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Ethnicity and Urban Politics: French-Canadians in Worcester, 1895-1915

RONALD A. PETRIN

French-Canadians became an important element of the urban population of Massachusetts in the late nineteenth century but their role in the political life of the state's cities remained unexamined until quite recently. By 1900 the Bay State contained upwards of a quarter of a million persons of French-Canadian origin, representing nearly half of all French Canadians in New England and nearly a third of those in the United States. A few French-Canadian immigrants and their children could be found in many communities scattered across Massachusetts, but most were concentrated in a relatively small number of manufacturing towns and cities. By 1895 the state census showed that nearly seventy percent of French-Canadians resided in places having a population of more than ten thousand. More than forty percent lived in six of the state's largest cities, having populations of fifty thousand or more in 1895—Fall River, Lowell, Holyoke, Worcester, New Bedford, and Lawrence. Each of these cities had at least six thousand French-Canadians by the turn of the century. The ten thousand French-Canadians in Worcester, the focus of this study, formed only ten percent of that city's population but, given the ethnic mix in Worcester, they played a central role in that city's politics.¹

Although French-Canadians have been a significant percentage of New England's population since the 1880s, their history and their impact on New England remained largely ignored until the 1960s. Numerous studies have since explored the causes of their migration from Quebec, the process of their adjustment to industrial life, and the creation of ethnic communities or "Little Canadas." Consequently, historians now have a better appreciation of the origins, development, and persistence of Franco-American culture.² Comparatively less is known about the political assimilation of French-Canadians, especially during the early period of their settlement and adjustment. Certainly this is true by comparison to what we know about the political assimilation of other ethnic groups, the Irish, Poles, and Jews, for example.³ Several studies have shed some light on the political life of French-Canadians in Massachusetts, but have offered a restricted interpretation that overlooked important aspects of the group's political experience. David Walker, for example, in his study of French-Canadian voting patterns, argued that "Canadien" voters usually preferred Republican candidates in most presidential contests from 1896 to 1920, but that they had

voted Democratic in previous elections. According to Walker, this Republican preference may be explained in terms of the religious and economic animosities between the French-Canadians and the Irish.⁴ In their studies of French-Canadians in Fall River and Holyoke, Philip Silvia and Peter Haebler offer interpretations similar to that of Walker and emphasize the central and determinative role that Franco-Irish relations had on the political behavior of French-Canadians.⁵

New evidence suggests that Walker's description of French-Canadian presidential voting patterns may have significantly underestimated their Democratic voting tendencies. A comparison of French-Canadian and Irish voting behavior in presidential and gubernatorial contests from 1884 to 1920 for about seventy Massachusetts communities shows that French-Canadians probably voted for Democratic candidates throughout this period. This analysis supports Duane Lockard's view that French-Canadians, like other Catholic immigrant groups, favored the Democratic Party before 1920. The statistical relationship between the French-Canadians and the Democratic vote in the largest centers of French-Canadian settlement, although usually positive, appears weaker and more erratic than in smaller French-Canadian communities.⁶ An examination of French-Canadian candidates for the Massachusetts General Court appears to sustain the hypothesis that Canadians in larger cities tended to lean more on the Republican Party than did their counterparts in the smaller towns. Urban Republican French-Canadian candidates for the lower house of the General Court outnumbered Democrats 80 to 42 between 1896 and 1915, whereas in the smaller communities the proportions are reversed.⁷

On closer inspection, however, the apparently strong relationship between the French-Canadians and the Republican Party in these cities between 1896 and 1915 appears more fragile than the evidence first suggests. After the demise of the Cleveland Democrats many French-Canadians in the larger cities of Massachusetts gravitated towards the Republican Party. While Bryanites, led by George Fred Williams, retained control of the party apparatus, many Democratic voters—Irish as well as French-Canadians—remained alienated, and Bay State Democrats were deeply divided. Given this opportunity, the G.O.P. recruited many French-Canadian voters recently mobilized because the political whirlwinds had intensified their interest in public affairs. By accommodating the ambitions of rising Franco-American politicians, the Republican Party broadened its electoral base, enabling it to re-establish its control of urban government throughout the state. Often holding in their hands the balance of power in municipal politics, the French-Canadians could sometimes extract from the G.O.P. the recognition they desired. Moreover, by associating themselves with the party in power Canadians gained leverage in shaping public policy to conform with their interests, an opportunity the nearly moribund Democratic Party could not provide. Thus, the emergent Franco-American alliance rested more upon a foundation of mutual political pragmatism than upon a congruence of political principles.⁸

