This volume contains the reports of the working committees of the 1976 Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. The introduction traces the patterns of immigration in North America from the colonial period to the twentieth century. Sections entitled Origins, Cultural Pluralism, and Contributions deal with the settlement patterns of the French-, Spanish-, and German-speaking; the struggle between the forces of assimilation and the desire for ethnic preservation; and the cultural contributions of these groups. A special section discusses the impact of classical culture in American culture and education. "Horizons" discusses directions for the future in multi-lingual and multi-cultural education. Finally, suggestions for classroom implementation provide a means of incorporating community ethnicity, popular culture, social studies, the press, cultural field trips, and ethnic literature in the classroom. Two papers read at the 1975 conference are included: "Retrospect and Prospect," by N. Brooks, and "Changing Goals for Foreign Language Education," by T. T. Grenda. The Conference Award article for 1975 is "The Imaginative Use of Projected Visuals," by T. P. Carter. Contents of the Conference Reports from 1954-1975 are appended, as well as a list of Conference Officers and Directors for 1954-1976. (AM)
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About the Northeast Conference

It began in 1954 as an outgrowth of the Yale-Barnard Conference on the Teaching of French. During its twenty-three years the focus of the annual Conference has been on effective learning of languages, all those commonly taught in this country, ancient and modern, including English as a second language. In preparation for each annual Conference, Working Committees meet at intervals during the year, writing successive drafts of Reports published as Reports of the Working Committees, which serve as the basis for the Conference discussions. In order that the discussions may be judiciously based on the Reports, they are mailed to Conference preregistrants a month in advance of the Conference.

In addition to the Working Committee general sessions, there are showings of teaching films, workshops, and exhibits of textbooks and other teaching aids. The Conference is sponsored by hundreds of schools, colleges, and educational associations. Representatives of those sponsoring institutions form an Advisory Council, which has a meeting at the end of each Conference.

Over the years the Conference has become the largest and most influential gathering of foreign language teachers in the country. Some three thousand teachers from some fifty states and foreign countries now attend each annual meeting. The Northeast Conference has encouraged and aided the formation of other similar regional associations: the Southern Conference in 1965 and the Central States Conference in 1968.

The Conference has three awards: the Donald D. Walsh Foreign Language Research Grant, the annual Stephen A. Freeman Award for a published article on teaching techniques, and the Award for Distinguished Service and Leadership in the Profession. The first eight recipients of this award have been Stephen A. Freeman of Middlebury College, Nelson Brooks of Yale University, Harry L. Levy of Fordham University, Robert G. Mead Jr. of the University of Connecticut, Freeman Twaddel of Brown University, Emma Birkmaier of the University of Minnesota, Donald D. Walsh of the Northeast Conference, and Theodore Andersson of the University of Texas.
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HERITAGE AND HORIZONS

Reports of the Working Committees
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1976
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The Northeast Conference is an affiliate of the American Council on
the Teaching of Foreign Languages and the National Federation of
Modern Language Teachers Associations.
of the earlier American countryside was thus telescoped into an equally differ-
entiated social space within the industrial city.

As in earlier periods, the regionalization of immigrant flows within the country
created systematic variations in the ethnic composition of the regions' cities.
Through transportation connections, industrial labor recruitment, employment
pennants, and immigrant institutional attractions, the various ethnic groups con-
centrated in specific cities. The three mid-Atlantic seaports—New York, Philadel-
phia, and Baltimore—and the inland emporium of Chicago attracted the greatest
variety of immigrants. Russian Jews and Italians concentrated in the eastern port
cities, filling the unskilled laboring jobs and task-work opportunities that abounded
in their commercial-industrial economies. While small pockets of Russian
Jews eventually arose in most of the nation's commercial centers, Italians spread
primarily throughout the smaller industrial centers of the Northeast and New
England in particular. The various Slavic groups moved into the iron and steel
industries of east coast cities, such as Newark, Bridgeport, and Baltimore, but
they became predominant in the inland mining towns and heavy industrial cen-
ters, for example, Scranton, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, and Gary.13

Thus, by 1920 the ethnically diverse cities of industrial America had taken on
imprints of particular ethnic groups that in part still identify these cities today.
New England had the greatest regional diversity in the various smaller French
Canadian, Italian, and Portuguese industrialized cities, all overshadowed by the
Irish flavor of Boston. There were elsewhere, to name a few, the older German
communities of Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Milwaukee; the Polish of Detroit, Buf-
falo, and Baltimore; the Russian Jews and Italians of New York and Chicago;
and the Chinese of San Francisco. And, in reality, most of these larger cities could
boast of a major ethnic community from both the old and new immigrant waves,
in addition to small clusters of other groups. Accordingly, the prominent Mil-
waukee Germans had to share their urban scene with the newly arriving Polish.
In effect, the regionalization of immigration had created a few typical 'layer cakes'
of ethnic composition, spiced by unique local variations.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY SHIFT

Legislative restrictions on immigration in the 1920's were aimed at not only
reducing the flow of immigrants but also curbing the influx of the new immigrants,
for it was feared that they were altering the basic 'racial' composition of the Amer-
ican population. In conjunction with subsequent European embroilments and
economic depression, the restrictions achieved both goals. British and German
immigrants (often refugees from Hitler's policies) again predominated among
European arrivals, and many of these were skilled workers and professionals who
Introduction

FIGURE 3
THE TWENTIETH CENTURY SHIFT

LATIN AMERICAN □
MEXICAN AMERICAN □
LATIN AND MEXICAN AMERICAN □

Because of their recent arrival and the decline of the original ethnic neighborhoods, these new immigrants have frequently formed their own small enclaves.

The decision in 1924 to exempt the Western Hemisphere from the quota system has had dramatic effects upon the nation's settlement geography. At first, Canadians (particularly Anglo-Canadians) constituted the single largest group of immigrants and assimilated quickly into American life. However, after World War II, Mexican, Caribbean (including Puerto Rican), and South American immigrants, mostly Spanish-speaking, have outnumbered the arrivals from any of the traditional source countries.14

Although originally coming as temporary laborers to agricultural fields, Mexican migrants have taken up permanent residence legally and illegally in the states proximate to the Mexican-American border. From the Rio Grande Valley in Texas to southern and central California, substantial Mexican communities have developed in rural and urban contexts, recalling and sometimes invigorating the pre-Anglo origins of European settlement in the Southwest.15 The large num-

14. Puerto Ricans are really migrants within the political structure of the United States; however, as Spanish-speaking persons and as a group which has experienced racial prejudice, they have...
bers, local residential segregation, and distinctive characteristics of religion, speech, dress, and diets of the Mexican-American population have made the Southwest one of the nation's most culturally plural regions. The Mexican inhabitants of the barrios of Los Angeles and other southwestern cities, frequently employed as domestics, garment workers, and service personnel, combine with blacks and Orientals to give those cities typically complex social geographies, though distinctively different from the European ethnicity of older cities. Offshoots from the normal paths of migrant agricultural laborers have spread Mexicans throughout the far West and midwestern states. Even seemingly remote cities in Wisconsin now contain flourishing Mexican communities.

In contrast, the flow of Spanish-speaking migrants from the West Indies and Puerto Rico was less concentrated in proximate U.S. areas and more urban oriented. West Indians filled both laboring and skilled opportunities in Atlantic coastal cities from Florida to Massachusetts until purposeful legislative restriction took place in the early 1950's. After the Cuban revolution, thousands of that island's inhabitants joined this flow, in particular establishing the large Cuban community of Miami.

As the traditional commercial link to the continental U.S., New York City attracted the majority of Puerto Rican migrants, who filled the unskilled jobs that had previously been the preserve of European immigrants. In recent decades, the continued influx of Puerto Ricans has supported their diffusion to many industrial cities of the Northeast and Midwest where, because of their language barrier, perceived racial distinctiveness, and economic position, they have generally ended up in separate residential concentrations. In the same way, the relatively recent influx of Central and South Americans (often illegally) has created separate Spanish-speaking communities in many Florida cities as well as in major cities to the north, e.g., Washington, D.C.

Finally, reflecting growing American activity in the Pacific after World War II, a variety of Asian migrants (Philippino, Japanese, Korean, Chinese, and recently Vietnamese) has constituted a growing proportion of the nation's immigrants. Joining substantial extant Japanese- and Chinese-American communities on the west coast these immigrants have also spread to many of the major metropolitan areas and established small but distinctive communities, often occupying no more than a few blocks in an already ethnically diverse area. Thus, as a result of legislative policies and American international, economic, and political activities, the national origins of immigrants to this country have dramatically shifted from European countries to those of Latin America and Asia. Although the dimensions of this newest immigration have only recently begun to approach those of the nineteenth century, the imprint upon specific regions and cities in language, music, diets, and other behavioral aspects is becoming quite marked.
Most observers of American life agree that in spite of the varied origins of the population a national culture has emerged and flourished. The socioeconomic processes of modernization, combined with an acceptance of fundamental political principles, have resulted in shared attitudinal and behavioral patterns. One historian wrote that “To the Founding Fathers e pluribus unum meant the fusion of thirteen separate states into a single political unit; to the mid-twentieth-century American it also denotes the unity that has developed from the mingling of peoples diverse in origin but sharing a common devotion to liberty, democracy, and tolerance.” More recently, a cultural geographer has argued that the belief in American principles, veneration of patriotic symbols, and acceptance of an American way of life suggest the existence of an Americanism which is now the national religion. Immigrant groups upon integrating into the American scene inevitably undergo fundamental changes; although in the process they contribute to the evolving character of the American enterprise, “when they emerge they will be the creature of America, not America their creature.”

The recognition of a national American culture and unity does not preclude the existence of cultural pluralism in the society. The process of assimilation involves many aspects of life, so that one (or a group) may be located at a stage of the process somewhere along a continuum running from total separation from the larger society on the one hand to total assimilation on the other. The different backgrounds, internal fragmentations, and educational, occupational, and political experiences in America have resulted in varying rates and degrees of assimilation between and within the different immigrant groups.

While the most recent mid-twentieth-century immigrants from Latin America and Asia—with vast differences in religion, race, and language—have only begun the assimilative process, current generations of the oldest groups only weakly (if at all) recognize their ethnic origins and usually think of themselves as the basic American stock. The European immigrant groups of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries exist in varying states of partial to complete assimilation. Although it is common to observe that their ethnic distinctiveness is rapidly fading, subconscious, self-perceived, and active attitudinal and behavioral differences still punctuate the contemporary society.

Visible signs of Americanization can often obscure important aspects of continued plurality. Despite shared principles and integrated economic and political participation, cultural subgroups may exist through the maintenance of primary social relationships separate from the larger society. Members of a subgroup may accept civic responsibilities, enjoy equal economic opportunities, adopt outward
behavioral customs, and experience little prejudice, but they may simultaneously confine their primary social interactions to other members of their group, in particular rarely marrying outside of it. Such a pattern maintains separate group identity through partial assimilation to the larger society and accordingly fosters a culturally plural society.

In 1963 a prominent sociologist argued that race, religion, and ethnicity still created the plurality of contemporary American life. In addition to racial minorities and recent immigrants, however, many older ethnic groups have expanded their primary social relations to include other ethnic groups of the same religion. That is to say, assimilation within the three major religions—Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism—has forged a new dimension of plurality. And it is possible to speculate that the newest generation of young adults has been ignoring even these broad lines of grouping and adopting new ones based on specific interests, which bear no relationship to their ethnic or religious heritage.

The persistence of different degrees of cultural plurality presently combines with the regionalization of immigration and settlement to produce a culturally varied landscape in both rural and urban areas. American "regions and subregions are the fusion of people and place, of environment, stock, economics, dialect, history, consciousness, and ways of life," and "these regional cultures are the carriers of American diversity." Where immigrant groups have concentrated in large numbers, especially during the early stages of regional settlement, they have tended to contribute to this fusion of people and place. Although the arrival of different groups at different times and the changes in American life have produced a layering effect in some regions so that the top layer is often most visible, all layers influence the fusion and leave material as well as nonmaterial traces. Thus, one notices today the unmistakable though varying imprints of old and recent groups—French Canadians and Puerto Ricans in New England, American Indians and Scandinavians in the upper Midwest, the French and Italians in southern Louisiana, Mexicans and Orientals in the Southwest, and a variety of other groups on more local levels, some of which, such as the Amish, have barely begun to assimilate.

As primary destination for the two latest waves of immigrants, the cities reflect most dramatically the varying degrees of cultural pluralism. Sometimes the entire city exudes the air of an ethnic group that was predominant in its early development, such as the Germans of Milwaukee. At the same time, a few older central-city neighborhoods often remain as relics of once vigorous ethnic ghettos. Although either the wrecking ball or a succession of subsequent residential groups has obliterated many of these ethnic areas, human, institutional, and architectural remnants may remind us of the past inhabitants.

More frequently, working-class suburbs exist as the bastion of ethnic solidarity among older groups. Formed as areas of ethnic reconcentration during the

initial outward (and upward) movement from the original inner-city neighborhoods, these suburbs today have suffered the loss of mobile younger generations and stand embattled against the relentless inflow of other newly rising groups. In addition to these neighborhood manifestations of ethnic grouping, social networks of ethnic and religious origin, but without a spatial foundation, crisscross the city. Because of electronic communication and automotive transportation, group relationships may be maintained without the necessity of physical proximity, and, consequently, residential locations may be selected on the basis of criteria other than ethnic identification, e.g., cost, schools, environment, and access to job.

Finally, the newest immigrant groups have continued the familiar pattern of congregating in older residential areas and establishing visibly different cultural milieus with their own informational, service, and recreational institutions. Spanish-speaking migrants from Mexico and the rest of Latin America have formed the largest urban concentrations today, but the smaller recent arrivals from the Mediterranean countries have also established distinctive neighborhoods, e.g., the Portuguese in Newark.

Whether as an active citizen of a metropolitan area or through a more leisurely peregrination of the countryside, one eventually recognizes the great plurality in regional and urban settlement that partially defines the essence of the American experience in the past, today, and in the future. As the region closest to Europe, longest settled, and most thoroughly transformed by urban industrialism, the Northeast received the greatest variety and largest number of immigrants. Along with the current influx of various foreign-born groups, the recent large-scale movement of Puerto Ricans to northeastern cities is carrying on the region's heritage of ethnic diversity. During the Bicentennial, one might reflect that "while there are reasons to celebrate, there are also promises still to keep. It seems imperative to consider not only where we Americans have been but where we have to go."23
Origins

The French-Speaking

Many historical accounts of the French settling in North America include the same romantic intrigues that can be read in the pages of a modern novel.

The first settlement of Canada, in which term is of course included Acadia, or, as it is now known, Nova Scotia, was touched by a strange romance. The Sieur de Roberval was on his voyage to join the great Jacques Cartier and with him to found a colony, when he discovered that his niece, Marguerite de Roberval, loved, more fondly than was consistent with the Sieur's conceptions of right, a young cavalier of his company. A lonely island, known as the Isle of Demons, was sighted soon after this discovery was made; and Roberval sternly condemned his niece to perpetual imprisonment on this barren rock. Her lover jumped overboard and swam after his beloved; and together they lived, forgotten by men, on the island, thus founding the first Canadian home. A child was born to them, but it died early, and Marguerite's lover, whose name has not come down to us, soon followed his infant. Marguerite with her own hands hollowed the graves of those she loved, and then she lived on, more lonely than even Alexander Selkirk, on this island which was for her full of terrors, real and imagined; the nature of the latter may be guessed from the name bestowed upon the place. She was clad in skins and learned to use the guns with which, in strange mercy, she had been provided by her uncle; and it was not until more than two years had passed that she was rescued by some Maloine fishermen and found her way to her native land. Here she lived in seclusion until her death, which did not come until she had passed the number of years allotted to men.¹

However great the temptation to dismiss similar narratives as historical or literary fancies, they do illustrate a common adventuresome behavior which French settlers shared with French discoverers and explorers. The political, economic, and religious ambitions of French colonial rulers and adventurers were played out against the background of people's daily concerns.

In this context, Verrazano's navigation of the Atlantic shore from the Carolinas to Nova Scotia in 1524 and Cartier's exploration of the mouth of the Saint Lawrence in 1531 occurred concurrently with the activities of Breton fishermen along the northern Atlantic coast during the sixteenth century. Similarly, the valor of the massacred French Huguenots at Fort Caroline, Florida, in 1565 was equal to the courage displayed by their leader, Ribaud.

The pioneer experiences and peaceful existence of the first Acadian farmers are not overshadowed by the leadership of such settlers as Sieur Pierre de Monts (1604), Baron de Poutrincourt (1607), Isaac de Razilly (1632), or Charles d'Aulnay (1635). The founding of Quebec by Samuel de Champlain in 1608 does not obscure the fact that an apothecary-farmer, Louis Hébert, and his family were the first to settle permanently in that city. Nor does the fact that Bertrand Ageron became the first French governor of Saint-Dominique at l'île de la Tortue in 1625 mitigate the sufferings of black slaves for the benefit of French colonialism.

Thus, like other nations, through the middle of the eighteenth century, France was vying for its share of wealth in the New World through the efforts of individuals such as Cadillac, La Salle, Iberville, Bienville, Marquette, and Joliet. Like other European adventurers, they gained new knowledge and experience in such areas as navigation, agriculture, art, and colonial rule. However, the common settlers' individual and group experiences were as important in the molding of a different people. Through a process of independent evolution, these European transplants were living and defining a new democratic creed. Time and distance were making them aliens to their loyalist leaders.

To illustrate this evolution among the French settlers, we have but to study four distinct French cultural groups which had emerged in the New World by the end of the American Revolution: Acadians, French, French-Canadians, and Haitians. These groups were eventually to influence the Northeastern states.

THE ACADIANS

The first permanent French settlers arrived in North America in 1604 after Sieur Pierre de Monts received permission from Henry IV to found a colony in Acadia in the name of France. The region, previously explored and named by Verrazano, included the present state of Maine and the Canadian provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island.

After an initial expedition off the coast of Maine to the Island of St. Croix, the settlers established permanent settlements in such places as present-day Annapolis
Northeast Conference

Royal,² La Have,³ Saint John,⁴ Beaupré,⁵ and Grand Pré. The Acadians, as the new inhabitants were called, came mostly from the French provinces of Normandy, Brittany, Poitou, and Picardy. They were chiefly farmers and fishermen in their new land.

However, for over 150 years, their farms, ports, and lives were at the mercy of the warring French and British rulers, who by a succession of treaties alternately dominated the region. The years between 1720 and 1755 seemed to augur a permanent peaceful existence under British rule. The only stipulation which the Acadians had put forth as a condition of their allegiance to England was that they would not bear arms against their own.

Nevertheless, between 1755 and 1763, thousands of Acadians were evicted from their marshland farms and deported to colonies along the Atlantic coast: 2,000 to Massachusetts, 700 to Connecticut, 300 to New York, 500 to Pennsylvania, 1,000 to Maryland, 1,100 to Virginia, 500 to Carolina, and 400 to Georgia. Another 3,000 were deported from Prince Edward Island to England.⁵ The story of the deportation and dispersion of the Acadians is familiar through such accounts as Longfellow’s Evangeline⁶ and Émile Lavivrière’s La Tragédie d’un Peuple.⁷

Much later, one historian would write:

There have been instances, in the annals of the past, in which a country has been desolated in time of actual war, and where inhabitants were found in arms, but we defy all past history to produce a parallel case, in which an unarmed and peaceable people have suffered to such an extent as did the French Neutrals of Acadia.⁸

The British general, Charles Lawrence,⁹ and his men were not able to capture all French settlers in Nova Scotia. Some fled into the forests of New Brunswick; others reached the St. Lawrence River valley. One group escaping deportation fled to Ecoupag, a Malecœur Indian village on the St. John River in New Brunswick. There, they founded a village which they called Ste. Anne-des-Bas.¹⁰ In February 1759, during the French and Indian War, Major Moses Hazen of Colonel Robert Monckton’s regiment caught up with the Acadians and burned their village, forcing them to flee to Quebec.

