

Claudette Lacelle

**The British Garrison in Quebec  
City as Described in  
Newspapers from 1764 to 1840**



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History and  
Archaeology

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Quebec City as Described in  
Newspapers from 1764 to 1840

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Available in Canada through authorized bookstore agents and other bookstores, or by mail from the Canadian Government Publishing Centre, Supply and Services Canada, Hull, Quebec, Canada K1A 0S9.

En français ce numéro s'intitule Histoire et archéologie n° 23 (n° de catalogue R64-81/1979-23F). En vente au Canada par l'entremise de nos libraires agréés et autres librairies, ou par la poste au: Centre d'édition du gouvernement du Canada, Approvisionnement et Services Canada, Hull, Québec, Canada K1A 0S9.

Price Canada: \$4.50

Price other countries: \$5.40

Price subject to change without notice.

Catalogue No.: R64-81/1979-23

ISBN: 0-660-10152-1

Published under the authority  
of the Hon. J. Hugh Faulkner,  
Minister responsible for Parks Canada,  
Ottawa, 1979.  
QS-7027-025-EE-A1

The opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and not necessarily those of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.

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 as Described in Newspapers from 1764 to 1840  
 by Claudette Lacelle

Translated by the Department of the Secretary of State

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## Abstract

The British garrison entered Quebec City in 1759 and was stationed there until 1871. Its presence had an impact on the city and its inhabitants, and we have attempted to assess this impact by consulting the newspapers of that era. We have discovered that the military made its presence felt not only through its various military and social activities, but also through its occupancy of an area of the city. Its presence was not only numerical, but also spatial; however, we have yet to assess fully the latter factor, and only by doing so will we be able to appreciate the political, economic and social influences exerted on the city by the garrison; only then will we be able to determine the full extent of its impact.

Submitted for publication 1975, by Claudette Lacelle, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Ottawa.

## Acknowledgements

We would like to express our gratitude to the archivists at the Public Archives of Canada, to Marc Lafrance for his helpful suggestions, and to Rémi Chénier, who so kindly read and corrected our manuscript.

## Introduction

This report was drawn up following a lengthy study of the structural development of Artillery Park and the Saint-Jean Bastion in Quebec City from 1749 to 1903.<sup>1</sup> We found that the documentation revealed very little about the actual life of the military in Quebec City, but that on the other hand this same documentation emphasized the significance of the military aspect of the city.

These two observations formed the basis for our study. Thus our primary interest lay in determining the relationship between the garrison and the city. We first concerned ourselves with various aspects of the garrison such as its size, the distribution of its personnel, and its social and military life; we then attempted to determine some of the effects of its presence in the city.

The military documents we initially consulted proved to be quite insufficient, which meant that we had to refer to the evidence preserved in newspapers and travellers' journals. These sources obliged us to restrict the period we studied to the years 1764 to 1840: on the one hand, the first newspaper did not appear until 1764, and on the other, there were so many papers after 1840 that we would have been forced to merely take samples rather than go through all of the issues individually. Other factors also contributed to our choice of dates. It seemed to us, after doing research on Artillery Park, that there was an appreciable change in military life during the years from 1840 to 1871: there was much more concern for the soldiers' welfare, recreation and morale.<sup>2</sup> Finally, we would add that the time factor played a determining role, since a study covering the period 1840 to 1871 would be as long as this one.

### Sources

Some 30 newspapers were published in Quebec City between 1764 and 1840.<sup>3</sup> We initially eliminated all those papers published for less than five years since continuity was a prime consideration in our study. There were 25 such papers: 14 which appeared for one year or less; eight which appeared for two years; one, three years; one, four years, and one, five years. The four remaining papers were: La Gazette de Québec (1764-1840), the Quebec Mercury (1805-40), Le Canadien (1806-40) and The Quebec Commercial List (1816-37). We saw fit to eliminate the last one since its interests were clearly very different from our own. Therefore, La Gazette de Québec, the Quebec Mercury and Le Canadien were the sources for our study.



La Gazette de Québec was published throughout the entire period covered by our study. It was a bilingual newspaper until 1832 (that is, it was translated from English into French). It was a weekly publication from 1764 to 1817, a semiweekly from 1818 to 1832, and from 1832 to 1840 appeared triweekly in two editions, one French and the other English.<sup>4</sup> The Quebec Mercury was published from 1805 to 1840; it was a weekly from 1805 to 1816 and a semiweekly from 1817 to 1840.<sup>5</sup> Le Canadien appeared from 1806 to 1840 with breaks in publication from 1811 to 1816 and from 1826 to 1830. It was a weekly until 1825, a semiweekly from 1831 to 1832, and a triweekly from 1832 to 1840.<sup>6</sup>

Needless to say, there are certain inherent drawbacks to using this type of documentation. A distinction must be made between opinion and information; the personalities of the owner-editors and the orientations they gave their papers must also be taken into consideration. In this regard, the papers studied clearly had different aims. La Gazette de Québec, the only source of information from 1764 to 1805, was entirely oriented toward international news and devoted only a few paragraphs to local news, yet it was this paper which published all the official government documents. The Quebec Mercury and Le Canadien were much more concerned with Canadian issues, including local news, politics, and animosities between the French and the English. Le Canadien appeared in 1806 as a counterpart and rival to the Quebec Mercury. Yet, contrary to what we had expected, such animosity was seldom reflected in comments concerning the garrison in Quebec City. The Quebec Mercury referred to the garrison frequently and always very favourably; Le Canadien spoke of it quite seldom, but when it did, usually conveyed a certain respect for the order and discipline which it associated with military life.

Thus it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between information and opinion when reading about the military in the papers since these two elements are closely linked. We often found more information than we had expected and fewer opinions than we had hoped for. In fact, in the matter with which we are concerned, the newspapers mainly helped to establish that there was a constant military presence in Quebec City. We must be careful not to minimize the importance of this factor.

We would like to have analysed travellers' journals in such a systematic manner, but circumstances prevented us from doing so. Thus our research in this area is fragmentary and incomplete. Occasionally the documentation we accumulated in our research on Artillery Park helped us to make up for these shortcomings, but it would nevertheless have been necessary to consult many other works in order to evaluate their contribution.

### Background

In order to judge impartially the impact of the British garrison's presence in Quebec City, a complete background knowledge would also have been required. What, for example, was the physical and psychological state of Quebec City throughout this period? What was the general conception of military life in the colony, in Great Britain? How did this conception tend to change and what influence did it have on the life of the military in Quebec City? What was the international

situation at the time? All these questions would have to be answered before we could attempt to determine the relationship between the British garrison and Quebec City, but is impossible to do with the amount of data we have gathered to date. Nevertheless, we have gathered enough information to be able to trace the conditions that prevailed during this period.

By 1764 the British garrison had already been stationed in Quebec City for five years, since the Seven Years' War had decided Canada's fate in favour of Great Britain. The British military thus found themselves in a French city with several thousand inhabitants - a few less than 8,000 in 1795 and a few more than 31,000 in 1842.<sup>7</sup> Yet throughout this period, Quebec City's anglophone population was to increase at a fairly rapid rate so that by 1840 the English made up close to 40 per cent of the population.<sup>8</sup> This factor was not without significance and no doubt helped make Quebec City a place where the military felt quite comfortable and more "at home." Moreover, Quebec was a fortified city, which meant that there were many strictly military duties to be fulfilled. It was also the seat of the government throughout this period, with all that that entailed in terms of the presence of a certain elite of government administrators.

In addition, during the entire period the city was plagued with a number of problems - at least that is how the newspapers described them. There were frequent and devastating fires, nonexistent or insufficient paving and lighting, outrageous thefts, many stray animals, and a profusion of inns and cabarets, to mention but a few of the city's ills, and the list could go on.

In studying the British garrison's presence in the city, it must be remembered that the years between 1764 and 1840 were a long period of peace broken by three short wartime periods: the American invasion of 1775-76, the War of 1812 and the Rebellion of 1837. That is to say, it was a relatively calm and stable period when the military should have been concerned more with protection than with defence. Yet this was not entirely the case since they took advantage of this long period of peace to undertake large-scale fortification work from 1790 until the end of the period covered by our study. In this way, both the military function of the city and the military's presence were heightened, and this presence made itself felt all the more strongly since, in order to carry out this work, land had to be appropriated, men had to be employed and a large garrison had to be maintained.

Finally, how could we fail to appreciate the importance of the British military system within which the garrison evolved? No doubt a thorough study of the social aspects of British military life would have helped to clarify the information we were able to glean from the newspapers of the era.

Considering all these limitations, this study clearly could not cover every aspect of the question of the British garrison in Quebec City. We propose simply to focus on some of the aspects which emerge from reading the newspapers of the period. We will commence by describing the garrison and will then discuss some of the effects of its presence in the city.

Part I      The British Garrison

## Troop Strength and Distribution

Strength

We have no continuous listing of the number of soldiers in the garrison for the period from 1764 to 1840. Documents from the years prior to 1808 give only the number of soldiers under the various commanders in North America.<sup>1</sup> In 1808 and 1809, information on the Royal Artillery was not divided according to posts, so it is not until 1810 that we have slightly more exact statistics:<sup>2</sup>

1810: 2619	1820: 1256	1830: 1479
1811: 2665	1821: 1304	1831: 1688
1812: 3035	1822: 1304	1832: 1364
1813: 1914	1823: 1345	1833: 1246
1814: 2371	1824: 1341	1834: 1202
1815: 2337	1825: 1254	1835: 1157
1816: 2045	1826: 1250	1836: 1195
1817: 1360	1827: 1401	1837: 1477
1818: 1461	1828: 1512	1838: 1393
1819: 1522	1829: 1538	1839: 1313
		1840: 1671 <sup>3</sup>

The above table lists only the soldiers in the garrison; it does not include officers or members of the officers' and men's families. During the years from 1818 to 1825, for which we know the number of officers in the garrison, there were approximately 80 officers for some 1,400 soldiers. It is quite difficult to estimate the number of families, but we have nevertheless attempted to do so using available military documents.

We know that during the 19th century, the number of soldiers' wives allowed to accompany their husbands overseas at government expense was limited to six per cent.<sup>4</sup> If we assume that this limitation was enforced, then there would be 84 women for a garrison of 1,400 soldiers. If we further assume that on the average these women each had three children - in 1835 in Quebec City the needy widows of soldiers had approximately three children each<sup>5</sup> - then we arrive at a total of 336 more people. If we add to that 80 officers, of which a quarter had families - which seems to be the normal proportion of married officers<sup>6</sup> - then we arrive at approximately 475 more people in the garrison. For a garrison of 1,400 soldiers, this increase represents 25 per cent of the total garrison. A report written in 1813 which gave the number of people garrisoned in Quebec City at that time substantiated this number since it set this proportion at 27 per cent of the total.<sup>7</sup>

We also compared these figures with the baptismal, marriage and burial records for the Quebec City garrison for the years from 1818 to 1825<sup>8</sup> (Appendix A). It was fairly difficult to use these data with any degree of certainty: the records seemed to be incomplete for the years from 1820 to 1822; the regiments rarely stayed any longer than two years in Quebec City so that it was even more difficult to make approximations, and last but not least of our difficulties was that, according to some authors, mortality rates were much higher among the military than among civilians.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, we based our calculations on these sources in attempting to estimate the number of additional people at the garrison during these years and we have come to the conclusion that a proportion of 25 per cent is quite justifiable.<sup>10</sup>

The newspapers provided very little information on troop strength. They occasionally mentioned arrivals and departures, commented from time to time on the high quality of some of the departing regiments, and announced baptisms, marriages and deaths, but these types of information are all of a qualitative rather than quantitative value.

They did not mention the arrivals and departures in a consistent enough fashion for us to be able to draw up a list of regiments stationed in Quebec City, but their comments on some of the departures were somewhat more interesting. We have noted 28 such comments made during the entire period, all of them favourable. For example:

Royal Artillery (one company): "beaucoup estimée...par la civilité de leur compagnie...leur droiture dans le commerce,"<sup>11</sup>

8th: "bravoure et bonne conduite,"<sup>12</sup>

24th: "l'alacrité avec laquelle ils ont constamment donné leur assistance dans les occasions de détresse publique,"<sup>13</sup>

68th: "Jamais il n'a régné plus d'harmonie entre les habitants et les militaires,"<sup>14</sup>

71st: "conduite exemplaire,"<sup>15</sup>

79th: "orderly deportment and friendly intercourse,"<sup>16</sup> and

66th: "old friends."<sup>17</sup>

All the other comments expressed the above sentiments except for one which was unique. It concerned the 79th Regiment: "not a man appeared in the slightest degree affected by liquor."<sup>18</sup> One might ask if this occurrence was also unique.

The birth, marriage and death announcements were published quite irregularly, even more so than announcements of arrivals and departures. The few births and the 62 marriages reported were all related to officers. Ninety-nine deaths were reported: 61 natural deaths, 24 accidents, 11 suicides and three murders. We will deal elsewhere with the few details we were able to discover concerning the families.

### Distribution

By troop distribution, we mean distribution within the city rather than throughout the entire country.<sup>19</sup> From the earliest days of the British occupation, the garrison had its own main lodgings, unlike certain other posts where the military had to be billeted with the local people.<sup>20</sup> In Quebec City in the 18th century there were the Nouvelles Casernes (New Barracks), the Dauphine and Royale redoubts, the

intendant's residence, the Jesuits' quarters and the barracks at the Citadel. By the 19th century there were also the barracks at the Saint-Louis Bastion, the officers' quarters on rue Saint-Louis, the guardhouses, the cavalry's barracks and the Martello towers. Nevertheless, these were never sufficient to meet the demand and throughout the entire period from 1764 to 1840 some of the military were forced to live elsewhere in the city.

The advertisements for houses and furniture for sale were the main newspaper source of information on this aspect of the troops' distribution. As we systematically studied these advertisements, we found 105 for houses for rent or for sale,<sup>21</sup> all of which were occupied by officers and only 26 of which were situated outside the city walls. These houses were usually found on chemin Saint-Louis, Grande-Allée, rue d'Artigny and chemin Sainte-Foy. We also found 71 advertisements for furniture for sale, all of which referred to officers, and of the 57 in which addresses were included, 47 were inside the walls.

Certain observations can be taken from these two lists.<sup>22</sup> Some of the houses for rent reappeared in advertisements from time to time, which led us to believe that arriving officers sometimes took over houses left by departing officers. In fact, it might be asked whether the Board of Ordnance did not purchase several houses to provide lodgings for the garrison's officers. We also noted that one of the houses was advertised as belonging to Colonel Doyle but was occupied by Colonel Green<sup>23</sup> - perhaps not a unique situation. Another observation we made was that these lists included only houses occupied by officers, yet, from certain other articles, we know that some of the houses in the city were occupied by soldiers. For example, there were the soldiers in the Royal Artillery - all married - who were forced by fire from their respective homes on rue Saint-Stanislas. In the Paradis house were Davis, his wife and child, Helroyde, his wife and four children, and Doghert, his wife and one child; in the Laliberté house, Henderfide and his wife, and in the Duvert house, Morarity, his wife and two children.<sup>24</sup> Finally, we found that those men who did not live in the barracks lived mainly in houses in the upper town within the city walls. Those men who lived outside the walls nevertheless lived quite nearby. Other sources - censuses and assessment rolls - would have to be consulted in order to determine the extent and the spread of the military's physical occupation of the city.<sup>25</sup>

## Military Life

### Daily Life in the Barracks

Here we do not intend to describe the soldiers' or officers' daily schedules since the documents and newspapers said virtually nothing about this subject. We were able to gather only fragmentary details which gave us only a vague impression of the complexity of the situation. We have arranged them according to whether they relate to the soldiers or the officers.

As for the soldiers' lives, we would primarily emphasize their families' presence in the barracks. Everything we have read leads us to believe that the less fortunate families<sup>1</sup> had two beds, usually placed in a corner of the dormitory, separated from the others during the night by a blanket hung as a screen.<sup>2</sup> The children of large families slept either on the floor or, in the case of male children, in one of the empty beds in the room. The more fortunate families probably lived in town in the vicinity of the barracks. Cohabitation in the barracks had various consequences for garrison life. We know that the women washed and mended the bed linens<sup>3</sup> and it is quite likely that they were employed in various other domestic tasks. We also know that because of the children, school classes had to be organized. The Regimental Schools for soldiers' children were established by regulation in 1811<sup>4</sup> and it seems that in 1820 this benefit was extended to the children associated with the Quebec City garrison.<sup>5</sup> We were able to glean some information on these schools from the regulations of the 26th Regiment: apparently the boys spent three days in the classroom and two days apprenticed to the tailors and shoemakers. The girls spent every day in the classroom, but were made to perform certain tasks such as mending the soldiers' shirts.<sup>6</sup>

None of the documents tell us how the presence of the soldiers' families actually affected the married men or the single men living in the barracks. We noted only a few mentions of military families in the newspapers and these were all tragic. In 1767 the wife of a soldier in the 52nd Regiment died violently at the hands of another soldier in the regiment,<sup>7</sup> and in 1839 a soldier's wife was turned out for misbehaviour and her husband committed suicide because of the incident.<sup>8</sup> It is to be hoped that these instances were out of the ordinary and highly atypical.<sup>9</sup>

We know little more about the soldier's schedule of military duties. According to the regulations of the 26th Regiment,<sup>10</sup> the morning was spent as follows: reveille, roll call 15 minutes later, (everyone standing beside his bed), dressing and grooming, dormitory

clean-up, inspection one hour after roll call, exercises, breakfast, fall-in, and another inspection. The time until lunch was spent doing the assigned tasks for the day<sup>11</sup> (Fig. 8) and there was another inspection after dinner. It seems that the soldiers were then free until curfew. The documents also showed that their diet was quite basic: fresh beef, salt pork, peas and bread.<sup>12</sup>

The daily life of the officers seems to have been very different. The newspaper advertisements for furniture sales showed that most of them lived quite comfortably. The following is a representative example:

SALE OF HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE, HORSES, CALECHES, CARRIOLES, Ec.. Ec..

On FRIDAY next, the 15th instant, at ONE o'clock, in the Square of the Artillery Barracks:-

ALL the Household Furniture, and other effects of Lieut. Col. Phillot, R.A.- Consisting in Mahogany, Dining, Pembroke, and Card Tables; Side boards, Sophas with Chintz covers, and Chairs to match; Carpets, Mirrors, Chintz Window Curtains, Plates and Plated Ware; a valuable canteen of Silver Ware; China, Breakfast, and Tea Services; a double Dinner Service; an extensive assortment of Cut-Glass Ware; Table and House Linen; elegant Table and Drawing Room lamps, and Bronze figures with do, an excellent Time-Piece, Cutlery; Stoves and Pipes;- Bedsteads and Hangings, Chests Drawers, Dressing Tables, Feather-Beds, Matrasses [sic], and Bedding; valuable Patent Cooking Stove; a quantity of Kitchen Utensils, &c. &c.- the whole of the above articles in the very best order.

ALSO,

Two excellent Horses, only 5 years-old, fit for carriage or saddle; a capital Cow; Caleche, Carioles, Harness, Saddlery; a small collection of choice Wines; and some valuable Books.-The Furniture, &c. day be viewed on Thursday, preceding the say of the Sale.

12th July, 1825 JOS. CARY, A. & B.<sup>13</sup>

It should also be noted that almost all the officers owned several dogs and that about 15 advertisements mentioned a piano and almost as many, a small library.

We have no idea what their assigned daily military duties were. We found a few mentions of training sessions for which the officers were responsible.<sup>14</sup> Quite probably, training was one of their duties. Strictly speaking though, if we were to believe the impression given by the newspapers, we would have to conclude that their lives were taken up more with leisure than with duties.

### Military Activities

Under this heading, we have included the various activities mentioned in the newspapers; misconduct will be discussed in another chapter. The information we were able to gather on each subject varied widely in quantity. We have chosen to treat the various activities in the



following order: ceremonies, fatigue duty, exercises, expeditions, guard duty, wars, fire-fighting duty, inspections and police.

#### Ceremonies

The ceremonies reported in the papers were mostly related to the crown. Each year both the king's and queen's birthdays were celebrated,<sup>15</sup> the arrival and departure of governors<sup>16</sup> and important visitors<sup>17</sup> were observed, and there were joyous celebrations on the anniversaries of major British victories.<sup>18</sup> On all of these occasions the garrison assembled in the parade grounds for a royal salute - usually three volleys by the troops followed by those of the artillery - and in the evening there were a ball, a dinner and illumination of the city.

There were equally joyous celebrations on Saint George's Day and Saint Patrick's Day. The troops paraded for the occasion and greatly enjoyed themselves all day long. It often happened that some of them got carried away. Viger described Saint Patrick's Day 1809 as follows:

Un soldat avait vendu sa femme à un autre pour dix piastres et l'acheteur qui avait payé "ready cash" emmenait la créature lorsque le mari donnant bientôt après par la rue du Palais les atteint près de l'église de l'Hotel-Dieu et se met en devoir de reprendre sa chère moitié. (Les deux hommes en viennent aux prises et le mari triomphe de son antagoniste). Puis, le sensible mari a flambé sur sa tendre et chaste épouse et vous l'a étrillée de la bonne façon. Le monde s'est attroupé, les Juges de paix s'en sont mêlés, cris, menaces, tout a été inutile ou sans effets pour apaiser le vacarme pendant bien du temps [*sic*].<sup>19</sup>

Finally, the soldiers also participated in various religious ceremonies: funerals,<sup>20</sup> divine service,<sup>21</sup> and even religious professions.<sup>22</sup> Thus, it seems that the military was deeply involved in Quebec City's cultural life.

#### Fatigue Duty

The newspapers reported on a number of fatigue duties in which the soldiers were obliged to participate. They were employed in road building,<sup>23</sup> building and repairing the fortifications,<sup>24</sup> maintaining the fuel yard<sup>25</sup> and guarding the quarantine grounds.<sup>26</sup> In addition, it seems quite certain that the soldiers must have been assigned other tasks since it was not until 1832 that the military authorities called for tenders to empty the latrines;<sup>27</sup> not until 1834 that they called for tenders to clean the "dust holes" (for the disposal of refuse);<sup>28</sup> not until 1835 that civilians were hired to clean the streets previously maintained by the soldiers,<sup>29</sup> and not until 1838 that firewood and coal were carried to the barracks by contractors.<sup>30</sup> No doubt, by assigning soldiers to these tasks until the 1830s, the authorities were able to avoid using civilian labour and thereby reduce operating costs. The fact that

they turned to civilian labour after 1830 confirms our impressions that military life changed quite appreciably from that decade onward.<sup>31</sup>

#### Exercises

On several occasions throughout the year the men from the garrison would publicly perform various manoeuvres. We say "publicly" because the citizens would assemble to watch and in fact these demonstrations sometimes provided spectacular entertainment. The papers distinguished four types of exercises: drills, target and rocket practice, parades and mock battles.

The drills were usually performed by an individual regiment. The troops met regularly to practise certain manoeuvres,<sup>32</sup> usually carried out on the Plains of Abraham, on the esplanade or in the fields belonging to the government (Fig. 14).

The target practices often became a sort of double competition wherein both the men's abilities and the weapons' superiority were tested.<sup>33</sup> Rocket practice began in 1827 - according to reports in the newspapers<sup>34</sup> - and attracted many onlookers with the spectacular effects of the missiles.

