

## **Resettlement of French-Canadian Emigrants from Northern Minnesota to Washington's Yakima Valley in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries. By: Wallace G. Lewis**

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In the early morning darkness of November 13, 1897 a group of men, among them George LaBissoniere and Matt Bartholet, waited at the Northern Pacific depot in Yakima, Washington for the arrival of an "advanced guard" of French-Canadian emigrants. At about 5:00AM the train pulled in, and fifty-three persons disembarked with their possessions. For the parents and some of the children in the eight families on that train, it was the second move since leaving Quebec. They, and the hundreds who would follow them, had initially migrated to Polk and Red Lake counties in northern Minnesota.<sup>1</sup>

LaBissoniere, who had brought his family west two years before, in 1895, was a forerunner of a small but steady stream of Canadian francophone emigration to central Washington over the next quarter of a century. Born in Batiscan, Quebec in 1843, George LaBissoniere traced his lineage to Gilles Trotier, who had taken up a royal land allotment on the St. Laurence in the mid-1640's. In the mid-nineteenth century George's father moved his family to Penetang (Penetanguishene) on Georgian Bay north of Toronto. In 1879 George took his own family to new lands opening in northern Minnesota. After some sixteen years of farming and serving variously as a town clerk and county commissioner in Red Lake Falls, George LaBissoniere again pulled up stakes and moved to the Pacific Northwest.<sup>2</sup>

In June 1895 LaBissoniere purchased and cleared ten acres of sagebrush-covered land on Nob Hill west of Yakima, where he planted an orchard and vineyard. He soon made the acquaintance of another French speaking settler, Joseph Mondor, whose family lived some seventeen miles to the west on Ahtanum Creek. Mondor had lived in the area for decades, having come west during the California gold rush. A few other French-Canadians had been early Yakima Valley pioneers as well, but not enough to establish anything like an ethnic community.<sup>3</sup>

In George LaBissoniere, and in Sylvan Bergevin and Raoul Langevin who had journeyed to Yakima by wagon in 1895, the earliest francophone emigrants from Minnesota had someone to greet and guide them upon arrival. A migration chain quickly developed that, along with promotion by the Northern Pacific Railroad, encouraged the French-Canadian sojourners from Red Lake Falls, Gentilly, and Crookston to take up rich irrigation lands in Yakima, Selah, the Moxee tracts east of Yakima, and in the Sunnyside region further down the valley.

The largest and most continuous influx of French-Canadians to the United States had begun in the 1870's when lack of land and employment opportunities in Quebec forced large numbers to move south and west. Mostly to New England but also to Michigan and Minnesota, where the men could work as laborers in mines. Entire villages moved en-mass to New England, where factory employment became the norm. Scholars have focused mainly on the immigrant francophone communities of New England and their relations with Quebec. Except for works on Cajun society in Louisiana or the fur trading period of the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, however, very little has been written of French-Canadian settlement elsewhere in the United States, and virtually nothing about Washington State. That is not surprising, considering that their numbers constitute only a fraction of the French-Canadians who ended up in Minnesota, Michigan, and Illinois, let alone in New England.<sup>4</sup>

Yet the compact immigration from Minnesota to Washington's Yakima Valley is worth considering, not only in terms of French-Canadian immigration, but also in the historical contexts of irrigation land development, railroad promotion, and the settlement of central Washington. This paper will address those contexts and speculate on reasons for the wholesale removal of French settlers to Yakima on aspects of assimilation there, but will not specifically consider such issues as degree and longevity of ethnicity or family characteristics.