The Republican coalition, encompassing Yankees, immigrant Protestants, and assorted reformers, as well as French-Canadians, remained fragile and unstable, frequently unable to satisfy the divergent interests of its constituent groups. The

failure of the G.O.P. to accommodate continuing Franco-American demands for recognition and influence or the injection of class or cultural issues into politics could easily disrupt its delicate constitution and drive French-Canadian voters into Democratic columns. Such possibilities became more probable after 1900, once the Democratic Party was free of the stranglehold that the Bryanites had over the party since 1895. Only by carefully cultivating their political sensibilities could the Republican Party retain its grasp on the French-Canadians. This proved difficult. While a portion of the French-Canadians, headed by highly-visible ethnic elites, remained Republican-leaning between 1896 and 1915, most Franco-Americans vacillated between the two parties. Conditioned by the ethos of *la survivance*, most French-Canadians remained suspicious of both political parties despite their increasing political involvement.⁹ Especially on the local level, the relationship of the French-Canadians and political parties rested more upon political pragmatism than upon loyalty to party, principles, or sustained ethnic or religious prejudice towards the Irish.

The following analysis of French-Canadian politics in Worcester from the 1890s to 1915 illustrates their pragmatic approach to politics. It also highlights the fragility of the Franco-American alliance formed in the wake of the Democratic debacle of 1896, and emphasizes the importance of ethnic group consciousness and recognition in the formation and maintenance of urban political party coalitions during the early years of the twentieth century. As in other large cities in Massachusetts, political life in Worcester centered on the conflict between two main antagonists—native-American Republicans and Irish Democrats—with other groups playing supporting but nonetheless crucial roles. Republicans easily controlled the city council and school committee, usually outnumbering Democrats by a two-to-one margin in each body. The G.O.P. assured its domination of the legislative branch by gerrymandering the bulk of Worcester's immigrant and Catholic inhabitants, who lived on the city's east side, into three wards in which the Irish, more established if not more numerous, dominated politics.¹⁰ Republicans sat also in the mayor's chair during all but six years between 1886 and 1915, although the party's control of that office was precarious.¹¹ To keep the mayoralty, the G.O.P. had to rely on both Swedish and French-Canadian voters, in whose hands lay the balance of power by the 1890s. Disaffection among these two groups gave the Democratic Party an opportunity for victory. If united behind a popular candidate and duly attentive to the political sensitivities of the Swedes and French-Canadians, the Democrats could win control of the mayor's office. Thus wedged between the contending political groups, French-Canadians and Swedes, each comprising about ten percent of the city's population, assumed a pivotal role in Worcester politics.

Most French-Canadians had probably affiliated themselves with the Democratic Party in Worcester before 1896, although the G.O.P. had acquired a substantial following, especially in Ward Three. The Democrats had gained the favor of most French voters largely because they had given the French-Canadians the chance to gain recognition in city government. Between 1887 and 1895, Canadian Democratic candidates for local office outnumbered Republican eleven to four, and until 1896 all French-Canadians on the city council were Democrats. The election of a French-Canadian Republican to the Board of Aldermen in 1896 marked the beginning of a new era. Intense competition for Franco-Ameri-

can support characterized the next twenty years, but neither party proved entirely successful. Republicans gained the upper hand at first but could not prevent the Democrats from enticing Canadian voters to their ranks after 1902. Although many French-Canadians remained identified with the G.O.P. until 1915, officeholding and voting patterns indicate that the relationship was brittle and often cracked. By 1895 French-Canadian demands for additional recognition had created ill-will between the Canadians and the Irish Democrats. Despite the fact that Franco-Americans made up about fifteen percent of the voters in Ward Three, Irish politicians refused to back John F. Jandron, a French-Canadian Democrat, for one of three common council seats in that ward. Running as an independent Democrat in 1893, he swung French Republicans in that ward to his cause, and he won. Two years later, although he and many Canadian voters supported the Democratic-Citizens' candidate for mayor, Jandron's bid for re-election was rejected by the Democrats, and the seeds of disaffection were sown.¹²

