

ST. JEAN, QUEBEC, 1871: A SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE

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ARTHUR HIESS

ST. JEAN, QUEBEC, 1871: A SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE

ABSTRACT

This paper is an attempt to present a socio-economic analysis of St. Jean, Quebec in 1871. In Chapter I, I discuss the particular system of social classification that I have used in this study. Chapter II involves an analysis and evaluation of my two primary sources of information: the Canadian manuscript census of 1871 and the Canada Directory of 1871. To test the accuracy of such variables as age, sex, religion, and occupation, the Census is compared with parish records. Similarly, the Canada Directory is compared to the occupational data in the Census in order to see how representative the Directory is of the labour force in St. Jean.

Chapter III examines the economic function of the town as a regional center in the Richelieu Valley. Particular emphasis is placed on the role of railways and their influence on economic development during the period from 1850 to 1870. Finally an analysis of the data is undertaken with two primary objectives: first, to examine the effects of a service-oriented economy upon the social structure of the town; second, to investigate the relationship between class, ethnicity, and social structure.

## CHAPTER I

This chapter deals with a discussion of the system of social classification employed in this study. To this end I adopted the comprehensive 1951 Registrar General's Classification of Occupations. This arrangement allowed me to test the relationship between occupation and other variables which were relevant to ascriptive social class.

The Registrar General's social classification scheme divided all occupations into five broad socio-economic classes so that "each category is homogeneous in relation to the basic criterion of the general standing within the community of the occupations concerned."<sup>1</sup> Implicit in this system was the strong correlation between social status and skill. Class I, for example, consists of the higher professions and heads or higher managers or directors of business enterprise. It includes all clergy, authors, journalists, doctors, lawyers, and university professors but excludes teachers who are members of the lesser paid professions.

Class II consists largely of the intermediate professions. Included in this group are shopkeepers, merchants, and farmers.<sup>2</sup>

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1. E.A. Wrigley, ed., Nineteenth Century Society (Cambridge, England, 1972), p. 205.

2. Ibid., p. 205.



Class III includes supervisory workers, clerks, shop assistants, and all manual workers belonging to the skilled trades.

"The conception of skill is here extended not only to jobs which are learned by some form of apprenticeship or formal learnership, but also to a great many trades in which there is no clear dividing line between craftsmen and semi-skilled workers."<sup>3</sup>

The result was an excessively large Class III. I divided it, where possible, into three sub-groups: manually skilled workers (Class III.S), clerical employees (Class III.C), and those in the dealing sectors (grocers, dealers and hotel keepers) (Class III.D).

Class IV is made up of the semi-skilled workers (carters and caretakers) standing between the 'skilled', in the sweeping terms of the Census, and the unskilled workers. Class V consists of the unskilled workers who are "in some cases, labourers permanently attached to a particular industry or occupation, and in others, a floating group of more or less casual workers,"<sup>4</sup>

Finally, I added a Class VI for occupations which were vague or could not be defined according to a pre-determined function; for example, a volunteer on service, a staff officer of the militia, or a student.

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3. G.D.H. Cole, Studies in Class Structure (London, 1955), p. 150.

4. Ibid., p. 151.

The Registrar General's classification scheme had several basic weaknesses. The system of classification was based entirely on occupational names and all individuals associated with a specific occupation--for example, clerks, lawyers, and doctors-- were automatically assigned to the same class. Similarly, all railway officials were put in Class II, whereas some road transport officials were placed in Class I. Further, "...the assignment to a particular class is made, not for each individual, but for each occupational group as a whole, so that, for example, all farmers constitute a single group irrespective of their holdings..."<sup>5</sup> Thus, other key variables such as income, education and office holding were not taken into account in determining social class.

Despite these difficulties, I chose to use the system for several reasons: first, since I lacked concrete data on income, my prime variable in any scheme of social classification remained that of occupation. The 1951 census classification offered this comprehensive classification of occupations; second, W.A. Armstrong, a member of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, adjusted the scheme to make it more compatible for the classification of 19th century occupations. All individuals initially classified as Class II dealers, merchants, and hotelkeepers were

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5. Cole, P. 149.

placed in Class III because "...many persons who made their living in these ways... were far from being persons of substantial capital and often enjoyed only low standards of living out of their commercial operations."<sup>6</sup>

In addition, if no data was available on the holdings of farmers, then it was virtually impossible to differentiate them by socio-economic status. In such cases all farmers were arbitrarily placed in Class III.<sup>7</sup> All students and apprentices were classified according to the occupation for which they were studying. Finally, working from this revised classification, Armstrong suggested that, "... upon consideration of individual cases, all merchants, dealers, and hotelkeepers, who employed at least one domestic servant, should be raised from Class III to Class II. By this means all those "whose undertakings were at all substantial... would rise."<sup>8</sup> This meant the reclassification upwards of eight out of 43 occupation holders.

For the purposes of analysis, all individuals who were listed without an occupation in the Census were not assigned to any class. The only exceptions were wives and children who were assigned to the class of the husband

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6. Cole, p. 149.

7. Wrigley, p. 225.

8. Ibid., p. 211.

and/or father. In the event that either the wives or the children were employed, each was assigned to his/her own class. Moreover, all calculations done along a class basis necessarily excluded all Class VI members who, because of their vague occupations, could not be ranked in relation to other classes. There were, for example, 578 heads of household in St. Jean in 1871. When they were analysed on a class basis, 26 were found to be in Class I, 27 in Class II, 263 in Class III, 54 in Class IV and 118 in Class V. Thus the 488 heads of household found in Classes I to V excluded 90 heads of household who were either without an occupation or located in Class VI. All other calculations done on a class basis yielded similar results whereby the total number of individuals in any group was greater than the number of individuals in its component Classes I to V. Tables 24 to 38 fall into this category.

## CHAPTER II

This chapter deals with an analysis and evaluation of my two primary sources of information: The Canadian manuscript census of 1871 and the Canada Directory of 1871. The primary purpose of the Census was "... the registration of the population...legally domiciled within the territory of the Dominion and including all persons who may be temporarily absent from their place of abode." All persons were to be registered in their own place of residence. Merchants, tradesman, labourers, travellers, students, or any other person who was temporarily absent from his home were to be registered by the enumerator as being present.<sup>10</sup>

The enumerator was instructed to put down the exact answers given by the person questioned. No room was left for interpretation. He was also expected to be familiar "...with all the particulars and peculiarities of his division...(and) the conditions of every family in his division."<sup>11</sup>

The enumerators were furnished with nine schedules to be filled out consecutively with each visit to a

9. Canada, "Manual Containing 'The Census Act' and Instructions to Officers Employed in the Taking of the First Census of Canada," Sessional Papers, No. 64, 1871, p.127. (hereafter cited as Sessional Papers, No. 64).

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., page 129.

house. The first schedule, upon which this research is primarily based, is entitled "Nominal Return of the Living" (see Sample I, p.8). "This schedule refers to the living and will contain the actual population, registered name by name, family by family, taken from house to house." <sup>12</sup> In column one of this schedule the enumerator noted every vessel which served as the home of a family or a person who did not have a domicile on shore. None of these were recorded in the town of St. Jean. Column two contains "...all dwellings only inhabited for a part of the year, such as lumbering shanties, public works, shanties, fishermen's huts..." <sup>13</sup> No such dwellings existed in the town.

Columns three and four refer to the number of houses under construction and the uninhabited dwellings respectively. One of each was recorded in the Census. Column five specifies that "...dwelling houses inhabited are to be numbered in order of visitation in consecutive series, from the beginning to the end of each enumerator's division." <sup>14</sup> Significantly, one or more families could live in the same house. "A separate house is to be counted, whenever the entrance from the outside is separate, and there is not direct and constant comm-

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12. Ibid., p.133.

13. Ibid., p.133.

14. Ibid., p.133.

No. on Register	Name	Age	Sex	Prof. or Occupation	Religion	Origin	Profession, occupation or pursuit	Married	Male	Female
143.157	Benar Elin	7	F		Austrian	Swedish				
	Mary	9	F			"				
	William	7	M			"				
	Charles	3	M			"				
	Arthur	1	M			"				
	Richard Henry	30	M		Swiss	French	Cook			
	Mary	26	F			English				
	Henry	7	M			French				
	Elizabeth Ellen	27	F		Catholic	Swiss	Seaman			
144	William Richard	17	M			Irish	Cook			
160	Collegis John	35	M			"	Saddler			
	Charles	35	M			"				
140	Shallus Thomas	46	M			Irish	Bridge Maker			
	James	40	M			"				
	Thomas	17	M			"	Carpenter			
	Thomas	14	M			"				
	Marquise	12	F			"				
	Isabella	10	F			"				
	Elizabeth	9	F			"				
	James	7	M			"				

unication in the inside to make it one." <sup>15</sup>

Column six contains the numbers of the families numbered consecutively in order to visits. Column seven provides "...the names of every living person, belonging to each family." <sup>16</sup> The family declared the Census,

"...may consist of one person living alone or of any number of persons living together under one roof, and having their food provided together. For example; One man, say a shopkeeper, or one woman, say a seamstress, living alone in a separate house or in a distinctly separate part of a house would constitute a separate census family; but any number of persons living together in a boarding house, several of them being parents, having children and servants, would only constitute one census family, provided they had no home elsewhere." <sup>17</sup>

The key element in the definition of a census family appeared to be the notion of a common kitchen to indicate shared location, kinship and activity by all the members of the census family. For the sake of convenience the term "household" was used instead of the term "census family." The person whose name appeared at the top of every household beside the household number was defined as the head of household. The wife of the head of household was defined as the married female who had the same surname as the head of household and whose name appeared directly below his. The children of the head of household were defined as those people who had the same surname as the head of household and

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15. Ibid., p.133.

16. Ibid., p.133.

17. Ibid., p.128.



were at least 15 years younger than the wife. In the event that the wife was not present, then the children had to be 15 years younger than the head of household.

The matter of individuals who were members of a household, but not of a nuclear family, still had to be considered. Servants, for example,

"...come under three categories, and are to be dealt with in the following manner:

1. Those having or belonging to families or homes of their own within the Dominion are to be taken with their own families.
2. Those not having, or belonging to families or homes of their own within the Dominion, are to be taken as part of the families with whom they happen to be living.
3. Those in settled employment are to be taken as not having or belonging to a family or home of their own."<sup>18</sup>

Within the context of the term "household", a servant was defined as an individual whose occupation was that of servant and whose surname differed from the surname of the head of household. Kin, on the other hand, were individuals who had the same surname as the head of the household but who were neither children, wives nor servants. If any kin were added to a simple family household, then the new unit was called an extended family household. Lodgers, on the other hand, were members of the household who maintained certain shared activities -- such as eating in the same kitchen -- but who were assumed not to be related by blood or marriage to the family of the head of household. Although the surname of any lodger was by definition different from the surname of the head of household,

the lodger could be related to the wife of head of household. This kinship pattern could only be established if the maiden name of the wife were matched to the surname of the lodger. Otherwise it was assumed that the lodger was not related to the wife of the head of household since the Census did not specify the status of each individual member of the household. Thus a lodger was the remaining individual who was neither a head of household, wife of head of household, child of head of household, servant, nor kin.

In an effort to verify the accuracy of the census returns and the definitions employed, every tenth household was checked against the parish records. In this sample of 58 households, 47 heads of household were married, five were widowed, four were single, one was a nun, and one was married without the husband being present. Of these 58 heads of household, 28 could not be traced with any degree of accuracy because the heads of household had no offspring who could be found in the parish records. One could examine the case of the household which included a Joseph Dupuis, age 52, his wife Julie, age 52, and a daughter Louise, age 28. Since a Louise Dupuis, age 28, could not be traced, the next logical step was to search for a Joseph Dupuis. Even if such a person's birth were found in the parish records, one could not be certain that these two were, in fact, one and the same person. Since

the parish records covered a territory larger in size than the town itself, the chances of several people named Joseph Dupuis being born in the same year were too great to render an accurate linkage. If, however, the record of a child were found (see Sample 2, Marie Decelles, page 13) then the name of the child, the name of the father, the given name of the mother, and in some cases, the profession of the father could be matched with the corresponding data in the Census. This method produced a high degree of accuracy in linkages.