Newly arrived settlers to the upper Yakima valley were impressed by the sight of snow-covered volcanic peaks on both Mount Adams and Mount Rainier as well the Cascade range's fir forested ridges. But this was the dry side of the mountains, receiving only a dozen-or-so, inches of rain per year. Sagebrush covered much of the hills and the valley floor, and earliest settlers, unable to make use of the deep, rich soil, had stuck to the cottonwood bottoms of the Yakima, Naches, Ahtanum, and other rivers or creeks, and concentrated on raising livestock. The first efforts to divert water for irrigation during the 1870's were mostly for maintaining subsistence gardens and small orchards. A shift towards staple agricultural production began with the incorporation of such irrigation projects as the Naches Ditch Association (1878), The Yakima Valley Water Company (1881), the Moxee Ditch (1882), and at least a dozen more canal companies, not all of which brought their plans to fruition, over the next two decades.<sup>5</sup>

The arrival of the Northern Pacific railway line in 1884 and its subsequent construction westward through the Cascades radically altered the Yakima Valley's economy and patterns of settlement in several ways. In the first place, the Northern Pacific's choice of a site for its Yakima depot largely displaced Yakima City (now Union Gap) as the region's dominant town in favor of North Yakima (later shortened to Yakima) several miles to the north. Within five years the new community's population grew nearly six-fold. Secondly, the Northern Pacific's land grant of every other section (land amounting to forty square miles for each mile of track laid), made the railroad a principal marketer of land for settlement in the valley. Thirdly, once the financially troubled railroad was able, in 1888, to complete a route from Yakima to Tacoma and Seattle via the Stampede Pass tunnel, the market expanded dramatically for irrigated agricultural products. Vegetables and fruit grown in Yakima could be transported to the coastal cities within a day; ten acres sufficed to support a family. And finally, of course, the railroad heavily promoted settlement and transported immigrants west to the lands it participated in developing.<sup>6</sup>

Through subsidiaries the Northern Pacific became heavily involved in irrigation and land development, fostering construction of such projects as the Kennewick and Selah-Moxee canals. In 1889 Northern Pacific granted an option to purchase all railroad lands in the Sunnyside area (southeast of Yakima) to the newly formed and highly capitalized Yakima Canal and Land Company. Two-thirds of the stock and the top management position were assumed by the railroad, and in 1891 the enterprise, renamed Northern Pacific, Yakima and Kittitas Irrigation Company, extended the scope of its irrigation development and undertook to build seven reservoirs in the Cascade mountains.<sup>7</sup>

The Moxee Company farm operation, largely owned by M.L. Hubbard and his son-in-law Alexander Graham Bell (of the Bell Telephone Company) was renowned during the 1880's and 1890's for its fine cattle and a significant investment in tobacco growing. Moxee manager William Kerr successfully experimented with tobacco in 1887, and the company opened a cigar factory in North Yakima in 1889 that flourished until after the turn of the century, when tobacco disease wiped out the crops. After purchasing acreage from the Northern Pacific, Bell and Hubbard set up a related irrigation development enterprise adjacent to the Moxee plantations east of North Yakima and the Yakima River. There, as in other new agricultural tracts in the region, newcomers cleared sagebrush from their acquired acreages

and prepared the soil while waiting for the promised irrigation water. Although emigrants from Minnesota and Canada would settle throughout the upper and lower valleys, the Moxee tracts became a focus for both French and Dutch.<sup>8</sup>

Just as the coming of the Northern Pacific boosted settlement in the Yakima region, completion in 1879 of James J. Hill's St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba Railway Company line, between the Canadian border and St. Paul, had earlier galvanized northern Minnesota and opened the way for French-Canadian immigrants to enter the United States by way of Winnipeg. Following the Civil War, Minnesota had experienced a boom in settlement brought on by availability of farmland under the homestead act, extension of rail lines in the southern portion of the state, and aggressive state advertising. Wheat had been found to be particularly suitable to Minnesota's climate and soil, and as branch rail lines linked the prairies with an international market, a grain monoculture became the rule. Acreage under cultivation increased more than four-fold within ten years. Then, following the decline of rail construction in 1872, a period of stagnation set in. Infestations of grasshoppers (Rocky Mountain Locusts) swept through the wheatlands for five years. As available lands in surveyed areas and near rivers or rail-heads became scarce, prices rose from a few dollars an acre to forty dollars or more. Without cheap land, farmers found new start up or expansion difficult or impossible. Increasing property taxes, equipment costs, and freight rates contributed to the farmer's plight, forcing many to sell out and move on. The advent of the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba Railway (soon to become part of the Great Northern system) helped release pent-up demand during the 1800's and opened the way from both south and north to agricultural exploitation of the upper Red River country.<sup>9</sup>

