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STANDARD LANGUAGE HEGEMONY IN FRENCH LANGUAGE TEACHING IN THE UNITED STATES

Abstract:

In the United States, the French of *l'académie française* and the culture of France (referred to as Standard French in this paper) has been valued by language educators to the near exclusion of North American French and culture. I construct a historiographical sketch by analyzing 1) primary sources written by French Canadians and their descendants in the United States, 2) secondary sources consisting of the historical accounts of French Canadian immigrants, linguistic descriptions of North American French, and historiography of language ideology in the United States, 3) artefacts produced by and for French language teachers in the United States including French textbooks and articles in the professional journals, 4) research investigating French Canadian influence in French language teaching, and 5) my experience in interacting with descendants of French Canadians in the United States. I illustrate how I used this range of resources to begin to construct a historiography that sheds light on the origin, resilience, and effects of standard language hegemony in French language teaching in the United States.

Keywords: historiography ♦ French Canadian ♦ Michigan ♦ French language teaching

In its inaugural issue, *The French Review* published an article with the provocative title “Why Teach French?” (Frank 1927). To respond to the question posed in the title, the author reported results of a survey sent to the graduates of the De Witt Clinton High School in New York City who had been out of school for approximately ten years. The fifty respondents overwhelmingly found French to be useful for many aspects of their later lives for purposes including getting into college, appreciation of arts and literature, improvement of English, and communication during a tour of duty in France in the war. Respondents were able to name specific benefits for French in their lives. None of the respondents indicated that French should be eliminated, and the most frequent request for a change in the curriculum was to provide more opportunity for practice with French conversation and practical vocabulary.

According to the author, De Witt Clinton students scored well in French and were well-prepared for college at Columbia, City College, NYU, Princeton, and Cornell. Focused entirely on French of France, the article does not mention Franco-Americans, whose French Canadian families had immigrated in large numbers to the Northeast and Midwest United States over the previous 100 years. These heritage speakers of French would not have been attending this elite boys’ school. In fact, while the English-speaking students were studying French in preparation for college, the Franco-Americans in the region were being reprimanded for speaking French in school, according to an article eighty years later in *The French Review* (Gosnell 2007). The descendants of these French Canadian immigrants would eventually reject their family language, opting for assimilation.

The juxtaposition of the 1927 and 2007 articles in *The French Review* reveals a paradox that Ortega referred to as an “elitist double standard” in foreign language education: “bilingualism in a foreign language is encouraged for monolingual English speakers and is presented as a resource for developing economic prowess, while the bilingualism of immigrants and indigenous groups is perceived and confronted as a problem” (Ortega 1999: 25). She attributed this paradox to the apolitical stance taken by foreign language educators that blinds them to the hegemony of privileged varieties of languages as well as an academic tradition developed for and perpetuated by the elite. In the United States this hegemony is supported by attitudes of language teachers toward non-standard varieties of the languages they teach. Even though the need to embrace and nurture the bilingualism of immigrants and heritage language learners is more widely accepted today (e.g., through bilingual education, curricula designed for heritage language learners, and dual language immersion programs), its legacy remains in French language teaching in the United States. French language educators largely accept as natural the hegemonic situation of inequality in which the French of *l’académie française* is given preferential status in foreign language studies and North American French is treated as an inferior deviance.

This special issue of *Critical Multilingualism Studies* focusing on the role of regional linguistic variation in foreign language studies offers an ideal forum for exploring the origin of this case of standard language hegemony. This paper argues that such an investigation requires a historiographical approach whose purpose is to reveal evidence about how language ideologies come about (Blommaert 1999). The French of *l'académie française* and the culture of France (referred to as Standard French in this paper) has been valued by language educators to the near exclusion of North American French and culture. The latter encompasses the varieties of French spoken by Canadians, French communities of settlers predating the Canada-US border, immigrants from Canada to the US, and migrants who moved back and forth across the border (Valdman, Auger, and Piston-Hatien 2005). The fact that North American French language and culture has been at best deemphasized in French language teaching is evident in the texts of such authors as Frank (1927), who implicitly communicated the irrelevance of Franco-Americans, Gosnell (2007) and Salien (1998), who critiqued the absence of French Canadian language and culture in French pedagogy, Singerman (1996), who made concrete proposals for enriching French curricula with French Canadian content, Chapelle (2016), who found beginning French textbooks in the United States contained only fragments of French Canadian language and culture, and Couture Gagnon and Chapelle (2019), who found that Quebec's foreign diplomacy toward the United States in the 1970s included outreach to French language teachers in hopes of gaining some recognition. Overall, the fact of standard language hegemony in French language teaching in the United States is not in question. But how did the ideology come about, why has it been so resilient, and what are its effects?

A historiographical study of this case of standard language hegemony provides the footing for exploring such questions by revealing the political dimensions of ideology that result in practices widely accepted as normal. The use of French in North America spans centuries and geographical regions playing a role in important political disputes and alliances. From this history, I identify elements of a historiography of standard language hegemony in French language teaching in the United States. To reveal ideological dimensions of North American French in French language teaching, I consider selected 1) primary sources written by French Canadians and their descendants in the United States, 2) secondary sources consisting of the historical accounts of French Canadian immigrants, linguistic descriptions of North American French, and historiography of language ideology in the United States, 3) artefacts produced by and for French language teachers in the United States including French textbooks and articles in the professional journals, 4) research investigating French Canadian influence in French language teaching, and 5) my experience in interacting with descendants of French Canadians in the United States. I illustrate how I used this range of resources to begin to construct a historiography that sheds light on the origin, resilience, and effects standard language hegemony in French language teaching in the United States.

Language Ideology in the United States

The roots of standard language hegemony in French language teaching in the United States may have been planted during periods of language ideological shifts described in Pavlenko's (2002) tentative historiography of the monolingual English ideology in the United States. Her study of the sociopolitical context from the 18th century to the post-World War I period is a response to the popular view in the United States that previous generations of European immigrants willingly gave up their native languages to be fully committed and participating citizens of the United States. This popular view of the connection between citizenship, patriotism, and English in America differs from findings of applied linguists who study the history of language policy in America (e.g., Wiley 1998, 2014). Pavlenko's narrative reveals ideological shifts in the United States through analysis of language policy, language teaching practices, and immigrants' voices. Her two-part narrative highlights German, but also mentions other languages including French.

The first period, the 18th and 19th century until 1880, was “marked by relative tolerance with regard to colonial and immigrant languages of European origin and to immigrant language maintenance” (174). German is named as the language most frequently taught during this period, but French was also taught:

In the 18th century, French instruction was offered in Illinois, Kentucky, Michigan, New England, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Wisconsin, and, of course, Louisiana (Handschin 1913), while in the 19th century it became a common part of the curriculum in secondary and higher education institutions. In 1847, Louisiana authorized French instruction where parents requested it. French-language public schools also served the French-speaking communities in northern New England. (170-171)

The “French-speaking communities in northern New England” were largely of French Canadian origin, but the fact that this European language was also the native language of a significant group of immigrants from Canada is not mentioned. Nor is a distinction made between different varieties of French.