After the Treaty of Paris (1763), few French-Acadians who remained in the

---

². Annapolis Royal was known as Port Royal.
³. La Have was known as La Heve.
⁴. Saint John was a stronghold called Fort Saint-Jean.
⁹. General Charles Lawrence, Governor of Chibouctou (present-day Halifax)—not the British government—was solely responsible for the initial deportation of the Acadians according to historian George F. Clarke.
¹⁰. Ste. Anne-des-Bas is now called Fredericton, New Brunswick.
Atlantic coastal states retained their identity. Basile Lanotte is a notable exception. Deported to South Carolina, he was elected State Legislator in 1796, 1798, and 1802. Over the years, the spelling of Lanotte became Lanneau, and the family included such prominent Americans as Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve and Fleetwood Lanneau. Because the majority of those deported felt alienated by their new environment, some traveled on to Europe, Louisiana, or Quebec; still others returned to their 'Acadian' homeland.

Although not participants in the American Revolution, the maritime Acadians were vitally affected by it. As British Loyalists were evicted from the former British colonies, the land in the remaining crown colonies was surveyed and granted to them. Over 10,000 settled in the part of Nova Scotia which became New Brunswick in 1784, often called the Loyalist Province.

The land settled by these Loyalists in many instances included the farms which the Acadians had settled for the second time twenty years earlier. Since the Acadians had been refugees from the war and did not realize that title to the land was required, they were considered squatters by the newly-arrived Loyalists. The American Revolution resulted, therefore, in again uprooting a group of French Acadians, this time to Maine. "My God. My God. Is there no place in this land where an Acadian may rest his head in peace?" uttered Jean-Baptiste Cyr, whose farm in southern New Brunswick had been taken by Loyalists in 1783. Planning to leave for the Madawaska Territory, he died after a life of repeated, forced migration.

While the Acadians moved from Fredericton, N.B., to the Madawaska Territory in 1785, it in no way represented an adoption of American citizenship. Ownership of the region into which they moved was an unsettled question at that time. The British claimed the area, as did the State of Maine; the Acadians themselves perceived it as a move from one portion of the British province to another. In the Madawaska Territory, the Acadians, promised titles to land along the St. John River, finally received them in 1790.

THE FRENCH-CANADIANS

On 25 September 1760, Benjamin Franklin’s Pennsylvania Gazette praised “the glorious news of the Reduction of Montreal by General Amherst.” A broadside printed in Boston in the same year reflected the mood of the victors:

Northeast Conference

CANADA SUBJECTED

A New Song

Ye holy Prophets now rejoice,
And ye GOD's Saints that hear his Voice:
Because the Lord hath saved you
From Insults of the Popish Crew.

With them was found the Blood of Slain,
And on their robes there was a Stain:
They drunken were with Christian Blood,
Which flowed down like as a Flood.

Hail, happy Day!—the blushing Morn
With Pleasure may our Souls adorn,
When proud Montreal became a Prey
We'll ever bless the glorious Day!

The Time will come, when Pope and Fry'r
Shall both be roasted in the Fire;
When the proud Antichristian Whore
Will sink, and never arise more.13

In the context of the brutality displayed during the French and Indian War (1756-63), the broadside came as no shock to the contemporary colonial reader.

The Treaty of Paris in 1763 gave Great Britain all of Canada and North America east of the Mississippi, thus eliminating effective French power in the region. However, neither the British nor the colonists could foresee the struggle that would erupt in less than fifteen years. The end of French power would lessen colonial dependence on the British for protection. The war years had encouraged much thinking about colonial policy, resulting in stricter enforcement of trade regulations, tighter customs administration, and stronger supervision of the colonies. New taxation policies increased the indignation of the colonists, who turned to their former French-Canadian foes in their struggle for independence.

In 1764 many migrants from the former French colony settled in Massachusetts. Between 1775 and 1783, an even larger number settled throughout the northeastern region; many of them joined Washington's army. Several hundred of them took part in the Arnold-Montgomery expedition against Quebec—their former homeland, now under British rule—and a company of such soldiers, under the leadership of Captain Clément Gosselin, distinguished themselves at Yorktown.14

Following the American Revolution, many of these soldiers received tracts of land along Lake Champlain in New York. In 1814, John Gilmary Shea reported that this first French-Canadian colony in New England was requesting a permanent priest for its mission. One of the first French-Canadians to immigrate to

Woonsocket, Rhode Island, was François Proulx in 1815; the first to settle in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1820, was Charles Benoit.15

Many of the estimated 100,000 French-Canadians who emigrated to the United States before 1830 may not have been willing to live under British rule. What is certain is that their number continued to increase for economic reasons, e.g., crop failures and overpopulated 'seigneuries'16 along the St. Lawrence River.

By the end of the Civil War, one of the ironies of history had become obvious to Shea when he wrote:

Meanwhile, Catholic (French) Canada is sending her Catholic sons, her priests, her devoted Sisterhood, into this country. New England, which sought with such rabid hate to crush Canada and Canadian Catholicity, now sees her towns swarm with Canadian Catholics, with churches and convents. Did the early Cottons, and Mathers, and Endicotts, and Winthrops, ever dream of such a result? Did they foresee that when their stern unchristian Calvinism had given place to Unitarianism there would be seventy thousand Canadian Catholics in Massachusetts, thirteen thousand in New Hampshire, more than twice as many in New Hampshire Grants, ten thousand in Rhode Island, and as many in Connecticut, and twenty-six thousand in the district of Maine, living their Canadian life, with church, and priest, and nun, reproducing that hated province on that New England soil, which they sought to separate by a wall of fire from all dissent? Catholics of other lands there would be, in their eyes, bad enough: the despised Irish Catholics bad, very bad; horrible enough: but nothing, we think, would have curdled the blood of those New England worthies of the early part of the last century, more than the mere suggestion of the possibility that the day would come when one hundred and fifty thousand Canadian Catholics would quietly seat themselves on the sacred soil of New England.17

Beset with declining productivity, Quebec in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was unable to support its rapidly expanding population. New England factory towns were near and offered employment opportunities. The greatest emigration, begun with the Civil War, ended with World War I. It has been estimated that by 1900, 573,000 French-Canadians had established permanent residence in New England.18

Franco-Americans were, in some cases, in the majority in certain localities. The United States census for 1900, for instance, listed the following Franco-American percentages of the total population:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jewitt City, Conn.</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danielson, Conn.</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woonsocket, R.I.</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southbridge, Mass.</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunswick, Me.</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spencer, Mass.</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Town, Me.</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewiston, Me.</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterville, Me.</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchester, N.H.</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. Ibid.
16. Land grants given to some French colonial settlers usually for the purpose of farming; many were on the banks of the Saint Lawrence River near the city of Quebec.
About the turn of the century, French-Canadian immigrants in New England began to refer to themselves as Franco-Americans. The designation meant that they were Americans, loyal to their mother tongue. This is still the name preferred by members of the group, in spite of the fact that it does not specify French-Canadian birth or descent, Roman Catholic faith, and residence in New England.

Until the 1930's, the textile industry dominated many northeastern cities and towns, and most Franco-Americans worked in the mills. Honoré Beaugrand's *Jeanne la Filée*, the first Franco-American novel, depicts a typical situation. Seventeen-year-old Michel Dupuis precedes his family to Fall River and works in the spinning room of the Granite Mill. Jobs and lodging in one of the company houses are secured in advance for the rest of the family. The father finds employment unloading cotton bales; after an apprenticeship lasting one month, two daughters, aged fifteen and thirteen, work in the weaving room. Three younger children, aged twelve, ten, and eight, attend school for twenty weeks, as required by state law, and then join their sisters in the weaving room. The heroine, an orphan who has accompanied the Dupuis family to Fall River, is chosen to operate a new type of machine, considered to be very demanding work. She is, consequently, better paid.

Workers were generally segregated by sex and sometimes even by nationality. According to Beaugrand, Franco-American women were particularly skilled in carding, spooling, and weaving.

Work in textile mills was monotonous and debilitating. Many workers left because of excessive dust and noise. Even Beaugrand, one of the industry's most enthusiastic propagandists, conceded that it was sometimes difficult to breathe and that many felt sick, tired, and unhappy. Machines were relentless taskmasters. However, the slavery of the mills was soon forgotten, he said, when payday arrived.

Early textile mills were firetraps: the climax of *Jeanne la Filée* is a conflagration which takes the lives of twenty-three persons and causes serious injury to thirty-six more trapped on the sixth floor of the Granite Mill. The author is quick to point out that fire escapes were immediately installed by the owner. (However, a report dated 1886 noted that such safety devices were still not the rule in textile mills.)

In 1900 at least one-third of the New England textile workers were Franco-Americans. In New Hampshire, they exceeded 46 percent and in Maine were nearly 49 percent. Half the workers of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company in Manchester, New Hampshire, once the largest textile mill in the world, were Franco-Americans. This figure remained constant until the company shut down in 1935. In that year, more than 17,000 persons—about half of them female—were employed by the mill.


Religion and language, along with a strong work ethic, were the mainstays of Franco-Americans in the Northeast. Good citizenship was also stressed. Civic leaders—from Ferdinand Gagnon in the 1870's and 1880's through Louis-Philippe Gagne in the 1940's and 1950's—urged Franco-Americans to become naturalized and to exercise their right to vote. Many localities elected Franco-American aldermen, state representatives, and senators, beginning with Charles Fontaine of Winookski, Vermont, who was elected State Representative in 1871. The State of Rhode Island has had several Franco-American governors, United States Representatives, and a United States Senator.

THE HAITIANS

Haiti occupies the center of the Antilles, surrounded by Puerto Rico to the east, Cuba to the northwest, and Jamaica to the southwest. Before its discovery by Christopher Columbus, Haiti, "The Land of Mountains," included five kingdoms: Le Marien, Le Magela, Le Zaragua, Le Magnane, and Le Higuey. Basic economic needs were met by farming and fishing. Social activities included poetry, dancing, singing, and batus, a sport comparable to soccer. Voodoo and the worship of the sun, moon, or animals were religious rituals.

On December 1192, the feast of Saint Nicholas, Columbus landed in Haiti. He renamed the island Hispaniola and its inhabitants Indians. The Spaniards became absolute rulers. Hungry for gold and using the natives as laborers, the conquerors subjected the Indians to extreme cruelty, leading to their almost total disappearance. They were replaced by African Blacks called Nègres. The new arrivals were sold at La Traite des Noirs (The Black Trade).

French Flibustiers and Buccaneers, robbing Spanish ships, established themselves on the western half of the island in 1625 and renamed the region Saint-Domingue. The new settlers became rich through trade in sugar, coffee, cocoa, cotton, and indigo.

The slave trade continued during the French occupation, and in spite of Le Code Noir of Louis XIV (1665) slaves were still mistreated. Three populations gradually emerged: white, enfranchised slaves, and slaves. On 8 March 1790, the French National Assembly granted the rights of citizens to all enfranchised slaves. The application of this revolutionary principle was difficult against the background of colonial authority and traditions, and a struggle for political and social rights of all Blacks on the island was soon being waged. The deaths of such leaders as Vincent Ogé, Jean-Baptiste Chavanne, and Boukman did not discourage the newly-liberated citizens. In 1793, Southonax, on his own authority, proclaimed the emancipation of the slaves in the north, west, and south of the island.
To many observers, the existence of the deep ethnic pride of the 'new' Americans now plays a relatively significant role in shaping our current society. These groups have been able to maintain separate, distinctive traditions within America that are still identifiable. Despite the dominant tradition established early by Anglo-Americans and Northern Europeans, these 'new' immigrants are challenging the use of English to the total exclusion of other languages. There are demands for modification of some of the established political, legal, and cultural institutions. Ethnic groups also frequently constitute social action groups, people banded together to fight for causes of the group, be it abolition of discrimination in housing and jobs, or better schools.

This culturally pluralistic view of American society is perhaps today far more valid than the 'melting pot' and Anglo-conformity theories. Race and religion particularly are two elements which determine to which group a person belongs. If America had really 'melted,' these would be unimportant factors in American life. However, they are extremely vital in the political, economic, and social life of many. Despite the passage of time and the recognition that some newer Americans will indeed 'melt' into the dominant culture of American society, we must recognize those individuals and groups who remain closely tied to their roots. We must also recognize that pride in the newcomer's ethnicity expands to a recognition of his unique contributions to his immediate community and to the total of American society.

Table 1 illustrates the number of French-mother-tongue speakers in selected states in 1970. The figures do not, however, distinguish between subgroups or tell us anything about non-French-speaking persons who belong to the same cultural population. This disparity is striking if the above figures are compared to the 1973 U.S. Bureau of the Census report of 5.5 million Americans of French descent.

Americans of French descent, like Americans of other ethnic groups, have contributed to America's pluralism by virtue of their geographical environment and cultural experiences in the American experiment. Thus, French Huguenots settling in Maryland and French Catholics settling in Acadia are identified as different from the English colonists of Jamestown and the Pilgrims of Plymouth. Geographic origin and native language are the distinguishing features which differ-
### TABLE 1
Percent French Mother Tongue Population for Selected States: 1970 U.S. Census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Fr. Mo. Tongue</th>
<th>% Fr. Mo. Tongue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>993,663</td>
<td>141,489</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>737,681</td>
<td>112,278</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>444,330</td>
<td>42,193</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>5,688,903</td>
<td>367,194</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>948,844</td>
<td>101,270</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>3,031,705</td>
<td>142,118</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>3,840,442</td>
<td>572,262</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>18,236,882</td>
<td>208,801</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>7,168,143</td>
<td>44,445</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>11,793,864</td>
<td>33,723</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>3,922,291</td>
<td>22,072</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>4,648,478</td>
<td>22,693</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>19,957,304</td>
<td>200,784</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>203,210,198</td>
<td>2,598,408</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

entiate the two clusters. However, in the context of religious belief, the groups are fragmented into four subcultural entities: Huguenot, Catholic, Puritan, and Church of England.

If need for harmonious co-existence increases similarities between groups and sub-groups, it also erodes differences. The changes are accelerated by such conditions as time, proximity, similarity of perceptions, and mutual trust. Exiled, persecuted by his countrymen, isolated by Colonial experiences, and outnumbered by English settlers, the French Huguenot, for instance, soon opted to speak English. On the other hand, in spite of their proximity to British subjects and at the same period of time, the Acadians managed to maintain their French language and customs. Their proximity to the French-speakers of Quebec, their emigration by choice, and their vocational interest in farming were the major factors slowing assimilation.

Some aspects of cultural pluralism cannot be quantified or distinguished according to linguistic or religious differences. The Haitian independence experiment, for example, has brought out the best and the worst with regard to racial equality.

Haiti was once the richest colonial territory in North America. Its Blacks have known abject poverty and personal humiliation since 1801. This situation has been fostered by a segmented society marked by the contrasting life styles of an elite class and peasant masses.

Despite a policy of conciliation and respect for the rights of smaller nations during the American occupation of Haiti (1915-34), American racial and cultural antagonisms rendered these sentiments irrelevant. Racist stereotypes, a belief in Haitian inferiority, the use of 'force-labor corvée', and a materialistic orienta-

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3. The 'force-labor corvée' referred to mandatory labor (construction or farming) done by non-volunteer recruits for little pay.
Northeast Conference

Northeast Conference

In his study of this period, Hans Schmidt summarized the American-Haitian relationship:

In sum, the occupation of Haiti was both a logical extension of America's quest for empire and a clear example of many of the contradictions involved in that quest for empire. These contradictions were by no means successfully resolved in Haiti—indeed, the conflicts between American racism and rational progressivism, between democratic egalitarianism and military conquest, and between missionary zeal and economic exploitation were, in some ways, exacerbated.¹

This cultural background to the recent Haitian immigration to New York and Boston since 1959 is in marked contrast with that of the French immigrants from France. By 1880 the French Huguenots were considered old-stock Americans. Many French soldiers also settled in the colonies after the American Revolution, bringing their diverse ideologies. style of architecture, writers, lawyers, teachers, and laborers.

Reading the ads in Burley's U.S. Centennial Gazetteer and Guide,² for instance, one finds French-American bakers, silversmiths, printers, and storeowners in Philadelphia. The achievements of Peter Faneuil in philanthropy, John James Audubon in art, Pierre Etienne Duponceau in law, Pierre Samuel Dupont in politics, and René Jules Dubas in medicine, reflect the plurality of cultural values and contributions which became our heritage.

Because the French-speaking Acadian and Canadian migrants attracted relatively little notice, two case studies of their separate evolution are presented. The first explores the Acadians' frustrations in trying to establish a permanent settlement in the Northeast; the second describes life in Petits Canada.

ACADIANS: A STRUGGLE FOR LAND

For generations, wherever he lived, the Acadian has been considered a squatter. Throughout the entire Acadian experience, from the original settlement in North America in 1604 to the defining of the international boundary between Maine and New Brunswick in 1842, the influence of institutions on the Acadian was at best sporadic.

The Catholic church, the most important influence on the French, experienced extended periods when it could provide neither missionaries nor direct impact on the isolated, pioneer, woodland settler. Especially in the years from 1718 to 1785, the number of French missionaries allowed into Nova Scotia was determined by British secular agencies.

At other times, the role of the British government could be ignored; the isolation of the settlers provided a buffer from direct government. Between 1755 and 1817 there were virtually no schools in the areas of Acadian settlement. Thus, in-

Cultural Pluralism

institutionalization of the Acadian was remote and unknown. The family proved
to be the unceasing support of Acadian struggles.

In 1785, because of Loyalists claims to their land, forty Acadian families mi-
grated from Fredericton, New Brunswick, to the Madawaska Territory under
the leadership of Joseph Daigle. It would be nearly one hundred years before any
formal institutionalization of the people would occur in the new settlement. The
United States and Britain would have to finalize the boundary settlement between
New Brunswick and Maine—and individual land ownership would have to be
regulated. Even the vested interests of lumber barons and railroad owners would
take precedence over the minimal educational and economic needs of the new-
comers. From pawns of rival colonial powers, the Acadians had become pawns of
two neighboring governments.

Boundary Dispute. St. Basile, where Joseph Daigle and other Acadians set-
tled, was located in the Madawaska Territory. The region, through which
the St. John River flows, was in the middle of a larger territory extending from
the Quebec border to Moncton, New Brunswick, and to Houlton, Maine. Because
of ambiguities in the Versailles Treaty of 1783, both Great Britain and the United
States were able to claim the territory.

The Acadians received their land concessions from the British in the central
part of the disputed region in 1790. But for fifty-two years, while London and
Washington, D.C., exercised their individual authority, and Augusta, Maine, and
Fredericton, New Brunswick, extended their spheres of influence toward the
unsettled border, the neutral Acadian remained uncertain of his citizenship and
the legality of his land claim.

Thomas Albert, in his Histoire du Madawaska,6 has written of the main inci-
dents of the dispute, including an unsuccessful boundary arbitration by King
William of the Netherlands, unusual legislation passed to incorporate a part of
the Madawaska Territory into the State of Maine, the Bloodless Aroostook War,
and the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842 which brought the issue to a close.

The results of the dispute for close to 2,000 Acadians were a change in citizen-
ship from British to American, the regulation of their land claim, and the organi-
ization of a local government.

