermont's largest urban area, Burlington.

8. The following passage illustrates the effect of the melting pot: "Vermont is the grave of Franco-Americans in New England. . . . It must be the state which is most French, but our people have melted away, and have lost all their identity. There are about 40,000 today, whereas they ought to have been a third of the population if they had kept their language and religion. The first bishop was French, Mgr. De Goesbriant [sic], then Mgr. Michaud, with an English spirit in spite of his French name. It was under the episcopacy of Mgr. Rice . . . that the good Franco-American clergy of former times were practically converted to a consciousness contrary to our hopes for French survival. Today you see a young, so-called Franco-American clergy who speak nothing but English. . . ." (Le Travailleur, 13 mars [1940], quoted in "Grain de Sel" in La vie Franco-Américaine [1940], 150, copy in the library of l'Association Canada-Américaine, Manchester, N.H.).

9. For a description of the French-Canadian family, see: Colette Carisse, "The Family: The Issue of Change," in Issues of Canadian Society, ed. Dennis Farcese and Stephen Richer (Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1975); Philippe Garigue, "French-Canadian Kinship and Family Life," American Anthropologist, 58 (1956), 1090-1101; Horace Miner, "The French-Canadian Family Cycle," American Sociological Review, 9 (October 1938), 700-708; Marc-Adelard Tremblay, "Authority Models in the French-Canadian Family," Recherches sociographiques, 7, nos. 1-2 (1966), 215-230; idem, "The Needs and Aspirations of the French-Canadian Family," in Gold and Tremblay, Communities and Culture in French-Canada.

10. Elin Anderson, We Americans: A Study of Cleavage in an American City (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1937), p. 64.

11. Reprinted in Sister Florence, Marie Chevalier, "The Franco-Americans of New England 1860-1972" (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University, 1972), pp. 93-94.

12. For further information on the stereotyping of Franco-Americans and its implications, see Peter Woolfson, A Civil Rights Perspective on Franco-Americans in Vermont (Vermont Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, forthcoming, July, 1983). Examples of negative stereotyping abound in works of fiction, e.g., Rowland Robinson's Uncle Lisha's Shop and a Danvis Pioneer (Rutland, Vt.: The Tuttle Co., 1933); and Robert Pike's Spiked Boots: Sketches of the North Country (St. Johnsbury, Vt.: The Cowles Press, 1959). Negative images such as those contained in the Massachusetts' Bureau of Statistics report are also to be found in historical studies. For example: Rowland Robinson, in his Vermont A Study of Independence (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Company, 1892), pp. 328-330, referred to French-Canadian migrants as

"an abominable crew of vagabonds" and termed them "professional beggars."

13. Horace Miner, St. Denis: A French-Canadian Parish (Chicago: Phoenix, 1937), p. 64.

14. "There reigns a familial atmosphere which one encounters rarely in factories of this type. The employees, of which there are several hundred--mechanics highly trained in producing mechanical objects with great precision--are personally known by M. LeMieux who is really the 'father' of the house. M. LeMieux takes a special interest in his employees and their families' welfare. He has given them playing fields and recreational quarters with a completely paternal and generous spirit." (Rosaire-Dion Lévesque, Silhouettes Franco-Américaines [Manchester, N.H.: Association Canada-Américaine, 1957], pp. 559-560.)

15. John S. Reville, S.J. "Dedicated Motherhood," in Courtship and Marriage: Practical Instructions by Priests of the Society of Jesus (New York: The American Press, 1922), p. 65.

16. Mrs. Lowell Daigle, La Famille (Project Bilingual Research American Valley Education sponsored through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act Title VII, 1971), p. 33.

17. For a description of the impact of the Québec Civil Code on domestic families, see Philippe Garigue, "French-Canadian Kinship and Urban Life," in French Canadian Society, ed. Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin, 1 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964).

18. Camille Lessard, excerpt from Canuck, trans. Armand Chartier, in Ethnic American Women, ed. Edith Blicksilver (Dubuque, Iowa: Dendall Hunt, 1978), p. 52. Most of the novels quoted here are by Franco-American writers of New England states other than Vermont. Their works, however, reflect traditional Franco-American values, and are useful as concrete illustrations of common cultural patterns.