The second period, “the ideological shift in 1880-1924”, is the period when “three discourses, that of Americanization, that of Anglicization, and that of Anglo-Saxonization, came together suggesting to newly arriving European immigrants that in order to become loyal Americans they should absorb Anglo-Saxon cultural traditions and speak only English” (Pavlenko 2002: 166). During this period 24 million immigrants reportedly arrived in the United States, creating national neighborhoods and communities with churches and schools. The extent of the support for language and cultural maintenance raised concerns for established immigrant families interested in the American project of nation-building, in which the English language became an important symbol of unity. Pavlenko showed that the connection between American citizenship and speaking English

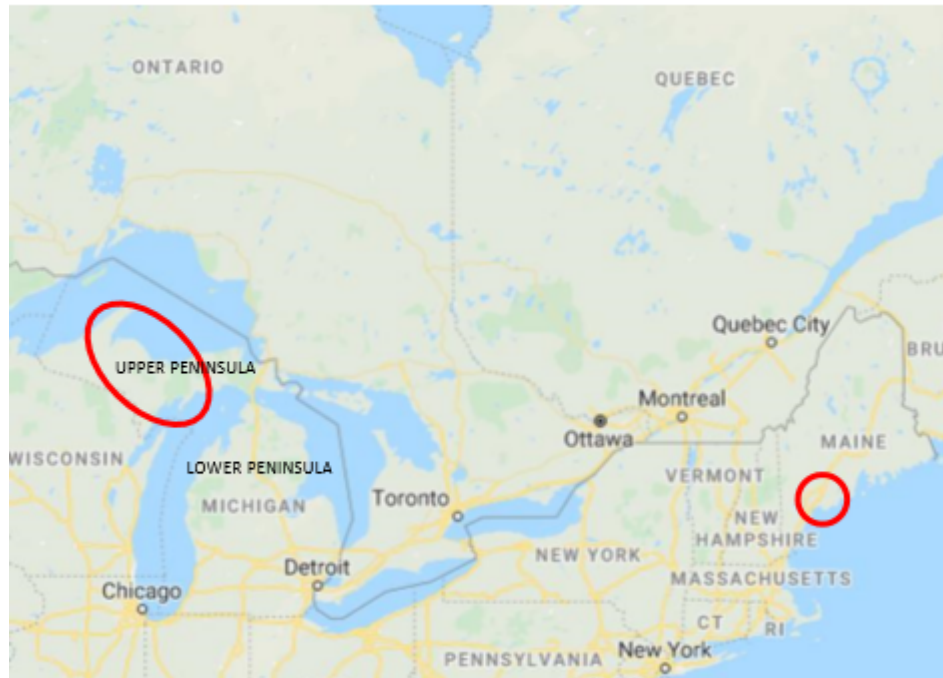
was supported by discourses arguing the superiority of English as well as those delegitimizing bilingualism, foreign language education, and immigrant language maintenance. However, even in this period, when “English was proclaimed as the key language of value, a few other European languages – in particular Latin, French, and Spanish – also made the grade as valuable for the moral and intellectual development of American youth” (181). In this reference to the languages of value, French is explicitly named as one of the European languages, but again here the North American French of immigrants is not mentioned.

In the context of the 1880-1924 ideological shift described by Pavlenko, the motivation for the 1927 “Why Teach French” article in the inaugural issue of *The French Review* is evident. Moreover, the analysis explains why the 1927 article was but one example of what would become a steady stream of articles to appear in foreign language teaching journals over the next decades as foreign language educators expressed their position favoring the development of bilingualism (Lantolf and Sunderland 2001). Throughout Pavlenko’s historiography, however, “French” retains a favorable position in what is otherwise a devastating period for languages other than English in the United States. In Pavlenko’s narrative, French is a European language and immigrants come from Europe. No standard language hegemony appears because no language variation is acknowledged. A historiography of standard language hegemony in French language teaching in the United States needs to take into account that regional variation in French exists, that US residents of French Canadian origin and their descendants spoke North American French, and that French language educators did not legitimize this immigrant community and their language variety.

Standard Language Hegemony in French Language Teaching

A historiography is needed to reveal how the ideology of standard language hegemony in foreign language teaching came about by examining the interests, motives, and practices of the relevant actors during the period under investigation. In the historiography of standard language hegemony in French language teaching in the United States, the actors of central interest are the speakers of North American French, the French Canadians who migrated in large numbers to the United States seeking economic opportunity. Many of these workers in New England and the Midwest became the Franco-Americans who stayed in the United States eventually becoming citizens. The French Canadian diaspora in the Northern United States is not a group typically highlighted in histories of the United States, but has been studied by historians in Canadian Studies, most recently by Lamarre (2003), Richard (2010), and Vermette (2018), who provide description and analysis of the French Canadian experience in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan and in Maine. Figure 1 shows encircled the areas of the Upper Peninsula where Lamarre did his research in Lake Linden and where my primary sources from Escanaba, Garden, and Manistique, Michigan originated. Also

shown in Figure 1 is the location of Lewiston and Brunswick, Maine, the focus of Richard's and Vermette's studies, respectively. These sites are only a few of the many locations where French Canadians settled in the Northern United States from 1830-1930.



Map data © 2020 Google, INEGI

Figure 1. Map of the Great Lakes region of North America with the sites referred to in this paper circled in red.

To some extent, the sources investigated in this study confirm the finding of Pavlenko (2002) and other applied linguists about the hostile environment toward languages other than English in the United States from 1880 into the 1920s. However, they also reveal differences between the French Canadian and the European immigrants. Most important, the stance taken by the French Canadians toward maintaining their language and culture was different from the three reactions toward intolerance identified by Pavlenko as characteristic of the Europeans: “support of different types of assimilationist ideologies, opposition to assimilation and Americanization, and internalization of xenophobic attitudes by immigrant children” (186). In the Franco-American community in Lewiston, Maine, Richard (2010) found that Franco-Americans showed support for learning English and contributing to American society, but they were also strongly opposed to giving up their own language, religion, and culture. The value that French Canadians placed on their North American French is an apt starting point for a historiography of standard language hegemony in French language teaching in the United States. The narrative needs to be constructed from evidence about how the French Canadian immigrants’ intention to maintain their language resulted in stigmatization or erasure of North American French.

French Canadian Immigrants Intended to Keep Their Language

By 1900, the approximate mid-point of the ideological shift, tens of thousands of French Canadians had already migrated to the Midwest and New England. Lamarre (2003) estimated that over a half a million people of French Canadian origin were living in the United States in 1890. Of these, about 72% lived in the Northeast, and 26% lived in the Midwest, 58,377 of whom lived in Michigan. In both Michigan and the Northeast, French Canadians tended to settle in communities together, where they intended to maintain their cultural traditions, religion, and language. French Canadians made up over half of the city's population in the community investigated by Richard, Lewiston, Maine, which was referred to as *Petit Canada*. Similarly, a *Petit Canada* of Northern Michigan was Lake Linden in Michigan's Upper Peninsula. In each *Petit Canada*, the immigrants created what sociologist Breton (1964) referred to as a high degree of “institutional completeness” by constructing their systems of churches, education, newspapers, and mutual benefit societies, all of which supported maintenance of their language. Overall, the French Canadians who came to the United States did not intend to give up their language. In this sense, they appeared to fit into Pavlenko’s second category of immigrant responses: opposition to assimilation and Americanization.

