EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING CULTURE IN POST-CONQUEST QUEBEC 1760-1800

by

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ABSTRACT

The underlying problem undertaken in this study was to find out how English-speaking culture in Quebec managed to develop during the first forty years of British rule of a land that hitherto had been the home of French-speaking culture. As language is considered to be the most important aspect of a culture, so the problem narrowed itself into an examination of how the English language was kept alive in a period marked by the dearth of English-speaking schools to teach English. The reason for the survival of the English language in a land where French was the native tongue was due to the educational influences named in the Introduction. The conclusions reached in this study bear out the importance of such influences in the development of English-speaking culture.

Historical research was used to amass material to illustrate the role of educational influences in the development of English-speaking culture. The gathering of such material itself was a problem because historians have hitherto concentrated on the political aspects of the period, so that secondary material on English-speaking culture is scarce. Archival records have been of some use but have required extensive time for perusal in order to locate pertinent information. Newspaper records have
proved to be exceedingly useful, and have been used extensively.

It is hoped that this study, despite its inadequacies, will illuminate one or two dark recesses in Canadian history.
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INTRODUCTION

For over two hundred years English-speaking culture has survived in Quebec, even though it has been in constant contact with the numerically stronger French-speaking culture by which it is surrounded. But though the adherents of English-speaking culture are few in number, they have occupied what the Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism has described as a privileged position in Quebec and have been able "to live in a social world of their own."\(^1\)

French Canadians are challenging this position of the Anglophone in Quebec by trying to establish the supremacy of the French language in that province. The daily news of the late 1960's frequently contains accounts of the controversy aroused over language rights and language demands. But it is not surprising that the language question is consuming so much interest and energy in the politics of Quebec, and to some extent in the rest of Canada, for "language is the most evident expression of a culture, the one which most readily distinguishes cultural groups even for the most superficial observer."\(^2\) The survival of either French or English-speaking culture in Quebec is dependent upon the perpetuation of their respective languages.

The term "culture" needs some definition at this
point, for it has many meanings because of the elusive nature of the concept. The sociologist has evolved a scientifically comprehensive description of culture that is all-embracing.\(^3\) However, the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism has given the layman a useful description of culture, and it is this which is used here.

(Culture) is a driving force animating a significant group of individuals united by a common tongue and sharing the same customs, habits and experiences. . . . Culture is to the group rather what personality is to the individual . . . It is the sum of the characteristics particular to a group and common to its individual members.\(^4\)

Despite the relevance of English-speaking culture to the problems facing Quebec and Canada today, very little attention has been paid by historians to the development of such a culture in Quebec. The Post-Conquest period, in which the seeds of English-speaking culture were sown, has been examined by historians from the political and constitutional standpoint and on this there has been considerable writing. However, there is a large void in the historiography of the period in the area of the cultural development of the English-speaking population, making initial research in this direction a somewhat long, and at times, frustrating procedure.

But the purpose of this thesis is not to examine the whole, wide spectrum of English-speaking cultural development in the Post-Conquest period, but instead to
focus on the role of the major educational influences. It should be explained at this point that Bernard Bailyn's view of education as "not just formal pedagogy but as the entire process by which a culture transmits itself across the generations" has been adopted in this study.\(^5\)

Bailyn stresses the importance of the church, community and in particular the family in accounting for culture transfer across the generations. However, it has not been possible to follow Bailyn's thesis here on the importance of the family in education because of the complete lack of research on the English-speaking family in this period.

The major educational influences in this study are designated as those of the English-speaking family, the Protestant church, the English-speaking community, English-speaking private schools, the newspaper, the legal system, and the apprentice system. During the Post-Conquest years, these influences served to transmit the English language, the cornerstone of English-speaking culture and in this way fostered the development of English-speaking culture.

Who were the people who imported their alien English-speaking culture into Quebec? These Anglophones were men and women from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds and countries—merchants, tavernkeepers, tradesmen, army men of high and low rank, lawyers, doctors and
clergy. They came from the Thirteen Colonies, England, Scotland, and Ireland; as well, non Anglo-Saxons, in particular Jewish and German settlers, identified themselves with the English-speaking community. The unifying element in this diverse group of people in an age where class structure was well-defined was the English language.

Yet elements of bilingualism and biculturalism did exist in the English-speaking communities of Quebec and Montreal, the two towns where the majority of the Anglophones lived. A great number of merchants spoke both French and English, the Montreal Gazette and the Quebec Gazette were bilingual, English-speaking Protestants went to French-Catholic schools and French-Catholics went to English-speaking schools.

But it was during the period from 1760 to 1800 that English-speaking Protestants began erecting the foundations of their own culture, of their own religious and social institutions in a land where none but French-speaking, Roman Catholic institutions had existed prior to 1760. It is hoped that this study will show how the English-speaking family, the Protestant church, the English-speaking community, English-speaking private schools, the newspaper, the legal system and the apprentice system acted as the major educational influences in the development of English-speaking culture to 1800. Whether or not English-speaking
culture will survive for another two hundred years in Quebec, only future historians will be able to tell.
CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS: 1760-1774

The establishing of an English-speaking population upon what was hitherto the foreign soil of New France began on September 18, 1759 for:

This day, Quebec, the capital of Canada surrendered upon honourable terms; and Lt. Col. Murray took possession of the gates with three companies of grenadiers.¹

English-speaking Settlers Arrive in Quebec.

Having conquered a country with a great deal of available land, a number of soldiers present with Murray at Quebec remained behind. These men belonged to the 42nd or Black Watch Highlanders (also known as the Murray Highlanders) and the 78th or Fraser Highlanders.² The majority of the officers were to settle in and around Montreal, though two, John Nairne and Malcolm Fraser followed by a handful of regulars, went to the region around Murray Bay and Rivière du Loup.³ However, it was not only those who served with the army who remained behind but also those who served the military, such as Aaron Hart, commissary officer to Amherst's troops. And on the heels of the victorious British army came merchants from the Thirteen Colonies and Great Britain, eager to engage in the lucrative fur trade of the country. These merchants
were the major group of English-speaking settlers in this first period to 1774.

A list that Murray sent to Britain in 1764 showed that there were exactly two hundred Protestant housekeepers in the towns of Quebec and Montreal. In a more descriptive list a year later, ninety-nine male Protestants, not necessarily householders, were shown as living in Montreal, and thirty-four in the rest of the upper half of the province. The occupational breakdown of these numbers is revealing as to the relative homogeneity of the English-speaking group. In Montreal, almost half of these male Protestants were merchants while in the country, only two were farmers while fifteen kept taverns. By 1774 there were at least three thousand English-speaking subjects in the province, as compared to approximately seventy-five thousand French subjects.

Background and Education of English-Speaking Settlers.

In Murray's eyes, this English-speaking mercantile group was hardly meritorious and consisted of:

... chiefly adventurers of mean Education; either young beginners or if old Traders, such as have failed in other Countrys; all have their fortunes to make and little sollicitous about the means provided the end is obtained.

Such men were fellow Scots such as Simon McTavish, George McBeath, Richard Dobie, James McGill and William
Grant. From England had come such men as Thomas Oakes, the Frobisher brothers, and John Molson; from Ireland, John Askin and William Holmes; from the Thirteen Colonies, Alexander Henry and Thomas Heywood. Adam Wentzel came from Norway and Lawrence Ermatinger from Switzerland; Levy Solomons, Ezekiel Solomons, Simon Levy and Aaron Hart were of Jewish background. These merchants, in the class structure of eighteenth century Britain, belonged to the lower middle class, and it was probably this social background which had prompted Murray to describe them as men of "mean Education." He himself was the fifth son of the fourth Lord Elibank and in the class conscious society of his day, would not feel any particular affinity with the men of another class, though many were fellow Scots and all served the same king.

However, these merchants, though they belonged to a class beneath Murray's, were by no means illiterate men as the numerous petitions of the day show. Possibly this was due to the Scottish background of many of them, for Scotland at this time had a reasonably effective school system in operation. In 1696 an act had been passed requiring the landholders of each parish to provide a schoolhouse and to support a schoolmaster. Many of these schools came to offer secondary instruction as well, from where boys could be sent to university. James McGill
himself had matriculated into Glasgow University though he did not appear to have graduated from it.\textsuperscript{13}

In England during the latter part of the eighteenth century, various types of schools existed to provide what we would call elementary and secondary education, though it should be pointed out that the State did not aid or control education at these levels as it does today.\textsuperscript{14} On the elementary level, there were many private venture schools, ranging from the sometimes rather crude dame schools to quite reputable institutions, all of which involved some amount of fee-paying on the part of the parents.

For the children of parents who could not pay, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) had founded the charity school, the masters of which were required to be members of the Established Church; however, there were some non-conformist and Roman Catholic charity schools. A word or two should be said here about the S.P.C.K. and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.) for the latter society was connected with promoting Protestant education in Quebec. The S.P.C.K. had been founded in 1699 for the purpose of promoting Christian education and Christian literature not only in Great Britain but in the colonies.\textsuperscript{15} Originally it was not intended that the S.P.C.K. should enter the
mission field. However, Rev. Thomas Bray, who had been instrumental in the founding of the S.P.C.K. was appointed Bishop's Commissary in Maryland. From here he wrote reports to the Society of the spiritual destitution which he had found in the colonies, and these reports stimulated the clergy and laity to organize the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

The S.P.G. can be considered as an outgrowth of the S.P.C.K. since the project was initiated at one of its meetings in 1701. One of the main objects of the S.P.G. was the maintenance of Anglican clergy overseas to minister to British settlers. The other objectives were to teach the catechism to children "in the most easy and familiar manner," instruct "Heathens and Infidels," to distribute books and tracts for propagating the Gospel and to manage funds raised for these purposes.

The S.P.G. hoped that their missionaries would bring the Anglican religion and literacy to the various inhabitants of the outlying possessions of Great Britain. Thus, the effectiveness of the Society in the colonies located so distantly from the Mother Country would be dependent upon the effectiveness of the individual clergyman, upon his personality and background.

The personal qualifications of the missionary were that he be able to read the common prayer and to pronounce English correctly (if he were not an Englishman.) He was
admonished not to reside at a "Publicans" but at some "Booksellers" or with some respectable family. His library books, made up of those given to him by the S.P.G. were to be turned over to his successor if he left the mission field.

The stress laid by the S.P.G. upon education was to better promote the teaching of the Gospel because "Improvement in Knowledge naturally precedes Improvement in Virtue." The purpose of the charity school with which both the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. were involved in starting (the former society in England and the latter in the colonies) was to "inoculate the children against the habits of sloth, debauchery and beggary" thus making them, although still poor, good Christians.

Secondary education in England was given in the endowed or grammar school, the public school (of which Eton and Winchester are famous examples) and the private school. The masters of grammar schools were supposed to hold a teaching license granted by the Bishop of the diocese, a custom dating from the Middle Ages, though towards the end of the eighteenth century with the church losing some of its interest in education, the license to teach was not always required. The curriculum of the grammar school consisted mainly of Latin and Greek, though in country districts there was little local demand for a curriculum
of this kind.

The private school, often the property of a clergyman headmaster, varied greatly both in kind and quality. Because many of the parents were merchants, and businessmen, they created a demand for "useful" instruction, so that arithmetic, drawing, history, geography and modern languages came to be taught in such schools.

The merchants who had come from England could have attended these various elementary and secondary institutions in order to receive an education. It is not likely, however, that they attended university, for Oxford and Cambridge, the only universities in England, were largely the preserve of the idle and rich by the eighteenth century. The course of study at the universities retained its medieval character and was made up of the Trivium of Grammar (including the Latin poets), Logic and Rhetoric, followed by the Quadrivium of Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy and Music. The Trivium lasted three years, at the end of which the scholar became a "Bachelor"; after four more years studying the Quadrivium, the "Bachelor" became a "Master." He could then proceed to become a "Doctor," which for Theology could take twelve additional years, six years for Law and Medicine. Oxford specialized in the Trivium, while Cambridge concentrated on the Quadrivium.
Oxford and Cambridge were open to members of the Church of England only, as dissenters were excluded by the Act of Uniformity (1662). However, nonconformist academies offered dissenters a place of higher and further education, as well as training candidates for the ministry. The academy course, of university standard, offered instruction in classics, logic, philosophy, theology and Hebrew, mathematics, natural sciences and sometimes even in medicine. Though academies did vary in size and quality, nevertheless, academies outdid Oxford and Cambridge as far as providing an education in the eighteenth century.

The point in this outline of education in the middle of the eighteenth century in England is to show not only the possible educational background of the English-speaking merchant in Quebec but also to show the role of the Church of England in education. The Established Church of England was to try to assume the same role in Quebec, despite the fact that Quebec was not "a little England" but "a little France" in the years after the Conquest.

The emergence of dissenting academies, of overseas missionary societies, and of charity schools in England were relevant to early American education as were the dame schools and grammar schools. Education had been a matter of state interest in the Thirteen Colonies since the seventeenth century when the first American laws concerning
education were passed by the Puritans. By the eighteenth century, this high intellectual concern for education had sunk somewhat, though the tradition of belief in the benefits of formal schooling still remained in New England. The merchants from New England settling in Quebec must have brought with them this belief in education. Undoubtedly, these merchants would be able to read and write, though not proficiently perhaps, as in the case of Alexander Henry. However, despite educational drawbacks, Henry later wrote "Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian territories between the years 1760 and 1776," which has been called "one of the classics of Canadian travel literature."21

Another major group of influential English-speaking residents in Post-Conquest Quebec were the military officers, some of whom did remain behind after their term of duty was over. But even though the merchants and the military both spoke English, language did not act as a bond between them, for Murray described the two groups as being "Inveterate Enemies."22 This is not surprising, because aside from language, the merchants and the military had very little in common. The merchant was of lower-middle class background and belonged or at least contributed to the Presbyterian Church as the records of the St. Gabriel Church show.23 The typical eighteenth century
British officer, on the other hand, was "a gentleman" from the middle and middle-upper class, and belonging to the Church of England. His military education would be thorough but not liberal, and he could speak French reasonably well. However, British army regulars were closer to the merchants in class, and if they remained behind to settle in Quebec, might take up some trade. The British Army was trying to raise the educational level of its men during this period by establishing regimental schools in which a sergeant or corporal would teach writing, reading and arithmetic not only to the soldiers but to their children as well. The British garrison in Quebec was the largest in America but it would not be included in a census of English-speaking Protestants. Thus, because of its size the garrison would exert quite an anglicizing influence on the colony, a fact overlooked by most historians who when they refer to the English-speaking group in the colony, think in terms only of the civilian population.

The merchants were not only disliked by the military but also by government officials, some, of course, who had been in the army. This split into factions was a prominent feature of the English-speaking group in the Post-Conquest period. The officials having the most important influence on the colony were those on Murray's Council which had been established in August, 1764 after
the military regime had ended. This Council gave the government a note of stability, for governors came and went, but the personnel of the Council stayed on. They became the nucleus of a group known as the "French party" or the "king's party" because they supported the policy of conciliating the French in Quebec (as did "the king" through the policies of Murray and Carleton) rather than that of the English-speaking merchants. The men on this Council could be said to have governed Canada until 1787.28

Most of the men on the original Council had a military background. Lieutenant-Colonel Paulus Aemilius Irving of the Fifteenth Regiment later became the commander-in-chief administering the government after Murray's departure in June, 1766 until Sir Guy Carleton arrived in September.29 Three others of the eight member Council had been with the army: Captain Hector Louis Cramahe, who had a French Huguenot background, Captain Samuel Holland, an engineer who was to become Canada's surveyor general, and Adam Mabane, who had come to Canada as a surgeon's mate in 1760 but who became surgeon of the Quebec Garrison not too long afterwards. Other members were Walter Murray, a relative of Murray's, two merchants from England, Benjamin Price and Thomas Dunn, and a Huguenot merchant, François Mounier, who had settled in Canada shortly before the Conquest.30 The other members
were the lieutenant-governors of Three Rivers and Montreal and the chief justice, though these men exerted very little influence in the Council.\textsuperscript{31}

Thus, the influential members of the Council were of middle class and army background, and they enjoyed in Canada a position and importance which it was not likely that they would attain in England. It was to their advantage that the English-speaking group was small as this lessened competition for government positions. As Arabella Fermor commented in \textit{The History of Emily Montague}, "One is really somebody here."\textsuperscript{32}

\textbf{Beginning of Protestant Church in Quebec With the Appearance of Clergy.}

The author of \textit{The History of Emily Montague}, Frances Brooke, was the wife of Rev. John Brooke, the chaplain to the Quebec garrison from 1760 to 1768. The Protestant clergy in the 1760's were few in number in the province, and most of them not very effective as religious leaders in their respective communities because of their background and education. There appears to have been a variety of Protestant religions and sects represented in Quebec, for Murray mentions Quakers, Puritans, Anabaptists, Presbyterians and Jews.\textsuperscript{33} However, the Anglican and Presbyterian groups were the most prominent in the Protestant community, and
the Anglican church the most influential in the development of education.\textsuperscript{34}

The first Anglican chaplain, Rev. Michael Houdin attached to the 48th Regiment, had been a missionary in New Jersey for the S.P.G. and was also a former Recollet. Houdin remained in Quebec till 1761 after which he was transferred to a mission for French refugees at New Rochelle, New York.\textsuperscript{35} In the years following the Conquest the S.P.G. continued to be involved in supporting Anglican clergymen in the province, which as we have seen was one of the Society's objectives.

Houdin had been chosen for his post because of his French background, rather than for any qualification of character. (Murray had described him as being "Haughty and Imperious."\textsuperscript{36}) Neither did he have the academic qualifications of the Anglican clergyman in England or the Thirteen Colonies; in England the clergyman was supposed to have attended either Oxford or Cambridge to obtain his Doctorate in Theology, or in the Colonies, either Yale or Harvard. Houdin was replaced by Rev. John Brooke; it is not known whether Rev. Brooke, who came from Norfolk, England, had attended Cambridge or Oxford. But it would appear from his correspondence in the Quebec Gazette\textsuperscript{37} that he could express himself well, though from the literary standpoint, his wife, Frances Brooke, outshone him.
The other Anglican clergyman in the first few years of the Conquest was Rev. John Ogilvie, the chaplain to Murray's regiment, who was stationed at Montreal from 1760 to 1764, and whose background (born in New York, B.A. and M.A. from Yale) seemed to be adequate enough for a colonial clergyman.

Rev. Brooke and Rev. Ogilvie at least seemed to have filled the qualifications needed for an Anglican clergyman and S.P.G. missionary at this time, but they were followed by three men whose only qualification was that they spoke French. The S.P.G. had appointed Chabrand De Lisle to Montreal (1766), David de Montmollin to Quebec (1768) and Leger De Veyssiere to Three Rivers (1768) because they could speak French and thus communicate with the French Protestants in the colony, whose number had been vastly misrepresented to the Government, while in actuality, there were only perhaps ten or twelve.

Montmollin was described as being a former Jesuit who could not preach in English and was very negligent in his duty. De Veyssiere, a former Récollet monk who had quarrelled with his abbot, then had been ordained in England, was called "a most dissolute character." De Lisle in Montreal was also the chaplain of the garrison; his main fault seemed to have been that he conducted services only on Sunday mornings. The Anglican clergy should have been pillars in the community but the background of men such as
these was one reason why the Anglican church had trouble in taking root in Quebec amongst the English-speaking Protestants. 39

The majority of the English-speaking inhabitants in Montreal were Presbyterian, not a surprising fact at all, in view of the number of Scottish merchants and regiments there. The first Presbyterian service held in Quebec was conducted by a Rev. John MacPherson, chaplain to the 78th Regiment of the Fraser Highlanders, shortly after the Battle of the Plains of Abraham. 40 In 1765, the first Presbyterian church was organized by Rev. George Henry, ex-chaplain to a Scottish Regiment, in a room located in the Jesuit's Barracks in Quebec. 41 However, Rev. Henry appears not to have stayed long in Montreal, for Presbyterians continued to attend Anglican services because of a lack of their own church and clergyman. 42

Beginning of the English-Speaking Family.

Some women, either wives or camp-followers or both, must have travelled with the army to Quebec for Murray makes a reference in his Journal to the fact that "ten women from each regiment were to assist in making wadding and filling sand-bags." 43 Whether or not children accompanied these women or were brought later to Quebec is a matter of conjecture. What evidence shows, though, is that family
groups formed part of the basis of the English-speaking population shortly after the Conquest during the period of military occupation. Rev. John Ogilvie, chaplain to the British garrison in Quebec is recorded as having baptized 100 children from 1760 to July, 1763. An Anglican minister, Rev. Samuel Bennett, stationed temporarily in Montreal during the winter of 1764 wrote to the S.P.G. in London that Montreal was "a large city inhabited by near 100 British Families." Thus, the families of the military, government officials and merchants must have come to Quebec shortly after the Conquest.

School Problems Face English-Speaking Families.

One of the first problems that had to be met by these families was how to provide schooling for their children. Two alternatives faced the English-speaking, Protestant families in Quebec; they could send their children to the existing French Canadian, Roman Catholic institutions or they could provide their own facilities. We shall see that in the period from 1760 to 1800 both courses of action were used. The most expedient way of providing schooling for English-speaking, Protestant children immediately after the Conquest was to send them to a French Canadian school.
Roman Catholic Schools.

During the French period, the Roman Catholic clergy and nuns had set up various schools for the French Canadian population. The Jesuits had founded their Petite École in Quebec in 1635 and later in Montreal, which was to provide both elementary and secondary education. Bishop Laval had started the Grand Séminaire in 1663 for the training of priests; to this was added the Petit Séminaire in 1668 for boys destined for the priesthood. In Montreal the Sulpicians started an elementary school for boys and a seminary for priests in 1666.48

Frequent comments have been made as to the excellence of education provided by the Ursulines in Quebec and the Sisters of the Congregation. The former had been given a large land grant in 1642 and had opened a boarding and day school for both French and Indian girls in Quebec, while the latter had been founded by Marguerite Bourgeoys in 1659.49 Both these orders resumed their teaching duties soon after the Conquest, the Ursulines in the autumn of 176050 and the Sisters of the Congregation in 1763.51

In 1761 the Jesuits obtained permission from Murray to resume their activities. Their College which concerned itself with secondary education was kept open till 1768 when it was closed because of a teacher shortage, the result of the ban against recruiting new members to its order.
Meanwhile, from 1765 on, the Quebec Seminary had assumed the responsibility for secondary education. The Jesuit's Petite École existed until 1776 in a room of the Jesuit's Barracks, which was otherwise occupied by English troops. They continued teaching here till 1776, three years after the Society of Jesus had been suppressed by the Pope. The reason given for the suspension of classes in 1776 was that the government had decided to place their archives in the one room used by the Jesuits. While these facilities for educating boys existed after the Conquest, it is not known whether any English Protestant boys were sent to them in the 1760's.

However, records of the Ursuline Convent indicate that the English Protestant girls attended the convent from the time it re-opened its doors after the siege was over in the autumn of 1760. Oddly enough, the Mother Superior of the Ursulines at this time, Reverend Mother Esther Wheelwright, had originally come from Boston though according to the Ursuline annalist she no longer spoke English. Apparently as a child, the Reverend Mother had been taken prisoner by Indians, after which she fell into the care of a French officer who placed her in the Convent. She was described as a most amiable person "with a benevolence in her countenance which inspires all who see her with affection." Perhaps this background and personality of the
Mother Superior may have helped Protestant parents to overcome any antipathy they had towards sending their daughters to a Roman Catholic institution. However, there does appear to have been the stipulation that the nuns were not to "pervert" these English students with any religious teaching, which was being supervised by Rev. Brooke.  

Three English-speaking girls were registered as boarders in the Ursuline convent in 1760, one of whom, identified only as "Dlle Billy" was but four years old. In the years to 1774 various government officials, such as Colonel Irving and Governor Murray's secretary Goldfrap, military men, merchants and even Rev. Brooke sent their daughters to the Ursulines. Thirty-four boarders were registered at the boarding school in 1773, ten of whom were English and two Jewish.

**Beginning of English-Speaking Schools.**

The parents of the girls sent to the Ursuline boarding school were the few who could afford to pay for their children's education. Rev. Brooke writing to the S.P.G. on September 1, 1761 states that there were approximately eighty children in Quebec needing school instruction "most of them of poor parentage, as Soldiers, Laborers, etc." Because of the lack of a schoolmistress, the thirty girls were being sent to the Ursuline day school which was free
at this time. Mr. Brooke asked the S.P.G. for financial support of a schoolmistress, as well as "books proper for children from their first learning Letters to their finishing in Arithmetic."\(^{60}\)

With the same letter, Mr. Brooke forwarded the handwriting specimen of a Sergeant Watt of the Royal Americans. Murray had appointed the Sergeant, described by Mr. Brooke as being "truly sober and diligent" and qualified in "Arithmetic and Accounts" to teach the children of the poor, possibly the fifty remaining children (boys?) who couldn't be sent to the Convent. The S.P.G. tabled the request for books because of the uncertainty as to the future of the colony. However, Sergeant Watt did receive a room to be used as a dwelling and a school from Murray, as well as a stipend of thirty pounds a year from the Society. This attempt at providing schooling for the garrison children was not successful and lasted for little more than a year. Rev. Brooke, in a letter several years later in the *Quebec Gazette* put the blame for this on both Sergeant Watt who became "remiss in his Attention" and on "the Soldiers and others in not sending their children to the school."\(^{61}\)

"All Possible Encouragement Shall be Given to the Erecting of Protestant Schools."

It was not until the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1763 that the fate of the newly acquired colony, now to be
called Quebec, was known. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 laid out a general policy for the rule of the various territories Britain had acquired during the Seven Years' War, while royal instructions to Murray, now appointed Governor, gave further directions applying to Quebec. In essence, the colony was to become a corner of England abroad. An Assembly was to be granted, the laws of the country, both civil and criminal were to be "agreeable to the Laws of England," though Roman Catholics were allowed religious liberty. It should be pointed out here, that the Treaty of Paris, by granting the French in Quebec the right to practice their own religion, had also given them the right to have their own educational system since education was in the hands of the Roman Catholic clergy.

Murray, in his instructions from the Court of St. James, dated December 7, 1763 was told that "all possible Encouragement shall be given to the erecting of Protestant Schools" by having land set aside in townships, districts and parishes; Protestant ministers and schoolmasters were to receive a glebe and maintenance; the schoolmaster, as in England, was to have a licence from the Bishop of London in order to keep school. The purpose of these measures was to establish the Church of England in the province and induce the French Canadians "to embrace the Protestant Religion, and their Children be brought up in the Principles of it." Murray was also to report "by what other Means the Protestant
Religion may be promoted."

However, Murray must have weighed the sheer number of French-speaking, Roman Catholics in the province (whose lives and those of their forefathers had already become thoroughly meshed into the fabric of a French-speaking culture64) against his instructions, which he then decided not to carry out. As a result, we shall see that very little encouragement was given by the local government to the establishing of Protestant schools.

As he wrote to England on October 29, 1764:

'It will be too hard a task for me to Govern in the Civil way a great populated Country, of a different Religion, different language, different Manners and Customs without the Aid of the Troops or the Assistance of the Law.65

Thus, Murray did not carry out his instructions either with regard to the promoting of the Protestant church or Protestant schools in Quebec, or establishing an Assembly.

Demand for English-Speaking, Protestant Schools.

In New England, the Puritans had been able to pass laws with regard to the education of their children. But, in Quebec, even if New England merchants had wanted to carry on this tradition, they were unable to do so because they were powerless without an Assembly. However, the Grand Jury of Quebec in making its presentments on October 16, 1764 demanded that the Governor and Council bring about proper regulations "for establishing a publick protestant school
and a Poor house."  

Some discussion on the education of the poor had preceded this charge, and had been printed in the *Quebec Gazette*. A letter had appeared on August 16, 1764 which expressed concern with "the most unhappy Condition of the poor Children in this Garrison, especially those of the Army for Want of Learning." According to the writer, the children strolled in the streets "like abandoned Miscreants, blaspheming the most sacred Name of their Maker."

The writer of the letter asked for both the "Consideration and Assistance of Government, and of every opulent British Subject "to consider how these children could obtain an education." He called the fees of those who kept schools "exhorbitant" for the parents of such children. He referred to a charitable contribution made in church the year before, and though "he never learned to what use it was put" he felt that the education "of such miserable Objects" would be a good use for such money, for "every person must be sensible in some Degree of the Permanency and universal Utility of Learning."

