

Resisting the Melting Pot: the Long Term Impact of Maintaining Identity for Franco-Americans in New England

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"I'm not a beatnik, I'm a Catholic." -Jean-Louis (Jack) Kerouac

Abstract

The scale of the persistent, concentrated immigration from Mexico is a source of concern to many in the United States. The perception is that Mexicans are not assimilating into mainstream America as previous generations of immigrants did. In this paper we look at the emigration of approximately 1 million French-Canadians who moved to the United States, with the bulk of the migration occurring between the end of the Civil War and 1930 and with most settling in neighboring New England. What makes this episode particularly interesting is the fact that the French-Canadian immigrants exerted considerable efforts to maintain their language and to replicate their home country institutions, most notably the schooling system, in their new country. This explicit resistance to assimilation generated considerable attention and concern in the U.S. over many years. The concerns are strikingly similar to those often invoked today in discussions of policy options regarding immigration from hispanic countries, notably Mexico. We look at the convergence in the educational attainment of French Canadian immigrants across generations relative to native English-speaking New Englanders and to other immigrants. The educational attainment of Franco-Americans lagged that of their fellow citizens over a long period of time. Yet, by the time of the 2000 Census, they eventually, if belatedly, appeared to have largely achieved parity. Additionally, we show that military service was a very important factor contributing to the assimilation process through a variety of related channels, namely educational attainment, language assimilation, marrying outside the ethnic group, and moving out of New England. Finally, when we compare Franco-Americans to French-speaking Canadians of the same generations, it is clear that Franco-Americans substantially upgraded their educational attainment relative to what it would have been if they had not emigrated. This suggests that the "pull" factor eventually exerted a dominating influence.

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1 Introduction

Throughout their history, Americans have both welcomed and feared immigrants, with the balance of attitudes shifting depending on the characteristics of the group in question and economic conditions in the United States at the time. A subject of continuing concern is the issue of whether migrants coming from other parts of the Americas are more or less desirable than overseas migrants. In 1885 (23 Sept. p. 4), the New York *Times* editorialist stated

In such towns as Fall River and Holyoke the French Canadians have nearly shouldered out the native American operatives [...] They have crowded the Irish very hard, and they form a much more intractable element in the social problem [...] Their dwellings are the despair of the sanitarians and themselves the despair of social philosophers [...] They are the Chinese of New-England inasmuch as they seem rarely to strike root in our soil. Whatever may be the fate of the Irish immigrant there is always the hope that his children and grandchildren may be assimilated with the native population. [...] His interest in the land of his birth is chiefly sentimental and is expressed in occasional contributions to the emergency fund. But even if the French Canadian leaves his bones here his thoughts all lie beyond the Canadian border [...] Add to this feeling of alienism that he is absolutely unenterprising, and it becomes evident that he must be a troublesome element in the population.

In the late 1870s and 1880s, both newspaper editorialists and government officials routinely denounced the arrival of illiterate Roman Catholics from the poor farms of Quebec and the Maritimes. A more sympathetic view is found in the lead article of the April 1898 issue of the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* (MacDonald (1898)) which documents the quantitative importance of, and the problems generated by, the substantial influx of French-Canadians into New England. He noted that "Nowhere do [French Canadians] seem to be looked upon, as a class, with entire favor, and in private are often spoken of with contempt; but their work is necessary, their trade is important, and their political support not to be despised." (p. 278) However, MacDonald's conclusion was fairly optimistic. He predicted that despite their unfavorable group characteristics, the French Canadians would eventually succumb to the pressures to assimilate experienced by all immigrants.

MacDonald's assessment was made under the belief that the inflow was in decline. "There can be

no doubt that the current has ceased to flow strongly from the Province of Quebec to any part of the New England [States]." (p. 257) As we will see below, the flow persisted for another thirty years, but we find strong evidence supporting the prediction of eventual assimilation.

A little over one hundred years later, the Mexican immigration of the last few decades has attracted similar attention in public debate, the popular press, and in the academic world. Concerns over the impact of large inflows of people range from labor market repercussions in terms of wages and jobs (Borjas (2003)), social program usage (Borjas and Trejo (1993)), educational outcomes of native Americans (Betts and Lofstrom (1998)), to overall "social" impacts (Huntington (2004)). Indeed, in a controversial article, Huntington (2004) goes so far as to say that the current episode of Mexican immigration is a unique event in United States history.¹ Much has been said about the contemporary situation, but it is still too early to determine to what extent Mexican-Americans will eventually assimilate, socially and economically, into mainstream society.²

This paper looks at the movement of approximately 1 million French-Canadians from Canada to the United States. The bulk of the migration occurred between the end of the Civil War and 1930, with most settling in neighboring New England or northern New York. In 1930, approximately two-thirds of first and second generation French Canadians lived in New England (Truesdell (1943)). What makes this episode particularly relevant for the current debate is the fact that the French-Canadian immigrants exerted considerable efforts to maintain their language and to replicate their home country institutions in their new country. Probably most notable among those institutions is the school system. They established many "national" parishes where both church and school were bilingual or French and the priest was usually from French Canada. The Irish-Americans who ran the U.S. Roman Catholic Church were

¹"Contemporary Mexican ... immigration is without precedent in U.S. history. The experience and lessons of past immigration have little relevance to understanding its dynamics and consequences. Mexican immigration differs from past immigration and most other contemporary immigration due to a combination of six factors: contiguity, scale, illegality, regional concentration, persistence, and historical presence" (p. 33).

² Although see Trejo (2001) for a look at the intergenerational progress made by Mexicans of recent cohorts. We abstract from the experience of immigrants such as the Amish, who never intended to participate in the mainstream society in the way that most groups of immigrants did.

assimilationist. They often opposed the creation of French-Canadian parishes and when possible assigned European francophone (or even Irish) priests who would discourage the maintenance of Canadian customs by their immigrant parishioners. French Canada's Roman Catholic Church played an active role in helping Franco-Americans achieve their goal of "ethnic survival" by sending large numbers of priests, nuns, and teaching brothers.

The prolonged concern in the U.S. about French Canadian immigrants is strikingly similar to modern discussions of policy options regarding immigration from Latin America. Several of the factors Huntington sees as unique to Mexican immigration (contiguity, regional concentration, persistence, and historical presence) bear a strong resemblance to the characteristics of French Canadian migrants.³ We are not the first researchers to draw parallels between the French Canadians and the Hispanics. Theriault (1951, p. 2) notes: "From the point of view of resistance to assimilation the Franco-Americans appear to be most nearly comparable to the Spanish-Americans of the Southwest, with whom they also share the unique distinction among American immigrant groups of proximity to their country of origin."

We are not suggesting that an understanding of the assimilation path of Franco-Americans will be a sure guide as to what can be expected over the next several decades regarding the integration of Mexican immigrants. If Mexico experiences little economic growth while the U.S. economy prospers greatly, the pressures to move may persist for much more than sixty years. Around 1900, the proportion of all Canadian born francophones living in the US (19%) was substantially higher than the proportion of the Mexican-born living in the US around the year 2000. However, after 1900, the proportion of francophones in the US dropped to 11% by 1930 (Truesdell (1943)).⁴

Franco-Americans were demographically important especially in New England towns. Nearly 5% of the 1900 population of New England was French Canadian born, and 9% were first or second generation French Canadian. In 1930, 3% of New England's population was Canadian born, 9% first or

³ Concerns about the French Canadians remaining separate persisted for many years. In 1942, F.D. Roosevelt told Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King that he saw a need for greater assimilation of French Canadians in New England, although he felt there had been much progress in recent years (Bothwell (1992), p. 4).

⁴ For Canada, we use racial origin French, not mother tongue, to define the French Canadian population.

second generation immigrants (including those with only one parent born in Canada (Truesdell (1943), p. 77, and US Census)). As we can see from Map 1, in 1910-1920 a good many counties had at least 10% first or second generation French Canadians in their population (20%+ in roughly half of those counties).⁵ Perhaps more importantly in the context of discussing the long term impact of clustering along ethnic and cultural lines, we can see in Map 2 that the majority of French Canadians were located in a relatively small subset of those counties. However, the total francophone population of Canada in 1900 was only 29% of the total population of New England and 2% of the entire U.S. population. In 1930, the French origin population in Canada was 36% of the total population of New England, still 2% of the entire US population (Urquhart and Buckley (eds) (1965), p.18 and US census of 1930, p. 35). In July 2004, the population of Mexico was 35.8% of the total population of the United States (Central Intelligence Agency's *World Factbook*). Thus, supply limitations were certainly a factor for French Canadian much more than Mexican migration.

While virtually any French Canadian could cross the border up to 1917, and any minimally literate French Canadian could do so until 1930, officially the current flow from the south is tightly regulated. French Canadians showed marked reluctance to take out American citizenship, even though virtually all were legally free to do so. We cannot in any way assess the impact of having a large number of illegal, but long-resident, immigrants who cannot apply for citizenship.

The first goal of the paper is to look at French Canadians' convergence across generations towards the patterns seen for native white English-speaking New Englanders and to compare the French Canadian trends to those found for European Roman Catholic immigrants. We focus on educational attainment. One of our main findings is that the educational attainment of Franco-Americans still lagged that of their fellow citizens in 1970 by at least a full year of schooling, even for those born of American born parents. Secondly, we find that relative to the Italians living in New England, the intergenerational progress was

⁵ Computations using the 1910 Census for the cities of Lowell, MA and Woonsocket, RI with population counts (using the person weights) of 121,158 and 31,733 respectively show that French Canadians accounted for 24.2% and 56.7%, respectively, of those towns' population.

considerably slower: despite the fact that first generation Italian immigrants came to the United States with even lower levels of schooling than was the case for French Canadians, their sons and daughters' educational attainment surpassed that of the French Canadian immigrants' sons and daughters. Still, by the time of the 2000 census, the younger cohorts of New England residents of French Canadian ancestry appear to have achieved parity in educational attainment. There is even evidence that Americans of French Canadian ancestry achieve higher educational attainment relative to other New Englanders. However, it is interesting to note that this convergence was largely achieved through marriage outside the ethnic group, as measured by individuals reporting that their second ancestry, and not the first, is French Canadian. For those who report that their first ancestry is French Canadian, we still find that the younger generations generally trail in terms of educational attainment, although there is variation across genders. We also find evidence that convergence was not achieved in a "linear" manner, with each generation successively catching up at a more or less constant rate. Instead, we show that Americans of French Canadian ancestry who are aged at least 65 in 2000 have widely diverging educational attainment depending upon whether they are self-reported "first ancestry" French-Canadians who still speak French at home, first ancestry who do not use French at home, or second ancestry French Canadians.

In the second part of the paper, using the combined 1980, 1990 and 2000 Censuses we investigate the source of the progress made by this older group of people. We provide strong evidence that military service was a major factor which caused the decline in the attachment to the French Canadian identity and the acceleration of the assimilation process into mainstream America. First, we show that New England born men of French Canadian ancestry were more likely to have served in the military than other New England born individuals. Secondly, the male-female ratio of the college graduation rate is especially large relative to that of other New Englanders for the cohorts of men at risk of having served during those three wars. Again, this is particularly true for the World War II cohorts. This suggests that the educational upgrading opportunities offered by the G.I. Bill were at least as appealing to males of

French Canadian ancestry as they were to other Americans. Moreover, World War II service, either directly or through increased education, caused veterans to be much more likely to be living outside New England, to marry outside the ethnic group, and to be less likely to report using French as the home language at the time of the 1980, 1990 and 2000 Censuses. Although we also observe declining enrollments in private (or parochial) schools to the point where, by 2000, children of French Canadian ancestry were no more likely than other New England children to attend private school, we view that as the result of the declining degree of attachment to the Franco-American identity than as a contributing factor. In short, it seems clear to us that World War II was a pivotal event which accelerated the assimilation of Franco-Americans through the channels of exogamy and geographic mobility that were partly induced by increased educational attainment.

Building on that finding, our final objective in this paper is to examine the extent to which French Canadian immigrants, although they initially were successful in replicating the institutional settings of the society they left, experienced gradually diverging outcomes. We compare Franco-Americans to French-speaking Canadians of the same generations in what arguably amounts to an experiment in "identity choice" (Akerlof and Kranton (2000)). What we argue gives credibility to the exercise is the fact that although Quebec (French speaking) society became much more urban over this time period, in many ways it was relatively stable over the years that saw successive generations of Franco Americans adapt within U.S. society. The "Quiet Revolution" in Quebec, which saw the rapid decline in the Roman Catholic Church's power within the province and a marked improvement in the economic position of francophones relative to anglophones did not occur until the 1960s.

We find that Franco-Americans substantially upgraded their educational attainment across generations relative to the achievement of the same age cohorts in Quebec. Quebec did not introduce compulsory schooling legislation until 1943, and until the late 1960s the structure of the Roman Catholic school system ensured that few children continued past primary school. The contrasts between French

Canadians and Franco-Americans are particularly strong for post-secondary educational attainment, especially for younger females. Finally, we also find that all but one age cohort of Franco American females had fewer children than their French Canadian counterparts in 1970. The exception was for women aged 25 to 34. In our view, this exception provides further support for the notion that Franco-Americans were by the 1960s largely unaffected by developments in Quebec. The fertility rate had dropped precipitously in Quebec during the sixties and by 1970 was lower than the fertility rate in the United States. Overall, these results strongly suggest that the "pull" factor eventually exerted a dominating influence, even for this group of immigrants whose explicit objective, at least for a few decades, was to replicate their familiar institutional and cultural surroundings in their new country.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 documents the immigration patterns of French-Canadians and Section 3 describes immigrants' adjustment process. We provide further evidence that the settlers' attempts to isolate themselves from their fellow citizens stirred widespread reprobation. We describe the education system set up by the Franco-Americans and show how it differed from the Quebec system. Section 4 explains the data used and we show the results in Section 5. We provide concluding remarks in Section 6.

2 The Immigration Phase

As in the New York *Times* editorial quoted above, in the late nineteenth century, the French Canadians of New England were occasionally derided as the "Chinese of Eastern North America."⁶ Unlike most Chinese immigrants to the western US, it was common for French Canadian families, as well as single men, to emigrate. The rate of natural increase among the francophone population was high, and the possibilities to obtain good farmland were low. While urban centers in Canada absorbed some of those eager to leave the agricultural sector, the U.S. offered a much greater number of manufacturing jobs. Textile mill owners recruited some of the earliest groups of migrants. Travel costs, in both time and

⁶ French Canadians were not only compared with the Chinese. Another New York *Times* editorial (June 6, 1892) noted that "No other people, except the Indians, are so persistent at repeating themselves. Where they halt they stay, and where they stay they multiply and cover the earth."

money, were minimal for French Canadians moving to New England. One day and (around 1900) at most five dollars (about a week's wages for a low skilled man in Quebec) was sufficient to get to the mill towns of southern New England (Green, MacKinnon, and Minns (2005)). While many participants in streams of immigration come with the intention of returning home, it was far easier for French Canadians than for European immigrants to actually go back home whenever they saw fit. The cost of an Atlantic voyage was more like \$25 and travel time around two weeks.⁷

Indeed, whenever there was a downturn in the New England mill towns, Canadian authorities predicted both the end of the outflow, and a massive return by the unemployed. There were repeated attempts to convince the emigrants either to move to the Canadian west or to return to Quebec to take up farms in areas north of the St. Lawrence valley. If going "home" is an easy option, then the willingness to make both symbolic and practical breaks with the past is likely to be lessened. French Canadian migrants in New England were less likely to take out American citizenship than most other immigrants.⁸ It is extremely doubtful that it was ties to Queen Victoria or her descendants that they were unwilling to renounce. For the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec (and New England), faith and language were inextricably linked. It was easy to encourage convents to set up schools in the "Little Canadas". The need was understood to be great, and the cost of sending Canadian-born nuns to New England was minimal.