The parades were among the best-appreciated exercises (Fig. 9) and took place frequently. In the late 18th century every fine summer evening, one of the regiments would march on the parade grounds of the château and the brass band would play for an hour or two.<sup>35</sup> It may be gathered from the newspapers that in the 19th century such parades were only weekly events.<sup>36</sup> In 1837 they were abolished, apparently because they caused too much disorder<sup>37</sup> - a curious coincidence in light of the troubles of that year - however, it should be remembered that every ceremony called for a parade, so the citizens were not entirely deprived of their enjoyment. In 1835 they even began parading on the ice in the wintertime - a novelty that attracted many spectators and, according to the Quebec Mercury, was a very lively and impressive sight from the upper town.<sup>38</sup>

Despite the undeniable popularity of the parades, the manoeuvres that attracted the most spectators were always the mock battles. In 1831, 1,500 men gathered on the Plains of Abraham and, for an hour and a half, enacted a battery attack.<sup>39</sup> In 1839, to celebrate the anniversary of Waterloo, the men acted out a pitched battle.<sup>40</sup> These were the only mock battles reported in the newspapers, but no doubt there were many others which provided great entertainment for the citizens of the day.

#### Expeditions

By "expeditions" we mean the exploratory trips made by the Royal Engineers. The papers mention only three, all during the decade between 1825 and 1835. They were: the one made by Baddely in the area around Quebec City, where he discovered an extremely valuable lime deposit;<sup>41</sup> those made by Bayfield in the region between the Saint-Maurice and the Saguenay<sup>42</sup> and in the Lac Saint-Pierre area,<sup>43</sup> and, finally, the one made by Yule on the south shore in the direction of Maine, via the Chaudière.<sup>44</sup> In 1829, with the help of

La Société historique et littéraire de Québec, the Royal Engineers were able to publish the findings of their journeys.<sup>45</sup> Again, it would be very worthwhile to study the contents of this source in order to find out about the scope and variety of the expeditions made by the British during this period.

#### Guard Duty in the City

We have included this category although the newspapers made no mention of it: it is one of the best proofs of the military's presence in the city. No doubt the reason why the newspapers did not mention it is because everyone was accustomed to seeing soldiers guarding the fortifications; in fact, this was one of their daily tasks. There were guards at each of the gates into the city. In addition, there were guards on the cape, as well as at the château, the barracks, the Martello towers, the fuel yard and the various storehouses<sup>46</sup> (Fig. 10).

#### Wars

It would be impossible to discuss the military without speaking of wars, but during the period with which we are concerned, war was not in the forefront. Three wars occurred during this period: the American invasion of 1775-76, which received little mention in the only existing newspaper since the paper had to discontinue publication at that time; the War of 1812, which received a great deal of coverage in the newspapers but which scarcely affected the citizens of Quebec City since it was fought in the Great Lakes region,<sup>47</sup> and the Rebellion of 1837 which the local newspapers represented as being mainly a Montreal phenomenon.<sup>48</sup> However, it must be remembered here that the fortification work carried out during this period helped to maintain, among the citizenry, the idea that war was always a possibility and, among the soldiers, the discipline that would be necessary should such a possibility arise (Fig. 11).

#### Fire-Fighting Duty

Fires occurred frequently in Quebec City during the 18th and 19th centuries and the newspapers reported on them faithfully. We noted 30 articles in which the soldiers of the garrison received special thanks. The military were always ready to help and allowed the city to use their fire engines. The thanks they received were always very eloquent, as is evidenced by the following three comments:

Their presence as on every former occasion was of the greatest service as to zeal which cannot be surpassed by any, they add that order which can only arise from long established habit and implicit obedience.<sup>49</sup>

Too much cannot be said of the exertion of the military on the occasion.<sup>50</sup>

On a paru très satisfait de la conduite des militaires dont la discipline les met en état de faire beaucoup de bien.<sup>51</sup>

In fact, the military was required to come to the rescue on so many occasions that the military authorities felt obliged to formalize the procedures for dealing with fires. The Royal Artillery and the regiment occupying the Jesuits' quarters were given the responsibility for fire-fighting duty. The other troops were required to help only when the fire was on government property.<sup>52</sup> On these occasions, the presence of the military was greatly appreciated in the town.

#### Inspections

Official inspections were conducted twice yearly, sometimes between the months of May and October. They were usually held on the Plains of Abraham and attracted a large audience. The regiments performed various manoeuvres before noted personalities and were judged according to military standards. The newspapers almost always noted these inspection days and frequently commented on them. We have gathered all these comments - 68 in all - and have extracted the expressions used in order to discover what qualities were considered important in a good regiment. We found that the expressions were as follows:

precision	: 16 times
good appearance	: 12 times
skill	: 11 times
uniformity	: 9 times
agility	: 4 times
discipline	: 4 times
alertness	: 4 times
soldierly bearing	: 3 times
excellence	: 3 times
impressive	: 2 times
innovative exercises	: 1 time
satisfactory	: 1 time <sup>53</sup>

We could have grouped certain expressions together: agility, alertness and skill seem to designate the same thing, as do discipline and uniformity; however, it must be remembered that these comments were made over a period of 75 years and we thought it best to respect the expressions chosen by the journalists of the day. Thus it seems that the qualities most appreciated among the soldiers of the day may be summarized in four words: precision, appearance, skill and uniformity.

#### Police

The police duties performed by the garrison were twofold. On the one hand, the military had its own police force; that is, they watched the comings and goings of their soldiers and guarded military prisoners themselves. The newspapers provide a few examples: in 1807 the soldiers had to guard two Americans who had been sentenced to the pillory;<sup>54</sup> throughout the entire period, the military was responsible for escorting military prisoners (deserters and others),<sup>55</sup> and a third of the garrison's police force was constantly busy patrolling the streets and visiting the public houses frequented by the soldiers.<sup>56</sup>

On the other hand, the military also provided police services when requested to do so by the civil authorities. They usually did so on

occasions when immediate control of the situation was very difficult. In 1813 the 103rd Regiment went to Saint Joseph de Beauce when the militia rebelled;<sup>57</sup> in 1826 the military was called in to disperse the participants in a brawl;<sup>58</sup> in 1835, following several large robberies, the military was called upon to find the perpetrators.<sup>59</sup> Although the newspapers made no mention of it, it seems likely that the military actually acted as a civilian police force in Quebec City. To be certain, they were the only group at the time who were well enough organized to be able to mitigate the difficulties the civilian authorities found impossible to handle - a situation which clearly must have affected the local population.

Clearly, the activities we have studied were not the only ones which occupied the lives of the military in the garrison, nor, perhaps, were they the most important ones, but the sources dictated and limited our choice. It is to be hoped that subsequent studies will allow us to expand our knowledge on this subject and organize the information in a somewhat more logical fashion.

## Social Life

One cautionary note must be made from the outset: almost all of the many social activities mentioned in the newspapers related to the officers. Newspaper articles, whether they referred to arts and literature, balls and dinner parties, mess, various societies or sports, rarely mentioned the simple soldier. The latter's recorded social activities were of another nature and are discussed in the chapter on misconduct.

### Arts and Literature

The newspapers mentioned a great variety of artistic and literary activities - seasonal or occasional, collective or individual, public or private. There was something for everyone. If we were to judge the relative importance of these events according to how frequently they were advertised, plays and concerts would come first, followed by writing and reading, then painting and lectures. As odd as this grouping might seem, it reflects the content of the newspapers of the day.

Plays and concerts head the list because they were performed throughout the entire year: plays normally ran in the wintertime - from late November until early June - while concerts were performed during the summertime. A play was performed every fortnight during the winter<sup>1</sup> and there were two concerts per week in summer.<sup>2</sup> As a general rule, the plays were staged by the officers from the garrison and a typical show included a comedy and a farce with a few musical pieces in between the two;<sup>3</sup> dramas were an exception (Appendix B). Most often, for days following the show the newspapers would sing the actors' praises<sup>4</sup> (Appendix C). The concerts staged by the regimental brass bands were reported in much the same way in the newspapers. Without exception, musical works were rarely advertised (Appendix D), but the subsequent newspaper comments were all flattering.

A number of details may be gathered from the advertising and comments made about the theatrical evenings and concerts. Of primary importance is the fact that the revenues from the shows almost always went to charity. They sometimes went to the city's poor,<sup>5</sup> sometimes to soldiers' widows and children;<sup>6</sup> quite often they were simply given to the army chaplains so that they could put them to good use.<sup>7</sup> We also found information in the newspapers on the cost of these performances. The concerts, usually given outdoors, were free, while there was an admission charge for the plays. One could

purchase either a season's pass<sup>8</sup> or individual tickets for each performance; the price was one dollar per show in 1835.<sup>9</sup> We also noted that from 1834 onward, the soldiers were occasionally admitted free of charge<sup>10</sup> - perhaps this is another example of the emerging concern in that decade for the soldiers' welfare? Another interesting detail we noted was that the papers were quite amazed at the French Canadians' refusal to attend the theatre on religious grounds, even though the show was presented in French. Thus, when the Plaideurs and Fourberies de Scapin were presented, one of the papers stated:

We saw only one Canadian Lady in the Theatre, and cannot but regret the influence of that narrow bigotry, which excludes so large a portion of our fellow citizens from a rational amusement....In the Catholic countries of Europe, theatrical amusements are not only permitted but encouraged and are even attended by Ecclesiastics.<sup>11</sup>

It was also interesting to note the attention given by the papers to writing, especially to poetry. We were concerned only with those poems written either by or for the military. There were about 15 of these and their quality varied quite widely. They were composed for many different occasions: the opening of a theatre or a theatre season,<sup>12</sup> the commemoration of a victory<sup>13</sup> or a disaster,<sup>14</sup> the death of a comrade<sup>15</sup> or even a regiment's departure from the garrison.<sup>16</sup> Close attention to rhythm and rhyme are evident in all these poems, often at the expense of the content. The more interesting of these may be found in Appendix E.

Of the other writings, we extracted only those written by the military themselves and they vary so widely that it was impossible to group them in any coherent fashion. We found articles on munitions<sup>17</sup> and on fires;<sup>18</sup> a humorous publication, which sold by subscription, entitled The Paymaster and His Wife;<sup>19</sup> a beautiful description of the Plains of Abraham and the river,<sup>20</sup> and an advertisement for various articles of a rather scientific nature which appeared in the reports of La Société historique et littéraire de Québec.<sup>21</sup>

The information we were able to gather on reading was much sketchier. Little mention was made of a military library prior to 1831,<sup>22</sup> yet we know from other documents that there was a library at the Quebec garrison from 1816<sup>23</sup> onward and that many officers had small personal libraries.<sup>24</sup> It is quite likely that the officers used Germain Langlois' travelling library which was established in 1764,<sup>25</sup> the public library founded by Haldimand in 1779,<sup>26</sup> or the Thomas Cary library, situated on rue Saint-Louis, from 1797 onward.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps they also exchanged books among friends. The only catalogue of a personal library we were able to find was that of Dalhousie's library in 1824. It included 534 volumes and expressly stated that this was only his Quebec City collection. There were 182 entries, which may be grouped as follows:

history and geography	: 41
essays and biographies	: 32
works by an individual author	: 19
dictionaries or reference books	: 18
botany	: 17

law, business and industry	: 17
periodicals	: 17
geology and mineralogy	: 7
military	: 6
miscellaneous	: 5
religion	: 3

All in all, 12 volumes were in French and four in Spanish.<sup>28</sup> It should also be noted that no novels were included. Evidently this library belonged to a well-read man with avant-garde interests, as can be seen from his collection of periodicals; however, we found no evidence which would allow us to generalize and assume that this man's knowledge was shared by his fellow officers. Nevertheless, we did find similar entries in the military library's catalogue published in 1824.<sup>29</sup>

The information we gathered on painting and lectures was even more fragmented. During the entire period, only works by Short, Cockburn and an unidentified officer in the 79th Regiment attracted any comments: in 1835 there was a lengthy article describing Short's engravings which dated back to the Seven Years' War,<sup>30</sup> and in 1828 there was a very flattering review of the watercolours and sketches Cockburn (Figs. 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13) and an officer in the 79th had donated to the 1828 charity bazaar.<sup>31</sup> As for the lectures, although many were given in Quebec City in the 19th century, the newspaper announcements did not always mention the lecturers' names; however, they did note the talks given by Baddely, an engineer, in 1834.<sup>32</sup>

#### Balls and Dinner Parties

During the period we studied, every occasion was a good excuse for holding festivities. Thus there was a ball and dinner party to wind up every special event, whether it was a royal birthday, a patron saint's day,<sup>33</sup> the anniversary of a victory,<sup>34</sup> or the arrival or departure of a regiment or an important visitor.<sup>35</sup> But these were only periodic events which naturally called for a ball and dinner party, and in reality the latter were held much more frequently, on many other occasions. In the first place, regular balls were held either weekly or semiweekly at the château and were usually attended by some two to three hundred guests;<sup>36</sup> at certain times during the year masked balls were organized to the great delight of the invited guests.<sup>37</sup> Finally, there was a tendency to simply create occasions: sometimes the officers of one regiment would hold a ball for either the officers of another or the citizenry, then a few days later they would be invited to one in return.<sup>38</sup> Quite often the opening of a mess<sup>39</sup> or another special event<sup>40</sup> would also be celebrated in this manner.

These balls and dinner parties all proceeded in a similar fashion. The ball would begin early - between six and eight o'clock - and there would be dancing until sometime around midnight, when dinner would be served, and then the dancing would carry on until the small hours of the morning.<sup>41</sup> When reporting on the festivities, the newspapers ordinarily described only the decorations and the toasts. As an example, we have included La Gazette de Québec's report on a ball held in 1806<sup>42</sup> (Appendix F).



It goes without saying that attendance at these balls was based on a very selective guest list which included a small social group made up of government officials, the officers of the garrison and a few important families in the city. In 1831 Lady Aylmer described this group as being "very tolerable - some very intelligent and agreeable persons."<sup>43</sup>

### Mess

Everyone knows the importance of the mess in the social life of the military - it is practically symbolic of this life - however, newspaper reports certainly did not give this impression. The 21 references we gathered were all concerned with the messman. Most often these were advertisements for a messman or cook for a certain period of time.<sup>44</sup> Other references were either expressions of appreciation to a departing messman<sup>45</sup> or public announcements that the regiment was not responsible for any debts contracted by the messman<sup>46</sup>.

Military documents reveal the importance of the mess in the officers' lives. It was a real social club, regulated by strict rules. For example, the mess regulations of the Royal Artillery and the Royal Engineers included articles on the administration of the mess, the secretary's tasks, the president's duties, honorary members, guests, the messman, servants, departure of regiments, meals, financial problems related to beverages (wine, champagne, port and sherry), menus, candles, gas and broken objects, and bookkeeping and auditing.<sup>47</sup> Every detail was laid out so that the mess could function without financial problems or interruptions. Nevertheless, this was a mess for a first-rate regiment; it is difficult to say whether every regiment organized its own mess in such a systematic fashion.

### Societies

The military subscribed to a number of societies, most of which were charitable organizations. It should be noted that we have not included here either the mess or sports clubs - we dealt with the former in the previous section and will deal with the latter in the following one. We would also add that some of these activities were strictly military in nature while others were open to the public as well as the military.

The strictly military societies - at least those discussed in the newspapers - were mainly charitable ones. In 1770 the Royal Artillery set up a second society to look after the needs of officers' widows and children;<sup>48</sup> in the 19th century a similar society was founded for soldiers' widows and children.<sup>49</sup> In 1833 this society purchased a house to provide a refuge for the families of deceased soldiers and apparently it collected some of its funds by taking in the barracks' laundry.<sup>50</sup> The military also supported a number of other charitable societies such as the Emigrants Society,<sup>51</sup> the Committee of the Protestant Female Orphans Asylum,<sup>52</sup> and their respective churches.<sup>53</sup>

Two other societies in Quebec City had military members: La Soci  t   historique et litt  raire de Qu  bec and the Masonic lodges. La Soci  t   historique et litt  raire de Qu  bec, whose first report was published in

1829, grew out of the merger of two other groups: the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, founded in 1824, and the Société pour le progrès de la littérature, de la science, des arts et des recherches historiques au Canada, founded in 1827.<sup>54</sup> It assumed the task of publishing and collecting historical documents on Canada.<sup>55</sup> We were able to see just how active a role the military played in this society by studying the list of articles which appeared in the society's reports<sup>56</sup> and by making a list of the donations made by the military.<sup>57</sup> In 1830, for example, Lieutenant Colonel Cockburn donated a piece of fabric from an Egyptian mummy; Lieutenant Ingall, five cases of insect specimens and 74 mineral specimens from the Saint-Maurice region, and Captain Bayfield, 53 mineral specimens from the Gulf of St Lawrence.<sup>58</sup> The newspapers mentioned the Masonic lodges only twice: in 1803 in the funeral announcement for a sergeant in the Royal Artillery who was buried with Masonic honours,<sup>59</sup> and in 1826 in a report on the parade held during the Saint-Jean-Baptiste festivities.<sup>60</sup> We also found in the 26th Regiment's regulations that only Masonic meetings were allowed in the regiment.<sup>61</sup> This led us to believe that these lodges were quite common in the regiments, as they were in civilian society during the second half of the 18th century. One must be careful not to confuse them with the Orangemen's lodges which were prohibited in the regiments in the 19th century.<sup>62</sup>

### Sports

The two words "Quebec" and "sports," when mentioned in the same breath, naturally bring to mind both summer and winter sports. Oddly enough, the Quebec City newspapers mentioned only summer sports. On the other hand, the travellers' journals and diaries we consulted concentrated mainly on winter sports. This interesting state of affairs might perhaps be attributable to the fact that the summer sports discussed in the papers - horse races, regattas and cricket matches - were those sports which basically had been brought to Quebec City by the military, while the winter sports described in the travellers' journals and diaries - skating, tobogganing and sleigh rides - were typically Québécois and were thus new and interesting to the European visitor. Evidently this interest was also shared by the artists of the day: one need only look at their works to see this.<sup>63</sup>

Some of the summer sports in which the military participated were of special interest to the newspapers: they faithfully reported on the horse races, regattas and cricket matches. The horse races, always held on the Plains of Abraham, were in vogue as early as 1767,<sup>64</sup> yet it was not until 1810 that the papers began reporting on them regularly.<sup>65</sup> From 1810 onward, they were held twice a year - late June or early July and late September or early October. Ordinarily they were organized by the Quebec Turf Club and the stewards were almost all military men<sup>66</sup> (Appendix G). The regattas began at a later date and were generally held in late August. The competition was open to everyone and, quite often, Americans came to compete with the Canadians.<sup>67</sup> Here, as in the horse races, most of the organizing stewards were military men (Appendix H). The cricket matches too began

to receive newspaper coverage only in 1810,<sup>68</sup> but after that date they were reported frequently and in great detail. Matches were sometimes held between the officers of two different regiments and at other times between the officers of the garrison and gentlemen of the city.<sup>69</sup> These matches were played in several fields: on the Plains of Abraham, on the esplanade or near the Martello towers (Fig. 12).

Newspaper announcements and military documents showed that the military also participated in other summer sports such as swimming,<sup>70</sup> fishing<sup>71</sup> and ball games.<sup>72</sup> Steamboat excursions were also organized quite frequently. One of the regiments' brass bands would be invited along on these occasions; they would go as far as Ile d'Orléans or Grosse Ile, where the merrymakers would stop for a picnic, returning to Quebec City in the evening.<sup>73</sup> Finally, although we found no mention of it, it is quite certain that the officers liked to hunt and did so frequently: we have one of Krieghoff's magnificent works as evidence (Fig. 15).

Winter sports seem to have been every bit as popular. There was skating, tobogganing and sleigh riding and, according to Lady Aylmer, the St. Lawrence was a fantastic sight, with thousands of people out enjoying themselves<sup>74</sup> (Fig. 13). There was also curling. Matches were organized quite regularly - there was one between the Quebec City and Montreal teams in about 1830<sup>75</sup> - however, we did not discover whether the teams were made up entirely of military men or whether the townspeople were also represented. The most popular activity seems to have been the traditional sleigh ride to Montmorency Falls. The frequent descriptions of this excursion showed just how enchanting it was.<sup>76</sup> There were countless pictures and descriptions of these fascinating falls (Fig. 16).

All the sports reported in the Quebec City newspapers and the travellers' journals were outdoor sports and we would be remiss if we neglected to point this out. Nevertheless, we did find bits of information in several other places to show that the officers also participated in indoor sports and games. They played billiards,<sup>77</sup> chess,<sup>78</sup> backgammon<sup>79</sup> and card games,<sup>80</sup> and there were probably others which we might have found had we consulted other sources. In general then, it is clear that the officers of the garrison in Quebec City led quite entertaining lives; at least that is the impression that can be gathered from reading the newspapers from 1764 to 1840.

## Misconduct

Since it would have been difficult to distinguish between military and social misconduct, we decided to devote a separate chapter to this category of activities. Some of these were strictly "military," while others were strictly "social," but the two types were often so closely linked that it was difficult to decide which of the two headings was more appropriate. For example, how would we have classified the case of a drunken soldier who deserted his post, or that of a deserter who wounded a civilian? It would have been impossible to judge the seriousness of such acts or their relative importance using as subjective a source as the press. Thus we were forced here, as elsewhere, to base our commentary on a list drawn up according to the available sources. As inadequate as this might be, it was the only method which our sources would allow us to use. The list thus includes brawls, drinking, desertion, prostitution and thefts.

### Brawls

The term "brawl" covers a number of offences in this context. It refers first to fights between military men and then to rows between military personnel and civilians. These were reported in the papers only when they became serious. In 1805 a corporal in the 61st stabbed a sergeant in his regiment;<sup>1</sup> in 1807 a soldier in the 49th attacked an innkeeper with an axe;<sup>2</sup> in 1826 a soldier in the 71st died of injuries he had received in a fist fight with a comrade in his regiment;<sup>3</sup> in 1830 a soldier attacked a sergeant major in his regiment<sup>4</sup> and the same incident recurred in 1831;<sup>5</sup> in 1832 some soldiers in the 24th started a brawl in the McLean tavern and one of them was beaten to death by the innkeeper.<sup>6</sup>

In 1834 when a brawl broke out between some civilians and soldiers in the Faubourg Saint-Jean, the incident made the headlines from October 1834 to January 1835.<sup>7</sup> Le Canadien claimed that the brawl had occurred because two soldiers had mistakenly entered a private home thinking that it was a brothel, had gotten into a fight with the occupants and had returned the following day with about 20 comrades to continue the fight. For its part, the Quebec Mercury maintained that the two soldiers had been attacked separately, that one of them was seriously wounded, and that the next day a group of soldiers had returned to avenge their comrade's injuries. There was lengthy and exhaustive discussion of the incident because it had raised one of the very controversial issues of the day: should soldiers be prohibited from

carrying arms in the city? The result was that the right to use a bayonet was denied any man who had been involved in a personal brawl, under threat of severe punishment.<sup>8</sup> A final incident: in 1836 a prisoner held by the 66th Regiment threw a knife at an old soldier, thereby killing him.<sup>9</sup>

These were the only incidents mentioned in the newspapers over a period of 75 years. Clearly though, there were many other brawls even if they did not have tragic results. A military document listing the offences committed by the garrison in Quebec City between October 1778 and August 1784 reported 42 cases where superiors were verbally abused and 22 cases of rioting in the barracks.<sup>10</sup> No doubt many picturesque details of such incidents could be found in travellers' journals. For example, Colonel Landmann described an episode where two soldiers who were having a dispute with a baker painted the baker's white house with black paint one snowy night.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, these few examples are not sufficient to show how frequent such incidents really were and it is impossible to know whether it was only occasionally or very frequently that the soldiers fought among themselves or with the townspeople.