Canadian immigration from Manitoba increased; while most would eventually head for the iron mines or Minneapolis-St. Paul to find work, many French Canadians took the opportunity to purchase cheap farm land within the railroad grant and settled in the Red River Valley region of Crookston and Red Lake Falls. Here there had been a continuous French presence going back to the fur trading days of the previous century. Jean Baptiste Cadotte had established a trading post for the Northwest Company in 1798 in the vicinity of Red Lake Falls. At Huot, on the Red Lake River, the Hudson's Bay Company had also placed a trading post. Once the fur business declined, the French-speaking settlers in the region concentrated on dairy farming. So in 1879 pockets of French culture already existed around which the flow of French-Canadian immigrants could gather and coalesce. In 1881 Red Lake Falls was incorporated as a village.<sup>10</sup>

Yet, for reasons not entirely clear, many would be sojourners in Minnesota, selling their farms after a decade or two, as LaBissoniere had done, and moving to Washington State in a steady stream over the next twenty-five years. There are many possible explanations, and certainly individual families had multiple reasons for doing so. Many looked for relief from the high humidity and cold winters. Others may have found the growing of wheat on large, widely scattered farms for a fluctuating and unpredictable staple market uncongenial, as did the Dutch settlers who sold out in Iowa to join them as neighbors in the irrigated tracts of the Pacific Northwest. Low grain prices and bad harvests during the depression years of the early 1890's constricted opportunities. One thing is certain: they chose to go where those who shared their language, religion, and culture had gone before. And a strong northern Minnesota connection developed that directed large segments of the Crookston and Red Lake Falls communities directly to Moxee and Yakima.<sup>11</sup>

Whatever reasons underlay the restlessness of those who sold their land and moved west, their choice of destination was heavily influenced by correspondence with those who had gone ahead, either to settle permanently or to scout the possibilities, and by promotion of the Yakima country through exhibitions, booster publications, and railroad advertising.

In order to sell the lands from its huge grant and to establish communities of customers in the northern tier states (or future states), the Northern Pacific promoted settlement areas with traveling exhibit cars, agents in the British Isles and Europe, hundreds of thousands of brochures (often in Dutch, German, Danish, Norwegian, Finnish, or other European languages), newspaper advertisements, and articles in magazines affiliated with the company. Chief among the publicist's extolling western lands for the Northern Pacific was Eugene Smalley of St. Paul, who produced a series of guidebooks for the railroad and who, in 1883 began to publish the Northwest Magazine, an illustrated monthly periodical subsidized by the NP. Smalley sought articles that would entertain his readers as well as promote cheap western real estate. His authors offered interesting travelogues, descriptions, and commentaries on communities in the remote regions of Montana and Washington. Northwest Magazine became a "clearinghouse" for information and advice on every aspect of resettlement from Minnesota to Washington. Smalley printed, and answered, thousands of letters from those who had arrived and those who were considering going. He put together tour groups of interested persons to take the train west and check out the possibilities for themselves. By the turn of the century Smalley's publication claimed nearly 30,000 subscribers in half of the states or territories and perhaps five times as many readers as the issues were passed around.<sup>12</sup>

