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Madeleine Giguère
University of Southern Maine

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The Franco-Americans: Continuities and Variations

Madeleine Giguère
University of Southern Maine

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INTRODUCTION

Franco-Americans are Americans of French-Canadian or Acadian descent for whom this fact is salient with varying degrees of intensity. The term Franco-American comes into use in the latter part of the nineteenth century.¹ The Franco of Franco-American is not an adjective but a combination form indicating equal weight for the French and American elements. The turn of the century immigrant generation would be French and American. They would be American workers, residents and citizens but they would be French in language, religion (Catholic) and customs. The idea was not unique. In Canada at approximately the same time, Henri Bourassa the great nationalist leader said to the French-Canadians "We ought to be French as the Americans are English. We ought to preserve and foster the instincts, traditions and manner of thinking that our origin has bequeathed us; but we ought to centre our political loyalty and our national hopes on the land of Canada."² Also it is to be remembered that Italians were calling themselves Italo-Americans in the first quarter of this century. Typically, Franco-Americans live in New England, although traditionally they have been found also in northern New York, Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, and today we find substantial numbers in Florida and California. In addition, the French population of Louisiana and Texas is sometimes called Franco-American. This analysis restricts itself to the Franco-Americans of New England.

The primary source of data for this paper is the 1970 U.S. Census of Population which asked a sample of the total population "What language was spoken in this person's home when he was a child." Notice that it does not ask whether the person learned to speak the language or can speak it but merely what was spoken in the home as the respondent was growing up. It is a language background question and whatever its defects as an indicator of language ability, in 1970, I believe that it is still a good delineator of the size and distribution of the Franco-American group in which ancestral language maintenance had been high until well into the second quarter of this century. Since the French mother tongue categories include the first language assimilated generations as well as all the French-speaking, it reflected the social reality that many language assimilated persons were still structurally part of the Franco-American community. The French mother tongue grouping delineated is smaller than the French-Canadian and Acadian descent grouping would be, but larger than the French-speaking population. It may be smaller than the population for whom French descent is salient. Like many social science indications, the French mother tongue (FMT) category may be a distorted mirror of the reality we want to study, but is currently the best mirror we have. Comparisons of mother tongue populations in this paper are between FMT and English Mother Tongue (EMT).

The Public Use Samples of Basic Records From the 1970 Census on tape³ which made it possible to create tables not found in the census itself. With the use of the SPSS subprogram Crosstabs,⁴ I created social and economic profiles for the FMT population of each of the New England states and Louisiana.

In the remainder of this paper I will draw upon this census data to answer three questions:

1. What can this census data tell us of the contemporary situation of Franco-Americans? Are there differences from state to state?
2. How similar or dissimilar are the FMT to the English Mother Tongue population?
3. What are some policy implications?

I. DESCRIPTION

POPULATION SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION

In 1970 there are slightly more than 900,000 French Mother Tongue persons in New England (see Table 1). These 900,000 represent over a third of all the FMT persons in the United States. The FMT population increased by 28 percent between 1940 and 1970 (somewhat less than the increase of 42 percent in the population of New England as a whole). Of these 900,000 FMT persons in New England in 1970, 367,000 are in Massachusetts, 142,000 in Connecticut, 141,000 in Maine, 113,000 in New Hampshire, 101,000 in Rhode Island and 42,000 in Vermont. To put it another way, 41 percent of the New England French are in Massachusetts, 16 percent each in Connecticut and Maine, 12 percent in New Hampshire, 11 percent in Rhode Island and 5 percent in Vermont (see Table 2).

PROPORTION FRENCH

Approximately 8 percent of the New England population is FMT in both 1940 and 1970 (see Table 3). In 1970, New Hampshire, Maine, and Rhode Island have more than 10 percent of their populations of FMT, Vermont nearly 10 percent, and Massachusetts and Connecticut less than 7 percent.

MOTHER TONGUE RANK

French is the largest non-English mother tongue grouping in New England followed by Italian, Polish, German, Yiddish, and Spanish (see Table 4). French is the largest grouping in Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts. In Connecticut there are more Italian MT than FMT.