The 28 heads of households whose names appeared at the top of the household and who were defined by the rules as husbands were linked to their respective wives through the birth of one or more of their children. Through this linkage of offspring, the 28 heads of household were confirmed as fathers and husbands. Similarly, the two widowers, who were heads of household and defined as fathers were matched to their respective children. All 28 females listed in the Census immediately below the head of the household and defined by the rules as wives of the head of household and mothers were confirmed. The 30 households also contained 74 of the 132 individuals in the census sample who had the same surname as the head of household and who were defined as his children. Here, too, both the Census and the definitions employed were completely accurate. The 30 households also included

four out of a total of eight individuals in the sample, whom the rules defined as kin, and six out of a total of six defined as servants. All ten were consistent with the definitions. The sample of 58 households contained 31 individuals defined as lodgers. In this group were ten nuns who could not be found through the parish records. Of the 21 remaining lodgers, 12 were located in the 30 households traced in the parish records. Eight of the 12 lodgers (66.6%) were kin of wives of head of household because they bore the same surname as the maiden surname of the wife.

Column eight contains the sex of each individual. Of 132 sexes checked against the parish records, all were correct. Column nine gives the age of individuals. In those cases where individuals were less than one year old, the age was expressed as a fraction. In this important category, only the ages of the 74 children found in the census sample could be verified because the parish registers did not record the ages of the parents when their children were born. All the ages of the children were found to be correct. Column ten contains the month of the birth of those infants less than one year old. Nine of the 74 children who fell into this category were confirmed in the parish records. Column eleven contains the birth place of the people. Of the 74 children verified, all birth places were correct.

Column twelve registers religion.

"There are separate religious denominations bearing nearly the same names, and it is not only desirable but necessary that they should be carefully distinguished in this column. The enumerators, will, therefore, be careful when writing down this information to do so in a manner to show clearly the result."<sup>19</sup>

Although the enumerators apparently took care in distinguishing between the different denominations, it was impossible to check the accuracy of their work for the non-Catholics; for example, the children in the test sample whose religion was registered as Episcopalian were recorded at the Anglican Church, and the children who were registered as Presbyterians were baptized at the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Consequently, the religion of 18 children, four fathers, and four mothers could not be checked. The 85 people who were recorded as Catholics were so confirmed by the parish registers.

In column thirteen, the origin is entered "...as given by the person in question."<sup>20</sup> It was, however, impossible to check the accuracy of this data since ethnicity is not recorded in the parish registers. In column fourteen, "... the profession, trade, or occupation must be entered in full as given. When two of these are united in one person, both may or may not be given; the point being decided by the importance attached to the

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19. Ibid., pp.133-34.

20. Ibid., p.134.

fact by the person himself."<sup>21</sup> When the son followed the same occupation as the father, he was supposed to be registered by the same occupational notation. College students and apprentices studying trades were registered in accordance with their field of study. Of the 30 heads of household listed in the parish registers, 23 had occupations which corresponded exactly with their professions as recorded in the Census. Appendix A gives a list of the occupations where conflicts arose between the two sources. The case of the furrier-hatter was the only example where the occupations listed were conflicting, but similar. A check, however, of the Directory revealed that this man had held both occupations. The other differences could not be resolved, except to say that occupational mobility did not appear to be a factor, except, perhaps, in the case of the merchant-tanner. The Census was nonetheless correct in 24 out of 30 (80%) cases.

Column fifteen registers the marital status of the people. The 30 households traced in the parish records contained 58 mothers and fathers who were registered in the Census as married. The marital status of all 58 was correct. Column sixteen records the marriages that took place within the last 12 months. None of these cases were contained in the test sample. Column seventeen

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21. Ibid., p. 134.

indicates current school attendance. Although the parish records could not help test for accuracy in school attendance, the school inspector for the county of St. Jean reported that 769 students were registered for school. The Census, conversely, reported 664 students. The difference was accounted for by the large number of clergy studying in the town who had to be registered in their own census districts.

Columns eighteen and nineteen include all individuals over 20 who were unable to read and write. Of the 30 heads of household, eight neither signed their names nor left an "x" mark in the parish records during the baptism of their children. The Census reported these eight as unable to write. Of the 20 who were recorded in the census sample as able to write, 17 signed their full names. It was not clear why the remaining three of the twenty did not sign. The literacy statistics were nonetheless accurate in 85% of the cases.

The Canada Directory of 1871 was published in October, 1870. During March and April, John Lovell, its publisher placed ads in newspapers advertising the Directory:

"It is intended to make these Directories the most complete and correct ever issued on this continent. They are not being prepared by correspondence, but by personal canvass, from door to door, of my own agents, for the requisite information, I have now engaged on the work in the several provinces forty men and twenty horses. They are engaged mainly on the towns and villages of the railway and steamboat routes,

important places on the lines being held till the completion of the former, to admit correction to latest date."<sup>22</sup>

The information of the Directory was probably canvassed in the summer of 1870, eight months prior to the gathering of the Census.

In an attempt to assess the reliability of the Canada Directory with respect to the analysis of occupation, one must ask how representative the Directory was of the labour force in St. Jean. A total of 649 people were listed in the Directory as living in St. Jean, 548 or 84.4% of whom were occupation holders. Of these 649, 54% appeared in the Census. Table I, page 19, gives the proportion of occupation holders in each source by social class: for example, 6.2% of all occupation holders listed in the Census were in Class I while 6.6% of all employed in the Directory were in Class I. Table I was subjected to a chi square analysis. The results revealed an overrepresentation in the Directory of Class III.D occupation holders and an underrepresentation of Class IV employed. The Directory, therefore, was found to be a reliable source for the study of occupation distributions, except in the case of Class III.D and Class IV employed.

To ascertain whether occupation was a significant

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22. Le Franco Canadien, March 1970.



TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY CLASS OF THOSE EMPLOYED WHO ARE LISTED IN THE CENSUS AND IN THE DIRECTORY.

N = total number of each group employed in the Census, (936) and in the Directory (548).

	<u>Census</u>	<u>Directory</u>
Class I	6.2	6.6
Class II	5.0	6.0
Class III.D	8.6	13.9
Class III.S	29.8	26.3
Class III.C	6.8	8.4
Class IV	15.9	21.2
Class V	17.3	21.9
N	(936)	(548)

factor in determining whether an individual would be listed in the Directory, the proportion of occupation holders found in the Census was first calculated by class. Then the percentage of those within each class who were also found in the Directory was calculated (see Table 2, page 21). The same calculations were done for the heads of household (see Table 3, page 22). The results in Table 3 were subjected to a chi square analysis. The results revealed no significant differences in the representation of each sub-group of heads of household in the Directory. In all, 57.6% of all heads of household were found in the Directory. Moreover, Class I, Class II, and Class III heads of household were more likely to be found in the Directory than Class IV and Class V heads of household. In a stratified sample done of 500 heads of household in the nine Montreal wards, 60% were found in the Directory.<sup>23</sup> Of these, 63.9% were in Class I, 51.7% were in Class IV, and 54.8% were in Class V. The corresponding figures for St. Jean were 57.7%, 51.9%, and 65.8%. Only these groups could be compared because of the different definitions of class employed by both studies.

A comparison of Tables 2 and 3 revealed that a

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23. D.S. Cross and J.G. Dudley, "Comparative Study of Street Directories and Census Returns for 1871," Urban History Review, No. 3, 1972, p. 15.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY CLASS, OF THOSE EMPLOYED AND THE PROPORTION OF EACH SUB-GROUP FOUND IN THE DIRECTORY.

N = total number of employed in the Census (936).

	<u>Census</u>	<u>Directory</u>
Class I	6.2	27.6
Class II	5.0	48.9
Class III.D	8.6	55.0
Class III.S	29.8	36.9
Class III.C	6.8	35.9
Class IV	15.9	20.1
Class V	17.3	43.2
N	(936)	

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD BY CLASS AND THE PROPORTION OF EACH SUB-GROUP FOUND IN THE DIRECTORY.

N = total number of heads of households in the Census (578).

	<u>Census</u>	<u>Directory</u>
Class I	4.5	57.7
Class II	4.7	77.8
Class III.D	11.9	62.3
Class III.S	22.5	67.7
Class III.C	3.5	64.0
Class IV	9.3	51.9
Class V	20.4	56.8
N	(578)	

higher proportion of heads of household within each class appeared in the Directory than the corresponding number of total employed within each class. This was partly so, because a larger proportion of heads of household were married and had children than the total number of employed taken as a group. They were, in a word, more established in the town and, therefore, more likely to be included in the Census.

While a pattern did emerge along class lines, no significant relationship appeared between ethnicity and the proportion of heads of household listed in the Directory. Of the 433 French heads of household, 55.7% appeared in the Directory. The corresponding figures for the 69 Irish and 67 English-Scottish heads of household were 65.2% and 56.7% respectively.

A total of 649 people were listed in the Directory for the town of St. Jean, 271 or 46% of whom did not appear in the Census. Included in this group were 29 widows and 224 employed. How does one account for the non-appearance in the Census of the individuals (48.9%) who were listed in the Directory? A check of their addresses revealed that these people lived on the town's main streets; therefore, the possibility of these workers being underenumerated during the course of the Census was remote. Moreover, Table 4, page 24, which gives the proportion of those employed, and listed only in the Directory, revealed a class distribution

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY CLASS, OF THOSE EMPLOYED WHO ARE LISTED ONLY IN THE DIRECTORY AND THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF EMPLOYED WHICH ARE LISTED IN THE DIRECTORY.

N = number of those employed which are listed only in the Directory (224).

N = total number of employed which are listed in the Directory (548).

	<u>Employed listed only in the Directory</u>	<u>All employed listed in the Directory</u>
Class I	6.7	6.6
Class II	6.7	6.0
Class III.D	13.1	13.9
Class III.S	20.7	26.3
Class III.C	4.9	8.4
Class IV	8.5	8.8
Class V	20.4	21.9
N	(224)	(548)

similar to the total number of employed in the Directory. Furthermore, a check of the Census for the parish of St. Jean revealed that none of the 271 people resided in the immediately surrounding countryside. Nor did these people appear in the Canada Directory for 1857. Since the Census of 1871 and the Canada Directory of 1871 were compiled only within eight months of each other, geographical mobility had to be eliminated as a factor in accounting for their presence in the Directory. The only other possibility lay in the fact that this group lived in Iberville across the river and worked in St. Jean. Only further research, however, can resolve this problem.

### CHAPTER III

During the period 1850 to 1970, St. Jean fulfilled a dual economic function. First the town acted as a regional center, serving the territory west of the Richelieu River between the Chambly Basin and the Canadian -- American border. Second, St. Jean was a sub-center in the vast hinterland of Montreal.

As a regional center, St. Jean provided all the key services of a fully-fledged town.<sup>24</sup> Located twenty-five miles south of Montreal, on the Richelieu River, the town boasted two newspapers, four doctors, seven advocates, and five notaries. Although St. Jean did not have a bank branch, two brokers represented the major Montreal banks. As the "chef lieu" of the Iberville district, St. Jean was the site of the Court of Queen's Bench, The Superior Court, and the Circuit Court. Other significant institutions included the provincial lunatic asylum, a customs house, and a military

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24. Jacob Spelt, in his analysis of urban development in south central Ontario, attempted to classify mid-nineteenth century urban centers on the basis of certain key services. The services which he chose were first the legal and medical professions. The listing of these professions in the Directory was usually highly accurate. Moreover they were widely distributed and their presence was a good indicator of the status of the town. Similarly, banks and newspapers were selected as criteria. Thus a place which listed a member of the legal and medical profession and had a bank and a newspaper was defined as a full-fledged town. Places which contained one, two or three of these indicators were defined as rural villages, urban villages and sub-towns respectively. (Jacob Spelt, The Urban Development in South Central Ontario, (Amsterdam, 1955, pp. 87-89.).