The Republican Party, stung by the loss of the head of its ticket in 1895, perceived Jandron's squabble with Ward Three Democrats as an opportunity to recruit disgruntled French-Canadian voters and regain the mayoralty. In 1896 the G.O.P. therefore nominated for the board of aldermen Napoleon P. Huot, a Ward Three grocer long associated with the Republican Party hoping, as the *Worcester Evening Gazette* put it, "that this recognition would be appreciated by a return of" Republican votes in the mayoral contest.¹³ Huot won; with the help of Republican voters, he became the first Franco-American to serve on the aldermanic board. Republicans also nominated two other French-Canadians for common council seats in 1896, one of whom won, giving the French-Canadians three seats on the city council the following year—two Republicans and one Democrat.¹⁴

A sustained effort by the G.O.P. over the next few years welded much of the French-Canadian vote to the Republican bloc. Between 1896 and 1901, French-Canadian Republican candidates for municipal offices outnumbered Democrats fifteen to six. As a result, all French-Canadians serving on the city council from 1898 to 1902 were Republicans. Each year a Canadian Republican sat on the Board of Aldermen.¹⁵ Additionally, Republican mayor Rufus Dodge appointed C. Herbert De Fosse as Sealer of Weights and Measures for the city¹⁶ and W. Levi Bousquet gained admission to the city's Republican Club, serving on its finance committee in 1900.¹⁷ Predictably, Mayor Dodge received the full support of French-Canadians in 1898 and 1899 and was elected both years.¹⁸

The Franco-Republican alliance reached its peak in the municipal election of 1900. That year the Republicans nominated two Canadians for the Board of Aldermen—W. Levi Bousquet and John Rivard.¹⁹ As only six of the eight Republican nominees were expected to win and it was unlikely that both French-Canadians would receive full backing from the Republican rank and file, the French-Canadians were forced to choose between Bousquet and Rivard. They rallied around Bousquet, three-time president of the Ward Four and Five Naturalization Club and head of the advertising department of *L'Opinion Publique*, Worcester's French-language newspaper.²⁰ Following the lead of French-Canadian community leaders, who viewed Rivard as the candidate of Ward Five Republicans "rather

than as the candidate of the French people," the Republican city committee endorsed Bousquet as the preferred "choice of the French people as a class."²¹ Bousquet, who had succeeded Huot as alderman in 1899, won. Rivard received less than half of the average vote given other Republican aldermanic candidates and was the only G.O.P nominee for that position defeated in the election.²² According to J. Arthur Favreau, editor of *L'Opinion Publique*, seventy-five percent of the Canadian voters were Republicans and had solidly backed the Republican William A. Lytle over Democrat Philip O'Connell in the mayoral race.²³

Bousquet's success in the municipal contest, and his election as president of the board of aldermen in 1901, symbolized the bond that had developed by 1900 between the French-Canadians and the G.O.P. The relationship was based upon two factors. First and foremost, since the Democrats had nominated no French-Canadians for city council slots since 1897, the Canadians had become dependent on the Republican Party for representation in the city government. The second factor was the intense ethnic consciousness generated over a religious controversy between French-Canadians in North Brookfield, a town a few miles west of Worcester, and Bishop Beaven, Irish head of the Springfield diocese, which included Worcester County.