From 1917, migrants from Canada were subject to the U.S.-imposed literacy test, and some French Canadians failed it (Ramirez (2001)). There had been very considerable improvements in levels of literacy among the French Canadian population since the 1870s, so that the new literacy test did not have a major negative impact on the possibility of getting into the States. The slower growth of the New England textile industry was probably more important.

⁷ According to the Immigration Commission, in 1908, almost 60% of the sampled French Canadian male employees living in the U.S. for ten years or more had made at least one trip home. Only 10% of Polish, 16% of Irish, and 32% of English men in the survey reported a visit to their native land (Immigration Commission, Vol. 20, pp. 983, 987, 993,1000).

⁸ In 1908, of foreign born adult men in the U.S. for 10 years or more, 28% of the French Canadians were fully naturalized, while 40% of the Poles and 50% of the Other Canadians were U.S. citizens (Immigration Commission, Vol. 19, p. 189).

To get an idea of the yearly flows into the U.S. from French Canada, we use the combined 1900-1930 censuses to plot the distribution of arrival years (see Figure 1).⁹ Admittedly, this fails to capture the actual yearly flows as many of the early immigrants eventually returned to Canada or had died by the time they were surveyed. It does highlight the fact that the immigration phase was far from over by the late 1890's, as MacDonald (1898) thought. In fact, the figure shows that the number of arrivals in 1900 was the highest ever, with 1899 not far behind. Fairly high rates of immigration continued until roughly 1920, with much lower rates in the 20's until the border was closed in 1930. Emigration rates remained very low throughout the Second World War. Note that even though the preliminary 1930 Census numbers suggest that immigration flows were low, there are actually quite a few diverging numbers in the literature, perhaps in part because French Canadian immigrants were more likely to move in and out of the United States than other groups. In Appendix Table 1, we provide estimates from Paquet and Smith (1983) that would suggest much larger flows in the couple of decades leading to 1930.

As we will see below, wartime service and economic opportunities tended to break up some of the francophone enclaves in New England. After the war, low rates of immigration coupled with suburbanization of the population made it much harder to maintain viable French-language institutions (newspapers, schools, churches) (Roby, 2000, pp 353-475.).

As time passed, discussion developed within the Franco-American community about the desirability of taking out American citizenship. The same reports that noted the number of children at (bilingual) parochial schools also listed the number of voters and boasted of the city councilors and state legislators of French background. To remain distinct, it helped to have a voice in the American political process. In 1930, over half of the French Canadian born adult men in the US were citizens. However, proportions naturalized were generally lower in the New England states than in the rest of the U.S. (Truesdell, 1943, pp. 111, 117).

⁹To avoid double counting, we use the 1900 census for those who arrived before 1900, the 1910 census for those arriving between 1900 and 1909, the 1920 census for those arriving between 1910 and 1919 and the 1930 census for all arrivals between 1920 and 1930.

3 Franco-American and French-Canadian Educational Institutions

Many of the early immigrants were illiterate, as was common in Quebec at that time. Only about half of working-age francophone men in Canada could read and write in 1871. In the early days, such instruction as was provided in New England for immigrant children was fairly rudimentary, with some mills instituting schools to teach Franco-American children basic skills and some English. The teachers were often Franco-American women who had attended convent schools in Canada. As the number of immigrants grew and many French Canadians located in a fairly small set of towns, religious orders took over or established parochial schools, the first of which was founded in Rutland, Vermont in 1870. Brault (1986) gives a very detailed account of the parochial schooling system, including the creation of high schools and colleges in the early 20th Century. As he remarks, "the cornerstone on which the Franco-American school was built was the profound conviction that abandoning the French language was tantamount to abandoning the Catholic faith."

Key components of the parochial schools were their focus on the French language and the French Canadian culture, in addition to the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church. It is the language components, which are more central to the key issue of resistance to cultural assimilation into mainstream America that raised the greatest concerns among native Americans. English-language parochial schools were suspect; French-language parochial schools were clearly dangerous. Recognition of parochial schools was an issue early on precisely because instruction was not provided in English (Hamon (1891) cited in Brault (1986)). Bilingual parochial schooling was seen as acceptable by the authorities requiring school attendance. By the early 1900s, parochial schools settled into the format they maintained until the 1950s: half a day was taught in French, half a day in English. French was used to teach catechism, Bible study, Canadian history, art, and music, while reading, writing, arithmetic; American history, geography, civics, and hygiene were taught in English. Usually French-language topics were taught by the Canadian religious while English subjects were taught by Americans.

Although it was not customary for early Franco-Americans to attend high school or college, a few did. Until at least the early 20th Century, those who did not attend U.S. public schools returned to Canada to attend the church-run "Classical Colleges". The curriculum led roughly to a B.A. degree, with the first four years corresponding to high school education and the last four to college-level instruction. This system was a remnant of the pre-revolutionary education system in France and accessing it was more or less the privilege of the elite, as it was not publicly funded. With increased demand for post-elementary but not secular schooling in New England on the part of Franco-Americans, the first U.S. based Classical College, Assumption College, was established in Worcester, MA, in 1904. Brault (1986) reports that contrary to its sister schools in Quebec, instruction at Assumption became increasingly bilingual over the years. The institution, founded by the French and Belgian Assumptionist Fathers, suffered a steady decline of its French-speaking faculty. By the late 1930s, roughly half the courses were taught in English and even the students generally spoke English among themselves when not in class.

In summary, Franco-Americans tried hard to re-create the educational institutions of French Canada. Yet, three main differences in the educational environment made the New England "flavor" different and no doubt played a role in the eventual absorption of Franco-Americans into mainstream society. First, the U.S. schools had an added component relative to their sister schools in Quebec, which is that except in the very early years a substantial part of the instruction was in English. The second very important difference in the environment was, of course, that all children were eligible to enroll in the regular public school system. There is ample evidence that Franco-Americans were subject to pressures from native Americans to enroll their children in the public schools at the same time that their priests preached the importance of sending the children to the parochial school. In contrast, although parents in urban Quebec could in principle enroll their children in English-speaking Catholic schools, in practice few did so. The third difference was that there were no compulsory schooling laws in Quebec until the 1940s. While it may have been fairly easy for children just below the school-leaving age to evade the

compulsory schooling laws in U.S. manufacturing towns, there was external pressure to ensure that all children attended school for at least six or seven years.¹⁰

4 Data

We use the IPUMS of the United States Census for most of the 20th Century census years, as well as the 2000 Census to create both our samples of New England residents as well as broader samples of New England born individuals. The latter sample allows us to look at geographic mobility, more particularly the relative incidence of living outside New England for Franco-Americans. We focus on New England because the concentration of French Canadians was highest there and it was in these states that the institutions necessary to permit the maintenance of a separate community flourished. In Michigan or California, living in French was really not an option. Those who chose to move to or remain in Fall River or Woonsocket could more plausibly act as if living in the US was either a temporary event, or that New England was a southern extension to Quebec and Acadia.

We put a particular, although by no means exclusive, emphasis on the 1970 U.S. Census for the following reasons. First, we are interested in the long-term effect on immigrants of French-Canadian heritage. The Form 2 samples of the 1970 Census contain the most detailed information of all post-war US censuses about the respondent's birthplace and mother tongue, as well as for both parents of the respondent.¹¹ Another factor which makes us rely heavily on 1970 rather than 1960 is that a micro-data sample of the 1961 Canadian census is not available. Thus for 1970/71 but not 1960/61 we can construct a sample of French-speaking Americans and Canadians. As mentioned earlier, the Catholic schooling system in place in Quebec until the mid-60s served as the model for the parochial schools that Franco-Americans established in New England. We can be confident that the educational institutions experienced by (many to most) Franco-American and (virtually all) French-Canadian adults in 1970/71

¹⁰ In 1941, over 40% of the men 25-34 in rural Quebec reported having attended school for at most six years.

¹¹ We exclude from the sample respondents who report having French as their mother tongue but who were born in any French-speaking country other than Canada. We also exclude those whose parents were born in a French-speaking country other than Canada. These sample limitations result in very few deleted observations – to be francophone in New England virtually always was to be of French Canadian descent.

were quite similar. As noted above, there were two (for older adults, three) very important features which only affected Franco-Americans: instruction was carried out in English for roughly half the day, the public school system was an option, and there were compulsory schooling laws.

The 2000 U.S. Census is less appropriate for the purpose of evaluating the intergenerational progress because it contains only the self-reported first and possibly second ancestry of the respondent. While this is useful, the absence of information about parental birthplace precludes looking at convergence across generations. By 2000, there were few Franco-Americans under 70 who had been born in French Canada. While we are no doubt picking up some third (or higher) generation descendants of immigrants with the "ancestry" response, we cannot separate out each generation. In addition, because respondents can always answer "American" to the ancestry question, some individuals are assigned to the comparison group when they should be included in the sample of individuals of French-Canadian ancestry. However, in another sense the 2000 Census is also very useful because it allows us to be more flexible in defining ethnicity and in identifying whether the convergence is due to either not using French at home or to the forebears of the respondent having married outside the tightly knit Franco community at some point (which we identify as being the case when the second reported ancestry is French Canadian).¹²

The 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930 Censuses, the latter being the recent preliminary release are used to assess literacy, school enrollment as well as immigration flows coming from French Canada. The 1940 Census includes most of the relevant variables also in the 1970 Census. This allows us to study the "mid-term" education-related outcomes of Franco-Americans. The sample size is somewhat smaller, though, because only so-called "sample-line" members (one per household) were asked questions on mother tongue and parents' birthplace.¹³ Nevertheless we do manage to add quite a few observations to

¹²We think that the question about the language spoken at home is not different to the mother tongue question contained in the 1970 Census. The intent of asking about mother tongue was to assess whether a language other than English was spoken at home.

¹³ Where mother tongue and birthplace are reported, the correlations between "French Canada" and mother tongue "French", and "Other Canada" as birthplace and mother tongue "English" are both high, but the correspondence is not exact. We think that some census takers considered "French Canada" as the equivalent of Quebec. Therefore Acadians and Franco-Ontarians

the sample-line member sample by looking at each household member's relationship to the head of the household and to the sample-line individual. For example, if a non sample line member is the son of the head of household and the head's wife is the sample-line individual, and her mother tongue is French, then the son is considered to be a Franco-American.¹⁴

We use the 1971 Canadian Census to compare Franco-Americans and French-Canadians in Quebec. Responses to questions about mother tongue, birthplace, and parents' birthplaces allow us to select French-speaking residents of the Province of Quebec who were born in that province. We exclude the small number of individuals who report speaking French and who were born in the U.S. Although the overall percentage is very small (0.9% of the sample if they were included), it is interesting to note that the fraction of U.S. born respondents is approximately 3.5% of those aged over 60, while it is about 0.5% for those below 60. Given that those over 60 in 1971 would have been born in the late 19th and early 20th Century, at which time much effort was being exerted to repatriate people back to Quebec (Vicero (1968)), it would appear that those efforts were not very successful. After acknowledging that many of the first arrivals eventually returned home, MacDonald (1898) remarks that "very few of the French now return to" Canada (p. 268). The numbers above seem to support his assertion.

5 Analysis

Tables 1 and 2 show the fraction of the 1970 New England population reporting French or Italian as their mother tongue. The main reason we choose the Italians as a comparison group of immigrants is simply pragmatism: since ethnic background in the 1970 Census is identified by the respondent's country of birth, his or her parents' country of birth, and the respondent's mother tongue, and there were many Italians in New England, it is possible to compare how the characteristics of these two mainly Roman Catholic sets of residents evolved across generations. In some ways, the Irish also provide for an interesting comparison, given that they were generally Roman Catholic and provided a large factory

were likely to appear as coming from "Other Canada", while Quebec Anglophones may appear as "French Canadians".

¹⁴ When the sample line individual in the household is a servant, lodger, or other non-relative, we cannot infer anything about ethnic origins, unless someone in the family group was born in French Canada.

workforce. However, one obvious problem is that they cannot be identified in the 1970 Census past the second generation.

Using mother tongue as an identifier of ethnic background is in some ways too restrictive, as no doubt many individuals of French Canadian ancestry never spoke French and thus are included among native white English speaking New Englanders. Besides the fact that data limitations in the 1970 Census prevent us from using any other criterion for those beyond the second generation, we think that language background may be the most relevant definition for our purpose. We want to assess the impact on successive generations of holding onto the mother country institutions, and language is a critical part of those institutions. The very fact that in 1970 a sizeable fraction New Englanders still reported that their mother tongue is French is in itself a measure of success in achieving the goal of ethnic survival. Looking at the outcomes of a group of individuals with strong ethnic identification to a community where post-secondary, if not post-elementary, education was a low priority for many decades provides us with a "most adverse case" perspective on the long term degree of assimilation for a group consisting mainly of low-skill labor.

Probably the most striking feature about Tables 1 and 2 is that while the fractions of New England residents reporting French or Italian as mother tongue are not that different, clear differences emerge once the samples are broken down by nativity status and age. This is especially true in the case of those whose parents were U.S. born. While the fractions of French-speakers who had both parents born in the United States remains relatively high, in contrast there are few Italian-speaking individuals aged 35 and over whose parents were both born in the U.S. It appears that language assimilation is more prevalent among Italians than among French Canadians. Of course, the timing of immigration was rather different, with many fewer Italians in the U.S. before 1890. Therefore among older adults of Italian descent fewer could have had US born parents.

Table 3 and Figure 2 show one of the main results in the paper, one that continues to hold in the regression results presented below where we control for measurable characteristics. In 1970, even among those whose parents were both born in the U.S., the educational attainment of Franco-Americans still lagged that of their fellow white English-speaking citizens by over one full year of schooling. Not surprisingly, the largest deficit in educational attainment is observed among first generation immigrants, many of whom attended school in Canada. The fact that average years of schooling seemed "capped" at around 9 in Figure 2 for even those in the youngest age group of immigrants is not a surprise; as discussed earlier, the schooling system in French Canada long imposed a hard ceiling except for those from prosperous family backgrounds.

The next set of figures and table describes the characteristics of the Franco-American throughout the 20th century in terms of literacy, school enrollment, and the type of school that they attended relative to the English speakers. We try to look at where they started and follow their evolution through time. Data permitting, we also compare them to the home country population's outcomes to get an idea of the relative progress made by Franco-Americans.

Figures 3a-d show the school attendance rate as well as a measure of literacy for both males and females in 1910. School attendance patterns strongly imply that as soon as boys were considered able to work, they quit school and entered the labor force. Although a similar age pattern is also present for females, and many young women worked in the manufacturing sector, the attendance rates for French-speaking girls are more irregular, with a perceptible drop at around the age of 10 but somewhat more girls than boys continuing at school into their mid-teens.¹⁵ For some reason, as we can see in figure 3b, Franco-American females' school starting age is very similar to that of other New Englanders. French speaking boys started school later than their sisters or other New England boys. An additional important factor behind the rapid drop in attendance rates past the age of 13 or 14 can probably be traced to the parochial schooling environment. The "next step" of attending a classical college, either in New England

¹⁵ By age 10, girls were old enough to help their mothers and should have learned the basics of Roman Catholic doctrine.

or in Quebec was available to only a few individuals. Switching to a public high school would have rarely been encouraged, and in any case the educational preparation in most parochial schools may not have provided an adequate academic background. The evidence shown in these figures is consistent with the finding that at the time when the American secondary education system started its considerable expansion (1910 to the late 1920s), New England lost its national lead in terms of the fraction of individuals graduating from high school (Goldin (1998), Goldin and Katz (1999)). With a significant fraction of children quitting school at 14 or 15, and with a continuing flow of minimally educated immigrants from Quebec, overall state averages were bound to decrease relative to those of some western states.