By the mid-1890's Northwest Magazine was paying particular attention to the burgeoning irrigated lands around Yakima and Sunnyside. In narrating his own 1893 experiences looking for investments and, subsequently serving as land agent for a railroad-owned irrigation company, the secretary of the St. Paul Commercial Club, D.R. McGinnis, praised the climate at North Yakima and Sunnyside. The weather was mild in the winter, he noted, and despite 90 to 100 degree temperatures in the summer, "the air was so dry I could wear my coat without inconvenience, and work in the sun," while at night "a delightful coolness pervaded the atmosphere." Most arriving prospects, it was true, were initially disappointed, if not angered or horrified, by the bare and dessicated country side, assuming that the lack of any vegetation but sagebrush meant that the soil was poor. But McGinnis claimed that "the most worthless soil of that country (mostly volcanic ash) is in reality more fertile than the richest, blackest loam of an Illinois prairie, or a Minnesota valley," and wrote that disgruntled visitors usually changed their attitude once he had showed them irrigated and improved orchards or hop fields.<sup>13</sup>

Articles and Commentaries, sometimes reprinted from other periodicals, praised the variety of crops that could be grown. One 1895 traveler from the Midwest, upon seeing Yakima, wrote of the "wealth of vegetation" undreamed of "except in the original forests of some semi-tropical country." Others waxed lyrical on the natural beauty of the Douglas fir forests and snowy peaks of the Cascade Mountains or touted the commercial possibilities of trade with nearby Puget Sound.<sup>14</sup>

Local booster groups supplemented Northern Pacific's advertising campaign, and Washington exhibits at numerous world's fairs, such as the 1893 Columbian Exhibition at Chicago, the 1901 Pan American Exhibition at Buffalo, and the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, influenced fair-goers to consider buying land in irrigated central parts of the state. Advertising by Yakima Commercial Club at the Pan American Exhibition created considerable interest in the region, and prompted Joseph LaFramboise of Crookston, Minnesota to make an exploratory visit to North Yakima. The response at Buffalo encouraged the Commercial Club to print 25,000 brochures to be distributed at the St. Louis World's Fair. By the following year the club was boasting that Yakima orchardists had furthered the cause by winning numerous top prizes at St. Louis for their fruit, including one for largest apple. Real estate transactions in Yakima had reached a record high. Northern Pacific actually found it necessary to temporarily suspend land sales until the company could bring its accounting records up to date. Such advertising convinced increasing numbers of French-Canadians in Minnesota that the Promised Land lay far to the west and that the Northern Pacific's great road ran directly through it.<sup>15</sup>

Soon after the first of three carloads of emigrants and eight train cars carrying their possessions arrived at Yakima in November, 1897, they were divided up and taken in by local families until they could purchase tracts from the Moxee Company and build homes. Many members of the group, which included eight families, had been George LaBissoniere's neighbors in Minnesota. Four families had eight children each. One of those, the Jules Sauve family, temporarily moved in with the LaBissonieres. The other large families in the first carload were the Charles Gamaches, the Peter Deludes, and the Fabien Regimbals.<sup>16</sup>

Melina Gamache, whose family moved from Gentilly, was sixteen years old when she came west. She recalled that, despite the number of children, the emigrants were able to cook on their own stoves, which also provided heat, in the single train car and generally enjoy passing scenery and the journey to what they referred to as the "promised land." Melina (who married a young man she had met on the journey, Wilfred Sauve), vividly remembered the "big bonfires lighting Yakima Valley nights as the French settlers cleared the land of sagebrush," that "sagebrush was the only shade" on the twenty acres purchased by the Gamache family, and that their "meat sometimes was sage-peppered jackrabbit." While many Moxee tract purchasers had to wait for ditch extensions before they could plant crops, Jules Sauve and his son Wilfred drilled wells for some of those who lived farthest from the river in what became known as the Artesian District.<sup>17</sup>