However, they also learned English and participated in the larger community of English speakers. Richard (2010) found that the French Canadians of Lewiston, Maine had a deliberate strategy of learning English to participate in civil and political processes in Lewiston while maintaining their three-pillared ideal of survivance: keeping their language, religion, and culture. Even though they wanted to benefit from the employment opportunities the United States offered, Richard found that French Canadians’ language maintenance was supported by such cohesive factors as religion, education in parish schools, ethnic organizations, proximity to Quebec, and French language newspapers. In the Northeast, the main economic opportunity, work in textile mills, also sustained the close-knit community.

In Northern Michigan, Lamarre (2003) reported that the French Canadians “tended to withdraw from the larger centers, such as Houghton and Hancock, to live in frontier zones in small isolated hamlets [...] where the chances of establishing an independent community were greater” (Lamarre 2003: 149). One such hamlet was Lake Linden, the focus of Lamarre's community study, but the French Canadians of Northern Michigan were not relegated to a single economic sector like the textile industry of the Northeast. The need for labor in Northern Michigan was motivated by the mining boom in the region, which resulted in population growth and overall economic prosperity. In this environment the French Canadians held a variety of roles. “The poverty so often found in the manufacturing centers of New England [had] no counterpart in the socioeconomic conditions of the workers on the [Keweenaw] peninsula” (Lamarre 2003: 149). With economic opportunity

came mobility, and French Canadians traveled and settled throughout the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, achieving varying levels of institutional completeness in different locations. Despite the different conditions Michigan offered, the fundamental commitment to survivance paralleled that found in the Northeast.

The commitment is evident in two French language newspapers reporting from Northern Michigan in the early 1900s. An article entitled “Une Journée à Escanaba” [A day in Escanaba] appeared in *Le Canadien*, a French language newspaper published in St. Paul, Minnesota in 1903. This is one of several articles the Escanaba Historical Society held that reported on life for French Canadians in Escanaba. The article is a report from a correspondent describing a visit to Escanaba. It is completely in French as shown in Appendix A, and the translations here are mine. The article concludes with the confident observation that when you find patriotism toward the French Canadian nation in a population so fundamentally French, “on ne doute plus de l'avenir de la race française sur le continent américain” [you can no longer doubt the future of the French race on the American continent].

The story also reported observations of a French school: “I saw a French school run by Canadian nuns where the students learn the two languages and principles of a good Christian education.” One would assume that Canadian nuns would be using North American French, but distinctions among varieties of French are not made in these sources. Other observations indicated a flourishing Francophone community of French Canadians who were engaging in all forms of expression of their identity such as the following:

- 650 people from Escanaba went to Marquette to celebrate the French Canadian national day.
- I attended the induction of 22 new members of the Institute Jacques Cartier [...] and 13 members into the USCF. The program was in French from beginning to end.
- One 10- or 12-year-old boy did a recitation in French with all of the spirit and preparation of a real child from France.

Overall, the article reflects the unequivocal support of French Canadians in Escanaba for the survivance project. At the same time, this and other articles express the pride felt for leaders in the French Canadian community who played important roles in the city government in Escanaba. The reporter noted that in Escanaba, one sees the public offices entrusted to French Canadian compatriots such as the following: Mathias Filion is the treasurer of the city; Em. M. St-Jacques is the county treasurer; and Adélarde L. Gabourie is the chief of police. The many examples of such

figures provided in these newspapers demonstrate the immigrants' intent to participate in American civic life in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan as well as their success in doing so.

An example of the dual commitment of the French Canadian community appears in a second French language newspaper, *Le Courrier du Michigan*, which began in Lake Linden in 1912 and moved to Detroit after 1919, where it continued to be published until 1956. The June 1919 column in Appendix B anticipated celebrations for both the French Canadian St-Jean-Baptiste Day and the American 4th of July. The American flag is prominently displayed at the beginning of the article describing their planned national celebration (for St-Jean-Baptiste Day), which will also celebrate their heroes in uniform recently returned from the war in Europe. The event was planned to be so grand that it would “prove to the foreign nationals and to the Protestants that the French Canadian race is up to the responsibility and that the Catholic blood is as generous as anyone's.” This statement asserts a French Canadian nationalist statement of pride suggesting they felt it was necessary to prove their patriotism to the audience of the foreign nationals, i.e., immigrants from other countries, and Protestants, i.e., the religion associated with the American majority at this time.

Articles on the upcoming summer holidays in other parts of the newspaper reasserted the theme in a variety of ways. One article reported that they were planning to fly American flags for the St-Jean-Baptiste Day. The story forecasted that the procession for the event would be very, very beautiful, and many would be eager to see it, “even those that are not of our race”. This issue of the paper reported that the 4th of July would be celebrated in Lake Linden with an appropriate program. With reference to the First World War that had just ended, the paper reported that Houghton county, home to Lake Linden and other areas with substantial French Canadian population, had provided 4,200 soldiers to the American army. The article also stated satisfaction with the contribution, writing “that's a good record.”

Statements of dual patriotism are frequent throughout the issues of *Le Courrier*. The paper reported the contributions of French Canadians to American society and praised the economic, social, and political integration of the French Canadians. It regularly introduced key figures who simultaneously held posts in the cities of the Upper Peninsula and in the French Canadian organizations. Examples of the high profile men who were introduced in the newspaper included M. l'avocat O. O. Olivier, “président de la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Hancock et Houghton, et avocat officiel de la cite de Hancock” as well as M. J. B. Cloutier, president of the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste of Calumet, president of the city of Laurium, and one of the syndics of St. Anne's parish.

The reporting in the issues of *Le Canadien* or *Le Courrier du Michigan* contained no indication that French Canadians were going to give up their language. Instead, the newspapers are packed

with examples illustrating convictions like those Richard (2010) found in Lewiston, which are conveyed in the Franco-American motto, “Loyal but French.” As a historian of the Catholic church in Michigan noted in his description of the founding of the French Canadian church in Escanaba, “There is scarcely a nation that loves its native tongue so much as the French Canadians” (Rezek 1907: 368). The French language newspapers of 1903 and 1919 reveal conviction to survivance, and equally, enthusiasm for positive integration into the English-speaking society, patriotism toward the United States, and in 1919, support for the soldiers and war effort. These newspapers were published near the middle and end of the period Pavlenko identified as “the ideological shift in 1880-1924,” when the national narrative suggested that loyalty was to be equated with Americanization, Anglicization, Anglo-Saxonization, at least for newly arriving European immigrants. These newspapers in Michigan and the findings in New England suggest that a different narrative is needed for French Canadian immigrants. Any historical narrative of French Canadians needs to take into account the central role played by the Roman Catholic church in their lives.