As previously noted, literacy rates in French Canada in the late 19th century were very low. This is still clearly evident when we look at the 1910 literacy rate of males in Figure 3c and that of females in Figure 3d. Even among young males, close to 20% are illiterate. Also, older men are progressively less literate. Still, as low as those rates are, they are even lower for Italian immigrants, especially females. In comparison, the literacy rate hardly changes with the age cohort for non French speakers in New England.

Table 4 reports the proportion of children at school attending parochial schools in December, 1908. For each of the surveyed cities in New England with a French-Canadian presence, we show results for children whose father's race was French Canadian, and also for another major non-English mother tongue mainly Roman Catholic group. Except in Boston, where few Roman Catholic children of any ethnic background attended parochial schools, and there were relatively few French Canadians, French-Canadian children were strikingly likely to be attending a parochial school if they were at school at all. Perlmann (1988) stresses that Italians were very unlikely to send their children to parochial school, and this is what we see throughout New England. Only Polish children (who are not found in large

numbers in the cities where the French Canadians lived in 1908) were as likely to attend parochial schools.

Figures 4a and 4b exploit the availability of school attendance data in both New England and in French Canada to get an idea of the progress made by second generation Franco-Americans relative to English speaking white Americans and, perhaps more strikingly, relative to French Canadians in Trois-Rivières, an almost entirely francophone town of similar size to Woonsocket, R.I., or in rural Quebec. The latter group is particularly relevant as many of those who migrated to the U.S. came from rural Quebec.¹⁶ The first thing to note is that by 1940 school attendance rates are virtually the same for Franco and English-speaking Americans until the age of 16, at which time the Franco attendance rate drops precipitously. This pattern suggests that compulsory school attendance was much more of a constraint for them than for the average American. Much progress had occurred between 1910 and 1940 in the attendance of Franco-Americans relative to US Anglos. Second generation Franco-Americans are doing much better than their French-Canadian counterparts, especially those in rural areas. In fact, the attendance rate of Franco-American males in 1910 is remarkably similar to that of rural Quebecers thirty one years later, more so than is the case for females, although the broad patterns are similar.¹⁷

Clearly the combination of compulsory schooling laws and possibly also access to the public school system raised Franco-Americans' educational participation rates. When French Canadians moved from rural to urban Quebec, they also raised their investment in formal education. However, we should be cautious about interpreting the rising educational attainment of Franco-Americans relative to US

¹⁶We lack a micro sample of the Canadian census of 1941, and the published data do not separate school attendance by language group, so we use school participation rates in Trois-Rivières as representative of attendance patterns among the urban francophone population. Rates for Quebec City were almost identical to those found for Trois Rivières.

¹⁷We can estimate school participation rates in Quebec by area and mother tongue for 1901, thanks to the Canadian Families Project sample. We await the release of the new 1% IPUMS sample of the 1900 US Census, which should provide a large enough sample of francophones in both countries to make comparisons of school participation rates across the border. In 1901, urban Quebec francophones were far more likely to attend school, especially at ages 13 to 16, than their rural peers. However, urban francophone attendance rates in 1901 were also well below the attendance rates for New England based francophones in 1910 shown in Figures 3a and b. There was progress within rural Quebec between 1901 and 1941. In 1901 (according to the CFP sample), less than 60% of 13 year old francophones were at school. By 1941, the proportion had risen to about 85% for both boys and girls.

Anglos as simply assimilation to a common urban pattern. In 1940/41, school attendance rates of 2nd generation Franco-Americans in New England, most of whom were living in urban areas, were substantially higher than for youngsters in Trois-Rivières. Children in New England started school at younger ages, and, more clearly for girls than boys, much more frequently stayed in school past age 14.

Moving to 1970, we can see in Figures 5a and 5b that, again, relative enrollment rates drop after age 16, although the drop is not as evident as in the previous figures, particularly for males born of U.S. born parents. By the year 2000, while there is still some visual evidence in Figure 6a suggesting that Franco-American males' college enrollment rates is lower than for other non Francos, the catch up is virtually complete for females (Figure 6b). Finally, Figure 6c shows the enrollment rates in private schools across groups, conditional on being enrolled. The figure seems to illustrate quite clearly the abrupt drop in private school enrollment in elementary and secondary schools over the 30 year period between the 1970 and 2000 Censuses. However, an important caveat associated with Figure 6c is that the definition of a Franco-American is not the same: while it is defined by mother tongue in 1970, the definition is broader in 2000 and almost certainly includes a large fraction of unilingual English speakers, people who, by the 1970 definition, would have been classified as US Anglos. Consequently, it could well be that private school enrollment rates are higher in 2000 for those whose mother tongue is French. Equivalently, using the same definition in 1970 as in 2000 would likely have lowered the private school enrollment rates.¹⁸

The final set of figures shows how average schooling levels evolved across generations for a variety of ethnic groups. The "fathers-sons" comparison shown in Figure 7a to 7d defines "fathers" and "sons" as members of the same ethnic group separated by a minimum of 21 years and by a maximum of 39 years. Figures 7b, c, and d show the results for pairs with the putative sons aged 25-34, 35-44 and 45-54. To avoid crowding the graphs, some "ethnic groups" are rather loosely defined (e.g. "White Anglos"

¹⁸In principle we could look at the attendance rate of Franco-Americans who still speak French at home to make the figures in 1970 and 2000 more comparable. Tellingly, however, the number of young children of French Canadian descent speaking French at home is so low that the graph is just not very informative.

or "Central Europeans"). The idea behind those graphs is to see whether there is anything “unusual” about Franco-Americans' convergence across generations, in the sense of being an outlier relative to the average across all ethnic groups.

If we first look at the overall United States in Figure 7a, we see that the only apparent outlier in the graph, relative to the (dotted) regression line, is for Asians, for whom intergenerational improvement in educational attainment is striking. While the Mexicans are at the bottom corner of the graph, they are more or less on the regression line. Turning to New England in Figure 7b, and using the same definition of “fathers” and “sons”, there seems to be nothing really special about either Franco-Americans or Italians. Italian fathers have slightly higher educational attainment than Franco-American fathers but both groups are close to the regression line. However, if we change the age of the son-father pairings and look at older groups, then we see (in Figure 7c) that while Franco-American fathers have higher education than Italian fathers, the intergenerational progress for the francophones lags that of all the other groups, except blacks. This is even more evident in Figure 7d comparing “sons” aged 45-54 and “fathers” aged 75-84. This interpretation of these figures must ignore possible differential attrition across groups, as well as shifting cohort qualities. What we infer from Figures 7b to 7d is that as we "age" the members of the groups, we start seeing for Franco-Americans, but not Italians, the impact of maintaining the old tradition of low schooling. Reluctance to move beyond the parochial school environment, which would have been much more prevalent for the older generations of Franco-Americans, likely played a considerable role. Going instead from Figure 7d to Figure 7b shows the impact in terms of educational attainment of gradually abandoning the traditional French Canadian identity.

Figures 2 to 7 showed the main points we think are important in comparing schooling levels over time of French Canadians in Quebec and New England. In Tables 5 to 8, we control for other factors that could interact with ethnic origin in explaining educational attainment. Before discussing the specifics of each table, a general overview of the evidence presented in Tables 5 to 8 suggests that in terms of

educational attainment French Canadians assimilated towards “US Anglo” standards fairly slowly, but that by the year 2000, educational attainment for young adults of French Canadian descent was roughly the same as that of US Anglos. That conclusion, however, actually depends on how we use the ancestry information. The rate of change for Franco-Americans, relative to Italian-Americans, was probably somewhat lower. Italian immigrants were typically exceptionally poorly educated, so that quite a lot of the jump between the first and second generation seen in Tables 5 and 7 is due to the disappearance of working-age adults with less than Grade 3 education.

Looking first at the results in Table 5, which provides us with a useful “midterm” reference point given that by that time the migration flows from French Canada had basically stopped, a couple of features stand out. First, while Italians who came into the U.S. had extremely low levels of education, quite a bit lower in fact than French Canadians, their intergenerational progress was much better than it was for second generation Franco-Americans. In fact, it was particularly impressive for the older cohorts, the more recent cohorts of second generation Italian-Americans in 1940 not doing quite as well as the older cohorts of second generation people, perhaps due to shifting cohort quality. Remarkably, for the second generation Franco-Americans, the deficit relative to either other New England or U.S. born anglophones was roughly constant across age groups. This is particularly true for males. It seems as though second generation Franco-Americans were stalled in some way in their progress towards the mean educational attainment level. We view this as providing additional evidence of the effect of the parochial school environment and, more generally, the lack of emphasis put on education as a way to make economic progress.¹⁹

One of the main results in the paper is shown in Table 6. We can see that even in the case of the younger aged males and females of the third generation-those born in the U.S. with both their parents born in the U.S. as well, Franco-Americans still lag their fellow New Englanders by over a full year of

¹⁹In fact, it was not unusual for the clergy to question the value of higher education, if not strongly discourage its pursuit, as is done in Vermette (1936).

schooling. This is even true for those who cannot be assigned to either the second or the third generations, a group which would include children of mixed marriages. On the other hand the younger generations of Italian-Americans have basically caught up relative to the reference group, as is shown in Table 7. This is especially true for males.²⁰ Perhaps a caveat to the results presented in that table would be that the reference group is made of possibly some of the more educated while English speaking individuals in the entire U.S. Hence, it may be asking quite a lot from any group of second or third generation immigrants to completely close the gap. Yet, the same argument would apply to Italians as well, and they seem to have achieved parity by 1970.

Turning to Table 8, we can see that the conclusion actually depends on how we use the ancestry information, and it also depends on what measure of educational attainment we use. Focusing first on the younger age group, we can see that the convergence depends in part on whether the respondent still speaks French at home and also on whether the French Canadian ancestry is reported in second place.²¹ A few features emerge clearly when we look at Table 8. First, both males and females of French Canadian second reported ancestry are actually doing better irrespective of the educational attainment measure used. Secondly, the “first ancestry/speak French penalty” is clearly detectable for both males and females in the case of having at least a B.A. degree. However, this is not true if we look at having at least some college education.

One of the most striking things about Table 8, is the very large “ancestry gradient” for those aged 65 and over, and even to a degree for the 55-64 age group. Going from being French speaker to not speaking French at home already makes up for part of the gap in years of schooling, but not for the post-secondary education educational attainment measures. If we look at those age 65+ who report their

²⁰Note that to make this table comparable to the fathers-sons combinations shown in Figures 7a-d, one should look at, e.g., the educational attainment of first-generation immigrants aged 55-64 and compare it to that of the 25-34 second-generation individuals.

²¹Note that 6.9% (6.7%) of white males (females) aged 25 or more report that they are of French Canadian first or second ancestry. Among those of French Canadian ancestry, 12.4% of males and 13.8% of females report still speaking French at home while 12.6% of males and 14.4% of females report French-Canadian as their second ancestry. Among those aged below 35, the fraction of French speakers drops to about 5% for both males and females while 15.7% of males and 17.2% of females report French-Canadian as their second ancestry.

second ancestry to be French-Canadian, we can see that there is little evidence of a lag relative to their fellow New Englanders, although estimates tend to be fairly imprecise. In addition, the magnitude of the average gain from being of second ancestry French Canadian origins, is mostly concentrated with the older age group.

Military Service and its Impact on Franco Americans

In this subsection we explore the role that serving in the U.S. Armed Forces might have played in triggering the gradual adoption of mainstream American values. Using data from the combined 1980-2000 censuses we look at the relationship between veteran status and the following four outcomes, educational attainment, marrying outside the ethnic group, living outside New England (for New England born males), and the use of French at home.

During the Second World War, the U.S. selective service rules meant that extremely high proportions of very young men were drawn into the armed forces. From 1942, men were liable for the draft at 18 (Flynn, 1993, p. 62). The youngest men were most likely to pass the physical fitness requirements and not be eligible for deferments on the basis of marriage and fatherhood or because of special occupational skills.²² As we can see from Figure 8, New England born men of French Canadian ancestry still alive in 1980, 1990 or 2000 were more likely than the average to have served in the US armed forces.²³

Two features of the selective service system help to explain a higher rate of military service for men of French Canadian background: occupational and student deferments. Very few French Canadians worked in agriculture, where occupational deferments were extremely common (Flynn, 1993, pp. 64-68).

²² In July 1945, for the US as a whole, 70% of registered men aged 18-25 had served in the armed forces (Smith, 1946, p. 567).

²³ Note that all graphs are smoothed using a 5-year moving average. Unlike the draft during the First World War, resident aliens were always subject to registration. In the First World War, some aliens were illegally drafted and others volunteered. Canadians were probably included in the agreement with Britain permitting the US to draft British subjects living in the US. (Flynn, 1993, p. 18, Chambers, 1987, p. 189, 228-231).

We know that French Canadians were highly concentrated in the declining towns highly specialized in textile and footwear production. Few workers in these industries would have been considered vital for the war effort. Given their low participation rates in education past age 16, French Canadians would rarely have been able to ask for deferments based on high school or college attendance. It appears from Figures 8a-b that these two factors outweighed any impact of an earlier age at marriage.

The US selective service system forced each state to provide roughly equal proportions of men of military age to the armed forces (Smith, 1947, p. 251). This was very different from the situation in Canada, where there was much greater reliance on volunteer enlistments. French Canadians were more likely to serve in the Canadian Forces in the Second World War than in the First World War, but the proportion of Quebecers of military age in the armed forces was low relative to the rates in other provinces.²⁴ The possibility of serving in French was limited (outside the infantry, nearly impossible), but unlike the US, some units did operate mainly in French.²⁵ The US armed forces were an English-only enterprise, and the impact of this immersion had clear long-term effects on living patterns of Franco-American veterans. French Canadians in the Canadian navy or air force definitely had to learn to fight in English, but in the lower ranks of the army, soldiers could function with little or no English.

Military service with the US armed forces during or after the Second World War appears to have played a substantial role in changing the attitudes of Franco Americans. Veteran status likely was also important in loosening the constraints on pursuing post-secondary education. Figures 9a-b show that men born in the mid and later 1920s were much more likely to graduate from college than were women or men in the cohorts just younger or older. These results are consistent with the findings of Bound and Turner (2002) and Stanley (2003), as well as the earlier paper by Goldin and Margo (1992), about the positive impact of veteran status on of college educated labor following both World War II and the

²⁴ The continued importance of agricultural employment, and the lower average age of marriage, would have reduced enlistments from Quebec. For discussions of French Canadian military service in the Second World War, see Pariseau and Bernier (1988) Chapter 5 and p 324.

²⁵ The Canadian army is described as having operated a system of “one-way” bilingualism during the war. Pariseau and Bernier (1988), from title of Chapter 5.

Korean War. Lemieux and Card (2001) have highlighted the fact that relatively few French Canadians in Canada were able to use veterans' benefits to upgrade their educational status to the level of a bachelor's degree. What Figure 9a suggests is that that the G.I. Bill may have played an even larger role for New England born men of French Canadian ancestry. In a sense this may come as a surprise given prior evidence about the relationship between socioeconomic status and the effect of the G.I. Bill (Stanley (2003)). However, given that the schooling institutions imported by Franco-Americans provided only quite limited opportunities for post-secondary education, it is plausible that access was more of a problem for them than for other ethnic groups that more readily embraced the public school system.²⁶

Men born around 1920 likely served in the military for longer periods than men born closer to 1925. As we would expect that the longer a man served in the armed forces, the greater his probable improvement in English-language skills and familiarity with U.S. society beyond the Little Canadas, it is not a surprise that the men who were most likely to have been in the military by 1941 or 1942 were least likely to be in New England in the late 20th Century. This is shown in Figure 10. For all other New England born veterans as a whole no such pattern is evident: simply being away from home for some period because of military service raises the probability of living away from New England in the 1990s, but year of birth appears unimportant. The fact that it matters for men of French Canadian ancestry and that the pattern roughly corresponds to that of the male-female relative college graduation rate suggests to us that part of the veteran effect is not just a direct effect but is probably related to increased educational attainment induced by taking advantage of the G.I. Bill.²⁷

²⁶ Restricting the definition of French Canadian ancestry to include only those who speak French at home at Census time results in the graph looking roughly the same—the main difference being that the peak in the male-female ratio is more pronounced at the time of either World War II, the Korean War, or the Vietnam War.

