MD-C31

Mass Political Behaviour in Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836

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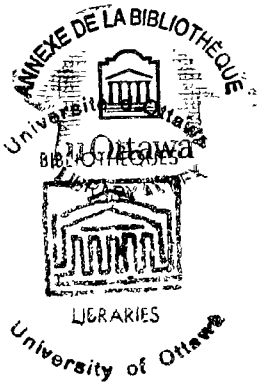
Thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of the University of Ottawa in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy



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Acknowledgements

Cette thèse a été préparée sous la direction du Professeur Fernand Ouellet. Je voudrais le remercier pour sa patience et ses précieux conseils. In addition, under his guidance I received much needed funding from the University of Ottawa, the government of Ontario and the Centre de recherche en civilisation canadienne-française.

For advice on the collecting and processing of data, and the preparing of the manuscript, I give thanks to the computer consulting services at the University of Ottawa (Roland Serrat) and at the University of Saskatchewan. In particular, I must acknowledge the help of a fellow doctoral candidate, Mark Olsen; his innovative spirit saved me hours in front of the terminal.

Finally, this thesis would never have been completed without the understanding and support of my friends and family. Many thanks to Denise Arel De Brou who entered data and filed chapters on to the mainframe. She is only an adequate word processor, but a great friend and loving wife. To my children, I owe the gift of perspective - a thesis is only a thesis, and life goes on.

Abstract

This dissertation is a study of mass political behaviour. It attempts to venture beyond the speeches, the newspapers, the letters, diaries and government memoranda of the elites and look to such routinely generated sources as nominative census returns, parish dénombrements, assessment rolls and pollbooks to allow the masses to speak. This kind of study is feasible because of the existence of pollbooks, written records of how individuals voted in Canadian elections during the first half of the nineteenth century prior to the advent of the secret ballot in the 1870s. Thus, the pollbooks allow us to follow the ebb and flow of election activity on the hustings. More importantly, the pollbooks allow us to compare the voters, according to the interaction of a number of different factors.

The keystone to our study on mass political behaviour in Upper-Town Quebec is a 30,000-case data set, involving nearly 13,000 individuals, created by linking the existing eight pollbooks (1792, 1814, 1816, 1824, 1827, 1829, 1834 and 1836) directly to three parish dénombrements (1792, 1795 and 1818), two nominal census returns (1831 and 1842) and five assessment rolls (1824, 1827, 1829, 1834 and 1836). From a methodological perspective, Upper-Town Quebec contains the necessary blend of French-speaking and English-speaking residents, Catholics and Protestants, Irish and non-Irish, property owners and tenants, government and non-government employees, and members of the socio-economic elite and of the lower ranks. This crucial mixture will allow us to consider the interplay of a number of different factors and to determine the role of ethno-cultural and socio-economic factors in explaining political behaviour of the inhabitants of Upper-Town Quebec in the critical period leading up to the Rebellions of 1837-1838.

An explanation relying exclusively either on socio-economic or ethno-cultural factors does not describe adequately the political life of Upper-Town Quebec in the first three-and-a-half decades of the nineteenth century. Analysis of routinely generated sources, newspapers, government documents

and private correspondence reveals a complex array of variables influencing political participation and electoral behaviour. This was a period of immense demographic, linguistic, ethnic, economic and social change which saw increasing spatial differentiation in terms of language, socio-professional status and wealth and the disenfranchisement of a growing segment of the population. A comparison of voters and non-voters underscores the primacy of socio-economic factors in determining voting participation. However, to deny completely the influence of ethno-cultural and other factors is to ignore the complexities of Upper-Town Quebec politics and to misrepresent the actions of a substantial portion of the eligible voting population.

Similarly, an ethno-cultural explanation does not sufficiently explain the electoral decisions of the voters. Language had an important role, but other factors also came into play. At times the political affiliation of the candidates took precedence over language considerations. In addition, voters responded to religious appeals. Socio-economic factors also influenced electoral behaviour. This was particularly the case in 1824, but it was also true in other elections held before 1830. Government influence, socio-professional status, property ownership and wealth helped to shape the response of the electorate.

Table of Contents

Introduction 2

Part I: The Constituency 11

Chapter One: Political Boundaries, Demographic and Ethno-Cultural Developments 12

1.1. Introduction 12
1.2. Political Boundaries of Upper-Town Quebec 14
1.3. Demographic Developments 18
1.4. Ethno-Cultural Developments 28

Chapter Two: Socio-Economic Developments 43

2.1. Introduction 43
2.2. Property Ownership and Annual Assessed Value of Property 43
2.3. Economic Sector and Socio-Professional Status 57
2.4. Conclusion 84

Part II: The Eligible Electorate 88

Chapter Three: Eligibility and Voter Turnout 89

3.1. Introduction 89
3.2. Eligibility and Participation 90
3.3. Factors Affecting the Voter Turnout: Changes in Electoral Laws and Degree of Competitiveness 111
3.4. Conclusion 133

Chapter Four: Voters and Non-Voters, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836 136

4.1. Introduction 136
4.2. Profile of Eligible Electorate 137
4.3. Determinants of Voting Participation, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836 156
4.3.1. Ethno-Cultural Factors: Language Affiliation, Country of Origin and Religion 156
4.3.2. Socio-Economic Factors: Property Ownership, Economic Sector, Socio-Professional Status and Annual Assessed Value of Property 163
4.3.3. Other Factors: Age and Area of Residence 179
4.4. Conclusion 190

Part III: The Voters 194

Chapter Five: Language and Politics 195

5.1. Introduction 195
5.2. Language Affiliation and Voting Options 199
5.3. Political Affiliation 230
5.4. Conclusion 239

Chapter Six: Ethnicity **241**
6.1. Introduction 241
6.2. Length of Residency 242
6.3. Country of Origin 244
6.4. Religion 255
6.5. Conclusion 266
Chapter Seven: Government Influence and Economic Sector **269**
7.1. Introduction 269
7.2. Government Influence 270
7.3. Economic Sector 288
7.4. Conclusion 301
Chapter Eight: Occupation and Socio-Professional Status **302**
8.1. Introduction 302
8.2. Occupation, Party Leadership and Political Affiliation 303
8.3. Socio-Professional Status, Language and Political Affiliation 317
8.4. Conclusion 336
Chapter Nine: Property Ownership and Assessed Value of Property **338**
9.1. Introduction 338
9.2. Property Ownership 339
9.3. Annual Assessed Value of Property 350
9.4. Conclusion 363
Chapter Ten: Age, Area of Residence and Conclusion to Part III **366**
10.1. Introduction 366
10.2. Age 367
10.3. Area of Residence 376
10.4. Conclusion to Part III 391
Conclusion **398**
Appendix A. Sources and Variables **406**
A.1. Routinely Generated Sources 406
A.2. Variable Number, Variable and Column Location 407
A.3. Sources and Variables 409
Appendix B. Linking the Data **410**
B.1. The Linking Process 410
B.2. The Data Set 412
B.2.1. James Black 413
B.2.2. Pierre Bourassa 413
B.2.3. Christian Hoffman 414
B.2.4. Jacques Bédard 415
B.2.5. Joseph Déguise 415

B.2.6. Widow Salgé 416
Appendix C. The Code Book 417
C.1. Variables, Codes and Column Position 417
Appendix D. Categorization of Given Names 424
D.1. Alphabetical Categorization of Given Names 425
D.2. Alphabetical Categorization of Codes for Given Names 431
Appendix E. Categorization of Area of Residence 437
Appendix F. Occupational Categorization 456
Appendix G. Number and Percentage of Household Heads, Eligible Electors and Voters 526
G.1. Heads of Household 526
G.2. Eligible Electorate 528
G.3. Voters 528
Appendix H. Index of Over/Underrepresentation 532
H.1. Comparison of this Study's Definition with the Verba and Nie Defintion 532
H.1.1. This Study's Definition 532
H.1.2. Verba and Nie Definition Definition 533
H.2. This Study's Definition = Verba and Nie Definition 533
Appendix I. Multiple Classification Analysis 535
Bibiliography 539
1. Primary Sources 539
1.1. Pollbooks, Census Returns, Dénombrements, Assessment Rolls 539
1.2. Private Papers 539
1.3. Printed Sources 540
1.4. Newspapers 541
2. Secondary Sources 542
2.1. Methodology 542
2.2. Studies in Electoral Behaviour 546
2.3. Biographical Aids 552
2.4. Quebec City and Lower Canada in the First Half of the 19th Century 554
2.4.1. Books 554
2.4.2. Articles 556
2.4.3. Theses/Unpublished Papers 558

List of Tables

Table 1-1:	Number of Representatives in the Counties, Cities, Towns and Boroughs of Lower Canada, 1792-1830	16
Table 1-2:	Total Number and Percentage of Total Population, According to Area of Residence, Quebec City, 1795-1842	19
Table 1-3:	Recent Estimates of the Total Population of Quebec City, 1790-1844	20
Table 1-4:	Comparison of the Population, Increase in Population and Rate of Increase for Quebec City and Upper-Town Quebec, 1795-1805, 1805-1818, 1818-1831, 1831-1842, 1795-1842	21
Table 1-5:	Annual Average of Immigrant Arrivals at Port of Quebec, 1823-1827, 1828-1832 and 1833-1837	22
Table 1-6:	Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Area of Residence, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	25
Table 1-7:	Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Gender, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	25
Table 1-8:	Total Number and Percentage of Male Heads of Household, According to Age, Upper-Town Quebec, 1818-1842	26
Table 1-9:	Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Male Heads of Household, According to Age, Upper-Town Quebec, 1818-1842	27
Table 1-10:	Comparison of the Estimated Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Language Affiliation or Country of Origin, Quebec City, 1792-1842	29
Table 1-11:	Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Language Affiliation, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	30
Table 1-12:	Total Number and Percentage of Canadien and Non-Canadien Heads of Household, According to Area of Residence, Quebec City, 1795	30
Table 1-13:	Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Heads of Household, According to Area of Residence, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	31
Table 1-14:	Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone Heads of Household, According to Country of Origin, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	35
Table 1-15:	Number and Percentage of Anglophone Heads of Household, According to Country of Origin and Area of Residence, Upper-Town Quebec, 1842	35

Table 1-16:	Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone Heads of Household, According to Religion, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	36
Table 1-17:	Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone Heads of Household, According to Religion and Area of Residence, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	37
Table 1-18:	Number and Percentage of Catholic and Protestant Anglophone Heads of Household, According to Area of Residence, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	38
Table 1-19:	Number and Percentage of Anglophone Heads of Household, According to Area of Residence and Number of Years Resident in Lower Canada, Upper-Town Quebec, 1842	41
Table 1-20:	Total Number and Percentage of Francophone Heads of Household, According to Country of Origin, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	41
Table 1-21:	Total Number and Percentage of Francophone Heads of Household, According to Religion, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	42
Table 2-1:	Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Property Ownership, Upper-Town Quebec, 1818-1842	44
Table 2-2:	Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Heads of Household, According to Property Ownership, Upper-Town Quebec, 1818-1842	44
Table 2-3:	Number and Percentage of Tenant and Property-Owner Heads of Household, According to Language Affiliation, Upper-Town Quebec, 1818-1842	46
Table 2-4:	Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Property Qualifications and Area of Residence, Upper-Town Quebec, 1818-1842	48
Table 2-5:	Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	51
Table 2-6:	Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Heads of Household, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	52
Table 2-7:	Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property and Area of Residence, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	55
Table 2-8:	Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, Proportional Representation, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property and Area of Residence, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	56

Table 2-9:	Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Economic Sector, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	60
Table 2-10:	Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Heads of Household, According to Economic Sector, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	61
Table 2-11:	Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Language Affiliation and Economic Sector, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	62
Table 2-12:	Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Area of Residence and Economic Sector, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	65
Table 2-13:	Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Area of Residence and Economic Sector, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	66
Table 2-14:	Comparison of the Estimated Number and Percentage of Heads of Household. According to According to Occupation, Quebec City, 1792-1842	69
Table 2-15:	Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Heads of Household, According to Occupation, Calculated by F. Ouellet, Quebec City, 1792-1842	70
Table 2-16:	Number and Percentage of British and Canadien Heads of Household, According to Occupation, Calculated By D.-T. Ruddel, Quebec City, 1818 and 1842	71
Table 2-17:	Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Occupation and Area of Residence, Quebec City, 1818 and 1842	72
Table 2-18:	Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Occupation and Area of Residence, Proportional Representation, Quebec City, 1818 and 1842	74
Table 2-19:	Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Socio-Professional Status, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	75
Table 2-20:	Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Heads of Household, According to Socio-Professional Status, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	76
Table 2-21:	Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Heads of Household, According to Socio-Professional Status, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	77

Table 2-22:	Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Socio-Professional Status and Area of Residence, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	80
Table 2-23:	Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Socio-Professional Status and Area of Residence, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	82
Table 2-24:	Area of Residence: Upper Town proper by Language Affiliation, Economic Sector, Socio-Professional Status and Property Qualifications, Multiple Classification Analysis, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1818-1842	86
Table 3-1:	Comparison of the Number of Tenants and Property Owners Listed in the Assessment Roll of 1827 and the Census Return of the 1831, Upper-Town Quebec.	105
Table 3-2:	Number of Voters in Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836.	106
Table 3-3:	Number of Voters and Eligible Voters, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836.	107
Table 3-4:	Estimated Voter Turnout, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836	108
Table 3-5:	Location of Poll, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836	113
Table 3-6:	Number and Percentage of Co-Property Owners with Assessments Less Than Five Pounds, Upper-Town Quebec, 1834-1836	118
Table 3-7:	Date Writ issued, Return Date, First and Last Day of Polling, and Number of Days of Polling, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836}	121
Table 3-8:	Comparison of the Length of Election and the Percentage of Voter Turnout, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836	124
Table 3-9:	Number and Percentage of Voters "Objected to", Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	125
Table 3-10:	Candidates, Number of Votes Per Candidate, and Total Votes Cast, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836	128
Table 3-11:	Index of Competition, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836	129
Table 3-12:	Political Affiliation of Elected, Defeated and Declining Candidates, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836	131
Table 4-1:	Total Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters, According to Language Affiliation, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	138
Table 4-2:	Total Number and Percentage of Francophone Eligible Voters, According to Country of Origin, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	140

Table 4-3:	Total Number and Percentage of Francophone Eligible Voters, According to Religion, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	140
Table 4-4:	Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone Eligible Voters, According to Country of Origin, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	141
Table 4-5:	Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone Eligible Voters, According to Religion, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	142
Table 4-6:	Total Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters, According to Property Ownership, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	143
Table 4-7:	Total Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters, According to Economic Sector, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	145
Table 4-8:	Total Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters, According to Socio-Professional Status, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	147
Table 4-9:	Total Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	149
Table 4-10:	Total Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters, According to Age, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	151
Table 4-11:	Total Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters, According to Area of Residence, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	153
Table 4-12:	Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters Voting, According to Language Affiliation, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	157
Table 4-13:	Number and Percentage of Anglophone Eligible Voters Voting, According to Country of Origin, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	160
Table 4-14:	Number and Percentage of Anglophone Eligible Voters Voting, According to Religion, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	162
Table 4-15:	Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters Voting, According to Property Ownership, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	164
Table 4-16:	Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters Voting, According to Economic Sector, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	167
Table 4-17:	Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters Voting, According to Socio-Professional Status, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	169

Table 4-18:	Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters Voting, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	173
Table 4-19:	Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters Voting, According to Age, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	180
Table 4-20:	Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters Voting, According to Area of Residence, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836*	185
Table 4-21:	Voting Participation by Language Affiliation, Economic Sector, Socio-Professional Status, Property Qualifications and Area of Residence, Multiple Classification Analysis, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836*	193
Table 5-1:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Language Affiliation, Voting for the Leading Anglophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1816.	211
Table 5-2:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Language Affiliation, Voting for at Least One Anglophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	214
Table 5-3:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Language Affiliation, Voting for at Least One Francophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	214
Table 5-4:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Language Affiliation, Voting for Andrew Stuart, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	219
Table 5-5:	Percentage of Francophone Voters, Voting for at a Candidate, According to Language Affiliation, and the Number of Candidates, According to Language Affiliation, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	221
Table 5-6:	Percentage of Anglophone Voters, Voting for a Candidate, According to Language Affiliation, and the Number of Candidates, According to Language Affiliation, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	223
Table 5-7:	Scores Assigned for the Index of Relative Importance of Language Affiliation and According to Voting Options, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	226
Table 5-8:	Number of Anglophone and Francophone Voters According to Voting Options based on the Language Affiliation of the Candidates, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	227

Table 5-9:	Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Voters, Voting in the Elections of 1824 and 1827 Who Voted for Andrew Stuart in 1824 and 1827, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824, 1827.	231
Table 5-10:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Language Affiliation, Voting for at Least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814	232
Table 5-11:	Scores Assigned for the Index of Relative Importance of Political Affiliation and According to Voting Options, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	234
Table 5-12:	Number of Anglophone and Francophone Voters According to Voting Options based on the Political Affiliation of the Candidates, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	235
Table 5-13:	Comparison of the Indexes of Relative Importance for, Language Affiliation and Political Affiliation, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	236
Table 5-14:	Language Affiliation of Bureaucratic and Canadian-Party Candidates, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836	237
Table 5-15:	Number and Percentage of Elected Members, According to Party Affiliation, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836	238
Table 6-1:	Number and Percentage of Anglophone Voters, Voting for at Least One Anglophone or Francophone Candidate, According to Number of Years Residency in Lower Canada, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1834, 1836	242
Table 6-2:	Number and Percentage of Irish and British Voters, Voting for at Least One Anglophone or Francophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1834 1836	249
Table 6-3:	Number and Percentage of Irish and British Voters, Voting for Rene-Edouard Caron or Amable Berthelot, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1834	252
Table 6-4:	Number and Percentage of Catholic and Protestant Anglophone Voters, Voting for at Least One Anglophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	261
Table 6-5:	Number and Percentage of Catholic and Protestant Anglophone Voters, Voting for at Least One Francophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	262
Table 6-6:	Number and Percentage of Identifiable Irish Catholic Voters, Voting for at Least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1834	265

Table 6-7:	Number and Percentage of Identifiable Irish Catholic Voters, and the Candidates They Supported, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1834	265
Table 7-1:	Number and Percentage of All, Anglophone and Francophone Government and Non-Government Voters, Voting for at least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814	272
Table 7-2:	Number and Percentage of All and Anglophone Government and Non-Government Voters, Voting for at least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1816	273
Table 7-3:	Number and Percentage of All, Anglophone and Francophone Government and Non-Government Voters, Voting for at least One Candidate. Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824	276
Table 7-4:	Number and Percentage of All, Anglophone and Francophone Government and Non-Government Voters, Voting for at least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1827	277
Table 7-5:	Number and Percentage of All, Anglophone and Francophone Government and Non-Government Voters, Voting for at least One Candidate, By-Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1829	284
Table 7-6:	Number and Percentage of All, Anglophone and Francophone Government and Non-Government Voters, Voting for at least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1834	286
Table 7-7:	Number and Percentage of Francophone Government and Non-Government Voters, Voting for at least One Candidate, By-Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1836	287
Table 7-8:	Total Number and Percentage of Government and Non-Government Voters, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	289
Table 7-9:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Language Affiliation and Economic Sector, Voting for at least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824	290
Table 7-10:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Language Affiliation and Economic Sector, By-Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1836	291
Table 7-11:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Economic Sector, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	293
Table 7-12:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Language Affiliation and Economic Sector, Voting for at least One Francophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	294

Table 7-13:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Language Affiliation and Economic Sector, Voting for at least One Anglophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	295
Table 7-14:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Economic Sector and Language Affiliation, Voting for at least One Bureaucratic/Constitutional-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	298
Table 7-15:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Economic Sector and Language Affiliation, Voting for at least One Canadien-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829	300
Table 8-1:	Number and Percentage of Candidates and Elected Members, According to Occupation, Elections. Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836	305
Table 8-2:	Occupation of Bureaucratic and Canadian Candidates, Elections. Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836	305
Table 8-3:	Total Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Occupation and Language Affiliation, Voting for at least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1834	307
Table 8-4:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Occupation and Language Affiliation, Voting for at least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1834	308
Table 8-5:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Occupation, and Language Affiliation, Voting for at least One Bureaucratic, Canadian or Patriot-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	311
Table 8-6:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Occupation, and Language Affiliation, Voting for at least One Bureaucratic/Constitutional-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	312
Table 8-7:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Occupation and Language Affiliation, Voting for at least One Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829	314
Table 8-8:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Occupation and Language Affiliation, Voting for at least One Patriote Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1827-1836	316
Table 8-9:	Total Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Socio-Professional Status and Language Affiliation, Voting for at least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824	319

Table 8-10:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Socio-Professional Status and Language Affiliation, Voting for at least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824	321
Table 8-11:	Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Voters, According to Socio-Professional Status, Voting for at least One Anglophone Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	323
Table 8-12:	Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Voters, According to Socio-Professional Status, Voting for at least One Francophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	324
Table 8-13:	Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Voters, According to Socio-Professional Status, Voting for at least One Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829	330
Table 8-14:	Relative Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Voters, According to Socio-Professional Status, Voting for at least One Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829	331
Table 8-15:	Number and Percentage of Francophone Voters, According to Socio-Professional Status, Voting for at least One Patriote Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1827-1836	333
Table 8-16:	Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Voters, According to Socio-Professional Status, Voting for at least One Bureaucratic/Constitutional-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	335
Table 9-1:	Number and Percentage of Anglophone Voters, According to Property Ownership, Voting for at least One English-Speaking or French-Speaking Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	340
Table 9-2:	Number and Percentage of Francophone Voters, According to Property Ownership, Voting for at least One English-Speaking or French-Speaking Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	341
Table 9-3:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Property Ownership, Voting for at least One Anglophone Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	342
Table 9-4:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Property Ownership, Voting for at least One Francophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	343

Table 9-5:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Property Ownership, Voting for at least One Bureaucratic/Constitutional-Party Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	347
Table 9-6:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Property Ownership, Voting for at least One Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829	348
Table 9-7:	Total Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Voting for at least one Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824	351
Table 9-8:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Voting for at least one Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824	352
Table 9-9:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Voting for at least one Anglophone Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	354
Table 9-10:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Voting for at least one Francophone Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	355
Table 9-11:	Total Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, at least one Canadian, Bureaucratic or Patriot Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	358
Table 9-12:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Voting for at least one Bureaucratic/Constitutional-Party Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	360
Table 9-13:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Voting for at least One Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1829	361
Table 9-14:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Voting for at least One Patriote-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1827-1836	362
Table 10-1:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Age, Voting for at least One Francophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	368
Table 10-2:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Age, Voting for at least One Anglophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	369

Table 10-3:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Age, Voting for at least One Bureaucratic/Constitutional-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	370
Table 10-4:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Age, Voting for at least One Patriot-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1827-1836	372
Table 10-5:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Age, Voting for at least One Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829	373
Table 10-6:	Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone Voters, According to Area of Residence, Voting for at least One English-speaking or French-speaking Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	377
Table 10-7:	Total Number and Percentage of Francophone Voters, According to Area of Residence, Voting for at least One English-speaking or French-speaking Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	378
Table 10-8:	Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone Voters, According to Area of Residence, Voting for at least One Bureaucratic, Canadian or Patriot Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	379
Table 10-9:	Total Number and Percentage of Francophone Voters, According to Area of Residence, Voting for at least One Bureaucratic, Canadian or Patriot Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	380
Table 10-10:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Area of Residence, Voting for at least One Anglophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	381
Table 10-11:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Area of Residence, Voting for at least One Francophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	382
Table 10-12:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Area of Residence Area, Voting for at least One Bureaucratic/Constitutional-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	384
Table 10-13:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to area of Residence, Voting for at least One Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829	386
Table 10-14:	Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Area of Residence, Voting for at least One Patriot-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1827-1836	389

Table 10-15:	Voting for at least one Anglophone Candidate by Language Affiliation, Economic Sector, Socio-Professional Status, Property Qualifications and Area of Residence, Multiple Classification Analysis, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	393
Table 10-16:	Voting for at least one Francophone Candidate by Language Affiliation, Economic Sector, Socio-Professional Status, Property Qualifications and Area of Residence, Multiple Classification Analysis, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	394
Table 10-17:	Voting for at least one parti-canadien Candidate by Language Affiliation, Economic Sector, Socio-Professional Status, Property Qualifications and Area of Residence, Multiple Classification Analysis, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829	395
Table 10-18:	Voting for at least one Bureaucratic Candidate by Language Affiliation, Economic Sector, Socio-Professional Status, Property Qualifications and Area of Residence, Multiple Classification Analysis, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	396
Table 10-19:	Voting for at least one parti-patriote Candidate by Language Affiliation, Economic Sector, Socio-Professional Status, Property Qualifications and Area of Residence, Multiple Classification Analysis, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1827-1836	397
Table A-1:	Variables Constructed from Pollbooks, Nominative Census Returns and Assessment Rolls for Upper-Town Quebec 1792-1842	409
Table G-1:	Number and Percentage of Household Heads in Each Category, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	542
Table G-2:	Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Household Heads, in Selected Categories, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	543
Table G-3:	Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters in Each Category, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	544
Table G-4:	Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Eligible Voters in Selected Categories, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	545
Table G-5:	Number and Percentage of Voters in Each Category, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836	546
Table G-6:	Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Voters in Selected Categories, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836	547
Table I-1:	Area of Residence: Upper-Town Proper by Language Affiliation, Economic Sector, Socio-Professional Status and Property Qualifications, Multiple Classification Analysis, Upper-Town Quebec, 1842	553

List of Figures

Figure 1-1:	Lower-Canadian Political Constituencies Established by Alured Clarke's Proclamation, 7 May 1792	15
Figure 1-2:	Boundaries of the Constituency of Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1837	17
Figure 1-3:	Profile of Heads of Household, According to Area of Residence and Language Affiliation, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	34
Figure 1-4:	Profile of Anglophone Heads of Household, According to Area of Residence and Religion, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	40
Figure 2-1:	Profile of Heads of Household, According to Property Ownership and Language Affiliation, Upper-Town Quebec, 1818-1842	47
Figure 2-2:	Profile of Heads of Household, According to Area of Residence and Property Ownership, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	49
Figure 2-3:	Profile of Heads of Household, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property and Language Affiliation, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1842	53
Figure 2-4:	Profile of Heads of Household, According to Economic Sector and Language Affiliation, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	64
Figure 2-5:	Profile of Heads of Household, According to Socio-Professional Status and Language Affiliation, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	78
Figure 2-6:	Profile of Heads of Household, According to Socio-Professional Status and Area of Residence, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842	83
Figure 3-1:	Estimated Voter Turnout, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836	109
Figure 3-2:	Comparison of Voter Turnout, Index of Competitiveness and Percentage of Voters "Objected To", Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836	126
Figure 4-1:	Comparison of Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Eligible Voters, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836	139
Figure 4-2:	Comparison of Eligible Voters, According to Property Ownership, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	144
Figure 4-3:	Profile of Eligible Electorate, According to Language Affiliation, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	158
Figure 4-4:	Profile of Anglophone Eligible Electorate, According to Country of Origin, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	161

Figure 4-5:	Profile of Anglophone Eligible Electorate, According to Religion, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	163
Figure 4-6:	Profile of Eligible Electorate, According to Property Ownership, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	166
Figure 4-7:	Profile of Eligible Electorate, According to Economic Sector, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	168
Figure 4-8:	Profile of Eligible Electorate, According to Socio-Professional Status, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	170
Figure 4-9:	Profile of Eligible Electors, Not Owning Property, According to Socio-Professional Status, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	171
Figure 4-10:	Profile of Eligible Electorate, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	174
Figure 4-11:	Profile of Eligible Electorate, According to Language Affiliation and Property Ownership, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	175
Figure 4-12:	Profile of Eligible Electorate, According to Language Affiliation and Economic Sector, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	176
Figure 4-13:	Profile of Eligible Electorate, According to Language Affiliation and Socio-Professional Status, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	177
Figure 4-14:	Profile of Eligible Electorate, According to Language Affiliation and Assessed Value of Property, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	178
Figure 4-15:	Profile of Eligible Electorate, According to Age, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	181
Figure 4-16:	Profile of Eligible Electorate Voting, According to Language Affiliation and Age, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	182
Figure 4-17:	Profile of Eligible Electorate Voting, According to Property Ownership and Age, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	183
Figure 4-18:	Profile of Eligible Electorate Voting, According to Area of Residence, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	186
Figure 4-19:	Profile of Eligible Electorate Voting, According to Area of Residence and Language Affiliation, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	187
Figure 4-20:	Profile of Eligible Electorate Voting, According to Area of Residence and Property Qualifications, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836	189

Figure 5-1:	Profile of Voters Voting for the Leading Anglophone Candidate, According to Language Affiliation, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1816	213
Figure 5-2:	Profile of Anglophone and Francophone Voters, Voting for at Least One Anglophone Candidate, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	217
Figure 5-3:	Profile of Anglophone and Francophone Voters Voting at Least One Francophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	218
Figure 5-4:	Index of Relative Importance of Language Affiliation for Anglophone and Francophone Voters, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	228
Figure 6-1:	Profile of Catholic and Protestant Anglophone Voters Voting for at Least One Anglophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	263
Figure 6-2:	Profile of Catholic and Protestant Anglophone Voters Voting for at Least One Francophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	264
Figure 8-1:	Profile of Anglophone Voters According to Socio-Professional Status, Voting for at Least One Francophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	325
Figure 8-2:	Profile of Francophone Voters According to Socio-Professional Status, Voting for at Least One Anglophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1827	327
Figure 8-3:	Profile of Francophone Voters According to Socio-Professional Status, Voting for at least one Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829	332
Figure 8-4:	Profile of Anglophone Voters According to Socio-Professional Status, Voting for at Least One Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829	334
Figure 9-1:	Profile of Anglophone Voters According to Qualifications, Voting for at least one Anglophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	344
Figure 9-2:	Profile of Francophone Voters According to Property Ownership, Voting for at least one Anglophone Candidate, Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836	345
Figure 9-3:	Profile of Anglophone Voters According to Property Ownership, Voting for at least one Canadien-Party Candidate, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829	349

Figure 9-4: Profile of Anglophone Voters According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Voting for at least one Anglophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836 356

Figure 10-1: Profile of Francophone Voters, According to Age, Voting for at least One Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829 374

Figure 10-2: Profile of Anglophone Voters, According to Area of Residence, Voting for for at least One Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829 387

Figure 10-3: Profile of Francophone Voters, According to Area of Residence, Voting for for at least One Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829 388

Introduction

Until recently Canadian historians of nineteenth-century politics have focused attention upon "political notables."[1] Centering their analyses on the Craigs, the Papineaus, the Howes and the Macdonalds, these historians have provided much valuable information and insight into past politics.[2] However, political history is more than the history of elites; it must also consider the masses.

This dissertation is a study of mass political behaviour. It attempts to venture beyond the speeches, the newspapers, the letters, diaries and government memoranda of the elites and look to such routinely generated sources as nominative census returns, parish dénombrements, assessment rolls

[1]Paul Kleppner uses this concept in reference to "that group of prominent contemporary figures who have been regularly quoted and cited by historians as sources of information" for nineteenth-century American politics (P Kleppner, The Third Electoral System, 1853-1892 Parties, Voters and Political Cultures [Chapel Hill, N C University of North Carolina Press, 1979], 4)

[2]See, for example J M S Careless, Brown of the Globe vol 2, Statesman of Confederation, 1860-1880 (Toronto Macmillan, 1963), Donald Creighton, John A Macdonald. The Old Chieftain (Toronto Macmillan, 1955), Andrée Désilets, Hector-Louis Langevin Un père de la confédération canadienne, 1826-1906 (Quebec Presses de l'université Laval, 1969), Jacques Monet, The Last Cannon Shot A Study of French Canadian Nationalism, 1837-1850 (Toronto University of Toronto Press, 1969), Peter B Waite, The Life and Times of Confederation, 1864-1867 Politics, Newspapers, and Union of British North America (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1962)

and pollbooks to allow the masses to speak.[3]

This kind of study is feasible because of the existence of pollbooks, written records of how individuals voted in Canadian elections during the first half of the nineteenth century prior to the advent of the secret ballot in the 1870s. The general practice was for government-appointed returning officers and poll clerks to register the voting preferences of individuals participating in the poll. In the case of Lower Canada, returning officers were obligated by law to maintain and furnish a written record of the individuals voting and to indicate each voter's choice of candidates. In addition to the names of the voters, the returning officer included such information as occupation, property qualifications, place of residence, any objections that were made, if any, to the voter and the time in which poll opened and closed. Thus, the pollbooks allow us to follow the ebb and flow of election activity on the hustings. More importantly, the pollbooks allow us to compare the voters, according to the interaction of a number of different factors. It must be emphasized that the pollbooks provide individual voting records; this is an important methodological advantage which avoids

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[3]For analysis of mass political behaviour in nineteenth-century Canada see, for example: Fernand Ouellet, Lower Canada 1791-1840. Social Change and Nationalism (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980) (This was first published in French as Le Bas Canada 1791-1840. Changements structuraux et crise [Ottawa: Editions de l'université d'Ottawa, 1976]; Gail Grace Campbell, "People, Parties and the Vote: Electoral Behaviour in Southwestern Ontario Townships, 1854-1902," Ph.D. diss., Clark University, 1983; Gail G. Campbell, "Voters and Nonvoters: The Problem of Turnout in the Nineteenth Century: Southwestern Ontario as a Case Study." Social Science History 11, no. 2(Summer 1987): 187-210; France Galarneau, "L'élection dans le quartier ouest de Montréal en 1832: analyse politico-sociale," Master's Thesis, Université de Montréal, 1978; France Galarneau, "L'élection partielle du quartier-ouest de Montréal en 1832: analyse politico-sociale," Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française 32, no. 4(March 1979): 565-584; Elwood Jones, "The Franchise in Upper Canada, 1792-1867," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, Winnipeg, June 1986; Paul Romney, "Voters Under the Microscope: A Quantitative Meditation on the Toronto. Parliamentary Pollbook of 1836," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association in Toronto (Ontario), June 7, 1983.

the pitfalls of analyses based on aggregate totals.[4]

The keystone to our study on mass political behaviour in Upper-Town Quebec is a 30,000-case data set, involving nearly 13,000 individuals, created by linking the existing eight pollbooks (1792, 1814, 1816, 1824, 1827, 1829, 1834 and 1836) directly to three parish dénombrements (1792, 1795 and 1818), two nominal census returns (1831 and 1842) and five assessment rolls (1824, 1827, 1829, 1834 and 1836).[5] The resulting massive and complex data set allows us to study the political behaviour of the Upper-Town inhabitants of Quebec. In addition to occupation and place of residence, the parish and government returns include such information as: country of origin, number of years residency in Lower Canada, religion and age. The assessment rolls provide a measure of wealth: annual assessed value of property.

This collection of routinely generated sources is unparalleled. For Lower Canada, from 1792 to 1840, less than sixty pollbooks remain, covering a total of twenty-seven constituencies during a period in which fifteen general elections took place. Thus, it is fortuitous, indeed, to have access to seven complete pollbooks recording the polling results of all but one of Upper-Town Quebec's elections from 1814 to 1836. The pollbooks alone justify an in-depth study of this constituency. To this unique set of continuous individual voting records, add the assessment rolls and the parish and government nominative returns, and the call to systematic analysis becomes overwhelming. To ignore these "quantitative" sources borders on scholarly negligence.

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[4]See, for example: Paul F. Bourke and Donald A. DeBats, "Individuals and Aggregates: A Note on Historical Data and Assumptions," Social Science History 4(1980): 229-50; William Flanagan and Nancy H. Zingale, "Alchemist's Gold: Inferring Individual Relationships from Aggregate Data" Social Science History 9, no. 1(Winter 1985): 71-91; Eric Hanushek, John Jackson and John Karn, "Model Specification, Use of Aggregate Data, and the Ecological Correlation Fallacy," Political Methodology 1(1974): 89-107; E. Terrence Jones, "Ecological Inference and Electoral Analysis," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 2(Winter 1972): 465-78; W.S. Robinson, "Ecological Correlations and the Behaviour of Individuals," American Sociological Review 15(June 1950): 351-7.

[5]For a discussion of the automated linking process used to link the individuals found in the different sources, see Appendix B.

Another fortunate concurrence is the demographic, ethno-cultural and socio-economic make-up of the constituency. Many Lower-Canadian ridings were exclusively French, Catholic and rural. From a methodological perspective, Upper-Town Quebec contains the necessary blend of French-speaking and English-speaking residents, Catholics and Protestants, Irish and non-Irish, property owners and tenants, government and non-government employees, and members of the socio-economic elite and of the lower ranks. This crucial mixture will allow us to consider the interplay of a number of different factors and to determine the role of ethno-cultural and socio-economic factors in explaining political behaviour of the inhabitants of Upper-Town Quebec in the critical period leading up to the Rebellions of 1837-1838.

Traditional historiography explains the Lower-Canadian rebellions as either the culmination of thirty years of constitutional conflict between Tories and Reformers or the result of increasing ethnic tensions between French-speaking and English-speaking inhabitants.[6] Since the 1960s Fernand Ouellet has continued to challenge both perspectives and offers a more complex explanation. He relates the armed conflict to antagonistic ethnic and socio-economic groups reacting to demographic and economic difficulties, which he traces back to the beginning of the nineteenth century.[7] The Ouellet thesis has not gone uncontested: Jean-Pierre Wallot, for one, points to the Assembly's struggle with Governor Craig in the first decade. He contends that the rebellion is best understood as the product of a rivalry between two

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[6]For a discussion of the historiography of the Lower-Canadian Rebellions of 1837-1838 see: Jean-Paul Bernard, Les rébellions de 1837-1838. Les patriotes du Bas-Canada dans la mémoire collective et chez les historiens, Montreal: Les Editions du Boréal Express, 1983. F. Ouellet, "Les insurrections de 1837-38: un phénomène social" in (Montreal: Editions Hurtubise HMH, 1972), 351-379.

[7]See, for example: Fernand Ouellet, Histoire économique et sociale du Québec, 1760-1850: Structures et conjonctures (Montréal: Fides, 1966); F. Ouellet, Economic and Social History of Quebec, 1760-1850: Structures and Conjectures (Ottawa: Carleton Library, 1980); F. Ouellet, Le Bas-Canada; F. Ouellet, Lower Canada.

ethnic groups battling for control of government patronage.[8]

How can an intensive investigation of one constituency contribute to this historiographical debate? It is clear that this constituency with its cross-section of linguistic, ethnic, religious, economic and social elements allows us to weigh the importance of many different factors in explaining at the very least the behaviour of a portion of Lower Canada's population in the period prior to armed insurrection. Furthermore, Upper-Town Quebec was part of the political mainstream in two significant ways. First, with Quebec as the administrative and government centre, many elections in the Upper-Town constituency were fought on the issues dominating the Legislative Assembly. Second, since the turn of the century the leading contending political groupings had fought for and shared control of the riding.

Yet, it would be unwise to push the representativeness of Upper-Town Quebec too far. Indeed, its composition was unusual, in that most of Lower Canada's counties were French, Catholic and agrarian. In this sense, the crucial methodological mixture of many factors does impose limits on the kinds of questions that we can ask. We cannot, for example, consider the phenomenon of constituencies with very large francophone majorities returning English-speaking members to the Legislative Assembly.[9] The continued "tradition" of sending one anglophone and one francophone representative to the Legislative Assembly throughout this period also made Upper-Town Quebec exceptional. This ran contrary to the trend found in other urban constituencies which saw the percentage of anglophone members

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[8]Jean-Pierre Wallot, Un Québec qui bougeait. Trame socio-politique au tournant du XIXe siècle (Montreal: Boréal Express, 1973).

[9]This was the case, for example, in Effingham (1792-1800), Huntingdon (1804, 1808, 1814-1824), Warwick (1796-1820), Dorchester (1800-1811, 1814-1824, 1830-1834), Quebec County (1818=1834), William Henry (1827-1830), Yamaska (1834-1838) (Joseph Desjardins, Guide parlementaire historique de la province de Québec, 1792 à 1902 [Québec: 1902]).

fall from about sixty per cent to about forty per cent,[10] at a time when the anglophone population of Quebec and Montreal was close to fifty percent.[11] This study also does not consider at any great length the local political leadership, its organization, campaign strategies and issues, factors that may have had an impact on voter turnout or election outcomes. This is an unavoidable lacuna dictated by constraints of space and priority.

This is a study in politics from the ground up. A research strategy was developed and evolved with the purpose of uncovering the actions and motivations of the masses. This involved a three-step process. First, to allow the masses to be heard, it was necessary to garner as many pieces of information as possible concerning each individual head of household. The result was a huge computer-entered data set incorporating eighteen "quantitative sources" - eight pollbooks, three dénombrements, two nominative census returns and five assessment rolls - and including fourteen different variables - family name, first and second names, address, occupation, language affiliation, property qualifications, sex, voting record, marital status, country of origin, number of years residency, religion, age and annual assessed value of property. To maximize our knowledge of each individual, this information was shared. For example, age of household heads only appears in the parish return of 1818 and the census returns of 1831 and 1842. A computer program calculated the age of the individual for each of the polled election. The same program "shared" such others factors as religion, country of origin and assessment values.[12]

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[10]Ouellet estimates that the percentage of anglophone members from the six constituencies located in Quebec City, Montreal, Trois-Rivières and Sorel was: 61.6% (1792-1808); 54.5% (1809-1816), and 38.6% (1817-27) (Document supplied by F. Ouellet).

[11]In 1831, the anglophone population accounted for fifty-one per cent of Montreal's population and forty-four per cent of Quebec's (F. Ouellet, "Structure des occupations et ethnicité dans les villes de Québec et de Montréal (1819-1844)" in Eléments d'histoire sociale du Bas-Canada, 181).

[12]For a description of sources and variables, see Appendix A.

The second step in our strategy was to analyze the data to identify those factors which differentiated non-voters from voters or one group of voters from another group of voters. Because of the number of factors, it was imperative to consider systematically each of the different variables. We enlisted two levels of statistics - descriptive and multivariate - to uncover and demonstrate any kind of differential behaviour which may have occurred.

The third and most difficult step of the strategy dealt with the motivations of the Upper-Town household heads. Statistically, it is possible to identify those factors which differentiated the behaviour of one set of individuals from another; it is much more difficult to explain these differences. For example, why did French-speaking voters support French-speaking candidates? Were they reacting to the mother-tongue of the candidate? Analysis of other factors may provide some of the answer, but in terms of such non-quantifiable influences as election issues and leadership, it is necessary to use more traditional sources. Thus, the third part of our research strategy included examining newspapers, government documents and private papers. Consequently, although this study is largely a quantitative analysis, it uses the results in conjunction with more traditional sources to explain political participation and electoral behaviour in Upper-Town Quebec.

An explanation relying exclusively either on socio-economic or ethno-cultural factors does not describe adequately the political life of Upper-Town Quebec in the first three-and-a-half decades of the nineteenth century. Analysis of routinely generated sources, newspapers, government documents and private correspondence reveals a complex array of variables influencing political participation and electoral behaviour. This was a period of immense demographic, linguistic, ethnic, economic and social change which saw increasing spatial differentiation in terms of language, socio-professional status and wealth and the disenfranchisement of a growing segment of the population. A comparison of voters and non-voters underscores the primacy of socio-economic factors in determining voting participation. However, to deny completely the influence of ethno-cultural and other factors is to ignore

the complexities of Upper-Town Quebec politics and to misrepresent the actions of a substantial portion of the eligible voting population.

Similarly, an ethno-cultural explanation does not sufficiently explain the electoral decisions of the voters. Language had an important role, but other factors also came into play. At times the political affiliation of the candidates took precedence over language considerations. In addition, voters responded to religious appeals. Socio-economic factors also influenced electoral behaviour. This was particularly the case in 1824, but it was also true in other elections held before 1830. Government influence, socio-professional status, property ownership and wealth helped to shape the response of the electorate.

A note about terminology used in the dissertation is required. In the first half of the nineteenth century the town of Quebec consisted of the Old City (Upper Town and Lower Town) and the Suburbs (St. John, St. Louis and St. Roch). In 1792, Quebec was divided into two political constituencies: Lower-Town Quebec and Upper-Town Quebec. The latter included Upper Town and the suburbs of St. John and St. Louis. In order to differentiate between Upper-Town Quebec and Upper Town, the term Upper Town proper is applied to that part of the constituency located within the walls of Quebec.

The study also uses francophone and anglophone to designate those individuals or groups which shared the same mother tongue. Thus, there were anglophone or English-speaking residents and francophone or French-speaking residents. The term "language or linguistic affiliation" is used to distinguish the actions of groups according to language. On the other hand, the term "ethnicity" or "ethnic" involves more than language: it denotes common language, religion and birthplace. Thus while the francophone community consisted of one ethnic group, the anglophone community was ethnically divided in terms of religion and country of origin.

This study is made up of three major parts. Part I consists of two chapters that place Upper-Town Quebec in the context of the Quebec urban area as a whole. They examine the constituency's demographic, ethno-cultural and socio-economic developments from 1792 to 1842. The two chapters in Part II investigate the eligible electorate. Chapter 3 provides an estimate of voter turnout and attempts to explain its fluctuations. Chapter 4 compares voters and non-voters, weighing the applicability of a socio-economic explanation of voting participation. Part III analyzes electoral behaviour with chapters 5 and 6 dealing with ethno-cultural factors, chapters 7, 8 and 9 with socio-economic considerations and chapter 10 with age and area of residence.

Part I: The Constituency

Chapter One: Political Boundaries, Demographic and Ethno-Cultural Developments

1.1. Introduction

Part I analyzes in detail the demographic, ethno-cultural and socio-economic developments which occurred in Upper-Town Quebec from 1792 to 1842. Using nominative census returns and assessment rolls, it describes the changing demographic, economic and social characteristics marking the Upper-Town constituency of Quebec City, a port town performing essential economic, administrative and military functions for the province of Lower Canada. Changes within Upper-Town Quebec were directly tied to the transformation of Quebec from an economic, social, political and military centre responding to the needs of a small population to an important commercial centre and port meeting the requirements of an expanding population base. The key to this growth was the timber trade which by the beginning of the nineteenth century became the economic catalyst that propelled Quebec for the next four decades. The timber trade brought an increase in the number of ships leaving the port and in the amount of exported lumber. It also spurred shipbuilding and the construction of sawmills.[13] The economic effects of shipbuilding were far-reaching. The number of workers employed in the shipyards increased from several hundred

[13]Fernand Ouellet, Lower Canada, 59, 127-28, 160, 177-78; Ouellet, Le Bas-Canada 91-92, 196-202, 249, 277-78; Ouellet, Economic and Social History of Quebec, 197-203, 397-409; Ouellet, Histoire économique et sociale, 190-96, 391-403; Marc Lafrance and David-Thiery Ruddel, "Physical Expansion and Socio-Cultural Segregation in Quebec City, 1765-1840" in Shaping the Urban Landscape: Aspects of the Canadian City-Building Process eds. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1982), 148; David-Thiery Ruddel and Marc Lafrance, "Québec, 1785-1840: problèmes de croissance d'une ville coloniale," Histoire sociale/Social History, 18(Nov. 1985): 316-17.

in 1811 to over three thousand in 1825 and well over four and one-half thousand in 1847.[14] The increase in maritime trade also brought thousands of sailors to Quebec and correspondingly a rise in the number of taverns and hotels.[15]

An added stimulus to economic growth in Quebec was the continued presence of the military. In part as a response to the growing importance of Quebec in imperial trade, the makers of British strategic policy saw Quebec as the key to defense in British North America. The two pillars of that policy - the maintaining of a British garrison and the construction of a permanent citadel and other military fortifications - directly influenced demographic, economic and social developments in Quebec during the first half of the nineteenth century.

The timber-induced changes in the economy, British military policies of fortifications' construction and land appropriations, and the massive influx of British immigrants did much to alter the demographic, ethno-cultural and socio-economic nature of Upper-Town Quebec. The number of inhabitants increased three-fold, with the suburbs eventually replacing Upper Town proper as the population centre. At the same time, the linguistic and ethnic composition of the constituency was altered, with the percentage of anglophone residents increasing from twenty-five to forty per cent. Within the English-speaking community itself, the proportion of Irish-born rose to at least one-third. Immigration also increased the ranks of English-speaking tenants and labourers. Finally, the Upper-Town constituency also witnessed growing linguistic, economic and social differentiation. The anglophones were overrepresented as residents of Upper Town proper and, by 1842, of the suburb of St. Louis. St. John, on the other hand, remained a French residential area. The elitist character of the area within the walls, evident

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[14]Ruddel and Lafrance, "Québec, 1785-1840," 317; See also: Ouellet, Lower Canada, 128.

[15]Ruddel and Lafrance, "Québec, 1785-1840," 317.

in the previous century, intensified in the first four decades of the nineteenth century. Upper Town proper came to be the home of the wealthiest and highest-status inhabitants. The suburbs, in contrast, met the needs of the artisan and labouring groups and provided shelter for the poorer heads of household.

Part I considers the demographic, economic and social evolution of Upper-Town Quebec within the context of Quebec City as a whole and compares the growth of Upper Town proper to that of the suburbs of St. John and St. Louis. Chapter 1 establishes the constituency's boundaries and analyzes Upper-Town Quebec according to population growth, gender and age. The first section of chapter two focuses on ethno-cultural factors - language, country of origin, religion and years of residency. The second section involves socio-economic considerations: property ownership, annual assessed value of property, economic sector and socio-professional status.

1.2. Political Boundaries of Upper-Town Quebec

The Constitutional Act of 1791 authorized "the Governor or Lieutenant Governor...or the person administering the Government...to issue a Proclamation dividing such Province into Districts, or Counties, or Circles and Towns or Townships, and appointing the limits thereof,...."[16] Accordingly, Lieutenant-Governor Alured Clarke issued a proclamation on 7 May 1792 dividing Lower Canada into twenty-seven political constituencies with a total of fifty representatives for the Legislative Assembly (see figure 1-1, p. 15 and table 1-1, p. 16). The Clarke proclamation established the County of Quebec which included "all that tract or promontory of land (being part and parcel of the aforesaid County of Quebec,) between the Rivers St. Lawrence and St. Charles, bounded in the rear by a right line running along the easterly front of the Convent called the General Hospital,

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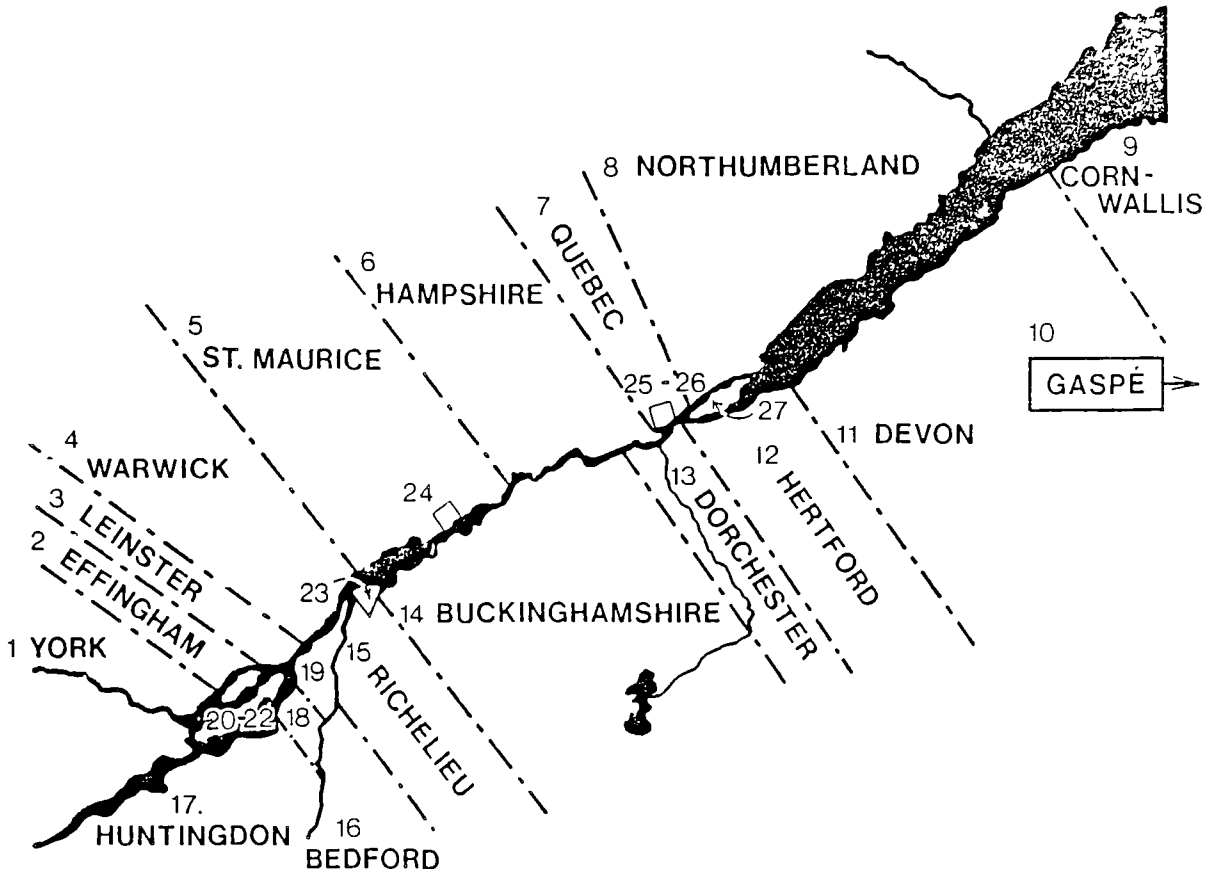
[16]Statutes of Lower Canada, 1791 32 Geo. 3, c. 17, sec. 14, Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791, eds. Adam Short and Arthur G. Doughty (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1907), 698.

Figure 1-1: Lower-Canadian Political Constituencies Established by Alured Clarke's Proclamation, 7 May 1792



18. KENT
19. SURRY
20. MONTREAL COUNTY
21. MONTREAL - EAST
22. MONTREAL - WEST
23. WILLIAM HENRY
24. TROIS - RIVIÈRES
25. QUEBEC - UPPER TOWN
26. QUEBEC - LOWER TOWN
27 ORLEANS

Sources: John Hare, "L'assemblée législative du Bas-Canada, 1792-1814 Députation et polorisation politique," Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique français 27(Dec 1973) 367

Table 1-1: Number of Representatives in the Counties, Cities, Towns and Boroughs of Lower Canada, 1792-1830

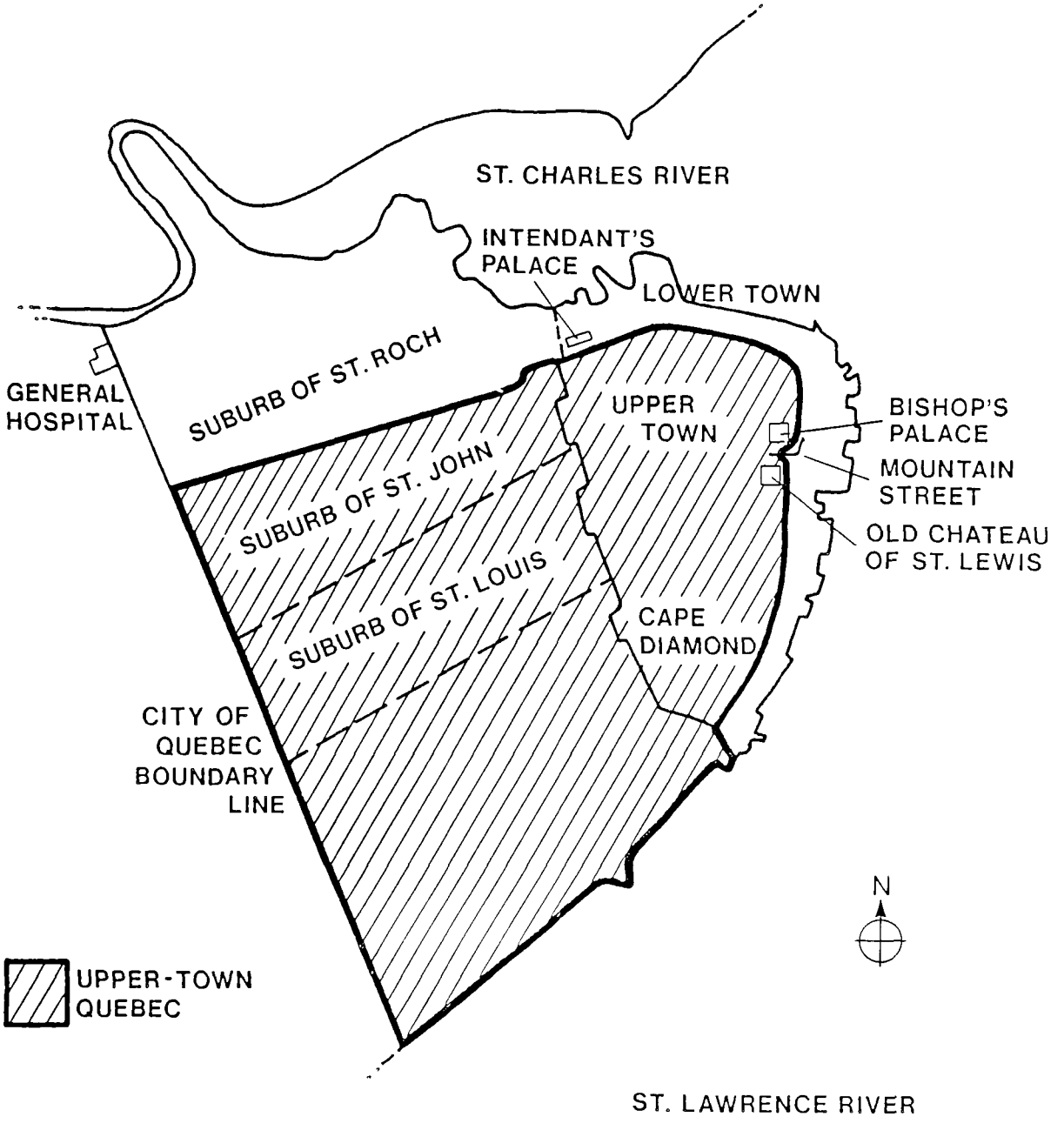
I - Rural: Counties	II - Urban. Cities, Towns and Borough
A 2 Members	A 2 Members
1 Buckinghamshire	1 Montreal-East
2 Cornwallis	2 Montreal-West
3 Devon	3 Quebec-Lower Town
4 Dorchester	4 Quebec-Upper Town
5 Effingham	5 Three-Rivers
6 Hampshire	
7 Hertford	B 1 Member
8 Huntingdon	1 William Henry
9 Kent	
10 Leinster	
11 Montreal	Total Number of Members
12. Northhumberland	I. Counties
13. Quebec	A (2-Member Constituencies) 2 x 18 = 36
14 Richelieu	B (1-Member Constituencies) 1 x 3 = 3
15 Saint-Maurice	II Cities, Towns, Borough
16 Surrey	A (2-Member Constituencies) 2 x 5 = 10
17 Warwick	B (1-Member Constituencies) 1 x 1 = 1
18 York	Total 50
B· 1 Member	
1 Bedford	
2 Gaspé	
3 Orleans	

Sources Quebec Gazette, 24 May 1792, Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1791-1818 , eds Arthur G. Doughty and D A McArthur (Canada C H Parmelee, 1914), 75-76

and continued from River to River." (see figure 1-2, p. 17).[17] The proclamation then divided Quebec into two constituencies, Upper Town and Lower Town, and delineated the boundaries of the latter:

[17] Quebec Gazette, 24 May 1792, Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1791-1818 , eds Arthur G Doughty and D A McArthur (Canada C.H Parmelee, 1914), 75-76

Figure 1-2: Boundaries of the Constituency of Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1837



> the said Lower Town shall comprehend all the part of the said tract or promontory of land situated below the Hill called Cape Diamond, and the fortifications and high ground beyond them, including both sides of the road passing the Intendants [sic] Palace and Saint Roc [sic], until the said road shall meet the afore-mentioned rear-line continued from the easterly front of the General Hospital aforesaid, together with the ground up Mountain Street on the easterly side thereof as high as the ground of the Bishop's Palace, not including the same, and the westerly side of Mountain-street as high as the alley leading to the Old Chateau of Saint Lewis, from the head of the steps opposite to the gate of the said Bishop's Palace,...

The remaining area within the limits of the city of Quebec constituted the constituency of Upper-Town Quebec:

> and that the said Upper Town shall comprehend the rest of the said tract or promontory of land within the limits above described for the City of Quebec.[18]

The boundaries of Upper-Town Quebec set by the proclamation of 7 May 1792 remained unchanged throughout the Lower-Canadian period. The Legislative Assembly created new constituencies and renamed a number of others in 1829, but Upper-Town Quebec was unaffected by the act "to make a new and more convenient subdivision of the Province into counties for the purpose of effecting a more equal Representation thereof in the Assembly than heretofore", which received royal assent on 5 October 1829.[19]

1.3. Demographic Developments

The economic activity associated with the timber trade and shipbuilding and British military policy stimulated the population growth of Quebec. Generally historians agree that the total population of Quebec City increased about four-fold from 1795 to 1842. Estimates put the population at about

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[18]Ibid.

[19]Statutes of Lower Canada, 1829, 9 Geo. 6, c. 73.

Table 1-2: Total Number and Percentage of Total Population, According to Area of Residence, Quebec City, 1795-1842

Area	1795 N	1795 %	1805 N	1805 %	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Hare										
Upper Town	2813	39.4	3006	33.6						
Lower Town	2512	35.0	2446	27.3						
St.-Roch	829	11.5	1497	16.7						
St. John*	1008	14.1	2019	22.5						
Total	7162	100.0	8968	99.9						
L+R										
Upper Town	2813	38.5	2973	33.6	3730	22.7	4476	17.3	5017	15.8
Lower Town	2649	36.3	2628	29.7	3402	20.7	4493	19.1	7284	23.0
St. Roch	829	11.4	1497	16.9	5217	31.8	7983	30.8	10760	34.0
St. John	1008	13.8	1764	19.9	4070	24.8	8502	32.8	8628	27.2
Total	7299	100.0	8862	100.1	16419	100.0	25944	100.0	31689	100.0

Sources: Hare, "La population," 26; Hare, "A propos des commentaires," 194.; Lafrance and Ruddel, "Physical Expansion," 151. See also: Ruddel, "Quebec City," 657.
*=Includes Suburb of St. Louis

seven and one-half thousand in 1795, nine and one-half thousand in 1805, about seventeen thousand in 1818, twenty-seven thousand in 1831 and thirty-two and one-half thousand in 1842 (see table 1-3, p. 20). A similar population increase occurred in Upper-Town Quebec rising from about four thousand in 1795, to thirteen and one-half thousand in 1842 (see table 1-2, p. 19).

An analysis of the estimates provided by Marc Lafrance and David-Thiery Ruddel in their study on Quebec City from 1765 to 1840 suggests that the population of Quebec City, with a mean annual rate of 2.66%,[20]

[20]Annual rate of Increase = 100(P2-P1) where P1 and P2 are the populations at the beginning (P1) and end (P2) of the period (Paillé, "Accroissement et structure," 187-190). See also: R. Pressat, L'analyse démographique: Concepts - Méthodes - Résultats (Paris: P.U.F., 1969), 95-97.

Table 1-3 Recent Estimates of the Total Population of Quebec City, 1790-1844

Year	Drolet 1965-7	Ouellet 1972	Hare 1974	Hare 1976	Ruddel 1981	Charb * 1982	Laf-Rud 1982	Dechene 1984	Rud-Laf 1985
1790	14000								
1795		9000[b]	7521	7721[c]	7299		7299[e]	7162[g]	
1805		12000[b]	9368	9656[c]	8802	8802	8802[e]		8499
1809	16500								
1818					16119[d]		16119[e]		17880
1819	15527								
1825		20836							
1831	27741	25816			27264		25911[f]		27632
1832	32956[a]								
1842							31089[f]		
1844	32876								

Sources A Drolet, La ville de Québec, histoire municipale, vol 2, Régime anglais jusqu'à l'incorporation (1759-1833) (Quebec La Société historique de Quebec, 1965) 14, A Drolet, La ville de Quebec, histoire municipale vol 3, De l'incorporation à la Confédération (1833-1867) (Québec La Societe historique de Québec, 1967) 103, F Ouellet, "Structure des occupations et ethnicité dans les villes de Québec et Montreal," Elements d'histoire sociale du Bas-Canada (Montréal Hurtubise HMH, 1972), 181, Hare, "La population," 25, Hare, "A propos des commentaires," 191, Ruddel, "Quebec City," 657, Charbonneau, Desloges and Lafrance, Quebec, The Fortified City, 128ff, Lafrance and Ruddel, "Physical Expansion," 151, L Dechene, "Quelques aspects de la ville de Quebec au XVIIIe siècle d'après les dénombrements paroissaux," Cahiers de géographie du Quebec, 28(Dec 1984) 483, Ruddel and Lafrance, "Quebec, 1785-1840," 319

Estimates prior to 1825 are based on the curé's dénombrements Joseph Signay's Recensement de la ville de Québec en 1818 (Quebec Société historique de Québec, 1976), "Les dénombrements de Québec fait en 1792, 1795, 1798 et 1805 par le curé Joseph-Octave Plessis," Rapport des Archives du Québec, 1948-1949, 3-250 The estimates for 1825, 1831 and 1842 are based on the censuses of 1825, 1831 and 1842

*Charb =Charbonneau, Desloges and Lafrance, Rud-Laf =Ruddel and Lafrance, Laf-Rud =Lafrance-Ruddell

[a]includes the garrison and the sailors, Drolet, Ville de Québec, vol 2, 11

[b]compensates for underestimation of anglophone and Protestant population in curé's religious census, Ouellet, "Structure des occupations," 179

[c]differences in totals because of revised figures for Anse-des Mères and an increase of 2 for Upper Town for 1805 Upper Town (3004 to 3006), Anse-des-Meres, 1795 (302 to 562) and 1805 (402 to 688) Hare, "La population," 25 Hare, "A propos des commentaires," 194

[d]includes Ursulines, Seminary, Hotel-Dieu, excludes General Hospital and garrison Ruddel, "Quebec City," 657ff

[e]underestimates Protestant and military communities and does not consider "floating" population Lafrance and Ruddel, "Physical Expansion," 151

[f]excludes "floating" population, Lafrance and Ruddel, "Physical Expansion," 151

[g]excludes residents of religious communities, pensioners and servants Dechêne uses the total calculated by Hare in "La population" minus the population of the "banlieue" (362 inhabitants) Dechêne suggests that the figure given in the denombrement of 1795 is reliable because of the priest's desire to uncover all Catholics, even those in Protestant, Irish or German homes Dechêne, "Quelques aspects," 185, 193

[h]Ruddel and Lafrance, "Quebec, 1785-1840," 319

Table 1-4: Comparison of the Population, Increase in Population and Rate of Increase for Quebec City and Upper-Town Quebec, 1795-1805, 1805-1818, 1818-1831, 1831-1842, 1795-1842

	A	B	Absolute C	Relative D	Inter-Census E	Annual Mean F
	1795	1805				
Quebec	7299	8862	1563	21.4%	19.3%	1.93%
Upper-Town Quebec	3821	4737	916	24.0%	21.4%	2.14%
	1805	1818				
Quebec	8862	16419	7557	85.3%	59.8%	4.60%
Upper-Town Quebec	4737	7800	3063	64.7%	48.9%	3.76%
	1818	1831				
Quebec	16419	25944	9525	58.0%	45.0%	3.46%
Upper-Town Quebec	7800	12978	5718	66.4%	49.8%	3.83%
	1831	1842				
Quebec	25944	31689	5745	22.1%	19.9%	1.81%
Upper-Town Quebec	12978	13645	667	5.1%	5.0%	0.45%
	1795	1842				
Quebec	7299	31689	24390	334.2%	125.1%	2.66%
Upper-Town Quebec	3821	13645	9824	257.1%	112.5%	2.39%

Sources: Lafrance and Ruddel, "Physical Expansion," 151. See also: Ruddel, "Quebec City," 657; Michel P. Paillé, "Accroisement et structure de la population à Québec au début du XIXe siècle (A propos d'un article de John Hare)," Histoire sociale/Social History, 9(May 1976): 186-193.

A and B: Population figures for Quebec City calculated by Lafrance and Ruddel. Population figures for Upper-Town Quebec calculated using figures from Lafrance and Ruddel. Upper-Town Quebec includes Upper Town proper and suburb of St. John (see table 1-2, p. 19).

C: C = B - A

D: D = C/Year(B) - Year(C)

E: E = 100(B - A)/.5(B + A)

F: F = E/Year(B) - Year(C)

grew at a greater rate than the constituency of Upper-Town Quebec with a mean rate of increase of 2.39% in the period from 1795 to 1842 (see table 1-4, p. 21). This suggests that generally Upper-Town Quebec benefited from the influx of population, but other areas became the home of many of the immigrants who settled in Quebec City. A comparison of the intercensal periods reveals that the growth was uneven with the greatest rates of growth for Quebec City and Upper Town coming in the first three decades. The period from 1831 to 1842, which saw the number of British immigrants landing in Quebec diminish (see table 1-5, p. 22) was the slowest period of growth for Upper-Town Quebec (mean rate of increase = 0.45%).

Table 1-5: Annual Average of Immigrant Arrivals at Port of Quebec, 1823-1827, 1828-1832 and 1833-1837

	1823-1827	1828-1832	1833-1837
Annual Average	10867	31541	22444

Sources: Ouellet, Economic and Social History, 357.

Thus, while the greatest period of growth in Quebec took place between 1805 and 1831, the different rates of growth suggest that the preponderance of growth was not restricted to Upper Town proper which along with Lower Town constituted the traditional area of residency in the eighteenth century.[21] This was still true in 1795 when about three-quarters of the total population resided in Upper Town and Lower Town (see table 1-2, p. 19). In 1805 the growing importance of the suburbs is evident; two-thirds of the inhabitants continued to live in the Old City. By 1831, however, nearly two-thirds resided in the suburbs. Thus the population of the suburbs increased tenfold from 1795 to 1842, but the population of the Old City

[21]Louise Dechêne, "Quelques aspects," 494.

merely doubled. The tremendous expansion in the suburbs is also reflected in the number of buildings constructed. In 1795, seventy per cent of Quebec's buildings were found in the Old City; by 1842, the suburbs accounted for sixty-six per cent.[22]

An explanation of the tremendous growth that occurred in the suburbs in the first half of the nineteenth century lies ironically with those very factors which stimulated the economy of Quebec City in this period - the lucrative lumber trade and British military policy. In the case of Lower Town the increased maritime activity translated into greater wharf construction and larger ships. Space was at a premium as shipbuilders, timber merchants, dry-good wholesalers and the government competed for land. Much vertical expansion occurred as merchants added additional stories to existing buildings. Lower Town also expanded horizontally toward St. Roch,[23] but caught between the river and the heights, Lower Town could no longer accommodate one-third of Quebec's total population.

Similarly, in Upper Town proper the presence of the military, an economic stimulant, was also an obstacle to growth. Since the end of the seventeenth century, military fortifications had limited the development of Upper Town. The British continued the French policy and reserved 535 acres for the building of a permanent citadel - this represented "forty-two per cent of the prime land in Upper-Town."[24] Thanks to the generosity of the French government in the seventeenth century, in addition to the military, religious orders and a few private individuals controlled other important sections within the walls of Old Quebec. By 1830 land was scarce, and, as was the case in Lower Town, it was no longer possible for Upper Town proper to absorb the lion's share of Quebec's growing

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[22]Lafrance and Ruddel, "Physical Expansion," 150.

[23]Ibid., 150-3.

[24]Ibid., 155-7, 165.

population.[25]

The suburbs, on the other hand, had no problem providing shelter for the newly arrived inhabitants. Stimulated by the timber industry and shipbuilding, St. Roch which had fewer than a thousand residents in 1795 was able to handle the overflow from Lower Town.[26] By 1842 St. Roch had become the residence and workplace for over ten thousand people, one-third of Quebec's population (see table 1-2, p. 19). Growth in the suburb of St. John was equally spectacular. Between 1795 and 1831 the population doubled three times - from about one thousand to over eight thousand. This constituted about a third of Quebec's population in 1831. Expansion in St. John did not continue as the military policy of land appropriation took effect. The rapid growth of St. John had caused alarm as the British military strategists sought to revive the French policy of keeping the area in front of the fortifications clear of obstruction for military reasons. The wish to create a military zone had repercussions for the growth of St. John. Between 1811 and 1822 the military appropriated 119 acres; by mid-century it controlled or owned over one-third of the land in the suburb.[27] Thus, the military policy of land appropriations and the prohibiting of housing construction encouraged the expanding populace to settle elsewhere.[28]

An examination of the area of residence of the heads of household in the constituency of Upper-Town Quebec confirms the shift in relative numerical importance from the Old City to the suburbs. It also reveals that Upper-Town proper lost ground to both the suburb of St. John and the suburb of St. Louis (see table 1-6, p. 25). When Lieutenant-Governor Clark

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[25]Ibid., 155-6.

[26]Ibid., 153-5.

[27]Ibid., 157-9.

[28]Charbonneau, Desloges and Lafrance, Quebec, The Fortified City, 428-9.

Table 1-6: Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Area of Residence, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Area of Residence	1792 N	1792 %	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Upper Town proper	868	77.1	835	43.9	828	32.1	1142	36.5
Suburb of St. John	234	20.8	906	47.7	1430	55.4	1607	51.4
Suburb of St. Louis		-	106	5.6	307	11.9	362	11.6
Other*	24	2.1	54	2.8	16	0.6	17	0.5
Total	1126	100.0	1901	100.0	2581	100.0	3128	100.0

Sources: "Les dénombrements de Québec," 3-250; Signay, Recensement de la ville; Public Archives of Canada (PAC), Lower Canada, Census 1831, C-720, C-721 (microfilm); PAC, Lower Canada, Census 1842, C-725, C-726 (microfilm).
*=Other or not known.

Table 1-7: Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Gender, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Gender	1792 N	1792 %	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Female	182	16.3	240	13.3	290	11.3	431	13.8
Male	939	83.4	1571	86.7	2281	88.7	2691	86.2
Unclear	5	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	1126	100.0	1811	100.0	2571	100.0	3122	100.0

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

established the boundaries of the constituency in 1792, over three-quarters of the heads of household resided in the Upper Town. By Signay's census of 1818, the majority of the household heads lived outside the Upper-Town walls, with only about five per cent of the household heads residing in the suburb of St. Louis. By 1831 the suburbs now accounted for about two-thirds of the heads of household. St. Louis grew in importance with about a tenth of Upper-Town Quebec residents now living there. The census of 1842

confirms that most of the growth in Quebec City in the 1830s occurred in Lower Town and St. Roch. Indeed, in the case of the constituency, Upper Town proper made gains at the expense of St. John which saw its percentage of household heads fall from 55.4% to 51.4%.

The dénombrements and censuses supply additional demographic information: the gender and age of the household heads. In regard to the former, the percentage of female heads in Upper-Town Quebec remained relatively the same for the five decades (see table 1-7, p. 25). From 16.3% in 1792, it fell slightly to 13.3% in 1818 and 11.3% in 1831 and returned to 13.8% in 1842. This suggests that Quebec's new economic conjuncture and British immigration of 1820s and 1830s did not affect the gender ratio in the constituency.

Table 1-8: Total Number and Percentage of Male Heads of Household, According to Age, Upper-Town Quebec, 1818-1842

Age in Years	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Under 21	6	0.6	27	1.6	34	1.7
21-29	283	25.8	353	20.4	461	22.8
30-59	676	61.7	1220	70.4	1383	68.5
60 plus	131	12.0	132	7.6	140	7.0
Total	1096	100.1	1732	100.0	2018	100.0

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

A preliminary examination of the age of the male household heads suggests that British immigration changed the age profile of the constituency.[29] During the intercensal period between 1818 and 1831 the

[29]The censuses of 1831 and 1842 used five categories for males (14 to 17, 18 to 20, 21 to 29, 30 to 59, and 60 or more) and only three categories for females (0 to 13, 14 to 44, and 45 or more). These categories are incompatible; therefore a comparative examination of females and males is not possible. See Lower Canada, Census of 1831 and Census of 1842.