The North Brookfield incident, involving the formation of a French-language parish, had simmered through the late summer but came to a boil in October of 1900.²⁴ By then the French-Canadian community in Worcester had become involved. Anti-Irish feeling abounded in St. Jean Baptiste Hall where some five hundred French-Canadians gathered to hear their leaders list their grievances and state the case for French-speaking Catholics. One speaker, Dr. Felix Fontaine of Worcester, called upon them to "defend our rights and particularly, to obtain justly our due from the clerical authorities in this country. We have been oppressed and brow-beaten by bishops of other nationalities until it is impossible to bear it longer. Justice for the French-speaking Catholics is an un-heard-of-thing."²⁵ Reverend Jean Berger, pastor of North Brookfield's rebellious French-Canadian congregation and a principal figure in the dispute, put the issue more simply still: "The whole question may be summed up in the following phrase: The Irish church for the Irish, the French church for the French It is a question of the French-speaking people and the Irish clergy."²⁶ Such rhetoric no doubt galvanized support among French-Canadians for Bousquet's candidacy and certainly did not help Philip O'Connell's bid for mayor in the municipal election six weeks later.

No one, save perhaps himself, suspected young O'Connell of having any chance of becoming mayor of solidly Republican Worcester. Only thirty years old, he was a political novice unknown outside his party. "If the miracle happens, Phil will render good service," read the headline of the *Worcester Evening Post*, the city's traditionally Democratic newspaper the day after his nomination.²⁷ In its view, the Democrats had "nominated a dummy ticket, thus conceding in advance the election of the Republican candidate."²⁸ Despite the fact that O'Connell was the first Irish Catholic to run for mayor since 1887, the campaign generated little enthusiasm. Leaving him to plot his own course, the Democratic city committee sponsored none of the usual campaign rallies on his behalf. The day before the election the *Post* reported that "there is more interest

centered in the tail of the ticket than in its head," and went on to explain the referenda issues without as much as mentioning O'Connell's name, never mind endorsing him.²⁹

O'Connell won, or so it seemed the morning after election day. Would-be Republican mayor-elect William Lytle went to bed on election night comforted by his 41-vote victory. By lunchtime the next day, the discovery of an error in the tabulations had given O'Connell a 19-vote plurality. The ensuing tangle was the worst in Worcester's political history. A recount, completed a week later, revealed a dead-heat: 8,061 votes for each candidate.³⁰ O'Connell sued the registrars of voters, claiming that three of his votes had been improperly disqualified. Once the state supreme court ruled against him, preparation for a February rematch began in earnest. Nearly a thousand new names were added to the voting lists during the brief but spirited campaign preceding the new election.³¹

The special election made the Republicans glum and the Democrats gleeful; by 511 votes Philip O'Connell became Worcester's first Irish Catholic mayor. Irish Democrats, who turned out in record numbers, and 1,800 Republicans had defeated William Lytle.³² Among Republicans, French-Canadians, Swedes, and Armenians split their vote, contributing to his defeat.³³ Acknowledging his debt to Republican voters, O'Connell promised an administration dedicated to the interests of all the city's people and alienating no group.³⁴ But this policy soon put him at odds with regular Democrats, who believed that the spoils of office rightfully belonged to them. Within a month of being elected O'Connell found himself embroiled in a dispute with the Democratic city committee over his appointments to the liquor commission.³⁵ The rift between the mayor and the Democrats had not been patched over by December of 1901. A poor showing among Democratic voters defeated his bid for re-election.³⁶

The defection of some French-Canadian voters, mostly in Ward Five, to O'Connell in the special election foreshadowed a serious falling out between the French-Canadians and the G.O.P. between 1902 and 1906. While the Republican leadership had given the French-Canadians an opportunity to participate in city government between 1896 and 1901, the relationship had remained shallow. Republican rank-and-file voters had consistently undercut Canadian Republican aldermanic candidates.³⁷ The G.O.P. had nominated numerous French-Canadians for seats on the common council and school committee, but always in Irish-dominated wards where they were certain to lose rather than in safe Republican wards.³⁸ Consequently, the Canadians usually had but a single seat on the city council—alderman at large—and none on the school committee.³⁹ Only one French-Canadian, moreover, had received a patronage plum within the government.⁴⁰ In 1902 Republican voters changed the city charter, abandoning the selection of aldermen by city-wide vote, which had enabled French-Canadians to be represented on that board, and providing for a return to ward-elected aldermen.⁴¹ Because French-speaking voters were dispersed throughout Worcester, they dominated no ward; the new charter thus threatened to divest them of the only voice they had on the city council. French-Canadians in Worcester suspected, probably with some justice, that the G.O.P. had turned out to be somewhat less than a magnanimous ally.