19. Reville, Courtship and Marriage, p. 65.

20. Leslie Elton, "Child Raising Among Franco-Americans of Canaan" (Teacher Corps: The University of Vermont, 1976).

21. Reville, Courtship and Marriage, p. 65.

22. Gérard Robichaud, Papa Martel (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961), p. 27.

23. Paul L. Blakely, S.J., "The Father's Sacred Trust," in Courtship and Marriage, p. 103.

24. Robichaud, Papa Martel, pp. 43-44.

25. Horace Miner writes: "Family symbols play an important part in the whole sacred philosophy. The 'earthly trinity'--Jesus, Mary and Joseph--is a family.... The attitudes towards these holy personages include that attitude towards persons in similar family roles. God the Father is the director of life and from whom one can expect justice though it may be harsh. The Virgin is the Mother of all, full of compassion and the chief power to entreat God the Father for those who love her." (St. Denis, p. 66.)

26. Wallace Lambert, Nancy Fraser-Smith, and Josie Hamers, "Frenchness in North America: French American, French Canadian, and American Parents" (Unpublished ms., McGill University, 1977).

27. Franco-American parents, however, showed greater leniency towards their children when they were being insolent than their French-Canadian counterparts. On the other hand, Franco-American parents disciplined their children more firmly when they displayed destructive behavior than did French-Canadian parents.

28. Peter Woolfson, "Public or Parish," Franco-American Overview, 3 (Bedford, N.H.: National Materials Development Center for French, 1980).

29. H.B.M. Murphy, "Cultural Factors in the Genesis of Schizophrenia," in The Transmission of Schizophrenia, ed. D. Rosenthal and S. S. Kelty (Oxford: Pergamon, 1968).

30. Civil Rights Issues of Euro-Ethnic Americans in the United States: Opportunities and Challenges, a consultation sponsored by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Chicago, Ill., December 3, 1979, p. 294.

31. Miner, St. Denis, p. 146.

32. Dyke Hendrickson, Quiet Presence (Portland, Maine: Guy Gannett, 1980), pp. 84-85.

33. David Plante, The Country (New York: Atheneum, 1981), p. 75.

34. Hendrickson, Quiet Presence, pp. 101-102.

35. Leo Lanctot, "A Family Tradition" (Unpublished paper, University of Vermont, 1978), p. 4.

36. The daughter, who reported her mother's miraculous cures, requested that the source remain confidential.

37. See note 36 above.

38. Lajoie's letter to the editor appeared in the May 13, 1982 Burlington (Vt.) Free Press.

STUDIES ON VERMONT/QUEBEC RELATIONS: THE STATE OF THE ART

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Seven out of ten Québécois live within one hour of the Québec/Vermont border, and yet la Belle Province has paid scant attention to its neighbors to the south. Vermonters have attended even less to their numerous ties with the Laurentian Plain and its inhabitants. It was the ancestors of the present-day Québécois, the explorers and soldiers of New France, who discovered Vermont and began its European occupation. The work of Guy Oberon Coolidge, "The French Occupation of the Champlain Valley, 1609-1759," Vermont History, n.s. 6 (1938): 143-311, remains the most reliable synthesis of the subject. For additional details on the royal land grants and more accurate maps, consult Richard Colebrook Harris, The Seigneurial System in Early Canada: A Geographical Study (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966). One should also turn to the patient compilation of John Huden, Some Early Maps Depicting the Lake Champlain Area, 1542-1792 (Burlington, Vt.: privately published by the author, 1959).

In the critical formative years at the close of the eighteenth century, the very economic survival of northern Vermont's first settlers was dependent on the duty-free exploitation of the Saint Lawrence outlet to European markets, a topic examined in W. A. Mackintosh, "Canada and Vermont: A Study in Historical Geography," Canadian Historical Review 8 (March 1927): 9-30; and in George Brown, "The Opening of the Saint Lawrence to American Shipping," Canadian Historical Review 7 (March 1926): 4-12. In the early part of the nineteenth century, these ties were strengthened (Nicholas Muller, "The Commercial History of the Lake Champlain-Richelieu River Route, 1760-1815," 2 vols. [Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1968]). The Green Mountain State's economic links to the Montréal metropolis were so essential that in the War of 1812, Vermonters defied the embargo of their federal government. In the second half of the nineteenth century, rail transportation links between Montréal and the eastern seaboardgave life and prosperity to Vermont towns such as St. Albans, Newport, Island Pond, and Northfield.