Table 1-9: Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Male Heads of Household, According to Age, Upper-Town Quebec, 1818-1842

Age in Years	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Anglophone						
Under 21	0	0.0	8	1.3	13	1.6
21-29	28	29.8	145	22.7	178	22.9
30-59	56	59.6	454	71.0	541	69.6
60 plus	10	10.6	32	5.0	45	5.8
Total	94	100.1	639	100.0	777	99.9
Francophone						
Under 21	6	0.6	16	1.6	10	1.6
21-29	247	25.6	187	18.6	277	23.0
30-59	597	61.9	710	70.6	816	67.7
60 plus	114	11.8	92	9.2	92	7.6
Total	964	99.9	1005	100.0	1205	99.9

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

percentage of household heads sixty years or older decreased from 12.0% to 7.6% (see table 1-8, p. 26). A closer look at the heads according to language affiliation reveals a more complex situation. The age profiles of francophone male household heads changed between 1818 and 1842 (see table 1-9, p. 27). The percentage of those sixty years or older fell from 11.8% in 1818 to 9.2% in 1831 and descending to 7.6% in 1842. At the opposite end of the age scale, the percentage of younger francophone heads (21-to-29) fluctuated, decreasing from 25.6% in 1818 to 18.6% in 1831, but regaining its former position in 1842 with 23.0% of the population. The middle-aged francophone group (30-to-59) made the biggest gains, climbing from 61.9% in 1818 to 70.6% in 1831 and settling at 67.7% in 1842. This suggests that in addition to incoming British immigration other factors were involved in the growing percentage of heads under the age of sixty. On the other hand, a greater degree of change is discernible among the anglophone group: between 1818 and 1831 the percentage of older anglophone heads decreased

dramatically from 10.6% to 5.0%. The decline for the elderly francophone heads is less striking: 11.8% to 9.2%. This suggests that immigration did affect the age profile of the anglophone heads. At the same time, the similar but more limited change of the age profile of francophone heads indicates that other factors were involved in decreasing the percentage of older Upper-Town residents.

1.4. Ethno-Cultural Developments

The effects of the increased economic activity and the presence of the military in the region of Quebec City were not limited to demography. These factors also affected the linguistic make-up of Quebec. The increased ship traffic after 1800 associated with the lumber trade would later serve as the means to transport the thousands and thousands of British immigrants to Quebec after 1815. The result was to change Quebec from a predominantly francophone populace in 1805 to a city in which the number of English-speaking inhabitants almost equalled the number of Canadiens in 1831. Historians analyzing the dénombrements of the parish of Quebec place the percentage of anglophone heads of household between twenty-five and thirty per cent in 1795, 1798, 1805 and 1818 (see table 1-10, p. 29). By 1831, the effect of British immigration was clear, the census reveals that about forty-five per cent of the household heads were anglophone.

At times during the 1820s and 1830s, Quebec became an "English" city. During the summer months, British soldiers, sailors, lumbermen and transient immigrants swelled the ranks of the English-speaking population to the point of actually outnumbering the French-speaking permanent residents. Ruddel estimates the percentage of anglophone "inhabitants" to be 54.2% in the summer of 1831.[30] In the next decade, as the number of British immigrants landing and remaining in Quebec fell and with the general movement of immigrants to Montreal and points farther west, the trend

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[30]Ruddel, "Quebec City," 663. See also: Ruddel and Lafrance, "Québec, 1785-1840," 319-21.

Table 1-10: Comparison of the Estimated Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Language Affiliation or Country of Origin, Quebec City, 1792-1842

	1792		1795		1798		1805		1818		1831		1842	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Ouellet[a]														
English-speaking	187	16 5	415	28 6	425	28 3	472	29 3		26 6		45		40
French-speaking	947	83 5	1034	71 4	1074	71 7	1138	70 7		73 4		55		60
Total	1134	100 0	1449	100 0	1499	100 0	1610	100 0		100 0		100		100
Ruddel[b]														
British									289	12 2			2150	38 4
Canadien									2079	87 8			3444	61 6
Total									2368	100 0			5594	100 0
Dechêne[c]														
Foreign			376	24 5										
Canadien			1160	75 5										
Total			1536	100 0										

Sources Ouellet, Le Bas Canada, 62-3, Ouellet, Lower Canada, 161, 182, 345, Ouellet, "Structures des occupations," 181-2, 188, Ruddel, "Quebec City," 664, Dechêne, "Quelques Aspects," 496

Based on the dénombrements of 1792-1818 and the censuses returns of 1831 and 1842

[a]Figures for 1818 supplemented by document supplied by F Ouellet [b]excludes heads without occupations listed

[c]includes heads without occuptions listed

toward Quebec becoming an "English-speaking" city reversed. The census of 1842 records about forty per cent of the heads of household as anglophone.

Table 1-11: Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Language Affiliation, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Language Affiliation	1792 N	1792 %	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Anglophone	288	25.6	488	25.7	1019	39.5	1247	39.9
Francophone	714	63.4	1327	69.8	1420	55.0	1822	58.2
Other*	124	11.0	86	4.5	142	5.5	59	1.9
Total	1126	100.0	1901	100.0	2581	100.0	3128	100.0

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.
*=Other or not known.

Table 1-12: Total Number and Percentage of Canadien and Non-Canadien Heads of Household, According to Area of Residence, Quebec City, 1795

Area of Residence	Canadien N	Canadien %	Foreign-Born N	Foreign-Born %	Total N	Total %
Upper Town	367	65.2	196	34.8	563	36.7
Lower Town	414	73.9	146	26.1	560	36.5
St. Roch	169	92.3	14	7.7	183	11.9
St. John	210	91.3	20	8.7	230	15.0
Total	1160	75.5	376	24.5	1536	100.0

Sources: Dechêne, "Quelques aspects," 496.

The Upper-Town constituency was not isolated from the process of anglicization which characterized Quebec's population in the 1820s and 1830s. Between 1818 and 1831, the percentage of anglophone heads of household increased from about twenty-five to about forty per cent (see table 1-11, p. 30). Thus, Upper-Town Quebec, like the city, became the home to a

growing percentage of anglophone heads of household. Notable is the difference in the percentage of anglophone heads in 1831: forty-five per cent in Quebec and forty per cent in Upper-Town Quebec. This suggests that the degree of Englishness was not the same throughout the city. Louise Dechêne's analysis of the dénombrement of 1795 reveals the percentage of non-canadien residents varied according to area of residence. She estimates the percentage of non-canadien heads to be about thirty-five per cent in Upper Town proper, twenty-five per cent in Lower Town and less than ten per cent in each of the suburbs of St. Roch and St. John (see table 1-12, p. 30).

Table 1-13: Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Heads of Household, According to Area of Residence, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Area	1792		1818		1831		1842	
Anglophone	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Upper Town	261	30.1	356	42.6	491	59.3	638	55.9
St. John	25	10.7	100	11.0	336	23.5	389	24.2
St. Louis	-	-	24	22.6	189	61.6	218	60.2
Unclassified	2	8.3	8	14.8	3	18.8	2	11.8
Total	288	25.6	488	25.7	1019	39.5	1247	39.9
Francophone	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Upper Town	498	57.4	434	52.0	290	35.0	464	40.6
St. John	197	84.2	773	85.3	1022	71.5	1202	74.8
St. Louis	-	-	75	70.8	95	30.9	142	39.2
Unclassified	19	79.2	45	83.3	13	81.3	14	82.4
Total	714	63.4	1327	69.8	1420	55.0	1822	58.2

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

Thus, while all areas of the city contained both anglophone and francophone inhabitants, linguistic distinctions are evident as early as 1795. These same variations existed in the constituency of Upper-Town Quebec. An examination of the area of residence and language affiliation of the

household heads reveals that both language groups continued to settle throughout the constituency but language enclaves developed. Until the intercensal period between 1818 and 1831 francophone inhabitants continued to represent the greatest percentage of household heads in all areas (see table 1-13, p. 31). However, the percentage of anglophone household heads in Upper Town proper rose from thirty to forty per cent from 1792 to 1818. By 1831, and this pattern continued throughout the 1830s, sixty per cent of the household heads in Upper Town and the suburb of St. Louis were anglophone. The anglophone group even made inroads in the francophone suburb of St. John, constituting about a quarter of the household heads in 1831 and 1842.

Our conclusions regarding the growing exclusiveness of area of residence and language are reflected in an index of representation. This index measures the degree that a particular group is overrepresented or underrepresented in relationship to the population as a whole. For example, if twenty per cent of the heads of household resided in Upper Town proper, but thirty per cent of the anglophone heads were residents there, the index of underrepresentation for anglophones is 50.0. On the other hand, if only ten per cent of francophone heads lived within the walls, then the score for francophones is -50.0. The higher the index score, either negatively or positively, the more underrepresented or overrepresented is a group in a particular category. In other words, the index score of a group which is

proportionately represented in a category is 0.[31]

From the beginning anglophones were overrepresented and francophones underrepresented as household heads in Upper-Town Quebec (see figure 1-3, p. 34). However, between 1792 and 1818 the degree of anglophone overrepresentation and francophone underrepresentation increased. In the case of the anglophones, the index score jumped from 17.6 in 1792 to 65.8 in 1818; in regard to the francophones, the degree of underrepresentation increased from -9.4 in 1792 to -25.5 in 1818. This pattern held for both groups in 1831 and 1842. Conversely, francophone heads continued to be overrepresented in the suburb of St. John throughout the period. They were overrepresented in 1792 (32.8), 1818 (22.2), 1831 (30.0) and 1842 (28.5). Similarly, the gross underrepresentation of the anglophones as St. John's household heads remained true for the whole period with scores of -58.2 (1792), -57.2 (1818), -40.5 (1831) and -39.3 (1842). The slightly lower scores in 1831 and 1842 reflect the increasing proportion of anglophone heads in St. John in the 1820s. The same decade saw the anglophone "take-over" of the suburb of St. Louis. Although not exclusively francophone in 1818, the anglophones were underrepresented as household heads (-12.0). By 1831, the effects of the anglophone invasion into St. Louis are evident: the anglophone heads were strongly overrepresented (56.0) and francophone heads strongly

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[31]The index of representation is defined as:
PR = (Xa-Ya)/Ya x 100
PR = ratio of over- or under-representation
Xa = proportion of group X within category a
Ya = proportion of total population within category a
Using the example cited in the text:
(30%-20%)/20% x 100 = .5 x 100 = 50.
Though not using the same definition as Sidney Verba and Norman Nie, this a version of the index of over- or under-representation reported by Verba and Nie in their study of American political participation. Note both definitions yield the same numerical results (see appendix H). The Verba and Nie definition is
PR = (Xi-Yi)/Xi x 100
PR=ratio of over- under-representation
Xi=percentage of entire population in the social group
Yi=the proportion of the same social group within a given category of participators.
[Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie, Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 96, 96n.]

Figure 1-3: Profile of Heads of Household, According to Area of Residence and Language Affiliation, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

underrepresented (-43.8). The same pattern continued in 1842 (50.9 and -32.6).

British immigration changed not only the linguistic character of Upper-Town Quebec, it also influenced its ethnic composition. Until the early 1830s, the bulk of British immigrants came from England; after 1832, two

Table 1-14: Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone Heads of Household, According to Country of Origin, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Country of Origin	1792 N	1792 %	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
French Canada	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	0.9	19	1.8
British*	80	84.2	10	83.3	382	55.7	652	61.2
Irish	11	11.6	2	16.7	10	1.5	370	34.7
Unclear	4	4.2	0	0.0	288	42.0	24	2.3
Total	95	100.0	12	100.0	686	100.0	1065	100.0

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.
*=The dénombrements of 1792 and 1818 describe a handful of the heads of household as Irlandais. It is not until 1842 that the census takers distinguished the Irish from their English and Scottish compatriots.

Table 1-15: Number and Percentage of Anglophone Heads of Household, According to Country of Origin and Area of Residence, Upper-Town Quebec, 1842

Country of Origin	Upper Town N	Upper Town %	St. John N	St. John %	St. Louis N	St. Louis %	Total N	Total %
British	406	62.3	170	26.1	76	11.7	652	100.1
Irish*	89	24.1	174	47.0	107	28.9	370	100.0
Other	10	41.7	8	33.3	6	25.0	24	100.0
Total	505	48.3	352	33.6	189	18.1	1046	100.0

Sources: Census of 1842.
*=The census only provides the number of Irish at the household level. If a household contained Irish, and Scottish, English or British Canadians, it was necessary to classify the head as British. Consequently the number of Irish household heads is low.

out of every three immigrants landing in Quebec were Irish.[32] The effects on the anglophone community in Upper-Town Quebec were unmistakable: by

[32]Ouellet, Lower Canada, 355; Ouellet, Le Bas-Canada, 218; Ouellet, Economic and Social History, 357; Ouellet, Histoire économique et sociale, 349.

1842, about one-third of the anglophone heads of household were born in Ireland (see table 1-14, p. 35). A closer examination of the census of 1842 suggests that during the 1830s the Irish settled throughout the constituency but nearly half resided in the francophone suburb of St. John (see table 1-15, p. 35). On the other hand, as anglophone household heads, the Irish were greatly underrepresented in Upper Town proper.

Table 1-16: Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone Heads of Household, According to Religion, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Religion	1792 N	1792 %	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Catholic	48	23.8	91	21.6	276	29.7	295	27.7
Protestant	149	73.8	331	78.4	521	56.2	600	56.4
Unclear	5	2.5	0	0.0	132	14.2	169	15.9
Total	202	100.1	422	100.0	929	100.0	1064	100.0

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

Whereas in the 1820s and 1830s most of the Irish immigrants were Catholics, it is reasonable to assume that the religious composition of anglophone society in Upper-Town Quebec also changed.[33] The parish census takers put the percentage of anglophone Catholic household heads from 1792 to 1818 at less than twenty-five per cent; in 1831 and 1842, the percentage was closer to thirty per cent (see table 1-16, p. 36). As one might suspect with the growing number of Irish inhabitants, this percentage was probably even higher. However, the government-census record format does not make it always possible to differentiate Catholic from Protestant

[33]On 1 February 1830, the Quebec Gazette estimated that Irish Catholics formed one-fifth to one-quarter of the total population of Quebec. Cited in: John Hare, Marc Lafrance and David-Thiery Ruddel, Histoire de la ville de Québec, 1608-1871 (Montreal: Editions du Boréal Express, 1987), 196.

household heads.[34]

Table 1-17: Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone Heads of Household, According to Religion and Area of Residence, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Area of Residence	1792 N	1792 %	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Upper Town								
Catholic	37	20.8	57	18.6	67	15.5	87	16.8
Protestant	137	77.0	250	81.4	274	63.6	312	60.3
Unclear	4	2.2	0	0.0	90	20.9	118	22.8
Total	178	100.0	307	100.0	431	100.0	517	99.9
St. John								
Catholic	11	50.0	24	28.9	135	43.3	148	41.3
Protestant	10	45.5	59	71.1	164	52.6	178	49.7
Unclear	1	4.5	0	0.0	13	4.2	32	8.9
Total	22	100.0	83	100.0	312	100.1	358	99.9
St. Louis								
Catholic	-	-	8	33.3	74	40.4	60	31.7
Protestant	-	-	16	66.7	81	44.3	110	58.2
Unclear	-	-	0	0.0	28	15.3	19	10.1
Total	-	-	24	100.0	183	100.0	189	100.0

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

The effects of the Irish Catholic invasion are more difficult to establish in the suburbs. Between 1818 and 1831, the percentage of identifiable anglophone Catholic household heads in the suburb of St. John increased from 28.9% to 43.3%, while the percentage of Protestants fell from 71.1% to 52.6% (see table 1-17, p. 37). The Protestant-Catholic dichotomy continued throughout the 1830s. Less clear is the Catholic presence in St. Louis.

[34]The censuses of 1831 and 1842 only provide household-level totals. In a case where Catholics and Protestants resided in the same household, it is impossible to know the religious affiliation of the head.

Sufficient data is not extant prior to 1831. From 1831 to 1842 the percentage of identifiable Catholics fell from 40.4% to 31.7% and the percentage of Protestants rose from 44.3% to 58.2%. Equally unclear is whether the percentage of anglophone Catholics in Upper Town proper increased between between 1818 and 1831. The percentage of identifiable Catholics remained under twenty per cent, but with a comparable percentage of heads whose religious affiliation are not clearly identified in the census, it is not evident if Irish Catholic immigration affected the Protestant-Catholic ratio in Upper Town.

Table 1-18: Number and Percentage of Catholic and Protestant Anglophone Heads of Household, According to Area of Residence, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Religion	1792 N	1792 %	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Upper Town								
Catholic	37	77.1	57	62.7	67	24.3	87	29.5
Protestant	137	92.0	250	75.5	274	52.6	312	52.0
Unclear	4	80.0	0	0.0	90	68.2	118	69.8
Total	178	88.1	307	72.8	431	46.4	517	48.6
St. John								
Catholic	11	22.9	24	26.4	135	48.9	148	50.2
Protestant	10	6.7	59	17.8	164	31.5	178	29.7
Unclear	1	20.0	0	0.0	13	9.9	32	18.9
Total	22	10.9	83	19.7	312	33.6	358	33.7
St. Louis								
Catholic	-	-	8	8.8	74	26.8	60	20.3
Protestant	-	-	16	4.8	81	15.6	110	18.3
Unclear	-	-	0	0.0	28	21.2	19	11.2
Total	-	-	24	5.7	183	19.7	189	17.8

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

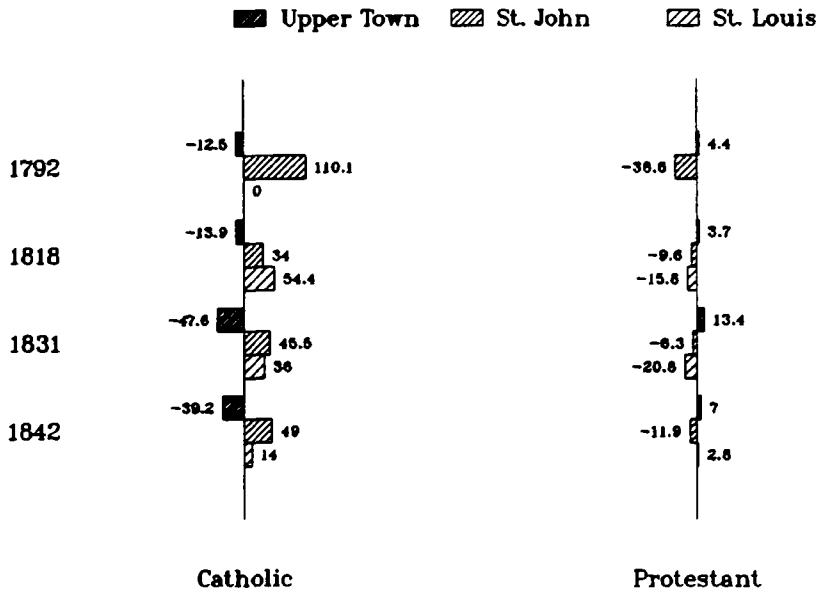
The changing religious character of the anglophone community within the riding comes to light when considering the area of residence of the two

religious groups. Until the intercensal period from 1818 to 1831, the majority of anglophone Catholics resided in Upper Town proper: 77.1% in 1792 and 62.7% in 1818 (see table 1-18, p. 38). By 1831 Upper Town accounted for only 24.3% of the identifiable anglophone Catholic heads. In 1842 this increased slightly to 29.5%. The suburbs, on the other hand, provided shelter for nearly three-quarters of all anglophone Catholics recorded in the censuses of 1831 and 1842. The Catholics favoured in particular the suburb of St. John: 48.9% resided there in 1831 and 50.2% in 1842. As we have seen, the census of 1842 reveals a similar pattern of Irish settlement: 47.0% of the Irish lived in St. John in 1842 (see table 1-15, p. 35). This suggests a direct link between the growing anglophone Catholic community in St. John and the influx of Irish Catholics in the 1830s.

The anglophone Catholic heads' preference for the suburbs is underscored in an index of representation. Anglophone Catholic heads were overrepresented in St. John in 1792 (index score = 110.1), 1818 (34.0), 1831 (45.5) and 1842 (49.0) (see figure 1-4, p. 40). St. Louis had similar scores: 54.4, 36.0 and 14.0. In Upper Town, on the other hand, the anglophone Catholic heads were underrepresented with scores of -12.5 and -13.9 in 1792 and 1818. Reflecting the decreasing importance of the Old City as an area of residence for anglophone Catholics, the index scores for 1831 and 1842 fell further to -47.6 and -39.3.

An examination of the Upper-Town anglophone heads of household in terms of religion and country of origin reveals that post-1818 British immigrants settled outside the walls of the Old City. The census of 1842 provides added evidence of the immigrant tendency to settle in the suburbs: analysis of the number of years that each head resided in Lower Canada prior to 1842 confirms that the newly arrived immigrants favoured the suburbs. Over seventy per cent of the anglophone heads with one to five years of residency in Lower Canada lived in St. John and St. Louis (see table 1-19, p. 41). Less than thirty per cent settled in Upper Town proper. On the other hand, Upper Town accounted for 42.7% of the long-time residents, that is, those who had been in Lower Canada for over a decade.

Figure 1-4: Profile of Anglophone Heads of Household, According to Area of Residence and Religion, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842



Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

At the time of the establishment of representative government in 1792 English Protestants residing in Upper Town proper constituted the majority of the anglophone community. Religion, however, muddied the waters of ethnic solidarity: one quarter of the anglophone household heads were Catholic and this remained true through to 1842. The new economy based on lumber and imperial trade, and the onslaught of British immigrants complicated matters even more. By 1831 seventy per cent of anglophone Catholics lived in the suburbs while an island of Protestantism persisted within the walls of the Old City. The waves of Irish immigrants in the

Table 1-19: Number and Percentage of Anglophone Heads of Household, According to Area of Residence and Number of Years Resident in Lower Canada, Upper-Town Quebec, 1842

Number of Years	Upper Town N	%	St. John N	%	St. Louis N	%	Total N	%
1 to 5	53	28.6	93	50.3	39	21.1	185	100.0
6 to 10	73	34.8	80	38.1	57	27.1	210	100.0
11 plus	168	42.7	137	34.9	88	22.4	393	100.0
Total	294	37.3	310	39.3	184	23.4	788	100.0

Sources: Census of 1842

Table 1-20: Total Number and Percentage of Francophone Heads of Household, According to Country of Origin, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Country of Origin	1792 N	%	1818 N	%	1831 N	%	1842 N	%
French Canada	0	0.0	52	100.0	326	89.1	1452	99.4
British	0	0.0	0	0.0	11	3.0	3	0.2
Irish	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	0.2
Unclear	3	100.0	0	0.0	29	7.9	3	0.2
Total	3	100.0	52	100.0	366	100.0	1461	100.0

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

1830s further repainted the ethnic landscape of Upper-Town Quebec. By 1842, at least one-third of the British community was Irish, three-quarters of whom resided in the suburbs, while the English, Scottish and native-born English-Canadians found the Upper Town more to their liking. A third factor, the number of years residing in Lower Canada, also differentiated members of the anglophone community in 1842. Almost three-quarters of the newly arrived immigrants settled in the suburbs: in contrast, nearly half of the long-time residents lived in Upper-Town. For anglophone inhabitants,

Table 1-21: Total Number and Percentage of Francophone Heads of Household, According to Religion, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Religion	1792 N	1792 %	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Catholic	704	99.2	1130	99.1	1118	97.5	1448	99.4
Protestant	5	0.7	10	0.9	12	1.0	6	0.4
Unclear	1	0.1	0	0.0	17	1.5	3	0.2
Total	710	100.0	1140	100.0	1147	100.0	1457	100.0

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

language was not an indication of ethnic solidarity; francophones, on the other hand, shared more than a common language. All but a few francophone household heads in Upper-Town Quebec were born in Canada and baptised as Catholics (see table 1-20, p. 41 and table 1-21, p. 42). Thus, francophone residents, in terms of language, religion and country of origin, formed a single ethnic group - les Canadiens.

Chapter Two: Socio-Economic Developments

2.1. Introduction

Alterations to Quebec's ethno-cultural and demographic fabric did not occur independently of the socio-economic metamorphosis which characterized the first half of the nineteenth century. The increase of economic activities related to the lumber industries and shipbuilding, and the arrival of the legion of British immigrants had a profound effect on the structure and relationship of Quebec's socio-economic groups. Spatial differentiation based on occupation, social status and wealth intensified as the elite strengthened its hold on Upper Town and abandoned Lower Town to the workingman. In time the unskilled and skilled labouring population claimed as its own St. Roch and St. John, leaving St. Louis, with its relatively healthy environment and greater accessibility to Upper Town to the merchants and professionals who had fled the epidemics and overcrowdedness of Lower Town in the 1830s.[35]

2.2. Property Ownership and Annual Assessed Value of Property

The parish dénombrements, the government census returns and the city assessment rolls provide data relating to property ownership and occupation. Analysis of these factors will allow us to uncover the changing socio-economic framework of Upper-Town Quebec. A critical examination of property ownership and assessed annual value of property reveals that the economic and social structure of the Upper-Town constituency underwent considerable

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[35]Ruddel and Lafrance, "Québec, 1785-1840," 318-21, 333; Lafrance and Ruddel, "Physical Expansion", 155-62; Charbonneau, Desloges and Lafrance, Quebec, The Fortified City, 426-7, 488.

change in the second, third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, there is evidence for increasing spatial differentiation, as the more wealthy residents remained within the walls of the Old City or in the 1830s escaped to the suburb of St. Louis, while the less wealthy property owners congregated in St. John.

Table 2-1: Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Property Ownership, Upper-Town Quebec, 1818-1842

Property Ownership	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Tenants	987	52.0	1551	60.1	2071	66.2
Property Owners	911	48.0	1028	39.9	1032	33.0
Unclear	1	0.1	0	0.0	26	0.8
Total	1899	100.1	2579	100.0	3129	100.0

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

Table 2-2: Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Heads of Household, According to Property Ownership, Upper-Town Quebec, 1818-1842

Property Ownership	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Anglophone						
Tenants	290	59.4	802	78.9	1010	81.1
Property Owners	198	40.6	215	21.1	224	18.0
Unclear	0	0.0	0	0.0	12	0.9
Total	488	100.0	1017	100.0	1246	100.0
Francophone						
Tenants	652	49.2	649	45.7	1021	56.0
Property Owners	672	50.7	771	54.3	791	43.4
Unclear	1	0.1	0	0.0	10	0.5
Total	1325	100.0	1420	100.0	1822	99.9

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

British immigration perceptibly decreased the percentage of household heads owning property in the constituency. In 1818 half of the Upper-Town heads owned property; by 1842 only one-third were property owners (see table 2-1, p. 44). A comparison of the anglophone and francophone property owners and tenants discloses that in the intercensal period from 1818 to 1831, the percentage of anglophone tenants increased dramatically from 59.4% to 78.9% (see table 2-2, p. 44). This was not the case for francophone household heads. Indeed in the same period the percentage of francophones owning property increased from 50.7% to 54.3%. This not only demonstrates the effects of British immigration on the anglophone population but suggests that generally those immigrating were not from the wealthy sections of British society. Between 1831 and 1842 the percentage of anglophone tenants remained high, increasing to 81.1%. More significantly, the percentage of francophone tenants also rose, jumping from 45.7% to 56.0%. This indicates that other factors influenced the inhabitants' capacity to own property in the constituency: the general economic malaise that the Quebec region suffered in the second half of the 1830s[36] and related phenomenon, the flow of francophone habitants from the economically depressed rural area surrounding the city.[37]

More than increasing the number and percentage of anglophone tenants in the constituency, British immigration also altered the proportional representation of anglophones and francophones owning property. Between 1818 and 1831, while the percentage of anglophone heads increased from about twenty-five to about forty per cent, the percentage of anglophone property owners remained at about twenty per cent (see table 2-3, p. 46).

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[36]Ouellet, Histoire économique et sociale, 408-9, 418-9; Ouellet, Economic and Social History, 414-5, 425-6; Ouellet, Le Bas-Canada, 277-80, 360-1; Ouellet, Lower Canada, 177-8, 232-3; Ruddel and Lafrance, "Quebec, 1785-1840," 333.

[37]Ouellet describes the overpopulation of the seigneuries and the movement of the French-Canadian population in the 1820s and 1830s toward "industrial regions" or "where there was plenty of land" (Ouellet, Economic and Social History, 353-7). See also: Ouellet, Histoire économique et sociale, 353-7.

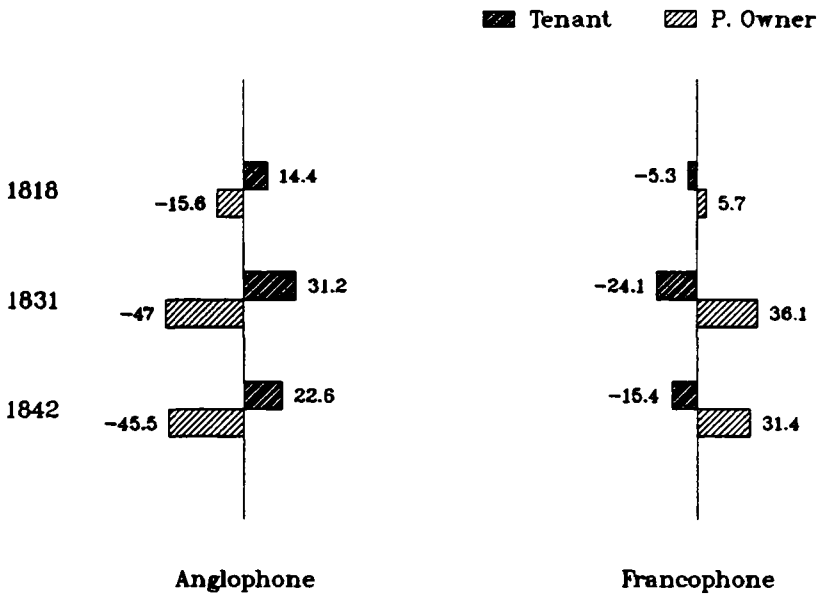
Table 2-3: Number and Percentage of Tenant and Property-Owner Heads of Household, According to Language Affiliation, Upper-Town Quebec, 1818-1842

Property Ownership	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Anglophone						
Tenants	290	29.4	802	51.7	1010	48.8
Property Owners	198	21.7	215	20.9	224	21.7
Unclear	0	0.0	0	0.0	12	48.0
Total	488	25.7	1017	39.4	1246	39.8
Francophone						
Tenants	652	66.1	649	41.8	1021	49.3
Property Owners	672	73.8	771	75.0	791	76.6
Unclear	1	100.0	0	0.0	10	40.0
Total	1325	69.8	1420	55.1	1822	58.3

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

On the other hand, the percentage of anglophones paying rent rose from about thirty per cent to about fifty per cent. In the case of the French-speaking group, a different pattern occurred. Throughout the period the francophones continued to represent about seventy-five per cent of all property owners; but between 1818 and 1831, their percentage of the total number of heads fell from seventy per cent to under sixty per cent. Similarly, the francophone percentage of tenants decreased from about sixty-five per cent to under fifty per cent. In other words, proportionately francophone heads came to represent a higher percentage of property owners and a lower percentage of tenants between 1818 and 1831. Thus, whereas the francophone heads were slightly overrepresented as property owners in 1818 (index score = 5.7), they were more substantially overrepresented in 1831 (36.1) and in 1842 (31.4) (see figure 2-1, p. 47). Similarly, in terms of tenancy, the degree of francophone underrepresentation, minor in 1818 with an index score of -5.3, became more pronounced in 1831 with a score of -24.1. Underrepresentation decreased noticeably to -15.4 in 1842 giving

Figure 2-1: Profile of Heads of Household, According to Property Ownership and Language Affiliation, Upper-Town Quebec, 1818-1842



Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

support to the argument that the francophone community was not immune to the economic difficulties plaguing Quebec in the later half of the 1830s. The index of representation also mirrors the impact of British immigration on the anglophone population. Anglophone underrepresentation as property owners fell from -15.6 in 1818 to -47.0 in 1831 and levelling off to -45.5 in 1842.

Table 2-4: Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Property Qualifications and Area of Residence, Upper-Town Quebec, 1818-1842

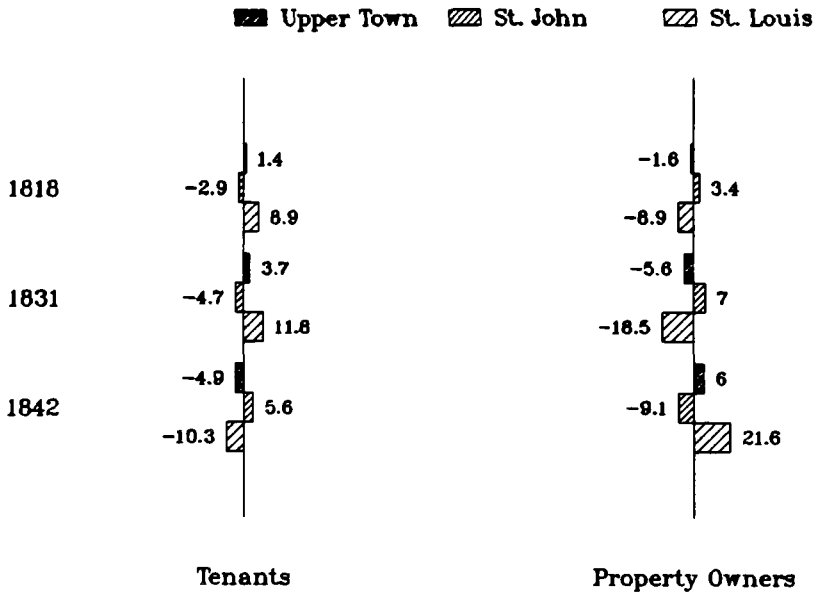
Property Ownership	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Upper Town						
Tenants	440	52.7	516	62.4	716	62.6
Property Owners	394	47.2	311	37.6	399	34.9
Unclear	1	0.1	0	0.0	27	2.4
Total	835	100.0	827	100.0	1143	99.9
St. John						
Tenants	456	50.4	819	57.3	1125	70.0
Property Owners	448	49.6	610	42.7	482	30.0
Total	904	100.0	1429	100.0	1607	100.0
St. Louis						
Tenants	60	56.6	207	67.4	216	59.7
Property Owners	46	43.4	100	32.6	146	40.3
Total	106	100.0	307	100.0	362	100.0

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

Analysis of property ownership within the constituency reveals that the percentage of tenants increased from 1818 to 1831 in the Old City as well as in the suburbs (see table 2-4, p. 48). British immigration, we have seen, transformed Upper Town proper and St. Louis into anglophone-majority areas of residence and at the same time drastically increased the percentage of anglophone tenants. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that from 1818 to 1831 the greatest change in the percentage of tenants occurred in Upper Town proper (52.7% to 62.4%) and St. Louis (56.6% to 67.4%). St. John recorded the smallest percentage change (50.4% to 57.3%). In 1842 with the percentage of anglophone heads in all areas of residence remaining at the levels recorded in 1831, the percentage of tenants in Upper Town did not fluctuate. In the predominantly francophone suburb of St. John, however, the percentage of tenants rose to 70.0%, paralleling the increased percentage of francophone tenants. In St. Louis, the percentage of tenants fell to 59.7%

in 1842, supporting the contention that some of the new anglophone residents in St. Louis were not poor Irish immigrant farmers but moderately successful Lower-Town merchants seeking affordable property and healthy conditions.[38]

Figure 2-2: Profile of Heads of Household, According to Area of Residence and Property Ownership, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842



Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

[38]Ruddel and Lafrance, "Quebec, 1785-1840," 321; Lafrance and Ruddel, "Physical Expansion," 162.

An index of representation further demonstrates the varied effects of British immigration on the different areas of residence. The low scores of 1.4 and 3.7 suggest that immigration only slightly increased the degree of tenant overrepresentation in Upper Town (see figure 2-2, p. 49). In the suburb of St. John, where francophones constituted the majority throughout the three decades, the tenants were scarcely underrepresented (-2.9 and -4.7) and the property owners barely overrepresented (3.4 and 7.0). St. Louis, which immigrants continued to favour until after 1831, witnessed the greatest degree of tenant overrepresentation (8.9 and 11.8) and property-owner underrepresentation (-8.9 and -18.5). As the value of Upper-Town land became prohibitive and the attractiveness of the St. Louis area became more apparent, spatial differentiation in terms of wealth, as measured in the owning of property, increased in the 1830s. In 1842 property owners were now overrepresented in Upper Town (6.0) and particularly in St. Louis (21.6). Reflecting the common economic difficulties which touched the lives of many in the Quebec region in the later part of the decade, the household heads in the francophone suburb of St. John were in 1842 overrepresented as tenants (5.6) and underrepresented as property owners (-9.1).

A more sophisticated indicator of economic wealth is the annual assessed value of property. Analysis of Upper-Town assessment rolls gives credence to the argument that Quebec City's economy was in decline in the period prior to the rebellion.[39] An in-depth examination of the assessment values for 1824, 1829 and 1836 discloses that generally the percentage of the household heads receiving the lowest assessments (£1 to £9) increased dramatically from 33.7% in 1824 to 42.0% in 1829 (see table 2-5, p. 51). In the same period, the percentage of Upper-Town heads in the second lowest assessment category (£10 to £19) decreased moderately from 23.0% to 18.2%. The same pattern was true for heads with assessments between £20 and £29, falling from 10.6% in 1824 and 7.9% in 1829. The percentage of

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[39]Ouellet, Lower Canada, 232.

Table 2-5: Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

Assessed Value (£)	1824 N	1824 %	1829 N	1829 %	1836 N	1836 %
1-9	311	33.7	425	42.0	501	45.6
10-19	212	23.0	184	18.2	205	18.7
20-29	98	10.6	80	7.9	79	7.2
30-49	88	9.5	99	9.8	96	8.7
50-99	109	11.8	102	10.1	104	9.5
100-499	101	10.9	109	10.8	101	9.2
500-999	2	0.2	8	0.8	8	0.7
1000-1999	2	0.2	4	0.4	5	0.5
2000-9999	0	0.0	2	0.2	0	0.0
Total	923	99.9	1013	100.2	1099	100.1

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

heads with assessments less than £30 remained relatively the same: 67.3% in 1824, 68.1% in 1829 and increasing slightly to 71.5% in 1836. This suggests that it was the groups with the highest assessments, that is, the wealthiest inhabitants who were unaffected by the economic depression that hit the constituency and the Quebec region in general. Furthermore, the most significant change occurred between 1824 and 1829, as the increase in the percentage of household heads with the lowest assessments leveled off somewhat between 1829 and 1836.

A further examination of annual assessment values also reveals significant differences in terms of wealth between the two language groups. A much higher percentage of francophone heads had assessments of less that £10. In 1824, this lowest category accounted for 38.4% of francophone heads, but only 19.0% of anglophone heads (see table 2-6, p. 52). The percentage of lowest-assessed property owners increased for both groups. However, the same gap in wealth remained: 49.1% for francophones and 24.3% for anglophones in 1829; and 54.4% and 26.5% in 1836. This

Table 2-6: Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Heads of Household, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

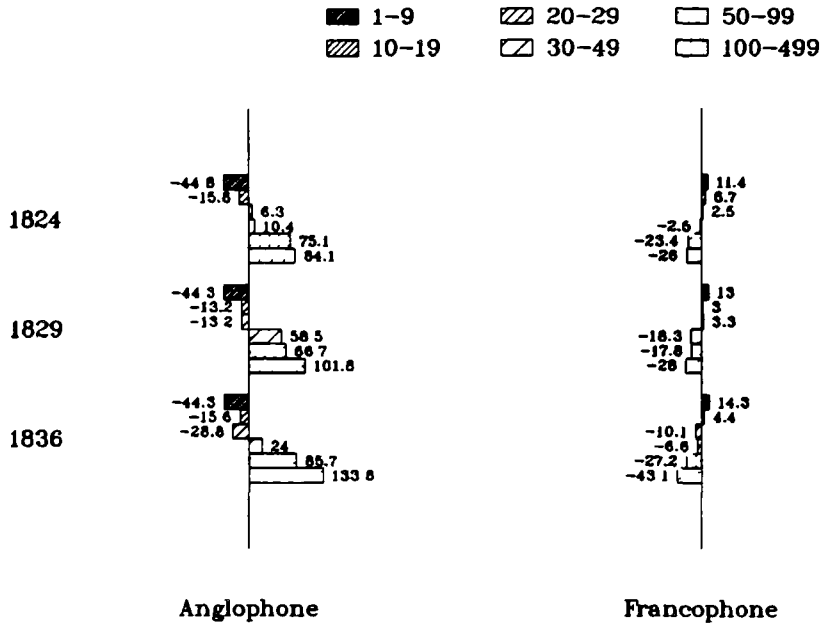
Assessed Value (£)	1824 N	1824 %	1829 N	1829 %	1836 N	1836 %
Anglophone						
1-9	38	19.0	52	24.3	66	26.5
10-19	39	19.5	35	16.4	40	16.1
20-29	23	11.5	15	7.0	25	10.0
30-49	21	10.5	33	15.4	26	10.4
50-99	41	20.5	35	16.4	44	17.7
100-499	37	18.5	42	19.6	46	18.5
500-999	1	0.5	2	0.9	1	0.4
1000-1999	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.4
Total	200	100.0	214	100.0	249	100.0
Francophone						
1-9	252	38.4	365	49.1	424	54.4
10-19	163	24.8	144	19.4	155	19.9
20-29	73	11.1	62	8.3	50	6.4
30-49	61	9.3	59	7.9	61	7.8
50-99	59	9.0	60	8.1	54	6.9
100-499	49	7.5	52	7.0	35	4.5
500-999	0	0.0	1	0.1	1	0.1
Total	657	100.1	743	99.9	780	100.0

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

advantage in wealth for the anglophone group is undeniable. In general, about a half of the anglophone property owners had assessments of £30 or more; one-fifth had assessments between £100 and £500. About one-quarter of francophone heads had assessments greater than £29; less than a tenth were assessed at a value between £100 and £500.

An index of representation vividly demonstrates the greater wealth of the anglophones in the constituency. Anglophones owning property were grossly overrepresented in the two highest categories of assessment. For £100 to £499 category, the anglophone scores are 84.1 (1824), 101.8 (1829)

Figure 2-3: Profile of Heads of Household, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property and Language Affiliation, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1842



Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

and 133.8 (1836) (see figure 2-3, p. 53). For anglophones assessed between £50 and £100, the scores are 75.1 (1824), 66.7 (1829) and 85.7 (1836). The francophones continued to be underrepresented in both these categories with scores of -26.0 (£100 to £499) and -23.4 (£50 to £99) in 1824, -28.0 and -17.8 in 1829 and -43.1 and -27.2 in 1836. On the other hand, francophones were moderately overrepresented in the lowest assessment category of £1 to £9 with scores of 11.4 (1824), 13.0 (1829) and 14.3 (1836). Anglophone

underrepresentation among the lowest assessed property owners was consistently high with scores of -44.8 (1824), -44.3 (1829) and -44.3 (1836). Thus anglophones were overrepresented among the highest assessed household heads and the francophones among the lowest assessed.

Language was not the only factor differentiating the wealthiest property owners from the poorest; there was also a link between wealth and area of residence. Analysis of annual assessed values reveals that the wealthiest inhabitants preferred to reside within the walls of the Old City. Clearly Upper Town proper, as recent studies of Quebec City contend, was "largely reserved for the city's elite".[40] Consider the three areas of residence within the constituency. About seventy per cent of the property owners within Upper Town proper had assessments of £30 or greater, with over twenty-five per cent with assessments of £100 or more (see table 2-7, p. 55). On the other hand, city officials recorded assessments of £30 or more to only about ten per cent of the property owners in St. John and St. Louis. About eighty per cent of property owners in the suburbs had assessments of less than £20. Indeed the percentage increased between 1829 and 1836. In St. John the percentage of property owners assessed at less than £20 was 78.0% in 1824, 79.4% in 1829 and 87.4% in 1836. The corresponding figures for St. Louis are even higher: 82.6% in 1824; 83.9% in 1829 and 87.1% in 1836.

The disproportionate wealth of the Upper-Town residents is irrefutable. Upper Town proper accounted for: about sixty per cent of all property owners with assessments between £30 and £49; about eighty per cent of those with assessments between £50 and £99; and about ninety per cent with assessments between £100 and £499 (see table 2-8, p. 56). Of the thirty-one property owners listed in the assessment rolls in 1824, 1829 or 1836 with assessments of £500 or greater, all but one resided in Upper

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[40]Lafrance and Ruddel, "Physical Expansion," 157. For a general discussion of the connection between wealth and area of residence, see: Lafrance and Ruddel,"Physical Expansion," 156-9; Charbonneau, Desloges and Lafrance, Quebec, The Fortified City, 426-7.

Table 2-7: Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property and Area of Residence, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

Assessed Value (£)	1824 N	1824 %	1829 N	1829 %	1836 N	1836 %
Upper Town proper						
1-9	25	7.4	9	3.0	14	4.1
10-19	36	10.7	29	9.6	27	7.9
20-29	41	12.1	21	7.0	39	11.4
30-49	53	15.7	60	19.9	64	18.8
50-99	91	26.9	74	24.5	89	26.1
100-499	88	26.0	96	31.8	95	27.9
500-999	2	0.6	7	2.3	8	2.3
1000-1999	2	0.6	4	1.3	5	1.5
2000-9999	0	0.0	2	0.7	0	0.0
Total	338	100.0	302	100.1	341	100.0
St. John						
1-9	234	47.2	319	55.9	379	62.4
10-19	153	30.8	134	23.5	152	25.0
20-29	53	10.7	52	9.1	35	5.8
30-49	32	6.5	34	6.0	24	4.0
50-99	17	3.4	23	4.0	12	2.0
100-499	7	1.4	8	1.4	5	0.8
500-999	0	0.0	1	0.2	0	0.0
Total	496	100.0	571	100.1	607	100.0
St. Louis						
1-9	47	58.8	95	69.3	89	67.4
10-19	19	23.8	20	14.6	26	19.7
20-29	4	5.0	7	5.1	5	3.8
30-49	3	3.8	5	3.6	8	6.1
50-99	1	1.3	5	3.6	3	2.3
100-499	6	7.5	5	3.6	1	0.8
Total	80	100.2	137	99.8	132	100.1

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

Table 2-8: Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, Proportional Representation, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property and Area of Residence, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

Assessed Value (£)	1824 N	1824 %	1829 N	1829 %	1836 N	1836 %
Upper Town proper						
1-9	25	8.0	9	2.1	14	2.8
10-19	36	17.0	29	15.8	27	13.2
20-29	41	41.8	21	26.3	39	49.4
30-49	53	60.2	60	60.6	64	66.7
50-99	91	83.5	74	72.5	89	85.6
100-499	88	87.1	96	88.1	95	94.1
500-999	2	100.0	7	87.5	8	100.0
1000-1999	2	100.0	4	100.0	5	100.0
2000-9999	0	0.0	2	100.0	0	0.0
Total	338	36.6	302	29.8	341	31.0
St. John						
1-9	234	75.2	319	75.1	379	75.6
10-19	153	72.2	134	72.8	152	74.1
20-29	53	54.1	52	65.0	35	44.3
30-49	32	36.4	34	34.3	24	25.0
50-99	17	15.6	23	22.5	12	11.5
100-499	7	6.9	8	7.3	5	5.0
500-999	0	0.0	1	12.5	0	0.0
Total	496	53.7	571	56.4	607	55.2
St. Louis						
1-9	47	15.1	95	22.4	89	17.8
10-19	19	9.0	20	10.9	26	12.7
20-29	4	4.1	7	8.8	5	6.3
30-49	3	3.4	5	5.1	8	8.3
50-99	1	0.9	5	4.9	3	2.9
100-499	6	5.9	5	4.6	1	1.0
Total	80	8.7	137	13.5	132	12.0

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

Town proper. The least wealthiest property owners lived outside the walls of the Old City. The suburbs of St. John and St. Louis accounted for over ninety per cent of assessments for less than £10 and over eighty per cent of assessments between £10 and £19.

An analysis of property ownership reveals the changing socio-economic structure of the constituency and the increasing elitist characteristics of Upper-Town proper. British immigration and the new economic conjuncture altered property ownership as the percentage of property owners, in particular anglophone property owners, decreased dramatically. At the same time, the wealth differential between anglophone and francophone property owners increased noticeably. A greater percentage of francophones received assessments of under £10, while the anglophones continued to be grossly overrepresented in the highest assessed categories. Spatial differentiation in terms of wealth persisted as the richest household heads overwhelmingly favoured Upper Town proper and the vast majority of lowest assessed residents settled in the suburbs.

2.3. Economic Sector and Socio-Professional Status

The census returns, the dénombrements and the assessment rolls also provide another piece of useful information: occupation. This allows us to consider the effects of the increased economic activities associated with the lumber trade and shipbuilding, and the advent of thousands of British immigrants on the economic and social structure of Quebec and its Upper-Town constituency. Most historians examining early nineteenth-century Quebec have endeavoured to use occupation to analyze socio-economic status. Unfortunately, they have neglected to study systematically the occupational factor. Much of the problem lies with their reliance on a system of occupational categorization which fails to differentiate between economic sector and socio-professional status. The one exception is Louise Dechêne's study of eighteenth-century Quebec which includes a discussion of its

economic activities.[41] Dechêne divides the occupations into six categories - manufacturing, transportation, commerce, services, construction, and undetermined - and concludes that "la structure des activités économiques dans l'ensemble de la ville est remarquablement stable du début à la fin du XVIIIe siècle."[42] Comparing the evolution of the economies in Upper Town with Lower Town and the suburbs, she also suggests that over the course of the eighteenth century a higher and higher percentage of those providing services came to reside in Upper Town. At the same time, a decreasing percentage of those in transportation, construction, and the undetermined sectors, - in other words, artisans and labourers - made their way to the suburbs.[43]

Our examination of the occupations of household heads residing in the constituency suggests that the economic structure of Upper-Town Quebec in the first half of the nineteenth century, like Quebec City during the eighteenth century, was relatively stable. It is regrettable that further comparisons with Dechêne's study is not possible, because of incompatible economic categories. The ideal system of occupational classification for Quebec must accommodate those factors which shaped the economic growth of the first half of the nineteenth century: the military presence, imperial trade, and timber-related industries, including shipbuilding. Unfortunately, the census takers of this period did not anticipate all the methodological requirements of future historians; the occupational descriptions used in the census returns, the dénombrements and the assessment rolls do not allow us to isolate with any reliability those residents employed in the lumber trade

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[41]Louise Dechêne, "Quelques aspects," 485-505. Dechêne has other problems. She fails to rationalize her categorization of the occupations (489-90). Dechêne also makes no attempt to use occupation for analysis of socio-professional status. She is correct to point out methodological difficulties, but to dismiss completely this kind of analysis is to ignore the realities of status-conscious Quebec in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

[42]Ibid., 498. For Dechêne's categorization, see section F.7, Appendix 7.

[43]Dechêne, "Quelques aspects," 498.

and shipbuilding. Consider, for example, carpenters. Some clearly were government employees: carpenter K. W. [King's Works] and carp. E. D. [Engineering Department]. Still others were involved in building ships: charpentiers de navire, ship carpenter, and shipwright. But how many others classified only as carpenters, charpentier, charp. and [Master] carpenter also found employment in the barracks or the shipyards of the Old City?

Our study relies on a version of occupational categorization developed by Jacob Price to investigate economic growth in port towns on the eastern seaboard in the late eighteenth-century United States. Although with a much smaller population of about seven thousand, Quebec was similar to Philadelphia, New York and Boston[44] in terms of economic functions. All were pre-industrial port towns involved in administration, maritime commerce, industrial production and internal services. Thus, this study uses Price's horizontal classification of occupation, modified to include unlisted occupations and to reflect Quebec's local economic conditions (see section F.2, Appendix F). There are four major economic categories. One, the government sector includes all government and military officials, officers and employees. Two, the service sector is comprised of those involved in providing services: professionals (doctors, lawyers, teachers, etc.); retail and local wholesale (grocers, jewellers, pedlars, etc.); retail crafts (bakers, butchers, bookbinders, etc.); building crafts (builders, carpenters, painters, etc.); travel and transportation (innkeepers, blacksmiths, carters, etc.); and such others as musicians, servants and chimneysweeps. Three, the industrial sector takes in occupations concerned with industrial production. This encompasses textile trades (dyers); leather and fur-using trades (shoemakers, tanners, saddlers, etc.); food and drink processing (millers, brewers and distillers); shipbuilding and fitting crafts (ship carpenters and shipwright); metal crafts (coppersmiths, nailers, watchmakers, etc.); furniture trades

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[44]Jacob Price, "Economic Function and the Growth of American Port Towns in the Eighteenth Century," Perspectives in American History 8 (1974): 123-86.

(turners, upholsterers, chairmakers, etc.); and such miscellaneous trades as soapmakers, wheelwrights and coachmakers. Four, maritime commerce and fisheries includes: mariners (pilots, navigators, seamen, etc.); and merchants and their supporting personnel (merchants, clerks and coopers). In addition, our horizontal economic classification has two other categories. Five, the extractive sector covers: agriculture (farmers, gardeners and yeomen); mining (miners); and lumbering (sawyers, cullers and cutters). Six, the unclassified sector takes in labourers, unemployed and the retired. It also includes descriptions which are illegible or which do not state an occupation (apprentice, pensioner, beggar, etc.).

Table 2-9: Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Economic Sector, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Economic Sector	1792		1818		1831		1842	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Government	36	5.8	97	7.2	116	5.0	102	3.8
Service	315	50.7	765	56.5	1142	49.5	1365	51.3
Industrial	62	10.0	119	8.8	223	9.7	309	11.6
Commerce	49	7.9	134	9.9	241	10.4	281	10.6
Extractive	15	2.4	36	2.7	77	3.3	73	2.7
Unclassified	144	23.2	202	14.9	509	22.1	530	19.9
Total	621	100.0	1353	100.0	2308	100.0	2660	99.9

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

The economic structure of the Upper-Town constituency of Quebec remained relatively unchanged throughout the five decades. About half the household heads provided internal services (see table 2-9, p. 60). About one-fifth of the heads, representing the second largest group, were unclassified. One-tenth of the heads were involved in industrial production, while maritime commerce accounted for another tenth. Those with occupational links to the government constituted about one-twentieth of the Upper-Town heads; and even smaller fraction belonged to the extractive sector.

Table 2-10: Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Heads of Household, According to Economic Sector, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Economic Sector	1792 N	1792 %	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Anglophone								
Government	25	19.4	64	19.5	86	9.2	84	8.1
Service	61	47.3	158	48.0	358	38.5	415	39.8
Industrial	14	10.9	36	10.9	111	11.9	155	14.9
Commerce	13	10.1	51	15.5	119	12.8	164	15.7
Extractive	3	2.3	6	1.8	23	2.5	34	3.3
Unclassified	13	10.1	14	4.2	234	25.1	191	18.3
Total	129	100.1	329	99.9	931	100.0	1043	100.1
Francophone								
Government	7	1.8	23	2.4	22	1.8	18	1.1
Service	194	49.0	569	59.2	725	57.8	920	58.7
Industrial	43	10.9	78	8.1	95	7.6	147	9.4
Commerce	29	7.3	79	8.2	111	8.9	109	7.0
Extractive	9	2.3	29	3.0	52	4.1	38	2.4
Unclassified	114	28.8	183	19.0	249	19.9	334	21.3
Total	396	100.1	961	99.9	1254	100.1	1566	99.9

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

The unchanging economic structure suggests that Upper-Town Quebec was immune to the general economic trends characterizing the Quebec region in this period and to the flood of British immigrants after 1815. Yet, an examination of economic sector according to language affiliation indicates that the constituency's immunity was more apparent than real. The economic expansion related to lumber and shipbuilding at the turn of the century, translated into a larger maritime commercial sector for anglophone household heads, increasing from 10.1% in 1792 to 15.5% in 1818 (see table 2-10, p. 61). In the case of francophones, the resulting alterations occurred in the service sector with a jump from 49.0% in 1795 to 59.2% in 1818.

The effects of British immigration are also evident as the new arrivals

added to the labouring ranks. This is reflected in the huge increase in the percentage of unclassified anglophones from 4.2% in 1818 to 25.1% in 1831. Similarly, this decreased the relative percentage of anglophone household heads in two other sectors. In the service sector, the percentage fell from 48.0% to 38.5% between 1818 and 1831. In the same period, the government sector plunged from 19.5% to 9.2%.

Table 2-11: Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Language Affiliation and Economic Sector, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Economic Sector	1792 N	1792 %	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Anglophone								
Government	25	69.4	64	71.1	86	74.1	84	82.4
Service	61	19.5	158	20.7	358	31.3	415	30.4
Industrial	14	22.6	36	30.8	111	49.8	155	50.2
Commerce	13	26.5	51	38.1	119	49.4	164	58.4
Extractive	3	20.0	6	16.7	23	29.9	34	46.6
Unclassified	13	9.1	14	6.9	234	46.0	191	36.0
Total	129	20.9	329	24.5	931	40.3	1043	39.2
Francophone								
Government	7	19.4	23	25.6	22	19.0	18	17.6
Service	194	62.0	569	74.5	725	63.5	920	67.4
Industrial	43	69.4	78	66.7	95	42.6	147	47.6
Commerce	29	59.2	79	59.0	111	46.1	109	38.8
Extractive	9	60.0	29	80.6	52	67.5	38	52.1
Unclassified	114	79.7	183	91.5	249	48.9	334	63.0
Total	396	64.1	961	71.6	1254	54.3	1566	58.9

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

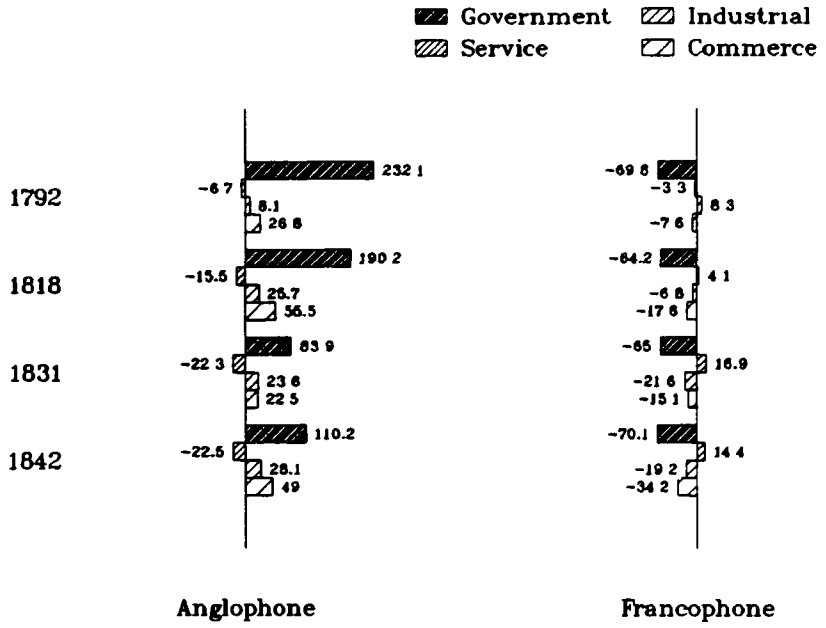
Despite this decrease, the government sector continued to play an important role in anglophone economic activities; this was not the case for francophone household heads. The percentage of francophone heads with government occupational links never exceeded 2.4%. In terms of all those involved in the government sector, anglophones accounted for 69.4% in 1795

(see table 2-11, p. 62). They maintained this advantage with 71.1% in 1818 and 74.1% in 1831 and indeed increased it even further in 1842 with 82.4%. On the other hand, francophones made up about two-thirds of the heads in the service sector. For 1792 and 1818, this was also true for the industrial and commercial sectors. By 1831, the effects of British immigration are unmistakable as francophone heads came to represent less than one-half of those involved in industrial production and maritime commerce. The repercussions of British immigration did not end there. As more and more British labourers entered the scene, the percentage of unclassified heads who were anglophones rose from less than ten per cent to about forty per cent.

In terms of proportional representation, anglophone heads maintained a stranglehold on the government sector with index scores of 232.1 (1792), 190.2 (1818), 83.9 (1831) and 110.2 (1842) (see figure 2-4, p. 64). In contrast, the francophones remained grossly underrepresented in the government sector throughout the five decades, with a mean index score of -67.3. It was in the service sector francophone household heads increased in importance. Proportionately represented in 1792 (-3.3) and 1818 (4.1), they were overrepresented in 1831 (16.9) and 1842 (14.4). In contrast, they lost ground in the commercial and industrial sectors. Anglophone overrepresentation in industrial production increased between 1792 (8.1) and 1818 (25.7); in the maritime commercial sector anglophones held the upper hand in 1792 (26.8) and maintained it in 1818 (55.5), 1831 (22.5) and 1842 (49.0).

Thus, there were marked differences in the economic activities of anglophone and francophone household heads. Similarly, a comparison of the economies of Upper Town proper and the suburbs of St. John and St. Louis reveal substantial distinctions. For one, the government sector accounted for about ten per cent of the household heads in Upper Town proper; its role was negligible in St. John and St. Louis (see table 2-12, p. 65). During the intercensal period between 1795 and 1818, the unclassified sector came to represent less than ten per cent in Upper Town proper as more and more

Figure 2-4: Profile of Heads of Household, According to Economic Sector and Language Affiliation, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842



Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

labourers settled in the suburbs. This supports the general contention of spatial differentiation. Upper Town proper became increasingly more elitist. The increase of the percentage of household heads in Upper Town's commercial sector after 1795 - a jump from 9.6% to 16.4% in 1818, 19.3% in 1831 and 20.6% in 1842 - also suggests growing spatial elitism in the constituency.

The elite's increasing preference of living within the Upper-Town walls

Table 2-12: Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Area of Residence and Economic Sector, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Economic Sector	1792 N	1792 %	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Upper Town								
Government	34	8.0	82	13.7	79	11.2	72	7.7
Service	228	53.4	325	54.3	341	48.4	477	51.0
Industrial	40	9.4	53	8.8	71	10.1	118	12.6
Commerce	41	9.6	98	16.4	136	19.3	193	20.6
Extractive	9	2.1	8	1.3	8	1.1	24	2.6
Unclassified	75	17.6	33	5.5	70	9.9	51	5.5
Total	427	100.1	599	100.0	705	100.0	935	100.0
St. John								
Government	2	1.1	15	2.3	25	1.9	19	1.4
Service	77	44.0	389	59.3	681	52.6	721	52.2
Industrial	21	12.0	63	9.6	139	10.7	166	12.0
Commerce	8	4.6	34	5.2	92	7.1	68	4.9
Extractive	5	2.9	20	3.0	56	4.3	34	2.5
Unclassified	62	35.4	135	20.6	301	23.3	374	27.1
Total	175	100.0	656	100.0	1294	99.9	1382	100.1
St. Louis								
Government	0	0.0	0	0.0	12	4.1	11	3.4
Service	10	52.6	37	60.7	115	39.1	159	48.6
Industrial	1	5.3	0	0.0	13	4.4	25	7.6
Commerce	0	0.0	0	0.0	12	4.1	19	5.8
Extractive	1	5.3	5	8.2	13	4.4	15	4.6
Unclassified	7	36.8	19	31.1	129	43.9	98	30.0
Total	19	100.0	61	100.0	294	100.0	327	100.0

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

is even more evident in examining the proportional representation of each area of residence according to economic sector. In the 1790s, Upper Town accounted for about two-thirds of the total number of household heads and not surprisingly for at least two-thirds of all economic activities in the constituency (see table 2-13, p. 66). However, it is also clear that Upper Town had more than its share of household heads in two sectors: 94.4% of government officials and employees and 83.7% of those involved in maritime

Table 2-13: Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Area of Residence and Economic Sector, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Economic Sector	1792 N	1792 %	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Upper Town								
Government	34	94.4	82	84.5	79	68.1	72	70.6
Service	228	72.4	325	42.5	341	29.9	477	34.9
Industrial	40	64.5	53	44.5	71	31.8	118	38.2
Commerce	41	83.7	98	73.1	136	56.4	193	68.7
Extractive	9	60.0	8	22.2	8	10.4	24	32.9
Unclassified	75	52.1	33	16.3	70	13.8	51	9.6
Total	427	68.8	599	44.3	705	30.5	935	35.2
St. John								
Government	2	5.6	15	15.5	25	21.6	19	18.6
Service	77	24.4	389	50.8	681	59.6	721	52.8
Industrial	21	33.9	63	52.9	139	62.3	166	53.7
Commerce	8	16.3	34	25.4	92	38.2	68	24.2
Extractive	5	33.3	20	55.6	56	72.7	34	46.6
Unclassified	62	43.1	135	67.5	301	59.1	374	70.6
Total	175	28.2	656	48.5	1294	56.1	1382	52.0
St. Louis								
Government	0	0.0	0	0.0	12	10.3	11	10.8
Service	10	3.2	37	4.8	115	10.1	159	11.6
Industrial	1	1.6	0	0.0	13	5.8	25	8.1
Commerce	0	0.0	0	0.0	12	5.0	19	6.8
Extractive	1	6.7	5	13.9	13	16.9	15	20.5
Unclassified	7	4.9	19	9.5	129	25.3	98	18.5
Total	19	3.1	61	4.5	294	12.7	327	12.3

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

commerce. Despite Upper Town's decreasing percentage of the total population, this same pattern of overrepresentation continued for the next five decades.

In the suburbs, it was a different story. With 28.2% of household heads in 1792, St. John contributed only 5.6% and 16.3% of those in the government and commercial sectors. On the other hand, St. John accounted

for 43.1% of the unclassified heads. This pattern of overrepresentation in the unclassified sector and underrepresentation in the government and commercial sectors was repeated in 1818, 1831 and 1842. St. Louis followed a different path, reflecting the growing number of merchants and government officials who found the suburbs acceptable as a place of residence. In 1818, only sixty-one heads with occupations resided in St. Louis: not one of them was connected with the government, industrial or commercial sectors. In 1831 and 1842 St. Louis represented about twelve per cent of all heads in the constituency. Unlike St. John, St. Louis was only slightly underrepresented in the government sector; it accounted for about ten per cent of household heads with government occupations. The proportional underrepresentation in the industrial and commercial activities did not cease, but merchants' and artisans' increasing acceptance of St. Louis as a place of residence is mirrored in the rising percentage of heads in those sectors between 1831 and 1842: 5.8% to 8.1% in industrial production; and 5.0% to 6.8% in maritime commerce.

Unable to identify with any great reliability those employed in the lumber trade and shipbuilding, it is difficult to ascertain the impact of these industries on the general economic structure of Upper-Town Quebec.[45] However, other indicators suggest that within the constituency important changes linked to the growth of the lumber-related industries and to British immigration occurred. First, differences according to language affiliation are evident: a significant increase of the percentage of anglophone heads, and a corresponding decrease in the percentage of francophones in the maritime, commercial, industrial and unclassified sectors. Second, variations in the economic structures of the areas of residence also existed: Upper Town proper claimed a large percentage of those in government or maritime commerce; St. John remained the residence of many of the unclassified; and St. Louis became increasingly attractive to household heads in the government, industrial and commercial sectors.

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[45]Part of the problem lies with the measuring the impact of rural seasonal labour.

Previous studies underline the increasing spatial differentiation within Quebec City and particularly the socio-economic elitism within the walls of the Old City. Analysis of occupation according to socio-professional status supports these contentions and also reveal parallel developments taking place in the Upper-Town constituency. Work by Ouellet and by Ruddel, Lafrance and others provide a general overview of the relative strength of the different socio-economic groups in Quebec City in the first half of the nineteenth century. Fortunately, they use relatively comparable systems of vertical classification based on occupation. They delineate three major groups: one, the elite composed of professionals and businessmen; two, tradesmen; and three, labourers.[46] There are two noticeable variations. Ruddel and his colleagues group carters with transport workers and artisans.[47], but Ouellet lists carters as a separate group. Also, Ruddel classifies military officers and clergymen as professionals, whereas Ouellet lists them under the general heading of "others" (see table 2-14, p. 69).

Despite these differences, several conclusions regarding Quebec City's socio-economic groups are evident. First, Ouellet's calculations suggest that the new economic conjuncture at the turn of the century saw an increase in the percentage of businessmen - from 19.2% in 1798 to 23.0% in 1805. On the other hand, the percentage of professionals remained unaffected, stabilizing between two and two-and-a-half per cent between 1795 and 1831. Two, artisans constituted the largest socio-economic group, accounting for at least forty per cent of the household heads. Three, with British immigration, the percentage of labourers increased from about fifteen in 1805 to about twenty per cent in 1831.

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[46]For Ruddel's classification of occupation, see section F.5, Appendix 5. For Ouellet's classification, see section F.6, Appendix F.

[47]In his recently published book on Quebec, Ruddel along with his fellow authors follows a more traditional view and does not classify carters with artisans. See: Hare, Lafrance and Ruddel, Histoire de la ville, 321.

Table 2-14: Comparison of the Estimated Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Occupation, Quebec City, 1792-1842

Occupation	1792 N	1792 %	1795 N	1795 %	1798 N	1798 %	1805 N	1805 %	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Ouellet[a]														
Professionals	17	1 5	36	2 5	35	2 3	35	2 1			112	2 6	125	2 4
Businessmen	192	16 9	278	19 2	288	19 2	370	23 0			961	22 5	1085	20 9
Tradesmen	470	41 5	665	45 9	700	46 7	662	41 1			1788	41 9	2223	42 8
Labourers	180	15 9	178	12 3	163	10 9	248	15 4			860	20 2	1261	24 3
Carters	82	7 2	95	6 6	108	7 2	104	6 5			194	4 6	296	5 7
Other	193	17 0	197	13 6	205	13 7	191	11 9			351	8 2	209	4 0
Total	1134	100 0	1449	100 1	1499	100 0	1610	100 0			4266	100 0	5199	100 1
Ruddel														
Merchants[b]									288	12 2			832	14 9
Professionals									152	6 4			322	5 8
Craftsmen									1414	59 7			2767	49 5
Labourers									514	21 7			1341	24 0
Absent									0	0 0			332	5 9
Total									2368	100 0			5594	100 1

Sources Ouellet, "Structure des occupations," 177-202, Le Bas-Canada, 251, 270, 279, Lower Canada, 360, 365, 367, Ruddel, "Quebec City," 664

[a]Figures for 1842 supplemented by document supplied by F Ouellet

[b]Mer =Merchants and Commerce, Crft Craftsmen and Transport Workers, Lab – Labourers and Domestics, Abst –Absent, Unknown or No Profession

Table 2-15: Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Heads of Household, According to Occupation, Calculated by F. Ouellet, Quebec City, 1792-1842

Occupation	1792 N	1792 %	1795 N	1795 %	1798 N	1798 %	1805 N	1805 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Anglophone												
Prof.-a	4	23.5	18	50.0	15	42.9	11	31.4	60	53.6	63	50.4
Bus.	48	25.0	136	48.9	140	48.6	196	53.0	568	59.1	569	52.4
Trad.	83	17.7	160	24.1	159	22.7	149	22.5	686	38.4	794	34.9
Lab.	25	13.9	19	10.7	26	16.0	32	12.9	433	50.4	501	39.7
Cart.	2	2.5	9	9.5	7	6.5	5	4.8	13	6.7	30	10.1
Other-b	25	13.0	73	37.1	78	38.0	79	41.4	189	53.8	140	66.9
Total-b	187	16.5	415	28.6	425	28.4	472	29.3	1901	44.6	2047	39.4
Francophone												
Prof.	13	76.5	18	50.0	20	57.1	24	68.6	52	46.4	62	49.6
Bus.	144	75.0	142	51.1	148	51.4	174	47.0	393	40.9	516	47.6
Trad.	387	82.3	505	75.9	541	77.3	513	77.5	1102	61.6	1479	65.1
Lab.	155	86.1	159	89.3	137	84.0	216	87.1	427	49.6	760	60.3
Cart.	80	97.5	86	90.6	101	93.5	99	95.2	181	93.3	266	89.9
Other-b	168	87.0	124	62.9	127	62.0	112	58.7	162	46.2	69	33.1
Total-b	947	83.5	1034	71.4	1074	71.6	1138	70.7	2365	55.4	3152	60.6

Sources: Ouellet, "Structure des occupations," 177-202; Le Bas-Canada, 251, 270, 279; Lower Canada, 360, 365, 367.
a=Prof.=Professionals; Bus.=Businessmen; Trad.=Tradesmen Lab.=Labourers Cart.=Carters
b=Supplemented by document supplied by F. Ouellet.

The effects of post-1815 British immigration became more evident when considering the language affiliation of the household heads. Ouellet's analysis demonstrates a substantial rise in the percentage of anglophones in three main socio-economic groups during the intercensal period from 1818 to 1831: from 31.4% (1805) to 53.6% (1831) among the professionals; from 22.5% to 38.4% among the tradesmen; and from 12.9% to 50.4% among the labourers (see table 2-15, p. 70). Ruddel's dissertation corroborates Ouellet's conclusions and reveals that the changes in the relative strengths of the two language groups occurred after 1818. According to Ruddel's estimates, the percentage of merchants who were British increased from 32.7% in 1818 to

Table 2-16: Number and Percentage of British and Canadien Heads of Household, According to Occupation, Calculated By D.-T. Ruddel, Quebec City, 1818 and 1842

Occupation	British 1818 N	%	1842 N	%	Canadiens 1818 N	%	1842 N	%
Merchants and Commerce	94	32.7	467	56.1	194	67.4	365	43.9
Professionals	79	52.0	151	46.9	73	48.0	171	53.1
Craftsmen and Transport Workers	104	7.4	780	28.2	1310	92.6	1987	71.8
Labourers and Domestics	12	2.3	549	40.9	502	97.7	792	59.1
Absent, Unknown or No Profession	-	-	203	61.1	-	-	129	38.4
Total	289	12.2	2150	38.4	2079	87.8	3444	61.6

Sources: Ruddel, "Quebec City," 664.
Based on dénombrement of 1818 and census return of 1842

56.1% in 1842 (see table 2-16, p. 71). Similarly, the percentage of British craftsmen and labourers jumped from 7.4% to 28.2% and from 2.3% to 40.9%. Thus, the work of Ruddel and Ouellet indicates that post-1815 British immigration altered considerably the socio-economic structure of Quebec's two main language groups: between 1818 and 1831 the percentage of English-speaking household heads increased dramatically among the socio-professional elite, and the artisan and labouring groups.

The work of Ruddel and Lafrance also shows that British immigration and the new economic circumstances associated with the lumber trade and shipbuilding altered more than the linguistic balance of power; over the course of the five decades significant changes in the socio-professional make-up of the different areas of residence also occurred. The elitist characteristics of Upper Town, evident in 1795 and 1805,[48] intensified: "Encircled and enclosed by the fortifications, graced with monumental structures and controlled by religious communities, military officials and

[48]Hare, "La population," 33-38.

wealthy landowners, the Upper-Town was largely reserved for the city's elite."[49]

Table 2-17: Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Occupation and Area of Residence, Quebec City, 1818 and 1842

Occupation	Upper Town N	%	St. John N	%	St. Louis N	%	Lower Town N	%	St. Roch N	%	Total N
1818											
Mer.*	102	15.2	39	6.9	2	2.1	118	27.5	44	6.1	305
Prof.	326	48.7	12	2.1	7	7.5	21	4.9	12	1.7	378
Crft.	202	30.2	385	67.7	57	60.6	235	54.8	423	58.4	1302
Lab.	40	6.0	133	23.4	28	29.8	55	12.8	245	33.9	501
Total	670	100.1	569	100.1	94	100.0	429	100.0	724	100.1	2486
1842											
Mer.	76	16.1	121	8.0	112	34.2	264	23.2	94	4.9	667
Prof.	231	48.9	61	4.0	63	19.2	15	1.3	85	4.5	455
Crft.	95	20.1	811	53.8	63	19.2	371	32.7	1252	65.7	2592
Lab.	1	0.2	471	31.3	3	0.9	373	32.8	468	24.5	1316
Abst.	69	14.6	43	2.9	87	26.5	113	10.0	8	0.4	320
Total	472	99.9	1507	100.0	328	100.0	1136	100.0	1907	100.0	5350

Sources: Ruddel, "Quebec City," 666-7; Lafrance and Ruddel, "Physical Expansion," 160.
Based on the dénombrement of 1818 and the census return of 1842
*:Mer.=Merchants and Commerce; Prof.=Professionals; Crft.=Craftsmen and Transport Workers; Lab.=Labourers and Domestics; Abst.=Absent, Unknown or No Profession

In 1818, two-thirds of Upper-Town's household heads were merchants or professionals (see table 2-17, p. 72); the percentage remained unchanged in 1842. However, the growing scarcity and cost of Upper Town property caused by the military policy of land appropriation,[50] forced artisans and labourers to settle outside the walls. The percentage of craftsmen fell from

[49]Lafrance and Ruddel, "Physical Expansion," 157.

[50]Ruddel and Lafrance, "Québec, 1785-1840," 318-319. See also: Charbonneau, Desloges and Lafrance, Quebec The Fortified City, 426-7.

thirty to twenty per cent and the percentage of labourers decreased from six to less than one per cent.