This letter brought a defensive reply from Rev. Brooke, from whose congregation the money had been collected. Mr. Brooke pointed out that while tuition fees were "too heavy for the poorer Kind of People to pay" they were still below those in England. As for the money in question, the clergyman explained that it had been applied to the schooling
of such children. He reassured the public that the Society was ready to give assistance in establishing a school for the poor but had been waiting to find out what "the Nature of our Situation with respect to the Mother Country" would be. He himself would do all he could to aid in establishing such a school.67

As Rev. Brooke had mentioned in his letter, the few private teachers there were in Quebec, despite being accused of exorbitant charges, did have a difficult time financially. Schoolmaster John Fraser placed a notice in the Quebec Gazette on September 5, 1765 asking all who owed him money to pay him immediately or they would be sued as he was leaving the garrison shortly.68 Many a private school teacher in the next forty years was to find himself in the same difficulty of not being able to collect his bills. Thus, the meager government bounty was eagerly sought after.

Murray's instructions had stated that the colony was to contribute to the support of a Protestant schoolmaster. It appears that the government did begin to allot money to various schoolmasters in the 60's and these men came to bear the title of official schoolmaster. The first such official schoolmaster was Patrick McClement who had opened a school in Quebec in September, 1765 "but the number of Scholars that as yet has offered has not been sufficient to support him properly in the Discharge of his Duty and Station."69
In his petition to the government he asked for a salary of twenty-five pounds; "being the only Protestant schoolmaster in Quebec of a good Character and decent Behaviour, and not having met with proper Encouragement," his salary was granted. However, a year later McClement resigned from his position as official schoolmaster, though for what reason is not known.

Properly qualified Protestant schoolmasters were hard to find in this colonial outpost. A few months after McClement's resignation, Rev. Brooke announced in the Quebec Gazette that at last Quebec had such a schoolmaster, in the person of Matthieu de Coine, who could teach French and "the Learned languages." Several months later De Coine advertised that he also took in French children and would try to make them "perfect in the Use of the English language." However, despite Rev. Brooke's endorsement of him, he does not appear to have received any salary from the government.

In 1768 the English inhabitants of Quebec rallied with a petition to the support of John Fraser (the garrison schoolmaster mentioned earlier) who now wished to be appointed McClement's successor as official schoolmaster. The petitioners described Fraser as "a very Honest, Sober good man ... who has had great success in the Instruction of Children," and blamed the lack of education for "the General Cause of Depravity of Youth everywhere ... and no where more so than in this City." However, despite this plea, Sir Guy
Carleton, now Governor of Quebec, dismissed the petition. But a couple of months later, a notice appeared in the *Quebec Gazette* stating that the Government, considering "how necessary, useful and ornamental the proper Education of Youth is" had authorized James Jackson to teach

Reading and Writing, the English and Latin Language, Arithmetic, vulgar and decimal, Book-keeping ..., Navigation and other Branches of Mathematics.

Because neither the Church of England nor Sir Guy Carleton were supporting the education of English-speaking children to any measure, the matter of providing such facilities was left to the private initiative of English-speaking inhabitants. After petitioning the S.P.G. and Carleton over a period of three years, a group calling themselves the School Committee of Montreal "finding our Families increased and our children growing up" raised 100 pounds in 1773 to pay a schoolmaster.

After not being able to find a schoolmaster for three months "a person of from 36 to 40 of age upwards who understands Arithmetic and Accounts," the Committee chose John Pullman, an ironmonger from London turned schoolmaster in New York. Pullman's school had sixty students in it with the fees set at a very low rate so that the poor "who are much the greatest number might be benefitted by it." The petitioners proposed that:
the master of the school should be under the Direction of a Committee of Six Gentlemen to be chosen annually by the Major part of the Subscribers of which the Protestant Minister of the Established Church is always to be one: the School to be visited by them every month or Six weeks, and little prizes allowed to those who shall excell in their Different Excercies according to their Several Stands in the School. 78

The petitioners had wanted a centrally located lot in the town to erect a schoolhouse but it was "too great an undertaking for us." They asked for whatever sum the government saw fit to bestow on them.

We can see from the foregoing account that some parents did have a strong interest in providing schooling for English-speaking children both boys and girls in Post-Conquest Quebec, though very little was accomplished. But, aside from schools, there were other ways of providing education in a period where so few schools existed. Parents themselves must have undertaken the rudimentary education of their children. Dilworth's Spelling Book and the New England Primer were being sold in the colony from an early date. 79 There also must have been some demand for the self-help type of literature, for the Quebec Gazette (February 21, 1765) carried a notice advertising The American Instructor or "Young Man's Best Companion" which was supposed to instruct a person in everything from the three R's to pickling and preserving. As well, the printing press of the Quebec Gazette did print a few primers or alphabets mainly in French or Latin during the 1760's, probably for use in the Roman Catholic schools; 80
these were the first text books printed in Canada.

Quebec's First Newspaper.

Mention has already been made as to the existence of the Quebec Gazette, Quebec's first newspaper, for the French had never established a printing press in New France. Founded by William Brown in June, 1764, the Quebec Gazette was printed in both languages in this period and was, according to Brown:

... the most effective Means of Bringing about a thorough knowledge of the English and French language to those of the two Nations now happily united in one in this Part of the World.82

Besides being the means for "real Improvement and Intelligence" the editor felt the paper should include something "of general Entertainment." As a result, poetry would appear occasionally of which the following is an example.

Modern Chastity

An Epigram

When ancient Bess was England's Queen
Our mothers were less kind;
Our fathers courted them for years,
Before they told their mind.
But now, our modern dames have found
A shorter way to wed:
They force us off our native ground
And push us into bed.

A Batchelor83

In the absence of any subscription libraries in the 1760's and 70's, the newspaper reader could look to the Quebec Gazette for a source of literary entertainment,
although it certainly was not on any sophisticated level, as we have seen. But as a result of the Quebec Gazette's appearance in the colony, the English-speaking reader was able to read in the English language at least once a week, so that the newspaper can be thought of as an educational influence in this way.

Importance of the Legal System.

As mentioned earlier, Quebec had been promised an Assembly and the use of English civil and criminal law by the Proclamation of 1763. However, the Assembly, despite the protestations of English-speaking merchants, was not to come till 1791, and as for the "laws of England," both civil and criminal, they were never applied completely to both the French and English-speaking inhabitants.

On September 17, 1764 Murray issued an ordinance establishing a three-level system of law courts for the province which remained in effect till 1775. The lowest and broadest court revolved around the local justice of the peace, and was thus a typically English institution. A court designed for the civil causes of the French-Canadians, the court of common pleas, came next; Canadian lawyers could practise in it, and French-speaking local amateur judges could sit on the Bench. The highest level of judicial administration involved the court of the king's bench, hearing both civil and criminal cases, usually in
English and determining them by English law.

Shortly after this system had been laid down, Murray issued his ordinance "for quieting people in their possessions" in which the tenures of land and rights of inheritance as held and practised before the Treaty of Paris "according to the custom of this country" should remain till August 10, 1765.\(^86\) The important question remained as to the application of the laws of Great Britain to Roman Catholics in Canada. In June, 1765 the Law Officers of the Crown delivered the opinion that "His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects residing in the countries ceded to his Majesty in America by the Definitive Treaty of Paris are not subject in those colonies to the incapacities, disabilities, and penalties to which Roman Catholics in this province are subject by the laws thereof."\(^87\) A year later London issued instructions that His Majesty's Canadian subjects were henceforth permitted to practise professionally in all or any of the courts in the province and that all British subjects without distinction were entitled to sit as jurors "in all causes civil and criminal cognizable by any of the courts or judicatures within the said province."\(^88\) In cases between British litigants only or Canadians only the jury was to be made up wholly of British or wholly Canadians and in cases between British and Canadians an equal number of each race should be called up to serve as jurors. Thus, the Proclamation Act may have stated that "the laws of England" be applied to Quebec;
however, as we have seen so far, the early years of the Conquest saw the continuance of the "custom of Paris" and the introduction of English law. Further instructions allowed French Canadians additional legal freedom so that two legal systems came into being.\textsuperscript{89}

It is not the purpose here to examine the complicated, tangled legal situation for the period 1760-1774\textsuperscript{90} but to point out that two legal systems began to operate in Quebec shortly after the establishment of civil government. As we have seen, the English language was used in some courts, the French language in others. In this way, the legal system in these early years helped the development of English-speaking culture, as well as helping to preserve French-speaking culture. As time passed, government officials in both England and Quebec saw that a more definite settlement with regard to the laws of Quebec would have to be made.\textsuperscript{91} In the next chapter, we shall take a look at the Quebec Act, which attempted to provide the final solution to the legal tangle of the 60's.

\textbf{Educational Influences 1760-1774.}

English-speaking settlers began to arrive in Quebec shortly after the Conquest thus starting English-speaking communities, urban and Protestant, in Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers. With the settlers, many of whom were merchants, came the clergymen of the Protestant Church. Supported by
the S.P.G. the clergymen of this period were not as effective as they could have been, as several had been chosen for their French background rather than any exemplary personal qualifications. However, despite this drawback, the Protestant Church was established in Quebec during this period.

English-speaking family life began in these early years as well, bringing with it the problem of how to provide Protestant schooling. Some private schools were started; one, in particular, Pullman's school started as a result of the initiative of Montreal parents. Government support of Protestant education was of a somewhat indifferent nature, amounting to a small salary to several Protestant schoolmasters, because the policy of Murray and Carleton was not to promote English-speaking culture.

A bilingual newspaper, the *Quebec Gazette*, appeared in 1764 helping to promote the use of the English language, for no periodicals as yet were printed in English in this province, nor were there as yet any libraries. An English-speaking apprenticeship system was brought into the colony by English-speaking settlers, though little or no information exists on it for this period. The legal system, or perhaps one should say, the lack of a definable one, helped to promote the use of two languages in the province. By 1774, because of the influence of the Protestant church, the English-speaking family, the English-speaking private school, the newspaper, the legal system and the apprenticeship
system had laid the foundation for English-speaking culture in Quebec.⁹⁴ In the future, Anglophone culture was to develop further along its own lines—a blend of colonial and English, with a dash of the continental.
A few days before the Quebec Act came into effect on May 1, 1775 the first decisive steps towards open rebellion had been taken by the colonials at Lexington and Concord. The Quebec Act had, in fact, helped to fan the independence of the colonials who branded it as one of the "Intolerable Acts" of the British Government. On the other hand, the Quebec Act has also been called the Magna Carta of the French Canadians, ensuring as it did the preservation of French culture.

Quebec: French or English?

The Proclamation of 1763 had laid down instructions for governing the territories newly acquired by Great Britain following the Seven Years' War. Ordinances followed dealing specifically with the government of the former French colony. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the original intent of the Proclamation was to introduce a policy of anglicization into Quebec with the aim of turning the area into a "little England." However, by 1774 the British Government, influenced by Sir Guy Carleton, reversed its policy of anglicization, as we can see in the following statement made
by Lord North, the first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, in the debates on the Canada Bill which preceded the passing of the Quebec Act.

It has been the opinion of very many able lawyers that the best way to establish the happiness of the inhabitants is to give them their own laws, as far as relates to their own possessions.\(^1\)

Alexander Wedderburn, solicitor-general, clearly expressed his opinion as to Quebec becoming another British settlement:

\[\text{I think there ought to be no temptation held out to the subjects of England to quit their native soil, to increase colonies at the expense of this country.}\] \(^2\)

When being questioned as to his views during the debates, Carleton painted a discouraging picture of the British immigration into Quebec. He stated that in 1770 there were but 360 British males besides women and children "in the whole colony of Canada," and since that time the figures had diminished.\(^3\) When asked if he felt the diminution of the number of British subjects was an advantage or disadvantage to the province, Carleton replied:

\[\text{That is a political question. I am afraid their circumstances have been so reduced as to compel them to quit the province. There are some who have purchased lands—officers or reduced officers; some very respectable merchants; there are other inferior officers in trade, and a good many disbanded soldiers. In general, they are composed of people of small property.}\] \(^4\)

Carleton seems to have implied in this statement that the British settlers in Quebec were not very important people as they had little property. He also spoke of French
dissatisfaction with English law arising out of the expense involved in litigation, the conduct of proceedings "in a language they do not understand," and the French inability to appreciate the jury system.

They think it very strange that the English residing in Canada should prefer to have matters of law decided by tailors and shoemakers, mixed up with respectable gentlemen in trade and commerce.

Carleton also told the House of Commons that the French seemed determined to form associations to resist English law, if they were compelled to follow it. In the matter of an Assembly, he felt that the French would be greatly offended if an assembly should be granted, and then be composed entirely of the British residents in Quebec. Nor did Carleton give a promising account of the relations between the two groups, stating that the old and new subjects had "very little society."

The terms of the Quebec Act come as no surprise after hearing Carleton's views on the subject. The Act declared that English laws were to be followed in criminal matters. French civil law was re-established in property matters and in seigneurial tenure. The free exercise of the Catholic religion under the supremacy of the king was re-affirmed with the tithing system to be continued. Instead of an Assembly the Quebec Act instituted a Legislative Council composed of 17 to 23 members for the administration of the affairs of the province. Except for the construction of
roads and public buildings, the Council did not have the liberty of imposing taxes. The Quebec Act also extended the boundaries of Quebec to the Ohio and the Mississippi.\(^7\)

**Quebec Act: Good or Bad?**

The Quebec historian Chapais, commenting on the Quebec Act, has written:

''... pendant huit ans, il (Carleton) avait plaide en faveur des lois francaises et de la suppression des incapacity's confessionelles. Il voyait ses vues adoptees et ses coxeils suivis. Notre victoire etait sa victoire.''

While French Canadians have seen the Quebec Act as a victory, English-speaking Canadians, particularly in the Post-Conquest period, have not. In Montreal, gatherings were held in protest to the Quebec Act with the agitation against its measures continuing to its partial repeal in 1791. Commenting on the Quebec Act two centuries later, English-speaking historian Victor Coffin pointed to it as presenting obstacles "to Anglo-Saxon domination and to political unity in modern Canada through the continued and magnified existence there of an alien and hostile nationality."\(^9\)

Obviously the Quebec Act did not solve the problem of two cultures vying for supremacy in Quebec. Coffin, in his book, brings up the example of Louisiana, where a more satisfactory solution to cultural co-existence was achieved. Louisiana had been ceded to Spain in 1766; it had been
understood at the time of the cession that the colony would be allowed to retain its old laws and usages. However, after a colonial insurrection the Spanish government began a policy of thorough assimilation, so that by 1791 Louisiana was reconciled to Spanish domination "because of the enlightened and wise deportment of almost every officer who had ruled over them, though the colony remained thoroughly French in stock."  

If British policy during the first twenty-five years had followed Spain's Louisiana policy, would the results for Canada today have been different? Lord Durham is a closer observer in time to the Post-Conquest period than a twentieth century politician, and he has said of the Quebec Act that it

... left French Canada without the education and without the institutions of local self-government that would have assimilated their character and habits, in the easiest and best way to those of the empire of which they have become a part.  

The Quebec Act must have discouraged further British immigration into the province, as was its intent. As Coffin has pointed out, of the 50,000 Loyalists coming north to Canada, only one-quarter chose Quebec, and these settled in newly-opened areas where there were no French-Canadians. If British policy had been to make Quebec culturally a more attractive place for British immigrants to settle, quite possibly more British immigrants would have come to Quebec in the next two centuries.
British feeling at the time of the Quebec Act was to think of Quebec as a French-speaking domain in succeeding generations. Yet could even a political seer gazing into a crystal ball in 1775 have foretold of an influx of English-speaking settlers into Quebec during the next few years?

American Invasion.

The American invasion and occupation of Quebec, while one of the first events of the Revolution, was not of very long duration nor one marked with success for the colonials. However, this is not to say that Quebec's population presented a united front to the invaders. In the town of Quebec, English civil and military officers as well as all British subjects connected with the government, and the merchants were against the Revolution. Montreal, on the other hand, was the most important centre of political and pro-American activity, not surprising in view of the number of colonial merchants who were living there. The allegiance of the French Canadian population was uncertain. British defense in Quebec was to rest with a depleted regular army of 750 men, the rest of the force having been drawn elsewhere in the colonies. Carleton hoped to raise approximately 2,000 militiamen for the province to strengthen the force. The majority of His Majesty's old subjects in Montreal
refused to enroll in this militia, while the new subjects remained undecided as to whose side to support. 16

This briefly was the situation when the American army under Philip Schuyler and Richard Montgomery began its attempt to make Quebec a fourteenth colony. The army came via Lake Champlain to Ile-aux Noix on the Richelieu in September 1775; by November 13, the American army was in Montreal. At Quebec, Montgomery was joined by Benedict Arnold, but in the December 31st attack on the town, Montgomery was killed and Arnold severely wounded, a major setback to the hitherto successful invasion of the province. 17

The ambivalent allegiance of the majority of the French Canadians to either the British or American cause led to the arrival in the spring of three Congressional commissioners, one of whom was Benjamin Franklin. The latter brought with him a French printer, Fleury Mesplet, whom he had met in London, and who was to print Congress's appeals to the habitants, 18 in the hope of counteracting the influence of the Quebec Gazette. Mesplet set up his printing press in the basement of the Chateau de Ramezay, the headquarters of the Americans. However, he seems to have accomplished little during the period of American occupation which lasted till June 15 in Montreal. 19
Coming of the Loyalists.

The day after American forces withdrew from Montreal, one of the period's most prominent Loyalists, Sir John Johnson, arrived there with a couple of hundred volunteers, most of them his own tenants. This group formed the nucleus of the King's Royal Regiment of New York (the R.R.N.Y.). Fugitives from the Mohawk Valley who had fled to the Niagara region under the leadership of John Butler formed Butler's Rangers, made up of about two hundred men. By the end of the war, there were about fifty loyalist companies, with three thousand men, in Quebec. These men, by and large, had drifted in across the provincial boundary, coming by the Lake Champlain route and were unaccompanied by their wives and children, who followed later. However, there were other Loyalists, such as John Coffin from Boston who became Inspector of Police for Quebec, who came with their entire families; in Coffin's case, a wife and eleven children.

Areas of Loyalist Settlement.

Frederick Haldimand, the Swiss Protestant who succeeded Carleton in June, 1778 had the responsibility for dealing with the Loyalist influx into Quebec. He appointed his secretary at Three Rivers, also a Swiss, Conrad Gugy, to look after the homeless women and children, and the
handful of men who had entered the province from the 

south.\textsuperscript{24} Gugy, assisted by local captains of the militia, 
erected huts for them on his seigniory of Machiche. How­
ever, as the war continued, the refugees swelled into the 
area between Sorel and the upper end of the Island of 
Montreal. Those Loyalists who could afford it gravitated 
to Montreal and Quebec; however, most of the refugees were 
dependent on the bounty of the authorities for food, cloth­
ing and shelter. The families of the men in the various 
Loyalist corps were stationed as near them as possible.\textsuperscript{25}

The land in the lower part of the province was held 
largely by French Canadians, which meant the existence of 
seigneurial tenure. As a result, it was decided to lay out 
a series of townships along the upper stretches of the St. 
Lawrence beyond the limits of the French settlement for the 
new English-speaking settlers.\textsuperscript{26} Haldimand put Sir John 
Johnson in charge of the distribution of Loyalist settle­
ment in the upper part of the province. Johnson and his 
men were to be settled in the townships of Charlottenburg, 
Cornwall, Osnabruck, Williamsburg and Matilda, while the 
men from Jessup's Corps were to receive the townships of 
Edwardsburg, Augusta and Elizabethtown. Five additional 
townships were laid out in the vicinity of Cataraqui.

Some disbanded Loyalists wanted to settle in the 
vicinity of Mississquoi Bay in the region now known as the
Eastern Townships. However, Haldimand did not want any Loyalists to settle here. On November 27, 1783 Haldimand wrote to Lord North that he had refused to give grants of land in the region east of the St. Lawrence and bounded on the south and west because he believed that the French Canadians, as their numbers grew, would need more land. He felt that this region would be suitable for them because as they were different in language, religion, and traditions from their American Neighbors, they would less likely cause trouble. However, despite Haldimand's opposition a nucleus of a settlement grew around Mississquoi.

By 1784, a "Return of Disbanded Troops & Loyalists, settled upon the King's Lands in the Province of Quebec" showed 5,628 Loyalists—men, women, children and servants. Of these, 617 were shown in and about Montreal, 66 at Chambly, 375 at St. John's, 450 at the Bay of Chaleur, 316 on the seigneuries of Sorel, 90 at Point Mullie and 207 at LaChine. A little more than half, 3,507 Loyalists, were placed on unsettled lands along the upper reaches of the St. Lawrence.

Description of Loyalists.

The Loyalists who came to Quebec and formed the nucleus of settlement in what was to be Upper Canada were described as "being mostly farmers from the back parts of New York Province." The exception to this was a few
hundred refugees shipped from New York to Quebec, who appeared to be largely from the artisan class. As A. L. Burt describes them, the majority of the Loyalists were "sturdy backwoods farmers" by and large from New York, others from Vermont, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

The New York Mohawk Indians were also part of the Loyalist migration, and had joined the R.R.N.Y. Rev. John Doty, who had been appointed chaplain to the regiment, wrote to the S.P.G. that he had found the Mohawks "more civilized in their manners than any other Indians." In 1778 these Mohawks were allotted land about six miles from Montreal where they "built a few temporary huts for their families . . . a log house for the sole purpose of a Church and a Council room."

Still another racial group made up the Loyalist population of Quebec. Several years after the end of the Revolution, Rev. Doty in his S.P.G. report made reference to a number of Germans (approximately 158 in number), chiefly "the remains of the troops lately in that country," who were now in Montreal. Because they knew no English, Doty sent them the Society's German Prayer Books and they "unanimously determined to conform to it."

Thus, the Loyalist population of Quebec was somewhat of a heterogeneous racial group in that while it was comprised chiefly of English-speaking people, it did include Indians, Germans and Negroes, the latter being the servants
of the more well-to-do Loyalists. There were also religious diversification amongst them. In describing the Loyalist population of Sorel in 1784, Doty wrote that it consisted of:

70 families of Loyalists and other Protestants. These, tho' a mixed Society, consisting of Dissenters, Lutherans and Churchmen all attended Divine Worship.  

Protestant Church Grows.

Most of the inhabitants of Montreal still belonged to the Presbyterian church. In 1786 the first Presbyterian organization was formed, with Rev. John Bethune being appointed minister. The first Methodist service was held in 1780, when a Commissariat officer of the 44th Regiment stationed at Quebec, a Mr. Tuffey, held services among the Loyalists, continuing until 1784 when his regiment was disbanded. During this period too, Mennonites, Tunkers and Quakers began migrating to the part of Quebec which was to become Upper Canada. The only new Anglican congregation formed during this period was the one at Sorel, to which Rev. Doty was appointed.

Work of the S.P.G.

We have seen in the previous chapter that the S.P.G. was very interested in the children of the poor and that in Quebec this had led to the setting up of a school for garrison children which had a brief existence under
Sergeant Watt. Only one reference to a continuance of such interest in garrison children was found for the revolutionary years. In 1776 Rev. DeLisle undertook to care for the children of soldiers stationed at Chambly whose parents might have to leave them behind when the Army advanced. Haldimand gave orders that DeLisle be given every assistance in this work, both by the Recollets and the Jesuits, until the Army should return to Montreal.  

The S.P.G. continued their support of the Anglican clergy as in the previous period. The Society was also interested in the conversion of "heathens" in the colonies, and hence had become involved in the religious instruction of the Indians and Negroes in the province. A belief of the Church of England at this time was that religious conversion led to political conversion. Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in America, shortly before the outbreak of the Revolution had recommended upon the advice of visiting clergymen that the gospel be introduced to the Mohawks in New York and the adjoining six confederate nations so thousands be reduced to the church and civil society, who may otherwise become alienated from government and live estranged to order and peace. 

For this reason, the Society had sent out Rev. John Stuart as missionary to the Mohawks at Fort Hunter, New York. Rev. Stuart was eventually to find his way to Montreal, where he taught school for a while, and then to Cataraqui,
where he was to stay for the rest of his life, in time becoming the Bishop's Official or Commissary for Upper Canada. He was an outstanding clergyman of this Loyalist period, and he left behind him an outstanding family.  

**Career of a Loyalist Clergyman.**

Rev. Stuart's career illustrates the hazards and hardships besetting many of those who remained loyal to the King of England. A native of Virginia, Rev. Stuart was ordained in England. After returning to Philadelphia in 1770, he received his appointment to Fort Hunter. After the outbreak of the Revolution, he was put under arrest at Schenectady for several years. He may have been involved during this period in some sort of spying activity for Sir John Johnson, who had succeeded his father. Haldimand had suggested to Johnson that Stuart "may collect all the different rebel newspapers in a box and have a certain place agreed upon, suppose a hollow tree, to deposit them."  

Stuart was released in 1781 after which he and his family fled to Montreal, so that he could be near his Mohawks. It should be pointed out here that Rev. Doty's appointment as chaplain to the Mohawks had only been a temporary one until Stuart could arrive and take charge. Possibly as a way to supplement his income as a clergyman, Stuart decided to open "an Academy for the Education of Youth" in
conjunction with a Mr. Christie in Montreal. An advertisement in the Quebec Gazette dated December 13, 1781 stated that the Academy would offer:


Originally Stuart had included the words "principally intended for the children of Protestants" in the advertisement as he wanted to qualify for the stipend given to official Protestant schoolmasters. However, Haldimand to whom Stuart had sent the advertisement directed that these words be left out "as it is a distinction which could not fail to create jealousies, at all times improper, but more particularly so at present."

Rev. Stuart wrote to Haldimand in reply that he was glad of the omission because he had not wanted in any way to be restrictive.

So far from having a Design to open a school on so narrow and illiberal plan; we have admitted every person that has offered, Protestant, Catholics, Jews, etc."

The incident indicates how cautious the government was in endorsing public Protestant education in a period when the allegiance of the French population was uncertain.

Rev. Stuart, unlike so many other professed schoolmasters, was well qualified academically for teaching.
However, many others such as Mr. Christie, his assistant, looked upon teaching simply as a means to a livelihood as they possessed no qualifications to fit them for any other position. A little less than a year after the school had opened, Rev. Stuart and Mr. Christie separated, Stuart distressed by the incompetency of his assistant.

I could have dispensed with his ignorance of the English language and faulty accent but when I found him unacquainted with the rules of common arithmetic and often obliged to apply to me (in the presence of the pupils) for the solution of the most simple questions, I could no longer doubt his inefficiency.

However, Stuart's goal was the chaplaincy of the garrison at Cataraqui "the only acquisition that can place me above Indigence and give me an opportunity of supporting my large and increasing Family, with any degree of Decency." Shortly thereafter he received this appointment.

"The Arduous and Painful Profession of Educating Youth."

Meanwhile, Finlay Fisher, another Montreal schoolmaster, had applied to Haldimand for Mr. Christie's share of the royal bounty to Montreal Protestant schoolmasters because his "necessary expenses amount yearly to a considerable sum." Fisher had opened his school in 1778 and since that time had "educated the greatest number of the English Youth of this City to the entire satisfaction of the Public." His petition was granted.

Another schoolmaster, James Tanswell established the
first "English Academy for the Education of the youth of this province" in 1778 and in conjunction with it ran a boarding school.\textsuperscript{52} The curriculum he offered was a blend of the classical and practical—the three R's, modern and classical languages, bookkeeping, geography, "the Globes and other branches of the Mathematics."\textsuperscript{53} Tanswell had spent the first twenty years of his life in acquiring "a universal Education," was an assistant in several schools in England and then opened an Academy in London which he continued for seven years. Upon the request of two gentlemen in Nova Scotia, he crossed the Atlantic "in order to plant the liberal Arts & Sciences in that Country."\textsuperscript{54} Sir Guy Carleton wanted him to come to Quebec, which he did bringing his family at very great expense.