Meanwhile, Philip O'Connell's success had revitalized the Democratic Party in Worcester by demonstrating that victory was possible. The apparently solid Republican chain had at least a few weak links, and with some effort the bond between the French-Canadians and the G.O.P. could be broken. Early in 1902 O'Connell had pointed the way. He astutely re-appointed C. Herbert De Fosse as Sealer of Weights and Measures, contrary to expectations since De Fosse, a prominent Republican, had campaigned strongly against him.⁴² The following year, as he tried to regain his old office, O'Connell was rumored to have offered ex-alderman Bousquet a place on the liquor commission if he would support the ex-mayor's candidacy.⁴³ The Democratic city committee continued O'Connell's initiatives towards the French-Canadians, nominating six Canadians for city council and school committee slots over the next several years.⁴⁴

These efforts, coupled with the G.O.P.'s poor record of meaningful accommodation, brought French voters back to the Democrats. Louis A. Belisle was one of the three Democratic aldermanic candidates who won in 1902; John F. Jandron, one-time Democrat turned Republican, was turned out of office in the same election, with few Canadian votes. According to the *Gazette*, Jandron's defeat signified that the "French vote throughout the city was with the Democracy." In the mayoral contest, nearly three hundred Ward Three French-Canadians followed W. Levi Bousquet into the Democratic camp and voted for Philip O'Connell. Republican nominee Edward F. Fletcher was re-elected only because he received enough Irish Democratic votes to offset the defections of the French vote.⁴⁵ Voting patterns for French-Canadian precincts suggest that over the next four years Canadians continued to vote for Democratic mayoral candidates David F. O'Connell and John T. Duggan. With their support Duggan captured the office for the Democrats in 1905 and again in 1906.⁴⁶

Distressed by the loss of the mayoralty in two consecutive elections, the G.O.P. in 1907 aimed to get back the French vote. The charter of 1902 had created a new position on the city council—alderman-at-large—elected by city-wide vote like the mayor. One cause of the falling-out between the French-Canadians and the G.O.P. had been its failure to nominate Arthur B. Brunell, the Canadian choice for that position in 1904.⁴⁷ The center-piece of the Republican strategy in 1907 was, therefore, to make Brunell their candidate for alderman-at-large while continuing to run French-Canadians for other offices.⁴⁸ At the same time, many more French-Canadians were brought into the party organization.⁴⁹ Predictably, the French-Canadians rallied to Brunell's side and Republican mayoral candidate Logan was swept into office with their help.⁵⁰

The Republican strategy continued to work for three years, but it contained two fatal flaws. First, rank-and-file Republicans never gave Brunell the vote they accorded Logan, and they embittered Brunell by voting for an independent candidate running against him in 1909. Second, an independent and ambitious fellow, Brunell hoped to succeed Logan as mayor. His ambition had become apparent by the municipal election of 1909.⁵¹ By September of the next year he had already announced his candidacy for mayor against his three-year campaign companion. Early in November Brunell launched a noisy and bitter battle for the Republican nomination. Speaking at large outdoor rallies of enthusiastic French-Canadians, he denounced Logan, charging him with corruption and "bossism,"

and other unusually personal verbal assaults. By the end of the month the war of words was over. Republican primary voters soundly repudiated the renegade French-Canadian, who received only 3,100 of over 10,000 votes.⁵² The shouting ended—except among French-Canadians.