Lower Town also experienced change in this period. The increased port activity at the turn of the century saw "la Basse-Ville devient essentiellement un quartier de commerçants et d'artisans (plus de 72% de la population active en 1805)."[51] Artisans and merchants continued to dominate in 1818, accounting for eighty per cent of the household heads. By 1842, however, Lower Town was no longer a merchant-artisan enclave: with British immigration, labourers now constituted about one-third of the household heads, the same proportion as the craftsmen who had accounted for about one-half in 1818.

Alterations in social composition also occurred outside the Old City. In 1818, the lower ranks of craftsmen and labourers made up over ninety per cent of the household heads in the suburbs. In 1842, this was true only for St. Roch. In St. John the percentage of labourers and artisans dropped to about eighty per cent. The most dramatic changes took place in the suburb of St. Louis, as merchants and professionals were drawn to its healthy environment and accessible land.[52] The census of 1842 indicates that over half of its household heads were merchants and professionals. Representing only about six per cent of the household heads, St. Louis accounted for about fifteen per cent of the merchants and professionals in Quebec City (see table 2-18, p. 74): St. Louis had become "a new area for the elites."[53]

Changing economic and demographic circumstances brought out significant linguistic and spatial modifications to Quebec City's socio-economic composition. Similar changes occurred in the Upper-Town constituency.

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[51]Hare, "La population," 38.

[52]Lafrance and Ruddel, "Physical Expansion," 162.

[53]Ibid.

Table 2-18: Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Occupation and Area of Residence, Proportional Representation, Quebec City, 1818 and 1842

Occupation	Upper Town N	Upper Town %	St. John N	St. John %	St. Louis N	St. Louis %	Lower Town N	Lower Town %	St. Roch N	St. Roch %	Total N
1818											
Mer.*	102	33.4	39	12.8	2	0.7	118	38.7	44	14.4	305
Prof.	326	86.2	12	3.2	7	1.9	21	5.6	12	3.2	378
Crft.	202	15.5	385	29.6	57	4.4	235	18.1	423	32.5	1302
Lab.	40	8.0	133	26.5	28	5.6	55	11.0	245	48.9	501
Total	670	27.0	569	22.9	94	3.8	429	17.3	724	29.1	2486
1842											
Mer.	76	11.4	121	18.1	112	16.8	264	39.6	94	14.1	667
Prof.	231	50.8	61	13.4	63	13.9	15	3.3	85	18.7	455
Crft.	95	3.7	811	31.3	63	2.4	371	14.3	1252	48.3	2592
Lab.	1	0.1	471	35.8	3	0.2	373	28.3	468	35.6	1316
Abst.	69	21.6	43	13.4	87	27.2	113	35.3	8	2.5	320
Total	472	8.8	1507	28.2	328	6.1	1136	21.2	1907	35.6	5350

Sources: See table 2-17, p. 72.
*:Mer.=Merchants and Commerce; Prof.=Professionals; Crft.=Craftsmen and Transport Workers; Lab.=Labourers and Domestics; Abst.=Absent, Unknown or No Profession

Using a vertical classification, our study divides the occupations of the household heads into five categories of socio-professional status. The highest-status group (I) includes gentlemen, members of the clergy, important government officials, military officers, merchants and professionals. Among those with the second-highest status (II) there are retailers, storekeepers, clerks and white-collar government employees. Tradesmen constitute the third group (III), while labourers with (IV) and without (V) specified occupations reside at the lowest levels. This socio-professional ranking endeavours to group together different occupations with comparable socio-economic status. In this way, it hopes to reflect the social and economic realities of early nineteenth-century Quebec City.[54]

[54]For a discussion of the socio-professional ranking used in this study, see Appendix F.

Table 2-19: Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Socio-Professional Status, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Socio-Professional Status	1792 N	1792 %	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
I: gentlemen etc.[a]	57	9.2	189	14.0	299	13.0	340	12.8
II: retailers etc.[b]	60	9.7	162	12.0	372	16.1	414	15.6
III: artisans[c]	234	37.7	623	46.0	929	40.3	1078	40.5
IV: labourers - specified[d]	133	21.4	174	12.9	223	9.7	324	12.2
V: labourers - non-specified[e]	115	18.5	183	13.5	444	19.2	471	17.7
Unclassified	22	3.5	22	1.6	41	1.8	33	1.2
Total	621	100.0	1353	100.0	2308	100.1	2660	100.0

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

[a]gentlemen=gentlemen, members of the clergy, important government officials, military officers, merchants, professionals etc.

[b]retailers=retailers, storekeepers, clerks, white-collar government officials etc.

[c]carpenters=carpenters, blacksmiths, cabinet makers, butchers etc.

[d]carters=carters, servants, night watchmen, messengers etc.

[e]labourers

A general examination of the constituency's household heads according to socio-professional status suggests stability rather than change. With the exception of a modest increase in the two highest categories (I, II) and a discernible decrease among the labourers with specified occupations (IV) between 1792 and 1818, no major modifications are evident (see table 2-19, p. 75). Throughout the period the socio-professional elite (I, II) constituted about twenty-five per cent of the household heads and the lowest socio-professional groups (IV, V) composed about thirty per cent. At forty per cent, artisans formed the largest group residing in Upper-Town Quebec between 1792 and 1842.

As was the case in Quebec City in general, a comparison of the two language groups reveals significant differences in terms of socio-professional status. Forty to fifty per cent of anglophone heads were found in the two

Table 2-20: Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Heads of Household, According to Socio-Professional Status, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Socio-Professional Status	1792 N	1792 %	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Anglophone								
I: gentlemen etc.[a]	30	23.3	87	26.4	146	15.7	176	16.9
II: retailers etc.	31	24.0	80	24.3	210	22.6	253	24.3
III: artisans	39	30.2	110	33.4	292	31.4	348	33.4
IV: labourers - specified	17	13.2	25	7.6	47	5.0	73	7.0
V: labourers - non-specified	6	4.7	10	3.0	207	22.2	167	16.0
Unclassified	6	4.7	17	5.2	29	3.1	26	2.5
Total	129	100.1	329	99.9	931	100.0	1043	100.1
Francophone								
I: gentlemen etc.	25	6.3	91	9.5	141	11.2	148	9.5
II: retailers etc.	20	5.1	68	7.1	132	10.5	152	9.7
III: artisans	180	45.5	486	50.6	592	47.2	713	45.5
IV: labourers - specified	62	15.7	144	15.0	168	13.4	245	15.6
V: labourers - non-specified	96	24.2	170	17.7	212	16.9	301	19.2
Unclassified	13	3.3	2	0.2	9	0.7	7	0.4
Total	396	100.1	961	100.1	1254	99.9	1566	99.9

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

[a]For description of socio-professional categorization, see table 2-19, p. 75.

highest levels of status (see table 2-20, p. 76). The same two categories only accounted for about fifteen to twenty per cent of francophone heads. On the other hand, about fifty per cent of francophones were artisans; this was only true for thirty per cent of the anglophones. Finally, the lower ranks (IV, V) made up about forty per cent of the francophone heads, but less than twenty-five per cent of the anglophone heads. The effects of the post-1815 British immigration are also evident. Between 1818 and 1842, the percentage of anglophones with the highest socio-economic status (I) fell from about twenty-five to fifteen per cent. Similarly, the percentage of labourers without specified occupations (V) rose substantially from less than five to over fifteen per cent.

Table 2-21: Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Heads of Household, According to Socio-Professional Status, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Socio-Professional Status	1792 N	1792 %	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Anglophone								
I: gentlemen etc.[a]	30	52.6	87	47.3	146	48.8	176	51.9
II: retailers etc.	31	51.7	80	49.7	210	56.5	253	61.1
III: artisans	39	16.7	110	17.7	292	31.4	348	32.3
IV: labourers - specified	17	13.0	25	14.5	47	21.1	73	22.5
V: labourers - non-specified	6	5.2	10	5.5	207	46.6	167	35.5
Unclassified	6	28.6	17	77.3	29	70.7	26	78.8
Total	129	20.9	329	24.5	931	40.3	1043	39.2
Francophone								
I: gentlemen etc.	25	43.9	91	49.5	141	47.2	148	43.7
II: retailers etc.	20	33.3	68	42.2	132	35.5	152	36.7
III: artisans	180	76.9	486	78.4	592	63.7	713	66.1
IV: labourers - specified	62	*47.3	144	83.2	168	75.3	245	75.6
V: labourers - non-specified	96	83.5	170	92.9	212	47.7	301	63.9
Unclassified	13	61.9	2	9.1	9	22.0	7	21.2
Total	396	64.1	961	71.6	1254	54.3	1566	58.9

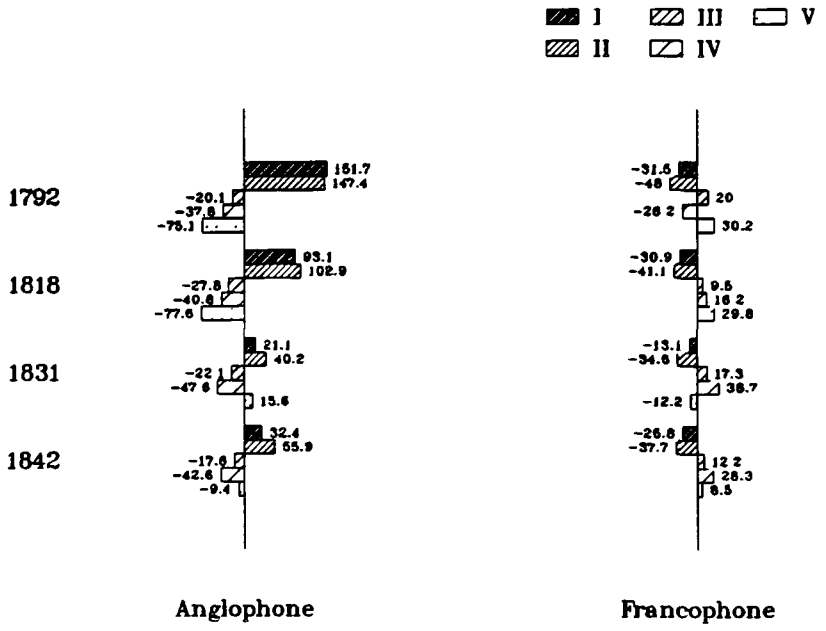
Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

[a]For description of socio-professional categorization, see table 2-19, p. 75.
*:other or unknown language = 39.7%

Linguistic differences in terms of socio-professional status are also evident when considering the percentage of each language group in the five status categories. A general pattern emerges: the higher the status, the greater percentage of anglophone heads. Half of the household heads in the two highest categories were anglophones while francophones dominated the artisan and labouring ranks, constituting about three-quarters of the heads in categories III, IV and V (see table 2-21, p. 77). After 1818, however, the effects of British immigration are unmistakable. Between 1818 and 1842, the percentage of anglophone artisans rose from under twenty to over thirty per cent. Similarly, among those in category IV there was an increase from under fifteen to over twenty per cent. The most dramatic change occurred

among the labourers (V): in the intercensal period of 1818-1831, the percentage of anglophone labourers increased from about five to over forty per cent.

Figure 2-5: Profile of Heads of Household, According to Socio-Professional Status and Language Affiliation, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842



Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

In terms of proportional representation, anglophones were generally overrepresented in the two highest-status categories and underrepresented in the lower categories. The reverse was true for the francophones. Consider

the census of 1818. Anglophones represented 24.5% of all household heads and constituted the following percentages: 47.3% in I; 49.7% in II; 17.7% in III; 14.5% in IV; and 5.5% in V. The comparable figures for the francophone group which composed 71.6% of the household heads were: 49.5% in I; 42.2% in II; 78.4% in III; 83.2% in IV; and 92.9% in V. An index of representation underlines the linguistic variations in social status and the repercussions of British immigration. Anglophones were grossly overrepresented in the two highest categories of socio-professional status in 1792 (index scores of 151.7 and 147.4) and 1818 (93.1 and 102.9) (see figure 2-5, p. 78). After 1818, the pattern of enormous overrepresentation was modified as indicated by the index scores of 21.1 and 40.2 (1831) and 32.4 and 55.9 (1842). Throughout the period, anglophones continued to be underrepresented in the lower ranks, with underrepresentation increasing as status decreased: for category III the mean index score is -21.9; and for category IV the mean index score is -42.2. Among the unspecified labourers (V), anglophone representation changed dramatically in response to the flood of British immigrants. Grossly underrepresented in 1792 (-75.1) and 1818 (-77.6), anglophones were overrepresented in 1831 (15.6) and slightly underrepresented in 1842 (-9.4).

The effects of British immigration on francophone status were minimal. The one exception was category V. As more and more anglophone labourers settled in Upper-Town Quebec, the degree of francophone overrepresentation diminished: from moderate overrepresentation in 1792 (index score of 30.2) and 1818 (29.8) to slight underrepresentation in 1831 (-12.2) and overrepresentation in 1842 (8.5). For the most part, francophones remained underrepresented in categories I (a mean index score of -25.3) and II (mean score of -40.4) and overrepresented in categories III (mean score of 19.7) and category IV (mean score of 27.7 for 1818, 1831 and 1842).[55]

In addition to important socio-economic differences linked to language,

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[55]The mean for category IV excludes the index score for 1792 (-26.2) because nearly forty per cent of the occupations of francophone heads remains unknown. See table 2-21, p. 77.

Table 2-22: Total Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Socio-Professional Status and Area of Residence, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Socio-Professional Status	1792 N	1792 %	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Upper Town								
I: gentlemen etc.*	51	11.9	162	27.0	216	30.6	279	29.8
II: retailers etc.	48	11.2	110	18.4	196	27.8	251	26.8
III: artisans	159	37.2	233	38.8	194	27.5	322	34.4
IV: labourers - specified	101	23.7	54	9.0	35	5.0	57	6.1
V: labourers - non-specified	53	12.4	21	3.5	36	5.1	11	1.2
Unclassified	15	3.5	19	3.2	28	4.0	15	1.6
Total	427	99.9	599	100.0	705	100.1	935	99.9
St. John								
I: gentlemen etc.	5	2.9	27	4.1	69	5.3	41	3.0
II: retailers etc.	12	6.9	48	7.3	150	11.6	118	8.5
III: artisans	70	40.0	344	52.4	624	48.2	618	44.7
IV: labourers - specified	26	14.9	106	16.2	162	12.5	229	16.6
V: labourers - non-specified	55	31.4	128	19.5	277	21.4	364	26.3
Unclassified	7	4.0	3	0.5	12	0.9	12	0.9
Total	175	100.1	656	100.0	1294	99.9	1382	100.0
St. Louis								
I: gentlemen etc.	-	-	0	0.0	14	4.8	20	6.1
II: retailers etc.	-	-	3	4.9	26	8.8	44	13.5
III: artisans	-	-	30	49.2	106	36.1	132	40.4
IV: labourers - specified	-	-	9	14.8	25	8.5	36	11.0
V: labourers - non-specified	-	-	19	31.1	122	41.5	89	27.2
Unclassified	-	-	0	0.0	1	0.3	6	1.8
Total	-	-	61	100.0	294	100.0	327	100.0

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.
*=For description of socio-professional categorization, see 2-19, p. 75.

Upper-Town Quebec also reveals a connection between status and area of residence. Even prior to the lumber-propelled economic expansion at the turn of the century, Upper Town proper was the home of the elite. In 1792, over twenty per cent of the household heads within the Upper-Town walls were in the two highest-status groups; less than ten per cent of St. John's head had comparable status (see table 2-22, p. 80). Similarly, less

than thirteen per cent of heads in Upper Town proper were labourers (V), much less than the thirty per cent found in St. John. Upper-Town elitism was accentuated even more by 1818. Compare the percentage of heads in category I according to area of residence: 27.0% in Upper Town proper; 4.1% in St. John; and 0.0% in St. Louis. The same was true among the retailers and clerks (II): 18.4% in Upper-Town proper; 7.3% in St. John; and 4.9% in St. Louis. By 1818, even a lower percentage of Upper-Town heads were in the lower-status groups: 9.0% (IV) and 3.5% (V) in Upper Town proper; 16.2% (IV) and 19.5% (V) in St. John; 14.8% (IV) and 31.1% (V) in St. Louis. In response to the increasing cost of real estate and the continuing policy of military appropriations, the elitism within the walls intensified; by 1842 only 1.2% of Upper-Town household heads were labourers (V). At the same time, merchants and other higher-status heads (I, II) attracted by the available cheaper land and healthy environment, moved into St. Louis during the 1830s altering the social composition of that suburb. Between 1831 and 1842, the percentage of St. Louis heads in category I increased from 4.8% to 6.1% and in category II rose from 8.8% to 13.5%.

An examination of proportional representation gives further evidence to the growing spatial differentiation in the constituency. Although constituting less and less of the total number of household heads, - this decreased from about two-thirds to one-third - Upper Town proper continued to account for about eighty per cent of the socio-economic elite (see table 2-23, p. 82). A diminishing percentage of those in the lowest categories resided within the walls: the proportion in category IV fell from about three-quarter to less than one-fifth; and those in category V from about half to less than one-fortieth. An increasing percentage of the lower ranks (IV, V) settled in the suburbs of St. John and St. Louis. The percentage of household heads living outside the walls increased from less than thirty per cent in 1792 to over sixty per cent in 1842. Category IV rose from less than twenty to over eighty per cent and the percentage in category V increased from less than fifty to over ninety-five per cent in 1842.

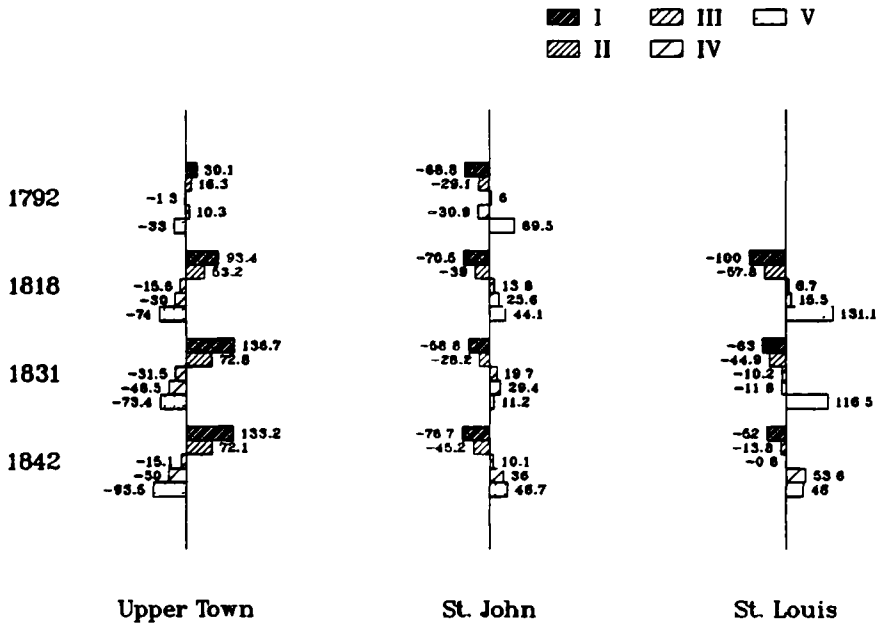
Table 2-23: Number and Percentage of Heads of Household, According to Socio-Professional Status and Area of Residence, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Socio-Professional Status	1792 N	1792 %	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Upper Town								
I: gentlemen etc.*	51	89.5	162	85.7	216	72.2	279	82.1
II: retailers etc.	48	80.0	110	67.9	196	52.7	251	60.6
III: artisans	159	67.9	233	37.4	194	20.9	322	29.9
IV: labourers - specified	101	75.9	54	31.0	35	15.7	57	17.6
V: labourers - non-specified	53	46.1	21	11.5	36	8.1	11	2.3
Unclassified	15	68.2	19	86.4	28	68.3	15	45.5
Total	427	68.8	599	44.3	705	30.5	935	35.2
St. John								
I: gentlemen etc.	5	8.8	27	14.3	69	23.1	41	12.1
II: retailers etc.	12	20.0	48	29.6	150	40.3	118	28.5
III: artisans	70	29.9	344	55.2	624	67.2	618	57.3
IV: labourers - specified	26	19.5	106	60.9	162	72.6	229	70.7
V: labourers - non-specified	55	47.8	128	69.9	277	62.4	364	77.3
Unclassified	7	31.8	3	13.6	12	29.3	12	36.4
Total	175	28.2	656	48.5	1294	56.1	1382	52.0
St. Louis								
I: gentlemen etc.	-	-	0	0.0	14	4.7	20	5.9
II: retailers etc.	-	-	3	1.9	26	7.0	44	10.6
III: artisans	-	-	30	4.8	106	11.4	132	12.2
IV: labourers - specified	-	-	9	5.2	25	11.2	36	11.1
V: labourers - non-specified	-	-	19	10.4	122	27.5	89	18.9
Unclassified	-	-	0	0.0	1	2.4	6	18.2
Total	-	-	61	4.5	294	12.7	327	12.3

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.
*=For description of socio-professional categorization, see 2-19, p. 75.

An index of representation underscores the constituency's growing spatial differentiation. In 1792 Upper Town proper was overrepresented in the highest-status groups with scores of 30.1 (I) and 16.3 (II) (see figure 2-6, p. 83). Greater representation occurred in 1818 with scores of 93.4 (I) and 53.2 (II) and reaching even greater heights in 1831 (136.7 and 72.8) and 1842 (133.2 and 72.1). At the other end of the social scale, Upper Town

Figure 2-6: Profile of Heads of Household, According to Socio-Professional Status and Area of Residence, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842



Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

proper was increasingly underrepresented. In category IV, the Upper-Town scores fell from 10.3 in 1792, to -30.0 in 1818, to -48.5 and -50.0 in 1831 and 1842. Similarly, the scores for category V decreased from -33.0 (1792) to -74.0 (1818), -73.4 (1831) and -93.5 (1842).

2.4. Conclusion

Within the unaltered political boundaries, significant demographic, ethno-cultural and socio-economic changes took place in Upper-Town Quebec during the five decades after the establishment of representative government in 1791. The demographic face of the constituency changed considerably: the population tripled, as the centre of growth shifted from Upper Town proper to the suburbs of St. John and St. Louis. At the same time, changes in the linguistic make-up occurred with the percentage of francophone inhabitants decreasing from seventy to fifty-five per cent of the total population. Accompanying the growing anglophone strength were important changes within the anglophone community, as the percentage of Irish household heads among the anglophone population increased from ten to thirty per cent.

Paralleling modifications to the demographic and ethnic composition of Upper-Town Quebec were important economic and social changes. Generally the economic and social characteristics of the francophone population remained the same but the physiognomy of the anglophone heads of household changed considerably: the percentage of property owners fell from forty to twenty per cent; and the percentage of labourers increased from less than five to over fifteen per cent.

A comparison of Upper Town proper and the suburbs reveals a more significant development: growing linguistic, economic and social distinctions within the constituency. More and more Upper Town and the suburb of St. Louis became anglophone domains, while the French-speaking population dominated the suburb of St. John with nearly half of Irish heads of household settling there by 1842. Throughout the period Upper Town remained the centre of government and commercial activities. Increasingly service and industrial sectors shifted to the suburbs. In terms of socio-professional status, Upper Town proper continued to be the favoured residential area of the elite. On the other hand, by the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century artisans and labourers had opted for the suburb of St. John. Analysis of annual assessed values of property suggest

that the wealthier heads of household preferred to remain within the Upper-Town walls. About seventy per cent of the Upper-Town heads had assessments of £30 or greater, whereas about eighty per cent of the St. John and St. Louis heads of household paid less than £20 per annum. Put in other terms, over eighty per cent of those heads with assessments of £50 per annum resided in Upper-Town while about ninety per cent of those with assessments of less than £20 per annum lived in the suburbs.

Clearly ethno-cultural and socio-economic distinctions between Upper-Town proper and the suburbs existed. Our study shows that anglophones, government employees and higher-status individuals in terms of occupation and wealth were overrepresented as Upper-Town heads of household. What remains unclear is the degree to which the different factors played in determining whether an inhabitant settled inside or outside the walls of the Old City. Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA), a sophisticated statistical routine, will allow us to fine tune our analysis and to come to some conclusions regarding the relative importance of language affiliation, economic sector, socio-professional status and property qualifications for 1818, 1831 and 1842.[56]

While MCA allows us to see how the various subgroups for each of the variables responded, in this point of the analysis we are interested in the summary statistics (see table 2-24, p. 86). MCA provides the eta and beta values. In 1818, for example, the eta statistic for language affiliation is .45, while the beta is .32. For our purposes, the beta statistic is the more useful; it measures the relative importance of each factor. In other words, it considers the effects of one factor, while controlling for the other three. This

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[56]In order to maximize the number of cases involved in the MCA, it was necessary to apply two important restrictions. One, 1792 was not considered since property qualifications and occupations of many heads of household are missing from the dénombrements of 1792 and 1795. Two, the MCA excludes such independent variables as religion, country of origin, age and annual assessed value of property because this information is not available for many household heads (see section G.1, Appendix G). For a more detailed explanation of MCA, see Appendix I.

Table 2-24: Area of Residence: Upper Town proper by Language Affiliation, Economic Sector, Socio-Professional Status and Property Qualifications, Multiple Classification Analysis, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1818-1842

Variable	1818 N	1818 Un.	1818 Adj.	1831 N	1831 Un.	1831 Adj.	1842 N	1842 Un.	1842 Adj.
Language Affiliation									
Anglophone	337	.38	.27	931	.17	.12	1044	.15	.09
Francophone	961	-.14	-.10	1254	-.12	-.09	1566	-.11	-.06
Other	53	.07	.02	123	-.00	-.03	502	.31	.20
Economic Sector									
Government	97	.40	.05	116	.38	.07	102	.35	.14
Service	765	-.02	.01	1142	-.01	.02	1365	-.00	.00
Industrial	119	.00	.04	223	.01	.11	309	.03	.09
Commerce	134	.29	.11	241	.26	.03	281	.34	.05
Extractive-Unclassified	236	.28	.13	586	-.17	-.10	603	-.23	-.10
Socio-Professional Status									
I, II	351	.33	.20	670	.31	.26	755	.35	.30
Artisans	622	-.07	-.06	929	-.10	-.11	1078	-.05	-.07
Labourers	357	-.23	-.10	667	-.20	-.12	795	-.27	-.19
Unclassified	21	.42	.21	42	.36	.27	32	.09	-.04
Property Qualifications									
Tenant	744	.00	.00	1433	.03	.00	1791	-.02	-.02
Property Owner	606	-.01	-.00	875	-.04	-.00	850	.02	.03
Not Clear	1	.56	.35	-	-	-	19	.65	.32
Summary Statistics									
Variable (eta/beta)									
Language Affiliation		.45/.32			.30/.22			.27/.16	
Economic Sector		.37/.14			.32/.14			.35/.13	
Socio-Professional Status		.44/.25			.46/.38			.50/.41	
Property Ownership		.03/.02			.07/.01			.12/.08	
Number		1351			2308			2660	
Grand Mean		0.44			0.31			0.35	
R		.546			.523			.541	
R-Squared		.298			.274			.293	

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

will enable us to rank the four factors in the order of their effect on determining in what part of the constituency a head of household resided. In 1818, language affiliation, with a beta score of .32, was the most influential of the four factors. Its relative importance declined, however, falling to .22 in 1831, and to .16 in 1842. In contrast, the relative importance of socio-professional status increased, with a score of .25 in 1818 and climbing to .38 and .41 in 1831 and 1842. The influence of economic sector remained steady with scores of .14, .14 and .13. The low beta scores for property qualifications suggests that this variable had little influence in determining the area of residence. In other words, the owning of Upper-Town property was not a prerequisite for residing within the walls.

The results from the MCA suggest that in 1818 language affiliation was the most important single factor. This was not the case in the subsequent period, with socio-professional status best explaining whether an individual settled in Upper Town proper. This points to a socio-economic explanation for 1831 and 1842.

A closer examination of the beta scores for the subgroups in socio-professional status reveal that the geographic differentiation was growing as the differences between the highest status groups and labourers increased from 30 points (.20-(-.10)=.30) to 38 points in 1831 to 49 points in 1842. Thus, while language, economic sector and socio-professional status account for much of the geographic differentiation in 1818, it is increasingly socio-professional status alone that determined where a resident of Upper-Town Quebec lived.[57]

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[57]The Multiple R-Squared scores of 298, 274 and .293 indicate that the four independent variables together explain less than thirty per cent of the variation within the dependent variable These relatively low-to-medium R-squared scores suggest that other factors came into play Our previous analysis revealed a strong relationship between annual assessed value of property and area of residence It is probable that the inclusion of this factor in the MCA would increase considerably the R-squared values This does not diminish, however, the usefulness of a socio-economic explanation since annual assessed value is another socio-economic factor.

Part II: The Eligible Electorate

Chapter Three: Eligibility and Voter Turnout

3.1. Introduction

Part II of this study focuses on one aspect of mass political behaviour: voter turnout. Based on pollbooks and other routinely generated sources from early nineteenth-century Upper-Town Quebec, it seeks to establish the percentage of voter turnout and the extent to which ethno-cultural and socio-economic factors distinguished voters from non-voters.

Part II contains two chapters. Chapter 3 attempts to provide an estimate of voter turnout by establishing the total number of eligible voters. In doing so, the chapter discusses eligibility and participation, addressing the question of whether all tenants or any female household heads should be included in the analysis. This chapter also considers why the percentage of total votes fluctuated from one election to another. Chapter 4 begins by describing the eligible electorate, examining its ethnic, economic, social and demographic composition. The main focus of this chapter is an analysis of the behaviour of the eligible electorate by considering the importance of ethno-cultural, socio-economic and other factors in determining voting participation. This approach permits consideration of the applicability of a socio-economic explanation of voting participation frequently used by social scientists to explain why some individuals vote and others do not.

The first section of chapter 3 discusses eligibility and participation in an attempt to ascertain the voter turnout of Upper-Town Quebec in the four and half decades prior to the outbreak of the Lower-Canadian rebellion in 1837. Relying on pollbooks, census returns and assessment rolls, it establishes the total number of eligible voters and provides estimates of the percentage of the eligible population that actually voted. The second section of the

chapter endeavours to explain the fluctuations in the percentage of voter turnout by examining the changes in the laws governing elections in Lower Canada and by exploring the degree to which close, competitive elections brought about higher levels of voting.

The transferring of English electoral laws to Lower Canada gave this British province a relatively "open" franchise. All those owning property and many of those leasing were entitled to vote. Although an increasing number of tenants were unable to meet the minimum property requirements, about one in five adult male household heads in Upper-Town Quebec were enfranchised. Our analysis reveals that the franchise did not translate into a highly active voting population. Constituting about five to ten per cent of the Upper-Town household heads, women did not cast a single vote. Among the eligible males, the voter turnout ranged between one-fifth and one-half, a low figure by nineteenth-century Canadian, British and American standards. Finally, our analysis demonstrates a direct relationship between the percentage of voter turnout and the closeness of elections. In polls, where victory depended on securing every available vote, the highest levels of voter turnout occurred.

3.2. Eligibility and Participation

Analysts of the Lower-Canadian electoral system underline the "universality of the franchise."[58] Relying on constitutional documents and other contemporary written sources, they describe a society that allowed virtually every head of household, including women, to vote. In his study of the parliamentary institutions of Quebec in the early 1800s, Henri Brun concludes:

> Aux dires de contemporains, c'était le suffrage universel au profit des chefs de famille. Le cens électoral était placé si bas qu'il exclut aucun d'entre eux. Aucune discrimination

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[58]John Garner, The Franchise and Politics in British North America, 1755-1867 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 76.

> arbitraire n'était édictée, ni à l'endroit des célibataires, ni même à l'endroit des femmes. On retrouve des contestations d'élections basées sur le principe même du vote féminin. Nulle part au monde, pourtant, celui-ci n'était encore admis.[59]

A comparison with early nineteenth-century Britain underlines the extent of the Lower-Canadian franchise. On the eve of the Reform Acts of 1832, the estimated electorate in the United Kingdom was just under 500,000. By giving royal assent to the reform bills, William IV gave the vote to an additional 300,000 residents of the British Isles.[60] This meant that about fifteen per cent of the adult males had the franchise in 1832.[61]

In Lower Canada, the Constitutional Act of 1791 translated into a much wider enfranchisement of the population. This included a large majority of the household heads in the countryside and most urban property owners. Neither were there legal restrictions preventing natives, clergymen or women from voting.[62] Certainly, as Ouellet concludes, the application of the English franchise qualifications to Lower Canada "led to an exceptional

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[59]Henri Brun, La formation des institutions parlementaires québecoises 1791-1838 (Québec: Presses de l'unversité Laval, 1970), 91.

[60]Michael Brock, The Great Reform Act (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1973), 311-13.

[61]The effects of the Reform Acts of 1832 were geographically uneven. Norman Gash's study of British politics in the first half of the nineteenth century provides the following estimates: one in seven adult males in the United Kingdom; one in five for England and Wales; one in eight for Scotland; and one in twenty for Ireland (Norman Gash, Politics in the Age of Peel. A Study in the Technique of Parliamentary Representation, 1830-1850 [London: Longmans, 1953], 89). See also: Charles Seymour, Electoral Reform in England and Wales. The Development and Operation of the Parliamentary Franchise, 1832-1885 (London: Oxford University Press, 1915). Reprint. London: David & Charles Reprint, 1970), 533, 541; John Cannon, Parliamentary Reform, 1640-1832 (Cambridge: Cambridge at the University press, 1973), 292. David Cresap Moore. The Politics of Deference. A Study of the Mid-Nineteenth Century English Political System (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1976).

[62]Garner, The Franchise and Politics, 155-7, 160-1. See also: Ouellet, Le Bas-Canada, 42-3; Ouellet, Lower Canada, 25-6.

extension of the suffrage."[63] Just how exceptional is difficult to surmise. Ouellet argues that at least one out of every eight inhabitants were qualified to vote.[64] Analysis of the five Upper-Town Quebec elections held between 1824 and 1836 suggests about one in five (see table 1-4, p. 21 and table 3-3, p. 107). In any case, both figures are much higher than the estimate of one in thirteen for post-Reform Britain in 1832.[65]

For our discussion of voting participation in Upper-Town Quebec, it is essential to establish the eligible electorate. Without knowing who had the right to vote, we can not calculate the voter turnout which is defined as the percentage of eligible voters who cast votes.[66] Did the Constitutional Act mean that all household heads were eligible to vote? In other words, was there, as Brun suggests, "le suffrage universel au profit des chefs de famille?"

With the exception of traitors and felons,[67] everyone who met the conditions of nationality, age and property ownership or tenancy could vote legally; the Constitutional Act listed no other restrictions regarding race, religion or gender. This is surprising in light of the restrictions that later

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[63]Ouellet, Lower Canada, 25.

[64]Ibid.

[65]Gash, Politics in the Age, 89.

[66]William N. Chambers and Philip C. Davis, "Party, Competition, and Mass Participation: the Case of the Democratizing Party System, 1824-1852," in The History of American Electoral Behavior eds. J.H. Sibley, A.G. Bogue and W.H. Flanigan (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1978), 178. See also: Jerrold G. Rusk and John J. Stucker, "The Effect of the Southern System of Election Laws on Voting Participation: A Reply to V.O. Key, Jr.," in The History of American Electoral Behavior, 199-202; David F. Prindle, "Voting Turnout, Critical Elections, and the New Deal Realignment," Social Science History, 3(Winter 1979): 149.

[67]Anyone convicted of treason or a felony lost the right to vote. Section 23 of the Act stated "That no Person shall be capable of voting at any Election of a Member to service in such Assembly...who shall have been attainted for Treason or Felony in any Court of Law within any of His Majesty's Dominions...." Constitutional Act, 1791, 31, George 3, c. 31, s. 23, Documents Relating, 1759-1791, 700.

Canadian politicians applied to natives, women and certain immigrant groups in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[68] By right of omission, the Constitutional Act gave the franchise to Indian and female household heads who met the nationality, age and property requirements. Thus it would appear that in strict legal terms our definition of the eligible electorate should include every British subject, twenty-one years or older who either owned property or rented property with an annual assessed value of at least £10 in the constituency. Unfortunately, in the case of Upper-Town Quebec, the process of defining the eligible electors is not so cut and dried. Women pose a problem and this is the same dilemma facing analysts of nineteenth-century British politics. As Norman Gash in his study of the Peel era concludes: "to put the electorate against the gross population, especially in an age which did not count voting among the female functions is not the most illuminating method of finding a significant proportion."[69]

Would the inclusion of women be "illuminating" in our analysis of voter turnout and voting participation in Upper-Town Quebec? There are several points which support including women in our discussions. First, there was nothing in the Constitutional Act which prevented women from voting because of their gender. Second, unlike Great Britain where "women had not exercised the franchise...for centuries despite the lack of a formal legal restraint,"[70] there are several cases of women voting in Lower Canada. Among the well-known examples are: the Montreal-West by-election of 1832

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[68]Women were disenfranchised in: Prince Edward Island in 1836; New Brunswick in 1843; Nova Scotia in 1851; and the Province of Canada in 1849. Indians received the same treatment in Nova Scotia in 1854. This remained in effect until 1863 The legislators of British Columbia disenfranchised Indians and the Chinese in 1866 (Garner, The Franchise and Politics, 155 160).

[69]Gash, Politics in the Age. 89.

[70]Garner, The Franchise and Politics, 156

in which 199 women voted;[71] and the Trois-Rivières election of 1820 when Pierre Bédard commented on the women's action in a letter to John Neilson. Bédard complained to his Canadian-party compatriot that women voters helped to elect their political opponents, Charles Richard Ogden and Joseph Badeaux:

> Mr. Ogden et Badeaux sont été élus par les hommes et les femmes des Trois-Rivières. Car il faut que vous sachez qu'ici les femmes votent comme les hommes indistinctivement. Il n'y a que les cas où elles sont mariées et où le mari est vivant; alors c'est lui qui [a] porté la voix comme chef de la Communauté, lorsque le mari n'a pas de bien et que la femme en a c'est la femme qui vote. Le cas c'est présenté hier par actuellement un domestique (qui s'appelle Michel) qui a acheté un emplacement dans la commune il y a un an ou deux et l'a fait bâtir. Les amis de sa femme lui avaient fait entendre que c'était la façon actuellement de passer les contrats au nom de la femme et que cela était passé, et Michel en conséquence avait fait passer le contrat au nom de sa femme. Il a été pour voter hier; on lui a demandé à faire le serment; il a déclarait que l'emplacement était au nom de sa femme; en conséquence, on a envoyé chercher la femme qui a votée pour Mr. Ogden et Mr. Ranvoisé le candidat malheureux.[72]

The third piece of evidence supporting the conclusion that women should be considered a part of the eligible voting population is the Upper-Town Quebec election of 1827. The eligibility of women voters was one of the issues at the poll. The debate revolved around the right to vote based on property versus the disenfranchisement of an individual because of gender. When two women attempted to cast votes, the returning officer, William F. Scott, rejected the women on the grounds "that females were not

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[71]Ouellet, Lower Canada, 25

[72]Bédard to Neilson, 1 July 1820, PAC MG24 B1, vol 32, 322-3. Part of this letter is cited in: Garner, The Franchise and Politics, 157, Ouellet, Lower Canada, 25, and Ouellet Bas-Canada, 42-43 See also Garner's discussion of women voting in Lower Canada (Garner, The Franchise and Politics, 156-159)

admissable [sic] as voters...."[73] Scott defended his actions explaining that although meeting the property qualifications the widowed household head was disallowed as a voter "in consequence of her sex". In the pollbook, he reported that "Rose Paul widow of Antoine Auirard dit Lapierre having presented herself as a voter in virtue of a property owned by her of the value required by the statute and offering to make oath of her qualification the returning officer refused to admit her to vote in consequence of her sex and [...] as being disqualif[ie]d."[74] Those supporting the voting of women countered that widows and daughters who met the property qualifications were duly qualified to vote.[75] In a petition to the Legislative Assembly protesting the election results, they based their case on legal and social arguments:

> neither in men nor women can the right to vote be a natural right: it is given by the enactment. The only questions are, whether women could exercise that right well and advantageously for the State, and whether they are entitled to it. That the Petitioners have not learned that there exist any imperfections in the minds of women which place them lower than men in intellectual powers, or which would make it more dangerous to entrust them with the exercise of the numerous other rights which the law has already given [?] them. That, in point of fact, women duly qualified, have hitherto been allowed to exercise the right in question. That the Petitioners conceive that women are fairly entitled to the right, if they can exercise it well. That property and not persons is the basis of representation in the English government. That the qualifications required by the Elections Laws sufficiently is carried into our own constitution. That the same principle is carried into our own constitution. That the paying certain taxes to the State is also a basis of representation; for it is a principal contended for by the best Statesmen of England, that there can be "no

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[73]Archives nationales du Québec, (hereafter cited as ANQ), Pollbook, Upper-Town Quebec, 1827, 60.

[74]Ibid.

[75]Ibid.

> taxation without representation." That the duties to be performed to the State may also give a right to representation. That in respect of property, taxation and duties to the State, the Widow, duly qualified by our Election Laws, is in every essential respect similarly situated with the man: her property is taxed alike with that of a man: she certainly is not liable to Militia duties, nor is the man above forty-five: she is not called to serve on a jury, nor is a physician: she cannot be elected to the Assembly, nor can a Judge or Minister of the Gospel. It may be alleged that nature has only fitted her for domestic life, yet the English Constitution allows a women to sit on the Throne, and one of its brightest ornaments has been a women. That it would be impolitic and tyrannical to circumscribe her efforts in society, - to say that she shall not have the strongest interest in the fate of her country, and the security of her common rights: It is she who breathes into man with eloquent tenderness his earliest lessons of religion and of morals; and shall it be said his country shall be forgotten, or that she shall mould his feelings while smarting under hateful laws.[76]

Thus, the appearance of this issue on the Upper-Town Quebec hustings, along with the lack of restrictions in the Constitutional Act and the acceptance of women voters in other ridings point to the conclusion that women should be treated as part of the eligible electorate of Upper-Town Quebec. Nonetheless, there are other considerations that suggest that it would be more useful to exclude women household heads in our analysis. First, the actions of the returning officer in the election of 1827 underline that the voting by women was in dispute. Opponents even questioned the legality of the allowing females to do so. The Quebec Mercury sided with the Upper-Town returning officer; its editor pointed to the English and American experiences and contended that past Lower-Canadian examples did not make female voting legal action:

> In our last number we noticed the objections raised against a vote tendered by a female in nearly the words of

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[76]Journals of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada, (hereafter cited as JHALC), vol. 38, 4 December 1828, 81-82.

> the Candidate, who opposed her suffrage being received. In England, as we before said, women do not vote at Elections for Members of Parliament. We believe that throughout the United States, this privilege is denied them; in Canada, the question of right has not yet been decided, but the writer in the Gazette, has shewn [sic] no good reason why an exception should be made in this Colony. If Mr. Berthelot has protested on this ground, the question will probably be decided, that such votes have been taken at former Elections, does not prove their legality, nor is the refusal of the intelligent RETURNING OFFICER to take the vote of a female at the late Election for the Upper Town, under such circumstances, to be considered an abuse of office.[77]

A legal loophole allowed women to take part in the voting process. In other words, women voted because of "an absence of law limiting the suffrage rather than on any authority granted by legislation."[78] When their support for the canadien party was no longer guaranteed, Papineau moved quickly to end the practice.[79] Presenting a bill which included a section disenfranchising women, Papineau contended that wives and daughters did not belong on the hustings.: "Quant à l'usage de faire voter les femmes, il est juste de le détruire. Il est odieux de voir traîner aux hustings des femmes par leurs maris, des filles par leurs pères, souvent même contre leur volonté. L'intérêt public, la décence, la modestie du sexe exigent que ces scandales ne se répètent plus."[80] The Papineau-controlled Assembly passed

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[77]Quebec Mercury, 18 August 1827.

[78]W.R. Riddell, "Women Franchise in Quebec, A Century Ago," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd ser., 22(1928): 88. Cited in Micheline D. Johnson, "History of the Status of Women in the Province of Quebec" in Studies of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, no. 8 (Ottawa: 1971), 17.

[79]In the by-election of Montreal-West the women voters favoured Stanley Bagg, the Bureaucratic-party candidate, over Daniel Tracey, the patriote candidate, 104 votes to 95. The nine-vote deficient almost caused the defeat of Tracey whose margin of victory after three weeks of voting was only four votes.

[80]La Minerve, 3 February 1834. Cited by Ouellet, Le Bas-Canada, 350. Garner cited an English version from the Quebec Gazette, 29 January 1834 (Garner, The Franchise and Politics, 158).

the bill whose principal concern was "to regulate the manner of proceeding upon contested Elections of Members to serve in the House of Assembly," but also included a clause forbidding women from voting in any future election. Section 27 declared: "that from and after the passing of this Act, no female shall vote at any Election for any County, City or Borough of this Province...."[81]

Receiving approval of the governor general on 18 March 1834, the legal restrictions against women were in effect for the general election held in October 1834 and for the Upper-Town by-election of March 1836.[82] This points to a second reason why women should be excluded from our definition of eligibility: consistency and comparability. The comparison of 1834 and 1836 with the other elections requires common criteria. Since women were excluded legally in 1834 and 1836, it is necessary to omit them in our calculation of eligibility for the elections of 1824, 1827 and 1829. The third and most compelling reason in limiting our definition to adult males is the complete lack of female participation in the electoral process in Upper-Town Quebec. With the exception of the two women who attempted unsuccessfully to vote in 1827, not one female voter appears in the the pollbooks covering eight of the elections from 1792 to 1836. Nor are there any references to women electors in the newspaper reports of the period. Women just did not vote in this constituency. Of the 671 Upper-Town females designated as property owners in the assessment rolls covering the five elections from 1824

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[81]Statutes of Lower Canada, 1834 4 William 4, c 28, s 27, 158

[82]In the summer of 1836 the Colonial Office disallowed the act on the grounds that it contained a clause "which allowed controverted elections to continue beyond the prorogation of the Assembly," (Garner, The Franchise and Politics 158) The Colonial Office wished Section 18 of the Act removed This Section stated "And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that each and every such Committee may be authorised by order of the House to sit after prorogation of the then Provincial Parliament and to report at the ensuing Session thereof .. " (Statutes of Lower Canada, 1834 4 William 4, c 28, s 28, 158) The Colonial Office had requested the offending clause removed and the House complied, however, the Legislative Council added an amendment to which the House would not agree and the Colonial Office was forced to disallow the act (Garner, The Franchise and Politics, 158).

to 1836, not one cast a vote. Clearly non-legal barriers were at work: when they had the legal right to do so, social restrictions and political strategy prevented women from taking part in the elections.

Should others be excluded from our definition of eligibility because, like women, they did not vote in the elections? There is no record of priests and natives voting in Upper-Town Quebec; in any case, few, if any, resided in the constituency. Including or excluding these groups would have an insignificant effect on our analysis of voter turnout. On the other hand, women represented five to ten per cent of the household heads:[83] their inclusion would only serve to skew our estimations of voter turnout and not "illuminate" our analysis of voting participation.

Consequently, despite their "legal" right, the female heads of household of Upper-Town Quebec will be excluded when defining the eligible electorate. Our definition of eligibility will also have to account for the three main requirements concerning franchise laid down by the Constitutional Act of 1791. Basically, to vote in Upper-Town Quebec a voter had to be a British subject, twenty-one years of age or older, who owned a house and lot with an annual value of £5 or rented a house at an annual rate of £10.[84] This study makes the assumption that all Upper-Town heads of household satisfied the age and nationality stipulations. In regard to the latter, the Constitutional Act of 1791 described a British subject as: "a natural-born Subject of His Majesty, or a Subject of His Majesty naturalized by Act of the British Parliament, or a Subject of His Majesty, having become such by

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[83]Women constituted five percent of household heads found in the assessment rolls (mean for 1824, 1827, 1829, 1834 and 1836 = 5.4%, with a range of 4.1% to 6.9%) and ten per cent of those in the census returns (mean for 1818, 1831 and 1842 = 10.5%, with a range of 8.6% to 11.6%).

[84]Garner, The Franchise and Politics, 74.

the Conquest and Cession of the Province of Canada."[85] Thus all francophone heads of household found in Upper-Town Quebec met the nationality requirements by virtue of the Conquest. The status of the non-francophone group, on the other hand, is not completely free of ambiguity. An examination of the census of 1842 reveals that it is safe to assume that a very large percentage of the non-francophone group was British.[86] Nonetheless, since the origins of many of the non-francophone heads of remains unknown,[87] it is possible that a small percentage of the individuals classified as part of the eligible electorate may not have had the right to vote. For example, a newly arrived American or Hessian immigrant meeting all the other legal requirements could not vote because he was not a naturalized subject. The census information indicates this problem affected only a small percentage of the Upper-Town inhabitants. Furthermore, neither contemporary political commentators nor politicians in the Quebec region raised the issue of illegal voting by non-British subjects. Therefore this study assumes that all francophone and non-francophone heads of household were not restricted from voting because of the nationality proviso.

The study also assumes that all but a few heads of household met the age restriction, "that no Person shall be capable of voting at any Election of a Member to serve in such Assembly...who shall not be of the full age of Twenty-one Years."[88] An analysis of the census returns indicates the presence of a few male heads of household who were less that twenty-one

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[85]Constitutional Act, 1791 31 George 3, c. 31, s. 22, Documents Relating, 1759-1791, 699-700.

[86]For example, of the 248 non-francophone heads of household listed in the assessment roll of 1834 and linked to the census of 1842, ninety-six per cent were British.

[87]The country of origin of 908 non-francophone heads of household (78.6%) in the assessment roll of 1834 are unknown because the information is not available in the census of 1842.

[88]Constitutional Act, 1791 31 George 3, c. 31, s. 22, Documents Relating, 1759-1791, 699.

years.[89] Perhaps several men who were heads of household were actually younger than twenty-one, but it is more likely that a reporting error was made. Otherwise how does one account for the categorization of nine voters from the election of 1827 under the age of eighteen? It is unlikely that the appearance of these youngsters would have gone unchallenged and unreported in an election where the difference between victory and defeat was eleven votes. As such, it is reasonable not to omit any male head of household from the list of eligible voters because of age.

Thus nationality and age left only a few household heads disenfranchised. This was not the case with the third legal barrier to voting, property qualifications. Ouellet suggests that in the 1820s and 1830s the number of disenfranchised increased as the "landless" proportion of the rural and urban population grew.[90] Section 20 of the Constitutional Act differentiated between rural and urban constituencies. In the country districts or counties the owning of property "being of the yearly Value of Forty Shillings Sterling, or upwards"[91] made a person eligible to vote. For the inhabitants of Upper-Town Quebec, like other town constituents, the property qualifications were different:

> such Persons as either shall severally be possessed, for their own Use and Benefit, of a Dwelling House and Lot of Ground in such Town or Township, such Dwelling House and Lot of Ground being by them held in like Manner as aforesaid, and being of the yearly Value of Five Pounds Sterling, or upwards, or as having been resident within the said Town or Township for the Space for Twelve Calendar Months next before the Date of the Writ of Summons for the Election, shall bona fide have paid One Year's Rent for

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[89]For example, of the 2,407 listed in the assessment roll of 1827, the ages of 796 are known (33.1%). Twelve of the 796 (1.5%) were less than twenty-one years of age. For all the assessment rolls and the census returns the mean percentage of males under twenty-one is 1.3% (range from 0.6 to 1.9).

[90]Ouellet, Lower Canada, 25.

[91]"Forty Shillings Sterling" equalled two pounds sterling.

> the Dwelling House in which they shall have so resided, at the Rate of Ten Pounds Sterling per Annum, or upwards.[92]

Were all Upper-Town property owners eligible to vote? The assessment rolls covering the five elections from 1824 to 1836 reveal that all property owners in Upper-Town Quebec were eligible to vote since the lowest assessed annual value of property was £5, 9 shillings, a figure above the minimum property qualifications. Thus any property owner listed in the assessment rolls or the nominal census returns residing in Upper-Town Quebec formed part of the eligible electorate.

It is impossible to know whether this was also true for tenants since neither the assessment rolls nor the census returns provide information regarding the amount paid per year by those renting. The pollbooks which cover seven of the fifteen elections indicate that about forty per cent of the voters were tenants,[93] thus suggesting that at least some of those renting met the property qualifications. But it is also clear that not all the tenants were eligible to vote; some paid less than £10 per year for rent. In the fall of 1832, John Neilson, the member from the County of Quebec, presented a petition on behalf of Charles Ford, a Quebec City printer, calling upon the Assembly to open the franchise to all tenants. Ford complained that he was deprived the right to vote because he was able to find housing at a reasonable rate:

> That the Petitioner knowing from experience that he can obtain a Cottage or apartments suitable to his family, for less annual rent than according to the present franchise of Election entitles him to vote for the Return of a Member to represent that part of the City of Quebec in which he resides, feels it a deprivation of right, in being shut out from voting at Elections for Members to serve in the Provincial Parliament, because he does not pay a yearly rent of Ten

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[92]Constitutional Act, 1791 31 George 3, c. 31, s. 20, Documents Relating, 1759-1791, 699.

[93]Mean of the seven elections equals 40.4%, with the percentages ranging from 35.8% to 44.3%.

> pounds Sterling, for his accommodation, when he can obtain such accommodation for a less sum annually than is above stated: That the Petitioner will not yield to any in loyalty to his King, or adherence to the Acts of the Provincial Legislature; and householders above the age of twenty-one years, as all persons being tenants or householders naturally fell an interest in the safety and prosperity of the Country, and consequently should be allowed a voice in the constitution of the body representing the people, all being liable to the same taxes and amenable to the same Laws:

Ford concluded by imploring the Assembly to give the same "natural right" enjoyed by those paying £10 of rent annually to those paying less than £10:

> it is the natural right of all such subjects to vote at Elections for Members of the Parliament of this Province, and prays that the House will take into consideration the great number of loyal and faithful subjects who are thus deprived of the highest privilege which can be enjoyed by the subject of any Government, that of sending a Representative to speak his sentiments, and make known his wants where alone such wants can be relieved; and enact such Laws as will extend to him and others similarly situated, the privilege enjoyed by his fellow citizens who pay rent of Ten Pounds Sterling.[94]

The House failed to act on the petition and thus some Upper-Town tenants remained disenfranchised.

A letter in the Quebec Gazette prior to the by-election of 1836 commented further on the disqualification of a large portion of the urban heads of household not owning property. In "State of the Representation - Lower Canada", "A Reformer" reiterated:

> The British Parliament, by the Act of 1791, constituted forty-shilling freeholders electors of Members to serve in the House of Assembly of Lower Canada. It did not probably know the full extent of its liberality. It was tantamount to granting universal suffrage in the country parts at least, while in the towns the qualification of a five-pound freehold

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[94]JHALC, vol. 42, 26 November 1832, 104.

> and ten-pound leasehold virtually disqualified an intelligent and independent portion of the industrious population, contributing largely towards the public burthens [burdens].[95]

Thus only one option remained for the "disenfranchised" tenants: rent a dwelling at an annual cost of at least £10. This seems to have been the strategy eventually used by Charles Ford, the Quebec City printer: two years after the presentation of his petition, Ford voted in the election of 1834 and again in the election of 1836.[96]

The Ford petition underscores the difficulty in establishing the number of eligible tenants not using their right to vote. To complicate matters, a comparison of the census return of 1831 and the assessment roll of 1827 suggests that the latter source underrepresents the number of tenants, listing only 59.4% of the tenants found in the census return. Part of the difference may be attributable to an increase of population, but this cannot be the major explanation since the same proportion of underrepresentation is not sustained among the property owners (see table 3-1, p. 105). In other words, it is impossible to know for certain which tenants had the legal right to vote. As a consequence, the definition of voter turnout used in this study makes the assumption that the number of tenants legally able to vote lies somewhere in between the figure found in the assessment roll and the figure found in the census return.

In summary, our discussion of the legal restrictions provided for by the Constitutional Act underlines the difficulty in uncovering the number of individuals eligible to vote in each election. The are two groups in particular which complicate the process: women, eligible because of "an absence of law", but they did not participate for societal and political reasons; and tenants, many not eligible because of property qualifications, but who and

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[95]Quebec Gazette, 14 March 1836.

[96]Charles Ford, a printer, appears in the census of 1831, the assessment roll of 1834 and the pollbooks of 1834 and 1836.

Table 3-1: Comparison of the Number of Tenants and Property Owners Listed in the Assessment Roll of 1827 and the Census Return of the 1831, Upper-Town Quebec.

Source and Year	Tenants	Property Owners	Total
Assessment Roll, 1827	1319	1088	2407
Census Return, 1831	2217	1328	3545
% Difference	59.4	81.9	67.9

Sources: PAC, Lower Canada, Census, 1831; AVQ, Quebec City, Assessment Roll, 1827.

how many remains unclear because of a lack of documentation. As a result of these two complications, this study defines the eligible electorate for each of the elections as the adult male heads of household meeting the property qualifications. Since the assessment rolls do not include all of the eligible tenants and the census returns contain tenants who were not eligible to vote, the following analysis provides, where possible, two estimates of voter turnout for each election. First, it calculates the eligible electorate extrapolating from the census returns of 1792, 1795, 1818, 1831 and 1842, and incorporating the unlinked voters in each of the elections. The same procedure is repeated for the elections of 1816 to 1836, using the data from the assessment rolls. This results in two sets of figures representing the range of eligible electorate for the elections from 1814 to 1836. For the period from 1792 to 1810 only the one estimate based on the census of 1792, 1795 and 1818 per election is available since the assessing of Quebec City inhabitants did not begin until 1820 (see table 3-3, p. 107).

Establishing the number of voters for each election is less complicated. Pollbooks provide the total number of voters for 1792 and for seven of the eight polls held from 1814 to 1816 (see table 3-2, p. 106). Newspaper reports supply the number of votes cast in six other elections. Analysis of pollbooks suggest that in the general elections of 1814, 1816, 1824, 1827 and 1834

Table 3-2: Number of Voters in Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836.

Year	(1) Number of Voters	(2) Number of Votes Cast	(3) Number of Possible Votes	(4) % of Possible Votes Cast	(5) Estimated Number of Possible Votes	(6) Number of Voters
1792	492	-	-	-	-	492
1796		-	-		-	unknown
1800		1065	-		1180	e590
1804	-		-			no poll
1805*	482	482	482	100 0		482
1808	-	800	-	-	886	e443
1809	-	218	-		242	e121
1810		672	-	-	744	e372
1814	581	1079	1162	92 9	-	e581
1815*	acclaimed		-			no poll
1816	386	710	772	92 0	-	386
1820M	-	1544		-	1710	e855
1820J	acclaimed	-		-	-	no poll
1824	623	1118	1246	89 7	-	623
1827	1216	2213	2432	91 0	-	1216
1829*	910	910	910	100 0	-	910
1830	acclaimed		-	-	-	no poll
1834	1021	1759	2042	86 1	-	1021
1836*	684	684	684	100 0	-	684

Sources ANQ, Pollbooks, Upper-Town Quebec, 1816, 1824, 1827, 1829, 1834, 1836, ASQ, Pollbook, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814, PAC, Young Family, MG24 B4, vol 2, Pollbook, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792, Quebec Newspapers, 1792-1836
(1)=Number of Voters Total derived from pollbook returns and newspapers
(2)=Number of Votes Cast Total derived from pollbook returns and newspapers
(3)=Number of Possible Votes Number of Voters X 2, except in by-elections
(4)=Percentage of Possible Votes Cast Derived from Number of Votes Cast (2)/ Number of Possible Votes (3)
(5)=Estimated Number of Possible Votes Derived from Number of Votes Cast (2)/ 903 (mean of % of possible votes, except for by-elections)
(6)=Number of Voters
*=by-election (1 vote per voter), 1820M=March 1820, 1820J=July 1820, e=estimated

about ten per cent of the voters used only one vote. This allows us to estimate the number of voters from the number of votes cast in the general elections of 1800, 1808, 1809, 1810 and March 1820. Thus examination of the

Table 3-3: Number of Voters and Eligible Voters, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836.

Year	Total Number of Voters	Total Number of Male Heads A: Census Return	Eligible Voters of Household-a B: Assessment Rolls
1792	492	1146	-
1796	unknown	-	-
1800	590b	1358d	-
1804	no poll-c	-	-
1805*	482d	1491d	-
1808	443b	1570d	-
1809	121b	1597d	-
1810	372b	1623d	
1814	581	1729d	1146e
1815*	no poll-c	-	-
1816	386	1782d	1317e
1820 March	855b	2079d	1659e
1820 July	no poll-c	-	-
1824	623	2624d	2001
1827	1216	3020d	2407
1829*	910	3283d	2427
1830	no poll-c	-	-
1834	1021	3693d	2601
1836*	684	3791d	2572

Sources: PAC, Lower Canada, Censuses, 1831, 1842; Dénombrements, 1792, 1795; Signay, Recensement de la ville, 1818; ANQ, Pollbooks, Upper-Town Quebec, 1816, 1824, 1827, 1829, 1834, 1836; ASQ, Pollbook, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814; PAC, Pollbook, Upper Town Quebec, 1792; Quebec Newspapers, 1792-1836

*=by-election

a=includes voters not listed in census returns or assessment rolls

b=Estimated - See table 3-2, p. 106.

c=Candidates acclaimed - no polling occurred

d=Estimated using census returns of 1792, 1795 (t=1146); 1818 (t=1834); 1831 (3547) and 1842 (4083). (1818-1792 = increase of 26.5 p.a; 1831-1818 = increase of 131.7 p.a; 1842-1831 = increase of 48.7 p.a.).

e= Estimated using assessment rolls of 1824 and 1829 (1829-1824 = increase of 85.4 p.a.).

pollbooks and the newspapers yields the total number of voters for fourteen of the fifteen polls held from 1792 to 1836.[97]

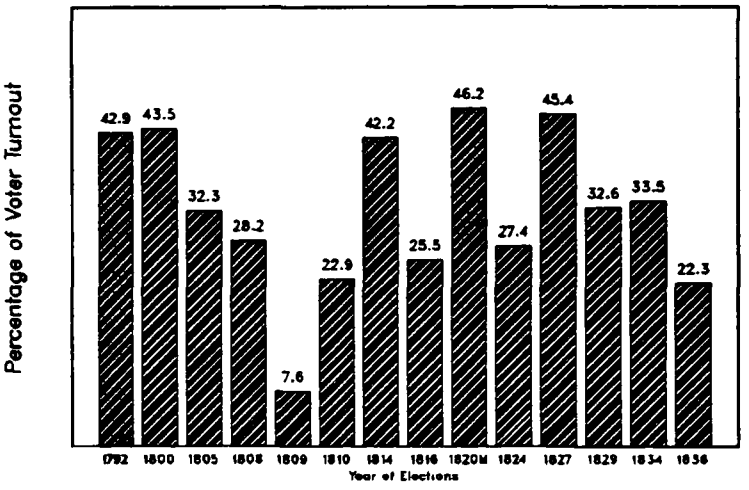
Table 3-4: Estimated Voter Turnout, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836

Year	Voter Turnout-a A: Census Return %	Voter Turnout B: Assessment Rolls %	Mean A+B=C/2 %
1792	42.9	-	-
1796	unknown	-	-
1800	43.5	-	-
1804	no poll-b	-	-
1805*	32.3	-	-
1808	28.2	-	-
1809	7.6	-	-
1810	22.9	-	-
1814	33.6	50.7	42.2
1815*	no poll-b	-	-
1816	21.7	29.3	25.5
1820 March	40.8	51.5	46.2
1820 July	no poll-b	-	-
1824	23.7	31.1	27.4
1827	40.3	50.5	45.4
1829*	27.7	37.5	32.6
1830	no poll-b	-	-
1834	27.7	39.3	33.5
1836*	18.0	26.6	22.3

Sources: See table 3-2, p. 106
*=by-election
a=Voter Turnout (number of voters/number of eligible voters) X 100 %
b=Candidates acclaimed, no poll held
For estimates of total voters and eligible electorate see table 3-2, p. 106 and table 3-3, p. 107.

[97]In total, nineteen elections were held in Upper-Town Quebec from 1792 to 1836. In three of the elections (1815, July 1820 and 1830) the candidates were acclaimed. It also appears that no poll was held in the general election of 1804; a published letter by one of the candidates, J.-A. Panet, suggests that a third candidate, P.-A. Debonne, resigned before the voting began (Quebec Gazette, 5 July 1804).

Figure 3-1: Estimated Voter Turnout, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836



Sources: See table 3-2, 106.

Dividing the number of voters by the number of eligible electors results in the percentage of voter turnout for all but one of the fifteen Upper-Town elections. A comparison of the voter turnout for each of the election reveals that voter turnout fluctuated (see table 3-4, p. 108 and figure 3-1, p. 109). Over forty per cent of the eligible electorate voted in the early elections of 1792 (42.9%) and 1800 (43.5%). The percentage of voter turnout slipped to 32.3% in 1805 and 28.2% in 1808. After plunging uncharacteristically to 7.6%

in 1809, the voter turnout rose slightly to 22.9% in 1810, before it rebounded to 42.2% in 1814. In 1816, it fell once more to below thirty per cent (25.5%). A dramatic increase occurred in March 1820 with the highest estimate of voter turnout, 46.2%. The election of 1824 saw 27.4% of the electorate voting, while in 1827 it rose again to over forty per cent (45.4%). After 1827, voter turnout levelled off, reaching 32.6% in 1829 and 33.5% in 1834. In the final election it decreased to less than one quarter (22.3%) of the voting public. How reliable are these estimates of voter turnout? In its summary of the election of 1824, the Quebec Mercury lamented that the apathy of the eligible voters allowed Andrew Stuart and Joseph-Remi Vallières de St. Réal to be elected over its favoured candidate, Francis Ward Primrose. The editor of the Mercury calculated the voter turnout to be about one-third of the electorate: "there was an unaccountable apathy of the electors, although the Poll was open for a week, it is calculated that not more than one-third of their number voted."[98] The figure of one-third corresponds to the estimate that our method of calculation provides for 1824, a range of 23.7% to 31.1% (mean = 27.1%); this gives credence to the reliability of our estimates of voter turnout.

The analysis demonstrates that over the course of the fourteen elections the voter turnout fluctuated between one-fifth and one-half of the eligible voting population. The only exception was the election of 1809 when less than one tenth of the eligible electors voted. A comparison with the results from other studies suggest that Upper-Town Quebec experienced a relatively low level of voter turnout. Certainly there were much higher rates of voter turnout in rural Lower Canada; in 1834, for example, about eighty per cent of the household heads voted in the election held in the county of Orleans.[99] For the same year, Elwood Jones reports that the voter turnout for the Upper-Canadian county of Russell was less than forty per cent, but for the

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[98]Quebec Mercury, 7 August 1824.

[99]Ouellet, Bas-Canada, 79.

town of York it was nearly eighty-five per cent in 1830. Jones argues that in 1861 the rate for Canada West was between two-thirds and four-fifths.[100]; Gail Campbell's study of three south-western Ontario townships places voter turnout for mid-century Ontario at sixty to seventy-five per cent.[101] This high level also seems typical for Great Britain: Gash puts the voter turnout for the borough of Abingdon at two-thirds and at four-fifths for the borough of Wallingford in the 1830s.[102] American analysts provide comparably high figures for presidential elections: a mean of nearly ninety-five per cent for Clinton Township, Shelby County, Ohio for the 1850s; and seventy per cent for the American Midwest in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[103] In short, voter turnout in Upper-Town Quebec was low, in comparison to nineteenth-century Canadian, British and American experiences.

3.3. Factors Affecting the Voter Turnout: Changes in Electoral Laws and Degree of Competitiveness

A number of different factors may explain the fluctuations in voter turnout; local and national issues, for one, can effect the degree of voter turnout. On the macro-political level, however, recent American studies focus on two areas: changing electoral laws and the degree of competition. In regard to electoral legislation, political scientists studying voter turnout in the United States demonstrate the close link between legal changes and fluctuations in voter turnout. For example, in their study of voting

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[100]Elwood Jones, "The Franchise in Upper Canada" (Paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 7 June 1986), 8, 20, 23.

[101]Gail G. Campbell, "Voters and Nonvoters: The Problem of Turnout in the Nineteenth Century: Southwestern Ontario as a Case Study," Social Science History 11(Summer 1987): 189, 192-3.

[102]Gash, Politics in the Age, 270.

[103]Kenneth J. Winkle, "A Social Analysis of Voter Turnout in Ohio, 1850-1860," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 13(Winter 1983), 415.

participation in the southern United States, Jerrold G. Rusk and John J. Stucker conclude that "legal factors governing the suffrage and electoral process will have effects on voter participation regardless of what other factors are operating on voting behaviour."[104] An examination of Lower-Canadian electoral legislation suggests that generally laws governing elections in Lower Canada changed little in the period from 1792 to 1836. Basically the voting criteria set up by the Constitutional Act remained in force during the four decades prior to the rebellion. Indeed, the Imperial Parliament alone retained the right to modify directly the franchise.[105] On the other hand, the Provincial Parliament could indirectly influence the relative size of the eligible electorate with changes in the electoral boundaries and in the length, place and time of the elections. In the case of Upper-Town Quebec, modifications to the electoral laws had an insignificant effect on the percentage of the population who were able to vote and the percentage of eligible voters who voted. The boundaries of Upper-Town Quebec remained unchanged throughout the period. First set by Lieutenant-Governor Clarke with a proclamation "dividing the province Lower Canada into Counties and electoral districts",[106] the geographic dimensions of the Upper-Town constituency were unaltered by an act passed by the Lower-Canadian Assembly which renamed, reshaped and added to the electoral dimensions of the province in 1829.[107]

Neither did changes in the number and location of the polls which

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[104]Rusk and Stucker, "The Effect of the Southern System," 199.

[105]Garner, The Franchise and Politics, 76. See also: Constitutional Act, 1791 31 George 3, c. 31, Documents Relating, 1759-1791, 694-708; Statutes of Lower Canada, 1793 33 George 3, c. 7; 1797 37 George 3, c. 5; 1798 38 George 3, c. 5; 1800 40 George 3, c. 1; 1803 43 George 3, c. 5; 1807 47 George 3, c. 16; 1822 2 George 4, c. 4; 1824 4 George 4, c. 8; 1825 5 George 4, c. 33.

[106]Documents Relating, 1791-1818, 76. See also: Quebec Gazette, 24 May 1792.

[107]Statutes of Lower Canada, 1829 9 George 4, c. 73, s. 1.

Table 3-5: Location of Poll, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836

Year	Description in Pollbook and/or Newspapers
1792	unknown
1796	Bishop's Palace
1800	Cathedral Church
1804	Front of Bishop's Palace
1805	New Court House "in apartment where Quarter Sessions held"
1808	Bishop's Palace
1809	unknown
1810	Court House
1814	Court of Bishop's Palace
1815	Magistrate's Room, Court House
1816	Court House, in the Magistrate's Room
1820-M*	Court of Bishop's Palace
1820-J	Court of Bishop's Palace
1824	Court of Bishop's Palace
1827	Court of Bishop's Palace
1829	Court of Bishop's Palace
1830	Bishop's Palace
1834	near the new building for holding the sittings of the House of Assembly
1836	old market near Roman Catholic Cathedral on the Haymarket, at the Garrison Library door

Sources: See table 3-2, p. 106.
*-M=March; -J=July

occurred provincially in 1800, 1807, 1822, 1825, 1829, 1832, 1833 and 1834 affect the voting behaviour in the Upper-Town constituency, a geographically small and urban electoral unit.[108] Throughout most of this period the polling took place at one location, the Court of the Bishop's Palace, easily accessible on St. Louis Street to all potential Upper-Town voters (see table 3-5, p. 113). The lack of recorded complaints in the newspapers regarding the location of the poll suggests that the inhabitants found the Court of the

[108] Statutes of Lower Canada 1800 40 George 3, c. 1, s. 9; 1807 47 George 3, c. 16, s. 9; 1822 2 George 4, c. 4, s. 12; 1825 5 George 4, c. 33, s. 10; 1829 9 George 4, c. 73, s. 3; 1832 2 William 4, c. 46, s. preamble-3; 1834 4 William 4, c. 6, s. 1-4.

Bishop's Palace an acceptable polling location. The Quebec newspapers included only one account of dissatisfaction with the location of the poll in an Upper-Town election. This occurred during the by-election of 1836, when the returning officer shifted the poll's location away from the Bishop's Palace. In this case, the commentators found the "place of election" selected to be inappropriate, not in terms of accessibility, but in terms of inconvenience as it was "on a great thoroughfare." The editor of the Quebec Mercury complained:

> Whatever may have been the reason for removing the place of election from the square in front of the Parliament buildings where it was usually held, the place now appointed seems to have been most injudiciously chosen and to combine all the inconveniences which could be found against a place for a popular meeting of such a such nature. It is one a great thoroughfare, and the constant passing of sleighs, [etc] occasional an almost constant motion in the crowd, whilst the jingling of the horsebells continually interrupted the Speakers, as did the drum and bugle calls in the Barrack, immediately in front of which the hustings were erected.[109]

Etienne Parent of Le Canadien agreed with the Mercury's assessment and called for a change of venue after the first day of polling. Parent pointed to the heavy traffic and the nearby taverns which, he believed, could cause further difficulties. He also suggested that the problems associated with the location of the poll could have been avoided if the returning officer had

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[109]Quebec Mercury, 22 March 1836.

followed the laws requiring the polls to be situated near a church.[110] Parent stated:

> Le poll a été élevé sur le site de l'ancien marché à foin, endroit qui est bien loin d'offrir tous les avantages que présentait la place devant la chambre d'Assemblée. Outre l'encombrement résultant de la tenue du marché dans la matinée, c'est une des voies les plus fréquentées de cette ville, et le pire de tout, ce lieu est bordé d'auberges. Le choix de lieu a été fait, nous dit-on, pour éviter toute difficulté par la suite, la loi requérant que le poll se tienne près de l'église. Du consentement des Candidats et des électeurs, le poll pourrait, ce nous semble, sans inconvénient être transporté ailleurs, si la chose devenait nécessaire pour le maintien du bon ordre.[111]

The election of 1836 was, however, the exception; questioning over the selection of a polling place did not arise prior to 1836. Thus, the location of the poll and legislative changes concerning time and place of polls had minimal effects on voter turnout in Upper-Town Quebec.

Basically electoral laws dealing directly with the franchise remained unchanged. The section of the Constitutional Act regarding nationality was

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[110]Parent was referring to section 11 of "An Act to repeal certain Acts therein - mentioned, and to consolidate the laws relating to the Election of Members to serve in the Assembly of this Province, and to the duty of Returning Officers, and for other purposes, " which received royal assent in March 1825. Section 11 stated: "And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, the the election, for the Counties aforesaid [a list of 21 Counties], shall be held near the Churches of the Parishes herein before fixed upon for holding the same in the open air, or in some buildings near the Churches, provided such buildings be not a Tavern or Ale House, and that free access be had thereto every Elector; and where there is no Church, then at the most public place of the Parish, or Place fixed on for such Election by this Act" (Statutes of Lower Canada, 1825 George 4, c. 33, s. 11). A reading of this section leaves the location of a poll in Upper-Town Quebec up in the air as the section in question and the preceding one does not refer to the city or town constituencies. Furthermore, by using the term "near the Churches", the section left the door open to any location in Upper-Town Quebec.

[111]Le Canadien, Wednesday, 23 March 1836.

in effect throughout the period.[112] The age requirement established in 1791 also was not altered; only those twenty-one years or older could participate in the voting.[113] Similarly, those committing a felon or treason continued to be excluded from the franchise.[114] To this list of disenfranchised inhabitants, the Assembly added anyone who perjured themselves in order to take part in the voting procedure. This disqualification first became law in 1822[115] and was further clarified in March 1825. Section 19 of this statute declared:

> if any Elector or Person taking the Oath or Oaths, Affirmation or Affirmations herein before mentioned, shall be guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury or of falsely affirming or if any person shall bribe or corrupt another to take such Oath or Oaths or falsely affirm, whereby he shall be guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury, and be thereof convicted in due course of Law, such Electors or Persons shall respectively incur the pains and penalties which by Law are imposed or inflicted in cases or wilful and corrupt perjury, or of subordination thereof, and be incapable of voting at any Election, or of being elected, or of sitting or voting in the House of Assembly.[116]

The property qualifications put in place by the Constitutional Act

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[112]Constitutional Act, 1791 31 George 3, c. 31, s. 22, Documents Relating, 1759-1791, 699-700.