²⁷ As should be clear, we only have one “instrument” (that is, if one is willing to view being drafted for WW2 as an exogenous source of variation, which is arguable) for many inter-related outcomes. What we are pointing out in this section is that the timing of those outcomes seems synchronized with veteran status, particularly for the cohorts having served during the Second World War and also during the Korean War. In Appendix Figures 1 and 2 we show the fraction of Franco Americans living outside new England using the 1940 and 1970 Censuses. Attrition notwithstanding, the graphs allow the tracking of the same cohorts over a 30 year period. Both graphs strongly suggest that mobility took off for the cohorts exposed to being drafted.

Two other outcomes related to becoming more likely to assimilate into mainstream society are marrying outside the ethnic group and the use of a language other than English at home. In Figure 11 we show the relative rate of marrying outside the ethnic group for veterans and non veterans, where the ethnic group is again defined using the self reported first or second ancestry. The first thing to note about Figure 11 is that veterans of French Canadian ancestry are in general more likely than non veterans to marry someone who is not of the same ancestry. Secondly, we can see again that the ratio is particularly high for the cohorts exposed to serving either in World War II or in the Korean War. As was the case for the incidence of living outside New England for New England born men, we suspect that the observed peaks are likely to be driven by more than just war service and, in fact, are partly the product of the education effect.

Finally, in Figure 12 we show the fraction of New England born/residents who report speaking French at home. As we can see from the graph, until 1950 females had a higher rate of French usage at home than males. The other main feature about Figure 12 is that males' usage of French showed no declining pattern until the early 20's. Interestingly, by the late 1910's males and females had virtually the same rate of French usage, and the two rates diverged for the next 30 years starting with the cohorts most likely to have served during World War II.²⁸

To be sure, the virtual closing of the border in 1930 played a role in accelerating and eventually more or less completing the assimilation process. United States born individuals of French Canadian descent who assimilated could not be “replaced” anymore by the new entrants. In addition, the decline of the New England textile industry no doubt encouraged the break-up of the French-speaking enclaves by forcing many individuals to migrate. Still, the evidence shown in this section strongly suggests that the Second World War era (and also the Korean War), were very important events that contributed

²⁸ Although not shown here, the veteran/non veteran ratio displays patterns which are consistent with World War II veterans dropping the use of French more rapidly than non veterans. However, the figure is likely to be misleading due to the fact that a good part of the World War II cohorts era trough in the ratio arises from the rate of French usage being markedly *higher* for non Veterans. This suggests at least partial reverse causation to us in that selection into the Armed Forces appears to have favored men who were more fluent in English.

significantly to speeding up the process of assimilation, by making Franco-Americans born in New England more likely to be living outside of New England, to have married outside their ethnic group, and to be less likely to be using French at home (possibly as a consequence of the previous two effects of the war). Additionally, the same birth cohorts that were at risk of serving during WW2 saw the male-female college completion ratio increased to levels that were higher than for other New England born individuals. Given that more educated individuals tend to be both more mobile geographically and to marry people of other ethnicities, it is likely that a portion of the effects of the war described above were driven by the increased educational attainment made possible by the G.I. Bill.

Franco-Americans and French Canadians in Quebec

According to Table 9, which reports estimates of the gap in years of schooling for francophones in New England relative to those in Quebec, differences between movers and stayers are modest. Interestingly, most people in Canada studying or concerned over the emigration episode at the time have argued more or less explicitly that the French Canadian immigrants were negatively selected relative to the population of stayers. Table 9 does not seem to provide much evidence of that except for the youngest cohorts of men. The second generation clearly gained in terms of years of education from having been born in the U.S. The third (or higher) generation who were still identified as of French Canadian descent (with mother tongue French) did even better. Having only one rather than both parents born in the U.S. (“Other Franco-Americans”) seems to have been fairly unimportant.²⁹

While relatively few Franco-Americans attended university in the early years, it is interesting to consider the gaps in attendance rates across the Canada-US border. Here the evidence of

²⁹ In 1970/71, older people on both sides of the border may have felt the desire to inflate their stated number of years of education, given the rising educational standards around them. However, the estimates of years of education for the corresponding age groups in 1940/41 and 1970/71 match up quite closely. If people inflated their estimates of years at school, this seems to have happened by 1940/41.

negative selection into the US is more apparent although, again, it is detectable only for the youngest cohorts, not the cohorts that were really part of the intensive migration around the turn of the century. Table 10 shows that there was a very substantial gap for second and higher generation Franco-Americans, especially women. These Franco-Americans were about twice as likely to have had some post-secondary education as were French Canadians of the same age living in Quebec in 1971. It is important to note that Tables 9 and 10 compare Franco-Americans who are New England residents to French Canadians. The educational attainment upgrading across generations would be even more substantial if we were to include all New England born Francos living elsewhere in the United States.

The last table looks at child-bearing, another characteristic that we expect to change with immigrant assimilation. Given that there may have been differences in age at marriage across groups, attention is focused on the women in the three oldest categories, who would be reporting lifetime total births.

Table 11 clearly establishes that Franco-American women not only had much more schooling than French Canadian women, they also had much smaller families. We can see that there doesn't seem to have been much of a gradient across generations in the U.S. The older Franco-Americans had fewer children than the older French-Canadians, no doubt a direct consequence of the fact that many females worked in the New England factories while same aged women in Quebec were not integrated in the labor market. By contrast the youngest Franco-Americans had more children than the French-Canadians. While this may seem paradoxical, this last result for the younger females actually provides further evidence that the social changes in 1960s Quebec seem not to have had any impact in New England. Over a very short period of time, Quebec became very secular. This had, among other things, the effect of making the fertility rate drop precipitously to levels which are now among the lowest among developed countries.

6 Conclusions

There was considerable clerical and political opposition to the emigration of French Canadians to New England. There was much more concern about the assimilation of those who moved to Protestant or totally secular patterns of living. Using census evidence, we are able to trace how people lived, not just what they or their social superiors thought and wrote about changing lifestyles. At the same time that the New York *Times* editorialists inveighed against the un-assimilable French Canadians, individuals were changing their habits in many ways. Some of the changes may have been made reluctantly and with a sense of guilt. A fictional emigrant (who had only two children), upon confessing to his cousins in rural Quebec that he had changed his surname from Larivière to Rivers reflected (Ringuet, 1940, p. 141):

But if you changed your family name, the one you inherited from a long line of ancestors, it was a bit like repudiating your descent and stripping the name of its honourable reputation for hard work and persistence in the face of every obstacle, which generations of the family had built up. And if going off to the United States was a kind of desertion in any case ... this final surrender was in some ways a denial as bad as St. Peter's, an act of treason like the treason of Judas.³⁰

Despite the proximity of Quebec and the network of institutions designed to extend the reach of French Quebec into New England, even those Franco-Americans who stayed in New England and identified themselves as having French as a mother tongue or French Canada as their ancestral origin did eventually assimilate. This was a slow process, but it appears to now be effectively complete. The “American Way” had a powerful influence on even this group of immigrants. Yet, it is worth noting that World War II, played a pivotal role which we argue contributed significantly to the assimilation process entering into its irreversible phase. We are not arguing that assimilation would not have happened in the absence of the Second World War (or the two subsequent major conflicts for that matter), but our analysis suggests that it would have occurred at an even slower pace than it already did.

³⁰The 1920 census actually has 10 respondents from four different households whose parents are Canadian born French Canadians and who report that their last name is “Rivers”. There are numerous other examples of such name adaptations in the 1920 Census. Obviously, for many people assimilation did not wait for the closing of the borders in 1930.

In the context of the persistent and concentrated immigration from contiguous Mexico into the United States and of its longer term effects on the immigrants themselves and their descendants, two things separating the French Canadian experience from the Mexican experience stand out and are likely to have opposite effects. On the one hand, the continued immigration of large numbers of Mexicans with a seemingly unlimited future supply would seem to point toward a rather slow convergence process across generations. On the other hand, Mexicans coming to the United States have shown no evidence of trying to replicate crucial institutional features of their home country, such as the schooling system, as explicitly and as hard as French Canadians did over a century ago.

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Map 1. 1910-1920 U.S. Censuses
 Shaded areas: Counties where
 Fr. Can. represent 10%+
 of the population.

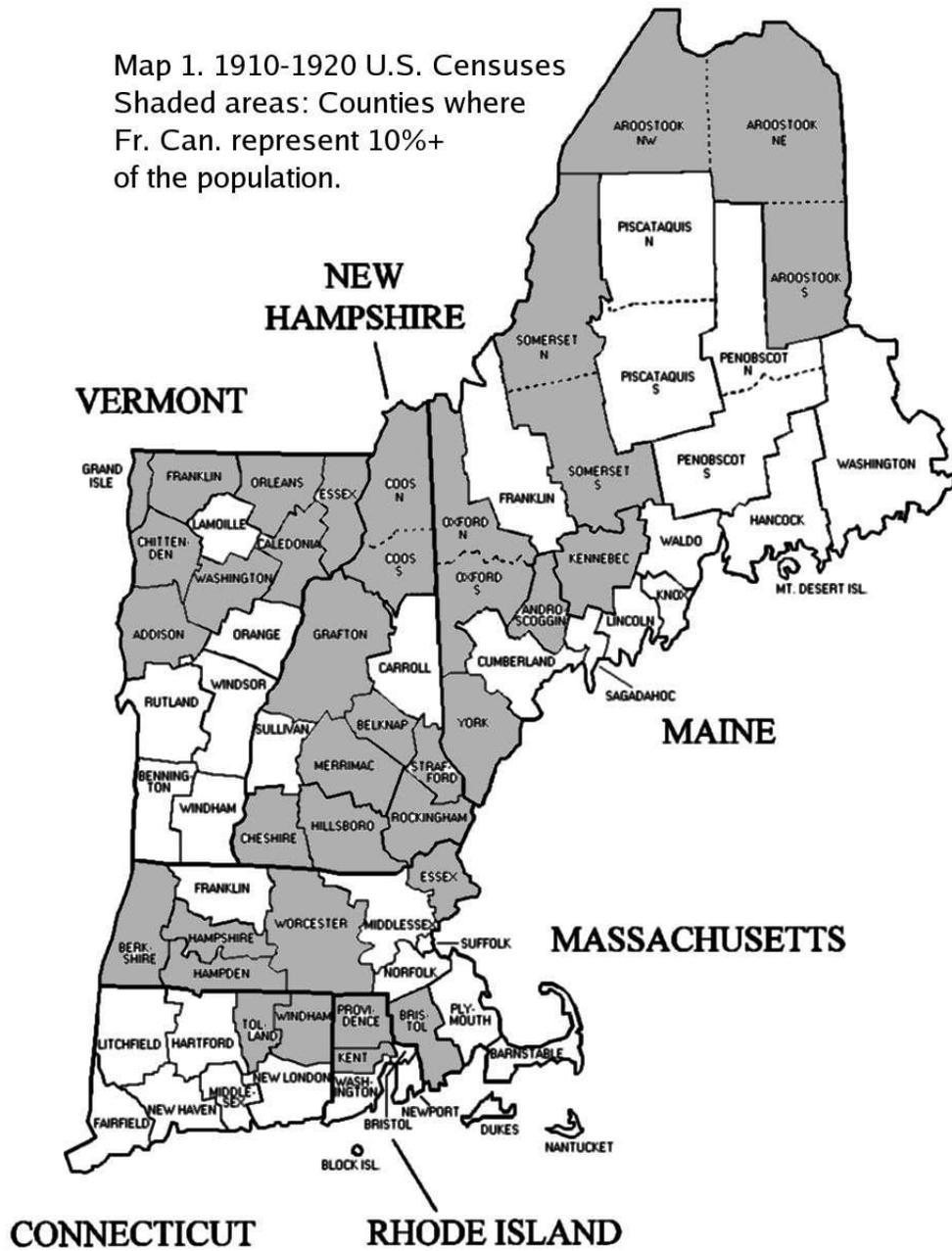


Figure 1. Year of Arrival in New England: French-Speakers Born in Canada

Source: Combined 1900–1930 U.S. Censuses

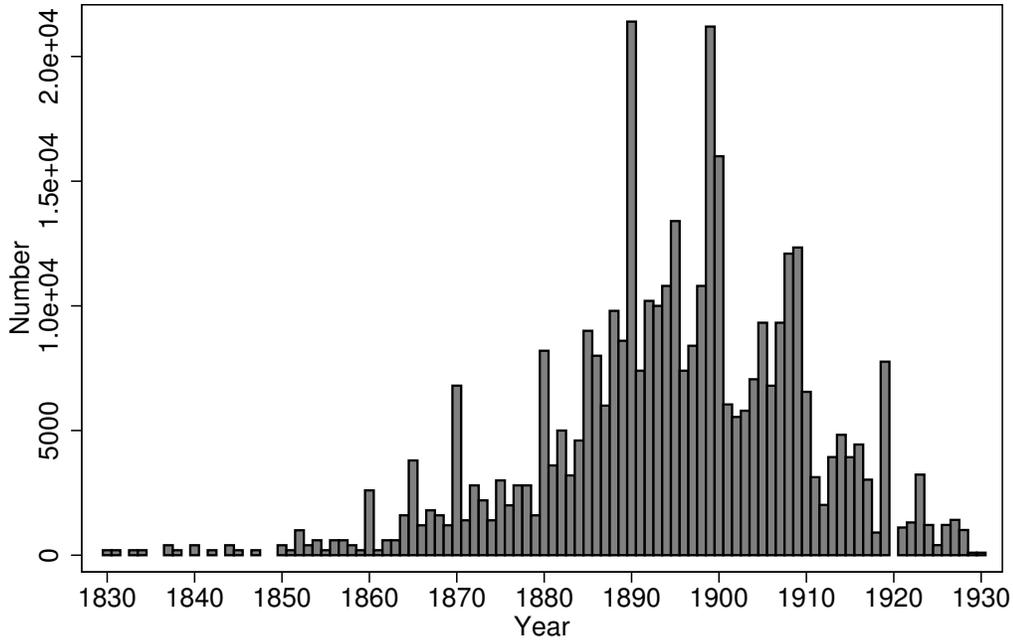


Figure 2. Educational Attainment

Source: 1970 U.S. Census

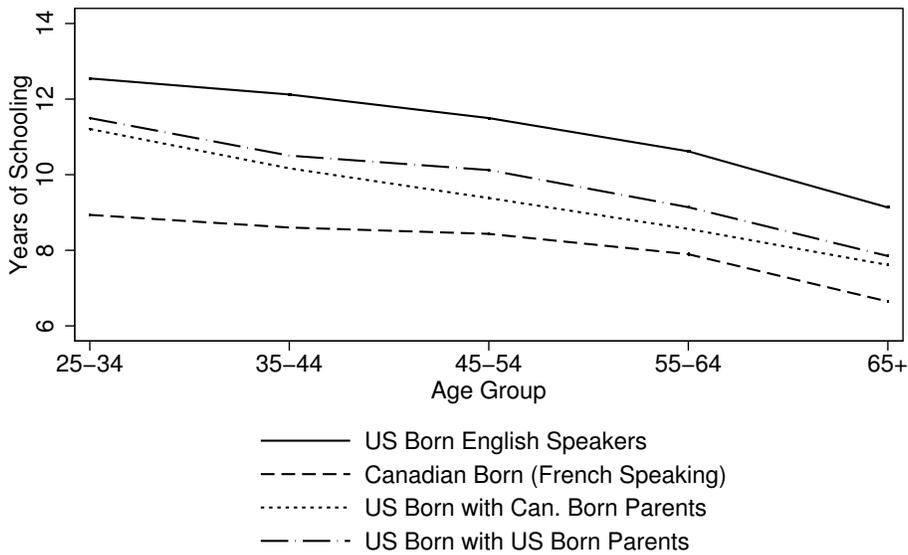


Figure 3a. School Attendance Rates in New England by Age: Males
Source: 1910 U.S. Census