RURAL-URBAN

For New England nearly 80 percent of the FMT is urban in 1970, nearly 19 percent in rural non-farm and less than 2 percent live on farms (see Table 5). Nearly 12 percent of the Vermont French live on farms, whereas 2 percent of the FMT live on farms in Connecticut, Maine and New Hampshire and an even smaller percentage in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Originally drawn to New England factory towns to work the FMT are an urban population except in Vermont. Yet more than a fifth of the FMT population lives in rural non-farm areas in Maine, New Hampshire and Connecticut. Less than a seventh are in RNF areas in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. It is to be noted that the FMT in New England are today metropolitan dwellers, 64 percent of them live in NE metropolitan centers, 60 percent in the areas listed in Table 6.

If the Franco-Americans are not found in great proportion in Boston, the largest metropolitan area of New England, they are in largest part residents of other metropolitan areas of New England. The Providence-Pawtucket-Warwick area contains almost one-eighth of the FMT population of New England, nearly twice as many as the next largest FMT area of Springfield-Chicopee-Holyoke. Among metropolitan areas, the Lewiston-Auburn area has the greatest proportion of FMT, 45 percent, followed by Manchester with 30 percent. (It will be remembered that the highest FMT percentage are to be found in the St. John Valley where its 18,000 persons make up 90 percent of the Valley's population).

NATIVITY

In 1970 the FMT population was largely United States born: Maine, 87 percent; New Hampshire, 86 percent; Vermont, 82 percent; Massachusetts, 85 percent; Connecticut, 82 percent; and Rhode Island, 90 percent.

AGE DISTRIBUTION

The most salient fact about the age distribution of the FMT population is the small percentage of the population under fifteen varying from 12 percent to 17 percent (see Table 7). Of the total New England population 27 percent are under fourteen in 1970. On the other hand, the proportion of age 25-64 is substantially higher among FMT than among the EMT in all of New England. Also the French have a greater proportion aged 65 and over than do the English Mother Tongue grouping. The French Mother Tongue are an

aging population, more so in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, least in Maine and New Hampshire. For populations in which persons enter only by natality and leave only by mortality, the major determinant of the age distribution is fertility. Part of the explanation for the age distribution of the French is not that they live longer but that they are having fewer children than they used to have. Declines in fertility patterns are undoubtedly a factor in the unusually small proportion of the FMT population under fifteen, however the major reason for the small proportion under fifteen is the decline in the transmission of the language.

In order to be enumerated as a FMT person one has to have heard the language as a child. Thus parents who may have heard the language as child and thus are FMT but who do not speak it at home will have children who are not FMT and thus not in the FMT population. However, following the precedent set in the tabulation of the Spanish, one can create a French language grouping by counting all the children in the households where one of the parents is FMT as French. In Maine, this procedure raised the French fraction of the state's population from 14 percent to 22 percent. To put it another way, the French language in Maine was not transmitted to one-third of the potential pool in the years preceeding 1970. It is probable that the level of non-transmission of the French language is equally high if not higher in the other New England states. This non-transmission of language is probably the major cause of the small proportion of the FMT which is under age 25.

RACE

Only a small proportion of the French Mother Tongue population declared itself non-white in 1970, ranging from 4/10 of 1 percent in Connecticut, and 3/10 of 1 percent in Massachusetts, to zero percent in Maine and Rhode Island.

RESIDENTIAL STABILITY

It is often said that Québécois are geographically mobile, moving residences more often than their neighbors. What do we find among Franco-Americans? In fact Franco's move less often than their neighbors (see Table 8). In every state except Rhode Island, the FMT are substantially more stable residentially than the EMT.

Only 12 to 19 percent of Franco's moved out of their counties, even the 19 percent is slightly less than the population of New England as a whole. As might be expected, in the period 1965-1970, the two southern-most states, Connecticut and Rhode Island, had the highest percentage of mobility for the FMT. In fact, when we look at the percent of the mother tongue population which crossed state lines in that period, we note that the percentages are highest for the French in Rhode Island and Vermont, but in every case the French are not interstate movers to the same extent as the EMT population. If history indicates that the first immigrant Canadian moved about a great deal, that no longer is the case among their descendants whom we find among the FMT population. Would that still be the case for the total French Canadian and Acadian descent population? It may be that in fact the French national origin grouping is as mobile as ever or at least as mobile as the general population. I would also hypothesize

that geographical mobility is associated with cultural mobility, in the form of the loss of language, conversely that residential stability is associated with language maintenance. The 1980 national origins data may permit us to test these hypotheses.

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

The leading countries of origin for the foreign stock population of French Mother Tongue are Canada and France which together account for over 70 percent of the FMT population of foreign stock (see Table 9). The West Indies account for another 3 percent.