The Lumber Barons. Another source of uneasiness for the Acadians in their
quest for permanent land was the British and American lumbering interests dur-
ing the period of the boundary dispute. One historian described the situation in
this fashion:

Some claim that thirst for gold—Auri sara janes—and covetousness of the wealth of
the Yukon has been the cause of the disputes between England and the United States
concerning the frontiers of Alaska. We could say as much of the question of the frontiers

between New Brunswick and the State of Maine, with the difference that the dispute was not about ore but about the extensive and rich forests of pines of the valley of the St. John River and its upper tributaries.

Profiting by the absence of jurisdiction in the litigious territory, speculators from everywhere and of all stamps invaded this extensive domain of forests. They indulged in a real destruction of these giant pines which they then floated to the sawmills of the maritime yards.

The province of New Brunswick, which had colonized a part of this domain after the War of Independence, soon perceived that the young State of Maine claimed absolute right to the territory and especially the exclusive right to the felling of trees.

By 1831, the State of Maine, eager to press its claim on the Madawaska Territory, secured the passage of law incorporating this region into a township larger than all of Rhode Island. The legislation was largely supported by 'lumber barons,' who were more interested in the revenue from the timberlands than in the welfare of the Acadian inhabitants.

For nearly three years (1839-12), the issue brought the rival governments to the brink of war. Both sides built defenses, such as the blockhouse in Fort Kent, Maine, in preparation for a confrontation. The Acadians' historical position of neutrality was tested as factions formed on both sides of the St. John River. Political negotiations between Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton, rather than guns, settled the dispute. The ambiguities of borders, brought about by ambitious lumbering interests, were resolved more than fifty years after the American Revolution had been won. For two generations, the land claims of the Acadians had jeopardized their peaceful existence.

The Railroad Companies. The first matter that needed regulation after the signing of the boundary treaty was that of land ownership. The states of Maine and Massachusetts sent commissions to grant land titles to holders and claimants. The land registrars were followed by James C. Madigan, whose task was also to advise the local populace on the organization of local governments.

Ironically, the last major threat to Acadian land rights occurred a hundred years ago, when the country was in the process of celebrating its Centennial. In the 1840's and 50's it had been the practice that, if a man moved into an unsettled part of the state, stating his claim and meeting certain settlement requirements, e.g., donating his labor in constructing roads on his land, he would be granted the lot he had chosen. Unfortunately for some illiterate and unschooled Acadians, not all deeds and papers were duly processed.

During the course of the Civil War, priorities changed. The northern timberlands became a source of revenue to underwrite the growth of the railroad industry. This war raised questions of frontier defenses: it was decided that rail lines extended to the far reaches of Maine would be the most effective means of defending the state's border. Troops could be moved by rail to any part of the state which needed them if railroads could reach all areas.

7. Ibid.
Accordingly, over three million acres of heavily timbered land were granted by the state to any railroad corporation willing to extend its line to the frontier. Unfortunately for some Acadians, part of the land conceded by the state included the farms they had settled. The matter was brought to a head in 1878, when the failing railroad corporations faced an economic slump. The railroad directors decided to sell some of their land holdings, and the Acadians were once again in danger of eviction.

Cyrus Dickey, a lawyer from Fort Kent, Maine, and a part of the European and North American Railroad Company, entered the homes of 120 families in Frenchville and Madawaska, Maine, to inform them that they had to leave their homes since they did not own them. However, in 1878 the Acadians finally had the law on their side.

The legislature was initially approached to provide the Acadians with compensation for their land, but the governor vetoed the measure. The courts, however, in case after case during the next ten years, ruled against the governor and vested interests. The Acadians remained on their lands.

Institutionalization. In 1878, a teacher training school was organized to prepare teachers to work in this French region of Maine. By this time, the Acadians had experienced life on American terms.

Today there are over 100,000 Acadians in the Northeast. Their occupations range from potato farming in northern Maine and machinists jobs in Connecticut plants to law and medical practices in urban and rural centers.

FRANCO-AMERICANS: LITTLE CANADAS

The early Franco-American workers lived in company houses near the mills. They were devout Catholics and requested priests from Canada. Franco-American churches, schools, and organizations were established. Small shops and stores, bureaus and offices maintained by credit unions, dentists, funeral directors, insurance agents, lawyers, newspapers, and physicians were all located in the same neighborhood, which became a self-sufficient Petit Canada.

Franco-American life was usually not austere. On Sundays, visits to friends and relatives, and family outings were frequent. The memory of the rural past was kept alive: customs and traditions were perpetuated. The railroad and, later, the automobile, afforded cheap, efficient transportation, and trips home to Canada were an annual affair. Church services and parish activities occupied much time; social clubs provided a friendly atmosphere for many. Although some mills sponsored educational and recreational activities, Franco-Americans looked upon such pursuits with suspicion and preferred to keep to themselves.

Each Franco-American community had its own parish organizations, mutual benefit societies, political and social clubs. Dozens of French-language newspapers made their appearance. The 24th of June, the feast of St. John the Baptist, the French-Canadian holiday, was widely celebrated in New England. The theme running through all activities was group pride and solidarity.
The borders of the region known as *Franco-Américain* extend beyond New England, and several communities in upper New York State must be included. However, only limited areas west of the Hudson River are involved. The vast majority of Franco-Americans is concentrated in medium-sized cities and small towns.5

**TABLE 2**
Franco-American Concentrations in New England

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Cities and Towns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berkshire County, Massachusetts</td>
<td>Adams, North Adams, and Pittsfield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Boston Area</td>
<td>Cambridge, Lynn, and Salem, Mass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Massachusetts</td>
<td>Chicopee, Holyoke, Northampton, Palmer, Springfield, and Ware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central New Hampshire</td>
<td>Berlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Southwestern Connecticut</td>
<td>Hartford and Waterbury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Merrimack Valley</td>
<td>Haverhill, Lawrence, and Lowell, Mass.; Manchester and Nashua, N.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Quinebaug Valley</td>
<td>Danielson, Jewett City, Plainfield, Putnam, Taftville, and Willimantic, Conn.; Southbridge and Webster, Mass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southwestern Maine</td>
<td>Biddeford-Saco, Brunswick, Lewiston-Auburn, Old Town, and Waterville; Somersworth, N.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southwestern Massachusetts</td>
<td>Brockton, Fall River, New Bedford, and Taunton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Vermont</td>
<td>Burlington, St. Albans, and Winooksi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Development of Franco-American Parishes.** The earliest Franco-Americans worshipped in private homes or rented halls. The first churches were simple structures made of wood. Occasionally, a Protestant church was purchased and adapted to Catholic use.

The dates parishes were founded are reliable guides to the growth of the Franco-American population. The first parishes were created at Burlington, Vermont (1850), Glens Falls and Plattsburgh, New York (1853), Swanton and St. Johnsbury, Vermont (1858). The greatest expansion occurred in the next four decades. St. Anne’s in Fall River, Massachusetts, Saints Peter and Paul in Lewiston, Maine, and the churches of Notre Dame in Fall River, Southbridge, and Worcester, Massachusetts, are among the most impressive brick and stone structures erected by the Franco-Americans.

Cities and nearby localities with several parishes became Franco-American strongholds. Franco-Americans played a major role in the foundation of over three hundred parishes in the Northeast: about half this number were national parishes.9

At first, certain bishops could or would not accede to the wishes of Franco-Americans to form such separate parishes. In 1885, the parishioners of Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes in Fall River, Massachusetts, thwarted the bishop’s plans to install an Irish pastor. However, in the next decade, major confrontations at Danielson, Connecticut, and North Brookfield, Massachusetts, did not lead to the founding of French national parishes and, in the latter case, resulted in several excommunications. During the years immediately preceding World War I, management and ownership of parish property were at stake in the Corporation Sole controversy.10 Franco-Americans insisted on exercising absolute control over the churches and schools they had built. A compromise of sorts was eventually worked out, but the bishop’s rights were reaffirmed.

The Parochial Schools. Few of the early Franco-Americans arriving in the Northeast had attended school for more than a few years. Enjoined by Rome (1875) and Baltimore (1881)11 to found parochial schools and acting from the conviction that the new environment constituted a serious threat to faith and morals, Franco-American pastors immediately set about building parochial schools.

At first, lay teachers set up temporary instructional programs in private homes and parish halls.12 However, teaching orders of nuns and brothers soon founded permanent schools. French-Canadian nuns opened schools in Rutland, Vermont, and Oswego, New York, as early as 1866. The Sisters of Jesus-Mary located in Fall River in 1877 and in Manchester shortly thereafter. The following year, Grey Nuns established the first Franco-American parochial school in Maine.

The subjects taught in the parochial schools corresponded to those taught in the public schools. French, however, was the language of instruction for half the day. It was soon evident that French had to be reinforced in the school if it was to be maintained: “Qu'est devenu les Franco-Américains qui ont abandonné leur langue et changé leurs noms?” queried a widely used handbook. “La plupart sont tombés dans l’insignifiance,” was the reply.13

9. A church community composed exclusively of members of one ethnic group is called a national parish; an ethnically diverse church community is referred to as a ‘territorial parish.’
12. Madame Salvail maintained such a school at Fall River in 1899; the Misses Dion, Réhume, and Thivierge at Biddeford in the early 1880’s; and Miss Daupanlit and several assistants at Brunswick in 1887.
Northeast Conference

Since it was believed that French was the guardian of faith, the mother tongue assumed a mystical aura. Religious instruction stressed ethical rules of individual and group behavior. The French Regime in Canadian history (1608-1760) was believed to offer outstanding examples of individual and group courage and of the messianic role of the French in America. Thus, tales of Champlain, Dollard des Ormeaux, Madeleine de Verchères, and the Martyrs of North America, on the one hand, and religious instruction, on the other, were complementary.

The school became the center of parish life, imparting traditional values to children and exerting a profound influence on parents' attitudes and beliefs. Religious born in the United States played a key role in developing distinctive Franco-American cultural traits, a blend of the old and the new. At their peak in 1949, religious communities maintained 261 Franco-American schools staffed by 3,303 teachers and enrolled 88,097 students. This prodigious effort gave Franco-American culture its present-day form and substance.

New England French Speech. Canadian French differs from Standard French and also from New England French. The most striking features of Canadian French are vowel differences, assimilation of the dentals t and d, and trilling of r. Speakers of Cultivated Canadian French, an accommodation to Standard French worked out during the nineteenth century in the collèges classiques and convent schools of Quebec, often eliminate assimilation and diphthongization. The speech of French Canadians who have had little language instruction or who show no concern for correct pronunciation, is considerably more at variance with Standard French. Increased cosmopolitanism in Quebec has resulted in heightened awareness of Standard French usage, and the gap between it and Cultivated Canadian French has narrowed somewhat.

Franco-American speech is essentially an extension of Canadian French. Religious teaching orders exerted a strong influence on the development of New England French. As a rule, language maintenance is high among persons born before World War II in close-knit Franco-American communities, low among school children today.

Living and Working Conditions. Until the depression, the textile mill was an important factor in Franco-American life. There was active recruitment in Canada by mill agents, but most immigrants came on their own, having first established contact with relatives or friends, who often lodged them until they found jobs and their own housing.

Textile mills were not as destructive of family solidarity and paternal authority as is sometimes believed, at least among Franco-Americans. The father generally determined who would work and controlled all earnings. Often, entire families were employed in the same factory. The mother guarded the unity of her family.

keeping a close watch on her children, enforcing discipline, and setting bedtimes. The parish priest reinforced parental authority from the pulpit. Child labor was not uncommon, even after laws were passed banning the practice. Thrifty families accumulated savings toward the purchase of a farm when the family returned to Canada. As more and more French Canadians decided to become permanent residents of New England, this money made the transition to a better life possible. However, for many, such plans never materialized, and families were trapped in a slum.

Evolution of Living and Working Conditions. Immigration, which had led to the foundation of parish after parish in New England, tapered off. Henceforth, pastors would be less concerned with problems of growth than with changing values and intermarriage. Intensive campaigns on the part of local and national groups seeking to 'Americanize' immigrants were resisted by most ethnic organizations. In the 1880's, Franco-Americans had successfully staved off efforts to make public school attendance mandatory and to eliminate foreign languages as a medium of instruction. Further battles were fought in the years immediately following World War I. Officials in l'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique played a major role in this struggle.

In 1924, a bitter campaign against diocesan fund raising erupted in the columns of the Woonsocket, Rhode Island, French-language weekly newspaper La Sentinel. Parishioners in that state were the ones most affected, but many others throughout New England became involved. The Franco-American clergy split over this issue, and the group's two most influential fraternal societies openly warred against each other. The crisis came to a head when the Bishop of Providence banned the newspaper and excommunicated sixty-five Franco-American leaders who had opposed him. In less than a year, everyone concerned had been absolved, but the incident left a scar for many Franco-Americans. The inherent defect in the notion that faith and language are indivisible had been revealed. Most Franco-Americans concluded that a policy of no compromise in this regard tended to undermine church authority.

At the same time, working conditions in the textile mills began to undergo important changes. The approaching depression, the competition of southern factories, and other economic factors occasioned a sharp decline in textile production. Strikes and the depression reduced employment in the textile mills of the region, most of which eventually closed permanently. Seventeen of these mills employed 57.5 percent of the labor force. In 1933, more than 25 percent of Chicopee's population was on relief.15

From 1920 to 1930, for instance, 13.5 percent of Manchester's population migrated. However, textile workers were not strongly represented in this group, since employment opportunities were not significantly better in other New En-

gland towns. Franco-American migration during the depression usually involved short-distance moves, since individuals were reluctant to settle in a community without compatriots. Thus, while some ethnic patterns tended to break up in the 1930’s, this was not the case for most Franco-Americans.

Prior to World War I, the majority of Franco-Americans were classed by census-takers as ‘semiskilled workers in manufacturing,’ ‘skilled workers and foremen,’ ‘factory and construction laborers,’ and ‘other laborers.’ However, from the outset, many Franco-Americans, notably in northern Maine and Vermont, were engaged in farming, while others were professionals, owned and managed small businesses, worked as clerks, and salesmen, etc.

Like other immigrants and their children, a substantial number of French-Canadians were soon able to improve their position in American society. ‘Getting ahead’ meant greater security, higher status, and more satisfying work. Increased contact with other segments of American society, after moving to a new neighborhood or through education, gradually led most to adopt middle-class values. On the other hand, many regarded the emulation of such a life style as turning one’s back on the group.

The German-Speaking

INTRODUCTION

In the mid-eighteenth century, Benjamin Franklin wrote with concern when the Germans established ethnic schools in Pennsylvania:

Why should the Palatine boors be suffered to swarm into our settlements and, by herding together, establish their language and manner to the exclusion of ours? They come in droves and carry all before them. Few of their children in the country learn English; they import many books from Germany; and of the six printing houses in the province, two are entirely German, two half-German, half English ... The signs in our streets have inscriptions in both languages and in some places only German.16

However, Franklin’s fears that the German immigrant groups would remain resistant to absorption into the culture of their new homeland were unfounded. The vast majority of these groups has been among the most rapidly acculturating of all immigrant populations. Similarly unfounded were his fears that the German immigrants represented a threat to the existing American culture.

The discussion which follows presents some of the reasons why the German element in the United States retained its ethnicity only to a certain point in history and why today, despite the increased ethnic pride displayed by many other groups, the Germans have essentially disappeared.

ASSIMILATION OF THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

The Religious Factor. The most powerful force in perpetuating German culture among immigrants and their offspring in the United States was the church. However, Lutheran communities, though numerous in colonial times, became assimilated during the period from 1776 to 1840 when they were not nourished by new immigration from Germany. German Lutheranism revived in the United States in 1838 when the German government ordered all Protestant denominations in Germany (mainly Lutherans and Reformed) into one state church. In Saxony one vision of Lutherans, calling themselves the All-Lutherans, refused to merge and chose instead to go to the land of religious freedom, America. Traveling by ship from Bremerhaven to New Orleans and then up the Mississippi, these German Lutherans settled mainly in the area of St. Louis. Although they spread to most states of the Union, they have remained centered around St. Louis and are officially known as the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod.

The German Language in the Church. A great deal has been written about the transition and retentiveness of the German language among the Missouri Synod Lutherans in America. Like the German Lutherans, the German Catholics who immigrated in substantial numbers after 1810 insisted that separate churches where a German-language ministry was available were a necessity. Whenever possible, therefore, German Lutherans and German Catholics settled in colonies which occasionally came about by their own choice, but more often as a result of the direction furnished by a zealous German minister, priest, or missionary.

Numerically strong though they were, the German Catholics were, nevertheless, a minority in three respects. As speakers of a foreign tongue, they were outsiders.


within the larger Anglo-American tradition. As Catholics, they were outsiders among the much larger Protestant population. Within the Catholic Church itself, they were also a minority, because the basic traditions and hierarchical offices were determined by the immigrants from Ireland.

In religion, of course, the German Catholics identified with the Irish-Catholic church in America. In linguistic, liturgical, and everyday cultural patterns, however, the two nationality groups—Irish and German—differed markedly. As the Pastoral-Blatt, published in St. Louis for German priests, stated in 1888: "On the one hand we are told: You Catholics are not Germans. On the other hand we are told: You Germans are not Catholics. What we are, though, no one tells us." 19

Intermarriage. Sociologists have shown, for instance, that immigrants often tended to marry within their own ethnic groups. Intermarriage is a starting point for the fusion of one ethnic group with another and for the assimilation of all nationalities postulated by the 'melting pot' theory.

The results of a study on this subject by Nelson and Johnson show that the German immigrants were no different from others. 20 They tended to marry within their own group, provided that the proportion of fellow nationals was over fifty percent of the total population in the immediate vicinity. Swiss, Luxemburgers, and Austrians often intermarried, though a Southern German Catholic seldom married a Northern German Protestant. Germans seldom married Irish, even though they enjoyed a commonality of religion. Intermarriage between the German-born and those from the Sudetenland was common. German Mennonites rarely married Catholic, Lutheran, or other non-Mennonite members, thereby preserving their culture and language the longest. Often, in both large and medium-sized towns in the Midwest, a neighborhood remained ethnic because of a Catholic or Lutheran church located there. Members of that neighborhood also did not speak of their homes as being in a named section of the city but as located within the parish boundaries.

The German Language in the Schools. Recognizing that the loss of ethnicity often meant the loss of faith, religious leaders initiated German-language schools as soon as work on the churches was completed. Their objective was to preserve cultural islands within the English cultural sea, even if the enclave no longer received significant numbers of new immigrants.

The thrust of parochial education in America came through the efforts of the

Cultural Pluralism

Catholic Church and, to a lesser extent, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. Many of the Catholic parishes in eastern cities were polyglot institutions which included Germans, Irish, Bohemians, Poles, and native Anglo-Americans. In these, the English language was used in the church and in the school, and such schools had a minimal influence on maintaining the native tongue. It could be argued persuasively that the parochial school hastened rather than slowed the assimilative process in America. Over the years a pattern developed in both the Missouri Synod Lutheran schools and the Catholic schools in which instruction in religion was provided in German while all other subjects were taught in English.

In states where the Germans had enough votes, they compelled legislatures to pass laws which permitted the teaching of basic subjects in the German language. Pennsylvania seems to have been the first in 1839. By the turn of the twentieth century, however, most of these schools were witnessing changes in legislation, some of which demanded that subjects also be taught in English. Other permitted instruction in German (or another non-English language) only above a certain grade level. A few restricted German-language instruction to subjects such as music and art.