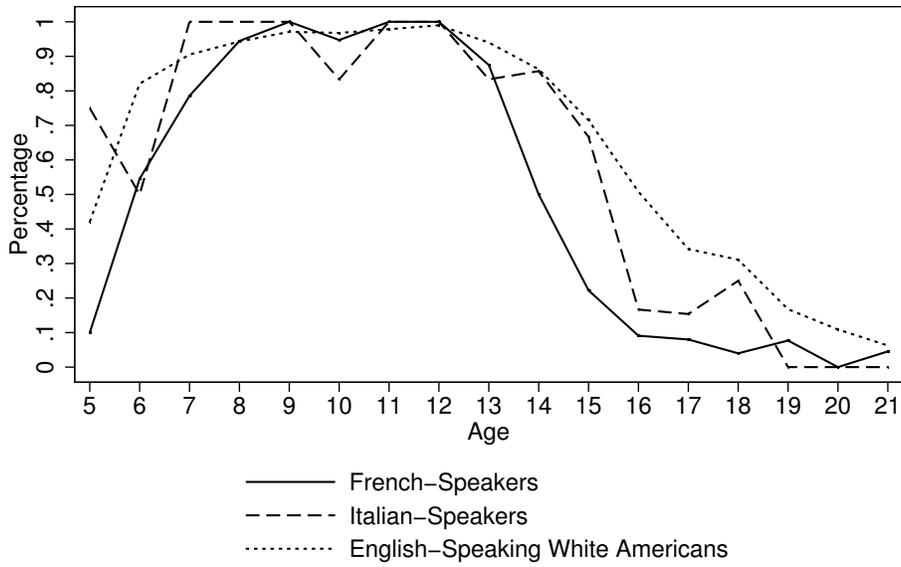


Figure 3b. School Attendance Rates in New England by Age: Females
Source: 1910 U.S. Census

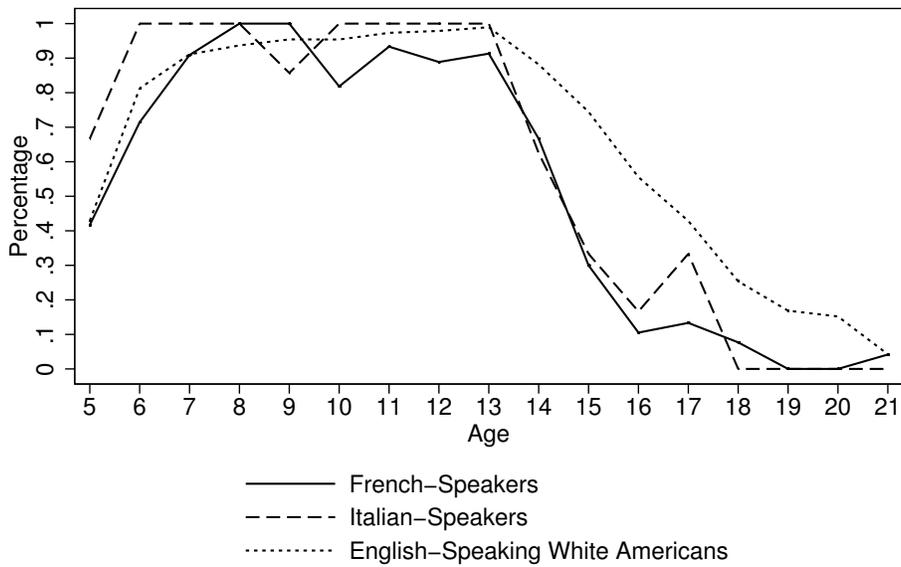


Figure 3c. Literacy Rates in New England by Age: Males

Source: 1910 U.S. Census

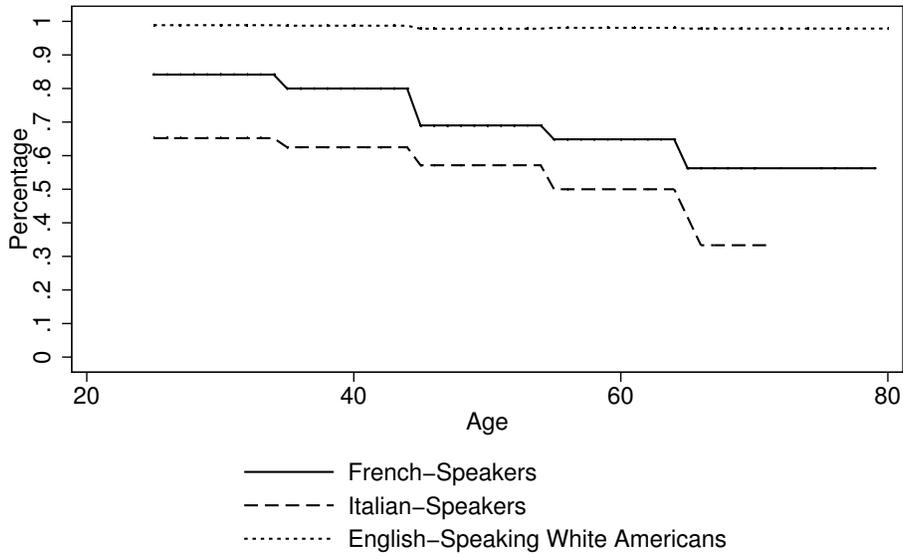


Figure 3d. Literacy Rates in New England by Age: Females

Source: 1910 U.S. Census

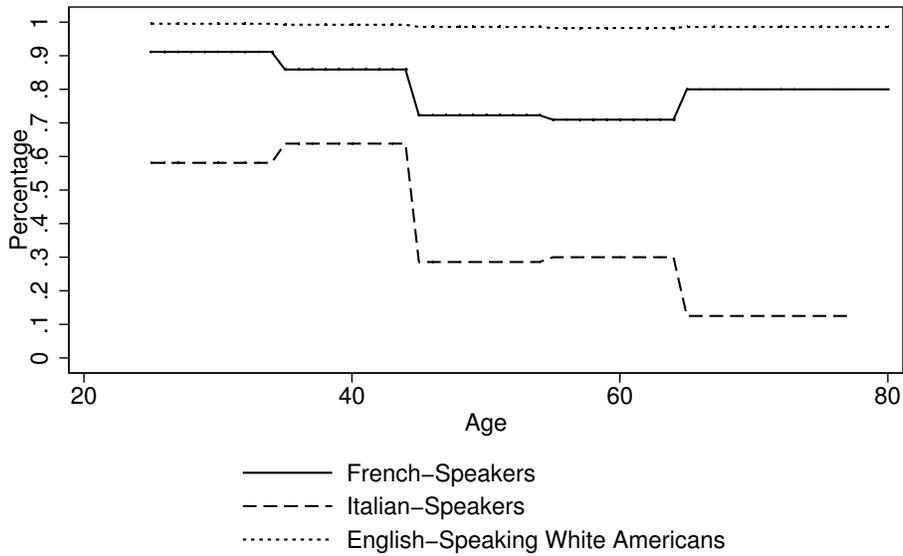
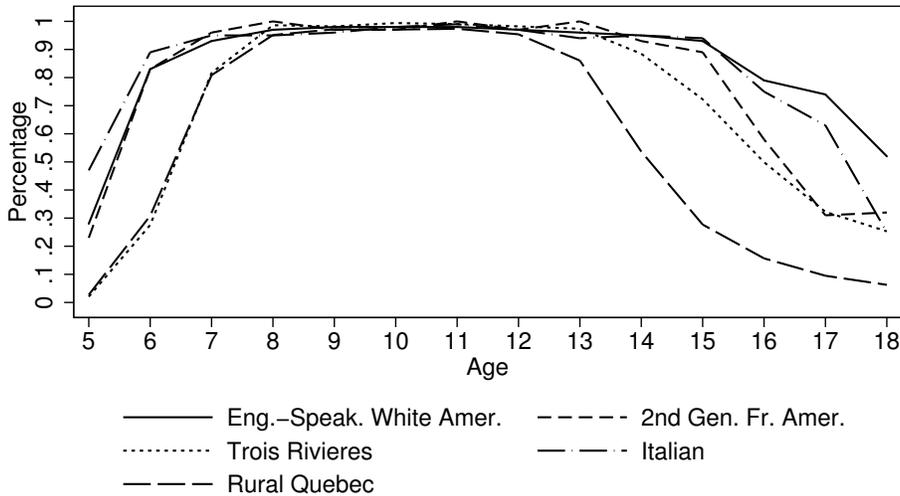


Figure 4a. School Attendance Rates by Age: Males

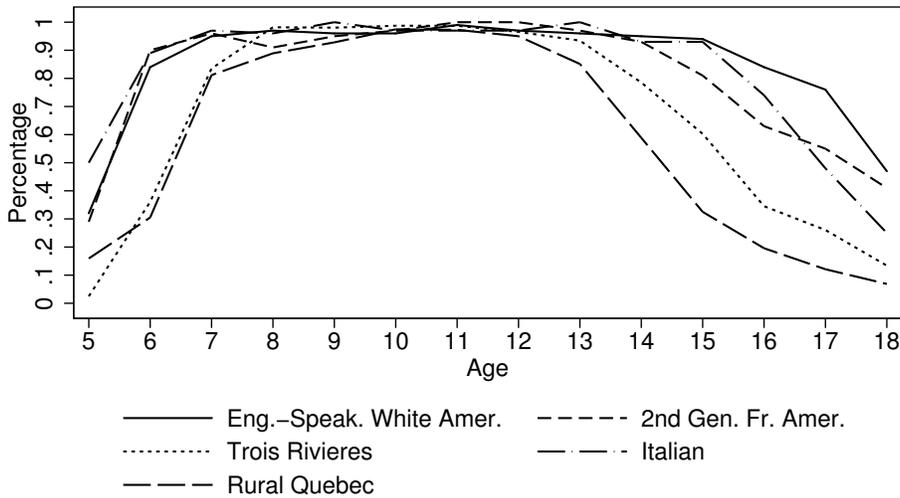
Source: 1940 U.S. Census and 1941 CDN Census



2nd generation defined as: head of family born in the US for US Anglos
or French Canada/Italy for French Canadians/Italians (with child born in the U.S.)

Figure 4b. School Attendance Rates by Age: Females

Source: 1940 U.S. Census and 1941 CDN Census



2nd generation defined as: head of family born in the US for US Anglos
or French Canada/Italy for French Canadians/Italians (with child born in the U.S.)