What proportion of the total French Mother Tongue population is of Canadian origin? In 1970, nearly half of the foreign born FMT population is of Canadian origin (see Table 10). As to the FMT population of foreign or mixed parentage, two-thirds are of Canadian origin. If we assume the same percentage point increase in Canadian origin between the second and later generations as exists between the first and second generation, then nearly all of the third and later generations are of Canadian stock. With this hypothesis, we estimate 76 percent of the French Mother Tongue population in the U.S. is of Canadian origin. If we assume the same distribution of French Mother Tongue stock in the later generations as in the second, then 65 percent of FMT population is of Canadian origin (see Table 10). With the proximity to Quebec and the Maritimes and the elaboration of institutions "canadien," the percentage of the FMT population which is of Canadian origin in New England is undoubtedly higher than for the nation as a whole. It is well to remember

whenever we use FMT data as an indicator for the Franco-American population that some significant percentage of that population is not of Canadian origin. This fact blurs the findings represented in this paper so that if one is interested in the French-Canadian origin population one should pay more attention to the direction of the differences than to the amount of difference reported.

CHILDREN EVER BORN

The Number of Children ever born to women of age 14 and over is one measure of fertility available to us (see Table 11). In New England, the highest fertility among the FMT is in Vermont. Seemingly only in this state is the fertility level high enough to replace the population, although the French fertility of Maine, Massachusetts and Connecticut approach replacement level. Yet there is still some continuity with the historical high fertility of the French-Canadian women in that in every state FMT fertility is higher than EMT fertility with greatest difference in Vermont and the least in Maine and New Hampshire.

EDUCATION

Using the highest grade attended as an indicator of the level of education,⁵ we find that Vermont has the highest percentage of French males and females with some education past high school (see Table 12). Rhode Island has the lowest percentage of FMT females and Maine the lowest percentage of FMT males with some post-secondary education. At the other end of the scale, Maine has one-half of its FMT population with an eighth grade education or less. Vermont and Massachusetts French have about 40 percent

of their males and females with a grade school education. Vermont has a lower percentage of its FMT than EMT males with eighth grade or less, in every other case the FMT have higher percentages having attended eight grades or less and lower percentages having attended post-secondary institutions.

It is to be noted that the French in New England have experienced emigration over the years, it may be that French persons with more education have left New England for better employment opportunities elsewhere. This being said, the existing data for New England indicates that in education as in fertility we find continuity among the Franco-Americans with the practices of their Quebec and Acadian ancestors. Although there was always an educated elite in Quebec, the educational level of the mass of the population was low. The type of semi-skilled factory work which attracted the French to New England did not and does not require great amounts of education. Furthermore, the common American perception that persons who cannot speak English or speak it hardly are stupid has tended to make the French feel less than comfortable in the public school system. Added to this was the existence of a Catholic school system which was often afraid of the secularism of the public schools and consequently would advise not going on in school in the absence of a Catholic high school or college. Thus the cultural heritage of Quebec, the employment opportunities in New England, the attitudes of the school systems serving the French, and the selective emigration of the French from New England serve to depress the educational attainment of the French in New England.

INDUSTRY

Only in Vermont do we find a substantial proportion of the French male labor force engaged in the traditional French-Canadian and Acadian farming, forestry, and fishing industries. There we find one in six males in primary industries (see Table 14). Over half of the males are in construction and manufacturing in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. Connecticut in fact, has almost 2/3 of its French males in these secondary industries (Vermont males have but a third of their labor force so engaged). Forty three to 45 percent of French males were engaged in tertiary industries in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Rhode Island while a somewhat greater proportion were so engaged in Vermont and a lesser proportion in Connecticut. Among females, a miniscule proportion of French women were in agriculture, but approximately 60 percent were in tertiary (other than agriculture and manufacturing) industries in Maine, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, nearly 3/4 in Vermont, 55 percent in New Hampshire but only 49 percent in Rhode Island (see Table 13). Over a third of the French female labor force is in the manufacturing industry in every state except Vermont with the percentages so engaged approaching 50 percent in Rhode Island and New Hampshire.

