

**Popular Culture and Public Drinking in  
Eighteenth-Century New France:  
Louisbourg's Taverns and Inns, 1713-1758**

**By  
Marcel Armand Joseph Fortin  
B.A., The University of Ottawa, 1991  
M.L.I.S., The University of Western Ontario, 1992**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree  
of**

**Master of Arts in History  
Faculty of Graduate Studies, Department of History**

**We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard**

**Signature, First Reader, Peter Moogk**

**Signature, Second Reader, James Huzel**

**Date: August 2000**

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Department of History  
The University of British Columbia  
Vancouver, Canada

Date: August 31, 2000

## I - ABSTRACT

The history of taverns in eighteenth-century Louisbourg, on Ile Royale (Cape Breton), provides an insight into the culture of the working people of this seaport. The thesis reveals how the *cabarets* and *auberges* developed, independently of the government authorities' wishes. Although regarded as a menace to good order and the work ethic, these drinking places were reluctantly tolerated. Taverns provided a unique public and secular meeting place for fishermen, soldiers and workers. There men, often far from their own families, could establish relationships, affirm group loyalties, express themselves and maintain their own culture. Liquor was readily available and drinking could have occurred elsewhere more cheaply, yet people preferred to drink in an auberge or cabaret with companions. This preference indicates that the taverns' social function was more important than the mere satisfaction of thirst or the clients' alleged desire for inebriation. Taverns were a customary institution of eighteenth-century colonial society and their persistence, whatever officials might wish, testifies to the dominance of commercial values at Louisbourg as well as to the lower ranks' attachment to their own customs and culture.

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*Tout homme qui participe à de lointaines expéditions maritimes ou terrestres recherche ordinairement des divertissements exhubérants dès sa rentrée au port ou à la ville. Partagé entre l'excursion militaire et la cueillette du castor, l'habitant de la Nouvelle-France ne se comporte pas autrement. Le cabaret sera son lieu de prédilection.*

- Robert-Lionel Séguin, La vie libertine en Nouvelle-France au dix-septième siècle

## I. INTRODUCTION

According to several historians of European and colonial America, public drinking establishments were, for the working population in early modern Europe, the heart of their social world and they have been since pre-modern times.<sup>1</sup>

Immigrants coming to the New World expected to find the same drinking establishments in North American settlements they had patronized in Europe.

In Montreal in 1720 there were an estimated ten licenced *cabarets* for a population of 4861, or one tavern for every 486 people.<sup>2</sup> In Louisbourg, it is estimated that there were probably twenty-four permanent *cabarets* and *auberges* for the period between 1713 to 1745, and twenty-eight permanent ones between 1748 and 1758<sup>3</sup> and as many as seventy-five for the entire period.<sup>4</sup> Ninety people identified themselves, in various documents, including censuses, as either *cabaretiers*, *aubergistes*, or alcohol retailers. According to census figures, if there were twenty-eight taverns in Louisbourg between 1737 and 1757, it would mean that there was roughly one tavern for every seventy-two colonists for the earlier date, and one tavern for every 141 persons for the later date.<sup>5</sup> In 1726, there were fifteen known public drinking houses for a population of less than a thousand<sup>6</sup>, or one tavern for every sixty-six people. In the census of 1734, there were fifteen *aubergistes* and three *cabaretiers* for a population of 1116, or one drinking

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Cowell. At Play in the Tavern: Signs, Coins, and Bodies in the Middle Ages. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999. p.10.

<sup>2</sup> Marie-Claude Poliquin. Les Aubergistes et les cabaretiers Montréalais entre 1700 et 1755. McGill University, MA thesis, 1996., p.53-54.

<sup>3</sup> Gilles Proulx. Aubergistes et cabaretiers de Louisbourg 1713-1758. Ottawa: Parks Canada, Manuscript Report Series, 1972., p.12.

<sup>4</sup> Kenneth Donovan. "Paying One's Way : Dining and Drinking in Louisbourg's Cabarets and Auberges", Research Bulletin(135), August 1980, pp.1-16., p.1.

<sup>5</sup> Louisbourg Census of Population 1737, population 2006, Census of Population 1757, population 3940

establishment for every sixty-two people. Of course, these figures represent the resident population and not the itinerant fishermen and merchant sailors visiting the port town. Nevertheless, the number is impressive when one considers that Paris had one tavern for every 200 persons in the middle of the eighteenth century<sup>7</sup>, and this was not counting military personnel and visitors. The numbers for Louisbourg, Montréal, and for Paris are, of course, only for the drinking establishments and individuals known to have sold alcohol. There easily could have been more, because it is known that many sold alcohol illegally, or, at least, without official permission. Furthermore, the number of vendors could also increase if we take into consideration the number of retailers of alcohol such as shopkeepers who sold liquor.

Despite the cultural importance of taverns, public drinking establishments remain overlooked by historians. Although an extensive historiography of prohibition and temperance exists for Europe, the United States and even Canada<sup>8</sup>, few have studied the drinking establishments of times past to discover what their patrons experienced, what they did, what public drinking meant to society, and how the answers to these investigations might influence our historical interpretation of the era. Historians have been content with examining attempts to regulate the consumption of liquor rather than investigating the reasons for the persistence of alcohol and drinking establishments. As Canadian historian Cheryl Krasnick-Warsh has explained, "Rather than concentrate upon the failure of

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<sup>6</sup> T.A. Crowley. "Le Normant de Mézy, Jacques Ange" in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 1741-1770., Vol.III. Frances G. Halpenny (general editor), Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974., pp.386-389, p.388.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Edward Brennan. Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988., p. 76.

<sup>8</sup> See for instance, Jean-Pierre Andrieux. La prohibition : cap sur Saint-Pierre et Miquelon. Montréal: Leméac, 1983., Robert A. Campbell. Demon Rum or Easy Money: Government Control of Liquor in British Columbia from Prohibition to Privatization. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991., Barry John Grant. When rum was king. Fredericton, N.B.: Fiddlehead Poetry Books & Goose Lane Editions, 1984., Ruth Spence. Prohibition in Canada. Toronto: Ontario Branch of the Dominion Alliance, 1919., Rev. M. A. Garland and J. J. Talman. Pioneer Drinking Habits and the Rise of the Temperance Agitation in Upper Canada Prior to 1840. Ontario Historical Society, 1931., and Jan Noel. Canada Dry: Temperance Before Confederation. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.

prohibition, historians must examine the persistent success of beverage alcohol."<sup>9</sup> It is a challenge that has taken quite some time to be answered and an appeal too few scholars have accepted.

Despite the advances in the historiography of New France, few historians of colonial North America have thoroughly explored the role public drinking played in colonial society. The history of drinking has all too often been explored through the lens of temperance or prohibition history. Krasnick-Warsh wrote in 1993 that while the temperance movement has "...provoked a significant body of social history"<sup>10</sup> this body of literature has failed to "...examine the social, psychological, and economic functions of drinking."<sup>11</sup> The collection of articles she assembled for her publication, Drink in Canada: Historical Essays, is, along with perhaps Robert Campbell's Demon Rum or Easy Money: Government Control of Liquor in British Columbia from Prohibition to Privatization (1991), one of the few serious tomes on the history of alcoholic drink in Canada outside of the topic of prohibition and temperance<sup>12</sup>. What Krasnick-Warsh proposes with her collection is the study of the success of alcohol as opposed to the constant reinterpretation of the failure of temperance and prohibition. Important as a step towards the study of the implication of drink in Canada, Krasnick-Warsh's contribution to our topic, is however, slight because of her failure to examine and evaluate the functions and place of the public drinking establishment in Canadian History.

While they are some of the most neglected institutions of Canadian historiography, colonial drinking establishments represent one of the few settings for public life in the New World for the first generations of settlers in a land an

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<sup>9</sup> Cheryl Krasnick-Warsh. Drink in Canada: Historical Essays. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993., p.5.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> See for instance Noel, 1995 and Garland & Talman, 1931.

<sup>12</sup> Works such as Reginald G. Smart and Alan C. Ogborne. Northern Spirits: A Social History of Alcohol in Canada. Toronto: Addiction Research Foundation, 1996; and Robert E. Popham. "The Social History of the Tavern", in Research Advances in Alcohol and Drug Problems, Yedy et al. Israel (editors), Toronto: Addiction Research Foundation, 1978, pp. 225-302. are general overviews of the topic of drink and the tavern. Popham's work is dedicated only to the exploration of the tavern in the Ancient Mediterranean, and the English-Speaking world.

ocean away from their homeland. Despite this fact, apart from a few publications by Parks Canada staff and one thesis by a graduate student in Montréal, the role of *cabarets* and *auberges* of colonial New France is scarcely acknowledged in published, Canadian history. A few books have been written on public drinking houses in New England and Philadelphia but, for the most part, American scholars have been equally indifferent.

The immediate question then becomes, why, if historians have not embraced the study of colonial drinking establishments, should one examine the public drinking of Canada's first French settlers? The *cabaret* and *auberge* or, more simply the tavern, was, as Thomas Brennan, historian of seventeenth-century Parisian taverns has argued, the "public theatre of its community"<sup>13</sup>, and the study of it provides us with an insight into cultural values and social relationships among the lower ranks of eighteenth-century French society. Drinking establishments satisfied the universal demand for liquor and, most importantly, the desire for collective human interaction. Brennan believes taverns are an important window into society for two reasons; first, they teach us about the daily lives and leisure activities of their patrons; and, secondly, they provoked the harshest criticism from the political and religious élites. This criticism is important, in order to understand the relationship between the higher and lower ranks of eighteenth-century society. Public consumption of alcohol, according to Brennan, is part of society's articulation of its rituals and culture. To study the tavern, in other words, is to study society's expression of its culture. David Conroy, in In Public Houses: Drink & the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts (1995), enlarges this claim by arguing that, gatherings to drink, display a range of values of social, economic, and political significance to a society.<sup>14</sup>

Eighteenth-century popular culture, according to E.P. Thompson, in his 1991 book, Customs in Common, was not in decline, as many historians have

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<sup>13</sup> Thomas Edward Brennan. Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988., p.19.

<sup>14</sup> Conroy, David W. In Public Houses: Drink & the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1995., p.6.



claimed over the years, but, instead, it was vital and in full-development. What is lacking in the historiography of eighteenth-century popular culture, Thompson argues, is the deciphering, from all the customs of these people, of a general sense of their one broad custom as a society, or society's mental universe (*mentalité*).<sup>15</sup> To Thompson, eighteenth-century working class culture did not define itself without external influences. It defined itself by its opposition to the controls of authority.<sup>16</sup> In other words, "plebeian" culture, as he calls it, was rebellious in defence of its customs, such as the tavern, and consolidated them for its own interests, and these customs, in turn, comprised what we call popular culture.<sup>17</sup>

The purpose of this paper is to study the taverns of the eighteenth-century port of New France, Louisbourg. With it, we hope to reveal the role taverns played in the expression of the culture and *mentalité* of the working people of Louisbourg. By examining popular interaction in taverns, one encounters the self-expression of a people, and these expressions, we hope to explain, were their society's expression of itself. In other words, we hope to show that the public drinking establishments of Louisbourg represented an opportunity for personal self-expression, but in a general sense, that these establishments were the screen on which society projected its culture. On the practical side of things, in the process of revealing the culture and *mentalité* of this eighteenth-century society, this paper will also reveal the fashion in which the taverns of Louisbourg developed and flourished. It will show that, while the taverns of Louisbourg were a customary institution of this society, they also served a specific purpose and function, and fulfilled a need of the working people of Louisbourg to socialize in public places. The study of the taverns of Louisbourg then, is a history of the culture of the common people of Louisbourg through the focus of one of their customary institutions.

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<sup>15</sup> EP Thompson. Customs in Common. London: Merlin Press, 1991., p.2.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p.6.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p.7.

The popularity of the public drinking house in Louisbourg (judging from their numbers) is intriguing, especially when one realizes the opposition shown to them, through legislation, by the authorities of Ile Royale. How then, and why did such an institution become such a part of the cultural landscape of the port town? To begin to formulate an answer to this question and to place our topic within a proper context, it is important to understand both the historiography of alcohol and the historiography of New France.

## **II. THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ALCOHOLIC DRINKS AND NEW FRANCE**

### **A. *Europe and North America***

Alcoholic Drink is a universal symbol of socialization and hospitality between people. Wine and spirits, beer, cider and mead were all consumed to celebrate, to mourn, or to simply socialize as a group. The relaxing properties of alcohol make social interaction between people easier. Public gathering places where alcohol is sold have existed almost as long as the drinks they serve themselves. The origins of the tavern cannot be placed in a specific time or place and they are found in most societies. They had become common everywhere by the beginning of the second millennium B.C. and they are known to have existed in ancient Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome.<sup>18</sup> Undoubtedly, many changes occurred in their nature over the centuries, but the gathering place for good cheer between people made the tavern a constant social fixture since primitive times.

The first taverns in England were probably introduced by the Romans and, by the Saxon period, the tavern or alehouse had begun to flourish and continued to do so through the Norman period and Middle Ages. In Europe, the tavern had begun to flourish in the 12th Century when it is argued regional currencies began

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<sup>18</sup> Robert E. Popham. "The Social History of the Tavern", in *Research Advances in Alcohol and Drug Problems*, Yedy et al. Israel (editors), Toronto: Addiction Research Foundation, 1978, pp.225-302.

to appear along with the development of the public market place.<sup>19</sup> According to Andrew Cowell's At Play in the Tavern, the tavern was the birthplace of popular modern monetary exchange. He writes, "An entire realm of social, economic, and semiotic practice that had previously lacked any representation in medieval culture found a voice in the High Middle Ages in the tavern, inn, and brothel."<sup>20</sup>

The history of the tavern in Europe, although more extensive and with an older tradition than in North America, has only been explored in part. Historians from both continents have collectively described the drinking place as more of an evil to be endured rather than a sign of lives lived. Some of the most famous historians, including Philippe Ariès author of Centuries of Childhood, viewed the *cabaret* as a place of ill-repute reserved for criminals.<sup>21</sup> Canadian Historian Robert-Lionel Séguin wrote that *cabarets* were "...véritables pépinières de mauvaises mœurs."<sup>22</sup>

Authors have relied on the authorities' hostile impressions to describe the role of the drinking establishments in history. Most authors rely on judgements by the élite, which were clearly opposed to public consumption of alcohol and popular culture in general. These same authors fail to understand the motivation behind the power struggle over the tavern, and they also fail to see the struggle from the side of the tavern patrons. The tavern was condemned by the élite as a threat to productivity and work, as well as to the public morality. It was frequented by the masses and those who patronized them escaped their superiors' supervision in a social setting that brought low-ranking people together. At a time when civil and religious authorities controlled the lives of most people, they could do very little about these meeting places for the masses except impose, most often with little success, various laws against drinking or drinking establishments. Laws were no more than attempts at social control over the lives of the common folk. The élite decried the lower classes' use of alcohol, especially in public, because it viewed

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<sup>19</sup> Cowell, p. 2

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 5

<sup>21</sup> Brennan, 1988, p.20.

liquor as a major contributor to their inferiors' perceived degraded nature, and a cause of crime.<sup>23</sup> The élites' attitude towards the lower classes, while it is clouded judgement, can still be used to interpret the social relations between the two levels of society, but not be used as the foundation for the history of public consumption of alcohol. Taverns offer a vantage point for exploring both the élite's perceptions of the lower-ranking population and the discord between élite portrayals and the populace's behaviour.<sup>24</sup> In this thesis we examine and use these legislative sources, but only in conjunction with other sources and with a cautious interpretation of the words of the élite.

Following in the tradition of many social historians who have reclaimed the history of the masses by reexamining impressions such as the ones made about taverns, one of the most influential books published related to the study of taverns is Thomas Brennan's Public Drinking and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Paris (1988). Brennan chose to examine taverns specifically because of their low reputation through the ages. In his estimation, taverns were important because they provoked the harshest criticism of popular culture. In his work, Brennan demonstrates the importance of liquor consumption and the social behaviour in popular culture. He shows the social value of public drinking and offers a different view for delineating the originality of the culture examined. Taverns, Brennan feels, teach us about urban communities and popular culture; the presence of people in taverns explains events in people's daily lives and their use of leisure time.