At about the same time, "Hollanders" began to arrive and establish a close-knit Dutch community alongside the French in Moxee. Like the former Canadians, most of the Dutch were migrating for the second time, having first settled in Iowa. They were part of a general emigration of foreign-born Dutch, weary of crop failures or tornadoes, who were moving at the time from the upper Midwest into Washington. In Moxee the Hollanders bought tracts in the northern part of the development, while the French, for the most part, stuck to the southern sections.<sup>18</sup>

Both the French and the Dutch found themselves not only having to learn to communicate in English with their Yakima neighbors, but also having to overcome the language barrier between their respective Moxee communities. In addition, the French were, of course, Roman Catholic, while the Hollanders were members of the Dutch Reformed Church. The French concentrated on growing hops; the Dutch, religiously opposed to both grape and hop vine, focused on orchards. Although their members rarely mingled, the communities were reported as respecting each other and being willing to cooperate, as they did in constructing the Selah-Moxee Canal. Despite language and religious differences, the French and Dutch would eventually establish Yakima County's first consolidated high school district.<sup>19</sup> The first wave of French-Canadian emigrants to arrive in the Yakima area sent many encouraging letters back to Minnesota, and the Northern Pacific delivered a nearly continuous stream west up through the first decade of the twentieth century, after which the numbers began to lessen. A 1919 history of the Yakima Valley mentions the names Rabie, Marchildon, LaFramboise, St. Aubin, Bernier, Charron, Beaudry, LaChance, Desmarais, Brunelle, Brulotte, Champoux, Beauchene, Benoit, among others, all from either Crookston or Red Lake Falls. Many persons bearing the same names as those who arrived in 1897 eventually made the journey, and Yakima-Moxee became a magnet for kinfolk in Canada who had never made the intermediate move to Minnesota.<sup>20</sup>

The 1900 Census lists seventy-seven residents of Yakima as foreign-born French Canadians, yet many of their children and relatives had been born in Minnesota. A history of the Holy Rosary Parish in Moxee indicates that there were some 165 French-Canadian families in the area in 1915. By 1920, 365 individuals living in Yakima County were French-Canadians, born in Canada. Again, this represents only a fraction of the number of persons of French-Canadian descent who had moved into Yakima and Moxee over the previous twenty-five years. Between 1900 and 1910 the number of French-Canadians

in Polk and Red Lake counties in Minnesota declined respectively from 749 and 1,259 to 663 and 735. Ten years later, 457 foreign-born French Canadians remained in Polk County, while 509 were tabulated in Red Lake County. Within two decades the French population in the Crookston, Red Lake Falls, and Gentilly region had been depleted more than fifty percent by death and emigration. It is true that a considerably larger group continued to exist in that region than had accumulated in Yakima, at least by the 1920's, but the census figures tend to support anecdotal evidence of the strong migration connections between these areas in Minnesota and Washington.<sup>21</sup>

Entirely rural, the early French community in Moxee found cohesion not only in shared geographic and ethnic identity, but also in the Catholicism that everywhere served as "a badge of faith and community" for French-Canadians. During 1899 the Jesuit Father Edward Griva traveled monthly to Moxee to hold Mass, first in private homes, then in the small Artesian schoolhouse. At Father Griva's behest, the fifteen pioneer French-Canadian families began to build their own church in late 1899. The first Mass was held in an unfinished church building in March, 1900, a board serving for the alter and planks on nail kegs for the pews. In 1915 the new Holy Rosary Parish opened a school with 180 initial pupils under the direction of the Sisters of Providence.<sup>22</sup>

In addition to the church, significant social gathering points for the community were Antoine LaFramboise's blacksmith shop and home. Upon arrival in 1898 LaFramboise had contracted to do smithing work for the Moxee Company, and bought three acres of land and an abandoned Presbyterian church building adjacent to the Company headquarters. Antoine and his brother Paul removed the church steeple and converted the building into a blacksmith shop, where they worked and lived together until completing Antoine's home in 1902. The house, a large, two-story structure in the Queen Anne style, became a "showplace" that "served as a focus for entertainment among the Yakima Valley's French-Canadians" and a temporary place of lodging for newcomers. The interior of the blacksmith shop has been preserved as a permanent exhibit in the Yakima County Historical Museum. Moxee did not really become a town until 1910, when the Northern Pacific decided to run a line east of Yakima to the Columbia River, with a siding and depot in the Moxee area, and asked that scattered businesses be consolidated there.<sup>23</sup>