[113]Ibid. See also: Statutes of Lower Canada, 1800 40 George 3, c. 1, Oath No. 7; 1807 47 George 3, c. 16, Schedule No. 7; 1822 4 George 4, c. 4, Schedule No. 1; 1825 4 George 4, c. 33, Schedule, Oaths to be Administered to Voters, Number one.

[114]Constitutional Act, 1791 31 George 3, c. 31, s. 23, Documents Relating, 1759-1791, 700.

[115]Statutes of Lower Canada, 1822 2 George 4, c. 4, s. 9.

[116]Statutes of Lower Canada, 1825 5 George 4, c. 33, s. 19. Prior to 1822, the penalty from perjurious actions during an election did not include disenfranchisement. Beginning in 1800 the guilty party was subject only to "the pain and penalties inflicted by the Law inforce in this Province, against wilful and corrupt perjury or of subordination thereof" (Statutes of Lower Canada, 1800 40 George 3, c. 1, s. 16. See also: Statutes of Lower Canada, 1807 47 George 3, c. 16, s. 16.).

remained the same with only minor adjustments made over the years. References to the persons in towns or townships in section 20 applied directly to the Upper-Town inhabitants. Property owners required "for their Use and Benefit of a Dwelling House and Lot of Ground" in Upper-Town Quebec and "being of the yearly Value of Five Pounds Sterling, or upwards...." In addition to "having paid One Year's Rent for the Dwelling House in which they shall have so resided, at the Rate of Ten Pounds Sterling per annum, or upwards", tenants had to be resident "within the said Town or Townships for the space of Twelve Calendar Months next before the Date of the Writ of Summons for the Election."[117] In the next forty years, the Assembly made only small adjustments and clarifications to the property laws to counter attempts at circumventing the meaning and spirit of the law. In 1807, a section was added to contend with fraudulently obtaining ownership in order to vote. In that regard the oath-taker now had to declare that "my title to the said house and lot of ground is not nominal or fictitious, created or reserved in me in order to enable me to vote at this Election...."[118] The Assembly in 1822 also passed legislation which distinguished between those using their property as a residence and those using it for business. It stated that "any person who shall only have within the limits of any of the places aforesaid [this included Upper-Town Quebec], a Counting House or office, or other places used as such, and who shall not actually reside there, shall not be entitled to vote at such Election."[119]

Finally, the Assembly also dealt with the issue of co-ownership of property. In 1834, it appended to an act dealing with controverted elections a section which disenfranchised co-proprietors if their share of the property did not have an annual value of five pounds. The proviso making a distinction between co-proprietors and co-heirs stated:

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[117]Constitutional Act, 1791 31 George 3, c. 31, s. 20, Documents Relating, 1759-1791, 699.

[118]Statutes of Lower Canada, 1807 47 George 3, c. 16, s. 20 and Schedule No. 7.

[119]Statutes of Lower Canada, 1822 2 George 4, c. 4, s. 8.

> nor shall any of any number of persons being proprietors in common (par individis) of any immovable property, vote at any such Election as being qualified by his undivided share of such property unless such persons held such property as co-heirs, nor unless the share or portion belonging to each of such co-heirs, out of the net annual value amount to at least forty shillings sterling, if such property be in the country, or five pounds sterling, if the same be within any City, Town or Borough in this Province, over and above all rents and dues payable out of or affecting such property as provided by the Act therein mentioned.[120]

This last provision was in effect for the elections of 1834 and 1836,[121] but it too affected only a very small percentage of the potential voters. The assessment rolls reveal that the passing of the act in March 1834 disqualified few property owners in Upper-Town Quebec (see table 3-6, p. 118).

Table 3-6: Number and Percentage of Co-Property Owners with Assessments Less Than Five Pounds, Upper-Town Quebec, 1834-1836

Assessment Value (£)	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
0-4	1	0.1	6	0.2
5+	3692	99.9	3785	99.8
Total	3693	100.0	3791	100.0

Sources: AVQ, Assessment Rolls, Upper-Town Quebec, 1834, 1836

Thus, the Lower-Canadian electoral laws touching the franchise changed little in the forty-year period after 1791. The minor alterations, qualifications

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[120] Statutes of Lower Canada, 1834 4 William 4, c. 28, s. 27.

[121] These new property restrictions disappeared when the Colonial Office disallowed the act because it disapproved of another clause. See Garner, The Franchise and Politics, 78 and see p. 98.

and clarifications only affected a minute proportion of the potential voting population. This suggests that the increases and decreases of the voter turnout in this period are not directly or indirectly attributable to changing electoral laws in Lower Canada. An analysis of the American party system in the first half of the nineteenth century suggests the involvement of another factor; William Chambers and Philip Davis conclude that there is a strong relationship between the high levels of voter turnout and the closeness of an election.[122] An examination of the Upper-Town elections in terms of competitiveness also reveals that close elections stimulated a relatively higher percentage of voter turnout.

Our study uses three indicators of competitiveness: the length of an election; the percentage of voters objected to by candidates; and the closeness of the election results. In regard to the duration of the polling, the Assembly first passed a regulation in 1800 which allowed the elections to be closed if all the candidates or their representatives agreed to such an action or if a vote was not cast in a one-hour period. Section 11 of "An Act to provide Returning Officers for knights, Citizens and Burgesses to serve in Assembly, and regulating Elections to be held for that purpose" declared:

> nothing in this Act contained, shall extend or be construed to extend to prevent any Returning Officer from closing any Election to be held in virtue of this Act, by and with the consent of all the Candidates or the Representative or Representatives of such Candidate or Candidates, then present at any period of such Election, whether the same be at first or second place fixed for such Election, if no vote has been given in the space of one hour preceding.[123]

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[122]Chambers and Davis, "Party, Competition, and Mass Participation," 179.

[123]Statutes of Lower Canada, 1800 40 George 3, c. 1, s. 11.

Thus these regulations which remained unchanged throughout this period[124] never directly fixed the number of days of polling: the poll could be closed if the candidates agreed or if an elector failed to appear to vote for a period of an hour. The only other limiting factor was "the date set for the return of the writs" which the Constitutional Act fixed at fifty days.[125] This third limitation never affected the polling which took place in Upper-Town Quebec (see table 3-7, p. 121).

With these relatively unrestricted limits, candidates in hotly contested elections could keep the polls open until they exhausted their supply of voters. In the Montreal-West by-election of 1832, for example, the voting continued for twenty-three days.[126] Strategists in Upper-Town Quebec were also aware that an extra day of polling might turn around a flagging campaign. During the election of 1829, for example, the Quebec Mercury implored the supporters of its favoured candidate, George Vanfelson, to continue to appear at the polls. After the first day's voting, the Mercury called upon Vanfelson's friends to "be on the alert and increase the majority

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[124]See Statutes of Lower Canada, 1807 47 George 3, c. 16, s. 11; 1825 5 George 4, c. 33, s. 12. For counties with two polling stations, the Assembly imposed an additional limit: "In all cases, where an Election is to held in a County, where two places are fixed upon or appointed by this Act for holding the Poll, the Returning Officer may not hold the said Poll more than four days at the first place, and the said Poll shall be held open eight hours, at the least, each day, between eight o'clock in the morning and six o'clock in the evening" (Statutes of Lower Canada, 1800 40 George 3, 1800, c. 1, s. 10; 1897 47 George 3, c. 16, s. 10). In 1822, the four-day limit for the first poll in a county "when two Polls are required to be held" was extended six and in all counties the minimal eight hours of polling had to be completed between 8:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. (Statutes of Lower Canada, 1822 2 George 4, c. 4, s. 11, 12. See also: 1825 5 George 4, c. 33, s. 12).

[125]Garner, The Franchise and Politics 197. Section 18 of the Constitutional Act declared "that such Writs shall be made returnable within Fifty Days at farthest from the Day on which they shall bear Date" (Constitutional Act, 1791 31 George 3, c. 31, s. 18, Documents Relating, 1759-1791, 698-699). In 1802, the Assembly extended the period of time for the County of Gaspé because of "the remote and local situation" to one hundred days (Statutes of Lower Canada, 1802 42 George 3, c. 3). In 1829, the Assembly formed the new county of Bonaventure from part of the county of Gaspé and the new law also gave Bonaventure one hundred days to return the writ (Statutes of Lower Canada, 1829 9 George 4, c. 73).

[126]F. Galarneau, "L'élection partielle du quartier-ouest de Montréal en 1832: analyse politico-sociale, Revue de l'histoire de l'Amérique française 32(March 1979): 571.

Table 3-7: Date Writ Issued, Return Date, First and Last Day of Polling and Number of Days of Polling, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836

Year	Day of Writ	Return Date	Polling Begins	Polling Ends	Polling Days
1792	unknown	unknown	18 June	20 June	3
1796	3 June	20 July	17 June	17 June	1
1800	17 June	28 July	30 June	3 July	4
1804	18 June	6 Aug.	2 July	2 July	0
1805	20 Nov.	unknown	11 Dec.	14 Dec.	4
1808	30 May	18 July?	24 May	27 May	3
1809	5 Oct.	23 Nov.	19 Oct.	19 Oct.	1
1810	12 March	21 April	2 April	3 April	2
1814	25 March	13 May	14 April	18 April	3ab
1815	27 Jan.	unknown	14 Feb.	14 Feb.	0*
1816	8 March	25 April	21 March	23 March	3
1820M	22 Feb.	11 April	9 March	14 March	5a
1820J	6 June	25 July	3 July	3 July	0*
1824	unknown	28 Aug.	30 July	6 Aug.	8b
1827	6 July?	25 Aug.	7 Aug.	15 Aug.	8a
1829	4 June	unknown	23 June	30 June	8a
1830	13 Sept.	26 Oct.	28 Sept.	28 Sept.	0*
1834	11 Oct.	22 Nov.	22 Oct.	29 Oct.	6ab
1836	unknown	unknown	22 March	24 March	3

Sources: See table 3-2, p. 106.
*=no poll; a- no polling on Sunday; b=no polling on last day; c=no polling Thursday

he has maintained throughout this day's polling."[127] The results of five days of polling left Vanfelson trailing his opponent by forty-one votes; the Mercury signaled a future victory for the former Attorney-General. It reported:

> The election, which, during the first days, was carried on rather languidly, is beginning to excite more interest: on the second day [24 June] Mr. Duval got ahead of his opponent, and has since maintained his superiority of nearly 60 votes; but today [27 June], Mr. Vanfelson's friends having been more on the alert, the majority of Mr. Duval is reduced to 41. It is now expected that Mr. Vanfelson will persevere, and sanguine hopes are still entertained of his ultimate success.[128]

Vanfelson's withdrawal from the campaign before the sixth day of polling began saddened the editors of the Mercury; they attributed his electoral loss to public apathy.

> We regret that Mr. Vanfelson did not meet with the support he might naturally have expected, but there was an apathy shown throughout very prejudicial to this gentlemen's interest....The prevailing sentiment amongst the English appeared to be that as both candidates were Canadians and the late member also a Canadian, it would be as well to leave the Canadian electors to choose their new members amongst themselves; on the policy of this proceeding we do not pretend to decide, but we regret that the choice of the people has not fallen on Mr. Vanfelson.[129]

The importance of keeping the polls open in a close election is also underscored in the by-election of 1836. Joseph Painchaud, the patriote-party candidate, resigned unexpectedly on the morning prior to the fourth day of voting leaving his supporters aghast. With the opponent leading by only

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[127]Quebec Mercury, 23 June, 1829.

[128]Quebec Mercury, 27 June 1829.

[129]Quebec Mercury, 30 June 1829.

fifty-eight of the total votes cast by the 684 electors, the fewest number of voters since 1824,[130] the headlines of Le Canadien screamed "CLOTURE EXTRAORDINAIRE ET INATTENDUE." The editors provided the following description of the "unexpected" turn of events:

> Ce matin après son arrivée au poll, où il avait été conduit par une escorte nombreuse et respectable, et où il se trouvait 150 à 200 électeurs qui pour la plupart avaient abandonné leur ouvrage pour venir voter, le Dr. PAINCHAUD a fait à la foule Assemblée l'étrange déclaration qu'il se retirait et il s'est retiré [...] Quant à la conduite de M. PAINCHAUD dans cette affaire, elle a excité dans tous les esprits un sentiment que nous n'avons besoin de qualifier: elle est vraiment inexplicable, quand il savait qu'il y avait au poll un nombre considérable d'électeurs, qui auraient en peu de temps terminé l'élection d'une manière qui eu [?] été plus honorable pour lui. Le docteur a dit dans son adresse aux électeurs, à l'ouverture de l'élection, que sa vie politique était aussi courte qu'insignificante. Nous craignons qu'ils n'ait de longtemps à dire autre chose de sa vie politique.

Le Canadien insisted that if the polling had continued, Painchaud would have gained an important victory for Papineau's réformistes. It rationalized:

> Le Dr. Painchaud avait perdu une cinquantaine de voix chacun des deux premiers jours, mais le troisième, il a gagné ce même nombre de voix sur son antagoniste, qui, chose digne d'attention n'a reçu que 57 voix ce jour-là, après en avoir reçu 159 le premier et 154 le second jour. C'est là un signe à peu près certain que les constitutionalistes étaient arrivés au bout de leurs forces. Il y avait 300 voix au moins à donner du côté des réformistes, et d'après l'union et la co-opération qui venaient de s'établir parmi eux, la victoire n'était plus incertaine.[131]

Thus keeping the polls open or forcing their closure was an important campaign strategy in Upper-Town elections. In turn this influenced the number of voters who actually voted. An early closing of the polls prevented

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[130]See table 3-2, p. 106.

[131]Le Canadien, 26 March 1836.

Table 3-8: Comparison of the Length of Election and the Percentage of Voter Turnout, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836

No. of Days	% year	% year	% year	% year	% year
1	7.6 1809				
2	22.9 1810				
3	42.9 1792	28.2 1808	42.2 1814	25.5 1816	22.3 1836
4	43.5 1800	32.3 1805			
5	46.2 1820M				
6	27.4 1824	32.6 1829	33.5 1834		
8	45.4 1827				

Sources: See table 3-2, p. 106.
M=March 1820; %=percentage of voter turnout;Year=Year of Election

potential voters from casting their votes and this directly affected the degree of voter turnout. In 1809, the poll was open for less than one day; voter turnout out was at its lowest, 7.6% (see table 3-8, p. 124). The following year, the voting continued for two days allowing a relatively low percentage of voters to participate, 22.9%. In contrast, the polls stayed open for eight days in 1827 allowing nearly half the eligible electors to vote. Keeping the polls open, however, did not always guarantee a high percentage of voter turnout. Six days of polling took place in three elections, but only about a third of the electorate voted: 22.4% (1824), 32.6% (1829) and 33.5% (1834). Further, over forty percent of voter turnout was recorded in elections which lasted three (1792, 1814), four (1800) and five (March 1820) days of polling. Thus, while the duration of the election clarifies the low voter turnout of some of the elections (1809 and 1810) and the higher voter turnout of others (1827 and March 1820), the number of days of polling does not always explain the fluctuations of voter turnout.

Another measure of competitiveness is the percentage of voters objected to by the candidates. Since 1800, returning officers were authorized to record in the pollbook those voters who were "objected to". Section 13 of the law

Table 3-9: Number and Percentage of Voters "Objected to", Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Year	Number of Voters	Number of Voters-a Objected to	Percentage of Voters Objected to
1814	581	43	7.4
1816	386	1	0.3
1824	623	4	0.6
1827	1216	122	10.0
1829*	910	36	4.0
1834	1021	170	16.7
1836*	684	131	19.2

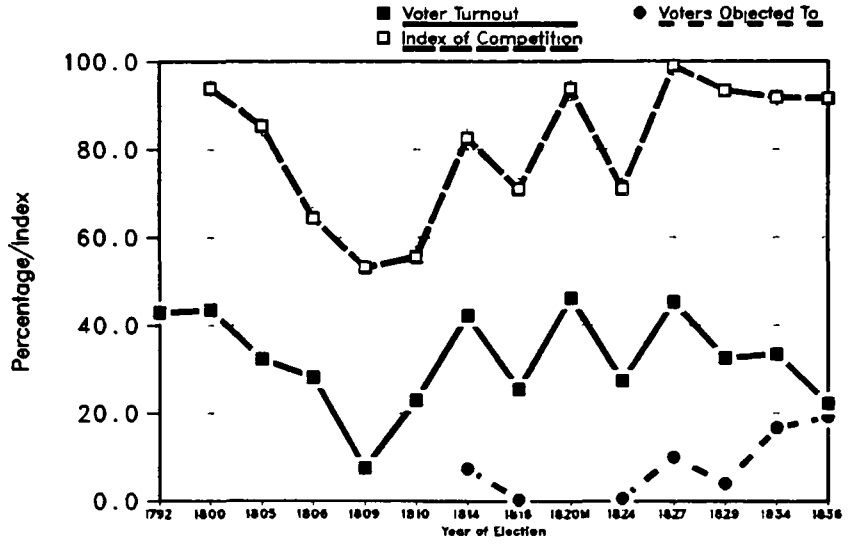
Sources: ANQ, Pollbooks, Upper-Town Quebec, 1816, 1824, 1827, 1829, 1834, 1836; ASQ, Pollbook, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814
*=by-election; a=excludes those "objected to" who did not vote

passed by the Assembly in 1800 read: "and in every case of objection by a Candidate or the Representative of a Candidate, to the vote of any person the said Returning Officer or the person by him authorised to aid and assist as a Clerk, shall enter in the Poll Book opposite the Elector's name, the word 'objected to.'"[132] Thus, during the election each candidate had the right to question the validity of an individual's right to vote. In a close election when every vote counted it was advantageous for a candidate to have his opponents' voting supporters disqualified. This strategy was not foreign to Upper-Town electoral campaigns; the objection of female voters in 1827 helped secure Andrew Stuart's victory over Amable Berthelot in 1827.[133] More generally an examination of the pollbook records show that objecting to voters was a common practice after 1810. Although little used in the elections of 1816 and 1824, between four and ten per cent of the voters

[132]Statutes of Lower Canada, 1800 40 George 3, c. 1, s. 13 and Schedule No. 5. See also: 1807 47 George 3, c. 16, sec. 13 and Schedule No. 5; 1825 5 George 4, c. 33, sec. 13 and Schedule No. 5.

[133]See p. 94.

Figure 3-2: Comparison of Voter Turnout, Index of Competitiveness and Percentage of Voters "Objected To", Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836



Sources See table 3-2, 106

were objected to in the elections of 1814, 1827 and 1829 (see table 3-9, p. 125). After the 1830, the candidates and their representatives turned to this technique more frequently with 16.7% objected voters in 1834 and 19.2% in 1836. Considering the number of voters objected to as a measure of competitiveness suggests that until the 1830s the more competitive an election, that is the greater the percentage of objected voters, the greater the voter turnout (see figure 3-2, p. 126). In 1814 with a mean voter turnout of

42.2%, the percentage of voters objected to by candidates was 7.4%. In the next two elections this percentage dropped off (0.3% in 1816 and 0.7% in 1824), matching a similar drop in voter turnout (25.5% in 1816 and 27.4% in 1824). The election of 1827 saw the percentage of objected voters increase to 10.0%; the voter turnout rose to 45.4%. The percentage of objected voters fell to 4.0% in 1829 with a corresponding decrease in voter turnout (32.6%). In the 1830s, the percentage of objected voters increased substantially to over fifteen per cent; but there was no parallel increase in voter turnout. The election of 1834 witnessed a relatively high percentage of objected voters (16.7%) with only a relatively medium level of voter turnout (33.5%). An even greater degree of competitiveness occurred in 1836 with 19.2% of objected voters, but only 22.3% of the eligible electors voted..

The third measure of competitiveness, the competition index indicates that the relationship between a high level of voter turnout and competition was strong. The statistical definition of competition is the difference between the percentage of the votes received by the two candidates vying for the last available seat in an election, subtracted from 100. In a general election, the index uses the percentage of the second- and third-place candidates, while in a by-election it considers the results of the first two candidates. Consider, for example, the Upper-Town general election of 1800 with three candidates campaigning for the two seats in the Legislative Assembly.[134] Jean-Antoine Panet easily won the first seat with 501 votes (see table 3-10, p. 128); the battle for second place was much closer, with A.J. Raby finally defeating the returning member, William Grant, 299 to 265. A total of 564 votes were cast for Raby and Grant, of which 53.0% were for Raby and 47.0% for Grant. The difference in the percentage of support received by the two contending candidates is 6.0%, which when subtracted from 100 leaves a competition index of 94.0 (see table 3-11, p.

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[134]Upper-Town Quebec was represented in the Legislative Assembly by two members and each voter had two votes. Voters could not vote twice for the same candidate, but had the option of not using their second vote. Note that the votes were not ranked. The pollbooks do not indicate, in other words, a first- or second-choice candidate.

Table 3-10: Candidates, Number of Votes Per Candidate, and Total Votes Cast, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836

Year	Elected	N	Elected	N	Defeated	N	Defeated	N	Total
1792	W Grant	230	J-A Panet	x	G Allsopp	x	L Germain Jr	x	492
1796	W Grant	x	J-A Panet	x	A Menut	x			unknown
1800	J-A Panet	501	A-J Raby	299	W Grant	265			1065
1804	W Grant	a	J-A Panet	a					no poll
1805*	J Blackwood	272	J-A Panet	sm	J-L Borgia	203	J-F Perrault	7	482
1808	J Blackwood	384	C Denechaud	282	J-A Panet	134			800
1809	C Denechaud	94	J Blackwood	91	J Young	33			218
1810	J Irvine	331	C Denechaud	285	J Blackwood	110			729
1814	C Denechaud	436	J-A Panet	370	G Browne	260	J Fletcher	13	1079
1815*	C Denechaud	sm	G Vanfelson	a					no poll
1816	G Vanfelson	310	C Denechaud	258	J Flectcher	142			710
1820M	C Denechaud	607	R Vallieres	489	W B Coltman	432	A Iffland	15	b-1544
1820J	A Stuart	a	R Vallieres	a					no poll
1824	R Vallieres	427	A Stuart	369	F W Primrose	203	J-F Perrault	119	1118
1827	R Vallieres	738	A Stuart	593	A Berthelot	582	G Vanfelson	300	2213
1829*	J-F Duval	185	A Stuart	sm	G Vanfelson	425			910
1830	J-F Duval	a	A Stuart	a					no poll
1834	R-E Caron	734	A Berthelot	555	A Stuart	470			1759
1836*	A Stuart	371	A Berthelot	sm	J Painchaud	313			684

Sources See table 3-2, p 106

*=by-election (1 vote per voter), a acclaimed, sm=sitting member, x=unknown, 1820M=March 1820, 1820J=July 1820, Vallières=Vallières de Saint-Réal

b=total includes 1 vote for defeated candidate, M Hart

Table 3-11: Index of Competition, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836

Year	A	B	A+B	A	B	A−B=C	100-C
	N	N	N	%	%	Dif.	Score
1792	unknown						
1796	unknown						
1800	299	265	564	53.0	47.0	6.0	94.0
1804	no poll						
1805*	272	203	475	57.3	42.7	14.6	85.4
1808	282	134	416	67.8	32.2	35.6	64.4
1809	91	33	124	73.4	26.6	46.8	53.2
1810	285	110	395	72.2	27.8	44.4	55.6
1814	370	260	630	58.7	41.3	17.4	82.6
1815*	no poll						
1816	258	142	400	64.5	35.5	29.0	71.0
1820 March	489	432	921	53.1	46.9	6.2	93.8
1820 July	no poll						
1824	369	203	572	64.5	35.5	29.0	71.0
1827	593	582	1175	50.5	49.5	1.0	99.0
1829*	485	425	910	53.3	46.7	6.6	93.4
1830	no poll						
1834	555	470	1025	54.1	45.9	8.2	91.8
1836*	371	313	684	54.2	45.8	8.4	91.6

Sources: See table 3-3, p. 107.
NB: In general elections, candidates A and B are the second- and third-place candidates; in by-elections (*), candidates A and B are the first- and second-place candidates (see table 3-10, p. 128).
*=by-election; 1820M=March 1820; 1820J=July 1820; Dif.=Difference
For definition of Index of Competition, see p. 127.

129).[135]

Analyzing the Upper-Town elections in terms of closeness of election results reveals that some elections were more hotly contested than others. After the relatively competitive elections of 1800 (index score = 94.0) and 1805 (85.4), Panet's defeat in 1808 left the Upper-Town constituency to the Bureaucratic-party candidates, resulting in relatively quiet elections in 1808 (64.4), 1809 (53.2) and 1810 (55.6) (see table 3-11, p. 129). More competitive was the election of 1814 with an index competition score of 82.6: this corresponded with Panet's return to Upper-Town Quebec and his election. Panet's resignation in 1815 left the field open to George Vanfelson, an independent, and Claude Dénéchaud and John Fletcher, Bureaucratic-party standard bearers and resulted in a drop in the competition index to 71.0. In the election of March 1820 the parti canadien, in the person of Vallières, challenged the Bureaucratic party's decade-long hold on Upper-Town Quebec. With more voters than ever before appearing on the hustings,[136] the intensity and closeness of the election is reflected in the competition index, with a score of 93.8. The Canadian party's new-found strength carried it easily through the election of 1824 with the Bureaucratic party's inability to find strong candidates to resist the Vallières-Stuart campaign. The competition index slipped to 71.0.

The next four elections saw election fever at a pitch as the moderate patriotes, Papineau's adherents and the Bureaucratic party followers now led

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[135]For example, if one candidate received 52.0% of the vote and the other 48.0%, the competition index would be high (96.0). This is an index developed by Chambers and Davis (Chambers and Davis, "Party, Competition, and Mass Participation," 179-180). For discussion of more elaborate methods of measuring electoral competition see: John A. Ferejohn and Morris P. Fioriana, "The Paradox of Not Voting: A Decision Theoretical Analysis," American Political Science Review, 68(June 1974): 525-536; David Elkins, "The Measurement of Party Competition," American Political Science Review, 68(June 1974): 682-700.

[136]Quebec Gazette, 29 October 1834. See also: Montreal Gazette, 31 October 34; Le Canadien, 31 October 1834.

Table 3-12: Political Affiliation of Elected, Defeated and Declining Candidates, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836

Year	Canadien	Mod. Can.	Unknown	Mod. Bur.	Bureau.
1792	Panet-1				Grant-1
	Germain-2				Allsopp-2
1796	Panet-1				Grant-1
	Menut-2				
1800	Panet-1		Raby-1		Grant-2
1804	Panet-1				Grant-1
					DeBonne-3
1805*	(Panet)				Blackwood-1
	Borgia-2				Perrault-2
1808	Panet-2				Blackwood-1
					Denechaud-1
1809					Blackwood-1
					Dénéchaud-1
					Young-2
1810					Dénéchaud-1
					Irvine-1
					Blackwood-2
					Hay-3
1814	Panet-1				Dénechaud-1
					Browne-2
					Fletcher-2
1815*			Vanfelson-1		(Dénéchaud)
1816			Vanfelson-1		Dénéchaud-1
					Fletcher-2
1820	Vallières-1		Iffland-2		Denéchaud-1
March					Coltman-2
					Hart-2
					Marshall-3
1820	Vallières-1				Denéchaud-3
July	Stuart-1				
1824		Vallières-1			Primrose-2
		Stuart-1			Perrault-2
		L. Panet-3			
1827	Berthelot-2	Vallières-1	Vanfelson-2	Stuart-1	
1829*		Duval-1	Vanfelson-2	(Stuart)	
		Berthelot-3			
1830		Duval-1		Stuart-1	Forsyth-3
		Berthelot-3			
1834	Berthelot-1			Stuart-2	
	Caron-1			Duval-3	
1836*	(Berthelot)			Stuart-1	
	Painchaud-2				
	Légaré-3				

Sources: Too numerous to cite, but include pollbooks, Quebec newspapers and biographical sources.

*=by-election; ( )=Sitting Member; 1=Elected; 2=Defeated; 3=Declined to run or withdrew before polling began

Canadien=Canadien and Patriote; Mod.=Moderate; Bur.=Bureau.=Bureaucratic and Constitutional.

by Andrew Stuart fought one another for political control of the constituency. The competition indexes soared with scores of 99.0 (1827), 93.4 (1829), 91.8 (1834) and 91.6 (1836). These consistently high degrees of competitiveness distinguishes the 1827-1836 period from the earlier era and suggests that 1827 marked a new stage in Upper-Town politics characterized by intense campaigning that eventually erupted into the post-election disturbances of 1834 and the three nights of rioting in 1836[137] which led to the patriote candidate's resignation "dans la vue de prévenir un massacre."[138]

An examination of the relationship between voter turnout and closeness of elections reveals that higher levels of voter turnout corresponded with those elections with the higher competition index scores. In other words, closely contested elections induced a greater voter turnout. This was particularly true for the pre-1827 period (see figure 3-2, p. 126). The fluctuations of voter turnout paralleled the increases and decreases of electoral competitiveness. For example, in the four elections from 1800 to 1809, the competition index fell from 94.0 to 85.4 to 64.4 to 53.2 while voter turnout correspondingly dropped from 43.5% to 32.3% to 28.2% to 7.6%. From 1810 to 1824 voter turnout closely followed the vacillations of the competition index, rising in 1814 (voter turnout = 42.2% and index-competition score = 82.6) and 1820 (46.2% and 93.8), and descending in 1810 (22.9% and 55.6), 1816 (25.5% and 71.0) and 1824 (27.4% and 71.0). From 1827 to 1836, the period of relatively higher intensity, differences in the degree of competitiveness were more subtle, but still influenced voter turnout. The hotly contested election of 1827 resulted in the highest competition-index score of 99.0. With a drop to 93.4 and 91.8 in 1829 and 1834, voter turnout also fell, from 45.4% in 1827 to 32.6% and 33.5%. The

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[137]Le Canadien, 28 March 1836.

[138]Le Canadien, 28 March 1836; See also: Le Canadien, 23 March 1836; Quebec Gazette, 23, 25, 28 March 1836; Quebec Mercury, 24, 26, 29, 31 March 1836; La Minerve, 28, 31 March 1836; Montreal Gazette, 29 March 1836.

hypothesis that close elections brought about high voter turnout does not hold for the by-election of 1836. With a score of 91.6, a similar degree of voter turnout found in 1829 and 1834 (32.6% and 33.5%) is to be expected. This was not the case; voter turnout plunged to 22.3%, unmatched since 1810. Yet the sudden resignation of one of the two candidates in a riot-filled campaign after only three days of polling makes the low percentage of voter turnout comprehensible. More importantly, the results of the election of 1836, when viewed in this light, do not undermine the general contention that the link between close elections and relatively higher voter turnout was direct and strong.

3.4. Conclusion

British parliamentarians provided Lower Canada with a relatively open franchise - in the case of Upper-Town Quebec about one in five adult male household heads were eligible to vote. Nevertheless, the Constitutional Act of 1791 did not translate into a highly politically active population. Constituting from five to ten per cent of the household heads, women did not cast a single vote in Upper-Town Quebec elections. Furthermore, never more than one-half of the adult male household heads voted. Indeed for the fourteen elections between 1792 and 1836, one-third is a more representative figure. This rate of voter turnout compares unfairly to the estimates for nineteenth-century rural Lower Canada, Ontario, Britain and the United States.

Our analysis points to the "disenfranchisement" of two substantial groups in Lower-Canadian society: female household heads and urban-dwelling tenants. Women voters did not exist in Upper-Town Quebec. Non-legal barriers prevented them from taking part in the voting process. Whether this was the case in the majority of Lower-Canadian constituencies is beyond the scope of this study, but certainly the complete lack of female participants in Upper-Town Quebec underlines the need to re-examine the role of women in Lower-Canadian politics. Our study shows that the image of a vast army of women voters requires refinement. If the Upper-Town Quebec experience is at

all representative, then it is clear that social restrictions made it difficult for women to vote. Eligible female household heads were part of the political fringe, only called upon in closely fought elections when a single precious vote may have determined the outcome. By legal default, women were allowed to vote, but this was at the pleasure of whomever held sway in the Legislative Assembly. Thus, once their support was no longer guaranteed, the "rights" of women voters were legislated away.

Male household heads renting a dwelling in an urban constituency composed the second class of the disenfranchised. Although it is difficult to pinpoint the percentage of tenants who did not meet the legal requirements, it is clear that this group was increasing in size, as British immigration added many economically troubled residents to the Quebec region. The growing disenfranchisement particularly affected anglophone and Irish residents. Is it a coincidence that as the number of franchise-deprived inhabitants rose the intensity of the elections increased, resulting in the disturbances of 1834 and the riots of 1836? One possible explanation of the increased violence is that the frustration of disenfranchisement led voteless citizens to participate in the only way open to them - extra-legal activities. With the widespread economic difficulties, this group became more susceptible to the pressures and manipulations of those contending for political control in the constituency.

The riots which marred the polling of 1836 were indicative of the intense campaigning which began with the election of 1827. Our study suggests that elections heated up when the polling results were close and this in turn influenced the percentage of eligible electors who voted. With only minor adjustments and clarifications to the electoral legislation set out in 1791, the fluctuations of voter turnout mirrored the degree of competitiveness. Close elections brought out more voters and, therefore, an increase of voter turnout. When victory may have depended on a handful of votes, election strategy included keeping the poll open for as long as possible, "objecting to" or calling into question your opponents' supporters' right to vote and rounding up as many potential voters as possible.

Analysis of voter turnout in Upper-Town Quebec underscores the importance of differentiating between legal opportunity and political action. This chapter has attempted to explain the fluctuations in voter turnout by demonstrating the relationship between high voter turnout and close, competitive elections. The next chapter considers the role of micro-political factors, by identifying those variables distinguishing voters from non-voters.

Chapter Four: Voters and Non-Voters, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

4.1. Introduction

Our discussion of voter turnout indicates that legal opportunity should not be equated with political activity. This chapter hopes to clarify why a portion of the eligible electorate participated in the voting process by uncovering those factors which differentiated the actions of the voters from the non-voters. As we have seen, Upper-Town Quebec formed an important part of Quebec City, a port town with significant administrative, military and economic functions. The Upper-Town constituency, with its notable ethno-cultural and socio-economic divisions allows us to assess the interplay of several factors and the behaviour of the eligible electorate. Beginning with an analysis of the eligible voters in general, the central concern of this chapter is the role played by the different factors in an individual's decision whether to vote. With the assessment rolls and the pollbooks forming the bases of the eligible voting population, the bulk of the chapter analyzes the voters and the non-voters in the elections of 1824, 1827, 1829, 1834 and 1836.[139]

[139]Only those elections with surviving pollbooks and assessment rolls are used in this part of the study in order to minimize statistical errors caused by comparing two types of sources with significant differences. The assessment rolls, whose main concern was assessing property owners, missed an important percentage of Upper-Town tenants. On the other hand, the religious census returns of 1792, 1795 and 1818, whose purpose was to count Catholics, underestimated the size of the anglophone Protestant population (see: Ouellet, "Structure des occupations," 179; Ruddel, "Quebec City,' 666; Lafrance and Ruddel, "Physical Expansion," 151). Dechêne disagrees with this assessment. She argues that "la concordance des releves effectués de porte à porte en 1795 et 1798 montre que tous les foyers sont visités méthodiquement" (Dechêne, Quelques aspects," n. 3, 501).

Specifically, the first section of the chapter examines the eligible electorate in terms of language affiliation, country of origin, years of residency, religion, property status, economic sector, socio-professional status, assessed annual value of property, age and area of residence. The second part looks at these same factors, comparing the voters and non-voters, endeavouring to uncover why some eligible electors voted and others did not.

A socio-economic explanation goes a long way to explaining why some enfranchised inhabitants of Upper-Town Quebec voted, while others did not. Property owners, government employees and appointees, and higher-status eligible electors were overrepresented as voters. The owning of property was particularly influential in the the decision to take part in an election. The gross underrepresentation of tenants as voters is explained partially by the inclusion in our analysis of all the male household heads appearing in the assessment rolls, some of whom actually were not enfranchised. Nevertheless, it is also clear that the response of tenants was conditioned by their socio-economic circumstances: lower-status tenants, like lower-status property owners, were consistently underrepresented as voters.

Other factors came into play - religion and area of residence, for example, indicating the need to qualify a socio-economic explanation. It is evident, however, that the role of language was minor in determining voting participation. Generally, anglophones and francophones responded in a like fashion to the opportunity to vote. This suggests that by the 1820s the lack of a long tradition of representative government was not a barrier to the participation of the French-speaking population.

4.2. Profile of Eligible Electorate

We have seen how the wave of British immigration during the 1820s and 1830s altered Upper-Town Quebec's composition in terms of language, country of origin, religion, property ownership, economic sector, socio-professional status and wealth. In this section we profile the eligible electorate and consider the effects of British immigration. It is tempting to

compare the degree of change to the general population and to the eligible voting population, but the differences themselves are a product of the arbitrarily selected definition of eligibility used in this study to analyze voters and non-voters. We defined the eligible electorate as all male household heads appearing in the assessment rolls plus any unlinked voters not in the assessment rolls, but who were recorded in the pollbooks.[140] Thus any changes may be in part attributable to the differing characteristics of the individuals listed in the census returns and of those listed in the assessment rolls. Notwithstanding this caution, it is still possible to analyze the changes that occurred to the eligible electorate from 1824 to 1836 and to relate the changes to British immigration and to assess the impact on the legal opportunity to vote.

Table 4-1: Total Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters, According to Language Affiliation, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

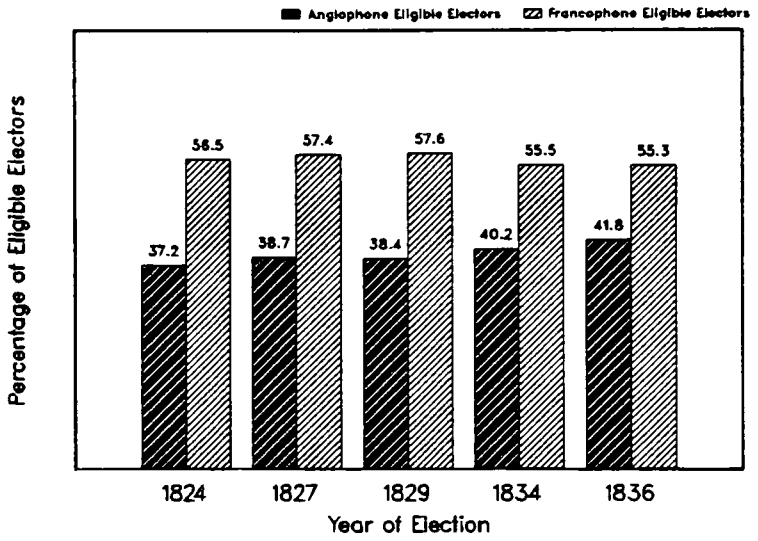
Language	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829 N	1829 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
Anglophone	744	37.2	931	38.7	931	38.4	1046	40.2	1074	41.8
Francophone	1131	56.5	1381	57.4	1397	57.6	1444	55.5	1423	55.3
Other	126	6.3	95	3.9	97	4.0	111	4.3	75	2.9
Total	2001	100.0	2407	100.0	2427	100.0	2601	100.0	2572	100.0

Sources: ANQ, Pollbooks, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836; AVQ, Quebec City, Assessment Rolls, 1824-1836; PAC, Lower Canada, Census Returns, 1831, 1842.
Language=Language Affiliation; Other=Other or not known

British immigration did not alter the linguistic balance of the voting population: the ratio of francophone to anglophone eligible voters remained unchanged over the course of the five elections, about 1.4 to 1. French-speaking inhabitants constituted about fifty-five per cent (mean = 56.4%) of

[140] See p. 105.

Figure 4-1: Comparison of Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Eligible Voters, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836



Sources: See table 4-9, 138.

the eligible voting population: the percentage of francophone voters was 56.5% in 1824, 57.4% in 1827, 57.6% in 1829, 55.5% in 1834 and 55.3% in 1836 (see table 4-1, p. 138). English-speaking residents formed about forty per cent (mean = 39.3%): the percentage of anglophone eligible voters remained relatively constant with only a slight increase in the 1830s: 37.2% in 1824; 38.7% in 1827; 38.4% in 1829; 40.2% in 1834; and 41.8% in 1836 (see figure 4-1, p. 139). Thus the growth of the anglophone portion of the general population is not mirrored in the eligible voting population. This

suggests that there was a growing disenfranchisement among the British populace.

Table 4-2: Total Number and Percentage of Francophone Eligible Voters, According to Country of Origin, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

Origin	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829 N	1829 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
French Canada	229	99.1	322	93.6	372	98.4	489	99.0	583	99.0
Not Clear	2	0.8	22	6.4	6	1.6	5	1.0	6	1.0
Total	231	99.9	344	100.0	378	100.0	494	100.0	589	100.0

Sources: ANQ, Pollbooks, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836; AVQ, Quebec City, Assessment Rolls, 1824-1836; PAC, Lower Canada, Census Returns, 1831, 1842; Signay, Recensement de la ville, 1818.
Not Clear=Not Clear and Western Europe

Table 4-3: Total Number and Percentage of Francophone Eligible Voters, According to Religion, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

Religion	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829 N	1829 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
Catholic	408	97.8	570	98.4	635	97.7	486	99.2	579	99.0
Protestant	9	2.2	9	1.5	15	2.3	4	.8	6	1.0
Total	417	100.0	579	99.9	650	100.0	490	100.0	585	100.0

Sources: See table 4-2, p. 140.
Protestant=Protestant, Other and Not Clear

During the period of British immigration the francophone eligible voters remained an ethnically homogeneous group: over ninety-seven per cent were Canadian-bred (mean for the five elections = 97.8%) and Catholic-raised

Table 4-4: Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone Eligible Voters, According to Country of Origin, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

Origin	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829 N	1829 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
British	69	90.8	68	87.2	107	83.8	174	79.5	198	75.0
Irish	7	9.2	10	12.8	21	16.4	45	20.5	66	25.0
Total	76	100.0	78	100.0	128	100.0	219	100.0	264	100.0

Sources: See table 4-2, p. 140.

(mean = 98.4%) (see table 4-2, p. 140 and table 4-3, p. 140).[141] On the other hand, immigration intensified the heterogeneity of the anglophone group, as the influx increased the proportion of Irish within the British eligible voting population. In 1824 it constituted less than one tenth (9.2%) of the British eligible voters; this steadily rose to about one quarter (25.0%) in 1836 (see table 4-4, p. 141).

The impact of immigration on the religious affiliation of the anglophone eligible voters is more difficult to surmise. Religion continued to differentiate the anglophone eligible electorate, with about one-fifth following the Catholic religion (mean for the five elections = 19.9%) and about three-fifths the Protestant religion (mean = 59.1%) (see table 4-5, p. 142). With an increase of Irish inhabitants it is logical to expect a rise in the percentage of Anglo-Catholics, since a vast majority of the Irish immigrants were Catholics. Nonetheless, this is not reflected in the available figures and it is unclear how much of this is caused by the recording method used by the census takers or by the disenfranchisement of anglophone Catholics because of their

[141]The linking of the assessment rolls and the pollbooks to the census returns of 1831 and 1842 allowed us to uncover the religion of about forty per cent of the francophone eligible voters. The proportion of the francophone eligible voters with identifiable origins increased from about twenty per cent in 1824 to over forty per cent in 1836. See table G.4, Appendix G.

failure to meet the legal requirements for voting.[142]

Table 4-5: Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone Eligible Voters, According to Religion, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

Religion	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829 N	1829 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
Catholic	31	18.9	50	21.0	61	21.6	40	17.5	57	20.6
Protestant	98	59.8	144	60.5	164	58.0	136	59.6	160	57.8
Other	35	21.3	44	18.5	58	20.5	52	22.8	60	21.7
Total	164	100.0	238	99.9	283	100.0	228	100.0	277	100.0

Sources: See table 4-2, p. 140.
Other=Other and Not Clear

British immigration also changed the socio-economic make-up of the eligible electorate: in terms of property status, the percentage of eligible electors who paid rent increased over the course of the five elections. From 1824 to 1836, the percentage of eligible electors classified as tenants rose from 52.2% to 60.0% (see table 4-6, p. 143 and see figure 4-2, p. 144). Conversely, the percentage of property owners fell from 47.8% to 40.0%. This development supports the argument that those arriving from the British Isles had difficulty in obtaining property in the constituency. Furthermore, the increasing number of tenants meant that an increasing number of Upper-Town residents were unable to meet the legal qualifications to vote.

There existed significant differences among the eligible anglophone and francophone voters according to property status. A much larger proportion of anglophone than francophone eligible voters paid rent. Whereas about three-quarters (mean for the five elections = 75.4%) of the anglophone eligible voters were tenants, less than half of the francophone eligible voters

[142]See p. 37.

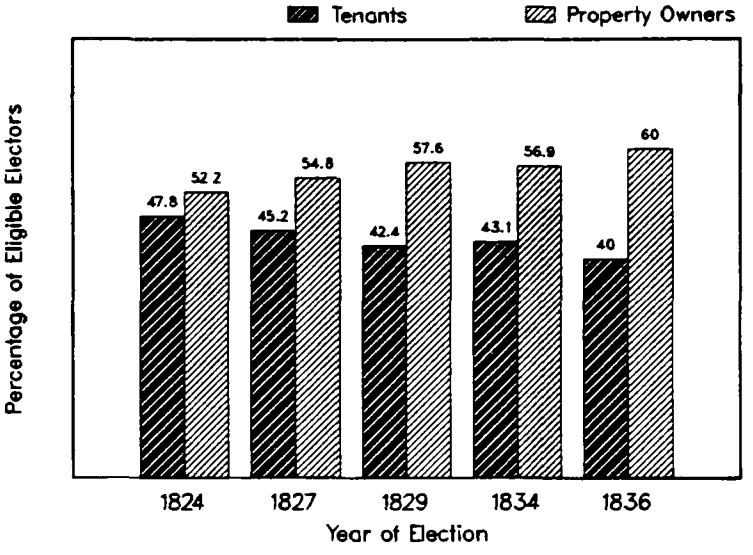
Table 4-6: Total Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters, According to Property Ownership, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

Prop. Own.	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829 N	1829 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
All										
Tenants	1044	52.2	1319	54.8	1398	57.6	1480	56.9	1544	60.0
Prop. Owners	956	47.8	1088	45.2	1029	42.4	1120	43.1	1028	40.0
Total	2000	100.0	2407	100.0	2427	100.0	2600	100.0	2572	100.0
Anglo.										
Tenants	536	72.0	712	76.5	707	75.9	785	75.1	833	77.6
Prop. Owners	208	28.0	219	23.5	224	24.1	260	24.9	241	22.4
Total	744	100.0	931	100.0	931	100.0	1045	100.0	1074	100.0
Franc.										
Tenants	429	37.9	541	39.2	621	44.4	620	42.9	656	46.1
Prop. Owners	702	62.1	840	60.8	778	55.6	824	57.1	767	53.9
Total	1131	100.0	1381	100.0	1399	100.0	1444	100.0	1423	100.0

Sources: AVQ, Quebec City, Assessment Rolls, 1824-1836; PAC, Census Returns, 1831, 1842; PAC, Young Family Papers, Pollbook, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792; ASQ, Pollbook, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814; ANQ, Pollbooks, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814, 1824, 1827, 1829, 1834, 1836.
Own.=Ownership; Prop.=Property; Anglo.=Anglophone; Franc.=Francophone.

were tenants (mean = 42.1%). Thus if tenancy translated into greater probability of disenfranchisement then a greater percentage of anglophone were affected. It also appears that the percentage of those affected increased from 1824 to 1836: the percentage of anglophone eligible voters who did not own property rose from 72.0% in 1824 to 76.5% in 1827, 75.9% in 1829 and 75.1% in 1834. In 1836 the percentage was even higher: 77.6%. A similar pattern of increasing tenancy among the francophone eligible voters was also extant: rising form 37.9% in 1824 to 46.1% in 1836. This demonstrates that British immigration was not the only factor affecting the the socio-economic profile of the eligible electorate. The deteriorating economic situation in the Quebec region also augmented the number of residents unable to own property. As such, it is probable that there was growing portion of the French-speaking populace which were disenfranchised.

Figure 4-2: Comparison of Eligible Voters, According to Property Ownership, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836



Sources: See table 4-6, 143.

A large percentage of the occupation of the eligible electors is also known[143] and this allows us to examine the eligible electorate according to two other socio-economic factors: economic sector and socio-professional

[143]For 1824 about three-quarters of the occupations of the electorate are known; for the other four elections the occupations of about nine-tenths are known. This was true for both anglophone and francophone electors (see tables G.3 and G.4, Appendix G).

Table 4-7: Total Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters, According to Economic Sector, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

Economic Sector	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829 N	1829 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
All										
Government	79	5.3	153	7.1	142	6.4	100	6.4	102	4.2
Service	788	52.7	1038	48.0	1150	52.0	1215	53.0	1261	51.9
Industrial	163	10.9	915	9.0	204	9.2	240	10.5	257	10.6
Commercial	169	11.3	237	11.0	214	9.7	312	13.6	349	14.4
Extractive	43	2.9	107	5.0	75	3.4	104	4.5	63	2.6
Unclassified	252	16.9	433	20.0	428	19.3	320	14.0	398	16.4
Total	1494	100.0	2163	100.1	2213	100.0	2291	100.0	2430	100.1
Anglophone										
Government	58	10.7	118	14.1	106	12.3	80	9.0	78	7.5
Service	243	44.8	302	36.1	345	40.1	397	44.7	452	43.7
Industrial	77	14.2	98	11.7	104	12.1	119	13.4	135	13.0
Commercial	70	12.9	104	12.4	100	11.6	161	18.1	201	19.4
Extractive	11	2.0	27	3.2	21	2.4	30	3.4	21	2.0
Unclassified	84	15.5	187	22.4	185	21.5	102	11.5	148	14.3
Total	543	100.1	836	99.9	861	100.0	889	100.0	1035	99.9
Francophone										
Government	16	1.8	28	2.2	31	2.4	16	1.2	21	1.6
Service	501	57.5	701	56.2	754	59.6	761	58.5	761	57.6
Industrial	74	8.5	89	7.1	90	7.1	113	8.7	118	8.9
Commercial	92	10.6	122	9.8	107	8.5	130	10.0	140	10.6
Extractive	31	3.6	74	5.9	52	4.1	71	5.5	42	3.2
Unclassified	157	18.0	233	18.7	232	18.3	210	16.1	239	18.1
Total	871	100.0	1247	99.9	1266	100.0	1301	100.0	1321	100.0

Sources: See table 4-6, p. 143.

status. Changes caused by British immigration or economic conditions in general are evident in terms of economic sector. Slight fluctuations existed, but no pattern is evident. Throughout the period the proportions remained unchanged: about half of the eligible voters were involved in the service sector (mean for the five elections = 51.5%); another one-quarter belonged to the industrial (mean = 10.0%) or commercial sectors (mean = 12.0%); about one out of every twenty voters (mean = 5.5%) were employed by the government; and the occupations of remaining electorate were in the

extractive sector (mean = 3.7%) or were unclassified (17.3%) (see table 4-7, p. 145). Generally speaking, over ninety per cent of the electorate worked in the private sector of which about half provided services for the public.

There were important distinctions between the anglophone and francophone eligible electors. A much larger percentage of the anglophones than francophones had occupational links to the government: about ten per cent (mean for the five elections = 10.7%) for the anglophone and less than two per cent (mean = 1.8%) for the francophone eligible electors. Another significant difference is also evident: about forty per cent (mean = 41.9%) of the anglophone while nearly sixty per cent (mean = 57.9%) of the francophone eligible electorate were in the service sector. In addition a larger percentage of the anglophone eligible voters were found in the industrial (anglophone mean of 12.9% versus a francophone mean of 8.1%) and commercial (14.9% versus 9.9%) sectors. Thus linguistic differences existed; nonetheless, even among the English-speaking eligible voting public was there any indication of change linked to British immigration or a declining economy.

Neither is there evidence of change in terms of socio-professional status. Throughout the period about thirty per cent of the eligible electorate were in the two highest status groups (I, II) while about forty per cent were artisans and the remaining thirty per cent were labourers (IV, V) (see table 4-8, p. 147). The socio-professional status profile for the anglophone eligible electorate was different from that of the francophone eligible electorate: nearly forty per cent of the anglophone eligible voters were in the two highest-status categories (mean for I = 18.7% and II = 21.6%). These two categories accounted for only about twenty-five per cent of the francophone eligible voters (mean for I = 13.2% and II = 10.6%). On the other hand, about three-quarters of the francophone eligible voters were in the three lowest-status categories (mean for III = 43.2%, IV = 18.1%, and V = 14.6%); a little more than half the anglophone eligible voters were found in the three lowest categories (mean for III = 30.4%, IV = 13.1%, and V =

Table 4-8: Total Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters, According to Socio-Professional Status, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

S-P Status	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829 N	1829 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
All										
I	213	14 3	340	15 7	305	13 8	371	16 2	416	17 1
II	185	12 4	314	14 5	299	13 5	433	18 9	429	17 7
III	634	42 4	788	36 4	844	38 1	862	37 6	838	34 5
IV	237	15 9	318	14 7	368	16 6	363	15 9	418	17 2
V	205	13 7	353	16 3	356	16 1	237	10 3	310	12 8
Unclassified	20	1 3	50	2 3	41	1 9	25	1 1	19	0 8
Total	1494	100 0	2163	99 9	2213	100 0	2291	100 0	2430	100 1
Anglophone										
I	83	15 3	169	20 2	147	17 1	172	19 3	223	21 5
II	105	19 3	167	20 0	151	17 5	231	26 0	262	25 3
III	201	37 0	220	26 3	254	29 5	287	32 3	276	26 7
IV	74	13 6	90	10 8	117	13 6	112	12 6	154	14 9
V	64	11 8	147	17 6	155	18 0	68	7 6	103	10 0
Unclassified	16	2 9	43	4 1	37	4 3	19	2 1	17	1 6
Total	543	99 9	836	100 0	861	100 0	889	99 9	1035	100 0
Francophone										
I	119	13 7	158	12 7	148	11 7	183	14 1	183	13 9
II	70	8 0	126	10 1	128	10 1	179	13 8	145	11 0
III	396	45 5	545	43 7	564	44 5	540	41 5	540	40 9
IV	152	17 5	220	17 6	232	18 3	232	17 8	252	19 1
V	130	14 9	193	15 5	192	15 2	163	12 5	199	15 1
Unclassified	4	0 5	5	0 4	2	0 2	4	0 3	2	0 3
Total	871	100 1	1247	100 0	1266	100 0	1301	100 0	1321	100 1

Sources See table 4-6, p 143
I=gentlemen etc , II=retailers etc , III=artisans, IV=labourers specified, V=labourers non-specified For full description of socio-professional categories, see table 2-19, p 75

13.0%). Thus in general the anglophone eligible voters had greater socio-professional status than their francophone counterparts. However, these differences were present in all five assessment years and were not altered by the weight of an increasing number of British immigrants or a declining economy. This did not mean that these factors did not have an effect, but the categorization of occupation according to economic sector or socio-professional status does not reveal any direct influence

Analysis of the annually assessed value of property provides further evidence of the relatively superior economic and social position of the anglophone eligible electors. The assessment rolls provide information for about thirty-five per cent of the eligible voters (mean percentage for the five elections = 37.9%) and about eighty-five per cent of those eligible voter who owned property (mean= 87.1%).[144] The bulk of the assessed eligible voters were found in the lowest category of assessment £1-to-£9 (mean for the five elections = 42.9%) (see table 4-9, p. 149). The percentage of eligible electors in this category of assessment increased steadily over the course of the five elections: for 1824 mean percentage equals 35.1%; for 1827, 38.8%; for 1829, 44.4%; for 1834, 47.0% and for 1836 49.2%. The next two categories (£10-to-£19 and £20-to-£29) included about twenty-five per cent to thirty per cent of the electorate (mean for £10-to-£19 = 19.6%, for £20-to-£29 = 8.4%). In both these cases, the percentages decreased in time, dropping from 23.1% to 18.1% in the £10-to-£19 and from 10.5% to 6.7% in £20-to-£29. About twenty per cent of assessed eligible voters were found in the next two categories with a mean percentage of 8.8% for those with assessments of £30 to £49 and a mean percentage of 10.6% for those with assessments of £50 to £99. The remaining ten per cent (mean = 9.4%) of the eligible electorate had assessments of £100 to £499. This constitutes the most wealthy group with only a few having property assessed at £500 or more. The increasing percentage in the lowest category and the decreasing percentages in the next two categories suggest a growing impoverishment of the eligible electorate in this period, as more British immigrant established residency in the constituency. The increasing percentage of those with the lowest assessment was true for both francophones and anglophones. This suggests that immigration is not the only explanation of the altered patters of assessment. The decline of the economy in the Quebec region hit those in the lowest categories hardest, leaving more residents open to

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[144]See tables G.3 and G.4, Appendix G.

Table 4-9: Total Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

Assessment (£)	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829 N	1829 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
All										
1-9	295	35.1	330	38.8	400	44.4	460	47.0	477	49.2
10-19	194	23.1	179	21.1	168	18.7	168	17.2	176	18.1
20-29	88	10.5	86	10.1	69	7.7	68	7.0	65	6.7
30-49	81	9.7	82	9.6	81	9.0	76	7.8	75	7.8
50-99	99	11.8	87	10.2	88	9.8	113	11.6	91	9.4
100-499	83	9.9	81	9.5	92	10.2	89	9.1	81	8.4
500-999	1	0.1	5	0.6	3	0.3	2	0.2	2	0.2
1000-1999	0	0.0	1	0.1	0	0.0	2	0.2	2	0.2
Total	841	100.2	850	100.0	901	100.1	978	100.1	969	100.0
Anglophone										
1-9	36	19.4	33	18.6	49	24.9	58	24.7	65	28.5
10-19	34	18.3	34	19.2	33	16.8	36	15.3	35	15.4
20-29	22	11.8	19	10.7	13	6.6	20	8.5	20	8.8
30-49	19	10.2	20	11.3	28	14.2	23	9.8	22	9.6
50-99	40	21.5	35	19.8	32	16.2	50	21.3	39	19.2
100-499	34	18.3	33	18.6	40	20.3	46	19.6	45	19.7
500-999	1	0.5	3	1.7	2	1.0	1	0.4	1	0.4
1000-1999	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.4	1	0.4
Total	186	100.0	177	99.9	197	100.0	235	100.0	228	99.9
Francophone										
1-9	243	39.4	288	44.4	343	50.2	382	53.7	402	55.8
10-19	153	24.8	143	22.0	130	19.0	30	18.3	136	18.9
20-29	64	10.4	62	9.6	54	7.9	47	6.6	45	6.2
30-49	53	8.6	60	9.2	50	7.3	51	7.1	53	7.3
50-99	55	8.9	50	7.7	55	8.1	60	8.4	50	6.9
100-499	48	7.8	45	6.9	51	7.5	41	5.8	34	4.7
500-999	0	0.0	1	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.1
1000-1999	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	616	99.9	649	100.0	683	100.0	711	99.9	721	99.9

Sources: See table 4-6, p. 143.
Assessment Value (£)=Annual Assessed Value of Property in Pounds

disenfranchisement.[145]

In addition to an increasing impoverishment of the electorate, there were importance differences according to language. Generally, anglophone eligible voters had greater wealth, as measured in the assessment values, than their francophone compatriots. About half of the assessed francophone eligible voters had assessments of under £10 (the mean for the five elections = 48.7%); only about one quarter of anglophone eligible voters received a comparable assessment (mean = 26.0%). On the other hand, about forty percent of the anglophone eligible electors were in the two highest levels of assessment, with a mean percentage of 19.2% for the five elections in the £50-to-£99 category and a mean percentage of 19.3% in the £100-to-£499. These same two categories included only about fifteen percent of the francophone property owners (means = 8.0% for £50-to-£99 and 6.5% for £100-to-£499. The general higher economic status of the anglophone eligible voters is underscored in the number of eligible voters in the very highest assessment (£500 or more): a total of ten assessments for anglophone versus two for francophone eligible voters.

An examination of the eligible electorate in terms of socio-economic considerations evinces several conclusions. First, the Upper-Town eligible electorate had several important economic and social divisions. Second, an anglophone eligible voter tended to be a tenant in the service sector from the top three categories of socio-professional status. Third, his francophone counterpart was probably an artisan in the service sector, who owned property with an assessed value between £1 and £19 per annum. In short, anglophone eligible voters tended to have greater occupational and economic status while francophone eligible voters had greater status associated with the owning of land. Fourth, our analysis suggests a general tendency to lower

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[145]There is the possibility that an arbitrary lowering of assessment values accounts for the rise in the percentage of eligible voters in the lowest assessment category. This is the impression I received during the data-entry stage, but of course this has to be substantiated with a careful comparison of annual values assessed to same properties.

economic status for property owners; if this also held for tenants, then a greater percentage of non-property owners may have become disenfranchised. If this was the case, a larger percentage of anglophone heads of household would be affected since a larger proportion of the anglophone eligible voters were tenants.

Table 4-10: Total Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters, According to Age, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

Age in Years	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829 N	1829 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
All										
12-20	12	1.9	12	1.5	13	1.4	7	1.1	9	1.1
21-29	28	4.4	70	8.8	119	13.3	24	3.6	53	6.7
30-59	526	81.7	624	78.4	676	75.3	567	83.9	656	81.9
60-99	78	12.1	90	11.3	90	10.0	78	11.5	83	10.4
Total	644	100.1	796	100.0	898	100.0	676	100.1	801	100.1
Anglophone										
12-20	3	2.4	4	2.1	3	1.3	4	2.3	8	3.7
21-29	7	5.4	20	10.9	31	13.8	6	3.5	14	6.5
30-59	103	79.8	141	76.6	176	78.2	145	85.3	175	81.0
60-99	16	12.4	19	10.3	15	6.7	15	8.8	19	8.8
Total	129	100.0	184	99.9	225	100.0	170	99.9	216	100.0
Francophone										
12-20	9	1.8	7	1.2	10	1.5	2	0.5	1	0.2
21-29	21	4.2	50	8.4	86	13.1	18	3.7	38	6.6
30-59	414	82.1	469	78.7	487	74.1	408	83.4	472	82.4
60-99	60	11.9	70	11.7	74	11.3	61	12.5	62	10.8
Total	504	100.0	596	100.0	657	100.0	489	100.1	573	100.0

Sources. See table 4-6, p. 143.

An examination of the ages of the individuals eligible to vote suggests that the age profile of the eligible electorate changed little from 1824 to 1836. The linking of the assessment rolls and the pollbooks to the census returns provides the ages of about one-third of the eligible electorate (mean

for the five elections = 31.9%),[146] a sufficient percentage to allow for the analysis of the age of the eligible voting population in the five elections. The overwhelming majority of the eligible voters were between thirty and fifty-nine years old (mean = 80.2%) (see table 4-10, p. 151). About ten percent were sixty years or older (mean = 11.1%); the remaining ten percent were between twenty-one and twenty-nine (mean = 7.4%).

Both language groups shared the same age profile, with eighty percent in the 30-to-59 age category (mean for anglophones = 80.2%, for francophones = 80.1%). Those sixty years or older constituted about ten per cent of both the anglophone (mean = 8.0%) and francophone (7.2%) eligible electorate. The youngest group, that is 21-to-29 years of age, made up the remaining ten percent of both language groups, with a mean percentage of 9.4% for the anglophone and 11.6% for the francophone eligible voters. Is there any evidence that tide of British immigration transformed the face of the anglophone electorate? There was a slight decrease in the percentage of anglophones in the oldest categories, that may be linked to the tendency of immigrants to be young or middle-aged.

New economic conditions at the turn of the century and the onslaught of British immigrants in the 1820s and 1830s changed the population geography of the constituency: more and more of the inhabitants settled outside the walls of the Old City. This population shift was also mirrored in the eligible electorate. In 1824 42.3% of the eligible electors resided in Upper Town proper; by 1827 the same area of residence accounted for only 36.2%. (see table 4-11, p. 153). The decline evident in 1827 remained in force in all the elections except 1834. For that election year the percentage of Upper-Town heads of household increased dramatically to 47.4%. This same pattern held for both languages groups: for anglophones the percentages were 58.6% (1824), 53.6% (1827), 50.3% (1829), 61.5% (1834) and 56.7%

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[146]See table G.3, Appendix G.

Table 4-11: Total Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters, According to Area of Residence, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

Area	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829 N	1829 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
All										
Upper Town	846	42.3	871	36.2	804	33.1	1233	47.4	967	37.6
St. John	1001	50.0	1275	53.0	1267	52.2	1017	39.1	1309	50.9
St. Louis	137	6.9	244	10.1	351	14.5	324	12.5	269	10.5
Unclassified	17	0.9	17	0.7	5	0.2	27	1.0	27	1.0
Total	2001	100.1	2407	100.0	2427	100.0	2601	100.0	2572	100.0
Anglophone										
Upper Town	436	58.6	499	53.6	468	50.3	643	61.5	609	56.7
St. John	240	32.3	283	30.4	267	28.7	199	19.0	307	28.6
St. Louis	61	8.2	137	14.7	194	20.8	198	18.9	153	14.2
Unclassified	7	0.9	12	1.3	2	0.2	6	0.6	5	0.5
Total	744	100.0	931	100.0	931	100.0	1046	100.0	1074	100.0
Francophone										
Upper Town	353	31.2	334	24.2	298	21.3	530	36.7	321	22.6
St. John	705	62.3	943	68.3	954	68.2	773	53.5	970	68.2
St. Louis	64	5.7	99	7.2	144	10.3	121	8.4	110	7.7
Unclassified	9	0.8	5	0.4	3	0.2	20	1.4	22	1.5
Total	1131	100.0	1381	100.1	1399	100.0	1444	100.0	1423	100.0

Sources: See table 4-6, p. 143.
Area=Area of Residence; Upper Town=Upper Town proper; St. John=Suburb of St. John; St. Louis=Suburb of St. Louis.

(1836); and for francophones the percentages were 31.2% (1824), 24.2% (1827), 21.3% (1829), 36.7% (1834) and 22.6% (1836). How do we explain the "aberration" of 1834? The explanation lies with our definition of the eligible electorate. In addition to all adult males in the assessment rolls we included any individual who was not assessed but who did vote.[147] Therefore the validity of the data concerning area of residence depends on

[147]This explains the decrease in the total number of eligible voters in 1836. Three hundred more voters were polled in 1834 than in 1836 and with the underrepresentation of the number of tenants in the assessment rolls (see p. 104), the total number of eligible voters dropped from 2601 in 1834 to 2572 in 1836.

the accuracy of the information in the assessment rolls and the pollbooks. A review of the data reveals that the aberration does not appear in the assessment rolls. The percentage of the listings for male heads of households owning or renting property in Upper-Town proper are as follows: 42.8% in 1824; 36.4% in 1827; 34.2% in 1829; 37.6% in 1834 and 38.7% in 1836. The source of the problem is the pollbook of 1834. Normally those in charge of recording the votes signalled when an elector resided in the suburbs. This was the case in six of the seven pollbooks. Unfortunately, the returning officer and poll clerk for 1834 did not always provide complete residential information.[148] This poses a problem concerning the reliability of the data for those streets located both inside and outside the walls; it is impossible to know whether a voter resided in Upper Town or in the suburbs. For the sake of consistency, we assumed the voters lived in Upper-Town proper. As a result, many of those residing in the suburbs were counted as Upper-Town residents which resulted in the inaccuracies concerning area of residence for the voters and eligible voters for 1834.[149] Consequently, it is necessary to ignore the the results of 1834 in regard to area of residence.

After 1824 a significant transformation took place with the percentage of eligible voters living in the suburbs rising from about five-five to sixty-five per cent. Of the total number of eligible voters, about half resided in St. John (mean for the three elections = 37.3) and another tenth remained in St. Louis (mean = 11.7%). Breaking down the eligible electorate according to language affiliation reveals that the greatest change occurred among the francophone eligible voters. In 1824 about a third of the francophone group

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[148]This shortcoming can be traced to the inexperience of the officials involved. In the three preceding elections the returning officer was William F. Scott and the poll clerk was Patrick Lawler. In 1834 there were two new officials: J.B. Lindsay and B. Pouliot.

[149]The percentages of voters from Upper-Town proper are: 45.1% in 1824; 40.2% in 1827; 33.7% in 1829; 64.5% in 1834; and 43.8% in 1836. The incompleteness of the information for 1834 produced street totals which were erroneous. Consider the total number of voters residing on St. John Street within the Old Walls: 64 in 1824; 70 in 1827; 47 in 1829; 202 for 1834; and 64 for 1836. Other examples of this problem are: Ste. Geneviève, Aiguillon, St. Joachim, St. George.

was located in Upper-Town proper; after that election less than a quarter continued to dwell there (mean = 22.7%). For anglophones, the same shift to the suburbs occurred, but it was less dramatic. In 1824 about forty per cent of the anglophone eligible voters owned or rented property in the suburbs; for the next three elections this rose to about forty-five per cent. The most significant change occurred in the suburb of St. Louis, with the percentage of anglophone eligible voters doubling after 1824 to about fifteen per cent (mean for the three elections = 16.5%).

Those inhabitants constituting the eligible electorate of Upper-Town Quebec in this period displayed a blend of linguistic, economic, social, demographic and geographic characteristics essential to this study which is attempting to uncover those factors which differentiated voters from non-voters. A picture of a typical eligible elector emerges. Generally, the eligible elector was a thirty-to-fifty-nine year old artisan living in the St. John's suburbs. A single image, however, is misleading; the typical anglophone eligible elector was different from his francophone compatriot. The anglophone eligible elector tended to be British-born, Protestant and a long-time resident. From the top three categories of socio-professional status, the 30-to-59 year old tenant resided in Upper Town. In contrast, the "average" francophone eligible voter had resided in Canada since birth and baptised Catholic. Between 30 and 59 years old, the francophone eligible elector was an artisan who owned land with an assessment between £1 and £20 per annum in St. John suburb. These two portraits suggest that anglophone and francophone eligible electors differed significantly from each other economically and socially. Consequently, if economic and social factors affected the behaviour of the eligible electors, then this influence should have varied according to the language affiliation of the eligible elector. This assumes that the voters differed from the non-voters of Upper-Town Quebec. The second half of this chapter examines the eligible electorate with the purpose of uncovering those factors which distinguish the voters from the non-voters, making the assumption that some of these elements influenced the response of an individual to the opportunity of voting.

4.3. Determinants of Voting Participation, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

4.3.1. Ethno-Cultural Factors: Language Affiliation, Country of Origin and Religion

An editorial comment in the Quebec Mercury on the results of the election of 1829 suggests that ethno-cultural factors affected the decision of some voters not to vote. The editor lamented the defeat of the candidate that he supported, rationalized the outcome by concluding that many English eligible voters did not bother to participate in the by-election because it was a "Canadian" affair. The purpose of the election was to fill the vacancy left by the "Canadian" member, Joseph-Rémi Vallières, who had resigned to take up a judicial appointment. With Andrew Stuart continuing to represent their interests in the Assembly, the eligible anglophone voters were apathetic to the outcome of the elections. The Mercury reported:

> The prevailing sentiment amongst the English appeared to be that as both the candidates were Canadians and the late member also a Canadian, it would be as well to leave the Canadian electors to choose their new members amongst themselves; on the policy of this proceeding we do not pretend to decide, but we regret that the choice of the people has not fallen on Mr. Vanfelson.[150]

Four days later the Mercury reiterated the same conclusion, explaining that "the English" were not against Vanfelson's opponent, Duval: "to be against him - he is mistaken - the English did not care one pin whether he was elected or not."[151] If the comments by the Quebec Mercury were correct, then language affiliation should have differentiated the voters from the non-voters in 1829.

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[150] Quebec Mercury, 30 June 1829.

[151] Quebec Mercury, 4 July 1829.

Table 4-12: Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters Voting, According to Language Affiliation, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

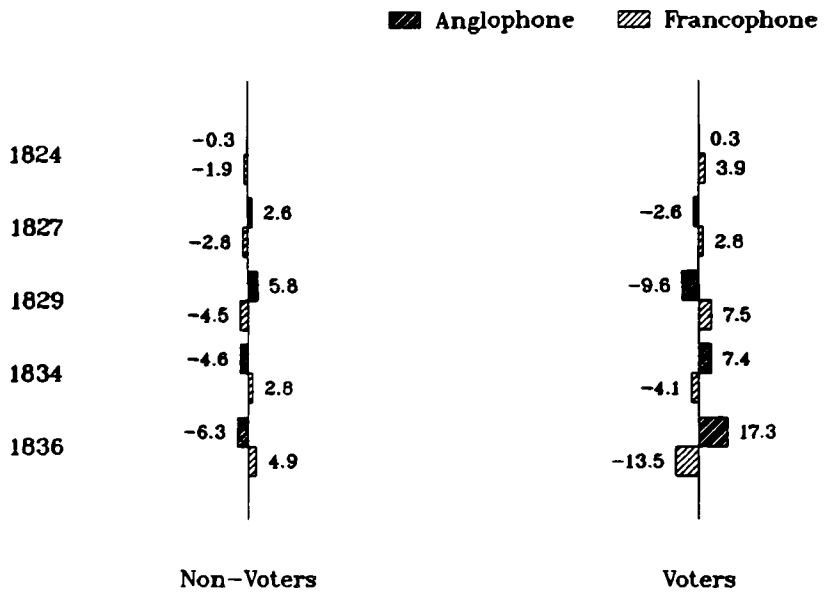
Language	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829 N	1829 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
Anglophone	233	31.3	458	49.2	316	33.9	439	42.0	335	31.2
Francophone	367	32.4	717	51.9	564	40.3	541	37.5	328	23.0
Total	623	31.2	1216	50.5	910	37.5	1021	39.1	684	26.6

Sources: See table 4-6, p. 143.
Language=Language Affiliation; Total=Total of Eligible Voters Voting

A comparison of the voters and non-voters for the five elections from 1824 to 1836 according to language affiliation discloses that anglophone and francophone eligible voters generally responded to the opportunity to vote in the same fashion. In the election of 1824, for example, 31.3% of the eligible anglophone and 32.4% of eligible francophone voters voted (see table 4-12, p. 157). The same response tended to occur throughout all of the elections. The mean percentage of eligible anglophone voters voting equaled 37.5%, for eligible francophone voters it was 37.0%. This suggests that generally the language affiliation did not differentiate voters from non-voters, and that the Mercury exaggerated the non-participation of the anglophone eligible voters. At the same time, it is also evident that the difference between the percentage of anglophone eligible voters voting and that of the francophone eligible voters voting was greatest in 1829, as well as in 1836. This suggests that the Mercury's comments concerning anglophone eligible voters' behaviour in 1829 were not completely misdirected.

Our conclusions regarding the minimal influence of language affiliation in the behaviour of the eligible voters is underscored in an index of representation. Generally language affiliation did not make a difference in the behaviour of the non-voters and the voters (see figure 4-3, p. 158). In 1824, for example, anglophone and francophone eligible voters voted

Figure 4-3: Profile of Eligible Electorate, According to Language Affiliation, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836



Sources: See table 4-6, 143.

proportionately to the size of the eligible electorate that they represented and their index scores are very close to zero. As non-voters, the scores for the anglophone and francophone eligible voters are -0.3 and -1.9. Similarly, as voters, they are 0.3 and 3.9. This was generally true for all five elections. The mean scores for the anglophone and francophone non-voters are -0.6 and -0.3. Correspondingly, the mean scores for the anglophone and francophone voters are 2.6 and -0.7. In other words, neither language group was underrepresented or overrepresented as voters or non-voters.

The index also suggests, however, that the effects of language affiliation was greatest in the by-elections of 1829 and 1836. The highest degree of underrepresentation for the anglophone eligible voters occurred in 1829 with a score of -9.6. This gives support to the comments made by the Mercury regarding anglophone apathy. At the same time, the relatively low score suggests that language affiliation was not the only factor explaining the non-voting among the eligible electorate. Higher scores suggest that language differentiation was more influential in the by-election of 1836. It appears that Painchaud's surprise resignation harmed the francophone more than the anglophone eligible voters. With a score of 17.3 the anglophone eligible electors were overrepresented while the francophone eligible electors, with a score of -13.5, were underrepresented as voters. Despite these qualifications, in general, the influence of language affiliation on whether an individual voted was minimal. This leads to the conclusion that the participation of the French Canadians in the voting process was comparable to that of anglophone inhabitants. In other words, language affiliation did not constitute a significant barrier to voting participation in Upper-Town elections.