Figure 5a. School Attendance Rates by Age: Males

Source: 1970 U.S. Census

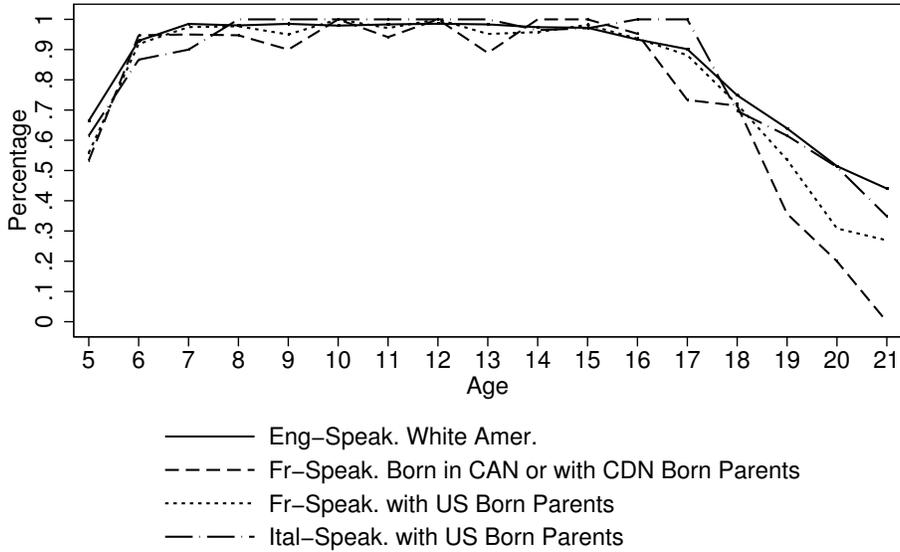


Figure 5b. School Attendance Rates by Age: Females

Source: 1970 U.S. Census

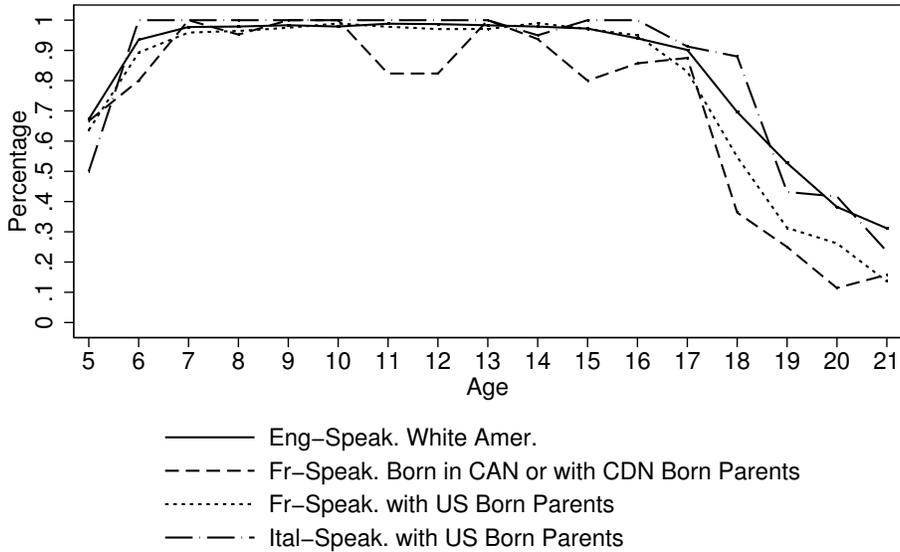


Figure 6a. School Attendance Rates by Age: Males

Source: 2000 U.S. Census

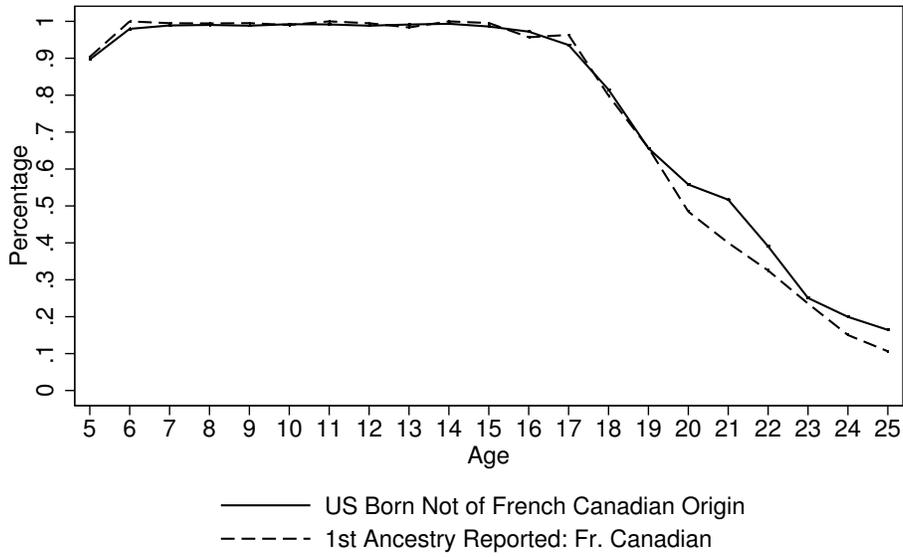


Figure 6b. School Attendance Rates by Age: Females

Source: 2000 U.S. Census

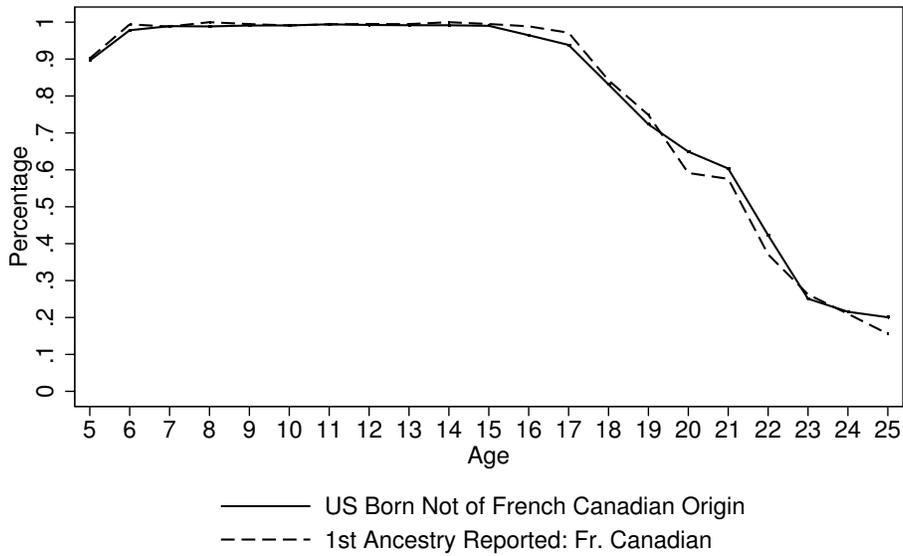


Figure 6c. Private School Attendance Rates

Source: 1970 & 2000 U.S. Census— Conditional on Attending Any School

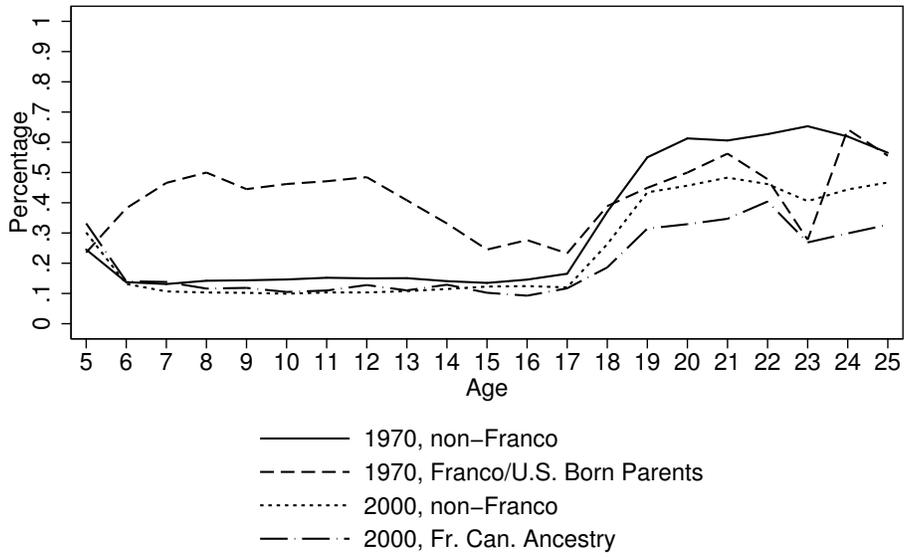


Figure 7a. Educational Attainment of Fathers and Sons—All of U.S.
Source: 1970 U.S. Census

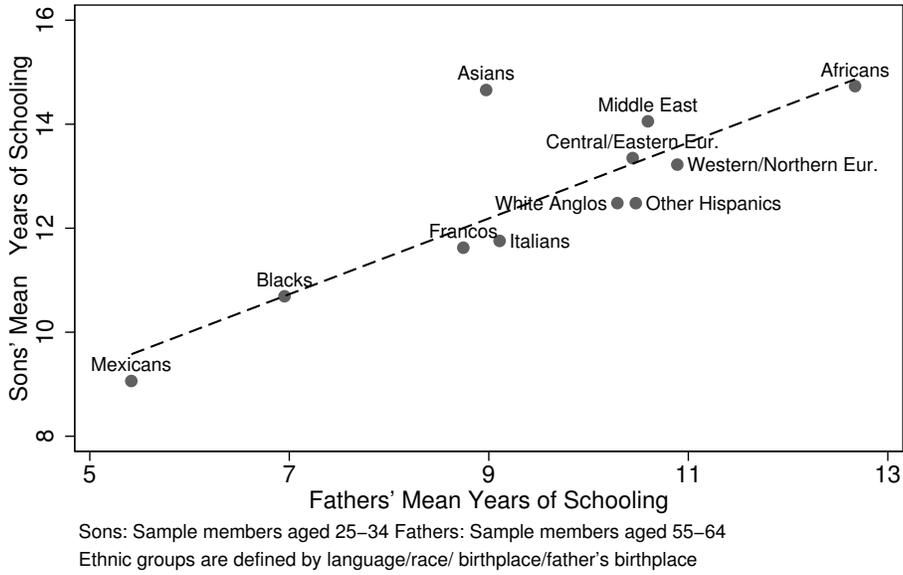


Figure 7b. Educational Attainment of Fathers and Sons—New England
Source: 1970 U.S. Census

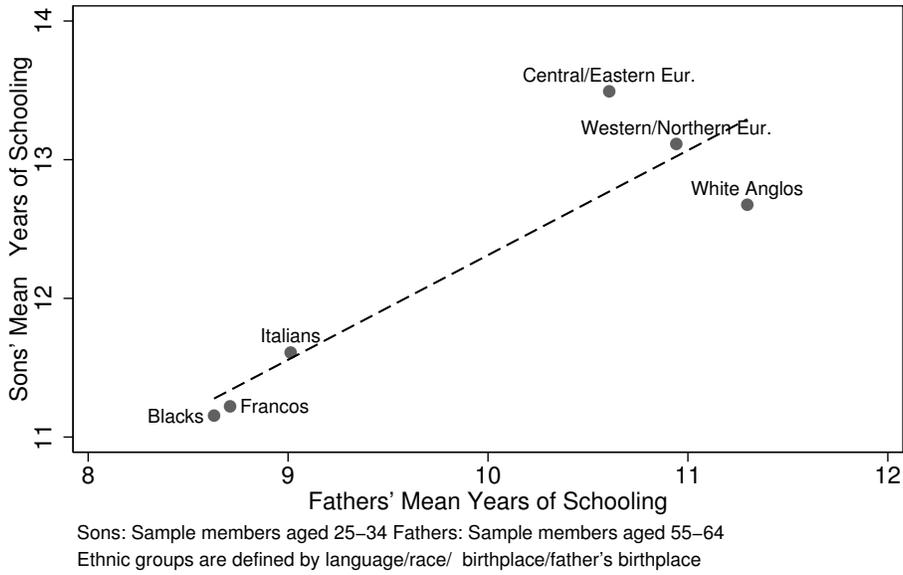
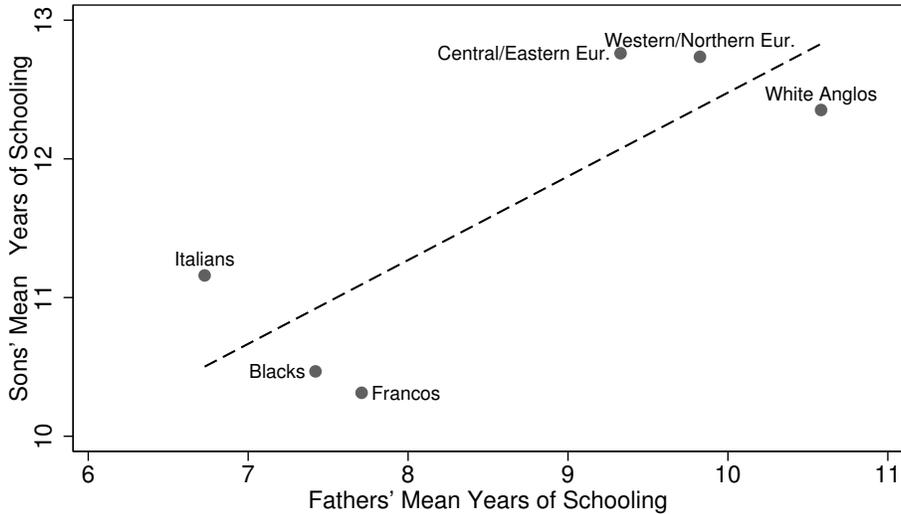
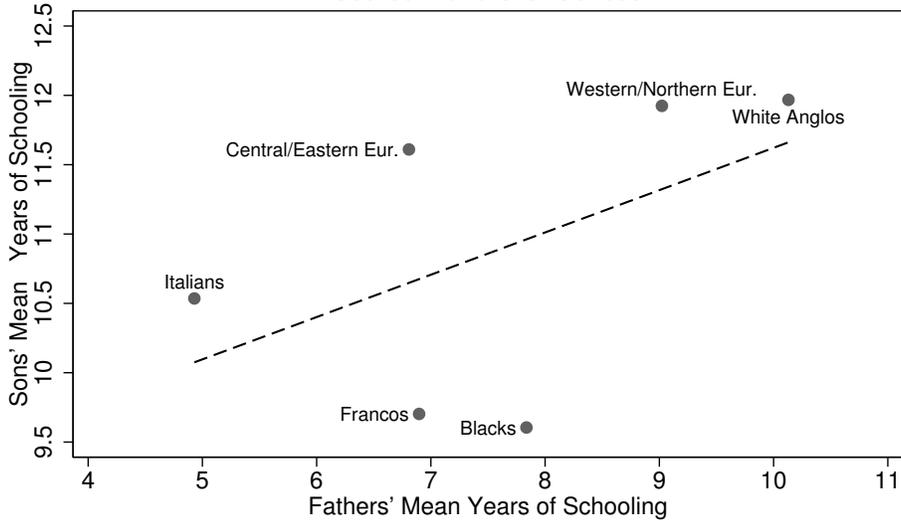


Figure 7c. Educational Attainment of Fathers and Sons—New England
Source: 1970 U.S. Census



Sons: Sample members aged 35–44 Fathers: Sample members aged 65–74
Ethnic groups are defined by language/race/ birthplace/father's birthplace

Figure 7d. Educational Attainment of Fathers and Sons—New England
Source: 1970 U.S. Census



Sons: Sample members aged 45–54 Fathers: Sample members aged 75–84
Ethnic groups are defined by language/race/ birthplace/father's birthplace