#### Drinking

Drinking was without doubt the soldiers' worst fault. It was mentioned throughout this period in military documents. Between 1778 and 1784, 105 instances of drunkenness were noted in the garrison<sup>12</sup> and, according to Dalhousie in 1820, drunkenness was responsible for four-fifths of the crimes committed by the soldiers.<sup>13</sup> In discussing whether the soldiers should have been paid daily or monthly, Colonel Darling summarized the problem as follows: "Is it better for a soldier to be muzzy every day in the month and not quite fit for anything or to be royally drunk, if he must drink, two days in thirty and fit for something the remaining of the period."<sup>14</sup>

However, the newspapers made no mention of this problem. Perhaps this was because they felt that it was an irremediable ill or perhaps because they thought it normal that soldiers should get drunk. In reality, the problem was very much in evidence. One need only glance through the advertisements for houses and stores for sale during this period to realize that much emphasis was placed on the fact that the British soldiers were drinkers. We occasionally found advertisements such as: "house well known from its advantageous situation to be well worth the notice of retailers of liquors."<sup>15</sup> Clearly, this was a house situated near the barracks. Also, a list of those persons licensed to sell alcohol was published quite regularly. By some reports, there were 94 inns in the city in 1768 and some 400 to 500 public houses by around 1830,<sup>16</sup> when there were scarcely 30,000 inhabitants in Quebec City, including the garrison.<sup>17</sup> This extremely high ratio indicates the scope of the problem.

#### Desertion

Desertion was a critical problem in Canada. The number of soldiers who became deserters in Canada has been estimated at five per cent annually

and excessive amounts were spent in an attempt to combat the problem;<sup>18</sup> however, the public was never informed as to the details since the newspapers were silent on this subject - no doubt the military authorities attempted to screen this type of information. The phenomenon was mentioned in the three newspapers only 33 times throughout this entire period: in 16 instances the names of certain deserters were given and rewards were offered for their capture; in eight instances the sentences handed down to deserters were reported; in six cases there were warnings to those who might wish to help deserters, and in three a general pardon was offered to all deserters in the country.<sup>19</sup> In none of these cases was there any mention of the number of deserters, the methods they used, successes, the help given by civilians and the very expensive methods used by the military authorities to remedy the situation.

### Prostitution

The newspapers were silent on this subject also; we found only one exchange of letters, dated January 1809. A reader, who signed himself "Cosmopolitus," replied as follows to a letter deploring the state of morals in Quebec City:

I believe that prostitution with all its concomitants, is carried to a great length, in this city and its suburbs; but to a certain extent, in all garrisons and seaports, it must be considered, not only as an unavoidable, but even a necessary evil; as, did it not exist in some degree, it requires no great stretch of thought, or knowledge of human nature to apprehend that worse might ensue.<sup>20</sup>

In reply to this letter, a reader who was offended by these comments attempted to refute them because, as he stated, "i felt for the honor of our brave and generous soldiers."<sup>21</sup>

These scant details were sufficient to show that the presence of a garrison presupposed a large number of prostitutes. The only information we were able to gather on this subject was extracted from a study by John Hare, which set the number of brothels in Quebec City at 54 in 1795 and at 74 in 1805.<sup>22</sup> It is interesting to note that brawls between soldiers and civilians seemed to almost always take place in the Faubourg Saint-Jean, where the majority of the brothels were located; they numbered 19 in 1795 and 43 in 1805. Hare also stated that in 1810 the number of prostitutes in the city was set at some 500 to 600.<sup>23</sup> The figures seem to speak for themselves and even if it cannot be claimed that these numbers were so high solely because of the presence of the military - the local population and sailors must also have been involved - the role that the soldiers played in this situation cannot be underestimated.

### Thefts

The newspapers reported on some 17 thefts committed by military men between 1764 and 1840. They described these thefts in various ways. On the one hand, they reported the sentences received by the thieves

when apprehended. These were very severe: beatings,<sup>24</sup> brandings,<sup>25</sup> or hangings.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, they exposed certain thefts whose perpetrators, thought to be military personnel, had not yet been found.<sup>27</sup> We know for a fact that the soldiers committed many more thefts than were openly reported. During the few years between 1778 and 1784, military documents noted 73 such thefts.<sup>28</sup>

Thus it seems that the newspapers made much less mention of the garrison's misconduct than of their various military and social activities. There were two possible reasons for this: either they lacked sufficient information or they wished to hush things up. Yet there were many, many acts of misconduct, as can be seen from a list we drew up using one source which covered the months from October 1778 to August 1784 - the only one of its kind we were able to find. During this period there were 105 instances of drunkenness, 73 thefts, 66 instances of neglect of duty, 44 illegal sales of military material, 42 instances of insolence, 34 incidents where a soldier left his quarters without permission, 30 where a soldier was caught outside during the night without permission, and 29 where a soldier left his post in the same manner.<sup>29</sup> One might ask how this list would have read had we had a similar document which covered the entire period.

Part II      Impact on the City



## Introduction

All of the details on the military reported in the newspapers from 1764 to 1840 are of very limited, even insignificant interest if considered in isolation; however, when they are all considered together they provide undeniable evidence of the military presence in Quebec City: a concrete, manifest, constant and significant presence.

In order to analyse certain aspects of the impact of this military presence in Quebec City, we decided to deal individually with the political, economic and social factors. The amount of available data for each of these areas varied widely and it was seldom possible to state positively just what the influence was. More often than not, we could only infer that a certain impact was logical and possible. Further study would perhaps better elucidate this subject.

## Political Aspect

Under political aspect we have included the physical factor since it comes under municipal authority. That is, we have considered here the garrison's influence on the physical development of the city as well as on decisions made by the municipal administration.

The garrison's presence was first and foremost a physical one. We previously commented on the growing number of houses occupied by the military,<sup>1</sup> but we have said nothing of the numerous properties either purchased or occupied by the military authorities.<sup>2</sup> We might note that in the 19th century the military owned the Villeray fief, the fortifications and their glacis, the esplanade and many buildings used as barracks, and they occupied extensive grounds adjacent to the Martello towers as well as a good many houses in the upper town. One need only compare city maps from the 18th and 19th centuries to see the extent and growth of military holdings<sup>3</sup> (Figs. 1, 2, 3, 6 and 7).

However, the newspapers made no mention of this situation except on certain occasions when they commented on one or another of the properties owned by the military and on the consequences of such ownership. In 1833, for example, Le Canadien published a lengthy article in which it examined the problem of the Jesuit barracks. The paper felt that the former college should have served as an educational establishment or, at the very least, should have been rented so that the rental fees could have been used to promote education for Canadians. It estimated the possible rent at 49,500 louis, and concluded that if the people of Quebec City believed that they were not paying to support the troops, then this small example would show just how wrong they were.<sup>4</sup> In this instance, the repercussions were as much social as economic and physical, and showed clearly that the overall impact stemmed primarily from the physical occupation of the city. But this is a problem which falls under the domain of urban history and we would hope that one day it will be taken up by some historian who will give proper consideration to the military presence in Quebec City.

Military influence was also apparent on the level of municipal administrative decisions. Unfortunately, we found few examples for the period we studied since until 1833 the city was governed by justices of the peace appointed by the government.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, since the government tended to appoint more persons of English extraction than of French extraction to such positions - 24 out of 38 in 1822<sup>6</sup> - we are safe in concluding that these justices of the peace surely took account of the military's presence in the city. Did they not appeal to the military on countless occasions?<sup>7</sup> Moreover, did they not belong to

the same small social group that met regularly at the château and elsewhere? The facts speak for themselves.

After the city's incorporation in 1833, the newspapers mentioned only one instance where the military exerted influence on the city council. At issue was the question of closing the city gates. In 1837 the military authorities decided to close the city gates at eight o'clock in the evening, while the pedestrian gates would remain open all night.<sup>8</sup> In 1839 the ruling was amended to the effect that the large gates would be closed at 11 o'clock and the smaller ones at midnight.<sup>9</sup> This ruling gave rise to a controversy which raged in the newspapers. Some asked why people lived in a garrison town if they did not wish to abide by military rules;<sup>10</sup> others questioned the lawfulness of encroaching upon the townspeople's rights in this way and cited as an example the case of someone living outside the gates who might require medical assistance during the night.<sup>11</sup> The city council submitted this problem to the military authorities, but it was not until December 1840 that the latter agreed to leave the pedestrian gates open.<sup>12</sup>

This shows clearly the weight carried by the military authorities in Quebec City since the city council was unable to legislate on this subject. An article from the Quebec Mercury showed the extent of this authority in commenting on the remarks made on this subject by one Alderman Jones, remarks which unfortunately it did not publish:

He looked upon this place as a fortified town, of the greatest importance, under the care of a commandant who was responsible for its safekeeping to higher authorities. If he chose to shut the gates he doubtless had good reasons for so doing, but the citizens had no right to enquire into those reasons....They had cast their lot in this city and they ought to be satisfied with the military government of it, being satisfied as they surely must be that any measure taken by the government can only be for the security of the city.<sup>13</sup>

Could there possibly be any more eloquent and revealing evidence?

## Economic Aspect

It was the economic impact that was the most apparent from what we read in the newspapers. Advertisements for various stores, calls to tender by the military authorities and announcements of sales of military and household articles were all typical indications of this situation. It was immediately apparent to us just how constant was the economic exchange between the military and the civilian population of Quebec City.

### Stores

We decided to include here advertisements for stores because of the general impression which they provided. In the first place, we could not help but notice that most of these stores were located in the upper town, the area preferred by the military for their lodgings and for their headquarters. We also noted the great variety of trades and products advertised. From all viewpoints, this was clearly the most developed area in the city and it might be asked just how much the presence of the military contributed to this state of affairs. Unfortunately, we found only scant details on this subject, but they were nevertheless quite revealing. Sometimes a store was advertised as being close to a particular barracks;<sup>1</sup> sometimes the advertisement was addressed directly to the military,<sup>2</sup> and at other times strictly military goods were advertised.<sup>3</sup> In all of this we found nothing that allowed us to assess the weight of the military's presence, but all these details are sufficient to show that the military did influence the establishment of stores in the upper town.

### Contracts

The variety of contracts and the regularity with which they were granted was astounding. We have grouped them here in four categories: supply, materials, labour and transport. Generally these contracts were for a period of a year, but were sometimes granted for six months or as much as three years.

#### Supply Contracts

The contracts for supplies covered food, clothing, heating and lighting materials, and some household articles. Two things should be noted from the outset: prior to 1800, only requests for firewood appeared in the

newspapers and it is impossible for us to say whether other supplies were purchased in England or from certain merchants who were friends of the authorities; after 1800, although calls to tender were made regularly for all goods, the required quantities give us no indication of the annual consumption of these supplies and it appears that the main intent was to keep the necessary quantities in stock. It might be imagined that details on perishable goods would have been more useful, but this was not the case since the usual practice was to secure supplies sufficient for the garrison from one particular date to another. The years from 1810 to 1818 were an exception to this rule since during those years the quantities required were specified, but this provided really too little information for us to be able to generalize.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, these contracts provided us with some other extremely interesting details. We know through them what constituted the soldiers' basic diet: requests for flour, peas, salt pork and fresh beef appeared regularly.<sup>5</sup> The flour was to be delivered in 196-pound barrels and had to be guaranteed good for one year;<sup>6</sup> the peas were delivered by minots and had to be of good quality;<sup>7</sup> the salt pork was to be delivered in barrels each holding 52 pieces weighing four pounds each, "inspected and stamped,"<sup>8</sup> and the fresh beef was to be delivered daily and was inspected upon delivery<sup>9</sup> (Appendix I).

There were also requests, only less frequently, for rum,<sup>10</sup> biscuits<sup>11</sup> and supplies for the military hospital, namely potatoes, rice, barley, black tea, sugar, salt, vegetables, milk, arrowroot, sago, poultry, eggs, wine, and vinegar.<sup>12</sup> We know that these treats were not included in the military rations and that the soldiers had to purchase them on their own.<sup>13</sup> We might also ask if the soldiers ate such items in any significant quantity. One thing is certain: the officers were not deprived of them. Officers who were attached to the artillery barracks had gardens (Fig. 4); many of those who lived in town kept cows,<sup>14</sup> and as for liquor, we know that they consumed it in large quantities.

The newspapers also showed that from 1816 onward, bakers were hired to bake the bread for the soldiers;<sup>15</sup> everything we found leads us to believe that before that date the civilian population was not called upon to perform this task. Thus there was a bakehouse at Artillery Park; in 1818 it was turned into officers' quarters.<sup>16</sup> Finally, we also found that the townspeople provided forage for the livestock.<sup>17</sup>

The military authorities called on the townspeople from time to time to provide articles of clothing or military equipment. In 1812 they requested 3,000 pairs of military shoes and 2,000 regulation canteens;<sup>18</sup> in 1814, 2,000 good quality greatcoats;<sup>19</sup> in 1821, 500 yards of Manchester striped cotton and 26,000 needles;<sup>20</sup> in 1823 they called upon shoemakers to make shoes over into half-boots and to make moccasins for an entire regiment;<sup>21</sup> in 1824 they required 437 yards of linen for the artillery,<sup>22</sup> and in 1838 they requested 10,000 leather bayonet sheaths, 1,686 bandoliers for gunpowder pouches, 1,686 bayonet belts and 1,686 musket bandoliers.<sup>23</sup> It should be noted that it was only in wartime that the military required material

and articles for uniforms; at all other times, they received their supplies from England.

Heating and lighting materials were also purchased through regular contracts (Appendix J). Here, as elsewhere, the quantities requested do not tell us much. Until 1816, from 5,000 to 6,000 cords of wood were ordered at a time, but since these orders were not placed in the same month every year, we could not tell whether that quantity was sufficient for the entire year; after that date, orders were for 1,000 to 3,000 cords, but were placed at very irregular intervals. It seemed to us that, in this case as in the case of foodstuffs, the main concern was to keep the king's fuel yards stocked with the amount of firewood required by the garrison. The other terms of these contracts were much more meaningful: the wood was to be delivered and stacked by the contractor,<sup>24</sup> and there was a requirement that it be cut according to French measurements - that is, 30 inches between the two cuts or three feet from one point to the other<sup>25</sup> - until 1832.<sup>26</sup> The request dating from 1832 was the first to mention English measurements and was also the last request for firewood that we were able to find; in addition, only hardwood - maple, cherry, beech and birch - was to be used.<sup>27</sup>

In 1812 Newcastle coal was ordered;<sup>28</sup> after this, it was not until 1826 that the papers made another mention of coal. From then on the amounts ordered increased from 200 chaldrons in 1826<sup>29</sup> to 800 in 1836,<sup>30</sup> and then to 1,700 in 1840.<sup>31</sup> Might this be indicative of a transition from heating with wood to heating with coal? We believe it is.<sup>32</sup>

The contracts show that the townspeople also supplied candles and seal oil. The military purchased both mould and dip candles - 15,700 mould candles and as many dip candles in 1813.<sup>33</sup> Seal oil was purchased by the gallon.<sup>34</sup>

Some household articles were also purchased by contract: brooms and straw, for example. Brooms were purchased when needed<sup>35</sup> and straw, more regularly.<sup>36</sup> It should be noted that a clear distinction was always made in the contracts between straw and hay, used as forage for livestock, and oat straw, used for bedding (Appendix K).

#### Material Contracts

Calls to tender were issued for the construction materials required by the Royal Engineers, but these documents were not explicit enough to allow us to usefully incorporate them in our study. Therefore, we have simply listed the materials which appear most often in the hope that at some future date we will find other documents which will allow us to better utilize this information.

From the late 18th century onward there were regular calls for bricks,<sup>37</sup> oak, pine, ash, cherry and walnut wood,<sup>38</sup> Kamouraska planks,<sup>39</sup> and cedar shingles,<sup>40</sup> stones from Pointe-aux-Trembles, Cap-Rouge, Beauport, Ange-Gardien and Château-Richer<sup>41</sup> - corner stones, building stones, facing stones, paving stones, flagstones - and pipes made of limestone,<sup>42</sup> as well as sand<sup>43</sup> and clay.<sup>44</sup> From time to time there were also orders for linseed oil and turpentine<sup>45</sup> (Appendix L).

### Labour Contracts

The townspeople were hired to perform some work on the buildings belonging to the military; however, we did not discover what proportion of such work they performed or whether they were called upon occasionally or regularly. We could have compared the lists of construction and repair work performed in Quebec City between 1764 and 1840 with the list we were able to establish using the newspapers, but this would have been very difficult since we had no way of knowing whether those jobs advertised in the papers were the only ones performed by contract. We did find that every year a certain number of plasterers, glaziers, painters, plumbers, masons and carpenters were hired.<sup>46</sup> Sometimes workers were required to perform general repair work,<sup>47</sup> but more often than not, the type of work to be performed was specified. For example: in 1767 a new roof was to be put on the New Barracks and on the intendant's residence;<sup>48</sup> in 1808 the old prison was to be torn down and a new one was to be built;<sup>49</sup> in 1820 a new drain was to be laid near the kitchen in the Jesuit barracks;<sup>50</sup> in 1827, 2,000 to 2,300 double beds were to be replaced with single beds,<sup>51</sup> and in 1838 a laboratory was to be built in the Saint-Jean Bastion.<sup>52</sup> These were only examples; we found 52 similar calls to tender, not including the offers for annual contracts for specialized workers.

From 1832 onward, a new type of work was called for: maintenance work. The papers published calls to tender for washing and mending the hospitals' and barracks' linens,<sup>53</sup> for cleaning the "dust holes"<sup>54</sup> and for maintaining the streets and roads for which the military authorities were responsible.<sup>55</sup> We have already discussed these tasks and the possibility that they were previously performed by the soldiers themselves as a form of fatigue duty.

### Transport Contracts

Two types of transport contract were awarded by the military authorities: tenders were submitted for transporting troops and military articles between the various posts or for carriage in the environs of Quebec City<sup>56</sup> (Appendix M). It should be noted here that, just as for supply contracts, it was only in the 19th century that the services of the townspeople were sought in the newspapers. We found no indication of how this work was performed in the 18th century.

### Sales of Military Articles

The military authorities not only bought from the people of Quebec City, just as often they also sold things to them. From 1805 onward, announcements of government sales appeared regularly in the newspapers. We found 42 such announcements, all of which mentioned military articles, stored in various military buildings, which had become obsolete or occupied needed space. The articles varied so widely from one sale to another that it was impossible for us to categorize them.

We therefore chose one good example which seems to include almost all of these articles. It was published in the Gazette de Québec in 1819:

VALUABLE GOVERNMENT SALE.

On SATURDAY 30th inst. at the Office of Ordnance, Palace Gate--The following obsolete and unserviceable Stores.

A LARGE quantity of Accountrements, Beds for Gun-Carriages, Brushes of all sorts, Baskets, (half-bushel) Painted Bags for Fuzes, Brushes of all sorts, wheel and hand barrows, Powder Carts, Cartridges of all sorts, Camp Equipage, consisting of Kettles, Palliasses, Bolsters, Haversacks, Tin Canteens, Painted Covers for waggons, Uniform Coats, Shirts, Great Coats. Gaiters, Stocks, Trowsers, Leather Straps for Coats and Caps, Drums and Drum Cases, Flags, Fire Engine appurtenances, a quantity of Harnesses of all sorts, Saddles, Handspikes, Iron-Hoop Pails, Ladles, Lanterns, Tin-Measures, Sand-Bags, Large Scales, Metal Stoves, Stove-Pans and Pipes, Sheep Skins, Brass-Wire, Tarpaulins, large and small Anvils, Tools of all kinds, and a quantity of other articles too long to detail.

Sale to begin at ONE o'Clock, P.M.

LEWIS A. THOMAS,

Quebec, 28th October, 1819. King's Auctioneer.

The above articles can be seen the morning of the Sale, and are worth while the attention of purchasers.

L.A.T.<sup>57</sup>

Household articles were also sold, as is evidenced by the numerous lists of furniture for sale.<sup>58</sup>

Taken as a whole, then, all of these commercial advertisements, calls to tender and announcements of sales of military articles bear witness to the importance of the military presence in the economic life of Quebec City. We did not discover what volume of business all of these transactions represented, but we do know that it must have been quite large.

It would be interesting to find out whether the townspeople built a flourishing industry around military demand. It is known that there were a great number of inns and cabarets which catered to the military,<sup>59</sup> and we wonder whether other businesses arose to serve the same market. For example, did some of the townspeople take up woodcutting in order to meet the needs of the garrison? If so, were such persons English or French? We would also like to know whether the group of contractors who submitted tenders for military orders was small or large, and whether it was of a constant or variable size. Might we infer, then, that some of the inhabitants of Quebec City depended on the needs of the garrison in order to earn their livelihood? Might it be, on the other hand, that some of the city's merchants found it more difficult to earn a living because of the military presence? Here we are referring, for example, to furniture merchants who regularly saw furniture brought over from England by various officers and subsequently dumped on the Quebec City market by way of auctions.



Was this influence, which we can see in retrospect and which grew over the years, felt by the townspeople throughout these years? If so, how was it felt? Did they see it as favourable or pernicious, as agreeable or constraining? We were unable to find satisfactory answers to any of these questions in the newspapers of the era; the answers must thus be sought elsewhere.

## Social Aspect

The social aspect of the military's influence was the most difficult to assess. The newspapers, as well as travellers' journals, mentioned many things we might have been tempted to take into consideration had we not felt obliged to follow the dictates of caution.

Intellectual life in the city provides a good example of this. The newspapers frequently published lists of books for sale and announcements of lectures or literary and scientific meetings; however, we had to exercise caution in interpreting such items for how is it possible to measure the military's participation in these activities which were usually organized by the well-to-do and intellectual class? The problem is equally crucial as regards daily life: how could we determine the impact on the townspeople of a military tradition which dated back to the French regime by using such a single, subjective source? Quite clearly, we could not.

Nevertheless, the social influence of the military was very evident. The newspapers showed it in a number of different ways and it was perceived differently according to whether it concerned the wealthy or the ordinary citizen. Here we had no intention of classifying the citizens of Quebec City into two distinct groups. It was the division of the military population into officers and soldiers that forced us to make this distinction because of the circles in which the two groups moved.

The relations between the military authorities - the officers - and the leading citizens of Quebec City, whether English or French, were most cordial. They participated in the same festivities, dined at the same tables and enjoyed the same pastimes.<sup>1</sup> As was expressed so well in the Quebec Mercury: "The civil and military gentlemen mix very cordially together."<sup>2</sup> However, we must be careful not to confuse cordiality and friendship. Here it was more a matter of courtesy. In spite of the fact that the officers circulated in society, there were no marriages between British officers and French-Canadian women during the period covered by our statistics.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps it would be more appropriate to speak of exchange rather than influence with reference to the well-to-do class.

The impact of the military presence on the ordinary citizen was of greater interest to us since it concerned the majority of the citizens of Quebec City. We found nothing very explicit on this subject in the papers; however, we were able to form a few hypotheses and raise some questions. Our sources forced us to eliminate the aspect of

intellectual life from the outset so we therefore concerned ourselves with pastimes and social conduct.