The francophone eligible voters constituted a monolithic ethnic group in terms of religion and birthplace: all but a few francophones were French-Canadian Catholics. The ethnic make-up of the anglophone eligible voters, on the other hand, was heterogeneous. The linking of the census returns to the pollbooks reveals the existence of at least two sub-groups within the long-established English-Scottish Anglo-Canadian Protestant community: first, a growing Irish contingent; and, second, a significant Catholic minority. These significant religious and "national" divisions allow us to consider the impact of other ethno-cultural factors on anglophone voting participation.

Within the British-born eligible electorate the percentage of Irish increased from 1824 to 1836; however, we can only identify a sufficient number of Irish eligible voters to compare voters and non-voters in the

Table 4-13: Number and Percentage of Anglophone Eligible Voters Voting, According to Country of Origin, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

Origin	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829 N	1829 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
British	30	43.5	50	73.5	60	56.1	125	71.8	112	56.6
Irish	4	57.1	5	50.0	8	38.1	31	68.9	33	50.0
Total	34	44.7	55	70.5	68	53.1	156	71.2	145	54.9

Sources: See table 4-6, p. 143.

election of 1834 and 1836 (see table 4-13, p. 160).[152] The actions of the British and Irish eligible electors in these two elections suggests that country of origin was not a factor among the British-born eligible voters. In both elections only a slightly higher percentage of British voted in each election: 71.8% to 68.9% in 1834 and 56.6% to 50.0% in 1836. In other words, within the British voting population the behaviour of the Irish in regard to voting participation was not distinguishable from the British group as a whole. This conclusion is underlined with an index of representation (see figure 4-4, p. 161). The British group approached 0 indicating that it was proportionately represented as non-voters (mean score for 1834 and 1836 = -3.0) and voters (mean = 2.0). The scores of Irish are also close to 0, with a mean score of -6.1 as voters.

In contrast to the minimal influence of country of origin, the differential behaviour of the anglophone Catholics and Protestants indicates that religion affected the voting participation of the anglophone eligible electorate. Among the identified Catholics, the percentage of those voting

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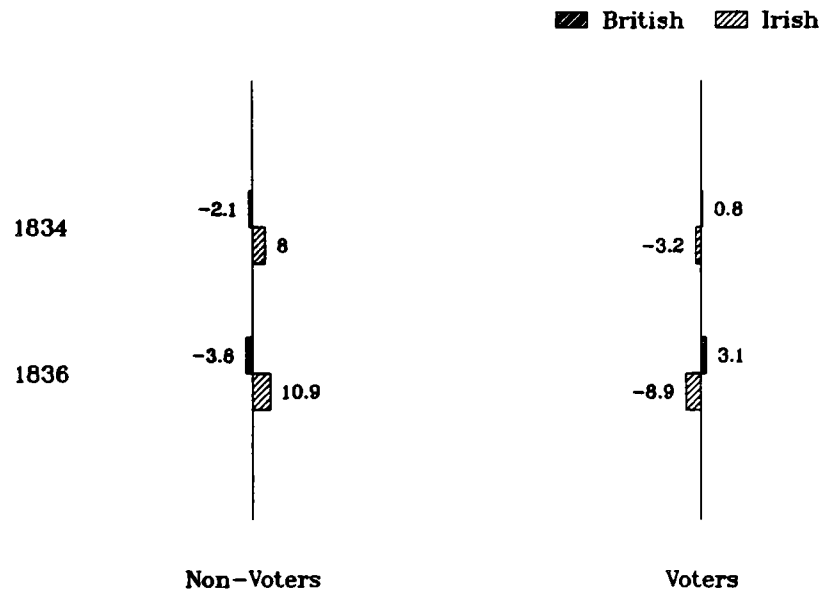
[152]The total of identified Irish eligible voters for 1824 to 1829 is 7, 10 and 21. With numbers this small, a shift of one or two can change percentages greatly. For example, in 1829 if three more Irish had voted the percentage voting would change from 38.1% (8/21) to 52.3% (11/21). This would alter the difference in percentage between the Irish and British from 18.0% to 3.8%.

Figure 4-4: Profile of Anglophone Eligible Electorate, According to Country of Origin, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836



Sources: See table 4-6, 143.

was consistently lower than that of those identified as Protestants. (see table 4-14, p. 162). In 1824, for example, 38.7% of the eligible Catholics voted while 50.0% of the eligible Protestants voted. This same pattern continued throughout the period. The mean percentage of anglophone Catholics voting in the five elections is 49.1%, and of anglophone Protestants 62.6%. An index of representation further demonstrates the differential religious behaviour among the anglophone eligible voters (see figure 4-5, p. 163). The Catholics were overrepresented as non-voters (mean score = 27.1)

Table 4-14: Number and Percentage of Anglophone Eligible Voters Voting, According to Religion, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

Religion	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829 N	1829 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
Catholic	12	38.7	29	58.0	29	47.5	23	57.5	25	43.9
Protestant	49	50.0	110	76.4	88	53.7	98	72.1	97	60.6
Other	15	42.9	32	72.7	29	50.0	39	75.0	27	45.0
Total	76	46.3	171	71.8	146	51.6	160	70.2	149	53.8

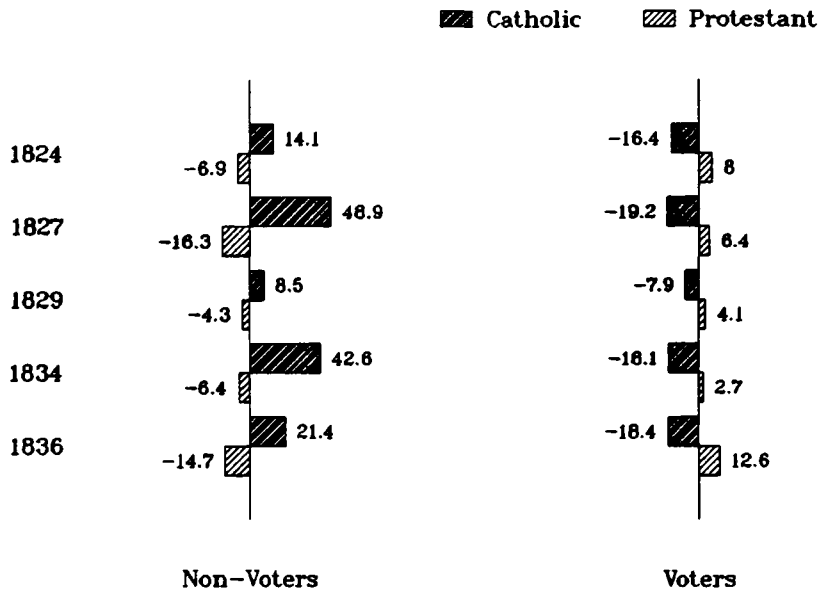
Sources: See table 4-6, p. 143.
Other=Other and Not Clear; Total=Total of Eligible Voters Voting

and underrepresented as voters (mean score = -16.0); the anglophone Protestants were underrepresented as non-voters (mean score = -9.7) and overrepresented as voters (mean = 6.8). This consistent pattern while varying in degree, occurred in all five elections and suggests that religion explains in part the voting participation of some of the anglophone electors.

Nevertheless, it is also evident that the religious factor does not go a long way to explaining the behaviour of the eligible electorate in general. If this were the case, then the behaviour of the francophone eligible voters who were all virtually Catholics should have mirrored the behaviour of the anglophone Catholics. On the contrary, the francophone eligible electors behaved in much the same fashion as the anglophone eligible electors, the majority of whom were Protestant.[153] Thus the role played by ethno-cultural factors in an individual's decision to vote was minimal in the five Upper-Town elections from 1824 to 1836: francophone eligible voters behaved like anglophone eligible voters, and the Irish copied their British brethren. However, to dismiss religion completely as a determinant of voting participation is incorrect; it is clear that some anglophone Catholics behaved differently from the majority anglophone eligible voters.

[153]The mean percentage of anglophone eligible electors who were Protestant is 59.1% for the five elections (see table 4-5, p. 142).

Figure 4-5: Profile of Anglophone Eligible Electorate, According to Religion, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836



Sources: See table 4-6, 143.

4.3.2. Socio-Economic Factors: Property Ownership, Economic Sector, Socio-Professional Status and Annual Assessed Value of Property

Ethno-cultural factors did not distinguish the actions of the vast majority of eligible voters in the Upper-Town elections. This conclusion corresponds with the description of the electorate supplied by the editor of the Quebec Gazette after the election of 1834. He portrayed the electors in

socio-economic rather than ethno-cultural terms and leaves the impression that these factors distinguished those who voted from those who did not. The Gazette concluded that "the great majority of the Electors...in Upper Town" were from "that numerous class of persons, who have happily sprung up amongst us, who live in easy circumstances, by the exercise of professions and other independent and industrious pursuits...."[154] The Gazette's assessment of the Upper-Town electorate would not surprise the social scientists of today, many of whom agree that socio-economic factors are paramount in determining if an individual exercises his/her legal right to vote. They argue that socio-economic status, whether defined in terms of education, occupation of income, governs to a large degree the individual's decision to participate in the voting process.[155] Basically, they posit that "higher status individuals are...more likely to vote."[156]

Table 4-15: Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters Voting, According to Property Ownership, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

Prop. Own.	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829 N	1829 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
Tenants	262	25.1	479	36.3	326	23.3	431	29.1	291	18.9
Prop. Owners	361	37.8	737	67.7	584	56.8	590	52.7	393	38.2
Total	623	31.1	1216	50.5	910	37.5	1021	39.3	684	26.6

Sources: See table 4-6, p. 143.
Prop.=Property; Own.=Ownership; Total=Total of Eligible Voters Voting

[154]Quebec Gazette, 12 August 1824.

[155]Verba and Nie, Participation in America, 13, 125.

[156]Sibley, Bogue and Flanigan, "Introduction," The History of American Electoral Behavior, 139. See also: Chambers and Davis, "Party, Competition, and Mass Participation," 177; Verba and Nie, Participation in America, 125; Lester W. Milbraith, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966), 116, 120, 133.

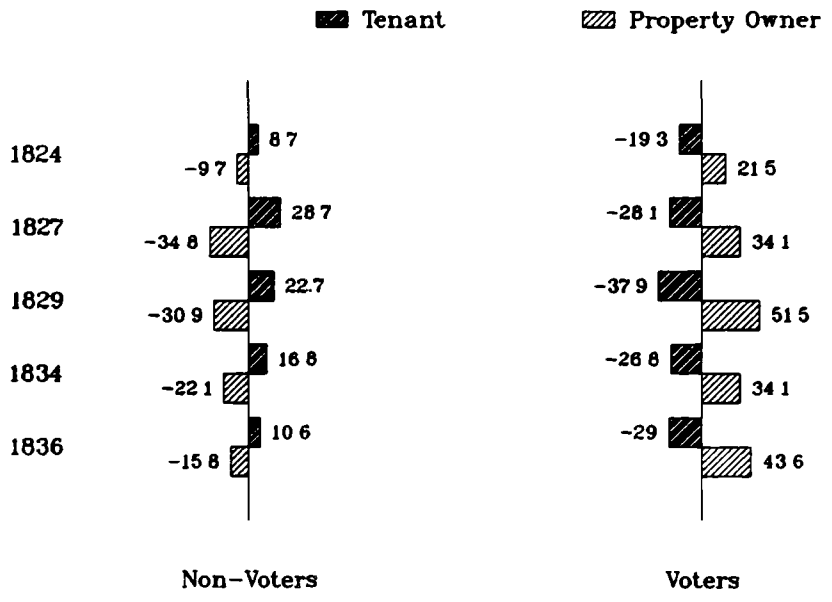
This next section of the analysis of the eligible electorate of Upper-Town Quebec considers the applicability of a socio-economic explanation by comparing the voters and non-voters in terms of property ownership, occupation, and annual assessed value of property. An analysis of the voters and non-voters according to their property qualifications indicates that Upper-Town property owners behaved differently than the tenants: the latter group tended to vote disproportionately less than the former. For instance, in the election of 1824 31.1% of all the eligible voters voted, but only 25.1% of the tenants cast a vote. The percentage of property owners voting, in contrast, was 37.8% (see table 4-15, p. 164). This same tendency is repeated in the other four elections. For the five elections, the mean percentage of property owners casting a vote is 50.6%, much higher than both the mean percentage of all eligible votes (mean = 37.0%) and tenants (mean = 26.5%) voting.

Applying the index of representation to the Upper-Town eligible electorate readily demonstrates that property status did make a difference in the behaviour of the non-voters and voters (see figure 4-6, p. 166). In the five elections, the tenants were continually overrepresented as non-voters (mean score for the five elections = 17.5) and underrepresented as voters (mean score = -28.1). Conversely, the property owners were underrepresented as non-voters (mean score = 22.7) and overrepresented as voters (mean score = 37.0).

The distinction evident in the electoral response of the property owners and tenants supports a socio-economic explanation of voting participation: those eligible voters with property tended to vote proportionately more than those without property. However, this conclusion must remain tentative. We assumed that all male tenants listed as heads of household in the assessment rolls were eligible to vote; yet without knowing the rental records of individual tenants, it is impossible to distinguish between those tenants like Charles Ford, the Quebec City printer,[157] who were non-voters because

[157]See p. 102.

Figure 4-6: Profile of Eligible Electorate, According to Property Ownership, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836



Sources See table 4-6, 143

of legal restrictions and those tenants who were non-voters because tenants behaved differently than property owners.

An analysis of the voters and non-voters according to occupation provides more conclusive support for a socio-economic explanation of voting participation. Using occupation for categorizing the eligible electors according to economic sector reveals that eligible voters associated with the government or the commercial sectors of the economy were proportionately

Table 4-16: Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters Voting, According to Economic Sector, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

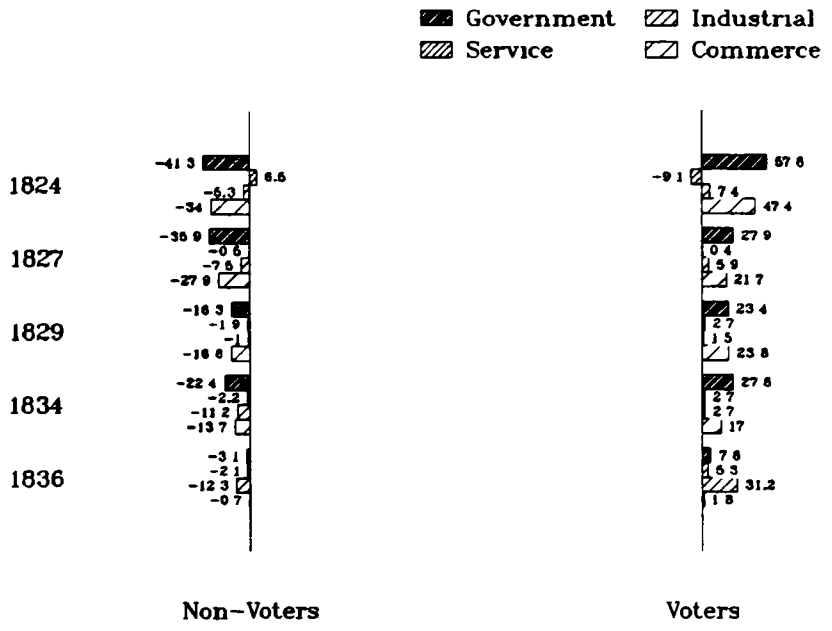
Sector	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829 N	1829 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
Government	52	65.8	110	71.9	72	50.7	57	57.0	31	30.4
Service	299	37.9	585	56.4	485	42.2	556	45.8	374	29.7
Industrial	73	44.8	116	59.5	85	41.7	122	50.8	95	37.0
Commercial	104	61.5	162	68.4	109	50.9	163	52.2	100	28.7
Extractive	25	58.1	84	78.5	38	50.7	32	30.8	13	20.6
Unclassified	70	27.8	159	36.7	121	28.3	91	28.4	71	17.8
Total	623	41.7	1216	56.2	910	41.1	1021	44.6	684	28.2

Sources: See table 4-6, p. 143.
Total=Total of Eligible Voters Voting

overrepresented as voters in all the elections but 1836. For example, in 1824 while the total percentage of all eligible voters (41.7%) and of those in the service (37.9%) or industrial (44.8%) sectors voting was about forty per cent, over sixty per cent of those in the government (65.8%) or commercial (61.5%) sectors voted (see table 4-16, p. 167). This trend continued until 1834 as mirrored in the mean percentages for the four elections: 45.6% and 49.2% for the service and industrial sectors but 61.4% and 58.3% for the government and commercial sectors.

The disproportionate representation of these two sectors among the voting population is made clear in an index of representation (see figure 4-7, p. 168). In the four elections the eligible voters in the commercial or government sectors were underrepresented as non-voters (mean scores for the four elections = -29.0 and -23.1) and overrepresented as voters (mean scores = 34.2 and 27.5). This analysis suggests that those eligible votes connected with the government or the commercial sector voted proportionately higher than those individuals of occupations associated with other sectors. This indicates that some kind of economic factor was at work, at least until 1836, influencing the decisions of the eligible voters. One possible explanation may

Figure 4-7: Profile of Eligible Electorate, According to Economic Sector, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836



Sources See table 4-6, 143

be that those working for the government were under pressure to come out and vote for government-backed candidates and consequently a higher percentage of those in the government sector participated in the voting process This, however, does not explain the commercial sector. Another possible explanation may lie with the fact that a high percentage of those in the commercial and government sectors also belonged to the higher status socio-professional groups which theoretically should have a higher rate of participation.

Table 4-17: Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters Voting, According to Socio-Professional Status, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

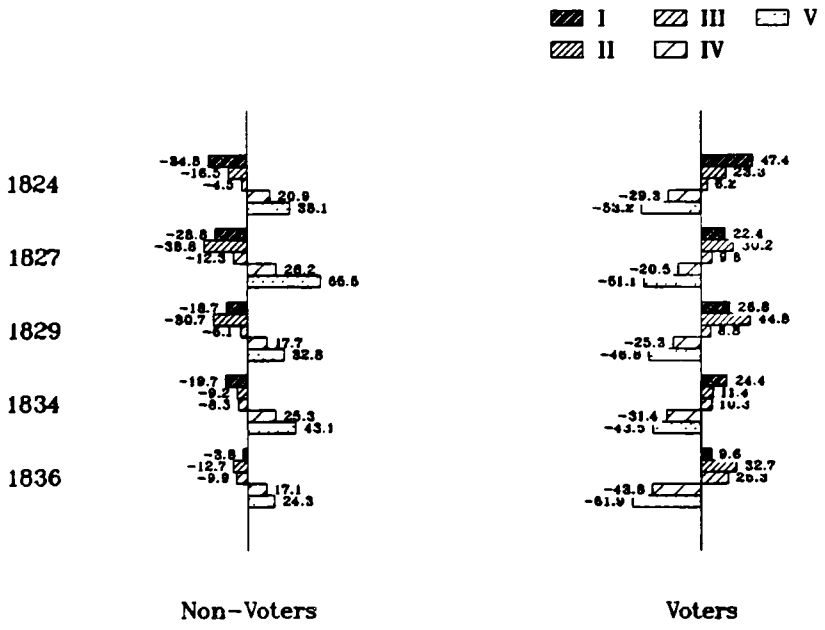
S.-P. Status	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829 N	1829 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
I	131	61.5	234	68.8	159	52.1	206	55.5	128	30.8
II	95	51.4	230	73.2	177	59.2	215	49.7	160	37.3
III	281	44.3	486	61.7	377	44.7	424	49.2	295	35.2
IV	70	29.5	142	44.7	113	30.7	111	30.6	66	15.8
V	40	19.5	97	27.5	79	22.2	49	20.7	33	10.7
Unclassified	6	30.0	27	54.0	5	12.2	16	64.0	2	10.5
Total	623	41.7	1216	56.2	910	41.1	1021	44.6	684	28.1

Sources: See table 4-6, p. 143
I=gentlemen etc.; II=retailers etc.; III=artisans; IV=labourers - specified; V=labourers - non-specified; Total=Total of Eligible Voters Voting
For full description of socio-professional categories, see table 2-19, p. 75.

An analysis of the voters and non-voters according to socio-professional status based on occupation supports the above conclusion and more generally provides more conclusive evidence for a socio-economic explanation of voting participation. When analyzing the eligible electorate according to a vertical categorization of occupation, a clear pattern emerges: the tendency to vote decreased as socio-professional status decreased. For example, in the election of 1824, with 41.7% of the eligible electorate voting, the percentage of those voting in category I (highest status) was 61.5%, in category II 51.4%, category III 44.3%, in category IV 29.5% and category V 19.5% (see table 4-17, p. 169). This pattern held true for all five elections. With a mean percentage of 42.3% for all eligible voters, the mean percentage of participation in each of the socio-professional categories decreased: 53.7% (I), 54.2% (II), 47.0% (III), 30.3% (IV) and 20.1% (V).

The index of representation also makes clear that individuals in higher-status categories were more likely to vote than those in the lower-status categories (see figure 4-8, p. 170). Those found in the higher-status groups were underrepresented among the non-voters and overrepresented among the

Figure 4-8: Profile of Eligible Electorate, According to Socio-Professional Status, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

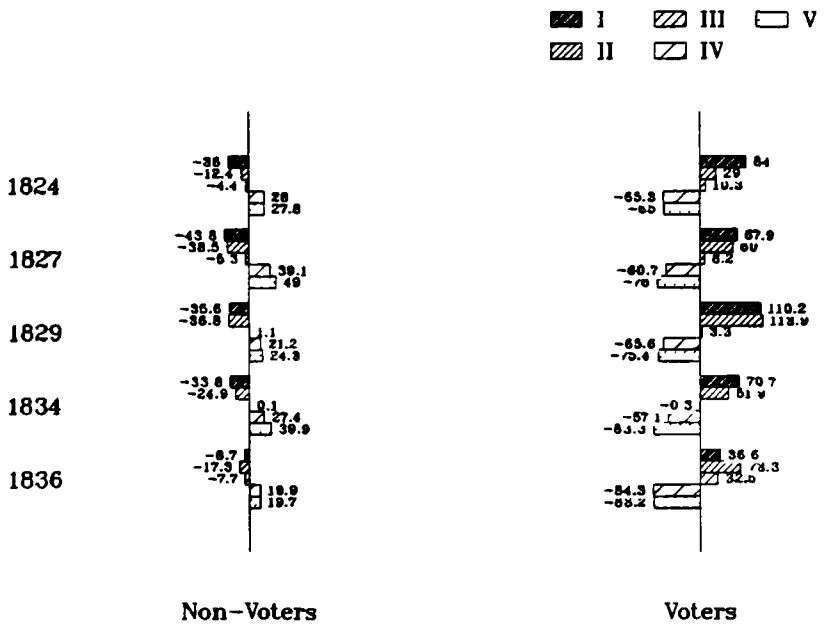


Sources: See table 4-6, 143.

voters. The mean scores for the non-voters according to socio-professional status are: -21.0 (I), -21.6 (II), -8.2 (III), 21.4 (IV) and 40.6 (V). For voters a reverse pattern is evident: 26.1 (I), 28.3 (II), 12.1 (III), -30.1 (IV) and -51.1 (V).

This close relationship between socio-professional status and voting participation explains, as we suggested above, the proportionately higher percentage of voters found in the government and commercial sectors with

Figure 4-9: Profile of Eligible Electors, Not Owning Property, According to Socio-Professional Status, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836



Sources: See table 4-6, 143.

their high degree of upper-status occupations. Furthermore, narrowing the analysis of socio-professional status to those who rented reveals that the same tendencies held for tenants. Tenants in the higher status groups were underrepresented as non-voters with means scores of -31.6 (I), -26.0 (II), -3.2 (III), 27.1 (IV) and 32.1 (V) and overrepresented as voters with mean scores of 73.9 (I), 65.6 (II), 10.8 (III), -66.6 (IV) and -76.6 (V) (see figure 4-9, p. 171). These patterns point to a strong relationship between status and

voting participation. But in the case of tenants, it remains unclear how much of this is attributable to the legal restrictions. Did the tenants in the lower categories not vote because they were legally unable to or because of their socio-economic status?

One way of neutralizing the impact of the legal restrictions is to consider the behaviour of property owners: examination of the assessment rolls indicated that all those owning property in the constituency met the basic property qualifications.[158] If a socio-economic explanation were to hold true to form, then the property owners in the highest categories should be consistently overrepresented as voters while those in the lowest consistently underrepresented. For the election of 1824, the "ideal" pattern occurred with overrepresentation for those in the two highest categories (index scores = 21.6 and 21.2), proportional representation for those in category III or IV (1.0 and -5.3) and gross underrepresentation for those in the lowest category (-37.8). Unfortunately from a theoretically point of view the pattern only partially holds true for the other four elections. For the highest-status group (I), underrepresentation was the norm (mean score for the four elections = -12.5). The second highest-status group (II) had periods of overrepresentation (12.3), proportional representation (5.0 and 2.3) and underrepresentation (-18.0). It is with the remaining three groups that one finds evidence of a strong relationship between status and participation: those in category III were slightly overrepresented (mean score = 10.8); those in category IV were proportionately represented (mean score = 4.5); and those in category were consistently underrepresented as voters (mean score = -17.3).

The examination of property ownership and socio-professional status of the voters and non-voters provides strong support for a socio-economic explanation of voting participation; it is surprising, therefore, that an analysis of the eligible electorate according to annual assessed value of property does

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[158]See chapter 3, p. 102.

Table 4-18: Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters Voting, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

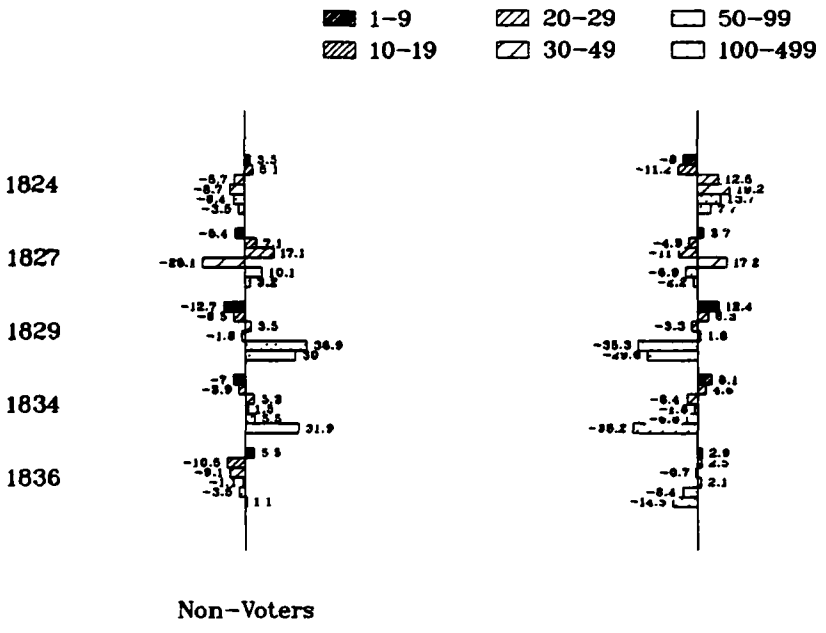
Ass. (£)	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829 N	1829 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
1-9	85	28.8	203	61.5	229	57.3	227	49.3	145	30.4
10-19	54	27.8	101	56.4	91	54.2	80	47.6	71	40.3
20-29	31	35.2	45	52.3	34	49.3	29	42.6	26	40.0
30-49	28	37.3	57	69.5	42	51.9	34	44.7	26	34.7
50-99	36	35.6	48	55.2	29	33.0	48	42.4	33	36.3
100-499	29	33.7	47	58.0	33	35.9	25	28.1	27	33.3
Total	241	31.3	501	59.3	458	51.0	443	45.5	328	34.0

Sources: See table 4-6, p. 143.
Ass. (£): Annual Assessed Value of Property in Pounds

not further substantiate that kind of explanation. There are no differentiating patterns of participation between those in the highest assessed categories from those in the lowest (see table 4-18, p. 173). The mean percentages of voters are relatively the same: 45.5% in £1-£9; 45.3% in £10-£19; 43.9% in £20-£29; 47.6% in £30-£49; 40.5% in £50-£99; and 37.8% in £100-£499. The index of representation demonstrates further the common response in all categories with mean scores tending to cluster around 0 (see figure 4-10, p. 174). For non-voters, the mean scores are: -3.2 (£1-£9); -1.7 (£10-£19); 2.2 (£20-£29); -7.0 (£30-£49); 8.5 (£50-£99); and 12.7 (£100-£499). Similarly, for voters, the mean scores are: 3.9 (£1-£9); -0.5 (£10-£19); -1.9 (£20-£29); 7.7 (£30-£49); -8.7(£50-£99); and -15.4 for (£100-£499). These figures reveal that the wealthiest property owners did not participate in voting more than the poorest property owners. This conclusion contradicts the impression left by the editor of the Quebec Gazette that wealth separated the voters from the non-voters in Upper-Town Quebec. Those "who live in easy circumstances"[159] were not overrepresented

[159]See p. 164.

Figure 4-10: Profile of Eligible Electorate, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

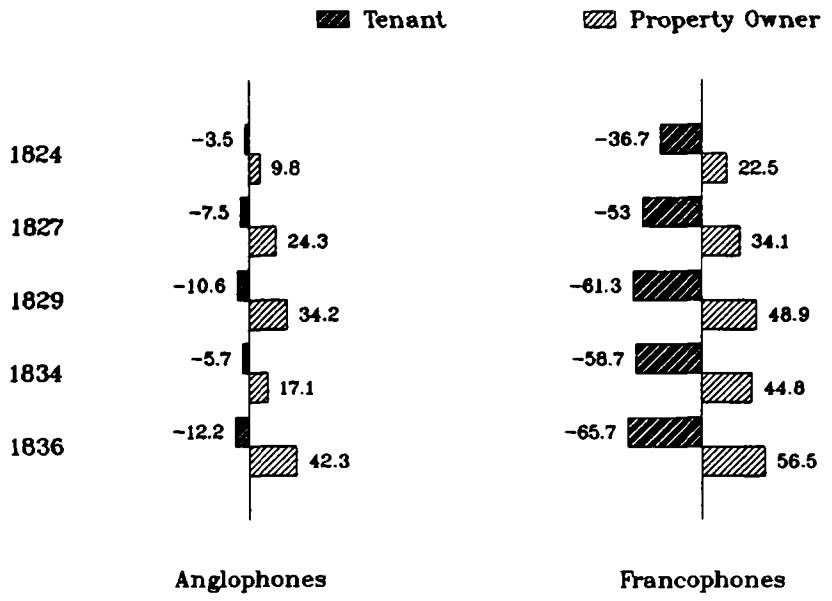


Sources: See table 4-6, 143.

as Upper-Town voters. Indeed, the property owners with assessments between £100-£500, representing the wealthiest group identified in this study, were clearly underrepresented as voters in the elections of 1829, 1834 and 1836 with index scores of -29.6, -38.2 and -14.5.

The response of the Upper-Town property owners to the call of the hustings suggests that a socio-economic explanation does not completely

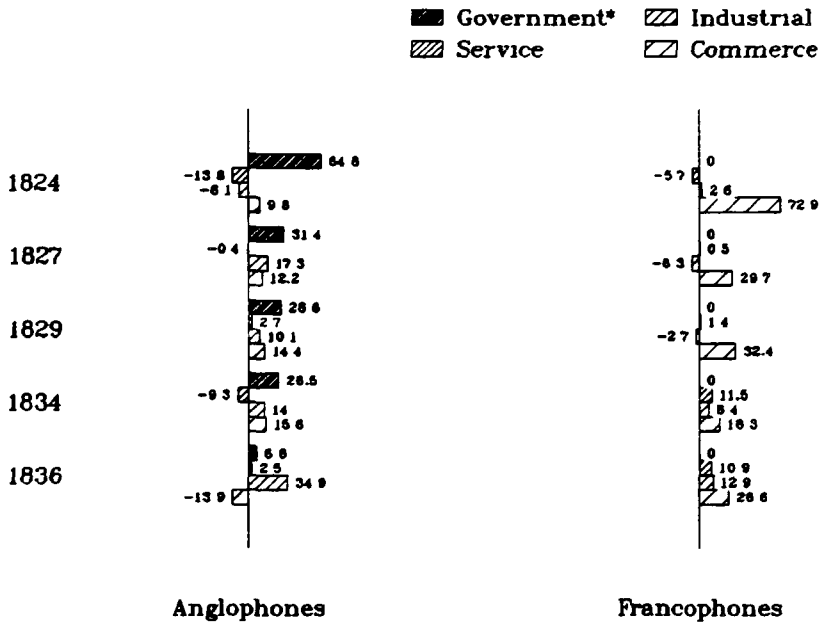
Figure 4-11: Profile of Eligible Electorate, According to Language Affiliation and Property Ownership, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836



Sources: See table 4-6, 143.

explain voting participation in Upper-Town Quebec. A closer examination of eligible anglophone and francophone voters in relation to property ownership, economic sector, socio-professional status and assessed value of property, while confirming that language affiliation was a relatively unimportant factor in the decision to vote, also confirms that ethno-cultural factors affected the decisions of certain groups of individuals. For example, both anglophone and francophone property owners in contrast to tenants were overrepresented as

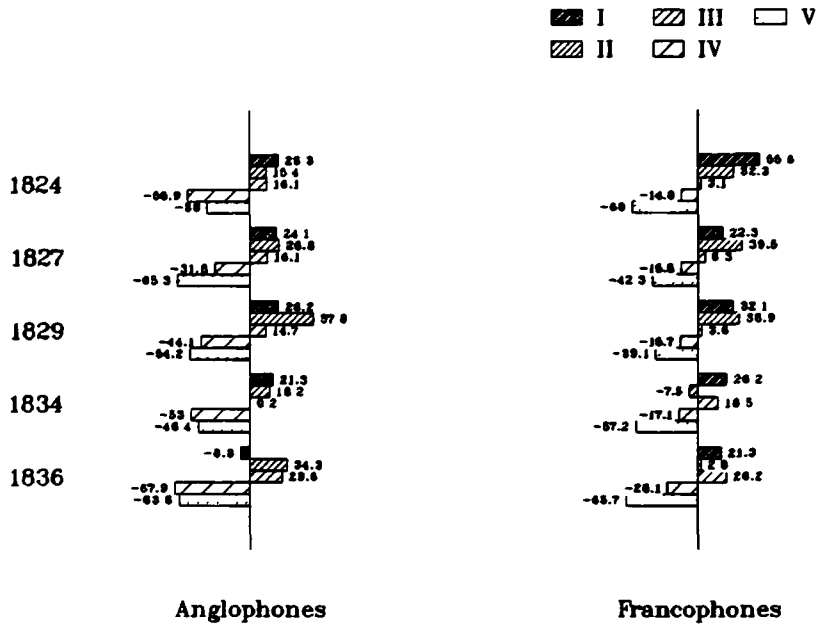
Figure 4-12: Profile of Eligible Electorate, According to Language Affiliation and Economic Sector, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836



Sources See table 4-6, 143

voters (see figure 4-11, p. 175). But it is also evident that in regard to property status, francophone tenants were greatly underrepresented as voters (mean score for the five elections = -55.1); the same was not true for anglophone tenants (mean score = -7.9). Also, in regard to economic sector, the behaviour of one of the language groups also stands out: the overrepresentativeness of the francophone eligible voters in the commercial sector as voters was much greater (mean score for the five elections = 36.0)

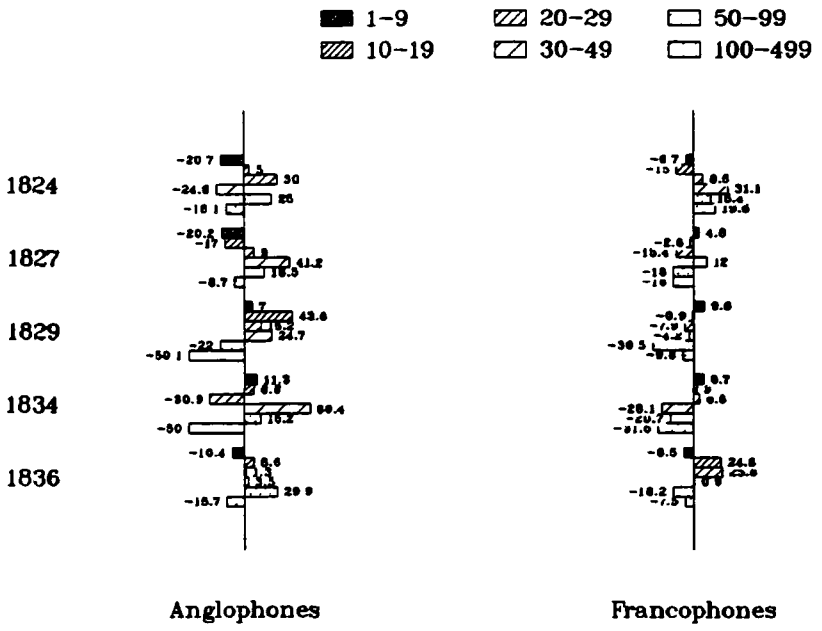
Figure 4-13: Profile of Eligible Electorate, According to Language Affiliation and Socio-Professional Status, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836



Sources: See table 4-6, 143.

than that of the anglophone eligible voters (mean score = 7.6) (see figure 4-12, p. 176). Similarly anglophone and francophone eligible voters did not always react the same way in terms of socio-professional status. Specifically, the degree of underrepresentation for votes in category IV was much greater for anglophone (mean score = -50.4) than for francophone eligible votes (mean score = -16.5) (see figure 4-13, p. 177).

Figure 4-14: Profile of Eligible Electorate, According to Language Affiliation and Assessed Value of Property, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836



Sources: See table 4-6, 143.

Finally, with the annual assessed value of property, some differences according to language affiliation are also observable (see figure 4-14, p. 178). First, in the £29-to-£50 category, anglophone eligible voters tended to be overrepresented as voters (mean score for the five elections = 21.0), while the francophone eligible voters were not (mean score = 2.3). Second, in the £49-to-£100 category, francophone eligible voters were underrepresented as voters (mean score = -15.6), but anglophone eligible voters were

overrepresented (mean score = 13.3). Third, anglophone eligible voters in the wealthiest category (£99-to-£500) were underrepresented as voters (mean score = -28.1). This was not true, however, for the francophone eligible voters (mean score = -5.4). Thus, while a socio-economic explanation goes a long way to explain voting participation in Upper-Town Quebec, it is also evident that other factors affected the behaviour of certain groups of individuals. For one, religion differentiated the actions of some Catholic anglophone eligible voters from their Protestant anglophone brethren. Similarly, language influenced the decisions of some anglophone and francophone eligible electors.

4.3.3. Other Factors: Age and Area of Residence

Studies of political participation have found a close relationship between differing degrees of involvement and age. For example, Lester W. Milbraith, in his classic book on Political Participation in the United States concluded that political participation "rises gradually with age, reaches its peak and levels off in the 40's and 50's, and gradually declines over 60."[160] Another study on voting registration in the southern United States attributes the differentiation between participation and age to the socio-economic position of the young eligible voters. Stanley Kelley, Richard Ayres and William Bowen in "Registration and Voting: Putting First Things First" explain the low rates of political participation among the young to "fluid occupational interests, greater mobility, lack of firm attachments to political parties, and absence of clear positions in the social life in their communities...."[161]

Our examination of age and voting provides additional evidence to the generally accepted notion that the younger members of the eligible electorate participated less than their older compatriots. In the election of 1827, for

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[160]Milbraith, Political Participation, 134.

[161]Stanley Kelley, Richard Ayres and William Bowen, "Registration and Voting: Putting First Things First," American Political Science Review 61(June 1967): 361.

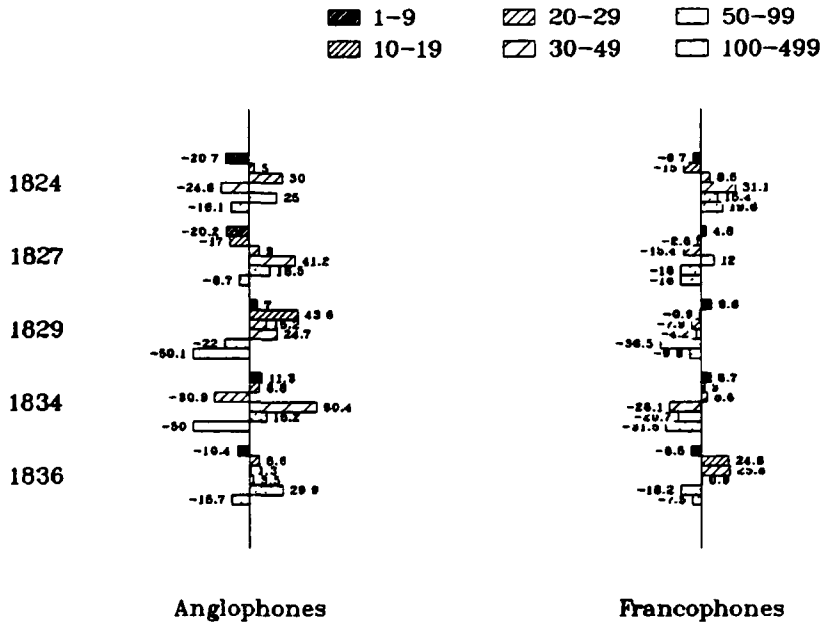
Table 4-19: Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters Voting, According to Age, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

Age (Years)	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829 N	1829 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
21-29	11	39.3	31	44.3	43	36.1	9	37.5	13	24.5
30-59	261	49.7	475	76.1	392	58.0	376	64.7	275	41.9
60-99	40	52.3	75	83.3	74	82.2	57	73.1	39	47.0
Total	318	49.4	590	74.1	512	57.0	437	64.6	330	41.4

Sources: See table 4-6, p. 143.
Total=Total of Eligible Voters Voting (includes several voters in 12-to-20 years-old category)

instance, over three-quarters of the eligible voters in the 30-to-59 (76.1%) and 60-plus (83.3%) categories voted, but less than half (44.3%) of the 21-to-29 year old eligible electors cast a vote (see table 4-19, p. 180). The lower participation of the younger eligible voters occurred in all five elections. The mean percentages for each age group are: 36.3% for the 21-to-29 year-olds; 58.0% for the 30-to-59 year-olds, and 67.6% for those 60 years old or more. The high percentage of voting among the 60-plus voters reveals that Milbraith's assertion concerning the decline among the oldest voters does not describe the electoral situation in Upper Town. On the contrary, voting participation was greatest among those sixty years or older. This conclusion is demonstrated in the index of underrepresentation and overrepresentation. The elderly eligible voters (60-plus) were consistently underrepresented as non-voters (mean score for the five elections = -30.7) and overrepresented as voters (mean score = 17.8) (see figure 4-15, p. 181). The "middle-aged" eligible voters, on the other hand, with mean scores of -4.1 (non-voters) and 1.3 (voters) participated proportionately to the size of the electorate they represented. Finally, the index also shows that the younger eligible voters (21-to-29 years old) were greatly overrepresented as non-voters (mean score = 57.9) and underrepresented as voters (mean score = -36.0).

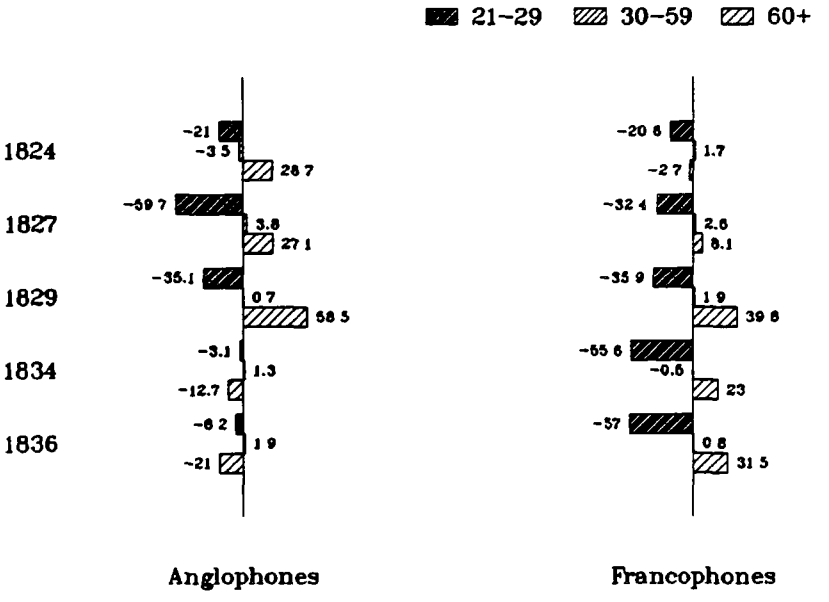
Figure 4-15: Profile of Eligible Electorate, According to Age, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836



Sources: See table 4-6, 143.

This analysis suggests a close connection between age and voting participation; however, a more rigorous examination taking into account the effects of language and property status reveals a more complex relationship. Consider, for one, the age profiles of the anglophone and francophone eligible voters voting in the elections (see figure 4-16, p. 182). The latter group best fits the more general model noted above with the younger francophone eligible voters largely underrepresented as voters (mean score for the five

Figure 4-16: Profile of Eligible Electorate Voting, According to Language Affiliation and Age, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

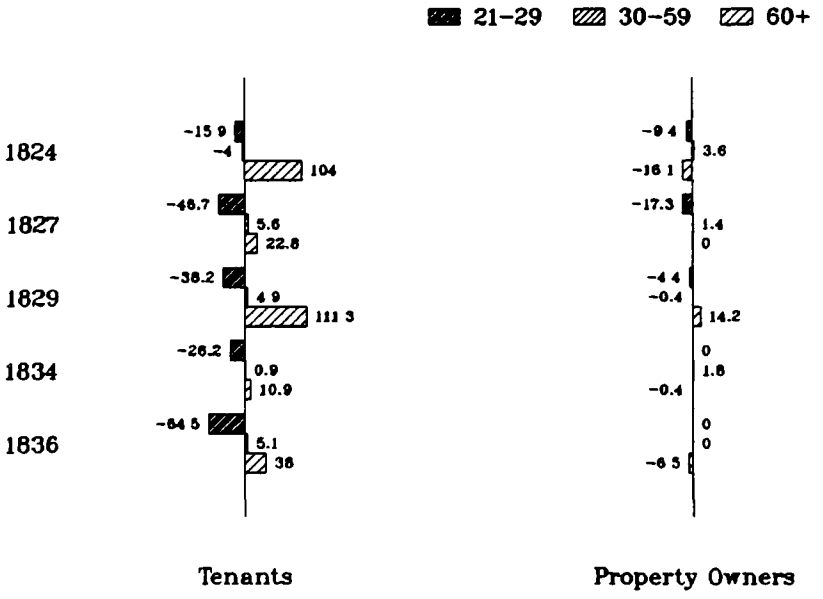


Sources: See table 4-6, 143

elections = -40.3) and the 30-to-59 year old francophone eligible voters proportionately represented (mean score = 1.3). The older francophone eligible voters (60+), on the other hand, displayed behaviour noticeably different from the "norm". Although overrepresented as voters in the 1829 (score = 39.8), 1834 (score = 23.0) and 1836 (score = 31.5), the sixty-plus francophone eligible voters were not overrepresented as voters in the elections of 1824 (score = -2.7) and 1827 (score = 8.1). The anglophone eligible

votes, on the other hand, displayed "normal" behaviour in the first three elections with mean scores for the three elections of -38.6 for the 21-to-29 year olds and 37.4 for the 60-plus year olds. In the 1830s, however, a different picture emerges with the younger eligible voters proportionately represented (mean score for 1834 and 1836 = -4.7) and the older eligible voters underrepresented (mean score = -16.9) as voters.

Figure 4-17: Profile of Eligible Electorate Voting, According to Property Ownership and Age, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836



Sources: See table 4-6, 143.

Similarly, an analysis of age and voting participation which controls for property status indicates that economic considerations were closely tied to the response of the different-aged eligible voters. Compare the profiles of those who owned property and those who did not (see figure 4-17, p. 183). Tenants are best represented by the traditional description with 21-to-29 year-olds underrepresented (mean score for the five elections = -38.3), 30-to-59 year-olds proportionately represented (mean score = 2.5) and the 60-plus year-olds overrepresented (mean score = 57.4) as voters. Property owners did not follow this same pattern. First, the older eligible voters were not overrepresented (mean score = -1.8) as voters. Second, the position of the younger eligible voters is more difficult to characterize because of insufficient numbers in several elections[162] and its variability. In the first three elections the underrepresentation of 21-to-29 year old property owners was relatively small (mean score for the three elections = -10.4). For 1834, however, the degree of underrepresentativeness was much greater with an index score of -44.0. In the next election, a more unusual development: the younger property owners were overrepresented (score = 40.1) as voters.

Thus, any discussion of age as a determinant of participation must consider the weight of other factors. True, younger eligible voters tended to vote at a lesser rate, but how much of this tendency is explained by the socio-economic circumstances of individuals? An equally cautious assessment of the strength of the relationship between area of residence and voting participation is also required. On the surface the link between residency and voting was strong. An examination of the place of residence of the eligible voters for four of the elections reveals that those residing in Upper Town proper voted proportionately more than those living in the suburbs of St. John and St. Louis. The mean percentages of participation according to residence are: 39.6% for Upper Town; 36.2% for the suburb of St. John;

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[162]The number of identified 21-to-29 year-old property owners in each election was: 10 in 1824; 24 in 1827; 32 in 1829; 9 in 1834; and 12 in 1836.

Table 4-20: Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters Voting, According to Area of Residence, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836*

Area of Residence	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829 N	1829 %	1836 N	1836 %
Upper Town	281	33.2	489	56.1	307	38.2	300	31.0
Suburb of St. John	309	30.9	623	48.9	524	41.4	306	23.4
Suburb of St. Louis	33	24.1	104	42.6	78	22.2	74	27.5
Unclassified	-	-	-	-	1	20.0	4	14.8
Total	623	31.2	1216	50.5	910	37.5	684	26.6

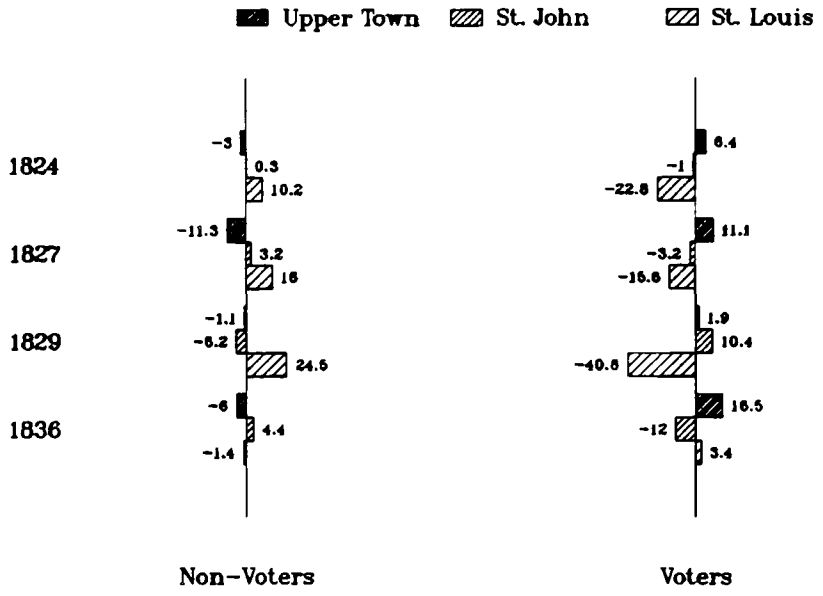
Sources: See table 4-6, p. 143.
*=Figures for 1834 are unreliable. For discussion of this problem, see 153.

and 29.1% for St. Louis (see table 4-20, p. 185).[163] An analysis using an index of representation suggests differentiating behaviour according to geography, but it also reveals the differences were not always evident throughout the period. In terms of non-voters, the patterns for Upper Town and St. John were quite similar (see figure 4-18, p. 186). For Upper Town eligible voters, the degree of underrepresentation was very minor in 1824, 1829 and 1836 (mean score for the three elections = -3.4); it is only with the election of 1827, that underrepresentation was apparent with a higher index score of -11.3. In regard to St. John's eligible voters, the norm was a slight degree of overrepresentation (mean score for the four elections = 0.4). Thus as non-voters, there was only a negligible difference between the eligible electorates of Upper-Town proper and the suburb of St. John.

As voters, these two areas of residence also displayed strikingly similar patterns of fluctuating behaviour. Upper-Town eligible electors alternated between low and moderate amounts of overrepresentation with scores of 6.4 (1824), 11.1 (1827), 1.9 (1829) and 16.5 (1836). As for those in St. John,

[163]The election of 1834 is excluded because of the unreliability of the data for area of residence from the pollbook of 1834. For discussion of this problem, see .

Figure 4-18: Profile of Eligible Electorate Voting, According to Area of Residence, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

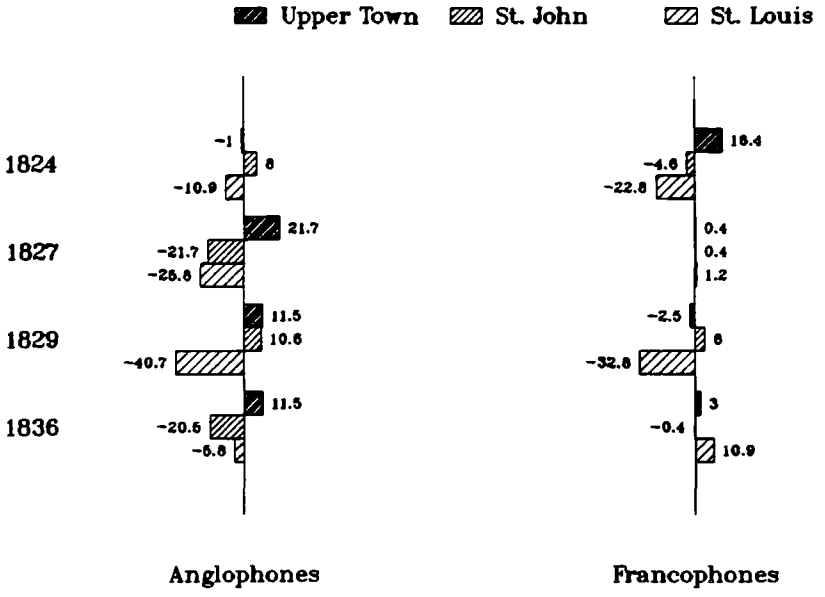


Sources: See table 4-6, 143.

they were proportionately represented in 1824 and 1827 (-1.1 and -3.2), overrepresented in 1829 (10.4) and underrepresented in 1836 (-12.0). In summary, the differences between Upper Town proper and St. John were not that significant; the same was not true for the suburb of St. Louis. Until the election of 1836, the St. Louis eligible electorate was consistently overrepresented as non-voters (the mean score for the three elections = 16.9) and underrepresented as voters (mean score = -26.4). Thus notable relative rates of participation existed, not between Upper-Town proper and St. John,

but between the suburb of St. Louis and the the other two areas of residence.

Figure 4-19: Profile of Eligible Electorate Voting, According to Area of Residence and Language Affiliation, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836



Sources: See table 4-6, 143.

Still, this conclusion suggests that differential rates of participation existed based on geography: at the very least the eligible voters of St. Louis behaved in a different fashion than those in the rest of the constituency. If it were a simple case of geography how could this behaviour be explained?

Perhaps distance to the poll was a factor? It seems not since the usual polling place, the Court of the Bishop's Palace, was about equal distance from St. Louis and St. John but the behaviour of the eligible voters of both suburbs was not the same.[164] Other factors must come into play. Consider language affiliation. In all elections but 1824 (index score = -1.0), the anglophone eligible voters in Upper Town proper were overrepresented as voters (mean score for the four elections = 9.0) (see figure 4-19, p. 187). This was not the case for the francophone eligible voters. In three elections, the francophone eligible electors were proportionately represented in Upper Town (mean score for the three elections = 0.3). In regard to the St. John's suburbs, the francophones were not underrepresented as voters (mean score for the four elections = 0.4). The situation of the anglophone eligible voters in St. John was much different. In two of the elections they were underrepresented as voters (mean score for the two elections = -21.1), but in two elections they were overrepresented (mean score for the two elections = 9.3). In St. Louis the pattern of voting was similar for both language groups with a large rate of underrepresentation in 1829 (score for anglophones = -40.7, for francophones = -32.8), but relatively proportionate voting occurring in 1836 for both the anglophone (score = -5.8) and francophone (score = 10.9) groups. In the first two elections, however, differences in voting participation are discernible in St. Louis: anglophone eligible voters were underrepresented in 1824 (score = -10.9) and 1827 (score = -25.8) while the francophone eligible voters were underrepresented in 1824 (score = -22.8) but not in 1827 (score = 1.2).

Thus, language affiliation, or more generally, ethno-cultural factors appear to have accounted for some of the patterns in geographic voting. Equally revealing is the effect of property status on area of residence. Two distinct patterns are evident: property owners tended to be unaffected by their place of residence while the participation of tenants appears to be

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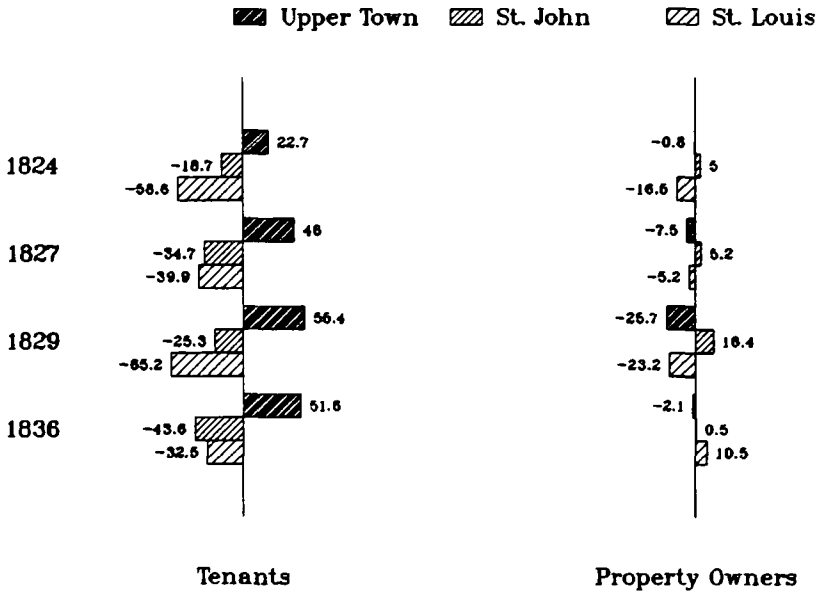
[164]See p. 113, chapter 3.

Figure 4-20: Profile of Eligible Electorate Voting, According to Area of Residence and Property Qualifications, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836



Sources: See table 4-6, 143.

directly linked to where they lived. The latter group were consistently overrepresented as voters in Upper Town (mean score for the four elections = 43.9) and underrepresented as voters in the suburbs with a mean score of -30.6 for St. John's and -49.1 for St. Louis. (see figure 4-20, p. 189). The eligible voters who owned property, nevertheless, did not display a discernible geographic pattern of voting participation. In Upper Town, for instance, the property owners were underrepresented as voters in 1829 (score = -25.7), but

proportionately represented in 1824, 1827 and 1836 (mean score for the three elections = 3.5). In St. John proportional representation of the property owners as voters occurred in 1824, 1827 and 1836 (score = 3.6), but overrepresentation was evident in 1829 (16.4). For those who owned property in St. Louis, there was a pattern of increasing voting participation with underrepresentation in the 1820s (mean score for the three elections = -15.0) and overrepresentation in the 1836 (mean score for the two elections = 10.5).

Our analysis suggests that, as was the case with age, language affiliation and property ownership had a direct bearing on the relationship between area of residence and voting participation. Furthermore our study of the constituency as a whole showed an important connection between status and where a household head resided;[165] this suggests that status, area of residence and participation were interrelated. To discover the exact nature of that relationship is difficult but the use of the MCA will allows us to assess the relative importance of the different determinants of voting participation and to consider the applicability of a socio-economic explanation.

4.4. Conclusion

MCA confirms the primacy of a socio-economic factors in explaining the participation behaviour of the enfranchised inhabitants of Upper-Town Quebec. With high beta scores of .35, .44, .42 and .31, it is clear that the most influential variable in differentiating the voters from the non-voters was the owning of property (see table 4-21, p. 193) The differences between tenants and property owners remained substantial throughout the period. ranging from 29 to 44 points.[166] Clearly the key to taking part in the election was the owning of property. What remains unclear is the reason

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[165]See p 82, chapter 2

[166]In 1824 the difference was 34 points [.20-(- 14)= 34].

why tenants did not vote. Until we are able to differentiate between those tenants who met the property qualifications and those did not, it is impossible to separate legal restrictions from behaviour conditioned by socio-economic circumstances. There are indications that the latter played an important role. With beta scores of .18, .22, .17 and .15, it is clear that socio-professional status affected the decision of the eligible participants. The contrasting behaviour of the elite (I and II) and the labouring groups is reflected in the point differentials for those two subgroups which range from 13 to 25. We also know that higher-status tenants participated proportionately more than lower-status tenants, and that lower-status property owners were consistently underrepresented as voters. This suggests that status explains the actions of many of the enfranchised including those who did not own property. At the same time the gross underrepresentation of Upper-Town renters underscores the effects of the legal restrictions upon that group and its precarious position in the political process, particularly as the economic conditions in Quebec region deteriorated in the 1820s and 1830s.

MCA underlines the relative unimportance of language affiliation in determining whether the eligible electors voted. With relatively low beta scores in 1824 (.07), 1827 (.09) and 1829 (.07). linguistic differences do little to explain the actions of the enfranchised inhabitants of Upper-Town Quebec. It was only during the shortened by-election of 1836 that language had some influence (beta score = .14). In general, however, anglophone and francophone eligible electors responded proportionately in the same way to the opportunity to vote. In other words, language was not a barrier to voting participation in Upper-Town Quebec. In short, by the 1820s, and if not sooner, the involvement of the French-speaking population in the British parliamentary system was equal to that of its English-speaking counterpart. Thus, in terms of voting participation in any case, the francophone resident whose introduction to representative government had only begun three decades earlier was as politically motivated as the anglophone resident.

The minor role that language played in voting participation suggests that socio-economic rather ethno-cultural factors best explains the actions of the eligible electorate. Nevertheless to accept unconditionally a socio-economic explanation is to ignore the results of our study. First, the outright rejection of the influence of ethno-cultural considerations must be tempered with the recognition that religion affected the behaviour of a portion of the anglophone potential voters.[167] Furthermore, the beta scores for area of residence (.19, .13, .12 and .10) suggest that the importance of this factor as a determinant of voting participation cannot be completely explained away by differing socio-economic conditions inside and outside the walls of the Old City.

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[167]To what degree, religion affected the behaviour of this groups is difficult to surmise. Unfortunately in order to maximize the number of cases considered the MCA is restricted to five factors: language affiliation, property qualifications, economic sector, socio-professional and area of residence. The relatively low Multiple R-squared values (.192, .254, .236 and .138) indicate that the five variables explain from about fifteen to twenty-five per cent of the variation within the dependent variable, voting participation.

Table 4-21: Voting Participation by Language Affiliation, Economic Sector, Socio-Professional Status, Property Qualifications and Area of Residence, Multiple Classification Analysis, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836*

Variable	1824 N	1824 Un.	1824 Adj.	1827 N	1827 Un.	1827 Adj.	1829 N	1829 Un.	1829 Adj.	1836 N	1836 Un.	1836 Adj.
Language Aff.												
Anglophone	543	.01	.04	836	-.01	.05	861	-.04	.04	1035	.04	.07
Francophone	871	.00	-.02	1247	.01	-.04	1266	.03	-.03	1321	-.03	-.06
Other	80	-.13	-.08	80	-.05	-.02	86	-.06	-.01	74	.00	.02
Property Own.												
Tenant	872	-.12	-.14	1222	-.17	-.19	1334	-.17	-.17	1521	-.09	-.11
Property Owner	622	.16	.20	941	.22	.25	879	.25	.26	909	.15	.18
Economic Sector												
Government	79	.24	.22	153	.16	.08	142	.10	.10	102	.02	-.04
Service	788	-.04	-.06	1038	.00	-.02	1150	.01	-.00	1261	.02	.01
Industrial	163	.03	-.01	195	.03	.05	204	.01	.03	257	.09	.06
Commerce	169	.20	.15	237	.12	-.00	214	.10	.01	349	.01	-.06
Extr-Unclass.	295	-.09	.01	540	-.11	-.00	503	-.10	-.03	461	-.10	-.02
Soc-Pr. Status												
I, II	398	.15	.03	654	.15	.10	604	.15	.10	845	.06	.03
Artisans	634	.03	.07	788	.05	.05	844	.04	.02	838	.07	.06
Labourers	442	-.17	-.12	671	-.21	-.15	724	-.15	-.08	728	-.15	-.10
Unclassified	20	-.12	-.26	50	-.02	-.09	41	-.29	-.35	19	-.18	-.16
Residence												
Upper Town	556	.09	.11	776	.07	.07	723	.01	.01	900	.05	.06
St.-John	829	-.04	-.05	1148	-.02	-.02	1156	.04	.03	1242	-.04	-.03
St.-Louis	99	-.08	-.16	224	-.10	-.09	330	-.17	-.14	261	.00	-.03
Unclassified	10	-.42	-.43	15	-.56	-.44	4	-.16	-.15	27	-.13	-.14
Summary Statistics												
Variable	(eta/beta)											
Language Aff.	.06/.07			.03/.09			.08/.07			.08/.14		
Property Own.	.28/.35			.39/.44			.42/.42			.26/.31		
Economic Sect.	.20/.17			.16/.06			.12/.06			.12/.07		
Soc-Pr. Status	.25/.18			.29/.22			.25/.17			.22/.15		
Residence	.15/.19			.14/.13			.15/.12			.09/.10		
Number	1494			2163			2213			2430		
Grand Mean	0.42			0.56			0.41			0.28		
R	.438			.504			.486			.372		
R-squared	.192			.254			.236			.138		

Sources: See table 4-6, p. 143.

*=Figures for 1834 are unreliable. For discussion of this problem, see 153.

Un.=Unadjusted; Adj.=Adjusted; Language Aff.=Language Affiliation; Soc-Pr. Status=Socio-Professional; Property Own.= Property Ownership; Residence=Area of Residence; Extr-Unclass.=Extractive and Unclassified

Part III: The Voters

Chapter Five: Language and Politics

5.1. Introduction

Focusing on the voting population, Part III endeavours to explain the electoral decisions of the Upper-Town voters. We have found that socio-economic circumstances were extremely important in determining where the constituency's inhabitants resided, whether they had the right to vote and if they exercised that right. Thus, it would be surprising indeed to find that socio-economic factors did not determine, at least in part, the voting behaviour of the Upper-Town electorate. Our analysis of the elections from 1814 to 1836 suggests that a combination of socio-economic and ethno-cultural factors was at work; it was only after 1830 that ethno-cultural considerations became paramount.

In general Part III analyzes a series of factors that may have determined the electoral choices made by the voters and explores in particular the relationship of the language affiliation and political preference of the candidates to the voters in terms of a number of different variables. Chapters 5 and 6 examines ethno-cultural factors with reference to language affiliation, country of origin, number of years resident in Lower Canada and religion. In chapters 7, 8 and 9 socio-economic factors are under consideration, including government influence, economic sector, socio-professional status, property ownership and annual assessed value of property. Chapter 10 discusses age and area of residence. The concluding section of this chapter contains a multivariate analysis, allowing us to weigh the relative importance of five of the most important factors and, in doing so, help us to explain the complexities of mass electoral behaviour in Upper-Town Quebec.

The first two chapters of Part III consider the viability of an ethno-cultural explanation. Recent American[168] and Canadian[169] studies of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century elections conclude that ethnicity, religion and other cultural considerations influenced greatly the electoral decisions of groups of voters. A preliminary analysis which excludes any consideration of socio-economic variables suggests that ethno-cultural factors were primary in the voting decisions of the electorate of Upper-Town Quebec from 1814 to 1836. The French Catholic inhabitants voted en masse for francophone and parti-canadien/patriote candidates. The British residents, on the other hand.

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[168]Bruce Cain and D Roderick Kieuret, "Ethnicity and Electoral Choice: Mexican-American Voting in the California 30th Congressional District," Social Science Quarterly, 65(1984) 315-27, Sandra Featherman, "Ethnicity and Ethnic Candidates Vote Advantages in Local Elections," Polity 15(1983) 397-415, Robert M Halley, "Ethnicity and Social Class Voting in the 1973 Los Angeles Elections," Western Political Quarterly, 29(1976) 521-30, Bruce Gunn Kelley, "Ethnocultural Voting Trends in Rural Iowa, 1890-1898," Annual of Iowa, 44(1978) 441-61, Lyman A Kellstedt, "Ethnicity and Political Behaviour Inter-Group and Intergenerational Differences," Ethnicity 1(1974). 393-415, Paul Kleppner, The Cross of Culture A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850-1900 (New York Free Press, 1970), Paul Kleppner, The Third Electoral System, 1853-1892 Paul Kleppner, "Partisanship and Ethnoreligious Conflict The Third Electoral System, 1853-1892" in The Evolution of American Electoral Systems eds P Kleppner et al (Westport, Conn Greenwood Press, 1981) 113-46, Allan J Lichtman, "Political Realignment and 'Ethnocultural' Voting in Late Nineteenth Century America," Journal of Social History 16(1983) 55-82 Richard L McCormack, "Ethnocultural Perspectives on 19th Century Political Behaviour An Evaluation," Political Science Quarterly 89(June 1973) 351-77, Samuel T McSweney "Ethnic Groups, Ethnic Conflicts and Recent Quantitative Research in American Political History," International Migration 7(Spring 1973) 14-33, R P Swierenga, "Ethnocultural Political Analysis A New Approach to American Ethnic Studies," Journal of American Studies 5(April 1971) 59-79, James E Wright, "The Ethnocultural Model of Voting" American Behavioral Scientist 16(May-June 1973) 653-74

[169]Grace Anderson, "Voting Behaviour and the Ethnic-Religious Variable A Study of a Federal Election in Hamilton, Ontario," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 32(1966) 27-37, George Hoffman, "The New Party and the Old Issues The Saskatchewan Farmer-Labour Party and the Ethnic Vote, 1934," Canadian Ethnic Studies, 14(1982) 1-20 John Mersel, "Religious Affiliation and Electoral Behaviour A Case Study " Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 22(1956) 481-96 Thomas Peterson, "Ethnic and Class Politics in Manitoba," in Canadian Provincial Politics ed Martin Robin (Scarborough Prentice-Hall, 1972) 61-119, K W Taylor and N Wiseman "Class and Ethnic Voting in Winnipeg The Case of 1941," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 14(May 1977) 174-87, Nelson Wiseman and K W Taylor, "Ethnic vs Class Voting The Case of Winnipeg, 1945," Canadian Journal of Political Science 7(1974) 314-28, N Wiseman and K W Taylor, "Class and Ethnic Voting in Winnipeg During the Cold War," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 16(1979) 60-76, N Wiseman and K W Taylor "Voting in Winnipeg During the Depression," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 19(May 1982) 215-36

sided with anglophone and Bureaucratic-party candidates. This simple portrait requires qualification. It is clear that language considerations did not always prevail. First, the political affiliation of the candidates sometimes had an impact. Prior to 1820, a French-speaking Bureaucratic-party candidate met with moderate success among the anglophone voting populace. In the first half of the third decade, the francophone electorate readily accepted an English-speaking Canadian-party standard bearer. Even after 1830, anglophone voters differentiated between "moderate" and "radical" Patriots.

Second, Protestant and Catholic voters, while generally favouring anglophone candidates, did not provide the same degree of support. In other words, for some anglophone voters religious considerations were important. The advent of a large number of Irish Catholic voters in the 1820s complicated the Quebec political scene. From 1827 onward, appeals to Catholicism and Britishness divided the Irish Catholic vote, as both parties recognized the pivotal role that the Irish Catholics played in the elections. With the by-election of 1836, the muddy waters of Upper-Town politics cleared as virtually all the Irish Catholic voters rejected the patriote religious appeal, siding with their linguistic compatriots from England, Scotland and British Canada.

Chapter 5 focuses on the response of the two language groups to the candidates that were presented for election and considers whether the language of the candidates played a role in determining the decisions of the voters. The underlying assumption of this part of the study is that language was a factor if the anglophone voters were overrepresented as supporters of anglophone candidates and, conversely, francophone voters were overrepresented as francophone supporters. Unfortunately, this simple hypothesis is complicated by three factors. First, as was the case in the majority of the constituencies, two members represented the Upper-Town Quebec in the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada (see table 1-1, p. 16); therefore, each qualified inhabitant had the right, but was not obligated, to

vote for two candidates.[170] How do we treat, for example, a voter who split his votes between an English-speaking candidate and a French-speaking candidate? Second, the voters did not always face the same voting options: the number and language affiliation of the candidates changed from one election to the next. Do we consider a vote for an anglophone candidate in a by-election where each voter had only one vote equal to a vote for an anglophone candidate in a general election with two francophone and two anglophone candidates? Third, for the sake of systematic analysis we tried to isolate language from all other factors. Unfortunately many times language affiliation and political preference went hand-in-hand and consequently to separate these two considerations simplifies the realities of Upper-Town Quebec politics.

The analysis that follows attempts to account for these complications by examining the voting results in several ways. First, it uses descriptive and multivariate statistics giving equal weight to each vote. This allows us to discern the general pattern of, and any changes in, the role of language in the voting process from 1814 to 1836. Second, it employs indexes accounting for the variety of voting options facing the electorate. This will add a greater degree of sophistication to our initial conclusions regarding language as a voting determinant. Third, the analysis also examines those elections where the language affiliation and the candidate's political affiliation were seemingly at odds: francophone candidates representing the Bureaucratic party and anglophone candidates carrying the Canadian-party banner. This will allows us to examine the relationship between language affiliation and political preference.

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[170]Voters could not cast two votes for the same candidate. There remained the option, which some voters exercised, of not using their second vote or plumping. Note that the votes were not ranked. The pollbooks do not indicate, in other words, a first- or second-choice candidate.

5.2. Language Affiliation and Voting Options

Le Spectateur Canadien saw the election of 1814 as a turning point for the French-speaking electorate of Lower Canada; the author of "Extrait d'une lettre de Québec" concluded that "les Canadiens n'ont jamais été plus unis que dans cette élection...."[171] These remarks suggest that despite the commonality of language, religion and birth-place, Canadiens had not always acted as one on the hustings: other factors were also at play at the polls. Fernand Ouellet agrees with the assessment of the electoral commentator of 1814. Examining group-voting patterns in Lower Canada, Ouellet concludes that after 1810 ethnicity came to play an increasingly important role in the electoral decisions of the voters.[172] This is a critical period for Ouellet's interpretations; he insists that the birth of French-Canadian nationalism lay not with the Conquest but with the economic, demographic, social and political crises marking the first decade of the nineteenth century. Comparing the election results of 1792 and 1816 Ouellet contends: "la crise des années 1805 à 1810 [the political struggle with Governor Craig] avait non seulement donné naissance au parti canadien, mais elle avait contribué à polariser le vote selon l'ethnicité. Cette évolution constituait un changement radical par rapport à la dernière décennie du XVIIIe siècle."[173]

Making firm conclusions about the growing significance of language affiliation depends upon demonstrating that over the course of the two decades this factor played an increasingly important role in the voting decisions of the voting population. A reading of the newspapers in this period suggests that for the editors, correspondents and authors of letters the election of 1827 was pivotal. The mother-tongue of the candidates became a

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[171]Le Spectateur Canadien, 3 May 1814.

[172]Ouellet, Le Bas Canada, 295.

[173]Ibid. See also: Ouellet, Bas-Canada, 122-30, 295-7; Ouellet, Lower Canada, 77-84, 186-188.

central issue as the newspapers debated whether Upper-Town Quebec should continue the tradition of sending one English-speaking candidate and one French-speaking candidate to the Legislative Assembly.[174] The election results depended upon the response of the electors to this issue. Since the election held in July 1820 Andrew Stuart and Joseph Vallières de St. Réal had represented the Upper-Town constituency in the Assembly. Running again in 1827, their success depended upon retaining the support that they had built up over two election campaigns and seven years as representatives.[175] However, the re-election of Stuart was in doubt as he and the Montreal group, led by Papineau, had parted ways. The admiration that Papineau once had for Andrew Stuart[176] had turned to scorn as he saw Stuart a "timide esclave"[177] of his brother James Stuart, the Attorney-General of Lower Canada. The strategy of Papineau and his followers was to split the Stuart-Vallières tandem by calling upon the voters of Upper-Town Quebec to elect Amable Berthelot along with Vallières. Berthelot, a Papineau patriote, was a well known political figure who had represented Trois-Rivières in the Assembly from 1814 to 1816 and from 1824 to 1827. Defeated in the July election held in Trois-Rivières, Berthelot ran in the election of Upper-Town Quebec depicted by his opponents as an "itinerant candidate...unable to hold his ground in the Borough in which he so long

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[174]Although there was no official agreement between the two language groups, the "tradition" of electing one anglophone and one francophone member to the Legislative Assembly began in 1792 and continued throughout much of the period. Until 1834, the anglophone-francophone representation was in force for thirty-two of the forty-two years. The only exceptions occurred from 1800 to 1804 and from 1814 to 1820 (see table 3-10, p. 128).