Figure 8. Veteran Rate

New England Born Men—Combined 1980–2000 U.S. Censuses

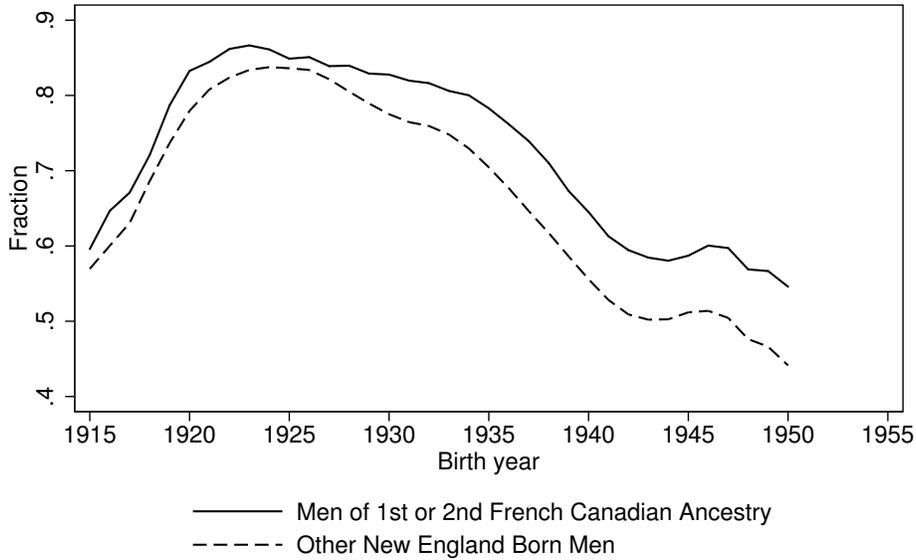


Figure 9a. Male–Female Relative College Graduation Rate

New England Born Individuals—Combined 1980–2000 U.S. Censuses

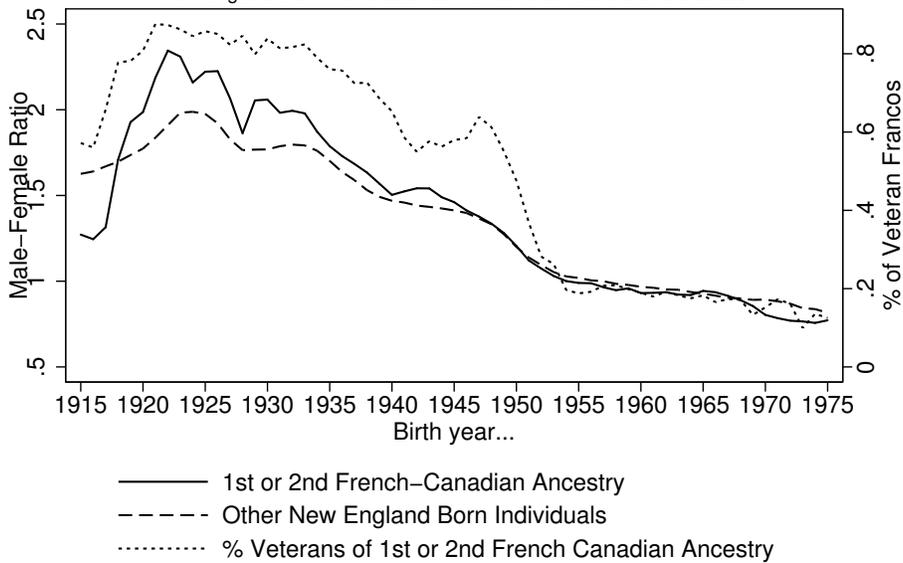


Figure 9b. College Graduation Rate by Gender

New England Born Individuals—Combined 1980–2000 U.S. Censuses

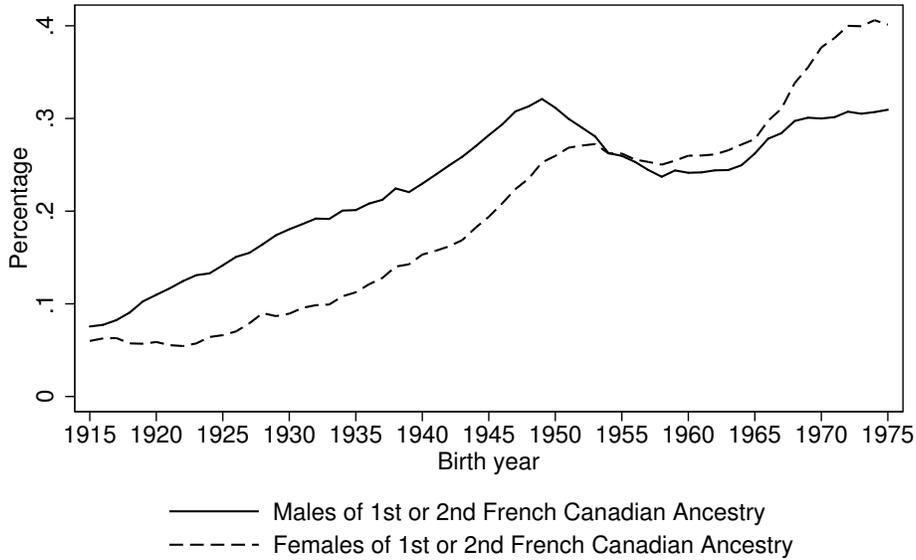


Figure 10. Living Outside New England by Veteran Status

New England Born Men—Combined 1980–2000 U.S. Censuses

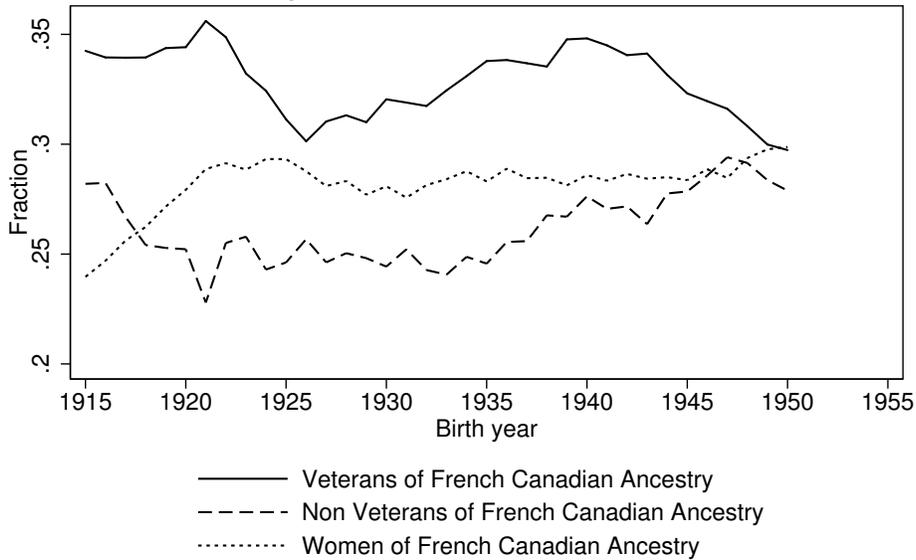


Figure 11. Veteran Status and Marrying Outside the Ethnic Group

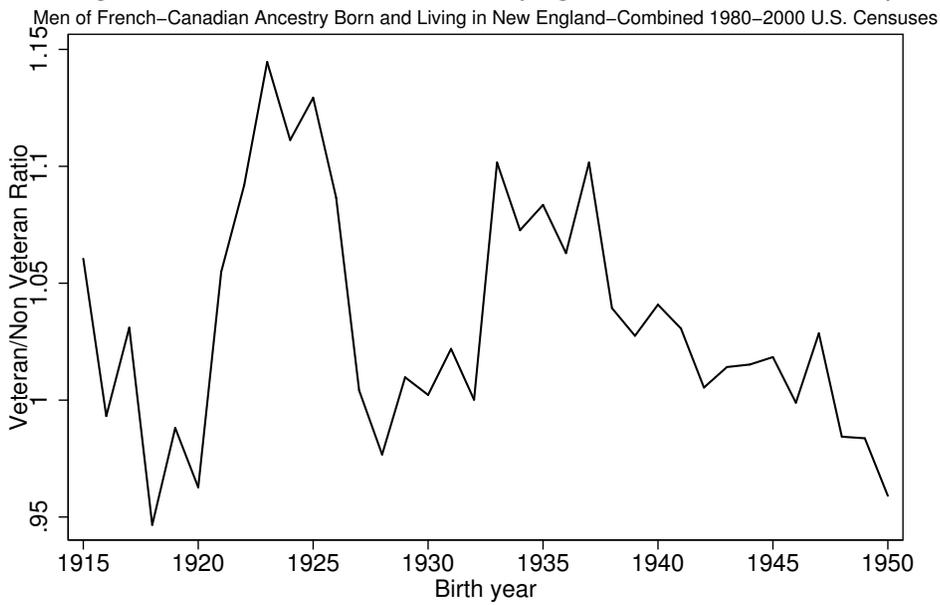
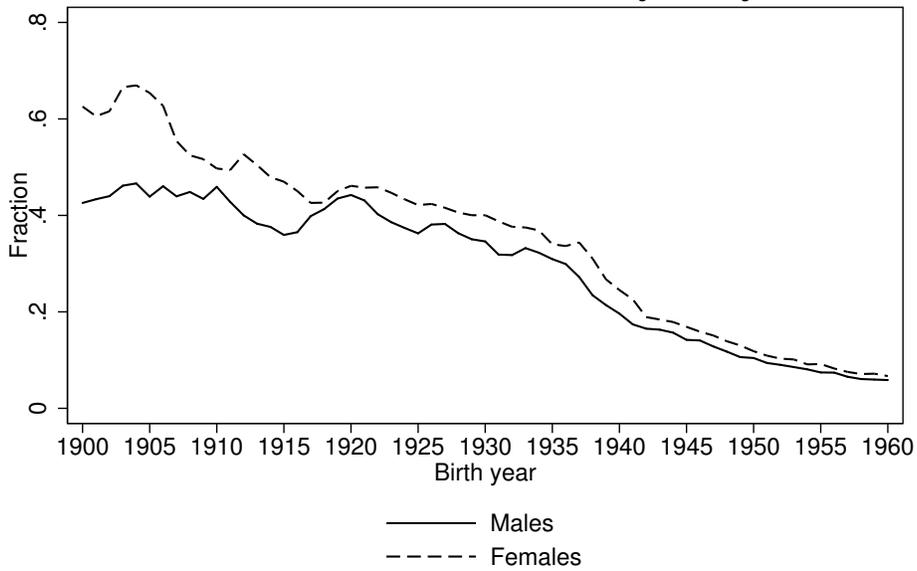
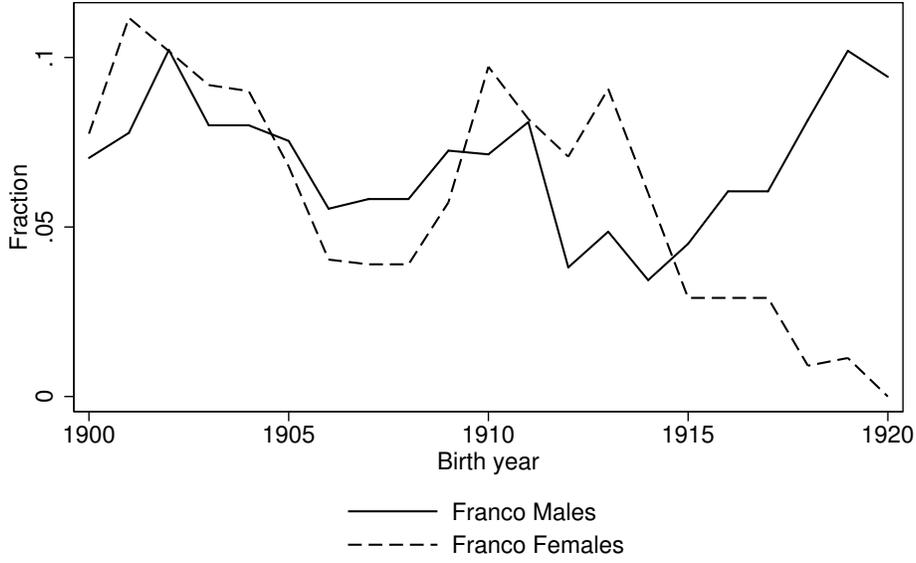


Figure 12. French as Home Language for Respondents of French Canadian Ancestry
Combined 1980–2000 U.S. Censuses—Born and Living in New England



Appendix Figure 1. Living Outside New England (New England Born People)
1940 U.S. Census



Appendix Figure 2. Living Outside New England (New England Born People)
1970 U.S. Census

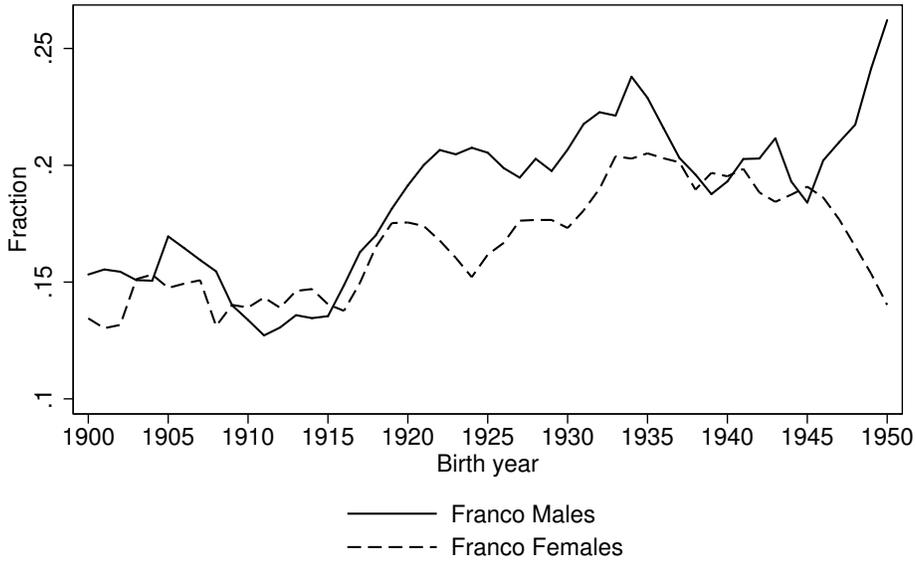


Table 1: French Mother Tongue Residents in New England, 1970

Distribution of French mother tongue residents by birthplace and parental birthplace (row % sum to 100)						
Age group	% of total population	Canadian born	U.S. born, both parents born in Canada	U.S. born, both parents U.S. born	U.S. born, one parent born in Canada	
25-34	8.6	12.3	9.9	56.2	21.5	
35-44	10.1	9.0	18.0	45.8	27.2	
45-54	10.3	14.5	24.1	34.7	26.8	
55-64	10.5	20.7	32.1	22.0	25.2	
65+	10.2	33.9	32.5	15.8	17.8	
Total	9.9	18.0	23.3	34.9	23.8	

Note: Residents with French mother tongue but birthplace outside of Canada or U.S. excluded.

Table 2: Italian Mother Tongue Residents in New England, 1970

Distribution of Italian mother tongue residents by birthplace and parental birthplace (row % sum to 100)						
Age group	% of total population	Italian born	U.S. born, both parents born in Italy	U.S. born, both parents U.S. born	U.S. born, one parent born in Italy	
25-34	5.4	16.6	19.2	39.2	25.0	
35-44	7.6	11.6	54.1	9.3	25.0	
45-54	10.1	10.1	76.0	2.0	12.0	
55-64	9.4	22.3	69.3	0.9	7.5	
65+	7.2	71.9	22.3	0.3	5.5	
Total	7.9	24.8	52.5	8.3	14.4	

Table 3. Years of Schooling of French-Speaking Residents vs. Native English-Speaking White Americans.
 Source: 1970 U.S. Census: New England Residents

Panel A: Men

Age Group	All French Speakers	Canadian Born	U.S. Born with Can.-Born Parents	U.S. Born with U.S. Born Parents	Eng.-Speaking White Americans
25-34	11.22	8.94	11.21	11.5	12.55
35-44	10.34	8.6	10.17	10.51	12.12
45-54	9.72	8.43	9.38	10.12	11.5
55-64	8.75	7.9	8.57	9.14	10.62
65+	7.47	6.65	7.61	7.85	9.13

Panel B: Women

Age Group	All French Speakers	Canadian Born	U.S. Born with Can.-Born Parents	U.S. Born with U.S. Born Parents	Eng.-Speaking White Americans
25-34	11.14	9.78	10.89	11.38	12.33
35-44	10.39	9.06	10.23	10.7	11.82
45-54	9.83	9.04	9.57	10.2	11.38
55-64	8.8	8.08	8.7	9.25	10.69
65+	7.62	7.03	7.86	8.09	9.31

Table 4. Proportion of Schoolchildren Attending Parochial Schools, 1908

Father's Race	Boston	Fall River	Lowell	Manchester	Providence
French-Canadian [N]	19 [912]	66 [5,016]	68 [3,412]	61 [1,525]	42 [1,072]
Polish [N]			40 [222]	93 [193]	
South Italian [N]	12 [6,013]				2 [1,033]
Portuguese [N]		2 [1,850]			

Notes. Source: The Children of Immigrants in Schools, Vols. 30-32 of the Immigration Commission reports. The Immigration Commission collected information on school attendance for a day in December, 1908, for several cities, for children aged 3 to 20 at public or parochial schools. We show proportions of schoolchildren attending parochial schools. As many parochial schools offered only grades 1-8, this measure understates the proportion of children with French Canadian fathers who were attending parochial schools. The total number of children attending either public or parochial schools is shown in brackets. It is not possible to separate out which children were attending bilingual schools from those attending English language parochial schools.

Table 5. Educational Attainment of Franco-Americans and Italian-Americans in 1940.

Panel A: Men

		Dependent Var: Years of Schooling					
Age		25-34		35-44		45-54	
Base Group		U.S. Born Anglo	New England Born Anglo	U.S. Born Anglo	New England Born Anglo	U.S. Born Anglo	New England Born Anglo
	First-Generation Franco-Americans	-2.75 (0.26)	-2.65 (0.26)	-3.14 (0.22)	-3.45 (0.22)	-3.45 (0.23)	-3.35 (0.23)
	First-Generation Italian-Americans	-3.27 (0.27)	-3.14 (0.26)	-4.75 (0.19)	-4.57 (0.18)	-5.4 (0.16)	-5.28 (0.16)
	Second Generation Franco-Americans	-2.28 (0.15)	-2.18 (0.15)	-2.11 (0.18)	-1.96 (0.18)	-2.32 (0.24)	-2.2 (0.23)
	Second-Generation Italian-Americans	-1.78 (0.16)	-1.63 (0.24)	-1.45 (0.31)	-1.26 (0.30)	-1.04 (0.75)	-0.92 (0.73)
	Age Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	State Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
12	Labor Force Status Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Adjusted R-Squared	0.12	0.12	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.31
	N	4,586	4,264	4,144	3,782	3,463	3,167

Panel B: Women

		Dependent Var: Years of Schooling					
Age		25-34		35-44		45-54	
Base Group		U.S. Bom Anglo	New England Bom Anglo	U.S. Bom Anglo	New England Bom Anglo	U.S. Bom Anglo	New England Bom Anglo
	First-Generation Franco-Americans	-3.26 (0.22)	-3.17 (0.21)	-2.73 (0.21)	-2.64 (0.20)	-3.47 (0.21)	-3.44 (0.21)
	First-Generation Italian-Americans	-4.28 (0.25)	-4.17 (0.24)	-5.36 (0.17)	-5.21 (0.17)	-6.09 (0.16)	-6.03 (0.16)
	Second Generation Franco-Americans	-2.38 (0.14)	-2.31 (0.14)	-2.53 (0.16)	-2.44 (0.15)	-2.71 (0.20)	-2.67 (0.20)
	Second-Generation Italian-Americans	-2.16 (0.14)	-2.06 (0.13)	-2.26 (0.26)	-2.11 (0.26)	-1.53 (0.62)	-1.43 (0.61)
	Age Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	State Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Labor Force Status Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
13	Adjusted R-Squared	0.12	0.12	0.25	0.26	0.35	0.37
	N	4,980	4,616	4,472	4,109	3,559	3,247

Source: 1940 U.S. Census. Other controls include dummies for living on a farm, and living in a Second Generation household has Italian/French as mother tongue, and is a relative of the head of the household. If sample line individual is not related to head (is a servant, lodger, etc.), then only sample line individual is recorded as having Italian/French mother tongue. All others in household have mother tongue listed as unknown. To be classed as second generation Italian/Franco-American, sample line individual must be born in U.S., and have implied family mother tongue Italian/French. Thus some 3rd generation immigrants could be included, if family is still Italian/French. Some 2nd generation immigrants will be omitted: if a child with English as mother tongue is sample line individual, then the family not classified as Italian/French speaking. "US Anglo" is defined as a US born person, living in a household where English is the mother tongue of the sample line individual, and the sample line individual is related to the head of the household. Thus, US born children of Canadian or British parents will generally be counted as US Anglos. Approximately 75% of the sample line individuals defined as "US Anglos" had parents born in the US.