They left their work and homes to find in public drinking places a neutral terrain in which to engage in the public reproduction of their social relations. Public drinking in taverns reenacted a fundamental communion among men, a symbolic consumption and sharing with which they created their solidarities and reaffirmed their values.<sup>25</sup>

With this work, Brennan has almost single-handedly changed the perception of the tavern from its low position in historiography, to being an important institution

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<sup>22</sup> Robert-Lionel Séguin. La vie libertine en Nouvelle-France au dix-septième siècle. Montréal: Leméac, 1972., Volume1, p.111.

<sup>23</sup> Brennan, 1988, p.8.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p.7.

capable of providing a glimpse into the lives of those participating in tavern culture. Alcohol, he explains, served as a symbol of community and as an idiom of social exchange. His is a model from which many historians should draw upon. A few have begun to do just that.

For the history of taverns in colonial United States David Conroy's 1995 *In Public Houses: Drink & the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts* applies the same interpretation of the tavern as Brennan's work did for France. In his book, Conroy studies the role of taverns in the development of Massachusetts society, more particularly that of Boston, and brings into focus controversial facets of public life of the American colonial era. Conroy reveals a society at odds with Puritan social ideals and the colony's established social and political powers, - a conflict that contributed to the transformation of Massachusetts into a republican society. By focusing on drink and its meaning, the book presents a neglected dimension of societal relations in the New World. Conroy's work provides a greater understanding of the many challenges to civil and religious authority that preceded the revolutionary era. Conroy's work is a brilliant model for using the persistent institution that is the tavern as a method of evaluating the examined society and for a historical inquest into colonial life.

More recently, Oxford's Peter Thompson has countered Conroy's arguments in his 1999 *Rum Punch & Revolution: Taverngoing & Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia*. Like Conroy and Brennan before him, Thompson regards the tavern as an extremely important institution for examining public life because it stands outside the arena of church and state, and because it was one of the most contested areas of public space in eighteenth-century America. Where his view differs from Conroy's is in the placement of tavern culture within society and in view of the coming revolution in the colonies. Conroy portrays tavern culture as being opposed to authority, while Thompson sees tavern culture as being a reflection of colonial society, which began to stratify between

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

élite culture and popular culture. Thompson argues that the tavern offered a place for public discourse for all classes.

### **B. New France**

Alcohol consumption never ceased after the arrival of colonists in the New World and their settlement there. Samuel de Champlain first recognized the necessity of amusements for the colonists in New France. In 1607 at Port Royal Champlain instituted the "*Ordre du Bon-Temps*" - a protocol he put together in order to maintain morale at the encampment there. Every fifteen days a different person would act as the host and "*maître d'hôtel*".<sup>26</sup> Game or fish that the day's host had killed while hunting or fishing would be served along with, of course, wine which all Frenchmen had been used to having with their meals. This type of social interaction with food and drink, Champlain had decided, was of important in maintaining morale. If the inhabitants had a semblance of the celebrations they were used to in France, Champlain probably imagined, they would adapt better to the harsh environment of the New World.

In the St. Lawrence settlements of New France, alcohol was not only imported from an early period, but beer was also produced locally. In Acadia, apple trees from France grafted to local crab apple trees produced fruit for the production of cider.<sup>27</sup> In 1620, near Québec, the missionary Denis Jamet was the first brewer in New France; in 1646 the Jesuits constructed a brewery with production starting the following year; in 1650 Louis Prudhomme opened a brewery in Montréal; in 1680 Jean Talon began construction of the "brasserie du Roy"; and in 1690 a brewery was built at Longueuil. Along with beer brewing and importation of distilled liquor and wine from the onset of settlement, there was the building of public houses for their consumption. In both Montréal and Québec City,

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<sup>26</sup> Robert-Lionel Séguin. Les Divertissements en Nouvelle-France. Ottawa: Musée National du Canada, 1968., p.11.

<sup>27</sup> Anne Hutten. Valley Gold. the Story of the Apple Industry in Nova Scotia. Halifax, N.S.: Petheric Press, 1981.

numerous taverns were opened in the seventeenth century to satisfy the demand for drink.<sup>28</sup>

The history of drinking and drinking establishments in New France, however, has not attracted a great amount of research over the past century, and it has not shared the recent flurry of attention given to taverns in the historiography of the colonial United States. No monographs like those of Thompson or Conroy's type exist for this same era in Canada's past. The history of liquor consumption in Canadian history has been mentioned in passing, while dealing with other topics. Historians have, for instance, discussed the issue of alcohol in the context of European relations with native peoples. Bruce Trigger, Cornelius Jaenen, and André Vachon most prominently, along with others, have written about the effects of alcohol on native culture.<sup>29</sup> Many others have had an interest in the subject but none ever examined the subject of drinking exclusively.

The topic of drinking, however, from the earliest accounts of New France. For example, in the Jesuit Relations, several passages recount the production, importation, and distribution of alcoholic drinks, or the trade of alcohol with natives. In Histoire de l'Eau-de-Vie en Canada in the late seventeenth century, Father Abbé Vachon de Belmont, Sulpician Superior, observed that natives only drink to get drunk.<sup>30</sup>

Pierre Boucher wrote in his Histoire Véritable et Naturelle des moeurs & productions du pays de la Nouvelle France (1664) of the attempts at making wine from native grapes and from grapes from vines imported from France. Boucher even dedicated a section of his book to the different drinks consumed by the

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<sup>28</sup> See E.Z. Massicotte. "Notes sur l'industrie de l'hôtellerie à Montréal sous le régime français" in Comptes rendus de la société royale du Canada Ottawa: Société Royale du Canada, 1927, 97-112.

<sup>29</sup> See, Cornelius Jaenen. Friend and Foe - Aspects of French Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976.; Trigger, Bruce. Impact of Europeans on Huronia. Vancouver: Copp Clark Pub. Co., 1969.; and Vachon, André. "L'eau-de-vie dans la société indienne", in La Société Historique du Canada, Rapport de l'assemblée annuelle. John P. Eisler (editor), Toronto: Canadian Historical Association, 1960, pp.22-32.

<sup>30</sup> Cited in Moogk, 2000, p. 38.

people of New France in answer to questions about their availability from people in France.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> Century historiography, historians of New France looked at the drinking habits of the colonists only in passing. Joseph-Noël Fauteux, in his 1927 *Essai sur L'Industrie au Canada sous le régime français*, wrote of the various industries in New France and devoted a chapter to the breweries of New France.

In the same year, E.Z. Massicotte presented to the Royal Society of Canada, one of the most important works concerned with the drinking establishments of New France. In "*Notes sur l'industrie de l'hôtellerie à Montréal sous le régime français*", Massicotte examined the development of the *auberge* and *cabaret* in Montréal. He surveyed the various ordinances which regulated the development of drinking establishments, and one can deduce from the sheer number of laws that the drinking establishments were a contentious issue in New France, as they had been in France and colonial America. A useful list of tavern owners in Montréal can also be found in the paper. Massicotte's work provides a rare glimpse into the world of the colonists' public drinking in terms of some of the games which were played in the taverns, and by using inspection reports, identifying the *habitués* of drinking places as well. Unfortunately, not much analysis of the meaning of the retail liquor trade is provided and there is no mention of the taverns in the other towns in New France. This was, possibly, because Massicotte was Montréal's judicial archivist and knew the local sources best.

In 1938 Father Amédée Gosselin penned an article entitled "*Boissons douces et boissons enivrantes chez les colons*"<sup>31</sup> about the favoured drinks of the colonists. A similar article was written by Gérard Malchelosse in 1943 entitled "*Ah! mon grand-père, comme il buvait!*"<sup>32</sup>, which included consumption, and importation figures of alcohol into New France. These works are useful as pioneering

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<sup>31</sup> Gosselin, Amédée Mgr. "Boissons douces et boissons enivrantes chez les colons, 1632-1760", in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada// Mémoires et comptes rendus de la Société Royale du Canada*. Ottawa: Royal Society of Canada/ Société Royale du Canada, Section 1 Série III, 1938., pp. 99-108.

<sup>32</sup> Gérard Malchelosse. "Ah! mon grand-père, comme il buvait!", *Cahiers Des Dix.*, 1943, pp.141-54.



antiquarian studies but their limited analysis means they are of little consequence in the historiography of alcohol in New France.

Following the Second World War considerable changes in historical writing in French-Canada began which would help place the role of public drinking in clearer perspective. These changes were related to the intellectual revolution preceding the Quiet Revolution when historians embraced the social sciences and used methods learned from the *Annales* School of History in France, which sought to reconstruct the structure of past societies. The debate over the existence and importance of the commercial classes of New France led to a flurry of publications in the 1960's all related to the issue of a colonial bourgeoisie.<sup>33</sup> The debate raged over the existence or non-existence of a colonial business class and became the turning point in French Canadian historiography. It marked the end of what was termed "consensus" history in which historical writing was dominated by the conservative Roman Catholic Nationalist viewpoint which praised the Catholic Church of the colonial era. The change was an intellectual shift created by academics trained in Europe, but it was also a shift founded on a newly-found freedom to dissent intellectually, which had resulted in the clergy's loss of its control over the educational system and charitable institutions. Academia then embraced the secular and scientific values of the *Révolution tranquille*. The ongoing debate proved fruitful for the analysis of the colonial society of New France. Gone were the old-fashioned filiopietistic interpretations of history from

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<sup>33</sup> Jean Hamelin published his *Économie et société en Nouvelle-France* in 1960, in which he argued that there existed no native bourgeois or commercial class in New France, and that France, not the Conquest, was to blame for the lack of a native-born business class following 1760. Historians such as Marcel Trudel, Y.F. Zoltvany, and Fernand Ouellet also examined the topic in their work. On the other side of the debate, Cameron Nish in his *Les Bourgeois-Gentilhommes de la Nouvelle-France* in 1968 suggested that the Seigneurs of New France were not just wealthy landowners but were commercial entrepreneurs too - a new social hybrid particular to the colony. See Serge Gagnon. "The Historiography of New France, 1960-1974: Jean Hamelin to Louise Dechêne", in *Contemporary Approaches to Canadian History*, Carl Berger (editor), 28-51. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1987., p. 30.

historians such as Gustave Lanctôt, which were replaced by the dispassionate works of writers such as Marcel Trudel and W.J. Eccles.<sup>34</sup>

The first attempt at revising our view of popular morals in the French Regime was Robert-Lionel Séguin's work in which he questioned the strict morality and orthodox Catholicism attributed to the *canadien-habitant* of New France by clerical historians, and, instead Séguin contended that there existed, in New France, widespread superstition and sorcery.<sup>35</sup> The book on witchcraft also brought into question the moral character of the habitant who had been depicted for generations as a pious and submissive church-going Roman Catholic. Séguin's findings obviously contradicted the clerical writings of the first sixty years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century which depicted *habitant* life as idyllic and almost saintly.

Séguin was interested in the daily aspects of New France life including the consumption of alcohol. In his book *La civilisation traditionnelle de l'Habitant aux 17e et 18e Siècles* published in 1967, Séguin devoted a chapter to the liquor preferences of the habitants and provided informative, although brief insights into the subject. In his 1968 booklet *Les Divertissements en Nouvelle-France* Séguin, like Massicotte, describes a drinking culture that was regulated and controlled by numerous ordinances and laws designed to maintain order in society, according to the moral standards of the authorities. Superficial in his analysis of taverns, Séguin explains the existence of numerous taverns by the enforced bachelorhood of men due to the shortage of white females in the colonies, and attributes the number of ordinances against drink to the numerous disturbances caused by public drunkenness. Séguin, while his subjects were innovative, but, like Massicotte, was

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<sup>34</sup> Among these publications, Trudel wrote *L'esclavage au Canada français: Histoire et conditions de l'esclavage*. Québec: Presses universitaires Laval, 1960.; *La Population du Canada en 1663*. Montréal: Fides, 1973, and W. J. Eccles. *France in America*. Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside Limited, 1972., among many others.

<sup>35</sup> These include *La Sorcellerie au Canada français du XVIIe au XIXe siècle*. Montréal: Ducharme, 1961; *Civilisation traditionnelle de l'habitant*. Montréal: Fides, 1967; *Les Divertissements en Nouvelle-France au dix-septième siècle*. Ottawa: Musée national du Canada, 1968; and Robert-Lionel Séguin. *La Vie libertine en Nouvelle-France au dix-septième siècle*. Montréal: Leméac, 2 volumes, 1972.

an antiquarian who seldom appraised his sources or provided much analysis of his findings.

With the secularization of the writing of history and the influence of the *Annales* School of France, the historiography of New France since the 1960's, developed the ambition of examining the totality (*histoire totale*) of a society. The *Annales* method examines the geography, demography, economy, society and mentality<sup>36</sup> of a population in order to explain its character in detail. As a result of this approach works on different, and specific aspects of society began to appear. André Vachon's *Histoire du notariat canadien, 1621-1960* (1962) appeared along with Micheline D'Allaire's *L'Hôpital général de Québec, 1692-1764* (1971). What was lacking in these studies, however, was a definition of the colony's social structure.<sup>37</sup>

Beginning with Louise Dechêne this problem was attacked systematically. We have seen, since the publication of her work *Habitants et Marchands de Montréal au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle* in 1974, the development of comprehensive social history in which the public institutions of society are present along with the social structure of the colony. Dechêne has been praised with being the first to fully apply the French methodology of Social History to a region of New France, Montréal. Following the publication of a few essays on the seigneurial régime in which she challenged the alleged commercial motives of the Seigneurs, as Cameron Nish claimed. She saw the Seigneurs as would-be aristocrats in the French tradition. In her book she argued that the colony had experienced a reversion to a farm-based economy, as opposed to a rapid urban growth which had previously been theorized. Dechêne is widely credited with having influenced the current "new" historiography which has examined the totality of history to uncover the details of the society of New France. Social History now routinely draws on sources which reflect the lives of all people from the ground up. While many publications were

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<sup>36</sup> Gagnon, 1987, p. 34.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p.37.

influenced by this new historiography, none fully explained the success of alcohol in France's North American colonies.

Since the 1970's, with the influence of the movement of *histoire totale*, several works on the history of New France have been published using its methods. Peter Moogk, introduced to notarial archival sources by Robert-Lionel Séguin in Montréal, and inspired by Jean Hamelin's Économie et société en Nouvelle-France (1960), for instance, has written several pieces which reconstruct aspects of the everyday life of the semi-literate lower ranks of society. His book, Building a House in New France, was an example of the use of notarial and judicial sources for the interpretation of history. His article, "'Thieving Buggers' and 'Stupid Sluts': Insults and Popular Culture in New France" (1979), is a valuable reference for research into the everyday social life of the French colonies, including Louisbourg, and it is a great example of the use of alternative sources which began to be exploited for historical research in the 1970's. Moogk examined exchanges of defamatory insults, many of which had taken place in taverns, which had led to court cases and appeared in judicial records. Since New France was made up of a largely semi-literate society, court cases and notarial deeds are the best personal records Moogk could work from in the absence of letters and diaries. Court records have been one of the most informative sources on the lives of the humble folk in the colony, along with estate inventory records and other notarial deeds.

Two works influenced by Louise Dechêne have been done on the topic of drinking establishments. One of these was Peter Delottinville's article on Post-Conquest Montréal and was entitled "Joe Beef of Montreal: Working-Class Culture and the Tavern, 1869-1889". Delottinville's article is a model for the interpretation of drinking establishments in a historical context. The article examines the career of nineteenth-century Montreal tavern keeper, Charles "Joe Beef" McKiernan, and illustrates the intricate connections between drinking, the tavern, and working-class culture in Montréal. DeLottinville argues that the working class relied on the tavern as the centre for not only recreation but also for social services, and labour

activities. McKiernan's bar, while remaining a social gathering place, acted as a charitable institution, union hall, employment centre, and hostel, all to the benefit of the unemployed and the day labourer. Unfortunately, given the later time period of this study, it is not terribly useful in helping in the research of the history of New France.