Clearly, most of the citizens of Quebec City were not indifferent to the military presence or the displays put on by the military. According to the newspapers, the ordinary citizen attended parades, inspections, horse races, various sports matches, and public concerts.<sup>4</sup> Thus, for him, the military presence represented a source of considerable entertainment. It would be interesting to know whether the garrison was the only body to put on public entertainment that the citizen could attend.

This presence also had some influence on the townspeople's social conduct. No doubt they saw the garrison on the whole as providing order and even protection: the guarding of the fortifications and fire-fighting were constant and meaningful evidence of this. The citizenry may have also associated an element of constraint or force with the military: the fact that the garrison was used as a police force suggests that this was the case. We would also emphasize that it was not until 1839 and 1840 that the papers reported petitions to have the city gates left open during the night: this was perhaps an indication of growing awareness among a citizenry beginning to react against the constraints and pressures due to the military presence.

It was not only the military functions of the garrison that made it conspicuous: the soldiers lived in the city and made up a large part of its population. It seems to us that it was on this level that the military's influence must have been felt quite directly; however, we found little evidence to support this hypothesis.

Because of the military presence, there were a large number of inns, cabarets and brothels in Quebec City. Apart from the fact - or perhaps because of the fact - that the soldiers made up a major part of the clientele of these places, what impact could the garrison have had on the social conduct of the townspeople who frequented these places? What was its influence on those citizens who did not frequent these places? What might also be said of the brawls that broke out between the soldiers and the townspeople and that were reported in the newspapers? Did they occur quite often or only occasionally? Did they involve only a small number of individuals or a large part of the population? In short, was the military seen as an asset or a liability, as constituting a beneficial presence or setting a poor example?

These things were all difficult to determine. No doubt in order to do so fairly, we would have had to know whether the ordinary citizen saw the ordinary soldier as being his superior, his equal or his inferior. On the one hand, the Quebec Mercury stated that a soldier was considered to belong to the lower class of society, and even that he was "conspicuous among his equals."<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, we found several comments upon the departure of a regiment such as: "most cordial intercourse with the inhabitants,"<sup>6</sup> or "Jamais il n'a régné plus d'harmonie entre les habitants et les militaires...."<sup>7</sup> How, then, should we interpret these divergent opinions?

Clearly, all of these questions merit a separate study and we must admit that, unfortunately, even though it seems evident to us that the presence of the garrison had a considerable social impact on the

citizens of Quebec City, the lack of precise data prevents us from determining the strength of this impact.

## Conclusion

Our study of the military presence in Quebec City as described by the newspapers from 1764 to 1840 is but an initial stage in the study of the garrison's impact on the city. We are well aware of the limits imposed by these sources, as they were both biased and incomplete. Nevertheless, we gathered valuable information from them.

Through them we were convinced of the reality and constancy of the physical presence of the military in Quebec City. We were able to draw up a list of military and social activities, including misconduct, and to discover which of these activities were known to the public; in this regard we noted that the papers tended to speak of the soldier's faults but of the officer's pleasures. We were also able to see that this presence had a number of influences on the townspeople - political and economic influences as well as social ones. It can also be said that the military authorities brought pressures to bear on the municipal authorities and that they stimulated the economy of the city through the numerous contracts they granted during this period. In addition, the military, both officers and ordinary soldiers, had contact with the townspeople and thereby had influence on society, if only in terms of social conduct and entertainment.

We have said that these were valuable contributions, but the greatest value of our study lies in the numerous problems which it has raised, problems concerning both the military and the city and its citizens.

All of the information we were able to find told us very little about the soldiers' daily lives. We would like to know, for example, whether the barracks were comfortable and whether they were equipped with all the necessities. In studying the activities that took place at Artillery Park, we got the impression that these barracks were quite adequate (Appendix N); we wonder if this was the case with the other barracks. We noticed that the newspapers seldom spoke of the Royal Artillery. Perhaps this was because it was an elite regiment that did not take part in guarding the city and was therefore less known. It might also be asked whether the soldiers liked living in the Quebec City garrison: was this a better post than others? Some of our sources lead us to believe that the military presence was seen in a very different light in other cities: in Montreal, for example, the garrison was a constant problem throughout the period we studied.<sup>1</sup> An in-depth study of travellers' journals would no doubt shed further light on this matter, as can be seen in this excerpt from Francis Duncan's journal: "in point of hospitality to the garrison, Quebec far surpasses the other

cities of Canada, and you generally find that those military men who are most enthusiastic on Canada have served in Quebec."<sup>2</sup> Perhaps other travellers' journals would serve to corroborate this statement or place it in perspective.

Other equally important questions arise with respect to the military's impact on the city - in particular, the question of urbanization. Not only did the military come to occupy more and more of the central core, but they also purchased vast estates in the nearby countryside: Bandon Lodge, Marchmont and Holland farm, for example (Figs. 5, 6 and 7). Over the years they also acquired many of the neighbouring seigneuries.<sup>3</sup> The city was thus caught in a vice since its physical growth conflicted with the arrangements made for its defence. No doubt there was a direct relationship between the military presence and the city's growth pattern. We believe that any thorough study of the garrison's impact on the city must be based on an understanding of this relationship.

Once we could determine the extent and magnitude of the military's physical presence, we would be able to deal with the political, economic and social aspects of the garrison's impact since the physical aspect encompasses all the others. Here we would have to study systematically the censuses, assessment rolls, lists of properties bought by the military, land speculation studies, and so forth. Only then would we be able to determine the importance of the stores that surrounded the barracks, the effects of the numerous contracts and the significance of the contacts between the military and the townspeople.

We would hope that further studies will shed light on all these problems and indeed that one day, on the basis of comparisons with other cities with different populations, it will be possible to determine which aspects of the impact of a military presence in a city are constant and which are variable. Perhaps then researchers can turn to the question of the city's influence on the garrison stationed in it.

## Appendix A. Records of the Quebec Garrison, 1818-25.

Cumulative table of baptisms, marriages and burials of the British garrison registered in Quebec City from 1818 to 1825.<sup>1</sup>

Date	Soldiers	Officers	Total
1818	1549	88	1461
1819	1608	86	1522
1820	1336	80	1256
1821	1389	85	1304
1822	1380	76	1304
1823	1415	70	1345
1824	1417	76	1341
1825	1631	77	1524

Date	Baptisms			Marriages			Burials Military			Children			Wives			Total
	Sol	Off	T	Sol	Off	T	Sol	Off	T	Sol	Off	T	Sol	Off	T	
1818	38	10	48	16	4	20	15	-	15	12	2	14	1	-	1	30
1819	59	10	69	20	2	22	29	2	31	21	-	21	2	-	2	54
1820	6	6	12	2	-	2	1	1	2	2	-	2	1	-	1	5
1821	3	7	10	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
1822	10	8	18	5	3	8	13	2	15	11	1	12	1	-	1	28
1823	70	7	77	14	3	17	17	-	17	41	5	46	6	-	6	69
1824	61	10	71	10	3	13	23	-	23	27	2	29	-	-	-	52
1825	73	15	88	19	2	21	24	1	25	39	6	45	3	-	3	73

## Appendix B. Plays Presented between 1806 and 1839.

List of some of the plays presented in Quebec City by the officers of the garrison from 1806 to 1839.<sup>1</sup> The following list indicates the title of each play, its type - comedy (c), melodrama (m), farce (f) or tragedy (t) - and its source.

Tragedy of Cato (t): Quebec Mercury, 5 May 1806.  
 John Bull (c): La Gazette de Québec, 19 May 1808.  
 The Catch Club (f).  
 The Birth Day (c): *ibid.*, 2 Feb. 1809.  
 Modern Antiques (f).  
 Pizarro (c): Quebec Mercury, 1 May 1815.  
 Henry IV (t): *ibid.*, 30 May 1817.  
 The Mountaineers (c): *ibid.*, 30 Jan. 1821.  
 The Village Lawyer (f).  
 The Honey Moon (c): *ibid.*, 4 Dec. 1821.  
 Bee Hive (f).  
 Speed the Plough: *ibid.*, 21 Jan. 1822.  
 We Fly by Night, or Long Stories (f).  
 Man and Wife (c): *ibid.*, 1 March 1822.  
 The Disagreeable Surprise (f).  
 The Wonder, or A Woman Keeps a Secret: *ibid.*, 26 March 1833.  
 The Poor Soldier (f).  
 John Bull (c): *ibid.*, 5 Feb. 1822.  
 The Heir at Law (c): *ibid.*, 27 Dec. 1823.  
 The Rivals (c): *ibid.*, 10 Jan. 1824.  
 Monsieur Tonson (f).  
 A Cure for the Heart Ache (c): *ibid.*, 10 April 1824.  
 Darkness Visible (f).  
 Ways and Means (c): *ibid.*, 2 Feb. 1828.  
 The Critic (f).  
 Rob Roy (m): *ibid.*, 8 March 1828.  
 A la mode (f).  
 Revenge (t): *ibid.*, 10 June 1828.  
 Past Ten O'clock and a Rainy night (f).  
 The Heir at Law (c): *ibid.*, 20 Dec. 1828.  
 The Mayor of Sarrat (f).  
 Charles XII (m): *ibid.*, 24 Jan. 1831.  
 My Landlady's Gown (f).  
 Road to Ruin (c): *ibid.*, 29 Jan. 1831.



American and Actors (f).  
Sweethearts and Wives (c): *ibid.*, 19 Feb. 1831.  
The Critic (f).  
XYZ (c): *ibid.*, 19 March 1831.  
Charles XII (m).  
Bombastes Furioso (c): *ibid.*, 14 April 1831.  
The Miller and his Men (m).  
Married and Single (c): *ibid.*, 7 Feb. 1832.  
The Irish Tutor (f).  
The Rivals (c): *ibid.*, 26 Jan. 1836.  
Is He Alive (f).  
Charles II (c): *ibid.*, 11 Feb. 1837.  
The Mayor of Sarrat (f).  
The Heir at Law (c): *ibid.*, 6 April 1837.  
The Rent (f).  
The Miller and his Men (m): *ibid.*, 2 May 1837.  
Mrs. Wiggins (f).  
Illustrious Stranger, or Buried Alive (c): *ibid.*, 22 Aug. 1839.  
Venetian Statues (f).

Appendix C. Review of the Plays Presented on 5 January 1824.<sup>1</sup>

We had great satisfaction, last night, in witnessing the representation of Colman's Comedy of THE HEIR AT LAW, with the Farce of IS HE ALIVE? by the Garrison Amateurs.--The sterling merits of this Comedy deservedly render it a permanent favourite on the British Stage, and the broad colouring of the prominent characters, peculiarly adapts it for the Amateur performers. It is hardly doing justice to the Gentlemen who came forward, on this occasion, from the most laudable motives, to afford an evening's rational amusement to the society of Quebec, to say that their efforts were, last night, crowned with complete success. Nor is it fair, when speaking of Amateurs, to bestow individual praise; especially where all parties entered so fully into the spirit of their undertaking; but there are some characters in all plays more prominent than others, and these necessarily attract the greatest share of attention. The Comedy of last night has more good characters than most modern plays, and gives ample scope for a display of rich humour, of which the performers did not fail to avail themselves. Lord and Lady Duberly and Doctor Pangloss were irresistibly comic; but the humour of the Author was by no means caricatured. Ezekiel Homespun was naturally and feelingly portrayed [sic]; and Dick Dowlas, in all the three shades of character which he assumes, was excellent; Steadfast, Henry Moreland, and Kenrick were well supported; these sentimental characters, whilst they command less applause than the more laughable, are nevertheless arduous undertakings, as it is more difficult in the stage language to make them tell. The gentlemen to whom they were allotted, however in spite of this disadvantage, infused a spirit into their respective characters, which greatly added to the interest of the piece. Cicily Homespun was natural and affecting; those who were not in the secret would hardly have suspected the maiden's sex. We were happy to see the Lady who performed Caroline Dormer again upon the boards; the length of time she has been absent from the stage appears to have renewed the natural timidity under which she labours, notwithstanding which her performance was highly creditable.

Of the Farce we can say little, it is by no means a first rate trifle and was we suppose selected as suiting the Amateur Society, from having only one female character the principal scenes rest upon the two only good characters in the piece, a knavish Valet and an equally knavish Gardener, both of which were played with spirit. The remaining characters, Doubtful, Frankly and Charles, though much below the talents of the gentlemen who undertook them, met with all the support of which they were susceptible--but when the author has done so little it is

impossible for the actor to do much. The Lady who personated Caroline in the play, again appeared as Sophia in the afterpiece, an arduous undertaking in an unpractised actress; but she left a favourable impression on the audience.

An occasional prologue from the pen of Dr. J.C. Fisher, was admirably delivered by a leading Amateur.

His Lordship the Governor-in-Chief, His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor and their respective suites were present. The house was crowded to overflowing and as the proceeds, after defraying the expences of the Theatre, are to be appropriated to charitable purposes we hope this successful beginning will induce the Amateurs to give us frequent repetitions of their entertainments, which afford much instructive amusement and promise to add largely to the Charitable Societies of the City at this season of the year when there is so great a demand upon them.--Communicated.

Appendix D. Concert held in Quebec City on 25 April 1832.<sup>1</sup>

## CONCERT,

Theatre Royal, Stanislaus Street,  
Under the immediate patronage of His EXCELLENCY  
THE GOVERNOR IN CHIEF and the Rt. Honble. LADY  
AYLMER, who have most kindly intimated their  
intention of honouring the performance with  
their presence.

Mr. Anderson, from the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane,  
and Mrs. Anderson, (sister of the celebrated  
Madame Vestris) from the Theatres Royal Covent  
Garden and Italian Opera, London, beg to announce  
to the inhabitants of Quebec, that they will have  
the honour of giving a

## CONCERT,

At the Theatre Royal Stanislaus Street Quebec,  
On WEDNESDAY Evening, April 25th 1832,  
On which occasion, by the kindness of the Honorable  
Colonel Maitland, the Band of the 32d Regt. will  
attend, and play the overtures to Cenorentola--  
Guillaume Tell-- and Semerimade, besides several  
popular airs.

## PART 1st.

Grand Overture, "Full Band"  
Song--"The King God bless him" Mr. Anderson..  
Braham. Song--"Here's a health bonnie Scotland"  
Mrs. Anderson..Lee.  
Grand Symphonie, "Full Band"  
New Song--"What joy again to hear the trumpet"--  
(Mr. Anderson.. Braham.  
Cavatina--"Una voce poco fa" Mrs. Anderson.. Rossini.  
Rondo--"Fly swift ye zephyrs" Mr. Anderson.. Bishop.  
Duett--"When thy bosom" Mr. & Mrs. Anderson.. Braham.  
Italian Song--"Di tanti Palpiti" Mrs. Anderson. Rossini.  
Grand Symphonie--"Full Band"

## PART 2nd.

Grand Overture--"Full Band"  
New Ballad, "Away, away to the mountains brow"--  
(Mrs. Anderson.. Lee  
Serenade--"Lilla come down to me" Mr. Anderson.. Cooke  
New Duett--"In envious clouds" Mr. and Mrs.  
(Anderson.. Lee.

Grand Symphonie--"Full Band"  
 New Song--"Daylight love has passed away"  
 (Mrs.Anderson..Lee.)  
 Ballad--"Savourneen Deelish" Mr. Anderson.  
 Grand Symphonie--"Full Band"

It is particularly requested that those Ladies and Gentlemen who intend honouring the Theatre with their presence, will provide themselves with tickets, as no money will be taken at the doors.

Boxes 5s., Pit and Gallery 2s 6d.

Doors open at half-past-seven, and the Concert will commence at eight o'clock precisely.

Tickets to be had at the Albion Hotel, Palace Street, and at Mrs. Stilsons, where a plan of the Theatre may be seen and places taken.

## Appendix E. Some Poems about the Military.

On the Death of Colonel Carleton.<sup>1</sup>

Falsly, does Voltaire censure Shakespear's Muse,  
 Whose checquer'd Scenes from mirth to  
 mourning change;  
 Better the fight of rules-poetic lose,  
 Than from the varied walk of Nature range.

Each day's experience justifies the Bard--  
 Strange the vicissitudes of life's short  
 Play!  
 Long-look'd for bliss now accidents retard,  
 Misfortunes now our new-clasp'd joys allay.

Whilst open-featur'd Mirth, in Triumph's train,  
 For one short moment jocund shakes his sides;  
 Soon enters the sad family of Pain,  
 Where Sorrow sighs, or frantic Grief, fate  
 chides.

Of Nature's system, change is the main-spring--  
 Will sun-shine only fructify the earth?  
 Rain, winds, and storms, not less proportion bring  
 Of principles of vegetative birth.

So, in the structure of the mental frame,  
 Passion's transitions serve to wake the soul;  
 Not less conducive Fear, Grief, Sorrow, Pain,  
 Than when in extacy the eye-balls rowl.

Why then repine, Nature's great plan once known?  
 Where all exists by elemental strife:  
 Hence, wise the doctrine, suff'ring Man must own,  
 Of resignation to the ill's of life.

Least on our heads accumulated joy,  
 Should strain the spring of bliss a pitch  
 too high;  
 Or long-continued happiness should cloy,  
 Terror's grim king perhaps this shaft let  
 fly.  
 Quebec, 17th June, 1787.

The single Ladies of Quebec, to the Officers of the 66th Mess, on their  
 Departure for Montreal.<sup>2</sup>

"Fare well now, and if for ever,"  
 So much the better, fare ye well--  
 Slight force is needed us to sever,  
 Small good of you, we have to tell.  
 Though blooming spinsters first ye found us,  
 Unwilling spinsters we remain:  
 No marriage tie, with you, hath bound us--  
 We never wish to meet again.

Ah! Sixty Sixth! ye shocking shy men,  
 Ye Celibates in emerald green,  
 Why, why, amongst you black-ball hymen?  
 Why show such anti-nuptial spleen?  
 Full three years flirting ye have cost us,  
 Of pic-nic charms, a countless store--  
 Our fruitless smiles, have all been lost us;  
 Thank Cupid now, the farce is o'er.

Ye might be lions in the battle,  
 We found you lambs, when at the ball:  
 Ye may be great 'midst cannons' rattle,  
 'Midst burs ye have been mighty small.  
 Though various victories, deck your banners  
 No trophies here, you e're could win:  
 We hope you soon will mend your manners,  
 And Montreal belles may break you in??

Give place then Berkshires, to your betters--  
 Blow breezes down the twenty fourth--  
 For them we fabricate soft fetters;  
 Already they have proved their worth.  
 We long have fished for golden gudgeons  
 With each attractive amorous bait;

We lost our labour--cold curmudgeons  
 Go hang yourselves, or change your state!  
     On behalf of the Ladies',  
     Winfred Winterbottom,  
     who "won't be a Nun."

To Winfred Winterbottom, "who sha'nt be a Nun."<sup>3</sup>

Thou witty advocate of beauty,  
     Unmask and let us know thy name;  
 And low we'll bow even to our shoe-tie,  
     To worship thee, thou funny dame.  
 Art thou fair       or       or       I?  
     Who flatterest us in strains divine?  
 'Midst Quebec belles, the brightest jewel?  
     Disclose, dear girl, and we are thine.  
 You doubt our courage, blame our carriage,  
     And call us "lambs" in cutting play--  
 But we're not lambs since ma-h ma-h ma-rriage;  
     We never utter as you say.  
 Those cabalistic accents no man  
     Unfined can whisper at our Mess;  
 Dread, horrid sounds of evil omen--  
     Mix'd salt and water and distress.  
 We deeply feel for all your losses,  
     But hope they'll quickly be made up--  
 Spent smiles, stray dimples and such crosses,  
     By sweets of Warwick hymen's cup,  
 We wished to see you'ere we started  
     To give a reconciling Ball,  
 Then kiss like friends before we parted--  
     But good Lord H       , cried "not at all."  
 We read with interest mix'd with sorrow  
     Your fruitless toils green fish to catch--  
 Some skill fair dames, you first must borrow  
     From anglers, useful hints must snatch.  
 When first you arm you hook for slaughter  
     Let not the barb shine through the bait.  
 Else fruitlessly you'll beat the water,  
     And not a sword fish meet his fate.

Address to Doctor--Requesting him to recommend the release of the Troops  
 of the Garrison, from their confinement in Barracks.<sup>4</sup>

O thou, who hearest yon learned class,  
 Who can our ailments easy guess;







## Appendix F. Review of the Trafalgar Balls.

Bals de Trafalgar.<sup>1</sup>  
 Mercredi au soir

Mercredi au soir le 10e. de ce mois, il fut donné deux Bals et soupers publics, à la Halle des Franc-Maçons; pour célébrer la DERNIERE VICTOIRE NAVALE, à la hauteur de Trafalgar; le premier par les Messieurs de la Garnison, le dernier par les Messieurs de la Ville.

Nos limites ne nous permettent pas de donner des détails au long de ces repas splendides; mais comme ils se ressembloient beaucoup l'un et l'autre, nous nous contenterons de donner une description du dernier.

## SALLE DU BAL

Vis-à-vis la grande entrée dans la Salle du Bal (qui est de quatre-vingt pieds de longueur) étoit placé le portrait de Sa Majesté entouré de pavillons et trophées navales et militaires. Le bout au ouest étoit orné d'un transparent de toute la grandeur de la Chambre. Au milieu de cette peinture étoit une représentation de l'engagement à la hauteur de Trafalgar, au moment de la mort du Lord Nelson, la renommée voltigeant au-dessus, tenant une couronne d'immortalité pour le héros expirant avec ces mots "dulce est decorum est pro patriâ mori", d'un côté en avant on voyoit Neptune s'avancer dans son char et offrant sa couronne et son trident au génie de la Bretagne, qui étoit de l'autre côté sur un rocher escarpé et sous une chêne Britannique, la légende du côté de Neptune "Rule Britannia, rule the waves" ("que la Grande Bretagne règne, et qu'elle règne sur les mers",) et de l'autre côté du génie de la Grande Bretagne, "Britons never will be slaves", ("les Bretons ne seront jamais esclaves".) De chaque côté de ce Transparent étoit un compartiment plus petit, dans lequel étoit une couronne, avec le dernier ordre du Héros du Nil "England expects that every man will do his duty". ("L'Angleterre s'attend que chaque homme fera son devoir".)

A l'autre bout de la Salle étoit une pyramide de drapeaux sur les quels étoient suspendues les armes du Roi, ornés de l'union en soie, directement audessous des armes étoit placé un excellent portrait du Lord Nelson, et audevant du tout étoit un grand modèle (de sept pieds de longueur) du vaisseau de l'Amiral, le Victory, avec ses pavillons à demi mâts.

Les autres décorations consistoient en de magnifiques représentations des grandes victoires navales de la dernière guerre, avec des trophées militaires formées d'armes réelles; le tout sous des

festons de pavillons qui s'étendoient à chaque intervalle de douze pieds d'un côté de la Chambre à l'autre.

#### CHAMBRE DU SOUPER.

La Chambre à souper étoit décorée de l'étandard Royal qui étoit arboré dans le centre de la Chambre, sur une piece de boeuf, et les pavillons d'Ecosse et d'Irlande voltigeoient à chaque bout, à la gauche de l'étandard Royal étoit suspendu un model du Bucentaur, dans l'état délabré où il étoit après la victoire de Trafalgar, le pavillon François étant audessous de l'Anglois; et de l'autre côté, étoit un superbe modèle d'un soixante-quatorze venant d'être lancé, portant le pavillon du Royaume Uni. Ces deux modèles avoient chacun quatre pieds de longueur, et formoient des Emblèmes de ce que la marine Britannique a fait, et de ce qu'elle se prépare encore à faire. Les autres décorations de la Chambre à souper consistoient principalement en un Canopé d'Etat, et un assemblage des pavillons de France et d'Espagne, audessous des quels étoit suspendus l'Union, et un excellent portrait de Lord Nelson.