Table 6. Educational Attainment of Franco-Americans vs English-Speaking White Americans

Panel A: Men

		Dep. Var.: Years of Schooling						
		All	All	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
	First-Generation Immigrants	-3.55 (0.11)	-3.55 (0.16)	-3.8 (0.27)	-3.96 (0.34)	-3.54 (0.23)	-3.25 (0.24)	-3.56 (0.21)
	U.S. Born with Canadian-Born Parents	-2.42 (0.09)	-2.23 (0.14)	-1.62 (0.31)	-1.89 (0.22)	-2.7 (0.18)	-2.66 (0.18)	-2.68 (0.20)
	U.S. Born with U.S. Born Parents	-1.77 (0.07)	-1.56 (0.11)	-1.17 (0.13)	-1.92 (0.14)	-1.91 (0.16)	-2.28 (0.21)	-2.39 (0.30)
	Other Franco-Americans	-1.72 (0.09)	-1.49 (0.14)	-1.01 (0.21)	-1.76 (0.18)	-1.86 (0.17)	-2.01 (0.20)	-1.87 (0.26)
	Age Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	State Dummies	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	County Group Dummies	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
	Labor Force Status Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
54	Adjusted R-Squared	0.16	0.18	0.05	0.1	0.12	0.11	0.12
	N	35,822	16,176	9,134	8,161	7,591	5,763	5,173

Panel B: Women

		Dep. Var.: Years of Schooling					
		All	All	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64
	First-Generation Immigrants	-3.13 (0.08)	-2.98 (0.12)	-2.7 (0.21)	-2.86 (0.24)	-2.75 (0.18)	-3.51 (0.19)
	U.S. Born with Canadian-Born Parents	-2.53 (0.07)	-2.54 (0.10)	-1.92 (0.24)	-1.82 (0.17)	-2.51 (0.14)	-2.74 (0.15)
	U.S. Born with U.S. Born Parents	-1.7 (0.06)	-1.55 (0.09)	-1.21 (0.10)	-1.51 (0.11)	-1.74 (0.12)	-2.25 (0.18)
	Other Franco-Americans	-1.97 (0.07)	-1.71 (0.11)	-1.14 (0.17)	-1.54 (0.14)	-1.97 (0.13)	-2.31 (0.17)
	Age Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	State Dummies	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	County Group Dummies	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
	Labor Force Status Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Adjusted R-Squared	0.18	0.19	0.07	0.08	0.12	0.14
15	N	41,365	18,592	9,450	8,511	8,284	6,704

Notes. Standard errors in parenthesis. Data source: 1970 U.S. Census (15% form, State and Metro samples). County group identifiers are available only in "Metro" sample. Sample includes New England residents only.

Table 7. Educational Attainment of Italian-Americans vs English-Speaking White Americans

Panel A: Men

	Dep. Var.: Years of Schooling							
	All	All	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
First-Generation Immigrants	-4.55 (0.09)	-4.71 (0.13)	-4.14 (0.26)	-5.04 (0.30)	-3.52 (0.26)	-4.12 (0.22)	-4.96 (0.15)	
U.S. Born with Italian-Born Parents	-1.56 (0.07)	-1.67 (0.10)	-0.56 (0.26)	-1.15 (0.15)	-1.55 (0.10)	-1.87 (0.13)	-2.41 (0.27)	
U.S. Born with U.S. Born Parents	-0.13 (0.15)	-0.33 (0.21)	-0.09 (0.18)	-0.28 (0.32)	-0.19 (0.60)	0.26 (1.12)	-0.27 (1.99)	
Other Italian-Americans	-0.87 (0.12)	-0.82 (0.17)	-0.2 (0.24)	-0.71 (0.20)	-1.19 (0.24)	-0.84 (0.44)	-3.27 (0.52)	
Age Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
State Dummies	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
County Group Dummies	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	
Labor Force Status Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Adjusted R-Squared	0.18	0.2	0.04	0.08	0.09	0.1	0.22	
N	35,501	16,307	8,846	7,964	7,808	5,752	5,131	

Panel B: Women

	Dep. Var.: Years of Schooling							
	All	All	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
First-Generation Immigrants	-5.62 (0.08)	-5.68 (0.11)	-5.32 (0.24)	-5.14 (0.24)	-4.61 (0.22)	-5.01 (0.20)	-6.1 (0.13)	
U.S. Born with Italian-Born Parents	-1.75 (0.14)	-1.88 (0.08)	-0.66 (0.21)	-1.13 (0.11)	-1.51 (0.08)	-2.42 (0.11)	-2.83 (0.21)	
U.S. Born with U.S. Born Parents	-0.41 (0.14)	-0.38 (0.20)	-0.27 (0.15)	-0.51 (0.29)	-1.25 (0.46)	-0.75 (1.14)	-2.37 (2.19)	
Other Italian-Americans	-1.34 (0.10)	-1.5 (0.14)	-0.65 (0.18)	-0.86 (0.16)	-1.24 (0.20)	-2.91 (0.30)	-3.62 (0.41)	
Age Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
State Dummies	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
County Group Dummies	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	
Labor Force Status Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Adjusted R-Squared	0.22	0.24	0.08	0.08	0.1	0.17	0.26	
N	40,206	18,592	9,057	8,337	8,243	6,634	7,935	

Notes. Standard errors in parenthesis. Data source: 1970 U.S. Census (15% form, State and Metro samples). County group identifiers are available only in "Metro" sample. Sample includes New England residents only.

Table 8. Educational Attainment of Franco-Americans vs English-Speaking White Americans by Age: 2000 Census

Panel A: Men

Dep. Var.: Years of Schooling	All	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-80	80+
First Reported Ancestry: French Canadian & Speaks French at Home	-0.890 (0.065)	-0.080 (0.200)	-0.487 (0.171)	-0.443 (0.133)	-0.934 (0.162)	-1.266 (0.137)	-2.157 (0.301)
First Reported Ancestry: French Canadian & Does Not Speak French at Home	-0.612 (0.027)	-0.345 (0.052)	-0.492 (0.046)	-0.597 (0.054)	-0.791 (0.079)	-0.978 (0.086)	-1.381 (0.252)
Second Reported Ancestry: French-Canadian	0.147 (0.064)	0.319 (0.113)	0.090 (0.101)	-0.004 (0.127)	0.071 (0.204)	0.377 (0.276)	0.833 (0.915)
Dep. Var.: Having at Least Some College*							
First Reported Ancestry: French Canadian & Speaks French at Home	-0.073 (0.012)	0.060 (0.040)	-0.045 (0.034)	-0.044 (0.024)	-0.081 (0.026)	-0.122 (0.019)	-0.124 (0.034)
First Reported Ancestry: French Canadian & Does Not Speak French at Home	-0.085 (0.005)	-0.046 (0.011)	-0.062 (0.009)	-0.105 (0.010)	-0.098 (0.013)	-0.114 (0.012)	-0.136 (0.028)
Second Reported Ancestry: French Canadian	0.053 (0.011)	0.070 (0.023)	0.061 (0.019)	0.014 (0.022)	0.043 (0.033)	0.062 (0.041)	0.195 (0.127)
Dep. Var.: Having a B.A. Degree or More*							
First Reported Ancestry: French Canadian & Speaks French at Home	-0.096 (0.011)	-0.107 (0.039)	-0.100 (0.030)	-0.084 (0.024)	-0.101 (0.023)	-0.082 (0.016)	-0.127 (0.019)
First Reported Ancestry: French Canadian & Does Not Speak French at Home	-0.113 (0.004)	-0.077 (0.010)	-0.116 (0.008)	-0.128 (0.009)	-0.124 (0.011)	-0.113 (0.009)	-0.122 (0.017)
Second Reported Ancestry: French Canadian	0.001 (0.011)	0.044 (0.024)	0.002 (0.019)	-0.027 (0.023)	-0.028 (0.031)	-0.010 (0.036)	-0.068 (0.081)
N	217,415	40,757	55,228	49,577	30,777	32,681	8,395

Note. *Marginal effects estimated with a probit. New England residents.

Table 9. Educational Attainment of Franco-Americans vs French-Canadians in Quebec

Panel A: Men

	Dep. Var.: Years of Schooling					
	All	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
First-Generation Immigrants	0.03 (0.09)	-1.14 (0.22)	-0.47 (0.26)	0.3 (0.20)	0.42 (0.21)	0.4 (0.18)
U.S. Born with Canadian-Born Parents	1.06 (0.08)	1.29 (0.24)	1.06 (0.18)	1.06 (0.16)	0.95 (0.17)	1.18 (0.18)
U.S. Born with U.S. Born Parents	1.55 (0.07)	1.47 (0.11)	1.46 (0.12)	1.87 (0.14)	1.47 (0.20)	1.3 (0.24)
Other Franco-Americans	1.78 (0.08)	1.86 (0.17)	1.68 (0.15)	1.99 (0.16)	1.62 (0.19)	1.75 (0.22)
Adjusted R-Squared	0.19	0.1	0.09	0.11	0.07	0.07
N	17,722	5,032	4,544	4,227	3,137	2,782

Panel B: Women

	Dep. Var.: Years of Schooling					
	All	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
First-Generation Immigrants	0.38 (0.07)	0.08 (0.19)	0.28 (0.21)	0.87 (0.17)	0.38 (0.16)	0.07 (0.13)
U.S. Born with Canadian-Born Parents	1.12 (0.07)	1.37 (0.21)	1.42 (0.16)	1.36 (0.14)	0.86 (0.14)	0.79 (0.13)
U.S. Born with U.S. Born Parents	1.73 (0.06)	1.87 (0.10)	1.88 (0.11)	2.08 (0.12)	1.48 (0.17)	0.87 (0.17)
Other Franco-Americans	1.55 (0.06)	1.89 (0.15)	1.61 (0.13)	1.9 (0.13)	1.43 (0.16)	0.8 (0.17)
Adjusted R-Squared	0.2	0.15	0.13	0.15	0.09	0.06
N	21,891	5,116	4,656	4,613	3,571	3,935

Notes. Sources: 1970 U.S. Census and 1971 Canadian Census. Dummies for age and labor force status are included.

Table 10. Having at Least Some College/Univ.: Franco-Americans in New England vs French-Canadians in Quebec

Panel A: Men

	Dep. Var.: Some College+					
	All	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
First-Generation Immigrants	-0.029 (0.008)	-0.100 (0.019)	-0.055 (0.020)	-0.017 (0.016)	-0.008 (0.015)	0.001 (0.012)
U.S. Born with Canadian-Born Parents	0.004 (0.008)	0.023 (0.031)	0.021 (0.020)	0.001 (0.014)	-0.014 (0.012)	0.008 (0.012)
U.S. Born with U.S. Born Parents	0.040 (0.007)	0.049 (0.015)	0.056 (0.014)	0.035 (0.014)	0.022 (0.016)	0.031 (0.019)
Other Franco-Americans	0.057 (0.009)	0.099 (0.024)	0.067 (0.018)	0.066 (0.017)	0.018 (0.015)	0.018 (0.016)
N	19,610	5,032	4,544	4,227	3,137	2,670

Panel B: Women

	Dep. Var.: Some College+					
	All	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
First-Generation Immigrants	0.009 (0.007)	0.036 (0.024)	0.013 (0.020)	0.026 (0.016)	0.010 (0.012)	0.000 (0.007)
U.S. Born with Canadian-Born Parents	0.018 (0.006)	0.001 (0.065)	-0.007 (0.013)	0.019 (0.013)	0.019 (0.012)	0.031 (0.010)
U.S. Born with U.S. Born Parents	0.044 (0.005)	0.065 (0.012)	0.038 (0.011)	0.049 (0.012)	0.053 (0.017)	0.020 (0.013)
Other Franco-Americans	0.049 (0.006)	0.064 (0.019)	0.045 (0.011)	0.043 (0.013)	0.060 (0.016)	0.042 (0.015)
N	21,648	5,116	4,656	4,613	3,571	3,692

Notes. Sources: 1970 U.S. Census and 1971 Canadian Census. Dummies for age and labor force status are included.

Table 11. Number of Children Ever Born Among Females

Panel A: Franco-Americans vs White English Speaking Americans

	Dep. Var.: Number of Children Born Alive					
	All	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
First-Generation Immigrants	0.66 (0.06)	-0.11 (0.12)	0.26 (0.19)	0.34 (0.14)	0.81 (0.14)	1.08 (0.10)
U.S. Born with Canadian-Born Parents	0.41 (0.05)	0.42 (0.14)	0.29 (0.14)	0.17 (0.11)	0.35 (0.11)	0.79 (0.11)
U.S. Born with U.S. Born Parents	0.46 (0.04)	0.26 (0.06)	0.32 (0.09)	0.28 (0.09)	0.82 (0.13)	1.31 (0.16)
Other Franco-Americans	0.27 (0.05)	0.27 (0.10)	0.01 (0.11)	0.09 (0.10)	0.24 (0.12)	0.92 (0.14)
N	41,365	9,450	8,511	8,284	6,704	8,416

Notes. Source: 1970 U.S. Census. Controls include age, state, and labor force status dummies.

Panel B: Franco-Americans vs French-Canadians

	Dep. Var.: Number of Children Born Alive					
	All	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
First-Generation Immigrants	-0.90 (0.07)	0.27 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.17)	-1.06 (0.16)	-1.36 (0.16)	-2.05 (0.15)
U.S. Born with Canadian-Born Parents	-1.07 (0.06)	0.52 (0.11)	-0.05 (0.13)	-1.24 (0.14)	-1.61 (0.14)	-2.45 (0.16)
U.S. Born with U.S. Born Parents	-0.44 (0.05)	0.58 (0.05)	-0.07 (0.09)	-1.10 (0.12)	-1.10 (0.17)	-1.81 (0.20)
Other Franco-Americans	-0.88 (0.06)	0.51 (0.08)	-0.24 (0.11)	-1.29 (0.13)	-1.67 (0.16)	-2.32 (0.20)
N	20,222	4,570	4,368	4,340	3,297	3,647

Notes. Sources: 1970 U.S. Census and 1971 Canadian Census. Dummies for age and labor force status are included.

Appendix Table 1: Estimated Decadal Net Emigration of French Canadians to the United States ('000)

1870-1880	120
1880-1890	165
1890-1900	195
1900-1910	75
1910-1920	100
1920-1930	150
1930-1940	12

Source: Paquet and Smith (1983), p. 446. These numbers include Acadians and French-speaking Ontarians. The destination in the US is not limited to New England.