In time the notion of German-language public schools came under criticism. Long before World War I, laws were passed that forbade everything German in American society. Additionally, assimilation led to the disappearance of interest in and support for German schools. The teaching of the German language waned during the early twentieth century. Its greatest promotion came from the churches and, to a lesser extent, from other German-American agencies. Among these were the German-language press, the National German-American Alliance, and the national Deutschamerikanische Lehrer-Seminar (a teachers college for the preparation of German-language instructors founded in Milwaukee in 1878). Most, including the churches, had a vested interest in perpetuating the use of German in American society.

The Ban on German-Language Instruction. Not until World War I, however, did the ban on German-language instruction gain popular support. Immediately after American involvement in the war, bills were introduced in one state legislature after another to outlaw the practice. Not only of teaching in German

24. The best source for information about the German-American experience in World War I is Frederick C. Luebke, Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974).
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Contributions

Introduction

A bright red ceiling with stylized flowers reflects the color of paprika hung out to dry in the Hungarian countryside: the tale of Hänsel and Gretel in pictures with German captions shines through stained-glass windows; the faces of Saints Cyril and Methodius join other Czech heroes in watching over students at work. At the University of Pittsburgh, closing a classroom door transports students to another world and another culture. Floors may be of parquet reminiscent of Versailles, of brick-red tiles from an Italian monastery, or of stone—cool as a medieval Irish abbey. Walls are never dull, whether painted in peasant motifs, of carved wood designs or intarsia paneling, or hung with Middle Eastern silks and embossed leathers. The legends, history, and traditions of a people are permanently visible for hundreds of students, faculty, and visitors.

The industry and the labor market of Pittsburgh attracted many immigrants over the years. These ethnic groups maintained their cultures and languages even as they merged into the mainstream of city and suburban life. The impetus for a living memorial to these ethnic roots came from a dynamic woman, Ruth Crawford Mitchell, who in 1926 organized the first Nationality Room Committees. Each committee, representative of an ethnic group in the greater Pittsburgh area, was given space on the first floor of the new skyscraper university building, the Cathedral of Learning. They set about raising funds, commissioning architects and craftsmen in their home countries and in the United States, soliciting objets d'art and samples of native handicrafts.
Northeast Conference

Not mere showcases, these rooms are used daily as classrooms for the university. Blackboards, desks, chairs, tables, and lecterns are integrated into the overall design of the room. The Chinese Room’s round table is ideal for seminar classes; the absence of a head chair is consistent with a philosophy that encourages respectful discussion.

The work of the Nationality Room Committees did not cease with the completion of the rooms, for their interest and pride expanded into other areas. Annually, approximately nineteen study-travel scholarships are awarded to students by individual Room Committees or the joint Nationality Room Council. The criteria for selection of awardees reflect the current thrust of ethnic programs. Some students share the ethnic background of the committee and go abroad in search of their roots; others are chosen because of an interest in the language, culture, or contemporary life of the country. Hopefully, students will bring back to the community and university an appreciation of a heritage and a desire to promote interest in it.

While Christmas is an especially colorful time, with each room decorated according to traditional styles, symbols of other ethnic festivities are placed in rooms throughout the year. Committees also capture student interest by sponsoring speakers and cultural exchanges, buying books, conducting language classes, and hosting dignitaries. The visit to the Polish Room by Edward Gierek, head of the state of Poland, was telecast via satellite to Warsaw; Nationality Room hostesses described the room to him in Polish.

The University of Pittsburgh may be a microcosm of the nation. As the Nationality Rooms celebrate their semicentennial in the spring of 1976, the ethnic contribution to the community are alive, active, and growing.

The French-Speaking

From the Rodin Museum in Philadelphia to Auguste Bartholdi’s Statue of Liberty in New York City, the Haitian restaurants in Brooklyn, the archives of Saint-Jean-Baptiste in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, La Maison Française at Assumption College in Worcester, Massachusetts, and the Musée Blanc in Madawaska, Maine, there is much evidence that French heritage continues in the Northeast.

We should constantly remind ourselves that people, rather than bricks and mortar, are the main contribution of France to America. These people, originally from the heartland of her royal provinces, now include some of her neighbors and former colonies: Belgians, Swiss, Algerians, Madagascans, Vietnamese, etc.

As ethnic minorities in our country, these groups have contributed diverse ideologies. They have added persons from all walks of life and in all fields of endeavor. Consider Major L’Enfant (the architect of the District of Columbia).
Contributions

Etienne Girard (financier), Lily Pons (opera singer), René Audain (writer), Jack Kerouac (author), and Arnold Elie (dancer), for example, to begin to realize the extent of the human contribution which stems from this cultural heritage.

ACADIAN-AMERICANS

There are two primary geographic populations of Acadian influence in the Northeast—northern Maine and central Connecticut. With the end of the depression and the beginning of the Second World War, thousands of young French-speaking Acadians left their valley farms to find work in industrialized areas. Hartford, Connecticut, for instance, drew many laborers from northern Maine farms. Today, the children and cousins of these modern migrants can be found in the general population of America. They possess a rich legacy of latins (the birichins who loved to play tricks on horses), loups-garous (the mischievous persons transformed into beasts), feux follets (who haunted cemeteries), and chasse-galerie (hunters condemned to roam the world for having hunted on Sunday). From their grandparents the children might have heard of old medical prescriptions. To stop a nosebleed, for instance, one wore a key on a thread around the neck. A boil could be healed by rubbing it three times with a top of a wet wooden match in a counter clockwise direction. Sore eyes should be washed with holy water or strong tea.

Parents and grandparents brought up children with such 'old saws' as:

Bont seng ne peut mentir.
Ce que femme veut, Dieu le veut.
Les grandes douleurs sont muettes.
Qui s'y frotte s'y pique.

One who is well-bred does not lie.
What woman wants, God wants.
Great pains are silent.
One gets burned playing with fire.

As part of one's education, children also learned certain omens. One was certain to take a trip, for instance, if one had counted forty white horses on the same day. If a young couple married on a Monday, they would have a life of hard work; if they were wed on a Friday, the husband would be very jealous. Anyone rocking an empty rocking chair was looking for bad luck.

Family recipes were also handed down through generations. Common dishes still served today include: ploug (a buckwheat pancake), cretons (a pork spread), boudin (blood sausage), and pot-en-pot (a variety of meats, each separated by a layer of dough).

Songs, dances, games, and leisure activities are a part of Acadian culture. Until recently, this legacy was largely unwritten. In the past few years, however, researchers such as Anne Marie Gauvin, A.J. Michaud, and Roger Paradis have begun collecting such material. The University of Maine at Fort Kent presently owns the largest single collection in the United States.

Acadians numbered 18,000 at the time of the deportation in 1755; today there are over 2,000,000 Acadian descendants in the world. Some 800,000 are in Louisi-
and roughly 400,000 live in the Maritime provinces, and as many, if not more, in the Canadian province of Quebec. The remainder are scattered throughout France, the West Indies, South America, and the United States.

The St. John Valley has been American for 180 years, but 83% of its 25,000 people still speak French and English. Its schools endeavor to take advantage of this bilingualism. Federal audits and independent studies document the effectiveness of these recent educational efforts, and the Acadian of today successfully faces a life of divergent cultures.

FRANCO-AMERICANS

Many Franco-American leaders believed that the group would somehow reconstitute itself and emerge, unified and unchanged, following the dislocations occasioned by World War II; such was not to be the case. The post-war economic and social revolution affected all American ethnic groups.

The Housing Act of 1949, as amended in 1954 and, especially, in 1961, resulted in vast urban renewal projects destructive of old neighborhoods. Huge, partially vacated factories are to be found in most New England mill towns. Widespread underemployment and migration of the better educated continue to plague single-industry communities.

A rapid decline in parochial school enrollment, the result of complex economic and social factors, led to the closing of many Franco-American schools and the addition of others. This far-reaching development affected the decline of American language and culture.

Observers of the Franco-American scene are generally pessimistic about the prospects for survival. Most tend to equate survival with the use of French in all phases of daily living but tend to discount other signs of ethnicity.

Franco-Americans as a group are still faithful Catholics and remain in New England. Research would also doubtless confirm the view that Franco-Americans continue to maintain close family ties, tend to associate with fellow members of their own group, and vote along fairly predictable lines. Equally important is the resilience of other cultural traits, the most obvious of which is the ability to recognize and appreciate items relating to the group's heritage: attitudes, expressions, food, humor, etc. The large number of graduates of Franco-American parochial schools share knowledge and experiences which acculturation to mainstream American life cannot erase.

There are indications that Franco-Americans share in the new ethnicity. This phenomenon can perhaps best be defined as the tendency on the part of minorities to identify with other ethnic groups' aspirations for civil rights, economic opportunities, political power, prestige, and respect. Local, state, and federal government agencies are increasingly responsive to pressures exerted by groups acting in concert to advance their individual interests.

National Defense Education Act summer institutes for Franco-American teachers of French from 1961 to 1964 were early instances of federal assistance. Instruct-

Contributions

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Tional materials for Franco-American secondary school students were also produced pursuant to a contract with the United States Office of Education in 1963. In 1968, Massachusetts established an American-Canadian French Cultural Exchange Commission:

1. To establish, maintain, and develop cultural ties between French-Canadians and Franco-Americans;
2. To foster a special interest in the historical and cultural background of both groups, as well as in the economic, political, social, and artistic life of the countries involved; and
3. To help establish or promote French language programs in the schools of the Commonwealth.

The New England-Atlantic Provinces-Quebec Center of the University of Maine at Orono was created in the same year.

Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act has funded several bilingual projects affecting Franco-Americans. In 1970, long-term programs were initiated at Greenville, New Hampshire, and in the St. John Valley of Maine. Similar endeavors are currently underway in Berlin, New Hampshire; Canaan, Vermont; and Caribou, Maine. The National Materials Development Center, located in Bedford, New Hampshire, has a related mission. Finally, it should be noted that 100 students are being trained in a Federally-subsidized program of the University of Maine at Orono to provide geriatric services to Franco-Americans throughout New England.

There is every reason to believe that efforts such as these, reinforcing the work of Franco-American organizations structured along different lines, will achieve the desired renewal of the Franco-American heritage.

HAITIAN-AMERICANS

A large wave of Haitian migration has occurred in the Northeast since the late 1950's, resulting in concentrations in metropolitan areas such as New York, Boston, and Montreal. Because of the frequently illegal aspect of their immigration, statistics are often suspect. In New York City, the figures vary from an official 15,000 to an unofficial 300,000.

Along with their characteristic sense of insulation and a national racial pride, the newcomers bring a rich background of artistic achievement. Reared in the cultural and historical roots of the first black republic, they have always sus-

3. Similar commissions exist in other states, e.g., Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine.
4. The Canadian-American Center was formerly called the New England-Atlantic Provinces-Quebec Center.
tained themselves in periods of political crisis, when home rule wavered between dictatorial and paternal leadership, with the security of their identity.

This self-identity also makes them willing contributors in a country accustomed to cultural pluralism. Homelickness is rapidly dispelled by the sound of *Choucoune* at the sight of a painting by Lucner Lazar, Pétion Savain, or St. Louis Blaise; by the smell of kidney beans and sweet potato pudding; by a voodoo dance or the Troupe Jean-Léon Désinée; or by the cheers of spectators at a soccer game.

In addition to their rich cultural experiences, the Haitians bring their religious beliefs and Creole language with them. In the process, they contribute their ideologies through radio programs, lecture groups, art expositions, and newspapers, the most popular being the *Haiti-Observateur* founded in 1971 by Raymond and Leopold Joseph.

Whether laborer or artist, physician or reporter, the Haitian-American is still rooted in the culture of his homeland. While some are realizing their dream and others are coping with the social and economic realities of their environment, most are interested and involved in the developments on the island, since they belong to a generation in the first stages of assimilation in America and the Northeast.

**FRENCH-AMERICANS**

The vestiges of French colonialism can be found in the names of such cities as Des Moines, Iowa; Terre Haute, Indiana; De Pere, Wisconsin; Pierre, South Dakota; or Au Sable, Michigan.

Besides fur trading and searching for a passage to the Pacific, the French settlers contributed to what was considered a religious mandate. Jeanne Mance founded a hospital in Montreal, and Marguerite Bourgeoys established a school for girls. Many missionaries built churches; some worked with the Indians. Father Sébastien Rasle, for instance, worked with the Maine Abnakis for thirty years. He farmed, fished, and hunted with them and took care of the sick. He also gave their language a written form. In 1774... over two hundred years after his death, a museum was dedicated to him in Notre-Dame, Maine, where his mission was located.

After French power had ended in America, the contributions of French immigrants continued throughout the development of our democratic experience. Major Jean Charles L’Enfant (1754-1825), for instance, fought and was wounded in the American Revolution. Later he was captured and imprisoned for two years. A military engineer, architect, and city planner, he laid out Paterson, New Jersey, and Washington, D.C. Recognition for his services came after his death; in 1908 his remains were reburied in Arlington National Cemetery.

Pierre-Erivan Duponceau (1766-1841) came to the United States during the American Revolution. He served as secretary and aide-de-camp to Baron von Steuben. After the war he lived in Philadelphia, where he wrote on law, history, and Indian languages.

6. Singer Harry Auber made *Choucoune* popular under the title "Yellow Bird."
Etienne Girard (1750-1831) settled in Philadelphia, where he became a shipmaker, merchant, and baker. He was one of the major financial supporters of the War of 1812. At his death, he left over $5,000,000 to found and maintain Girard College.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, contributions have been more varied, extending into art, literature, and architecture. Thus, one can study a Picasso sculpture on a Chicago square, a Delacroix painting at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, and Renoir's and Corot's at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute in Williamstown, Massachusetts. One can hear French radio programs in Los Gatos, California (KRVE), Boise, Idaho (KBOI), Cleveland, Ohio (WXEN), or Las Vegas, Nevada (KLAV). One can also buy such publications as Passe-Partout (published in Middletown, Connecticut), France-Amérique (New York City), and Le Californien (California).

The student of French can find much to study of this legacy: the movies of Maurice Chevalier, Charles Boyer, Leslie Caron, and Louis Jourdain; the writings of Chateaubriand, Paul Bourget, Alexis de Tocqueville, and Jules Verne; the plans for the construction of the Panama Canal by Ferdinand de Lesseps.

Today, a large contribution is made by the French immigrants who settled across America. Special mention should be made of French-American textbook writers and language teachers at all institutional levels. They, along with all other French-Americans, contribute to the humanism of our democracy.

The German-Speaking

INTRODUCTION

The total impact of German influence on the American cultural heritage is difficult to define or measure. One must be satisfied with highlighting certain major contributions of individuals and groups, hoping that no great and influential person is omitted. In an attempt to limit the listing, most of the persons included are first generation, those immigrants who considered a German-speaking country their fatherland and German their mother tongue.

The pedagogical value of this section lies in it as an impetus for further investigation into the many areas where German influence prevails. The possibilities for interdisciplinary projects and classroom activities are also present in the information provided.
PRAGMATIC INFLUENCES

Agriculture. Many German immigrants were connected with agriculture before they arrived here, and many continued that tradition. The concept of market gardening was begun in 1783 in the growing of fruits and flowers by the acre by Johann Schwerdkopf, who soon monopolized the market with his products. Large scale cultivation of flax, grapes, and oranges was also initiated by German settlers.

Three developments came of these agricultural ventures. First, the Conestoga wagon, in which wares were transported to market, was created and manufactured. The wagon was called the 'ship of inland commerce' and had a red running gear, a blue body, and a sturdy white linen cover. Second, journals devoted to the cultivation of a single product, e.g., Grape Culturist published by George Husmann, were established. Third, the use of science in agriculture was developed. For example, Eugene Hilgard played an important role through his lectures on geology, chemistry, and other natural sciences given at various American universities. Another area of German influence was the development of forestry schools and conservation techniques. Carl Schurz as Secretary of the Interior fostered the major role government now assumes in the preservation of land.

Architecture. From the Pennsylvania barns to the modern glass structures of the Bauhaus movement, Germans contributed to the development of American architecture. Log construction associated with Jamestown and Plymouth is attributed to German settlers, as is the Niedersächsisches Bauernhaus (Lower Saxon farmhouse) which houses living quarters, stables, and barn under one roof. The large indoor stove with tiles and the Fachwerk (half-timbered) houses found especially in Wisconsin are also of German origin.

In America, the German preferred to settle in an Einzelhof (a single farm dwelling) rather than in the Dorf (a village or hamlet) pattern to which they were accustomed in Germany. The Einzelhof seemed to be an expression of the freedom which the settlers had come to find—freedom in a spiritual as well as in a physical, indeed spatial, sense caused by the vast dimensions of their new homeland.

The most revolutionary German influence on architectural design—both interior and exterior—is the Bauhaus. The names of Joseph Albers, Walter Gropius, Marcel Breuer, and Mies van der Rohe come to mind. Several generations of American architects were students of Gropius at Harvard and van der Rohe at The University of Chicago.

Business and Trade. Several Germans accumulated large fortunes by trading in tobacco, real estate, and fur and by establishing chains of department stores. Those who succeeded often came from Europe with a banking background. These men helped to build cities such as Baltimore and New York into major interna-

7. For extensive discussion of this topic, see Robert H. Billigmeier, Americans from Germany: A Study in Cultural Unity (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1974), pp. 30ff.
Contributions

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Cultural trade centers. Well-known names still associated with the world of finance and commerce (and also with extensive philanthropic support of American cultural life) are Altman, Belmont, Bloomingdale (Blumenthal), Guggenheim, Kuhn, Loeb, Lehmann, Orbach. Strauss (of Levi's fame), and Schiff. Other success stories include the leading breweries in America—Anheuser-Busch, Pabst, Schlitz, Blatz.

Crafts. One of the best known and most widely recognized contributions of the Germans to America is the skills they brought as craftsmen and artisans. Carefully trained in long apprenticeships and strictly supervised by the powerful German guilds, a German Meister (master) knew his trade. While few craftsmen attained widespread fame, their products can still be seen in areas of New York, Pennsylvania, and other northeastern states.

Among pioneer women quilting was a highly developed skill, and today Pennsylvania Dutch quilts with their abstract designs and bold mixtures of colors are collector's items. Samples of needlework are on display in museums and historical societies. Their houses were lavishly embellished with hand-painted religious and didactic inscriptions. Their love of flowers is manifested in the flower gardens, boxes filled with flowers, and floral designs on furniture and birth and baptismal certificates.

Less beautiful but very essential was the Pennsylvania rifle which helped in the western movement. Although a gun was more important for survival than a piano, later generations have benefited from the German artisans who first built these instruments in Philadelphia. Henry Steinway left his factory in Braunschweig in the care of his eldest son and in 1825 came to New York where he began to build his masterpieces at the rate of one a week.

Foods. Hamburgers and frankfurters are considered German contributions to American life, as are pancakes, sauerkraut, sauerbraten, rye bread, and other staples of the American dinner table. German Delikatessengeschäfte (gourmet food stores) in every major American city enjoy great popularity, as do German restaurants and cafés, whether they are called Brauhaus, Konditorei, Wienerwald, or Zum Zum. The variety of Teigwaren (pasta and pastry) and Wurst products is well-known.

Several German immigrants in the nineteenth century became important in food production and food processing. Rolled oats were first produced by Ferdinand Schumacher in 1850, self-rising flour by John Hecker, sugar cubes and granulated sugar by Claus Spreckels. Hershey, Mueller, Heinz, and Smuckers are other prominent contributors.

Recreation and Festivals. The German immigrants produced an extraordinary variety of German-American clubs and societies. These groups were designed to preserve German culture and to provide the Gemütlichkeit associated with recreational activities. Most important among these were the Gesangverein (singing club) and the Turnverein (sports club). The Volksfest, still popular today in Kutztown, Pennsylvania, and in the Catskills of New York, perhaps began with
the first *Jahrmarkt* (yearly festival) held in Germantown when Pastorius was its mayor and spiritual leader. In addition, there are the traditional *Turnerfest* (gymnastics festival), *Sängerfest* (singing festival), and *Oktoberfest* (October festival).