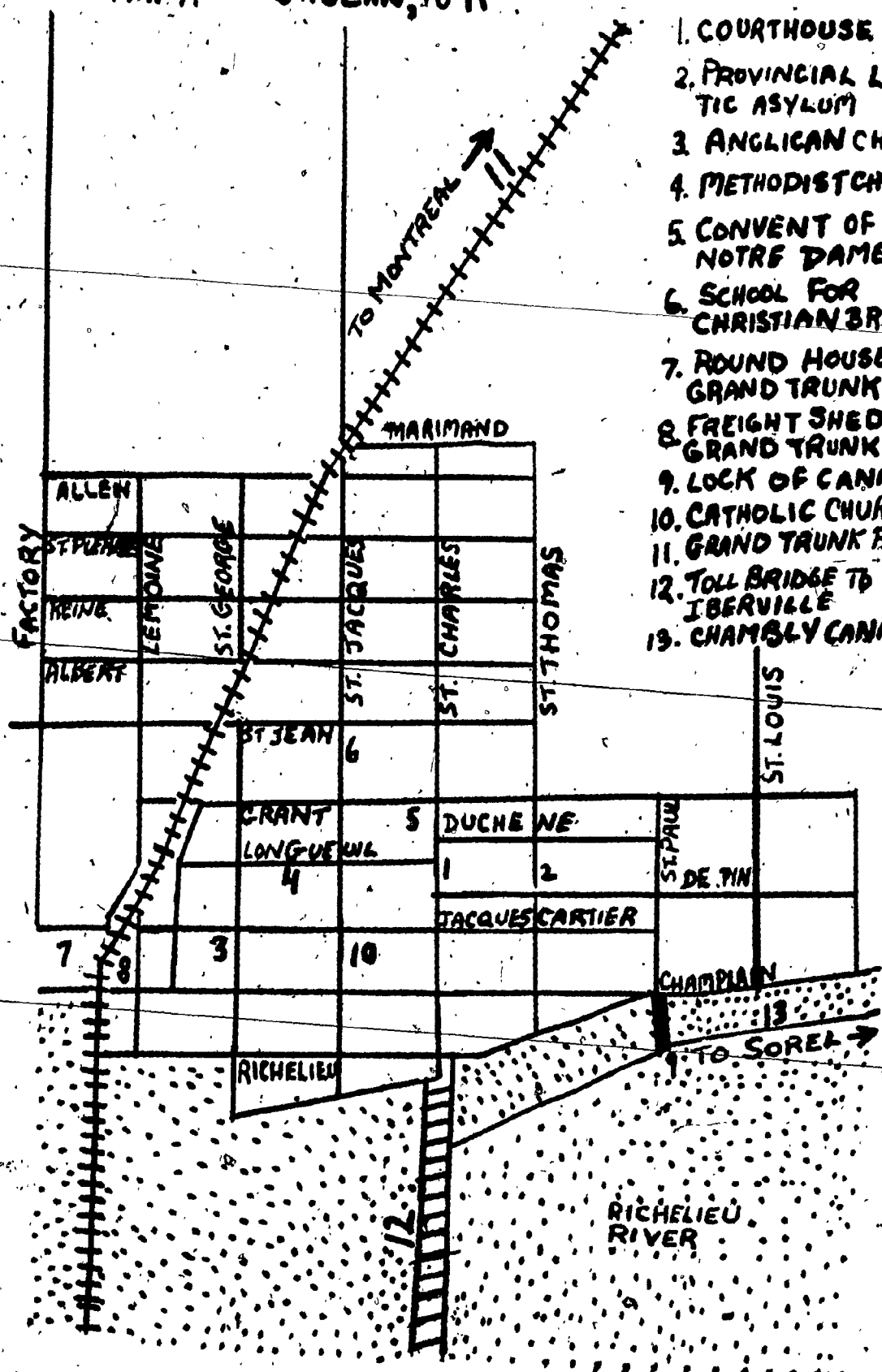
fort. St. Jean had specialized educational facilities which included seven schools, two nunneries, and a School for Christian Brothers (see Map A, page 28).

In terms of regional importance, the other centers in the Upper Richelieu Valley were clearly subordinate to St. Jean (see Map A2, page 29). L'Acadie, located six miles west of St. Jean, had a population of 500 including one doctor, and one notary. Lacolle, situated 18 miles south of St. Jean, had 700 inhabitants. Among them were two notaries and one doctor. The village of Chambly Basin, 12 miles downriver from St. Jean, was comprised of 800 inhabitants, numbering among them one advocate, three notaries, and one doctor. Consequently, all these centers were classified as urban villages because they lacked the key services which defined St. Jean as a fully fledged town.

On a continental scale, the expansion of the railway network helped integrate St. Jean into the hinterland of Montreal as the town became a transshipment point on the Montreal-Boston, Montreal-New York axis.

With the opening of the Champlain and St. Lawrence Railway in 1836, St. Jean had a direct connection with Laprairie and Montreal across the St. Lawrence River. "Elle constitue une sorte de portage entre biefs navigables qui évitent les hauts -- fonds du Richelieu; comme aux Etats Unis il semble qu'a l'origin le chemin de fer ne soit que le

# MAP A ST. JEAN, 1871



1. COURTHOUSE
2. PROVINCIAL LUNATIC ASYLUM
3. ANGLICAN CHURCH
4. METHODIST CHURCH
5. CONVENT OF NOTRE DAME
6. SCHOOL FOR CHRISTIAN BROS.
7. ROUND HOUSE, GRAND TRUNK R.R.
8. FREIGHT SHED, GRAND TRUNK R.R.
9. LOCK OF CANAL
10. CATHOLIC CHURCH
11. GRAND TRUNK R.R.
12. TOLL BRIDGE TO IBERVILLE
13. CHAMBLY CANAL

TO MONTREAL

MARIMAND

FACTORY

ALLEN

ST. PIERRE

REINE

ALBERT

LEMOINE

ST. GEORGE

ST. JACQUES

ST. CHARLES

ST. THOMAS

ST. JEAN

6

CRANT

LONGUEUIL

4

5 DUCHE NE

JACQUES CARTIER

ST. PAUL

DE TIN

ST. LOUIS

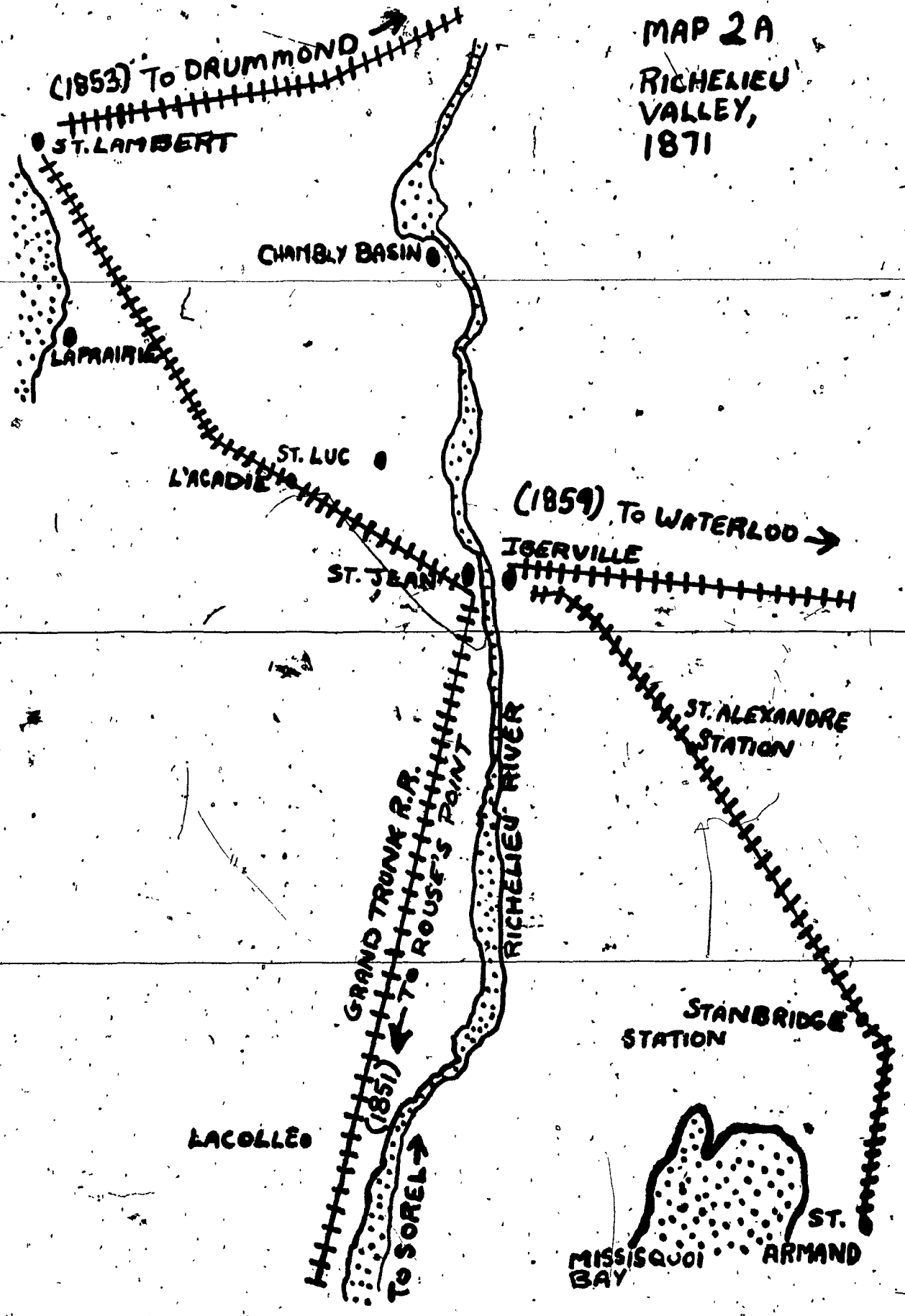
CHAMPLAIN

RICHELIEU

RICHELIEU RIVER

TO SOREL

# MAP 2 A RICHELIEU VALLEY, 1871



(1853) To DRUMMOND →  
ST. LAMBERT

CHAMBLY BASIN

LAPRAIRIE

ST. LUC

L'ACADIE

(1859) To WATERLOO →  
ISERVILLE

ST. JEAN

ST. ALEXANDRE  
STATION

GRAND TRUNK R.R.  
(1851) To SOREL →  
TO ROUSE'S POINT

RICHELIEU RIVER

STANBRIDGE  
STATION

LACOLLE

MISSISQUOI BAY  
ST. ARMAND

complement du system fluvial."<sup>25</sup> This line, however, was extended from St. Jean to Rouses Point in 1851 to connect with the Central Vermont Railway and the American markets. In 1860, St. Jean was connected directly with Montreal via the Montreal, St. Johns, and Rousses Point Branch of the Grand Trunk Railway. Consequently, the old St. Jean -- Laprairie line which was abandoned reduced the importance of Laprairie as a transshipment point to Montreal since the new railway bypassed the town. In 1859 traffic began along the Stanstead, Shefford, and Chambly Railway between St. Jean and Waterloo via Farnham and Granby. This meant that St. Jean became a key transshipment point between Montreal and the Eastern Townships.<sup>26</sup> Thus, these new railways enhanced the importance of St. Jean as a major transshipment point and, in bypassing Lacolle, Laprairie, and Chambly Basin, reduced their importance as transportation centers. Chambly, nonetheless, continued to act as an outlet for the trade of Lake Champlain with the province of Quebec.<sup>27</sup>

What effects did this railway construction have on the economic growth of St. Jean and on the structure of its labour force? In attempting to answer this question, Jean Hamelin and Yves Roby concluded:

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25. Jean Hamelin and Yves Roby, Histoire Economique du Quebec, 1851-1896, (Montreal, 1971); p. 122.