The somewhat ambitious venture he tried to launch was not a success financially, as he explained to Haldimand in 1780 petitioning for three years salary in advance. He was in debt because of the great expense in renovating an old house in advancing money to many young gentlemen from the country, and in trying to provide for their daily needs.\textsuperscript{55} Two years later he again wrote to Haldimand because "I do not find Employment enough, either to fill up my Time or Support my Family which is very large."\textsuperscript{56} He begged Haldimand to consider him for "anything" which might help him to support his family, pointing out that he had served his country for sixteen years "in the arduous, painful and
confining profession of Instructing Youth."57

In another memorial a year later, he asked permission to call his school "His Majesty's Royal Quebec Academy" possibly hoping in this way to attract more pupils because of royal approbation.58 It would appear that his request was granted but it was no magic solution to his financial problems. The following year he asked for an additional room in the Bishop's Palace so that his family could occupy the one he presently had. He mentions that his boarding school venture had cost him five hundred pounds because of "a Torrent of unexpected opposition, a sudden rise of every species of Provisions, Infidelity of Servants and many bad debts."59 These were some of the hazards that a Quebec teacher could face in trying to set up a boarding school. But at least his pleas did not go unheeded, for he was put on the civil list for £100 sterling a year.60 In the future he was to supplement his income by acting as interpreter for the courts, besides holding other small offices.

John Pullman, who was mentioned in Chapter I as being the schoolmaster chosen by a Montreal committee in 1773, requested Haldimand in 1779 for a license as a Protestant schoolmaster similar to that granted to Tanswell, because he too was having financial difficulty.61 The monthly account for February 1778 of children educated in Pullman's school shows the reason for this request. About 100 children's names, French, English and Jewish, were shown on
the list. The parents were charged so much per subject, with reading and writing having the lowest fees, and Latin the highest. The accounts of quite a number of the parents were in arrears including that of the Anglican minister, Chabrand De Lisle. Therefore, the attraction of obtaining a license as a Protestant schoolmaster and the subsequent remuneration from the government would be quite strong, as it was for the members of the committee, for such financial support would help to keep their school going.

However, no such allowance was granted to Pullman, and his financial distress grew. On August 3, 1780, he placed a notice in the Quebec Gazette stating that he could instruct "young Gentlemen and Ladies in Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, taking the greatest Care with their Morals" but that he also could provide "funerals completely furnished." In 1782 he wrote again to Haldimand that his income had decreased because a number of Loyalists had opened schools, and "Your Petitioners' Schollars Decreased." As a result, his income could not support his large family which consisted of a ninety-one year old mother, a wife and four small children. He asked Haldimand, therefore, to place him in "some office as clerk"; with the petition he submitted a table devised to calculate the value of the various currencies being used, which he called "The Cash Clerk's Best Assistant." It is not known whether or not Haldimand favored this plea of a distressed but well-regarded
schoolmaster. Perhaps one needed contact with an official high in the government circles in order to obtain a license. Owen Bowen received a license as a schoolmaster in Montreal in 1784 after writing to Haldimand requesting "some Employment either as Commissary, Storekeeper, or Schoolmaster, or any other office my Recommendation from Sir John Johnson may merit . . . having a Wife and Child to provide for."  

As mentioned by Pullman in his petition, the number of schoolmasters in Quebec had been increasing with the coming of the Loyalists, and this was evident by the increase in advertisements in the *Quebec Gazette*. Tanswell had made the claim to Haldimand that his was the first English Academy. But two years before the founding of Tanswell's Academy, Belmont Fortune A.B. had inserted a notice on August 29, 1776 in the *Quebec Gazette* regarding the opening of his Quebec Academy. He offered classical and philosophical studies for the "ordinary price of Schools in England, one Guinea per Quarter and one Guinea entrance money." The school was to be open from seven in the morning till one in the Afternoon, after which he would teach "Young ladies at their respective Dwellings."

Separation of the sexes seemed to be practised in educating girls and boys. Tanswell, in the notice advertising his Academy and Boarding School in 1778 stated that "young Ladies were taught in a separate apartment." Two
years later Tanswell opened a separate school for young ladies "to study reading, writing, arithmetic, orthography, French and English Grammar, Geography, History, dancing and public balls." During this period a number of advertisements appeared for girls' boarding and day schools which emphasized embroidery and needlework. The Ursuline Convent was still the favored place to send daughters of government officials, merchants and the military. About one third of the names recorded on the Ursuline register between 1776-1780 were English, and a little less than half between 1780-1785.

Schoolmasters appeared in the newer areas where the Loyalists gathered in Quebec. As mentioned earlier, Machiche was one of the main Loyalist centres of this period. Josiah Cass was employed and paid by the government from 1778 as schoolmaster here. In 1778 John Grant was requested by the inhabitants of Three Rivers to open a school there, and he wrote to Haldimand requesting a license. There were schoolmasters at the other Loyalist centres of St. John's, Sorel and the Gaspé, though it is doubtful that at these centres anything more than a limited education was provided.

Printing Activities.

William Brown, printer of the Quebec Gazette, continued to publish primers or alphabets. In 1785 records
show that he sold wholesale 2,600 Alphabets or Primers, some of which were in a French edition. He also printed broadsides containing the alphabet and spelling. In 1775 Governor Carleton bought such broadsides, showing himself to be somewhat of an ambitious parent for his three children were all under two years of age.

The school population at this time was too small to support local publication of textbooks, so that imported books to instruct children (and adults) in the three R's were still very much needed. A notice on November 2, 1775 appeared in the *Quebec Gazette* stating the books on sale at the printing office, these books having been imported from England. These were:

- Family and School Bibles
- Dilworth's and Dyche's Spelling books
- French and English Dictionaries
- Grammars', Loughton's English Grammar
- Ready Reckoners
- a Variety of Children's Books

*Quebec Library.*

It must be remembered that as yet there was no library in the province. However, on January 7, 1779 a notice appeared in the *Quebec Gazette* stating that a subscription had been started for establishing a Public Library, "an Institution so peculiarly useful in this Country," for the city and district of Quebec. The subscription library in which the members were charged a yearly subscription rate was a feature of town life in eighteenth century England.
The trustees of the Quebec Library, composed of French and English, gave details regarding their proposed library several weeks after the first notice had appeared. The fees were set at £5 for entrance and £2 annually; "no books contrary to Religion, or good Morals will be permitted." The Library was to minister to the literary needs of both the French and English, Haldimand supporting this venture because

The Ignorance of the natives of this colony having been in my apprehension, the principal cause of their misbehaviour and Attachment of Interests evidently injurious to themselves. . . . I hope (the Scheme) will greatly tend to promote a more perfect coalition of sentiment and union of Interests between the old and new subjects of the Crown than has hitherto subsisted.

The person to whom he was writing here was Richard Cumberland, a London playwright who acted as agent for the province. With his letter to Cumberland, he forwarded a list of books which he asked to be purchased, requesting also that others be recommended for the purpose. However, because of the war, it was difficult to obtain French books; Haldimand, as a result, refused to open the Library until such books arrived.

In 1783, the Library, housed in a room of the Bishop's Palace, was opened to the public, after a set of new rules and conditions had been prepared by the trustees and approved by the subscribers. Open twice a week, from ten till two o'clock, the Library would have "near 2,000 useful
and entertaining books before the end of the ensuing year."  

A list of books in the Library in 1783 show the following volumes. 


The library's catalogue in 1785 showed the inclusion of 1,000 French and 800 English books, mostly eighteenth century works. By the end of the eighteenth century, the collection contained the "best sellers of London and Paris, including the works of the philosophical radicals, but little of American, and nothing of local origin." There may have been other attempts to open libraries in this period, but little information exists on the subject.

Marcel Trudel, the French Canadian historian, states that Fleury Mesplet, the printer whom Franklin brought to Montreal, opened a small public library in 1776. The Gazette du Commerce et Littéraire founded by Mesplet and Valentin Jautard in June 1778 and which existed only for a year before both editors were thrown into prison by Haldimand for libel, carried a notice of another library on July 1, 1778. According to the notice, a colonel of the twenty-seventh regiment had opened a regimental library with
the works of Corneille, Racine, Molière and Voltaire.

Haldimand had hoped to promote closer English-French relations through a bilingual library; inter-marriage, however, was still providing a link between the two races. Between 1776 and 1785, of the 361 marriages recorded at Christ Church in Montreal, a little less than a third (103) were between those bearing French and English names.83

Contributions of the Loyalists.

The addition of the Loyalists to the existing English-speaking population meant that English-speaking culture gained a firmer foothold in the province. The Loyalist migration had increased the number of English-speaking individuals in Quebec considerably, their number tripling from 3,000 to approximately 9,000 over the years from 1774 to 1784.84 One must not overlook the fact also that the British garrison in Quebec was increased during the War; such defence forces gave additional numerical support to the English-speaking population.85

The Loyalists also added to the racial diversification of the English-speaking community in Quebec, for now were added Germans, Indians and Negroes.86 The Loyalists increased the number of English-speaking families in the province, an important factor in the future political and social development of the province. Undoubtedly these
Loyalists passed on to their families certain attitudes, one of which would be the adherence to English-speaking institutions and above all, loyalty to the British Crown. The Protestant Church expanded and became further diversified with the appearance of Methodists, Quakers, Tunkers and Mennonites. The Anglican Church gained very little by way of support with two new congregations being formed, one at Sorel and the other at Cataraqui. But even though the Loyalists did not all belong to the same church, they were Protestant in background so that their appearance in Quebec increased the religious dichotomy of the province which had begun after the Conquest with the introduction of the Protestant Church into hitherto Roman Catholic territory.

The demands for Protestant schools increased with the increase of English-speaking children in Quebec. A few more private schools appeared with the coming of Loyalist schoolmasters whose careers in the province illustrate the difficulties besetting Protestant education there. These Loyalist schoolmasters, as well, must have reinforced Loyalist attitudes towards British institutions in their pupils, the future elite of Lower Canada.

The Loyalists were not a uniformly educated group and did not add anything to the literary capacity of the English-speaking population. However, the increased English-speaking population in Montreal was to lead to the founding of another paper in the province, the Montreal
Gazette in 1785. The Quebec Library had opened the same year with the purpose of promoting "a union of Interests" between the two cultural groups in the province. However, it should be emphasized that it was Haldimand, not the Loyalists, who were instrumental in starting up the institution.

Hitherto the English-speaking community had been urban in background, but the Loyalists introduced a rural element to it settling as they did in the backwoods of the upper reaches of the St. Lawrence. Even the physical appearance of these Loyalist settlements differed from French-speaking settlements. The Loyalists brought with them the distinctive style of eighteenth century classical American architecture, giving rise to a basic vernacular building tradition not only in Quebec but Ontario and the Maritimes. As well, Loyalist farms differed in appearance from French Canadian farms because seigneurial tenure was not used in dividing the land along the upper St. Lawrence, so that there was an absence of the long, narrow farm strips so characteristic of the lower St. Lawrence. The Loyalists had, in fact, increased the agitation against seigneurial tenure, particularly as a great number had settled on farms.

The terms of the Quebec Act had been so formulated to win the allegiance of the French Canadians by offering them what Carleton felt they wanted, the assurance of the perpetuation of their cultural institutions. During the
American Revolution the French Canadians did have the opportunity of becoming the fourteenth state, but they did not join the rebels. In this respect the Quebec Act proved to be successful. However, the British Government and Carleton had not foreseen the increase in English-speaking population and the resulting discontent with an act framed for a French-speaking population. The Loyalists had no thought of assimilating French-Canadian institutions, for had they not cherished English institutions to such an extent that they had given up their homes? This fact the British Government could not deny, so the only answer was to give the Loyalists what they wanted, and let the French Canadians keep what they had. Loyalist hostility to French cultural institutions was to lead to the creation of Upper Canada in 1791.

The Constitutional Act of 1791 did not repeal the Quebec Act, but only the section which pertained to the form of government. A later order-in-council provided for the actual division of the Province of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada. Both provinces were granted an elected Assembly, an appointed second chamber and an executive council. While the Loyalists were satisfied, the merchants of Lower Canada were not. Their minority status was accentuated by the cleavage of the Loyalist areas from that of the rest of Quebec. Nor were the long-sought commercial laws of England introduced into Quebec. Thus the legal system
intensified the hostility of English-speaking individuals towards French-speaking population of Lower Canada, just as the Quebec Act had, and before that the Proclamation of 1763.

**Conclusion.**

If Quebec had become the fourteenth state, French-speaking Canadians would have become part of the American "melting-pot," and thus assimilated into the mainstream of American national development. Whether or not Quebec in this case would have become another Louisiana is one of those unanswerable questions of history's "ifs" and "buts." Instead, however, French-speaking Canadians remained as a racial-cultural bloc, the British Government feeling that this was the way to win their allegiance. During the Post-Conquest era, an English-speaking bloc was being formed, to which the coming of the Loyalists gave numerical strength. Thus, English-speaking culture gained a firmer foothold in Quebec as a result of this consequence of the American Revolution. The educational influences cited in the previous chapter, the English-speaking family, the Protestant Church, the English-speaking private school, English-speaking apprenticeship and the English-speaking newspaper developed further from 1775 to 1785, with the legal system accentuating cultural differences between the French and English. In
the next chapter, we shall take a look at the expanding nature of the English-speaking community.
CHAPTER III


The English-speaking population of Quebec by 1785 had grown from the handful of merchants, tradesmen and government officials who had followed on the heels of the conquering British army into a larger, somewhat more diversified group after the influx of the Loyalists. The choice facing immigrants anywhere entering a country with established institutions is to either assimilate these institutions or create their own. The course to be followed by the English-speaking inhabitants of Quebec had been chosen by 1800.

Formation of English-Speaking Communities.

In Post-Conquest Quebec religion and language divided the English-speaking newcomers from the conquered inhabitants of New France, making it difficult for the Anglophones to adopt the existing French way of life. As a result, the Anglophones began to develop their own way of life, their own interests and activities in the urban areas where they had settled because of their mercantile pursuits. In other words, English-speaking communities began to evolve in the towns of Quebec, Montreal, Three Rivers and Sorel. It should be stated at this point that a community is defined
here as a geographic area, whose inhabitants share similar interests and pastimes. The formation of English-speaking communities in Quebec helped the development of English-speaking culture because the English language was used in the conduct of community life.

The chief source of information regarding the clubs, societies, amusements and contemporary problems of the English-speaking community of Quebec is found in the newspapers of the day, the Quebec Gazette, the Montreal Gazette, then later the Quebec Herald and Miscellany. In particular, it is the Montreal Gazette, which through its advertisements reveals the daily way of life of the English-speaking community in Montreal, the town which was to become the stronghold of the Anglophone in the years to come. As a result, it is the community life of Montreal which is described in this chapter.

Founding of Montreal Gazette.

The Montreal Gazette first appeared on August 25, 1785, a proposal for its publication having been circulated prior to this issue containing the reason for establishing such a paper. "There is scarce a Dominion in Europe that has not its Gazette, why should not this extensive country have it's own." Fleury Mesplet, the editor and printer, had been born in Lyons, France, emigrating later to America where he practised his trade as a printer in
Philadelphia. He came to the attention of Benjamin Franklin after Congress had issued instructions in February, 1776 to the Commissioners of the American army that a printer should be sent with them to establish a free press in the country. Mesplet accompanied Franklin to Montreal but decided to remain after the American forces withdrew, because of lack of money. In June of 1776 he was arrested in Montreal as an American sympathizer and imprisoned for twenty-six days.

After his brief imprisonment, Mesplet set up his printing business in Montreal; his press printed the first book in Montreal, the *Reglement de la Confrérie*, for the Seminary of St. Sulpice. In a joint venture with advocate Valentin Jautard, Mesplet produced *La Gazette du Commerce et Littéraire* in 1778, already mentioned in the previous chapter. Jautard, who was the editor, proceeded to attack religious and political issues in the paper; as a consequence, Carleton ordered both Jautard and Mesplet to leave the country. Sir Frederick Haldimand who succeeded Carleton suspended the order for banishment, only to have both men arrested in 1779 for a libellous article called "Tant pis, tant mieux" in which Haldimand's government was attacked.

Mesplet spent three years, three months without trial in the Montreal jail, escaping in 1782 with the help of the authorities. However, it was not until a couple of years
after peace had been declared that Mesplet undertook once more to print a newspaper, this time both in French and English. In outlining the format of the paper, Mesplet promised the inclusion of literary news, as well as monthly news from America and Europe. The Montreal Gazette continued to follow the format outlined by Mesplet in succeeding years.

Format of Montreal Gazette.

Foreign news was found on pages one and two, reprinted from papers sometimes as much as six months old. A delay in the arrival of a ship, of course, meant a delay in the arrival of foreign newspapers. Occasionally there might be a description of some local event, such as the arrival of Prince William in the early fall of 1787. But on the whole, there was very little reference to local happenings because such news would have circulated by word of mouth before the appearance of the weekly paper. Mesplet's original assertion that "all Persons may get inserted gratis, Productions either instructive or entertaining" led to the establishment of Poet's Corner, later called Parnassian Flowers, which appeared with the advertisements on pages three and four.

Mesplet adhered to his promise of publishing items of general benefit and interest to his readers. He devoted some space on March 13, 1787 to publishing news of an interesting discovery which he thought would be of "general
utility to this province." Fires were a common disaster of the period but "the method of paying-over wood or Iron Plates with Coal-Tar" would "be useful for doing over the Timber-roofs of Houses" and provide "an additional security against Fire." In the following issue, coal tar was recommended as being "good for the ravages of sea-worms." Readers took advantage of offering helpful advice as well. During the famine winter of 1788-89 a letter from "A Friend to the Poor" on December 4, 1788 pointed out a substitute for bread, a European vegetable weed called Mangel Wurzel whose "leaves are lighter than spinach, with an asparagus flavor and the roots are like parsnips."

Readership of Montreal Gazette.

The readers of the Montreal Gazette were not confined to Montreal. Two months after its first appearance, the newspaper was offered to Quebec readers who could obtain copies from a merchant near their Post Office and to readers at Three Rivers who could apply for it at the Post Office. Mesplet needed an expanding subscriber's list because he was struggling with debt during these early days of the paper, and did in fact have his printing press seized by the Sheriff, Edward William Gray, for debt in November, 1785.8 One expression of public attitude to the new paper came in a letter from "Old Citizen," who wrote that he could not but lament the fact of "not having had sooner a public
Print" and called for support of the paper as long as it
did not contain "Party Disputes or anything illiberal or
ill-natured."  

The merchants formed the main body of the English-
speaking group in Montreal, and undoubtedly were the chief
supporters of the newspaper, which in turn did reflect their
interests as well as their financial straits. In this
period almost every merchant of importance was threatened
with bankruptcy and ruin as a result of the Cochrane suit. During 1785 and 1786 frequent notices appeared in the
Montreal Gazette about the settlement of the estates of
various merchants, advising creditors to apply to the trust­
ees before a certain date.

The interests of Loyalist readers were also reflected
in the paper; the first issue printed the "Petition of
Agents in the English House of Commons for the Compen­sation of Loyalists." Throughout the following months and
years, references are found to these claims for compen­sation in the paper, either through reprints of items in
London papers or through notices by the Office of American
Claims established in Montreal. The granting of the claims
to half-pay officers meant more business for Montreal mer­chants. One enterprising merchant, a Mr. Small, published
a long list of his available stock in the issue following
the announcement of the granting of the claims.
Physical Aspects of the Community.

The part of Montreal where the majority of English-speaking merchants lived was the area closest as possible to the harbour, particularly the old market-place, now Place Royale. Thus, it was in this area where the English-speaking community of Montreal centred its activities. In its physical appearance, this community bore a distinctive character, for the dwellings of the merchants were built from stone, while the houses of the French were made from wood. The advertisements in the Montreal Gazette give us a picture of the stone dwellings and furnishings of the merchants. Such stone dwellings were considerably more fireproof than wood and thus useful for the storage of valuable furs. Benjamin Frobisher's house, stores and gardens were offered for sale after his death. There was a

Stone building consisting of a Laundry and Stabling for three Horses . . . The store built with stone very conveniently situated for shipping of wheat, at one end of which are two Rooms fitted up as a dwelling House.¹³

Simon McTavish, the richest man in Montreal, had an exceedingly comfortable establishment as a description of the interior furnishings of his house offered for sale after his death reveal:

For Sale . . . The entire elegant and genteel Household furniture, Plate, Linen, China and other effects . . . comprising Mahogany four post Bedspreads with Printed Cotton . . . Feather Beds and Bedding, Mattresses, Window Curtains, Mahogany Chest Drawers, Book Case, Sideboard, Dining, Card and Pembroke Tables, handsome Chairs, Horsehair Seats, Pier and
other Glasses, Wilton and Scotch Carpets, a Forte Piano, a large Hand Organ with four Barrels and a good tuned Harpsichord . . . useful kitchen furniture . . . a Phaeton with Double brass Harness, a cover'd Calash, Carrioles and Carts, an elegant Buzalo Stove . . . a pair Handsome Bay Horses and a very good Cow.14

**Popularity of Auctions.**

Auctions were a popular method of disposing of articles used not only in the fur trade but for home consumption, such as furs, wines, liquor, tobacco and dry goods. Many auction notices mention the sale of Madeira and Teneriffe Wines, which was an interesting development of Canada's trade with southern Europe, and chiefly with Barcelona, where Canada's surplus wheat found a market.15 As well as wine, the returning vessels brought fruit. This would account for the occasional notice of the sale of lemons or lemon juice in the paper.

The dry goods mentioned in the following advertisement indicate the variety and extent of such imports which would lead William Smith, Chief Justice of Quebec, to write his wife that "the Ladies dress here much as in England when I left it."16

To be sold for ready money at Edw. W. Gray. A large and general Assortment of Dry Goods, consisting of Cloths, Bath Cottings, Ratteens, Flannels, Baize, Cadis, Beaver and Felt Hats . . . Worsted Stockings, Swan-skins, Silk, Lady's Silk and Stuff Shoes, Ironmongery, Double Canada Staves . . .17
The opening of the shipping season in March and in April had a rejuvenating effect upon the isolated province, for the first ships would bring mail, newspapers (items from which would appear henceforth in the *Montreal Gazette*) and, of course, merchandise, long lists of which would be published in the paper. One such list shows such diverse items as:

... tea and coffee, olives, mangoes, cheese, knives and forks, guitar and harpsichord strings.\(^1\)

**Assemblies, Clubs, Coffee Houses.**

Notices of assemblies, which gave Montreal's society an opportunity to parade itself in imported finery, appeared in the paper during the winter months. Assemblies were held fortnightly, ostensibly for conversation, supper and dancing. Membership was limited to those considered to belong to the upper-class with the managers selecting those persons they considered eligible to attend.\(^2\)

Perhaps the most popular meeting place for the various social activities of the English-speaking group in Montreal was at Mr. Frank's Vauxhall, an establishment modelled after the famous Vauxhall in London. Mr. Frank's had "a very good Assembly room and a pretty good garden."\(^3\)

The following is an example of the type of entertainment offered there:
Several musicians from Europe intend to give . . .
a concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music at Mr. John Franks Vauxhall. After the Concert a Ball.
To begin at 8 . . . Tickets $1.  

In 1788, Mr. Frank's Vauxhall went out of operation, his furniture being seized, then sold the following year for debt. However, he did open another establishment, this time on Notre Dame Street, in the year that his Vauxhall was closed. The grounds of Vauxhall passed to Joseph Frobisher who made it the site of the Beaver Club. There are conflicting reports regarding Vauxhall. An English visitor was somewhat critical of it.

Bachelor's Club (met) at Vauxhall, kept by one Franks, a Jew, about a mile from town. We were 42 in Company. . . . Mr. Frobisher is President. . . . The dinner was poorly served up for such a large company. The bottle went around freely.  

The Montreal Gazette had only praise for Vauxhall.

Sunday being St. Andrew's Day, the Junior Sons of St. Andrew gave a Supper at Vauxhall . . . Several visitors . . . declared they never saw an entertainment better laid out, or the dishes better dressed than they experienced on this occasion.  

Aside from Vauxhall, the coffee houses, of which Sullivan's was the most popular in the 1780's, served as a meeting ground for English-speaking inhabitants and their clubs though

There's nothing but smoking, drinking of porter and playing at backgammon going on here. . . . Everybody pays so much whether they drink anything or not.  

The Englishman is said to have his clubs, and this was true of the Englishman in Montreal, for by the 1780's
there were a number of clubs in existence. The Beaver Club, founded in 1785, was intended for fur traders both French and English, who had spent one winter at least in the North. Junior Sons of St. Andrew were young men acting or serving as clerks to merchants in the city. The Montreal Society was a debating society, the "Principal intention being the accustoming of youth to public speaking and to a habit of reflection and enquiry into subjects." The Agriculture Society, perhaps the most prestigious of these groups, wanted "to improve and advance the agriculture of this country by introducing the best method of cultivating the land in order to produce good grain." The members were requested to make helpful remarks and observations "regarding the defects they may perceive in the agriculture of their respective neighborhoods." Lord Dorchester was patron of the society, Sir John Johnson, vice-president of the Montreal branch. The directors were two members of the seigneurial class, Joseph de Longueil and Paul Roch de Saint-Ours, and two members of the English merchant group, Joseph Frobisher and John Fraser. Other groups which are mentioned in the Montreal Gazette are the Friendly and Benevolent Society, the Free and Accepted Masons and the Brethren of Canada Society. Little is known about the activities of these groups, with the exception of the last one. The Brethren of Canada Society was reported in the
Montreal Gazette\textsuperscript{29} as having commemorated the anniversary of Prince William's visit to Quebec by an assembly, royal salute, drinks and toasts.

**Theatrical Life.**

The assembly rooms at the coffee houses were used by visiting theatrical groups, in the absence of a proper theatre. A theatrical notice shows "a Company of Comedians from the Island of Jamaica under the direction of Messrs. Allen, Bentley and Moore" using "Mr. Levy's Assembly Room" for their theatrical presentation of "a celebrated Comedy written by Dr. Goldsmith call'd "She Stoops to Conquer" or "The Mistakes of a Night." This play was to be preceded by a Prologue given by Mr. Allen.

After the Play a Dance called LaPolonese by Mr. Bellair. To which will be added a Farce called "The Wrangling Lovers or Like Master Like Man." . . . Doors opened at 6 o'clock, Performance begins at seven. . . . It is requested that servants be sent at Half past Five to keep the places . . . The managers most respectfully request of those Ladies (who will be present) that they will be so very obliging to lay aside their Hoops and Hats when they attend there, the smallness of the House rendering it necessary such a request should be made, that a greater number of Ladies and Gentlemen may be accommodated each evening with more ease.

The ladies were asked not to be offended at this request for removing their hats and hoops.

As it is the Fashion at all Theatres in Europe for the Ladies to appear in the Boxes without Hats.\textsuperscript{30}
In the same issue there was another notice stating that the opening of the theatre was being postponed because the company had to remove all their effects from a house threatened by a fire which had started in the hangar of a merchant. When the theatrical season finally got under way, the following plays were produced: Molière-Fielding's "The Miser," Fielding's play based on Molière's L'Avaré; a comedy called the "Suspicious Husband"; "Henry IV"; "Othello," as well as a play "celebrated" then but obscure today, "Douglas." Some performances were designated as benefits for the various actors and actresses in the company. There was also a "Benefit for the Poor." The play for this performance was appropriately "The Tragedy of the Orphan" at which was collected "126, 2 shillings and 1 penny," the money then being turned over to the Protestant Church.

The varied fare of a night at the theatre in this period can be seen by the programme for the final night of this theatrical group. It included the "celebrated tragedy Douglas" and

Mr. Bentley will play a Concerto on the Harpsichord with a favorite Rondo, Lectures Serious, Comic and Satyric, Lectures on Heads; in between a Hornpipe; (the evening to end with) a pantomine Dance The Sportsmans Revels.32

Prior to the appearance of the Company of Comedians in Montreal, the Montreal Gazette had printed an extract
from the *Albany Gazette*, a petition against a theatrical performance there. The argument in the petition was that the theatre was "incompatible with virtue." A reply to the printer in the defense of the theatre appeared below the petition with the words:

Why should the exhibition of Tragedies and Comedies be any more discountenanced than taverns, dancing Assemblies, card-playing, billiards, gambling?

Quite possibly there had been some controversy in Montreal with regard to the morality of the theatre. However, the Company of Comedians left behind a good impression, a notice being inserted by Mesplet in the paper, when they had left for Quebec, that the group had provided "very rational amusement," and had earned "universal approbation" for their conduct from the citizens of Montreal.