The Roman Catholic Church Failed to Support the French Canadians

The Roman Catholic churches in French Canadian communities served critical cohesive functions by organizing education, mutual benefit societies, social activities, and holiday celebrations. They were therefore key in providing multiple overlapping social circles of immersive French language use resulting in language maintenance for generations. The church was so important to upholding the ideals of survivance that when priests were appointed to parishes without regard for French Canadian interests, the community felt threatened. Richard (2010) documented the threats posed to the Franco-American community by such priests in Lewiston as well as conflicts between the French Canadian Catholic church and that of the Irish Catholics. Other historians sketch similar scenarios playing out across French Canadian settlements in the United States, which demonstrate that despite expectations, the Roman Catholic church did not always maintain the space for sustained French language use, or did so after a struggle.

In the Upper Peninsula, French Canadian communities similarly counted on their Catholic churches as central to institutional completeness that would allow them to maintain their language, religion, and culture. St. Joseph’s Catholic church in Lake Linden bears the name *Église Saint-Joseph* carved in its stone facade, as shown in Figure 2a. In Escanaba, St. Anne’s Catholic church was built as the French Canadian church in response to parishioners’ request to separate from the other Catholic church in town (Rezek 1907). Catholic churches dot the shoreline of Lake Michigan east of Escanaba, including St. John’s in the town of Garden, whose stained-glass window engraved in French is shown in Figure 2b. Garden attracted French Canadians in the middle of the 1800s when the Jackson Iron Company built a complex for processing iron ore mined up north near Lake

Superior. French Canadians were among the laborers, but like in the north, they occupied a variety of roles created by the economic development (Truckey 2014).



Figure 2a. St Joseph's Catholic church in Lake Linden with the name *Église Saint-Joseph* [St. Joseph's Church] carved in its stone facade.

Photo © Carol A. Chapelle



Figure 2b. A stained-glass window with French, *Un Ami* [a friend], in St. John's Catholic church in Garden.

Photo © Carol A. Chapelle

A history of St. John's is part of a volume produced by the Garden Historical Society, *Our Heritage: The Garden Peninsula*. The volume provides historical accounts of various facets of the social, cultural, and economic history of the Garden area based on documents, photos, memories, and resources of some of the residents of Garden in 1982. It reports that in the fall of 1884 the church was dedicated under the protection of St. John the Baptist, “the great patron saint so dearly loved by the French Canadians” (1982: 93). The description of the church and its process of development does not say that this was a French Canadian national church, but all indications are that it started as one with the first trustees of the church named as Antoine Deloria, Joseph Boudreau, Aristide Thibault, and George Truckey (formerly Troquette).

In the final paragraph of the 36-paragraph history of St. John's, the language of the service is mentioned:

In the early church the French language was used exclusively. As people of different nationalities moved into the area and attended church services, many of them were not conversant with French. For this reason, there was a gradual change to English. In the early 1900's the sermons were in French with a short version in English. The announcements were in both French and English. At one time the sermons were in French one week and English the next. Whenever there were two Masses on Sunday, which rarely happened,

French was used at one and English the other. Sometime after 1915 **the French was phased out completely**. (bold added; 98)

For the French Canadians, this meant the phasing out of their primary institutional support for their language, which was undoubtedly a significant loss for the French Canadians of 1915. For their descendants in 1982, in contrast, the loss of French in their church was presented as an afterthought, as if to suggest that they did not recognize the significance of the fact that “French was phased out completely” for their family’s identity.

Language is mentioned in one other place in the description of St. John's Catholic church. There is a relatively lengthy section on the Société Saint Jean-Baptiste in which the shift from French to English is reported just prior to its demise:

The dark uniforms and caps with bright red trim plus the gold fringed badges which members of the St. John Society wore, were a spectacular attraction in those days. June 24 was an important day for them. They paraded to church for Mass, attended a parish family picnic, and finished with a dance at St. John’s Hall. **In 1910, the decision was made to change the writing of the minutes from French to English.** In 1917, the wives of some members attended meetings and were appointed to committees for visiting the sick. In 1918, patriotism came to the fore when the society purchased a \$100 Liberty Bond with each member donating toward it. The society waned during the 20’s and finally with only nine active members, the society disbanded in 1933. The remaining assets were divided evenly among the members. (bold added; 94)

The decision to change the language to English is placed in the middle of the paragraph. The 58 words prior to the sentence about shifting to English are about happy times, wearing red and gold, being a spectacular attraction, parading to Mass, going on picnics, and attending dances. The 66 words following are not happy: wives attend meetings, sick people are visited, and a Liberty bond is purchased to show patriotism toward America. These sentences work their way down to the end of the society and division of assets. The decision to change the language of the minutes, which is not attributed to anyone, seems the pivotal point in the story even though the significance for survivance is not explicitly discussed in *Our Heritage*.

Instead, the following paragraph continues by describing the launch of another society within the church. According to the authors, “When Father Dufort came [in 1917], he organized the Holy Name Society” (94). According to a 1973 article in the *Daily Press* from Escanaba, “Fr. Joseph Dufort reorganized the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste, a men’s fraternal group, into the Holy Name Society” (Johnson 1973: n.p.). Dufort was at Garden from 1917 through 1922, according to The Garden Peninsula Historical Society records, so it was under him that the decline of the French Canadian national organization took place and the more neutral Holy Name Society appeared.

Having given up French as the record-keeping language, and then ending their national fraternal organization, French Canadians appeared to be abandoning survivance and participating in an Americanization process within what had been their own church. As suggested by the 1919 article in *Le Courrier du Michigan*, the French Canadians in the Upper Peninsula were not choosing to give up their language and identity in this period. Instead, if the *Daily Press* newspaper article in 1973 is accurate, it may provide a clue that their interests were not served by the changes imposed by others. The article identified Fr. Dufort as the agent for “reorganizing” the French Canadian society out of existence.

A history of the Upper Peninsula area churches reveals that Dufort’s actions were consistent with interests of the dioceses to eliminate the French Canadian national character of churches. Rezek’s (1907) account of St John's church reported, “there are one hundred and twenty-five families—French, Irish, and German, and although geographically secluded from closer contacts with other communities they have attained a remarkable degree of what we are pleased to call Americanization—i.e., adopting the ways and language of the country” (Rezek 1907: 379). Historian Vanderhill described the role of Catholic churches throughout Michigan as “agents of assimilation” for French Canadians during this period (Vanderhill 1970: 13)—a role diametrically opposed to the role of the church in Québec where before the 1960s the Roman Catholic church was the guardian of survivance.

Educators Failed to Support the French Canadians

If the church was sometimes less than supportive of Franco-Americans’ language, education was dismissive or explicitly hostile. Frank's (1927) *French Review* article about the uses of French among former students in the Northeast omitted any mention of French Canadians. Gosnell's *French Review* article many years later revealed the reason for the omission:

Teachers physically reprimanded French Canadians for speaking French in school. English-only laws were put into place in the early twentieth century in Maine and Louisiana to combat these “foreign” influences... As a result of this stigmatization, some members of Francophone groups rejected French identity, opting not to teach “inferior” French to their children, and not to preserve certain cultural or religious traditions. French shame only intensified assimilation, which had set in by the mid-twentieth century and was facilitated by suburban development and a growing consumer culture fed by television. The French disappearing act [i.e., the erasure of French Canadian heritage in the US] is related to the dilution and defamation of French identity between Old World and New. (Gosnell 2007: 1338)

Richard’s (2010) research described the sporadic support for French language instruction by educators in the Franco-American communities in the 1900s. By mid-century the discontinuation

of French language instruction in all classes except French class communicated to students the marginal value of what had once been an instrument of social cohesion within their communities. At the same time English-speaking students studying French in school were learning that the “Parisian French” that they were learning in school was “different from that which Franco-Americans speak” (209). Students accepted that their imported Standard French was superior to the homegrown variety, a view that helped to fuel the social stigmatism toward the Franco-American communities.