The second study was Marie-Claude Poliquin's MA thesis at McGill University done under Louise Dechêne, on the subject of the Montréal *aubergistes* and *cabaretiers* of the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>38</sup> Poliquin's main argument is that the authorities' numerous ordinances and laws aimed at controlling taverns, were not intended to control all of society's habits, but instead were to standardize the practices of this particular commercial activity. Invaluable, in terms of its exhaustive list of ordinances, the thesis also contains a detailed list of tavern owners in Montréal.

Other works related to the history of alcohol in New France, unfortunately, did not take their cue from the influence of Dechêne or of the new tradition of *histoire totale*. While they address our topic, they do not attempt to deal with its social significance. One of these works which appeared in 1971 was Jacques Beauroy's "*Note sur les boissons et l'importation de vins du midi et d'Espagne en Nouvelle-France*". In this article, Beauroy identified the quantities and provenance of wines and spirits imported into New France. Using mostly eighteenth-century sources, Beauroy explained that value of wine and spirits exceeded that of all other imports into New France in the eighteenth century. In 1733, in a partial picture of colony's financial accounts, 84% (by value) of the total amount of imports were made up of wine and spirits. In a complete account in 1735, 49,2 % (by value) of imports are alcohol. These numbers continued to fluctuate at high levels until the end of the French Régime in Canada. We also learn from this article that Louisbourg played a major role as the hub for the importation of liquor into North America, including New England. The extent of the imports of alcohol helps put

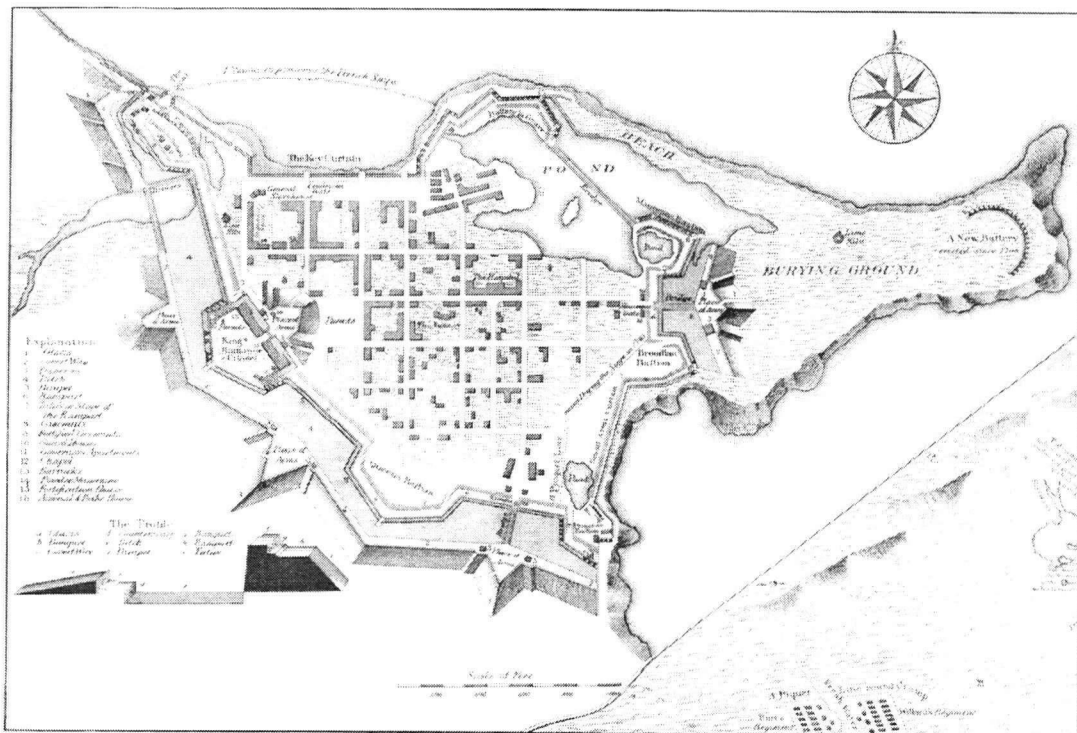
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<sup>38</sup> Marie-Claude Poliquin. Les aubergistes et les cabaretiers montréalais entre 1700 et 1755. McGill University, 1996.

the drinking habits of the people of Louisbourg into perspective and reveals the high consumption of alcohol by the colonial population. This article provides an overall picture of the colonists' pattern of consumption for liquor.

In 1986, the *Société des Alcools du Québec* published, as part of its sixty-fifth anniversary, *L'histoire de l'alcool au Québec*. Its chapters dealing with the Pre-Confederation period are extremely useful in identifying early efforts to produce alcoholic drinks locally. Early arrivals were keen to assess Canada's potential for producing wine grapes. For instance, we learn that one of Jacques Cartier's first finds on his voyage of 1534 was the abundance of wild grapes along the shores of the St. Lawrence. We also learn that Samuel de Champlain planted vines in 1608 for the production of wine, and of Louis Hébert's fashioning of a beer brewing kettle for him. Mostly factual, the book is useful as a source of basic information only.

### C. Louisbourg



Map1<sup>39</sup>

93.- Louisbourg en 1745.  
(Reproduit du Rapport sur les archives publiques du Canada pour l'année 1886)

<sup>39</sup> Map of Louisbourg, 1745, from Trudel, Marcel. *Atlas Historique Du Canada Français Des Origines à 1867*. --. Éd. remaniée. -- ed. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1961., p.93.

The history of Louisbourg, because of the richness of the surviving sources and because of a dedicated group of Parks Canada historians, has assumed an important place in the historiography of New France over the past three decades. Louisbourg is the only area to have seen publications dedicated to the study of public drinking. Gilles Proulx and Kenneth Donovan have both written on the subject of alcohol in Louisbourg, but, like a great number of the cultural and material studies by other Parks Canada staff, their work was undertaken with a specific purpose of reconstructing life at Louisbourg. Their quest was not necessarily the overall understanding of the implication of the tavern or drinking but more of a description of a pattern of life for re-enactors.

In 1972, as part of the historical team from Parks Canada, Proulx wrote *Aubergistes et cabaretiers de Louisbourg 1713-1758*, it is one of the most important works on the topic of public drinking in New France. In it Proulx follows the lives of the owners of the taverns and inns at Louisbourg between 1713 and 1758. In the publication, Proulx asks: Who were these individuals or families and why did they chose this *métier*? What drinks did they serve? What other activities were going on in these establishments? He does provide some answers, but the significance of the tavern in the social and cultural history of New France is not considered. While the work is useful as an inventory of the establishments and those who owned them, the significance and role these places played in people's lives is scarcely explored. Proulx's account of the drinking establishments of Louisbourg does not differ from Robert-Lionel Séguin or E.Z. Massicotte in its uncritical use of administrative documents and laws. He writes: "Louisbourg n'échappe pas à ce problème car, selon les officiels, les *cabaretiers* y ruinent entièrement la colonie. Pour pallier à cette situation et parce que la discipline ne s'accordait pas avec l'usage trop libre de la boisson dans une colonie naissante, il fallait donc adopter les correctifs nécessaires."<sup>40</sup> And again later, "Evidemment les autorités s'inspiraient d'intentions fort louables: il leur fallait éliminer les parasites,

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<sup>40</sup> Gilles Proulx. *Aubergistes et cabaretiers de Louisbourg 1713-1758*. Ottawa: Parks Canada, Manuscript Report Series, 1972., p. 30.

les gens sans métier, en limitant le plus possible leur clientèle et faire disparaître les abus en restreignant le nombre de *cabarets*.”<sup>41</sup> To Proulx, these establishments were no more than mere threats to the good order of colonial society or moral pitfalls.

Another Parks Canada staff member and a faculty member in the History Department at the University College of Cape Breton, Ken Donovan wrote, Paying One's Way: Dining and Drinking in Louisbourg's *Cabarets* and *Auberges*. Written for Parks Canada in 1980, this booklet is one of the most important documents of the material and cultural history of Louisbourg. Donovan explores the world of the *cabarets* and *auberges* in the seaport through four accounts of debtors to establish the eating and drinking habits of a few tavern patrons. A rich resource for the daily life of the citizens of Louisbourg the booklet is, however, like many of the Parks Canada publications of this format, not extensive in analysis. Donovan is content with reconstructing the lives of a few patrons who tumbled in public and how much money they spent. Little is learned of what the consequences of public drinking were to local culture and society. Despite the lack of extensive analysis, these Parks Canada publications were helpful in uncovering sources for this study and putting the subject of taverns into context.

#### **D.                   A Note on Primary Sources**

Since the people of Louisbourg were, apart from the colonial officials, often illiterate, finding sources for investigation into the daily lives of the common people is a difficult task. One cannot examine the writings of these people for they rarely exist. As an alternative, as many historians have undertaken to do, I have searched the administrative records and the judicial records of Louisbourg to uncover life in the public sphere of the colony.

By the 1740s there were four courts in Louisbourg. Two handled cases involving civil and criminal law, the third ruled on maritime law, and the fourth was reserved for serious military crimes. A formal court system had not come in place

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid, p. 36.



at Louisbourg until the town was selected as the capital of Isle Royale in 1717. At that point, the Minister of the Marine established a judicial system for Louisbourg which first consisted of a *Conseil Supérieur*. For seventeen years it remained the only civil and criminal court in the colony. In 1734 the *Bailliage* was established and the *Conseil Supérieur* became a court of appeal. The *Bailliage* handled the routine civil and criminal cases and served as the lower court for more serious crimes. It also handled routine matters such as registering wills and authorizing the closure of inventories after a death.

Since Louisbourg was an important hub of maritime activity, a court for enforcing the laws and ordinances for sea-bound trade, fishing, and navigation was put in place from 1717. Not as useful for the study of social life in the town, this admiralty court handled disputes and infractions of these maritime laws.<sup>42</sup>

A serious problem with these court records is, of course, the fact that the testimony about an event, sometimes a violent one, was given to a literate scrivener by a sometimes illiterate witness, defendant, or complainant. Testimony could be distorted as the secretary recorded information on paper. The testimony was reread to the witness for his or her approval, which made the distortion a bit less likely, but one must remain aware of the transmission process. As with the colonial administration records, one must keep in mind the social prejudices of the documents' authors in order not to fall into the trap of relying on their words alone.

The gathering of research materials and the consequent federally-funded studies of French Louisbourg resulted from an economic development project. On Cape Breton Island in 1961 the government of Canada began the partial restoration of the Louisbourg fortress as a national historic park, in part to alleviate unemployment on the island and at the same time to promote tourism in the area. The end result for academia was an on-site library, a map collection and an archive collection. Parks Canada commissioned dozens of historical and archaeological reports, several of which were published nationally. While the

National Archives of Canada has the archival sources used in these publications on microfilm and has the accompanying finding aids, many of the reports from the fortress research team have become invaluable descriptive finding aids for the judicial and colonial records. Transcribed court cases, web pages from the fortress, and training manuals from Parks Canada are other sources available to the researcher. Many of these alternative sources are used in this research and are cited accordingly.

### III. POPULAR CULTURE AND COMMUNITY

In New France, the tavern constituted the only sheltered secular gathering place for lower-ranking colonists. It offered the only neutral ground away from the constraints of civil and church authority. The Roman Catholic Church and the colonial administration played an enormous role in shaping colonial society but a study either one would not disclose the lives of the colonists of New France or provide a glimpse of their culture, values and their interaction with one another. Neither the Church nor the government approved of activities initiated by lower-ranking settlers themselves in New France, such as charivaris to shame moral delinquents. Governor General Buade de Frontenac in 1677 forbade private assemblies throughout the colony without government permission.<sup>43</sup> Only the lower-ranks of society were the targets of this type of regulation since merchants, starting in 1717, were officially permitted to gather to discuss trade and to elect spokesmen to present requests to those in authority.<sup>44</sup> Taverns were, as in France, the most contested and debated of the gathering places in the colony. Colonial authority, with numerous regulations, attempted to control their number and nature. Because of the civil authorities' opposition to them, as E.P. Thompson argued, the tavern helped define the plebeian culture of Louisbourg. The relationship between

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<sup>42</sup> Parks Canada., *A Louisbourg Primer, An Introductory Manual for Staff at the Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Site Louisbourg: The Community.*  
<http://fortress.uccb.ns.ca/search/epim5.html>

<sup>43</sup> Peter Moogk. *La Nouvelle-France: The Making of French Canada: a Cultural History.* East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 2000., p.72.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p.72.

low-ranking members of society and authority was clearly defined, and this relationship helped common people to seal a common bond and create a set of rituals that sustained their culture in Louisbourg.

Sharing a drink in a tavern helps in the formation of the alliances that create and hold a community together, and it helps foster a local culture. The “watering hole” in a place like Louisbourg helped create a sense of community for colonists where there was an absence of secular communal activities. While the tavern encouraged men to consume liquor, it encouraged them to do it surrounded by others in a fashion that not only fostered solidarity, but that sometimes promoted all the elements good and bad of a society and culture, including rivalries, divisions, and even violence. The drive to create public drinking places was evident from Louisbourg’s beginnings

#### **A.                *Alcohol in Louisbourg***

In September of 1713 the French formally took possession of Ile Royale and settlers from Placentia, Newfoundland, resettled there after the latter had been ceded to Great Britain under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht. The main intention behind the government’s choice of Louisbourg was the re-establishment and the defence of the dry cod fishery for France. With its deep and ice-free harbour, Louisbourg turned out to be an excellent choice as a seaport. The town flourished and the cod fishery of Ile Royale generated greater wealth for France than the interior fur trade of North America.<sup>45</sup> Known mostly as a fortified town and the site of two sieges by the British, Louisbourg was also a commercial *entrepôt* and burgeoning urban centre which resembled Montréal and Québec City. Often overlooked in the urban history of New France, Louisbourg’s population of two to four thousand inhabitants supported urban cultural and social amenities, including drinking houses.

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<sup>45</sup> A.J.B. Johnston. "From port de pêche to ville fortifiée: The Evolution of Urban Louisbourg, 1713-1758", in *Aspects of Louisbourg*, Eric Krause, Carol Corbin, and William O'Shea (editors) , 3-16. Sydney: University College of Cape Breton, 1995., p.4.

The two common public drinking houses found in Louisbourg were the *cabaret* and the *auberge*. There was no legal distinction between the two. The major difference between the establishments was that one could be accommodated overnight at an *auberge* for an extended period of time but one could usually only stay one or two evenings at a *cabaret*. Both served meals and alcohol and both were located, in most cases, in a person's home whose kitchen was the central room where one could get a warm meal and stay out of the cold at the same time. Being a garrison town and port where fishing and shipping were the main activities, Louisbourg needed places where visitors could get a meal and a night's sleep. An accompanying drink assisted the meals to go down, but it also helped band together those wishing friends a safe voyage across the seas, or celebrating a wedding, or simply in passing the time of day. Rum, brandy and wine were the most popular alcoholic drinks in Louisbourg, and evidence of some consumption of beer, spruce beer, and cider has also been found.

Colonial authorities opposed the tavern from the beginning of settlement at Louisbourg and considered it a mere house of drunkenness. But in most cases the purpose of drinking in public was probably more socially motivated, and drunkenness was only a consequence of public drinking, not its goal. The place was more important to the tavern patrons, for the most part, than the liquor consumed there. Tavern-keepers often stopped serving those they felt were too drunk and even threw out patrons who caused mischief, and there were ordinances prohibiting the sale of alcohol on credit to prevent excessive consumption and indebtedness. If patrons of public drinking houses in Louisbourg only had the intention to get drunk, they could have done so at home. In fact, some made spruce beer and berry wines at home for personal use.<sup>46</sup> Soldiers in

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<sup>46</sup> Spruce beer was low in alcohol and was found in most households and taverns in Louisbourg. It was usually consumed during meals. See:

Antonio de Ulloa and Jorge Juan. Voyage Historique De L'Amérique Méridionale. Amsterdam: Arkstee, 1752, two volumes. New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., Volume II, p.143., cited in Kenneth Donovan, Life in Louisbourg's Public Houses: A Training Manual. (Parks Canada Unpublished Manuscript), 1979., p.85. See also Thomas Pichon 1966. Lettres et mémoires pour servir à l'histoire naturelle, civile et politique du Cap Breton, p.85.