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these social activities were less commercialized and more authentically German. They represented a curious mixture of folk and elite culture, since the music frequently included classical favorites by Mozart and Beethoven. Causes for celebration were the birthdays of famous poets such as Goethe and Schiller. Today such dates are observed as special events in the Goethe House or the German departments of universities. Most Americans of German background today do not consider this elite culture of great interest to them.

Perhaps the best known festivities—festivals in a different sense—to which Germans have lent their traditions and deeply influenced American life are Christmas and Easter. The Hessian mercenaries lit the first Christmas trees in America; Thomas Nast modelled Santa Claus after the German *Knecht Ruprecht*. The *Christkind* (Christ child), Advent wreath, Christmas carolling, and cooking and baking specialties are evidences of the German Christmas in America.

The Pennsylvanian Germans are credited with bringing the Easter rabbit and the Easter egg. According to ancient Germanic legend, the goddess Ostara transformed a bird into a rabbit which thereafter out of gratitude laid eggs every spring on the feast of Ostara.

**TECHNOLOGICAL INFLUENCES**

Engineering. Americans of German descent were instrumental in the construction of major bridges in the United States, for example, Roebling and the Brooklyn Bridge, Schneider and the Freedom Bridge at Niagara Falls, Strauss and the Golden Gate Bridge. Other Germans were active in railway engineering before and during the Civil War. Perhaps the best known German contributor in the field of electrical engineering was Charles Steinmetz.

**Industrial Technology.** The weavers from Krefeld who settled Germantown developed the textile field as early as the seventeenth century. Frederick Amelung began the manufacture of glass on a large scale when he arrived in Maryland in 1748 with 300 German craftsmen. The first iron foundry was begun by Thomas Ruetter in Pennsylvania. Important in steel production was Henry Frick, whose fortune has left us the mansion and its art treasures in New York City. Bausch and Lomb are known for their scientific and optical instruments and played an important part in the commercial history of Rhode Island. Studebaker and Gentenslager manufactured automotive bodies; the Seiberlings developed farm machinery. The Timkens produced roller bearings, the Dieholidays bank and office equipment, and the Hoovers household appliances.

atual acquittal led to new legislation in England.

Numerous German newspapers played an important role in the political and social life of Colonial times. In Pennsylvania alone, since the establishment of the first German newspaper by Benjamin Franklin in 1732, until the end of the 18th century, there were thirty-eight German newspapers. At times in American history, in cities such as New York, there were more German newspapers than were published in Berlin and Leipzig. When the liberal intellectuals came in the early 19th century, more went into journalism than any other profession. Due to their efforts, German bookstores and libraries flourished.

The influence Germans had on printing and publishing is evident in the number of companies they founded which exist today. These include Alfred Knopf, Pantheon Books, Frederick Ungar, Frederick Praeger, and Schocken Books.

Another influence in the American publishing field was the publication of the comic strip "The Katzenjammer Kids" created by Rudolf Dirks, considered the father of the Comic Strip. It was William Randolph Hearst, who in his childhood had been exposed to Wilhelm Busch's Max and Moritz, who asked Dirks in 1911 to create a similar strip for his company.

Today there are still German newspapers that appear once or twice weekly in major American cities. Whereas the earlier German-American newspapers critical of American customs and arrogant toward other ethnic groups, the papers of today have a positive and constructive attitude, summed up best in the words of the New York Staatszeitung und Harold, "An American paper printed in the American language."

The impact of German scientists on the American scene is perhaps the most of any of the fields under discussion. Among those who fled Hitler's Germany were thirteen scientists who had already won Nobel Prizes or were to win them after they had emigrated.

The image of Germany as the country of the Dichter und Denker (philosophers and poets) projected in past centuries now became one of the country of Naturwissenschaftler (natural scientists) and, to some extent, Sozialwissenschaftler (social scientists). Germans contributed to the fields of psychoanalysis (Bruno Bettelheim, Felix Deutsch, Erich Fromm, Karen Horney, Otto Rank, Wilhelm Reich, and Max Wertheimer—leaders of the German School),

The area of social research, the Frankfurt Institut für Sozialforschung, closed in Germany in 1933 and came to America almost as a unit and became part of Columbia University. The leading personalities were Max Horkheimer,
Herbert Marcuse, Otto Kirchheimer, Karl Wittfogel, Paul Massig, Felix Weil, and Theodor W. Adorno, who later returned to Germany. This exodus of great minds brought America many benefits during the 1930s and thereafter.

It has been said that "the exiles Hitler made were the greatest collection of transplanted intellect, talent, and scholarship the world has ever seen." Even after the war a 'braindrain' continued including such scientists as Werner von Braun and some of his co-workers. Today a great deal of productive interchange, interaction, and exchange takes place between the two countries, involving university faculty, research institutes, and small and large corporations. What this amounts to is not immigration in the earlier sense but rather simply the movement of certain elements of the population between two fluid and mobile societies.

INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCES

Education. Franz Daniel Pastorius, a German-born American whose name appears constantly in the life of the early colonists, also showed great vision in the field of education. He established the first evening school for adults and was the first teacher of German in America at the co-educational school established in Germantown. At the Public Academy in Philadelphia, German and French were taught as early as 1751, as were the classical languages—through the medium of German. In 1766 Benjamin Franklin visited Göttingen University and used much of what he learned there as a model for restructuring the Public Academy, now the University of Pennsylvania. Later, several universities were constructed on the German model: Michigan, Cornell, and Johns Hopkins.

A growing interest in German culture and education was also reflected in the founding of several German schools during the next century and in the curricular reform of the existing schools. While earlier Germans had tried to preserve their German culture, they were not generally able to transmit their heritage to their English-speaking fellow citizens. Many were out of touch with the new intellectual life of their homeland. Thus, with a few exceptions, Americans had never looked to Germany for intellectual stimulation and leadership.

The translation of Madame de Staël's De l'Allemagne (1814) caused the young, educated American to turn to the German language, literature, and educational system with curiosity and admiration. A number studied at Göttingen, and their experiences had a profound effect on New England colleges of the day. Significant, too, was the founding of the first kindergarten in the United States by Margaretha Schurz, wife of Carl Schurz, in 1830.

In the twentieth century the German influence existed not so much in the area of pedagogical reform but rather in the contributions of individuals and 'schools' that had emigrated. The immigrant scientists and sociologists were often affiliated with American universities and had immeasurable influence on education as a

whole. An important development was the founding of the University in Exile in 1933 which became the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research. As in the sciences, the educational exchange with Germany today is lively; whereas, however, during her own development America looked to Germany for educational models, the process now seems to be reversed, and many reforms in the German system have come from the United States.

Politics. In discussing the role of the German immigrants in American politics, one is confronted by numerous contradictions. On one hand, the German element seems to have shown apathy toward politics and public affairs. With the exception of the Forty-Eighters, the German immigrant was preoccupied with the building of a new and better life and the preservation of the cultural heritage of the fatherland. On the other hand, Germans are identified with some of the significant social and political movements in the United States.

The names Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben and Carl Schurz still have special significance in the German contribution to American political developments. Friedrich (Baron) von Steuben met Benjamin Franklin in Europe and arrived in America in 1777. He was welcomed by the Continental Congress, his fellow countrymen in Pennsylvania, and George Washington, whose demoralized army he took charge of at Valley Forge. His leadership of the troops led to his appointment as their major general. Throughout his life he remained active, formulating the plans for the military academy, serving as a Regent of The University of the State of New York, and as the first president of the German Society of New York.

Carl Schurz had been the leader of a German student revolutionary movement. After the failure of the Revolution in 1848 in Germany, he was forced to leave. He arrived in New York in 1852, twenty-three years old, well educated, but completely unknown and not fluent in English. Within seven years he had mastered English and was admitted to the bar to become nationally famous through his speech on "True Americanism." The list of his accomplishments is long and significant, including his friendship with Lincoln, his duty as Minister to Spain, his command of a division in the Civil War, his journalistic successes, his service in the United States Senate, and his career as Secretary of the Interior. He opposed slavery and prejudice, fought for a solution to the Indian problem by legal means, began the development of a national parks system and systematic conservation, and improved civil service through the introduction of the merit system.

Many Civil War regiments consisted almost entirely of Germans. Furthermore, Germans supported Lincoln and his anti-slavery policies. The German element was also strong in the radical parties established in the 1870's and 1880's. Long
after the founding of the Socialist Labor party, for instance, German was spoken at its conventions.\textsuperscript{15}

The Arts. Numerous painters of German descent and training worked during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. More far-reaching was the influence of German artists during the twentieth century, e.g., George Grosz, Max Beckmann, Hans Hofmann, Joseph Albers, and Max Ernst. In addition, Erich Panofsky, Ludwig Bachhofer, Otto Benesch, and Walter Friedländer contributed to art history as a field of study at the major universities and institutes.

The history of the Metropolitan Museum in New York serves as an example of the German effort to collect and preserve art.\textsuperscript{16} The names Havemeyer, Altman, Blumental, and Lehman are significant in this respect. Distinguished curators who immigrated were George Havemeyer, Hans Huth, Jacob Rosenberg, Georg and Hans Swarzenski, Emmanuel Winternitz, and Alexander Dornic. These men "have brought a much needed deepening and broadening of museum collections in America."\textsuperscript{17}

Germans were active in establishing numerous Sängvereine (singing societies), Männerchöre (men's choirs), and a variety of singing organizations as well as bands and orchestras. Furthermore, they were active in establishing music publishing houses. Two examples of early German music published in America are the "Reading Waltz" and the "Kutztown Reel."\textsuperscript{18}

Germans were especially active in the formation of orchestras and musical societies. In 1774, the New England Musical Society was formed, the first of numerous such groups founded in the Northeast, e.g., the Händel and Haydn Society in Boston (1815), the Musical Fund Society in Philadelphia (1820), and the New York Philharmonic Society (1812). Germans initiated the establishment of conservatories in Boston, New York, Chicago, and St. Louis. When a German orchestra, appropriately called Germania, came to America in 1848, the American interest in music was still so limited and ticket sales so poor that it was only with the help of the New York Philharmonic Society that the orchestra could continue its performances.

The Germania orchestra was the first to acquaint American audiences with the music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven and, on the lighter side, with waltzes and polkas. Many of its members remained in America after the tour and were active in creating and maintaining American interest and participation in music, serving as conductors and music professors. Leopold Damrosch conducted the first performances of Wagner at the Metropolitan Opera House; his son, Frank, founded the Institute of Musical Art, later the Julliard School, and introduced singing into the curriculum of American schools. Another German immigrant, Otto Kahn,
made Metropolitan Opera performances possible for more than three decades through his generous financial support. Perhaps less visible but equally important to the American musical scene were Paul Hindemith, who taught at Yale University, and Kurt Weill, whose Dreigroschenoper (Threepenny Opera) was both influenced by and influential in the American musical theater.

German-American literary contribution found expression in dialect, High German, and English. Among the Pennsylvania German writers are Helen Martin (Tillie, a Mennonite Maid), Elsie Singmaster (The Magic Mirror), and Conrad Richter (Free Man). The Bee Hive of Franz Daniel Pastorius, a collection of historical, literary, geographical, and political materials, appeared in six languages.

Otto Rupuis wrote a number of novels set in the period of western expansion, and Oswald Seidensticker wrote a number of historical works dealing with early German settlements in America. During the 1930s, the names Franz Werfel, Erich Maria Remarque, Leon Feuchtwanger, Heinrich and Thomas Mann, Ernst Toller, Oskar Maria Graf, Carl Zuckmayer, and Bertolt Brecht are significant. Following World War II several returned to Europe.

The Spanish-Speaking

SPORTS

Although it would be impossible to mention all of the figures who are Hispanics, certain ones are familiar to fans everywhere: Among them are Angel Cordero, a jockey from Puerto Rico; Charles Passarell, a tennis player from Puerto Rico; Lee Trevino and Chi Chi Rodriguez, golfers from Mexico and Puerto Rico, respectively; Carlos Ortiz, a boxer from Puerto Rico; and Jim Plunkett, a football player of Chicano background.

In the Caribbean area, baseball is the national sport. In Puerto Rico, for example, no town or village lacks a diamond. Contrary to popular belief, Puerto Rico’s love of baseball does not stem merely from Yankee influences. The Taino Indians had a sport called batu played with a baseball-like rubber ball.

The most famous baseball player from Puerto Rico was Roberto Clemente, who played for the Pittsburgh Pirates until his death in 1972. He was the youngest of a large family, whose father was a foreman on a sugar cane plantation. He left Puerto Rico in 1954, knowing no English, and became a star in the major leagues. He won the Most Valuable Player Award in 1966 and in 1970 was awarded an

20. Yoder, op. cit., p. 29.
Honorary Doctor of Education degree by the Catholic University of Puerto Rico in recognition of his work with youth on the island.

Four members of the pennant-winning Boston Red Sox are Hispanics. Rogelio Moret, a pitcher, was born in Guavama, Puerto Rico; Diego Sequi, another pitcher, was born in Holguin, Cuba; Juan Beniquez, a young outfielder, was born and still resides in San Sebastian, Puerto Rico; and Luis Tiant, one of the heroes of the 1975 season, is from Cuba. His father was also a pitcher who still lives in Cuba. He was finally allowed to leave late in the baseball season to see his son pitch the Red Sox into the World Series. In both 1973 and 1974 Tiant was voted the Red Sox’ Most Valuable Pitcher.

THE ARTS

Many singers, musicians, actors, and directors are Hispanics. One who achieved early fame on television was Desi Arnaz, who is from Cuba. He was originally a musician, but became very popular as Lucy’s heavily-accented husband on the I Love Lucy television program. He was one of the first Hispanics to achieve stardom as an ethnic comedian.

José Ferrer, born in Puerto Rico, debuted in New York in 1935 in Charlie’s Aunt. He acted in such movies as Moulin Rouge and Cyrano de Bergerac. His most recent theater success was in Man of La Mancha. He is also a successful director.

Two other outstanding actors from Puerto Rico are Raúl Julia and Rita Moreno. The former played a leading role in Two Gentlemen from Verona, for which he received a Tony Award nomination; he is presently with the New York Shakespeare Theater. Rita Moreno, an actress and dancer, was nominated for an Oscar for her performance in West Side Story. She has since played many dramatic roles both on the stage and in movies.

One of the most popular singers today is José Feliciano, who is from Puerto Rico. He rose to international fame after his appearance at the San Remo Song Festival in 1970 in spite of his blindness.

Pablo Casals was born in Spain but left because of the Spanish Civil War. A world-famous cellist and conductor, he served as director of the music festival in Puerto Rico from 1957 until his death in 1974. He also served as director of a music festival in Vermont each summer. His permanent residence was in San Juan, but he spent much time in the Northeast.

Other Hispanics residing in the United States who are well-known in the arts include Lucecita Benitez, Tony Orlando, and Vicki Carr (singers); Trini Lopez, Tito Puente, and Carlos Santana (musicians); Graciela Rivera and Justino Pizá (opera singers); and Anita Velez and Chita Rivera (dancers). The list is far from complete; further information can be obtained from the entertainers’ unions.

POLITICS AND THE HUMANITIES

Severo Ochoa was born in Spain but moved to New York in 1940. He has been a professor of biochemistry at New York University, and in 1959 he shared the Nobel Prize for Medicine or Physiology.
Arthur Schomburg, a Black born in Puerto Rico, came to the mainland after World War I. He was a noted bibliophile and collector of books, mainly about Blacks. His collection is now in the New York Public Library. George Santayana was born in Spain but moved to Boston at an early age. He is a noted philosopher, essayist, and poet.

As yet there have been few Hispanic politicians elected to national office. One exception in the Northeast is Herman Badillo, who is Puerto Rican. A former President of Bronx County, former Commissioner of Relocation, and an elected member of the 1966 New York State Constitutional Convention, he currently serves in the United States Congress representing New York.

Other Hispanics in these categories include Ebaristo Rivera Chevremont, Luciano, and Clemente Soto-Velez (poets); Eduardo Seda-Bonilla (anthropologist); Ricardo Algería, María Teresa Babin, Tomás Blanco, Luis Nieves Falcón, and Piri Thomas (authors); Gerardo Rivera, Gloria Rojas, and Julio Rosado (reporters); Horacio Rivera (ambassador); Angel Miranda (psychiatrist and professor); and Teodoro Moscoso (economist).

SPANISH INFLUENCE ON GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Names such as Ponce de León, Cabeza de Vaca, and Coronado are familiar to all who have studied the earlier history of the United States. As these Spaniards explored this country, they gave Spanish names to various regions. Many of these names, especially in the Southwest, have remained. Many states which were first settled by Spaniards retained their original name, for instance, Colorado, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Florida, and Montana. Colorado was so named because of the many colors of the Colorado River canyon. The derivation of Texas is uncertain (possibly from the Spanish tejas [roof*]; New Mexico is obvious; Montana is so named because of the terrain, Arizona, because of the climate; and Florida, because it was discovered by Ponce de León on El Dia de la Pascua Florida. Other geographical names of Spanish origin include the Sierra Nevada Mountains, the Rio Grande, and cities such as El Paso, Los Angeles, San Diego, Toledo, etc.

The architecture introduced by the Spaniards came from Andalucía—the Spanish-style ranch with a patio, iron gratings, balconies, and tiles; and the main squares called plazas with arcades (arcada) and arches. Also from Spain come alcoves, portals, and porticoes. Many of the structures are made out of adobe and are frequently painted white or, as in Andalucía, whitewashed.

Many Spaniards became ranchers, and such words as ranch, rodeo, and lasso came into English. The terrain, with its sierras and canyons, shows the Spanish influence. Foods and beverages, such as chocolate, cocoa, vanilla, and sherry, come from Spanish words. And, of course, one can’t forget the popular Mexican foods, such as tortilla, taco, enchilada, and chile.

The musical rhythms of the tango, theamba, the merengue, and the cha-cha-chá are all from South America and retain their Spanish names. The principal instrument of Spanish music is the guitar.

There are also many proper names derived from Spanish. Among them are Anita, Dolores, Mercedes, Linda, and Luna. It is interesting to note that all of
these are girls' names. Names which refer to groups of men are frequently used, especially in Western movies. How many sheriffs and posses have had to pursue banditos, desperados, and renegades? Captured desperados were put in the house of the dead (juzgado) or the calaboose (calabozo). In the South and Southwest, big landowners were often called grandes while the laborers were peons.

In contemporary American society, the influence of the Spanish language is very strong, both in the way we use expressions and in names. We often talk about taking a siesta; expressions such as adiós and hasta la vista are frequently used by non-Spanish speakers. Everyone understands the mañana spirit. Words such as burro, mosquito, poncho, and matador are now standard English.

The names of many automobiles—Granada, Pinto, Seville, Cordoba, Mustang—reflect the excitement and romance of Spain, at least according to the Madison Avenue public relations men. The fact that many products carry Spanish names is an indication of the positive Spanish influence as seen by the American consumer. In the past fifteen years, there has been a revival of Spanish residential architecture and Spanish-style furniture; these styles have always been popular in the Southwest.21

Classics in America

Introduction

The impact of classical languages, Latin, Greek, and to some extent Biblical Hebrew, and classical culture on our country has come primarily through their predominant role in the pattern of American education in the first two centuries. Facility in the ancient languages by many people resulted in their use in many contexts, some of which are visible today, such as inscriptions and mottoes, names of places and people, and symbols. Familiarity with ancient civilizations resulted in perhaps a more subtle influence. Knowledge of Greek and Roman writers had an impact on the thinking of Colonial Americans and the Founding Fathers of the Republic, who lived when “America was in the midst of her golden age of classical learning.”¹ This influence continues in the form of government by which we live 200 years later. Persistent classical traditions in literary themes and style, as well as in the arts and architecture, have left an indelible imprint upon the artistic productions of this country and, more obviously, upon the physical ap-

Northeast Conference

The appearance of our towns and cities front colonial New England villages to great cities and the newer centers of the West. The fibre of our language and the resultant thought processes bear the imprint of the richly Latin and Greek vocabulary which pervades all areas of learning.