The Democratic Party prepared itself for the inevitable outcome of Brunell's challenge. In November it had backed J. B. N. Soulliere's bid for sheriff and nominated Camille S. Trahan, a respected French-Canadian businessman and long-time Democrat, for alderman-at-large, Brunell's old position. Inflamed by Brunell's unceremonious dumping, French-Canadian voters, among them many long-time Republican party activists, deserted the G.O.P., promising to vote for the Democratic ticket.⁵³ Campaigning hand in hand with David F. O'Connell, the Democratic mayoral nominee, Trahan appealed to their severely bruised pride:

Our city is composed of different elements or nationalities, resulting into groups, and each party is entitled to political rights. Each element should have some representation in the city government. The French population of Worcester is one-sixth and our people have nothing, no representation in the city government. Mayor Logan has treated the French population of Worcester shamefully. A man, Mr. Brunell, who could not be bossed by Logan, was turned out by the mayor. After the service Brunell had rendered to the Republican Party, it was the duty of Mr. Logan to do something for us. Mr. Brunell has been disowned by the party, for which he labored so hard. But our time has come, Logan. We have joined hands with the Democratic Party and on Tuesday next you will be displaced by Mr. O'Connell as mayor of Worcester, and French voters will help to do it.⁵⁴

Election day substantiated only half of Trahan's prediction. French-Canadians voted as a bloc for O'Connell and Trahan, but both lost.⁵⁵ The next year the Democrats persisted in their strategy, as O'Connell teamed up with J. B. N. Soulliere. The French-Canadian Irish Democrat phalanx held firm, flanked by cadres of Swedish voters from Wards Two and Six. Both O'Connell and Soulliere won by substantial pluralities.⁵⁶

Yet, David F. O'Connell's tenure in office was limited to a single year, like that of his predecessor Philip O'Connell a decade earlier. O'Connell bickered with Camille Trahan, newly-appointed liquor commissioner, over the distribution of licenses, and Trahan resigned. The French-Canadians railed that their confidence had been abused once again. Soulliere was re-nominated the following December, as was O'Connell, who again promised the French-Canadians a seat on the liquor commission. But the Canadians bolted, as did the Swedes. George Wright, a popular Republican, triumphed in 1912 and held the Republican coalition together for at least three years.⁵⁷

As in Fall River and Holyoke, the French-Canadians in Worcester remained strongly associated with neither political party between 1896 and 1915. Many

French-Canadian leaders may have leaned toward the G.O.P., but both parties vied for and at times received the support of Franco-American voters. Given the political ambitions of the French-Canadians and the limited resources of both parties, however, alliances often had short, unstable lives. In electoral contests many French-Canadians remained independent, swinging from party to party as political currents changed. Over the last five years of the nineteenth century, Franco-Americans in Fall River and Worcester, as well as in other Bay State cities, strongly favored Republicans at the polling booth, encouraged partly by the willingness of that party to share some of the spoils of office. Seriously weakened by factional strife, the Democratic Party had little to offer the French-Canadians from 1895 to 1900.

As the Bryanites lost their grip on the party, however, Democratic fortunes improved. During the first decade of the twentieth century, the Democrats gained French-Canadian support in both local and state contests. Tension and suspicion between the French-Canadians and the Irish no doubt existed, since the memories of religious controversies smoldered and still could be inflamed. Nevertheless, French-Canadian political behavior appears not to have been motivated primarily by anti-Irish feeling, powerful as such feeling may have been. Rather, political pragmatism led the French-Canadians to vote for Irish politicians like John T. Coughlin in Fall River and David F. O'Connell in Worcester. More often than not, practical political considerations proved more salient than the legacy of ill-will in determining French-Canadian political choices.