#### LE SOUPER.

Les tables du Souper, qui étoient couvertes de tout ce que le pays et la saison peuvent produire, et qui annoncerent beaucoup le goût de Mr. Holmes, de l'Hotel de L'Union, par qui elles étoient fournies, décorées avec les embellissements ordinaires de plateaus, Epergues, fleurs, guirlandes, figures &c. et d'un grand nombre de petits pavillons blancs surmontés de guirlandes de chêne et de laurier; chacun des pavillons portoite un inscription en caractère de bleu de marine, qui donnoit une description des différents victoires sur mer de la présente et de la dernière guerre. Le nombre de personnes qui se mirent à table fut de 250, et le nombre de personnes présentes étoient en tout environ 280.

- Les santés, dont le nombre fut de quatre, furent
- 1<sup>e</sup>. LE ROI DIEU LE BENISSE, avec "God save the King."
  - 2<sup>e</sup>. LA VICTOIRE GLORIEUSE ET SANS EXEMPLE DE TRAFALGAR; avec "Rule Britannia."
  - 4<sup>e</sup>. [sic] L'ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD, ET LES HEROS SURVIVANTS de TRAFALGAR, avec "Come cheer up my Lads.."

Une ode écrite pour l'occasion, fut exécutée, dans la Salle du Bal par les Bandes des 6<sup>e</sup>. et 49<sup>e</sup>. régiments, avant que la compagnie se retira pour le souper, dont nous avons eu le bonheur de nous procurer une copie, ainsi que des chansons pareillement écrits pour cette fête, et chantées au souper avant et après que le Président laissa la chaire. Nous présentons le tout à nos lecteurs dans l'ordre qu'elles ont été exécutées, (avec "God Save the King," tel qu'originellement écrit pour le Concert de Quebec, et qu'il y fut chanté en 1792.).

Appendix G. Horse Races held on 20 and 21 September 1837.

Under the Patronage of His Excellency the Earl of Gosford.

QUEBEC RACES

To take place on Wednesday and Thursday,  
the 20th and 21st of September.<sup>1</sup>

FIRST DAY.

TRIAL STAKES.

Five Dollars entrance, to which the  
Stewards will add 100 Dollars.

For all horses bred in the Canadas which have  
never won a race in the Lower Province.--  
Weight for age 4, years 8st. 7 lbs; 5 yrs.  
9st; 6 yrs. and aged 9st 7 lb. Heats once  
round and a distance.

QUEBEC STAKES.

Twenty dollars entrance, to which the  
Stewards will add 200 Dollars.

Free for all horses, the second horse to  
save his Stakes.--Weights as in the Trial  
Stakes.

Two mile heats starting from the  
distance.--A winner of one race to carry 7  
lbs., and of two races 14 lbs. extra.--Three  
horses to start or no race.

THE LADIES PURSE

To which the Stewards will add 40 dollars;  
entrance five dollars.

Free for all horses--Weight for age--Aged  
horses 10st 7 lb, each year under allowed 7  
lb.

The winner of any race to carry 7 lbs.  
extra--Mile heats starting from the distance.  
Gentlemen riders.

SECOND DAY

HURDLE RACE.

Four dollars entrance to which the Stewards  
will add 80 dollars.

Free for all horses.

One heat of two miles starting from the distance. Gentlemen riders.--Weight 11 stone.

GARRISON PLATE--120 Dollars.

Five dollars entrance.--For horses Bonna Fide the property of Officers of the Army since the 1st July last. Weight as in the Trial Stakes.--The winner of any race to carry 7 lbs. extra.--Mile heats starting from the distance.--Gentlemen riders.

HANDICAP STAKES.

For beaten horses.--Entrance five dollars. To which the Stewards will add 80 dollars. Heats once round the course and a distance.

SADDLE AND BRIDLE.

For Canadian bred horses.--One mile and a distance.

None but Subscribers of Five Dollars to enter a horse.

No public money given for a walk over.

Horses to be entered for the first days races before twelve o'clock on Monday the 18th, at Payne's Hotel.

Admission Tickets to the Stand House, which is undergoing a perfect repair, half a dollar each and all Carriages admitted on the Course to pay half a dollar.--Tickets to be had at T. Cary & Co.'s Printing Office and at the Stand House.

Hour of starting, one o'clock each day punctually.

It is particularly requested that dogs may not be brought to the Course.

The Rules and Regulations for these Races may be had at T. Cary & Co.'s Office.

STEWARDS:

Colonel the Honble. Charles Gore K.H.

Lieut.-Colonel the Honble. H. Dundas, 83d Regt.

H. Sharples, Esq. Treasurer.

W. De Lery, Esq.

Captain Crompton, 66th Regt.

W.K. McCord, Esq.

Captain Rose, 15th Regt.

Mr. Vivian, A.D.C.

George Pemberton, Esq.

Major Dickson, Secretary.

## Appendix H. Regattas held on 22 September 1837.

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF  
HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR IN CHIEF.  
To Take Place On  
FRIDAY, 22nd SEPTEMBER.<sup>1</sup>

SAIL BOATS.

First Class.--Yachts. Entrance, Five Dollars, First Boat, \_\_\_ Dollars; Second Boat, \_\_\_ Dollars; Third Boat, \_\_\_ Dollars.

Second Class.--Pilot and Ferry Boats. Entrance, Five Shillings. First Boat, \_\_\_ Dollars; Second Boat, \_\_\_ Dollars; Third Boat, to save the entrance.

Not less than four Boats to start, except by permission of the Stewards.

N.B.--The course for the Sailing Boats will be the same as for the Sailing Match on the 23d August last.

ROW BOATS.

First Class.--Four oared Amateur Boats, to be rowed by Gentlemen. Entrance, Eight Dollars. Prize \_\_\_ Dollars.

Not less than three to start, except by permission of the Stewards.

Second Class.--Four oared Boats, not Prize or Whale Boats, to be rowed and steered by Sailors and others.

Entrance, Two Dollars. Prize, \_\_\_ Dollars.

Entrance to be given to the winners in each class.

Each Boat to carry a distinguishing flag. Boats to be entered at the QUEBEC EXCHANGE, on TUESDAY, the 19th instant. at TEN o'clock. A.M. EXCEPT Boats not belonging to the Port, which may be entered on THURSDAY, the 21st, at the same hour, after which no entrance will be received.

STEWARDS:

Colonel Honble. Chas. Gore, K.H.

Lieut. Colonel Honble. H. Dundas, 83d Regt.

Lord Cochrane, 66th Regt.

Captain Alleyn, R.N.

George Pemberton, Esquire.

T.F. Nevins, Esquire, Treasurer.

J.C. Fisher, Esquire, Secretary.

## Appendix I. Supply Contracts: Foodstuffs.

Government contract to supply flour, pork and peas.<sup>1</sup>

Les Lords Commissaires de la Trésorerie de sa Majesté ayant signifié leurs intentions au LIEUTENANT GENERAL HUNTER, que les provisions requises pour les troupes en station dans l'Amérique du Nord Britannique soient à l'avenir, autant que la chose sera praticable, fournies par ces Provinces et dans la Nouvelle Ecosse, LE SOUSSIGNE, est autorisé de recevoir toutes propositions qui pourront être faites d'ici au premier jour de Septembre prochain, par ceux qui désireront entreprendre de délivrer

DE LA FLEUR  
DU LARD ET pour le dit service,  
DES POIS

Dans le HAUT CANADA, le BAS CANADA, la NOUVELLE ECOSSE, le NOUVEAU BRUNSWICK, TERRENEUVE et L'ILLE DU PRINCE EDWARD.

La fleur sera de la qualité nommée FINE FLEUR, ordinairement fournie aux Troupes.

Le lard sera PRIME MESS PORK, en quarts contenant cinquante deux morceaux de quatre livres chaque.

Les pois seront de bons pois cuisants de la première qualité.

La fleur pour la NOUVELLE ECOSSE, le NOUVEAU BRUNSWICK, TERRENEUVE, et l'ILE DU PRINCE EDWARD, sera de la fleur du Haut Canada, ou fleur faite avec le Bled du Haut Canada, ou Bled d'Hiver le produit du Bas Canada.

Toutes ces Provisions seront garanties pour se conserver bonnes et saines durant douze mois après la livraison.

LE HAUT CANADA seront Amherstburg,  
faites à Fort George,  
York et  
Kingston.

Les		
livraisons	LE BAS CANADA	Quebec et Montreal
pour	LA NOUVELLE ECOSSE	Halifax et Annapolis
	LE NOUVEAU BRUNSWICK	St. Jean
	TERRENEUVE	St. Jean
	L'ILE DU PRINCE EDWARD	Charlotte Town

Comme les propositions qui pourront être faites, doivent être transmises en Angleterre pour la considération des Lords Commissaires du Trésor de sa Majesté, il ne pourra être fait aucuns marchés à cet effet, jusqu'à ce que les ordres et directions de leurs Seigneuries aient été



reçus. Et on ne pourra point s'attendre à faire de livraisons avant Mai ou Juin 1805.

Les propositions des Personnes du Haut-Canada pourront être délivrées à l'Honble. John McGill, Agent pour les achats à York, d'ici au mois d'Août prochain.

Bureau du Député Commissaire Général,  
 Québec, 4e. Juin, 1804  
 JOHN CRAIGIE, Dép. Com. Gén.

Government contract to supply flour.<sup>2</sup>

On a besoin pour les Troupes de Sa Majesté dans le Bas Canada, de 5,000 Quarts de Fine Fleur livrable dans les Magazins du Roi à Québec et Montréal comme ci-dessous:

A Québec,	500 Quarts	d'ici au 1er	Juillet,	1816.
	500 Do.	ditto.	1er	Août.
	1,000 Do.	ditto.	1er	Septembre.
A Montréal,	750 Do.	ditto.	1er	Juillet.
	1,000 Do.	ditto.	1er	Août.
	1,250 Do.	ditto.	1er	Septembre.

La fleur doit être mise dans des bons Quarts contenant 196lbs. net chaque, marqués des lettres Initiales des noms des Fournisseurs, et la lettre W. et date de la livraison au-dessous, sujette à l'inspection, garanti qu'elle se conservera bien pendant douze mois après la livraison; celle qui sera trouvée défectueuse pendant le tems ci-dessus, spécifié, sera remplacée avec une quantité égale de bonne Fleur. On recevra à ce Bureau d'ici au 25 de Mars prochain, les Propositions scélées et endossées, "Propositions pour de la Fleur," pour le tout ou partie de la susdite quantité pas moins de 500 Quarts.

Des Cautions seront requis pour l'exécution du Contrat qui pourra être fait, et aucune proposition ne sera regardée à moins qu'elle ne soit conforme au susdit avertissement et Signée de deux Cautions approuvées.

Bureau du Commissaire Général,  
 Québec, le 8e Février, 1816.

Government contract to supply fresh beef.<sup>3</sup>

Ceux qui désireroient contracter pour fournir du Boeuf frais marchand pour les Troupes, &c. de cette Garnison, du 25e. Juin au 24e Décembre, 1823, inclusivement, sont priés d'envoyer à ce Bureau d'ici au 16e. Juin prochain, à midi, des propositions cachetées, spécifiant le prix par 100 livres auquel ils entreprendroient cette fourniture.

Les propositions doivent être endossés, "Propositions pour Boeuf frais," et contenir les noms de deux personnes respectables qui répondent de l'exécution du Contrat.

Bureau du Commissaire Général,  
 Québec, 26e, Mai, 1823.

Appendix J. Supply Contracts: Heating and Lighting Materials.

Government contract to supply firewood.<sup>1</sup>

The Commissary General will receive Tenders until noon, on FRIDAY the 19th October, 1832, from any person or persons willing to Contract for the supply of Fuel Wood for the Garrison of Quebec--namely:

To deliver 7,000 English Cords (of 128 cubic feet each cord) from the period of the opening of the navigation, and to be completed on or before the 1st day of November, 1833, and deliverable in the following quantities:

1,000 cords on or before the 15th August, 2,000 in all the month of September, and the remaining 4,000 in all the month of October, so that the whole delivery may be completed on or before the first November, 1833.

Tenders will be received for parcels of not less than 1,000 cords, the period or delivery to be stated therein.

The wood to consist of equal proportions of Maple and Black Birch, sound, and of the best quality; the sticks to be three or four feet long to be expressed in the Tender and to be delivered in stacks one cord high, and afterwards repiled two cords high, at the expence of the contractor. Or,

In the supply of the same description of Fuel Wood, in detail for one or for three years, the wood yard to be delivered up and the issues to be made by the contractor in orders from the Commissariat Office, but a depot of not less than 5,000 cords must be laid in the yard on or before the first day of November in each year. The Tenders are to express the rate per cord in Halifax currency, and payment will be made monthly, or for each 1,000 cords, provided the contractor has delivered in 1,500 cords.

No sale of wood to private individuals, nor will any commutation with the parties entitled to fuel be permitted, under a penalty of £25 for each infringement of this condition.

Forms of tenders will be delivered at this Office, or at the Commissariat Office at Montreal and William Henry.

COMMISSARIAT,  
Quebec, 8th August, 1832.

Government contract to supply coal and seal oil.<sup>2</sup>

THE COMMISSARY GENERAL will receive TENDERS until NOON, on FRIDAY, the 9th instant, for the undermentioned supplies at Quebec.

600 Chaldrons of large Newcastle Coals of the best quality. To be delivered into the King's Fuel Yard, at St. Rochs, on or before the 30th November, 1835. The Tenders to express the rate in Halifax Currency per Chaldron.

600 Gallons, common measure, Pale Seal Oil, of the best quality.

100 lbs. of good Cotton Wick.

To be delivered at the Store at the Jesuit Barrack. The price per Gallon of Oil, and per lb. of Cotton Wick, to be stated in Halifax Currency.

Payment will be made on delivery and approval,

Two sufficient securities will be required for the due fulfilment of the several contracts.

Commissariat Canada,  
Quebec, 1st October 1835.

Government contract to supply candles.<sup>3</sup>

PERSONS willing to supply the Barrack Department of this Garrison, with such quantities of good merchantable Candles, as may be wanted until the first of July next, are hereby notified that tenders will be received at this office, until noon, on WEDNESDAY the 20th instant.

Two sufficient securities will be required, and their names must be mentioned in the tenders. Payment will be made on the Receipts of the Deputy Barrack master-General and information may be obtained at his office in Garden Street, as to the quantity likely to be required, &c. &c.

N.B. Samples of the description proposed to be contracted for are to be given in to the Barrack Master, at his office in Garden Street, prior to the 20th instant.

Commissary General's Office.  
Quebec, 12th Decr. 1820.

## Appendix K. Supply Contracts: Forage.

Government contract to supply straw and hay.<sup>1</sup>

SEALED Tenders will be received at the Commissariat Office at Quebec, until noon on the 15th February next, for the supply of Forage for the use of Her Majesty's Troops, Staff, and Departments in this Garrison, from the 1st April, 1839, to the 30th September, 1840.

The Tenders to express the price in Halifax currency, for the following rations of Forage respectively:--

## FOR CAVALRY AND ARTILLERY.

10 lbs. of Oats, (or when required 14 lbs. of Bran in lieu.)  
 12 lbs. of Hay, (or during the season 36 lbs. of Green Grass, in lieu, when required.)  
 8 lbs. of Straw.

## AND FOR OTHER REGIMENTAL STAFF, &amp;c.

9 lbs. of Oats,  
 16 lbs. of Hay,  
 6 lbs. of Straw.

All to be of the best quality, and to be delivered by the Contractor to the parties entitled to the same from a Depot in the City of Quebec, or in its immediate vicinity. At least one month's supply must be kept on hand, and the whole subject to inspection and approval by the Commissariat.

Two responsible sureties will be required for the due fulfilment of the Contract.

Commissariat, Quebec, 28th January, 1839.

Government contract to supply oaten straw.<sup>2</sup>

TENDERS will be received at this Office until 12 o'clock on SATURDAY, the 31st instant. for the undermentioned quantities of good long Oaten STRAW, for Bedding, free from thistles and weeds, to be delivered at the time and place specified opposite the several quantities, viz.

5,000 bundles of 12 lbs. each, of the best quality, to be delivered at the Government stores, at No. 2, Tower, and St. Roch's, as may be required, between 1st and 10th November, 1840.  
 5,000 Ditto, ditto, at either of the above places as may be required, between the 1st and 10th Decr. 1840.  
 5,000 Ditto. ditto, ditto, ditto, 1st and 10th Jany. 1841.

5,000 Ditto, ditto, ditto, ditto, 1st and 10th Feby. 1841.

Each 5,000 bundles to be subject to the approval of a Board of Officers.

The Tenders to state in Halifax currency the price demanded per 100 bundles, and the party whose Tender may be accepted will be required to produce two sufficient sureties for the due fulfilment of the Contract.

Commissariat,  
Quebec, 27th Oct. 1840.

## Appendix L. Contracts: Construction Materials.

Government contract to supply construction wood.<sup>1</sup>

On a besoin pour le service de Sa Majesté, de la quantité sous-mentionnée de BOIS, &c.

- 10,000 pieds cubes de chêne gris, depuis 18 à 30 pieds de long et 10 à 15 pouces quarrés.
- 40 corps d'arbre ronds de chêne gris, depuis 18 à 30 pieds de long, 12 pouces de diamètre au petit bout, sans gerçures ni noeuds,
- 8,000 pieds de planches de chêne gris, de 3 pouces, depuis 14 jusqu'à 20 pieds de long, les bords droits,
- 6,000 pieds de do. de 2-1/2 pouces depuis 14 jusqu'à 20 pieds de long, les bords droits,
- 7,000 pieds de do. de 2 pouces do. do. do.
- 6,000 pieds de do. de 1-1/2 pouce do. do. do.
- 4,000 pieds de do. de 1-1/4 pouce, depuis 14 jusqu'à 20 pieds de long.
- 5,000 pieds de do. de 1 pouce, depuis 14 jusqu'à 20 pieds de longueur, les bords droits.
- 14,000 pieds cubes de Pin blanc depuis 20 jusqu'à 60 pieds de long, et de 10 à 20 pouces quarrés.
- 60,000 pieds de planches de pin blanc, de 3 pouces, 12 pieds de long mesure quarrée.
- 60,000 pieds de do. do. de 2-1/2 pouces, 12 pieds de long, mesure quarrée.
- 80,000 pieds de do. do. de 2 pouces do. do.
- 100,000 pieds de do. do. de 1-1/2 do. do. do.
- 9,000 planches de pin, de 1 pouce, de 10 pieds de long de Kamouraska, de la première qualité.
- 9,000 planches do. de 1 pouce, 10 pieds de long, de Kamouraska, de la seconde qualité.
- 120 corps d'arbres de cèdre, droits, de 36 pieds de long, 10 pouces de diamètre au petit bout et solides.
- 40 do. de frêne, ronds, de 18 à 20 pieds de long, 12 pouces de diamètre au petit bout, sans noeuds.
- 30 do. de bouleau noir, ronds ou quarrés, de 18 à 30 pieds de long et 12 pouces de diamètre au petit bout.
- 40 do. de noyé, ronds, de 18 à 30 pieds de long. 12 pouces de diamètre au petit bout, sans gerçures et sans noeuds.
- 50,000 bardeaux de cèdre.

Tout le bois ci dessus à être du crû de terres hautes, d'une qualité bonne et marchande, et coupé cette année, à être livré sur le quai du Roi à St. Roche, entre les premiers jours de Mai et Août prochains, excepté les 120 corps d'arbres de cédres droits, qui seront livrés au mois de mai prochain.

Les propositions scellées des personnes qui voudront fournir les articles ci-dessus, seront reçues à ce bureau, le ou avant le dixième jour d'Avril prochain, à être endossée, "Propositions pour Bois ou bardeaux," (selon le cas) et adressées au Commissaire-Général.

Bureau du Commissaire-Général,  
Québec, 10e. Mars, 1814.

Government contract to supply stone.<sup>2</sup>

ON a besoin pour l'usage du Département des Ingénieurs Royaux, dans cette Garnison, de 22,500 pieds en superficie de pierres à parment, piquée au marteau, d'après les désignations suivantes:--

	LON-		GUEUR		HAUTEUR		LITS.	
	De	A	De	A	De	A	De	A
	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
	i	o	i	o	i	o	i	o
	e	u	e	u	e	u	e	u
	d	c	d	c	d	c	d	c
	s	e	s	e	s	e	s	e
	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s
Trousses, - -	3	6	4	6	1	0	1	3
Boutisses, - -	1	3	2	6	1	0	1	3
Longeres, - -	2	0	3	0	1	0	1	3

La qualité de la pierre doit être égale à celle de la pierre conglomerate de l'Ange Gardien ou du Cap Rouge.

Les propositions doivent spécifier le prix par pied, ou par cent pieds en superficie, telle qu'elle sera dans le mur lorsque posée, compris premièrement tous les frais de transport jusqu'au Cap au Diamand, ainsi qu'exclusivement les frais de la transporter, soit de la grève à Montréal, ou du quai du Roi, ou du quai de la garde des Bateaux à Québec, au dit Cap, à l'option du Gouvernement.

La pierre au parment sera piquée au marteau, suivant un modèle déposé dans le Bureau des Ingénieurs à Québec et à Montréal. Les lits et les joints seront bruts, mais seront taillés de manière à se joindre parfaitement. Pour les rangs de 12 pouces, un rang peut être composé de 5 pouces et de 6-1/2 pouces, avec des blocs de 12 pouces par chaque dix pieds; et pour les rangs de 15 pouces, de 6-1/2 pouces et de 8 pouces, avec des blocs au bout de dix pieds.

La quantité demandée doit être délivrée comme suit:

5,000 pieds d'ici au 10e Mai, 1822,

5,000 pieds de plus vers le 1er Juin, 1822.

Et la quantité restante d'ici au 10e. Juillet, 1822.

La quantité de trousses requises sera de cent cinquante en tout.

Il faut trouver des cautions pour la due exécution de Contrat, au montant de £1500 chaque.

Des propositions scellées, adressées au Commissaire Général, en conformité à ce qui est ci-dessus, seront reçues à ce Bureau d'ici à Mercredi, le 9e Janvier prochain, à midi.

Bureau du Commissaire Général,  
Québec, 7e Décembre, 1821.

Government contract to supply stone, limestone and sand.<sup>3</sup>

On demande, pour l'usage du Département du Génie en cette place, les quantités suivantes de Pierre, de Chaux et de Sable. savoir:

PIERRE.

20 toises de pierre de coin,  
150 toises de pierre à paver.

20 toises de pierre de coin livrables à la Citadelle d'ici au 1er Mars prochain.

50 do. de pierre à paver do. do. 1er Juin prochain  
50 do. do. do. do. do. 1er Juillet prochain,  
50 do. do. do. do. do. 1er Août prochain.

CHAUX.

1,500 pipes de chaux.

500 pipes livrables à la Citadelle, ou aux voutes à chaux, d'ici au 1er Mai prochain,

500 do. do. do. 1er Juin prochain,  
500 do. do. do. 1er Juillet prochain.