26. Ibid., p. 126

27. Canada Directory, 1871

"Bien situé sur le Richelieu Saint Jean prospérait grâce au commerce Montreal-Boston. Il connaît un boom manufacturier de 1851-1858 alors que sa population passe de 3000 a 45000. La guerre civile americaine prolonge cette prospérité mais ne fait que retarder les conséquences ne fastes sur trace Montreal-Boston (1853) via Drummond adopté par le Grand Tronc."<sup>28</sup>

St. Jean, however, did not appear to experience any manufacturing boom between 1851 and 1858. The only major industrial concern to open during this period was a glass works factory. This firm, however, transferred operations to Montreal between 1857 and 1871. Moreover, the export and import statistics did not indicate any downturn in the trade of St. Jean. The town exported goods valued at \$1,327,393 \$3,045,624 and \$4,067,434 for the years 1858, 1863, and 1871 respectively. The corresponding import figures were \$66,139 \$268,125 and \$477,470.<sup>29</sup>

The expansion of the railways did not appear to have any significant effect on the occupational structure of the town. A comparison of 20 occupations in the Directory for the years 1858 to 1871 revealed that the number of employed for each occupation did not vary significantly for each year; for example, there were seven blacksmiths and 23 carpenter-joiners in 1858 and 9 and 23 respectively in 1871. This stability in the size of the occupational force corresponded with the population statistics which held fairly constant for the years 1851 (3215), 1861 (3317), and 1871 (3022).

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28. Hamelin and Roby, p. 295.

29. Ibid., (Appendix 24).

The aggregate occupational statistics for the county of St. Jean revealed the extent to which the economy of the region was dominated by service industries. On the 3198 occupation holders, 15% (508) were in the industrial class, and 19% (650) were classified in the service industries (4% in the professional class, 8% in the commercial class, and 7% in the domestic class). Furthermore, the 508 workers listed in the industrial class were employed in small workshops which averaged 3.1 workers per establishment; for example, 20 boot and shoe factories and four saw mills employed 49 and 22 workers respectively. The only large scale operation was a pottery which employed 16 people.

An analysis of the labour force in St. Jean in 1871 revealed an underrepresentation of French Canadian occupation holders in Class I and Class II occupations and an overrepresentation in Class IV and Class V occupations. The same held true for the Irish Catholics except in the Class IV sector. St. Jean contained 704 French Canadian workers, 5.9% of whom were found in Class I, 2.4% in Class II, 17.1% in Class IV, and 20.7% in Class V (see Table 5, page 34). The corresponding figures for the 66 Irish Catholics employed were NIL, 6.1%, NIL, and 10.6%. People of English, Scottish, and Irish-Protestant origin, on the other hand, dominated the higher and intermediate professions and were underrepresented in the semiskilled and unskilled categories. Of the 92 English-Scottish

employed, 10.9% were in Class I, 16.3% in Class II, 8.7% in Class IV, and 6.5% in Class V. The Irish-Protestant totals were 4.8%, 17.7%, 8.1%, and 4.8% respectively. In the large Class III, the French and Irish-Catholics had a high proportion of employed in the dealer and skilled sectors (31.1% and 31.8%), while the English-Scottish and Irish-Protestants had a high proportion in the clerical sector (16.1% and 11.9%).

The French Canadians, despite their relatively small representation in Class I and Class II, had 28 heads of household in these two sectors (see Table 6, page 35). A preponderance of French Canadians were found in the legal, religious, and retail professions. This group consisted primarily of four clergy, six advocates, five notaries, and seven merchants. Here the traditional French Canadian elite was clearly manifest. The 23 English-Scottish and Irish-Protestant heads of household, in comparison, dominated the commercial professions. They included four commercial agents, three brokers, one bookkeeper, and one customs officer. This group comprised the traditional English elite.

The classic English and French elites, however, did not exert an overriding influence upon municipal politics. Of the 11 city councillors elected in 1868 and 1870, ten were small Class III businessmen and artisans. They included one French storekeeper, one French grocer, one French baker, two French joiners, one French bricklayer,

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED BY CLASS.

N = total number of employed within each ethnic group.

	<u>All</u> <u>Classes</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Irish-</u> <u>Catholic</u>	<u>Irish-</u> <u>Protestant</u>	<u>English &amp;</u> <u>Scottish</u>
Class I	6.2	5.9	0	4.8	10.9
Class II	5.0	2.4	6.1	17.7	16.3
Class III.D	8.6	8.5	7.6	12.9	4.3
Class III.S	29.8	31.1	31.8	24.2	20.7
Class III.C	6.8	5.8	3.0	16.1	11.9
Class IV	15.9	17.1	0	8.1	8.7
Class V	17.3	20.7	10.6	4.8	6.7
N	(936)	(704)	(66)	(62)	(92)



TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD BY ETHNICITY.

N = total number of employed heads of household within each class.

	N	<u>French</u>	<u>Irish- Catholic</u>	<u>Irish- Protestant</u>	<u>English &amp; Scottish</u>
Class I.	(26)	17	1	1	7
Class II	(27)	11	1	6	9
Class III.D	(35)	31	2	2	0
Class III.S	(165)	118	11	12	23
Class III.C	(25)	20	1	1	3
Class IV	(54)	44	5	2	3
Class V	(118)	105	6	2	5

one English tanner, one English brewer, and two French blacksmiths. The eleventh member was an English private banker. The four mayors returned between 1860 and 1870 were made up of one French storekeeper, (elected three times), one French merchant, one French advocate, and one English merchant (elected twice). In addition, the majority of these officials were a stable element in the community. Of the 15 officials verified in the Directory of 1871, ten were also traced in the Directory of 1857. Thus, at least 66.6% of them appeared to be established in the community for a decade or longer.

The families in Class I and Class II formed the most stable elements in the town. A check of the parish records revealed that of the 30 families reported having children, 13 had offspring born in and out of the parish. All but one of these families were found in the lower three classes. At some point in their lives, 41% of these married couples had left St. Jean, only to return later. A migration of young people from the countryside into the town also took place. In his annual report, the school inspector referred to,

"... this emigration (that) withdraws from farm labour a number of workmen, and is so much felt in my district which lies contiguous to the United States that many fathers are forced to keep their children at home during three or four months in each year to help them in their fields."<sup>30</sup>

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30. Québec, "Annual Report of Education of the Regional Inspector", Sessional Papers, No.3, 1871, p. 52 (hereafter cited as Annual Paper).

David Gagan, in his study of demographic patterns in the township of Toronto, Gore, Peel County, found a high rate of transiency among the non-farming population. Despite the fact that the population of Toronto Gore had remained fairly constant between 1860 (1728) and 1870 (1559), over 70% of the inhabitants, consisting largely of migrant families, were on the move.<sup>31</sup>

"One fifth of all the householders in motion were labourers, slightly less than a tenth were artisans and mechanics and one quarter of them were professional and commercial people."<sup>32</sup>

The majority of these male transients were married and under the age of forty.<sup>33</sup> Table 7, page 39, which gives the age distribution of the males in Toronto Gore, indicated that 203 males, age 10 to 20, lived there in 1861. A decade later, there were 129 males, age 21 to 31, resulting in a difference of 74 males (see Table 8, page 40). The death rate for the 10 to 20 age group,

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31. David Gagan and Herbert Mays, "Historical Demography and Canadian Social History: Families and Land in Peel County, Ontario" Michael Horn and Ronald Sabourin, eds., Studies in Canadian Social History (Toronto, 1974), p. 109.

32. Ibid., p. 109.

33. Ibid., p. 111.

however, was calculated at NIL (see Table 9, page 41).

Thus, a net migration of 54 males (36%) in the 10 to 20 age group had occurred (see Table 10, page 42). The corresponding losses for the 20 to 30, 30 to 40, 40 to 50, and 50 to 60 age groups were: 83 (48%), 42 (37%), 23 (40%), and 14 (37%). As a result, out of 226 migrants, 179 (79%) were under the age of 40.

Although the population of St. Jean showed a decline of 8% between 1861 (3317) and 1871 (3023), nonetheless, a constant flow of people took place in and out of the community. St. Jean, for example, boasted 381 males, aged 10 to 20, in 1861. The following decade recorded 226 males in the 21 to 30 age group (see Table 11, page 44). The difference was 155 males (see Table 12, page 45). The death rate for the 10 to 20 age group, however, was 20 males (see Table 13, page 46). Net migration as a result was 135 males (35%) in the 10 to 20 age group (see Table 14, page 47). The corresponding losses for the

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34. The death rate for Toronto Gore was arrived at by calculating the proportional death rates for the 10 to 20 age group in Port Hope and Newcastle. The average mortality rate was then multiplied ten-fold to represent the death rate in Toronto Gore for the period 1861 to 1870. The death rate for St. Jean was similarly established in conjunction with the mortality rates in Iberville and Chambly Basin. Since the Census of 1861 was the only source which provided the mortality rates for the desired age groups, this method was adopted to achieve a more reliable distribution in the death rate over a ten year period. In addition the age groups in the Census of 1861 and in the Census of 1871 did not correspond exactly. Therefore, the migration statistics were only an approximation.

TABLE 7

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALES IN TORONTO GORE, 1861 and 1871.

N = number of males in each age group.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Age Group</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Year</u>
1861	10-20	203	129	21-31	1871
1861	20-30	170	87	31-41	1871
1861	30-40	113	63	41-51	1871
1861	50-60	38	19	61-71	1871

TABLE 8

NET DIFFERENCE IN THE NUMBER OF MALES IN TORONTO GORE  
BETWEEN 1861 AND 1871.

N = net difference in each age group.

<u>Age group in 1861</u>	<u>N</u>
10-20	-74
20-30	-83
30-40	-50
40-50	-24
50-60	-19

TABLE 9

THE DEATH RATE FOR MALES IN TORONTO GORE BETWEEN  
1861 AND 1871.

N = total number of male death's in each  
age group.

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>N</u>
10-20	0
20-30	0
30-40	8
40-50	1
50-60	5

TABLE 10

EMIGRATION OF MALES FROM TORONTO GORE BETWEEN 1861 AND 1871.

N = emigration in each group.

<u>Age Group in 1861</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>% Drop in 1871</u>
10-20	-74	-36%
20-30	-83	-48%
30-40	-42	-37%
40-50	-23	-40%
50-60	-19	-37%



20 to 30, 30 to 40, and 40 to 50 age groups were 147 (49%), 17 (11%), and 9 (8%). In the 50 to-60 age group, a net immigration of eight males (11%) occurred. Thus, 299 out of 308 emigrants (97%) were under the age of 40.

When the transients in St. Jean were compared to the transients in Toronto Gore, two clear patterns emerged: first, a larger proportion of male emigrants (97%) to (79%) under the age of 40 migrated from St. Jean; second, the level of transiency among males, aged 30 to 40, 40 to 50, and 50 to 60 was substantially higher in Toronto Gore. Thus, St. Jean appeared to have had a high turnover in population, particularly among young people. Unable to find much opportunity for employment, many young people left for the industrial centers of the United States.

For the young who remained in St. Jean, little alternative employment to service-oriented jobs existed. This conclusion was reinforced by the results in Table 15, page 49, which indicated that roughly the same proportion of sons in Class I and II (38.9%), Class III.s (39.1%), and Class III.D (36.4%) occupations pursued the same types of jobs as their fathers. The high proportion of sons entering Class IV and Class V occupations underlined the need for a continued supply of semi-skilled and unskilled labour in the town.

Among the 151 sons of French heads of household, 57 entered the same occupations as that of their fathers (see Table 16, page 50). One of these was found in

TABLE 11

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALES IN ST. JEAN, 1861 AND 1871.