Tangible Survivals of Classical Interests

"The USA as a polity and as a civilization would not be what it is today—would probably not exist at all—without the Classics," and further, "America was the land that took the Classics seriously." So asserted the President of the American Philological Association in addressing the International Congress of Classical Studies at its first meeting in this country in 1964. As a brief but cogent demonstration of the mark that the classical influence has left upon everyday items, he asked the delegates from all over the world to take out a U.S. one-dollar bill and look at it carefully, noting the great seal of the nation on the green side. At the right, the recto of the seal bears the familiar E pluribus unum; at the left, the verso shows two mottoes, Amunt coeptis and Novus ordo seclorum, and the date MDCCLXXVI. The first, "One out of many," from a pastoral idyll attributed to Vergil, had already been singled out as a 'tag line' and had appeared on title pages as early as 1692. The second is adapted from Vergil's Iuppiter omnipotens, etauducibus adhuc coeptis (Jupiter, all powerful, give your nod to our daring undertakings) asking the favor of the Judaeo-Christian god. The third, from the same author's 'Messianic' eclogue, manus ab integro saeculum nascitur ordo, refers to the coming of the great cycles of ages, beginning anew (as of a golden age)—in the view of the Founding Fathers, the 'new order' of liberty for all men in these United States. Symbols such as the eagle (Roman), the lightning bolt (power), and the olive branch (Athenian) are all of ancient origin. Possibly the shape in which the thirteen stars are arranged is that of the Star of David.

The mottoes of some twenty states are Latin (one is Greek)—usually ancient quotations or adaptations thereof—and many state seals are symbolic in terms of ancient classical concepts. Those in the Northeast include:

5. Other symbols include the 'fasces' (the bundle of rods and an ax) which appears on older dimes.
6. From a poster available from The American Classical League Service Bureau (Miami University, Oxford, Ohio).
State | Motto | Translation
---|---|---
Connecticut | Qui Transtulit, Sustain | He who has brought us across (the sea) sustains us.
Maine | Dirigo | I direct.
Maryland | Scuto Bonae Voluntatis Tuae Coronasti Nos | You have protected us with the shield of your goodwill.
Massachusetts | Ense Petit Placidam Sub Libertate Quietem | With a sword he strove for peaceful rest in freedom.
New York | Excelsior | Ever higher.
Virginia | Sic Semper Tyrrannis | Thus ever to tyrants.
West Virginia | Montani Semper Liberi | Mountainers are always free.

Public buildings, e.g., the Supreme Court: Justitia omnibus, (Justice for all), colleges, and schools, throughout the country are similarly inscribed. All of the older colleges had seals with mottoes in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, e.g., Yale: Lux et Veritas (Light and Truth), with the Hebrew word for light on an open book.

Some states and many towns and cities in this country bear Greek and Roman names (Virginia) or Roman-style names (Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Pennsylvania). Some changed their former names, as did Vanderheyden's Ferry in New York in 1789 becoming Troy, in deference to its heroic history or to the Trojans who settled in a new land. Thirty other towns were named Troy in succeeding years. New York State is especially rich in classical names of towns, such as Utica, Syracuse, Rome, and Corinth. It is notable that in naming a number of settlements in the military tract around Cayuga Lake, the state Land Commission, whose secretary was a Latin teacher, made liberal use of classical sources, even calling towns after people rather than places—Romulus, Hector, Homer, Tully, Fabius, Pompey, Marcellus, etc. Cincinnati, Ohio, perpetuates the names of a Roman hero who, at the call of duty, left his plow to lead his country's army and returned to the farm after his duty was done. Retired officers of the Revolutionary Army formed a society called the Order of Cincinnati, and the city took its name from them.

Thus, names of people and places: Latinized words, and even names of those English towns which were once Roman castra (camps) becoming in time Chester, Worcester, Lancaster, Manchester, etc. appear in many parts of the country. Old Testament names are also to be found, especially in New England. Connecticut, for example, has Bethel, Lebanon, Goshen, Gilead, Bethany, Hebron, and Canaan. From Lebanon, New Hampshire, to Mt. Carmel, Alabama—or for that matter from St. George, New York, to St. Augustine, Florida—these names remind us that, though the land was at first savage, its civilization had roots in Rome and Greece, as well as England and the Judaean-Christian tradition.

Not only places but also people shared classical reflections. Many learned men, and some not so learned, writing articles, letters, or essays for newspapers, signed
themselves Cato, Publicola, Junius, Epaminondas, etc., in imitation of those heroes whose names had become household words. One of the most popular pseudonyms was the name of the last great defender of the Roman Republic, Cato, who had been popularized in Cato's Distichs in school books, in Addison's tragedy Cato, a very popular theater piece in the eighteenth century, here and in England, and in Cato's Letters, the work of the British Whig writers Trenchard and Gordon, whose ideas were so popular that the Letters were reprinted in papers on this side of the Atlantic.\(^7\)

In all widely read Colonial newspapers, classical and Biblical quotes, pithy, moral, philosophical, appropriate to the day, were a commonplace. Almanacs,\(^8\) which naturally drew upon classical astronomy, reflected much ancient lore, tradition, and myth. There were many beside Benjamin Franklin's Poor Richard's Almanac, which had as its motto Sapientia dominabitur astra (The wise man will be master of the stars) and drew heavily upon the moral proverbs of Publilius Syrus for quotations.

Buildings which bear Greek and Roman mottoes, in towns with classical names, reflect one of the several eras of classical influence in architecture—Colonial, Revolutionary, or Greek Revival. Not only public buildings, state capitols, and collegiate buildings, but private homes as well, in external design and furnishings, physically reflect an aura of classical orientation so prominent in the early days of our country.

Another manifestation of the role of the classical languages in everyday life was the use people made of Latin abbreviations and quotations on gravestones. Not an old cemetery but yields many samples of this.\(^8\) Very frequent is the AE. or AET. (artatis, denoting the person's age), and Anno Dom(ini). Some inscriptions are wholly in Latin; most are part Latin, part English; some have Greek or Hebrew words. Notable among the latter, on the grave of Governor Bradford, second governor of the Plymouth Colony (who had taught himself the language), is a Hebrew inscription "The Lord is the Light (Strength) of my Life." The prevalence of such commonplace items is a manifestation of the degree to which Americans of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods, and on into the nineteenth century, were steeped in classical and Biblical languages and learning. Their continuances and survival act as a constant reminder to us today.

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8. Ibid., pp. 3-8, 128.
9. Contributed by Sara Cowan, Deering High School, Portland, Maine. See also "Suggestions for Classroom Implementation."
The influence of the Classics, not only on commonplace items, but also on the development of the institutions embodying our political, ethical, and aesthetic traditions—the very life of our country—stems in large part from their role in education from the earliest Colonial days in America.

When the Puritan leaders in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, many of them graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, determined on the indispensability of an educated clergy and corps of public officials, they instinctively turned to the traditional curriculum of the English schools, placing litterae humaniores in the service of Church and State. Immediately, attacks were mounted by Puritan fundamentalist opposition...the debate raged for a generation...In the end, the Classics and theology were reconciled in Puritan New England, with the understanding that the function of classical learning was to serve as a utilitarian means of enhancing godliness, but in strict subordination to the primacy of Scriptures.10 (There had been a strong leaning toward Hebrew on the part of Pilgrims and Puritans. They thought of themselves as Christian Israelites and may even have patterned the celebration of Thanksgiving after Sukkot.11)

As a result, a number of grammar schools and colleges were established, beginning with the Boston Latin School (1635) and Harvard College (1636). The nine pre-Revolutionary colleges and the numerous grammar schools in New England and the other original colonies offered the youth who attended them a type of education that was uniform and standardized. Although a few extras crept into the curriculum by degrees, providing an occasional choice of subjects, the Greek and Latin languages were the passwords for admission into colleges and for progress to the bachelor's degree. Beyond the elementary stage they were the main academic diet—granting of course, especially in the first century or so, the primacy of Scripture and the inclusion of courses in the Hebrew Old Testament.

At the elementary stage an atmosphere of religion was all pervasive.12 The early textbooks for teaching reading and writing, the Hornbook and the New England Primer, were scarcely more than adaptations from the Bible, containing, of course, the Lord's Prayer, the Commandments, and various favorite passages. Ciphering also was added to the elementary fare and there was always much emphasis upon deportment. Very soon a smaller number of boys began the study of Latin in the Latin or grammar schools, for the main task here was regarded as training youth ‘so as to fit them for the college.’14

14. A Massachusetts statute of 1647 required all towns to establish schools to teach reading and writing “so that youth should be trained in all scholasticall, moral, and theologickall disciplines.”
The elements of Latin were taught first by the direct method and brief dialogues in the tradition of Comenius (perhaps the first person in Europe to use an illustrated text), and by memorizing brief moral quotations (using Corderius as a seventeenth-century source). Also favored at the early stages were Latin versions of Aesop’s Fables. Grammar rules, upon which much emphasis was placed, were learned from such texts as Ezekiel Cheever’s *Accidence: A Short Introduction to the Latin Tongue* (first published in England in 1708, then in America, and circulated in many editions to 1838) and John Clarke’s *An Introduction to the Making of Latin, 1742* (which were improvements on the old standard, Lily’s *Grammar of 1523*). Rules and forms were memorized; they were practiced by writing Latin sentences, usually with a Latin vocabulary given in a parallel column to the English which was to be translated.

**Figure 2**

John Clarke (1687-1734) *An Introduction to the Making of Latin*
1st Worcester edition from the 24th London edition
Printed 1786 in Worcester, Mass., by Isaiah Thomas

CHAPTER XII*

Verbs of abounding, wanting, filling, emptying, loading, unloading, depriving, robbing, spoiling, govern the Ablative.

*Verba abundandi, implendi, etc.*

**HE that wants Virtue, wants all Things.**

**QUI careo virtus, careo omnis.**

We see some Men abounding with Money and Wealth, yet do desire those Things mostly with which they abound.

The Romans deprived the Carthaginians of all the Isles which they held in the Mediterranean.

Men abounding with Wealth are often puffed up with Pride.

After he had taken the Enemy’s Camp, filled with Plenty of all Things, he gave all the Plunder to his own Soldiers; and chiding the consular Army and the Consul himself, he says, You shall go without your Part of the Spoil of that Enemy, to which you yourselves were nearly a Prey.

*Used through the courtesy of the Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Mass.*

Undoubtedly there were many excellent (and quite a few dull) schoolmasters in the Colonial era. One of the best known and most distinguished was Ezekiel Cheever, who was associated with the Boston Latin School from 1670-1708, both as teacher and as Headmaster. In his eulogy, pronounced by Cotton Mather, that illustrious alumnus claimed that “in the grateful memory of his scholars there have been, and will be, hundreds [of statues] erected for him.”

He was thorough, original, and had high standards—a progressive who taught ‘Latin without tears.’ His manuscript log of 100 pages contains copies of ancient masterpieces, experiments in Greek and Latin verse, and critical comments.

The Boston Latin School program of his day included reading Cicero’s orations, Justinian, the Latin and Greek New Testament, Vergil, Horace, Juvenal, dialogues on Godwin’s Roman Antiquities, turning Psalms into Latin and, on the Greek side, Isocrates, Homer, and Hesiod. A great deal of the reading was reinforced by exercises in dictation, extensive memorization, and English to Latin composition. This was the entrance requirements for Harvard readily met, wherein students were expected to “understand Tully, Vergil, or any such classical authors and readily to speak or write true Latin in prose and have skill in making Latin verse, and be completely grounded in the Greek language.”

Requirements were similar at other universities and remained the same over a period of about 175 years.

We know that Hebrew was a part of the Harvard curriculum from the time of its first president, John Dunster, and that the Classics figured extensively from 1636 on. The first recorded Harvard curriculum, in 1723, required a youth of about fourteen or fifteen years, as a freshman, to recite the classical authors learned at school (Tully, Vergil, Isocrates, Homer, the Greek Testament, and Catechism), and to study rhetoric, Hebrew, logic, and a bit of divinity, history, and natural science. The second year he pursued logic, Greek, Hebrew, ethics, philosophy, and also divine studies, history, and natural science. In the third year, logic, physics, ethics, geography, metaphysics, divinity. In the senior year, geometry, astronomy, arts, grammar, logic, and natural philosophy (physics).

Texts in all courses were in Latin. There was continuous practice each year in debate and defense of theses in Latin. The culmination of this training, uniform for all students, was in the presentation of formal theses at Commencement. There were some changes during the eighteenth century: instruction moved from the British tutorial system to the assignment of a professor for each subject; newer texts were introduced, still chiefly in Latin; a few subjects were added to provide some

18. Ibid., p. 55.
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ing, at dinners, with a small group of equally fluent friends, with Hartford Latin teachers, in a global correspondence, personal greeting cards, prize-winning essays, stories for students, sharing an 'everyday' Latin vocabulary with enthusiasts in his Glossarium Linguæ Latiniæ, in the publication of Petrus Selopetarius (Pistol Pete).62 and in the posthumously forthcoming tale of his African safari. Here are one of his poems and a Trinity College colleague's tribute.63

Oratio

O, Domine Iesu, quo nascente, benevolentis
Cœlestes angeli cecinerunt hominibus
In terra pacem, iam nunc hominum in pectora
Odii laborantium, malis perpetuum.
Humiles, istam rogamus: pacem infundito.

B. Acensis scripsit.

A Christmas Prayer

O, Lord Jesus, at Whose birth
The Heavenly Choir sang: Peace on earth
To men of good will.
O'ercome with hate, fordone with ill
Our hearts we pray thee now to fill
With that sweet peace.

Trans. Goodwin B. Beach

Vita Bonamici Actensis


62. Glossarium and Petrus (Hartford, Conn.: Hartford Seminary Foundation).
loqui discerent. Clarissimus omnibus in
geinitus propter studia sua et scripturis
Latinas. Latine allogebatur multos con-
ventus societatum doctorum et in patria et
Europa. Ex multis e honoribus admissio
ad gradus Philosophiae Doctoris, quem ab
Universitate Leedsiae acceptit, magnopere
et placebat. Multos annos in rationibus
argentorum societatum doctarum et in patria et
Europa. Ex multis e honoribus admissio
gradus Philosophiae Doctoris, quem ab
Universitate Leedsiae acceptit. Magnopere
et placebat. Multos annos in rationibus
ducendi ad Philologorum Americanorum
Societatem. Sua recensio annua et sumptuum
to sumptuum et lucrorum dainorum
utnque ab omnibus accipiebatur. Nam cadem semper reddita
est carminibus Latinis!
Cum se iterum in otium se recipere (il est, a docente).
tamen studium retinere classicarum sustinebat. Licet oculorum
aces defecerit. in mente animoque remanebat
firmus et valens. Usque ad tertiam diem
ante mortem ephemeridem. Latine script-
am, itineris Africani quod abhinc tres an-
nos et uxor fecit recognoscebat.
Hic hono nobilis et litteratus disertus-
quae, qui erat multis modis extra suum
eaum, requiescat in pace atque eius
memoria nobis vivat.

Some of the poetry of another writer of Latin. John Colby, a gifted writer of
stories for boys and of poetry, is both humorous and lyrical.64

Drink Canada Dry

Exiguis bullis vivescit Canada Sica,
ac veluti surgunt effervescet liquore,
cum primum gustare soles spumantia vina,
bullae quae simulant crebro se pungere
fauces,
sicacibus multis Liliputanisque sagittis,
zingiberis latices linguum stimulare
videntur;
vimque dabunt nobis animosque ad sidera
tollent.

Haec loquitur Crassus, quo non
præsiantior alter
voce ciere viros artenque docere bibendi.

Tiny bubbles make it lively—Canada Dry,
they rise to the top in the effervescent
liquid,
as when first you taste sparkling wine,
chollient—the bubbles seem to make little
stabs at your mouth,
with hundreds of tiny daggers and
Lilliputian arrows,
with tangy zest they titilate the tongue,
give us pep and raise our spirit to the sky.

Thus speaks Crassus—and no one
surpasses him
in rousing men with his words and teaching
them the art of drinking.

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Christmas Rose

In nivali tempore
silvae refrigescunt.
Maerenti sub arbore
folia quiescunt.
In hiberno frigore,
candida, nivosa.
matris, terra pectore,
fulget Christi rosa.

In the time of snow
the woods grow cold.
Under the weeping trees
the leaves grow still.
In winter chill,
bright white, snowy,
on the breast of the mother earth.
glows the Christmas rose.

To these may be added the flurry of translations of the 1960’s of *Winnie, the Pooh, Alice in Wonderland*, and a dozen others, in reasonably good Latin, which do interest the young and give nostalgic pleasure to their elders.

Classical Architecture

"I was written to in 1785 (being then in Paris) by Directors appointed to superintend the building of a Capitol in Richmond, to advise them as to a plan, and to add to it one of a prison. Thinking it a favorable opportunity of introducing into the state an example of architecture in the classic style of antiquity, and the *Maison quarrée* of Nîmes, an ancient Roman temple, being considered as the most perfect model existing of what may be called Cubic architecture, I applied to M. Clerissault, who had published drawings of the Antiquities of Nîmes, to have me a model of the building made in stucco, only changing the order from Corinthian to Ionic, on account of the difficulty of the Corinthian capitals." So wrote Jefferson in his *Autobiography*.

Little did he realize that his design, of modest intent, for the completion of the Virginia capitol would begin a half-century mania for neo-classical architecture. In many places it quickly replaced Colonial style, which had reflected some adaptations of classical motifs in pillars, columns, windows, and doorways of the more elegant buildings. For both public structures and private homes, there was widespread and enthusiastic adoption of the motifs of Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian columns, colonnaded porches, rotundas, elaborate friezes, and pediments.

65. See "Suggestions for Classroom Implementation."
The reasons for this willing adoption of classical architecture, especially Greek, are indeed many, but the true explanation may be no more than the straightforward, honest, and simple desire of a newly liberated populace to express in tangible form one of the primary ideologies which sustained its victorious revolution. Fiske Kimball in *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* states the case:

The Revolution brought a fundamental change in American domestic architecture, as in American art as a whole. How little this has been appreciated is shown by the extension of the term ‘Colonial’ to cover all the work to 1820 or even later. The rank and file of builders, to be sure, continued to work at first, as we have seen, in much the same style as before, but the leaders were inspired by very different ideals, and these were rapidly diffused through the craft. Chief of them was the ideal of classical form. This involved much more than the adoption of the delicate Pompeian detail of the Adams; its ultimate goals were the unity and abstract quality of classical ensembles: the temple and the rotunda. Simultaneously with this formal ideal came the ideal of modern convenience, which had originated in the France of Louis XV. In the interplay of these two lies the key to the evolution of the American house during the first sixty years of the republic. So far as they were in conflict, the issue in America was less a reconciliation between them than a triumph, in all its absolutism, of the form. This development is true of painting and sculpture but is much more evident to the average person in architecture. Once started, classical architecture spread its influence at a feverish pace in the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth. What little was known of the classic ideal in pre-Revolutionary handbooks was now witnessed firsthand by world-trading merchants and world-traveling architects. Their inspiration is seen today from the nation’s Capitol to modest, private dwellings on a New England village green, like that of Grafton or Hopkinton, Massachusetts, in dozens of towns like Geneva, New York, or on southern plantations and the mansions of South Carolina.