Vermonters played a significant role in the settlement of southwestern Québec, particularly the counties of Missisquoi, Brome, Stanstead and Compton (Groupe de recherche en histoire régionale, Bibliographie d'histoire des Cantons de l'Est [Sherbrooke: Université de Sherbrooke, 1975]; and Bishop's University Library, Catalogue of the Eastern Townships Historical Collection in the John Bassett Memorial Library, Bishop's University, Lennoxville, Québec [Lennoxville, Qué.: Bishop's University, 1965]). In the Lower-Canadian Revolt of 1837, Vermonters espoused the cause of the republican patriotes; this event is discussed in Oscar Kinchen, The Rise and Fall of the Patriot Hunters (New York: Bookman Associates, 1956); and in John Duffy and H. Nicholas Muller, An Anxious Democracy: Aspects of the 1830s (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982). For a bibliography on a notable cross-border military movement during the American Civil War, see Robin Winks, "The St. Albans Raid: A Bibliography," Vermont History 26 (January 1958): 46-51; ibid. 27 (April 1959): 168-69. On the question of the 1866 Fenian raid, see Homer Calkin, "St. Albans in Reserve: The Fenian Raid of 1866," Vermont History 35 (January 1967): 19-34.

Today, Vermont's relationship with Québec continues, perhaps stronger than ever. Economic planners and promoters periodically allude to the important effect of Canadian tourists on the mercantile health of northern Vermont. State energy planners are negotiating with Québec for the building of a transmission line through which will flow more electricity than is generated by Vermont Yankee. And yet, there is very little common knowledge about Vermont's immediate neighbors to the north. This lack of knowledge may be due in part to an insularity fostered by the alarming enlargement of the Yankee mythology (Daniel Gade, "L'image du Vermont: mythologie américaine et réalité géographique," Cahiers de géographie du Québec 21 [septembre-décembre 1977]: 221-41). Provincial patricians, politicians, tenured dons, sleek publicists of Vermont Life, seem to conspire to magnify and perpetuate the myth of a small, self-sufficient, resilient republic, the last redoubt of Yankeedom, a bucolic open-sky museum where America's lost innocence and peaceable kingdom can be jealously preserved by "True Vermonters." The "True Vermonter" may be a minority in his state, no more numerous than the "Flatlanders" or even the "Furiners," the other "True Vermonters," the thousands of Québécois who descended from the townships and the Richelieu Valley to settle in the Green Mountains. These Québéco-Americans (mistakenly branded "Franco-Americans" by their elite) are perhaps the most important and the least recognized element in the Vermont/Québec equation.

How many Vermonters are of Québec ancestry? In 1970, the Québéco-Vermonter whose maternal tongue was French made up 9.5% of the state's total population, 20.6% of the counties that are contiguous with the Canada/U.S. border. But the majority of Québéco-Vermonters do not speak the language

of their forefathers and -mothers, and many may not be aware of their origins because of widespread alteration of family names. For an exhaustive list of these changes through anglicization and for the original French spellings, consult Ulysse Forget, Les Franco-Américains et le melting-pot; Onomastique franco-américaine (Fall River, Mass.: Imprimerie de L'Indépendance, 1949); and Martha Crane and Tom Schulhof, "Name Changing Patterns among French-Canadians in Waterville, Maine," French Review 43 (February 1970): 459-66.[1]