Louisbourg were also allotted a *pot* (1.9 litres) of molasses per month to brew their own spruce beer.<sup>47</sup>

Alcohol in many cultures is a facilitator for celebration, social integration and solidarity. Along with reducing inhibitions and promoting relaxation, it also plays a role as a food, a medicine, and as a ceremonial libation in religion. Alcoholic drinks in New France were part of the colonist's European culture. Not only were there plenty of taverns for the public consumption of alcohol in Québec City, Montréal, Trois-Rivières, and Louisbourg, but alcohol was consumed in New France outside the tavern on other occasions, and not solely as a means for getting drunk, as the authorities, and, consequently, later historians, believed. It was consumed during and after religious celebrations, such as baptisms and weddings. It played a role in conferences between the French and natives, and it was even customary in New France to complete contracts before notaries and then to drink what was called the *vin de marché* to seal the contract.<sup>48</sup> With this ritual use of liquor in mind, insight into the taverns of New France has to take into consideration other factors than inebriation as a motivation for drinking alcohol in public.

Liquor and wine were easily obtainable in the port of Louisbourg. Ships carrying wine from France, sailing the triangle of Canada, France, and the Caribbean, stopped at Louisbourg. Its position as the mercantile center from which items were shipped put it in an envious position for buyers of all sorts of goods, wine and spirits especially. Between 1753 and 1754, Louisbourg received 7288 *barriques* (one *barrique* equals about 228 litres) of wine from Bordeaux for distribution throughout New France.<sup>49</sup> In 1735, a total of 2891 *barriques* of various wines were imported into New France.<sup>50</sup> This large volume of imported wine points

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<sup>47</sup> Archives Nationale de France, Archives des colonies / La France d'Outre-Mer (from here on AN), C11B, Vol. 33 ff.221-234, 1753.

<sup>48</sup> Moogk, Peter. *Building a House in New France: The Perplexities of Client and Craftsmen in Early Canada*. Toronto, 1977., p.38-39.

<sup>49</sup> Jacques Beauroy. "Note sur les boissons et l'importation de vins du midi et d'Espagne en Nouvelle-France", *Annales Du Midi*, 83(104), October 1971-31 October 1971, pp.419-29., p.424.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

to the importance of alcohol in the diet of the people of Louisbourg. One can assume that the ability to purchase alcohol so easily, affected the cultural landscape of Louisbourg.

Many merchants purchased wine and resold it to tavern keepers, but several accounts suggest that alcohol was also resold to individuals for private consumption. In one example of many, in June 1753, the Baron d'Huart took *veuve Daccarette* to court for the 115 *livres*<sup>51</sup> he alleged she owed him for a *barrique* of wine she had purchased from him.<sup>52</sup> Daccarette's name does not show up in the records among the names of all *aubergistes* and *cabaretiers* at Louisbourg, whether recognized or not.<sup>53</sup> She probably either sold the wine to other individuals, or kept it for herself. Either way, it is clear that alcohol could be bought by anyone in the port and for consumption at home or for resale. Records indicate that there were, in Louisbourg, several retailers of alcohol who sold their stock in general stores.<sup>54</sup>

The people of Louisbourg, it is clear from the inventories they left behind following their deaths, and from personal contracts signed, and other records available, bought alcohol for private consumption at home. Witness the case of Pierre Benoist, a ship's carpenter from St. Malo who rented a room in the house of Nicolas Baron. Between 1726 and 1731, Benoist, over a five month period for which we have his receipts, ordered spirits along with his food in Maujot's *cabaret* on seventeen separate occasions.<sup>55</sup> When he died in Louisbourg in 1731, in the inventory of his effects left in Baron's house included all the necessary cooking

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<sup>51</sup> In the eighteenth century, France's monetary system was based on the *livre*. In comparison with contemporary English currency, the *livre* was the equivalent of approximately one shilling sterling. The *livre* was divided into *sols* and *deniers*, as follows:

there were 20 *sols* in one *livre*

there were 12 *deniers* in one *sol*

and, there were 240 *deniers* in one *livre*

<sup>52</sup> AN, G2, Vol.202., f.616, dossier 276.

<sup>53</sup> See Proulx, 1972, p.21-25 for a list of the names of all *aubergistes*, *cabaretiers*, and resellers of alcohol found in the colonial records for Louisbourg.

<sup>54</sup> See Proulx, 1972, p.5 and C II B, Volume 2, ff.09-13 in which M. de Soubras, requested that *marchands forains* acting as retailers be allowed to sell only to passing sailors and not to fishermen and sailors from Louisbourg.

<sup>55</sup> Donovan, 1980, p.2.

equipment to be able to eat in his room. But, what is most interesting is that he also had three barrels of brandy that he could have easily consumed and certainly for less money than he paid in the inns and taverns of Louisbourg.<sup>56</sup> Benoist's barrels of liquor show that the tavern's appeal went beyond access to liquor

The competition of so many liquor retailers did not destroy all moral restraints. In July of 1737, a soldier was found drowned in the well in *aubergiste* de Brouillan's garden.<sup>57</sup> Testifying at the inquest into the death of Louis Pancan, one of his drinking companions explained that they had tried to get a bottle of wine at Deschamps' inn that evening, but that the innkeeper's wife had refused to give it to them because she believed he was too drunk. Drunkenness was not tolerated by tavern-keepers as much as the authorities believed. People did drink to excess, but tavern-keepers probably tried to clear out or exclude the undesirable elements of society from their taverns for the convenience of their more numerous paying customers who simply enjoyed drinking in a social setting.

Another example of personal stocks of alcohol is in a contract for the master of a *chaloupe*. In 1732, François-Michel LeBreton hired Julien Grandin as a master, and in his contract, LeBreton promised to pay him not only with thirty *quintaux* of cod, a *barrique* of oil, but with 15.2 litres of *eau de vie* (brandy) as well.<sup>58</sup> In another contract for fisherman Jean Hamon in 1730 a clause from his employer Sieur Lecluzeau states that for a week's salary, Hamon would get paid twenty *livres*, a pair of shoes and a *chopine* (a third of a litre) of *eau-de-vie* per week.<sup>59</sup>

If the volume of liquor consumed is impressive, so was the frequency with which it was imbibed. Another case reveals how freely the people of Louisbourg purchased and consumed alcohol. In September of 1727 Philippe Dupré, a

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<sup>56</sup> AN, G2, Vol.181, fols.601-04, procès-verbal de vente des hardes et effets de feu Pierre Benoist, 26 mars 1732., cited in Donovan, 1979, p.2.

<sup>57</sup> AN, G2, Vol.184, fols.376-378.

<sup>58</sup> AN, Col., Charente Maritime, 274 cited in Bona Arsenault. *Louisbourg, 1713-1758.-*. Québec: Conseil de la vie française en Amérique., 1971, p.58.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

Louisbourg butcher, with other artisans and their wives were strolling along the north end of the Louisbourg harbour one night when they met Sergeant Leopold Rheinlaender [dit Relingue] of the Swiss Karrer regiment and began to argue with him over the price or the number of partridges he was trying to sell them.<sup>60</sup> In the ensuing dispute, Dupré struggled with the sergeant and attempted to take his musket. The Sergeant struck him in the chest and nose with the flat side of his sword during the *mêlée*. Bleeding, Dupré passed out and was carried to a house by his friends. In the trial that followed, witnesses explained that the group had drunk two bottles of wine at Pledieu's house en route back to the fortress after supper and then consumed three more bottles of wine at someone else's house during their stroll.

Drinking alone in one's room was probably not as appealing as sharing a meal and liquor with companions. Despite the high cost of alcoholic drinks in taverns (one bottle of wine at Pierre Herpin's inn in 1743 at 12 *sol/s*, for instance, was the same price as one breakfast or about one third of a day's salary for a ship's carpenter, or about ten times more than a soldier's salary for a day)<sup>61</sup> drinking alcohol in taverns remained appealing to the population of Louisbourg. In our previous example, Pierre Benoist, the ship's carpenter, during those seventeen meals purchased in Louisbourg, had shared them with one or more guests on five occasions. It is apparent that the tavern, while very popular, was not an institution built solely, as the authorities may have thought in the eighteenth century, as a place to get inebriated. It was also a place that one would frequent to share meals and to find good cheer in the company of others.

These cases illustrate the fact that people could and did purchase alcoholic beverages for consumption outside of the tavern and that the tavern was not the

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<sup>60</sup> AN, G2, Vol.179, pp.465-502.

<sup>61</sup> Donovan, 1979, p. 3. Carpenter Louis Delongrais' in 1743 earned a salary of 1 *livre* 10 *sol/s* per day. In his personal inventory after his death is a bill for a bottle of wine he purchased in Herpin's *auberge* for 12 *sol/s*. The price of the bottle of wine represented just over a third of his salary for the entire day. A soldier in 1745, earned nine *livres* per month before deductions. After deductions for food and uniform costs, a soldier received approximately 1.5 *livres*. See Parks Canada. The Compagnies franches de la marine in Louisbourg in 1745.  
<http://fortress.uccb.ns.ca/behind/comp.html>



cause of widespread drinking and drunkenness in the colony since alcohol could be easily purchased elsewhere. Other factors need to be considered to explain the existence of these establishments. Their existence and persistence as a social milieu, as we can see, requires a more probing explanation.

### **B. Public Drinking in Louisbourg**

A case which illustrates the social aspect of drinking is the complaint of innkeeper Blaise Gandat (or Gaudat). In May of 1726, Gandat filed a lawsuit against his friends Jean-Baptiste Lahaye, François Dubois and Raymond Aulier de Saint-Louis, for theft. The testimony in the trial reveals the social networks built by some of Louisbourg's residents and maintained by them by the public consumption of food and drink. Even an innkeeper, with access to his own liquor supply, felt the compulsion to patronize other taverns, evidently for social reasons.

Gandat and his friends gathered at Lahaye's house, one evening, to eat a stew of wild game, and to drink liquor. The game had been caught by the hunting expedition of friends at Pointe Blanche. Following dinner the men gambled at the game "truque" and Gandat ended up losing a jug of wine to the baker Dubois. Dubois followed Gandat looking for his payment of the jug when Gandat realized he had been robbed while away from his inn. His drinking companions were accused of the crime and, throughout their testimony they described the number of taverns where they had drunk together with Gandat. The list of places frequented included the *auberge* of widow Lelarge, Gandat's own *auberge*, the François' *cabaret*, and Duvaus' (Duneau?) tavern.<sup>62</sup> The reason for these "pub crawls" is unclear, but perhaps some taverns offered different attractions such as dancing, and others games of chance. As is the current custom of drinking in a variety of bars in one night, perhaps a variety of activities or of being part of a "scene" was the agenda for an evening out with friends.

Taverns, not unlike today's drinking establishments, were a place for co-workers to gather in a social setting. The phenomenon of tavern culture in

Louisbourg demonstrates the kinship and social relationships single working men formed with each other in the eighteenth century. Either they were unattached or their families remained in Europe while the father of the family worked as a sailor or fisherman. Men in these situations probably cherished the social interaction that came with after-work gatherings with friends in taverns. These men spent hours together working, but they also spent hours together socializing in taverns.

Social drinking could reinforce the bonds of rank and occupation. During his trial for the murder of a fisherman named Jean Jacques, Gilles Carbonnet, testified that he had seen Jacques, a fisherman, drinking with other fishermen, some of whom Carbonnet knew by name.<sup>63</sup> In 1737 when soldier Louis Panca drowned in the well in the garden of an inn, one of his friends testified that he always went to *cabarets* and to the canteen with the same military friends, including Panca. His friend testified that the two had known each other for three years and that the group he associated with usually paid for him as well.<sup>64</sup> He also testified that he only drank with his fellow soldiers from the garrison. This statement illustrates the occupational solidarity of soldiers, comparable to that of the transient fishermen. Gathering with those of a kindred occupation did not preclude striking up new friendships with others outside that group

The facility with which people made friends in taverns is illustrated by the experience of Louis Davory. In 1740, Davory landed at Louisbourg from a ship he had boarded at l'Île aux Coudres in the St. Lawrence Valley. Once in the port, Davory had heard mass and had run some errands with the ship's cook. In the afternoon he began drinking with many new companions whom he remembered by appearance if not by their names.<sup>65</sup> Davory also met an acquaintance from Canada named Armand Clavier and joined him and his group of friends to drink wine for the entire afternoon.<sup>66</sup> Returning from the vespers later in the evening, the

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<sup>62</sup> AN, G 2, Volume 179, ff.129-428.

<sup>63</sup> AN, G 2, Volume 178, ff.101-194.

<sup>64</sup> AN, G2, Vol.184, ff.376-378.

<sup>65</sup> Christopher Moore. Louisbourg Portraits: Five Dramatic, True Tales of People Who Lived in an Eighteenth-Century Garrison Town. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1982., p.15.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p.28-29.

two again drank together, and with a soldier, and a gunner.<sup>67</sup> This example also demonstrates the attitude that religious devotions in Louisbourg were compatible with drinking liquor and the fact that taverns were a setting for meeting new acquaintances.

Common social customs originating and common in France were also expressed in taverns in Louisbourg. *Compagnonnage* refers to the fellowship of journeymen craftsmen. Members of the most well-known of these journeymen's groups were the *Enfants de Maître Jacques (Dévorant)*; or the *Enfants du Père Soubise (bons Drilles)*; or the *Enfants de Salomon (Gavots)* -- all rivals of each other.<sup>68</sup> Following an apprenticeship, young men joined the fraternities and participated in various rituals and antics associated with each group. The *compagnons* wore coloured cockades made from multicolored ribbons to identify their group. There were five accepted colours to chose from, white, red, blue, yellow, and green.<sup>69</sup> *Compagnonnage* centered around a *Tour de France* which allowed a artisan to see the "world", perfect his skills, and to socialize with others of his fraternity. This meant brawling with rival groups, and drinking together in taverns and inns.<sup>70</sup> Leslie Choquette has studied the journeymen in New France and believes, although fraternities did not exist as such in Louisbourg, certain fraternal practices were followed by artisan-soldiers in the local taverns. In one incident in 1733 on the last day of the Feast of Epiphany, Nicolas Lebègue dit Brûlevillage, a soldier and a butcher by trade stole a large quantity of ribbons from the home of Dame Berruchon.<sup>71</sup> With the ribbons in his pocket he went to Jean-Baptiste Laumonier's inn where he met and drank brandy with his friend Germain le Parisien and twelve to fifteen other artisan-soldiers. Laumonier was also a stonecutter in Louisbourg and he and his wife often served alcohol to his masonry

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p.29.

<sup>68</sup> Leslie Choquette. "Compagnonnage in Eighteenth-Century New France". in *Essays in French Colonial History: Proceedings of the 21st Annual Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society*, by A. J. B. Johnston. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1995., pp.75-91, p.76.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p.76.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p.76-77.

<sup>71</sup> AN, G2 182, fols. 148-357 cited in Choquette, p.84-85.

workers in their inn. That night, according to Laumonier, Brûlevillage gave the ribbons to the soldiers who then asked the innkeeper's wife to make cockades out of them. Cockades were not customarily worn by soldiers in this time period. The red, white, blue, and yellow cockades (four of the five colours of the *compagnons*) she produced were probably requested by the soldiers to celebrate their past *compagnonnage* in France. In this episode the soldiers' military comradeship was overlaid with a recollection of fraternal craft traditions.

While the tavern helped create social kinship for special groups, the tavern also expressed the larger community's society and culture. Divisions within the society were asserted and reinforced within the walls of the public house. Louisbourg's affluent society had a stratified hierarchy whose top echelon comprised French administrators, and at the bottom rung, slaves. In between these groups were the large-scale merchants and military officers, fishing contractors, retail merchants, the inn and tavern keepers, and the soldiers (in descending order of status).