At times the influence of the Greco-Roman ideal was subtly and carefully interwoven with other inspirations; one of the best examples is Federal Hall in Philadelphia. Most frequently, the influence was an eclectic combination of several Greek and Roman models, as in the numerous designs in the United States Capitol.

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competition or Latrobe's Bank of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia in 1798. Occasionally, the influence is direct and usually borrowed from such giants of antiquity as the Parthenon, Erectheum, and Pantheon. Enthusiasm for these even ran to the erection of an exact replica of the Parthenon in Nashville, Tennessee. Thomas Jefferson's admiration for the Pantheon is evidenced in his use of it as a model for the University of Virginia and Monticello, and more recently echoed in the Jefferson Memorial in Washington, D.C.

Although the day has long passed since classical architecture or 'Greek Revival Architecture' were considered to be 'modern' styles, nevertheless, each contemporary American is indebted to the inspiration of the classical ideal as made visible by the founders of the Republic and their first generation offspring. One can only name a few of the lengthy list of examples, which includes such structures as the record offices of Charleston, South Carolina, and Salem, Massachusetts: the Customs House of New Bedford, Massachusetts: the Athenaeum of Providence, Rhode Island: the Exchange, United States Mint, and the Branch Bank of the United States in Philadelphia: a countless number of college and university buildings.

The entire public building area of Washington, D.C., begun in the heyday of the classical revival, has evidenced a continuing adaptation of Greek and Roman styles, beginning with the Capitol, White House, and Treasury Building. Among the more beautiful examples, some of them fairly recent, are the Supreme Court Building, Lincoln Memorial, Library of Congress, National Archives, National Gallery, and the Jefferson Memorial mentioned above.

Today we would be hard-pressed to travel a short distance without witnessing the awe inspiring solemnity of federal, state, and local buildings, banks, civic and memorial centers, college libraries, residence halls and dormitories, columnar memorials, athletic colosseum, and churches raised in pride with the vision of the heritage of Greece and Rome.

Classical Influence on Literature and Language

One of the most pervasive and continuous aspects of classical influence in America is its impact on American writers of stature. This is also one of the most difficult to analyze, as it consists not merely in allusion or reference to the ancient world, but in the influence of form and content which is at once more extensive and more subtle. It requires a book on style to demonstrate it in detail; it is most noticeable in the early poets, such as Anne Bradstreet, Edward Taylor, and Philip Furey, the speech makers and letter writers of the eighteenth cen-

68. Gurner, op. cit., pp. 156-60.
tury. Emerson and Hawthorne of the Romantic period, less in the early 'Realists,' noticeable again in poets such as Stephen Vincent Benét, Ezra Pound, T.S. Eliot, etc. Nowhere is the influence more striking than in the plays of Eugene O'Neill, notably *Mourning Becomes Electra* and *Desire Under the Elms*, which have a close relationship to Greek tragedy and to myth as symbol. Indeed, one of the most pervasive influences is that of myth, not only in superficial and decorative sorts of ways, but as the basic of the artistic expression of a wide range of sculptors, painters, dramatists, novelists, and poets.60

It is therefore of more than passing interest to realize that myth has constituted a viable symbol to Americans from an early date. Much sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writing has spoken of America as the golden land of the West,70 the lost Atlantis, a Garden of Eden (it was not unusual in the earliest times to mix Biblical and classical concepts), and many writers and leaders had likened the brave sailors who reached that goal to Argonauts who ventured over the seas to an unknown land in true heroic spirit.71 Is it a paradox that once more myth has caught the imagination of many contemporary writers?

An even more dominant influence, affecting all of us every day of our lives, is the matter of Latin and Greek elements in the vocabulary of English. The words we use leave their mark on our thought processes. To what extent does the fact that some 80% of our vocabulary is Latin and Greek in origin affect the attitudes we have and the way we think? Most linguists agree that the part of our thinking that goes beyond instinctive emotional reaction is necessarily verbalized, either in the thought process or in the expression of it and the communication of it to others; therefore, the verbal framework must limit and channel the very process of thinking.

Edward Sapir says, "Thought may be defined as the highest latent or potential content of speech." Of the interaction of thought and language he says, "The instrument makes possible the product; the product refines the instrument." Further, "The thought world is the microcosm that each man carries around with himself, by which he measures and understands what he can of the macrocosm."72 Benjamin Lee Whorf's hypothesis is, "A man's world outlook is determined by his linguistic upbringing."73

Sapir makes a distinction between the form and content of language, asserting that the content (vocabulary) is what is related to culture. The dominance of Latin derivatives in our vocabulary then indicates a deeply pervasive influence on our culture.

70. Gummere, op. cit., Chapter II.
Since we no longer conduct higher education in Latin, we are no longer quite so steeped in Latinisms as were our Colonial ancestors, for whom, because of their education, it was easier and more natural to transfer a Latin term to an English form than to work out an Anglo-Saxon-based term. Yet we have continued the process they began, through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, creating new vocabulary out of Latin and Greek elements in all areas of learning, technical matters, and new inventions and processes.74

'Flammarious' and 'ignivorous' are out of date, but 'omnivorous' and 'carnivorous' are in good standing; 'polypticty' remains a curiosity, 'polytheism' is a respectable term in religious history; 'vericular' is no longer seen, but 'verity' is familiar enough; 'Plebsbyterian' did not catch on as a play on 'Presbyterian'; we never hear of 'preterpluralities;' yet many things are 'super' from markets to superfluous items. These are but random samplings from hundreds of examples.

Today we like making hybrid words from combined Greek/Latin sources—or combining one of these with English or other elements—and we like to use mythological figures in adding to our language as we add to our experiences and inventions. 'Astronauts' (Latin sailors among Greek stars) set off for the unknown, like the Argonauts of old, propelled by 'Titan' and 'Jupiter' rockets on 'Apollo' missions to 'lunar' sites. Scientists descend in 'bathyspheres' to study 'submarine' 'biology.' We have 'television' for 'viewing from a distance' as we earlier invented 'telegraphy' for communication from afar. Students of language deal in 'phonemes' and 'morphemes,' as well as the older elements of 'syntax' and 'lexicon.' 'Megaphones' and 'telephones' are commonplace. One could go on indefinitely. A striking example from the pens of the Founding Fathers perhaps sums it all up. In the Preamble to the Constitution only the italicized words are not classical in origin or formation.

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America.75

75. A poster of the Preamble illustrating this point in color may be obtained from The American Classical League Service Bureau.
Horizons

Introduction

Our ethnic heritage is defined by the status of various groups in our culturally pluralistic society. A look at our immigration history and a review of events and trends in our immediate past can assist in shaping our horizons. The long-awaited federal support of bilingual-bicultural education and of ethnic heritage education is an example.

The following figures present some of the factors involved in assimilation and the relative position on the continuum of assimilation of selected groups.

FIGURE 1
The Assimilation Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subprocess or Condition</th>
<th>Type or Stage of Assimilation</th>
<th>Special Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Change of cultural patterns to those of host society</td>
<td>Cultural or behavioral assimilation</td>
<td>Acculturation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of host society, on primary group level</td>
<td>Structural assimilation</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large-scale intermarriage</td>
<td>Marital assimilation</td>
<td>Amalgamation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society</td>
<td>Identificational assimilation</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absence of prejudice</td>
<td>Attitude receptional assimilation</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absence of discrimination</td>
<td>Behavior receptional assimilation</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absence of value and power conflict</td>
<td>Civic assimilation</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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FIGURE 2
Paradigm of Assimilation
Applied to Selected Groups in the United States—Basic Goal Referent: Adaptation to Core Society and Culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Type of Assimilation</th>
<th>Cultural</th>
<th>Structural</th>
<th>Marital</th>
<th>Identificational</th>
<th>Receptual</th>
<th>Behavior Receptual</th>
<th>Civic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negroes</td>
<td>Variation by class</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>Substantially Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Substantially No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Partly Mostly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholics (excluding Negro and Spanish-speaking)</td>
<td>Substantially Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Partly (variation by area)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Partly Mostly Partly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Ricans</td>
<td>Mostly No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Partly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bilingual Education

In 1967, Sena or Ralph Yarborough introduced a bilingual education bill in Congress which passed, in modified form, as an amendment to Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965. The psychological impact of this act cannot be overstated. It reversed a one-language policy and committed the national government to meeting the educational needs of children of limited English-speaking ability in the United States. The act provided financial assistance to local educational agencies for:

1. Bilingual educational programs;
2. Programs designed to impart to students a knowledge of the history and culture associated with their languages; and
3. Efforts to establish closer cooperation between the school and the home.

This commitment by the federal government has slowly influenced states and local communities. Since 1968 several states have passed laws mandating bilingual education at the local level.

Bilingual-bicultural education represents a viable approach toward meeting the needs of non-English speakers. It involves subject-matter instruction in the child’s native language and often also in English. Bilingual-bicultural education

2. Ibid., p. 76.
helps provide viable instructional programs for children as they develop literacy in two languages. It also involves the study of two cultures and provides the norms, values, attitudes, and skills consistent, not only with their new environment, but also with their native culture. In such programs, children develop and maintain self-esteem and pride in both cultures. Bilingual-bicultural education also establishes a basis for equal opportunity within the community and among all people. It advocates respect and understanding among all groups.

Effective teacher preparation is vital to the success of these programs which place heavy responsibility on the concepts of accountability and parental involvement.

The Ethnic Heritage Studies Program

The description of this program, as provided through an amendment to Title IX of ESEA of 1965, is:

The Ethnic Heritage Studies program seeks to develop intercultural understanding within our culturally pluralistic society. More specifically, the aims of the program are to help students learn more about the nature and role of ethnicity in their own lives and in the lives of others and to promote effective interactions among members of the various ethnic groups in the United States...

Proposals that are most attentively and creatively designed to enable people 'to learn more about the nature of their own heritage and to study the contributions of the cultural heritages of other ethnic groups of the Nation' are specifically encouraged and will be given high priority. No project will be approved that fails to take into account 'the heterogeneous composition of the Nation,' as stated in section 901 of Title IX, and 'the fact that in a multi-ethnic society, a greater understanding of the contributions of one's own heritage and those of one's fellow citizens can contribute to a more harmonious, patriotic, and committed populace.'

Conclusion

The Bicentennial Era provides us with an aegis under which to carry out the theme of 'a nation of nations' or 'unity in diversity.' It is perhaps one of the greatest voids of our time and history that we Americans have ignored the multi-

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cultural involvement in the formation of our country. We must become aware of the large quantity of material about and by ethnic groups and individuals—geographical descriptions, local histories, short stories, journals—that are available for use in teaching language and culture. Foreign language teaching becomes more meaningful when students can relate to the development of American, family, community, and ethnic history. It is, despite these gaps, worth time and energy as teachers of foreign languages and cultures to direct students' attention to the varied dimensions of the immigrant influence on American society and its contributions to American social history.

One of our greatest challenges as foreign language teachers today is to develop a better understanding of what America was, is, and might become by carefully guiding the student through the original foreign culture and the immigration of that culture to America. Such an approach has the potential of awakening a greater awareness of the immediate world our students live in, an awareness which ideally will lead to greater tolerance and understanding of diverse peoples in our diverse culture.
Suggestions for Classroom Implementation

Ethnicity in the Community

INTRODUCTION

Most urban areas in the United States have self-contained ethnic communities. These neighborhoods provide a number of ethnically authentic businesses that can be interesting to the foreign language learner.

As an example one might use Hartford, Connecticut, and its Spanish-speaking community. Here are restaurants, newsstands, barber shops, beauty salons, garages, and stores selling clothing, furniture, and specialties typical of the ethnic culture. In addition there are social clubs, political organizations, and professional service agencies that belong to the people of the ethnic group.

ACTIVITIES

*Tienda de Abarrotes; supermercado.* Go to one or more of the following food stores:

Barranquitas Market, 169 Main Street;
Cawy Super Market, 271 High Street;
Ortiz Super Market, 1671 Main Street;
and select three fruits, vegetables, or canned items which you do not recognize. Find out the name, the cost, and the use of each. Bring back a sample of the item most frequently used in Puerto Rican cooking—if possible. Determine which American foods are very popular in the store, e.g., Hostess Twinkies, hotdogs, Coca-Cola, etc.

Panadería. Visit an ethnic bakery such as Los Cubanos at 57 Park Street. Using the money collected in class, select a variety of pastries that the bakery clerk or owner suggests as being popular with the people in the neighborhood. Ask what the pastry is called and what its ingredients are, and write down this information.

Try to obtain a recipe for one of the items so that the class can prepare some at a later date. See if you can watch the bakers at work. Find out the Spanish words for: mixer, to beat, to crumble, to blend, to bake, or any other expressions that seem interesting. Write these down.

Tienda de Discos. The following record shops offer merchandise of special interest to the Spanish-speaking community:

- El Disco de Oro, 385 Main Street;
- Morales Record Shop, 275 High Street;
- Latin Record Shop, 299 Main Street.

Look at the list of the 'Top Ten' records and write down the names of the songs. Purchase the number one hit (a 45 RPM record) and bring it back to class. Determine whether the store sells more Spanish-language songs than English-language songs. Compare this with the number of Spanish and English songs among the 'Top Ten.'

If someone in the store is willing to assist you, try to understand all the words of a popular song and write them down. Find out what you can about the singer and where the record was made.

Try to obtain the record Qué bonita bandera or the Puerto Rican anthem, La Borinqueña (make sure it is sung and not an orchestration). Purchase that record with money the teacher gave you for the school record collection. See if the store sells sheet music for this record and the number one hit, so that the words and chords will be available to those in the class who play instruments.

Botánica. Stores that specialize in herbs are common to many ethnic cultures. The Botánica Chango is located at 811 Park Street. Go there and find out what kind of store it is. Determine the uses of at least four items sold here that are unfamiliar to you. Purchase a sample item that costs no more than one dollar and bring it to class. Be prepared to talk about it in class.

Ascertaining how customers come to select merchandise from this store. Do they use these items everyday—as one would use food products? Do they receive advice from specific members of the community as to which products to buy? Compare notes with your classmates and determine whether or not your family uses any of the items that are unknown to your friends.
Classroom Implementation

Iglesia. Every ethnic community has its own churches. The Iglesia del Sagrado Corazón is located at 49 Winthrop Street. Try to talk to the priest, Padre Segundo Las Heras, and find out about the special programs the church offers the community. Consider attending a Spanish mass. Who else attended with you? Was it crowded? Were there more men or more women at the mass? What was different from what you had expected?

Determine whether or not the church offers any language courses; are these to teach Spanish or English? What other subjects are taught? Write down a list of the courses offered along with the times they are given. Bring this to the classroom. See if you can get classmates to volunteer as English tutors for elementary school children.

Asociaciones de la comunidad. Choose one of the following service associations:

- La Casa de Puerto Rico, 96 Wadsworth Avenue;
- Asociación Dueños de Negocios Puertorriqueños, 98 Wadsworth Avenue;
- Club de Damas Puertorriqueñas en Lucha, 59 Park Street;
- Caminemos Adult Learning Center, 69 Park Street.

Go to the association you select and determine the types of services it offers to the community. Write these down. Do all of the workers speak both Spanish and English? Where does the money come from to support the association? Do they accept volunteer help; would your class be able to assist them?

If the association has blank forms in Spanish, bring back two or three samples for classroom discussion. Make sure the person you talk with at the association understands that your interest in the form is to use it for learning Spanish.

El cine. Spanish-language films are shown at the Lyric Theatre on Park Street. Go to a matinee or to an early show on Friday or Saturday. When do the people arrive? Are there differences in the lobby area, candy counter, or the cinema itself? Make notes of these possible differences.

- What film did you see? Where was it filmed? Who were the stars? Was it a double feature? How much was admission? How did you feel about the story, the acting, the photography, and the humor? How did the audience react to different scenes?

- Make notes when you get home and be prepared to tell your reactions to these questions in class.

- Prepare a written review of the film you saw in Spanish that could be used in a Spanish-language newspaper. Or prepare an oral presentation reviewing the film and deliver it to the class.

Joyería. There are jewelery stores located at:

- Joyería La Milagrosa, 643 Park Street;
- Joyería R. B., 11 Park Street;
- Joyería Sánchez, 1339 Main Street.

Go to one of these stores and make a list of the following:
Here lies indeed, the sacred remains of that revered gentleman, Dr. Joseph McKeen also first president of Bowdoin College. He was born on October 15, in the year 1757, in the state of New Hampshire, where in his early training in humanities he achieved academic honors. Later in the ministry of the divine Word at Beverly in the State of Massachusetts for seventeen years he performed his duties vigorously and productively. Most recently, however, with the approval of all our fellow countrymen, and especially of learned and reverend men, he guided the College founded here under favorable auspices for barely five years. with a fitting dignity and wisdom—and did so faithfully and felicitously. until, suffering from dropsy, on July 15 in the year 1807. he fell asleep in the Lord. He was a man of wise spirit, outstanding for his keen sense of justice, comparable to the men of old in his seriousness, peaceful in his ways and altogether a Christian in his goodwill, for he himself always cultivated deeply learning and the highest arts, always admired them in others, and as far as possible increased their growth. Sacred in memory This monument is but little consolation in grief but at least a witness to it. on the part of the Academic Senate on behalf of a colleague

FIELD TRIPS WITHOUT TRAVEL: THE TRAVELING SUITCASE

For the many teachers who find it impossible to take their students to a site of cultural or architectural interest, there is a solution. In the State of Vermont
the 'traveling suitcase' can come into the classroom. With the aid of state funds, the Classics Department at the University of Vermont has prepared a dozen or so of these suitcases, each one on a topic pertaining to Greco-Roman culture. One might consider using Bicentennial funds to prepare such material on topics related to the American-ethnic heritage.

Each suitcase contains appropriate slides or filmstrips, tape recordings, reproductions of realia, paperback books, maps, posters, and a notebook with an inventory, suggestions for use, and topics for additional study. The set of material is shipped to schools for a loan period of about three weeks. Each school is limited to two suitcases a year. This is an engaging method of disseminating good quality, informative material on a variety of subjects useful to busy teachers in support of their language teaching efforts. A positive side effect is that school administrators and media directors are frequently persuaded to purchase their own copies of the materials for permanent use in the school.

**Popular Ethnic Literature and Historical Documents**

**INTRODUCTION**

The American educational system being what it is, any professionally trained foreign language teacher has had considerable exposure to literature from the foreign country. No German-language teacher escapes Thomas Mann; all French-language teachers know Maupassant; and Spanish-language teachers are certainly aware of García Márquez. However, American-ethnic groups have also produced popular literature and numerous historical documents that are useful in the foreign language classroom. Much of the literature may well be translated from English-language authors—which has the advantage of using material that is often familiar to the students; thus, it becomes more of a linguistic exercise than an investigation of culture. A disadvantage lies in the fact that it is not an exploration of foreign literature, a task that is frequently desirable in foreign language learning.

**POPULAR LATIN TRANSLATIONS: AN EXAMPLE**

As proof of the fact that any group of foreign language speakers, such as American ethnic communities, will produce popular literature in its language, one need only examine the following Latin bibliography. While these titles do repres...
sent a moderate amount of diversion from serious foreign language reading, their
very existence shows that we can find material that is potentially a refreshing
change from the classics of the college curriculum.