Richard (2010) conveyed the discriminatory climate using the words from a paper written by a student at the University of Maine in 1966 on the topic of jokes about Catholics and French speakers that had been gathered in the Lewiston area. Quoting from the student’s paper, Richard reported that the student’s analysis consisted of the following:

- The anti-French feelings of the Protestants are based on the concept that the Lewiston French as a group are of low intelligence. This view is supported by the fact that most of the menial jobs are held by members of the French population, mill jobs, for instance.
- Another contributing factor to this idea is the reluctance of the French population [sic] to give up the last vestige of thier [sic] Canadian heritage.
- Most of them speak the local patois, a corrupt version of French as it was spoken in Canada a few hundred years ago, with a few frenchified [sic; intended to make English words sound French] words thrown in. Conversely, few of them speak good English, while some speak no English at all. (204)

The student’s essay baldly expresses elements of bigotry that had been transmitted across generations of Anglophones in the region. North American French is positioned in this students’ essay as a corrupt version of archaic French, i.e., a non-standard variety of French. Their bad language contributes to the writer’s overall construction of Franco-Americans as low intelligence menial laborers, who hopelessly cling to their family heritage.

One indication of how the French language teaching profession stood in their evaluation of North American French at this time can be discerned from a study investigating the representation of Canada and Québec in beginning-level French textbooks. The study investigated 65 textbooks over the five decades from 1960 through 2010. The books were intended for beginning French learners in university French courses. Overall, results indicated little representation of Canada and Québec, but the level of representation increased across the five decades. The study included 11 of the 13 (85%) of the first-year French textbooks from the 1960s that had been reviewed in *The French Review*. “In the eleven books from the 1960s, only one image shows Canada. A sketch of a map

showing the French possessions in North America [was] the only [Canadian image] in all eleven textbooks [...] The images in the 1960s textbooks for the most part show images of people and places in France” (Chapelle 2016: 59). Canadian and Quebec content was also assessed by counting the textual content presented in the book defined as “contexts,” texts that are long enough to convey content even if their purpose is to illustrate language, and “culture notes,” texts intended to introduce students to aspects of Francophone culture. “In the 1960s, nine of the eleven books (82%) had no culture notes [about Canada and Quebec] and seven of the eleven books had no contexts about Canada and Quebec.”

The marginalization, or even erasure, of North American French speakers in 1960s textbooks and earlier undoubtedly transmitted views of educators about language varieties to be valued and devalued. In Michigan, the message from educators may have supported the implicit and explicit messages that children received from their bilingual parents and grandparents, who recognized that their French should not be taught to the children. Two stories from women who grew up during the first half of the 1900s in the Upper Peninsula reveal what they learned as children about French. Their stories appear in a nine-volume publication, *Just Yesterday*, which was produced over the years from 2001 through 2016 totaling over 1300 pages shared by the Senior Writers group of Manistique, a town about 20 miles east of Garden. The preface of each volume explains that the memories were first shared by the storytellers at the Manistique Senior Center. They were published locally and are held by the Manistique public library to save the memories of life of the past times in the Upper Peninsula. The collection provides a human and cultural history of the region told from the perspectives of resident women. It therefore complements the academic histories that concentrate on economic and demographic trends. The authors are Anglophone Americans writing about family and community—past and present—whose stories touch on issues of language and difference only occasionally.

The grandparents of the senior writers would have been the French Canadian, Swedish, Finnish, German, Belgian and Irish immigrants of the late 1800s who lived in the Upper Peninsula during the period in which the French language newspapers were published and Catholic church in Garden eliminated official use of the French language. Five of the stories in the nine volumes referred to the French language of an ancestor and revealed the message received by the child and remembered some 70 years later.

One story is about the author’s memories of a French Canadian grandmother, which reveal the child's perception of the normalcy of English and the use of French only for “chatter” and “exclamations” directed toward misbehaving children:

When I was just a few years old, my father went off to war. My mother had us three little ones, and we spent a lot of time at Grandma's house. My grandma’s family was French

Canadian from Quebec. When she started school, she spoke only French, although she learned English in school. When she married my Grandpa Chase, who was of English descent, and had her children, she spoke mostly English around the house. In those days the ‘old-country’ language was put aside for the most part, except when she chattered away in French with her relatives. I remember hearing a few French exclamations whenever we kids did something wrong. (Gould 2008: 102-103)

A second story refers to the French-speaking grandfather as a Frenchman, but because he never spoke about his homeland, it is unknown where he may have come from. The large majority of French-speaking immigrants in the United States came from Canada. The author’s childhood memory is that his love of America was associated with his rejection of his home language. Her memory of the grandfather's views about language are explicitly stated in the story:

Grandfather was an old Frenchman who was stern. He had a twitch around his mouth and his moustache would tickle when he kissed me. This man told me stories about our country, never about his homeland. He told me how lucky he was to be an American, to live in the wealthiest of all countries. He said an American can be anything they want to be. They have the opportunity to be a leader or a follower, or just a regular Joe... He never wanted me to learn French. Once more he would remind me to be proud of my heritage—be a stand up person. Salute your flag with dignity and most of all, be proud you are American. (Thayer 2006: 74-75)

In these two stories and the others that mention French, the French language is spoken by someone two generations removed from the writer. The French speaker is the old, dying person, who may be left out of things, and unable to understand and function in an environment designed for English speakers. French is an insider code at home, oftentimes the code of subsets of the family—not inclusive, not taught to children, not useful for success, and not a symbol of the desired American identity. Speaking French contradicts the valued goal of being American. French is to chatter or scold while the children remain in their language of the future. In these stories, the message that devalues French doesn’t come directly from the school, but it is difficult to imagine that such a message could have thrived in communities if a contravening message had been advanced in schools.

All evidence suggests that outside the parochial schools, French language educators had no interest in local varieties of French. Even into the 21st century, French textbooks depict North American French speakers in a negative light. For example, in the 2005 edition of *Deux Mondes: A Communicative Approach*, a first year university French textbook in the United States, the message about North American French is presented through the introduction of a Franco-American in Maine, as shown in Figure 3. Paul Boudrault, a woodworker in Bangor, is introduced as one of several tens of thousands of Francophones in New England whose families have lived there since

the middle of the 18th century. Paul's self-presentation creates an image that is remarkably similar to the derogatory characterization of the Franco-Americans presented by the student at the University of Maine shown above. Paul states the following about himself and his fellow French Canadians in the region:

- Nous n'avons jamais cessé de parler français à la maison, mais cela devient plus et plus difficile de maintenir notre langue et notre patrimoine culturel. [We never stopped speaking French at home, but it has become more and more difficult to maintain our language and cultural heritage.]
- J'ai parfois l'impression que nous sommes invisibles : beaucoup de gens ignorent que nous existons ! [I sometimes have the impression that we are invisible: a lot of people ignore the fact that we exist!]
- Nous n'avons pas de grande manifestation folklorique comme le mardi gras, ni de musique... [We don't have big folk festivals like mardi gras, or music...]
- Notre français est considéré comme 'impur' parce que nous incluons des mots et structures de l'anglais ; en fait, c'est une langue originale et créatrice—et tant pis si l'Académie française n'est pas d'accord ! [Our French is considered impure because we include some words and structures from English; in fact, it's an original and creative language and so what if *l'Académie française* doesn't agree!]