Although not a large migration (far larger numbers of French-Canadians, for example, moved into the Puget Sound area after the turn of the century), the French settlement of Yakima and vicinity had marked characteristics. Nearly all of the families had emigrated originally from Quebec or Ontario to the Crookston-Red Lake Falls region of northern Minnesota. The process by which this concentration took place was basically repeated when the sojourners moved on to Washington. Lured by promotional efforts of the Northern Pacific and Yakima Valley land developers, a few individuals went west to investigate the possibilities. They liked what they saw, returned to Minnesota, and then relocated their families and possessions. Like their Dutch neighbors in Moxee, they sought to live in close proximity with others of the same language, culture, and religion. The settlement clustering that developed exemplifies chain migration on a small but intense scale, as earlier arrivals fostered interest in the region through correspondence with friends and relatives in Minnesota, and then provided hospitality to those who came after them. These links were particularly strong because emigration involved whole communities from disparate geographical locations.<sup>24</sup>

The existence of transcontinental railroads running directly west from Minnesota, of course, simplified the migration, and Northern Pacific's aggressive marketing of Yakima and the sale of its land holdings there also played an important roll. In the minds of many French settlers, the climate of central Washington, warm and dry, appears to have compared favorable with the humidity and cold of the northern plains. Very likely, the possibilities for agriculture and the advantages of irrigation held

considerable appeal as well. The amount of land under cultivation could be smaller; ten to twenty acres was usually sufficient to support even an extended family in Yakima. Irrigation water was reliable; one did not have to worry about drought. Although most farmers diversified widely, at least at first, raising livestock, hay, and grain as well as fruit trees and hops, operations became more and more specialized. Especially in Moxee, hops predominated as a cash crop with an international market. Elsewhere in the Yakima Valley French-Canadian farmers concentrated on fruit trees, especially apples and cherries. Irrigated land, going for 250 to 400 dollars or more per acre around Yakima at the turn of the century, was much too valuable to use for less intensive purposes.

Land, in fact, seems to have played a significant role in community development and continuity. That most of these people were farmers from a rural background probably helps account for the coherence of their transplantation from Minnesota. Small acreages kept neighbors closer together, thereby encouraging social activities and community formation and continuity. Large family size undoubtedly enhanced the productivity of such labor-intensive crops as cherries, apples, and hops; a combination of strong family values and appreciating land values may have enhanced the “successful transfer of family land” to succeeding generations. The irrigated Moxee tracts, which continued to increase in value as population and productivity grew, appears to have been consistently passed down within families.<sup>25</sup>

Into the 1920's, at least, genealogical records and family histories indicate a considerable degree of intermarriage among the early French-Canadian families, and local history newspaper stories suggest a continuing strong ethnic and community identity among the descendants today. However, it is not yet clear to what extent the French-Canadian culture survived in this Washington community past the generation of those born in Canada. Certainly, Roman Catholicism continued to be a common factor, but use of the French language faded quickly. The oldest children of the earliest settlers had attended school and learned English in Minnesota. Even those who had previously learned English quickly abandoned French for English in daily use. No institutional, and few private, attempts to maintain the French language in Yakima are indicated. Unlike the Quebecois immigrants of New England, the Yakima French-Canadians demonstrated little or none of the “particularly intense psychological resistance to assimilation and exceptionally strong attachment to their original homelands” that has been ascribed to immigrants from French Canada. This may be due in some measure to their relative isolation in Washington from French influence and the concomitant inability to maintain a Quebecois “sense of survivance” through regular “commuter” immigration, as in the case of New England. It would be interesting, however, to discover whether the same willingness to assimilate operated in northern Minnesota, where the immigrants remained relatively near, if not to Quebec, to French communities in Manitoba.<sup>26</sup>