SABLE.

4,000 voies de sable.

1000 voies livrables à la Citadelle d'ici au 1er Mai proch.  
1000 do. do. do. 1er Juin proch.  
1000 do. do. do. 1er Juillet proch.  
1000 do. do. do. 1er Août proch.

Des propositions cachetées, conformes aux conditions ci-dessus, seront reçues à ce Bureau, jusqu'au VENDREDI, 3le du courant, à Midi. On ne fera attention à aucune offre, à moins qu'elle ne soit accompagnée des noms de deux cautions satisfaisantes pour la due exécution du contract.

Bureau du Dép.-Commissaire général  
Québec. 20e. Janvier. 1823.



## Appendix M. Transport Contracts.

Government contract to transport troops and materials between various posts.<sup>1</sup>

H.M. Dock Yard, Kingston,  
21st February, 1822.

NOTICE is hereby given that sealed tenders will be received at my office until the 18th day of April next, from all persons willing to contract for the safe Transport of such quantities of Naval Stores, Naval Ordnance Stores, Provisions, Baggage, &c. as may be required to be forwarded, for one year, from the following place, viz.

- 1st. From Quebec to Montreal by Steam boat.
- 2d. From the Naval Storehouse at Montreal into the Naval Storehouse at LaChine by Land.
- 3d. From the Naval Storehouse at LaChine into His Majesty's Dock Yard at Kingston.

The tenders are distinctly to state the rate per hundred weight (of 112 lbs.) at which the said Stores will be delivered and to contain the names of two competent sureties for the due performance of each separate contract; the said Tenders to be forwarded to my office, addressed to the "Naval Storekeeper" and endorsed "Tender for Transport," and the parties making the Tenders, or their authorized agents, are personally to attend at one o'clock on the 18th day of April next, at H.M. Dock Yard, when the said Tenders will be opened and decided on.

M.B. MENDS,  
H.M. Naval Storekeeper.

## AUX PROPRIETAIRES DE BATEAUX A VAPEUR.

AVIS est par le present donné que des propositions cachetées seront reçues à ce Bureau jusqu'au Lundi vingt-huit de Mars prochain, à midi, pour tout transport que le Département du Commissariat pourra requérir entre Québec et Montréal, durant la saison de la navigation de la présente année, ammunitions et pièces d'ordonnances exclusivement.

La forme des termes et propositions du Contrat peut être vue à ce Bureau et aucune proposition ne sera prise en considération qu'autant qu'elle sera faite en la forme prescrite.

Bureau du Commissaire Général,  
Québec, le 28e, Février, 1825.

Government contract for transportation services in Quebec City and environs.<sup>2</sup>

CEUX qui voudraient contracter pour faire les chariages qui seront nécessaires pour le service public dans la ville de Québec et les environs, depuis le 25 Avril, 1823 jusqu'au 24 Avril, 1824, sont informés que des propositions cachetées, adressées au Député-commissaire-général, seront reçues à ce Bureau jusqu'au 26e. du courant, à midi. On se réfèrera aux Règlement de Police concernant les Chariages, passés en session générale de quartier de la paix le 30 Avril, 1817, pour établir les charges et distances; et l'on marquera combien pour cent au dessous des prix fixés dans les dits règlements on consentiroit à prendre. Il faudra aussi spécifier combien l'on prendroit par jour pour un seul, deux, quatre ou six chevaux, pour tirer en un seul attelage, respectivement, avec des voitures et des conducteurs convenables.

On pourra obtenir de plus amples informations en s'adressant à ce Bureau.

Il sera exigé des suretés, suffisantes pour l'exécution du contrat, et il faudra que les noms de deux cautions soient insérés dans chaque proposition.

Bureau du Député-commissaire général,  
Québec, 12e Mars, 1823.

## Appendix N. Activities in Artillery Park.

List of activities in Artillery Park under the British regime.<sup>1</sup>  
 Activities are listed under the names of the buildings or grounds where they took place. The dates indicate the beginning and end of each activity, but are often only approximations since the time frame is broken down into three main periods: 1760-1800, 1800-40, and 1840-71.

### New Barracks

- barracks for the troops, 1760-1871.
- commandant and adjutant's quarters, 1818-71.
- storehouses, 1760-1871.
- Ordnance Board offices, 1800-71.
- isolation cells, 1760-1840; after the latter date they were no longer used for that purpose.
- civilian prison, 1760-89.
- military prison, 1789-1840.
- arms room, 1760-1840.
- harness room, 1816-39.
- guardroom, 1760-1828.
- guardhouse - Port du Palais, 1760-1800.
- carpenters', gunsmiths', coopers' and blacksmiths' workshops, 1760-72, 1811-20.
- sergeants' mess, 1840-71.
- classroom and reading room, 1858-71.

### Inside Courtyards of the New Barracks

- shelter for cannon mounts, 1771-1815.
- kitchen, 1820-71.
- woodshed, 1823-40.
- coal shed, 1840-71.
- lavatories, 1840-71.
- Ordnance Board arms and materiel storehouse, 1841-71.
- carpenters', gunsmiths', coopers' and blacksmiths' workshops, 1822-71.

### Dauphine Redoubt

- barracks for the troops, 1760-1840.
- officers' quarters, 1760-1871.

- mess and canteen, 1760-1871.
- military prison, 1775-76.
- hospital, 1760-91.
- tailors' workshops, 1760-1820.
- engineers' equipment storehouse, 1760-1800.
- classroom and schoolmaster's room, 1820-33.
- shooting gallery, 1840-71.
- billiard room, 1865-71.

#### Guardhouse, 1760-1832

- captain's house, 1760-68.
- hospital, 1791-1820.
- classroom and schoolmaster's room, 1822-32.
- shoemakers' and tailors' workshops, 1820-32.
- guardroom, 1826-32.

#### Guardhouse, 1833-71

- guardroom, 1833-71.
- isolation cells, 1833-71.
- classroom, 1833-58.
- staff sergeants' offices, 1833-71.
- staff sergeants' quarters, 1833-71.
- storehouses, 1833-71.

#### Officers' Quarters

- bakery, 1785-1818.
- officers' quarters, 1818-71.

#### Parade Grounds Depot

- storehouse for cannon mounts, 1816-71.
- depot for fire pumps, 1816-55.
- commandant of the artillery's stables, 1816-71.
- cannon master's storehouse, 1833-71.

#### Harness Room or Armoury, 1838-71

#### Pump Room, 1855-71

#### Stables, 1838-60

#### McMahon Street Workshops, 1771-1811

- carpenters, coopers, gunsmiths and blacksmiths

Parade Grounds

- military exercises and manoeuvres, 1760-1871.
- prison yard, 1791-1815.
- park well, 1760-1871.
- gardens associated with guardhouse and officers' quarters, 1800-71; the New Barracks and the Dauphine Redoubt also had their own gardens: they were in the west corner of the park (Fig. 4).
- school playground, 1820-71.
- playing field, 1840-68.
- skittle alley, 1866-71.

## Endnotes

Introduction

- 1 A. Charbonneau, C. Lacelle and M. Lafrance, Evolution structurale du Parc de l'Artillerie et du bastion Saint-Jean, Québec: 1749-1903, Manuscript Report Series No. 128 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1974).
- 2 Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 115, 127-32; see also Canada. Public Archives (hereafter cited as PAC), RG8, I, Vol. 1195F, pp. 151-151c.
- 3 André Beaulieu and Jean Hamelin, La presse québécoise des origines à nos jours, 1764-1859 (Quebec: Presses de l'université Laval, 1973), pp. 1-115.
- 4 Ibid., p. 1.
- 5 Ibid., pp. 14-5.
- 6 Ibid., pp. 15-8.
- 7 Edward H. Dahl et al., La ville de Québec, 1800-1850: un inventaire de cartes et plans (National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, Ottawa, 1975), p. 27. These figures are taken from Canadian censuses.
- 8 Edward H. Dahl et al., loc cit.

Troop Strength and Distribution

- 1 PAC, MG12B, W017, Vols. 1489-1513.
- 2 Ibid., Vols. 1514-44.
- 3 The number appearing in the list is the average for the months of January, June and December, which were the stable months. The regiments usually arrived in May and left between August and November. It should be noted that the 1840 average is somewhat inflated because a transient regiment was in Quebec City in June of that year. We cannot explain the cause of the considerable decline between 1816 and 1817. Perhaps it was because the military played a more important role after the War of 1812. The totals gathered by Carol Whitfield for the years 1844-57 showed a slight decline:
 

1844: 1375	1851: 1247
1845: 1245	1852: 1205
1846: 1089	1853: 1112
1847: 1123	1854: 1032
1848: 1158	1855: 858
1849: 1172	1856: 1157
1850: 1199	1857: 1333
- 4 General Regulations and Orders for the Army to 1st January 1816, facs. ed. (London: Federick Muller, 1970) (hereafter cited as

- General Regulations and Orders), p. 255. The soldiers were so poor that it was unthinkable that their wives should accompany them at their own expense.
- 5 Quebec Mercury, 4 April 1835.
  - 6 Florence Nightingale, Notes on Matters Affecting the Health, Efficiency, and Hospital Administration of the British Army, Founded Chiefly on the Experience of the Late War (London: Harrison and Sons, 1858), p. 469; contains 1851 census figures.
  - 7 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1708, pp. 48-9; the total is given as 1,765 soldiers, 558 wives and 1,034 children. This appears to be quite different from our figures, but actually is not: only the 10th Royal Veterans, the 103rd Regiment and the Royal Artillery were at the Quebec garrison at that time, along with 702 wives and children - which represented 27 per cent of the population of the garrison. Our figures set this proportion at 25 per cent of the garrison. Since the veterans' regiments usually had a higher percentage of married men, it seems that our estimation of 25 per cent is quite accurate. The high number of women and children at the garrison may no doubt be explained by the fact that they were moved to safety in Quebec City during the war.
  - 8 PAC, MG8, G24, Vols. 14-17. These registers cover the years from 1797 to 1800 and 1818 to 1825. Entries for baptisms, marriages and burials are in chronological order; births were recorded on the date of baptism, usually from two weeks to two months after the birth. From 1818 until 1825, note was made of whether or not the parents were literate: for 319 children born to soldiers' wives, 51 fathers and 90 mothers stated that they were unable to write. Unfortunately, the clergymen too often replaced the phrase "admitted to being unable to write" with the simple statement "were present," thereby making the numbers compiled much less significant. We might note that the monthly tables show nothing meaningful; no month was particularly noteworthy for the number of births, marriages or deaths.
  - 9 Correlli Barnett, Britain and Her Army, 1509-1970: A Military, Political and Social Survey (London: Penguin Press, 1970), p. 280. The author attributes this fact to poor living conditions rather than to war. Also, he is speaking here of the years from 1847 to 1850.
  - 10 We used the years 1818, 1819, 1823, 1824 and 1825 because the records for these years seemed to be the most complete (Appendix A). The number of deaths led us to set the mortality rate at 37.5 per thousand, which is extremely high: the mortality rate for Quebec at that time was 27.1 (Jacques Henripin, Tendances et facteurs de la fécondité au Canada [Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1968], p. 5). If we use the 27.1 rate for the average number of soldiers in the garrison during these years, that gives us an additional 532 persons. This would imply families with five children, which is not unlikely; however, since this mortality rate (27.1) is surely much too low for a garrison (see previous reference), a total of 532 for the soldiers' families is much too high. On the other hand, since we must add the approximately 150 persons included in

- the officers' families, we believe that these figures are in line with our estimations.
- 11 La Gazette de Québec, 9 July 1767.
  - 12 Ibid., 15 Aug. 1785.
  - 13 Ibid., 2 June 1791.
  - 14 Ibid., 17 June 1819.
  - 15 Le Canadien, 15 Oct. 1831.
  - 16 Quebec Mercury, 14 May 1836.
  - 17 Ibid., 12 May 1838.
  - 18 Ibid., 3 Sept. 1836.
  - 19 The newspapers indicate that the regiments made something of a tour of the country - from Halifax to Quebec City to Montreal to Kingston - and that they stayed at each post for about two years. The smaller posts were served from these cities. An in-depth study of the War Office Group No. 17 papers would serve to further elucidate this subject.
  - 20 La Gazette de Québec, 29 Nov. and 6 Dec. 1764.
  - 21 Of the 105 houses, only 14 were for sale.
  - 22 We will speak later of the contents of the lists of furniture for sale and of the implications of these sales.
  - 23 La Gazette de Québec, 19 July 1810.
  - 24 Ibid., 17 Dec. 1807. Each house also had other occupants.
  - 25 One need only glance at a few of these to see this spread. On this subject, see Quebec (Province). Archives, Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec...1948-1949 (Quebec: King's Printer, 1949), pp. 3-250.

### Military Life

- 1 Here we mean those who could not afford lodgings in the city. On this subject, see Carol Whitfield, "Tommy Atkins' Family," Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology, Vol. 5 (1973), pp. 65-72.
- 2 Herman de Watteville, The British Soldier (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1954), pp. 184-93.
- 3 Quebec Mercury, 4 April 1835.
- 4 General Regulations and Orders, pp. 331-3.
- 5 A. Charbonneau, C. Lacelle and M. Lafrance, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 113. We know that there was a classroom in the New Barracks at that time; perhaps there was even one there previously.
- 6 PAC, MG24, A12, Journals, Vol. 3, Pt. 3, 1820, Sect. VII, Nos. 12-22.
- 7 La Gazette de Québec, 2 March 1767.
- 8 Quebec Mercury, 7 Feb. 1839.
- 9 One wonders whether these violent incidents occurred frequently or only seldom. Because the soldiers' training familiarized them with violence - wars and floggings for the slightest infractions - were they not likely to be somewhat predisposed to violence?
- 10 PAC, MG24, A12, Journals, Vol. 3, Pt. 3, 1820, Sect. II.
- 11 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 539, p. 83. This document, dated 1865, stated that one third of the forces were always on duty; they patrolled the



- streets, the public houses and other places frequented by the soldiers. This was probably also the case in preceding years.
- 12 Here we are referring to the supply contracts which will be discussed in the chapter "Economic Aspect."
- 13 Quebec Mercury, 12 July 1825.
- 14 Ibid., 17 April 1838, 27 April 1839.
- 15 We have decided not to list the newspaper references on this subject: there were at least two such events mentioned each year.
- 16 La Gazette de Québec, 26 Oct. 1786, 22 Oct. 1807, 20 and 27 June 1811, 18 July 1816.
- 17 Ibid., 16 Aug. 1787.
- 18 Ibid., 29 May 1794, 9 Jan. 1806; Quebec Mercury, 22 June 1813.
- 19 PAC, MG24, L8, Vol. 1, p. 179.
- 20 La Gazette de Québec, 9 Sept. 1819; Quebec Mercury, 31 Aug. 1805.
- 21 PAC, MG23, GIII, 23, Vol. 4, 27 June 1762; Quebec Mercury, 18 March 1823.
- 22 Quebec Mercury, 8 Nov. 1836. Several officers attended an Ursuline veil-taking ceremony - a very impressive ceremony according to the newspapers.
- 23 Ibid., 5 Nov. 1810.
- 24 Ibid., 28 April 1820; the Isle aux Noix fortifications.
- 25 Ibid., 7 Feb. 1824.
- 26 Ibid., 26 April 1832; at Grosse Ile.
- 27 Ibid., 28 April 1832.
- 28 Ibid., 20 Feb. 1834.
- 29 Ibid., 5 Dec. 1835.
- 30 Ibid., 25 Oct. 1838.
- 31 We mentioned this fact as being one of the reasons for ending our study at 1840.
- 32 Quebec Mercury, 5 Aug. 1826, 13 June 1837.
- 33 Ibid., 14 July 1840.
- 34 Ibid., 6 March 1827. Another practice was reported in 1839 (ibid., 19 March 1839).
- 35 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, 1807), Vol. 1, p. 351.
- 36 Quebec Mercury, 25 May 1837.
- 37 Quebec Mercury, loc. cit.
- 38 Ibid., 12 Oct. 1835.
- 39 La Gazette de Québec, 19 Aug. 1831.
- 40 Quebec Mercury, 18 June 1839.
- 41 Ibid., 25 June 1825.
- 42 Ibid., 26 July 1828.
- 43 Ibid., 22 June 1830.
- 44 Ibid., 15 Aug. 1835.
- 45 Ibid., 24 Nov. 1829.
- 46 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1707, p. 147.
- 47 It would be pointless to include the many details here.
- 48 See, among others, these articles in Quebec Mercury: 23 Sept. 1837, "Physical Impossibility of a Revolution in Lower Canada," and 30 Nov. 1837, "Good News: Important from Lieutenant Colonel Witherall - Taking of Saint-Charles."

- 49 Quebec Mercury, 19 Jan. 1805.
- 50 Ibid., 11 May 1819.
- 51 Le Canadien, 12 Sept. 1836.
- 52 PAC, RG4, A1, Series S, Vol. 429, 30 Dec. 1834.
- 53 It would be too lengthy to list the 68 references; they cover the entire period. We might note that two expressions were sometimes used to describe one regiment - for example, "precision and consistency."
- 54 Quebec Mercury, 28 Sept. 1807.
- 55 Ibid., 5 Aug. 1828, 23 Aug. 1831; there were other examples in the years 1834, 1836 and 1838.
- 56 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 539, p. 83.
- 57 La Gazette de Québec, 1 April 1813.
- 58 Quebec Mercury, 5 Sept. 1826.
- 59 Ibid., 17 Oct. 1835.

#### Social Life

- 1 Quebec Mercury, 17 Nov. 1818.
- 2 Ibid., 20 Sept. 1836. It should be noted that concerts were occasionally presented in the wintertime (Quebec Mercury, 28 Jan. 1823) and that summer concerts were held much more frequently than they had been in the 18th century.
- 3 This was standard and it would be pointless to list the many references on this subject.
- 4 It should be noted here that it was almost always the Quebec Mercury that did this.
- 5 Quebec Mercury, 28 March 1815.
- 6 Ibid., 1 May 1815, 17 Jan. 1839.
- 7 Ibid., 31 Jan. 1829.
- 8 Ibid., 6 Nov. 1818.
- 9 Ibid., 2 May 1835.
- 10 Ibid., 8 May 1834.
- 11 Ibid., 1 May 1824.
- 12 La Gazette de Québec, 6 March 1783; Quebec Mercury, 9 Oct. 1818, 13 Jan. 1824.
- 13 La Gazette de Québec, 15 Jan. 1797.
- 14 Quebec Mercury, 1 March 1814.
- 15 La Gazette de Québec, 21 June 1787; Quebec Mercury, 8 Nov. 1814, 7 May 1822.
- 16 Quebec Mercury, 27 April and 24 May 1830, 8 Sept. 1836.
- 17 Quebec Mercury, 26 Jan. and 9 Feb. 1805.
- 18 Ibid., 16 Sept. 1811.
- 19 Ibid., 6 Feb. 1821.
- 20 Ibid., 28 Nov. 1826.
- 21 Ibid., 24 Nov. 1829; here we are referring to the list of articles that appears in the society's first report.
- 22 Ibid., 4 Oct. 1831.
- 23 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 558, p. 1201. This was the library of the officers in the garrison; it was not until 1840 that thought was given to providing libraries for the soldiers (PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 519, pp. 46-48a).

- 24 We spoke of this in a previous chapter when we mentioned the lists of furniture for sale.
- 25 Antonio Drolet, Les bibliothèques canadiennes, 1604-1960 (Montreal: Cercle du livre de France, 1965) (hereafter cited as Les bibliothèques), p. 86.
- 26 Ibid., p. 89.
- 27 Ibid., p. 87.
- 28 PAC, MG24, A12, Journals, 1 Jan. 1824.
- 29 PAC, MG24, A12, Subject Files, Regulations and Catalogue of the Quebec Garrison Library (Quebec: T. Cary & Co., 1824).
- 30 Quebec Mercury, 19 Sept. 1835.
- 31 Ibid., 8 April 1828.
- 32 Ibid., 9 Jan. 1834. The conference was on mineralogy.
- 33 It would be pointless to list each of these occasions since they occurred quite frequently. There was always a short account of each of them which usually ended with a comment like: "The celebrations were followed by a splendid ball at the château."
- 34 La Gazette de Québec, 8 Jan. 1778.
- 35 Quebec Mercury, 12 Aug. 1828.
- 36 PAC, MG24, A43, Lady Aylmer, 1831, pp. 50, 69.
- 37 Ibid., pp. 92-3. Lady Aylmer states that there were approximately 300 people at the ball and that their costumes were very well thought out. See also Quebec Mercury, 24 Jan. 1835.
- 38 Quebec Mercury, 13 Jan. 1806, 26 Jan. 1839; La Gazette de Québec, 16 and 23 Jan. 1806.
- 39 Quebec Mercury, 16 April 1822.
- 40 Ibid., 18 March 1828; celebration of the Royal Sappers and Miners' success in the demolition of the ice house bastion.
- 41 La Gazette de Québec, 8 Jan. 1778.
- 42 Ibid., 23 Jan. 1806.
- 43 PAC, MG24, A43, Lady Aylmer, 1831, p. 69.
- 44 Sixteen of the 21 references were to this effect. See, for example, the conditions of employment laid out in the Quebec Mercury, 16 Aug. 1828.
- 45 Quebec Mercury, 3 June 1811.
- 46 Ibid., 7 Jan. 1817, 7 Nov. 1819, 2 Jan. 1827, 8 Aug. 1829.
- 47 PAC, MG24, F41, 12 Jan. 1853.
- 48 PAC, MG23, K1, Vol. 23, 1770; Deed of Settlement of the Second Society of the Royal Artillery (London: W. & B. Richardson, 1770).
- 49 Quebec Mercury, 22 Oct. 1830. We do not know the exact date on which it was founded.
- 50 Ibid., 4 April 1835.
- 51 Ibid., 11 Dec. 1820.
- 52 Ibid., 10 March 1835.
- 53 Ibid., 4 April 1823. This article concerns the 17th Regiment's contribution toward the addition to Saint Andrew's Church.
- 54 Antonio Drolet, Les bibliothèques, pp. 115-7.
- 55 Antonio Drolet, loc. cit.
- 56 Quebec Mercury, 24 Nov. 1829.
- 57 Ibid., 8 May 1830.
- 58 Quebec Mercury, loc. cit.
- 59 La Gazette de Québec, 17 March 1803.