The mapping of Québéco-Vermont demography is a challenging task. Available statistics are fragmentary and difficult to interpret (Yolande Lavoie, L'émigration des Canadiens aux Etats-Unis avant 1930 [Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1972]; and Gilles Paquet, "L'émigration des Canadiens français vers la Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1870-1910: prises de vue quantitatives," Recherches Sociographiques 5 [septembre-décembre 1964]: 319-70). The best analysis of the available data can be found in Ralph Vicero's dissertation, Immigration of French-Canadians to New England, 1840-1900: A Geographical Analysis (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1968); and in Yolande Lavoie, L'émigration des Québécois aux Etats-Unis de 1840 à 1930 (Québec: Editeur officiel du Québec, 1979). One should also consult Ralph Vicero, "French-Canadian Settlement in Vermont prior to the Civil War," Professional Geographer 23 (October 1971): 290-94. For a less reliable discussion of the migration of anglophone Québécois, see Leon Truesdell, The Canadian Born in the United States (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943).

Information on the socioeconomic and cultural profiles of the typical Québéco-Vermonter is quite insufficient, as has been noted by Peter Woolfson, "The Heritage and Culture of the French-Vermonter: Research Needs in the Social Sciences," Vermont History 44 (Spring 1976): 103-9. No history of the Québéco-Vermonters has ever been written. Vermont academic circles have taken little interest, and shown less sympathy, or understanding of the phenomenon. The traditional elite of the Québéco-Vermonters, e.g., French-speaking priests, lawyers, and doctors have written less about the historical experience of their people than about the ephemeral accomplishments that highlighted their own class ideology and cultural preoccupations: survival of the French language and of the ultramontane faith, containment of the materialistic anglophone environment. As a program of action, these lofty ideas and objectives translated into the building of churches and schools and the promotion of exclusive ethnic organizations such as the Union Saint-Jean Baptiste d'Amérique, the Association Canado-Américaine and women's associations such as the Cercle des Dames de Sainte-Anne. For samples of these panegyrics and annals of real estate achievements, see Joseph Kerlidou, Saint Anne of Isle La Motte in Lake Champlain: Its History . . . (Burlington [Vt.] Free Press, 1895); Jean Frédéric

Audet, Histoire de la congrégation canadienne de Winooski au Vermont (Montréal: Imprimerie des Sourds-muets, 1906); J. O. Dion, Souvenirs du révérend Pierre Marie Migneault (Montréal: La Minerve, 1868); La Grande Semaine: Fêtes du troisième centenaire de la découverte du Lac Champlain (Worcester, Mass.: Belisle, 1909); Compte-rendu de la seizième convention des Canadiens-Français des Etats-Unis tenue à Rutland, Vt., le 22 et 23 juin 1886 (Plattsburgh, N.Y.: Ateliers Typographiques du National, 1886); Edouard Hamon, Les Canadiens Français de la Nouvelle-Angleterre (Québec: Hardy, 1891); Robert Rumilly, Histoire des Franco-Américains (Montréal: L'Union Saint-Jean Baptiste d'Amérique, 1958); Joseph Couture, "New England's First National Parish; or, The History of St. Joseph's of Burlington, Vermont," (master's thesis, St. Michael's College, 1959); David Blow, "The Establishment and Erosion of French-Canadian Culture in Winooski, Vermont, 1867 -1900," Vermont History 43 (Winter 1975): 59-74; and John Huden, "Beginnings of Catholic Schools in Vermont," Vermont History, n.s. 11 (1943): 169-73. The above monographs recount the essential contributions of the very small intellectual elite, living in symbiosis with the ultramontane caste of Québec, that assured the program of survivance of the Little Canadas of Vermont and the rest of New England. The members of this elite not only organized French-speaking congregations and schools, but they also attempted through journalism and fraternal organizations to initiate the working class into their belles-lettres culture and conservative ideology. For an understanding of the ideas and beliefs of this elite, see Josaphat Benoît, L'âme franco-américaine (Montréal: Albert Levesque, 1935). For an introduction to Québéco-American journalism, see Edward Ham, "Journalism and the French Survival in New England," New England Quarterly 11 (March 1938): 89-107; Alexandre Belisle, Histoire de la presse franco-américaine (Worcester, Mass.: L'Opinion Publique, 1911); and Malcolm Daggett, "Vermont's French Newspapers," Vermont History 27 (1959): 69-75. For an analysis of the role of the fraternal organizations, see Edward Ham, "The French National Societies," New England Quarterly 12 (June 1939): 315-32.