NOTES

1. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900, Population*, I, Part 1, pp. 732-735, 814, 822, 830; Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Census of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts: 1895*. The term "French-Canadian" in this essay refers to immigrants born in French Canada or native-born Americans whose fathers were born in French Canada.
2. As a starting point for the study of French-Canadians, see Pierre Anctil, *A Franco-American Bibliography: New England* (Bedford, New Hampshire, 1979).
3. See Andrew M. Greeley and William C. McReady, *Ethnicity in the United States: A Preliminary Reconnaissance* (New York, 1974) and Lawrence H. Fuchs, ed., *American Ethnic Politics* (New York, 1968).
4. David B. Walker, *Politics and Ethnocentrism: The Case of the Franco-Americans* (Brunswick, Maine, 1961), and "Presidential Politics of Franco-Americans," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 28 (1962): 353-363.

5. Philip T. Silvia, Jr., "The Spindle City: Labor, Politics, and Religion in Fall River, Massachusetts, 1870-1905" (Ph.D. dissertation, Fordham University, 1973); Peter Haebler, "Habitants of Holyoke: The Development of the French-Canadian Community in a Massachusetts City, 1865-1910" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Hampshire, 1976).
6. For a detailed discussion of French-Canadian voting behavior which revises Walker's view see Ronald A. Petrin, "Ethnicity and Political Pragmatism: The French Canadians in Massachusetts, 1885-1915" (Ph.D. dissertation, Clark University, 1983), pp. 14-23. See also Duane Lockard, *New England State Politics* (Princeton, 1959), pp. 66, 312-313.
7. This conclusion is based on an examination of the names of all candidates running for state representative in Berkshire, Bristol, Essex, Hampden, Hampshire, Middlesex and Worcester counties. These counties contained the bulk of the French-Canadian population in the state. French-Canadian candidates were identified by surname from Massachusetts Public Document No. 43, "Number of Registered Voters and Persons who Voted . . . Together with the Number of Votes Received by each Candidate," 1896-1915.
8. See Petrin, "Ethnicity and Political Pragmatism," pp. 255-352, for a more extensive discussion.
9. Richard S. Sorrell, "The *Survivance* of French-Canadians in New England (1865-1930): History, Geography, and Demography as Destiny," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 4 (1981): 91-109.
10. The Irish dominated Wards Three, Four, and Five. Of the 72 common councilors elected from these wards between 1888 and 1896, only one was Republican (in 1888). Although the Republicans gained one or two of the three seats in Ward Five between 1897 and 1905, and again in 1912-1913 by running French-Canadian candidates, Wards Three and Four elected no Republicans to the common council from 1888 to 1915.
11. Democratic mayors were elected in 1895, 1896, 1900, 1905, 1906, and 1911. None received more than 55 percent of the vote. The mean vote for Republican mayors from 1886 to 1914 was 57 percent; in 7 elections they won 60 percent or more of the two-party vote.
12. *Worcester Evening Gazette*, 7 December 1896.
13. *Idem*.
14. *Ibid.*, 9 December 1896.
15. N. P. Huot, 1897-1899; W. Levi Bousquet, 1900-1901; John F. Jandron, 1902 served as alderman; John Rivard served as common councilor in 1899.
16. Worcester, *City Directory*, 1898.
17. *Worcester Daily Spy*, 24 August 1900.
18. A comparison of the vote given to French-Canadian candidates for school committee and common council with that for Republican mayoral candidate Dodge shows them to be nearly identical.