MAJOR OCCUPATIONS

The occupational profile of the FMT in 1970 is best summarized in their proportions in blue-collar occupations. Outside of Vermont, the percentage of males in blue-collar jobs is from 62 to 67 percent compared to 37 percent for the New England

labor force as a whole. For the females the variation among the FMT in percent blue collar is greater, from a third in Connecticut to nearly half in Rhode Island. Approximately the same variation exists inversely in their proportions in white collar occupations. What distinguishes the female from the male FMT is the greater proportion of women in semi-skilled occupations for every state except Vermont. The FMT males on the other hand have greater proportions in skilled occupations than the female FMT. In every state except Vermont, the FMT have substantially greater proportions in blue collar work than the EMT. These differences are accentuated among males for skilled work in Connecticut and Massachusetts and among females for semi-skilled work in Rhode Island and New Hampshire (see Table 14).

INCOME

Vermont, Maine, and Rhode Island have the higher proportion of French living in low income families, while Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts have the smaller proportion of low income persons (see Table 15). The range is from 8 percent in Connecticut to 17 percent in Vermont compared to 7 percent for New England as a whole. Only in New Hampshire do we find a lower percentage of FMT than EMT below poverty level. At the other end of the income level at an income level three times that of poverty level, we find 53 percent of the French in Connecticut and 25 percent to 41 percent of French in the other states in this high income bracket. In New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut and Rhode Island, we find a rough equality in proportion of French and English at this higher income level. In Massachusetts and Maine, the French have a slightly lower proportion of their

numbers in the higher income level. The personal income figures show essentially the same pattern, a compression of Franco-American incomes into the middle income levels as compared to the English who have a greater fraction at the upper end of the scale (see Table 16).

Thus we come to the end of the first section of this paper describing the population in terms of continuities with the original Canadian immigrants to New England and the variegation in the contemporary population of Franco New England. To summarize, the FMT population is 80 percent urban and 64 percent metropolitan; it is an aging population, almost 100 percent white, relatively stable in residence with less than one-fifth moving across county lines in a five year period; 85 percent native-born, not replacing itself over a generation except in Vermont. In addition, the FMT have 40 percent or more with a grade school education, over 10 percent with some post-secondary education; it is concentrated in blue collar work in construction and manufacturing and has substantial variations in income with the highest income earned in Connecticut.

II. COMPARISON WITH ENGLISH MOTHER TONGUE

The second largest question of this paper is "How similar or dissimilar are the FMT to the EMT in New England?" Table 18 summarizes the degree of association of the characteristics in question with English or French Mother Tongue as measured by G (gamma) or Cramer's V . Negligible levels of association (G or $V < .10$) indicate little difference in the level of the characteristics as between French and English mother tongue within a

given state. Thus, the FMT in Maine have low incomes compared to the French in Connecticut but in both states the French income pattern is very similar to the income pattern of the English mother tongue in their respective states. The French have entered the main stream with regard to those characteristics showing a negligible level of association (see Table 17),

We find negligible levels of association of income and language, whether personal income or family income in all six states. There is, however, a wide variation in the degree of association of value of property and MT--negligible in Maine and Vermont, low in New Hampshire and Rhode Island, and moderate in Massachusetts and Connecticut where the FMT do not own as much in property value as the EMT even though they receive approximately the same income as the EMT.

There is a negligible level of association of years of schooling and language in all states except Maine where there is a low association, the French having less education. There is also a low degree of association of language and finishing the highest grade attended in New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, i.e., the drop-out rate of the French in those states is higher than that of the English. We also find a low association in all states of language and type of school, i.e., the French mother tongue choose parochial schools more often than the EMT. Finally, there is a low association in every state of mother tongue and occupation and of mother tongue and type of industry.

A low degree of association (G or $V = .10-29.99$) of a characteristic and mother tongue indicates some meaningful differences between the FMT and the EMT, but to a limited degree. In this case, the French are well on their way to being mainstream Americans. On the other hand, a moderate degree of association of a characteristic and mother tongue ($G = 30.-39.99$) such as we have for age and value of property in some states indicates a substantial difference in the characteristic as between the French and English mother tongue.