[175]Vallières was first elected in March 1820. Both were acclaimed in July 1820 and re-elected in 1824.

[176]For example, on December 1822 Papineau writing to John Neilson suggested that Stuart had "des idées très saines et très grandes sur les règles de conduite qui devrait se prescrire l'administration provincial pour assurer la prospérité du Pays...." (Papineau to Neilson, 12 December 1822, PAC, Neilson Papers, MG24 B1, vol. 4, 69).

[177]Papineau to Julie Papineau, 20 March 1826, Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec, 34-35(1953-54, 1954-5): 243.

resided and is now offered at second hand to the Electors of Quebec."[178] Berthelot, in fact, had strong links to Quebec with his family owning an important tract of land outside of the St-John's gate,[179] and his father. Michel-Amable d'Artigny, represented the County of Québec in the Assembly from 1793 to 1796 and from 1798 to 1800.

The proponents of Berthelot's election believed that the best way to ensure success was to link him with Vallières and to call upon the voters to elect two of their own, two patriotes. For example, the L'Electeur[180] published a letter written by "N" appealing to his "Compatriotes Canadiens" to elect Vallières and Berthelot. The author of the letter reminded his readers that the spotlight was on the Quebec capital and that it should set the standard for the rest of the province. He continued:

> Canadiens. Joignez vous et demeurez unis. ...Concitoyens...M. Stuart est un de ceux qui ont eu lâcheté d'abandonner votre défense dont ils étaient chargés, et de vous livrer entre les mains de vos ennemis. Vous ne pouvez plus reposer la moindre confiance en lui. Au contraire, M. Vallières et M. Berthelot vous ont toujours été fidèles, et ils ont montré autant de vrai patriotisme et d'attachement à la cause de leur pays, qu'ils avaient de talents pour la défendre et la faire réussir....[181]

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[178]Quebec Mercury, 31 July 1827.

[179]Francis Audet reports that Berthelot's grandfather, Charles-Amable, had purchased a large piece of property in the Upper-Town Quebec Indeed the Berthelot market and the streets of Sainte-Geneviève, Saint-Michel, Saint-Amable and d'Artigny carries the names of Michel Amable and his children, including Amable (F. Audet, PAC, MG 30 D1 vol. 2, 517).

[180]The L'Electeur/The Elector was short-lived newspaper whose owner, François Lemaître, created in response to Lord Dalhousie's call for an election in March of 1827 Lemaître hoped to clarify for the electors the issues surrounding the election Appearing seven times from 16 July to 27 August 1827, the paper was "independent", printing numerous letters and addresses from both the supporters and opponents of Dalhousie. (André Beaulieu and Jean Hamelin, La presse québécoise des origines à nos jours, vol 1 1764-1859 Quebec: Les presses de l'université Laval, 1973], 61).

[181]L'Electeur, 30 July 1827

new members amongst themselves;...[184]

The general election of 1830 following the death of George IV[185] did not create much interest in Upper-Town Quebec as the old members, Stuart and Duval, were returned without opposition. The editor of the Quebec Mercury echoed many of those concerned by applauding the results: "The representation of the Upper Town can not rest in better hands than with the gentlemen again chosen. Mr. Stuart has long been in the assembly, and may rightly be considered one of its most brilliant ornaments, and the conduct of Mr. Duval...was...frank, manly, and independent, and such as to entitle him to the confidence of his fellow citizens."[186] The newspaper accounts of the election of 1834 and 1836 reveal that the candidates' mother tongue was central to the political campaigns and strategies to induce voters to throw their support behind the candidates.

In the election of 1834 the language question was directly linked to the 92 resolutions.[187] On one side, the two patriote candidates, René-Edouard Caron and Amable Berthelot, urged their compatriots to return two Canadians to demonstrate their approval of the Assembly's actions. In his opening speech on the hustings, Caron presented this argument clearly to the electors:

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[184]Quebec Mercury, 30 June 1829

[185]George IV died on 26 June 1830 After the death of his father in 1820, a general election was held in July 1820 only four months after a general election in March 1820 This set the precedent in the British North American colonies that on the death of sovereign, a new election would be called This followed the practice in Great Britain

[186]Quebec Mercury, 28 September 1830

[187]In the early part of 1834 the Papineau-controlled Assembly passed a series of resolutions outlining the Patriots' grievances against the political status quo The patriotes claimed, among other things, an elected Legislative Council and ministerial responsibility (Ouellet, Lower Canada, 231, see also Helen Taft Manning, the Revolt fo French Canada, 1800-1835 A Chapter in the History of the British Commonwealth [Toronto Macmillan, 1962], 361-3)

new members amongst themselves;...[184]

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> Si vous approuvez ces résolutions [92 Resolutions], vous devez venir à la conclusion que ceux qui les ont opposées,...n'ont pas voté suivant vos opinions, suivant vos intérêts, et que vous devez leur retirer vos faveurs. Cette circonstance m'offre l'occasion de répondre à une objection faire à ce sujet. Est-il juste, nous dit-on d'exclure les Anglais de la représentation? Dans les circonstances ordinaires, un compromis par lequel on conviendrait d'élire un Canadien ou un Anglais d'origine, pourrait avait lieu, la chose pourrait se faire; mais relativement à la grande question des 92 résolutions, vous devez mettre de côté tout ce qui n'est que de convenance et de formes, et ne considèrer que le bien de la majorité du pays. Si vous êtes forcés aujourd'hui de choisir deux Canadiens d'origine, vous pouvez donc dire que vous y avez été forcés par la position qui a prise la parti opposé.[188]

Caron's running mate, Berthelot, followed his lead and made a direct link between the election of two Canadiens and support for the 92 Resolutions. He went on to generalize about the importance of the Legislative of Assembly as a protector of Canadian interests: "Canadiens, souvenez-vous d'une chose; souvenez-vous que le seul rempart que vous avez, que le seul moyen de protection qui vous reste, est dans la Chambre d'Assemblé. Les intérêts de la population anglaise sont protégés et défendus en Angleterre, dans le Conseil Législatif et par le Gouverneur. Nous n'avons que la Chambre d'Assemblée, et nous y enverrions des personnes y soutenir nos ennemis politiques."[189]

Le Canadien, now owned and edited by Etienne Parent,[190] still a Papineau supporter, also reminded the Canadian voters of the seriousness of their actions and the need to set aside their differences and unite behind those men who would assure the success of "la cause populaire":

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[188]Le Canadien, 24 October 1834. See also: Quebec Gazette, 22 October 1834.

[189]Ibid.

[190]Le Canadien under the ownership of Etienne Parent and Jean-Baptiste Fréchette reappeared for the first time since 1825. Parent became the editor, while Fréchette assumed the printing responsibilities (Beaulieu and Hamelin, La presse québécoise, 16-17).

> Les Electeurs du comté et de la Cité de Québec ne doivent pas ignorer que de toutes les parties de la Province on tient les yeux fixés sur eux dans une occasion aussi solennelle que la présente. On attend d'eux si non un exemple, du moins un encouragement à faire des élections excellentes sous tous les rapports. D'eux on attend non seulement des hommes dévoués espérons que tous feront de bon coeur ce léger sacrifice sur l'autel de la partie, pour assurer le succès de la cause populaire et le triomphe final des idées de réforme qui nous occupent.[191]

On the day of the election for Upper-Town Quebec, the editor of Le Canadien remarked upon the rallying of the Canadians around the flag of patriotism: "L'esprit que l'on déploie dans les réunions que l'approche des élections a occasionnés, est une preuve consolante que le patriotisme est un honneur chez les Canadiens, nonobstant les efforts de tout genre de la Gazette [Quebec Gazette] et de ses satellites pour répudier de leur coeur l'amour de leur pays. Cet esprit fait voir que les Canadiens sont prêts à les réunir autour de l'étendard de la patrie, et à se défendre à l'envie les uns des autres contre les attaques de nos ennemis."[192]

The Quebec Gazette, as Parent indicated, interpreted differently the patriotic call by the supporters of Caron and Berthelot. Its editor and owner, Samuel Nielson,[193] the son of John Neilson, who had recently parted bitterly with Papineau, depicted the attempt to defeat Stuart as an attack on the British population of the city. In an editorial printed on the fifth day of the election with Stuart's defeat virtually assured, Samuel Neilson blamed the "Resolutionists" for making the election a "national affair".

The state of feeling is rather intemperate, but the party of

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[191]Le Canadien, 10 October, 1834.

[192]Le Canadien, 22 October 1834.

[193]John Neilson designated his son owner and editor in 1822. The paper supported Papineau until Neilson's break with the patriotes in 1834. In 1836, John Neilson became the editor once again (Beaulieu and Hamelin, La presse québécoise, 2-3).

> the Resolutionists having first stood upon national grounds by choosing two Canadians when they might at least have had an English name, and by their declarations and conduct everywhere in that sense, early made it a national affair, as indeed their leaders have openly made it for the last year or two. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that those more nearly connected with the mother country and its acknowledged rights over the country, should also rally under national feelings. At no former time have these feelings been more apparent, and it will be some time, we are sorry to think, before they will be allayed. The exclusive and domineering pretensions of the majority party, must not avail against justice and the useful possession of the colony by Great Britain.[194]

The Quebec Mercury also supported the re-election of Stuart. It too described the attempt to exclude Stuart from the Assembly as an attack on the English population. After the first day of polling, the Mercury describing a pro-Stuart meeting called upon the "English electors" to come to the defense of their rights:

> Mr. A. STUART...is to be ousted because he has an English name and voted against the 92 Resolutions. The Canadian Electors have declared these startling facts by the result of the poll of yesterday - the affair has now become a national one - and it remains for the English Electors to rally in defence of their language, their own rights, and those of their posterity. Apathy now would be base, and unworthy the country from which they sprung.[195]

The "national" appeal continued throughout the election. The Quebec Gazette advertized meetings for the "Loyal Supporters of Andrew Stuart", concluding with the proclamation: "Britons! remember your opponents have made the cause a national one, and 'England Expects Every Man to Do His Duty.'"[196]

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[194]Quebec Gazette, 27 October 1834.

[195]Quebec Mercury, 23 October 1834.

[196]Quebec Gazette, 24 and 27 October 1834.

Stuart, finding himself trailing by over one hundred votes after the second day of the election, attempted to garner as many English votes as possible by equating his defeat with a "Canadian" plot to keep the British out of the Assembly. In a mid-election meeting, Stuart characterized the election as political and national:

> The question had assumed a political and national character, and the proceedings of that morning had divested it of a personal nature. The questions were, first, if those of British origin (and he had not yet learned to be ashamed of such a name) should have any share in the representation? The second was, whether the circumstances of the voting against the 92 Resolutions ("It is only because you have an English name," from an elector.) was alone sufficient to deprive him of his election?.... He would say, (for it would not do to mince matters,) that it was a great national effort of the Canadians, to deprive the English portion of society of their moderate share of the representation.

Stuart went on, urging his supporters not to split their votes between himself and Caron. Stuart told his audience that "he could not understand why, when the Canadians were endeavouring to turn him out, the English should endeavour to turn Mr. Caron in. There was no half course."[197] In hopes of not completely alienating the francophone voters, Stuart traced the origins of the "exclusionism" to the Papineau group in Montreal. Addressing a reported four to five hundred "friends" at a meeting held in the evening of the third day of voting, Stuart proclaimed: "There exists in this society (the headquarters of which are at Montreal), a faction opposed to everything connected with British interests, and whose object is to exclude all persons of British origin from the Legislature...he would repeat to them [the "British" electors] the old rule: 'Do unto others as you would they should do unto you.'"[198]

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[197]Quebec Gazette, 24 October 1834. See also: Quebec Mercury, 25 October 1834.

[198]Quebec Gazette, 27 October 1834. See also: Quebec Mercury, 28 October 1834.

The by-election of 1836, occasioned by Caron's break with Papineau and resignation from the Assembly, continued the "national affair" with the candidates' language affiliation central to the campaign. As editor of Le Canadien, Parent deplored Caron's resignation fearing it would allow "le triomphe des ennemis de la réforme". Parent implored his fellow Canadian to put aside their differences: "Il n'est qu'un seul but, un seul désir c'est le salut de la Patrie. Nous le voulons tous également. Ce désir commun nous fera marcher ensemble.[199] Le Canadien also printed a letter from "un Canadien Réformiste" regarding Dr. Joseph Painchaud's nomination as the patriote candidate. The author concluded by urging the Canadians to defend their rights by electing Painchaud: "En effet, enfans [sic] du Canada, appartenant au même sol, pourrions nous ne pas défendre les droits de notre mère chérie, le pays qui nous a vu naître![200]

Now editor of the Quebec Gazette, John Neilson claimed that Stuart's opponents were once again focusing on "national" distinctions. In reference to the 92 Resolutions, he wrote:

> The Resolutions [the 92 Resolutions] and is well known, establish, by a formal declaration of the majority of the Assembly, the distinctions of "French origin" and "British or foreign origin", and it was under these distinctions that the electors who supported the "French origin" majority limited very generally at the last election, in supporting candidates who professed to be for these Resolutions.
>
> The same course, it appears, is attempting to be followed in filling the present vacancy for the Upper Town. Mr. Stuart, who has again come forward, refused to acknowledge these distinctions, which he has always disavowed, both in public and private life.[201]

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[199]Le Canadien, 14 March 1836.

[200]Ibid.

[201]Quebec Gazette, 16 March 1836.

Stuart opened the polling with the same line of argument, stressing his commitment to Canadians and those of British origin. But he also returned to the question of "the system of exclusion of all persons of British origin who would not yield implicit obedience to the mandate of the majority of the Assembly...."[202] This was the central issue of the by-election according to Stuart. He argued:

> the inhabitants of the Upper Town of Quebec, of British and Irish origin...had no opportunity of expressing their opinions on those deeply important matters in the Provincial Parliament. He would ask, was it fitting, was it right, was it proper or just that on such a vital question [the House refusing to pay the public officers], in which the good of the country was so deeply involved, that the men of British and Irish origin should find themselves deprived of all means of taking part in the deliberations thereon? It was not necessary for him to enter into any details at that moment, in order to prove the fact of the British and Irish inhabitants of this Province being deprived of all share in the representation; he would merely mention one fact which speaks volumes. The members for the Upper Town, the Lower Town and the County of Quebec, forming in all, the number of six, are altogether taken from one class of the population. (Cheers). That class he was not disposed to underrate in any form, but the fact that from one class, and that class alone, are taken the persons to represent us in Parliament, showed a spirit of exclusion, a system of injustice - and consequently of weaknesses that could not but be detrimental to the true interests of the country. (Cheers).[203]

Finally, the call for "national distinctions" manifested itself in the form of roving bands of anglophone and francophone supporters attempting to intimidate each other, in order to assure the election of their candidates. Stuart's followers blamed the Canadians for the disturbances. The Quebec Gazette attributed the riots to the French with the result "that more than twenty harmless and peaceable citizens of 'British origin' have been attacked,

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[202]Quebec Mercury, 22 March 1836.

[203]Quebec Gazette, 23 March 1836.

when walking alone on the public streets, and put in danger of losing life....".[204] Painchaud's proponents strongly protested that they were not at fault and pointed to "des processions bruyantes des partisans de M. STUART par toute la ville, et des rixes sérieuses dans le faubourg St. Jean."[205]

Appeals to "national distinction" marked the election campaigns of 1834 and 1836. The supporters of francophone candidates used this strategy to unseat Andrew Stuart, long-time member of Upper-Town Quebec, and in so doing challenged the long accepted "practice" of electing one Canadian and one British member to represent the constituency. Amable Berthelot and his followers used the same tactic in the election of 1827, but they failed to remove Stuart. The latter's proponents also focused on the linguistic question, using an "exclusion" argument to motivate those of British origins to back Stuart unanimously.

The newspaper accounts of the Upper-Town Quebec elections point to several conclusions regarding the importance of linguistic considerations as a voting determinant. One, there were very few references to language or "national" concerns prior to the election of 1827 suggesting that language was not an important issue until that time. Two, language emerges as an important factor in the electoral decisions of the voters in 1827. Three, language matters dominated the hustings after 1830, constituting the central factor in the elections of 1834 and 1836. Are these conclusions borne out in the electoral decisions of the voters?

It is difficult to pinpoint the election or even the decade when language began to influence the decisions of the Upper-Town Quebec electors. To date, only the pollbook of 1792 has been uncovered and it is limited in its use

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[204]Quebec Gazette, 25 March 1836. See also: Quebec Mercury, 24 March 1836; Quebec Gazette, 28 March 1836.

[205]Le Canadien, 23 March 1836.

Table 5-1: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Language Affiliation, Voting for the Leading Anglophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1816.

Language Affiliation	1792 Grant N	%	1814 Brown N	%	1816 Fletcher N	%
Anglophone	120	92.3	128	88.9	90	88.2
Francophone	96	29.2	102	26.3	39	14.9
Other	23	70.0	30	61.2	13	59.1
Total	239	48.6	260	44.8	142	36.8

Sources: Pollbook, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792, PAC, Young Family Papers, MG24 B4, vol. 2, 3-22; ANQ, Pollbook, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814; ASQ, Pollbook, Upper-Town Quebec, 1816.

because it does not provide a complete record of the voters' preference. It is only a list of those who cast at least one vote for William Grant and those who did not support him at all. This is a partial record, revealing nothing about the voters' response to the other three candidates in the election: Jean-Antoine Panet, George Allsopp and Louis Germain, Jr. One way in which to use the pollbook of 1792 is to compare the support for Grant, the most successful English-speaking candidate in terms of receiving votes, to that of the leading anglophone candidates in the elections of 1814 and 1816. This should provide some indications if language affiliation had increased in importance as a voting determinant between 1792 and 1814 when the "Canadiens were united as never before." Analysis of the elections of 1792, 1814 and 1816 in this simple fashion suggests that language affiliation was important in 1792 as it was in 1814. In 1792, 92.3% of the anglophone voters voted at least once for Grant, the leading anglophone candidate (see table 5-1, p. 211). Anglophone support drops slightly to 88.9% in 1814 and 88.2% in 1816. The percentage of francophone voters casting at least once for the leading candidate was similar in 1792 and 1814, decreasing modestly from 29.2% to 26.3%.

Thus the comparison of the pollbooks of 1792 and 1814 suggests that language affiliation was equally important as a voting determinant in both elections. On the other hand, this must not be overstated. First, the partial pollbook of 1792 makes further comparisons virtually impossible. For example, the percentage of anglophone plumping for Grant is unknown, while the pollbook of 1816 reveals that 34.7% of the anglophone voters plumped or used only one of their votes to support Brown. The percentage of francophone plumpers was only 2.1%. Was plumping a feature of the election of 1792? This question remains unanswered since the number of votes actually cast is unknown.

Second, the elections of 1792 and 1814 are not necessarily representative of all the elections in their respective decades. For example, the percentage of francophone voters supporting John Fletcher, the leading anglophone candidate fell dramatically to 14.9% in 1816, suggesting that language affiliation was increasingly important for francophone voters. This pattern is also demonstrated in terms of the index of representation (see figure 5-1, p. 213). For the anglophone voters this was 90.0 in 1792 and 98.4 in 1814, but comparatively higher in 1816 with 140.0. Similarly, for francophone voters the index of support for the leading anglophone candidate is considerably less in 1816 (-59.5) than in 1792 (-39.9) and 1814 (-41.3).

The completeness of the series of pollbooks covering all the polled elections but one from 1814 to 1836 allows for a more systematic examination of the importance of language affiliation as a voting determinant.[206] The voting results of the seven elections suggest that indeed language affiliation was a key factor in the way that the inhabitants of Upper-Town Quebec cast their votes. In the six elections in which there were anglophone candidates, the mean percentage of support of anglophone

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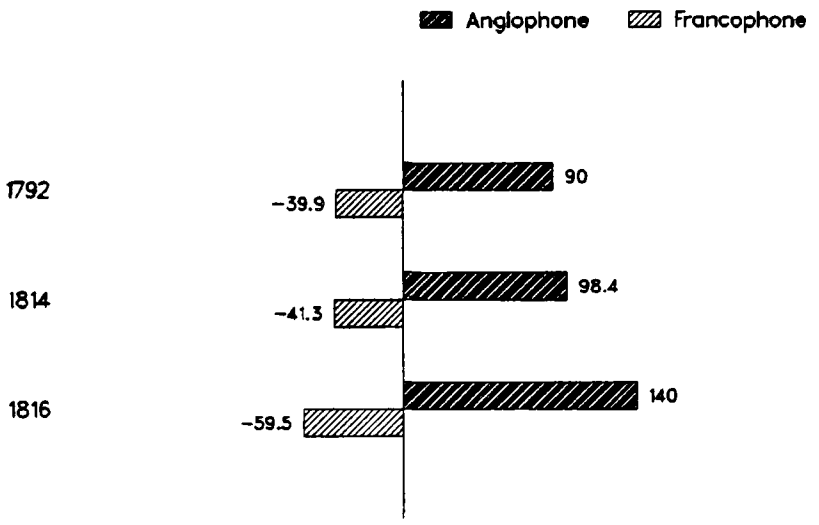
[206]From 1814 to 1816, eleven elections took place. Three of the elections did not require polls since the candidates ran unopposed (1815, June 1820 and 1830). The only contested election for which a pollbook has not been found was held in March 1820.

Figure 5-1: Profile of Voters Voting for the Leading Anglophone Candidate, According to Language Affiliation, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1816



Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

voters for anglophone candidates is 92.6%. Specifically, in the election of 1814, 91.0% of the anglophone voters voted for George Brown and/or John Fletcher (see table 5-2, p. 214). This very high percentage of anglophone support for anglophone candidates is also evident in the other five elections. In 1816 the percentage of anglophone voters casting at least one vote for an anglophone candidate was 88.2%. In 1824 the percentage increased substantially to 98.3%, but fell off slightly to 88.0% in 1827. In the two

Table 5-2: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Language Affiliation, Voting for at Least One Anglophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Language	1814 N	1814 %	1816 N	1816 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
Anglophone	131	91.0	90	88.2	229	98.3	403	88.0	410	93.4	325	97.0
Francophone	102	26.3	39	14.9	317	86.4	159	22.2	33	6.1	27	8.2
Other	30	61.2	13	59.1	23	100.0	31	75.6	27	65.9	19	90.5
Total	263	45.3	142	26.8	569	91.3	593	48.8	470	46.0	371	54.2

Sources: ANQ, Pollbook, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814, 1824, 1827, 1829, 1834, 1836; ASQ, Pollbook, Upper-Town Quebec, 1816; AVQ, Quebec City, Assessment Rolls, 1824-1836; PAC, Lower Canada, Census Returns, 1831, 1842; Signay, Recensement de la ville, 1818.
*=by-election.

elections in the 1830s, the percentage of anglophone support was extremely high: 93.4% in 1834 and 97.0% in 1836.

Table 5-3: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Language Affiliation, Voting for at Least One Francophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Language	1814 N	1814 %	1816 N	1816 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829 N	1829 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
Anglophone	85	59.0	20	19.6	144	61.8	191	41.7	61	19.3	186	42.4	10	3.0
Francophone	378	97.4	227	86.6	360	98.1	653	91.1	413	73.2	535	98.9	301	91.8
Other	42	87.8	11	50.0	18	78.3	26	63.4	11	36.7	30	73.2	2	9.5
Total	506	87.1	258	66.8	522	83.8	870	71.5	485	53.3	751	73.6	313	45.8

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
Other: Other or Not Known

The francophone voters also displayed a similarly close attachment to francophone candidates. The mean percentage of francophone voters casting at least one vote for a francophone candidate was 91.8% (see table 5-3, p.

214). Except for the election of 1829 in which less than seventy-five per cent of the francophone voters voted for François-Joseph Duval, the only francophone candidate, the percentage of francophone support for francophone candidates was quite high. In the election of 1814 the percentage was 97.4%. In 1816 the percentage decreased to 86.6%, but jumped to 98.1% in 1824. In the election of 1827 and the two elections in the 1830s, the percentage of francophone support for francophone candidates remained over ninety per cent.

The relatively high support in all the elections given by both linguistic groups to candidates sharing the same mother tongue suggests a strong relationship between language affiliation and voting behaviour. However, in five of the seven elections each voter had the opportunity to vote twice;[207] thus, it was possible for a voter to split his votes between the anglophone and francophone candidates. If this were the case then for those particular voters language affiliation was not an important consideration in their electoral decisions.[208]

The percentage of francophone voters casting votes for anglophone candidates was relatively low in all the elections but one (see table 5-2, p. 214). The mean percentage of francophone voters voting at least once for an anglophone candidate was 21.1% for the elections of 1814 (26.3%), 1816 (14.9%) and 1827 (22.2%). In the two elections held in the 1830s the percentage of francophone voters supporting an anglophone candidate dropped dramatically to 6.1% in 1834 and 8.2% in 1836. Thus, in the elections of 1814, 1816, 1827, 1834 and 1836 the percentage of francophone voters voting for at least one anglophone candidate was much lower than the percentage voting for francophone candidates. This supports the contention that mother

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[207]Elections of 1829 and 1836 were by-elections.

[208]This treats each vote equally. It is possible that a voter had a favourite candidate and cast his second vote as part of electoral strategy. Unfortunately the pollbooks do not make these kinds of distinctions.

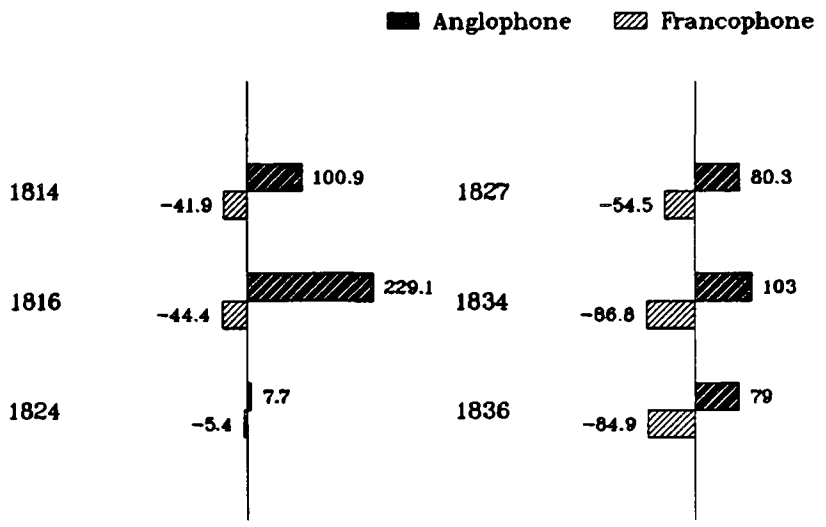
tongue of the candidates was an important consideration for francophone voters. Only in the election of 1824 is it clear that the francophone voters disregarded the language affiliation of the candidate with 86.4% casting at least one vote for an anglophone candidate.

Anglophone voters exhibited the same general tendency with a lower percentage casting votes for francophone than for anglophone candidates. For the four elections occurring in 1814, 1824, 1827 and 1834 the mean percentage of anglophone support for francophone candidates is 51.2%. Comparatively lower percentages are evident for 1816 (19.6%) and 1829 (19.3%). In the election of 1836, a mere 3.0% of the anglophone voters cast a vote for Joseph Painchaud, the only francophone candidate.

In general terms an examination of the voters' response to anglophone candidates suggests that the language affiliation of the candidates was crucial in the casting of votes in all the elections but 1824. This conclusion is underlined when considering the behaviour of the voters in terms of an index of underrepresentation. With the exception of the election of 1824 where the index is quite low at 7.7, anglophone voters were highly overrepresented as supporters of anglophone candidates. For example, the index of representation in 1814 is 100.9. A similar figure applies to the election of 1827 (80.3), 1834 (103.0) and 1836 (79.0). For the election of 1816 for the anglophone voters the index is even higher, an incredible 229.1. The francophone voters, on the other hand, were underrepresented as anglophone supporters in all the elections, but the one held in 1824 (index score = -5.4). For the election of 1814, 1816 and 1827 the mean index of underrepresentation is -46.9. For the elections held after 1830 the mean index of underrepresentation is even higher, -85.9.

The voter response to francophone candidates was similar. The francophone voters were overrepresented as francophone-candidate supporters, while the anglophone voters were underrepresented (see figure 5-3, p. 218). For the latter group, the index score fluctuated between -26.3 and -93.5,

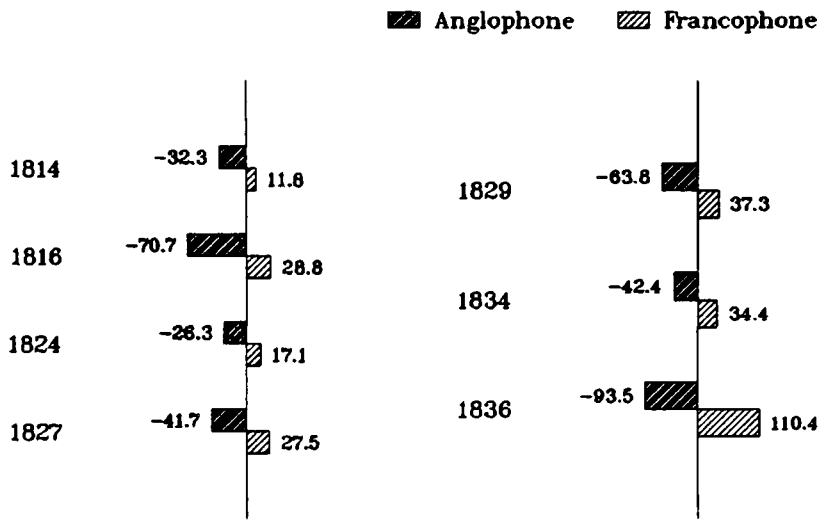
Figure 5-2: Profile of Anglophone and Francophone Voters, Voting for at Least One Anglophone Candidate, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836



Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

with a mean of -53.0, comparable, with the exception of the election of 1824, to the francophone voters' behaviour toward anglophone candidates. In contrast, for the francophone voters, while overrepresented as francophone-candidate supporters, the index for each election was generally lower than the anglophone support for anglophone candidates. In six of the elections the mean index for francophone voters as supporters for francophone candidates is 26.2. Only in the election of 1836, with an index of 100.4, is

Figure 5-3: Profile of Anglophone and Francophone Voters Voting at Least One Francophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836



Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

the francophone voters' support commensurate to the anglophone voters' support for their anglophone candidates.

This suggests that language affiliation was an important consideration for the voters of Upper-Town Quebec. It also suggests that the importance of this factor was relatively strong and that this factor waned in importance in some elections. Still it leaves a number of important questions

unanswered concerning the relative importance of language affiliation as a voting determinant. Did this factor become increasingly more important after 1810 as Ouellet argues?

Table 5-4: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Language Affiliation, Voting for Andrew Stuart, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

Language	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
Anglophone	64	27.5	403	88.0	410	93.4	325	97.0
Francophone	292	79.6	159	22.2	33	6.1	27	8.2
Other	13	56.5	31	75.6	27	65.9	19	90.5
Total	369	59.2	593	48.8	470	46.0	371	54.2

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election

A simple measure of language affiliation is to examine the percentage of votes received by Stuart, a candidate for seven of the eight elections held in Upper-Town Quebec from 1820 to 1836. The analysis covering the elections of 1824, 1827, 1834 and 1836[209] reveals clearly that Stuart's ability to attract anglophone voters was greatest in the 1830s: 93.4% in 1834 and 97.0% in 1836 (see table 5-4, p. 219). Conversely, his francophone support was at its lowest in 1834 (6.1%) and 1836 (8.2%). In the election of 1827, the percentage of anglophone voters for Stuart was slightly lower 88.0%, a comparable percentage that the leading anglophone candidates had received in 1792 (92.3%), 1814 (88.9%) and 1816 (88.2%). Similarly, the percentage of francophone supporters of Stuart in the election of 1827 was 22.2%, approximating the kind of support the leading anglophone candidates received

[209]Stuart was the member of Upper-Town Quebec from 1820 to 1834 and from 1836 to 1838. Of seven elections, two were acclaimed and one was a by-election, not involving Stuart.

in 1792 (29.2%), 1814 (26.3%) and 1816 (14.9%).[210] Generally speaking, Stuart, like other leading anglophone candidates in previous elections, received a high percentage of support from the anglophone electors and a low percentage from the francophone electors, with the differences of the degree of support of the two linguistic groups becoming more acute in the elections of 1834 and 1836.

The only election which did not conform to this model took place in 1824. In this case, Stuart received a low percentage of support from the anglophone voters (27.5%) and a high percentage from the francophone voters (79.6%). This was an important exception, however, underlining the power of party politics. A Canadian-party candidate in 1824, Stuart received votes from four out of five francophone electors. Without the party's approval in 1827, Stuart saw only one out of five stepping forward to support him. In general, the results of these four Stuart elections confirm the impression given by the newspaper reports. First, language affiliation was a very important consideration, except for the election of 1824. Second, the language question became even more important after 1830. Analysis of Stuart's results give an indication of the relative importance of language affiliation; however, it is a simple measure that does not consider votes cast for the other candidates nor the changing options facing the electors.

Any means used to discern statistically whether language affiliation was increasingly important as a voting determinant must account for the changing voting options facing the electors. The number and language affiliation of the candidates seeking election and the number of votes per voter varied in the elections. For example, the voting options presented to the voters in 1814 were much different than those in 1829. In the first election, there were two votes per voter and two anglophone and two francophone candidates. In the by-election of 1829, each voter had only one

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[210]See table 5-1, p. 211.

vote and the choice was between François-Joseph Duval and George Vanfelson, who in terms of language affiliation was neutral or independent.[211] Thus, in order to measure the relative importance of language affiliation as a voting determinant, it is necessary to compare those elections in which the voters had the same electoral option.[212]

Table 5-5: Percentage of Francophone Voters, Voting for at a Candidate, According to Language Affiliation, and the Number of Candidates, According to Language Affiliation, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Year	Franc. %	Anglo. %	Other %	Plump. %	Franc. N	Anglo. N	Other N
1814	97.4	26.3	-	5.7	2	2	-
1816	88.6	14.9	93.9	4.6	1	1	1
1824	98.1	86.4	-	9.0	2	2	-
1827	91.1	22.2	16.6	11.2	2	1	1
1829*	73.2	-	26.8	-	*1	-	1
1834	98.9	6.1	-	2.4	2	1	-
1836*	92.8	8.2	-	-	*1	1	-

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; Franc.=Francophone; Anglo.=Anglophone; Other=Vanfelson; Plump.=Plumped - not use second vote

An examination of the election results according to the options available to the different language groups reveals a relationship between a high percentage of support and the voting options available. This suggests that the kinds of options open to francophone voters determined in part the

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[211] See discussion of Vanfelson's family background, p. 202.

[212] This assumes that the same options were available throughout the same election. This was not the case in 1814; one of the anglophone candidates resigned on the first day of a three-day election and only 195 of the 581 (33.6%) of the voters had cast their votes. Similarly, in the election of 1824, a francophone candidate withdrew on the third day of a six-day election after 473 of the 624 (75.8%) voters had voted.

degree to which they favoured francophone candidates. Thus, while the overall francophone support for francophone candidates was high (the mean percentage of the seven elections = 91.0%), francophone candidates received their highest percentage of support from francophone voters in three of the four elections where the voters had two votes and where there were two francophone candidates. This set of circumstances occurred in 1814, 1824, 1827 and 1834 (see table 5-5, p. 221). The mean percentage of francophone voters voting for a francophone candidate in three elections is 98.1%. A comparison of these elections with the election of 1827 with a lower percentage of support of 91.1%, suggests that language affiliation was important, but relatively less important in 1827.

However, an examination of the six elections in which the francophone voters could cast all their votes for francophone candidates suggests that language affiliation was less of a concern in 1824, not 1827. In 1824, 86.4% of the francophone voters cast at least one vote for an anglophone candidate, about four times the percentage of francophone voters doing so in 1814 (26.3%) and 1827 (22.2%). An analysis of these six elections in this way also supports the contention that language affiliation was an even stronger consideration after 1830 with a very low percentage of francophone electors casting votes for anglophone candidates, 6.1% in 1834 and 8.2% in 1836.

Anglophone, like francophone, voters voted overwhelmingly for candidates belonging to their own linguistic group: the mean percentage of anglophone voters for the six elections in which there was at least one anglophone candidate is 92.7% (see table 5-6, p. 223). Like their francophone counterparts, the percentage of support tended to be even higher in those elections where anglophones voters could cast all their votes for anglophone candidates: this was true in the election of 1824 (98.3%) and the election of 1836 (97.0%). The one exception was the election of 1814 (91.0%), an election which saw one of the two anglophone candidates resign after only one third of the voters had voted.[213]

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[213]See note p. 221.

Table 5-6: Percentage of Anglophone Voters, Voting for a Candidate, According to Language Affiliation, and the Number of Candidates, According to Language Affiliation, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Year	Anglo. %	Franc. %	Other %	Plump. %	Anglo. N	Franc. N	Other N
1814	91.0	59.0	-	36.8	2	2	-
1816	88.2	19.2	49.0	43.1	1	1	1
1824	98.3	61.8	-	38.7	2	2	-
1827	88.0	41.7	36.5	28.8	1	2	1
1829*	-	19.3	80.7	-	-	*1	1
1834	93.4	42.4	-	59.0	1	2	-
1836*	97.0	3.0	-	-	*1	1	-

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; Franc.=Francophone; Anglo.=Anglophone; Other=Vanfelson; Plump.=Plumped - not use second vote

On the other hand, in the general elections in which there were only one anglophone candidate, the percentage of anglophone support was lower: 88.2% in 1816 and 88.0% in 1827. The one exception was the election of 1834 in which 93.4% of the anglophone supporters cast a vote for Stuart, the only anglophone candidate. However, this strengthens the argument that the mother tongue of the candidates grew in importance as a voting consideration after 1830.

It is also clear that anglophone voters more readily used the voting strategy of plumping. In the five elections in which each voter had two votes, generally less than one-tenth of francophone voters plumped (mean percentage = 6.6%; see table 5-5, p. 221). On the other hand, about one third of the anglophone voters did not use their second vote (mean percentage = 41.3%; see table 5-6, p. 223). Indeed, in the election of 1834, 253 of the 439 anglophone voters (57.6%) plumped for Stuart, following Stuart's advice not to split the "English" vote between himself and Caron,

the more acceptable of the two "Canadian" candidates.[214]

The anglophone voters also preferred Vanfelson over the francophone candidates. The presence of Vanfelson in an election had the effect of decreasing support for francophone candidates. For instance, whereas in 1816 and 1829 when Vanfelson took part in the elections, the percentage of anglophone voters favouring French-speaking candidate was 19.2% and 41.7%, in the elections of 1814 and 1824 without Vanfelson, the percentage of anglophone support was 59.0% and 61.8%. The anglophone voters' preference for Vanfelson is underlined in the results of the by-election of 1829. With no anglophone candidates on the hustings, the anglophone votes preferred Vanfelson over Duval at about a ratio of 4 to 1 (80.7% to 19.3%).

An examination of the electoral options facing the voters in this period supports several conclusions. First, the electoral choices in part determined the degree to which each linguistic group responded to the language affiliation of the candidates. Second, when there was no opportunity to vote for a candidate of their language affiliation, the percentage of francophone voters voting for anglophone candidates increased, while anglophone voters opted not to use their second vote. Third, both linguistic groups preferred to side with the linguistically neutral Vanfelson, rather than favour their linguistic "opponents". Finally, comparison of those elections in which the voters had the same electoral choices provides further evidence for the assertion that language considerations, while important throughout the period, became more important after 1830. However, it is also clear that to compare each election it is necessary to employ a more sophisticated means of measurement assessing the various voting options confronting the electorate.

The creation of an index which accounts for these various options will allow us to measure the relative importance of language affiliation for each of

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[214]Quebec Gazette, 24 October 1834. See also: Quebec Mercury, 25 October 1834.

the elections and for each of the two main linguistic groups. This index, which we have called an index of relative importance, attempts to give an indication of the relative importance of language affiliation in each election by assigning a value to each of the possible ways that a member of the electorate could vote. Since the ways in which a voter could vote varied, the value for each of the voting options also varied. In the ideal situation, where the voter had the opportunity to cast all his votes for a member of the same linguistic group, any voter that did so, is assigned the value of 1.0. Any voter who voted for candidates of the opposite language affiliation is assigned the value of -1.0. Those that split their votes received a value of 0. Consequently, if all the voters of the same linguistic group supported their linguistic compatriots, a perfect score for that linguistic group would be 1.0. This value is arrived at by summing the scores of the individual voters and dividing by the number of voters. If a large number of voters split their votes, then the score should approach 0. Finally, if many voters favoured their language opposites then the score for that linguistic group should approach -1.0. This would indicate a strong inverse relationship between the language affiliation of the voter and the language affiliation of the candidate.

Consider, for example, the election of 1814 when the voters encountered two anglophone and two francophone candidates. In this situation, if language affiliation was the only consideration, then each francophone voter should have sided with the two francophone candidates, and each anglophone voter favoured the two anglophone candidates. Consequently, those voters that did so received a score of 1.0 (see table 5-7, p. 228). This included 8 anglophone and 272 francophone voters (see table 5-8, p. 229). The 72 anglophone and 92 francophone voters that split their votes linguistically received a score of 0. There were also 51 anglophone and 14 francophone votes who plumped for their corresponding linguistic candidate. They each received a score of 0.5, assuming that if they were only concerned with the mother tongue of the candidate, rather than the political success of an individual they would have supported both the candidates who spoke the

Table 5-7: Scores Assigned for the Index of Relative Importance of Language Affiliation and According to Voting Options, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Language	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1814 and	Anglo.	Anglo.	Anglo.	Franc.	Franc.		
1824	Anglo.	only	Franc.	only	Franc.		
Anglophone	1.0	0.5	0.0	-0.5	-1.0		
Francophone	-1.0	-0.5	0.0	0.5	1.0		
1816	Anglo.	Anglo.	Anglo.	Other	Franc.	Franc.	
	only	Other	Franc.	only	Other	only	
Anglophone	1.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	-0.5	-1.0	
Francophone	-1.0	-0.5	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.0	
1827	Anglo.	Anglo.	Anglo.	Other	Franc.	Franc.	Franc.
	only	Other	Franc.	only	Other	only	Franc.
Anglophone	1.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	-0.5	-.75	-1.0
Francophone	-1.0	-0.5	0.0	0.0	0.5	.75	1.0
1829*	Other	Franc.					
	only	only					
Anglophone	1.0	-1.0					
Francophone	-1.0	1.0					
1834	Anglo.	Anglo.	Franc.	Franc.			
	only	Franc.	only	Franc.			
Anglophone	1.0	0.0	-0.5	-1.0			
Francophone	-1.0	0.0	0.5	1.0			
1836*	Anglo.	Franc.					
	only	only					
Anglophone	1.0	-1.0					
Francophone	-1.0	1.0					

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
A-G=voting options; *=by-election; Franc.=Francophone; Anglo.=Anglophone; Other=Vanfelson

Table 5-8: Number of Anglophone and Francophone Voters According to Voting Options based on the Language Affiliation of the Candidates, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

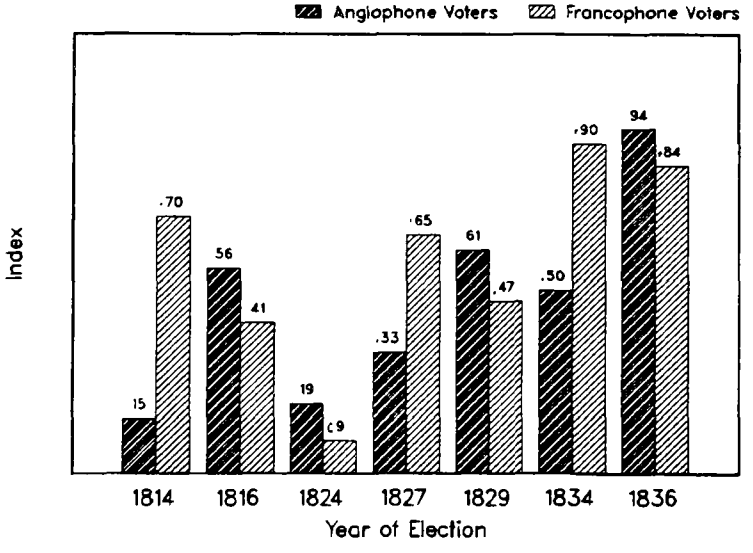
Language	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1814	Anglo. Anglo.	Anglo. only	Anglo. Franc.	Franc. only	Franc. Franc.	Total		
Anglophone	8	51	72	2	11	144		
Francophone	2	8	92	14	272	388		
1816	Anglo. only	Anglo. Other	Anglo. Franc.	Other only	Franc. Other	Franc. only	Total	
Anglophone	44	38	8	0	12	0	102	
Francophone	1	31	7	3	212	8	262	
1824	Anglo. Anglo.	Anglo. only	Anglo. Franc.	Franc. only	Franc. Franc.	Total		
Anglophone	3	86	140	4	0	233		
Francophone	0	7	310	26	24	367		
1827	Anglo. only	Anglo. Other	Anglo. Franc.	Other only	Franc. Other	Franc. only	Franc. Franc.	Total
Anglophone	131	141	149	13	13	6	23	458
Francophone	10	36	113	18	65	52	423	717
1829*	Other only	Franc. only	Total					
Anglophone	255	61	316					
Francophone	151	413	564					
1834	Anglo. only	Anglo. Franc.	Franc. only	Franc. Franc.	Total			
Anglophone	253	157	6	23	439			
Francophone	6	27	7	501	541			
1836*	Anglo. only	Franc. only	Total					
Anglophone	325	10	335					
Francophone	27	301	328					

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
A-G=voting options; *=by-election; Franc.=Francophone; Anglo.=Anglophone; Other=Vanfelson

same language as themselves. The resulting index of relative importance of language affiliation is .15 for anglophone voters and .70 for francophone voters. This indicates that for the election of 1814, language was more of a concern for francophone than for anglophone voters.

The exact same system was also applied to the election of 1824 where two anglophone and two francophone candidates appeared on the hustings. The other five elections, however, presented a different set of circumstances for the voters. For instance, the election of 1816 saw one anglophone candidate, one francophone candidate and one linguistically independent candidate, Vanfelson, involved in the election. Therefore, the scoring system was adjusted to take into account the different voting options.

Figure 5-4: Index of Relative Importance of Language Affiliation for Anglophone and Francophone Voters, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836



Sources. See table 5-2, p. 216.

An examination of the seven elections from 1814 to 1836 in this

manner suggests a number of conclusions regarding the relative importance of language affiliation. It is clear that for anglophone voters language affiliation was paramount in importance in the election of 1836 with a score of .94 (see figure 5-4, p. 228). Language affiliation was least important in the elections of 1814 and 1824 with scores of .15 and .19. Language affiliation had relatively the same importance in the elections of 1816 (.61), 1827 (.33), 1829 (.61) and 1834 (.50). For francophone voters language affiliation was most important in the elections of 1834 and 1836, with scores of .90 and .84 and negligible in importance in the election of 1824 with a score of .09. Finally, a comparison of the scores of the two language groups suggests that language was a relatively more important consideration to francophone voters than to the anglophone voters in the elections of 1814 (.70 for francophone voters to .15 for anglophone voters), 1827 (.65 to .33) and 1834 (.90 to .50).

In regard to the relative growing importance of language affiliation, the index supports the impression left by the newspaper that the elections after 1830 revolved around the "national question"; but the index also points to a more complex picture. First, language was also an important concern for both groups in 1816, 1827 and 1829. In addition, it was also an important consideration for the francophone voters in 1814, thus supporting the author of a letter published in the le Spectateur Canadien who concluded that the "Canadians" were united as never before in responding to the election pleas of their compatriots.[215] The anglophone voters, on the other hand, were not affected by language considerations in 1814, half of them linguistically splitting their votes. The index also indicates that for anglophone voters the election of 1834 was not a water-shed election; they responded to the language question in much the same way as they had in the elections of 1816 and 1829. Indeed, over one third of the "British" electors failed to heed Stuart's appeal and they split their votes between Stuart and one of his

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[215]See p. 199.

francophone opponents.[216] Finally, using the index as a means of measuring the relative importance of language affiliation underlines how exceptional the voters behaved in the election of 1824. The mother tongue of the candidates was not an issue for most voters; clearly, other forces were at work in determining the actions of voters.

5.3. Political Affiliation

We have suggested that political considerations played an essential role in the electoral decisions of the voters in 1824. Nearly three-quarters (73.6%) of the francophone voters split their votes between Vallières and Stuart. In this election, the common denominator for these francophone-favoured candidates was not language, but political affiliation. Stuart and Vallières campaigned under the banner of the parti canadien with both men receiving approval from Papineau and his Montreal followers. Opposing the canadien candidates was another anglophone-francophone "team", Joseph-François Perrault and Francis Ward Primrose, two men receiving strong support from the Quebec Mercury, which sided with Governor Dalhousie in this election.[217] John Neilson, one of the leaders of the parti canadien, clearly indicated in the Quebec Gazette his approval of the Stuart-Vallières duo by defending it against the attacks of the independently run Le Canadien.[218] John Neilson himself represented Andrew Stuart on the hustings while Stuart was in England.[219]

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[216] 157 of the 439 (35 8%) anglophone electors voted for Stuart and a francophone candidate (see table 5-8, p 227) Of the 157, all but five used their second vote on Caron

[217] See, for example, Quebec Mercury, 27 July 1824

[218] Quebec Gazette, 12 August 1824 Le Canadien opposed Stuart and Vallières because of their voting record regarding financial control (see Le Canadien, 21 July, supplement 31 July, 4, 18 August 1824) From 19 January 1820 to 5 March 1825, Flavien Vallerand owned and edited the Le Canadien (Beaulieu and Hamelin, La presse québécoise, 16)

[219] A Stuart to J Neilson, 24 September 1824, PAC, Neilson Papers, MG24 B1, vol 4, 413 Stuart sailed for England on 3 July 1824, four weeks before the election (Quebec Mercury, 3 July 1824)

Table 5-9: Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Voters, Voting in the Elections of 1824 and 1827 Who Voted for Andrew Stuart in 1824 and 1827, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824, 1827.

Language Affiliation	Voted For Stuart		Not Vote For Stuart		Total
A:	In 1827		In 1824		
	N	%	N	%	N
Anglophone	30	46.9	34	53.1	64
Francophone	47	13.9	292	86.1	339
Other	3	33.3	6	66.7	9
Total	80	19.4	332	80.6	412
B:	In 1827		In 1824		
	N	%	N	%	N
Anglophone	30	17.1	145	82.9	175
Francophone	47	36.2	183	63.9	130
Other	3	25.0	9	75.0	12
Total	80	25.2	237	74.8	317

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
A=Voted for Stuart in 1824 and Voted in 1827; B=Voted for Stuart in 1827 and voted in 1824

The support that Stuart received from Neilson, the Quebec Gazette and the parti canadien goes along way to explaining his success with the French-speaking electorate in the early part of the 1820s. With Papineau's approval and the the resources of the Canadian party behind him, Stuart was acclaimed in July 1820 and attracted 79.6% of the francophone voters in 1824 (see table 5-4, p. 219).[220] The importance of political affiliation is

[220]For a discussion of the growth of the Canadian party and the Bureaucratic parties in terms of ideology, organization, electoral strategy and leadership, see Ouellet, "La naissance des partis politiques dans le Bas-Canada (1791-1810)," in Eléments d'histoire sociale du Bas-Canada (Montreal: Hurtubise HMH, 1973), 205-222; Ouellet, Bas-Canada, 81-82, 124-43, 291-420; Ouellet, Lower Canada, 52-53, 80-94, 183-274. See also: Wallot, Un Québec qui bougeait, 47-105, 143-167, 253-318; Jean Hamelin and Marcel Hamelin, Les moeurs électorales dans le Québec (Montreal: Editions du Jour), 23-51; Manning, Revolt of French Canada.

underlined in the results of the election of 1827. The percentage of francophone voters casting a vote for Stuart dropped spectacularly to 22.2%. On the other hand, the change in Stuart's political colours[221] resulted in dramatic increase in anglophone support, 27.5% in 1824 to 88.0% in 1827. Stuart's break with the parti canadien and his acceptance by those associated with the Bureaucratic party was reflected in the percentage of francophone voters who left the Stuart camp and the percentage of anglophone voters who now found Stuart worthy of their support (see table 5-9, p. 231). Of the 339 francophone voters who supported Stuart in 1824 and who voted in 1827, 86.1% did not favour Stuart with a vote in 1827. In contrast, 82.9% of the 175 anglophones voting for Stuart in 1827 did not vote for him in 1824. This suggests that Stuart's political-party status was a factor in 1824, attracting francophone voters and repulsing anglophone ones. The change in his political status in 1827 had the reverse effect, making him an acceptable candidate to the anglophone voting population.

Table 5-10: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Language Affiliation, Voting for at Least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814

Language Affiliation	Panet N	Panet %	Denechaud N	Denechaud %	Browne N	Browne %	Fletcher N	Fletcher %
Anglophone	25	17.4	71	49.3	128	88.9	11	5.0
Francophone	323	83.2	327	84.2	102	26.3	2	0.3
Other or Unknown	22	44.9	38	77.6	30	61.2	0	0.0
Total	370	63.7	436	75.0	260	44.8	13	2.2

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

Political affiliation also makes clear the moderate degree of anglophone

[221]The newspapers had reversed their support for Stuart. In 1824, the Quebec Mercury supported Perrault and Primrose (Quebec Mercury, 27 July 1824), while the Quebec Gazette sided with Vallières and Stuart (Quebec Gazette, 12 August 1824). In 1827 it was a different story: the Mercury supported Stuart and the Gazette opposed him.

voters voting for francophone candidates, particularly in the elections of 1814 (59.0%) and 1824 (61.8%) (see table 5-6, p. 223), when anglophone electors had the opportunity to vote for two anglophone candidates. In 1814 Claude Dénéchaud, a rich wholesale merchant,[222] found considerable support among the anglophone voters. Half of them cast a vote in favour of Dénéchaud, considered to be a part of the Bureaucratic party, while less than one-fifth supported Panet, one of the leaders of the parti canadien (see table 5-10, p. 232).

The degree to which the political affiliation of the candidate affected the anglophone and francophone voters is difficult to surmise, but our analysis suggests a strong relationship between language affiliation of the voters and political affiliation of the candidates. A large segment of the francophone voting population viewed the parti canadien as a party best protecting its interests and similarly the majority of the anglophone voters saw the Bureaucratic or English party as best serving its interests. But what was more important to the voter, language or political affiliation of the candidates? To answer this question, it is necessary to focus on the three elections prior to 1827 where language affiliation and political affiliation of the candidates did not correspond. After 1827 all francophone candidates sided with the patriote or moderate-patriote forces and all anglophone candidates belonged to the bureaucratic or moderate-bureaucratic group.

In the elections of 1814, 1816 and 1824, there were several candidates who did not fit the language-political affiliation mould: Claude Dénéchaud and Joseph-François Perrault at home with the Bureaucratic party, and Andrew Stuart in the parti canadien. Using an index of the relative importance of political affiliation to measure the degree to which anglophone voters supported Bureaucratic-party candidates and francophone voters favoured parti-canadien candidates suggests that for some of the voters the political affiliation of the candidates was an important consideration in the

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[222]Audet, Législateurs, vol 1, n. pp.

Table 5-11: Scores Assigned for the Index of Relative Importance of Political Affiliation and According to Voting Options, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Language	A	B	C	D	E
1814	Bur. Bur.	Bur. only	Bur. Cdn.	Cdn. only	
Anglophone	1.0	0.5	0.0	-1.0	
Francophone	-1.0	-0.5	0.0	1.0	
1816	Bur. Bur.	Bur. only	Bur. Indep.	Indep. only	
Anglophone	1.0	0.5	0.0	-1.0	
Francophone	-1.0	-0.5	0.0	1.0	
1824	Bur. Bur.	Bur. only	Bur. M.Cdn.	M.Cdn. only	M.Cdn. M.Cdn.
Anglophone	1.0	0.5	0.0	-0.5	-1.0
Francophone	-1.0	-0.5	0.0	0.5	1.0
1827	M.Bur. only	M.Bur. Indep.	M.Pat. M.Bur.	M.Pat. Pat.	Indep. only
Anglophone	1.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Francophone	-1.0	-0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
1827 cont'd	Indep. Pat.	Indep. M.Pat.	M.Pat. only	Pat. only	Pat. M.Pat.
Anglophone	-0.25	-0.25	-0.5	-0.5	-1.0
Francophone	0.25	0.25	0.5	0.5	1.0
1829*	Indep. only	M.Pat. only			
Anglophone	1.0	-1.0			
Francophone	-1.0	1.0			
1834	M.Bur. only	M.Bur. Pat.	Pat. only	Pat. Pat.	
Anglophone	1.0	0.0	-0.5	-1.0	
Francophone	-1.0	0.0	0.5	1.0	
1836*	Const. only	Pat. only			
Anglophone	1.0	-1.0			
Francophone	-1.0	1.0			

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

A-E=voting options; *=by-election; Bur.=Bureaucratic party; Cdn.: Canadian party; Pat.=Patriot party; Indep.=Independent; Const.=Constitutional party; M.=Moderate

Table 5-12: Number of Anglophone and Francophone Voters According to Voting Options based on the Political Affiliation of the Candidates, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Language	A	B	C	D	E	F
1814	Bur. Bur.	Bur. only	Bur. Cdn.	Cdn. only	Total	
Anglophone	68	51	23	2	144	
Francophone	55	10	311	12	388	
1816	Bur. Bur.	Bur. only	Bur. Indep.	Indep. only	Total	
Anglophone	8	44	50	0	102	
Francophone	7	9	243	3	262	
1824	Bur. Bur.	Bur. only	Bur. M.Cdn.	M.Cdn. only	M.Cdn. M.Cdn.	Total
Anglophone	30	88	57	2	56	233
Francophone	14	27	50	6	270	367
1827	M.Bur. only	M.Bur. Indep.	M.Pat. M.Bur.	M.Pat. Pat.	Indep. only	
Anglophone	113	141	146	3	13	
Francophone	10	36	105	8	18	
1827	Indep.	Indep.	M.Pat.	Pat.	Pat.	
cont'd	Pat.	M.Pat.	only	only	M.Pat.	Total
Anglophone	8	5	0	6	23	458
Francophone	58	7	6	46	423	717
1829*	Indep. only	M.Pat. only	Total			
Anglophone	255	61	316			
Francophone	151	413	564			
1834	M.Bur. only	M.Bur. Pat.	Pat. only	Pat. Pat.	Total	
Anglophone	253	157	6	23	439	
Francophone	6	27	7	501	541	
1836*	Const. only	only	Total			
Anglophone	325	10	335			
Francophone	27	301	328			

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
A-E=voting options; *=by-election; Bur.=Bureaucratic party; Cdn.: Canadian party; Pat.=Patriot party; Indep.=Independent; Const.=Constitutional party; M.=Moderate

Table 5-13: Comparison of the Indexes of Relative Importance for, Language Affiliation and Political Affiliation, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Language Affiliation	1814	1816	1824	1827	1829	1834	1836
Language Affiliation							
Anglophone	15	56	19	33	61	50	94
Francophone	70	41	09	65	47	90	84
Political Affiliation							
Anglophone	64	29	07	34	61	52	94
Francophone	12	- 03	67	61	47	93	84

Sources See table 5-2, p 214
*=by-election

elections of 1814 and 1824 (see table 5-11, p. 234 and table 5-12, p. 235). The scores for the indexes of language affiliation and political affiliation are virtually the same after 1824, reflecting the fact that from the election of 1827 onward all patriote- or moderate-patriote party candidates were francophones and all Bureaucratic, moderate-Bureaucratic- and Constitutionalist-party candidates were anglophones. A comparison of the two indexes prior to 1827 reveals that in the election of 1814 for anglophone voters the political affiliation (score = .64) rather than language affiliation (.15) of the candidates was a determining factor in how they voted (see table 5-13, p. 236). This was also true for francophone voters in the election of 1824 with the index of relative importance for political affiliation (.67) much higher than that for language affiliation (.09). Thus the francophone voters in 1824 and the anglophone voters in 1814 put aside language for political considerations, supporting those candidates who had received approval from the party that they perceived as best suited to their interests.

Analysis of the electoral behaviour of the two language groups in relationship to the political affiliation of the candidates makes the electoral action of the voters more comprehensible. But it does not undermine the

pre-eminence of language affiliation in the elections in this period. In the three elections prior to 1827, anglophone voters tended to respond more to language in 1816 (.56), but more to politics in 1814 (.64). Francophone voters, on the other hand, looked more to language in 1814 (.70) and 1816 (.41) but more to political considerations (.67) in 1824.

Table 5-14: Language Affiliation of Bureaucratic and Canadian-Party Candidates, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836

Language	1792-1805		1808-1820 March		1820 July-1836		1792-1836	
Bureaucratic	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Anglophone	6	85.7	10	58.8	6	85.7	22	71.0
Francophone	1	14.3	7	41.2	1	14.3	9	29.0
Total*	7	100.0	17	100.0	7	100.0	31	100.0
Canadian	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Anglophone	-	-	-	-	2	16.7	2	8.3
Francophone	8	100.0	4	100.0	10	83.3	22	91.7
Total*	8	100.0	4	100.0	12	100.0	24	100.0

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=Includes the party's candidates for each election, and the sitting member during a by-election. Note that repeat candidates were counted each time they ran.
Bureaucratic=Bureaucratic, English and Constitutionalist; Canadian=Canadian, French and Patriot

The question of language and politics is complex; many times language and political affiliation went hand-in-hand. Consider the Canadian party. From 1792 to 1836, twenty-four candidates carried its standard; only twice was an anglophone involved - Andrew Stuart in July 1820 and in 1824 (see table 5-14, p. 237).[223] With the Bureaucratic party, there appears to have been a greater degree of linguistic cross-over, particularly from 1808 to March 1820 when seven of the seventeen candidates (41.2%) were French-

[223]For a list of all the candidates for Upper-Town Quebec, see 3-12, p. 131.

Table 5-15: Number and Percentage of Elected Members, According to Party Affiliation, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836

Period	Canadien N	Canadien %	Bureaucratic N	Bureaucratic %	Independent N	Independent %	Total N	Total %
1792-1805	5	50.0	5	50.0	-	-	10	100.0
1808-March 1820	2	14.3	10	71.4	2	14.3	14	100.0
July 1820-1836	10	71.4	4	28.6	-	-	14	100.0
1792-1836*	17	44.7	19	50.0	2	5.3	38	100.0

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=Includes sitting members during by-elections

speaking. The "openness" of the Bureaucratic party was more apparent than real: it supported only one French-speaking candidate, Claude Dénéchaud. In this period, Dénéchaud ran six times and was the sitting member during the by-election of 1815. As an electoral strategy, this constituted an overwhelming success, with Bureaucratic-party candidates representing nearly three-quarters of the elected members from 1808 to March 1820 (see table 5-15, p. 238).

In Upper-Town Quebec politics, Stuart and Dénéchaud were exceptions rather than the rule: the Canadian party was normally represented by French-speaking candidates and the Bureaucratic party by English-speaking candidates. Thus, it is difficult to isolate language from political affiliation. On those occasions when language and political preference were "at odds", that is, when a francophone was a Bureaucratic and an anglophone a Canadian, it is clear that political considerations affected the decisions of the voters. Less clear-cut is the influence of party when there was no "disparity" between politics and language. The voters' reaction to Stuart's conversion after 1824 suggests that political affiliation was always a consideration, and became more so in the second half of the 1820s. The growing dominance of the "national issue" in Upper-Town Quebec dictated that it was no longer advisable to mix language and political affiliation

from 1827 onward Bureaucratic- and Canadian-party strategists only selected candidates from their own language groups.

5.4. Conclusion

The close connection between linguistic and political affiliation underscores the complexities of Upper-Town politics. The importance of language is undeniable: in general, anglophone voters favoured anglophone candidates while francophone voters sided with francophone candidates. It is also evident that language became even more central with the intensification of the national question in the 1830s. Yet the voters' response was more complicated than this. Entitled to elect two members to the Legislative Assembly, the electorate had to contend with a variety of voting options and this affected the degree to which it reacted to the language affiliation of the candidates. Two candidates sharing the same mother tongue as one of the language groups produced relatively higher percentages of support. The importance of political affiliation is also indisputable, as voters were at times willing to support a party-backed candidate who lacked the necessary linguistic qualifications. This explains the support that Claude Dénéchaud received from the anglophone voters in 1814 and 1816 and the changing response of the francophone voters to Andrew Stuart between 1824 and 1827.

The complexities of Upper-Town politics are also reflected in the difficulty in measuring statistically whether language increased in importance after 1810. Without a representative selection of pollbooks, our assessment of the pre-1810 must be based on generalizations derived from aggregate polling results, and the the language and politics of the successful candidates. The election of 1814 marks a new period of electoral analysis: the series of pollbooks covering seven of the eight polled elections for the next twenty-two years in addition to the plethora of newspaper accounts makes possible a more accurate reading of electoral motivation. An analysis of the polling results comparing the language of the voters to the language and political affiliation of the candidates confirms the the general impression given by the newspapers that language increased in importance, subsuming all other

concerns after 1830. The employment of indexes of representation and of relative importance allows us to qualify this simple portrait even more. Language also influenced voters in the two decades following the clash between the Legislative Assembly and Craig. This was true for francophones in 1814 and for both language groups in 1816, 1827 and 1829. It is also clear, however, that an explanation based only on language is insufficient: it does not explain, for example, the polling successes of Claude Dénéchaud and Andrew Stuart. But even a linguistic-political explanation does not provide a wide enough net to capture all the nuances of the constituency's politics. The most obvious difficulty lies with the election of 1824 which remains a mystery even with the recognition that Stuart's victory was tied to the support he received from the Canadian-party leadership. The fragility of an explanation of this kind is underscored even more when we consider the constituency's ethnic composition. It is accurate to equate the French language with a single ethnic group, the same is not true for the English language. Francophone inhabitants shared the same language, religion and nationality, but British immigration during the 1820s and 1830s created a culturally diverse English-speaking population. The next chapter considers whether newly arrived Irish Catholic immigrants followed the lead of the Protestant English and Scottish majority. If they did not, then greater refinement to a simple ethno-cultural explanation based on language is required.

MD-C51

Mass Political Behaviour in Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836

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Thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of the University of Ottawa in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Chapter Six: Ethnicity

6.1. Introduction

Chapter 5 disclosed that an explanation based solely on language oversimplifies the intricacies of electoral behaviour in Upper-Town Quebec. Chapter 6 examines the role of other ethno-cultural factors by focusing on the anglophone voters. The English-speaking population, we have seen, underwent considerable change as a result of the waves of immigration from the British Isles after 1815: by 1836 one-quarter of the anglophone eligible electorate was Irish and at least one-fifth was Catholic.[224] And both political parties recognized the significant cultural differences within the English-speaking community, adopting electoral strategies to capture in particular the Irish electors. From the mid-1820s onward, the Canadian party sought Irish voters by underlining the common experience of religion and minority status within the British Empire; the Bureaucratic party based its appeal to the Irish on the "natural" union of the British people and the increasing threat of French-Canadian nationalism. Both campaigns met with some success, splitting the Irish Catholic vote until 1836 when language and nationality outweighed all other considerations.

Our discussion of ethnicity begins with length of residency, examining whether the amount of time in the colony influenced the anglophone voters. Next, the chapter focuses on country of origin, comparing the response of the Irish to the British voting population in general. The final section considers the role of religion, analyzing the voting records of Catholic and Protestant anglophone electors.

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[224]For a discussion of the effects of British immigration on the English-speaking population and eligible electorate, see chapters 1 and 4.

6.2. Length of Residency

In the two decades prior to the rebellion, the massive influx of British immigration to Lower Canada brought large numbers of potential voters. Many of the new British arrivals quickly became part of the growing electorate. The census of 1831 and 1842 in indicating the number of years that each head of household had resided in Lower Canada enables us to compare the voting behaviour of the newly arrived British immigrant with that of those who had long been settled in Quebec. Unfortunately, a comparison of the actions of the newly arrived British immigrant with that of the long-time British settlers is restricted to the elections after 1829, the only elections with a sufficient percentage of anglophone electors with number of years residency indicated to analyze: 25.1% in 1834 and 30.7% in 1836 (see table G.6, Appendix G).

Table 6-1: Number and Percentage of Anglophone Voters, Voting for at Least One Anglophone or Francophone Candidate, According to Number of Years Residency in Lower Canada, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1834, 1836

Years Resident	Election of 1834 For Anglo. Candidate N	%	For Franc. Candidate N	%	By-Election of 1836 For Anglo. Candidate N	%	For Franc. Candidate N	%
1-5	18	90.0	9	45.0	19	100.0	0	0.0
6-10	18	81.8	10	45.5	24	96.0	1	4.0
11-99	65	97.0	33	49.3	60	98.4	1	1.6
Total	101	92.7	52	47.7	103	98.1	2	1.9

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; Anglo.=Anglophone; Franc.=Francophone

An examination of the two elections in the 1830s suggests that the immigrant who had resided in Quebec for five years or less reacted to the language affiliation of the candidates in the same way as those immigrants who had resided in Quebec for longer periods of time. In 1834, 90.0% of

the British immigrants who resided less than six years in Quebec supported Stuart. This compares favourably to the high percentage of support Stuart received from those who had six to ten years (81.8%) or eleven years or more (97.0%) of residency in Lower Canada (see table 6-1, p. 242). The number of years residency was also not a factor in terms of anglophone support for francophone candidates, with the percentages ranging from 45.0% for those voters with five years or less of residency to 49.3% for those with more than ten years of residency.

The number of years residency in Quebec was also not an important factor in the election of 1836. The percentage of anglophone voters siding with Stuart was extremely high in all three categories: 100.0% for those with less than six years in Quebec, 96.0% with six to ten years; and 98.4% with greater than ten years. Similarly, virtually none of the anglophone voters voted for Painchaud, the francophone candidate in 1836.

The number of years of residency was not a factor in the electoral decisions of the anglophone voters in the elections of 1834 and 1836. However, it is difficult to dismiss the influence of this factor outright. The national question dominated the elections after the 1830s, but prior to that, language considerations did not constitute the only reason for favouring candidates. Samuel Neilson, the editor of the Quebec Gazette, considered the length of time resident in the province a factor in Francis Ward Primrose's campaign in 1824. Neilson argued that much of Primrose's support came from "persons who have not long resided in this Province."[225] Whether this was true is difficult to surmise; Neilson's motives are suspect as he hoped to undermine Primrose's support by calling into question the political perceptions of newly arrived immigrants who were virtually ignorant of Lower Canada's politics.

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[225]Quebec Gazette, 12 August 1824.

6.3. Country of Origin

Generally, election commentaries did not distinguish between newly arrived immigrants and long-established British residents. From the later part of the 1820s onwards the newspaper reports did make distinctions between the Irish and other British immigrants. Other studies demonstrate the recognition by politicians of the importance of the Irish as a voting bloc. Ouellet shows how, until the late 1820s, the Canadian party believed it necessary to cater to the Irish as well as the English vote by adopting "a stance of moderate nationalism".[226] Recognizing that the party's continued success in the Montreal-West constituency depended on the Irish, Papineau and other party leaders supported Dr. Daniel Tracey as the patriote candidate in the by-election of 1832.[227]

Mary Finnegan's study of "The Irish-French Alliance in Lower Canada" documents the Irish-Canadian relationship from 1822 to 1835. By focusing on three Irish journalists, Finnegan links the eventual "deterioration of the Irish-Canadian partnership" to the massive immigration of 1830s as the Canadians came to see the Irish as rivals, competing for land and jobs.[228] Equally important, the British elite came to regard the Irish as "potential voters who could help ensure an English-speaking presence in the Assembly." The Irish perception of the French and the English also changed: "Though the Irish had virtually been accepted by the French, despite language differences, they felt increasingly rejected as the immigration problem magnified. Gradually the Irish realized they had more to gain by allying themselves with the English, that they would feel more secure in Anglo-

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[226]Ouellet, Lower Canada, 336.

[227]Ibid., 225-6. See also: Galarneau, "L'élection partielle du quartier ouest de Montréal," 565-584.

[228]Mary Finnegan, "The Irish-French Alliance in . Lower Canada" (Master's thesis, Concordia University, 1982), 40. See also: Ouellet, Bas-Canada, 279-80, 361; Ouellet, Lower Canada, 178-9, 233.

Saxon society."[229]

Recognition of Irishmen as constituting an influential voting bloc is not evident in Upper-Town Quebec until the election of 1827. From that time onward, it is clear that both parties viewed the Irish vote as essential for victory, employing different campaign strategies to attract Irish voters. In 1827, via two major newspapers of the city, the contending groups engaged in a serious debate over who actually best represented the wishes of the Irish voters. Neilson's Quebec Gazette, supporting Vallières and Berthelot, presented the Irish as a group of voters who, through a series of pre-election meetings, concluded that their interests were best served by voting for Vallières and Berthelot. According to the Quebec Gazette, two Irish delegates, elected as Irish spokesmen in a meeting held eight days before the polls opened, supported a series of resolutions including "That this Meeting select Joseph-Rémi Vallières de St. Réal and Amable Berthelot, Esquires, to represent the Upper Town of Quebec."[230]

In reaction, the supporters of Andrew Stuart sought to downplay the strength of Irish support for Vallières and Berthelot. The editor of the Quebec Mercury, who campaigned for the election of Stuart and Vanfelson, attempted to discredit the two so-called Irish delegates as representatives of the Irish voters. The Quebec Mercury also described the results of "several meetings of Irish electors" insisting that they were dominated by outsiders and non-voters.[231]

Vallières and Berthelot supporters responded by linking Stuart and his men to a printed address circulating in Upper Town. The author, "The Olive Branch", reminded the Irish voters that the way in which they voted

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[229]Ibid., 7.

[230]Quebec Gazette, 2 & 6 August 1827. See also: Canadian Spectator, 28 August 1827.

[231]Quebec Mercury, 4 & 28 August 1827.

may affect the renewal of licenses for taverns and further: Can it be expected that in the employment of men on the public works, the GOVERNMENT will be so blind as to pay its thousands annually to those Irishmen who so willingly become tools of a faction, disgraceful to the character of a peaceful and loyal people?[232] An author of a letter published in The Elector-L'Electeur, "Z", attributed the address directly to "les fauteurs de Mr. Stuart" and called upon the Irish to stand up against these threats. He proclaimed:

> Et vous, Irlandais, qui connaissez par une triste expérience, ce qu'il en coute pour se laisser intimider par des menaces, dictées par la rage de ces vautours, que la constitution et les loix rendent impuissants, irez-vous têtes baissées vous livrer encore une fois à leurs promesses et à leur voracité; eux qui n'employent que le mensonge, la calomnie et tous les noirs desseins, que peut leur inspirer la haine de nos droits et de notre liberté.[233]

How the Irish voters actually voted in the election of 1827 is difficult to surmise. About thirty percent of the anglophone voters are identifiable as British, that is, from the British Isles or as British Canadians, but the census only allows for the specific identification of five Irish voters. Clearly, the number of Irish voters was far greater, but the vast majority are lost under the term "British". However, since the Irish made up approximately one-third of the British population of Upper-Town Quebec in 1831, it is clear that many of the 403 anglophone voters who supported Stuart[234] and many of the 191 anglophone voters who cast votes for Berthelot and Vallières[235] were Irish. Unfortunately, unless more Irish are distinguishable within the British voting population, it is impossible to know if the Irish voted differently from other English-speaking groups.

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[232]Quebec Gazette, 6 August 1827.

[233]The Elector-L'Electeur, 13 August 1827.

[234]See table 5-4, p. 219.

[235]See table 5-3, p. 214.