**Medical Matters.**

Other interests of the Montreal reader are reflected in the advertisements of the *Montreal Gazette*. Medical matters were a concern of the times, for there was a shortage of qualified medical practitioners in the province, and those there were charged high prices. Home medical manuals must have found a ready market; notices of these for sale at the printer's were found often in the paper. One disease which had reached near epidemic proportions in the 1780's was syphilis, though it was referred
to then as Murray's Bay Disease or by corruptions of the same. The printing office sold the following:

Remarks on the Distemper generally known by the Name of the Molbay Disease . . . chiefly intended for the use of the clerical and other gentlemen residing in the Country by Robt. Jones-Surgeon.

To regulate the practice of medicine in Quebec an ordinance was passed "to prevent persons practising Physic and Surgery in the Province of Quebec and Montreal without a Licence." Candidates wishing to obtain a license had to appear before a commission who would examine their qualifications. A letter to the editor from such a candidate claimed that the ordinance would "give birth to many evils in the place of one." The board before which candidates appeared "have not found six (among 50 candidates) that have possessed decent knowledge." He felt that the severity of the board would lead to a shortage of medical men in the country, and force the populace to resort to "quacks or simples" . . . "chiefly Germans, the excrement and remains of that army so dearly bought by our Sovereign" and who would give "inadequate advice for 1 shilling." He asked that the judges "let Mercy blunt the flaming Sword of Justice."

Despite the accusations that medical men were overcharging, an assistant surgeon to the Hotel Dieu, a J. Rowand, in advertising the apothecary shop he was setting up, stated that:
Poor people who bring a Certificate of their Character and Indigence, from the Priest of the Parish, where they reside, shall be furnished with advice and medicines Gratis.\(^40\)

**Interest in Poor.**

An interest in the poor was a concern of the eighteenth century as we have seen in Chapter I. The *Montreal Gazette* reported on various acts of charity performed in the city.

Acted at Spectacle Hall, a Benefit for the relief of the poor Voyageurs, their Widows and Orphans. The expences of the Evening being deducted, the money will be put into the hands of two respectable citizens of this town, members of the Beaver Club, to be put into the stock they have already begun for that purpose.\(^41\)

The Junior Sons of St. Andrew were commended by "A Friend to Humanity" for collecting over £4 after they had heard about a moving case of need.\(^42\) The money was to go to the support of an indigent schoolmaster, Mr. Gunn "formerly an expert Clerk at Quebec, afterwards a Merchant on the River Chambly, of unblemished character but unfortunate"...

He supports a wife and five small children on the scanty pittance afforded by teaching seven or eight scholars, and lodges in the upper part of that bleak tenement facing the ramparts ... where his wife (now in child-bed) surrounded by penury, exhibits a spectacle of poignant distress.\(^43\)

The Montreal Society was reported as having discussed the topic of "Would the erecting of Public Workhouses throughout the province be the most proper method of employing the Poor, if so, what should be the most eligible plan
for the establishment of such a house in Montreal." A notice inserted by the church wardens of Christ Church, referred to in the Montreal Gazette as the Protestant Church, showed the typical manner in which the community dealt with orphaned children in the eighteenth century.

... an Orphan Boy of Eight Years of Age in this Parish will be bound out until he shall arrive at the age of twenty-one.

Protestant Church Activities.

More space is devoted to Protestant Church activities than Catholic in the newspaper. Until December, 1789 the Protestant congregation had no church of its own, having used the Recollet Church when the society was not occupying it. From the evidence on hand, it would appear that all Protestants worshipped together under Rev. DeLisle from May 1787 to 1790, after Rev. Bethune, the Presbyterian minister, had left. Lord Dorchester finally granted the Protestants the use of a former Jesuit church. A notice appeared in the paper warning that subscribers who had not paid for their pews would not have the privilege "of drawing for Pews in the said Church." A week later, the newspaper mentions that Rev. DeLisle was to be presented with a key to Christ Church Chapel by members, Jos. Frobisher, Thos. Forsyth and John A. Gray. It is not known how large the congregation was at Christ Church, nor if all of
the 2,000 Protestants in Montreal attended there.\textsuperscript{49}

Montreal merchants were also active in political affairs centering around the commercial activity of the province and the repeal of the Quebec Act. The \textit{Montreal Gazette} helped to promote such interest by printing letters to the editor and articles on the subject. But not all readers sympathized with the endeavors of the merchant class; one reader, signing himself "Verax" tried to incite the seigneurial class to take action against the coming Constitutional Act.\textsuperscript{50} A few issues later he touched upon the influx of Americans in the province.

The great increase there has been of late years of those Americans commonly called Yankees points them out as proper objects of a jealous attention. It is a characteristic of theirs to be discontented with the established form of government.

He described Americans as being of two types.

One upright and honest and those who at the beginning of the American troubles were men of desperate or no fortunes but who at the closing of the war have realized handsome fortunes for pretended losses. \ldots by fraud they have secured their situations.\textsuperscript{51}

\textbf{Political Ties.}

Political dissatisfaction, however, did not lead the Montreal merchant group to consider methods such as revolution, the events of the following years were to show. They were essentially a group loyal to His Majesty's Government. Loyalty ties with Great Britain had been strengthened by the visit of Prince William Henry (later William IV) to
Quebec in the fall of 1787. In Poet's Corner we find the following:

On these bleak shores to see so great a guest,
Excites new Loyalty in Every Britain's breast.52

The fact that the Brethren of Canada Society celebrated the anniversary of Prince William Henry's visit to the province certainly indicates tenacious allegiance on the part of the club members. When official confirmation came that George III had regained his health, Montreal rejoiced.

In the evening of the same day the city was brilliantly illuminated and an universal joy seemed conspicuous among all ranks of His Majesty's Loyal Subjects.54

The Female Reader.

Other aspects of the period revealed by the study of the paper show that the English-speaking female reader was both literate and vocal. A flirtation on paper between the two sexes was started by a letter from "Old Batchelor" who designated himself as being thirty-eight years old

... and one of the oddest and most unhappy fellows extent; I've been TWISTED and TWIRLED about by the girls till I'm as thin as a snake.55

"Sally Lovefun" wrote a reply, and asked Mr. Mesplet to "print and thus oblige your constant Female Readers."
She asks the bachelor

... where is the joy of living on the earth, without having any one place in it that he can call his home?56
In a poem entitled "Maids Petition," the author laments the fact that widows are offering the maidens of Montreal too much competition.

Yet we (poor fools) can't have the freedom To get good men, how'er we need 'em.57

There are several notices found in a similar vein to the following, dealing with wives who have deserted their husbands. However, there are no such notices pertaining to husbands that have deserted their wives.

Certain differences and disputes have arisen between my wife and myself . . . My wife has robbed my house and left it in a clandestine manner.58

He requests that she return home, "... or otherwise I shall deal with her as the law directs."

Another glimpse into the marital life of the period appears in Poet's Corner in "An Epitaph on a Termagant Wife Written by her Husband."59

Beneath this rugged stone doth lie, The rankest scold that e'er did die.

and in "The Female Complaint."60

How hard on woman is the marry'd state! Whether the man she weds, the love or hate.

Mingling of French and English.

Despite the fact that the English-speaking resident of Montreal was beginning to acquire a community life that in time would divorce him socially from the French-speaking Canadian, the two groups did have to mingle in matters of
common concern, such as fire-fighting. Amable De Bonne, President of "The Committee for managing fire-engines" requested after a disastrous fire had levelled the house of A. Foucher that all citizens co-operate in sending their servants and water-carts to future fires. As well many tradesmen, such as Theophile Drouin who sold "Wax Candles and Sugar Plumbs," were French Canadian, and would depend on English-speaking patronage.

Though most of the private school teachers and tutors advertising in the Montreal Gazette had English names, there was the occasional French name.

M. Duplessy informs the Public that he teaches Flute, Clarinet, Bassoon, Hautboy, French-horn, Violin and any Musical Instructions. He proposes to teach French likewise.

Louis Dulongpré advertised that because parents had been complaining about the disadvantages "attending the Education of young Ladies in this Country" he was opening a boarding school where he would teach:

Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, French and English, Music, Dancing, Drawing, Needlework.

He would take no more than sixteen pupils and "no Ladies under seven or above 14." The fee was 26 Guineas per annum paid quarterly "Boarding and Washing included."
English Patronage of the Arts.

Dulongprè's fame today rests not in the boarding school he advertised here but for the fact that he was one of the three well-known artists of the period who practised in Montreal. The late eighteenth century has been described as a period in which "a golden age of native painting" was dawning in Quebec, Montreal and other villages and towns along the St. Lawrence. Undoubtedly the artistic development of this period proceeded from the economic climate; the wealthy class of merchants in Montreal had money to embellish their surroundings with the "finer things of life." As a result, "painters prospered in the 1780's in Quebec as never before in Canada," largely due to the patronage of the Anglophones. Thus, French influence was felt in the cultural artistic life of the English-speaking community.

Background of French-Canadian Artists.

Dulongprè, born at Saint-Denis just outside of Paris, is supposed to have painted more than 3,500 oil and pastel portraits. In November, 1789 he painted scenery for the local theatre. Another artist, Louis-Chretien de Heer was an Alsatian who had settled in Montreal by 1783. He painted portraits in Quebec in oil and pastel, did landscapes of all kinds, as well as giving lessons in landscape
painting and also, in Montreal, drawing lessons to young ladies. Canadian-born Francois Beaucourt, who had studied in France, then had visited Russia and Germany before returning to Montreal, is best known for his sensuous "Portrait of a Negro Slave" and portrait of "Mme. Trottier dit Desrivières." His artistic versatility is illustrated in the following advertisement appearing in the Montreal Gazette on June 4, 1792:

Beaucourt, Canadian Painter
Member of the Academy of Painting, Sculpture, and Civil and Naval Architecture of Bordeaux

Begs leave to inform the amateurs of those arts, that he paints Portraits in oil; also executes historical and landscape painting. He undertakes to paint theatrical scenery. Having made geometrical and aerial perspective his study, he has met with considerable encouragement in several cities of Europe. He understands the art of ornamenting, in the newest stile and taste, apartments, by painting to imitate either architecture, baso-relievos, flowers or the arabesque stile. He will undertake to teach a few students in any branch of drawing, agreeable to their wish and taste.

William von Moll Berczy, famous today for his family portraits of the period, had moved to Montreal by the end of the eighteenth century. François Baillairgé is another well-known artist who painted in Quebec after returning from his studies in Paris in 1781. Merchant interest was to extend also to establishing a fund for a public library, directors of which were initially James McGill and James Walker; the library opened on May 2, 1796.
Existence of Slavery.

Beaucourt's portrait of a negro slave bespoke of the existence of negroes in Post-Conquest Quebec. In the society of the 1780's and 90's in Montreal, there was a need for servants; some of these servants were slaves. William Smith, writing to his wife, lamented the fact that there were "but 304 Slaves in the whole Province. I am every Day confirmed in the propriety of two or three good black Slaves." He felt slaves were superior to the "American Whites" because they were more dependable, ... and you know that the American Whites are as wild as the Deer of their Forests.

A number of notices did appear in the Montreal Gazette with regard to the sale of negroes and also with regard to runaway slaves.

To be sold by Private Sale; A Mulatto, of about 24 years old, just arrived from Detroit; has had the small Pox, speaks good English and French. Jos. Ray

To be sold ... A Stout, healthy Negro man about 28 years of age, is an excellent Cook, and very fit for working on a Farm. Enquire at the Printer.

In another case, the slave had run away from his master, who offered a reward of Five Pounds, describing the runaway as "strong made" and "speaking English and French perfectly." Other notices that appear in the Montreal Gazette are a reminder that the death sentence was used for a wide variety of offences.
Fred Large executed for House-breaking. He suffered and exhorted the Spectators to refrain from bad company, which he said was the occasion of his being brought to this ignominious Death.

**Utilitarian Services of the Montreal Gazette.**

Advertisements of a general utilitarian nature also appeared intermittently in the paper. The Post Office inserted notices explaining the complicated steps for sending a letter to England or the Continent. Or there were notices such as the following which give the reader of today glimpses of the past.

- Bark Canoes lodged and taken care of at a reasonable rate at Pennifeau's Hangar.
- Found - A Lady's Martin Muff about 10 weeks ago between the Jesuit's Church and the Pump.
- For Sale - 191 pairs of Snowshoes.

The Printing Office of the newspaper had a shop where one could purchase not only books and pamphlets printed by Mesplet, but such items as sealing wax, sand-boxes, backgammon tables and pewter chests. However, the Montreal Gazette did have its financial struggles, for the newspaper business was not a lucrative one in this period. Unfortunately, one does not know what the circulation figures were, nor how many of its readers were English and how many French. Then, too, not all of the English-speaking inhabitants of Montreal could read, though, here again, no figures are available.
Urban Growth and the Newspaper.

The fact that Montreal now had a newspaper did indicate a step in urban growth. It is worthwhile to note the parallel in development in the eighteenth century between towns in England where the merchants predominated, such as Bristol, Liverpool and Newcastle, and Montreal. English historian Dorothy Marshall in describing such English towns\(^8^4\) has pointed out that "as the citizens grew in wealth and education they came to demand not only a higher standard of cleanliness, with adequately paved, drained and lighted streets but also a convenient assembly hall, a subscription library, possibly a printing press and local newspaper, bookshops, and often a Literary and Philosophical Society." Such a pattern seemed to be true with regard to Montreal, with the exception that the printers served as a bookshop, and the Literary and Philosophical Society did not appear till the early part of the nineteenth century.

Conclusion.

The English-speaking community of Montreal by 1800 had organized a variety of social activities, such as clubs, societies, assemblies and occasional theatrical presentations where the Anglophone could use and hear his mother tongue. Two Protestant churches, the Anglican and
the Presbyterian, were now firmly established and
around these further social activities centred, such as
fund-raising. The Anglophone, nevertheless, was not cut
off from communication with the Francophone, for this
occurred in the arts, in the area of mutual civic concern,
some club groups and in commercial activities.

However, it would be erroneous to give the impres­sion that the English-speaking community was a united group
during the Post-Revolutionary period. As we have seen in
the letter from "Verax," hostility towards colonials who
came after the Revolution, as compared with those before,
did exist. There was also considerable animosity between
what was known as the French party, composed chiefly of
English-speaking members who supported a conciliatory
policy towards the French, and the English party, those
who wished to see the rights of Englishmen in use in Quebec.
However, after the granting of an Assembly to Lower Canada
in 1791, a step which gave the French increased political
power, the various English-speaking factions began to
unite in defense of their own interests so that by 1800,
the terms English party and French party had lost their
original connotation.

Thus, by 1800 the English-speaking community had
become more of a cohesive whole united by similar social,
religious, political and commercial interests; its focal
point was the commercial section of town. The Montreal Gazette helped to promote these various activities by publicizing them, thus acting as an agency of communication particularly as the population grew. While the quality of English used in the newspaper was not of any particular merit, the fact remains that the newspaper did help to promote the continued use of the English-language in the English-speaking community. The English language was kept alive also by reason of the fact that the education of the young was conducted in English. A great number of advertisements regarding day schools, boarding schools and tutors appeared in the Montreal Gazette during this period, as well as in the Quebec Gazette and the Quebec Herald and Miscellany. In the next chapter we shall examine the education of English-speaking children in Quebec from 1785 to 1800.
CHAPTER IV

ENGLISH CANADIAN FAMILY LIFE AND EDUCATION 1785-1800

In Chapter III we have seen how the seeds of English-speaking culture were sown in Montreal between 1785 and 1800, the town which in time was to become the commercial centre of Quebec as well as the home of the Anglophone. A way of life was evolving for the English-speaking resident there and in Quebec of which the mainstays were the English language and the Protestant religion.

The English language was to be kept alive in Quebec by the fact that in addition to English being spoken in clubs, societies, assemblies and churches, the English language was used in the education of the young. Though English-speaking schools were not plentiful, the very fact that they existed at all promoted the use of English in an alien culture. Since schools were so few and higher education non-existent, English-speaking parents, interested in providing their children with an education, sought ways of coping with the situation in this period, as we shall see in this chapter.
The French and English Family.

Of the English-speaking family itself in the Post-Conquest period we know very little, English Canadian historiography concerning itself with the political and religious issues of the times. We do know of the French Canadian family that this was a period of great natural increase, "the revenge of the cradle." The French population at the time of the Conquest had numbered around 60,000; by 1788 the total population of Quebec was about 130,000, of which around 21,000 spoke English as their native tongue, a third of these located below the mouth of the Ottawa. Thus, in twenty-five years, the French population had nearly doubled itself. However, the proportion of French to English varied, depending on the area. In the old parts of the province outside the towns, the proportion of French to English was forty to one, fifteen to one if the towns were included, and five to one in the whole province.

The family life of the French Canadian was strengthened in the Post-Conquest period, for

... locked in rural parishes and in their family groups, a new orientation was thus given to family life ... a group withdrawn into itself, strongly structured, but capable of helping its members in their fight for personal and collective survival.

We do not know the effect of the Post-Conquest era on English-speaking family life, that is, what the effect of
being a minority group had on the family. Nor do we know the size of the English-speaking family or whether it increased in size through this period. We do know, though, that English-speaking parents did show concern for the education of their children.

**Anglo-French Family.**

However, something is known of the bicultural and bilingual family which made its appearance in this period. In the space of thirty-five years, from 1766 to 1800, of the 913 marriages recorded in the registers of Christ Church and the Scotch Presbyterian Church, 285 were marriages in which one of the parties bore a French name, or nearly one in three.\(^3\) The Canadian women of Quebec were described by Frances Brooke as being "handsomer" than those of New York and possessing "the Desire to make pleasure their only business."\(^4\) Certainly they must have appeared quite appealing to the military and merchant class who formed the backbone of the English-speaking community, which in its early years did lack the presence of marriageable Protestant girls.

A number of merchants married French Canadian girls bringing about in Montreal, what A. M. Lower has called, an Anglo-French society.\(^5\) In 1793 Simon McTavish at the age of forty-three married Marie Marguerite Chaboillez
the eighteen year old daughter of Charles Jean Baptiste Chaboillez, a French trader. The ceremony was performed in the St. Gabriel Church, though McTavish, like others who had married French wives maintained a pew in the French church for his wife.\(^6\)

McTavish was following the precedent set by other merchants. James McGill was married to Charlotte Guillimin, widow of Joseph Amable Trottier dit Desrivieres, by Rev. DeLisle in 1776. Though no family was born out of this union, McGill adopted as his own, the four children from his wife's previous marriage.\(^7\) McGill, though belonging to the Anglican church, did give a contribution to the St. Gabriel Church building fund, as well as contributing to the French church. William Grant, deputy receiver-general of Quebec in 1777, was married to Marie Catherine Deschambault, Dowager Baronness of Longueuil, by Rev. DeLisle in 1770, though no children resulted from this union either. In 1781 his nephew David married his wife's daughter by a previous marriage; the barony, a valid colonial title, eventually passed into a Scotch Protestant line.\(^8\)

Thomas Coffin, the New England Loyalist mentioned in Chapter II married Marie-Marguerite, daughter of Godfrey de Tonnancour, in 1786, the marriage being performed by the Anglican minister, then repeated by a Catholic priest.
Coffin built a Roman Catholic church on his seigneury, though he himself remained a Protestant. One of his eleven children followed the Catholic religion, and started a French branch to the family. John Neilson, who succeeded to the ownership of the *Quebec Gazette* in 1797 and later became one of the Reform leaders of Lower Canada also married a French Canadian.

As Lower observes, the children of inter-racial marriages tended to follow either one of the culture groups, "thus preventing a genuinely bicultural society from emerging" though as he points out, they didn't lose all contact with the opposite race. Apart from these inter-racial families, it would appear that bilingualism was quite common with the English group "who for the most part (are) well acquainted with the French language."

**Anglo-Indian Family.**

There was another type of inter-racial family in Quebec, the product of union between fur-traders and Indian girls. The position of these Indian wives, as W. S. Wallace has pointed out was "anomalous" for in most cases they had been married "according to the custom of the country" and not by a minister. The question was raised as to the validity of these marriages, especially since many of the traders took English wives as well after they had returned
to Quebec. There was also the question of the status of the children, whether or not they were illegitimate. Some of the traders did bring back their Indian families with them settling in small villages in Glengarry or near Montreal. David Thompson, the explorer, who had married the half-breed daughter of an early trader, Patrick Small, did settle for a while around Terrebonne, though it appears that this move was not successful. Occasionally, the trader would bring back only his children. A baptismal entry in the register of St. Gabriel Church in 1798 reads: "James, son of Cuthbert Grant, Indian trader, aged seven years, mother unknown." Illegitimacy seemed to have been fairly common if we are to believe a traveller's observations at the turn of the century.

For a small society like that of Canada, the number of unfaithful wives, kept mistresses and girls of easy virtue, exceed in proportion those of the old country, and it is supposed that in the towns more children are born illegitimately than in wedlock. The traveller observed that on the Caughnawaga reserve there were a number of fair-complexioned children being raised affectionately by Indian women, these adopted children the illegitimate offspring of white parentage. It is difficult to make a generalization as to how
illegitimate children were treated by their natural fathers. In one case we have the hint of very generous treatment. Richard Dobie, one of the principal merchants in Montreal, made very liberal provisions in the marriage contract of his granddaughter, Ann Grant, to Samuel Gerrard. Ann's father, John Grant, had married Dobie's illegitimate daughter, Ann Freeman. Dobie, "desirous of contributing to the support of their family expenses as well as providing for the said Ann Grant and the children she may have by the said intended marriage "gave the couple a house and lot which he owned "to have, hold and enjoy the same or the Rents and profits thereof." 

Infant Mortality.

Though there are no figures for infant mortality, one can presume that it was a fairly common family occurrence and that life was a precarious state for the young even till adulthood. Of Simon McTavish's five children, one died in infancy, his other four children dying in their twenties in England. The sorrow that parents must have felt when one of their children died is exemplified in the following excerpt of a letter written by Jonathan Sewell, Chief Justice of Lower Canada, to his brother Stephen.
I have been visited by an affliction one of the severest which could have befallen me in this world by the death of my dear, dear darling child Helen. She came to her end by the Croup with the Symptoms of which we were unacquainted and suffered to get to that height which became incurable believe me, my dearest Brother, she was an angel of a child possessed of an incomparable beauty and sense which would have... as great in a child many years older than herself. At the age of 2½ years she was the life of our family and an entertaining companion.

Parental Responsibilities.

As mentioned in the previous chapter a shortage of qualified medical practitioners existed in the province which led to the popularity of medical self-help books advertised in the Montreal Gazette. The onus for diagnosing illnesses thus rested on the family. John Neilson sent his wife two such volumes recommending she read the treatise on "les maladies de gens du monde," as he was sending her the books to guide her in treating children "qui est de lu plus grande." The over-heated houses led Thomas Anburey to observe:

How pernicious this must be on the constitution especially of the young children, who are continually going in and out of heated rooms into the snow and upon the ice.

Vaccination came to Lower Canada at the turn of the
nineteenth century; two children were vaccinated in 1801 with what was thought to be the first vaccination in America.  

Parental responsibility extended to education in this period, despite the fact that the various governors from the time of Murray on had received royal instructions regarding government promotion of education. Murray's instructions in 1763 had read, in order that the Church of England be established in Quebec and the inhabitants "induced to embrace the Protestant Religion" land should be set aside for the support of Protestant ministers and schoolmasters. As well, schoolmasters from England who wished to keep school in the province first had to obtain a license from the Lord Bishop, as was mentioned in Chapter I. It would appear, however, that these stipulations regarding licensing were not abided by, probably because schools and masters were so few. As we saw in Chapter I, the government did begin to make a contribution to the support of several schoolmasters which by 1790 amounted to £200 a year. However, this support was hardly enough to give "all possible Encouragement" to Protestant schools in the province.

How to Educate English-Speaking Children?

What could the English-speaking parents do to see that their children received an education? They could,
first of all, teach their children themselves, a necessity if the family lived in one of the outlying settlements. John Nairne who had settled in the Murray Bay region after the Conquest had books sent over from Scotland so that he could continue the upbringing of his younger children at home. A number of alphabets were being printed in Quebec from the time of the Conquest by William Brown, the printer of the *Quebec Gazette*. In 1785 he printed 2,600 alphabets or primers, some of which were a French Edition. Broadsides with the alphabet and spelling were being sold as well in this period. Governor Carleton is said to have bought these in 1775 for his three children who were two, one and two months, showing himself to be somewhat of an ambitious parent.

If the English-speaking parent were affluent enough, he could afford to have a tutor for his children, which Carleton as Lord Dorchester did. William Smith's description of the Dorchester family in 1787 gives us an interesting look at an upper-class family in which tutors were used.

Lord Dorchester is very attentive to William treating him as if he was 10 Years older than he is, and thus teaching him to behave up to that age. . . . I never knew the Point of Education so much an Object in any other Family. The eldest son is but 14, and all of them talk Latin, German and French as they do English, and learnt at that by Rote having Masters for the Purpose.

Children could be sent away for their education, particularly if a university education was desired since
there was no university in the province. John Nairne sent his older children to Scotland for such an education; Malcolm Fraser who had settled in the Rivière du Loup area sent his fourth son to Edinburgh University to become a doctor. However, much closer than the British Isles were the educational institutions of the United States. A number of parents did send their children to nearby states for an education "a necessity which at present certainly exists and to which I know some worthy & prudent parents reluctantly submit."\(^{31}\) Aaron Hart, a Jewish merchant who had settled in Three Rivers, sent his two youngest sons to Philadelphia to study English in 1790.\(^{32}\) The Washington Academy of Albany advertised in the *Montreal Gazette* on March 1, 1787 trying to recruit pupils from Montreal, and perhaps they did. They had

\[
\text{a Master for every 30 Latin and one for every English scholar. (The School) taught Reading, Writing, English, Grammar, Arithmetic, Bookkeeping, Geography . . .}
\]

The tuition fee for the above was five pounds a year "and one load of Wood. For those taking Latin and Greek, £8 and one load."

**Protestant Education, 1790.**

However, there were schools in Quebec, both French and English, to which the English-speaking parent could send his children. In 1790 Lord Dorchester asked the
various educational institutions to report on their schools, pupils and curriculum, and it is from this report, forwarded to the home government, that we are able to get a picture of what exactly there was in the province at this time.  

In Quebec the Catholic seminary offered elementary and secondary instruction to lay students. Four or five English names do appear on the class lists; possibly these were the children of bilingual families. English-speaking youths were admitted on the same terms as the French; Protestants, however, were excused from religious exercises. An Irish priest, Edmund Burke, who had come to Canada in 1786 was director of the seminary. Education offered here was of a classical nature with Latin, philosophy and rhetoric stressed.  

The College of Montreal instructed students on the elementary and secondary level in French, English, Latin, geography, arithmetic, rhetoric and philosophy. Four English names appear on the class lists of the college, only one in the petite école. In the "L'École Anglaise" of the College only one English name appears in the fourteen listed so that one presumes its chief attraction was to French students wishing to learn the English language.  

The Ursuline Convent continued to be fashionable for the government-merchant class of Quebec to send their
daughters. The annalist of the Ursulines comments frequently during this period on the fact that at times, as in 1779, "Nous avons beaucoup de pensionnaires, tant anglaises que françaises."37

Lady Dorchester favored the nuns with her patronage; she herself had been raised in the French court at Versailles. When she indicated the desire that her daughter should take lessons in French and in embroidery from the nuns, authorization for this was obtained from Bishop Briand. As a result, the young countess was admitted daily, for two or three hours, in order to perfect French, Lady Dorchester accompanying her because she enjoyed the company of the French teacher.38

Though no specific date is given by the Ursuline annalist, English education was introduced, it would appear, around the turn of the century by two English-speaking Catholic nuns, Mothers Mary-Louisa McLaughlin and Elizabeth Dougherty.

The time was past when English-speaking pupils were content to learn French only in the Convent, nor could the French pupils afford to be ignorant of English.39

In the town of Quebec there were six Protestant schoolmasters, possibly those who had official sanction because of a license, for as the advertisements of the Quebec Gazette show, there were others who set themselves up as schoolmasters or mistresses. Montreal had four
Protestant teachers, Three Rivers but one Protestant teacher because the other master had changed his religion. The summary found from pages 111-114 is compiled from the reports of the Protestant schoolmasters to Dorchester in 1790.  

From these reports of the schoolmasters in Quebec it would appear that two of them, John Fraser and Thomas Burrows, were operating the equivalent of dame schools. William Sargeant and John Jones offered some practical subjects beyond the three R's, such as navigation and fortification, useful in a maritime and garrison town. Daniel Keith and James Tanswell, since they taught the "dead languages," extended instruction into the secondary or grammar school level, though because practical subjects were offered as well, their schools were closer to being academies.