N = number of males in each age group.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Age Group</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Year</u>
1861	10-20	381	226	21-31	1871
1861	20-30	297	150	31-41	1871
1861	30-40	157	121	41-51	1871
1861	40-50	114	89	51-61	1871
1861	50-60	70	54	61-71	1871

TABLE 12

NET DIFFERENCE IN THE NUMBER OF MALES IN ST. JEAN  
BETWEEN 1861 AND 1871.

N = male emigration in each age group.

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>N</u>
10-20	-155
20-30	-147
30-40	-36
40-50	-25
50-60	-16

TABLE 13

THE DEATH RATE FOR MALES IN ST. JEAN BETWEEN 1861 AND 1871.

N = total number of male deaths in each age.

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>N</u>
10-20	20
20-30	0
30-40	19
40-50	16
50-60	24

TABLE 14

EMIGRATION OF MALES FROM ST. JEAN BETWEEN 1861 AND 1871.

N = emigration in each age group.

<u>Age Group in 1861</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>% Drop in 1871</u>
10-20	-135	-35%
20-30	-147	-49%
30-40	- 17	-11%
40-50	- 9	- 8%
50-60	+ 8	+11%

Class I, three in Class II, 18 in Class III.S, eight in Class III.D, two in Class III.C, five in Class IV, and 19 in Class V. On the other hand, 13 of 37 Irish-Protestant and English-Scottish sons entered the same occupations as their fathers. One of these was in Class I, one in Class II, and 11 in Class III. Thus, 56% of all the French sons followed their fathers' occupations in the three upper classes while 100% of Irish-Protestant and English-Scottish sons likewise entered their fathers' fields. This pattern emphasized the disproportionately high representation of Irish-Protestant and English-Scottish occupation holders in Class I, Class II, and Class III.

Some degree of occupational mobility appeared to take place in St. Jean. Of the 204 sons of heads of household who were employed, 129 entered an occupation which differed from that of their fathers. Among these 129 sons, 77 entered occupations in the same class as their fathers, 34 went into occupations in a higher class than their fathers, and 18 found positions in a lower class than their fathers. Thus, 16.7% (34 of 204) showed an upward mobility and 8.8% (18 of 204) showed a downward mobility. Particularly noteworthy were the 11 sons of Class V labourers who entered the Class III.S sector. Despite the slight degree of upward mobility, the vast majority of French sons, whether they followed the same occupations as their fathers or not, were confined to the

TABLE 15

THE NUMBER ( IN PARENTHESIS ) AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY CLASS, OF SONS OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD WHO HAVE THE SAME OCCUPATION AS THEIR FATHERS.

N = total number of employed sons of heads of household within each class.

		<u>N</u>
All Classes	36.8 (75)	204
Class I & II	38.9 (7)	18
Class III S.	39.1 (25)	64
Class III D.	36.4 (8)	22
Class III C.	20.4 (6)	30
Class IV & V	50.0 (24)	48

TABLE 16

NUMBER OF SONS OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD WHO HAVE THE SAME OCCUPATION AS THE FATHER.

N = total number of sons within each ethnic group.

	<u>French</u>	<u>Irish Catholic</u>	<u>Irish Protestant</u>	<u>English &amp; Scottish</u>
N	(57)	(4)	(5)	(8)
Class I	1	1	1	0
Class II	3	0	1	0
Class III	28	3	3	8
Class IV	5	0	0	0
Class V	19	0	0	0



Class IV and Class V sectors of the economy. For these young sons, St. Jean offered little opportunity for economic advancement.

There was some evidence to indicate a correlation between class and patterns of residence as well. The majority of both elites, for example, lived and worked in an area of the town bounded by Richelieu, St. George, Grant, and St. Charles Streets (see Map A, page 28). While it was clear that most of the major streets in St. Jean housed occupation holders of all classes, an analysis of each census district revealed that most members of Class IV and Class V were concentrated in the area bounded by St. Jacques, Champlain, Longueil (between St. Jacques and St. Charles), Duchene, and St. Paul streets (see Table 17, page 53). Similarly, the Class III occupation holders congregated on Richelieu, Champlain, and Jacques Cartier streets near the center of town. A substantial proportion of Class III members also lived along the length of St. Jacques Street.

Large household structure was a feature which characterized upper class households. Table 18, page 54, which gives the proportion of households containing lodgers, kin, and servants indicated that a substantial proportion of all households, regardless of class, housed kin. A breakdown of households by ethnicity in Table 19, page 55, demonstrated that all ethnic groups sheltered their kin.

A high proportion of all Class I and Class II households sheltered lodgers (see Table 19, page 55). Of these 53 households, 21 (15 French, two Irish-Protestant, three English, and one Scottish) had lodgers. Since a check of the parish records revealed that a substantial proportion of all lodgers were, in fact, kin, one may conclude that the extended family appeared to be stronger among the upper class households.

What motivated these families to take in their kin? Since a large proportion of Class I and Class II households contained servants (see Table 19, page 55), it was unlikely that kin were brought into the household to take care of children. It appeared, therefore, that strong kinship ties were the prime motive in maintaining the extended family household. Although only ten of 378 wives in Class III, Class IV, and Class V were recorded in the Census as employed, it was possible that some mothers worked on a part-time basis in the home or in domestic service. If this were true, then the motive to bring in kin to help in the house may have been stronger among married couples in the three lower classes. One must assume, however, that strong kinship ties remained the prime motive for sharing the lower class households.

A strong relationship emerged between class and the employment of servants. A total of 95 employed had occupations which were listed in the Census as servants, 51 of whom lived with their own families and presumably worked elsewhere. The other 44 servants lived in some-

TABLE 17

THE NUMBER (IN PARENTHESIS ) AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED BY STREET.

N = total number of employed within each class.

<u>Street</u>	<u>Class I</u>	<u>Class II</u>	<u>Class III</u>	<u>Class IV</u>	<u>Class V</u>
N	(24)	(37)	(301)	(91)	(90)
St. Jacques	20.8 (5)	8.1 (3)	18.3 (55)	7.6 (7)	12.2 (11)
Jacques Cartier	20.8 (5)	13.5 (5)	11.6 (35)	16.48 (15)	13.3 (12)
Grant	4.2 (1)	5.4 (2)	4.7 (14)	2.2 (2)	7.8 (7)
Champlain	4.2 (1)	8.1 (3)	7.9 (24)	6.6 (6)	0
Du Pin	4.2 (1)	0	3.9 (12)	17.6 (16)	25.6 (23)
Richelieu	12.5 (3)	37.8 (14)	31.6 (95)	20.9 (19)	2.2 (2)

TABLE 18

THE NUMBER (IN PARENTHESIS) AND PROPORTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY CLASS WITH LODGERS, KIN, AND SERVANTS.

N = total number of households within each class.

	<u>N</u>	<u>Lodgers</u>	<u>Kin</u>	<u>Servants</u>
All	(578)	18.9 (109)	9.3 (54)	6.6 (38)
Class I	(26)	46.2 (12)	11.5 (3)	15.4 (4)
Class II	(27)	33.3 (9)	11.1 (3)	51.9 (14)
Class III	(263)	16.4 (43)	9.5 (25)	3.8 (10)
Class IV	(54)	22.2 (12)	9.3 (5)	5.6 (3)
Class V	(118)	11.0 (13)	10.2 (12)	2.5 (3)

TABLE 19

THE NUMBER (IN PARENTHESIS) AND PROPORTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY ETHNICITY WITH LODGERS, KIN, AND SERVANTS.

N = total number of households within each ethnic group.

	<u>N</u>	<u>Lodgers</u>	<u>Kin</u>	<u>Servants</u>
All	(578)	18.9 (109)	9.3 (54)	6.6 (38)
French	(433)	18.5 (80)	8.8 (38)	6.0 (26)
Irish	(69)	17.4 (12)	10.1 (7)	8.7 (6)
English	(45)	26.7 (12)	11.1 (5)	8.9 (4)
Scottish	(22)	18.2 (4)	18.2 (4)	9.1 (2)

body else's household. Among the 44 servants, 20 lived in 18 Class I and Class II households, 16 lived in ten Class III households, and the remaining eight lived in six Class IV and Class V households (see Table 18, page 54).

Until now, it has been assumed that a servant who had a surname, differing from the surname of the head of the household, worked and lived in that household. It was unlikely that most Class IV and V households could have afforded their own servants. Therefore, it seemed probable that the eight servants, who lived in Class IV and V households, were employed in the 35 Class I and II households which did not contain resident servants. The remaining 27 Class I and Class II households may have engaged domestic help from the 51 servants who lived in their own households. If each Class I and Class II household hired one domestic, there would remain the 24 of 51 servants who lived in their own households and the 16 servants who lived in the ten Class III households. The majority of the 40 servants probably worked in the more prosperous Class III households.

Of the four Class I households having servants living in, three were French and one was Irish-Protestant. Of the 14 Class II households, nine were French, two were Irish-Catholic, one was Irish-Protestant, and two were Scottish. Thus, out of 53 Class I and Class II

households, 18 (32.1)% had servants living in (see Table 18, page 54). While the employment of servants may have enhanced the social standing of both elites within the community, it may have also been an indicator of their higher economic status.

Table 20, page 59, revealed that Irish and English-Scottish families of Class III, Class IV and Class V were larger than the families of the same ethnic groups in the upper classes. In addition, French and Irish families of all classes were larger than their English-Scottish counterparts; for example, the French and Irish averaged 5.1 and 5.2 members per family, while the English-Scottish averaged 4.1 members per family.

In 1871, 474 married couples lived in St. Jean. All but 15 headed their own households. For these 495 couples, family size was an important factor in determining whether a couple shared a house or not; for example, 40.7% of all childless married couples shared a house (see Table 21, page 60). The corresponding figures for couples with one child, two or three children, and four or more children were 27.9%, 20.3%, and 12.8% respectively. For the largest proportion of couples the appearance of the first child determined when a couple moved to their own house.

Class, as well as family size, may have influenced housing patterns. Although, 87.5% of all Class I and

Class II couples lived in a house of their own (see Table 22, page 61), a substantial number of class III, Class IV, and Class V households also had their own houses (79.3%, 74.5%, and 73.3%). These lower class families were able to afford their own houses, in part, due to their childrens' labour. Between the ages of 13 and 15, 18.8% of Class III and 31.3% of Class IV boys were living at home and working (see Table 34, page 81). By age 16 to 18, 76.3% of Class III, 85.7% of Class IV and 80% of Class V boys were living at home and working. In the 13 to 15 age group, 50.0% of Class IV girls were living at home and employed, while 17.5% and 73.1% of Class III and Class IV girls, aged 16 to 18, were living at home and working (see Table 36, page 84). The number of Class IV girls may be accounted for by the large number of French girls going into domestic service. Other possible means of bringing income into the family existed as well. Children, who were recorded neither as attending school nor working, probably worked on a part-time basis (see Graph 1, page 63). A large proportion (66%) of girls, aged 16 to 18 who fitted into this category may, for example, have been part-time domestics.

The residence patterns of widowed people were similar to the housing patterns of married couples. A total of 146 widowed persons resided in St. Jean. In this group, 86 headed their own household, 29 lived as lodgers (most



TABLE 20

THE NUMBER ( IN PARENTHESIS ) AND AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILIES WHOSE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD WERE MARRIED.

	<u>Class I</u>	<u>Class II</u>	<u>Class III</u>	<u>Class IV</u>	<u>Class V</u>
<u>All Classes</u>	5.1 (351)	4.7 (11)	5.4 (167)	4.9 (43)	4.9 (95)
French	5.2 (55)	4.2 (6)	5.4 (31)	4.7 (7)	6.0 (6)
Irish	4.1 (45)	3.8 (5)	5.4 (21)	9.0 (1)	5.8 (4)
English & Scottish	5.0 (11)	4.7 (11)	5.4 (167)	4.9 (43)	4.9 (95)

TABLE 21

THE NUMBER (IN PARENTHESIS) AND PROPORTION OF MARRIED HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD SHARING A HOUSE AND OCCUPYING A WHOLE HOUSE BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN.