The variety of taverns in Louisbourg, like those in Europe and in the Middle Colonies of British North America<sup>72</sup>, still allowed for the segregation of the classes for the public consumption of alcohol. Differences in rank and status persisted even in the drinking places of Louisbourg. This social segregation is illustrated by an incident in one of the taverns. It demonstrates the fact that people would publicly defend their social standing. On December 14<sup>th</sup> 1750, Vital Chevalier de Grandchamp, court clerk and schoolmaster, ate supper at Louis Marie's *auberge* with two friends. During the meal the innkeeper's wife Jeanne brought to Grandchamp's table a platter of four calves' feet which she said was for dessert and said that the dish "suited him". The well-educated scrivener, upon being served the calves' feet, stood up and walked out. Feeling insulted at having been offered a dish ill-suited to a man of his stature, he felt he was being mocked by Jeanne's words. Grandchamp felt obliged to petition the courts for reparation of his

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<sup>72</sup> Jessica Kross. "'If you will not drink with me, you must fight with me': The Sociology of Drinking in the Middle Colonies", in *Pennsylvania History*, 64(1), Winter 1997, pp.28-55., p.48.

honour. Calves' feet was a dish suited for the very poor at the time. Several had witnessed the incident, and a list of the witnesses reveals that those who frequented the house were not of the same class as the plaintiff, but that most clients were seamen.<sup>73</sup> They included the innkeeper and his wife, Louis Chevalier Couillard who lived at the *auberge*; master mariner Pierre Laborde who normally took his meals at Marie's inn; Jean-Baptiste Guyon, master mariner; Joseph Treguy, master navigator; François Lucas, master mariner; Antoine Robin, sailor; and Michel Duffaut, navigator.<sup>74</sup> Grandchamp and his two companions were outsiders in this sailors' haunt and he was probably being teased as one who did not belong to the maritime brotherhood. Grandchamp, in this case, complained to the court that his honour had been offended and that he required some act of reparation to restore it.

The tavern was a location for asserting one's manhood as well as for upholding one's rank. This could involve a man's virility, pugnacity and strength. On September 11<sup>th</sup> of 1718, two men, Gilles Carbonnet from Avranches in Normandy, and an Englishman named Jean Samson, were accused of violently *killing compagnon-pêcheur* Jean Jacques with several blows to his head with a fire shovel. The two men lived at René Serré's inn and were drinking there one night when Jean Jacques supposedly began banging on the shutters of the inn, swore at the men, calling Carbonnet a "dog from Avranches" and challenging them to come out to fight. They obliged the man by chasing him and striking him down with the shovel. Later during the trial, recalling the incident, a female witness testified that when the two men returned to drink at Serré's house, they bragged about their deed aloud and argued as to which of them had hit the man the hardest.<sup>75</sup> The incident shows how men felt obliged to uphold or protect their honour and the pride they took in displaying their capacity for violence. Honour played a role in these men's lives, as did their masculinity. To be taunted and insulted by another man

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<sup>73</sup> AN, G2, Vol. 200, f.215., Transcribed by Kenneth Donovan, Parks Canada, Fortress of Louisbourg, and printed in Kenneth Donovan. 1979, p. 5-6.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> AN, G2, Volume 178, ff.101-194.

was a challenge which could obviously be serious enough to demand a violent response. Carbonnet received twenty years in the galleys for his part in Jean Jacques' death, even though the crown attorney wanted him to be hanged, while Samson was fined and forced to apologize to Jacques' widow and family. Much lesser crimes were often punishable by death, but the lenient treatment of the guilty men in this case demonstrates that defence of one's honour was a mitigating consideration and that that honour had been impugned while they were in a public place: the tavern. Yes, they killed the man, but they were partially justified by custom at the time, because a man's honour was at stake.

There are a variety of reasons why the public drinking house was so popular in Louisbourg. Many are obvious and others more complicated. Louisbourg was an urban centre from its foundation and having taverns where people would gather was an important social and cultural consideration since there were few public areas for gathering. Other towns such as Montréal, Québec, and Trois-Rivières had parish churches where the public acted out its sense of community on the church steps before and after mass, but Louisbourg did not parish church. Although one appeared on the official plans of Louisbourg, in reality it was never constructed. Those inclined to attend mass did so at the Récollet Franciscans' chapel and the Royal Chapel in the King's Bastion barracks.

There was also a marketplace in Louisbourg where townsfolk could gather<sup>76</sup>, but in winter time or in the damp, intemperate weather so common to Louisbourg, a warm tavern was probably a more agreeable place for friends, or even strangers, to meet. Because many of the settlers came from Placentia, where taverns existed already, it had been easy to transplant them in the new colony. Being a port where there were many itinerant sailors and fishermen, many men had no pre-existing social circles of old friends. Taverns were places where one could socialize in the absence of friends and family, and to develop relationships with others in solitude.

In a colonial settlement such as Louisbourg, secular diversions were rare. The tavern was one of the few places where games could be played with friends.

Card games were probably the most popular pastime in taverns. After his death, *aubergiste* Jean Seigneur's inventory stated that he had in his possession several playing cards.<sup>77</sup> Pierre Boisseau's *cabaret* was said, by Julien Fize, to have had "nombre de jeunes qui venaient continuellement pour jouer et se divertir [sic]".<sup>78</sup> It is also known that Boisseau's *cabaret* had a billiard table for its patrons.<sup>79</sup> Jean Noel's *cabaret* also held a billiard table when his permit for selling alcohol was taken away for having served drinks after hours on February 19<sup>th</sup>, 1752.<sup>80</sup>

Gambling was also popular in the inns of Louisbourg. Jean-Baptiste Lahaye, one of the co-defendants in a trial for theft from an innkeeper, testified that 200 *livres* of the 500 he had in his possession were his winnings from gambling.<sup>81</sup> In another case in 1758, a man named Seigneuret testified that he had been playing dice with shoemaker Pierre Hayet and lost all of his money to him.<sup>82</sup> Hayet had offered to lend him some and Seigneuret had accepted the offer. Seigneuret could not remember the exact amount of money he owed Hayet because he was too drunk, and he did not think he should have to pay Hayet since the latter had won his money back playing against another man. Another witness, tailor Joseph La Caze, testified that he had seen the defendant, Seigneuret, gambling that night and that he was quite inebriated from having spent the day drinking in several taverns with a man named Jean Julien.

The patrons of drinking establishments that we have encountered have mostly been men. The conventional interpretation of the history of colonial North America has it that the scarcity of women in both seventeenth-century Canada and eighteenth-century Ile Royale made the development of taverns more prevalent.

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<sup>76</sup> Donovan, 1979, p.12.

<sup>77</sup> Inventaire des biens de Jean Seigneur dit Larivière, Louisbourg, 15 mars 1745. AN, G2, vol. 199, doss. 197. and Inventaire des biens de Julien Auger dit Grandchamps. Louisbourg, 1 avril 1741. Ibid., vol. 197, doss. 142. Cited in Proulx, 1972, p. 39.

<sup>78</sup> Proulx, 1972, p.83.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Sentence du bailliage de Louisbourg, 25 février 1752, AN, G2, vol. 204, doss. 470, fols. 104v-105., Cited in Proulx, 1972, p. 40.

<sup>81</sup> AN, G2, Vol.184, ff.454-517.

<sup>82</sup> AN, G2, Vol.206, f 461, février 1758.

Robert-Lionel Séguin, for instance, used the disparity in the sexes to explain the numerous taverns:

*Quelle que soit son importance, cet écart incite les hommes à fréquenter le cabaret. Sans compagne, la 'veillée à la maison' manque d'attrait, alors que certaines cabaretières, notamment la Folleville, ont la réputation d'offrir une joyeuse compagnie aux habitués de leur établissement. Il arrive que d'autres femmes, comme à Lachine, fréquentent régulièrement l'auberge.<sup>83</sup>*

In fact, throughout its forty-five years history, men greatly outnumbered women in Louisbourg. The gap decreased somewhat, as the years went by, but the ratio of men to women was never lower than three to one.<sup>84</sup> This fact would certainly, at least partially, account for the appeal of the tavern in Louisbourg.

### **C. Soldiers**

Searching the names database<sup>85</sup> at the fortress of Louisbourg library revealed the perception soldiers had of themselves as bon-vivants and the pride they took in drinking. Being a capacious drinker was a matter of masculine pride. In the eighteenth century, and even before this time, soldiers adopted a "nom de guerre" for themselves that was used as one would use a surname and it would usually be descriptive. In the database, one finds six soldiers who adopted the name *Pret-à-boire* and one who went by *Verse-à-boire*. It is hardly surprising, with the role of drinking in military culture, that soldiers were frequent participants in Louisbourg's tavern life.

Soldiers formed anywhere from one quarter to one-half of the fortress' total population, depending on the time period examined.<sup>86</sup> Not only were most of the regular soldiers single, but their crowded, institutional living conditions and their bleak outlook on their fate made the tavern a most attractive environment. Soldiers

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<sup>83</sup> Robert-Lionel Séguin. Les Divertissements en Nouvelle-France. Ottawa: Musée national du Canada, 1968., p.19-20.

<sup>84</sup> A. J. B. Johnston. Religion in Life at Louisbourg, 1713-1758. Kingston: McGill-Queen's, 1984., p.5.

<sup>85</sup> Parks Canada, Fortress of Louisbourg. Names Database.  
<http://fortress.uccb.ns.ca/webpub/images/gateway/Fwqaddnames.htm>



in Louisbourg not only shared rooms in the barracks with twenty or so other men, but they also shared bunks with other soldiers and usually two men slept together in one bed. This lack of private living space made the tavern not only an attractive meeting place, but a near necessity in soldiers' lives. Jessica Kross found the same scenario in the eighteenth-century Middle Colonies British North America, that cramped living space influenced the popularity of spending time in taverns.<sup>87</sup> Some soldier-workers, for lack of beds in the barracks, even lived in local inns.<sup>88</sup>

Soldiers in Louisbourg frequented the town's taverns where they mixed with the civilian population. In fact, they were often the recipients of a form of charity by the civilian population in exchange for companionship and conversation. On many occasions, found in several accounts, soldiers were the guests of transient sailors or *habitants-pêcheurs*, as the resident fishermen were called, for a few quarts of wine or even for a meal. Having little money, many soldiers hoped for such invitations during their visits to the town's watering holes. In 1753 a soldier named Antoine Pelegrin dit Jolicoeur was accused of having stolen a silver goblet from his captain. He defended himself in court by explaining that he had found the goblet the morning in question outside of Grégoire's tavern where he had been drinking. An habitant whom he did not know had offered him a quart of wine. He further explained that he had met this habitant at the Place d'Armes at 9 AM and that he had never seen him before.<sup>89</sup> In another example, Pierre Benoist, a ship's carpenter, when he died in 1732, had among his effects a bill for a meal that showed that he bought dinner for several of the garrison's sergeants on Sunday November 20<sup>th</sup>, 1731.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Parks Canada. A Louisbourg Primer, An Introductory Manual for Staff at the Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Site Louisbourg: The Community  
<http://fortress.uccb.ns.ca/search/epim5.html>

<sup>87</sup> Kross, 1997.

<sup>88</sup> Germain Le Parisien, for instance, worked in Jean-Baptiste Laumosnier's stonecutter workshop and lived in Laumosnier's inn. See Choquette, p.84.

<sup>89</sup> AN, G2, Vol. 202, f.266.

<sup>90</sup> AN, G2, Vol. 181, fols. 601-04, procès-verbal de vente des hardes et effets de feu Pierre Benoist, 26 mars 1732., cited in Donovan, 1979, p.2.

In another case, Mathieu Bunau, who was described as being a vagabond, was accused of theft and in his trial he testified that he met three soldiers on the morning of the crime and paid for their meals and copious amounts of alcohol. The soldiers all testified that they did not know Bunau before that day. They drank *eau de vie* with him in the morning, and in the afternoon they drank more *eau de vie*, and some wine. In the evening he bought a quarter of a goat for all of them to eat and had it served at Angélique Dauphin's inn where they also drank three or four more bottles of wine.<sup>91</sup>

With such a large population of soldiers living in crowded barracks and with little money in their pockets, it is no surprise that their names pop in and out of the judicial records for stealing and for rowdy behaviour in taverns. In the inquest into the death of a soldier name Louis Panca who drowned in a well in the summer of 1737, one soldier testified that he always went to taverns and canteens with the same friends including Panca whom he had known for three years<sup>92</sup>. He testified that they usually paid for his drinks because he could not afford to pay for them himself.

Not only were the barracks crowded, but they were reported as being in a deplorable state by the 1740's when Governor Duquesnel suggested the construction of a new barracks because of vermin infestation and the rotting away of the floors.<sup>93</sup> Governor de Forant complained of the troops saying he would not keep 100 of them because most of them were below height requirements, but he also deplored their lack of wool blankets and mattresses.<sup>94</sup> Cramped and uncomfortable quarters probably made military men seek comfort in the warm spaces of Louisbourg's taverns.

Food rations, it is estimated, using a modern calorie counter, amounted to between 1,940 and 2,240 calories per day for a soldier.<sup>95</sup> Taking into account the

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<sup>91</sup> AN, G2, Vol.184, ff.454-517.

<sup>92</sup> AN, G2, Vol.184, ff.376-378.

<sup>93</sup> Parks Canada. *The Compagnies Franches de la Marine in Louisbourg in 1745*.  
<http://fortress.uccb.ns.ca/behind/comp.html>

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

amount of work, in general, a soldier would accomplish in a day in gardens, hauling wood, and in fortress construction, a soldier needed about 2,550 calories.<sup>96</sup> On a strenuous day, a soldier would require in excess of 3,000 calories. A soldier on active duty could be lacking between 450 to 900 calories per day. Soldiers were expected to hunt and fish to supplement their rations, but it is impossible to know how many soldiers did hunt and fish successfully. Considering the nutritional shortfall of the soldier's diet, it is not surprising to find so many accounts of soldiers in taverns eating and drinking.

The quality of rations, in fact, led to a mutiny in Louisbourg in 1744. On an evening about one week before Christmas of 1744, only rotten vegetables were served to the garrison soldiers as part of the main meal of the day. What infuriated the soldiers, who were paying for their meals through salary deductions, was that several became ill, while the storehouse was still selling good vegetables to the townspeople. Rebuffed in their demands for some of the fresh stock in the store, the soldiers threatened to kill their superiors.

Along with poor food and living conditions, low salaries also denied the soldiers a comfortable life, and may have induced men to frequent the taverns of Louisbourg. Apart from slaves who performed unpaid work, the soldiers of Ile Royale were the lowest paid of all the workers in the colony. Military pay ranged from seventy-two *livres* per year for corporals, to cadets 120, and sergeants 156 *livres*, up to the captain who made, 1080 *livres* per year. To put this into perspective, fishermen made 290-300 *livres* annually, and the executioner 350, more than double what the private soldiers made.<sup>97</sup>

To add to their despair, from the soldier's base pay of nine *livres* per month, most of the wages were retained to "...cover the cost of food, clothing and a few necessary articles such as needles and combs...Only one and one-half *livres* per soldier per month were transferred to the colony's military treasury...."<sup>98</sup> Other

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Donovan, 1979, p.124.