Les francophones sur le vif

Paul Boudrault, 48 ans, menuisier, Bangor, ME

Vous avez un nom français. Quelles sont vos origines?



Ma famille fait partie d'un groupe qu'on appelle les «Franco-Américains», ou «Francos»; nous sommes plusieurs dizaines de milliers en Nouvelle-Angleterre, mêlés à¹ la population anglophone, depuis le XVIII^e² siècle. Nous n'avons jamais cessé³ de parler français à la maison, mais cela devient de plus en plus difficile de maintenir notre langue et notre patrimoine⁴ culturel.

J'ai parfois l'impression que nous sommes invisibles: beaucoup de gens ignorent que⁵ nous existons! Peut-être est-ce parce que nous n'avons pas de grande manifestation folklorique comme le mardi gras, ni de musique ou de cuisine particulièrement médiatiques, comme les Acadiens de Louisiane. De plus, notre français est considéré comme «impur» parce que nous y incluons des mots et structures de l'anglais; en fait, c'est une langue originale et créatrice—et tant pis si l'Académie française n'est pas d'accord! Notre défi⁶ à nous, les Francos, c'est de redevenir fiers de notre langue et de notre particularisme, et de résister à l'assimilation à la culture anglo-saxonne sans prétendre devenir Français; vous voyez, ce n'est pas simple...



¹mêlés... intégrés dans ²dix-huitième ³arrêté ⁴héritage ⁵ignorent... ne savent pas que ⁶difficulté

Figure 3. A French speaker in New England as shown in the first-year French book for American students, *Deux Mondes* (5th ed.) published by McGraw-Hill. (Terrell, Rogers, Kerr, and Spielmann 2005: 171).

In short, Paul is presented as a member of a group of stubborn people who have no big cultural festivals to offer and are struggling to continue to speak bad French rather than assimilating to American culture or aligning themselves with real French speakers. This section is one of the fourteen introductions of Francophones from around the world that appear, one per chapter, in the textbook. The other Francophones are successful, happy people pictured mostly at work in attractive jobs and locations. For example, the four chapters leading up to the text on Paul each introduces one of the following Francophones: 1) Marie-Claire (age 37) is a primary school teacher in Obernai (Bas Rhin) pictured seated in a leafy park with a child, both neatly dressed with a jacket and collar. 2) Kévin Vanderelst (age 17) is a high school student in Bruxelles pictured standing in front of a blurred outdoors backdrop with a smile and gaze directly toward the camera. He is dressed neatly in a casual white shirt with a collar and a gray sweater over his shoulders. 3) Marc-André Hébert (age 34) is introduced as living in Paris, where he uses public transportation every day. He is pictured leaning against a red car with a blurred backdrop of city buildings. He too looks

directly at the camera; his glasses, adult appearance and clothing of a shirt and sport jacket give him an air of big-city experience. 4) Élodie Montaygnac (age 23) is a French woman completing her master's degree in business at the University of Montesquieu (Bordeaux IV). She is dressed in a polished fashion with a dark dress and projects a business-like smile with her direct gaze into the camera. The background is institutional gray, but blurred to sharply foreground Élodie. The characters following Paul include an engineer in Lyon who stands with a book and a complex machine beside him. The contrast between the successful French speakers in Europe and this backward, admittedly stigmatized French speaker in North America is striking. So is the fact that Paul presents his community in a manner that is consistent with the bigoted analysis put forward by the University of Maine student four decades earlier.

School-based discrimination against North American French in New England gained traction, according to Valdman (2010), with the closing of the parochial schools in the decade of the 1960s. When the “Francophone students entered the public school system, many faced difficulty because use of French was stigmatized and punished” (119). Among those on the receiving end of the ridicule was blossoming cartoonist Peter Archambault. As a student at the University of Maine in the 1970s, Archambault appropriated the derogatory frog epithet used in the region for French Canadians to create poignant social commentary on the interaction between French Canadian students and others (Pinette 2018). Archambault's drawings depict Beau-Frog [beautiful frog], in cartoons that draw upon prejudices to create thought-provoking, dry humor. Figure 4, shows one of Archambault's simplest cartoons in which Beau-Frog is in costume, dressed as a rabbit with ears and a tail, to hide his frog identity. He has not succeeded, and therefore the caption is his question, “How could you told I was French?” In other words, not only his physical appearance but also his language reveals his identity, and he looks silly having failed to do the impossible.

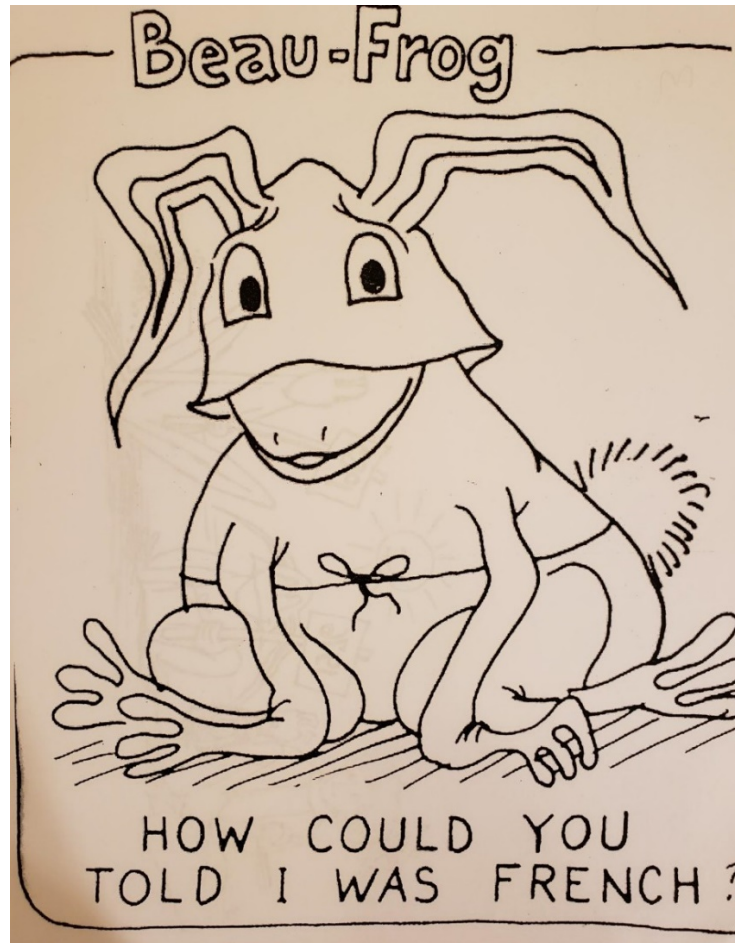


Figure 4. An example of French Canadian cartoonist Peter Archambault's depiction of Beau-Frog (circa 1975). © The Franco American Centre at the University of Maine. Reprinted with permission.