The most significant differences between English and French mother tongue of the characteristics reviewed here is that of age. There is a moderate level of association of age and language in the three southern states and a low degree of association in the North. Age structure in any population is largely the product of fertility supplemented by migration and differential mortality, in this case since we are using a cultural indicator for the ethnic group, rates of cultural assimilation also affect the data. This latter factor may be the most important explanatory factor in the aging of the French mother tongue population. Our measure of fertility, the number of children ever born indicates a higher fertility among the FMT which would mean a young population than the EMT if it were not counteracted by differential assimilation and other factors. In migration, usually young adults initially tends to make a population younger than it would otherwise be, but without continuous migration this same migration tends to make the population older as it grows,

As far as mortality is concerned there is no direct data on the FMT. We know that in general, dominant groups have lower levels of mortality, consequently it seems unlikely that lower mortality is the explanation for the advanced age of the FMT populations. And so we are left with mobility explanations of the comparative age structure of the MT population, geographical mobility and most important, cultural or language mobility.

To summarize the comparisons with the EMT, Franco-Americans earn about the same as other Americans, however, they may not own as valuable property as their contemporaries especially in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Differences with the EMT in education are in the process of vanishing, even though the French may drop out of school slightly more than their English contemporaries. The French are slightly more likely to attend parochial schools than the English mother tongue. There is still some low degree of specialization in manufacturing and construction industries and in blue collar occupations among the French.

III. SOME POLICY IMPLICATIONS

With regard to the future of the Franco-Americans the most significant data presented here is the data on the aging of the French Mother Tongue population. The young of French-Canadian and Acadian extraction are on the whole not French speaking nor have a substantial proportion of them heard French in their homes as children. Today, to effectively nourish a Franco-American consciousness, it must be done in English. The CAN/FRAM Program and materials have properly reflected this necessity.

The long form of the 1980 census asked whether a language other than English was spoken in the home and if so, what the language was. The data from this question thirteen should become available in 1982. It will provide documentation on the language use of Franco-Americans. That data will be of interest to many in leadership positions of Franco-American organizations.

Of even greater interest from the 1980 census will be the data from question fourteen of the long form, "What is this person's ancestry?" This question is really one of ethnic identity and will give an indication of the number of persons who are conscious of being of French ancestry. The 1980 micro-data can be programmed to compare the social and economic characteristics of the French speaking grouping with those of the French ancestry grouping. Then we shall have as much information about the French ethnic grouping in the United States and the French speaking as was presented in this paper for the French Mother Tongue grouping. Qualitatively, this new data should provide a much more effective base for organizational and program development than did the French Mother Tongue data presented here.

FOOTNOTES

1. My maternal grandfather, Arsène Cailler, was president of a local Association Catholique Franco-Américaine in 1899, Album historique, S. Pierre-S. Paul de Lewiston (Maine) (Lewiston: Les Pères Dominicains, 1899) p. 98.
2. Henri Bourassa, "Le Patriotisme canadien-français, ce qu'il est, ce qu'il doit être" La Cie de Publication de la Revue Canadienne, 1902. Translated in French-Canadian Nationalism, ed. Ramsay Clark (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1969). p.123.
3. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Samples of Basic Records From the 1970 Census, Files 101, 102 (Washington, D. C.: 1972)
4. Norman H. Nie, C. Hadlai Hull, Dale H. Bent, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (New York: McGraw Hill, 1970).
5. It is to be noted that these educational attainment figures are for the total population rather than for the population age twenty-five and over.

TABULAR SUMMARY

CONTINUITIES WITH FIRST GENERATION OF FRENCH-CANADIANS IN NEW ENGLAND

Residence---Urban

Occupation--Blue Collar

Industry--Manufacturing and Construction

Religion--Catholic

VARIATION OF CONTEMPORARY FRENCH MOTHER TONGUE POPULATIONS OF NEW ENGLAND

MAINE	141,000	16% of FMT of New England	Youngest Lowest Income Lowest educational level Slowest growth 1940-1970
NEW HAMPSHIRE	112,000	12% of FMT of New England	Highest proportion of state population
VERMONT	42,000	5% of FMT of New England	Most rural Most agricultural Highest educational level Highest fertility
MASSACHUSETTS	367,000	41% of FMT of New England	Oldest
RHODE ISLAND	101,000	11% of FMT of New England	Lowest fertility Most urban Highest proportion of women in semi-skilled occupations
CONNECTICUT	142,118	16% of FMT of New England	Highest income Highest proportion of males, blue collar Highest proportion of females, white collar Highest proportion in manufacturing and construction Lowest proportion of state population Highest growth 1940-1970
NEW ENGLAND	906,000	8% of total New England population	Eighty-four percent urban Sixty-four percent metropolitan

TABLE 1.