The Québéco-Vermonters played a significant and largely unrecognized role in the development of the survivance ideology and its political vagaries. Until the early years of the twentieth century, the Vatican had allowed the creation and maintenance of national parishes in the United States: Catholic congregations that conducted some of their liturgy and their educational programs in the language of a non-anglophone ethnic group. Monseigneur Louis de Goësbriand, the first bishop of Vermont, was the earliest and the most impassioned advocate for these national parishes (Louis de Goësbriand, Les Canadiens des Etats-Unis [Burlington, Vt., 1889]); see also Emile Chartier, "Les Canadiens-Français et les évêques de Boston," Bulletin de recherches historiques 39 (janvier 1933): 11-14. In the early 1900's, confronted

by a virulent and heightening manifestation of nativism in the United States, the Vatican reversed its espousal of the "national parish" pluralism and gave the Irish clergy a monopoly of the national episcopate along with a free rein to assimilate ethnic Catholics. Some groups like the Poles of the National Polish Church chose schism rather than submission to the Tammany Hall tactics of the Irish clergy. For the Québéco-Americans, the protracted confrontation with the episcopate led to the ignoble Sentinelle Affair of the late 1920's (Richard Sorrell, The "Sentinelle" Affair [1924-29] and Militant "Survivance" [Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1976]; and André Senécal, "La thèse messianique et les franco-américains," Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française 34 [mars 1981]: 557-67). The francophone Catholics submitted to the diktats of Rome and paradoxically, soon after the Sentinelle Affair, the Union Saint-Jean Baptiste, the fraternal order that had collaborated with the episcopate, chose Burlington as the site of its convention because of its "safe" location (L'Echo du Congrès [Burlington, Vt., 1929]). Despite its overwhelming majority of Québéco-Americans, the diocese had humbly accepted an Irish successor after the death of Bishop Michaud in 1910. The failure of the ultramontane elite to forge an effective political constituency, to foster their cultural values and to ensure the survival of the French language testifies to their isolation from their proletarian flock.

Virtually nothing has been written about the typical Québéco-American, the silent majority, the thousands who toiled in woolen mills, in the railroad yards of St. Albans or Newport, in the quarries of Barre or Proctor, who farmed in the Champlain Valley. Yet, it is they who have made a significant and lasting contribution to the Vermont character and have played a major role in its socioeconomic evolution. For a sound but brief overview of the Québéco-American's contributions to New England, see Robert Perreault, "One Piece in the Great American Mosaic," Le Canado-Américain, special no., 2 (avril-juin 1976; reprint ed., Lakeport, N.H.: André Paquette Associates, 1976); Mason Wade, "French and French-Canadians in the U.S.," New Catholic Encyclopedia 6 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967): 143-48; Iris Saunders Podea, "From Québec to Little Canada: The Coming of the French-Canadians to New England in the Nineteenth Century," New England Quarterly 23 (September 1950):365-80; reprinted in The Aliens: A History of Ethnic Minorities in America, ed. Leonard Dinnerstein and Frederic Cople Jaher (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1970), pp. 205-16. Most unfortunately, Allen Foley's excellent dissertation, "From French-Canadian to Franco-American: A Study of Immigration of the French Canadians into New England, 1650-1935" (Harvard University, 1939), has never been published. For a cursory photographic documentation of the Québécois immigrations to New England, see no. 46 of the Québec photography magazine, Le Magazine Ovo, which is

devoted to the topic.