Cartoonist Archambault put into image what historian Richard stated in prose: The 1960s was the period of disenfranchisement for young Franco-Americans who were deeply affected by the stigma associated with their language and culture. In his analysis of multiple factors affecting French Canadians throughout their history in the United States, Richard had found the “discrimination by Yankee nativists and by Irish clergy in the Roman Catholic Church” throughout the 19th and the early 20th century was no match for the strength of the Lewiston French Canadians' will to adhere to their own path to acculturation (Richard 2010: 251). In contrast, the effect of the school-based discrimination in the decade of the 1960s was definitive. A report from the Maine Department of Educational and Cultural Studies in 1984-1985 investigated the possibility of establishing a bilingual French-English program for third graders in Lewiston. The report found more interest in such a program among parents who were not from French Canadian families than among the Franco-Americans. The report concluded that “bilingualism in Lewiston in the future would

probably be found primarily among non-Franco-Americans and would be tied to intellectual rather than ethnic interest in the French language” (Richard 2010: 241). In other words, the report discovered the “elitist double standard” in foreign language education that had been cultivated over the years. Perhaps more significant for the teaching of French in the United States, the separation of Franco-Americans from their North American French has disconnected French from a strand of American history in which French played a central role.

French Canadian Immigrants' Language Became Irrelevant

In New England today, Vermette (2018) characterized the 10 million French Canadian descendants into three groups with respect to their heritage:

- 1) Those who identify their heritage as “French” or “French-Canadian” but know nothing more about it. This group is vast.
- 2) Those who are aware of their heritage and origins but for whom this is primarily a genealogical or historical reality with, they believe, little relevance today.
- 3) A small group of ardent Franco-Americans who not only know their history but continue to identify today with Québec or Acadia. As a rule, they are either French speaking, have some French ability, or wish they did. (Vermette 2018: 333)

In Michigan, French Canadian roots are evident to some people in the names of places and people in the region, but the French Canadians have thoroughly assimilated into the Anglophone population, fitting into Vermette’s first and second groups. For example, across the street from St. John's Catholic church in Garden, the Garden Historical Museum holds the remaining French language history of Garden behind glass as shown in Figure 5. French language artifacts include prayer books of former priests, as well as record-keeping and rule books for the French Canadian societies. The French language materials are under glass to be viewed as historical artifacts, whereas the materials intended to be read are accessible in folders and on bookshelves; they are in English.



Figure 5. French language artifacts in the Garden Historical Society Museum, Garden, Michigan (2019).

Photo © Carol A. Chapelle

Relegation of the French language to history seems to have rendered it irrelevant despite the extensive French and French Canadian history in the region. Chapelle (2016) recounted a failed search for French language speakers at a French Canadian heritage event in Northern Michigan in 2015. The event took place at the reconstructed Fort Michilimackinac pictured in Figure 6 at the northern point on Michigan's Lower Peninsula, about 100 miles east of Manistique. The original Fort was constructed to serve as one of the way stations serving the French Canadian fur trade on the Great Lakes in the 17th century. Other such Great Lakes forts better known today were Detroit and Sault Sainte Marie. French Canadian traders, called voyageurs, traveled the network of rivers and lakes from Montreal to the west to do business with the indigenous people. Lamarre (2003) considered the French Canadians' success in fur trade and the lifestyle of the voyageurs to be defining elements in the French Canadian cultural narrative:

The French Canadians demonstrated a high degree of mobility in the regions of the Northwest, especially in Michigan. They never confined themselves within the geography of a national territory, but showed a consistent lack of 'border consciousness' in their movements, going wherever the activities of the fur trade took them and maintaining direct access to the Great Lakes. But by the early 1830s, the principal trading areas had definitively moved west of the Great Lakes. In this situation, many French Canadians working in the trading posts in the Great Lakes region decided to settle there. (Lamarre 2013: 9-10)



a) An exterior view of Fort Michilimackinac at the Northern point of the Lower Peninsula with Lake Michigan in the background (above)



b) Two reenactors playing the part of Canadian voyagers at Fort Michilimackinac (above)



c) An interior of a reconstructed supply building at Fort Michilimackinac (above)

Figure 6. Images of the reconstructed Fort Michilimackinac in Mackinac City, Michigan.

Photos © Carol A. Chapelle

The event at Fort Michilimackinac was advertised as *Bienvenue à Michilimackinac: French History and Culture*. The webpage promised that reenactors (people who present a reenactment of the customs of the inhabitants and visitors at the Fort) from Fort Des Chartres, Illinois would be there to work with the regular staff to show historic foods, fashions, songs, dances, and crafts of

the once thriving French community of Michilimackinac. This event was packed full of American history enthusiasts with a particular interest in the French presence in North America. The Fort staff and visiting reenactors had studied the history of the area and people to prepare the exhibits and explanations for the visitors. Chapelle went in search of how the French language use was presented:

My tangible findings consisted of a map of the French settlement in Michigan showing geographical locations originally named by the French. The map contained a sampling of familiar (Detroit and Sault Ste. Marie) and less familiar (Au Gres and Seul Choix) place names in Michigan, including some with the French as annotations such as Whitefish Point (Pointe au Poisson Blanc). Another display ‘Becoming Canadian’ expressed the ways that the French settlers at Michilimackinac adapted to the environment. It presented the key points as ‘families,’ ‘food,’ and ‘clothing.’ There was nothing about language. Overall, the designers of the exhibit had planned the event without including the way the fur traders communicated with the native people or with each other. (Chapelle 2016: 236-237)

Chapelle described several encounters with the reenactors and fort staff in which she attempted to move conversation slightly beyond *Bonjour*. However, no one presenting the French history and culture recognized any spoken French beyond *Bonjour*. One of the reenactors attempted to respond to her request about whether he spoke French:

‘No, but I know some words that voyageurs used.’ And he stated a list of about eight or nine words about boats and water. I asked him how he had learned those words. He responded, ‘We learn those [words] when we learn about voyageurs [in their training to serve as reenactors], plus I took French for two years in high school. That’s how I know how to pronounce the words. But I can’t speak French.’ This is a familiar line in a conversation that I have with many people: I studied French, but I cannot speak it at all. Some people have studied it in high school and cannot speak it. Some people have studied it in college for any number of years, but cannot speak it. (Chapelle 2016: 237)

After a failed attempt to engage one of the reenactors in French, Chapelle (2016) reflected, “I got the clear message that the idea that an American could speak French was something that he had not encountered in his many travels” (238). In her final encounter, she found that one of the people who works at the Fort speaks a little French, but that person was not there that day. Chapelle noted, “I was the only one to see the irony in the fact that the only person who spoke French was not working on French culture day. It was French culture day, but language was absolutely irrelevant.” (238).