N = total number of married heads of household by number of children.

<u>Number of Children</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Sharing a House</u>	<u>Occupying a Whole House</u>
All	(459)	22.2(102)	77.8(357)
0	(81)	40.7(33)	59.3(48)
1	(68)	27.9(19)	72.1(49)
2-3	(138)	20.3(28)	79.7(110)
4-20	(172)	12.8(22)	87.2(150)

TABLE 22

THE NUMBER (IN PARENTHESIS) AND PROPORTION OF MARRIED HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD WITHIN EACH CLASS SHARING A HOUSE AND OCCUPYING A WHOLE HOUSE.

N = total number of married heads of household within each class.

	<u>N</u>	<u>Sharing a house</u>	<u>Occupying a whole house</u>
All Classes	(459)	22.2 (102)	77.8 (357)
Class I & II	(40)	12.5 (5)	87.5 (35)
Class III	(227)	20.7 (47)	79.3 (180)
Class IV	(51)	25.5 (13)	74.5 (38)
Class V	(105)	26.7 (28)	73.3 (77)

of these were probably kin), 12 lived as kin, and two were servants. Among the 70 widowed who had children, 62 continued to maintain their own household after the death of their spouses, 14 of these took in lodgers, and a further three took in kin (see Table 23, page 64). Thus, there remained 53 widowed people who had children, but who did not take in any additional members into their household. Among the 24 widowed, who headed their own household and had no children, ten took in lodgers and four took in kin. A larger proportion of widowed people without children than those with children took additional members into the household. Thus, as was the case with married couples, strong kinship ties appeared to be the prime motive in maintaining the extended family household.

A strong relationship appeared between class and literacy on one hand, and ethnicity and literacy on the other. Predictably, the proportion of those males over 20 who were unable to read was markedly higher among the unskilled occupations (see Table 24, page 65). In the 21 to 30 age group, for example, 30% of Class IV and 50% of Class V males over 20 were unable to read. The corresponding figures for Class I, II and III males were NIL, 7.7%, and 5.2%. In the 51 to 60 age group, the differences were even greater. While 38.3% of Class III males, 37.5% of Class IV males, and 78.3% of Class V

GRAPH I  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALES AND FEMALE WHO ARE NEITHER EMPLOYED NOR IN SCHOOL

MALES ———  
FEMALES - · - · -

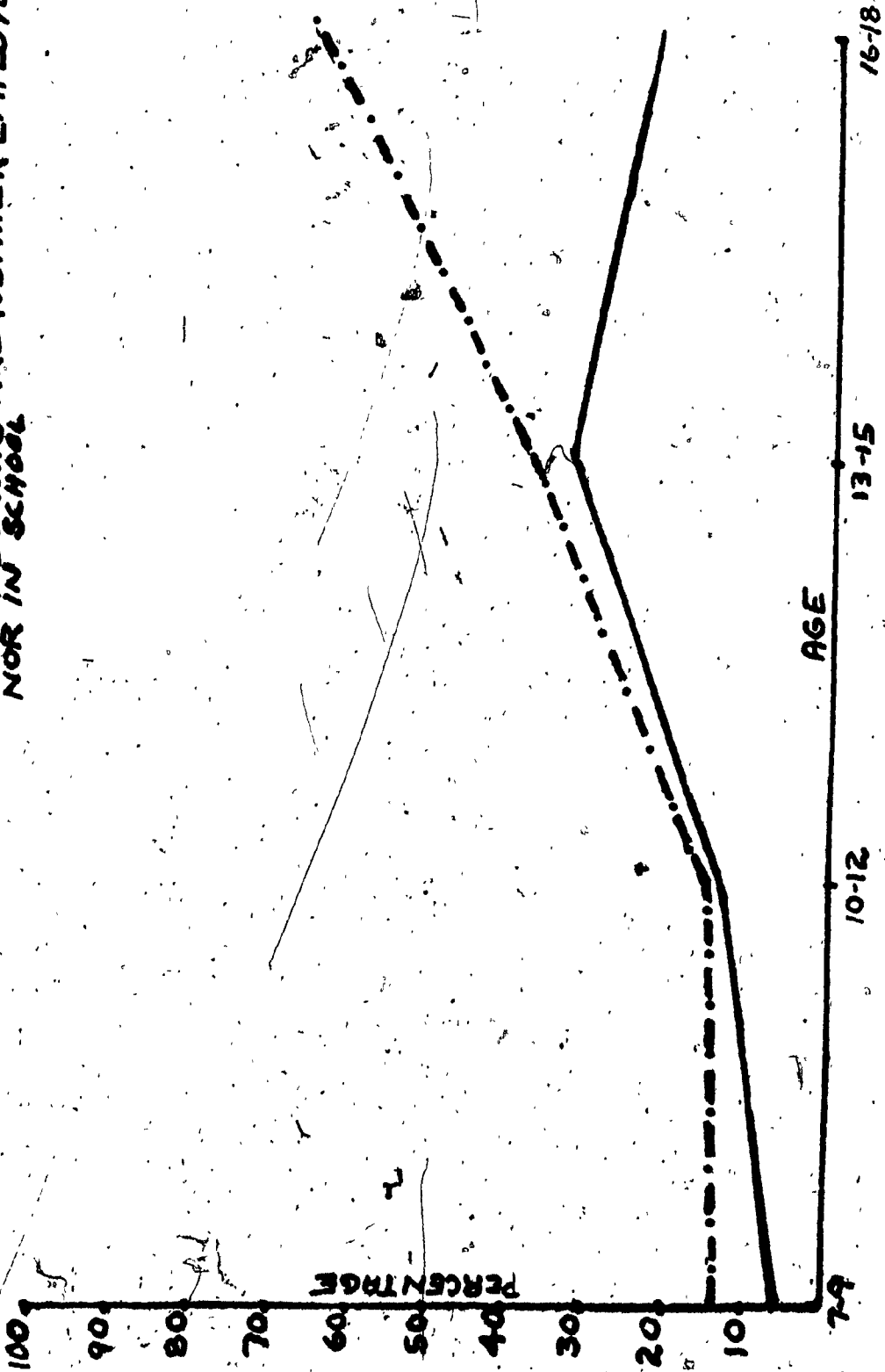


TABLE 23

NUMERICAL BREAKDOWNS OF THE WIDOWED HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD  
BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN.

N = total number of widowers and widows.

	<u>N</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2-3</u>	<u>4-20</u>
Widowers	(22)	5	4	6	7
Widows	(64)	19	10	17	18

TABLE 24

THE NUMBER (IN PARENTHESIS) AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY CLASS, OF MALES, AGED 21 - 65, WHO ARE UNABLE TO READ.

N = total number of males in each age group.

Age Group	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-65
All Classes	15.4 (35)	20.4 (31)	33.6 (40)	41.3 (38)	29.6 (8)
Class I	0	0	0	0	0
Class II	7.7 (1)	0	0	0	20.0 (1)
Class III	5.2 (6)	11.9 (10)	25.0 (16)	38.9 (14)	44.4 (4)
Class IV	30.0 (6)	42.1 (8)	50.0 (5)	37.5 (3)	50.0 (1)
Class V	50.0 (22)	52.0 (13)	72.0 (18)	78.3 (18)	50.0 (2)
N	(228)	(152)	(119)	(92)	(27)

males over 20 were unable to read, no males were found to be illiterate in Class I and Class II. Thus, the rate of illiteracy increased not only along class lines, but also with age. Males, however, in the 61 to 65 age group tended to have a lower rate of illiteracy than those in the 51 to 60 age group. The lower rate of illiteracy could be explained by the fact that 72.8% of all males in the 61 to 65 age group came from the three lower classes. The corresponding figure for the 51 to 60 age group was 55.6%.

A large variation in illiteracy rates also existed among various ethnic groups (see Table 25, page 67). In the 21 to 30 age group, 19.3% of French males could not read while no illiterates were found in the other ethnic groups in the same age bracket. The differences were even more acute in the 51 to 60 age group. Here 58.7% of French males could not read in comparison to NIL for the other ethnic groups in the same age bracket. Thus, the illiteracy rate was much higher among French males. The same held true for the Irish-Catholics. Among the four Irish found to be illiterate all were Catholic -- one from Class II, one from Class IV, and two from Class V. The two English males who were illiterate came from Class IV.



TABLE 25

THE NUMBER (IN PARENTHESIS) AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY ETHNICITY, OF MALES, AGED 21-65, WHO ARE UNABLE TO READ.

N = total number of males in each age group.

Age Group	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-65
All Classes	15.4 (35)	20.4 (31)	33.6 (40)	41.3 (38)	29.6 (8)
French	19.3 (34)	23.6 (26)	44.3 (39)	58.7 (37)	41.2 (7)
Irish	0	14.3 (3)	0	0	20.0 (1)
English	0	22.2 (2)	10.0 (1)	0	0
Scottish	0	0	0	0	0
N	(228)	(152)	(119)	(92)	(27)

The same patterns of illiteracy taken on a class basis appeared to hold true for the women (see Table 26, page 69). While all women, aged 21 to 30, in Class I and Class II were able to read, 6.3%, 22.6%, and 31.7% were found to be illiterate in Class III, IV, and V respectively. As was the case with the men, the illiteracy increased with age until the 51 to 60 age group, and then dropped in the 61 to 65 age group. Here, too, all Class I and II women were literate while 27.6%, 42.9%, and 82.4% in the lower classes could not read. When the literacy rates for women were examined on an ethnic basis, the same ethnic patterns appeared to hold true, although a higher rate of illiteracy seemed to occur among Irish women (see Table 27, page 70). Out of a total of ten Irish women, six were Irish-Catholic -- two from Class III, two from Class IV, and one from Class V. The remaining four were Irish-Protestants, one from Class III, one from Class IV, and two from Class V.

When the literacy rates for males and females who were over 20 and unable to write were examined, the same patterns regarding class and ethnicity applied (see Tables 28 to 31, pages 71-74). The proportion, however, of those unable to write was higher than it was for those who could not read. In the 21 to 30 age groups, 15.4% of males could not read, while 16.7% of the same group

TABLE 26

THE NUMBER (IN PARENTHESIS) AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY CLASS, OF FEMALES, AGED 21-65, WHO ARE UNABLE TO READ.

N = total number of females in each age group.

	<u>21-30</u>	<u>31-40</u>	<u>41-50</u>	<u>51-60</u>	<u>61-65</u>
ALL Classes	11.8(31)	20.3(38)	26.6(33)	37.7(36)	32.0(8)
Class I	0	0	0	0	-----
Class II	0	0	0	0	0
Class III	6.3(7)	15.8(15)	20.0(10)	27.6(8)	33.3(1)
Class IV	22.6(7)	20.0(5)	43.8(7)	42.9(3)	100.0(3)
Class V	31.7(13)	45.5(10)	44.0(11)	82.4(14)	75.0(3)
N	(262)	(187)	(124)	(95)	(25)

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TABLE 27

THE NUMBER (IN PARENTHESIS) AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY ETHNICITY, OF FEMALES, AGED 21-65, WHO ARE UNABLE TO READ.

N = total number of females in each age group.

	<u>21-30</u>	<u>31-40</u>	<u>41-50</u>	<u>51-60</u>	<u>61-65</u>
All Classes	11.8(31)	20.3(38)	26.6(33)	34.7(36)	32.0(8)
French	14.4(29)	25.0(32)	31.3(30)	50.0(30)	36.4(8)
Irish	4.2(1)	15.4(4)	21.4(3)	15.4(2)	0
English	4.4(1)	6.3(1)	0	0	0
Scottish	0	0	0	0	0
N =	262	187	124	95	25

TABLE 28

THE NUMBER (IN PARENTHESIS) AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY CLASS, OF MALES, AGED 21-65, WHO ARE UNABLE TO WRITE.

N = total number of males in each age group.