In terms of sociological studies on the Québéco-Americans, Vermont is more fortunate than other New England states. In the mid-1930's, Elin Anderson chose Burlington to conduct an in-depth study on cultural pluralism. In We Americans: A Study of Cleavage in an American City (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938; reprint ed., New York: Russell and Russell, 1964), Anderson provided precious information on the sociological and cultural characteristics of the Québéco-Vermonters and their interaction with other ethnic groups of the Queen City. For a very superficial follow-up to Anderson's work, see Clark Johnson, "Burlington Since the 1930's: Change and Continuity in Vermont's Largest City," Vermont History 37 (Winter 1969): 52-62. For some excellent articles on the basic institutions, the social stratification and the work ethic of the traditional Québécois (and his Québéco-American descendants), see Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin, eds., French-Canadian Society, I, The Carleton Library, no. 18 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964); also, Lawrence French, "The Franco-American Working Class Family," in Ethnic Families in America: Patterns and Variations, ed. Charles Mondel and Robert Haberstein (New York: Elsevier, 1976), pp. 323-46; Léon-F. Bouvier, "La stratification sociale du groupe ethnique canadien-français aux Etats-Unis," Recherches sociographiques 5 (septembre-décembre 1964): 371-79; and Peter Woolfson, "The Franco-Americans of Northern Vermont: Cultural Factors for Consideration by Health and Social Services Providers," Center for Research on Vermont Occasional Paper, no. 6 (Burlington: University of Vermont, 1983). For a description of the rural life that many of the immigrants left behind, see the classic anthropological study of Horace Miner, St. Denis, A French-Canadian Parish (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939). For a very accurate novelistic treatment of the same topic, see Ringuet [pseud.], Thirty Acres, trans. Felix and Dorothea Walter, New Canadian Library, no. 12 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1960). For a good introduction to the urban conditions of Québec at the time that most Québéco-Americans emigrated, see Terry Copp, Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montréal, 1897-1929 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974). For an incisive recreation of the debasing conditions of the textile mills and the human misery they created and exploited, see Tamara Hareven and Randolph Langenbach, Amoskeag: Life and Work in an American Factory-City (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); also, Alexander MacDonald, A Study of Company Towns in the Cotton Textile Regions of the United States (Providence: Brown University Library, 1953). In Canuck (Lewiston, Maine: Editions du Messager, 1936; reprint ed., Manchester, N.H.: National Materials Development Center, 1980), Camille Lessard has left a vivid portrayal in French of the day-to-day life and the world views of the Québéco-Americans. Gérard Robichaud in Papa Martel (Garden City: Doubleday, 1961) has recreated similar milieux for the English reader.

On the subject of the political role of the Québéco-Vermonter, the available documentation is woefully inadequate. Québéco-Vermonters have played a major role in Vermont politics, for example, as a mainstay of the Democratic minority party from the 1930's to the 1950's; yet, even in broad syntheses such as Frank Bryan's Yankee Politics in Vermont (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1974), we find but a few laconic asides on the subject. The article by David Walker, "The Presidential Politics of Franco-Americans," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 18 (August 1962): 353-63, gives a cursory introduction to that topic. See also Norman Sepunuk, "A Profile of Franco-American Political Attitudes in New England," Franco-American Overview, ed. Madeleine Giguere, vol. 2 (Bedford, N.H.: National Materials Development Center, 1980). On the topic of the political tradition of the Québécois, see Jean and Marcel Hamelin, Les moeurs électorales dans le Québec de 1791 à nos jours (Montréal: Editions du Jour, 1962); Nadia Eid, Le clergé et le pouvoir politique au Québec (Montréal: Hurtubise HMH, 1978); and Vicent Lemieux, Parenté et politique: L'Organisation sociale dans l'Ile d'Orléans (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1971). For an explanation of the Québéco-Vermonter's traditional distrust of labor organizations and related topics, see Fernand Harvey, Révolution industrielle et travailleurs: une enquête sur les rapports entre le capital et le travail au Québec à la fin du 19e siècle (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1978); Jean Hamelin, ed., Les travailleurs québécois, 1851-1896, 2d ed. (Montréal: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1975); Jean Hamelin and Fernand Harvey, eds., Les travailleurs québécois (1941-1971), (Québec: Institut supérieur des sciences humaines, Université Laval, 1976); and Fernand Harvey et al., Le mouvement ouvrier au Québec (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1980).