French Mother Tongue: New England, 1940 and 1970

	Me.	N.H.	Vt.	Mass.	Conn.	R.I.	N.E.
1940	138,260	100,580	38,580	281,960	59,900	85,250	704,540
1970	141,489	112,559	42,193	367,194	142,118	101,270	906,837
Increase (number)	3,229	11,979	3,613	85,234	82,218	16,020	208,283
Increase (percent)	2	12	9	30	137	19	28

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1940 Census of Population Nativity and Parentage of the White Population, 1970 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, New England States. Increase calculated at University of Southern Maine.

TABLE 2.

French Mother Tongue By State:
New England, 1970

	Number	Percent
Maine	141,600	16
New Hampshire	112,000	12
Vermont	42,000	5
Massachusetts	367,000	41
Rhode Island	101,000	11
Connecticut	142,000	16
Total	907,000	101

SOURCE: Percentages calculated from 1970 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, New England States, at the University of Southern Maine.

TABLE 3.

Proportion of French Mother Tongue:
New England, 1940 and 1970

	Me.	N.H.	Vt.	Mass.	Conn.	R.I.	N.E.
1940 total pop.	845,720	491,000	359,480	4,264,580	1,677,480	703,020	8,341,880
Number French MT	138,260	100,580	38,580	281,960	59,900	85,260	704,540
Percent French	16.4	20.5	10.7	6.6	3.6	12.1	8.4
1970 total pop.	993,663	737,681	449,330	5,688,903	3,031,705	9,488,844	11,845,126
Number French MT	141,489	112,559	42,193	367,194	142,118	101,270	906,837
Percent French	14.2	15.3	9.5	6.5	4.6	10.1	7.7

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1940 and 1970 Census of Population.
Proportions calculated at the University of Southern Maine.

TABLE 4.

Mother Tongue, New England, 1970

TOTAL POPULATION	PERCENT
	100.0 (n = 11,845,398)
English only	70.9
French	7.7
Italian	5.1
Polish	2.3
German	1.3
Yiddish	1.0
Spanish	1.0
All Other	6.0
Not Reported	4.6

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census computer generated profiles, New England Division.

TABLE 5.

French Mother Tongue
By Urban, Rural Non-Farm, and Farm Residence:
New England, 1970

	Me.	N.H.	Vt.	Mass.	Conn.	R.I.	Total
Urban	74	77	38	86	76	89	79
RNF	24	21	50	14	22	10	19
Farm	2	2	12	--	2	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	141,000	113,000	42,000	367,000	142,000	102,000	906,000

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population. Percentages calculated at University of Southern Maine.

TABLE 6.

French Mother Tongue of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas
With 10,000 or More FMT: New England, 1970

Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area	Rank Size	FMT Number	Rank Proportion	FMT Percent
Providence-Paw- tucket-Warwick	1	110,212	9	12
Boston	2	75,378	16	3
Springfield- Holyoke	3	57,533	10	11
Hartford	4	40,988	13	6
Lewiston-Auburn	5	33,110	1	46
Manchester	6	32,698	2	30
Worcester	7	31,565	11	9
Lowell	8	30,482	7	14
Fall River	9	25,699	5	17
Fitchberg-Leominster	10	19,859	4	20
New Bedford	11	19,316	8	13
Nashua	12	17,279	3	26
Waterbury	13	12,531	14	6
New Britain	14	11,863	12	8
New London-Norwich	15	11,294	15	5
Bristol	16	9,623	6	15

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of the Population.
Percentages and ranks calculated at the University of
Southern Maine.

TABLE 7.

Mother Tongue By Age: New England, 1970

	Me.		N.H.		Vt.		Mass.		Conn.		R.I.	
	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %
Under 15	17	32	16	35	13	35	13	34	14	35	12	36
15-24	15	17	15	18	15	19	11	19	12	19	13	21
25-64	55	40	55	38	59	36	59	38	64	39	58	36
65 and over	13	11	15	9	14	10	17	9	11	7	17	8
N	1319	7955	1186	5453	400	3665	1895	20339	1427	20388	944	6054

SOURCE: Tables created by M. Giguère, University of Southern Maine, from Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census.

TABLE 8.

 Mother Tongue By Stability of Residence, 1965-1970:
 New England States
 (percent)

Characteristic	Me.		N.H.		Vt.		Mass.		R.I.		Conn.	
	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	En %
Same house	65	58	63	52	61	55	61	58	57	57	57	57
Diff. house-same county	24	25	22	20	24	22	25	22	24	23	24	23
Stable Residence (1&2)	88	82	85	73	85	77	86	80	81	80	81	80

Rounding may create some variations from the simple addition of lines 1&2.