Mr. Tanswell wrote to Dorchester that he would be willing to give any assistance "in dispelling the dark clouds of Ignorance that hang over this country" and he was trying to do just that. About a month and a half prior to the report, he had placed a notice in the Quebec Herald and Miscellany regarding his intention of increasing "the number of his Free Scholars" to twelve because "the times are so hard." Preference, he stated, would be given to those in government service whose salaries "may not be adequate to the exigencies of a large family."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>No. of Students</th>
<th>Fees</th>
<th>Subjects Taught</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>QUEBEC</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Tanswell</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>25 (Poor 12)</td>
<td>16/8 currency to £1.3.4 per quarter</td>
<td>Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English, French, Latin, Mathematics, Geography, Astronomy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(£100 Government Salary)</td>
<td></td>
<td>15-20 evening scholars. Ages 12-14.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1 Assistant)</td>
<td></td>
<td>25 (Poor 12)</td>
<td>16/8 currency to £1.3.4 per quarter</td>
<td>Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English, French, Latin, Mathematics, Geography, Astronomy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Keith</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>32 (Some poor)</td>
<td>4-6 guineas per annum</td>
<td>Reading, Spelling, English, Writing, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, Geometry, Mensuration, Trigonometry, Algebra, the Globes, Latin, Greek, French.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1 Assistant)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ages 8-17.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages 8-17.</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Jones</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>53 (Some poor)</td>
<td>20 shillings currency to two guineas per quarter</td>
<td>Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Practical Mathematics, Navigation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2 Assistants)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ages 5-16.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>No. of Students</td>
<td>Fees</td>
<td>Subjects Taught</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Fraser</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>18 Ages 4-16</td>
<td>15 shillings per quarter</td>
<td>Reading, Writing, Arithmetic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Borrows</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>41 Ages 3-13</td>
<td>1/6 to 2 shillings per month</td>
<td>Reading, Writing, Arithmetic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>195</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MONTREAL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>No. of Students</th>
<th>Fees</th>
<th>Subjects Taught</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
### TABLE I (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>No. of Students</th>
<th>Fees</th>
<th>Subjects Taught</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owen Bowen</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>25 Ages 4-22</td>
<td>A dollar for each scholar</td>
<td>Reading, Writing, Spelling, Practical and Theoretical Arithmetic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Gunn</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>17 (1 Poor) Ages 4-19</td>
<td>5 shillings per subject</td>
<td>Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Mathematics, Book-Keeping (in French and English), Grammar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Brown</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10 shillings per quarter. 7/6 for reading only.</td>
<td>Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Book-keeping in English and French.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Craig Morris</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4 shillings per month for arithmetic. 3/6 reading.</td>
<td>Arithmetic, Reading.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>No. of Students</td>
<td>Fees</td>
<td>Subjects Taught</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WILLIAM HENRY</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Bisset</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>22 Ages 6-10</td>
<td>2/6 &quot;for the first or common branches&quot;</td>
<td>English, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Bookkeeping, Mensuration, Surveying.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LACHINE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Gentle</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>L'ASSOMPTION</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. McCulloch</td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GASPÉ</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobson</td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(£ 25 Government Salary)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total of Scholars in Protestant Schools</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>451</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Perhaps he knew of the intended investigation into education and wanted to enlarge his enrolment to indicate he was fulfilling his role as the only salaried Protestant teacher of Quebec. Of his evening school he had advertised that "Nothing but French will be spoken by school Gentlemen who are studying that Language & vice versa." Quite possibly these "school Gentlemen" were in business during the day and needed French for this purpose.

Mr. Keith was the first master to introduce public examination into the province; one such examination was reported by the *Quebec Herald and Miscellany* in glowing terms. The examination had begun at 11 and continued till three.

Those in the English department read with much understanding and accuracy. ... A numerous class translated Telemaque very easily and without hesitation. ... The eight Latin classes were severally examined and exhibited particular specimens of improvement. ... The three upper classes deserve every mark of praise not only for their general knowledge of the language but for their ready application of the rules of Syntax and Prosody. One or two Gentlemen also read the Greek Testament and Homer's Iliad with great facility. ... It afforded much satisfaction to see their writing all neat and elegant; and their Cyphering books without a blot ... .

The writer felt that the examination should take three days so that "the utility of the teachers would be more generally known and more highly valued." Bishop Inglis who visited Mr. Keith's school four months after this wrote, "The boys performed tolerably." In writing to Dorchester, Mr. Keith explained why his enrolment at this
time was lower than normal. It was due, he stated, to the fact that many of his pupils had left the previous summer, having been thought qualified to enter business. He could have admitted students "from the Lower Schools in Town, if I had thought proper to admit them before their terms." Mr. Keith himself appeared to have been a Loyalist, for he had been in the province for five years.

In the course of it I have met with many difficulties from untoward Children, indulgent Parents and Precarious payments.

Mr. Jones pointed out in his report that of his fifty-three students, thirteen were French; Mr. Fraser that he had been teaching in Quebec since the Conquest. Apparently a small army school, the Royal Artillery School, existed in Quebec under Mr. Borrows, though one cannot tell from his list where his pupils had come from, that is, if they were all children of the military, or if only boys attended.

Rev. DeLisle, in submitting the reports of the schoolmasters of Montreal, stated that Mr. Nelson's school was the most popular "his abilities and long experience place him in the first rank among the teachers." Mr. Nelson wrote that the fees for the school "were fixed by a Committee of Gentlemen of the first abilities and distinction" after the school had been moved from Three Rivers. Mr. Nelson, having found the expenses of running the school a burden "which reduced the Master to the
absolute necessity of dissolving the school at the last public examination," was saved from doing this by a subscription raised for him. Sir John Johnson, Rev. DeLisle, Joseph Frobisher and Alexander Henry were some of the parents who sent their children to his school. The Montreal Gazette reported favorably on the public examination at his school. "The Boys of 12 and 13 in classical knowledge evinced a progress much superior to their years."

In Montreal, Mr. Nelson and Mr. Fisher offered academy-type instruction, while Mr. Bowen and Mr. Gunn more elementary-type. In the other towns, the school masters offered little beyond elementary education. Rev. Veyssiere commenting on schools in Three Rivers wrote that there were many parents there who wanted to send their children to school, but were incapable of paying. Mr. Bissett at William Henry was described as being "very infirm" by Rev. Doty; while only seventeen children attended school, there were "not less than one hundred and twenty Protestant children most of which are growing up in ignorance." Doty suggested that as all schools "should be Nurseries for the Church as well as for the State" every Protestant school should be under the inspection of Protestant ministers, the procedure used in Great Britain and Nova Scotia in order to assess the religious qualifications of the schoolmasters before certificating
them.

The overall impression received from the report on the schools in Quebec was the need for increased government aid to the schoolmasters, so that fees could be reduced by masters thus enabling more children to be sent to school. The curriculum offered by the various masters was varied; some of the schools appeared to be little more than "dame schools" run by masters. Others had a more varied curriculum, though one wonders when looking at the wide range of subjects offered as to what depth they were entered into. When compared to the instruction offered in the French institutions, the instruction in these private schools was essentially of a much more practical nature for those whose probable career would be in the commercial life of the province.

Fifty years later, Christopher Dunkin in describing to Charles Buller the educational situation in Lower Canada wrote that the reason education was not being promoted in the Post-Conquest years was because of the American Revolution.

The spread of such an education . . . would have been incompatible with the maintenance of the system which it was then the great object of the administration to perpetuate in Canada.  

Governors Murray and Carleton saw the colony's future as being French, rather than English in character; the way Murray carried out the Proclamation of 1763 and
Carleton's favoring of the Quebec Act show this. It was better for the peace of the province and Great Britain to try to ignore the small English-speaking group in Quebec, if at all possible, and concentrate upon winning the allegiance of the French. However, after the American Revolution, the English-speaking population of Quebec had grown to the extent that it was no longer possible to ignore their clamorings for the rights of Englishmen.

**Jesuit Estates and Protestant Education.**

The whole problem of education in the province was thrust into the fore in the spring of 1787 by a communiqué from London, not on education itself, but on the Jesuit Estates. Amherst had resumed his request, first made after the Conquest, for the Jesuit Estates as a reward for having conquered the country. The size of Jesuit property in New France, over half a million acres of land along the St. Lawrence, was great enough to excite the imagination of those who wanted these lands over the next one hundred years after the Conquest, for final settlement only came in 1888.

The Jesuits had acquired their property in New France to support their missionary work and the education of youth. The right of the Jesuits to preserve their property was guaranteed under Article XIV of the Articles of Capitulation, while Article XXXV permitted them to
dispose of their estates themselves. The order was dissolved by the Pope in 1773; the Jesuits in Canada administered their estates until 1800, when the last one died. Meanwhile, an order-in-council dated November 9, 1770 was passed in London allowing Amherst everything except the colleges and chapels in Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers, though Amherst was to compensate the dispossessed fathers. However, the carrying out of the order was held up by the fact that the attorney and solicitor general maintained they could not obey the order because they lacked an authentic description of the estates. Amherst tried again in March, 1779 then waited till after the war was over before resuming his efforts. An order-in-council dated August 18, 1786 stated that an "up-to-date" description was necessary to put the grant into effect and that an inquiry should be held in the province.

On May 31, 1787 Dorchester appointed a committee of the Council, composed of Chief Justice Smith, the chairman, Thomas Dunn, Adam Mabane, Henry Caldwell, William Grant, J. G. Chausségres de Lery, Paul Roc de St. Ours, Francois Baby and Lecompte Dupré, to report on education in the province. However, the first meeting of the committee wasn't till November 26, 1789 because Chief Justice Smith had been conducting an investigation into the administration of the province. But as soon as the order for the investigation into the Jesuit Estates became known
in Quebec, both French and English Canadians raised the point that the revenue of the estates should be used for education, not for Amherst's gain.

The Bishop's Plan for a University.

At this time, Charles Inglis, newly consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia to whose charge was also added Newfoundland, P. E. I. and Quebec, sent Lord Dorchester a plan for a university before he left for Canada. "It is universally allowed that youth is the properest time for having the principles of religion and virtue, as well as those of science, impressed on the mind," wrote Inglis to Dorchester. Bishop Inglis himself had been a teacher at one point in his career, having taught in the Free School for German children at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Born in County Donegal in 1734, Inglis was tutored by his father and had learned English, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. In 1757 he had been sent to the church school in Pennsylvania. He returned to England a year later to be ordained as a deacon and priest, after which he was sent out to the Thirteen Colonies again, this time to Dover, Delaware. Eight years later he was appointed assistant to the rector of Trinity Church, New York. During the Revolution, he showed himself to be a staunch supporter of the Crown, a fact which led the rebels to declare him guilty of high treason and to confiscate his property.
His plan for a university showed a blend of religion and science and was to differ from the one submitted by Smith later on in this inclusion of religion.

It will be expected and it seems indispensably necessary that, where a number of youths are collected for the purpose of education, they should be called together twice a day to prayers; on Sunday, especially they should attend divine worship.\(^6\)

The study of botany and agriculture he believed were important to include in the university because of what these sciences had done for Sweden converting its barren wastes into fertile fields. As a result, he recommended that the university should be located in the country. He also mentioned the salaries he felt the president and three professors should receive, recommended texts, and ages for admitting students. But he did insist on the Anglican character of educational institutions in the province, and because of this he was blamed for creating disunity.\(^6\) Dorchester, on the other hand, wanted theology excluded from the list of subjects and clergymen excluded from teaching in such an institution. There were two reasons for Dorchester's attitude, the first being that he did not want to upset the French Catholic population, in particular the clergy, at a time when revolution was in the air, and, secondly, he himself was not particularly favorable to the Anglican Church. Both of these reasons are suggested in the following letter written by Inglis after an interview with Dorchester in 1789.
His disposition is generous and his principles liberal; these perhaps are carried to excess so as to make too little distinction between the National Church and other denominations. The Canadians gave some help to him in defending Quebec against the Rebels, which strongly attaches him to them. The Chief Justice is a Presbyterian and being confidential with his Lordship, and his prime minister as it were, hence a predilection in favor of Dissenters.63

The "Prime Minister's" Plan.

William Smith, "the prime minister," was like Inglis a Loyalist.64 He was the son of William Smith, a judge of the court of King's Bench for New York. Educated at Yale College, he too chose to follow the legal profession to become the Chief Justice of New York in 1780. After the evacuation of New York, Smith accompanied Dorchester, then Carleton, to England in 1783. Three years later, he became Chief Justice of Quebec. Unlike Inglis, Smith, a Presbyterian, wanted to exclude religion from education as his plan showed.

Smith, as chairman of the committee, proposed free parochial primary schools, a system of free secondary schools which would include practical subjects such as bookkeeping and surveying, supported by local assessments, and a non-sectarian university partly endowed by some of the Jesuit estates.65 Haldimand's library was to be taken over for the new university, to be housed in the Jesuit College at Quebec. Smith thought that such a university would make Quebec the intellectual capital of British
North America, attracting perhaps even American students, because of "the opportunity of acquiring one of the most universal languages of Europe." 66

A month after the plan had been submitted to the whole council, Dorchester ordered that the report be printed in both languages and be distributed in the province by means of the magistrate and parish clergy. 67 What the reaction of the inhabitants in the province to this report was is not known, but the opinion of the clergy is. Mgr. Hubert, the bishop of Quebec, was against it chiefly because it was non-sectarian. He insisted that the time had not yet come for establishing a university. He thought instead that everything possible should be done to encourage the studies already being carried on in the College of Montreal and in the Seminary of Quebec. He favored a third place of instruction for the youth of the province by the restoration of the Jesuit's College in Quebec which might eventually grow into a university. 68

Smith, after reading this letter, apparently changed his opinion somewhat about the project of establishing a university comparable to those in Europe, as he felt it might after all be extravagant for the province. He thought a college or academy, non-sectarian, might be an alternative. He proposed, therefore, a corporation which would include both Protestant and Catholic clergymen, be created to promote such an institution. 69 The committee
concluded its work, making the following resolutions.

1) It would be advantageous to establish a collegiate institution for the teaching of the liberal arts and sciences & that instruction should be left to the respective communions.

2) Incorporation of a society to establish such a school, whose charter would provide against sectarian teaching. 70

French Proposals.

Another project for higher education was introduced in 1790 by the members of the Seminary of St. Sulpice and a number of laymen. They petitioned for a charter to create a college to be called Dorchester College and under the inspection of the Crown for the teaching of the humanities, mathematics, engineering, civil law in Montreal. The name of the Duke of Clarence was substituted when the governor declined the honour; the petition was sent to the council who referred it to the home government. 71

On the other hand, French support for a non-sectarian state university came in the petition of October 31, 1790 which had the signatures of sixty French Canadians including the coadjutor Bishop Bailly de Messein. 72 A Montreal lawyer, Simon Sanguinet, had left property worth four or five hundred pounds a year for the endowment of such a university. Lord Dorchester forwarded the various reports on education in the province to the home government. He wrote that he felt a university was needed "to give energy
to the cultivation of the higher branches of science"; theology should be excluded "to give the greatest degree of advantage to all classes." Parliamentary regulations were needed for the management of the schools under the university. Temporary aid for education was indispensable; he suggested that the S. P. G. and S. P. C. K. active in the Thirteen Colonies, might now turn their attention northward.\(^{73}\)

These grand plans and visions, however, came to naught in Great Britain; Dorchester received a letter from the secretary of state on March 7, 1791 stating that the disposal of the estates and the founding of the university could not be considered until the Constitutional Act was passed.\(^{74}\) But, even then, all that happened was Amherst's failure to get what he had been promised.

**Public Interest in Education.**

Education, however, still continued to be a popular topic for discussion in the province for the English-speaking population. The Montreal Society debated "Whether a Public or Private Education may tend most to benefit youth." The result of the debate, reported in the *Montreal Gazette* on September 6, 1791 was that "it was clearly shown that public education was infinitely more advantageous than a private education." Six months later, the Montreal Society debated "What plan of education may be
most for the advantage of the rising generations in this country." The Montreal Gazette reported on March 15, 1792 that

The importance of this Question occasioned a numerous House, formed of some of the first and most respectable Citizens. The Question was treated by several members in the manner which a subject of its great moment required. They clearly made it appear that the little improvements hitherto made in the Province, by the natives in the Country was owing to their ignorance to remedy which they recommended as the best plan of Education for the rising generations "that there be Parochial Schools established Throughout the Country and that a Grammar School be instituted in each Town."

A letter from "Caractacus" in the Montreal Gazette on April 18, 1793 dealt with the problem of attracting and keeping "men who have really and bona fide received a regular classical and arithmetical Education, with Literary leisure" as schoolmasters in the province. "The precarious income of day Schools" led these men to leave the province "to find a residence, where the people look upon Educating the rising Generation as a business of the first importance."

Bishop Mountain, writing to Lord Dundas in 1793, the year of his appointment to the see of Quebec, summed up the educational situation to then. The plan of the Committee of the Council for introducing an extensive system of Education appears to have failed by attempting too much at once. We are perhaps not yet ripe for such an institution. But, as introductory to it, good Gramr Schools should be established and encouraged in Quebec, in Montreal and in Kingston . . . but the allowance of 200 a year
made by Government for such purposes has been so unfortunately applied by our former Governors as to produce no good effect whatever.75

But despite the absence of official action, there still continued to be popular interest in education. Robert Tait advertised in the Montreal Gazette on February 8, 1796 that he was starting

... a course of original Lectures on Education Domestic and Public ... and on the History of Learning with its progress, decline, revival and the probable causes which retard its present progress. On Domestic Education a variety of Particulars will be discussed, highly interesting to Parents of children in particular and to society in general. In the second part will be pointed out in particular its tendency to form good Citizens, loyal Subjects and to Qualify Youth for the most eminent Stations in Society.

The advertisement is interesting in its stress on the utilitarian aspects of education and in the view that education was carried on in the home as well as at school. The occasion was also the first on which anyone had ventured to teach the history of education in the country.

Some discussion on the education of women appeared in the various newspapers of the times. "Florizel" in a letter to the editor of the Quebec Herald and Miscellany questioned the validity of the opinion of a Mr. Knox whose essay "On the sensibility of men to the charms of the female mind, cultivated with polite and solid Literature" he had read. "Florizel" felt that

Nature seems to have designed that the happiness of women should consist in objects considerably different from those which constitute the felicity of man. He was destined for enterprise, she for the calm of domestic life.76
In another letter he expressed the view that women would find it difficult to leave the pages of Cicero and Demosthenes, and to attend the caprices of an infant, whose language is tears and whose rhetoric is squalling.

His views that nature had created man superior to woman brought a sharp reply "By a Lady." Her letter is a revealing commentary on the education of girls at that period for girls were committed to illiterate teachers, and as illiterate school mistresses, ignorant of manners, books and men . . . With these tyrants they are cooped up in a room, confined to needlework, deprived of exercise . . . schooled in frivolity. (Boys) were instructed in sciences and languages, and rendered familiar with the best authors, by which they may refine their taste. Thus it is the united folly of parents which has brought on so wide a distinction of the sexes; not the impartial wisdom of the Creator.

A month later another letter appeared giving a sketch of modern female education, pointing out how artificial it was, with the great stress on fashion. The sophistication of the age is a point of attack in Poet's Corner by "Junius." In a poem "A Comparison" he writes

But who in this degenerate age
Dares attack the fashion's rage Our youth
The Frizeur now with nicest care
Curls--toupies--and crapes the hair
From Town bells quick the madness passes,
And seizes on the country lasses,
Who leave their work to try to please,
Nor butter churn--nor press the cheese
Nor card the wool--nor spin the taw;
But headlong into fashion go.
Bishop Mountain and Protestant Education.

The "so intimate and obvious a connection between the Education of youth and the General State of Public Morals" was pointed out in a letter by Bishop Mountain to Lieutenant-Governor Robert Shore Milnes in 1799. Mountain, whose see was Quebec for over thirty years, was a person who had considerable influence on educational developments in the province. He himself had a solid educational background which had fitted him for his position in the church. Born in Norfolk, England he had been educated at Caius College, Cambridge (B.A. 1774, M.A. 1777, and D.D. in 1793). Besides a number of sermons and charges, he had published Poetical Reveries in 1777.

Mountain had not become disheartened by the lack of action to the various educational schemes brought forth in 1790. He himself made a proposal to Dorchester in 1795 that English Protestant schoolmasters be placed in every parish to teach English free and writing and arithmetic at low fees. He hoped that such a measure would bring the English and French together in time, and win over the latter to Protestantism. However, Dorchester here again did nothing with the proposal. Mountain wrote to the Duke of Portland, Secretary of State, Home Department, that if he were on the Executive Council
it will forward my endeavors for the advancement of Religion & Education in this Country; Since it is only with the advice of the Executive Council that Lord Dorchester takes any steps in the regulation of Schools.  

In November, 1795 Mountain finally received his warrant to sit on the Executive Councils of Upper and Lower Canada. But, the educational picture did not improve immediately, Mountain explaining to Inglis that those in power "are often unnaccountable and most perversely indifferent to this subject." (education) This reference, of course, was to Lord Dorchester who was not so much indifferent to education, for he himself as a parent was very concerned with his children's education as we have seen, but aware of the political-religious issues involved in formulating an educational policy for the province.

However, Lieutenant-Governor Milnes was more hostile to the French Canadians than previous governors, and thus more amenable to Mountain's educational proposals, the chief aim of which, was to secure the loyalty of the French Canadians by anglicizing them through education. In a letter to Milnes, he again outlined his plan. He felt that a good grammar school was needed and to invite able masters from England by the Liberality of the Endowment. It may not be improper to state here that there is already at Quebec a respectable school which offers the means of instruction to those who are designed for more active professions or for the pursuits of Trade and commerce in which together with the lower Branches of Education are taught the Latin language, mathematics and navigation by a master well qualified for the task he has undertaken.
To overcome "the Evils" which arose from the lack of a "community of Language" the children of the Canadians should be taught the English language. He suggested, therefore, that English schoolmasters, employed by the government, should be placed in the cities, towns and villages to teach "the English Language gratis . . . and writing & arithmetic when required at an easy rate." A Committee of the whole Council considered the Bishop's paper and recommended the adoption of its proposals. Milnes forwarded the Bishop's paper and the Council's recommendation to the Duke of Portland, who fully agreed with them. Portland, in turn, authorized the payment from provincial revenue, of masters to teach the English language in free schools. He felt that one or two grammar schools would be adequate for the time being, but he hoped that a college or university would be necessary in the future.

Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning.

In 1801, the Speech from the Throne in Lower Canada called upon the assembly to make Mountain's proposals into law. Thus came into being the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning which was to be controlled by the governor, lieutenant-governor, Anglican bishop, the chief justice and the speaker of the Assembly. Under this body's direction, free primary and secondary schools were to be set up; two royal grammar schools in Quebec and Montreal
were also proposed. Several amendments to the original bill were added which made all church schools or private institutions independent, and the creation of any Royal Institution school in any parish dependent upon the will of the majority of the inhabitants.89

Thus, with the founding of the RIAL, English-speaking education in Quebec was established on a surer footing. For the period of our study, though, English-speaking education was dependent to a large degree on the few private schools in Quebec and the English-speaking family itself, and on the apprenticeship system which is dealt with in the next chapter.
CHAPTER V

APPRENTICESHIP AND THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING CHILD
1760-1800

The private schools described in the previous chapter were for the children of parents who could afford to pay a fee, though a few free scholars were often admitted. But, what of those English-speaking children whose families did not belong to the economic elite of the period? Did these children grow up ignorant of the essentials of the English language? How did they receive a training to fit them for their role in life as minor tradesmen or servants?

Background of Apprenticeship System.

R. F. Seybolt has stated that in colonial New England and New York "the apprenticeship system took care of the entire problem of public elementary education during the colonial period."\(^1\) Canadian research on apprenticeship for English-speaking children in Post-Conquest Quebec appears to be non-existent; indeed, apprenticeship contracts themselves are difficult to locate.\(^2\) Hence, a general survey of apprenticeship is necessary before considering indentures relating to the period under survey here.
It should be stated from the outset that apprenticeship of French-speaking children was governed by French civil law and will not be discussed here, except for a few brief comments. When English-speaking settlers came to Quebec in the Post-Conquest years they brought with them and naturally used English law for public contracts such as apprenticeship. In the last chapter, we have seen how language and religion complicated the educational question. The existence of two types of law, one French, one English, produced two systems of apprenticeship.

Under the French system, prospective apprentices were to have reached twelve years of age, but not be over eighteen in order to be apprenticed. The reason for this was the belief that before he was twelve, the child was not capable of following a serious occupation. The duration of apprenticeship in France varied from three to seven years, but in Montreal the period was generally three years, rarely more than four or five years.

The practice of apprenticeship in England had been based on the English guild and municipal legislation of the thirteenth and fourteenth century. By 1400, apprenticeship came gradually to be adopted as the most usual method of entering a craft, and was practised by most guilds and required by most towns. Apprenticeship indentures of this period bore the essential features of later indentures in the eighteenth century found in Colonial America and
Post-Conquest Quebec. These were: 1) that the apprentice bound himself to live with his master for a certain period of years; 2) that the apprentice promised to serve him diligently; 3) obey his reasonable commands; 4) keep his secrets; 5) protect him from injury by others; 6) abstain from such games as dice and cards and the haunting of taverns; 7) neither to commit fornication nor contract matrimony; 8) not to absent himself from his master's service without permission. The master, in his turn, promised to instruct the boy in his trade, and give him bed, board and clothing. Girls were admitted into the crafts even such as carpenters, wheelwrights and clock-makers under the same conditions that regulated the practice for boys.

As Seybolt has pointed out, apprenticeship had been generally practised throughout medieval England, though its regulation was subject to local variations. The Statute of Artificers, 1562, however, made apprenticeship into a national system, codifying the numerous laws on the employment of servants and apprentices. The Poor Law of 1601 must be discussed, as well as the Statute of Artificers, in a treatment of apprenticeship. Under this Act of 1601, two or three or four householders and church wardens were appointed overseers of the poor, one of their duties being "the setting to work such children of all those parents shall not . . . be thought able to keep and
maintain their children. The overseers could bind any such children as apprentices, a boy till he was 24 years of age, a girl till she was 21 or to marriage.

In 1767 the term for parish apprentices was changed to read "for seven years only or until the age of 21 years" and in 1778 another Act stated that no apprentice should be bound after 21 years of age. The difference between Poor Law apprenticeship and industrial apprenticeship was the fact that the purpose of the former was not so much to teach the apprentice a trade as to "bind him out" to a person who would maintain him. All apprenticeships or bindings to be legal had to have the consent of two Justices of the Peace. Seybolt found that these laws were irregularly administered.

Apprenticeship in the Thirteen Colonies.

The system of apprenticeship as established by the Statute of Artificers was brought to the American colonies; however, a characteristic feature of apprenticeship in the colonies was the fact that there was no uniformity of observance. In New England, the adoption of one important aspect of English practice, the public enrollment of indentures, was carried on from the beginning of settlement. The indentures could be in written or printed form, though by the end of the seventeenth century, the latter was in general use. The indentures were usually signed by the
apprentice in the presence of witnesses and acknowledged before public authority, as, for example, the mayor or Justices of the Peace.\textsuperscript{12} The term of service, as in Great Britain, was not to be completed until the apprentice had reached 21 and had served at least seven years, though there were instances of shorter terms. Unlike the practice in Great Britain, girls were apprenticed until they were 18 or married.