Likewise, the rich cultural heritage of the Québéco-Vermonter has been ignored. On the question of language, oral literature, popular religion, music, folk art, with few exceptions one has to consult works published in Québec to gain insight into some facets of the Québéco-Vermonter's profile. On the topic of customs and oral traditions, see Soeur Marie-Ursule, La civilisation traditionelle des Lavallois (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1951); Carmen Roy, Littérature orale en Gaspésie, 2d. ed. rev. and augm. (Montréal: Leméac, 1981); Hector Grenon, Us et coutumes du Québec (Montréal: La Presse, 1974); Pierre Desruisseaux, Croyances et pratiques populaires au Canada français (Montréal: Editions du Jour, 1973); Jean Simard, Un patrimoine méprisé: La religion populaire des Québécois (Montréal: Hurtubise HMH, 1979); and Dorilla Brule, Le folklore français à Central Falls (master's thesis, Boston College, 1951). For an iconography of this traditional life, see Nicole Guibault, Henri Julien et la tradition orale (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1980); and Bernard Genest, Massicote et son temps (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1979). In 1975, Doris Sage

collected a sampling of the songs, sayings, and home remedies of Québéco-Vermonters, Entr'aidez-vous/Stick Together (Barre, Vt.: Northlight Studio, 1975). It is the only work of its kind.

On the folk art of Québec, consult John Russell Harper, A People's Art: Primitive, Naive, Provincial and Folk Painting in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974); Michel Lessard and Huguette Marquis, L'art traditionel au Québec (Montréal: De L'Homme, 1975); Cyril Simard, Artisanat québécois, 2 vols. (Montréal: De L'Homme, 1976); and Louise de Grosbois, Raymonde Lamothe, and Lise Nantel, Les patenteux du Québec (Montréal: Parti pris, 1978). On the question of domestic architecture and spatial aesthetics, see Georges Gauthier-Larouche, Evolution de la maison rurale traditionelle dans la région de Québec (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1974); and Melvin Charney and Marcel Belanger, Architecture et urbanisme au Québec, Conférences J. A. de Sève, nos. 13-14 (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1971).

For an introduction to Québec folk music, consult Helmut Kallmann, Gilles Potvin, and Kenneth Winters, Encyclopedia of Music in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981). For a sample from the rich corpus of chansons, see Pierre Daignault, A la québécoise: 100 des meilleures chansons de notre folklore (Montréal: La Presse, 1973); Gabrielle Morency-Létourneau, Au jardin de mon père: 80 chansons du folklore français d'Amérique (Montréal: Brault et Bouthillier, 1977); and Charles-Emile Gadbois, La bonne chanson, 10 vols. (Saint-Hyacinthe: Séminaire de Saint-Hyacinthe, 1938-1951). See also Centre de documentation Marius Barbeau, J'ai tant dansé, J'ai tant gigué: répertoire de gigues québécoises (Montréal: Editions les Sortilèges, 1981).

Little has been written on the subject of Québec's oral literature. See Jean Du Berger, Introduction à la littérature orale: Documentation (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1971); and Jean-Claude Dupont, Le légendaire de la Beauce (Québec: Garneau, 1978). For a sample of the corpus, see Jean-Claude Dupont, Contes de bûcherons, 2d. ed. rev. and corr. (Montréal: Quinze, 1980); and Germain Lemieux, Les vieux m'ont conté, 15 vols. (Montréal: Editions Bellarmin, 1976-).

The French spoken by the Québéco-American population of Vermont is a transitory phenomenon. The assimilation rate in this state has been vertiginous. Within twenty-five years, the francophone population of the Green Mountains will have disappeared with the exception of a narrow belt contiguous with the international border where immigration continues. The French spoken in Vermont now or in the past cannot be reduced to a single dialect. It

varies a great deal according to the place of origin of the speaker (or his ancestors) in Québec and the degree of anglicization. See Albert Valdman, "Créolisation, français populaire et le parler des isolats francophones d'Amérique du Nord," in Le Français hors de France, ed. Albert Valdman (Paris: Champion, 1979). The French now spoken in Vermont is akin to the vernacular of the Montréal region and the Eastern Townships where most of the speakers or their parents came from. See André Dugas and Judith MacNulty, eds., "Le Français de la région de Montréal," Les Cahiers de linguistique de l'Université du Québec, special no., 4 (1974). Pierre Léon's work, Recherches sur la structure phonétique du français canadien (Montréal: Didier, 1968), contains studies conducted on the French language in the anglophone environment of Ontario. There exists only one scientific study on the French spoken in Vermont; see the master's thesis of Fleurette Beauregard, "Le parler franco-américain à la frontière nord du Vermont, Etats-Unis: étude phonétique expérimentale descriptive" (Université de Montréal, 1968).