<sup>98</sup> Allan Greer. *The Soldiers of Isle Royale, 1720-45*. History and Archaeology Series. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1979., p.36.

deductions were taken out of the soldier's pay at Louisbourg. For instance, three *livres* per year were deducted to support the surgeon's assistant.<sup>99</sup> It is doubtful that much of the remaining salary actually went to the soldier in the end since the company captain withheld the remaining fifteen *livres* of the salary to ensure any debts to him were paid.<sup>100</sup> Military pay with charges for rations and other expenses deducted, would not be, according to Allan Greer, "...enough for a bare existence at best."<sup>101</sup>

Soldiers in Louisbourg were not allowed to purchase goods from merchants on credit, instead, each captain of a company could sell items to his men on credit. The captains provided, at inflated prices, essential items such as shoes and stockings, liquor, extra food, and tobacco. The items that were standard military issue were never in sufficient supply. In order to collect their debt for the sale of these items, the officers "...had the 30 *so/s* per month that remained of their men's military wages after deductions paid directly into their hands."<sup>102</sup>

To supplement their wages, many soldiers performed extra guard duty in the summer (a special fund was set up using a tax from men exempted from guard duty), others helped build houses or did odd jobs, and several helped in the construction of the fortifications.<sup>103</sup> Soldiers working on the fortifications received their pay directly from the private contractor and separately from their military wages.<sup>104</sup> Because of the lack of civilian labour, soldiers were in an enviable position for negotiating a higher salary. In some instances, soldiers even successfully staged demonstrations and refused to work in order to obtain a raise in wages.<sup>105</sup> The amount of money the soldiers made while working on the fortifications, by 1720, had risen from about 20 *sous* to 35 *sous* per day in some workshops.<sup>106</sup> The extra money allowed them luxuries, at first, but their success at

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., p.38.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., p.36-37.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., p.37.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid. and Choquette, 1995, p.82.

<sup>106</sup> Choquette, p.82.

securing a comfortable income was short-lived. Between 1730 and 1744, officers of the *Compagnies-Franches* de la Marine managed to divert a substantial portion of the income the soldiers made from private work. It is not known how they managed to persuade the contractors to transfer these funds.<sup>107</sup> Following this change, the officers also began paying the men their wages in cash only once per year and at the end of the construction season "...thereby all but eliminating the possibility that any of them could stay out of debt."<sup>108</sup>

It was no wonder, considering the exploitation by officers, their poverty, and difficult living conditions that soldiers spent much of their time (spare and work time) in the tavern. With no money and morale probably quite low, there were few other things for soldiers to do in their spare time but drink. The tavern and the generosity of others alleviated the boredom and perhaps prevented malnutrition for many of the soldiers. Along with better quality of food to be had in the local inns and taverns, alcoholic drinks with his companions were also probably the soldier's only escape from his economic exploitation, while satisfying his social needs.

On some occasions, because of delays in receiving funds from the crown, the contractor in charge of the construction of the fortifications was unable to pay the soldiers in cash and distributed notes redeemable for goods, including wine.<sup>109</sup> When money was available soldiers were paid fortnightly, and on the days they were paid, according to Allan Greer, many "...went straight to the taverns and did not reappear for several days"<sup>110</sup>. In the 1730s and 1740s, each captain of a *compagnie franche* operated a canteen where his men could drink wine and liquor on credit and at very high prices.<sup>111</sup> These were located in the King's bastion, except for one run by a man named Olivier, which was in the Queen's Bastion. There were many complaints about absenteeism and drunkenness because of the

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid., p.39.

<sup>108</sup> C11B Vol.23, fols. 88-90v, Bigot to minister, 15 Oct. 1741, and vol. 29, fols. 306-15, Franquet to minister, 13 Oct. 1750. Cited in Greer, 1979, p.39.

<sup>109</sup> Greer, 1979,., p.38.

<sup>110</sup> AN, C11B, Vol.5, fol. 136v, Saint-Ovide and Mézy to minister, 10 Nov. 1720, cited in Greer, 1979, p.38. Arsenault, p.131.

<sup>111</sup> Greer, 1979, p.39.

canteens and there were allegations that some officers forced working soldiers to spend their earnings on drink.<sup>112</sup> *commissaire-ordonnateur* François Bigot suppressed the officers' wet canteens in 1742.<sup>113</sup>

To sum up the soldiers' situation, their presence in the taverns of the town satisfied their need to escape their meagre existence in the military. Their mingling with the civilian population in taverns demonstrates the bonds of community the soldiers helped create among themselves and with others, and tavern life was part of the popular culture of Louisbourg.

#### IV. THE STRUGGLES OVER TAVERNS IN LOUISBOURG

Taverns had been present at Placentia before 1713 and the authorities there had disapproved of the public consumption of liquor. When the settlers moved to the future site of Louisbourg after the Treaty of Utrecht, it was immediately decided by colonial authorities that taverns would not be allowed in the new settlement. But, by 1714, it was clear that *cabarets* were present in the colony, despite the decision to ban them. M. l'Hermite, the engineer in charge of the fortifications, wrote a letter to the authorities in France in November 1714, about various aspects of the new settlement, including the taverns.<sup>114</sup> Although taverns were already established, authorities, nonetheless, attempted to either get rid of them or, at the very least, control them. The same year, in a letter to Governor Costebelle of Ile Royale, who had been the Governor at Placentia, the minister for colonies, Jérôme de Pontchartrain wrote "Il ne faut pas permettre l'installation des *cabaretiers* et des marchands en détail, surtout français, puisqu'ils ne subsistent que par le travail des autres. D'ailleurs il faudra établir des règlements pour l'Ile Royale."<sup>115</sup> But, by 1715, Governor Costebelle said in a letter that the ordinance against taverns had been too harsh during this time of resettlement from Newfoundland to Cape Breton and that he had regretted being

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid., p.39.

<sup>113</sup> Proulx, 1972, p.5.

<sup>114</sup> AN, CIIB, Volume 1, ff.73-76.

<sup>115</sup> AN, B, Volume 36-7, pp.51-74.

so harsh on the issue and should have waited until the colony had started flourishing economically before imposing such a regulation.<sup>116</sup> The colonial administration desired an orderly settlement free from the problems blamed on drinking<sup>117</sup> but from this letter it is clear that administrators wavered on the issue, and that imposing such a law was probably not regarded as urgent. While authorities discussed the matter, enterprising colonists had already established taverns, regardless of authorities' wishes. Louisbourg's nonconformist character was expressed by the defiance by the publicans and innkeepers in the fortified town and by their patrons in the fortified town. This aggressive commercialism that defied colonial authority's rule was to be a characteristic trait of Louisbourg's culture throughout its history. The public drinking establishments in Louisbourg were an issue fought over and discussed at length by the authorities. The defiance against restrictive regulations can be seen as an expression of the population's generally defiant attitude toward authority and it can be seen as a fight to uphold their customs and culture.

While the presence of large numbers of inns and taverns, and their role in Louisbourg culture is well documented, there exist no conclusive explanations for their persistence. Why did liquor retailers succeed in fighting against the authorities for their existence and win so easily? And what does this victory mean for the interpretation of the role of the tavern in colonial history.

To begin with, one can point immediately to the colonial administration's see-sawing decisions on the port as the capital of Ile Royale for the start of the boom of drinking establishments in Louisbourg. The liquor retailers took advantage of the government's indecision. Louisbourg was chosen as the first site for the capital of Ile Royale, in 1713, but the capital was moved to Port Dauphin in 1715, and only in 1717 did the administrative seat return to Louisbourg. In the spring of 1717, when the decision to return to Louisbourg had been made, the Superior Council had agreed that a limit of four taverns should be maintained for all of the

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<sup>116</sup> AN, CIIB, Volume 1, ff. 141-148.

<sup>117</sup> AN, CIIB, Volume 1, ff. 73-76.

town.<sup>118</sup> But of course it was too late to impose such a law, enterprising colonists had already taken advantage of the absence of authority to make money by selling alcohol. In fact, by 1721, there were already twenty-one taverns in the fortified town.<sup>119</sup>

One hint that administrators were not so determined in their efforts to limit the number of taverns is that they decided that, while limiting their number, they would also try to keep the price of wine from being too high.<sup>120</sup> On one hand they tried to control liquor sales, but on the other hand they wanted to ensure that individuals could afford to buy it. Whether because of the realization that they could never manage to control the public sale of alcohol, or perhaps out of personal interest, or even the best interest of the colonists, the authorities never managed to effectively impose laws to control the number of taverns in Louisbourg.

The administration's failure in limiting the number of drinking establishments reveals the power of commercial interests on Ile Royale. The record of the struggles demonstrates well the power of the lower ranks of Louisbourg society to resist their superiors. But what aspects of this culture made it so difficult for the colonial administration to deal with public drinking?

According to A.J.B. Johnston, the period between 1715 and 1717, in which Louisbourg was replaced by Port Dauphin as the capital of Ile Royale, affected the urban development of the port town.

The 1715 decision not to make Louisbourg the seat of royal administration had meant that construction in the town went on from 1713 in a largely uncontrolled manner. Until 1717, and even afterward, urban development in Louisbourg took place more or less where and how the first residents wanted it. ... Builders erected whatever structures they wanted, using whatever materials they preferred.<sup>121</sup>

If the structures themselves were not being regulated, it is abundantly clear that what went on inside would also not be regulated. Louisbourg, being a major port, had easy access to alcoholic drinks, the reselling of them was even easier. A living was easily "scraped out" by many vendors without too much difficulty. With

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<sup>118</sup> AN, Col., C 11 B, Volume 2, ff.75-83.

<sup>119</sup> Proulx, 1972, p.10.

<sup>120</sup> AN, Col., C 11 B, Volume 2, ff.75-83.



easy access to the wine and liquor, and weak enforcement of public policy, the attractiveness and appeal of opening one's doors to those willing to pay for a drink was apparent.

Following the final selection of Louisbourg as the capital of Ile Royale, the administration of the colony met with very little success in its attempts at limiting taverns. Throughout the town's existence, the colonial records are filled with regulatory battles. On January 8<sup>th</sup>, 1717, Pierre-Auguste de Soubras, the *commissaire-ordonnateur* of Ile Royale, as head of civil administration of the colony, wrote to the *Conseil de la Marine* to request a reduction in the number of taverns on Ile Royale.<sup>122</sup> De Soubras, despite widespread opposition, had been attempting to exercise control over the sale of alcohol since 1715. He found himself with the impossible task of enforcing the laws against the taverns and pleaded with the Ministry to approve them.<sup>123</sup> Alcohol and taverns, according to de Soubras, were the principal cause of disorders in the colony.<sup>124</sup> In 1715 he had attempted to collect a tax on alcohol to establish a hospital but had to drop the idea because of the opposition to the tax by the powerful fishing interests. De Soubras grew increasingly frustrated at not being able to limit the number of taverns in Louisbourg and clashed with Governor de Costebelle on the issue.

In response to de Soubras' numerous inquiries concerning his request, on March 27, 1716, Costebelle reported that the Superior Council would not prevent those wishing to sell wine and *eau de vie* from doing so.<sup>125</sup> De Soubras had requested that only fishermen be allowed to run bars. In a move to probably appease De Soubras, the council promised to enforce, as much as was possible, law and order and to convince the tavern owners to close their doors during mass. On April 22, 1716, de Soubras requested again that the Superior Council render a final decision on the matter of legislating taverns. Costebelle responded that he

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<sup>121</sup> Johnston., 1995., p. 5.

<sup>122</sup> AN, Col., C 11 B, Volume 2, ff. 09-13.

<sup>123</sup> AN, Col., C 11 B, Volume 1, ff. 189-192.

<sup>124</sup> "Soubras, Pierre-Auguste de", in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 1701-1740.*, Vol.II. David M. Hayne (general editor), Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969, pp.611-612, p. 611.

<sup>125</sup> AN, Col., C 11 B, Volume 2, ff.84-89.

had not observed any activities that were contrary to the orders of the council and that, in fact, there had been no complaints from the clergy concerning drinking houses.<sup>126</sup> On January 8, 1717, de Soubras again begged the council to finally act on his request.<sup>127</sup>

The clash between the two senior administrators over liquor vendors was not only personal, but was also a consequence of the overlapping jurisdictions that were characteristic of Old Regime government, which did not distinguish between legislative, administrative and judicial functions. Jurisdictional conflicts arose between the Governor, the *commissaire-ordonnateur* and the *Conseil Supérieur*. Enforcement of drinking regulations was one of the most important of these clashes. The bureaucratic deadlock left the population free to go its own way. They exercised this freedom from authority by opening taverns without licences, as was required in Canada.

Even without internal conflict, enforcement of this type of legislation and decrees, was also very difficult, and perhaps lax. Decrees regulating taverns and the sale of alcohol were issued in 1719, every year from 1719 to 1722, and between 1727 and 1728. However, by 1726 there were 15 taverns in Louisbourg (not counting the canteens for the soldiers) for a population of less than a thousand.

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<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> AN, Col., C 11 B, Volume 2, ff.9-13

**Table 1 - List of Ordinances affecting the sale of alcohol in Louisbourg<sup>128</sup>**

X - the year in which the legislation was passed

| <i>Ordinance stipulations</i>  | 1771 | 1772 | 1773 | 1774 | 1775 | 1776 | 1777 | 1778 | 1779 | 1780 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Inhabitants possessing a craft or trade by which they can earn a living prohibited from selling alcoholic beverages  |      |      |      |      | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    |
| Permission of the authorities required for selling alcoholic beverages   | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    |
| Establishment must be identified by means of a sign  |      | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    |
| No alcoholic beverages to be sold to soldiers on working days.   |      | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    |
| No alcoholic beverages to be sold to sailors and journeymen fishermen. In 1742 this law was changed to only those days suitable for fishing or fish drying |      |      |      |      | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    |
| Only master fishermen may sell to their own crews  |      | X    | X    |      | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    |
| No Alcoholic beverages to be sold during divine service on Sundays and holidays  |      | X    |      |      | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    |
| Itinerant vendors prohibited from retail selling of alcoholic beverages  | X    | X    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Canteens restricted to soldiers  |      |      |      |      |      | X    |      |      |      |      |
| Selling to soldiers on credit prohibited   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | X    |
| Selling to Indians prohibited  |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | X    | X    |
| No alcoholic beverages after the tattoo has been sounded   |      | X    |      |      | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    | X    |
| No alcoholic beverages when the call to arms has been sounded for manoeuvres   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | X    |
| Public houses in new villages prohibited   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | X    |      |
| Public houses outside of Louisbourg prohibited within one league of the town   |      | X    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Foreign sailors may not be taken as lodgers  |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | X    |
| Domestic servants without leave of absence may not be taken as lodgers   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | X    |
| Licence made valid for 3 years   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | X    |

The laxity in enforcing these laws was probably due to varying attitudes toward the liquor trade of different administrators. For instance, De Soubras' replacement, Le Normant de Mézy felt that soldiers and sailors had to be able to drink because they, in his mind, worked only towards this end anyway.<sup>129</sup> With such a cynical attitude toward public drinking, de Mézy also favoured drinking establishments and expressed just that view on one occasion. He wrote that not only did many tavern owners have children and cultivate gardens, which apparently legitimized them in his eyes, but that taverns also contributed to the

<sup>128</sup> Adapted from Donovan, Kenneth. *Life in Louisbourg's Public Houses: A Training Manual* (Unpublished Manuscript), 1979.

<sup>129</sup> AN, Col., C 11 B, Volume 5, ff.75-77., quoted in T.A. Crowley, *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 1741-1770.*, Vol. III., 1974, p. 388, and Proulx, 1972, p.28.

economic well being of the colony. "*D'autre part, plus il y a de consommation et de liberté dans le commerce, plus un établissement attire les navires, et le commerce en va mieux.*"<sup>130</sup> And on June 14<sup>th</sup>, 1720 a ruling issued by de Mézy fixed the maximum price of alcoholic drinks in proportion to the importer's buying prices from the ships in the harbour at Louisbourg, further demonstrating his relaxed attitude toward drinking.<sup>131</sup>

De Mézy also saw the usefulness of the revenue from the sale of alcohol in the colony. In 1720 he called for a tax on wine, brandy, and cod to pay for a church, a school, and a court house.<sup>132</sup> The traffic in alcohol was so important and tavern owners so influential, that a public protest was launched against the proposed tax<sup>133</sup> and, in the end, only a one-year tax on cod was implemented because the proposed tax on alcohol was opposed yet again by the mercantile sector. The fact that colonial administration would tax cod, the colony's most important export, before taxing liquor is an indication of the importance of the trade of alcohol in Louisbourg and a sign of the administration's weakness in the face of mercantile opposition.