Apprentices did run away, in which case the master would advertise, give a description of the apprentice and offer a reward. When the apprentice was brought back, he was obliged to serve a longer time than prescribed in the indenture. Masters who maltreated their apprentices or did not provide adequate maintenance and trade instruction were fined by the town and the apprentice bound over to another master, as was the English custom.\textsuperscript{13}

The characteristic feature of colonial apprenticeship indentures, as compared to those of Great Britain, was the provision made for rudimentary education, that is, reading, writing and cyphering to the rule of three. In the case of girls, only reading and writing were to be taught. Masters, because they themselves were often illiterate, had to send children to school in order to have this obligation fulfilled. Because apprentices could not be spared during the day, evening schools were opened for them in New York; the provision for sending the
apprentice to evening school was written into the indentures. 14

Apprenticeship could also be considered as a community welfare institution for poor children, orphans and illegitimate offspring. This aspect of apprenticeship, as set up under the English Poor Law of 1601 was carried out in the colonies. Parish apprentices, on the whole, came from a lower social class than trade apprentices and were less likely to become part of the family circle in their master's household. Orphan girls were usually apprenticed to receive instruction in plain sewing and "housewifery" and reading and writing. The English Poor Law apprenticeship system failed to provide sufficient instruction in the trades, and led to the establishment in the eighteenth century of workhouses and charity schools. 15

Such then was the general background of the apprenticeship system which was brought by English-speaking settlers to Post-Conquest Quebec. Apprenticeship of English-speaking children did exist from the early years of the Conquest, as we can see from the following, though the indentures examined in this chapter are those dated from 1780 to 1800. 16 The Quebec Gazette on July 5, 1764 carried the following notice.
Wanted: as an Apprentice to the Printing Business, an ingenious Boy, about 14 Years old, who can be well recommended; if he can read, write and should be able to make himself understood, in both French and English, he will be more acceptable....Brown & Gilmore

Apprenticeship Compared: Quebec and New York.

The following is a typical indenture of the Province of New York in the colonial period and comparing it with a Montreal indenture of the Post-Conquest period we shall see that there are many similarities.

This Indenture Witnesseth that Thomas Hill about twelve years of Age with the Consent of William Hollins his father in Law hath put himselfe and by these presents doth voluntarily and of his own free will and accord put himselfe Apprentice unto Christopher Gilliard, Cordwainer in the City of New York in America for the space and Term of seaven years Commencing from the date hereof and after the manner of an Apprentice to serve from the Fourteenth day of May one thousand seaven hundred and five untill the full Term of seaven years be Compleat and Ended during all which Term the said Apprentice his said Master and Mistress during the aforesaid Term in the Cordwainer's Trade faithfully shall serve his secrets keep his lawful Commands gladly Every where Obey he shall doe no damage to his said Master nor see to be done by Others without letting or giving Notice there-of to his said Master he shall not waste his said Master's goods nor lend them unlawfully to any, he shall not Committ Fornication nor Contract Matrimony within the said Term att Cards, Dice or any other unlawfull Game he shall not play whereby his said Master may have damage with his own goods nor the goods of others during the said Term without Lycense from his said Master he shall neither buy nor sell he shall not absent himselfe day or night from his Master's service without his leave nor haunt Ale houses, Taverns or Playhouses but in all things as a faithful Apprentice he shall behave himselfe toward his said Master and all his During the said Term and the said Master during the said Term shall find and provide unto the said Apprentice sufficient meat
drinke Apparell Lodging and washing fitting for an Apprentice and give unto his said Apprentice two new suits of Apparell the one for working days the other for Sundays and holy days and to Instruct and teach his said Apprentice in seaven years to read and write English and in the Cordwainter's Trade according to his Ability and for the true performance of all and every the said Covenants and Agreement either of the said parties bind themselves to the other by these presents. In Witness whereof they have interchangeably put their hands and seals this fourteenth day of May in the third Year of the Reign of our sovereign Lady Anne by the Grace of God Queen of England, Scotland and France and Ireland etc: Anno Domini one thousand seaven hundred and five Thomas Hill sealed signed and delivered in the presence of us John Shéppard David Vilant New Yorke May ye 14th 1705 Acknowledged by the within named Thomas Hill to be his voluntary Act and Deed. (Signed) William Peartree, Mayor.

The Montreal indenture reads as follows:

This Indenture Witnesseth, That I, Corneiles Hurley hath put himself and by these Presents, doth voluntarily, and of his own free Will and Accord, put Himself Apprentice to Thomas Swan of Montreal Merchant after the Manner of an Apprentice to serve him from the Day of the Date hereof, for, and during, and to the full End and Term of Six Years & one Month next ensuing. During all which Term, the said Apprentice his said Master faithfully shall serve, his Secrets keep, his lawful Commands every where readily obey. Shall do no Damage to his said Master nor see it to be done by others, without letting or giving notice thereof to his said Master shall not waste his said Masters Goods, nor lend them unlawfully to any. He shall not commit Fornication, nor contract Matrimony within the said Term. At Cards, Dice, or any other unlawfully Game, he shall not play, whereby his said Master may have Damage. With his own Goods, nor the Goods of others, without Licence from his said Master shall neither buy nor sell. He shall not absent himself Day nor Night from his said Masters Service without his Leave: Nor haunt Ale-houses, Taverns, or Playhouses; but in all things behave himself as a faithful Apprentice ought to do, during the said term. And the said Master shall use the utmost of his Endeavour to teach or cause to be taught or instructed the said Apprentice reading, Writing and Arethmatic and procure and provide for
him sufficient Meat, Drink, Wearing Apparel, Lodging and Washing, fitting for an Apprentice, during the said Term of Six Years and one Month and at the expiration of the said Term a Compleat Suit of Clothes, and linen suitable over and above this then wearing Apparel.

And for the true Performance of all and singular the Covenants and Agreements aforesaid, the said Parties bind themselves each unto the other firmly by these Presents. In Witness whereof, the said Parties have interchangeably set their Hands and Seals hereunto. Dated the first Day of May in the Twenty fourth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third King of Great Britain etc. Anno Domini, One Thousand Seven Hundred and eighty three. (Signed) Thomas Swan, J. G. Beek, Notary Public, witnessed by William Mooney, J. Lavallée.

Both these indentures, though they differ in time and place, bear a similarity to one another, though there are some minor differences in phraseology and terms. In each case, the apprentice bound himself to serve his master for a period of years, promised to serve his master faithfully, keep his secrets and obey his lawful commands, do no damage, neither waste or lend his master's goods, nor commit fornication or matrimony. The apprentice was to keep away from cards, dice and taverns and not to absent himself from his master without permission. In return the master promised to provide the apprentice with some instruction, as well as food, lodging, clothing and washing, and at the expiration of the term, new clothing.

One difference in the terms of the two is the fact that the New York indenture is for seven years, the Montreal indenture for six years, one month. Though the
age of the Montreal apprentice is not mentioned, he was probably around fifteen for the term of service, it would appear from other records, was always till the age of twenty-one for boys or eighteen for girls. The New York master promised to teach the apprentice his trade as well as to read and write English, while no mention of teaching a trade was made in the Montreal indenture. Possibly this was due to the fact that the Montreal master was a merchant and what the apprentice's duties were to be, included reading, writing and record-keeping, all of which would be covered under the master's obligation of having "to teach or cause to be taught or instructed the said Apprentice reading, writing and arithmetic." The other difference is that the New York apprentice received two suits of clothing, while the Montreal apprentice received one "Compleat Suit of Clothes and linen."

**English-Speaking Apprenticeship in Montreal.**

Over thirty-six Montreal indentures similar to the one quoted above were examined for this present study, of which about a fifth were for girls. These indentures were found mainly in the collection of records of two notaries, John Gerbrand Beek and Peter Lukin in the Archives of the Superior Court in Montreal. The purpose of the study was to compare features of these indentures with those in New England discussed earlier and in particular
to find out if any provisions were made for the teaching of the English language to English-speaking apprentices.

As in New England, there was public enrollment of records with some public official. The Montreal indentures were signed sometimes by one notary public, sometimes by two. In addition to the specimen indenture, four additional indentures dealt with apprenticeship to a merchant. Other apprentices were bound to a blacksmith, shoemaker, hatter, tailor, ship's master, barrister, hairdresser, gunsmith, cabinet maker and joiner, clerk, carpenter, silversmith, innkeeper, soap boiler, the North West Company, or to a master as a servant. If the servant was under twenty-one, then this was not considered the same as a case of indentured servitude, an example of which will be given later on in the chapter.

While the length of apprenticeship was usually upon the basis of the number of years to twenty-one for boys (or simply stated "till 21") and to eighteen for girls, there were a couple of exceptions. Ten year old Samuel Madders was bound to innkeeper Thomas Sullivan for nine years, and fifteen year old Richard Pattinson to merchant J. A. Gray for three years.

Considerable variation appeared in the clause dealing with the clothing a master gave to the apprentice at the expiration of the indenture. Traditionally the apprentice received two suits of clothing, one for Sundays
and another for weekdays. However, in only one instance did this hold true of the Montreal indentures. But, it should be pointed out that this was not a regional peculiarity, for many New York indentures frequently mentioned only one suit of clothing, as was the case in Montreal. In two cases, no mention of clothing to be given at the end of the term was made at all.

The wearing apparel was not always provided directly by the master. In one case, the father was paid twenty guineas to see that his son was provided with clothes during his apprenticeship. In another instance, the father was to provide all the necessary wearing apparel the first year, after which the master would. The father and master several years later, in an amendment to the original indenture agreed to have the apprentice board at his father's house, for which the master would pay five shillings per week. Perhaps it was more convenient occasionally for a master to have the apprentice board out. In the indenture of William Lindsay to Robert Armour, Merchant, dated November 18, 1814 the apprentice was paid

Fifty pounds, for the Second year Sixty pounds, for the Third Year 70 pounds, for the fourth Year Eighty pounds, for the fifth Year Ninety pounds and for the last Years Service one hundred and twenty pounds Current Money of the Province . . . out of which said Sums the said Apprentice is to find and provide for himself Board, Lodging and all other Necessaries without any Claim on his said Master for the same.
However, other indentures found ten years later still had apprentices living with their masters.

It would appear from a study of three other indentures that parental responsibility was increasing in another respect towards the nineteenth century. In a printed indenture, the parent agreed

that if the said apprentice shall elope from his said Masters service, that the said Father shall strictly and diligently make search for and when found, convey him back to his said Master.

The fact that this was not just a special clause in one particular indenture is indicated by the fact that the indenture was printed in this way. Another printed indenture, in addition to the above clause, had written in a stipulation that two men (one of whom was the father) should act as bondsmen for the apprentice's good behavior. They were also to make good any Damage the said Master may eventually suffer by reason of the misconduct of the said apprentice.

That the masters were finding the obligations of apprenticeship difficult to bear is indicated in the following petition dated February 23, 1802 of "sundry Master Tradesmen and others of the City of Quebec." They complained

That from the peculiar situation and customs of the Province they are under the necessity of taking Apprentices without Fee, at an age when they are unable to provide for themselves, and belonging to Parents in penurious circumstances, and that the Petitioners engage to board, lodge and cloath them, and often to
give them a certain portion of education necessary to enable them to follow the business for which they are intended with advantage to themselves, over and above learning their trade.

That when such Apprentices arrive at an age and are in a condition to be of Service to the Petitioners they absent themselves from their employment without the Petitioners being able to find any efficient remedy in Law to oblige them to fulfill their respective indentures or engagements.

The petition mentions that the masters were giving apprentices some education over and above what they needed for their trade. This was a reference, no doubt, to the fact that masters agreed in a number of cases and following the New England custom to teach apprentices reading and writing and in the case of boys, arithmetic as well. The provision in the Montreal indentures covering such education was stated in several ways, as "cause him (the apprentice) to be taught reading, writing and arithmetic" or "allow unto the said Apprentice proper Schooling in reading, writing & arethmaticks" or "Fitting such an apprentice with a suitable education for such a calling."

In another case the said Master likewise consents and agrees to allow the said apprentice time to learn and be taught in the art of reading, writing and cyphering in the common rules which shall be at the care and charge of his said uncle.

The master of an eight year old boy was to "allow him two whole Years schooling in his present infant Years when he may be most apt to benefit of it." On the other hand, in the case of a boy apprenticed to the master of a
ship bound for London, his father and guardian promised to reimburse the master for whatever he had been obliged to pay "at London or elsewhere for School Lodging and Board as well as for the extra Cloathing said Apprentice shall have occasion for during the time of his Studys." 38

In another indenture the father, Reverend DeLisle, promised to pay Thomas Walker, the barrister to whom his son was apprenticed

an Apprentice fee of Fifty guineas in three several notes payable on the fifteenth day of May next, one third on the fifteenth day of May next, one third on the fifteenth day of January . . . and the remaining one third on the Twentieth day of June. 39

However, the last two cited indentures were not typical of those examined for this study. In indentures where provision for schooling was mentioned, it should be noted that the master was to have the apprentice taught or allow him time to do so. Where the apprentice went to obtain such schooling is not known. In New York colonial indentures stated that the apprentice was to go to evening school, but no mention was made of this in any of the Montreal indentures. 40 One reason for this could be that there were no night schools in Montreal for many years. But as mentioned in the previous chapter, there were one or two day schools which simply taught the three R's, and most probably the apprentice would go to a school such as this.

That apprentices were illiterate often can be seen
by the fact that half of them signed their indentures with an X; about a fifth of their parents did likewise. Though all six girls could not sign their name, two were to be taught reading and writing, and one, only reading. Thus, not in every case where the apprentice was illiterate was there provision for his education. That the illiterate apprentice did receive the rudiments of an education is indicated in one indenture where a sixteen year old apprentice used an X, but four years later when the articles were annulled, he could sign his name.\textsuperscript{41}

Special clauses or provisions were often written into the Montreal indentures, but such practice was not unusual in colonial indentures.

John DeLisle, a notary, promised that

in case of sickness or other accident by reason whereof the said Andrew Meziere may be disabled from serving because of sickness (that he would provide) and allow unto the said Andrew Meziere a nurse and pay the Charges of such Doctors and Apothecaries as shall be necessary during such sickness.\textsuperscript{42}

In return the apprentice, Andrew Meziere, had certain obligations to keep relative to his master's work.

... he, the said Andrew Meziere shall and will from time to time and at all time, well and truly account for all such monies, stamps and other things as shall come to his hands by the delivery order, appointment or for the use on account of his said Master.\textsuperscript{43}

An apprentice clerk in the Northwest Company (and there must have been a number of such apprentices in the flourishing fur trade) promised
to Serve and go from hence whenever thereunto required in any part of the Indian or Interior Countries where they carry on Trade, as he the said Apprentice Clerk from time to time shall be ordered and directed by them or such person or persons as shall there represent their persons or the Northwest Company.44

In another case, the girl apprentice was "to be instructed in the Protestant Religion of the Church of England" as well as to be taught "housewifery."45 A young boy, apprenticed to Rev. Delisle as a servant was to be taught the catechism in addition to reading and writing.46 A girl apprenticed to a shoemaker to learn "housewifery" was to receive a Bible at the end of her apprenticeship.47 Monetary reward was sometimes given at the end of service and could vary from 100 pounds to two guineas.48 It was common practice for a master to equip the apprentice with a set of tools relevant to his trade when his term expired. An apprentice to a merchant was to receive ten pounds of spice50 while a girl apprenticed to an innkeeper in "housewifery" was to receive "a Good Milk Cow and a Bible."51 A shoemaker was to permit his apprentice

the free toleration of his Religious Duty's and to allow the Sundays and the four principal feast days during each year for that purpose.52

The one omission from the indentures that appears frequently is the clause stating that the apprentice would "not committ Fornication nor contract Matrimony within the said Term." Thus it would appear that by 1800 the regulations governing apprenticeship were loosening. But,
the important feature of the indentures, with regard to this particular study, is the fact that the clause requiring masters to provide their apprentices with the rudiments of an elementary English appeared frequently and also continued to appear in the years subsequent to 1800.

Occasionally French-speaking boys were apprenticed to English-speaking masters, and in these cases, the indenture would be a French translation of the English form. In one case, innkeeper Thomas Sullivan promised to provide his apprentice with some education either in French or English

Et le dit Maître feru tous ses efforts pour l'instruir à son Métier et profession et denseigner au faire enseigner et instruirer le dit apprentis, à lire, écrire et chifre jusqu's la régle de trois, en la langue Français ou Anglais.53

The apprenticeship indentures that have been discussed to this point are those dealing with voluntary apprenticeship. As mentioned earlier, parish apprenticeship also existed, though no indentures, unfortunately, were found. Parish apprenticeship involved the binding out of orphaned Protestant children by the church wardens. An example of this was seen in the last chapter when the church wardens of the Protestant church advertised in the Montreal Gazette that an eight year old boy would be bound out till he was twenty-one.54

The Protestant congregation had been concerned with the care of the poor and needy members from the time it
had been formed. One of its members was appointed "The Guardian of the Poor" to look after the disbursement of the Poor Fund and Protestant orphan children. As soon as such children were able to undertake apprenticeship, they were bound out to various trades. The church paid any necessary fees and the Guardian kept watch over the apprentices and also over their masters.

Thus, apprenticeship did serve as a means of providing education of the barest sort to those who could not afford private school fees.

The Sunday School was making its appearance at this time in England, having been introduced by Robert Raikes in the 1780's, and was offering the masses an opportunity to learn how to read. Several letters on the "Use and Disadvantage of Sunday Schools" appeared in the Quebec Herald and Miscellany in 1790. One letter condemned the "fallacious promises of advantage" from the Sunday School, and questioned whether the lower classes would become "more industrious, more virtuous, more happy because of reading. Learning cannot secure its possessors from Indolence, from vice and much less from misery."

Despite this argument against a Sunday School, William Langhorn placed the following advertisement in the Montreal Gazette on June 17, 1793.
... and for the convenience of those who have no leisure time from their ordinary employment, he will teach a Sunday school, a plan which has proved of such great utility in London, he hopes will be attended with equal good consequences here.

No more is known of Langhorn's Sunday school, but undoubtedly when the Sunday school was established in Quebec, it did serve to further perpetuate the English language.

**Indentured Servitude and Slavery.**

Apprenticeship was a source of cheap labour during this time, as was indentured servitude and slavery. The differences between apprenticeship, indentured servitude and slavery are simply differences of degree, the indentured servant was a temporary slave. There was a need for the bound servant and the slave by the well-to-do English-speaking family to perform the various chores of daily, domestic life. Such servants could speak English, though they might be of French background. The indenture of the English-speaking bound servant differed from that of the apprentice in that the bound servant was over twenty-one, and his indenture contained no provision for trade education as we can see in the following example.

John Palmer, Soldier in His Majesty's Sixtieth Regiment of Foot now getting his Discharge who did and hereby doth of his own free will and accord Bind and engage himself to David Alexand Grant of the Island of Ste. Helen ... with him as a Miller Millwright or in whatever other Capacity to dwell, continue and serve from the day of the date hereof untill the full End and Terme of Five Years from thence next ensuing and fully to be Compleat and ended during all which
said Term of five Years the said John Palmer him
the said David Alexander Grant to the utmost of his
Skil and power well and Faithfully shall Serve as well
as a Miller, Millwright or in whatever other Capacity
he the said David Alexander Grant or such Person or
Persons representing his Person shall from time to
time and at all times hereafter during the said Term
of five Year thinks fit and necessary to employ him
the said John Palmer and at such place or places as
he the said David Alexander Grant or his aforesaid
shall think proper to appoint; his Secrets keep his
Lawful commands everywhere gladly do, hurt to his
said Master he shall not do nor willingly Suffer to
be done by others, but the same to his power shall
let or forthwith give Notice thereof to his said Master
or his aforesaid, the Goods of his Master he shall
not Imbezil or Waste nor Lend them without his consent
to any, from the said Service he shall not at anytime
by day or night depart or absent himself without leave
but in all things as a Good and Faithful Servant, shall
and will demean and behave himself towards the said
David Alexander Grant and all such as shall represent
his person.

And in consideration of the Premises the said David
Alexander Grant also present did and hereby doth for
himself his Heirs executors and Administrators, Coven-
ant Promise and agree to and with the said John Palmer
that he the said David Alexander Grant shall and will
find and Provide for his said Servant Meat Drinks and
Lodging and also well and truly pay or cause to be paid
unto the said Servant the Sum of Twelve pounds Province
Currency Yearly and every Year during the said Term
of Five Years, as the same shall become due—And whereas
the said David Alexander Grant was obliged to advance
for and unto the said John Palmer the Sum of Twenty
pounds currency afores'd toward the obtaining of his
discharge It is agreed upon by and between the said
Parties that the Sum of Four Pounds shall be Stopped
out of his the said John Palmers Wages during the said
Term of five Years towards the reimbursement of the
said Sum to be advanced.

And For the True-performance hereof the said Parties
did and hereby do Bind themselves the one to the other
firmly by these present, under the Penalties of the
Laws. Thus, done and passed at Montreal aforesaid in
the office of John Gerbrand Beek one of the said Notaries
on the Twenty second day of April in the Year of our
Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight and
Signed by the said Parties and Notaries after being
duly read. John Palmer
Slavery had existed in New France though the import-
ing of Negro slaves into New France had never become a
flourishing trade. More popular as a source of cheap
labour were "les panis," a term for the Pawnee Indians
from the Arkansas region captured in French-Indian wars.
Such slaves, for this in fact was their status, cost less
than the Negro slave and could accommodate themselves to
the rigorous climate of New France better than the Negro
slave.

Undoubtedly a number of Negro slaves were brought
in by fleeing Loyalists as part of their property, and the
sale of Negro slaves did continue. The following is a
bill of sale for a six year old mulatto boy called Dick,
by a New York farmer to a gentleman at Lachine, and serves
as a reminder to us today that there were child slaves in
that period.

Before the underwritten Notaries residing in the
City of Montreal in the Province of Quebec Person-
ally came and appeared Benjamin Hammond of Saratoga
in the State of New York Farmer who voluntarily
declared that for and in Consideration of the Sum
of Thirty pounds Quebec Currency to him in hand paid
by Mr. Paul Larcheveque dit LaPromenade of Lachine
Gentleman the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged,
To have bargained Sold Delivered and by these pres-
ents doth bargain Sell and deliver unto the said
Paul Larcheveque a Certain Mulatto Boy aged Six Years
named Dick. To have and to hold the said Mulatto
Boy named Dick unto him the said Paul Larcheveque
his Executors administrators and assigns Forever
freely and quietly and he the said Benjamin Hammond
for himself his executors and administrators the
said Mulatto Boy named Dick unto the said Paul
Larcheveque his executors & administrators against
him the said Benjamin Hammond and against all and every other person or persons whatsoever shall and will warrant and forever defend, by these presents having put the said Paul Larcheveque in full possession by delivering the same unto him and by virtue of these presents Thus done and passed at Montreal in the office of John Gerbrand Beek on the Eleventh day of January in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and eighty Six. Benjamin Hammond, J. G. Beek. B. Delisle

There was some reaction in Quebec against slavery as an institution. The position of the Negro in Montreal society stirred the heart of one humanitarian reader of the Montreal Gazette. In a long poem entitled "The Negro's Complaint" he asks, "Has he (God) bid you buy and sell us?"

That Negro servants and panis ran away as frequently as apprentices did can be seen by a petition "from sundry persons in Montreal" who asked that when a Negro servant or panis deserts his owner's service, it shall be lawful to proceed against him or her in the manner directed and provided for against Apprentices and Servants in England and Great Britain and to commit him to the gaol.

A bill to abolish slavery was introduced into the Assembly of Lower Canada in 1793, but failed to pass. Slavery, thus, remained till 1833 when the Parliament of Great Britain abolished it.

Conclusion.

In conclusion we can say that the influence of New England on apprenticeship in Post-Conquest Quebec was quite strongly felt. In particular, the clause requiring masters
to provide the apprentice with the rudiments of an elementary education was an important feature of these indentures. While not all English-speaking apprentices in Quebec had the benefit of such a clause, nevertheless, a number of lower class English-speaking children, whose parents could not afford to send them to fee-paying private schools did learn to read and write English. In the early part of the nineteenth century, monitorial schools were to provide another means of teaching the masses how to read. However, till that time, apprenticeship did constitute the only means whereby an elementary and trade education was made available in the English language to others besides the economic elite in the province. Thus, English-speaking apprenticeship, by providing a total vocational education in English for the lower-middle and working class, is an important educational influence in the development of English-speaking culture in Post-Conquest Quebec.
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

English-speaking culture would never have developed to the extent it had by 1800 if it had not been for the educational influences of the English-speaking family, the Protestant church and clergy, English-speaking private schools, the newspaper, the legal system, the apprentice system and the English-speaking community. All of these helped to keep the English language alive in an alien atmosphere. As we have seen the English-speaking inhabitants of Quebec had come from a variety of places—the Thirteen Colonies, England, Scotland, Ireland and the Continent. Among them were a handful of representatives from racial groups such as the Jewish, Negro and Indian. Yet by 1800 these English-speaking inhabitants, despite the difference in the land of their original and racial background, were thought of as one group, as Isaac Weld observed.

The principal people in the town are either English, Scotch, Irish or their descendants, all of whom pass for English with the French inhabitants.1

Influence of the English-Speaking Family.

The family is the basic unit of any society. The Conquest saw the introduction of the English-speaking family into a French-speaking province. We know very little, if
anything at all, of the English-speaking family in Post-Conquest Quebec and many questions about it remain unanswered. Was it nuclear or extended? If the latter, were apprentices and slaves considered part of the household? How large was the family group, either nuclear or extended? What was the birthrate as compared to the French-speaking family?

However, the fact remains that there were English-speaking families from the early years of the Conquest in Quebec and that such families used English as their language of communication. Thus, the children of English-speaking settlers were brought up regarding English as their native tongue, not French. The parents, after introducing their children to the English language, looked to English-speaking schools to develop their children's further education. Because there was an absence of such schools an enterprising group of Montreal parents, many of whom were merchants, sought to organize their own school.

The very fact that the English-speaking family did not disappear in the Post-Conquest period, or become a bilingual, bicultural family indicates a measure of strength within it. Undoubtedly, the Loyalists added to this inherent strength, supporting as they did English-speaking institutions. Thus, the English-speaking family was a major influence in the development of English-speaking culture.
Influence of Protestant Church and Clergy.

The English-speaking inhabitants by 1800 supported a variety of Protestant churches for there were Anglican, Presbyterian, Quaker and Methodist congregations, and Jewish as well. However, in all, with the exception of the Jewish, English was the language of communication. It was the Anglican Church, however, which became associated in the minds of most people with Protestant-English activity, particularly in the field of education.

The S. P. G. gave the first start to Protestant education in the province by its support of a charity school in the early years of the Conquest. The Society was also to contribute to the support of Anglican clergy who played an active role in the development of Protestant education in Post-Conquest Quebec. The calibre of the clergymen themselves was to improve with the years, particularly after the coming of the Loyalists though recruitment of qualified clergymen was to remain a problem for some years to come.

However, Quebec's two Anglican bishops in this period, Bishop Inglis and Bishop Mountain, did have some educational influence in the province because of their interest in the promotion of Protestant education. In particular, Bishop Mountain deemed it extremely necessary for the future unity of the province to overcome the drawbacks which arose from the lack of a "community of Language."
He felt that definite steps should be taken to see that the children of the French Canadians should be taught the English language. As a result, the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning came into being in 1801. However, the schools of the RIAL became associated with Protestantism by the Roman Catholic population as J. B. Meilleur, later Superintendent of Schools in Lower Canada, writing in *Le Canadien* (August 29, 1838) explained.

Les maisons d'écoles royales, ainsi, occupées furent bientôt converties en autant de chappelles de proselytisme fanatique où, sous un prétexte spécieux d'enseignement populaire on offrait gratuitement à la religion des Canadiens l'injure et l'insulte. De cet état de choses, il résulta que ceux-ci, dans la crainte de protestantisme et de l'erreur ne voulaient point recevoir l'instruction que leur offraient les instituteurs de semblables écoles, et ne retirèrent, par conséquent, aucun avantage de leur existence.

While it did not turn French Canadians into English-speaking subjects, the RIAL did help English-speaking settlers to set up schools, as can be seen by the various petitions from settlers in the Eastern Townships in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The RIAL may also be credited with having founded two, short-lived Grammar schools, one in Montreal and one in Quebec, in 1816, and which Bishop Mountain had long recommended in his original proposals on education.

Another Anglican clergyman, John Strachan, must be mentioned in connection with education in Quebec. His fame as a schoolmaster in the Kingston area was such as
to attract pupils from Montreal, for Joseph Frobisher makes a reference in his Diary to setting off to Strachan's school in Cornwall with about fourteen Quebec boys, including his grandson. Strachan's arithmetic book titled *A Concise Introduction to Practical Arithmetic for the Use of Schools* was itself published in Montreal.

Strachan influenced English-speaking education in Quebec in another way, by persuading James McGill to leave a bequest in 1813 to the RIAL,

> . . . upon condition that the said Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning do and shall, within the space of ten years, to be accounted from the time of my decease, erect and establish, or cause to be erected and established . . . an University or College for the purpose of education, and the advancement of learning in this Province, with a competent number of Professors and Teachers, to render such establishment effectual and beneficial for the purposes intended.