Some of Vermont's literati have transcribed the corrupted English of the Québéco-Vermonter. In "Le loup garous [sic]," in Danvis Folks and A Hero of Ticonderoga (Rutland: The Tuttle Co., 1934), and "Antoine's Redoubtable Victory," in Sam Lovel's Camp and Other Stories (Rutland: The Tuttle Co., 1934), Rowland Robinson produced whimsical and pathetic caricatures that exploited established stereotypes of the primitive, childlike, cheery habitant. For an even more condescending point of view, see Ermina Clark, "Slippin' Down Ol' Lac Champlain," The Vermonter 31 (1926): 4-6. For a melodramatic portrait inspired by William Drummond's Habitant poems, see Merle Whitcomb, "Daddy Mitch," The Vermonter 16 (1911): 50-52. For less sensitive depictions from "True Vermonter" supremacists, see John Edmond Melville, Letters of Napoleon Gomo, 2 vols. (St. Albans: St. Albans Messenger, 1909); and Seth Towle, Accordin' to Batiste: A Cheery Book of French-Yankee Verse (Burlington, Vt.: Lane Press, 1940). Both authors, blind to their bigotry, protest that they have no intention of holding their neighbors to ridicule. The anglophone intellectual elite of Victorian Montréal was more candid, matching a public reading of Drummond's Habitant poems with a talk on the superstitions of the Negro race.[2] These exalted racist expressions subsided after World War II. However, even Miriam Chapin's "The French Vermonter," Vermont Life 12 (1958): 21-26, continues to distort the portrait of the Québéco-Vermonter by depicting him as a relic of old France.

If for no other reason than to reclaim the cultural heritage of a sizeable segment of its population and to capitalize fully on vital economic and cultural links, Vermont must acquire in earnest a better understanding of its northern neighbors. The University of Vermont (UVM) has taken the lead in Québec studies. After the State

University of New York at Plattsburgh, UVM's Canadian Studies Program offers more courses on Québec than any other university in the U. S. Scientists from the UVM Dairy Science Department have personal contacts with agronomists from Laval University in Québec City. Dr. Mariafranca Morselli, director of the Maple Research Laboratory at UVM, edits a research newsletter in cooperation with colleagues at the Université du Québec à Montréal. We need more of these initiatives.

In the future, Vermont will become more dependent on francophone Québec. There must be in our relationship with the Québécois less myth and prejudice, more history and geography. Vermont has a unique opportunity to show New England and the rest of the country how Americans must continue to adapt in order to survive. By developing our bilingual resources and by engaging the Québécois as equal partners, Vermonters can give a new meaning to the original Indian name of Lake Champlain: Canaderi-guaranti--"The Gate of the Country."

NOTES

1. In the absence of valid scientific research, we can only guess at the proportion of Vermont's population whose ethnic origins are québécoises. If we note that in some Canadian provinces, where they are in a more advantageous position, French Canadians assimilate at a rate of 75%, it is not overly optimistic to assume that from one-fifth to one-fourth of Vermont's population is of Québec ancestry.

2. At its meeting of January 16, 1896, the Folklore Club of Montréal presented a reading by Drummond of his poems and a talk by a Dr. Johnson on the superstitions of the Negro race. See Gerald Noonan, "Drummond: The Legend and the Legacy," Canadian Literature 90 (Autumn 1981): 180-81.

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Data Collection: Individual Rights to Privacy Versus Public Program Needs, edited by D. Gregory Sanford, Mary B. Deming, and Frederick E. Schmidt, 55 pp., 1977. Summarizes addresses and remarks delivered at a November 6, 1976 conference sponsored by the Center and funded in part by a grant from the Vermont Council on the Humanities and Public Issues, and the UVM College of Arts and Sciences.

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