Perhaps, as Kathleen Neils Conzen has suggested of rural ethnic clusters, such a cultural concentration helped ease the pressures of assimilation, while “primary identity” developed on the basis of the community growth, rather than on the basis of loyalty to “a more abstractly perceived” sense of ethnicity. The French-Canadians of the Yakima Valley, then, seem to have maintained a strong sense of community and ethnic identity while abandoning any allegiance to cultural survivance. If high socioeconomic status and rapid social acceptance enhances assimilation, then the newcomers can probably be said to have assimilated and acculturated to the “dominant population” rather quickly. Although no qualitative evidence exists to support such a conclusion, the inclusion of biographies for more than two dozen of the French emigrants, as eminent citizens, in the 1919 History of Yakima Valley suggest that it is probably a safe assumption.<sup>27</sup>

- 1 Yakima Herald 18 November 1897, p.1.
- 2 "The LaBissoniere Story" unpublished family history, comp. Sr. Jean Dulice LaBissoniere, S.P. Of Edmonton, Alberta (1985), 5, 9-10: Canadienne-Francaise Memories (Montreal: Societe Genealogique, n.d.) 185-89
- 3 Yakima County Records, General Index of Deeds, book 3 (1893-1904); obituary for George LaBissoniere, Yakima Daily Republic, 7 March 1925, p.10.
- 4 James Stuart Olson, The Ethnic Dimension in American History (New York: St. Martins Press, 1979), 131-34; Works on New England French-Canadians include, for example, Jacques Dumarche, The Shadows of the Trees: The Story of the French-Canadians in New England (Boston: 1943); Iris Podea, "Quebec to 'Little Canada': the Coming of the French Canadians to New England in the Nineteenth Century" New England Quarterly 23 Fall 1950: 365-84; George F. Theriault, "The Franco-Americans of New England" in Mason Wade's, "The French Parish and Survivance in Nineteenth Century New England" Catholic Historical Review 36 (July 1950): 163-78. No reference to French settlement communities in Washington (other than those relating to Hudson's Bay colonies of the 1840's) is made in Richard D. Scheuerman, "Washington's European American Communities" in Peoples of Washington: Perspectives on Cultural Diversity, ed. Sid White and S.E. Solberg (Pullman WA: Washington State University Press, 1989): 25-73.
- 5 Calvin B. Coulter, "The Victory of National Irrigation in the Yakima Valley, 1902-1906" Pacific Northwest Quarterly 42-43 (Jan. 1951-Oct. 1952): 100; George M. Martin, Paul Schafer, and William E. Scofield, Yakima, A Centennial Reflection, 1885-1985 (Yakima, WA: Yakima Centennial Commission, 1985), 13-14.
- 6 Marin, Schafer, and Schofield, 17-21; Carlos Schwantes, Railroad Signatures Across The Pacific Northwest (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993), 70; Velda Turner, "Under All is the Land: the Centennial History of Real Estate in Yakima, 1885-1985" (Yakima Board of Realtors, 1985), 2.
- 7 Turner, 3.
- 8 Martin, Schafer, and Schofield, 39.
- 9 William Watts Folwell, A History of Minnesota, vol.3 (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1926), 460-62; WPA Federal Writer's Project, Minnesota A State Guide (New York: Viking Press, 1938), 69; Folwell, 61-62, 93; William E. Lass, Minnesota: A Bicentennial History (New York: W.W. Norton, 1977), 138.
- 10 Lass, 125; WPA Minnesota Guide, 361, 338; Joseph A.A. Burnquist, Minnesota and Its People, vol. 2 (Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1924), 512.
- 11 Gerald F. DeJong, The Dutch in America, 1609-1974 (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975), 160-62.
- 12 Edgar C. Duin, "Settlers' Periodical: Eugene Smalley and the Northwest Magazine", Minnesota History 33, no.1 (Spring 1952): 30-34; Schwantes, 86-87.
- 13 D.R. McGinnis, "My Experience in the Sunnyside Country," Northwest Magazine 13, no.1 (February 1895): 6-7.
- 14 George Longman, quoted from Coleman's Rural World in Northwest Magazine 13; no.10 (October 1895): 11; Henry M. Field, "In The State of Washington", Northwest Magazine 13, no.1 (Jan. 1895): 22.
- 15 Turner, 7; "The Yakima Valley Washington" (North Yakima, WA: Yakima Commercial Club, 1995), 27; Turner, 7.
- 16 Yakima Herald 18 Nov. 1897, p.1; Lou McDermott "Much Grannied Woman," Scrapbook 35, Yakima Historical Society: History of the Holy Rosary Parish, 1900-1975 (Moxee WA: Holy Rosary Parish, 1975), 22-23. Names of those who arrived first in 1897 vary according to source. In addition to the four families mentioned in the text, the names Dumas, Fortier, Page, Brousseau, Patnode, Simon, Trepanier, Riel, Houle, and Toussaint appear in the newspaper account, Melina Sauve's published reminiscence, and the parish history.
- 17 Charles Lamb, "Carload of French Charmed Moxee Valley," Local History Moxee File, Yakima Valley Library.
- 18 DeJong, 161-62; Maurice Helland, They Knew Our Valley (Yakima, WA: By the author, 1975), 116-118.