	<u>21-30</u>	<u>31-40</u>	<u>41-50</u>	<u>51-60</u>	<u>61-65</u>
All Classes	16.7(38)	23.0(35)	37.0(44)	44.5(41)	29.6(8)
Class I	0	0	0	0	0
Class II	7.7(1)	0	0	0	50.0(1)
Class III	6.1(7)	13.1(11)	28.1(18)	41.7(15)	44.4(4)
Class IV	30.0(6)	42.1(8)	50.0(5)	50.0(4)	50.0(1)
Class V	54.6(24)	56.0(14)	80.0(20)	82.6(19)	50.0(2)
N	(228)	(152)	(119)	(92)	(27)

TABLE 29

THE NUMBER (IN PARENTHESIS) AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY ETHNICITY, OF MALES, AGED 21-65, WHO ARE UNABLE TO WRITE.

N = total number of males in each age group.

	<u>21-30</u>	<u>31-40</u>	<u>41-50</u>	<u>51-60</u>	<u>61-65</u>
All Classes	16.7(38)	23.0(35)	37.0(44)	44.5(41)	29.6(8)
French	21.0(38)	26.4(29)	47.7(42)	61.9(39)	41.2(7)
Irish	0	19.1(4)	5.9(1)	7.1(1)	20.0(1)
English	0	22.2(2)	10.0(1)	0	0
Scottish	0	0	0	0	0
N	(228)	(152)	(119)	(92)	(27)

TABLE 30

THE NUMBER (IN PARENTHESIS) AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY CLASS, OF FEMALES, AGED 21-65, WHO ARE UNABLE TO WRITE.

N = total number of females in each group.

	<u>21-30</u>	<u>31-40</u>	<u>41-50</u>	<u>51-60</u>	<u>61-65</u>
All Classes	19.9 (52)	32.1 (60)	39.5 (49)	48.4 (46)	40.0 (10)
Class I	0	0	0	0	0
Class II	0	14.3 (1)	0	0	0
Class III	14.3 (16)	29.5 (28)	26.0 (13)	41.4 (12)	33.3 (1)
Class IV	35.5 (11)	36.0 (10)	68.8 (11)	42.9 (3)	100.0 (3)
Class V	48.4 (20)	50.0 (11)	68.0 (17)	100.0 (17)	100.0 (4)
N	(262)	(187)	(124)	(95)	(25)

TABLE 31

THE NUMBER (IN PARENTHESIS) AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY ETHNICITY, OF FEMALES, AGE 21-65, WHO ARE UNABLE TO WRITE.

N = total number of females in each age group.

	<u>21-30</u>	<u>31-40</u>	<u>41-50</u>	<u>51-60</u>	<u>61-65</u>
All	19.9(52)	32.1(60)	39.5(49)	48.4(46)	40.0(10)
French	24.3(49)	41.4(53)	45.8(44)	65.0(39)	45.6(10)
Irish	4.2(1)	19.2(5)	35.7(5)	46.2(6)	0
English	8.7(2)	6.3(1)	0	0	0
Scottish	0	0	0	16.8(1)	---
N	(262)	(187)	(124)	(95)	(25)



could not write. For the males between 31 and 40, 41 and 50, 51 and 60, and 61 and 65, the corresponding ratios were 20.4% to 23.0%, 33.6% to 37.0%, 41.3% to 44.5%, and 29.6% to 29.6% (see Tables 24 and 28, pages 65 and 71). Similarly, in the case of women, the proportion of those who were unable to write was greater than the proportion of those unable to read. The corresponding ratios of all the women were 11.8% to 19.9%, 20.3% to 32.1%, 26.6% to 39.5%, 37.7% to 48.4%, and 32.0% to 40.0% (see Tables 26 and 30, pages 69 and 73).

One approach which may have explained the varying literacy rates among ethnic groups involved the examination of school attendance records. Between the ages of six to ten, most boys regardless of ethnicity attended school (see Graph 2, page 76). The attendance of the combined group of Irish, Scottish and English boys was roughly equal to that of the French Canadian boys. When the boys' school attendance was examined from a class perspective, similar results occurred (see Table 32, page 77). Between the ages of seven and nine, for example, all Class I and II boys, 96.7% of Class III boys, 100% of Class IV boys, and 90% of Class V boys attended school. The results were similar for girls attending school (see Graph 3, page 78). Between the ages of six and seven, the proportion of Irish, Scottish, and English girls attending school was below that of French

**GRAPH 2**      **PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY AGE OF MALES**  
**GOING TO SCHOOL**  
ALL MALES ————  
FRENCH MALES ————  
ENGLISH SCOTTISH AND IRISH MALES - - - - -

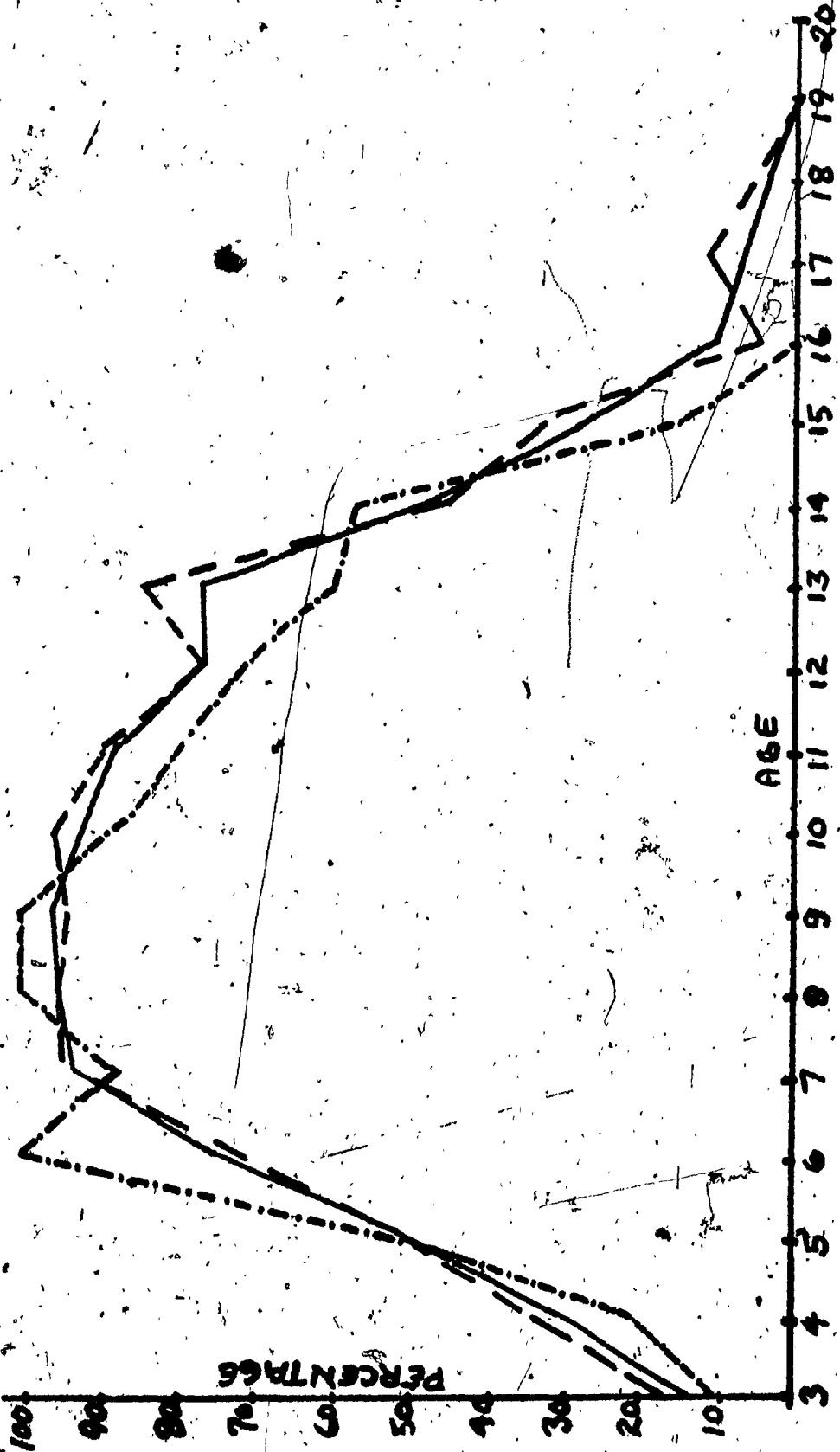


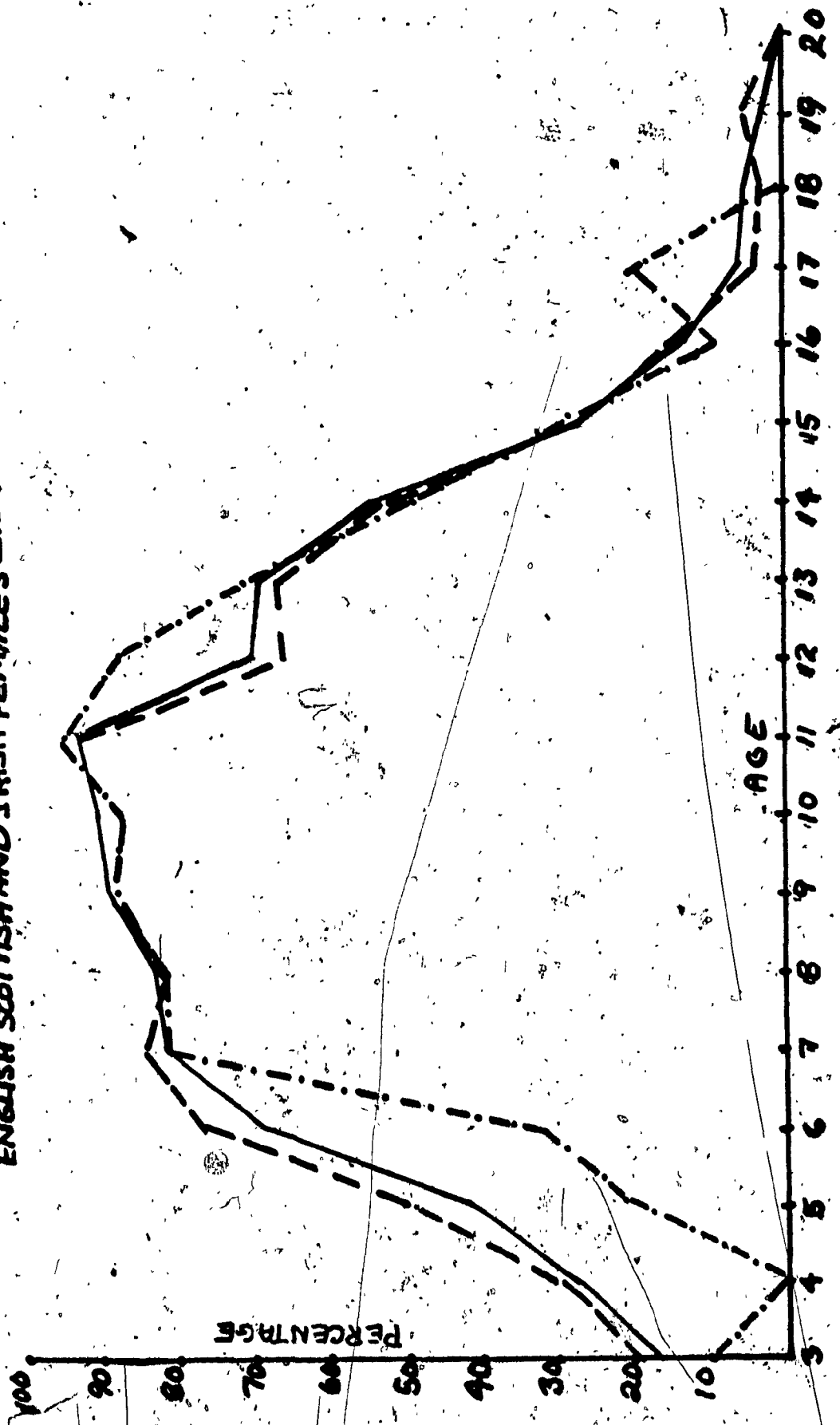
TABLE 32

THE NUMBER (IN PARENTHESIS) AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY CLASS, OF MALES, AGE 7-18, GOING TO SCHOOL.