Ludovici Carrol, Alicia in Terra Mirabili in Alciae per Speculum Transitus. Trans.
Regulus [Le Petit Prince by Antonius A. Sancto Exuperio]. Trans. A. Haury. Paris:
Hazen, 1961.
Tres Parvi Porci et Aliae Fabellae Familieres. Trans. B. S. Rathbun. Available from the
translator, 4510 Jones Street, Omaha, Neb. 68106.
Linus de Vita, Philosophia Secundum Snoopy, Carolini Brown Sapientia, and Mundus

There are many other examples for the Latin language, and these may be ob-
tained along with much other material from the American Classical League
Service Bureau. Teachers of more commonly spoken languages can find titles in
any foreign-language bookstore and in many larger libraries serving the general
public.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS: ANOTHER EXAMPLE

As foreign-language speaking groups come to America, they bring with them a
trail of historical documents—some written before they immigrate and some writ-
ten in the United States. These can easily be used in the foreign language class-
room for language learning, discussion of foreign culture, and investigation of
the American-ethnic heritage. The place to look for this material is in the archives
of schools, the records of cities, and the files of libraries in those localities where
the immigrants first settled. Many such Spanish-language documents are quite
current; this is a reflection of the present volume of Spanish speakers entering the
country. Other languages may require the teacher to go farther back in time to
find extant records.

A typical example in French is the correspondence between Voltaire and Pierre
Samuel du Pont de Nemours in the late eighteenth century. In addition to the
letter from Voltaire published in the 1971 Northeast Conference Reports, the
Eleutherian Mills Historical Library in Greenville, Delaware, contains a sizeable
collection of this type.

5. Miami University, Oxford, Ohio 45056.
6. Working Committee III, "Innovative Trends in Foreign-Language Teaching" (New York:
Before the twentieth century, Latin was a prevalent language of the literate. In 1493 a Latin letter on Columbus' voyage to America, which was originally written in Spanish, was translated into Latin and given wide circulation. Until the Spanish original was found in the nineteenth century, it was the primary source on his experiences in the New World. Figure 2 shows the Latin original and an English translation.

Letter of Christopher Columbus, to whom our age owes much, concerning the islands of India beyond the Ganges, recently discovered. To search for these he had been sent eight months before, under the auspices and at the expense of the most invincible Ferdinand and Isabella (Helisabet), rulers of Spain. Addressed to the magnificent lord, Gabriel Sanchez, treasurer of the same most illustrious rulers. The noble and scholarly man Leander de cosco translated the letter from the Spanish language into Latin on the third day before the Kalends of May, 1493, in the first year of the pontificate of Alexander the Sixth.

I know that it will be pleasing to you that my undertakings have turned out successfully: I have decided to tell you about them, so that you may be acquainted with everything done and discovered on this our voyage. On the thirty-third day after I departed from Cadiz, (a mistake on the part of the Latin translator: Columbus set out from Palos.) I came to the Indian Sea, where I found many islands inhabited by countless men, and took possession of all of them for our most fortunate king, with a proclaiming herald and flying standards, and with no one objecting. To the first of these I gave the name of the Blessed Savior, (San Salvador in Spanish; it was one of the Bahama Islands—we are not sure.) relying on whose aid I had reached this as well as the other islands. But the Indians call it Guanahany. I also called each of the others by a new name. For I ordered one island to be called Santa Maria of the Conception (probably Crooked Island, or North Caico), another Fernandina (identified by some authori-
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piave in mariimis sita confines praeer
aliquos incolis et praecincta rusticae: cum quod-
rum incolis locum nequibum. Quod e sinu
ac nos vidiebant, surripiebant fugam.

Prsegediebar uliex existimans aliquam
me urbeo villicave inventarium. Denuique
videns quod longe aedificium progressis
nilii novi emergebat et hujus modi via nos
ad Septentrionem deferebat (quod ipse
fugere exoptabam, terris etiam regnabat
bruma), ad Austrum in voio contene-
dere.7

The use of Latin continues in the twentieth century. As one example, the saluta-
tory at the commencement exercises of Princeton University in 1966 was delivered
in Latin (see Figure 3).

Figure 3

Salutatio

Pro huius anni classe vos omnes congrega-
gatos ut quadriennium in Universitate
Princetonensi a nobis prospere peractum
concelebretis ex animo saluto.8 Decet nos
convenire ante hoc aedificium antiquissi-
mum Aulae Nassovicae—signum insignis
morum et rationis veterum quorum nos
participes voibus adiuvantibus suus, quos
autem speramus et ipsos servasse et esse
servaturos.

In primis vos cunctos quibus gubernatio
rerum academicarum est commissa salutare
volumus: te primum, praeses praecellaris-
me, quo ducit Universitas Princetoniensis
viguit vigitque et projecto vigebit;9
dennde vos, curatores prudentissimi, qui
novis antiqua mire miscendo festinatis
ties with Little Inagua, by others with
Long Island, West Indies), another Juana
(the island of Cuba), and so on with the
rest. As soon as we had arrived at that is-
land which I have just now said was called
Juana, I proceeded along its coast toward
the west for some distance. I found it so
large and so without perceptible end that
I believed it was no island, but the contin-
ental country of Cathay (China); how-
ever, seeing no towns or cities situated on
the seacoast, but only a few villages and
rude farms, with whose inhabitants I was
unable to converse, because as soon as they
saw us they fled. I proceeded further,
thinking that I would discover some city
or large residences. Finally, perceiving
that we had gone far enough, that nothing
new appeared, and that this was leading
us to the north, which I wished to avoid,
because it was winter in those lands, and
it was my intention to go to the south. . . .8

lente; postremo vos, decani et administri diligendissimi, qui quae temere a nobis facta cum gaudio tam dolore excepistis. Taduti comprobatus regularis poenasque quibus nos modestiam et continentiam edoctissit; aperte applaudimus edificium novum in quibus Disciplinarum Artis, Architecturae, Musicae, Rerumque Publicarum et Inter Gentes sedes nunc felices habent. Maximas vosbis gratias agimus quod nobis miseria misericordes vos praebuistis; nam fecitis ut nobis, quibus mente fessa et corpore fatigato numquam studia intermitter litteris. Mens esset Sallii in corpore sano. Quid? O salutarem P-F optionem, qua vincula academicia solvit? O natumorum magnificum insita Viam Prospectam et Scholam Woodrow Wilsonensem ad decetiamem nocturnum necnon usidam idoneum, commodum, ingeniosum—et hercu Tider deterrentis ipsum esse?

Deinde vos salutamus, professores sapiensissimi, quorum amicitia ac doctrina studium cognoscendi atque discessi—quasi divinum—in nos inspiruerunt; nuper illi ex Viet Cong, homines acerrimi, studium acerius quasi ex inferis—provocaverunt.

Tum vos multos ex oris et paribus orbis terrarum congressus, parentes cognati, et amici atque sponsae nosorosque necnon hospites, ardenter salutamus. Etsi societate vestra infrequentis pro hac quadriennium perfructi sumus, tamen successus nostrum amore auxiliaque vestris, in cerebrum litteris referimus. Postremo, sodales, vos in vestra persona salutant. Abhinc annis quattuor ad hunc universitatem advenimus impudici, indociti, inter nos ignoti; hostie perpoliti, prudentes, perfamiliares profectistimur. Convivius, collusius, coram inter nos contulimus, convivimus et commentati sumus. Magis temere quam prudentes—at errare humanum est—tumultu infami anno saluis millesimo nonagenesimo crassissino tertio strenuimus. Praesidem Civitatum Consociatarum LBJ aliis alii aliis tristes super conscipimus et exaudivimus. Quamquam nos devictos a Dartmouth in pila pede pulanda et ab Agnet Scott in Cantera Collegiata obstupefetric pudor, multas tamen

ish; next you, the prudent trustees who 'make haste slowly' by mingling the new with the old in a remarkable way; and finally you, diligent deans and administrators, who have peded our rash acts with a mixture of ; and pain. We silently approve the regulations and punishments by which you have taught us self-restraint and moderation; we openly applaud the new buildings in which the disciplines of Art, Architecture, Music, Government, and International Affairs now have pleasant productive quarters. We especially thank you for your understanding attitude toward us in times of trouble; for, while it was not permitted us to interrupt our studies, even though our minds were tired and our bodies exhausted, you made it possible for us to maintain a sound mind in a sound body. How? O blessed Pass-Fail option which loosened the academic fetters! O wondrous swimming pool on Prospect Street, near the Woodrow Wilson School, fitting, suitable, well designed for nightly pleasure, somewhat damp—and, by heaven, foaming with Tide!

Next we greet you, learned professors, whose friendship and teaching has inspired in us a zeal for inquiry and learning—as if from on high; while those keen fighters of the Viet Cong have called forth a bitterer zeal—as if from the realms below.

Then we enthusiastically welcome you who have gathered here from all parts of the world, parents and relatives, friends, fiancées, wives, and also guests. Even though we have seldom enjoyed your society during this four-year period, still we attribute the success we have attained to the love and support conveyed in your frequent letters.

Lastly, fellow-students, I greet you in person. Four years ago we came to this university unpolished, unlearned, unknown to one another; today we set forth polished, wise, and closely familiar with each other. We have lived together, we have played together, we have interacted with one another, sharing physical and mental nourishment. More rashly than
wisely—but to err is human—we took part in a disgraceful riot in the year 1963. Recently we saw and heard the President of the United States, LBJ—some of us happily, others not. Although we are ashamed that we were thoroughly beaten by Dartmouth in football and by Agnes Scott on College Bowl, we have celebrated many victories in athletics and academics with beer and bonfires. We made our Alma Mater famous by defending her vigorously against the insidious attacks of Amherst men and Holyoke women. After this, some of us will go to one part of the world, others to another, but the things we have shared through these four years have established a bond among us and with our Alma Mater, which will endure henceforth. And so, friends, greetings and goodbye.

This address was given at the academic assembly at Princeton, New Jersey, June 14, 1966 A.D. in the 220th year of the college.
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In addition, the Center for Coordination of Ancient and Modern Studies (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104) publishes a Newsletter enabling the Classics teacher to keep abreast of developments, conferences, and publications.
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**The Spanish-Speaking**

**GENERAL**


**MEXICAN AMERICANS**


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PUERTO RICANS AND OTHER CARIBBEAN SPANISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES


Papers Read at the 1975 Northeast Conference
One score and six years ago the President of Barnard College, Millicent Mac-Intosh, brough forth for consideration by this Conference a new notion, conceived in perplexity and dedicated to the proposition that teachers of foreign languages should face up to the question of what it was they were trying to do. Now, we who are participating in this Conference are engaged in the clarification of our goals, testing whether our position as a vital part of formal education can long endure. From the start in 1949, our purpose has not been to have bigger and better conferences, more cogent, more widely read Reports, but rather to change, improve, and enliven the classroom scene.

What were we reacting to when this Conference began? We were reacting to what the Second World War had shown to be a most dismal failure in foreign language teaching: the reading objective. Between the First and the Second World War, it was officially recommended that two years of grammar and translation, taught in English, provided an adequate experience with a new language. But when the soldiers of the American army arrived in Europe in the early forties, there were found to be among them literally none who could converse with a French person or read a French newspaper. The reading objective had found no place for training the audiolingual skills or for an initial experience in using the target language without reference to English. Language as direct person-to-person communication had simply not been thought of. It was a startling revelation.

* An address given at the Northeast Conference in New York, N.Y., on 11 April 1975.
a purely oral context for the verbs *enfrunter* and *préter*, so that a cartoon sequence such as the one suggested above might serve merely as a change of pace. After all, it would be easy enough to compose a series of questions using these structures ("Est-ce une bonne idée de prêter de l'argent à tout le monde?" "Pente-
on enfrunter de l'argent à un homme pauvre?") in which the context is instantly communicable by speech alone. But a structure like *servir de* plus *noum* is more difficult to use in a strictly oral fashion (that is, when the reference is entirely conceptual). Pattern drill is, of course, a possibility; but more meaningful, personal questions are harder to imagine. The writer suggests, therefore, that visual materials are best selected not only according to structural principles but also according to the degree of visual appropriateness or necessity. Thus, the structure *servir de* plus infinitive could be practiced with a transparency such as figure B. In every picture on this transparency, an object is being used for something other than its normal purpose. The script might establish the structure by a question such as, "De quoi sert la porte?" The examples are admittedly fantastic, which often helps to make the material remain in the student's mind. In any case, the point to be observed is that materials such as these can be used to advantage as a "suppletive function of those elements that escape the symbolism of pure speech."

**EFFECTIVE USE OF MATERIALS**

Unfortunately, too little attention is usually given to the most effective use of selected or designed materials. Many teachers who use visual aids accord much less time to their preparation (by preparation the writer does not mean the actual drawing or copying of materials but the planning and forethought about what students will actually do with them) than they allow for the preparation of oral exercises or drills. Nevertheless, visual aids are precisely what their name implies: they are secondary devices for triggering oral expression (which is exactly the area in which visual materials used in foreign language teaching differ from those used in other disciplines; foreign language visual materials are designed for active participation and reaction, not passive instruction). Thus, some of the same principles might be involved in both visual materials and oral exercises; this writer suggests that the most important principles shared by the two are economy and imagination. When foreign language teachers devise an oral drill, they try to imagine the various ways of eliciting a given response. For example, the expression *Chantez!* could be generated by a number of techniques: translation (Sing!): English question ("Do you want me to sing?"); French question ("Voullez-vous que je chante?"); directed dialogue ("Dites à votre voisin de chanter!"); transformation drill (change to plural: "Chante!"); and so forth. This principle is one used in the composition of many lesson plans; teachers try to get the most mileage possible from the structure(s) involved. The same principle can be effective in using visual materials.

Use of Projected Visuals

FIG. B

[Diagram showing a table, chairs, a church, a person throwing a ball, and a person in a plane]
A picture of a man waiting for a bus may be used to practice the verb *attendre*, which—contrary to English usage—does not require the use of a preposition following it. When they present such an image in their classes, many teachers probably would be content simply to show the picture and ask the inevitable question, "Qu'est-ce qu'il attend?" (or "Qu'est-ce qu'il fait?"). Perhaps this uneconomical use of materials (a one-to-one ratio: one picture for one response) helps to explain why many teachers feel the need to show a great number of pictures in order to evoke a large number of responses. Even an image of a man waiting for a bus can be used more imaginatively and for greater mileage. A very simple way to use the picture for more practice in the structure is to ask the students a series of questions to which the answer is "No" but which contain the same pattern. One might ask for example, "Attend-il le train?" Hopefully, a student would reply, "Non, il n'attend pas le train." (Students learn quickly not to give the corrected answer at this time.) Many such negative questions could be asked before the final question, "Alors qu'est-ce qu'il attend?" This type of questioning is especially effective if the bus itself is eliminated and the picture shows only the type of sign used in France to indicate a bus stop. (Cultural information thus can be introduced or reinforced simultaneously.) Examples could easily be multiplied (a hand holding a wine bottle, filling wine glasses: "Est-ce qu'il remplit les verres de vin?").

Another technique that this writer has found successful is to provide a narrative context. This technique is evident in the sequence involving Pierre and Joe, but it should be pointed out that the pictures themselves need not be so explicitly sequential. The teacher might find more freedom in using a picture such as that in figure C, which can be used effectively for practice with verbs of motion followed by *au plus ordinal plus ĉage*. The narrative technique can be combined here with an important feature of the overhead projector: objects may be placed on the transparency and actually moved. In presenting this material, the writer uses still cut-out figures representing people: two men, one woman.

The woman appears alone at first, enters the house, and proceeds to ascend. (The cardboard figures can be moved easily and accurately with the eraser end of a pencil.) The students narrate her progress, and by the time she has reached the third floor, one of the men is introduced. Each time the woman climbs one floor, the man climbs one too, and they eventually meet in the attic. They embrace and begin to descend when the second man is introduced; the conclusion of the story can be left to the students’ imagination. The exercise provides a little fun but at no sacrifice to structural practice; the writer has never since heard one of his students say, "sur la cinqième câge." Another technique is to let the students assume the questioning role. The advantage is that the teacher can get even more active use from his materials and, as he is talking less, he is able to do more listening and correcting. By calling on
four different students, a teacher can elicit four different sentences from each pair of pictures in figure D.

The students are told that for every pair of pictures they will be expected to provide (1) a question using ressembler à: "Est-ce que Robert ressemble à son frère?"; (2) an answer using the same structure (oui, non plus phrase); (3) a question using se ressembler: "Est-ce que Robert et son frère se ressemblent?"; and (4) an answer using the same structure. For variety the teacher might not ask for all four sentences from each pair at once; he could alternate pictures and structures. An added advantage to this particular transparency is that it can be used again later to work on the comparative.

Practically all kinds of oral exercises can be geared to a visual stimulus. The writer uses the picture in figure E as the visual reference for a concatenation exercise on the pattern, servir à plus infinitive.

The students are informed that they must state what the machine is used for by adding one or more of its functions to the sentence produced by the previous student.

First student: La machine sert à faire la vaisselle.
Second student: La machine sert à faire la vaisselle et à apprendre le français.
After the exercise has been completed, the projector might be turned off and the students asked to remember as many uses of the machine as they can. The same procedure might also be followed a week later, as review.

Many kinds of visual materials can be used to generate language without cues. The teacher need not restrict himself to stimulus-response type exercises; he can use visuals as a translation device involving two media rather than two languages. A simple drawing of some luggage can be used in this way.

Presenting a cartoon like that in figure F, the teacher can explain that students are to give commands according to silent directions given on the screen. If the teacher points to the upward-directed arrow, the expected imperative would be, "Montez les bagages!" Pointing simultaneously to the same arrow and to the X would elicit the sentence, "Ne mettez pas les bagages!" The verbs used here are monter, descendre, sortir—chosen because they are used transitively; and apporter, emporter—chosen to emphasize their use with things (as opposed to amener, emmener). Bagages was one of many new vocabulary words at the time and was selected for the exercise because it contrasts in number with its English equivalent.

Projected visual aids can also serve as prompts for free expression. Transparencies that were used earlier for structural exercises can be projected weeks later, and the students would be expected to say something meaningful about them.
without prompting by the teacher. This technique is especially effective with sequential and narrative materials. At more advanced levels, cartoons can be copied from newspapers, magazines, and collections and be projected; those that depict or imply a sequence of events appear most useful. Students can be asked simply to narrate (or supply a caption for) the cartoon while it is on the screen; or the teacher can show the cartoon briefly, turn the projector off, and ask a student how he would describe the cartoon to someone who had not seen it. A student who had in fact not seen it—because he had been asked to leave the room or not to look during projection—can provide an interesting exercise in student-to-student communication within the bounds determined by the material. Another use of the overhead projector for free expression is to present a transparency that pictures an obsolete or little-known object, especially one that has cultural implications (for example, a curious French cooking utensil); the students must guess what the object is (or was) used for by asking questions of the teacher.

CONCLUSION

In discussing the imaginative use of projected visual aids, the writer has admittedly only scratched the surface, because the imagination by its very nature is
In creating good, lively "techno-ages" materials for the overhead projector, artistic ability may occasionally be an asset. It is certainly not a prerequisite because stick figures can be as effective as any others. Much more important is the teacher's competence in drafting and in what the teacher decides to do with his eyes and images. Creative designing and techniques for classroom implementation may come naturally, or they may come only through long hours spent reflecting on possibilities. With the widespread, frequent, and often unnecessary use of visual materials these days, teachers run the risk of turning their students off unless they stop to ask themselves why they are using visual aids and how they are using them. Pieces of materials whose sole raison d'etre is that they are visual could probably, albeit not easily, be replaced by fewer, but well-prepared, imaginative visuals.
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