- 60 Quebec Mercury, 30 Dec. 1826.
- 61 PAC, MG24, A12, Journals, Vol. 3, Pt. 3, Sect. VIII, No. 13.
- 62 Quebec Mercury, 3 and 17 Oct. 1835.
- 63 Hughes de Jouvancourt, Cornelius Krieghoff (Toronto: Musson Book Company, 1973). See, for example, the numerous winter scenes which figure in Jouvancourt's study of Krieghoff: of 136 outdoor scenes, 86 are winter scenes.
- 64 La Gazette de Québec, 9 July 1767.
- 65 Ibid., 12 July 1810.
- 66 We noted this in the race announcements which were published regularly, long before the races were to be held. See also Donald Guay's interesting article, "Problèmes de l'intégration du sport dans la société canadienne, 1830-1865: le cas des courses de chevaux" (Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education, Vol. 4 [Dec. 1973], pp. 70-92), in which the author analyses some of the reactions to horse races. It seems that this event was a rather peaceful one in Quebec City as compared to other cities.
- 67 Quebec Mercury, 23 Aug. 1831.
- 68 Ibid., 8 Oct. 1810.
- 69 Ibid., 4 July 1829, 27 July 1830.
- 70 Ibid., 17 July 1807, 19 Sept. 1829.
- 71 Ibid., 29 July 1811, 22 Sept. 1832.
- 72 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 1273, p. 25, Vol. 528, p. 73.
- 73 Quebec Mercury, 15 Aug. 1835.
- 74 PAC, MG24, A43, Lady Aylmer, 1831, p. 51. We do not know if the military men went snowshoeing. In the 1840s there was a snowshoeing club in Montreal (Elinor Senior, "The British Garrison in Montreal in the 1840's," Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, Vol. 52 [Summer 1974], p. 127).
- 75 Quebec Mercury, 14 Jan. 1837.
- 76 PAC, MG24, A43, Lady Aylmer, 1831, p. 51.
- 77 Ibid., p. 119. She speaks of the Sulpicians' billiard table in Montreal; it is unthinkable that the officers of the garrison would not have had one.
- 78 From the 18th century onward, chess, checkers and backgammon were played in the colony. See Robert-Lionel Séguin, La civilisation traditionnelle de l'habitant aux 17<sup>e</sup> et 18<sup>e</sup> siècles; fonds matériel (Montreal: Fides, 1967), pp. 64-8.
- 79 PAC, MG24, A12, Journals, 27 Nov. 1825. Here Dalhousie speaks of old Mr. Thompson who came to play backgammon.
- 80 Almost all of the advertisements for furniture for sale published in the newspapers mention card tables. See also La Gazette de Québec, 9 April 1778.

#### Misconduct

- 1 Quebec Mercury, 27 July 1805.
- 2 Le Canadien, 18 July 1807.
- 3 Quebec Mercury, 28 Nov. 1826.
- 4 Ibid., 9 Jan. 1830.
- 5 Ibid., 28 July 1831.

- 6 Ibid., 31 Jan. 1832.
- 7 See Le Canadien, 6 Oct. 1834; Quebec Mercury, 14 and 23 Oct. 1834, 20 Jan. 1835.
- 8 Quebec Mercury, 15 Aug. 1835.
- 9 Ibid., 29 Dec. 1836.
- 10 PAC, MG23, K6.
- 11 George Thomas Landmann, Adventures and Recollections of Colonel Landmann (London: Colburn and Co., 1852), Vol. 2, pp. 233-4.
- 12 PAC, MG23, K6.
- 13 PAC, MG24, A12, Journals, Vol. 3, Pt. 3, 1820, Sect. II, No. 27.
- 14 Ibid., Letterbooks, Vol. 10, Pt. 1, 6 April 1825; his emphasis.
- 15 Quebec Mercury, 4 Feb. 1817; this was a house at 3, rue des Casernes.
- 16 Antonio Drolet, La ville de Québec, histoire municipale II: Régime anglais jusqu'à l'incorporation (1759-1833) (Quebec: La Société historique de Québec, 1965) (hereafter cited as Régime anglais), p. 121. Might these figures be a bit inflated?
- 17 Ibid., p. 14.
- 18 On this subject see Carol Whitfield, "Desertion - That Disgraceful Crime: A Study of a Problem Affecting the British Army in North America, 1815-1865," paper presented at the 53rd annual conference of the Canadian Historical Association, University of Toronto, June 1974.
- 19 La Gazette de Québec, 29 Dec. 1766, 4 May 1815; Quebec Mercury, 21 Nov. 1808.
- 20 Quebec Mercury, 9 Jan. 1809.
- 21 Ibid., 20 Jan. 1809.
- 22 John Hare, "La population de la ville de Québec, 1795-1805," Histoire sociale, Vol. 7 (May 1974), p. 47.
- 23 Ibid., p. 35, n. 23.
- 24 La Gazette de Québec, 18 June 1767.
- 25 Ibid., 13 Aug. 1767.
- 26 Quebec Mercury, 11 Nov. 1826. The soldier in question had stolen from the Catholic cathedral.
- 27 Ibid., 14 Nov. 1815, 7 June 1816.
- 28 PAC, MG23, K6.
- 29 PAC, loc. cit.

#### Political Aspect

- 1 See "Troop Strength and Distribution."
- 2 Our research on Artillery Park showed the volume of such purchases, but we have not yet studied each individually.
- 3 Edward H. Dahl et al., op. cit. This growth may be clearly seen.
- 4 Le Canadien, 18 Oct. 1833.
- 5 Antonio Drolet, Régime anglais, pp. 24-38.
- 6 Ibid., p. 28.
- 7 See "Military Life."
- 8 Quebec Mercury, 21 Nov. 1837.
- 9 Ibid., 17 Dec. 1839.
- 10 Ibid., 15 Sept. 1840.
- 11 Ibid., 19 Dec. 1839.

- 12 Ibid., 5 Dec. 1840; the order was dated 4 December.  
 13 Ibid., 15 Dec. 1840.

#### Economic Aspect

- 1 La Gazette de Québec, 12 Aug. and 16 Dec. 1784, 3 Nov. 1785, 1 June 1797, 5 March 1818; Quebec Mercury, 20 Jan. 1806, 4 July 1811, 4 Feb. and 25 July 1817.
- 2 La Gazette de Québec, 15 Nov. 1792; Quebec Mercury, 7 Jan. 1811, 9 Jan. 1817.
- 3 Quebec Mercury, 25 May 1810.
- 4 Details on the amount of fresh beef required are specified; the contracts covered a period of six months.  
Quebec Mercury, 18 Sept. 1810: 2,800 lbs. per day.  
La Gazette de Québec, 22 Aug. 1811: 2,800 lbs. per day.  
 Ibid., 24 June 1813: 2,000 lbs. per day.  
 Ibid., 3 Aug. 1815: 4,000 lbs. per day.  
 Ibid., 22 Aug. 1816: 3,000 lbs. per day.  
 Ibid., 7 Aug. 1817: 2,000 lbs. per day.  
 Ibid., 31 Aug. 1818: 2,000 lbs. per day.  
 If we exclude the wartime years, it would appear that 2,800 lbs. were ordered for a garrison of approximately 2,500 soldiers in 1810 and 2,000 lbs. for 1,500 soldiers in 1818; this is really too little information for us to be able to deduce anything.
- 5 Since these orders were almost always made in the same manner, we will give only one example of each of the following four references.
- 6 La Gazette de Québec, 18 Feb. 1808.
- 7 Ibid., 28 Oct. 1813.
- 8 Quebec Mercury, 11 Jan. 1810.
- 9 Ibid., 10 Sept. 1810.
- 10 La Gazette de Québec, 1 Aug. 1811.
- 11 Ibid., 27 Jan. 1814.
- 12 Quebec Mercury, 19 March 1836.
- 13 PAC, MG24, A12, Journals, Vol. 3, Pt. 3, 1820, Sect. III, No. 8.
- 14 The lists of furniture for sale gave many such examples.
- 15 La Gazette de Québec, 28 Nov. 1816.
- 16 PAC, RG8, I, Vol. 564, p. 15, Vol. 1239, p. 113.
- 17 La Gazette de Québec, 8 Dec. 1814.
- 18 Quebec Mercury, 29 Dec. 1812.
- 19 La Gazette de Québec, 10 Nov. 1814.
- 20 Quebec Mercury, 7 Aug. 1821.
- 21 Ibid., 14 Jan. and 22 Aug. 1823.
- 22 Ibid., 28 Aug. 1824.
- 23 Ibid., 20 Jan. 1838.
- 24 La Gazette de Québec, 14 May 1772.
- 25 Quebec Mercury, 14 Sept. 1821.
- 26 Ibid., 9 Aug. 1832.
- 27 La Gazette de Québec, 14 Jan. 1819.
- 28 Ibid., 15 Oct. 1812.
- 29 Quebec Mercury, 3 June 1826.
- 30 Ibid., 21 June 1836.

- 31 Ibid., 25 April 1840.
- 32 Marcel Moussette, Le chauffage domestique dans le Haut et le Bas-Canada (1759-1867), Manuscript Report Series No. 124 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1973), pp. 6-17.
- 33 La Gazette de Québec, 14 Oct. 1813.
- 34 Quebec Mercury, 14 Sept. 1821.
- 35 Ibid., 29 July 1817.
- 36 La Gazette de Québec, 4 Dec. 1817.
- 37 Ibid., 26 Feb. 1795.
- 38 Quebec Mercury, 15 March 1814.
- 39 La Gazette de Québec, 23 April 1812.
- 40 Ibid., 22 July 1813.
- 41 Ibid., 17 April 1817; Quebec Mercury, 2 Dec. 1828, 2 Nov. 1839.
- 42 La Gazette de Québec, 1 June 1809.
- 43 Quebec Mercury, 11 Feb. 1822.
- 44 Ibid., 13 Aug. 1825.
- 45 La Gazette de Québec, 6 Nov. 1810.
- 46 Ibid., 27 Nov. 1820; Quebec Mercury, 22 Aug. 1839.
- 47 La Gazette de Québec, 2 July 1772; Quebec Mercury, 4 April 1835.
- 48 La Gazette de Quebec, 9 July 1767.
- 49 Ibid., 28 Jan. 1808.
- 50 Quebec Mercury, 25 July 1820.
- 51 Ibid., 15 Dec. 1827.
- 52 Ibid., 25 March 1838.
- 53 Ibid., 28 Sept. 1832.
- 54 Ibid., 20 Feb. 1834.
- 55 Ibid., 5 Dec. 1835.
- 56 Such contracts appeared regularly. We have not listed any references here, but examples may be found in Appendix M.
- 57 La Gazette de Québec, 18 Oct. 1819.
- 58 See "Military Life."
- 59 See "Misconduct."

#### Social Aspect

- 1 See "Social Life."
- 2 Quebec Mercury, 12 Feb. 1810; the reference here is to the "Gray Letters," written in 1806 and published in 1809.
- 3 PAC, MG8, G24.
- 4 See "Social Life."
- 5 Quebec Mercury, 23 June 1806.
- 6 Ibid., 17 Oct. 1829.
- 7 La Gazette de Québec, 17 June 1819.

#### Conclusion

- 1 PAC, MG24, L8, Vol. 1, pp. 13-24; Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State, 1763-1775 (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1931), Vol. 1, pp. 51-2 and 133, and Donald Guay, op. cit., provide good examples of this.

- 2 Francis Duncan, Our Garrisons in the West; or, Sketches in British North America (London: Chapman and Hall, 1864), p. 248.
- 3 Ivanhoë Caron, La colonisation de la province de Québec; débuts du régime anglais, 1760-1791 (Quebec: L'Action Sociale, 1923), pp. 42-5, 286-7.

#### Appendix A

- 1 PAC, MG8, G24, Vols. 14-17.

#### Appendix B

- 1 La Gazette de Québec and Quebec Mercury, 1806-40.

#### Appendix C

- 1 Quebec Mercury, 6 Jan. 1824.

#### Appendix D

- 1 Quebec Mercury, 19 April 1832.

#### Appendix E

- 1 La Gazette de Québec, 21 June 1787.
- 2 Quebec Mercury, 27 April 1830.
- 3 Ibid., 1 May 1830.
- 4 Ibid., 3 Nov. 1832.
- 5 Ibid., 8 Sept. 1836.

#### Appendix F

- 1 La Gazette de Québec, 23 Jan. 1806.

#### Appendix G

- 1 Quebec Mercury, 16 Sept. 1837.

#### Appendix H

- 1 Quebec Mercury, 16 Sept. 1837.

#### Appendix I

- 1 La Gazette de Québec, 28 June 1804.
- 2 Quebec Mercury, 19 March 1816.
- 3 Ibid., 3 June 1823.

#### Appendix J

- 1 Quebec Mercury, 9 Aug. 1832.
- 2 Ibid., 1 Oct. 1835.



- 3 La Gazette de Québec, 14 Dec. 1820.

Appendix K

- 1 Quebec Mercury, 29 Jan. 1839.
- 2 Ibid., 29 Oct. 1840.

Appendix L

- 1 Quebec Mercury, 15 March 1814.
- 2 Ibid., 7 Dec. 1821.
- 3 Ibid., 17 Jan. 1823.

Appendix M

- 1 Quebec Mercury, 12 March 1822.
- 2 Ibid., 14 March 1823, 1 March 1825.

Appendix N

- 1 Information from sources used in the preparation of A. Charbonneau, C. Lacelle and M. Lafrance, *op. cit.*

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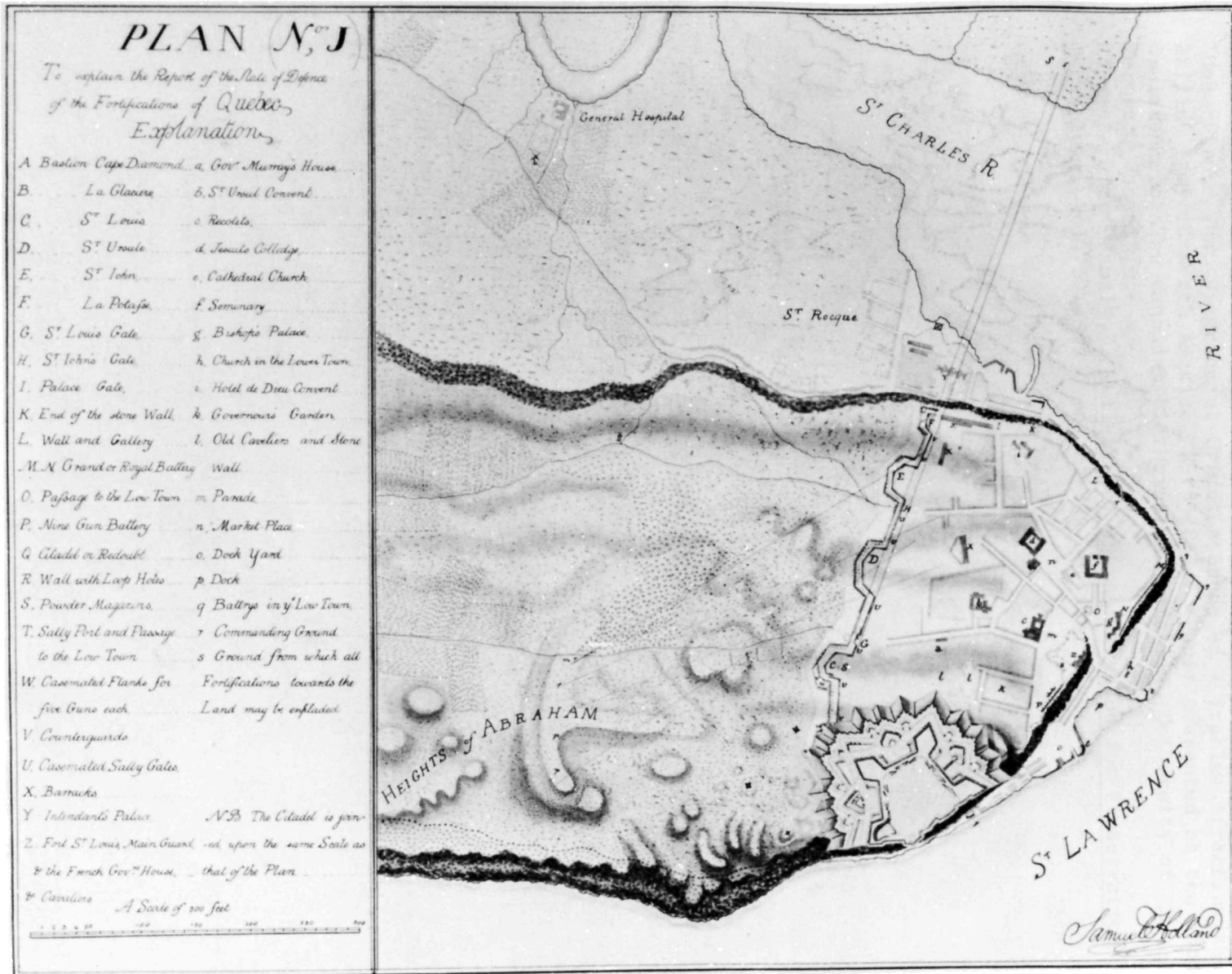
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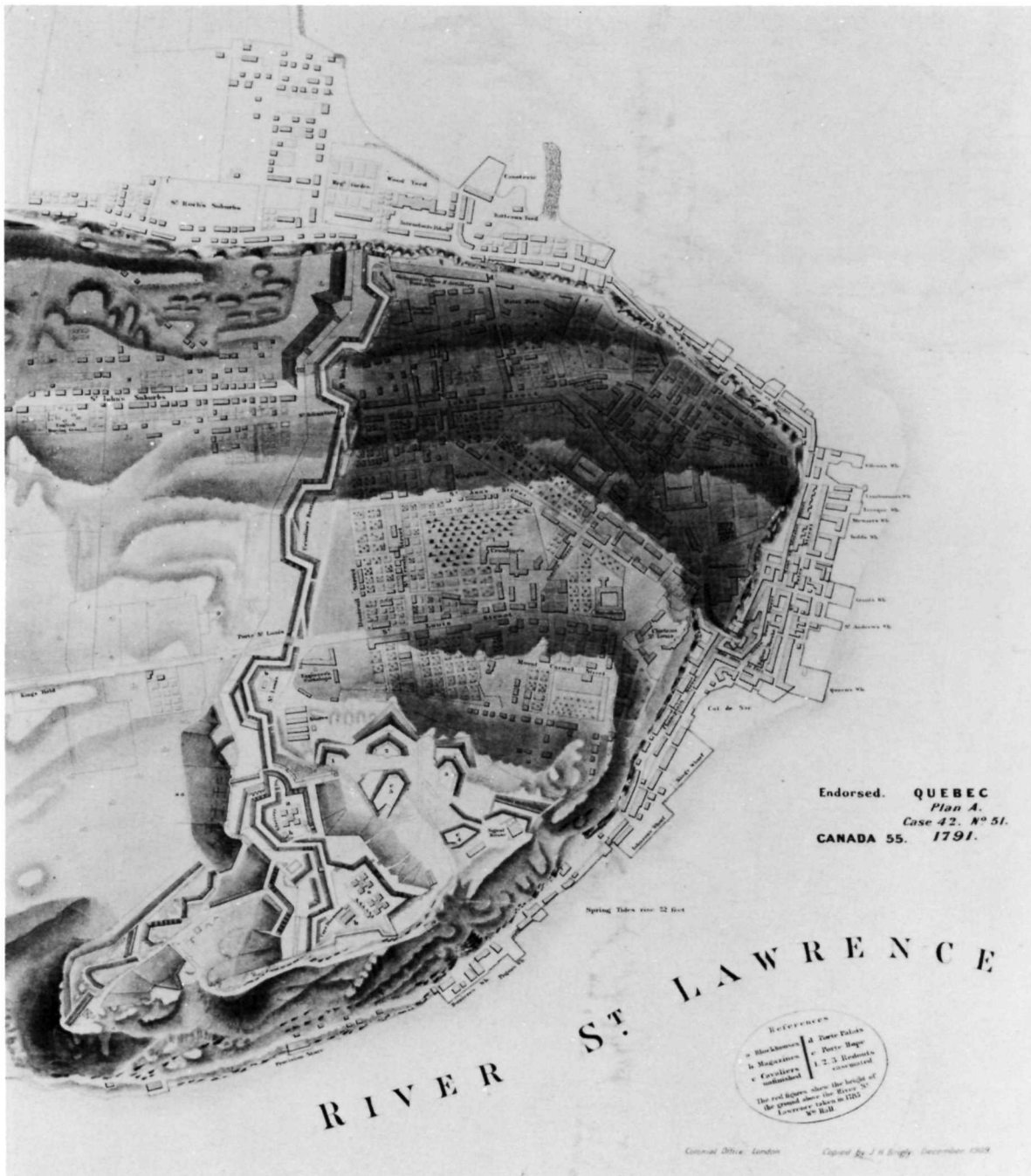
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ILLUSTRATIONS



1 Quebec City in 1760. (Map: S. Holland.) This map shows the extent of the military's holdings in the upper town from the earliest days of the British occupation. (Public Archives Canada, C-46448.)

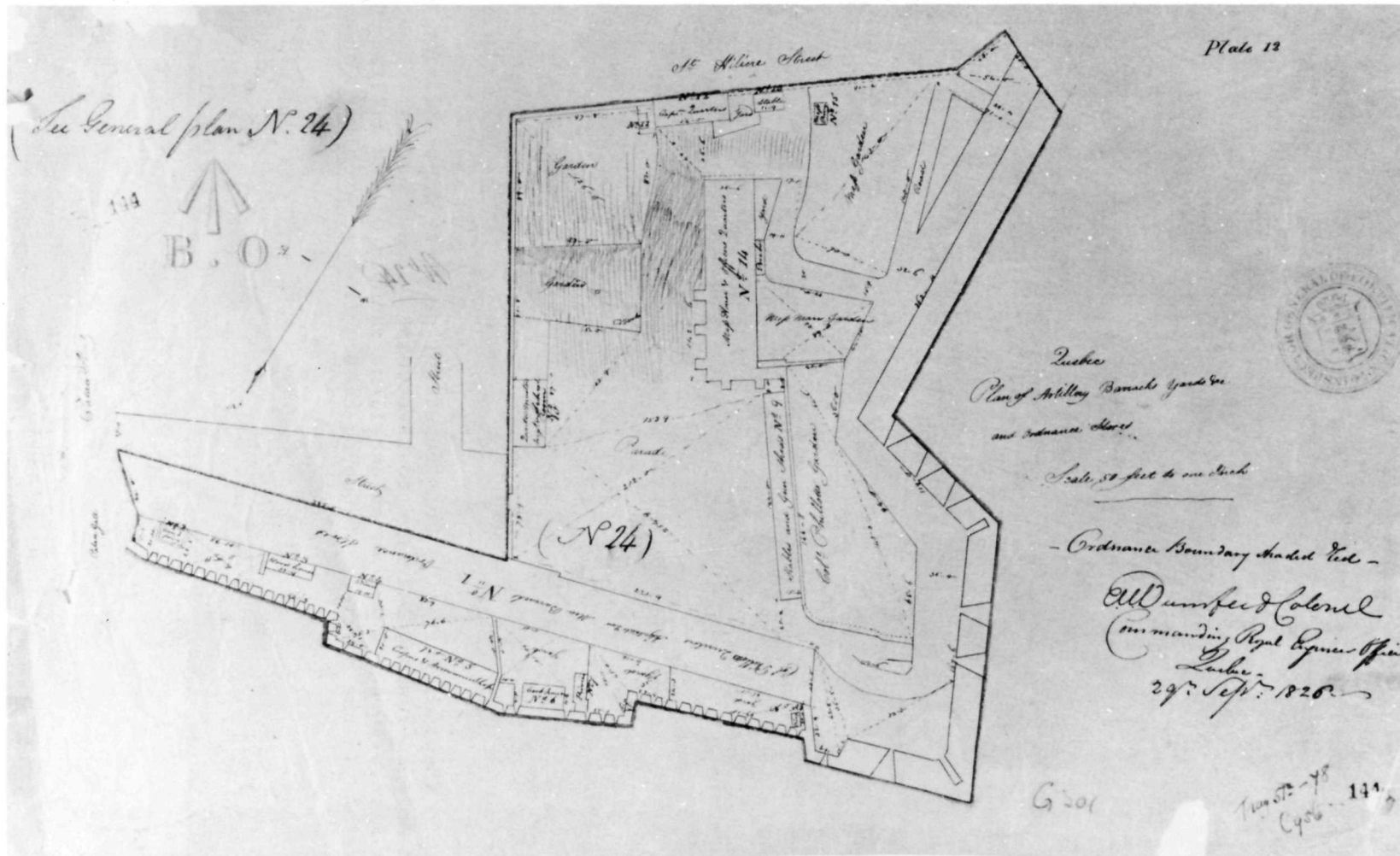


- 2 Quebec City in 1791. (Print: G. Mann and J.H. Brigly.) This map shows clearly the growth of the Faubourg Saint-Roch and the Faubourg Saint-Jean. The military property of King's Field, south of the Grande-Allée, may also be seen. (Public Archives Canada, C-55478.)