However, it was not till 1829 that McGill University came into actual being.

Bishop Mountain and another clergyman, Alexander Spark, who officiated in Quebec at St. Andrew Presbyterian, deserve mention for their contributions to the literary world. Both men have received recognition for the quality of their sermons, though Mountain's only Canadian publication was a thanksgiving sermon published in Quebec in 1799. Sparks, who came to Quebec in 1780 from Scotland, has been called "a profound scholar and an excellent writer." From 1792 to 1794, in addition to his clerical duties, Spark supervised the *Quebec Gazette*, and also edited the
Quebec Magazine, a journal which made its appearance monthly and which borrowed its material from European and American periodicals; its only original writing was on agricultural matters.

The fact that the Protestant Church became established in Post-Conquest Quebec meant that now there was an alternative to Roman Catholicism in the province. Thus, the religious life of the Anglophone could proceed in the English language, as could the social life identified with church groups. Several influential Protestant clergymen of the period, Bishops Inglis, Mountain and Strachan were spokesmen for English-speaking education and gave direction to the English-speaking community in this respect. The Protestant Church provided an important cornerstone in the building of English-speaking culture.

Influence of English-speaking Private Schools.

The English-speaking private schools were another educational influence in helping to develop English-speaking culture, for regardless of the calibre of education they provided, the fact that English was used in these schools is important. The quality of these schools depended, in no large degree, upon the schoolmasters in charge. The American Revolution increased the quantity of schoolmasters in the province, and in a few instances, the quality. The important point to make about Loyalist
schoolmasters is that they must have reinforced Loyalist attitudes in their pupils, particularly adherence to English institutions and traditions.

However, not all English-speaking children went to English-speaking schools, as we have seen. English-speaking girls of well-to-do families were sent to the Ursulines. A list of boarders at the Ursuline Convent from 1795 to 1800 shows a little less than half the girls bearing English names. In addition, a few English-speaking boys attended French institutions. However, boys, if they intended to follow a merchant's profession, would benefit more from the private schools where a more practical type of education was offered, as compared to that of the French collèges classiques.

Parents also sent their children to schools out of the province, such as Strachan's school in Upper Canada, and out of the country, particularly to the United States. Because of a lack of a university in the province, some pupils were sent abroad for such an education. In the past, it has been historical fashion to underestimate English-speaking, private school education in Post-Conquest Quebec. Yet such schools played an important role in keeping the English language alive in Quebec.
Importance of English-Speaking Apprenticeship.

Because the private schools were expensive, only the well-to-do and a handful of "free" scholars were able to attend. However, apprenticeship did serve as a means of providing the poorer children in the community with a rudimentary education in the reading, sometimes writing (in the case of boys) of the English language as part of their vocational training. It would appear that by and large English-speaking children were apprenticed to English-speaking masters so that like religion, like the private schools, apprenticeship was a divisive force in society, helping to split the inhabitants of Quebec into two language groups.

Influence of the Newspapers.

The newspapers of the period were an educational influence by helping to promote English as a source of communication. The English-speaking inhabitants of Quebec saw English in the printed form, an undoubted stimulus to the language because of the lack of other printed material in English. Readers, also, did have the opportunity to submit letters, poems and essays to the papers and while effort of this nature was not significant from the literary point of view, it was significant as an outlet for the expression of the written English language.
The *Quebec Gazette* and *Montreal Gazette* did publish almanacs, which, like the newspaper, were an instrument of informal education.\(^{15}\) The Quebec and Montreal libraries were established in this period, and while not flourishing institutions, could be said to have had an educational influence in as much as libraries are repositories of knowledge, and also make known to their readers the literary tradition of the English-speaking peoples.

**Importance of the Legal System.**

Constitutional enactments of the period established a bicultural legal system which helped to promote the use of the English language in Quebec and, of course, the French language. Government officials, in particular Murray and Carleton, had realized at an early date that French and English-speaking cultures would not fuse together. The Quebec Act, by giving legal sanction to certain cultural institutions of the French, aroused the ire of English-speaking inhabitants. The legal compromise established by the Quebec Act of the use of English criminal law and French civil law thus meant the continued use of two languages in the legal system. The Constitutional Act was an attempt to solve the problem of whether Quebec was to be English or French by severing the Loyalist-settled part from the province and creating a new province. However, the English-speaking inhabitants left in the major
centres of Montreal, Quebec and Three Rivers were not pleased with this move, as it weakened their position still more as a minority group.

The position of the English language as the official language of the legislature was challenged by the French shortly after the new legislature opened in 1792. The measure finally adopted by the Assembly after much debate stated that all bills should be put into both languages by the clerk before being read, though members did have the right to bring in bills in their own language. In the case of bills touching on criminal law, the English text should be considered legal while the French text was legal in the case of bills dealing with civil law. Thus, bilingualism became an accepted procedure in 1792, though full legal status was not attained till 1867.

It is beyond the scope of this study to show all the ramifications of a bilingual, bicultural legal system. The point to be made here is that the legal system gave the Anglophones another opportunity to use English in the daily course of their lives.

The English-Speaking Community.

During the Post-Conquest period, English-speaking immigrants began to settle in certain areas of the province, in particular, the towns. Evidence indicates that such settlers lived in certain sections of these towns, as for
example in Montreal where the harbour area was favored by the merchants because of trade. Unfortunately, census figures are not available for Montreal to indicate what streets in particular were favored by English-speaking residents. However, such figures are available for Quebec and its suburbs in the 1790's, as a result of an enumeration by the Roman Catholic Church of the Quebec parish to ascertain the number of their supporters. (See Table II.)

As we can see, the Protestants concentrated mainly in the Upper and Lower Towns, with a greater preference shown for the former. A handful of Protestants lived in the outlying areas of St. Roch, St. Jean, Anse des Meres and Banlieu. Tables III and IV are breakdowns of the actual streets in the Upper and Lower Towns into the number of Protestants and Roman Catholics living on them in 1795.18

Of the thirty-one streets in Upper Town there were two on which no Protestants lived, and five on which only one Protestant was indicated. Approximately half of the indicated 699 Protestants lived on five streets—Des Cazernes, De Buade, Des Jardins, St. Louis and St. Stanislas, with Protestants forming the majority on all of these streets with the exception of St. Stanislaus where there was an equal number of Protestants and Catholics. In Lower Town, Protestants lived on every one of the fourteen streets, though on no street were they in the majority. A little less than half the Protestants lived on the
TABLE II

RÉCAPITULATION GÉNÉRALE DU DENOMBREMENT DE LA PAROISSE DE QUÉBEC.
COMMENCE LE 5 JUIN 1795 ET FINI LE 20 NOVEMBRE, MÊME ANNÉE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noms et numéros des rues</th>
<th>Nombre des paroissiens</th>
<th>Nombre des communiants</th>
<th>Nombre des protestants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Haute-Ville</td>
<td>2114</td>
<td>1426</td>
<td>699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basse-Ville</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>1383</td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fauxbourg St. Roch</td>
<td>789</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fauxbourg St. Jean</td>
<td>981</td>
<td>568</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anse des Mères</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banlieue</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somme totale de 1795</td>
<td>6365</td>
<td>4163</td>
<td>1359</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE III
RECAPITULATION DE LA HAUTE-VILLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noms et numéros des rues</th>
<th>Nombre des paroissiens</th>
<th>Nombre des communiens</th>
<th>Nombre des protestants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ste. Famille</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Georges</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laval</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du Rempart</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joseph</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. François</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Flavien</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nouvelle</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joachim</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couillard</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De la Fabrique</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Des pauvres</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Stanislas</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Des Anges</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ste. Ursule</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ste. Hélène</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Des Cazernes</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D'Auteuil</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruettes des Ursulines</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St-Jean</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Buade</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Des Jardins</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ste. Anne</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St-Louis</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Des Carrières</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Denis</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ste. Geneviève</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sans nom</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Des Grissons</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du Mont Carmel</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maisons détachées des rues</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Somme totale de 1795: 2114 1426 699
TABLE IV
RÉCAPITULATION DE LA BASSE-VILLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noms et numéros des rues</th>
<th>Nombre des paroissiens</th>
<th>Nombre des communiens</th>
<th>Nombre des protestants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>De la Montagne</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Buade</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sous le fort</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Champlain</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du Cul de sac</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du Cap au Diamant</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notre-Dame</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place du Marché</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du Sault au Matelot</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Pierre</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De la Canoterie</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Charles</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Nicolas</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De l'ancien Chantier</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somme totale de 1795</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>1383</td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
streets of De La Montagne, Notre Dame, St. Pierre, and Champlain.

Who were the English-speaking residents of these streets? The following are some of the occupations of the residents of De Buade in 1795: caterer, watchmaker, merchant, lawyer, shoemaker, tobacconist, judge, surgeon and butcher. On St. Louis lived the Attorney-General, Jonathan Sewell, a canteen-keeper, the surgeon-general, a carpenter, Judge James Monk, Counsellor James Dunn, and the widow of William Smith. Indications are from these two streets that strict social stratification with regard to residence had not occurred, though St. Louis was favored by the elite. The common denominator of these residents, however, was not their social background but their linguistic background—English.

Thus, the formation of English-speaking communities was taking place during the Post-Conquest period, that is to say, the residential sharing of a certain location with like-minded individuals, those who adhered to English-speaking culture. There were also what one might term community leaders. During his stay in the town of Quebec from 1791 to 1794 the Duke of Kent could be regarded as a figurehead of the Quebec English-speaking community. Jonathan Sewell, later Chief Justice of Quebec, who played the violin in the Duke's amateur band was to be singled out as the leader of the English-speaking minority by
French Canadians during the troubled times of the early nineteenth century.  

Until the Constitutional Act, as we have seen, the English-speaking inhabitants of the province were not a united group. However, after the constitutional changes of 1791, this group received the majority of appointments to the Executive and Legislative Councils while French-speaking representatives were in the majority in the Assembly. The increasing political importance of the Assembly led to the closing up of party divisions amongst the English-speaking representatives. The English-speaking residents of Quebec were further united by sharing a common attitude towards the American and then French Revolutions. Many of them had suffered personal losses during the American Revolution which had uprooted them from their traditional way of life in the Thirteen Colonies. After the outbreak of the French Revolution, and the fear of a similar upheaval spreading to the former French colony, the English-speaking minority were apprehensive of "Democratic clamour." They did not want to have to go through another revolution in their newly-adopted homeland.  

An indication of the fear of the spread of the French Revolution to Quebec was the formation of the Loyal Association of Montreal in July of 1794. James McGill was the Chairman, with a number of both English-speaking
individuals, including Jonathan Sewell, and French-speaking members on the committee. The group declared

That we hold in the utmost abhorrence the seditious attempts lately made by wicked and designing men, in circulating false and inflammatory writings, in exciting by false news, the dread of our fellow subjects against the powers of our Government and the laws.

That we will jointly and individually use our utmost endeavours to maintain our present constitution; to give the executive government a vigorous and effectual support; to counteract the efforts of seditious men; to detect and bring them to legal and exemplary punishment; to suppress the beginnings of all tumults and every exertion that may be made, on whatever pretence, to disturb the public tranquility.

And we do declare our determination steadfastly to take all such steps for those loyal purposes, as are or may be within our power, for the maintainence of the laws and the support of the Government under which we happily live.22

The English-speaking community in Quebec and in Montreal became united in time by language, religion, education, customs, economics and politics. One could almost say that a community spirit arose fed upon the English language. Thus the English-speaking community in the urban areas of Quebec played an extremely important role in the nurturing of English-speaking culture.

Conclusion.

It is not the purpose of this study to describe English-speaking culture in detail, though certain features of it have become obvious. English-speaking culture had as its basis the English language. It was supported to a
great extent by an elite class of merchants, Protestant in religious background, who evolved a way of life for themselves in Quebec that was distinctive from French-speaking culture. Educational influences of both an institutional and non-institutional nature helped to lay the basis of this culture by promoting the use of English in the province. The English-speaking family, the Protestant church and its clergy, the newspapers, private schools, the apprenticeship system, the legal system and the English-speaking community encouraged the use of the English language, to the extent that English-speaking culture has survived in Quebec to this day though its present position is somewhat precarious.

In the period from 1760 to 1800, English-speaking immigrants established their roots in Quebec, and for their English-speaking descendants, Quebec is their homeland as it is for French-speaking inhabitants. Can geography be a bond among people where culture is not? This question cannot be answered now.
FOOTNOTES

INTRODUCTION


3 Dr. Charles Elwood, in the Dictionary of Sociology (H. P. Fairchild, editor; Littlefield Adams, 1964) has given the following sociological description:

Culture is a collective name for all behavior patterns socially acquired and socially transmitted by means of symbols; hence a name for all the distinctive achievements of human groups, including not only such items as language, tool-making, industry, art, science, law, government, morals and religion, but also the material instruments or artifacts in which cultural achievements are embodied and by which intellectual cultural features are given practical effects, such as buildings, tools, machines, communication devices, art objects, etc. The scientific meaning of the term is, therefore, quite different from its popular connotation. It includes all that is learned through intercommunication. It covers all language, traditions, customs and institutions. As no human groups have ever been known that did not have language, traditions, customs, and institutions, culture is the universal, distinctive characteristic of human societies.


7 The geographic area that this study limits itself to is the area of present day Quebec, though technically speaking Post-Conquest Quebec (after the Quebec Act) comprised the area of present day Quebec and Ontario. The Post-Conquest period traditionally extends from 1760 to 1791, the date that the old province of Quebec became
Lower Canada, though here it has been extended to 1800 for the whole period bears the same characteristics.

CHAPTER I

1 Governor Murray's Journal of the Siege of Quebec, September 18, 1759 to May 25, 1760 (Toronto: Rous and Mann Ltd., 1939), p. 7.


3 Marius Barbeau, The Kingdom of the Saguenay (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1936), pp. 34-50. Both Nairne and Fraser (whose Journal on the Conquest of Canada is well-known) petitioned Murray to grant them land which had fallen into the hands of the Crown around La Malbaie. The question as to what side of the shore each was to receive was settled when the two tossed a coin. Nairne obtained the land around Murray Bay, Fraser, the land around Riviere du Loup. One of Fraser's grandchildren was John McLoughlin, Chief Factor at Victoria.


5 Ibid., p. 92.

6 Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada 1759-1791 (2 vols.; Ottawa, 1918), II, Petition to the Commons, Nov. 12, 1774, p. 593.

7 PAC, Co. 42, 2, Quebec B, Murray to Halifax, March 3, 1765.

8 Aaron Hart was commissary officer to the troops of St. Jeffrey Amherst; settling with him at Three Rivers was Samuel Judah. It has been said of Hart that he was supposed to have been the wealthiest man in the British Empire outside of the British Isles. (See B. G. Sack, History of the Jews in Canada (Montreal: Harvest House, 1965), p. 45. These first Jews from the Thirteen Colonies were mainly of Spanish and Portuguese origin. Marriages between the Jews and Gentiles in these early years were common occurrences in Montreal. The first Jewish congregation was founded in Montreal in 1768; the first
synagogue was erected in 1777. The Jewish population of
Montreal, while small, was an important part of the English-
speaking community because of the financial position they
occupied. David David was one of the founders of the Bank
of Montreal, and became director in 1818. (Ibid., pp.
44-72.)

9 Marshall, English People in the Eighteenth Century,
p. 105.

10 Shortt and Doughty, op. cit.

11 Paul Monroe, A Textbook in the History of Education

12 Ibid.

13 W. S. Wallace, ed., The Macmillan Dictionary of

14 H. C. Barnard, A Short History of English Education
From 1760 to 1944 (University of London Press Ltd., 1947)
p. 2. Unless otherwise stated, the following account of
English education on pp. 9-13 is drawn from this book
pp. 2-31.

15 PAC, MG17, Introduction to the Journal of the

16 Ibid.

17 Trinity College Archives, University of Toronto,
Report Box 1774-1779, "Instructions for the Clergy Employed
by the S.P.G. upon their Admission by the Society," p. 10.

18 Trinity College Archives, S.P.G. Report Box 1757-58,
"A Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society for the
S.P.G. in Foreign Parts; At Their Anniversary Meeting,
Feb. 24, 1758 by the Right Reverend James, Lord Bishop of
Gloucester" (London: Owen & Harrison, 1758).

19 M. G. Jones, The Charity School Movement (Cambridge
Press, 1938), p. 3. Miss Jones has written the definitive
book on this movement. She describes the eighteenth
century as "the age of benevolence" with the charity
school the favorite form of benevolence.

20 Bailyn, Education in the Forming of American
Society, p. 63.


23 James McGill, as well as several other Anglican merchants contributed to the building fund of St. Gabriel Church. Campbell, *A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church*, p. 106.


28 Ibid., p. 77.

29 Ibid., p. 76.

30 Ibid., p. 76.

31 Ibid., p. 76.


35 *Classified Digest of the S.P.G.*, p. 136.

36 Ontario Archives, Co4.2/1, Murray to Egremont, Sept. 14, 1763.
37 *Quebec Gazette*, Sept. 13, 1761.

38 PAC, Q, Vol. 49, p. 343. Montmollin and Veyssiere were Swiss while DeLisle was from southern France.

39 For a number of years, the Protestant congregations did not have their own churches, but used Roman Catholic premises. No doubt this was due to the small number of Protestants in the province who, until their numbers were greater, could not support the construction costs of new churches. In Quebec, Anglican services were held in the Recollet Church from 1764-1796, and the Jesuit Church 1796-1804. The Cathedral of Holy Trinity was begun in 1799-1800, and consecrated in 1804. Anglican services in Montreal were held in the Chapel of the Ursulines 1763, Chapel of the Hotel Dieu 1767, Chapel of the Recollets 1782, The Jesuit Church was given to the Church of England in 1789 by the Crown and re-named Christ Church. In Three Rivers Anglican services were held in a former Récollet Church. RAQ 1946-47, "Historical Records of the Church of England in the Diocese of Quebec," pp. 204-6.


41 Campbell, *A History of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 22. No information was found about Rev. Henry's background. However, Rev. John Bethune who was to become the first minister of the St. Gabriel Church (1786-37) had been educated at King's College, Aberdeen.

42 S. D. Clark, *The Social Development of Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 1942), p. 3, states that the lack of sufficient clergymen, as well as schoolteachers and medical practitioners was a characteristic feature of the Canadian frontier communities. Thus, the English-speaking community in Montreal, as well as Quebec, could be thought of as going through the stages of what could be termed "Pioneer" development in a foreign land. It should also be pointed out that De Lisle conducted the Anglican services in French, because his English was inadequate. This was given as one of the reasons for the Presbyterians eventually starting up their own church. (PAC, Q, vol. 49, p. 343).

43 Murray, op. cit., p. 29. Also A. C. T. White in *The Story of Army Education 1643-1963*, p. 22, writes that "on overseas service six women selected by lot, accompanied the regiment as camp-followers."
Comte de Vaudreuil, the governor of New France and commander of the French troops signed the Articles of Capitulation with the British commander in North America, General Jeffrey Amherst on Sept. 8, 1760. Shortly thereafter, Amherst established British rule by proclamation, then himself left the province. He left military administrators in charge of each of the three military districts, Murray in Quebec, Thomas Gage in Montreal and Ralph Burton in Three Rivers. In 1763 Gage succeeded Amherst in New York as Commander-in-Chief, Burton took over Montreal and Haldimand was in charge of Three Rivers. Though the Peace of Paris, ceding Canada to Britain was signed in February 1763, civil government was not inaugurated until August 10, 1764. See Hilda Neatby, Quebec, The Revolutionary Age, 1760-1791, pp. 6-30.

Classified Digest of the Records of the S.P.G. in Foreign Parts, 1701-1900, p. 136.


No actual number of the total number of Protestant children in the colony can be found, if indeed the number exists.


Ibid., p. 9.

A. M. D. G., Les Ursulines de Quebec (Quebec: C. Darveau, 1866), p. 205.

In 1763 the Sisters of the Congregation re-opened the small country schools such as at Pointe-aux-Trembles and Lachine. However, it was not until 1769 that their school in Lower Town, Quebec, was re-opened after an interruption of ten years. K. D. Hunte, The Development of the System of Education in Canada East 1841-1867, unpublished Master's thesis, McGill, 1962, p. 11.

L. P. Audet, Le Systeme Scolaire de la Province de Quebec (6 vols.; Quebec, Laval University Press, 1951), II, p. 121.

A. M. D. G., Glimpses of the Monastery: A Brief Sketch of the History of the Ursulines of Quebec from 1739 to 1839 (Quebec: C. Darveau, 1875), p. 124.
The Reverend felt that the tender age of the students (the eldest was eleven) was the best security against the teachings of the nuns.

The Annalist of the Ursulines makes the comment that in spite of the prejudices of the period, Rev. Brooke had the courage to send his daughters to the Ursuline boarding school. (Ibid., p. 211).

The Quebec Gazette, Sept. 13, 1764. No such school for the poor was established for the 1760-1800 period. Instead several poor students were admitted "free" in various private schools.

Some parents may have been short of money at this time. Many merchants had suffered financial losses during Pontiac's rebellion.

PAC, RG1, El, Part II, Minutes of the Council, Memorial of Patrick McClement, April 9, 1766, p. 143.
70 Quebec Gazette, Sept. 22, 1766. Patrick Mc Clement appeared to know only English while De Coine knew Italian, French, Spanish and Low Dutch.

71 Ibid., Nov. 13, 1766.

72 PAC, RG4, B30, Vol. 2, No. 1. Quebec, July 4, 1768. "English inhabitants of Quebec praying that John Fraser be appointed schoolmaster of Quebec City."

73 Sept. 1, 1768.

74 This curriculum was typical of others which schoolmasters advertised. The blend of the classical and practical, with the stress on mathematics would fit into the needs of a mercantile community. By 1769, both James Jackson and John Fraser were both receiving government salaries. PAC, RGl, EL, C, Part I, Accounts Jan. 25, 1768 to Feb. 15, 1770.


76 Ibid.

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid.

79 Quebec Gazette, Dec. 6, 1764.

80 Marie Tremaine, Canadian Imprints 1751-1800 University of Toronto Press, 1952), Introduction.

81 William Brown was a Scot from Philadelphia who had been induced by a Quebec merchant, William Laing, whom he had met in Scotland, to come to Quebec and start a journal there. J. M. LeMoine, Picturesque Quebec (Montreal: Dawson Brothers 1882), p. 28.

82 Quebec Gazette, June 21, 1764.

83 Ibid., October 31, 1776.

84 Shortt and Doughty, Constitutional Documents 1759-1791, 1, p. 205.

85 Neatby, Quebec: The Revolutionary Age, p. 49.
Shortt and Doughty, Constitutional Documents, I, p. 229.


As quoted in above.

Hilda Neatby in Quebec: The Revolutionary Age, p. 54, points out that Murray's ordinance of September 17, 1764 "by specifically introducing English law, and, by implication, allowing the parallel application of Canadian law, thus sanctioned the two legal systems in one community."

Hilda Neatby in The Administration of Justice Under the Quebec Act (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1937) has examined this legal situation admirably and should be consulted for further information.

In "Report Upon the Laws and Courts of Judicature in the Province of Quebec," made by Guy Carleton and William Hey (Quebec, September 15, 1769) the authors made the statement that it was their belief that British laws would not have any effect in the country "till English Schools are appointed, the English Language taught and Circulated through the Province, and the rising Generations of Canadians invited to assimilate themselves to English Manners and Customs."

Mention should be made at this point of the appearance in this period of the bilingual family, the result of inter-marriage between the French and English. From 1766 to 1775 the marriage register of Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal showed 116 marriages of which forty-eight or a little less than half were marriages in which either one or the other partner had a French name. Bulletin des Recherches Historiques "Les Marriages mixtes à Montreal," Vol. 31, 1925, pp. 84-86.

It might seem rather presumptuous to make such a statement in the absence of definite records of indentures for English-speaking children in the period from 1760 to 1775. However, the uncertain legal situation of the period may account for this. The Quebec Gazette, July 5, 1764 did advertise for an apprentice to the printing business "an ingenious Boy, about 14 years old." As well, the paper did advertise (May 14, 1767) that apprentice indentures were sold at its office.

The English-speaking community will be dealt with in Chapter III.
CHAPTER II

Debates of the House of Commons in the Year 1774 on the Bill For Making More Effectual Provision For the Government of the Province of Quebec, J. Wright, ed. (London: Ridgway, Piccadilly, 1839), p. 11.

Ibid., p. 57.

Ibid., p. 103. As mentioned in Chapter I, these figures appear to be on the low side.

Ibid., p. 103.

Ibid., p. 102.

Ibid., p. 109.

The Thirteen Colonies found the denial of an Assembly intolerable as it appeared to them as another example of the autocratic behaviour of the Mother Country towards its colonies. The extension of the boundaries of Quebec the colonists saw as an attempt to prevent their own expansion westward.


Ibid., pp. 534-5. Coffin also points out that when the French again took over the colony they found the colonists had lost "the recollection of France."

As quoted in above, p. 539.

Ibid., p. 537.


Ibid., p. 41.

Ibid., p. 74.

Wade, The French Canadians, p. 68.
17. The garrison at St. John's, it should be noted, did hold out against Montgomery for 45 days.

18. Chapter III has more details on Mesplet.

19. American forces withdrew on June 14 from Sorel, June 15 from Montreal, June 17 from Chambly, and June 18 from St. John's. (Mason Wade, op. cit., p. 72.


21. Ibid., p. 3.

22. Ibid., p. 78.


24. Burt, op. cit., p. 82. The Loyalist families made use of the batteaux, Schenectady or Durham boat in order to get from Lake Champlain to the Montreal region. They also used the batteaux to make their way from this region up the St. Lawrence to Kingston and the Bay of Quinte. These batteaux were built at Lachine and were supposed to carry four or five families. "Twelve boats constituted a brigade, and each brigade had a conductor with five men in each, one of whom steered." (Egerton Ryerson, The Loyalists of America, Toronto: William Briggs, 1880), II, p. 205.


26. Ibid., p. 59.

27. As cited in above, p. 83.


29 Burt, op. cit., p. 79.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid., p. 80. Burt draws his information from the records of six hundred Loyalists whose cases were examined and the results published.

32 Classified Digest of the Records of the S.P.G. in Foreign Parts, p. 139.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid. Hessian mercenaries had been employed by the British government during the American Revolution. Egerton Ryerson's criticism of them that they "proved to be inferior to the British soldiers, were not reliable, deserted in large numbers, and plundered everywhere, without regard to Loyalists or Disloyalists" was a typical opinion of the Hessians. (Ryerson, op. cit., p. 73.) Stephen F. Gradish in "The German Mercenaries in North America During the American Revolution, a Case Study," Canadian Journal of History, IV, No. 1, March 1969, pp. 22-46, takes a twentieth century look at them. Gradish explains that the term "Hessian" was used indiscriminately to describe all Germans and that the stories about the brutality and rapacity of these troops were sometimes true, sometimes false. (p. 24) The British, short of troops, had looked around for mercenaries to help them out. In the spring of 1776, General Adolph von Riesdel of Brunswick landed at Quebec with 2,200 Brunswick and Hesse-Hanover regulars; 2,000 more joined them in September. (pp. 29-31) Until the end of 1778, the number of German troops equaled that of the British, but interestingly enough, from 1779 to 1781 the Germans outnumbered them. (p. 31) The authorities, Gradish explains further, wanted to put the German mercenaries in a bad light, in order to receive more aid from Great Britain. Hence, it was to their advantage that such stories be circulated about the Hessians.

35 Classified Digest, p. 142.

36 Ibid., p. 142.
It should be recalled from Chapter I that the Presbyterians had been attending the Anglican services conducted by Rev. DeLisle.


Lady Simcoe, upon hearing Mr. Stuart preach, remarked that he preached "One of the most impressive and best sermons I have ever heard." M. Q. Innis, ed., Mrs. Simcoe's Diary (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1965), p. 154. His third son James was eventually to become Chief Justice for Lower Canada while another son was to become Bishop of Toronto. See A. H. Young, The Reverend John Stuart of Kingston and his Family (Kingston: Whig Press, n/d) for a genealogical study of the Stuart family. Mr. Stuart has been described as a magnificent looking man, six foot four inches tall and commonly known as "the little gentleman." Philip Carrington, The Anglican Church in Canada (Toronto: Collins, 1963), p. 41.