- 19 Florida Sauve Mieras, "Early French Families: Pioneers of the Moxee." *Yakima Valley Historical Society Proceedings*, vol. 3, May 1959-June 1968, p.91, Helland, 117-18.
- 20 History of Yakima Valley, Vol.II (Yakima, WA: S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1919).
- 21 U.S. Bureau of the Census: (1900) Twelfth Census: Population, Part I, p.792; (1910) Thirteenth Census, II, Population, p.1008; (1920) Fourteenth Census, III, Population, pp.521, 1093; History of Holy Rosary Parish, 27.
- 22 Olson, 131; "Holy Rosary Parish" and "History of St. Joseph's Parish" in The Yakima Valley Catholic Centennial: A Commemoration if the First 100 Years of Catholicity in the Yakima Valley, 1847-1947 (Yakima, WA: Yakima Genealogical Society, n.d.) History of Holy Rosary Parish, 28.
- 23 National Register of Historic Places, inventory for nomination form: LaFramboise farmstead; History of Yakima Valley (1919), 425-26; unattributed six page holographic m.s. in LaFramboise Biographical File, Yakima County Historical Society; Alice Toupin, Mook-see, Moxie, Moxee: The Enchanting Moxee Valley, its History and Development (Yakima, WA: By the author, n.d.), 10.
- 24 Strength of rural migration chains in terms of the "structure of the immigrant group" is discussed in Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Historical Approaches to the Study of Rural Ethnic Communities" in Ethnicity on the Great Plains, ed. Frederick C. Luebke (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 8.
- 25 Conzen, 9-10.
- 26 Elliot R. Barkan, "Proximity and Commuting Immigration: An Hypothesis Exlored via the Bi-Polar Ethnic Communities of French-Canadian and Mexican Americans" in American Ethnic Revival: Group Pluralism Entering America's Third Century, ed. Jack Kinton (Aurora, IL: Social Science and Sociological Resources, 1977), 165-66, 173; Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, ed. Stephan Thernstrom (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), 393, 298-99.
- 27 Conzen, 4, 12; J. Allen Williams, Jr., David R. Johnson, and Miguel A. Carranza, "Ethnic Assimilation and Pluralism in Nebraska" in Ethnicity on the Great Plains, 218-19.