SOURCE: Table created by M. Giguère, University of Southern Maine, from Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census.

TABLE 9.

Foreign Stock French Mother Tongue By Country of Origin:
 United States, 1970

Origin	Native of Foreign or Mixed Parentage (1)	Foreign Born (2)	Foreign Stock (1) + (2)
All countries	727,698	410,580	1,138,278
Canada	495,847	200,012	695,859
France	96,247	85,313	181,560
West Indies	8,538	31,038	39,576
United Kingdom	11,407	6,290	17,697
Germany	8,868	6,394	15,262
Italy	9,608	3,269	12,877

SOURCE: 1970 Census of Population, National Origin and Language.

TABLE 10

French Mother Tongue By Parentage and Canadian Origin:
U.S., 1970

	Foreign Born (000)	Foreign or Mixed Parentage (000)	Native of Native Parentage (000)	Total FMT (000)
Total	410	725	1,460	2,598
Canadian Origin	200	496	n.a.	n.a.
Percent of FMT	(49%)	(68%)		
Can. Origin (esti- mated % of FMT)			1,270 ¹ (87%)	1,966 ¹ (76%)
			993 ² (68%)	1,689 ² (65%)

1 Hyp A -- Same percentage increase of Canadian origin between second and later generations as between the first and second generations.

2 Hyp B -- Same percentage Canadian stock in third and later generations as second generation.

SOURCE: 1970 Census of Population, National Origin and Language, and M. Giguère, University of Southern Maine.

TABLE 11.

Median Number of Children Ever Born,
French and English Mother Tongue:
New England States, 1970

State	French	English
Me.	2.044	1.703
N.H.	1.880	1.492
Vt.	2.939	1.583
Mass.	2.050	1.170
Conn.	2.080	1.184
R.I.	1.813	1.017

SOURCE: Table created by M. Giguère, University of Southern Maine, from 1970 Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census.

TABLE 12.

Mother Tongue By Highest Grade Attended,
By Sex of Total Population
New England States, 1970

Grade	Male (percent)											
	Me.		N.H.		Vt.		Mass.		Conn.		R.I.	
	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %
8th grade or less	49	41	47	41	40	43	40	38	46	40	48	40
9th-12th grades	40	42	42	39	44	39	45	40	39	36	41	40
More than 12th	11	16	11	20	16	18	15	23	15	24	11	20
(N)	608	3622	532	2498	204	1659	881	9205	674	9265	429	276

Grade	Female (percent)											
	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %
8th grade or less	51	34	45	35	38	36	40	34	41	36	46	38
9th-12th grades	41	50	48	46	50	43	49	46	49	44	47	46
More than 12th	9	17	8	18	13	20	11	20	11	21	7	16
(N)	680	3903	625	2619	184	1779	976	10010	727	9956	497	291

SOURCE: Table created by M. Giguère, University of Southern Maine, from Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census.

TABLE 13.

Mother Tongue By Industry and Sex:
New England States, 1970

Industry	Me.		N.H.		Vt.		Mass.		Conn.		R.I.	
	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %
Male												
Agriculture Forestry, Fishing, Mining	4	10	3	4	16	10	2	2	1	3	2	2
Construc- tion & Manuf.	54	41	53	37	35	39	55	37	64	44	54	39
Other	43	50	45	59	49	50	44	61	35	54	45	59
(N)	455	2227	404	1556	167	1056	707	5626	557	5538	333	1449
Female												
Agriculture Forestry, Fishing, Mining	2	3	--	1	--	2	--	1	1.0	1.0	--	--
Construc- tion & Manf.	36	26	45	28	23	16	39	20	40	23	51	29
Other	62	71	55	71	76	82	60	80	60	76	49	71
(N)	412	1947	399	1335	118	878	585	5041	441	4873	294	1406

SOURCE: Table created by M. Giguère, University of Southern Maine, from Public Use Samples of Basic Records From the 1970 Census.

TABLE 14.