Report of the Public Archives 1889, Archivist's note.

Report of the Public Archives 1889, Archivist's notes.


PAC, MG21, B series, Vol. 158, pp. 281-283, Stuart to Haldimand, Nov. 27, 1782.

PAC, MG21, B series, Vol. 75-2, Stuart to Mathews, Oct. 6, 1784.

Stuart had been receiving 50 pounds a year from the government while Fisher and Christie had each received 25 pounds. PAC, B series, Vol. 217, Petition of Finlay Fisher, June 15, 1783.

Ibid.

PAC, MG21, B series, Vol. 73, Tanswell to Haldimand, June 20, 1780.

Quebec Gazette, November 19, 1778.

PAC, MG21, B series, Vol. 73, Tanswell to Haldimand, July, 1782.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.


Canadian Archives Report 1889, Archivist's note.


University of Montreal, Baby Collection, Monthly Account of children educated in the English School, Feb. 18, 1778. The petition mentioned above carried the signatures of a number of parents whose children were in the school—Richard Dobie, Alex. Henry, Thomas Walker, J. Lemoine, Hertel de Rouville, Lawrence Ermatinger as well as that of DeLisle and Daniel Claus.

64 Ibid.

65 PAC, MG21, B series, Vol. 75-2, Bowen to Haldimand, Sept. 27, 1784.

66 Quebec Gazette, Nov. 19, 1778.

67 Ibid., May 25, 1780.

68 Les Ursulines, pp. 242-46.

69 Cruikshank, The Settlement of the United Empire Loyalists, p. 52. Cass had been born in Connecticut, been a farmer in Charlotte County, New York, joined Burgoyne in 1777 and after Saratoga had escaped to Canada. He was eventually to settle in the township of Hawkesbury.

70 PAC, MG21, B series, Vol. 214, Grant to Haldimand, p. 57.

71 Report of the Public Archives 1889, Archivist's note. "The Rev. Mr. Gilmore is received as schoolmaster at St. John's and the English inhabitants there have made a subscription for him of £48 a year." PAC, B series, 138, Major Gen. De Riesdel to Haldimand, Sorel, March 13, 1783. The Quebec Executive Council allowed Benjamin Hobson £25 for one year as schoolmaster at Carlyle, Bay of Chaleurs, Oct. 5, 1785. PAC, Quebec Executive Council, D, Pt. 1, p. 204.

72 Tremaine, Canadian Imprints 1751-1800, p. 213.

73 Ibid.


75 Quebec Gazette, Jan. 21, 1779.

76 PAC, MG21, B66, Haldimand to Cumberland, March 2, 1779.

77 Wade, The French Canadians, p. 79.


79 Lemoine, Picturesque Quebec, p. 46.

80 Wade, op. cit., p. 79.
The Quebec Library was not an overnight success. A notice appeared on December 1, 1778 in the Quebec Herald and Miscellany stating that the Library was in debt "and that some gentlemen have neglected the advantages of its institution, by withholding their promised support." By 1792, the Library consisted of 2443 volumes, of which 1211 were in English, and 1209 in French, 23 in Greek and Latin. Fifty-nine volumes had been donated by Rev. Bertrand Russell in 1789 "to a protestant college, School or Seminary when such foundation shall take place at Quebec." (Catalogue of English and French Books in the Quebec Library, Quebec: Samuel Neilson, 1792.) The Library was finally taken over by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec where the books are now.

Marcel Trudel, L'Influence de Voltaire au Canada (Fides: Montreal, 1945), I, p. 49.


A word of explanation should be given as to how this figure was produced. As stated in Chapter I, the English-speaking inhabitants numbered 3,000 by 1774. As given in Chapter II, the number of Loyalists showing as settled by 1784 in the old province of Quebec 5,628.

G. F. G. Stanley, Canada's Soldiers, gives a description of these forces in October, 1782. "At Quebec, there was a detachment of the Royal Artillery, the 44th Regiment and the grenadier company of the 31st. The remainder of the 31st and Regiment of Prince Frederick were quartered in the parishes west and east of Quebec along the north shore of the St. Lawrence. At Three Rivers there was a detachment of the Regiment of Specht, and in the villages along Lac St. Pierre the Germans ... At Sorel there was a detachment of the Royal Artillery, the Regiment of Riesdel and two companies of the Regiment of Rhétz. One detachment of Jessup's Rangers were quartered in blockhouses on the Yamaska River and another detachment at Dutchman's Point. The 29th Regiment and Roger's The King Rangers were at St. Jean and Chambly. The 53rd Regiment was at Isle aux Noix. The battalion of Barner was quartered at St. Sulpice, Repentigny, L'Assomption. The 1st Battalion of the KRRNY was at Terrebonne and Isle Jesus. The 34th Regiment was Quartered in Montreal and vicinity. At the Upper Posts, including Niagara, had garrisoned the 8th or King's Regiment, 2nd Battalion of the Royal Yorkers and Butler's Rangers. Capt. Herkimer's bateau men were at Coteau du Lac and Oswego." (p. 126) Immediately after the war, Imperial forces were reduced
to less than 2,000 but did fluctuate in accordance with defence needs.

86Canadian historiography has not paid enough attention to the differences existing among the Loyalists. A. E. Morrison, "New Brunswick: the loyalists and the Historians," Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. 3, No. 3, August, 1968, pp. 39-49 examines this point with regard to the New Brunswick Loyalists. He writes that "early writers have treated the Loyalists as honourable and virtuous people." (p. 39)


89A couple of examples of Loyalist protest against seigneurial tenure are given here. On Dec. 19, 1786 the magistrates of the settlement of Loyal Rangers at New Oswegatchie had asked for lands "by Grants free from any Seignioral claims or any other incumbrances whatever, the King's Quit rent excepted." They also wanted the county system, the encouragement of the Gospel and the establishment of schools. (Shortt and Doughty, Constitutional Documents, 1759-1791, II, 945.)

A few days later on Dec. 22, 1786 the magistrates of the townships of Cataraqui had written to Sir John Johnson making a number of requests for the welfare of the community. One request was the desire for tenure of lands the same as in the rest of Canada and the other was for more schools. Rev. Stuart's school at Cataraqui was not much use to those in outlying areas. (Ibid., p. 942.)

90The only concession to English law in Lower Canada was the right of receiving grants of public land in freehold tenure.
CHAPTER III

1 The Quebec Gazette printed a great many government ordinances, which, while they do reflect the concerns of the period, are not as revealing of the daily life of the English-speaking reader as the material which appeared in the Montreal Gazette. The Quebec Herald and Miscellany, a useful mirror of the times, had but a two year existence, from November, 1788 to July, 1791.

2 "Proposal For the Establishment of a new Gazette, English and French under the Title of the Montreal Gazette." No date of publication appears on this sheet.


4 Ibid., p. 206.

5 Ibid., p. 211.

6 Ibid., p. 213.


8 The sheriff bought the press himself, and from this time on, Mesplet leased it from him. McLachlan, op. cit., p. 216.

9 Montreal Gazette, Sept. 29, 1785, Continuing references to the newspaper shall include the date and year only.

10 A. M. Lower in "Credit and the Constitutional Act," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 6, 1925, pp. 123-141, discusses the complicated background of this suit. Also Hilda Neatby in Quebec: The Revolutionary Age (pp. 184-86) from which the following account is taken. Hon. John Cochrane was the agent sent out by a London firm of merchants, Harley and Drummond, whom the Treasury employed to see that the commander-in-chief in Quebec was supplied with large amounts of ready money that he would occasionally need. The cheapest way to do this was to draw in all the spare cash in the colony by selling bills on London to merchants who every fall had to make remittances amounting to hundreds of thousands of pounds. Cochrane became involved in selling some bills on credit to be paid off in the course of the year, which, however, many of the
merchants did not. The upshot of the matter eventually was a suit launched by Haldimand against Cochrane for recovery of the debts, which, it had been discovered, were not technically due to the Crown at all, but Cochrane personally. In August, 1783 the first judgement was given for Haldimand with the result that many of the small merchants went bankrupt in order to pay their debts.

11 Jan. 17, 1788.
12 Sept. 14, 1786.
13 Aug. 7, 1788.
14 June 23, 1791. A number of spelling errors appeared quite regularly in the advertisements of the Montreal Gazette, because of Mesplet's own inadequate English. Such errors have been reproduced in the advertisements quoted in this chapter, for they illustrate the quality of the English language reproduced in the paper. Another reason why 'sic' has not been used to indicate such errors is that the number of such errors, and consequently the number of 'sics' interferes with the continuity in reading the advertisements.

15 Burt, The Old Province of Quebec, II, p. 171.
17 Nov. 17, 1785.
18 June 12, 1788.
19 E. A. Collard, Montreal Yesterdays (Toronto: Longmans, Canada Ltd., 1962), p. 31. An assembly was an eighteenth century term for a reception and was a feature of social life not only in Quebec, but the Thirteen Colonies and England. The assembly opened with the minuet, before going on to popular country dances.

20 Quebec to Carolina 1785-86, Being the Travel Diary and Observations of Robert Hunter Jr., a Young Merchant of London, eds. L. B. Wright & M. Tingling (San Marino, Calif., 1943), p. 35.
21 August 31, 1786.
23 Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 41. Massicotte, *op. cit.*, has written of the Bachelors Club that it met in Mansion House also used by the Montreal Assembly, p. 47.

24 December 4, 1788.


26 September 6, 1791.

27 November 12, 1789.

28 Ibid.

29 September 18, 1788. Massicotte, *op. cit.*, p. 44, has described this club founded in 1786 as "la première société secrète de langue française." However, Scots, French and French-Canadians belonged to it; the club existed for ten years. A Greybeards Club was founded in 1794, similar to such a club in Scotland. (Ibid., p. 46) Hilda Neatby in *Quebec: The Revolutionary Age* mentions that Masonic Lodges had appeared in Quebec and Montreal in the sixties. The Veteran's Club was composed of "gentlemen" who had served at Quebec in 1775-76, and who dined together to celebrate the defence of Quebec. (p. 230)

30 March 16, 1786.

31 July 6, 1786. Several currencies were in use in this period.

32 July 13, 1786.

33 February 23, 1786.

34 July 10, 1786.


36 Burt, *The Old Province of Quebec*, II, p. 188.

37 June 3, 1788.

38 Printed in the *Montreal Gazette*, August 14, 1788 in English, French, German.

39 November 6, 1788.

40 June 28, 1787.

41 February 24, 1791.
December 6, 1787.

Mr. Gunn did not disappear from the pages of the Montreal Gazette after this. On October 27, 1791 he inserted an ad regarding his intention of keeping night school. Capitalizing on his background as a clerk he was going "to teach particularly Arithmetic and Bookkeeping." In his spare time he offered to keep books either in French or English. A somewhat similar advertisement regarding his night school appeared in the paper on November 1, 1792, stating that though it was over a "public house" there was no communication between the two areas.

December 13, 1792.

May 19, 1791. "A Committee of Managers for the Benefit of the Poor" was set up in 1789 by the Christ Church congregation. (J. I. Cooper, The Blessed Communion. Archives Committee of the Diocese of Montreal, 1960, p. 24.)

Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, p. 39.

November 5, 1789.

November 12, 1789. These three merchants also contributed to the building fund of St. Gabriel Church. (Campbell, op. cit., p. 106.)

Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the SPG 1701-1900, p. 143, gives these figures. At Quebec there were "not so many."

April 7, 1791.

May 5, 1791. This showed that the English-speaking inhabitants of Montreal were not a particularly united group at this time.

September 13, 1787.

Mentioned in this chapter on p. 9.

May 21, 1789.

September 1, 1785.

March 9, 1786.

January 17, 1788.
58 April 3, 1788.
59 September 22, 1785.
60 January 27, 1791.
61 December 13, 1787.
62 December 4, 1788.
63 October 26, 1786.
64 February 24, 1791.
68 The *Quebec Gazette*, April 10, 1794, printed his advertisement for miniature or pastel work to be carried out at Dillon's Hotel.
72 February 26, 1796.
73 Indentured servitude will be dealt with in Chapter V.
76 August 24, 1786.
77 April 16, 1789.
78 September 29, 1785.
79 October 13, 1785.
80 August 13, 1789.
81 April 24, 1788.
March 20, 1786.

Frank Dawson Adams, *A History of Christ Church Cathedral Montreal* (Montreal: Burton's Limited, 1941), p. 13 mentions the large number of persons signing with an x in the registers of the church. These were military registers and possibly the x's were those of the private soldiers Adams mentions as signing these registers.


The Récollet Church was offered to the Presbyterians in 1791.

CHAPTER IV

1These figures and the ones following are given in Burt, *The Old Province of Quebec*, II, p. 195.


François born 1764, Marie Joséphe 1766, Marie Elizabeth 1767, Thomas Hippolyte 1769.

8Lower, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

9Ibid., p. 106.

10Ibid., p. 108.
Isaac Weld, Travels through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada during the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797 (London: John Stockdale, 1799), p. 180. The French "have an unconquerable aversion to learn English, and it is very rare to meet with any person amongst them that can speak it in any manner, but the English inhabitants are, for the most part, well acquainted with the French language."

W. S. Wallace, The Pedlars from Quebec and Other Papers on the Nor-Westers (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954), p. 65. Fur trader William McGillivray's marital life is an example of this. McGillivray married a Cree girl Susan who had twin boys, Simon and Joseph, by him. The baptismal records of Christ Church, Montreal, show that these boys were christened there, with Alexander MacKenzie and Joseph Frobisher as godfathers. Not long after this, McGillivray married a white woman, though he continued to maintain his Indian family, giving all his Metis children his name and probably sending the twins to boarding school in Montreal. (Walter O'Meara, Daughters of the Country, New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1968, p. 259.)

Wallace, op. cit., p. 68. Wallace states that Thompson's half-breed sons "turned out badly." Thompson had married his wife "after the fashion of the Northwest" when she was fourteen. They were married for 56 years, and had sixteen children. (O'Meara, op. cit., p. 257)

Ibid., p. 69.

As cited in Noel Owens, Travel Literature of the Canadas 1768-1838 (Unpublished Master's thesis, University of British Columbia, 1956), p. 65. Adams, A History of Christ Church Cathedral, states that records of the church show that a number of the children who were baptized were illegitimate. (p. 14)

Owens, op. cit., p. 59.

W. S. Wallace, ed., Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography (Toronto: Macmillan Co., of Canada, 1963, 3rd ed.), p. 278. Samuel Gerrard became a partner in the firm of Parker, Gerard and Ogilvy, later Gerrard, Gillespie and Company, one of the firms which financed the XY Co. He was also one of the founders of the Bank of Montreal. Ann Grant, while herself not illegitimate, did come from such a background.
18 University of Montreal, Baby Collection, Marriage Contract of Samuel Gerrard and Ann Grant, October 31, 1792.


20 PAC, Neilson Papers, Letters Received MG24, Mrs. John Neilson Sr., John Neilson to Mrs. Neilson, July 31, 1798.

21 Owens, op. cit., p. 76.


23 Owens, op. cit., p. 76.


28 Tremaine, Canadian Imprints 1751-1800, p. 463.

29 Ibid., p. 13.


31 Millman, Jacob Mountain, p. 170.


35 PAC, op. cit., 635-640.

36 Ibid., p. 647.
37. A. M. D. G., *Les Ursulines De Quebec*, p. 239.
42. *Quebec Gazette*, September 9, 1790.
43. *Quebec Herald and Miscellany*, November 4, 1790.
45. *PAC Calendar 1912, Inglis Papers, "Correspondence and Journals of Bishop Inglis,"* July 30, 1789, p. 240.
48. *The Quebec Herald and Miscellany*, December 22, 1788 carried a report of an examination by Rev. Mr. Montmollin of Mr. Jone's school. "The examination commenced with the following lines spoken by a beautiful boy of four years old . . . We think it our duty to observe the whole of the examination afforded a pleasing and an universal satisfaction." John Fraser's name has been mentioned in Chapter I.
55. *PAC, RG4, B30, Vol. 14, p. 5, Dunkin's Report to Buller*. This report, 377 pages long, dated New Haven County, N. S., June 10, 1839 provided the material which Buller used in Lord Durham's report.
R. C. Dalton in *The Jesuits' Estates Question 1760-1888* (University of Toronto Press, 1968) deals ably with the tangled situation and should be consulted for further reference.

A brief description of the Jesuits' role in education was made in Chapter I.


PAC, Inglis to Dorchester, *op. cit.*


PAC, MG23, C6, #1(5-6) No. 1, Inglis Papers, Quebec, 1789.

A. L. Burt in *The Old Province of Quebec*, II, 136, mentions that "there is a doubtful tradition, which accords with his timidity of character and his philosophical cast of mind that he could not decide whether to support the British or American cause until 1778."


Burt, *op. cit.*, II, 176.

Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

Ibid., p. 50.

Ibid.

Burt, *op. cit.*, II, p. 177.

Bailly had been tutor to Dorchester's children. Hence, one reason for his support of Smith's plan.
Report of the Public Archives 1890, Q49, November 10, 1790, No. 67, Dorchester to Grenville.


Millman, Jacob Mountain, p. 170. Bishop Mountain does not make it clear why he did not feel that £200 a year, having been applied to salaries, was not satisfactory.

Quebec Herald & Miscellany, January 17, 1790.

Ibid., January 31, 1790.

Ibid., February 7, 1791.

Montreal Gazette, May 29, 1788.


Wade, The French Canadians, p. 103.

PAC, Q series, Vol. 74, p. 364, Mountain to Portland, as quoted in Netten, op. cit., p. 64.


PAC, Q series, Vol. 84, pp. 185-90, Mountain to Milnes, October 19, 1799 as quoted in Netten, op. cit., pp. 71-74.

Mountain does not state who this master was.

Millman, Jacob Mountain, p. 171.

Ibid.

CHAPTER V


2This is the personal experience of the writer who has carried on a search for apprenticeship documents in the Public Archives of Canada and the Archives of the Superior Court, Montreal.


4The following description of apprenticeship in England is drawn from Seybolt, pp. 1-21.

5Seybolt, op. cit., p. 15.

6Seybolt, op. cit., as quoted on p. 20.

7Ibid.

8Ibid.

9Ibid., p. 21.


11Seybolt, op. cit., p. 23.

12Morris, op. cit., p. 367.

13Seybolt, op. cit., p. 32.

14Ibid., p. 95. Seybolt found 108 indentures which contained such provisions for sending apprentices to evening schools.

15Morris, op. cit., p. 384.

16Extensive search of notarial records did not disclose any indentures for the period 1760-1780.


18A few indentures were found in the records of Edward William Gray. It should be pointed out also that this study does not lend itself to a statistical approach because of too many variables.
20^Iorris, op. cit., p. 384.

21Archives of the Superior Court of Montreal, J. G. Beek, Indenture of Madders to Sullivan, January 19, 1788, and Indenture of Pattinson to Gray, April 3, 1788.

22Morris, op. cit., p. 384.

23P. Lukin, Indenture of Fraser to Sanford, June 27, 1797.


25J. G. Beek, Indenture of Ferries to Hamilton, November 9, 1781 and Indenture of Sarah Dolson to Platt, February 4, 1788.

26J. G. Beek, Indenture of DeLisle to Walker, April 22, 1790.

27P. Lukin, Indenture of Luck to Campbell, July 31, 1797.

28Ibid., The amendment added to the above was dated October 8, 1803.

29Found in J. G. Beek's register of the same date.

30Two of the Montreal indentures were on a printed form.

31P. Lukin, Indenture of Patrick Kane to John McCutcheon, Carpenter, March 5, 1796.


33J. G. Beek, Indenture of John Middleton to Daniel Bridge, Hatter, January 7, 1791.

34J. G. Beek, Indenture of William Bean to John Miricle, Shoemaker, December 17, 1789.

35P. Lukin, Indenture of Simon Fraser to Ephraim Sanford, Hatter, June 28, 1797.

36P. Lukin, Indenture of Peter McDougald to Duncan Fisher, Shoemaker, June 27, 1794.
37. Lukin, Indenture of Archibald Kidd to Samuel Park, April 28, 1795. The apprentice was able to sign his own name to the document.

38. J. G. Beek, Indenture of Joseph Ferries to Hugh Hamilton, Sailing Master, November 9, 1781. This indenture was cut in half with indented edges, the master keeping one half and the apprentice the other, a custom originating from the Middle Ages.


40. Collections of the New York Historical Society, Indentures of Apprentices, 1718-1727. Typical would be the following:

... and the said Master shall give to the Said Apprentice three Months Schooling Every Year after Christmas to learn to Read and Write att Night Schooling at the Charge of the said Master. (Indenture of John Wood to Jacobus Quick, Cordwinder, October 6, 1718, p. 115.)

41. J. G. Beek, Indenture of Hugh McMullen, Indented Servant, to Thos. Schieffelin, August 1, 1788.

42. Baby Collection, University of Montreal, Articles of Agreement indented August 16, 1792 between John William DeLisle, Esq. and Andrew Meziere.

43. Ibid.


45. J. G. Beek, Indenture of Winkey Dolson to James Fox, Innkeeper, April 22, 1788.


47. J. G. Beek, Indenture of Elizabeth Waldin to William Clarke, May 18, 1789.

48. John Clarke, apprenticed to the North West Company (op. cit.) was to receive 100 pounds; Samuel Madders, apprenticed to innkeeper Thomas Sullivan (Beek, January 19, 1788) was to receive 2 guineas.

49. John Tipple, Master Cordiner, promised Ebert Welden a complete set of shoemaker tools. (Beek, Indenture of Ebert Welden to John Tipple, Cordiner, May 1, 1789.)
50 Beek, Indenture of Philipp Ohle to Levy Michaels, Merchant, June 23, 1794.

51 Beek, Indenture of Mary Weldin to Simon Clarke, Innkeeper, February 2, 1789.

52 Lukin, Indenture of David Wood to John Horner, Shoemaker, November 17, 1794.

53 Lukin, Indenture of Toussaint Gordon to Thos. Sullivan, August 10, 1792.

54 Montreal Gazette, May 19, 1791.

55 Adams, A History of Christ Church Cathedral, p. 69.

56 Ibid.

57 Quebec Herald and Miscellany, March 23, 1790.

58 Beek, Binding of John Palmer to D. A. Grant, April 22, 1788.

59 Séguin, La Civilisation Traditionnelle De L'Habitant Aux 17e et 18e siecles, p. 255.

60 Ibid., p. 256.

61 William Smith mentioned that there were 304 slaves when he was writing to his wife in the 1780's. Chapter III gives examples of such sales.

62 Beek, Sale of Negro boy Dick, January 11, 1786.

63 Montreal Gazette, June 11, 1789.

64 Journals of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada, April 19, 1799.

CHAPTER VI

1 Isaac Weld, Travels Through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, during The years 1795, 1796, and 1797 (London: John Stockdale, 1799) p. 180. Mention should be made here of the additional wave of English-speaking immigrants from New England into the hitherto unsettled area of the Eastern Townships during the 1790's. Though sometimes referred to as the "late Loyalists" these settlers appeared to have come less for political reasons, than for the offer of new land. One unflattering description of such settlers was given by Rev. Lorenzo Dow, a Methodist circuit rider on a trip to the Dunham and Memphremagog Lake area. "The people in this part of the country were the offscouring of the earth, some having ran hither for debt, others to avoid prosecution for crimes, and a third character had to accumulate money." As quoted in R. G. Moore, Historical Sketches of the Churches in the Cowansville-Dunham Pastoral Charge, 1962, p. 13.

2 It should be pointed out that in 1791 the term Protestant was applied only to the Church of England. Considerable debate was to go on in the 19th century over the meaning of the word "Protestant," with reference to a provision in the Constitutional Act which set aside one-seventh of the Crown grants for the support of a Protestant clergy. Fred Landon, Western Ontario and the American Frontier, Carleton Library No. 34 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1967), p. 72. In this study, the term Protestant is applied to all non-Catholic churches.

3 The first Methodist circuit rider in the Township of Dunham came around 1798 from NY, Mass., Vermont and Connecticut. Moore, op. cit., p. 11. Little else has been found on the activity of the Methodists in this period in Quebec. Quite possibly Methodism did not come to establish itself in the province till the turn of the century, for in Upper Canada the first regular Methodist preacher, William Losee, only came in 1790. Landon, op. cit., p. 73. There must have been a number of Quakers in the province to have brought about "An Act for granting Indulgences to the People called Quakers" in 1793. Instead of having to swear an oath, Quakers were allowed to substitute "do Solemnly Sincerely and truly declare and Affirm." If they produced a certificate from their quarterly meetings, they were exempt from military duty.

5 The Society in a memorial to the English Government in 1807 stated that the clergy who succeeded best were "native Americans" but the supply of such was difficult "for want of proper education." Classified Digest of the Records of the S.P.G. in Foreign Parts, pp. 143-44.

6 Inglis was more successful with his education efforts in Nova Scotia where he established an Academy in 1788.


8 Johnson, A Brief History of Canadian Education, p. 17.

9 Ontario Archives, Strachan Papers, Diary of Joseph Frobisher 1807-1810, August 4, 1808. His grandson had run away from another school.

10 Toronto Public Library, A Concise Introduction to Practical Arithmetic for the Use of Schools, by the Rev. John Strachan (Montreal: Nahum Mower, 1809). Strachan gives as one of his reasons for developing his "expeditious" method of teaching arithmetic the fact that "Young men coming from a distance at a very considerable expence are anxious to get forward as fast as possible."

11 As quoted in M. S. MacSporran, James McGill, (unpublished Master's thesis), McGill, 1948, p. 202. Strachan wrote of his interest in a university to Dugald Stewart, a Scottish philosopher, in the winter of 1814. "There is another subject in which I want your aid and I shall be grateful for your opinion. A college or University has long been a desideratum among the Friends of the Canadas to which the French as well as English youth might have free access with the perfect freedom as to religion. In such a place, the arts & Sciences might be taught with effect and the young men both French and English mixing together a greater cordiality would be promoted between the two nations the language of the Conquerors would gradually obtain the ascendancy and the country become what alone can render it really valuable to the Crown an English colony. Nor would it be thought necessary as it too often was before the war
to send our Youth to complete their Education in the States where they learn very little more than anarchy in Politics, and infidelity in religion. ... A Friend of mine has left a considerable legacy to found a College in Lower Canada and Govt. may be induced to assist in fulfilling his intentions ... . I am a party to my Friends will and a trustee to the legacy." As quoted in *The John Strachan Letter Book: 1812-1834*, ed. G. W. Spragge (Toronto: The Ontario Historical Society, 1946) p. 58.


13Ibid.

14Les Ursulines, pp. 249-50. Guy Frégault, *Canada: the War of the Conquest*, trans. M. Cameron (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 246 writes that the Ursulines adapted themselves to a British society. At the turn of the nineteenth century, two Ursulines, Mothers Mary-Louisa McLoughlin and Elizabeth Doughery were given the first regular classes to teach in English. As the Annalist of the Ursulines explains, "The time was past when English-speaking pupils were content to learn French only in the Convent, nor could the French pupils afford to be ignorant of English." *Glimpses of the Monastery*, p. 203.

15The almanac has been described as being "the most widely read literary production in Colonial America" and as playing a significant role in the education of the American people." Robt. T. Sidwell, "Writers, Thinkers and Fox-Hunters," *Educational Theory in the Almanacs of Eighteenth Century Colonial America," History of Education Quarterly, Fall 1968, Vol. VIII, No. 3, pp. 275-286. It is difficult to say whether or not Canadian almanacs had the same effect. Two almanacs located for this present study in the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montreal, one published in 1784 by William Brown and another in 1792 by Samuel Neilson, gave factual information with regard to the services of the various towns, e.g. notaries.


18Ibid., p. 76 and p. 90.

19Ibid., pp. 70-2.
20 Sewell became Solicitor General in 1793, Attorney-General in 1795. Just before a concert, Sewell, hearing of the attempted assassination of George III wrote an additional verse to God Save the King which was to be carried overseas and delivered at Drury Lane Theatre in 1798 by no less a personage than Sheridan. Sewell, an extremely able lawyer, was also an authority on French Canadian law. During the 1820's, he was Vice-President of the Literary and Philosophical Society.

21 Sir James Craig who became governor in 1807, has been accused of a "Reign of Terror" by French-Canadians because of his attempt to quell "democratic clamour" in the Assembly. He removed key figures from office and gave verbal rebukes to the Assembly.

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