If the elitist double standard were blind to language variety, it might have resulted in at least some of these history enthusiasts being engaged in the French language that was connected to their intellectual interests. A broad definition of elites would include members of society with sufficient

resources to engage in intellectual endeavors such as planning and participating in historical reenactments. This definition would encompass the exhibit curators and reenactors playing voyageurs and fort residents. Instead, the story reveals the result of the stigma placed on North American French: The language became separated from the historical context in which it had meaning in North America. The French language of schooling, and therefore the language that these “elites” would have been exposed to, came from France. It is not North American French and it is not taught as the language of the French Canadian voyageurs and fort residents, of the later French Canadian immigrants, or of today’s Québécois and Québécoise. School French is irrelevant to their intellectual interests.

Conclusion

These elements of historiography offer some clues about the origin, resilience, and effects of standard language hegemony in French language teaching in the United States. North American varieties of French were once spoken over a broad region of the continent, but when borders were drawn, the French speakers did not attain the upper hand in either Canada or the United States, leaving North American French a language variety without a nation state. In the United States, the institutions of church and education originally built to support the identity and language of French Canadian immigrants and their descendants failed to do so, instead assisting in their shift to English and contributing to delegitimization of North American French. The resilience of hegemony today stems from the effects of institutionalized defamation of North American French speakers. Its effects on children and their families succeeded in diminishing the numbers of North American French speakers in the United States, and breaking ties with speakers of North American French across the border. The effects continue to be seen in decreasing interest in French language study in the United States, as indicated by the drop in French enrollments in higher education by about 100,000, in the thirty years from 1986 (275,132) to 2016 (175,667) (Modern Language Association 2020). This decrease in interest and continuing loss of enrollment would arguably not be sustained if the connection of so many Americans to their French Canadian roots had not been broken.

The storyline for the historiography was constructed by combining threads from a larger narrative of American language ideology with historical research in Canadian Studies, primary sources, artefacts, and experience in Michigan as well as books and articles about North American varieties of French, French teaching and French textbook content. These sources provided a basis for analysis of the agency of the actors involved in delegitimizing North American French relative to Standard French. Much remains to be discovered and interpreted about the instances of erasure and selection of linguistic examples and cultural narrative in French language curriculum and materials in the United States today. However, this nascent historiography contributes to this pursuit by suggesting origins for the ideology that legitimizes hegemonic practice. This paper

therefore illustrates the importance of historiography in working toward the goal of the special issue to “initiate a cross-linguistic discussion on current and critical approaches to regional variation in the teaching and learning of foreign languages.” The case of North American French, whose use is not limited to one nation-state and which is assumed to be an undesirable deviation in French language teaching in the United States, illustrates the need to reveal the origins of hegemonic assumptions.

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Appendix A

Article from *Le Canadien*, 1903 (Published in St. Paul, Minnesota), Delta County Archives, Escanaba, Michigan

Une Journée à Escanaba, Mich.

Ce qu'en dit un de nos correspondants.

—Escanaba! Escanaba!! quel doux souvenir!!! Parti de l'Ouest, du sein d'une population à demi-anglifiée et se trouver placé brusquement au milieu d'une population essentiellement française d'âme et d'aspirations, c'est un saut périlleux, mais réconfortant pour une âme vraiment canadienne.

Oui, j'ai trouvé à Escanaba des cœurs vraiment français, de charmantes demoiselles et d'aimables dames qui n'avaient pas honte de parler la langue de nos pères. J'y ai rencontré des enfants qui pouvaient en montrer aux professeurs de français de Saint-Paul et de Minneapolis pour l'accent et la pureté du langage.

J'y ai vu une paroisse française très prospère desservie par un vénérable prêtre canadien à la parole douce et sympathique et à l'accueil cordial et bienveillant.

J'y ai vu une société de Canadiens-français forte de 400 membres, se donnant la franche poignée de main et travaillant ensemble pour l'avancement de leurs intérêts communs.

J'y ai vu une école française, dirigée par des sœurs canadiennes, où les enfants apprennent les deux langues, et les principes d'une bonne éducation chrétienne.

J'y ai vu une société de Dames canadiennes, affiliée à l'U. S. C. F., forte de près de cent membres et qui en comptera deux cents avant un an.

J'ai assisté à l'initiation de 22 nouveaux membres dans l'Institut Jacques-Cartier dans l'après-midi et de 13 membres dans l'U. S. C. F. dans la soirée. La réunion le soir a été rendue doublement intéressante par la présence des dames qui ont pris un vif intérêt aux cérémonies d'initiation. Le programme y était en français du commencement à la fin, une chose qui aurait fait rougir de honte quelques-unes de nos sociétés du Minnesota. J'y ai surtout remarqué un jeune homme de 10 à 12 ans, fils de Alfred Trottier, qui a fait une récitation en français avec tout l'élan et l'entraînement d'un véritable enfant de France.

À Escanaba, on voit les offices publics les plus importants confiés aux mains de nos compatriotes. Mathias Filion est trésorier de la ville, Em. M. St-Jacques est trésorier du comté, Adélaïde L. Gabourie, chef de police.


Je m'arrête, la liste serait trop longue. Qu'on me permette de dire pour finir que 650 excursionnistes sont partis d'Escanaba le 25 juin pour aller célébrer la fête patronale à Marquette.

Quand on va retremper son patriotisme au sein d'une population si essentiellement française, on ne doute plus de l'avenir de la race française sur le continent américain. V***

Appendix B

Article from *Le Courrier du Michigan*, 1919 (Published in Lake Linden, Michigan)

JUIN 1919.



**La Fête Saint-Jean-Baptiste et
Nos Soldats.**

Notre célébration de la fête St-Jean-Baptiste a, cette année, une signification particulière. Ce sera avant tout une fête d'actions de grâces. Depuis notre dernière célébration que de choses ont changé dans le monde! La paix si longtemps désirée est à notre portée et la guerre n'a maintenant pour nous d'autres réalités que des souvenirs. Des centaines de jeunes gens de notre sang, fiers et loyaux comme leurs pères et leurs glorieux ancêtres répondant aux appels du clairon se battaient sous les glorieuses bannières étoilées. Presque tous, protégés par la Divine Providence, nous sont revenus et c'est pour remercier Dieu que nous nous rendrons au pied de l'autel le 24 juin. Ce jour-là sera dédié aux

soldats franco-américains. Aussi la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Calumet s'efforce-t-elle de faire de cette fête la plus belle possible.

Il est vrai que les temps sont plus ou moins favorables, mais l'enthousiasme ne manque jamais aux cœurs des Canadiens.

Les dames de la paroisse Ste Anne sont à préparer un banquet superbe qui sera servi gratis aux jeunes gens en uniforme. Qu'ils se rendent donc tous. Il faut prouver aux nationalités étrangères et aux sectes protestantes que la race canadienne française est à la hauteur de ses devoirs et que le sang catholique est aussi généreux que n'importe quel autre. "Tous ensemble pour la gloire de Dieu, de l'Eglise, de notre race, de nos jeunes héros," voilà le mot d'ordre pour le 24 juin, 1919.

It's necessary to prove to foreign nationals and protestants that the French Canadian race is up to the responsibility and that the Catholic blood is as generous as anyone's.