Politicians of Upper-Town Quebec continued to recognize the importance of the Irish voter by maintaining contacts with the Irish community. Vallières along with John Neilson became members of the Friends of Ireland Society, an organization dedicated to aid Daniel O'Connell's struggle for Catholic Emancipation in Ireland.[236] In an astute political move, Vallières became Vice-President of the Society and supported the creation of Irish organizations to defend the rights of Irish citizens. Vallières called upon Canadians to help their Irish brethren, for the Irish cause was a Canadian cause. In a letter to the Quebec Gazette, published 27 October 1828, Vallières asked:

> And we Canadians, shall we be indifferent to the evils that press heavily upon Catholic Ireland? What assurance have you that your religion, persecuted in Ireland, will not be proscribed in Canada?...So long as the Irish Catholics are persecuted on account of their religion, there will be no security for Catholics in any part of the Empire...Their efforts to free themselves...and that of their enemies to keep them under the yoke, divide and weaken the British Empire.[237]

Vallières continued this line of argument in a letter appearing a week later. He warned the Canadians of those who desired the death of the language, institutions, laws and customs of French Canada:

> I acknowledge that the British government has always been kind to us, but has the Colonial Administration been always a faithful image of the British government?...Why do we not resemble unfortunate Ireland?...we are in a majority of the representation....If we lose this majority, if like Ireland we should have the misfortune to be represented by a parliament, strangers to our faith, or worse still be venal

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[236]Finnegan, "The Irish-French Alliance," 12. The Catholic Emancipation movement in Ireland created a new Catholic Association in Ireland in reaction to the famine of 1823 and the formation of secret peasant organizations. O'Connell hoped to force the House of Commons into eliminating laws discriminating against Catholics. For a discussion of O'Connell, see: Finnegan, "The Irish-French Alliance," 12-13.

[237]Cited in Finnegan, "The Irish-French Alliance, 29.

> and corrupt souls, we should soon be as unfortunate, as despoiled and as wretched as she is.[238]

Vallières' work did not go unrecognized by the Irish, at least not by the Irish leaders of Quebec City. On his appointment as Judge of the District of Trois-Rivières, the Society of the Friends of Ireland in Quebec congratulated its Vice-President and thanked him for his support of the society and the Irish Catholics in Britain. In their address to Vallières, the Friends stated that they were indebted to him "of whose disinterested advocacy in their behalf, they shall always entertain a most lively recollection...."[239] In response, Vallières emphasized the accomplishments of the Society:

> That my services have obtained the approbation of enlightened and virtuous men is highly flattering to myself, but all of us must feel equally proud and grateful in the reflection that our humble endeavours were in perfect accordance with the liberal views of His Majesty's Government, and have received the sanction of the Imperial Legislature, in that signal act of wisdom and justice, by which millions of British Subjects are restored to their birthright, and the British Empire is confirmed in its strength, and secured in its high station among the great powers of Europe.[240]

Unfortunately, whether Vallières or his political protégé for the by-election of 1829, F.-J. Duval, benefited from this involvement in the Irish cause is difficult to know since only eight Irish voters are distinguishable among the anglophone voters. For the elections of 1834 and 1836, sufficient numbers of Irish voters are identifiable to compare their actions to the rest of the British electorate. Of the 158 anglophone voters in 1834 distinguishable as British, thirty-one are classifiable as Irish. In 1836, the

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[238]Ibid., 29-30.

[239]Quebec Gazette, 21 May 1829.

[240]Ibid.

Table 6-2: Number and Percentage of Irish and British Voters, Voting for at Least One Anglophone or Francophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1834 1836

Country of Origin	Election of 1834 For Anglo. Candidate N	%	For Franc. Candidate N	%	By-Election of 1836 For Anglo. Candidate N	%	For Franc. Candidate N	%
British	120	96.0	63	50.4	111	99.1	1	0.9
Irish	27	87.0	15	48.4	32	97.0	1	3.0
Other	0	0.0	2	????	1	50.0	1	50.0
Total	147	93.0	80	50.6	144	97.2	3	2.8

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; Anglo.=Anglophone; Franc.=Francophone

total number of those of British origin is 147 with thirty-three identifiable Irish voters. A comparison of these Irish voters with the other British voters reveal that the Irish behaved like the other British voters. Both the Irish (87.1%) and the general British group (96.0%) strongly supported Stuart in 1834 (see table 6-2, p. 249). This was also true in the by-election of 1836, with 97.0% of the Irish and 99.1% of the British voting for Stuart. Similarly, Irish support for the francophone candidates was the same as the support given by other British immigrants. In 1834, 48.4% of the Irish sided with a francophone candidate; slightly lower than the 50.4% provided by the British as a whole. In 1836 the Irish, like the British voters, deserted the francophone candidate en masse with only one voter in each category favouring Painchaud. In the elections of 1834 and 1836 the actions of the Irish voters were no different than the British group. The special relationship between the Irish and the Canadians which may have been present during the election of 1827 had disappeared by 1834.

This is not to say that control of the Irish votes was no longer an important consideration in 1834. On the contrary, both the parti canadien and the Bureaucratic party campaigned for their support. In the election of 1834, Stuart and his followers endeavoured to attract Irish voters by

emphasizing the "natural" union of the British people and by belittling the patriotes' concern for the Irish. During one of the several meetings held to bolster his faltering campaign, Stuart thanked "the Irish Electors for the generous support which they had given him". One of his backers exhorted the English, Scottish and Irish to unite against the Canadians and carry Stuart to victory. The Quebec Gazette reported the speech as follows:

> He would call upon the sons of old England, the descendants of those proud nobles and bold yeomen who sign the great charter! Forward to the Poll! Tis the voice of your country calls you. Children of the mist and the mountain, sons of the land of field and flood, of the free kilt and waving plume - Scotchmen! Forward! Tis a Stuart calls. Last, though not least, lads of old Erin! To the Poll! Onward in the cause of the rose and the shamrock. Our enemies would divide them - they would tell you that they blend not well together. It is false. The rose would wither without the encircling green shade of the shamrock, and the shamrock lose half its beauty if it had not reflected on it the blush of the rose. Shall they be separated? (No! No!) And what would they do with the shamrock! Why they would engraft it on the cabbage of Canada. Which then shall it be - the rose or the cabbage? (The rose) Be it the rose; and he would say for every Englishman, that not a thorn of it should ever hurt them (Loud cheers).[241]

The editor of the Quebec Mercury, another Stuart advocate, argued that Papineau's interest in the Irish was not genuine. During a subscription campaign for the building of the St. Patrick's Church, prominent English Protestant officials made donations, while Papineau and his friends refused to contribute:

> and in short, those who had undertaken to make the collection, pretty soon found that the friendship and assistance they were to expect from their liberal friends, extended no further than heartless expressions of regard when their co-operation was needed; in short that their love and affection was mere blarney. The great leader himself when applied to for the same purpose indeed declared that

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[241] Quebec Gazette, 27 October 1834. See also: Quebec Mercury, 28 October 1834.

> they no longer needed the assistance of the Irish and then coolly buttoned his pocket.[242]

The campaign for Irish votes continued in the post-election period with the Stuartites insisting that except for a handful of voters, the Irish joined their Scottish and English compatriots and sided with their candidate Stuart.[243] The common action of the British voters was a positive result of the election despite Stuart's painful defeat. On the night before Stuart's resignation from the election his friends met and resolved:

> That while the Committee, upon public principles, deeply regret that their efforts, and those of the electors of the Upper Town of Quebec, to return the Independent Candidate, Mr. Andrew Stuart, have been unsuccessful, they conceive that the public voice has stamped their proceedings in his support with approbation; and that in another point of view they have achieved a signal triumph, in the cordial union which has been happily cemented between the several classes of English, Scottish and Irish electors resident in Quebec - an [sic] union which it is hoped will prove indissoluble.[244]

Etienne Parent, editor of Le Canadien, who favoured Stuart's electoral opponents, admitted, despite the assertions made in the Vindicator,[245] that most of the Irish voters had sided with Stuart. However, Parent was not willing to give up on the Irish, attributing their behaviour to the "animosités nationales" created by "les ennemis de nos libertés". He reminded the Irish that they had achieved, with the Candians, an important victory in the election of 1827, "une élection absolument sur les mêmes principes que cette année". Furthermore, the patriotes had joined the Irish in O'Connell's

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[242]Quebec Mercury, 28 October 1834.

[243]Quebec Mercury, 11 November 1834.

[244]Quebec Gazette, 31 October 1834.

[245]Le Canadien, 19 November 1834.

crusade in Ireland. Parent concluded by leaving open the door to an Irish-patriote alliance:

> Nous aimons à croire, et la démarche récente de plusieurs Messieurs Irlandais nous donne à penser, qu'ils ont déjà découvert le piège qu'on leur a tendu, et qu'ils se félicitent aujourd'hui de n'avoir pas assuré le triomphe de leurs ennemis et des nôtres, et la défaite de leurs vrais, de leurs meilleurs amis. Ceux-ci ont vaincu sans eux, et malgré eux. Mais leur triomphe eût été cent fois plus doux, s'ils eussent eu à leur côté, comme en 1827, leurs braves et généreux concitoyens Irlandais. Aussi qu'on n'aille pas croire que la conduite de ces derniers ait laissé aucun venim contre eux dans le coeur des Canadiens....[246]

Table 6-3: Number and Percentage of Irish and British Voters, Voting for Rene-Edouard Caron or Amable Berthelot, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1834

Country of Origin	Voted for Caron N	%	Voted for Berthelot N	%	Total N
British	60	48.0	7	5.6	125
Irish	11	35.5	5	16.1	31
Other	2	100.0	2	100.0	2
Total	73	46.2	14	8.9	158

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214

The analysis of the voting results of 1834 suggests that Parent was not completely naive in his appeal to the Irish. Certainly Stuart's Irish support was virtually unanimous, but over one-third of the identified Irish voters cast a vote for Caron, one of the two patriote candidates (see table 6-3, p. 252). On the other hand, if Papineau's Montreal group came to dominate the Quebec political scene, then the Irish vote, like the general British vote,

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[246]Le Canadien, 19 November, 1834.

would be lost, as indicated in the fragmented support that Berthelot received from the British (5.6%) and the Irish (16.1%).

Indeed, this is what occurred in the by-election of 1836 with the national question dominating the campaign. All but a few Irish voters, like the other anglophone voters, rejected Painchaud's call for support. Moreover, Painchaud's strategists recognized the need to retain the support of a portion of the Irish electorate and they invoked the image of their candidate as a self-sacrificing medical doctor who exposed himself to danger in administering to the Irish victims of the cholera epidemic of 1832. In a letter dated eight days prior to the opening of the polls, Painchaud addressed the "Free and Independent Irish Electors of the Upper Town of Quebec":

> Emigrants of Ireland! I am not unknown to you. I am that man whom during the past summer of distress (1832), desolation, and death, hundreds, perhaps, I should say, thousands, of you lingering countrymen have met on our wharves, on board the vessels, which conveyed them to our shores, in our hospitals, exhausting every means in my power to procure them food, medicine, shelter, at least, a bed to expire on. Let them meet you at the hustings, as you have met me in the hour of anguish and in the temple consecrated in the God of Patrick and of your forefathers. Give me your votes!...[247]

Painchaud's opponents countered by attempting to use his role in the epidemic of 1832 against the patriote candidate by asserting that Painchaud's motives were less than honourable. In a letter published in the Quebec Mercury, "An Irishman" asked:

> Worthy Doctor, where were you during the awful calamity of 1832 and 1834, how much did you screw out of my poor countrymen during those calamitous years? I am informed and I believe truly that eight dollars was your price for your generous and disinterested assistance, and that you required this sum in advance or a pledge as security for the same,

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[247]Quebec Mercury, 15 March 1836. See also: Le Canadien, 14 & 29 March, 6 April 1836.

> before you would stir out; once and for all take my advice do not attempt to cajole my countrymen, you cannot blarney them, I assure you, not even by wearing a Shamrock on Saint Patrick's Day;...[248]

Stuart's proponents also realized that without the Irish electors success was not possible. Using a simple but clever campaign stratagem, they summoned up "Saint Patrick" who let it be known to his "Irish boys" that Painchaud was not interested in their welfare, only in their votes. The real friend of the Irish was Stuart:

> To my Irish Boys...
>
> When no Election is going on those Frenchmen look upon you as dogs....but now that they want your votes, they flatter and try to come Blarney over you to make you desert your King and Country, by saying that they want to get hold of the Crown Lands just for the pleasure of sharing them with you. - How many of you do you think would be getting lots of land and a piece if PAPINEAU and the Clique had the giving of them? And that a land company established on purpose to encourage your own Relations and Friends and Brothers of Saint Andrew and St. George, to come out and join you, more likely to bring you good luck and prosperity than all Doctor what-t'ye-call-hims [Painchaud's] flourishing speeches, when he doesn't even promise to vote against the French majority who'd be keeping them all out of the country just that they might have their own will of you that have got in in spite of them, and because they know that if there was a few more of you among them they would have no chance of that at all....I've only one word more to say to you: my friend St. Andrew has been asking me to recommend a namesake of his, one ANDREW STUART, who is a knowing chap, that will make the country thrive, even the Resolutionists say they know what they expect from him, which is as much to say, they know him to be your determined friend, which he is sure enough, so vote for him, as in duty bound, and show

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[248]Quebec Mercury, 19 March 1836.

your affection for your loving father. SAINT PATRICK[249]

By the latter half of the 1820s the Irish constituted a significant segment of the voting public. Neither the parti patriote nor the Bureaucratic party could politically afford to ignore the growing number of Irish voters. This study suggests that the Vallières-Duval-Caron group was relatively successful in attracting Irish support. However, the retention of the Irish vote became more difficult for the francophone candidates as Papineau's nationalist campaign grew more intense forcing the Irish into the opposing camp. Its leader, Stuart, successfully projected himself in the election of 1836 as another victim of French "extremism" and protector of the Irish population in Upper-Town Quebec.

6.4. Religion

Prior to 1836, the patriote-canadien party was relatively successful in attracting Irish votes. Finnegan's study argues that the Irish-Canadian alliance in the 1820s was based in part on the Catholic religion that both groups shared.[250] Certainly the canadien-patriote candidates and their promoters did not hesitate to point out that the experiences of the Irish Catholics and the Canadian Catholics were similar; their Catholicism marking them as "outcasts" in the English Protestant world.

Not lacking political acumen, the patriote strategists likened Papineau to O'Connell, the protector of Irish Catholicism. One Irishman in Quebec exclaimed: "Let us not forget that Papineau is to Canada what O'Connell is to Ireland, her regenerator."[251] Papineau himself encouraged the analogy, knowing its worth as a vote-getting device. He insisted that "O'Connell is

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[249]Ibid. See also: Quebec Gazette, 23 March & 11 April 1836; Quebec Mercury, 26 & 29 March 1836.

[250]Finnegan, "The Irish-French Alliance," 1.

[251]Cited in Finnegan, "The Irish-French Alliance," 53.

my model, and like him I will employ for the attainment of my ends those peaceful means which the English constitution places at my disposal."[252] Religious considerations were not ignored by the canadien-patriote candidates in the elections of Upper-Town Quebec. A reading of newspaper reports suggests that overt references to religion do not appear until the campaign of 1827. In the previous election one commentator chastized a Vallières-Stuart supporter for referring to religion in his attack on Primrose, one of the government candidates. "Un Libéral" in a letter published in Le Canadien quickly dismissed the attacker: "Le même Monsieur a aussi parlé de religion disant qu'on voulait détruire celle du peuple, comme s'il était la question de religion, et traité de la manière la plus indigne M. Primrose, jusqu'à lui dire, qu'on ne laissait pas son pays pour rien, et mille autres sottises pareilles, indices d'un esprit léger et superficiel et qui n'a que des injures à dire."[253]

The agricultural difficulties in Ireland brought many Irish Catholics to Lower Canada[254] forcing both the parti Canadien-patriote and its opponents to heed the growing Irish Catholic electorate. Thus, in the highly contested election of 1827, the Quebec Mercury which threw its support behind Stuart and Vanfelson accused the followers of Vallières and Berthelot of using religion to secure an electoral victory. In a letter published in the Quebec Mercury, "Mr. Fairplay" defended the government and those holding office rejecting the charge that "persons in office...attempted to excite national and religious distinctions". On the contrary, the "partisans of the Anti-Government Candidates" were guilty, insisting on the "natural attachment which ought to subsist between Irish and Canadian Catholics in opposition to Hereticks."[255]

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[252]Ibid.

[253]Le Canadien, 21 July 1824.

[254]Finnegan, "The Irish-French Alliance, 10-11.

[255]Quebec Mercury, 18 August 1827.

The Mercury returned to the subject after the election rejecting the response of the editor of the Canadian Spectator who described "the allegations to Irish and Canadian Catholics" as scandalous and untrue. The Mercury replied:

> take for your answer the following extract from the address of a True Irishman, which an Irish Electioneering colleague of the Old Quebec Gazette [Neilson's Gazette], was seen to distribute near the hustings. After upbraiding the Irish for voting with what it terms the Orange party, it proceeds, - "remember the deeds of your forefathers. Remember the hanging, quartering and bowelling of your Clergy, and then give your votes for two faced Candidates, who in time will destroy, if you go on encouraging them, the very Church you now go to worship in," - very "generous and free from gall" Mr. Spectator is it not, - is not the intention of this intelligible enough think you? [sic] If we were disposed we might quote other specimens - but enough of this for the present.[256]

Another letter published in the Quebec Mercury blamed Samuel Neilson, the editor of the Quebec Gazette, for promoting religious animosities. The author, "An Elector of the Upper-Town" insisted: "your party - and the whole course of you conduct during the late Election these have gone far to aleniate [sic] from each other, the people of English and French origin, who inhabit this Colony - and to excite national. and religious prejudices...."[257] These letters suggest that Neilson and other patriotes in Upper-Town Quebec made reference to religion in several circulars addressed to the Irish Catholic voters. Immediately following the election the formation of The Friends of Ireland Society allowed Vallières and other Canadians to join an organization which promoted the emancipation of the Catholic Irish. During the 1830s the local Quebec leaders of the patriote party attempted to maintain the Irish vote, hoping that religious appeals

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[256]Quebec Mercury, 25 August 1827.

[257]Ibid., 28 August 1827.

would outweigh nationalist attacks against Irish immigrants. An important part of the Painchaud campaign in 1836 was to present the doctor as a hero of the cholera epidemics which touched the lives of many Irish Catholics and to associate him with O'Connell. After reminding the Irish Electors that he too was a Catholic, they had met him "in the temple to God of Patrick and of [sic] your forefathers!", Painchaud linked Stuart to the British oppression of Irish Catholics:

> shall it be said that you will have preferred men, the abettors of those principles which, for ages, have oppressed unhappy Ireland? Will you reject a supporter of the GREAT O'CONNELL, the saviour of your country, and bend yourselves to leaders who detest him, and who, not twelve months ago, refused to drink O'CONNELL's health on Patrick's Day? Will you abandon your best friend, and suffer yourselves to be bribed and cajoled by those who aim at your common destruction?
>
> Irishmen of every class and denomination! give me your votes! Let me have the honour of maintaining your civil and religious rights in the Provincial Assembly, and responding there in your defence to the motto which the all persuasive voice of O'Connell has as often proclaimed on the bank of the Shannon and of the Liffey -
>
> Ireland, as it ought to be,
> Great, glorious, and free![258]

The Painchaud campaign received a boost from an unlikely quarter: a circular from "the five clergymen of the Church of England in Quebec", which apparently described the Irish Catholics as "adulators", "unfit for Protestant company". Despite the warnings of some Stuart supporters[259] the address appeared and the Painchaud campaigners astutely added their own note, calling upon Irishmen to consider the ill-timed remarks:

> Now, fellow-countrymen, what think you of this epistle?

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[258] Quebec Mercury, 15 March 1836.

[259] Quebec Mercury, 29 March 1836. See also: Montreal Gazette, 2 April 1836.

> Why, you will say, with your usual good humour that "It's a chip of [sic] the old block," then after this, can you be cajoled by these wily Protestants used to sign a petition in favour of emancipating the Irish Catholics, - yes, you Andrew Stuart, who would proscribe 8,000,000 of Irish Catholics, and prevent the greatest light of the age Daniel O'Connell from raising his voice in the British Parliament....[260]

John Neilson and other supporters of Stuart endeavoured to downplay the religious factor in the election. After alluding to the inconsistency of Painchaud's signing of the "nationalist" 92 Resolutions and his "somewhat political zeal for Irishmen, Old Ireland, and the great O'Connell," the editor of the Quebec Gazette pleaded for "moderation..., and particularly honesty and sincerity,..."[261]

To further the Stuart cause, Neilson also called attention to the St.-Patrick's-Day sermon of Reverend McMahon of the St. Patrick Church of Quebec City. Reverend McMahon, according to the Quebec Gazette, made several allusions to the "friendly feeling manifested on all occasions by the Protestants of Quebec, and particularly on the present occasion." Neilson also underlined that McMahon rejected any attempts to impute the Catholic faith, pointing to the "presence of so many Protestants", McMahon concluded by stating: "nothing will be permitted to disturb the spirit of religious toleration and brotherly love which has so long and so generally prevailed in the country."[262]

Finally. the editor of the Quebec Gazette hoped to neutralize the question of religion by emphasizing the unique position of religion in Lower Canada vis-à-vis Great Britain. In the province of Lower Canada religion, was not a divisive factor:

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[260]Quebec Gazette, 30 March 1836.

[261]Ibid.

[262]Quebec Gazette, 18 March 1836. See also: Quebec Mercury. 17 March 1836.

> We think that if a knowledge of the true state of religious feeling in this country, - where no legal disabilities or burdens are imposed upon people on account of their religion, where no one is forced to contribute to a church to which he does not belong: - were known and fully appreciated on the other side of the Atlantic, every one would be persuaded that the same happy results might be produced there by a similar system. No one could believe that it is impossible for Catholics and Protestants to live together without the one domineering over the other, even with the remaining influence of those feelings which have been produced and aggravated under a contrary system in Ireland.[263]

An examination of the newspapers suggests that religion was a subject of much debate in the elections of 1827 and 1836. Furthermore, both parties recognized the need to address the Irish Catholics, a political constituency of ever increasing significance. The parti canadien-patriote played on the common religious faith and Catholic oppression in Great Britain. The Bureaucratic party countered with linguistic and national appeals coupled with a portrait of religious toleration in Lower Canada. An analysis of the election results in this period will reveal how the voters responded and if religion played a role in the electoral decisions of the voters.

The nominative census returns provides the religion of about a third of the anglophone voters in each of the elections from 1814 to 1836 (mean percentage = 35.8%), with the percentages ranging from 29.2% in 1814 to 46.2% in 1829 (see table G.6, Appendix G). This allows us to make some conclusions about religion as a voting determinant in the elections of Upper-Town Quebec. An analysis of the election results indicates that religious

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[263]Quebec Gazette, Friday, 18 March 1836. For a discussion of the debate over McMahon "interference" in politics, see: Le Canadien, 1, 4, 6, 8, 11, 15, 20, 22, 25 April, 1836; Quebec Mercury, 19, 23 April, 1836; Quebec Gazette, 11 April 1836. This was not the first time that McMahon's sermons had caused concern. In 1834 he pronounced himself in favour of the Constitutionalists in 1834 and again on St. Patrick's Day in 1835, he preached another "political" sermon. See Finnegan, "The Irish-French Alliance," 59.

Table 6-4: Number and Percentage of Catholic and Protestant Anglophone Voters, Voting for at Least One Anglophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Religion	1814 N	1814 %	1816 N	1816 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
Catholic	8	72.7	4	50.0	11	91.7	22	75.9	16	69.6	22	88.0
Protestant	28	90.3	20	95.2	49	100.0	106	96.4	96	98.0	97	100.0
Other	-		-		15	100.0	31	96.1	35	89.7	26	96.3
Total	36	85.7	24	82.8	75	98.7	159	93.0	147	91.9	145	97.3

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214
*=by-election; Other=Other or Not Clear

considerations were an integral part in all the elections but one, the election of 1824: anglophone voters who were Catholic behaved differently than anglophone voters who were Protestant. As a group, the Catholic anglophone voters consistently gave a lower percentage of support to anglophone candidates than did Protestant anglophone voters. For example, in the election of 1814, 72.7% of Catholic anglophone voters voted at least once for an anglophone candidate; the Protestant anglophone support was higher at 90.3% (See table 6-4, p. 261). This same development occurred in the election of 1816 (50.0% for Catholics and 95.2% for Protestants), 1824 (91.7% to 100.0%), 1827 (75.9% to 96.4%), 1834 (69.6% to 98.0%) and 1836 (88.0% to 100.0%).[264]

On the other hand, the Catholic anglophone voters' support for francophone candidates was greater than that of the Protestant anglophone voters. This was true for all the elections. In 1814, the percentage of Catholic anglophone voters voting at least once for a francophone candidate

[264]The number of Catholic anglophone voters identified is relatively small in the elections of 1814 (11), 1816 (8) and 1824 (12) which makes the conclusions drawn from these elections tenuous. The trends in these elections also occur in the elections of 1827 (29), 1834 (23) and 1836 (25) where the number of Catholic anglophone voters is more statistically acceptable upon which to draw reasonable conclusions.

Table 6-5: Number and Percentage of Catholic and Protestant Anglophone Voters, Voting for at Least One Francophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

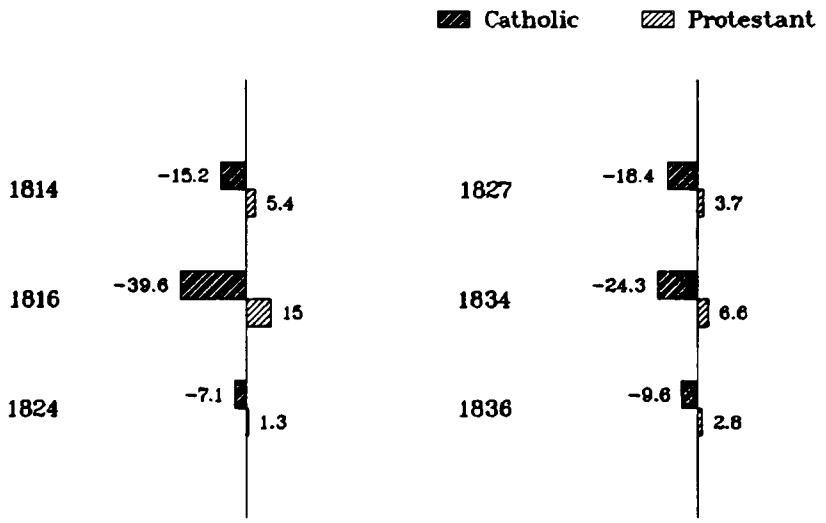
Religion	1814 N	1814 %	1816 N	1816 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829* N	1829* %	1834 N	1834 %	1836* N	1836* %
Catholic	9	81.8	4	50.0	8	66.7	20	69.0	13	44.8	18	78.3	3	12.0
Protestant	23	74.2	5	23.8	30	61.2	42	38.2	11	12.5	41	41.8	0	0.0
Other	-		-		10	66.7	15	46.9	4	13.8	23	59.0	1	3.7
Total	32	76.2	9	31.0	48	63.2	77	45.0	28	19.2	82	51.3	4	2.7

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214
*=by-election; Other=Other or Not Clear

was 81.8%, higher than the 74.2% of support given by the Protestant anglophone voters (see table 6-5, p. 262). This pattern was repeated in the remaining six elections, with significant differences occurring in all the elections but the elections of 1824 and 1836: 50.0% for Catholic anglophone voters and 23.8% for Protestant anglophone voters in the election of 1816; 66.7% to 61.2% for 1824; 69.0% to 38.2% for 1827; 44.7% to 12.5% for 1829; 78.3% to 41.8% for 1834; 12.0% to 0.0% in 1836.

This differing electoral behaviour of Catholic anglophone and Protestant anglophone voters is underscored using an index of representation. The Catholic voters were underrepresented as anglophone-candidate supporters in the elections of 1814 (-15.2), 1816 (-39.6), 1824 (-7.1), 1827 (-18.4), 1834 (-24.3) and 1836 (-9.6) (see figure 6-1, p. 263). The Protestant anglophone voters tended to be slightly overrepresented as anglophone-candidate followers with index scores of 5.4 (1814), 15.0 (1816), 1.3 (1824), 3.7 (1827), 6.6 (1834) and 2.8 (1836). On the other hand, the Protestant anglophone scores are close to zero, suggesting that the religious factor was more important to the Catholic voters. This conclusion is borne out in the way the anglophone voters viewed the francophone candidates. The Catholic anglophone voters were overrepresented as francophone-candidate supporters. An examination of the scores suggests that the appeals to religion were particularly effective

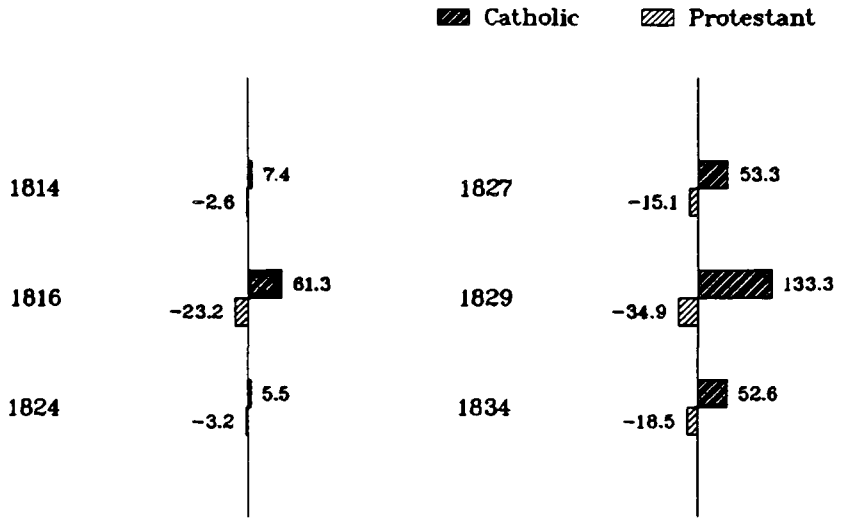
Figure 6-1: Profile of Catholic and Protestant Anglophone Voters Voting for at Least One Anglophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836



Sources: See table 5-2, 214.

in the elections of 1816 (61.3), 1827 (53.3), 1829 (133.3) and 1834 (52.6) (see figure 6-2, p. 264). The same five elections saw the Protestant anglophone voters underrepresented as francophone-candidate supporters. The index scores for the Protestant anglophone voters were higher in the elections of 1816 (-23.2), 1827 (-15.1), 1829 (-34.9) and 1834 (-18.5) than in the elections of 1814 (-2.6) and 1824 (-3.2). With only ten anglophone voters siding with Painchaud in 1836 (see table 5-3, p. 214) it is evident that linguistic

Figure 6-2: Profile of Catholic and Protestant Anglophone Voters Voting for at Least One Francophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836



{**Sources**: See table 5-2, 214.

outweighed religious considerations in the election of 1836.[265]

This study suggests that both the parti patriote and the Bureaucratic party viewed the Irish Catholics as constituting a voting bloc indispensable

[265]With only four anglophone voters with identifiable religious affiliation voting for Painchaud in 1836, the index scores are extreme in 1836: 344.4 for the Catholics and -100.0 for the Protestants.

Table 6-6: Number and Percentage of Identifiable Irish Catholic Voters, Voting for at Least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1834

Candidates	Stuart N	Stuart %	Caron N	Caron %	Berthelot N	Berthelot %	Total N
Voted For	15	83.3	11	61.1	4	22.2	18

Sources: ANQ, Pollbook, Upper-Town Quebec, 1834; Le Canadien, 4 April 1836.

to electoral success in Upper-Town Quebec. Analyses of anglophone votes reveal that the responses of Catholics and Protestants were different. A large portion of the British immigrants were Irish Catholics from the middle of 1820s on; this suggests that the conclusion regarding Catholic anglophone voters also apply to Irish Catholics. In other words, Irish Catholics behaved differently than their Protestant anglophone voters in general, reacting in a positive fashion from 1827 to 1834 to the patriote appeal to religion. In the election of 1836, however, the Irish Catholics copied their Protestant brethren and rallied to Stuart's "national" campaign to preserve "British" representation in the Assembly.

Table 6-7: Number and Percentage of Identifiable Irish Catholic Voters, and the Candidates They Supported, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1834

	Stuart only	Stuart Caron	Stuart Berth.	Caron only	Caron Berth.	Berth. only	Total
N	4	10	1	0	1	2	18
%	22.2	55.6	5.6	0.0	5.6	11.1	100.1

Sources: See table 4.19.
Berth.=Berthelot

An analysis of a petition of 124 Irish Catholics supporting the actions

of Reverend McMahon in the election of 1836 provides further evidence for these conclusions. Eighteen of the individuals appear in the pollbook of 1834 and twenty-two in the pollbook of 1836. In the by-election of 1836 all twenty-two Irish Catholics found in the McMahon petition voted for Andrew Stuart. For this group, the common denominator was their Britishness, not their Catholicism. This was not the case in the election of 1834. Of the eighteen Irish Catholics appearing in the McMahon petition and the pollbook of 1834. 83.3% cast at least one vote for Stuart, but 61.1% also favoured Caron with a vote and another 22.2% sided with Berthelot (see table 6-6, p. 267). This indicates that the Irish Catholic electorate was divided between Stuart and Caron. Indeed, ten of the eighteen (55.6%) Irish Catholics split their votes in that fashion (see table 6-7, p. 267), suggesting both religion and language played an important part in the voting actions of the Irish Catholics in the election of 1834. Thus, for anglophone voters and in particular Irish voters, religion was a consideration in the elections of 1827, 1829 and 1834. The by-election of 1836, however, saw religious differences put aside for the national question, as Irish Catholics, condemned by Papineau's nationalist rhetoric, viewed themselves as more British than Catholic.

6.5. Conclusion

Generally language divided the Upper-Town Quebec electorate: francophones sided with French-speaking candidates, while anglophones favoured English-speaking ones. Nevertheless, our analysis suggests that an explanation based exclusively on language does not do justice to the changing and complex Upper-Town Quebec political scene. Several refinements are required. First, the domination of language and nationality on the hustings was not absolute until 1836; within the general trend of increasing importance, the degree to which this factor affected the voters varied from election to election and from one language group to another.

Second, our study suggests a link between language, voting options and political preference. When a voter had the opportunity to cast all his votes

to candidates sharing the same mother tongue, the highest percentages of support tended to occur. Language and political affiliation were inseparable with the Bureaucratic party selecting English-speaking candidates, and the Canadian party opting for French-speaking candidates. It was on those occasions when language and politics did not coincide that the importance of party is evident. It is political affiliation that helps to clarify anglophone support for a French-speaking candidate in 1814 and 1816, and francophone support for an English-speaking candidate in 1824.

Third, our analysis reveals that language was not the only ethno-cultural factor to play a role in the decisions of the anglophone voters. The massive influx of immigration brought a large number of potential new voters to the constituency, and made the British community more culturally diverse. Vying for control of the Legislative Assembly, the two major political parties recognized the importance of the Irish as a voting bloc. Until the late 1820s, the Canadian party, under the leadership of Louis-Joseph Papineau, believed it necessary to cater to the Irish electorate by adopting a "a stance of moderate nationalism" and recruiting important members of the Irish community to carry its banner on the hustings. Similarly, the Bureaucratic party regarded the Irish as the key to ensuring an English-speaking presence in the Assembly and endeavoured to capture Irish voters by underlining the "natural" union of British people.

The battle for Irish voters began in Upper-Town Quebec during the general election of 1827 and continued until the riot-torn by-election of 1836. The strategies of the opposing forces were clear: canadien- and patriote-party candidates emphasized the common experience of religion, marking the Irish Catholics and Canadian Catholics as "outcasts" in an English Protestant world; the Bureaucratic-party standard bearers countered with a campaign based on language and the Crown, coupled with a portrait of religious toleration in Lower Canada and the increasing threat of French-Canadian nationalism. Both sides met with some success, as the appeals to Catholicism and Britishness divided the Irish Catholic voters. In 1836, the

muddy waters of Upper-Town politics cleared as virtually all the Irish Catholic voters rejected the patriote religious appeal and sided with their linguistic compatriots from England, Scotland and British Canada.

Finally, even the recognition that it is necessary to go beyond language, an explanation which incorporates other ethno-cultural considerations leaves many questions unanswered. The most obvious relate to the domination of the Bureaucratic party from 1808 to 1820, Stuart's success among the French in 1824 and failure in 1827. A more complete story will emerge after we consider socio-economic factors, factors which determined in a large part where an Upper-Town resident lived, whether he had the right to vote and if he exercised that right. As we will see, these same factors also affected the way in which he voted.

Chapter Seven: Government Influence and Economic Sector

7.1. Introduction

Without a doubt ethno-cultural considerations increasingly affected the voting decisions of the electorate. Nonetheless, to deny the role of socio-economic factors is to ignore the realities of Upper-Town Quebec. We have seen how influential these factors were in determining where the inhabitants of the constituency resided and if they participated in the voting process. The same factors also influenced how the electors cast their votes.

Chapters 8 and 9 will evaluate the impact of socio-professional status, property ownership and assessed value of property; chapter 7 begins by focusing on two occupational variables, government influence and economic sector. Newspaper accounts reveal that government interference was an issue that repeatedly appeared on the hustings. Analysis of the voting results suggests that although government-linked voters only constituted about ten per cent of the electorate there was cause for concern as this group consistently favoured government-approved candidates. In a close election this could mean the difference between victory and defeat, and in 1827 this occurred as a Papineau-backed candidate lost to a "government" standard bearer by eleven votes.

Less evident are the effects of economic sector. The only distinction that newspaper commentators made referred to voters involved in commercial activities. On occasion Bureaucratic candidates appealed directly to those with links to commerce. Our study shows that despite these appeals voters in the commercial sector responded in the same fashion as voters in other sectors. In fact, those in the commercial sector were proportionately overrepresented as Canadian-party supporters.

7.2. Government Influence

The categorization of voters according to their occupational association with the government was an issue that the administration's opponents frequently raised in the Upper-Town elections. Those opposed to the government contended that the "gens de place", military officers, government officials and appointees, indeed all government employees including tradesmen and labourers, were under great pressure from the government. Accordingly, this "government class" formed a bloc of voters which overwhelmingly favoured government-approved candidates. A case in point is the election of 1814. About two weeks after the victory by Panet and Dénéchaud, an "extrait d'une lettre de Québec" appeared in the Le Spectateur canadien. Its author complained that many of the votes received by George Browne, a wine merchant who was the Bureaucratic-party candidate,[266] were from men with government connections: "Mr. Browne a été soutenu par les gens de place et les Militaires, amis de Mr. B [Browne] et son vin; tous les ouvriers des chantiers et des boutiques du Roi, dit-on, eu ordre de voter pour B [Browne] et quelques-uns qui ont refusé, ont été chassés de leur ouvrage...."[267] The Le Spectateur canadien published another "communication" from "Upper-Town Quebec". This author, "Un Electeur", was a Panet supporter who agreed with the above assessment. He contended that government-controlled voters completely rejected Panet and gave their votes to the two Bureaucratic candidates, Browne and Dénéchaud. He argued that any electoral success that Browne enjoyed had come about because of the administration's use of "l'autorité, la crainte et les promesses". He described the scene on the hustings:

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[266]George Browne was a wine-import merchant who owned two stores in Quebec City. After a second defeat in Upper-Town Quebec in 1816, Browne presented himself as a candidate in Gaspé and served as that county's representative from 28 June 1814 to 29 February 1816 (see: PAC, Audet, MG30 D1, vol. 6, 361-7; and Audet, Législateurs, vol. 1, n. pp.; and advertisement in Quebec Gazette, 21 April 1814).

[267]Le Spectateur canadien, 3 May 1814.

> On voyait arriver au Poll par brigades, détachemens [sic], divisions et subdivisions, (on en amenoit [sic] par sections de deux de front sur la fin) les navriers de tous les chantiers du Roi, de l'Arsenal, des hangars de provisions, etc. pris les commandemens [sic] de leur Foreman, qui entroit [sic] pour surveiller à ce que toutes ces personnes donnassent leurs voix conformêment aux ordres qu'elles avoient [sic] reçus de leurs supérieurs; c'est à dire pour Mr. Browne imperativement et pour Mr. Dénéchaud [sic].

According to the author, the victim of such a strategy was Jean-Antoine Panet, one of the Canadian-party leaders. He lamented: what had Panet done to deserve such injustice?

> Quel mal Mr. Panet a-t-il donc fait au Gouvernement pour être contrecarré de cette mannière? Est-ce parce que ce respectable et digne Monsieur a travaillé pendant plusieurs années à obtenir la constitution dont nous avons le bonheur de jouir? Est-ce parce qu'il a rempli dignement pendant vingt-trois ans la place d'Orateur de la Chambre, ou est-ce parce qu'il est Canadien, l'ami de ses compatriotes, et qu'il s'est attiré la haine de Viceroi Craig? Que l'on me nomme un sujet plus fidelle à son Roi et à son pays dans toutes ses situations publiques et privées.[268]

An examination of the voting results for the election of 1814 reveals that government employees and appointees completely rejected Panet's candidacy. Only 12 of the 71 (16.9%) "government" voters cast a vote for the Speaker of the Assembly (see table 7-1, p. 272). Dénéchaud, a more acceptable candidate, received a vote from 29 (40.9%) of the government voters, but Browne, clearly given the government's stamp of approval, benefited from the votes of 64 of the 71 (90.1%) of the government voters. Indeed nearly half (47.9%) plumped for Browne. A comparison of the behaviour of the government and non-government voters underscores the influence of the government connection in the election of 1814. Browne picked up votes from nearly all the government voters, but he received

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[268]Ibid.

Table 7-1: Number and Percentage of All, Anglophone and Francophone Government and Non-Government Voters, Voting for at least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814

Economic Sector	Browne N	Browne %	Fletcher N	Fletcher %	Dénéchaud N	Dénéchaud %	Panet N	Panet %	Total N
All Voters									
Government	64	90.1	3	4.2	29	40.9	12	16.9	71
Non-Government	175	38.9	9	2.0	360	80.0	314	69.8	450
Unclassified	19	33.9	1	1.8	43	76.8	42	75.0	56
Total	258	44.7	13	2.3	432	74.9	368	63.8	577
Anglophone									
Government	47	95.9	3	6.1	16	32.7	3	6.1	49
Non-Government	77	85.5	7	7.8	54	60.0	22	24.4	90
Unclassified	4	80.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	0	0.0	5
Total	128	88.9	11	7.6	71	49.3	25	17.4	144
Francophone									
Government	11	73.3	0	0.0	8	53.3	7	46.7	15
Non-Government	76	23.7	2	0.6	276	86.0	273	85.1	321
Unclassified	13	27.1	0	0.0	39	81.3	41	85.4	48
Total	100	26.0	2	0.5	323	84.1	31	83.6	384

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

support from less than forty per cent of the non-government voters. The reverse was true for the eventual winners, Dénéchaud and Panet. The latter obtained votes from 69.8% of the non-government voters; the former gained the support of 80.0%.

Those voters with government connections sided with "government" candidates. This was a strong relationship but attenuated by the fact that nearly seventy per cent of the "government" voters in 1814 were anglophones. In part, this was the case of anglophone voters merely favouring an anglophone candidate; Browne received a high percentage of support from all anglophone voters, with government connections (95.9%) and without government connections (85.5%). Yet, clearly language was not the only factor differentiating voters; the government connection cut across

linguistic lines. For instance, over half (59.3%) of the anglophone government voters plumped for Browne while less than one-fifth (18.9%) of the anglophone non-government voters followed suit. Furthermore, Browne enjoyed the support of 73.3% of the francophone government voters, but only 23.7% of the francophone non-government voters. Similarly, Dénéchaud and Panet each attracted over eighty-five per cent of the francophone non-government voters. Their success rate with the francophone government voters was lower; Dénéchaud received votes from 53.3% of the francophone government voters and Panet, 46.7%.

Table 7-2: Number and Percentage of All and Anglophone Government and Non-Government Voters, Voting for at least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1816

Economic Sector	Fletcher N	Fletcher %	Dénéchaud N	Dénéchaud %	Vanfelson N	Vanfelson %	Total N
All Voters							
Government	51	96.2	6	11.3	20	37.7	53
Non-Government	82	26.7	234	76.2	268	87.3	307
Unclassified	9	24.6	18	69.2	22	84.6	26
Total	142	36.8	258	66.8	310	80.3	386
Anglophone							
Government	41	100.0	2	4.9	14	34.1	41
Non-Government	46	79.3	17	29.3	35	60.3	58
Unclassified	3	100.0	1	33.3	1	33.3	3
Total	90	8.2	20	19.6	50	49.0	102

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

After the defeat of John Fletcher in the election of 1816, another commentator again raised the issue of government influence. Signing his letter, "Seven and six pence per diem", an "officer of a Military Department" bemoaned the conduct of those profiting from the magnanimity of the government:

> I am not at all surprised that the ex members find

> supporters, for such is the case everywhere, but that men eating the public bread under commissions revocable at the will [and] pleasure of the person administering the Government, or aspiring to public Commissions, should so insult the power on which they depend, surpasses all that I have been accustomed to; and I pray that the air of Canada, may not prove contagious and affect me in the same way.[269]

These comments imply that the government-approved candidate, John Fletcher,[270] did not receive the kind of support that he "deserved" from government-connected voters. Investigation of the election results of 1816 indicates that Fletcher benefited greatly from the government-connected voters. Over ninety-five per cent (96.2%) of the government voters cast a vote for Fletcher, accounting for over one-third of his total votes (see table 7-2, p. 273). However, only 26.7% of the non-government voters voted for Fletcher. By far the strength of Dénéchaud's and Vanfelson's support came from non-government (76.2% and 87.3%), rather than government voters (11.3% and 37.7%). Contrary to the impression given by the author of "Seven and six pence per diem", those with government connections heavily favoured the government candidate. Indeed, 29 of the 51 (56.9%) Fletcher supporters did not use their second vote.

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[269] Quebec Mercury, 26 March 1816.

[270] John Fletcher, a young English solicitor arrived in Canada in 1810, apparently encouraged to immigrate at the suggestion of the Lower-Canadian Receiver General, John Caldwell. A friend of the government, Fletcher was rewarded with a number of appointments and commissions: co-coroner of the District of Quebec, 16 May 1814; commission for repairs to the Quebec Palais de Justice, 6 May 1815; Inspector of police for Quebec, 11 October 1815; deputy chairman of Quarter Sessions of Quebec, 11 October 1815, and Justice of the Peace for the District of Quebec, 22 November 1815. After his defeat in March of 1816 Fletcher was appointed joint commissioner to investigate the difficulties in the North-West caused by the rivalry between the North-West Company and the Hudson Bay Company. In May 1823, Fletcher became provincial judge of the district of St. Francis (see: Audet, MG30 D1, vol. 12, 863; Henry J. Morgan, Sketches of Celebrated Canadians, and Persons Connected with Canada from the earliest period in the history of the province down to the present time [Quebec: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1982], 231-2; Pierre-Georges Roy, Les juges de la province de Québec [Quebec: Rédempti Paradis, 1933], 209; and W. Stewart Wallace, ed., The Encyclopedia of Canada [Toronto: University Associates of Canada, 1948], vol. 2, 353).

Unfortunately, with only six of the government voters identified as francophone it is difficult to draw firm conclusions about the role of language affiliation in the behaviour of the government voters. Four of the six francophone government voters voted with Fletcher, while only 13.1% (31 of 236) of the francophone non-government voters gave their approval. For anglophone voters, those with government connections behaved differently than those without occupational links to the government. All forty-one anglophone government voters cast a vote for Fletcher, whereas twelve of the fifty-eight anglophone non-government voters (20.7%) did not. Differences in the support for Dénéchaud and Vanfelson are also evident. Anglophone government voters sided with Dénéchaud (4.9%) and Vanfelson (34.1%), at a much lower percentage than the anglophone non-government voters (29.3% and 60.3%). Clearly, those voters with government-linked occupations favoured Fletcher, the government-favoured candidate.

In the election of 1824, the debate over undue government influence on voters continued with the Quebec Gazette complaining about the overt backing that Francis Ward Primrose received from the military. According to the editor of this anti-government newspaper, the support of the government's favourite candidate "was chiefly derived from the Military Departments."[271] An analysis of the elections confirms that government voters, many of whom associated with the military, sided with Primrose, with nearly three-quarters (73.1%) casting a vote in his favour (see table 7-3, p. 276). Primrose placed third in the election trailing Stuart, his closest opponent, by 166 votes. The limited success that Primrose experienced was largely due to the government voters who accounted for nearly one-fifth (18.5%) of his total votes.

On the other hand, the two Canadian-party candidates, Vallières and Stuart, did not require what little support they received from the government voters, producing only three per cent of Stuart's total votes and seven per

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[271]Quebec Gazette, 12 August 1824.

Table 7-3: Number and Percentage of All, Anglophone and Francophone Government and Non-Government Voters, Voting for at least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824

Economic Sector	Stuart N	Stuart %	Primrose N	Primrose %	Vallieres N	Vallieres %	Perrault N	Perrault %	Total N
All Voters									
Government	11	21.2	38	73.1	30	57.7	9	17.3	52
Non-Government	317	63.3	139	27.8	354	70.7	96	19.2	501
Unclassified	41	58.6	26	37.1	43	61.4	14	20.0	70
Total	369	59.2	203	32.6	427	68.6	119	19.1	623
Anglophone									
Government	6	14.6	34	82.9	22	53.6	7	17.1	41
Non-Government	52	31.3	114	68.7	77	46.4	25	15.1	166
Unclassified	6	23.1	20	76.9	8	30.8	5	19.2	26
Total	64	27.5	168	72.1	107	45.9	37	15.9	233
Francophone									
Government	4	66.7	0	0.0	5	83.3	2	33.3	6
Non-Government	253	79.6	20	6.3	264	83.0	70	22.0	318
Unclassified	35	81.4	5	11.6	35	81.4	8	18.6	43
Total	292	79.6	25	6.8	304	82.9	80	21.8	367

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

cent of Vallières'. Government voters were especially reluctant to vote for Stuart, with only 21.2% casting a vote in his favour. In contrast, the non-government electorate sided with Stuart and Vallières; the latter received votes from 70.7% of the non-government voters, while the former obtained 63.3%.

Again the exact role of language affiliation is difficult to determine because only six francophone voters are identifiable within the government sector. However, among the anglophone voters the same trends are approximated, with 82.9% siding with Primrose and 14.6% positioning themselves with Stuart. Conversely, Vallières received about the same degree of support from both government (53.6%) and non-government (46.4%) anglophone voters. This indicates that the strength of Vallières' appeal

among the anglophone voters was much broader than Stuart's. This conclusion is mirrored in the percentage of anglophone support that both candidates obtained. About one-quarter (27.5%) of all anglophone voters cast a vote for Stuart; nearly twice that voted for Vallières (45.9%). On the other hand, Stuart attracted as nearly as many francophone voters (79.6%) as Vallières (82.9%). Thus while Stuart's Canadian-party connection helped him enormously with the francophone electorate, it greatly hindered his campaign among the anglophone constituents, particularly those with government links.

Table 7-4: Number and Percentage of All, Anglophone and Francophone Government and Non-Government Voters, Voting for at least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1827

Economic Sector	Stuart N	Stuart %	Vallieres N	Vallieres %	Berthelot N	Berthelot %	Vanfelson N	Vanfelson %	Total N
All Voters									
Government	107	97.3	40	36.4	2	1.8	29	26.4	110
Non-Government	412	43.5	611	64.5	502	53.0	232	24.5	947
Unclassified	74	46.6	87	54.7	78	49.1	39	24.6	159
Total	593	48.8	738	60.7	582	47.9	300	24.7	1216
Anglophone									
Government	85	100.0	26	30.6	0	0.0	22	25.9	85
Non-Government	266	84.4	129	41.0	36	11.4	121	38.4	315
Unclassified	52	89.7	19	32.8	4	6.9	24	41.4	58
Total	403	88.0	174	38.0	40	8.8	167	36.5	458
Francophone									
Government	17	85.0	13	65.0	2	10.0	4	20.0	20
Non-Government	124	20.6	462	76.9	459	76.4	101	16.9	601
Unclassified	18	18.8	66	68.8	74	77.1	14	14.6	96
Total	159	22.2	541	75.5	535	74.6	119	16.6	717

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

The hotly contested election of 1827 brought out once again cries that government control and influence were swaying the decisions of Upper-Town

electors. Neilson's Quebec Gazette supporting Berthelot and Vallières in the election observed: "Many of the voters connected with public departments, on the first days of the polling voted for Stuart and Vanfelson."[272] An examination of the voting results for the election of 1827 shows that Stuart was the clear favourite of the government voters. He received votes from all but 3 of the 110 government-connected voters (see table 7-4, p. 277). This high degree of success among the government voters was not dependent upon the language affiliation of voters, as both anglophone (100.0%) and francophone (85.0%) government voters overwhelmingly approved of Stuart. On the other hand, the Quebec Gazette's assessment of Vanfelson's support from government votes was incorrect: only about one-quarter of those connected to the government cast a vote for Vanfelson. Vallières who had begun to drift away from the Papineau camp was the recipient of greater government support (36.4%) than the independent-minded Vanfelson (26.4%).

Neilson and other patriote followers resented their candidate's loss to Stuart by eleven votes. They criticized, in particular, the role of the military in bringing about Berthelot's bitter defeat; Stuart's proponents objected to this line of argument. They countered that the officers in charge of the different departments told those workers engaged by the government to vote as they saw fit. Even further, the military leadership encouraged their officers not to take part in the elections. After the polling, the Quebec Mercury responded to the protests of "military interference":

> One more misrepresentation, to which some persons are so ill-natured as to attach a shorter, but severer epithet: "the order read on the Cape in force the Workmen to vote for Mr. Stuart," has no foundation in fact - on the contrary, an officer of the Engineer Department addressed the Workmen, and distinctly told them that they were at liberty to vote for whom they pleased - and more a note from the highest Military Authority in this country, on the subject of Military Officers voting, occasioned many of the Garrison to withhold

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[272] Quebec Gazette, 16 August 1827.

their votes from Mr. Stuart.[273]

The Berthelot backers continued to insist that the military prevented Berthelot from becoming an elected member of the Legislative Assembly for Upper-Town Quebec. Samuel Neilson, editor of the Gazette, discussed the issue:

> It is said that His Excellency the Commander of the Forces, expressed his desire that the military should not interfere with the elections. We believe it, and are glad of it. It is consonant with the spirit in which the British army has been governed since the revolution, namely to avoid taking any conspicuous part in political contestations. It is nevertheless true, that the contest between Mr. Berthelot and Mr. Stuart was decided by votes of officers of the army stationed here. These gentlemen, having the qualifications, are not excluded from voting; they have frequently voted, and the party that gets their votes, never that we have heard of, has made objections to them; but there is frequently much grumbling on the other side. It probably would be better that the general rule, above alluded to were more closely adhered to, or the votes more equally divided.[274]

The government voters constituted a critical bloc of votes in the election. Carrying the patriote banner, Berthelot received only two votes from the government voters. This represented less than one-half per cent (0.3%) of Berthelot's total votes. In contrast, the government voters formed eighteen per cent of Stuart's total. As the editor of the Quebec Gazette lamented, the government connection was the key to Stuart's victory. Consider the francophone voters. Eighty-five per cent of the francophone government voters backed Stuart, while only twenty per cent of the non-government votes sided with him. Conversely, a mere ten per cent of the francophone government voters gave Berthelot a vote, but over seventy-five percent of the non-government voters, voted for the patriote candidate.

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[273]Quebec Mercury, 18 August 1827.

[274]Quebec Gazette, 20 August 1827

The issue of government interference and influence did not end with the closing of the polls for the election of 1827. A group of Berthelot adherents endeavoured to have the Legislative Assembly declare Stuart's election void. "A Petition of Divers Electors of the Upper Town of Quebec" was presented to the House by Michel Clouet, a patriote representing the County of Quebec. Among the several complaints, the petition made reference to the unlawful actions of the "Officers holding civil and military appointments":

> That the Petitioners would also represent, that extraordinary means of corruption by threats and actual dismission from employment, were used by the partizans [sic] of Mr. Stuart, both on the part of private individuals and on the part of officers holding civil and military appointments; and they wish particularly to call the attention of the House to the fact, that it has come to their knowledge, that, in effect, owing to the interference of authorized overseers, the numerous class of voters labouring on the Cape, came forward under the impression that they risked their employment if they did not vote for Mr. Stuart....[275]

After a series of postponements the House decided on 12 March 1829 to delay considering the petition until the following session.[276] Within a month, Vallières finally received his long-desired appointment to the bench, and the Upper-Town electors carried a new moderate-patriote candidate, François-Joseph Duval, to victory. With representation in the Assembly, Papineau's patriote followers in Upper-Town Quebec no longer contested Stuart's election in 1827.

However, the debate over government influence and in particular "the interference of the regimental and staff officers" in the Upper-Town elections

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[275]JHALC, vol. 38, 4 December 1828, 82.

[276]See: JHALC, vol. 38, 9 December 1828, 121; JHALC, vol. 38, 12 December 1828, 139; JHALC, vol. 38, 16 December 1828, 157; JHALC, vol. 38, 20 December 1828, 182; JHALC, vol. 38, 20 February 1829, 516; JHALC, vol. 38, 24 February 1829, 535-6; JHALC, vol. 38, 12 March 1829, 680.

was not over. The by-election of 1829 revived the controversy. The two-candidate race saw the Quebec Mercury aiding the campaign of former Attorney-General, George Vanfelson. The election was close, with the difference between the moderate-patriote candidate Duval and the government-favoured candidate Vanfelson[277] never greater than sixty-one votes. The Quebec Mercury hoped to close the gap by raising the issue of newly appointed Judge Vallières' appearance on the hustings, which the editors condemned.[278] The Quebec Gazette which desired Duval's election responded by reintroducing the quarrel over military involvement in the elections. After defending Vallières' actions, the Gazette asked:

> What does the Mercury [Quebec Mercury] think of the interference of military persons all on one side, at the present election? Although they are not expressively disqualified by law any more than Judges in this Province, the constitutional practice in England, and the little interest that military men stationed in the colony can have in the result of an election, may perhaps expose them to the reflections of the present sensitive delicacy of the Mercury in regard to improper interference in elections. What does he say to the active interference of the Police Judge and all his dependents?[279]

After Duval's victory, the Gazette continued to question the role of the

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[277]"Un Spectateur" responded to Louis Lagueux's assessment that Vanfelson was a talented, respectable citizen of Quebec. This Duval supporter linked Vanfelson to the "salariés" and the "placés". "Ce monsieur [Vanfelson] avait déjà depuis longtemps figuré sur la scène politique. Il avait déjà plusieurs fois éprouvé le refus des électeurs de la Haute-Ville; mais l'expérience du malheur n'avait abatter ni le zèle de ses partisans ni ses propres espérances d'un succès imaginaire. Il était impérieux de lui prouver, ainsi qu'autres salaires, qu'ils n'avaient pas changés d'opinion à leur égard; et que l'attente des placés, et les faveurs de l'exécutif, n'étaient pas des titres suffisans [sic] à leur estime et à leur confiance. Il ne voulait rien dire en mauvaise part sur le compte de ce Monsieur, au contraire, comme simple particulier, il respectait son caractère privé, et il avait une haute idée de ses talens [sic]" (Quebec Gazette, 18 June 1829; see also: La Minerve, 22 June 1829).

[278]Quebec Mercury, 27 June 1829.

[279]Quebec Gazette, 29 June 1829.

military in Upper-Town politics. The editor also widened the discussion to include all the voters with government connections. According to the Gazette, this group formed a very large bloc of voters under the control of the administration.

> As we mentioned already, we were sorry again to witness the active interference of the regimental and staff officers of the garrison in the last election for the Upper-Town. It is unnecessary to remind the public that these gentlemen are here for a year or two, and very seldom longer: that in England the military are by law removed from towns while elections are held; that although they may pay rents above £10 stg. [sterling] yearly, yet their allowances as lodging-money are generally one-third, (sometimes more) than what they actually pay. They are to be considered besides as not free, or at least, have universally voted on one side, and would not, we apprehend, easily make up their minds to vote on any other. The votes of the gentlemen in question were polled at this election under objection, and Mr. Duval pledged himself to bring the matter before the Assembly, if he were elected, which he has been. The number of such votes cannot be less than from 50 to 70, and if we take into consideration the persons holding office, the expectants of office, those whose education or prejudices throw them into the exclusive society of placemen, and the labourers and artificers [craftsmen] employed directly by government, and dependent on it, it must be confessed, that 4 or 500 voters in the Upper-Town would almost always be found to support any administration using its influence in an illegal manner.[280]

The pro-Vanfelson Quebec Mercury defended the actions of the military officers, explaining that they had the right to vote and to vote for whomever they pleased: "Some military officers voted for him [Vanfelson] it is true, and by the laws they have the right to do so; but they did so of their own unbiased free will, [and] their being 'all on one side', showed they were unanimous."[281] Furthermore, the officers not only had the right to vote,

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[280]Quebec Gazette, 2 July 1829.

[281]Quebec Mercury, 30 June 1829.

but they exercised this right in England. In answer to the Gazette, the Mercury printed a long discussion on the military and politics. The editor of the Mercury rejected the contention that the military should not be involved in elections. He argued that the individual military officers had the right to vote in local elections in England, if they met all the legal requirements. As for the officers in Quebec City, he rejected the notion that they did not meet the property qualifications:

> The Old Quebec Gazette [Neilson's Quebec Gazette] pertinaciously persists in objecting to the exercise by the Military Officers stationed in this garrison, of the right of voting at Elections for Members of the Assembly vested in them by the laws enforced in this province; and in support of this objection raised by the Gazette, although the Military as a body are [sic] removed to a certain distance from the city or town in which an election may be held, lest their presence might be supposed to curb the freedom of choice which ought to be exercised - there is no law which prevents individuals of that body, who may have votes, from repairing to the hustings and exercising their elective franchise, and it is no uncommon thing to see at elections in large manufacturing towns, which furnish many recruits to the army, numbers of soldiers of different corps polling at the hustings in their uniforms; if these men were otherway [sic] properly qualified we never heard of an objection being made to their votes on account of their being officers or soldiers - As to the other objection that "their" (the officers') "allowances are lodging money, are generally one third, and sometimes more, than what they actually pay ["]; it is not only illiberal, but is not founded in fact, for there is hardly a married officer, under the rank of field officer, in this garrison, living in private quarters, who does not pay, at least, from one fourth to one third more than the allowance he receives from government for the quarters he may occupy, and those of the military who belong to the Staff, or to Departments are liable to all the burthens [burdens] borne by the civil inhabitants....[282]

The Gazette and Mercury presented differing views on the desirability of having military officers take part in the elections; their lines of defense

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[282]Quebec Mercury, 4 July 1829.

Table 7-5: Number and Percentage of All, Anglophone and Francophone Government and Non-Government Voters, Voting for at least One Candidate, By-Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1829

Economic Sector	Vanfelson N	Vanfelson %	Duval N	Duval %	Total N
All Voters					
Government	61	84.7	11	15.3	72
Non-Government	318	44.4	399	55.6	717
Unclassified	46	38.0	75	62.0	121
Total	425	46.7	485	53.3	910
Anglophone					
Government	45	90.0	5	10.0	50
Non-Government	178	79.1	47	20.9	225
Unclassified	32	78.0	9	22.0	41
Total	225	80.7	61	19.3	316
Francophone					
Government	13	72.2	5	27.8	18
Non-Government	126	26.9	342	73.1	468
Unclassified	12	15.4	66	84.6	78
Total	151	26.8	413	73.2	564

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

were a product of the common voting behaviour of the military and of government-connected voters in general. Both newspapers agreed that only Vanfelson, the preferred-government candidate, benefited from the actions of the government votes. Investigation of the voting record for the by-election of 1829 confirms that Vanfelson was the overwhelming favourite of those voters with occupational links to the government. Vanfelson collected 84.7% of the government votes, while Duval garnered only 15.3% (see table 7-5, p. 284). In part, language affiliation explains Vanfelson's success in attracting government voters. Among the anglophone voters, the degree of Vanfelson support from government (90.0%) and non-government (79.1%) voters was similar. The same was true for anglophone support for Duval, with 10.0% of government voters and 20.8% of non-government voters siding with the

patriote candidate. For francophone voters, however, links with the government proved to be decisive with nearly three-quarters (72.2%) of the eighteen government voters and only one-quarter (26.9%) of the non-government voters in the Vanfelson camp.

Papineau's patriote followers endeavoured to maintain occupational or appointive connections with the government as an issue in the election of 1834. In the middle of the polling Etienne Parent, editor of the pro-patriote Le Canadien, concluded: "Nous avon contre nous à la Haute-Ville tous les officiers du gouvernement....[283] In Montreal, Papineau's La Minerve[284] repeated Parent's assertion and added its own summary of the elections in Quebec City. The editors asserted: "Il faut ne pas perdre de vue que la bureaucratie est dans son foyer, dans le siège du gouvernement provincial...."[285] Two weeks after the close of the polls, Le Canadien printed a table of the occupations of the voters who took part in the election. It once again broached the subject of government connections by dividing the voters according to whether they were in "situations de profit sous le gouvernement civil et militaire".[286]

The categorization of the voters in this manner appears valid at first, with Stuart receiving support from all but five of the fifty-seven government voters (91.2%), but votes from less than half (43.9%) of the non-government electors (see table 7-6, p. 286). In contrast, the patriote candidates obtained a far greater degree of support from those without government connections.

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[283]Le Canadien, 24 October 1834.

[284]La Minerve was founded by the 23-year-old Augustin-Norbert Morin in 1826 to support "les intérêts des Canadiens...." Publication was suspended in the fall of 1826 and reappeared in February 1827 with Morin as political director and Ludger Duvernay as printer (Beaulieu and Hamelin, La presse québécoise, 56-57).

[285]La Minerve, 28 October 1834.

[286]Le Canadien, 12 November 1834.

Table 7-6: Number and Percentage of All, Anglophone and Francophone Government and Non-Government Voters, Voting for at least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1834

Economic Sector	Stuart N	Stuart %	Caron N	Caron %	Berthelot N	Berthelot %	Total N
All Voters							
Government	52	91.2	15	26.3	5	8.8	57
Non-Government	383	43.9	654	74.9	493	56.5	873
Unclassified	35	38.5	65	71.4	57	62.6	91
Total	470	46.0	734	71.9	555	54.4	1021
Anglophone							
Government	50	100.0	10	20.0	0	0.0	50
Non-Government	329	94.5	150	43.1	23	6.6	348
Unclassified	31	75.6	15	36.6	11	26.8	41
Total	410	93.4	175	39.9	34	7.7	439
Francophone							
Government	1	16.7	5	83.3	5	83.3	6
Non-Government	30	6.1	477	97.8	457	93.7	488
Unclassified	2	4.2	47	100.0	45	95.7	47
Total	33	6.1	529	97.8	507	93.7	541

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

Caron received votes from 74.9% non-government and 26.3% from government votes; and Berthelot benefited from the votes of 56.5% of the non-government and 8.8% of the government voters. However, the importance of the government connection greatly diminishes when language affiliation of the voters is added to the voting-determinant equation. In regard to anglophone voters, Stuart's support was extremely high from both government (100.0%) and non-government (94.5%) voters. For Caron and Berthelot, the differences in the degree of support from government and non-government voters remain , but greatly lessened. Caron, the moderate patriote candidate, collected votes from 20.0% of the government and 43.1% of the non-government voters. Berthelot, viewed as a strong Papineau follower, generated very little support from either government (0.0%) or non-government (6.6%) anglophone voters.

With ony six francophones categorized as having government connections, conclusions regarding actions of government and non-government francophone voters are tenuous. However, an analysis of the francophone voters supports the general conviction that the national question outweighed all other considerations after 1830. Stuart's support from both francophone groups was negligible: 16.1% from government and 6.1% from non-government voters. Caron and Berthelot succeeded in obtaining votes from nearly all of their francophone compatriotes: 83.3% and 97.8% for Caron and 83.3% and 93.7% for Berthelot.

Table 7-7: Number and Percentage of Francophone Government and Non-Government Voters, Voting for at least One Candidate, By-Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1836

Economic Sector	Painchaud N	Painchaud %	Stuart N	Stuart %	Total N
Government	0	0.0	3	100.0	3
Non-Government	274	93.8	18	6.2	292
Unclassified	27	81.8	6	18.2	33
Total	301	91.8	27	8.2	328

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

During the by-election of 1836, with "nationality" as their central focus, the two opposing camps did not return to the issue of government influence on voters with government connections. An examination of the voting results confirms the impression left by the newspaper reports that government connections no longer constituted a factor in the voters' decisions. This bitterly fought campaign saw all but 10 of the 335 (97.0%) anglophone voters siding with Andrew Stuart. Similarly, Joseph Painchaud had only 27 of the 328 (8.2%) francophone electors reject his plea for votes (see table 7-7, p. 287). Clearly the question of nationality was overriding; nonetheless, with all three francophone government voters in the Stuart

camp, it appears that an occupational or appointive connection with government continued to influence the actions of a few of the francophone voters.

This analysis suggests that whether a voter was occupationally connected to the government influenced the casting of his votes in the Upper-Town elections. In general, the government-linked voters favoured the government-approved candidates. The strength of the relationship between having a government-connected occupation and voting for government-backed candidates depended in part on the language affiliation of the voters and candidates. Consequently, after 1830 when the "national" question eclipsed all other issues, government connections were no longer relevant.

7.3. Economic Sector

Dividing the voters into the public and private sectors, as the Upper-Town political commentators of the early 1800s did, reveals the importance of occupational or appointive links with the government in the decisions of the electorate. However, with only about ten per cent of the voters in the government sector (see table 7-8, p. 289), the overall significance of what sector of the economy the voters worked in remains unclear. The following section looks more closely at the actions of those voters in the non-government or private sector, which accounted for about eighty per cent of the electorate.[287]

Not many commentators of the early nineteenth-century political scene in Upper-Town Quebec went beyond the issue of government versus non-government connections and distinguished the voters according to the economic-sector affiliation. There are a few examples, however. In the election of 1824, Primrose, one of the Bureaucratic candidates, made a specific appeal to those members of the electorate "connected with the trade

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[287]The percentage of voters in the government sector fluctuated between 4.5% to 13.7%, with a mean percentage of 8.8%.

Table 7-8: Total Number and Percentage of Government and Non-Government Voters, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Sec.	1814 N	1814 %	1816 N	1816 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829* N	1829* %	1834 N	1834 %	1836* N	1836* %
Gov.	71	12.3	53	13.7	52	8.3	110	9.0	72	7.9	57	5.6	31	4.5
Non.	450	78.0	307	79.5	501	80.4	947	77.9	717	78.8	873	85.5	582	85.1
Unc.	56	9.7	26	6.7	70	11.2	159	13.1	121	13.3	91	8.9	71	10.4
Total	557	100.0	386	99.9	623	99.9	1216	100.0	910	100.0	1021	100.0	684	100.0

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; Sec.=Economic Sector; Gov.=Government; Non.=Non-Government

and commerce of this city, whose prosperity must ever be inseparably united to that of the whole country."[288] It is not clear if Primrose was restricting his appeal to merchants or to all those, including clerks, bankers and agents, employed in the commercial sector. It it was the latter group, then Primrose's direct solicitation to the voters with "trade and commerce" connections was not successful.[289] Although he garnered votes from 45.2% of the voters in the industrial sector (see table 7-9, p. 290) his Canadian-party opponents did even better, with 48.0% siding with Stuart and 56.2% with Vallières. Admittedly Primrose received much greater support from the industrial sector (45.2%) than from the service (27.1%) and commercial sector (18.3%), but much of the difference in degree of support dissipates when language affiliation of the voters is considered.

About three-quarters of the anglophone voters in the different economic sectors voted for Primrose. The only exception was those voters in the commercial sector. Despite the direct solicitations, less than half the anglophone voters in that sector (45.5%) cast a vote for Primrose. Indeed,

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[288] Quebec Mercury, 13 July 1824.

[289] For a list of occupations classified in the commercial sector, see section F.2, Appendix F. For a discussion of the response of the merchant group per se, see chapter 8.

Table 7-9: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Language Affiliation and Economic Sector, Voting for at least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824

Economic Sector	Stuart N	Stuart %	Primrose N	Primrose %	Vallieres N	Vallieres %	Perrault N	Perrault %	Total N
All Voters									
Government	11	21.2	38	73.1	30	57.7	9	17.3	52
Service	188	62.9	81	27.1	210	70.2	63	21.1	299
Industrial	35	48.0	33	45.2	41	56.2	11	15.1	73
Commercial	80	76.9	19	18.3	84	80.8	13	12.5	104
Extractive	14	56.0	6	24.0	19	76.0	9	36.0	25
Unclassified	41	58.6	26	37.1	43	61.4	14	20.0	70
Total	369	59.2	203	32.6	427	68.6	119	19.1	623
Anglophone									
Government	6	14.6	34	82.9	22	53.6	7	17.1	41
Service	25	27.8	66	73.3	40	44.4	15	16.7	90
Industrial	9	23.7	28	73.7	12	31.6	6	15.8	38
Commercial	18	54.6	15	45.5	23	70.0	2	6.1	33
Extractive	0	0.0	5	100.0	2	40.0	2	40.0	5
Unclassified	6	23.1	20	76.9	8	30.8	5	19.2	26
Total	64	27.5	168	72.1	107	45.9	37	15.9	233
Francophone									
Government	4	66.7	0	0.0	5	83.3	2	33.3	6
Service	155	77.9	13	6.5	161	80.9	48	24.1	199
Industrial	25	78.1	3	9.4	27	84.3	5	15.6	32
Commercial	59	88.1	3	4.5	59	88.1	10	14.9	67
Extractive	14	70.0	1	5.0	17	85.0	7	35.0	20
Unclassified	35	81.4	5	11.6	35	81.4	8	18.6	43
Total	292	79.6	25	6.8	304	82.9	80	21.8	367

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

the anglophone votes in the commercial sector gave greater support to Stuart (54.6%) and Vallières (70.0%). Among the francophone voters, those in commercial and industrial sectors, like those in the other sectors, ignored Primrose's "commerce and trade" campaign. The percentage of support in all sectors was very low: 0.0% in the government sector; 6.5% in the service sector; 9.4% in the industrial sector; 4.5% in the commercial sector; and 5.0% in the extractive sector.

Table 7-10: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Language Affiliation and Economic Sector, By-Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1836

Economic Sector	Painchaud N	Painchaud %	Stuart N	Stuart %	Total N
All Voters					
Government	0	0.0	31	100.0	31
Service	202	54.0	172	46.0	374
Industrial	34	35.8	61	64.2	95
Commercial	43	43.0	57	57.0	100
Extractive	6	46.2	7	53.8	13
Unclassified	28	39.4	43	60.6	71
Total	313	45.8	371	54.2	684
Anglophone					
Government	0	0.0	27	100.0	27
Service	6	4.0	144	96.0	150
Industrial	2	3.4	57	96.6	59
Commercial	1	1.8	55	98.2	56
Extractive	0	0.0	7	100.0	7
Unclassified	1	2.8	35	97.2	36
Total	10	3.0	325	97.0	335
Francophone					
Government	0	0.0	3	100.0	3
Service	195	93.3	14	6.7	209
Industrial	31	93.9	2	6.1	33
Commercial	42	95.5	2	4.5	44
Extractive	6	100.0	0	0.0	6
Unclassified	27	81.8	6	18.2	33
Total	301	91.8	27	8.2	328

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

Another direct appeal to voters associated with a particular economic sector does not appear in the newspapers until the by-election of 1836. The editor of the Quebec Mercury, a Stuart advocate, warned his readers to be wary of the patriote nominee, Painchaud: "yet it is clear that on all principle points he will vote with the party whose acts are complained of by

the commercial body of the country."[290] Did voters in the commercial or industrial sectors heed the warning of the Mercury and reject Painchaud completely? A quick examination of Painchaud's support according to economic sector reveals that in the private sector, he received the least amount of support from the industrial (35.8%) and commercial (43.0%) sectors (see table 7-10, p. 291). The differences in the degree of support is minimal from the other sectors, but more significantly the differences completely disappear when language of the voters is considered. With only ten anglophone voters voting for Painchaud and only twenty-seven francophone votes not supporting him the behaviour of the voters according to economic sector becomes meaningless.