N = total number of males in each age group.

	<u>7-9</u>	<u>10-12</u>	<u>13-15</u>	<u>16-18</u>
All Classes	94.4 (102)	86.1 (93)	51.5 (53)	7.3 (6)
Class I & II	100.0 (4)	100.0 (2)	50.0 (2)	25.0 (1)
Class III	96.7 (59)	84.2 (48)	62.5 (30)	6.8 (4)
Class IV	100.0 (9)	90.9 (10)	37.5 (6)	0
Class V	90.0 (18)	76.2 (16)	40.4 (8)	0
N	(108)	(108)	(103)	(82)

GRAPH 3 ALL FEMALES ——— PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALES GOING TO SCHOOL  
FRENCH FEMALES - - - -  
ENGLISH SCOTTISH AND IRISH FEMALES - · - · -



girls, but between the ages of seven and 11, attendance was about the same. A class perspective yielded similar results; for example, 90% of Class I and II girls, 83.3% of Class III girls, 86.7% of Class IV girls, and 92.3% of Class V girls attended school from the ages of seven to nine (see Table 33, page 80).

For the boys of all ethnic groups and in all classes, a sharp drop in school attendance began at the age of ten. This drop, which quickly accelerated at the age of 13, was reflected in the increasing proportions of boys in all age groups going to work (see Table 34, page 81). Although the percentage of boys aged three to nine attending school was higher than that of the girls, the girls appeared to have stayed longer in school than the boys. This pattern occurred in all classes and in all ethnic groups. Consequently, the drop in attendance, which began for the boys at ten, commenced for the girls at 11, and then took a sharp drop at 13 (see Graphs 2 and 3, pages 76 and 78). The increasing proportions of girls employed between the ages of 13 to 15 and 16 to 18, as in the case of the boys, did not vary significantly on an ethnic basis (see Tables 35, and 37, pages 83 and 86). The only variation was along class lines where the Class IV domestics, aged 13 to 15 and 16 to 18, entered the labour force (see Table 36,

TABLE 33

THE NUMBER (IN PARENTHESIS) AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY CLASS, OF FEMALES, AGE 7-18, GOING TO SCHOOL.

N = total number of females in each age group.

	<u>7-9</u>	<u>10-12</u>	<u>13-15</u>	<u>16-18</u>
All Classes	85.6(107)	84.8(100)	51.3(58)	8.6(10)
Class I & II	90.0(9)	80.0(4)	77.7(7)	33.3(1)
Class III	83.3(50)	88.1(52)	64.9(37)	12.3(9)
Class IV	86.7(13)	85.7(12)	14.3(3)	0
Class V	92.3(24)	83.3(20)	44.4(7)	0
N	(125)	(118)	(113)	(117)

TABLE 34

THE NUMBER (IN PARENTHESIS) AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY CLASS, OF MALES, AGE 7-18, WHO ARE EMPLOYED.

N = total number of males in each age group.

	<u>7-9</u>	<u>10-12</u>	<u>13-15</u>	<u>16-18</u>
All Classes	0	0	15.5 (16)	69.5 (57)
Class I & II	0	0	25.0 (1)	50.0 (2)
Class III	0	0	18.8 (9)	76.3 (41)
Class IV	0	0	31.3 (5)	85.7 (6)
Class V	0	0	5.0 (1)	80.0 (4)
N	(108)	(108)	(103)	(82)

TABLE 35

THE NUMBER (IN PARENTHESIS) AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY ETHNICITY, OF MALES, AGE 7-18, WHO ARE EMPLOYED.

N = total number of males in each age group.

	<u>7-9</u>	<u>10-12</u>	<u>13-15</u>	<u>16-18</u>
All Classes	0	0	15.5(16)	69.5(57)
French	0	0	13.2(10)	72.6(45)
Irish	0	0	17.7(3)	77.8(7)
English	0	0	20.0(1)	50.0(3)
Scottish	0	0	50.0(1)	0
N	(108)	(108)	(103)	(82)



page 84).

Thus, the answers to the large variations in literacy probably did not lie in school attendance figures. To test other possibilities in determining varying literacy rates, the results on literacy in the town were compared with the results taken in the parish of St. Jean and in Newcastle, Ontario. In the town of St. Jean, 22.2% of all people, aged 21 to 65, were unable to read, and 29.1% were unable to write. The corresponding figures for the parish were 26.7% and 43.0%. The reason for this discrepancy may have been due partly to school attendance, since 49.6% of all children in the town, aged three to 20 attended school, while the corresponding proportion in the parish was 33.6%. The school inspector for the county of St. Jean, however, referred to another problem in his report for the year 1869-70:

"There exists another obstacle to general progress... many fathers of families are forced to keep their children at home during three or four months of each year, to help them in their field labours. The children thus kept at home are generally the more aged and the most advanced in their studies". 35

The comparison of St. Jean with Newcastle was less favourable. In the Ontario town, less than 1% could not

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35. Annual Report, pp. 52-53.

TABLE 36

THE NUMBER (IN PARENTHESIS) AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY CLASS, OF FEMALES, AGE 7-18, WHO ARE EMPLOYED.

N = total number of females in each age group.

	<u>7-9</u>	<u>10-12</u>	<u>13-15</u>	<u>16-18</u>
All Classes	0	2.5(3)	10.6(12)	25.6(30)
Classes I & II	0	0	0	0
Class III	0	1.69(1)	3.5(2)	17.5(9)
Class IV	0	14.3(2)	50.0(10)	73.1(20)
Class V	0	0	0	0
N	(125)	(118)	(113)	(117)

TABLE 37

THE NUMBER (IN PARENTHESIS) AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY ETHNICITY, OF FEMALES, AGE 7-18, WHO ARE EMPLOYED.

N = total number of females in each age group.

	<u>7-9</u>	<u>10-12</u>	<u>13-15</u>	<u>16-18</u>
All	0	2.5 (3)	10.6 (12)	25.6 (30)
French	0	2.2 (2)	11.5 (10)	29.2 (26)
Irish	0	7.1 (1)	10.0 (1)	11.8 (2)
English	0	0	16.7 (1)	33.3 (1)
Scottish	0	0	0	0
N	(125)	(118)	(113)	(117)

read and less than 1% could not write. Moreover, 51.2% of all children, aged three to 20, attended school.

Since the school attendance figures between St. Jean and Newcastle were roughly equal, the answer to the question of differing literacy rates must lie elsewhere. One reason may have been the poor quality of the French schools. The inspector reported:

"... that in many schools the writing leaves much to be desired, which is due to the want of the necessary materials. I have already several times had to signalize this deplorable fact and I think it would be advisable if the Commissioners were obliged to furnish the pupils attending school with the necessary materials."<sup>36</sup>

Another factor may have been the heavy predominance of the French adult population in the lower classes. Within the French sector, a sharp gap appeared to exist between the well educated French Canadian elite on one hand and the vast majority of those in Classes IV and V (see Table 38, page 88). While only two French males over 20 in Class I and II were found to be unable to write, 51, 23, and 73 were found in Class III, Class IV, and Class V respectively. The rate of illiteracy among the English, Scottish, and Irish-Protestants, on the other hand, was extremely low. Out of a combined total of 107 males, only four (3.7%) were unable to write.

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36. Ibid., pp: 52-55

TABLE 38

NUMBER OF FRENCH MALES, AGED 21-65, WHO ARE UNABLE TO WRITE.

N = number of French males within each age group, who are unable to write.

	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-65
N	(38)	(29)	(42)	(39)	(7)
Class I	0	0	0	0	0
Class II	1	0	0	0	1
Class III	7	10	17	13	4
Class IV	6	7	5	4	1
Class V	24	10	19	9	1

Since the commercial life of the town was dominated by the English, and no large scale industrialization existed, the French Canadians found little opportunity for upward mobility. The incentives, therefore, to acquire such skills as reading and writing were probably not as strong in the French community as in the English community.

## CONCLUSION

This study has shown the Canadian manuscript census to be a highly valuable source for the study of social class in Canada. Variables such as sex, age, place of birth, religion, occupation, marital status, and literacy, have proven highly accurate when tested against the parish records. A comparison of the Census and the Directory revealed that the Directory was generally representative of the occupation force in St. Jean, except for an overrepresentation of Class III.D and an underrepresentation of Class IV employed. Moreover, those employed heads of household found in Class I, Class II, and Class III in the Census were more likely to be included in the Directory. The question of the 271 employed who appeared in the Directory, but not in the Census, can only be resolved by further research.

During the period 1850 to 1871, St. Jean was the most important service center in the Richelieu Valley. The expansion of the railways reinforced its predominance as a major regional center by making St. Jean a major transshipment point on the Montreal-Boston and the Montreal-New York axes. This railway expansion did not appear to have stimulated any economic growth in the town or to have altered the occupational structure of the town. By 1871, St. Jean was still lacking moderate and large scale industry, as most people continued

to work in small workshop establishments.

As analysis of the census data revealed that a disproportionately high percentage of French Canadians and Irish-Catholics held Class IV and Class V occupations, while the English-Scottish and Irish-Protestants were overrepresented in Class I and Class II. In Class III the French and Irish-Catholics dominated the dealer and skilled sectors while the English-Scottish and Irish-Protestants dominated the clerical sector. Moreover, the 28 French heads of household in Class I and Class II controlled the legal, religious, and medical professions while the 23 English-Scottish and Irish-Protestant heads of household in Class I and Class II exerted an overriding influence upon the commercial life of the community.

Since a larger percentage of heads of household in Class I and Class II took in lodgers (who were mostly kin) and servants, the upper class households tended to be larger than the lower class households. With the addition of kin, the extended family was, therefore, stronger in Class I and Class II households.

Although a higher proportion of Class I and Class II married couples lived in their own house, many families in Class III, Class IV, and Class V were similarly able to afford their own houses through their childrens' labour. The death of a spouse did not appear to



significantly affect residence patterns. The large majority of widowed people who had children continued to maintain their own household without taking in lodgers or kin.

In 1871, an "average" French Canadian or Irish-Catholic family included a head of household, who was either an artisan, semi-skilled or unskilled labourer, his wife, and three children. In over 33% of the households, there lived an additional member who was either a lodger, kin, or servant. An average English-Scottish, or Irish-Protestant family included a head of household, who was either an artisan or a member of the commercial class, his wife, and two children. In about 45% of these families, an extra member was present who was either a lodger, kin or servant.

Education, more than any other factor, pointed up the differences in social standing among the various classes and ethnic groups. A significantly larger proportion of adults, aged 21 to 65, who were in Class I and Class II were able to read and write. This signalled the existence of a well educated French professional class and English commercial class. Similarly, all English Scottish, and Irish-Protestant adults -- in all classes -- had a higher rate of literacy than the Irish-Catholics and French Canadians.

In a town whose commercial life was controlled by the English, French Canadians found little motivation to acquire the basic skills necessary to improve their lot. The lack of economic opportunity in St. Jean forced many of these young families to migrate to the United States.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF INDIVIDUALS WHOSE OCCUPATIONAL DESIGNATOR IN THE CENSUS AND IN THE PARISH REGISTERS DO NOT MATCH, AND THE TIME INTERVAL BETWEEN THE REGISTRATION OF OCCUPATIONS.

<u>Census</u>	<u>Directory</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Time Interval</u>
Labourer	----	Bookstore Employee	8 mo.
Carpenter	---	Labourer	8 mo.
Furrier	Furrier, Hatter	Hatter	1 yr.
Undertaker	---	Entrepreneur	1 yr.
Merchant	---	Tanner	3 yrs.
Labourer	---	Sailor	1 yr.
Man of Letters	---	---	4 mo.

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