Mother Tongue By Occupation and Sex:
New England States, 1970

Occupation Group	Me.		N.H.		Vt.		Mass.		Conn.		R.I.	
	Male											
	Fr.	Eng.	Fr.	Eng.	Fr.	Eng.	Fr.	Eng.	Fr.	Eng.	Fr.	Eng.
WHITE COLLAR ¹	25	32	27	37	30	36	26	44	26	47	26	42
Clerical & Sales	11	11	11	12	12	12	10	18	11	16	11	16
BLUE COLLAR ²	62	54	63	56	44	46	64	43	67	43	64	45
Skilled	29	20	27	23	16	22	30	18	35	21	27	19
SERVICE WORKERS ³	10	8	10	10	14	10	9	12	7	9	10	12
FARM WORKERS ⁴	3	6	1	2	13	9	1	1	--	1	--	1
(N)	(455)	(2230)	(404)	(1557)	(167)	(1223)	(708)	(5635)	(558)	(5546)	(333)	(1454)
	Female											
WHITE COLLAR ¹	40	48	36	55	48	56	43	67	49	69	38	67
Clerical & Sales	30	32	27	38	37	37	31	48	37	47	29	42
BLUE COLLAR ²	35	26	42	22	20	15	38	15	33	15	49	24
Semi-skilled	30	22	39	20	18	12	34	13	30	13	45	20
SERVICE WORKERS ³	24	23	23	20	31	27	19	18	16	15	13	17
FARM WORKERS ⁴	2	3	--	0.7	--	1	--	--	--	1	--	--
(N)	(415)	(1950)	(399)	(1342)	(118)	(882)	(586)	(5056)	(444)	(4887)	(294)	(1410)

1 Professional, technical, managers, administrators, sales, clerical, etc.

2 Craftsmen and foremen, operatives, non-farm laborers

3 Service including private household workers

4 Farmers and farm managers, and farm laborers

SOURCE: Table created by M. Giguère, University of Southern Maine from Public Use Samples of Basic Records From the 1970 Census.

TABLE 15.

French Mother Tongue By Ratio of Family
Income to Poverty Level:
New England States, 1970

Income	Me.	N.H.	Vt.	Mass.	Conn.	R.I.
POVERTY ¹	14	9	17	9	8	14
LOW ²	29	26	25	25	14	20
MODERATE ³	32	29	27	25	26	29
HIGHER ⁴	25	37	31	41	53	37
(N)	1288	1162	389	1843	1408	931

- 1 Under 100 percent of poverty level
 2 100-199 percent of poverty level
 3 200-299 percent of poverty level
 4 300 percent or more of poverty level

SOURCE: Table created by M. Giguère, University of Southern Maine, from Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census.

TABLE 16.

Mother Tongue By Personal Income For Males,
New England States, 1970
(percent)

Income (dollars)	Me.		N.H.		Vt.		Mass.		Conn.		R.I.	
	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %	Fr. %	Eng. %
\$1-999 or less	9	13	6	9	13	12	5	11	5	10	7	11
1,000- 2,999	18	20	19	17	18	19	16	16	11	13	16	19
3,000- 4,999	17	15	10	12	16	12	12	11	10	9	14	12
5,000- 6,999	20	20	20	18	17	19	17	13	13	11	22	16
7,000- 9,999	24	20	28	23	20	20	28	22	31	12	26	21
10,000- and over	10	12	17	21	16	18	21	27	31	35	16	21
(N)	485	2392	427	1614	172	1083	749	5842	571	5731	362	1702

SOURCE: Table created by M. Giguère, University of Southern Maine, from Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census.

TABLE 17.

Degree of Association of Selected Characteristics
With French and English Mother Tongue:
New England States, 1970

Characteristic	Measure	Me.	N.H.	Vt.	Mass.	Conn.	R.I.
FERTILITY							
Children Ever Born	G	N	L	M	L	L	L
AGE	G	L	L	L	M	M	M
EDUCATION							
Years School	G	L	N	N	N	N	N
Finished Grade	V	L	L	L	L	L	L
Type School	V	L	L	L	L	L	L
WORK							
Industry	V	L	L	L	L	L	L
Occupation	V	L	L	L	L	L	L
ECONOMIC							
Family Income	G	N	N	N	N	N	---
Personal Income	G	N	N	N	N	N	N
Value of Property	G	N	L	N	M	M	L

N = Negligible less than .10

L = Low .10 to under .30

M = Moderate .30 to under .40

all sig at .10 or lower

SOURCE: M. Giguère, University of Southern Maine, from Public Use Samples of Basic Records from 1970 Census of Population.