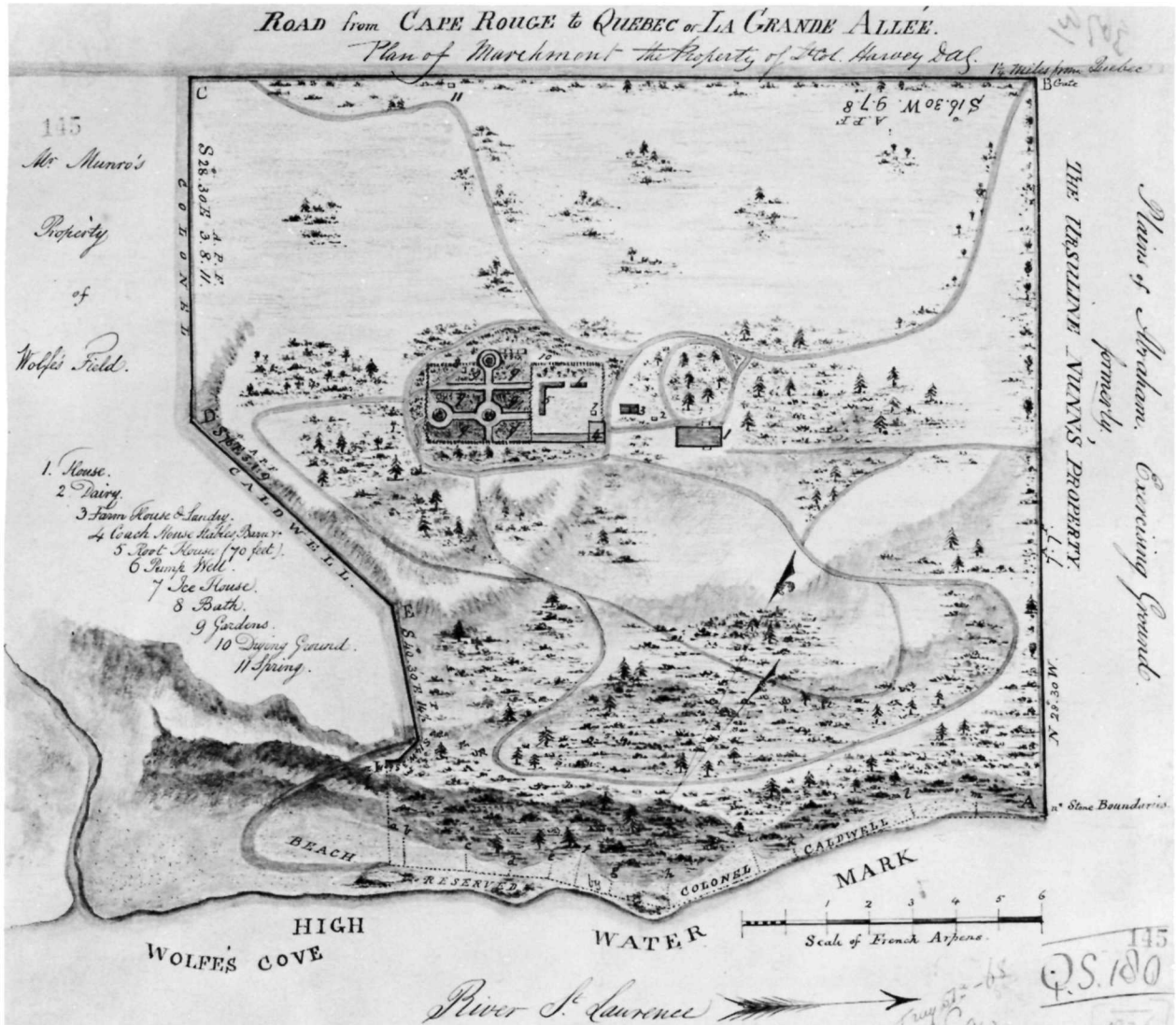




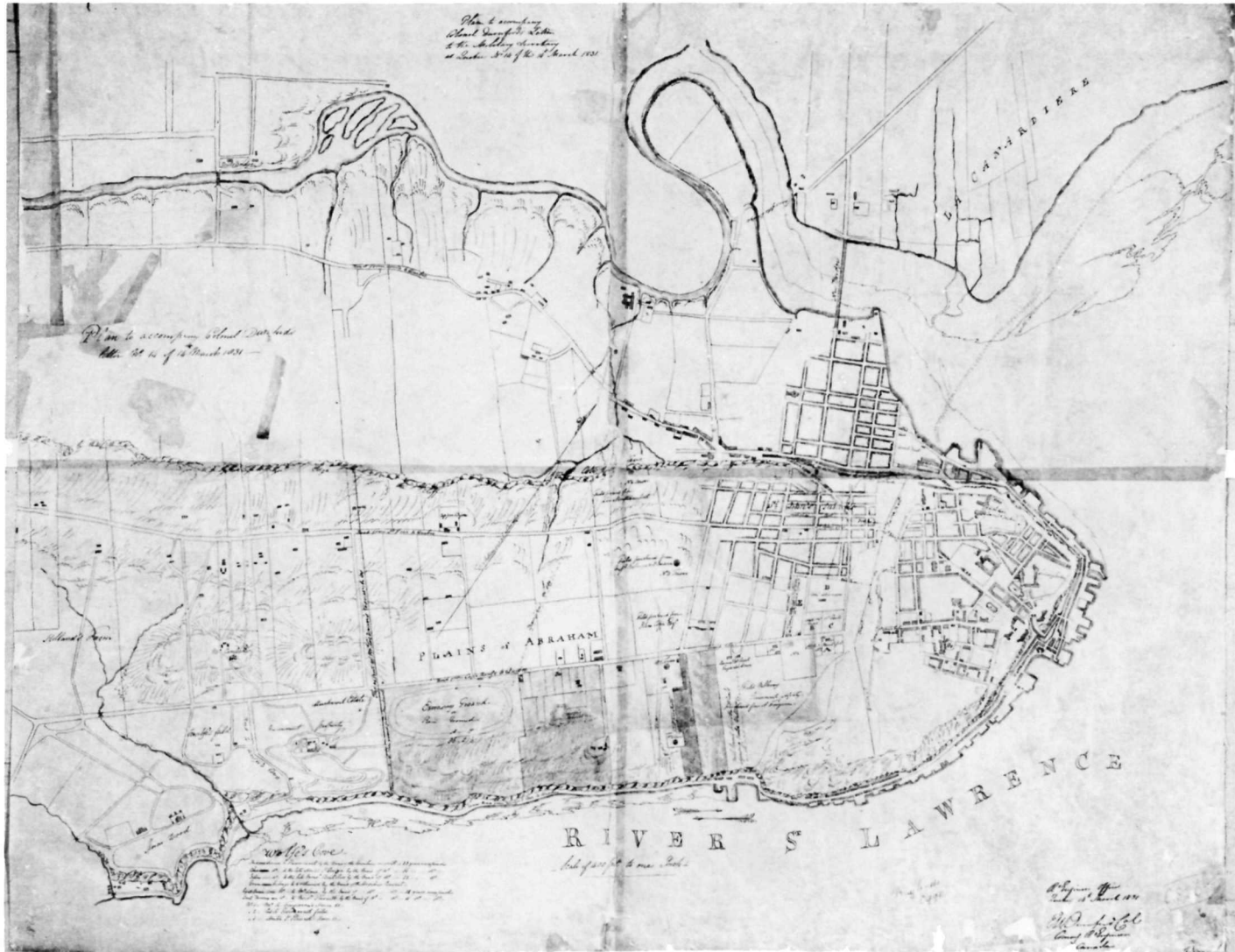
3 Quebec City in 1808. (Map: J.B. Duberger.) This general map shows the Martello towers, then under construction, and the extent of the military's holdings outside the walls. (Public Archives Canada, C-15722.)



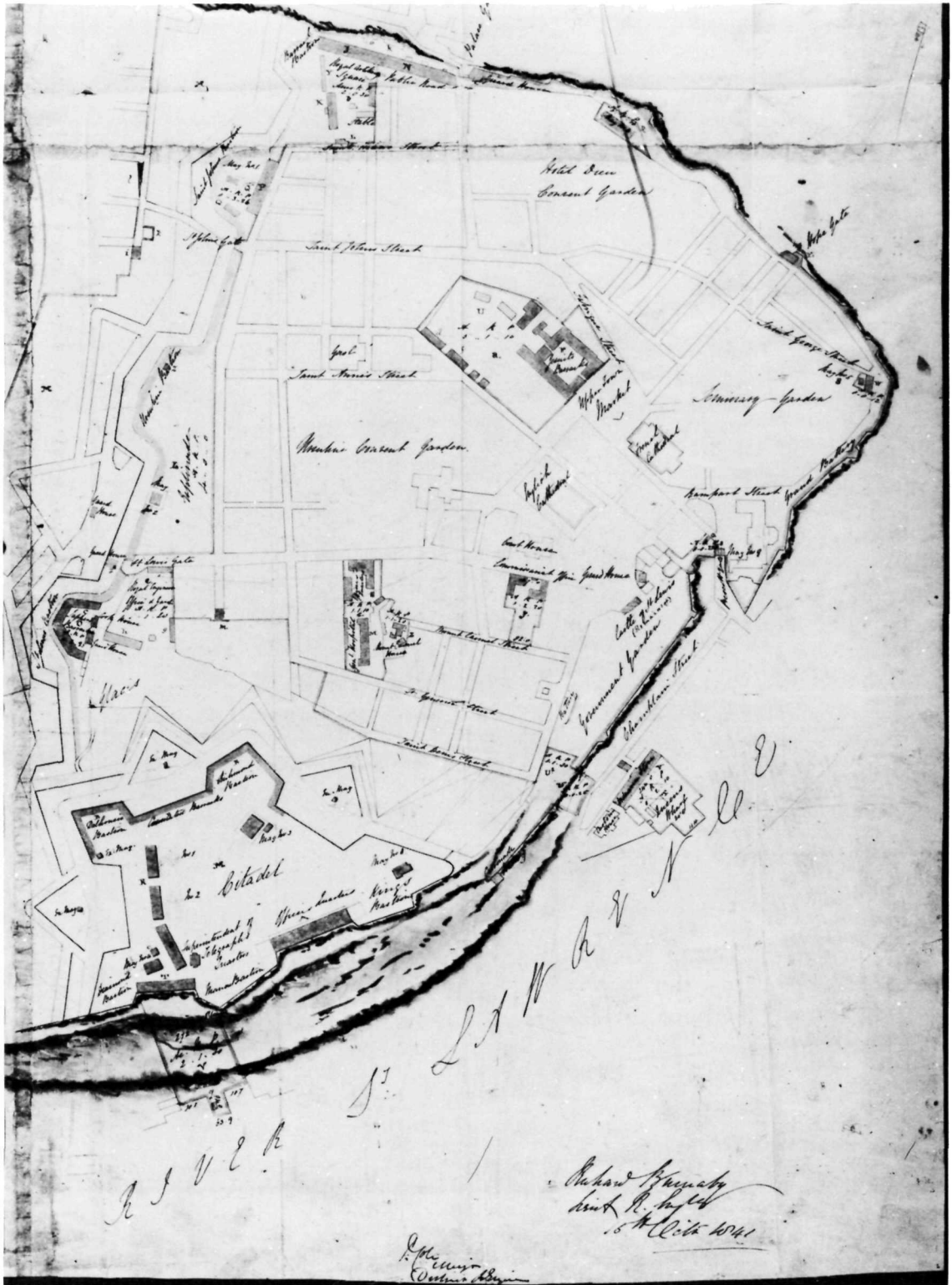
- 4 Artillery Park in 1808. (Map: E.W. Durnford.) Note the size of the military complex inside the city walls and also the way in which the land was used: parade grounds and gardens at the guardhouse, the officer's quarters, the mess, the messman's quarters and those of the commander of the Royal Artillery. (Public Archives Canada, C-54066.)



5 Marchmont, 1826. (Map: J. Harvey.) This beautiful property on the Plains of Abraham, above Anse-au-Foulon, belonged to Lieutenant Colonel Harvey. It covered approximately 70 acres and is an excellent example of the military's acquisition of land in the environs of Quebec City. (Public Archives Canada, C-55346.)



6 Quebec City in 1831. (Map: E.W. Durnford.) This general plan shows very clearly the great extent of the military's holdings in Quebec City. Note, for example, Marchmont, the race grounds, the grounds around the Martello towers, the Villeray fief, the glacis which might well be extended to the dotted line, the fortifications and the Citadel. (Public Archives Canada, C-55468.)



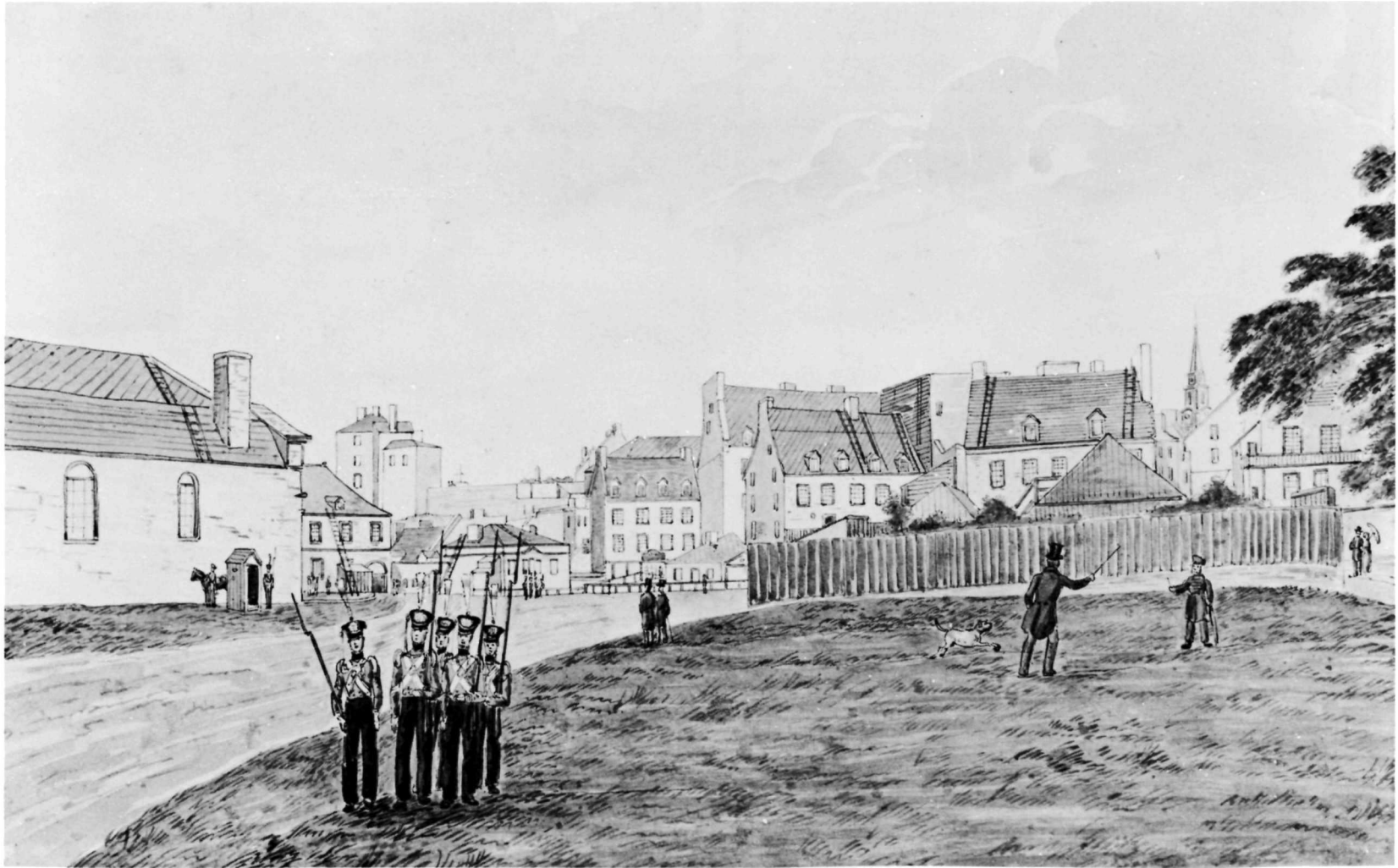
- 7 Quebec City in 1841. (Map: R. Burnaby.) Note here the military's predominant position in the upper town; the fortifications, the esplanade and the main buildings occupy a vast area. (Public Archives Canada, C-70451.)



8 Military exercises, 1829. (Painting: J.P. Cockburn.) This watercolour of the Artillery Park parade grounds shows some of the manoeuvres carried out quite regularly. In the background, from left to right, are part of the guardhouse, the schoolhouse, the gardens, the officer's quarters and the Dauphine Redoubt. (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 951X205.6.)



9 Military procession, 1830. (St. Louis Street and Courthouse, Quebec, by J.P. Cockburn.) This watercolour attests to the military's real presence in the city. Processions, parades, exercises and manoeuvres had long been familiar sights to the townspeople. (Public Archives Canada, C-12532.)



10 City guard duty, 1830. (Painting: J.P. Cockburn.) One of the military's main duties in Quebec City was guarding the city. In the foreground of the watercolour some soldiers can be seen patrolling the street and, in the background, a soldier stands near his sentry box. (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 942.48.74.)





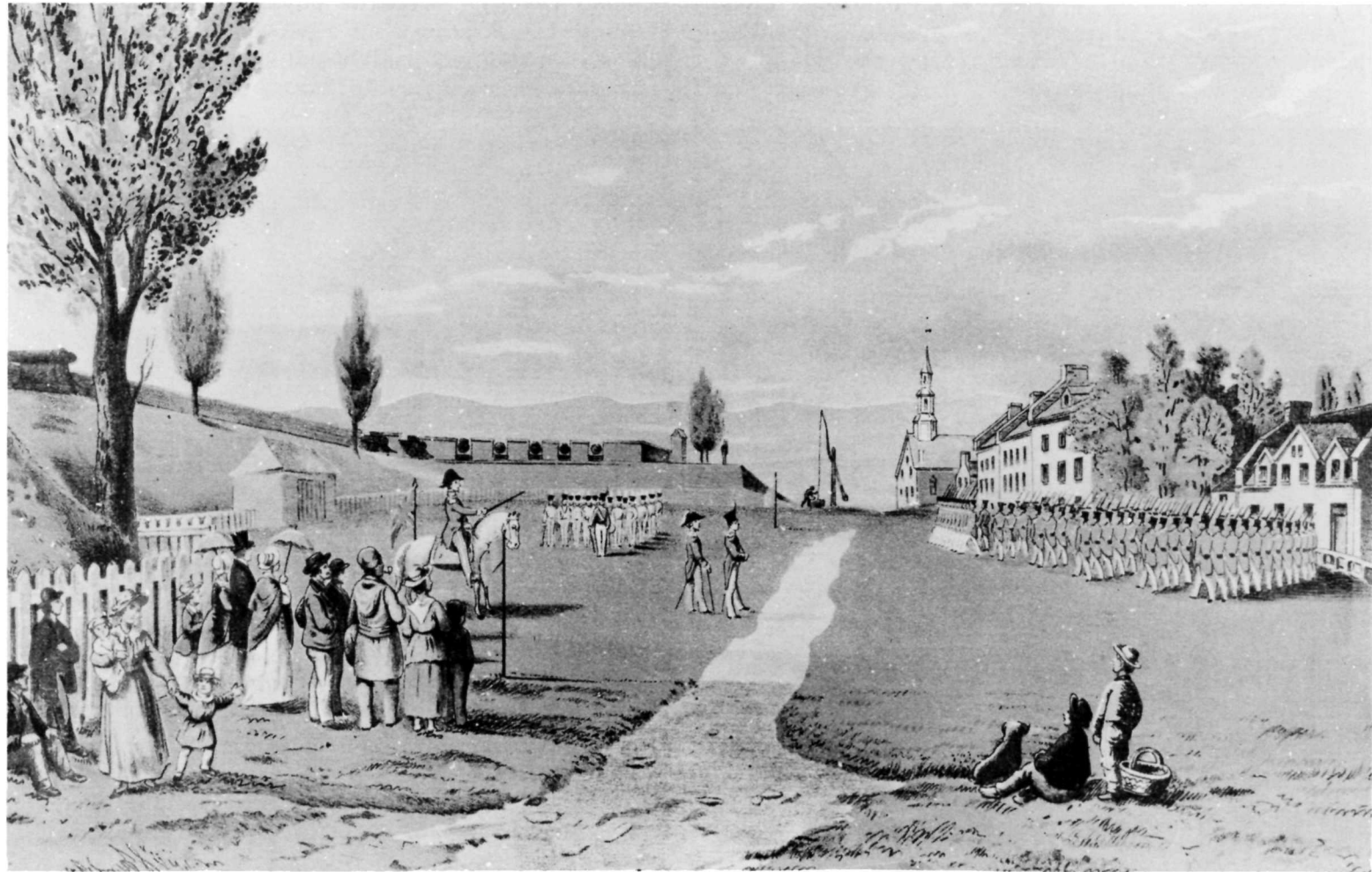
11 Manoeuvres on the glacis, 1830. (Painting: J.P. Cockburn.) This watercolour shows how the military made use of the glacis near the New Barracks; it was an integral part of military life and it is easy to understand why they were constantly trying to add to it. (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 942.48.100.)



12 Cricket match on the esplanade, 1830. (Painting: J.P. Cockburn.) The military introduced many sports to Quebec City; cricket was one of them. (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 942.48.68.)



13 Merrymaking on the "Pont de Glace," 1830. (Painting: J.P. Cockburn.) There are many mentions in travellers' journals of the ice bridge which formed between Quebec City and Lévis, and the activities enjoyed on it. There were sleigh rides, walks and skating, as shown in this watercolour. (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 949.39.10.)



14 Inspection and manoeuvres, 1832. (Esplanade and Fortifications of Quebec - 1832, drawing by R.A. Sproule after C.G. Crehen.) The military's presence in the city was often a great source of entertainment for the townspeople, who attended their inspections and manoeuvres. This depiction of the esplanade is a good example. (Public Archives Canada, C-1050.)



- 15 An officer's trophies, 1846. (Painting: C. Krieghoff.) This painting shows the many intellectual and sports activities in which the officers participated. Note the books and paintings as well as snowshoes, skates, toboggan, traps, muskets, paddles, fishing lines, nets and stuffed animals. (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 954.188.2.)



16 Excursion to the Montmorency Falls, circa 1850. (Falls of Montmorency in Winter, by C. Krieghoff.) This is one of many watercolours which capture the phenomenon of the ice formation at the Montmorency Falls. (Public Archives Canada, C-1107.)

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