### **A. Control of Labour**

Concerns over labour were at the forefront of colonial authorities' attempts at controlling, through ordinances, public drinking in Louisbourg. Fishermen being critical to the prosperity of the economy of Ile Royale, and given the importance of the labour of soldiers, the administration attempted on several occasions to regulate the sale of alcohol to both these groups. Complaints were often sent to the Superior Council to seeking to prevent soldiers, workers, and fishermen from drinking in taverns. On one occasion *habitant-pêcheur* François Lessene wrote a letter to the Conseil Supérieur complaining that

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<sup>130</sup> AN, Col., C 11 B, Volume 5, ff. 75-77.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Crowley, 1974, p. 388.

<sup>133</sup> Terence Crowley. "'Thunder Gusts': Popular Disturbances in Early French Canada", Interpreting Canada's Past: Before Confederation, J. M. Bumsted (editor), 103-23. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1986., p. 112.

drinking in taverns. On one occasion *habitant-pêcheur* François Lessene wrote a letter to the Conseil Supérieur complaining that

*Mes gens sont continuellement dans ces cabarets qui sont sur nos graves et que lon peut à juste titre apeller le coupe gorge des abittant pecheurs, le supliant, Messieurs, fait de gros frais pour batir des chauffaut, et entretenir beaucoup dequipage pour pouvoir subsister avec sa famille et cest dans le temps qu'il travaille le plus, qu'il se trouve le plus operé [sic] par ces cabarets qui atire ses gens....lon peut dire Messieurs que ce qui cause la ruine de tout les abitans ce sont les cabarets qui sont sur les grave tant dans ce havre que tous les autres de la Coste et il es Messieurs de votre Justice et de linterrest de toute la collonie dy mettre ordre.*<sup>134</sup>

In 1717, de Soubras writes that the "...*petits cabarets retiennent les soldats et il est impossible de les avoir pour les travaux...*".<sup>135</sup> In May of 1717, only four cabarets were authorized to sell alcohol to workers and soldiers.<sup>136</sup> In a 1718 ordinance, the authorities decided to that "*Suite à la représentation faite pare [sic] les habitants-pêcheurs, du désordre causé par les cabaretiers qui attirent chez eux leurs pêcheurs...Défense à toute personne, hors aux maîtres des dits pêcheurs, de donner de la boisson à leurs gens...*"<sup>137</sup> And, in 1721, another ordinance was passed

*...pour défendre de vendre du vin aux soldats hors la ville de Louisbourg: Plusieurs cabarets étant établis hors de la ville et même dans les bois, qui attirent les soldats qui travaillent aux fortifications et les retiennent même plusieurs jours pour les exciter à boire, le roi veut empêcher la continuation d'un pareil abus.*<sup>138</sup>

On some occasions, employers even took their employees to court for drinking during working hours. In June of 1733, André Carrerot, royal storekeeper in Louisbourg charged his schooner's captain François Briant for spending too much time in the *cabarets* and, as a result, neglecting his work.<sup>139</sup>

The penalty for serving a soldier-worker during working hours could be severe, one could lose all the alcohol in one's possession, or even have the house where one sold alcohol confiscated, but the soldier was often the one who usually suffered the most from the infraction. In 1714, *commissaire-ordonnateur de*

<sup>134</sup> AN, G2, vol. 183, fols. 392-393. Transcribed in Proulx, 1972, p. 77-79.

<sup>135</sup> AN, C 11 B, Volume 2, f. 258.

<sup>136</sup> AN, C 11 B, Volume 2, ff.75-83.

<sup>137</sup> AN, C 11 B, Volume 3, f. 146.

<sup>138</sup> AN, B, Volume 44-2, pp.399-400.

<sup>139</sup> AN, B, Volume 268, fol. 118-119

Soubras' ordinance stated that if a soldier or worker under contract with the King was found drinking in an establishment without written permission, not only would the tavern owner be fined between 100 and 300 *livres*, but the soldiers found drunk would be "...mis aux fers et le lendemain sur le cheval de bois pendant une heure ce qui continuera toujours en augmentant de demi-heure jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient avoués où ils ont pris les boissons."<sup>140</sup> Control of the drinking habits of the labourers of New France demonstrates colonial authorities' fear of the tavern, and of the sale of alcohol to the lower-ranks, but it also shows their interest in keeping workers on the job and out of the tavern.

Realizing that their costs could be recovered through the sale of alcohol, or to supplement their income from their sale of fish, many *marchand-pêcheurs* in Louisbourg opened their own drinking establishments in Louisbourg. François Lessene, who had written to complain to the authorities of his losses due to *cabarets* on the beach at Louisbourg, while condemning these establishments, petitioned at the same time for the right to open his own *cabaret*. "...Accorder au suppliant la permission de vendre ses grives, congédier ses équipages et qu'il lui soit permis de lever l'enseigne pour débiter à boire pour lui aider à soutenir sa famille..."<sup>141</sup> There are no records indicating that Lessene received a permit to open a tavern.<sup>142</sup> His letter, was more likely intended to dramatize his situation for the authorities.

Laws were also issued so that only the *habitants-pêcheurs* could sell drink to their fishermen. One regulation declared "Défense à toute personne, hors aux maîtres des dits pêcheurs, de donner de la boisson à leurs gens seulement et non à d'autres; sous peine, pour le contrevenant, de 100 *livres* d'amende, la première fois..."<sup>143</sup>. Some service contracts even provided a liquor ration for the worker, showing that liquor was a dietary essential. In 1730, Jean Hamon signed on to work for Sieur Lecluzeau and, in the agreement between the two, Lecluzeau had

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<sup>140</sup> AN, dépôt des colonies, collection Moreau de St-Mery, F 3, 50, page 19. Cited in Arsenault, 1971, p. 59.

<sup>141</sup> AN, G2, vol. 183, fols. 392-393. Transcribed in Proulx, 1972, p. 77-79.

<sup>142</sup> Proulx, 1972 and Donovan, 1979.

to provide for Hamon not only eighty *livres*, but a pair of shoes and a *chopine*" of *eau de vie* per week.<sup>144</sup> In 1732, François-Michel LeBreton hired Julien Grandin as a *chaloupe* master and promised to pay him for the season with thirty-eight quintals of cod, a case of oil, and eighteen *pots* of *eau de vie*.<sup>145</sup>

These struggles of officials, traders and employers over the public sale of alcohol demonstrate to us the important role of alcoholic drinks in daily life and popular culture in the North American colony of Ile Royale. When the authorities tried to curtail drinking, it was the public consumption of alcohol by the workforce they wanted to curb, not the consumption of alcohol itself. No laws existed which prevented colonists from purchasing alcohol for private consumption. Employers were also concerned with their own profits when petitioning for restrictions on the sale of alcohol to their workers. It was the merchants' interests and colony's economy that legislators were trying to protect when they issued laws against selling drink, not the well being of the lower ranking soldiers, workers, and fishermen.

Soldiers and fishermen were a large part of the labour force and mercantile interests required their labour in order to gain wealth. If the workforce spent a great deal of time (work and leisure) in taverns, the authorities worried for many reasons. First, the time in the tavern meant they might spend their working hours there instead of labouring for the wealth of the *habitant-pêcheurs* or building the fortifications for the protection of the island colony's capital.

Control over the sellers of alcohol was not new to the Ancien Régime. Fear of working-class revolt because of the unifying role of the *cabaret* had been expressed in France. Jean Nicolas, writing on the history of the *cabaret* in France found that police ordinances in Lyon forced the *aubergistes* to denounce all workers' meetings under their roofs. It was in Lyon again, in 1744, that a hundred or so silk workers gathered at an inn in the Quarantaine quarter to launch their

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<sup>143</sup> AN, C11B, Volume 3, f. 146.

<sup>144</sup> Archives de la Charente Maritime, B, 274. Cited in Arsenault, 1971, p. 58.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

strike which then turned into a riot. On this occasion, the authorities' worst labour fears had been realized."<sup>146</sup>

Thomas Brennan has found the same grave concerns and a hostility of civil authority toward the working classes and their drinking in France. He explains that in seventeenth and eighteenth-century France, there was anxiety over the amount of alcohol workers drank. Royal officials, the Church, the police, merchants, and middle-class authors of the day had formed a common front in their hostility to taverns and popular drinking.<sup>147</sup> The public drinking place had long been the target of élite and of official condemnation because it represented a distinct lower-class culture, with its own values, sociability, and social space.<sup>148</sup>

More than a place for the enjoyment of alcohol they provided, public drinking houses were a point of contention between the people of New France and colonial government. Upholding a hierarchical social order played an important role in the government of Louisbourg as it did in Absolutist France. The struggles between the different levels of authority and the tavern keepers demonstrate a popular culture at odds with colonial administration. What it shows us is an administration faltering in its attempts to control that popular culture. State intervention put the interests of the upper ranks of society before those of the people below them, as it did in France. This assured them of an exploitable clientele in the lower orders of the colony.<sup>149</sup>

Lower-class culture in Louisbourg was at odds with colonial authority and the tavern was the symbol of this defiance. Soldiers and fishermen in Louisbourg continued to frequent taverns and tavern-keepers continued selling alcohol to them despite official objections and regulatory ordinances. In fact, when examining all the regulations issued in Louisbourg on the subject of taverns, out of twelve ordinances regulating the public sale of alcohol, eight simply repeated earlier laws

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<sup>146</sup> Jean Nicolas. "Le tavernier, le juge et le curé", *Histoire*, 25 1980, pp.20-8., p. 25.

<sup>147</sup> Thomas Edward Brennan. "Towards the cultural history of alcohol in France", *Journal of Social History*, 23(1), 1989, pp.71-92., p.79.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, p.82.

<sup>149</sup> Proulx, 1972, p. 36.



because of the past failure to enforce the rules.<sup>150</sup> (see table 1) Authorities in Louisbourg were trying to uphold the same ideal of public order as Royal authorities were doing in France, by attempting to control the labour force, but unlike in France<sup>151</sup>, the authorities in Louisbourg, for the most part, failed to establish what they perceived as “good order”. Louisbourg society’s relationship to authority, specifically defiance of authority’s attempts at regulating the social aspects of their lives in taverns, helped create, a Louisbourg culture.

### **B. Order in Society**

The control of labour by colonial authorities in Louisbourg was part of a larger goal of senior officials to establish order in society. The ideal of order, or “bon ordre”, applied to all of society and came as a result of attempts at ending the chaos France had experienced for several generations. Following decades of civil war and chaos in France, royal absolutism was perceived as a cure for civil disorder. Hope for domestic peace facilitated acceptance of the king’s supremacy.<sup>152</sup> Order was a civil ideal and became an official goal. According to one author, “Good order was a social hierarchy, with the king at its apex, and the visible subordination of his subjects, from the highest to the lowest rank.”<sup>153</sup> The application of this ideal to the general public in France and New France was hierarchic. Royal officials were influenced by René Descartes who believed that in nature society there were classes of creatures designed for specific predetermined functions.<sup>154</sup> In order for society to function, each person had to be confined to one of these predetermined duties, and in that subordination determined by that person’s rank in the hierarchy.<sup>155</sup> Subordination was to be maintained through

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>151</sup> In 1708 in Paris, Madame Longpré, an *aubergiste*, was imprisoned for two months for refusing to allow the inspection of her establishment. In 1711, a café owner was arrested for the same reason. Both from Philip F. Riley. “Hard times, police and the making of public policy in the Paris of Louis XIV”, *Historical Reflections*, 10(2), 1983, pp.313-34., p. 318.

<sup>152</sup> Moogk, 2000., p.57.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., p.77.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

punishment, if necessary, and the purpose of justice was to keep each person in his ascribed place in society.

Letters from colonial administration at Louisbourg clearly aimed at establishing the same type of order in Louisbourg that French authorities were striving for in the mother country's cities. Letters from colonial authorities are sprinkled with the words "*ordre*" and "*désordre*" to describe the happenings in the colony. Their particular struggles with taverns demonstrate their fears of a society without order or control. Policing daily life through public policy, as was the case in France, with the welfare of the people in mind, was instituted in Louisbourg. For instance, in 1735, colonial authorities ruled that pigs owned by townspeople could not be allowed to run free in the streets of Louisbourg "*...a cause du damage que ces sortes d'animaux font, non seulement aux particuliers, mais aux travaux du Roy...*"<sup>156</sup> The tavern being the only place for public gatherings by the lower ranking order of people was one of the areas that administration attempted to control in its public policy. Similarly, taverns were censured as were these errant pigs. The documents are sprinkled with references to taverns as sources of "*désordre*", while insisting that control over them was imperative. In November 1717, Governor St. Ovide wrote in his report that the census which had just been conducted in 1716, did not include, as he referred to them, the "*cabaretiers qui ruinent entièrement la colonie*".<sup>157</sup> At the same time, de Sourbas wrote that "*Ceux qui pourraient mettre fin à ses désordres, par la suppression des cabarets, sont les premiers intéressés dans ce commerce.*"<sup>158</sup> Again, in 1717, cabaret owners were forced, through ordinances, to move their establishments to the north end of the harbour outside the town.<sup>159</sup> And again in 1718, we have a decree to "*Faire passer les petits cabarets des particuliers du côté du nord, pour ainsi éloigner la source du désordre.*"<sup>160</sup> In August 1720, following numerous complaints by the merchant fishermen to the *Conseil Supérieur*, the council wrote a letter in response which

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<sup>156</sup> AN, C11A, Volume 64, fol. 299-304v, April 20<sup>th</sup>, 1735

<sup>157</sup> AN, C11B, Volume 3, fol. 236.

<sup>158</sup> AN, C11B, Volume 2, ff. 273-277., 12 November, 1717.

<sup>159</sup> AN, C11B, Volume 2, ff. 163-184.

recommended the destruction of all houses which sold alcohol outside of the fortifications and to allow drinking houses within the fortifications only "...*afin de les avoir sous les yeux et d'empêcher les désordres qui pourraient se commettre dans ces maisons*."<sup>161</sup> The administrators could not even decide whether banishment from the town or incorporation into the settlement was the best course of action for dealing with taverns. As for the evils they attributed to *cabarets*, there was more consistency.

In attempting to control the drinking habits of the soldiers and fishermen of Louisbourg, it is evident, that good order was the aim. The colonial authorities required, for the functioning of society, that all its members fulfill their predetermined roles. If soldiers or fishermen were perceived as being drunk and disorderly, or absent from work, society was not functioning as it should. Furthermore, fear of having the lower-ranks steal goods in order to pay for their drinking was also at the forefront of their concerns. Both the *Coutume de Paris*, and a 1754 ordinance in Louisbourg both attempted to discourage the sale of alcohol to soldiers on credit.

Colonial authority in Louisbourg, like Royal authority in France, attempted to establish order with policing. As early as 1667, Louis the XIV<sup>th</sup> had named Gabriel Nicholas de la Reynie to the post of *lieutenant général* of police in Paris. This was a position that included the responsibility for, along with sanitation and street lighting, the policing of public morals.<sup>162</sup> By the early eighteenth century, the lieutenant general's deputy, the lieutenant general of police, had widened his control to include the activities inside of public drinking establishments, in rooming houses, and cafés.<sup>163</sup> Restoration of public order was the intention following several street brawls which had resulted from a growing number of unruly, foreign tourists.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> AN, B, Volume 40-45, pp.1389-1406.

<sup>161</sup> AN, C11B, Volume 5, ff.75-77.

<sup>162</sup> Riley, 1983, p. 314.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 317.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*

Both soldiers and special civilian police were dispatched to patrol Louisbourg in order to attempt to control what went on in the taverns, as they had done in Paris. On June 17<sup>th</sup>, 1719, Governor St. Ovide wrote that, from that day on, the inspection of the taverns of Louisbourg would be conducted by military officers and by those of the admiralty.<sup>165</sup> Two days later on the 19<sup>th</sup> of June, another letter from commissaire *ordonnateur* de Soubras explains the request for a civil police unit to inspect the *cabarets* "...pour y empêcher le désordre, et dans la réglementation de la vente des marchandises prohibées."<sup>166</sup> The prohibited goods were, undoubtedly, stolen property. On July 11<sup>th</sup> of that same summer, both Soubras and St. Ovide ordered a sergeant of the garrison, Lachaume, and Larivière, *archer* of the Marine, to both visit the *cabarets* of Louisbourg on Sundays and on holy days and to report to the senior officials any "*désordres*" there caused by drunkenness and to impose a sense of "*ordre*".<sup>167</sup> Despite these law enforcement provisions and the continued legislation against them, taverns never stopped increasing until the end of the French presence on Ile Royale.