19. *Worcester Evening Post*, 21 and 26 November 1900.
20. *Worcester Daily Spy*, 3 December 1900.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*, 12 December 1900.
23. *Ibid.*, 17 December 1900. Favreau's comment was in response to a letter to the *Spy* objecting to *L'Opinion Publique's* claim that the French vote had been overwhelmingly Republican in the municipal election (16 December 1900).
24. The North Brookfield controversy may be traced in the columns of the *Worcester Daily Spy*, 5 August, 1, 18, 24-30 September, 5, 8, 11-14, 19-20, 23, 27, 31 October, 2, 4, 8, 11-14, 24 November, 12, December 1900.
25. *Ibid.*, 22 October 1900. Fontaine went on to point out that the Irish hierarchy had been opposing the creation of French parishes for over 30 years.
26. *Worcester Daily Spy*, 22 October 1900.
27. *Worcester Evening Post*, 26 November 1900. The *Post* bluntly characterized the party's choice of O'Connell as a blunder. See Albert B. Southwick, "The City's First Irish Mayor," *Worcester Sunday Telegram*, 16 December 1979, for an account of the 1900 campaign.
28. *Ibid.*, 10 December 1900.
29. *Ibid.*, 12 December 1900.
30. *Ibid.*, 15, 17, 18 December 1900; 14, 16 February 1901.
31. *Ibid.*, 20 February 1901.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Armenians were angry with the Republican city committee for having one Manoog Sherinjan arrested for voting in both fall primaries (*Worcester Evening Post*, 11 February 1901). According to the *Post*, all 75 voters of the Swedish Quinsigamond Social Club had pledged to vote for O'Connell because, as one of them explained "we are always good wheel horses but none of the plums happened to come our way after election." (*Worcester Evening Post*, 16 February 1901).
34. *Worcester Evening Post*, 20 February 1901.
35. *Ibid.*, 5 March 1901.
36. *Worcester Evening Gazette*, 16 September, 11 December 1901. Democratic voters cut O'Connell again in 1902 (*Worcester Evening Gazette*, 10 December 1902).
37. A comparison of the mean vote received by all non-French-Canadian Republican aldermanic candidates in Republican wards One, Two, Six,

- Seven, and Eight to that received by French-Canadian Republican candidates shows that the *Canadiens* received between 8 and 35 percent fewer votes.
38. Between 1896 and 1902, ten French-Canadians were nominated by the G.O.P. for common council or school committee seats. All were in Wards Three, Four, and Five and all lost.
 39. See fn. 26.
 40. C. Herbert De Fosse had been appointed Sealer of Weights and Measures by Mayor Rufus Dodge in 1898.
 41. The mean vote in favor of the new charter in the five Republican wards was 57 percent. The three Democratic wards opposed it, with only 44 percent voting in favor. In strongly French precincts even fewer voted to accept the new charter: 57 percent voted against it in Precincts Three-3, Three-4, and Five-1 (*Worcester Evening Gazette*, 10 December 1902).
 42. *Worcester Evening Post*, 21 February 1901; Worcester, *City Directory*, 1901, 1902.
 43. *Worcester Evening Gazette*, 10 December 1902.
 44. From 1902 to 1906 Democrats nominated six French-Canadians; Republicans nominated nine. All Republicans lost. Louis A. Belisle (D) was alderman at large in 1903 and Louis P. deGrandpre served one three-year term on the school committee. These two men were the only *Canadiens* in city government between 1903 and 1906.
 45. *Worcester Evening Gazette*, 10 December 1902.
 46. See Petrin, "Ethnicity and Political Pragmatism," figures 5.9-5.11.
 47. *Worcester Evening Gazette*, 23 November 1904.
 48. Between 1907 and 1909 Republican *Canadien* candidates outnumbered Democrats 13 to 2.
 49. From 1893 to 1903 only 19 of 264 (7 percent) Republican ward committeemen were *Canadiens*. Between 1904 and 1906 the French-Canadian percentage rose to 12 percent; in 1907 and 1908 it rose to 18 percent and 33 of the 180 committeemen were French-Canadians. Worcester, *City Directory*, 1893-1908.
 50. See Petrin, "Ethnicity and Political Pragmatism," figures 5.9-5.11.
 51. *Worcester Evening Gazette*, 11 December 1907, 9 December 1908; 3, 8, 10, 15 December 1909.
 52. *Worcester Evening Post*, 18-19, 22-23 November, 15, 17 December 1910.
 53. *Ibid.*, 5, 8, 30 November, 12 December 1910.
 54. *Ibid.*, 10 December 1910. See also 30 November and 5 December 1910.

55. *Ibid.*, 12-14 December 1910; *Worcester Evening Gazette*, 14 December 1910.
56. *Worcester Evening Post*, 21 November, 4, 8 December 1911; *Worcester Evening Gazette*, 6, 13 December 1911.
57. *Worcester Evening Gazette*, 6, 7, 9, 10 December 1912.