## V. DEFIANCE AGAINST THE FORCES OF ORDER

### A. Commerce

Why were the people of Louisbourg successful at resisting the wishes of French officials and how did the townsfolk manage to successfully sustain so many inns and taverns despite so many ordinances and laws restricting their trade? One simple fact is that public trade in alcohol was a lucrative business. Many people supplemented their income from other sources with tavernkeeping. When he passed away in 1755, butcher and *aubergiste* Pierre Boisseau's estate included a farmstead on the Mira river, and three houses and a store built on two lots he owned inside the fortress.<sup>168</sup> Boisseau was illiterate yet he managed to accumulate a great deal of wealth from his inn. Although this account is not completely typical,

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<sup>165</sup> AN, C11B, Volume 4, ff.270.

<sup>166</sup> AN, C11B, Volume 4, ff.270v.

<sup>167</sup> AN, C11B, Volume 4, ff.277.

for many settlers in the colony were destitute<sup>169</sup>, Boisseau is an example of the possibilities for anyone in Louisbourg selling liquor in a settlement where commerce and trade flourished.

While the public trade in alcohol troubled the moral feelings and wishes of authorities, it was consistent with the character of Louisbourg as a colonial trading centre and port town. In fact, *commissaire-ordonnateur* Le Normant de Mézy at one point wrote that taverns contributed to the economic well being of the colony. "*D'autre part, plus il y a de consommation et de liberté dans le commerce, plus un établissement attire les navires, et le commerce en va mieux.*"<sup>170</sup> He was probably referring to the number of New England vessels which came to trade in Louisbourg and accepted French liquor and wine in exchange for building materials and foodstuffs.

The fortress of Louisbourg used to be looked upon as having been the defensive outpost protecting the approaches to Canada, but its thriving economy has now been recognized as having been important for France. In *The Other Louisbourg: Trade and Merchant Enterprise in Ile Royale, 1713-58*<sup>171</sup>, Christopher Moore explored the socio-economic life of Louisbourg and uncovered impressive facts about the economy of Louisbourg. Moore concluded that Louisbourg had a strong economy based on large-scale overseas trade, and that it supported a prosperous local merchant community. According to the records Moore studied, within a few years of its foundation in 1713, Ile Royale was in fact producing and exporting stocks of cod worth about three times as much as Canada's annual beaver fur exports. The result of such a strong economy was the development of a society with a civilian labour force possessing a disposable income which

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<sup>168</sup> Proulx, 1972, p. 83.

<sup>169</sup> On December 3, 1720, AN, C11B, Volume 5, ff.300-311, M. de Mézy writes: "*Il faut secourir les habitants, qui sont, depuis plus de 60 ans, les esclaves des vaisseaux de St Jean de Luz et de St Malo. A l'exception des cabaretiers, ils sont tous très pauvres.*"

<sup>170</sup> AN, C11B, Volume 5, ff. 75-77.

<sup>171</sup> See also B.A. Balcom. *The Cod Fishery of Isle Royale, 1713-1758*. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1984.

tavernkeepers were happy to help them spend. Another result was the ability, of those who managed to acquire capital, to participate in the mercantile economy.

As a result of the influence of trade, as Robert Morgan of the University College of Cape Breton has pointed out, there were cases of rapid social ascent into the highest ranks of Louisbourg.<sup>172</sup> Several families went from being small entrepreneurs to important shipping merchants all within one generation. A certain amount of mobility was possible for all levels of the hierarchy, according to Morgan. The settlement's social hierarchy was unlike that of the mother-country because of the opportunities in commerce in which many more individuals were allowed to participate. One could easily earn the money to open an inn or tavern in a busy seaport and fishing community like Louisbourg. In one case a freed-slave from Guinea named Marie Marguerite Rose, along with her Native Indian husband, opened a tavern in 1756 and managed to get credit accounts in town, one of which was with her former master.<sup>173</sup> When she died two years later, her estate was evaluated and sold for 274 *livres* - a modest, yet respectable, legacy.

Popular culture in Louisbourg was influenced by lower-ranking population's relationship with authority and by the mercantile nature of the colony. From their ability to participate in retail trade, those who managed to open a public drinking house, benefited from a freedom of action which was greater in Louisbourg than in the mother country. As a result, defiance of government ordinances to control public drinking can be seen as evidence of new latitude and of the population's self-assertiveness.

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<sup>172</sup> Robert J Morgan. "La vie sociale à Louisbourg au 18<sup>e</sup> siècle", Les Cahiers De La Société Historique Acadienne, VII(4), 1976, pp.171-82.

<sup>173</sup> Kenneth Donovan. "Slaves and Their Owners in Ile Royale, 1713-1760", Acadiensis, XXV(1), Autumn 1995, pp.3-32., p.28.

## **B.     *The Catholic Church***

Another reason for the ubiquity of taverns in Louisbourg can be traced back to the relaxed religious climate in France and the Roman Catholic Church's weakening influence on society. The Roman Catholic Church in Louisbourg is hardly mentioned among those opposing the presence of numerous taverns in the port town.

Religious devotions in Louisbourg also seem to have been considered entirely compatible with drinking liquor. In 1740, Louis Davory landed at Louisbourg from a ship he had boarded at l'Île aux Coudres in the St. Lawrence Valley. Once in Louisbourg, Davory heard mass and had run errands with the ship's cook. In the afternoon he drank with many new companions he met in a local tavern, along with an<sup>174</sup> acquaintance from Canada named Armand Clavier.<sup>175</sup> Upon returning from the vespers later in the evening, Davory and Clavier, again drank together with a soldier, and a gunner.<sup>176</sup>

In Louisbourg, the Roman Catholic Church hardly played a role in the development of the colony as it had in seventeenth-century Canada. The parish church which had been projected for in the official plans and maps of the Royal Engineers was never built and the faithful attended mass in the Récollet Franciscans' chapel until 1735 and then in the royal chapel in the King's Bastion barracks. Louisbourg was officially erected into a parish in 1726, but the colony remained a mission served only by regular rather than secular clergy.<sup>177</sup> The priestly functions in Louisbourg were shared between the Récollets from two areas of France until 1730, but there always remained a shortage of priests in the town. The ratio of priests to lay people was at 1 to 555 in 1734.<sup>178</sup> As well as being few in

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<sup>174</sup> Moore, 1982., p.15.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., p.28-29.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., p.29.

<sup>177</sup> Crowley, Terence. "The Inroads of Secularization in Eighteenth-Century New France: Church and People at Louisbourg". The Canadian Catholic Historical Association Fifty-first Annual Meeting June 11 and 12, 1984 Guelph, Ontario: Canadian Catholic Historical Association., 1984., p.7.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

number, the Récollets were not known for their intellectual prowess or for their high standard of moral conduct. A parish priest for Louisbourg, a Récollet Superior, Bénigne Le Dorz, was removed from office in 1724 because of accusations of drinking heavily in public, being boisterous, dancing and neglecting canonical rules for marriages.<sup>179</sup> Pierre de Soubras in 1716 noted that the morals and conduct of the Récollets from Paris were superior to those from Brittany. The Breton branch was the only one of the order to remain in Louisbourg after 1734. Few Louisbourgeois, except those from the religious communities, attended mass regularly as a result of the scarcity and the poor quality of the settlement's clergy.<sup>180</sup> That, however, was not an acceptable excuse for being absent at Mass, especially if the absentee was in a tavern.

Taverns in Louisbourg were forbidden to serve drinks during the hours of divine service and a fine was levied for infractions. Few publicans observed the rules yet there are no records of anyone being fined.<sup>181</sup> As well, despite the many infringements of the law, Governor Costebelle, in 1716, remarked that he had not received any complaints by the clergy about drinking houses.<sup>182</sup>

The Roman Catholic Clergy in Canada had sustained high moral order through the seventeenth century. The priest and *cabaretier*, in France, were in constant conflict during this time and the church was able to control the number of *cabarets*. In Paris, by the end of the seventeenth century, public policy adapted to the growing pace of secularization, at which point the church was no longer able to control *cabarets* by religious sanctions, and government alone acted on the issue. The police enforced public policy under direct orders from the King.<sup>183</sup> As in France, at Louisbourg, there being such a clerical lack of interest in regulating public morals and, with the church's lack of influence on society there, maintaining "bonnes mœurs" was left in the hands of the lay colonial authorities. The result, as we know, is a weak application of laws passed to impose moral order in

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid., p.8.

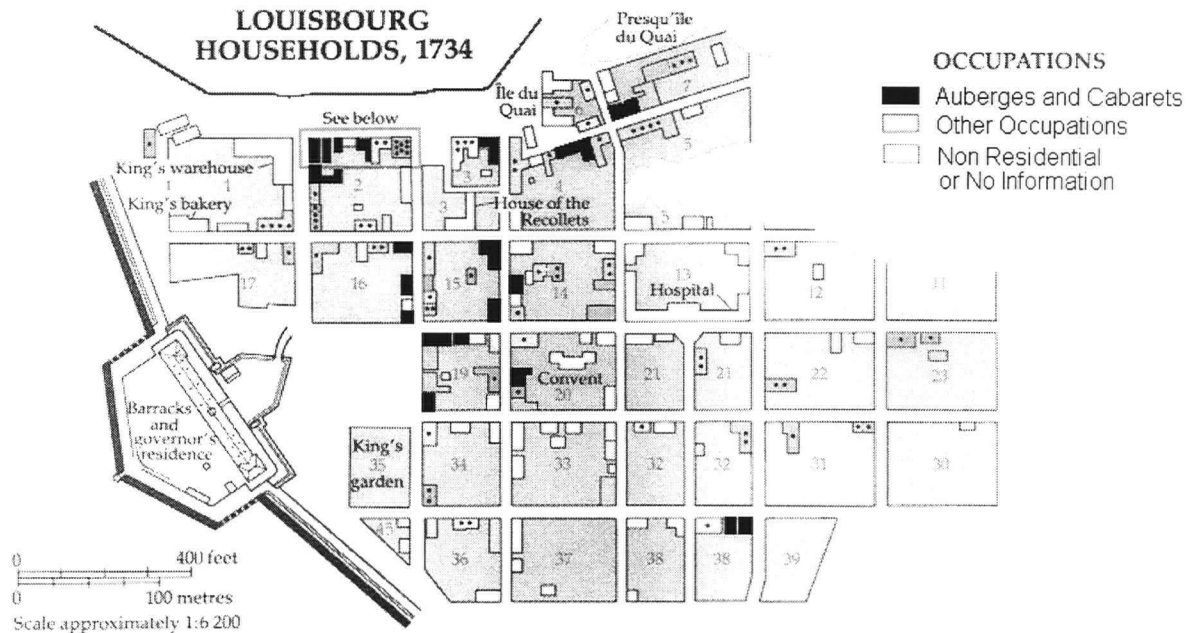
<sup>180</sup> Ibid., p.21.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid, p.21-22. It must be noted, however, that the judicial records for Louisbourg are incomplete.

<sup>182</sup> AN, C11B, Volume 2, ff.84-89.



Louisbourg. With the clergy's indifference to the drinking habits of the colonists, and with public policy poorly enforced, taverns thrived with hardly any barriers to their existence. They were free to establish themselves throughout the town, although they tended to concentrate near the main barracks and the quayside, the haunts of soldiers and sailors. (See Map 2)



Map2<sup>184</sup>

## VI. CONCLUSION

Starting with the work by Maurice Agulhon in *Pénitents et francs-maçons de l'ancienne Provence*, studies of working-class organizations have linked the existence of public drinking space in the eighteenth century to the development of a lower-class consciousness and solidarity.<sup>185</sup> Jean Nicolas, writing about the history of taverns in France explains that

<sup>183</sup> Riley, p. 328.

<sup>184</sup> Adapted from Harris, R. Cole (ed.) *Canadian Historical Atlas*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987, Volume I, plate 24.

<sup>185</sup> See Maurice Agulhon. *Pénitents et francs-maçons de l'ancienne Provence*. Paris: Fayard, 1968.; Maurice Agulhon *La république au village* [The republic in the village]. translator Janet Lloyd. Cambridge, 1982., Ron Aminzade. *Class, politics, and early industrial capitalism: a study of nineteenth-Century Toulouse, France*. Albany: 1981., and Michael Hanagan. *The logic of solidarity*. Urbana: 1980.

Contre le modèles réguliers de la société légitime, le *cabaret* offre ainsi des échappées, non seulement parce qu'il est le lieu de la jouissance profane, mais parce qu'on y sent affleurer le monde souterrain de la contestation.<sup>186</sup>

Jürgen Habermas, the German philosopher, is the first to have drawn attention to the concept of "the public" as a sign of the societal transformation in the eighteenth century toward modernity and democracy. The public sphere, he argued, was the new-found consciousness of the individual outside of family, and separate from the state and church, brought upon by the requirements of commercial life.<sup>187</sup> With the emergence of early finance and trade capitalism, the elements of a new social order had been taking shape.<sup>188</sup> At Louisbourg, it should be noted, the commercialization of society was more advanced than anywhere else in the eighteenth-century French Empire. The new materialistic consciousness set preconditions for the emergence of the modern democratic society in the west. "On the one hand capitalism stabilized the power structure of a society organized in estates, and on the other hand it unleashed the very elements within which this power structure would one day dissolve."<sup>189</sup>

David Conroy, in his book Public Houses, argues that the tavern in Boston had become the setting for the emergence of a public sphere that was critical of both the church and the state. He advances that by studying the tavern in this New England town, one realizes that it was the subversion of Puritan ethics and colonial rule which laid the foundation in Massachusetts for the new political configuration which eventually transformed itself into a republic.

Clients of taverns in Louisbourg do not necessarily express the same public sentiments which some believe led to revolution in France and in the British North American Colonies. We have no great event in Louisbourg to compare with these two, apart from the 1744 garrison mutiny, but this does not mean that a similar defiant sentiment, unique to Louisbourg did not exist, or was not developing from

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<sup>186</sup> Nicolas, p. 25.

<sup>187</sup> Jacob, Margaret C. "The Mental Landscape of the Public Sphere: A European Perspective." Eighteenth-Century Studies 28.1 (1994): 95-113., p.95

<sup>188</sup> Habermas, Jürgen. The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1989., p.14.

its public sphere. The conquest of Louisbourg in 1758 has deprived us forever of that knowledge because it brought the French seaport's history to an abrupt end. But, much like E.P. Thompson's description of eighteenth-century working class culture, the popular culture of Louisbourg defined itself through its opposition to the controls of authority. While we cannot compare a revolution with Louisbourg's independent publicans and tipplers, we can still discern, through studying the tavern, the various customs and the sentiments of the people of Louisbourg. And through the historical investigation of the tavern, we can determine that the lower-ranks' popular culture was complex, and that it no longer submitted completely to the church or the state, but instead followed the example of the port's merchants.

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<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*

## VII. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Various archival sources were examined in order to glimpse into the public lives of the people of Louisbourg. Along with the court proceedings mentioned above, here is the breakdown of the series from *the Archives Nationales de France* that I examined.

*I - Série B, Lettres envoyées*, vols. 35-109 This series contains the letters and instructions sent by the king or the minister of Marine to the governors, intendants, the officers in charge of colonies, and other officials in charge of colonial matters.

*II - Série C11B, Lettres reçues*, vols. 1-38 contains letters sent to the Marine Ministry by the civil and military officers on Ile Royale. There are many other related items in the series, such as many *mémoires* relating to the administration and economic life of the colonies, instructions transmitted to the administrators, local assembly meeting minutes, censuses, financial documents, and ordinances proclaimed by the governors and intendants.

*III- Série G2, Greffes des tribunaux*. Conseil Supérieur et Bailliage de Louisbourg, vols. 178-212). This series of court records is incomplete and the conclusion of certain cases is missing.

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