A more general analysis of the voters according to economic sector confirms the impression left by the newspapers and the investigation of Primrose's support in the election of 1824 and Stuart' support in the by-election of 1836. Within the non-government sector, a voter's economic sectorial affiliation was not an important voting determinant. The response of the voters in the service, industrial and commercial sectors which accounted for about three-quarters of the electorate in the seven elections from 1814 to 1836 (see table 7-11, p. 293) was relatively similar. A comparison of the mean percentage of support in those three sector suggests that for the vast majority of the voters in the private sector, economic sector was not a factor in the electoral decisions of the voters. Support for anglophone candidates, for example, was virtually the same for the three sectors. In the six elections with anglophone candidates present, the mean percentage of those in the service sector voting for at least one anglophone candidate is 47.9% (see table 7-13, p. 295) A comparable degree of support is found within the industrial and commercial sectors, the mean percentage of the former equalling 56.8% and of the latter, 49.9%. Likewise, the mean percentage of support for francophone candidates was relatively the same in

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[290]Quebec Mercury, 15 March 1836.

Table 7-11: Total Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Economic Sector, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Economic Sector	1814		1816		1824		1827		1829*		1834		1836*	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Government	71	12.3	53	13.7	52	8.3	110	7.9	72	9.0	57	5.6	31	4.5
Service	294	51.0	185	47.9	299	48.0	585	48.1	485	53.3	556	54.5	374	54.7
Industrial	65	11.3	43	11.1	73	11.7	116	9.5	85	9.3	122	11.9	95	13.9
Commercial	80	13.9	67	17.4	104	16.7	162	13.3	109	12.0	163	16.0	100	14.6
Extractive	11	1.9	12	3.1	25	4.0	84	6.9	38	4.2	32	3.1	13	1.9
Unclassified	56	9.7	26	6.7	70	11.2	159	13.1	121	13.3	91	8.9	71	10.4
Total	557	100.1	386	99.9	623	99.9	1216	99.9	910	100.0	1021	100.0	684	100.0

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election

Table 7-12: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Language Affiliation and Economic Sector, Voting for at least One Francophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Economic Sector	1814		1816		1824		1827		1829*		1834		1836*	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
All Voters														
Government	34	47.9	6	11.3	119	90.8	40	36.4	11	15.3	16	28.1	0	0.0
Service	275	93.5	140	75.7	81	85.3	456	77.9	276	56.9	441	79.3	202	54.0
Industrial	57	87.7	30	69.8	229	81.5	72	62.1	35	41.2	90	73.8	34	35 8
Commercial	73	91.3	55	82.1	62	88.6	124	76.5	70	64.2	110	67.5	43	43.0
Extractive	11	100.0	9	75.0	28	70.0	65	77.4	18	47.4	23	71.9	6	46.2
Unclassified	52	92.9	18	69.2	3	50.0	113	71.1	75	62.0	71	78.0	28	39.4
Total	502	87.0	258	66.8	522	83.8	870	71.5	485	53.3	751	73.6	313	45.8
Anglophone														
Government	17	34.7	2	4.9	29	70.7	26	30.6	5	10.0	10	20.0	0	0.0
Service	39	76.5	9	33.3	55	61.1	77	46.7	22	16.9	72	40.4	6	4.0
Industrial	10	62.5	2	15.4	18	47.4	29	46.0	9	21.4	38	56.7	2	3.4
Commercial	17	77.3	5	31.3	25	75.8	31	48.4	15	35.7	42	45.7	1	1.8
Extractive	1	100.0	1	50.0	4	80.0	7	30.4	1	9.1	3	27.3	0	0.0
Unclassified	1	20.0	1	33.3	13	50.0	21	36.2	9	22.0	21	51.2	1	2.8
Total	85	59.0	20	19.6	144	61.8	191	41.7	61	19.3	186	42.4	10	3.0
Francophone														
Government	11	73.3	3	50.0	6	100.0	13	65.0	5	27.8	6	100.0	0	0.0
Service	216	98.2	125	83.9	196	98.5	368	90.9	249	73.2	349	98.9	195	93.3
Industrial	41	97.6	27	93.1	31	96.9	39	81.3	24	61.5	51	100.0	31	93.9
Commercial	48	98.0	49	100.0	66	98.5	88	96.7	53	84.1	83	98.4	42	95.5
Extractive	10	100.0	7	77.8	20	100.0	55	96.5	16	61.5	19	95.0	6	100.0
Unclassified	48	100.0	16	80.0	41	95.4	90	93.8	66	84.6	47	100.0	27	81.8
Total	374	97.4	227	86.6	360	98.1	653	91.1	413	73.2	535	98.9	301	91.8

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election

each of the three sectors: 74.7% in the service sector; 64.6% in industrial sector; and 73.3% in the commercial sector (see table 7-12, p. 294). Thus, the voters in the service, industrial and commercial sectors responded in the same fashion to the language affiliation of the candidates. In other words, a voter's economic sector was not a factor in determining voting preference.

Table 7-13: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Language Affiliation and Economic Sector, Voting for at least One Anglophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Sector	1814		1816		1824		1827		1834		1836*	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
All Voters												
Government	64	90.1	51	96.2	127	96.9	107	97.3	52	91.2	31	100.0
Service	124	42.2	53	28.6	90	94.7	227	38.8	206	37.1	172	46.0
Industrial	28	43.1	11	52.6	250	89.0	71	61.2	70	57.4	61	64.2
Commercial	24	30.0	14	20.9	59	84.3	79	48.8	95	58.3	57	57.0
Extractive	1	9.1	4	33.3	37	92.5	35	41.7	12	37.5	7	53.8
Unclassified	20	35.7	9	34.6	6	100.0	74	46.5	35	38.5	4?	60.6
Total	261	45.2	142	36.8	569	91.3	593	48.8	470	46.0	371	54.2
Anglophone												
Government	47	95.8	41	100.0	40	97.6	85	100.0	50	100.0	27	100.0
Service	46	90.2	21	77.8	89	98.9	132	80.0	168	94.4	144	96.0
Industrial	15	93.8	11	84.6	37	97.4	52	82.5	63	94.0	57	96.6
Commercial	17	77.3	12	75.0	32	97.0	61	95.3	87	94.6	55	98.2
Extractive	1	100.0	2	100.0	5	100.0	21	91.3	11	100.0	7	100.0
Unclassified	5	100.0	3	100.0	26	100.0	52	89.7	31	75.6	35	97.2
Total	131	91.0	90	88.2	229	98.3	403	88.0	410	93.4	325	97.0
Francophone												
Government	11	73.3	4	66.7	4	66.7	17	85.0	1	16.7	3	100.0
Service	65	29.5	28	18.8	168	84.4	81	20.0	22	6.2	14	6.7
Industrial	9	21.4	0	0.0	28	87.5	17	35.4	4	7.8	2	6.1
Commercial	2	4.1	1	2.0	62	92.5	14	15.4	3	4.7	2	4.5
Extractive	0	0.0	2	22.2	15	75.0	12	21.1	1	5.0	0	0.0
Unclassified	13	27.1	4	20.0	40	93.0	18	18.8	2	4.3	6	18.2
Total	100	26.0	39	14.9	317	86.4	159	22.2	33	6.1	27	8.2

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election

Similar patterns among both language groups indicate that in most elections economic sector was not an important voting determinant. Anglophone voters in the service, industrial and commercial sectors gave a high percentage of support to anglophone candidates. This is reflected in the mean percentages of anglophone support for anglophone candidates: 89.6% in the service sector; 91.5% in industrial sector; and 89.6% in the commercial sector. Francophone voters shared the tendency of not strongly supporting anglophone candidates. The mean percentage of francophone support for anglophone candidates is 27.6% for the service sector, 26.4% for the industrial sector and 20.5% for the commercial sector. The basic tenet that all non-government francophone voters, no matter what economic sector they were in, responded in the same fashion to anglophone voters held true in all the post-1820 elections. In the two elections held before 1820, very few francophone voters in the commercial sector supported anglophone candidates. This was also the case for the francophone voters in the industrial sector in the election of 1816. One explanation for this behaviour is the presence of Claude Dénéchaud on the hustings in these two elections. Perhaps the wealthy Dénéchaud,[291] who had made his fortune in the import-export trade, greatly appealed to the francophone votes linked to commerce and trade.

Correspondingly, the reaction of the private sector to the francophone candidates is not differentiated. Anglophone voters in the service, industrial, and commercial sectors responded to the French-speaking candidates in much the same fashion. This is mirrored in the mean percentage of anglophone support in each of the sectors: 39.8% in the service sector; 36.1% in the industrial sector, and 45.1% in the commercial sector. The actions of the francophone voters in regard to francophone candidates in each of these sectors were also similar, with support from the commercial sector slightly higher in three of the seven elections. The mean percentage of francophone

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[291] Audet described Dénéchaud as "un des négociants les plus riches du Canada." Winnings six consecutive campaigns, Dénéchaud represented Upper-Town Quebec for twelve years, until he declined to run in July 1820, the second call to the hustings in that year (Audet, Législateurs, vol. 1, n. pp. and; Audet, Législateurs du Bas-Canada, vol. 1, n. pp.).

support for francophone candidates in each sector was 91.0%, 89.2% and 95.9%. This suggests that among the anglophone or francophone voters in the non-government or private sector, it did not matter whether voters were affiliated with the service, industrial or commercial sector: they behaved the same way toward the candidates. In other words, francophone voters sided with francophone candidates and anglophone voters favoured anglophone candidates. Economic affiliation did not play a role among the voters in the private sector.

Within the private sector it still remains unclear whether there was a relationship between party choice and economic function. According to some commentators, those with commercial interests had a special affinity for the Bureaucratic or English party. During the election of 1834, the editor of La Minerve, for one, suggested that the "marchands" and "commerçans [sic]" joined with the bureaucrats to ensure the success of their candidates. In celebrating the victory of the six patriotes in the capital region, La Minerve congratulated the the "compatriotes de Québec" for their effort, unity and perseverance in defeating the bureaucracy and the commercial interests, which held considerable influence and power in Quebec. It continued:

> Il faut ne pas perdre de vue que la bureaucratie est dans son foyer dans le siège du gouvernement provincial: il faut se rappeler qu'elle est aidée, fortement appuyée par cette cohue de damoiseaux, marchands de ses oiseaux de passages dont les nids sont près de ceux de leurs confrères bureaucrates, il faut ne pas oublier que la caisse publique fournit beaucoup aux premiers tandis que les derniers exploitant l'industrie et le travail des classes agricoles et ouvrières font grande parade et large dépense, sans s'inquiéter si même ils pourront payer cinq chelins dans le louis. Les uns et les autres ont leurs employés et leurs dépendans dans les chantiers du gouvernement et dans ceux des commerçans [sic], et les votes de ces subalternes viennent grossir le chiffre du candidat et leurs maîtres.[292]

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[292]La Minerve, 28 October 1834.

Table 7-14: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Economic Sector and Language Affiliation, Voting for at least One Bureaucratic/Constitutional-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Economic Sector	1814 N	1814 %	1816 N	1816 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836* N	1836* %
All Voters												
Government	71	100.0	53	100.0	42	80.8	107	97.3	52	91.2	31	100.0
Service	285	96.9	184	99.5	121	40.5	227	38.8	206	37.1	172	46.0
Industrial	65	100.0	41	95.3	39	53.4	71	61.2	70	57.4	61	64.2
Commercial	76	95.0	67	100.0	30	28.9	79	48.8	95	58.3	57	57.0
Extractive	11	100.0	12	100.0	13	52.0	35	41.7	12	37.5	7	53.8
Unclassified	53	94.6	26	100.0	32	45.7	74	46.5	35	38.5	43	60.6
Total	561	97.2	383	99.2	277	44.5	593	48.8	470	46.0	371	54.2
Anglophone												
Government	49	100.0	41	100.0	36	87.8	85	100.0	50	100.0	27	100.0
Service	50	98.0	27	100.0	68	75.5	132	80.0	168	94.4	144	96.0
Industrial	16	100.0	13	100.0	30	78.9	52	82.5	63	94.0	57	96.6
Commercial	21	95.5	16	100.0	16	48.5	61	95.3	87	94.6	55	98.2
Extractive	1	100.0	2	100.0	5	100.0	21	91.3	11	100.0	7	100.0
Unclassified	5	100.0	3	100.0	20	76.9	52	89.7	31	75.6	35	97.2
Total	42	98.6	102	100.0	175	75.1	403	88.0	410	93.4	325	97.0
Francophone												
Government	15	100.0	6	100.0	2	33.3	17	85.0	1	16.7	3	100.0
Service	213	96.8	148	99.3	51	25.6	81	20.0	22	6.2	14	6.7
Industrial	46	100.0	27	93.1	7	21.9	17	35.4	4	7.8	2	6.1
Commercial	47	95.9	49	100.0	12	17.9	14	15.4	3	4.7	2	4.5
Extractive	10	100.0	9	100.0	8	40.0	12	21.1	1	5.0	0	0.0
Unclassified	45	93.8	20	100.0	11	25.6	18	18.8	2	4.3	6	18.2
Total	371	96.9	259	98.9	91	24.8	159	22.2	33	6.1	27	8.2

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election

If the relationship between the commercial interests and the Bureaucratic party was strong this should be revealed in an examination of the voters in the private sector and their response to the party affiliation of the candidates. Our analysis suggests that the commercial interests and industrial groups tended to give slightly greater support than the service group to the Bureaucratic candidates in the elections after 1824 (see table

7-14, p. 298). The mean percentages of support were: 59.8% for the service sector; 71.9% for the industrial sector; and 64.7% for the commercial sector.

However, the actions of the voters in the industrial and commercial sectors become indistinguishable from those of the voters in the service sector when considering the language affiliation of the voters. For both anglophone and francophone voters, the percentage of support for Bureaucratic-party candidates was comparable in the three sectors. Our analysis suggests that the commercial and industrial groups tended to give greater support to the Bureaucratic party, but the anglophone voters in all three sectors strongly supported the Bureaucratic candidates. The only exception was the voters in the commercial sector in the election of 1824. Generally, however, the behaviour of the anglophone voters did not differ according to economic sector. The mean percentage of anglophone support in the three sectors were very similar: 90.7% in the service sector; 92.0% in the industrial sector; and 88.7% in the commercial sector. In the same way, little distinction is evident in the behaviour of the francophone voters toward the Bureaucratic-party candidates. The mean percentages mirror the common reaction: 42.4% for the service sector; 44.1% for the industrial sector; and 39.7% for the commercial sector.

Our analysis suggests that for neither anglophone nor francophone voters in the three main economic categories in the private sector, the response to the Bureaucratic/English-party candidates did not depend on the economic sector to which the voter belonged. Conversely, an initial investigation of the reaction of the voters according to economic sector to the canadien/moderate-patriote candidates discloses a consistent pattern of behaviour. In the pre-1830 period, the canadien- and moderate-patriote-party candidates obtained the greatest degree of support from the voters in the commercial sector and the lowest percentage of support from the industrial sector. This was true for all four elections. The means percentages of support were: 74.4% for the commercial sector; 66.4% for the service sector; and 54.6% for the industrial sector (see table 7-15, p. 300).

Table 7-15: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Economic Sector and Language Affiliation, Voting for at least One Canadien-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829

Economic Sector	1814 N	1814 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829* N	1829* %
All Voters								
Government	12	16.9	31	59.6	40	36.4	11	15.3
Service	202	68.7	225	75.3	379	64.8	276	56.9
Industrial	41	63.1	43	58.9	64	55.2	35	41.2
Commercial	61	76.3	90	86.5	114	70.4	70	64.2
Extractive	10	90.9	21	84.0	54	64.3	18	47.4
Unclassified	42	75.0	48	68.6	87	54.7	75	62.0
Total	368	63.8	458	73.5	738	60.7	485	53.3
Anglophone								
Government	13	6.1	23	56.1	26	30.6	5	10.0
Service	11	21.6	43	47.8	69	41.8	22	16.9
Industrial	2	12.5	14	36.8	23	36.5	9	21.4
Commercial	9	40.9	24	72.7	31	48.4	15	35.7
Extractive	0	0.0	2	40.04	6	26.1	1	9.1
Unclassified	0	0.0	9	34.6	19	32.8	9	22.0
Total	25	17.4	115	49.4	174	38.0	16	19.3
Francophone								
Government	7	46.7	5	83.3	13	65.0	5	27.8
Service	180	81.8	173	86.9	300	74.1	249	73.2
Industrial	36	85.7	27	84.4	37	77.1	24	61.5
Commercial	47	95.9	63	94.0	80	87.9	53	84.1
Extractive	10	100.0	19	95.04	45	78.9	16	61.5
Unclassified	41	85.4	39	90.7	66	68.8	66	84.6
Total	321	83.6	326	88.8	541	75.5	413	73.2

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; Canadien=Canadien/Moderate-Canadien/Moderate-Patriote

Further examination of the voters according to language affiliation shows that a voter's response to the canadien and moderate-patriote-party candidates was influenced by economic-sectorial affiliation. Both anglophone and francophone voters in the commercial sector gave a greater degree of support to the canadien and moderate-patriote candidate than those votes in

the other two principal categories in the private sector. Specifically, the mean percentage of anglophone voters' support according to economic sector was as follows: 49.4% for the commercial sector; 32.0% for the service sector; and 26.8% for the industrial sector. Francophone voters exhibited parallel behaviour. The mean percentages of francophone support were: 90.4% in the commercial sector; 79.0% in the service sector; and 77.1% in the industrial sector. This leads to the conclusion that commercial interests, at least in the functional terms that we have defined them, were overrepresented as Canadian-party, not Bureaucratic-party, supporters.

7.4. Conclusion

The economic sector in which a voter was employed influenced the way in which he responded to a candidate. This was particularly true for the ten per cent of the electorate with occupational or appointive links with the government. Ethno-cultural considerations disappeared, as these voters - no matter what their language - overwhelmingly favoured government-approved candidates. It is no wonder that government interference and undue influence on the military and other government employees remained a campaign issue throughout this period.

Bureaucratic candidates also appealed to those "connected with trade and commerce." Our analysis shows that those in the commercial sector responded in the same way as those in other sectors, suggesting that the appeals were not successful; if anything those employed in the commercial sector were overrepresented as Canadian-party supporters. It remains to be seen whether the Bureaucratic party was more successful among merchants, an important segment of the commercial sector. Chapter 8 will examine this issue as it considers the larger question of the role of socio-professional status as a voting determinant.

Chapter Eight: Occupation and Socio-Professional Status

8.1. Introduction

We have seen how economic function influenced the behaviour of the voting public: those tied economically to the government supported government-backed candidates. This chapter considers the effects of occupation and socio-professional status. In terms of leadership, an important occupational distinction existed between the two contending parties: until 1820 Canadian-party candidates were lawyers, while Bureaucratic-party candidates were merchants. As for the response of the voters, both parties owed the major part of their support to merchants and artisans. Nonetheless, the equating of either party to a particular occupational group oversimplifies the response of the voters. Anglophone merchants responded in the same manner as other anglophone voters - they were strong supporters of the Bureaucratic party. Perhaps more useful is the associating of the liberal professionals with Papineau's party: both anglophone and francophone liberal professionals were overrepresented as Canadian supporters.

More conclusive is the role that socio-professional status played in the decisions of the voters. Before 1830, this factor influenced the anglophone response to French-speaking and Canadian-party candidates: support decreased as socio-professional status decreased. For francophone voters, the effects of socio-professional status are less evident. In 1814 and 1816, their response to English-speaking candidates discloses an inverse relationship: support increased as status decreased. On the other hand, in most pre-1830 elections francophone support for the Canadian party was considerably higher among the highest-status voters.

8.2. Occupation, Party Leadership and Political Affiliation

During the Upper-Town Quebec election of 1834, Etienne Parent, editor of Le Canadien, concluded that "presque tous les marchands Bretons, qui tiennent leur résidence à la Haute-Ville"[293] were against the patriote candidates. Parent was not the only contemporary commentator to link the merchant class with the one of the two contending parties in Lower-Canadian politics. Frederick Elliott, secretary to the Gosford commission,[294] concluded that there were two main components to the Bureaucratic party: a small group of senior civil servants whose power and influence in the province and in Britain was on the wane; and a second more dynamic and politically astute element, "composed of almost all the Merchants,..."[295] Historians have continued, with varying degrees of sophistication, to equate those involved with commercial activities with the Bureaucratic party. In 1914, for example, Duncan McArthur's analysis of "Lower Canada, 1791-1812" for Canada and Its Provinces, included the following description of the "tory", that is, Bureaucratic party: "The British commercial interests of Quebec and Montreal formed the basis of the tory or official party. It was intensely loyal to the crown and to British institutions; it sought the industrial and commercial development of the province."[296] Four decades

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[293]Le Canadien, 12 August 1834.

[294]Headed by Lord Gosford, the Gosford commission was a royal commission of inquiry set up in 1835 to examine the Lower-Canadian political difficulties. The commissioners presented their full report in March 1837. Although recognizing the need to eliminate certain abuses concerning appointments, they rejected many of the Legislative Assembly's claims, including responsible government, an elected legislative council, unconditional control of all revenues and management of crown lands (See: Mason Wade, The French Canadians, 1760-1967, vol. 1, 1760-1911, rev. ed. [Toronto: Macmillan, 1968], 153-6; Ouellet, Lower Canada, 269-273).

[295]Cited in Ouellet, Lower Canada, 250.

[296]Duncan McArthur, "Lower Canada, 1791-1812" in Canada and Its Provinces. A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions by One Hundred Associates, vol. 3, eds. Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company, 1914), 159-60.

later we find Jean-Pierre Wallot concluding that "le parti britannique [Bureaucratic] recrute ses principaux membres chez les marchands de Québec et de Montréal, ainsi que parmi les fonctionnaires."[297] Fernand Ouellet also associates the English-merchant group with Bureaucratic party. After examining the occupational background of the elected members of the Legislative Assembly and the leadership of the two contending parties, he argues that the English merchants constituted one of the three core elements within the Bureaucratic or English party: "The core of the English party was the merchant bourgeoisie, particularly the English, but it also had the support of the bureaucrats, some of them French Canadians, and the old seigneurial families."[298] He concludes that "the English merchants created a political party, known as the English party, to represent their own and the colonial civil servants' interests - and, they claimed, those of the rest of the population, too."[299]

Our analysis of the political leadership of Upper-Town Quebec also reveals a close relationship between party and occupation. In terms of elected members and candidates, it is clear that merchants and lawyers controlled the local political scene. From 1792 to 1836, merchants (36.1%) and lawyers (57.4%) accounted for all but 4 of the 61 declared candidates (see table 8-1, p. 305). In regard to elected members, 36.8% were merchants and 60.5% were lawyers. Yet merchants did not dominate throughout the whole period; after 1820 not one merchant candidate appeared on the hustings. Before that time, there was a strong relationship between occupation and party affiliation. From 1792 to March 1820, there were 24 Bureaucratic candidates: 21 (87.5%) were merchants (see table 8-2, 305). After March 1820, all the

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[297]Jean-Pierre Wallot, "La querelle des prisons dans le Bas-Canada (1805-1807)" in Un Québec qui bougeait. Trame socio-politique au tournant du XIXe siècle (Montreal: Editions du Boréal, 1973), 52.

[298]Ouellet, Lower Canada, 80.

[299]Ibid., 333.

Table 8-1: Number and Percentage of Candidates and Elected Members, According to Occupation, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836

Period	Merchant[a] N	%	Lawyer[b] N	%	Other[c] N	%	Total N	%
Candidates								
1792-1805	7	43.8	7	43.8	2	12.5	16	100.1
1808-March 1820	15	62.5	8	33.3	1	4.2	24	100.0
July 1820-1836	0	0.0	20	95.2	1	4.8	21	100.0
1792-1836	22	36.1	35	57.4	4	6.6	61	100.1
Elected Members								
1792-1805	4	40.0	5	50.0	1	10.0	10	100.0
1808-March 1820	10	71.4	4	28.6	-	-	14	100.0
July 1820-1836	-	-	14	100.0	-	-	14	100.0
1792-1836*	14	36.8	23	60.5	1	2.6	38	99.9

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
[a]=includes innkeepers; [b]=includes protonotary; [c]=includes unknown; *=includes sitting member during by-elections

Table 8-2: Occupation of Bureaucratic and Canadian Candidates, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836

Occupation	1792-1805 N	%	1808-1820M N	%	1820J-1836 N	%	Total N	%
Bureaucratic								
Lawyer*	1	14.3	2	11.8	7	100.0	10	32.3
Merchant	6	85.7	15	88.2		-	21	67.7
Total	7	100.0	17	100.0	7	100.0	31	100.0
Canadian								
Lawyer	6	75.0	4	100.0	11	91.7	21	87.5
Other**	2	25.0	-	-	1	8.3	3	12.5
Total	8	100.0	4	100.0	12	100.0	24	100.0

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
1820M=March 1820; 1820J=July 1820; Bureaucratic=Bureaucratic and Constitutional; Canadian=Canadian and Patriot *=includes protonotary; **=includes 1 unknown

Bureaucratic standard bearers were in the legal profession. For the Canadian

party the dominance of lawyers continued throughout the whole period, with lawyers representing 87.5% of the Canadian-party candidates. Thus, in the case of Upper-Town Quebec, the relationship between occupation and party affiliation remained strong until the 1820s: involvement in commercial activities and involvement in the Bureaucratic party were synonymous. Did this relationship between occupation and party affiliation go beyond the level of leadership and also, as Parent concluded in 1834, affect the decisions of the voters? In other words, did merchants side with the Bureaucratic party?

If Parent's conclusions were correct, then the merchant-voters should have voted overwhelmingly for Andrew Stuart, the Bureaucratic-party candidate. In fact, merchants taking part in the election did not display any great affinity for Stuart.[300] In terms of overall support, it appears that the merchants constituted a larger percentage of Stuart's support than they did for any other candidate: 34.3% for Stuart; 25.9% for Berthelot; and 29.7% for Caron (see table 8-3, p. 307). But a closer look reveals that language explains much of the merchant support that Stuart received. French merchants only accounted for 15.2% of Stuart's total number of francophone votes; for his Patriot opponents, this same group provided 26.0% of Berthelot's francophone total and 25.5% of Caron's. Even among the "marchands Bretons", the support for Stuart was not particularly

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[300]When categorizing the voters according to occupation, we attempted to recreate the system employed by Ouellet in his various studies (see section F.6, Appendix F). This enabled us to consider whether his conclusions regarding occupation and party leadership also applied to the voters. Ouellet uses a system which groups individuals strictly according to occupation, but also incorporates a notion of status. Perhaps this is best described as occupational status. His four principal groups are the liberal professionals, the merchants, the artisans, and the labourers and carters. See: Ouellet, Histoire économique et sociale, 90-98, 163-7, 196-212, 391-402, 409-11, 541-2, 572-5, 581-7; Ouellet, Economic and Social History, 93-102, 168-74, 195-220, 397-408, 415-9, 549-50, 582-5, 593-9; Ouellet, "Répartition de la propriété foncière et types d'exploitation agricole dans la seigneurie de Laprairie durant les années 1830," in Eléments d'histoire sociale du Bas-Canada (Montreal: Hurtubise HMH, 1972), 166-7; Ouellet, "Structure des occupations et ethnicité dans les villes de Québec et de Montréal (1819-1844)," in Eléments d'histoire sociale, 181-200; Ouellet, "Le clivage ethnique, la structure sociale et la mise en valeur du terroir dans les seigneuries de La Salle et de Châteauguay en 1831," in Eléments d'histoire sociale, 155; Ouellet, Bas-Canada, 61-118, 242-290; Ouellet, Lower Canada, 38-76, 158-182, 345, 347, 359-68, 372-3, 375-8, 383-5.

Table 8-3: Total Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Occupation and Language Affiliation, Voting for at least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1834

Occupation of Voters	Stuart N	Stuart %	Berthelot N	Berthelot %	Caron N	Caron %
All Voters						
Nobles	17	3.6	0	0.0	2	0.3
Liberal Professions	48	10.2	28	5.0	49	6.7
Merchants	161	34.3	144	25.9	218	29.7
Artisans	148	31.5	254	45.8	317	43.2
Labourers, Carters	41	8.7	111	20.0	116	15.8
Other	41	8.7	16	2.9	28	3.8
Unclassified	14	3.0	2	0.4	4	0.5
Total	470	100.0	555	100.0	734	100.0
Anglophone						
Nobles	17	4.1	0	0.0	2	1.1
Liberal Professions	35	8.5	0	0.0	13	7.4
Merchants	147	35.9	9	26.5	72	41.1
Artisans	124	30.2	15	44.1	63	36.0
Labourers, Carters	33	8.0	9	26.5	9	5.1
Other	40	9.8	0	0.0	13	7.4
Unclassified	14	3.4	1	2.9	3	1.7
Total	410	99.9	34	100.0	175	99.8
Francophone						
Nobles		-		-		-
Liberal Professions	8	27.3	27	5.3	33	6.2
Merchants	5	15.2	132	26.0	135	25.5
Artisans	14	42.4	233	46.0	243	45.9
Labourers, Carters	5	15.2	98	19.3	102	19.3
Other	0	0.0	16	3.2	15	2.8
Unclassified	0	0.0	1	0.2	1	3.2
Total	33	100.1	507	100.0	529	99.9

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

Table 8-4: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Occupation and Language Affiliation, Voting for at least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1834

Occupation of Voters	Stuart N	Stuart %	Berthelot N	Berthelot %	Caron N	Caron %	Total N
All Voters							
Nobles	17	100.0	0	0.0	2	11.8	17
Liberal Professions	48	63.2	28	36.8	49	64.5	76
Merchants	161	53.1	144	47.5	218	72.0	303
Artisans	148	37.1	254	63.7	317	79.5	399
Labourers, Carters	41	26.8	111	72.6	116	75.8	153
Other	41	71.9	16	28.1	28	49.1	57
Unclassified	14	87.5	2	12.5	4	25.0	16
Total	470	46.0	555	54.4	734	71.9	1021
Anglophone							
Nobles	17	100.0	0	0.0	2	11.8	17
Liberal Professions	35	100.0	0	0.0	13	37.1	35
Merchants	147	95.5	9	5.8	72	46.8	154
Artisans	124	91.2	15	11.0	63	46.3	136
Labourers, Carters	33	78.6	9	21.4	9	21.4	42
Other	40	100.0	0	0.0	13	32.5	40
Unclassified	14	93.3	1	6.7	3	20.0	15
Total	410	93.4	34	7.8	175	39.9	439
Francophone							
Nobles		-		-		-	-
Liberal Professions	8	25.0	27	75.0	33	91.7	36
Merchants	5	3.6	132	96.4	135	98.5	137
Artisans	14	5.7	233	94.3	243	98.4	247
Labourers, Carters	5	4.8	98	94.2	102	98.1	104
Other	0	0.0	16	100.0	15	93.8	16
Unclassified	0	0.0	1	100.0	1	100.0	1
Total	33	6.1	507	93.7	529	97.8	541

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

extraordinary. True they supplied 35.9% of Stuart's anglophone votes, but the same group also furnished 41.1% of Caron's.

More revealing is the percentage of votes that each candidate received from the merchants. Nearly half of the merchants (47.5%) cast a vote for Berthelot, a Papineau adherent. Indeed, more members of the merchant group (72.0%) supported Caron, the more moderate of the Patriot candidates, than Stuart who, like Berthelot, received a vote from about half the merchants (53.1%) (see table 8-4, p. 308). Without a doubt, however, it is clear that the British merchants favoured Stuart, with all but 7 of the 154 (95.5%) anglophone merchants casting a vote in his favour. It is also clear that they completely rejected Berthelot; only 5.8% voted for him. This adds credence to Parent's assessment for the election. On the other hand, 46.8% of the anglophone merchants supported Caron, the other patriote candidate. This suggests that the Parent statement requires qualification. Despite Stuart's plea to withhold their second vote[301], nearly half the British merchants cast a vote for Caron, suggesting that they viewed the moderate Patriot as a suitable second candidate.

To assume from the Parent's statement that the merchants acted any differently than other anglophone group would be incorrect. Only a few anglophone voters did not vote for Stuart. Conversely, nearly half sided with Caron and only a few gave votes to Berthelot. This suggests that the key to anglophone electoral behaviour in the election of 1834 was not occupation. Anglophone voters' total support of Stuart and their preference for Caron, the moderate Patriot, over Berthelot, the "radical", suggests that language and politics were essential elements. As for francophone voters, merchants behaved the same way as the liberal professionals, artisans, and labourers and carters: they dismissed Stuart's candidature and strongly favoured Berthelot and Caron. This too points to the insignificant role that occupation played in the election of 1834 and corroborates the conclusion

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[301]See p. 207, chapter 5.

that the national question dominated in the post-1830 period. The representativeness of the election of 1834 remains in question and an overall investigation of occupation and party affiliation is required.

An examination of the occupation of the voters and party affiliation of the candidates first shows that the bulk of each party's support came from the same two occupational groups: merchants and artisans accounted for about seventy per cent of the total number of votes for the Bureaucratic, Canadian and Patriot candidates (see table 8-5, p. 311). It is also clear that merchants did not represent a much larger percentage of support for the Bureaucratic than they did for the other parties. Until the 1830s, merchants accounted for about one-quarter of the votes for the Bureaucratic (mean percentage of support from 1814 to 1827 equals 25.8%), Canadian (mean percentage from 1814 to 1829 equals 27.6%) and Patriot (percentage support in 1827 equals 25.0) candidates.

Analysis of the voters' response in terms of representation also shows that the merchants, as a group, were not overrepresented as supporters of the Bureaucratic/English party. The mean percentage of support from the merchants (65.3%), liberal professionals (69.3%) and the artisans (61.7%) suggests that all three occupational groups responded in the same way to the Bureaucratic Party (see table 8-6, p. 312). This suggests that for these three groups, occupation was not an important factor in considering the party affiliation of the voters. On the other hand, the affinity between the nobles and the Bureaucratic party is clearly evident, with a mean percentage of 95.3%. Two other points also emerge. First, the strength of the Dénéchaud candidacy in 1814 and 1816 is once again revealed. With Dénéchaud carrying the Bureaucratic banner, all occupational groups cast votes in its favour. This contrasts with the Primrose candidacy in 1824. The front-running Bureaucratic candidate lost many votes from the liberal professionals and the businessmen. This underlines the effectiveness of the Vallières/Stuart candidacy in 1824. Second, it appears that occupation came into play as a voting determinant in the elections of 1827, 1834 and 1836.

Table 8-5: Total Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Occupation and Language Affiliation, Voting for at least One Bureaucratic, Canadian or Patriot-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Occupation	1814		1816		1824		1827		1829*		1834		1836*	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Bureaucratic														
Nobles	23	4.1	18	4.7	12	4.3	37	6.2			17	3.6	15	4.0
Liberals Professionals	22	3.9	14	3.7	7	2.5	49	8.3			48	10.2	38	10.2
Merchants	143	25.5	121	31.6	57	20.6	149	25.1			161	34.3	127	34.2
Artisans	222	39.6	140	36.6	130	46.9	193	32.5			148	31.5	127	34.2
Labourers & Carters	114	20.3	46	12.0	42	15.2	75	12.6			41	8.7	37	10.0
Other	33	5.9	23	6.0	25	9.0	64	10.8			41	8.7	25	6.7
Unclassified	4	0.7	21	5.5	4	1.4	26	4.4			14	3.0	2	0.5
Total	561	100.0	383	100.1	277	99.9	593	99.9			470	100.0	371	99.8
Canadian														
Nobles	8	2.2			9	2.0	18	2.4	6	1.2				
Liberals Professionals	17	4.6			30	6.6	46	6.2	33	6.8				
Merchants	100	27.2			143	31.2	195	26.4	124	25.6				
Artisans	157	42.7			173	37.8	279	37.8	192	39.6				
Labourers & Carters	66	17.9			72	15.7	135	18.3	103	21.2				
Other	19	5.2			28	6.1	56	7.6	27	5.6				
Unclassified	1	0.3			3	0.7	9	1.2	0	0.0				
Total	368	100.1			458	100.1	738	99.9	485	100.0				

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; Bureaucratic=Includes Moderate Bureaucratic and Constitutionalist; Canadian=Includes Moderate Canadian and Moderate Patriot.

Table 8-6: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Occupation, and Language Affiliation, Voting for at least One Bureaucratic/Constitutional-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Occupation	1814		1816		1824		1827		1834		1836*	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
All Voters												
Nobles	23	100.0	18	100.0	12	85.7	37	92.5	17	100.0	15	93.8
Lib. Prof.	22	91.7	14	100.0	7	22.6	49	65.3	48	63.2	38	73.1
Merchants	143	96.0	121	99.2	57	33.5	149	49.2	161	53.1	127	61.4
Artisans	222	97.8	140	98.6	130	49.8	193	42.2	148	37.1	127	44.7
Lab.	114	97.4	46	100.0	42	41.2	75	33.9	41	26.8	37	40.2
Other	33	100.0	23	100.0	25	64.1	64	68.8	41	71.9	25	80.6
Uncl.	4	100.0	21	100.0	4	66.7	26	96.3	14	87.5	2	100.0
Total	561	97.2	383	99.2	277	44.5	593	48.8	470	46.0	371	54.2
Anglophone												
Nobles	15	100.0	15	100.0	9	100.0	35	97.2	17	100.0	15	100.0
Lib. Prof.	8	88.9	3	100.0	6	50.0	30	90.0	35	100.0	32	97.0
Merchants	40	100.0	28	100.0	35	62.5	111	87.4	147	95.5	118	97.5
Artisans	38	97.4	23	100.0	81	81.0	117	83.0	124	91.2	107	94.7
Lab.	25	100.0	8	100.0	24	88.9	42	84.0	33	78.6	28	100.0
Other	12	100.0	8	100.0	17	70.8	43	93.5	40	100.0	23	100.0
Uncl.	4	100.0	17	100.0	3	60.0	25	100.0	14	93.3	2	100.0
Total	142	98.6	102	100.0	175	75.1	403	88.0	410	93.4	325	97.0
Francophone												
Nobles	4	100.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	2	50.0		-	0	0.0
Lib. Prof.	12	92.3	11	100.0	1	5.9	15	39.5	9	25.0	4	25.0
Merchants	87	94.6	86	98.9	20	18.5	29	17.7	5	3.6	3	3.8
Artisans	168	98.2	113	98.3	45	29.6	68	22.4	14	5.7	11	6.8
Lab.	83	96.5	32	100.0	16	21.9	29	17.6	5	4.8	8	12.7
Other	18	100.0	13	100.0	8	57.1	16	38.1	0	0.0	1	14.3
Uncl.		-	3	100.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0		
Total	372	96.9	259	98.9	91	24.8	159	22.2	33	6.1	27	8.2

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; Lib. Prof.=Liberal Professions; Lab.=Labourers & Carters; Uncl.=Unclassified; Bureaucratic/Constitutional=Includes Moderate Bureaucratic

The differential behaviour is reflected in the mean percentage of support for each occupational group: 95.4% for nobles; 67.2% for liberal professions; 54.6% for merchants; 41.3% for the artisans; and 33.6% for the labourers and carters.

Nonetheless, much of the differential response to the Bureaucratic party by the occupational groups is directly linked to the language affiliation of the voters. With the exception of the liberal professions and the merchants in the election of 1824, support for the Bureaucratic party was universally high among the different occupational groups. The mean percentages of anglophone support according to occupation were: 99.5% for nobles; 87.8% for liberal professionals; 90.4% for merchants; 91.2% for artisans; and 91.9% for labourers and carters. The response of francophone voters was generally duplicated in each of the occupational categories. With the loss of Dénéchaud as a candidate, the percentage of francophone voters voting for the Bureaucratic party fell dramatically. In the 1820s twenty to twenty-five per cent of the francophone voters cast a Bureaucratic vote; in the 1830s this dropped to less than ten percent. No differentiation of behaviour is discernible among the occupational groups except for the liberal professionals, with Primrose attracting only one vote (5.9%) in 1824. This contrasted with the elections of 1827, 1834 and 1836 when support for the Bureaucratic representatives among the liberal professions was higher than the support given by the merchants, artisans and labourers and carters.

The analysis of the relationship between occupation and support for the Bureaucratic party suggests that occupation explains very little of the electoral behaviour of the merchants, as well as the liberal professionals, artisans, labourers and carters. In other words, in the post-1810 period, the merchants of Upper-Town Quebec did not form a group which displayed any particular propensity for the Bureaucratic party. But did the parti canadien and its successor the parti patriote attract voters from certain occupational groups?

Table 8-7: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Occupation and Language Affiliation, Voting for at least One Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829

Occupation of Voters	1814 N	1814 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829* N	1829* %
All Voters								
Nobles	8	34.8	9	64.3	18	45.0	6	22.2
Liberal Professions	17	70.8	30	96.8	46	61.3	33	70.2
Merchants	100	67.1	143	84.1	195	64.4	124	53.2
Artisans	157	69.2	173	66.3	279	61.1	192	53.3
Labourers, Carters	66	56.4	72	70.6	135	61.1	103	59.9
Other	19	57.6	28	71.8	56	60.2	27	40.9
Unclassified	1	25.0	3	50.0	9	33.3	0	0.0
Total	368	63.8	458	73.5	738	60.7	485	53.3
Anglophone								
Nobles	2	13.3	5	55.6	16	44.4	5	21.7
Liberal Professions	3	33.3	11	91.7	14	42.4	4	28.1
Merchants	10	25.0	35	62.5	57	44.9	18	19.1
Artisans	6	15.4	39	39.0	50	35.5	17	15.5
Labourers, Carters	0	0.0	5	18.5	11	22.0	9	22.5
Other	3	25.0	17	70.8	18	39.1	8	25.8
Unclassified	1	25.0	3	60.0	8	32.0	0	0.0
Total	25	17.4	115	49.4	174	38.0	61	19.3
Francophone								
Nobles	4	100.0	2	100.0	2	50.0	1	33.3
Liberal Professions	13	100.0	17	100.0	30	78.9	29	87.9
Merchants	83	90.2	103	95.4	131	79.9	102	79.1
Artisans	145	84.0	127	83.6	220	72.6	171	71.3
Labourers, Carters	62	72.1	67	91.8	121	73.3	93	72.1
Other	14	77.8	10	71.4	36	85.7	17	56.7
Unclassified		-	0	0.0	1	100.0		
Total	321	83.6	326	88.8	541	75.5	413	73.2

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; Canadian=Canadian/Moderate-Canadian/Moderate-Patriot

An overview of the occupational groups' response to the canadien moderate-patriote party discloses differential behaviour. In general terms, support for the parti canadien fluctuated between half and three-quarters of the electorate. Occupational differences existed: nobles gave a lesser degree of support and the liberal professions provided a greater degree of support (see table 8-7, p. 314). These differences are reflected in the mean percentages: 41.6% for nobles; 67.2% for merchants; 62.5% for artisans; 62.0% for labourers and carters; and 74.8% for liberal professions. This differentiation in support does not disappear when the behaviour of anglophone and francophone voters are considered separately. In three of the four elections a higher percentage of anglophone support was found among the liberal professionals. In addition, in three of the four elections with a canadien or moderate-patriote candidate, the least amount of anglophone support came from the labourers and the carters. Generally the anglophone percentage was dependent on the voter's occupation. The greatest amount of support came from the liberal professionals and then decreased perceptibly in the following order: merchants, artisans, and labourers and carters. The mean percentages are indicative of this changing support according to occupation: 48.9% for liberal professionals; 37.9% for merchants: 26.4% for artisans; and 15.8% for labourers and carters.

Differentiation of francophone support for the parti canadien are also evident, but the differences are more subtle. Francophone liberal professionals tended to give a higher degree of support than francophone merchants. The least amount of francophone support was found among the artisans and the labourers and carters. The mean percentages of francophone support for these occupational groups are: 91.7% for liberal professionals, 86.2% for merchants; 77.9% for artisans; and 78.7% for labourers and carters. The results suggest that there was a link between occupation and the voters' response to the Canadian party.

Response of the voters to Papineau-approved patriote candidates was not connected to occupation. Anglophone voters in all the occupational

Table 8-8: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Occupation and Language Affiliation, Voting for at least One Patriote Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1827-1836

Occupation of Voters	1827 N	1827 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
All Voters						
Nobles	4	10.0	2	11.8	1	6.3
Liberal Professions	25	33.3	49	64.5	14	26.9
Merchants	146	48.2	221	72.9	80	38.6
Artisans	245	53.6	324	81.2	157	55.3
Labourers, Carters	134	60.6	122	79.7	55	59.8
Other	28	30.1	29	50.9	6	19.4
Unclassified	0	0.0	4	25.0	0	0.0
Total	582	47.9	751	73.6	313	45.8
Anglophone						
Nobles	1	2.8	2	11.8	0	0.0
Liberal Professions	2	6.1	13	37.1	1	3.0
Merchants	10	7.9	74	48.1	3	2.5
Artisans	19	13.5	67	49.3	6	5.3
Labourers, Carters	6	12.0	14	33.3	0	0.0
Other	2	4.3	13	32.5	0	0.0
Unclassified	0	0.0	3	20.0	0	0.0
Total	40	8.7	186	42.4	10	3.0
Francophone						
Nobles	3	75.0		-	1	100.0
Liberal Professions	23	60.5	33	91.7	12	75.0
Merchants	133	81.1	136	99.3	77	96.3
Artisans	233	73.6	246	99.6	150	93.2
Labourers, Carters	127	77.0	103	99.0	55	87.3
Other	26	61.9	16	100.0	6	85.7
Unclassified	0	0.0	1	100.0		-
Total	535	74.6	535	98.9	301	91.8

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

groups rejected the patriote candidates. Admittedly Caron's presence in the election of 1834 increased the number of anglophone votes, but there was no differentiating anglophone behaviour according to occupation (see table 8-8, p. 316). In a similar fashion, the francophone voters' reaction to the appeal of the patriote campaign was independent of the voters' occupation. The sole exception was the group of francophone liberal professionals whose percentage of support was slightly lower than that of the voters who were merchants, artisans or labourers and carters. The mean percentages of francophone support for the occupational groups are: 75.7% for the liberal professionals; 92.2% for the merchants 88.8% for the artisans; and 91.1% for the labourers and carters.

Analysis of the relationship between occupation and political leadership discloses that until 1820 the Bureaucratic party was the merchants' party and the Canadian party was the lawyers' party. It would be wrong, however, to assume that the voters' response to the candidates was conditioned completely by occupation. If that had been the case, then Upper-Town Quebec would never have elected a liberal professional to the Legislative Assembly. Furthermore, the electoral reaction of the constituency's merchants to the Bureaucratic party was not any different than any other group. No matter what their occupation, anglophone voters sided generally with the Bureaucratic party. More complex was the response to the Canadian party. The highest percentage of anglophone and francophone support for the canadien candidates came from the liberal professions; this suggests that occupation had a role in voters' decisions. Yet, this too requires refinement. Papineau-favoured candidates obtained a greater degree of francophone support from merchants, artisans, and labourers and carters.

8.3. Socio-Professional Status, Language and Political Affiliation

While furthering our understanding of the behaviour of the voters, categorization based strictly on occupation ignores significant differences among those sharing the same general occupational classification. A case in

point is the merchant category which attempts to include all those directly involved in commercial activities. Within such a group, there existed a wide variety in terms of scale (wholesaler versus small retailer), wealth (lumber merchant versus retail grocer) and social status (wine importer versus pedlar). Analyzing the voters according to socio-professional status attempts to minimize these differences by grouping those occupations with comparable levels of socio-economic status.[302] Contemporary commentary relating to the election of 1824 raises the possibility that voters of the same status based on occupation or socio-professional status responded to the candidates in the same fashion. The editor of the Quebec Gazette, campaigning for Stuart and Vallières, explained their victory in the following terms:

> The old Members [Stuart and Vallières] were chiefly supported on public grounds, by that numerous class of persons, who have happily sprung up amongst us, who live in easy circumstances, by the exercise of professions and other independent and industrious pursuits: those persons forming the great majority of the Electors, not only in the Upper Town, but throughout the Province, the Election of the former Members was a thing of course.[303]

This explanation suggests a connection between actions of certain voters and socio-economic position or status as it related to certain occupational activities which allowed them to "live in easy circumstances." An examination of the voting results according to socio-economic status reveals the Gazette's editor was correct in his conclusions and not merely endeavouring to make the Canadian party more socially acceptable. The voters in the two highest categories of socio-professional status (I and II) accounted for about forty per cent of their support (see table 8-9, p. 319). The same two status groups only provided about thirty per cent of their opponents' total votes. A similar pattern held true for both language groups,

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[302]This does not eliminate the problem completely since socio-economic differences among individuals with the same occupation also existed.

[303]Quebec Gazette, 12 August 1824.

Table 8-9: Total Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Socio-Professional Status and Language Affiliation, Voting for at least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824

Socio-Professional Status	Stuart N	Stuart %	Vallières N	Vallières %	Primrose N	Primrose %	Perrault N	Perrault %
All Voters								
I gentlemen etc.	99	26 8	108	25 3	29	14 3	13	10 9
II retailers etc	50	13 6	62	14 5	41	20 2	20	16 8
III artisans	156	42 3	181	42 4	95	46 8	61	51 3
IV labourers - specified	44	11 9	53	12 4	15	7 4	15	12 6
V labourers - non-specified	18	4 9	21	4 9	19	9 4	9	7 6
Unclassified	2	0 5	2	0 5	4	2 0	1	0 8
Total	369	100 0	427	100 0	203	100 1	119	100 0
Anglophone								
I gentlemen etc.	21	32 8	32	29 9	24	14 3	4	10 8
II retailers etc.	16	25 0	31	29 0	36	21 4	8	21 6
III artisans	22	34 4	36	33 6	77	45 8	17	45 9
IV labourers - specified	1	1 6	4	3 7	13	7 7	3	8 1
V labourers - non-specified	2	3 1	2	1 9	15	8 9	5	13 5
Unclassified	2	3 1	2	1 9	3	1 8	0	0 0
Total	64	100 0	107	100 0	168	99 9	37	99 9
Francophone								
I gentlemen etc.	74	25 3	71	23 4	1	4 0	8	10 0
II retailers etc	30	10 3	27	8 9	5	20 0	12	15 0
III artisans	129	44 2	138	45 4	14	56 0	44	55 0
IV labourers specified	43	14 7	49	16 1	1	4 0	12	15 0
V labourers - non-specified	16	5 5	19	6 3	3	12 0	3	3 8
Unclassified	0	0 0	0	0 0	1	4 0	1	1 3
Total	292	100 0	304	100 1	25	100 0	80	100 1

Sources See table 5-2, 214

For full description of socio-professional categories, see table 2-19, p 75

with the greatest difference occurring with the francophone voters: Stuart and Vallières received about sixty per cent of their votes from those in the two highest-status categories; and Primrose and Perrault received only about thirty-five per cent. What the comments in the Quebec Gazette do not convey is the important bloc of votes that the artisans (III) represented. Tradesmen furnished the largest percentage of votes for each of the candidates.

Nonetheless the general validity of the remarks are confirmed when we consider the the percentage of voters from each category siding with the Canadian-party candidates. The 131 voters in the highest status group (I) strongly supported Stuart (75.6%) and Vallières (82.4%), and rejected their opponents Primrose (22.1%) and Perrault (9.9%) (see table 8-10, p. 321). More than half of the second highest status group (II) which included ninety-five voters voted for Stuart (52.6%) and Vallières (65.4%). This group did not completely spurn Primrose, with nearly half (43.2%) casting votes for the government-backed candidate. Perrault was the recipient of votes from twenty-one per cent of the voters. The success of Stuart and Vallières was not restricted to the highest-status groups as might be assumed from the Gazette's comments on the election. The artisan group (III) which formed the largest bloc of votes (45.1%) provided Stuart (55.5%) and Vallières (64.4%) with a majority of supporters, while one-third (33.8%) sided with Primrose. The same pattern emerges for the semi-skilled workers (IV) with about two-thirds voting for Stuart and three-quarters for Vallières. Less than one-fifth of that group favoured Primrose. The lowest status group (V), the labourers, split their votes among the top three candidates: 45.0% voted for Stuart; 52.5% for Vallières; and 47.5% for Primrose.

Our analysis suggests that the electoral assessment of the Gazette needs qualification. True the highest-status group overwhelmingly favoured Stuart and Vallières, but the second highest-status group also gave considerable support to their opponent, Primrose. It is also clear that without the votes of the artisan group, the Stuart-Vallières campaign was in jeopardy. But

Table 8-10: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Socio-Professional Status and Language Affiliation, Voting for at least One Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824

Socio-Professional Status	Stuart N	Stuart %	Vallières N	Vallières %	Primrose N	Primrose %	Perrault N	Perrault %	Total N
All Voters									
I: gentlemen etc.	99	75.6	108	82.4	29	22.1	13	9.9	131
II: retailers etc.	50	52.6	62	65.3	41	43.2	20	21.0	95
III: artisans	156	55.5	181	64.4	95	33.8	61	21.7	281
IV: labourers specified	44	62.9	53	75.7	15	21.4	15	21.4	70
V: labourers non-specified	18	45.0	21	52.5	19	47.5	9	22.5	40
Unclassified	2	33.3	2	33.3	4	66.7	1	16.7	6
Total	369	59.2	427	68.5	203	32.6	119	19.1	623
Anglophone									
I: gentlemen etc.	21	46.7	32	72.1	24	53.3	4	8.9	45
II: retailers etc.	16	30.7	31	59.6	36	69.2	8	15.4	52
III: artisans	22	22.0	36	36.0	77	77.0	17	17.0	100
IV: labourers specified	1	7.1	4	28.6	13	92.9	3	21.4	14
V: labourers non-specified	2	11.8	2	11.8	15	88.2	5	29.4	17
Unclassified	2	40.0	2	40.0	3	60.0	0	0.0	5
Total	64	27.5	107	45.9	168	72.1	37	15.9	233
Francophone									
I: gentlemen etc.	74	94.9	71	91.0	1	1.3	8	10.3	78
II: retailers etc.	30	76.9	27	69.2	5	12.8	12	30.8	39
III: artisans	129	75.0	138	80.2	14	8.1	44	25.6	172
IV: labourers specified	43	78.2	49	89.1	1	1.8	12	21.8	55
V: labourers non-specified	16	72.7	19	86.4	3	13.6	3	13.6	22
Unclassified	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	1	100.0	1
Total	292	79.6	304	82.8	25	6.8	80	21.8	367

Sources See table 5-2, 214.
For full description of socio-professional categories, see table 2-19, p. 75.

even more significant in assessing the Gazette conclusions regarding the role of "status" in the election of 1824 is the differentiating behaviour of the two language groups. Among the francophone voters the effects of socio-professional status were minimal. About eighty per cent of francophone electors gave votes to Stuart (79.6%) and Vallières (82.8%), while less than ten per cent (6.8%) favoured Primrose. Stuart received his greatest degree of support from the highest-status group (95.9%). This represents a higher percentage of support than from the other four categories which provided votes from about three-quarters of their electors.

Much more significant behaviour is discernible among the anglophone voters: as the socio-professional status decreased anglophone support for Stuart and Vallières decreased. For example, the voters responded to Stuart as follows: 46.7% for I; 30.8% for II; 20.0% for III; 7.1% for IV; and 11.8% for V. The same pattern was repeated for Vallières: 72.1% for I; 59.6% for II; 36.0% for III; 28.6% for IV; and 11.8% for V. In contrast, Primrose's support increased as socio-professional status decreased. The percentages of anglophone support for Primrose were: 53.3% for I; 69.2% for II; 77.0% for III; 92.9% for IV; and 88.2% for V. These results indicate that socio-professional status affected the response of the anglophone voters to the candidates presented in the campaign of 1824.

An analysis of the seven elections suggests that the effects of socio-professional status on anglophone voters were not restricted to the election of 1824. Anglophone support for anglophone candidates was consistently very high in all categories of socio-professional status with the mean percentages of support ranging from 85.5% to 94.4% (see table 8-11, p. 323); but the response of the anglophone electors to the francophone candidates tended to vary according to socio-professional status. A comparison of the socio-professional status of the anglophone voters to the language affiliation of the candidates shows that until the election of 1829, anglophone support for francophone candidates decreased as the socio-professional status of the voters decreased. In 1814, for example, about two-thirds of the voters in the three

Table 8-11: Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Voters, According to Socio-Professional Status, Voting for at least One Anglophone Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Socio-Prof. Status	1814		1816		1824		1827		1834		1836*	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Anglophone												
I: gentlemen etc.	37	88.1	30	88.2	44	97.8	110	95.7	101	98.1	71	98.6
II: retailers etc.	33	91.7	17	94.4	51	98.1	101	87.1	131	97.0	111	97.4
III: artisans	42	91.3	20	74.1	98	98.0	115	82.1	129	90.8	110	94.8
IV: labourers - spec.	10	100.0	5	100.0	14	100.0	28	82.4	25	96.2	166	100.0
V: labourers - non.	6	100.0	1	100.0	17	100.0	24	85.7	10	55.6	15	100.0
Unclassified	3	75.0	17	100.0	5	100.0	25	100.0	14	93.3	2	100.0
Total	131	91.0	90	88.2	229	98.3	403	88.0	410	93.4	325	97.0
Francophone												
I: gentlemen etc.	4	7.3	3	5.8	75	96.2	22	19.8	11	11.5	4	7.3
II: retailers etc.	9	22.5	4	12.9	35	89.7	32	31.7	3	4.3	4	10.8
III: artisans	51	25.5	19	13.2	143	83.1	76	22.8	14	5.3	11	6.5
IV: labourers - spec.	23	44.2	6	28.6	44	80.0	19	17.8	4	5.0	3	6.0
V: labourers - non.	13	35.1	4	36.4	19	86.4	10	15.6	1	3.4	5	29.4
Unclassified		-	3	100.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0		
Total	100	26.0	39	14.9	317	86.4	159	22.2	33	6.1	27	8.2

Sources: See table 5-2, 214.
For full description of socio-professional categories, see table 2-19, p. 75.
*=by-election; Prof.=Professional; spec.=specified; non.=non-specified

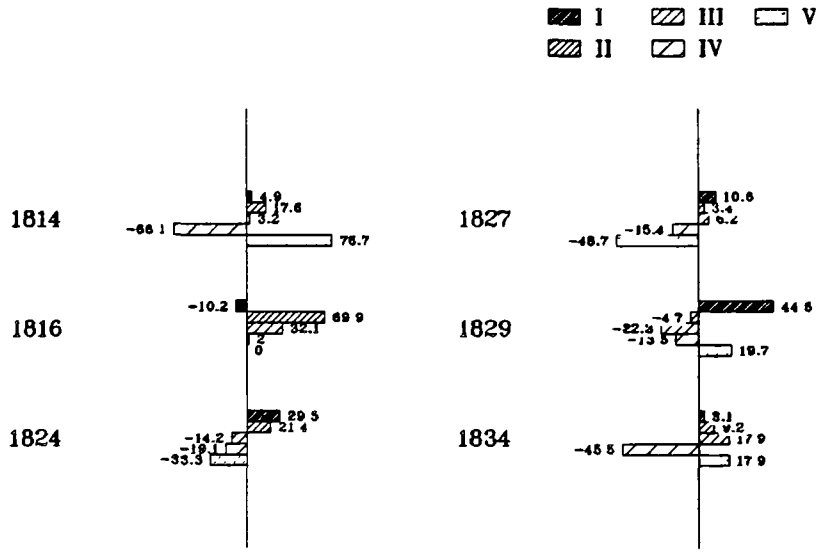
Table 8-12: Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Voters, According to Socio-Professional Status, Voting for at least One Francophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Socio-Professional Status	1814		1816		1824		1827		1829*		1834		1836*	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Anglophone														
I gentlemen etc.	26	61 9	6	17 6	36	80 0	53	46 1	19	27 9	45	43 7	1	1 4
II retailers etc	25	69 4	6	33 3	39	75 0	50	43 1	16	18 4	52	38 5	3	2 6
III artisans	28	60 9	7	25 9	53	53 0	62	44 3	16	15 0	71	50 0	6	5 2
IV labourers - specified	2	20 0	1	20 0	7	50 0	12	35 3	4	16 7	6	23 1	0	0 0
V labourers - non-specified	1	16 7	0	0 0	7	41 2	6	21 4	6	23 1	9	50 0	0	0 0
Unclassified	3	75 0	0	0 0	2	40 0	8	32 0	0	0 0	3	20 0	0	0 0
Total	85	59 0	20	19 6	144	61 8	191	41 7	61	19 3	186	42 4	10	3 0
Francophone														
I gentlemen etc.	54	98 2	51	98 1	77	98 7	106	95 5	74	85 1	92	95 8	51	92 7
II retailers etc	38	95 0	28	90 3	38	97 4	92	91 1	56	71 8	69	100 0	33	89 2
III artisans	197	98 5	126	87 5	169	98 3	295	88 6	185	71 2	265	99 6	158	93 5
IV labourers - specified	48	92 3	15	71 4	55	100 0	100	93 5	56	64 4	79	98 8	47	94 0
V labourers - non-specified	37	100 0	7	63 6	20	90 9	29	92 2	42	80 8	29	100 0	12	70 6
Unclassified		-	0	0 0	1	100 0	1	100 0		-	1	100 0		-
Total	374	97 4	227	86 6	360	98 1	653	91 1	413	73 2	535	98 9	301	91 8

Sources See table table 5-2, p 214
For full description of socio-professional categories, see table 2-19, p 75
*=by-election

highest-status groups cast a vote for a francophone candidate (see table 8-12, p. 324). Among the two lowest-status groups which consisted of anglophone labourers, with and without specific occupations, support fell significantly, with only about one-fifth of the voters in those groups voting for a francophone candidate.

Figure 8-1: Profile of Anglophone Voters According to Socio-Professional Status, Voting for at Least One Francophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836



Sources: See table 5-2, 214.

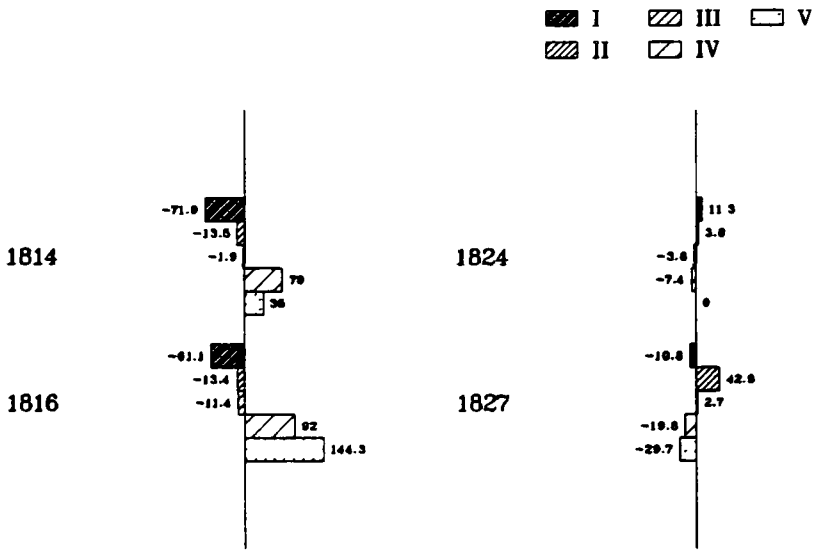
The pattern of decreasing support with decreasing status was repeated

in 1824 and 1827. In the election of 1824 the percentage of anglophone support for francophone candidates varied, with 80% in the highest-status category (I) and only 41.2% in the lowest-status category (V) voting for Vallières and for Perrault. Similarly, in the election of 1827, the percentage of anglophone support which ranged from 46.1% to 21.4% lessened as status diminished. The differentiating anglophone behaviour according to socio-professional status is underlined in an index of representation. In the election of 1814, for example, the two lowest categories were underrepresented as supporters of francophone candidates with scores of -66.1 and -71.1 (see figure 8-1, p. 325). In the election of 1824, voters in the two highest-status categories were overrepresented as francophone supporters with scores of 29.5 and 21.4. In contrast, voters in the three lowest categories were underrepresented with scores of -14.2, -19.1 and -33.3. Anglophone labourers were also underrepresented in the election of 1827 with scores of -15.4 and -48.7.

Among the francophone voters the influence of socio-professional status is discernible only in 1814 and 1816. In these two elections the pattern was different: francophone support for Browne and/or Fletcher increased as socio-professional status decreased. In the election of 1814, only 7.3% of the francophone voters in the highest-status category voted for an anglophone candidate (see table 8-11, p. 323 and table 8-12, p. 324). Support in categories II and III increased to 22.5% and 25.5%. Even greater support came from the two lowest-status groups, with about forty per cent (44.2% and 35.1%) of the francophone voters casting anglophone votes. Similarly, in the election of 1816 francophone support for Fletcher, the only anglophone candidate increased as socio-professional status decreased, with a range of 5.8% in category I and 36.4% in category V.

An index of representation underscores this close relationship between socio-professional status and francophone support for anglophone candidates in the two elections prior to 1820. The francophone voters in the highest-status group were underrepresented as anglophone supporters with scores of

Figure 8-2: Profile of Francophone Voters According to Socio-Professional Status, Voting for at Least One Anglophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1827



Sources: See table 5-2, 214.

-71.9 (1814) and -61.1 (1816) (see figure 8-2, p. 327). In contrast, francophone voters in the two lowest-status categories were overrepresented as anglophone supporters. In 1814 their scores were 70.0 (IV) and 35.0(V) and in 1816 they were 92.0 (IV) and 144.3 (V).

The pattern of increasing francophone support for anglophone candidates with decreasing socio-professional status gives evidence to an

argument appearing in an Upper-Town communication published in the Le Spectateur canadien after the election of 1814. Its author, who favoured Panet, attempted to explain away some of the Bureaucratic party's success by insisting that the Upper-Town carters were bribed by government officials to vote for Browne. The author argued:

> Les charetiers [sic] dans cette ville et les Faubourgs sont en grand nombre. On est secours à eux. Le Gouvernement fit transporter (à propos de rien, je m'imagine) de la Haute à la Basse Ville, une quantité de quarts de Lards, par tous les charretiers qui avoient [sic] droit de vote à la Haute Ville; ceux qui étoient [sic] employés étoient [sic] ordonnées de voter comme ci-dessus et ils votèrent en effet conformément à l'ordre du jour.[304]

Our analysis of socio-professional status, although it cannot impart any motivations to the voters, substantiates the assertion that francophone carters, forming an important element of the labouring group in Upper-Town Quebec (category IV), behaved differently than the higher-status francophone voters. Our analysis demonstrates that in 1814 and 1816 francophone voters in the lower status groups (IV and V) were overrepresented as anglophone supporters and conversely anglophone voters in the lower-status groups were underrepresented as francophone voters.

In examining the relationship between the socio-professional status of the voters and the language affiliation of the candidates it becomes clear that socio-professional status affected the response of voters. Prior to 1829 the response of anglophone voters depended in part on their socio-professional status: as status decreased, anglophone support for francophone candidates decreased. The influence of socio-professional status on francophone voters, on the other hand, was limited to the elections of 1814 and 1816. In this case, francophone support for anglophone candidates increased as status decreased.

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[304] Le Spectateur canadien, 3 May 1814.

In his study of Lower Canadian politics, Ouellet describes a strong association between the leadership of the parti canadien/patriote and the "French-Canadian middle class". He asserts that the Canadian party "was first and foremost a French Canadian middle-class party, and so it was to remain until 1837."[305] Our analysis of the local leadership supports this view, with those in the legal profession completely dominating the Canadian party.[306] In the same sense, the Bureaucratic party in Upper-Town Quebec was a "middle-class" class; it was controlled by merchants and lawyers. But was the Canadian party also a "French-Canadian middle-class" party in terms of the support that it received? This is what was suggested in an editorial which appeared in La Minerve after the election of 1834. Celebrating the defeat of the "traitor", John Neilson, the newspaper attributed the patriote victory in the Quebec region to "la classe bourgeoisie":

> Voilà quelques-uns des entraves que les électeurs Canadiens et libéraux, les hommes libres et indépendans [sic] de Québec ont eu à surmonter. Ils ont eu à lutter contre un grand nombre de serfs et contre les ressources de leurs puissans [sic] seigneurs et, malgré toutes ces barrières. ils sont vaincu l'ennemi dans son camp et ont ébranlé son pouvoir dans ses fondemens [sic]. C'est surtout à la classe bourgeoisie que l'on retrace des acts de dévouement et de patriotisme rare c'est elle surtout qui s'est empressé à inviter les électeurs à venir au poll quitter leurs occupations et leurs travaux pour soutenir les candidats populaires: c'est elle aussi qui achevera son triomphe en débusquant de son poste, au Comté de Québec, le vieux renard de l'administration Aylmer, ce personnage, jadis l'admiration du peuple qui l'a élevé et qui l'a créé "grand homme." Mais aujourd'hui abandonné. rejeté et partageant le sort de ceux qui trahissent la cause du pays.[307]

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[305]Ouellet, Lower Canada, 187.

[306]See discussion of the local political leadership on p. 308

[307]La Minerve, 28 October 1834.

Table 8-13: Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Voters, According to Socio-Professional Status, Voting for at least One Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829

Socio-Professional Status	1814 N	1814 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829* N	1829* %
Anglophone								
I: gentlemen etc.	12	48.0	33	28.7	53	30.5	19	31.1
II: retailers etc.	4	16.0	34	29.6	47	27.0	16	26.2
III: artisans	8	32.0	39	33.9	51	29.3	16	26.2
IV: labourers -specified	0	0.0	4	3.5	11	6.3	4	6.6
V: labourers - non-specified	0	0.0	2	1.7	4	2.3	6	9.8
Unclassified	1	4.0	3	2.6	8	4.6	0	0.0
Total	25	100.0	115	100.0	174	100.0	61	99.9
Francophone								
I: gentlemen etc.	54	16.8	77	23.6	96	17.7	74	17.9
II: retailers etc.	33	10.3	33	10.1	77	14.2	56	13.6
III: artisans	169	52.6	146	44.8	242	44.7	185	44.8
IV: labourers -specified	35	10.9	50	15.3	78	14.4	56	13.6
V: labourers - non-specified	30	9.3	20	6.1	47	8.7	42	10.2
Unclassified	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.2	0	0.0
Total	321	99.9	326	99.9	541	99.9	413	100.1

Sources: See table 5-2, 214.
For full description of socio-professional categories, see table 2-19, p. 75.
*=by-election; Canadian=Canadian/Moderate-Canadian/Moderate-Patriotl

In terms of total electoral support, the Canadian party was not a "French-Canadian middle-class" party: its success in Upper-Town Quebec lay, not with "la bourgeoisie", but with the artisans. The latter represented nearly half the francophone votes that the Canadian party received from 1814 to 1829 (see table 8-13, p. 330). The "bourgeoisie" (I and II) accounted for less than one-third. On the other hand, analysis of the relationship between status of the voters and political affiliation of the candidates discloses that prior to the 1830s the highest-status francophone voters (I) were the strong supporters of the Canadian party (see table 8-14, p. 331). Their political bias toward Panet's and Papineau's party is reflected in the

Table 8-14: Relative Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Voters, According to Socio-Professional Status, Voting for at least One Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829

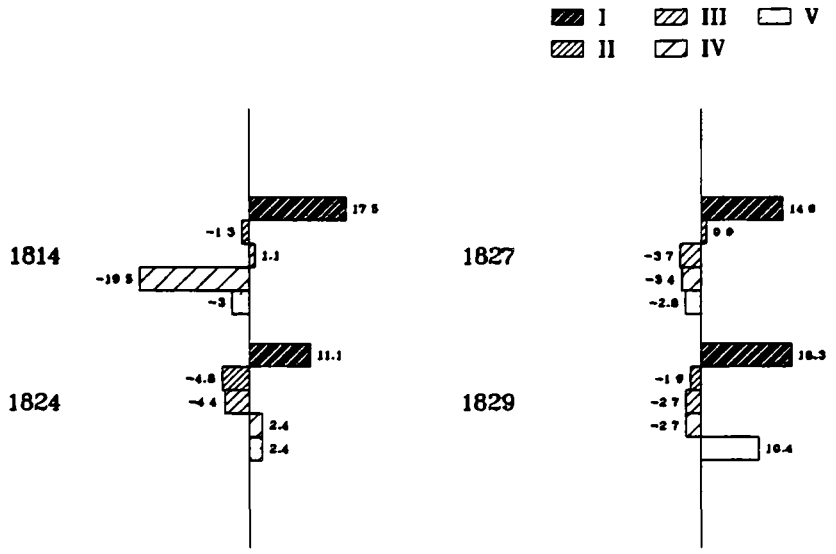
Socio-Professional Status	1814 N	1814 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829* N	1829* %
Anglophone								
I: gentlemen etc.	12	28.6	33	73.3	53	46.1	19	27.9
II: retailers etc.	4	11.1	34	65.4	47	40.5	16	18.4
III: artisans	8	17.4	39	39.0	51	36.4	16	15.0
IV: labourers -specified	0	0.0	4	28.6	11	32.4	4	16.7
V: labourers - non-specified	0	0.0	2	11.8	4	14.3	6	23.1
Unclassified	1	25.0	3	60.0	8	32.0	0	0.0
Total	25	17.4	115	49.4	174	38.0	61	19.3
Francophone								
I: gentlemen etc.	54	98.2	77	98.7	96	86.5	74	85.1
II: retailers etc.	33	82.5	33	84.6	77	76.2	56	71.8
III: artisans	169	84.5	146	84.9	242	72.7	185	71.2
IV: labourers -specified	35	67.3	50	90.9	78	72.9	56	64.4
V: labourers - non-specified	30	81.1	20	90.9	47	73.4	42	80.8
Unclassified		-	0	0.0	1	100.0		-
Total	321	83.6	326	88.8	541	75.5	413	73.2

Sources: See table 5-2, 214.
For full description of socio-professional categories, see table 2-19, p. 75.
*=by-election; Canadian=Canadian/Moderate-Canadian/Moderate-Patriotl

mean percentages of support: 92.2% for I; 78.8% for II; 78.3% for III; 73.9% for IV; and 81.6% for V. The overrepresentativeness of the francophone highest-status group as canadien supporters is also evident in an index of representation (see figure 8-3, p. 332). The index scores for category I are 17.5 (1814), 11.1 (1824), 14.6 (1827) and 16.3 (1829), not extraordinarily high, but indicative of the unique behaviour of this group.

Thus it is clear that the response of the highest-status francophone voters was discernibly different than their compatriots. This supports in part the contention that the parti canadien was a "French-Canadian middle-class" party, but to accept this conclusion without qualification would be

Figure 8-3: Profile of Francophone Voters According to Socio-Professional Status, Voting for at least one Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829



Sources: See table 5-2, 214.

misleading. First, the actions of the francophone voters in category II which by definition should be included as part of the "bourgeoisie" were not unusual; instead, this group of voters behaved like the artisans and labourers (III, IV and V). Second, even the highest-status voters (I) responded to Papineau-favoured patriote candidates in the same fashion as the other-status voters (see table 8-15, p. 333). In the election of 1827, about three-quarters of the francophone voters in each of the status categories voted for Berthelot.

Table 8-15: Number and Percentage of Francophone Voters, According to Socio-Professional Status, Voting for at least One Patriote Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1827-1836

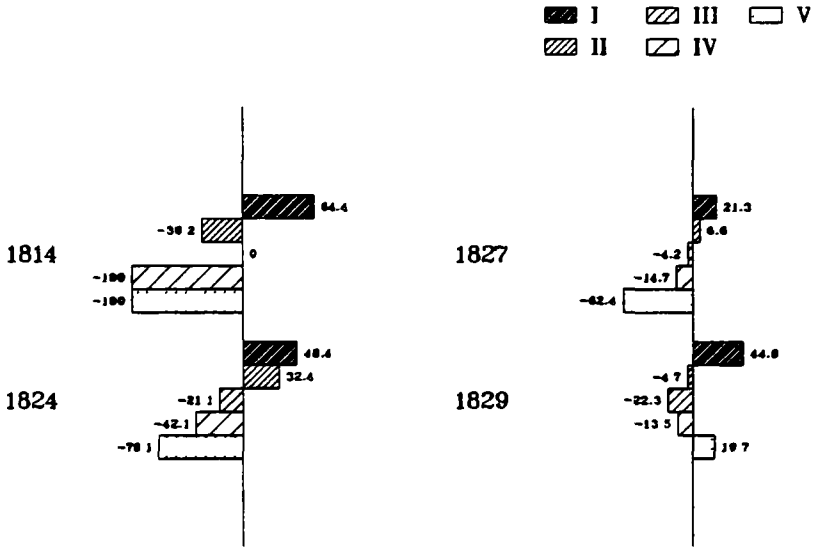
Socio-Professional Status	1827 N	1827 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
I: gentlemen etc.	89	80.2	92	95.8	51	92.7
II: retailers etc.	69	68.3	69	100.0	33	89.2
III: artisans	244	73.3	265	99.6	158	93.5
IV: labourers -specified	85	79.4	79	98.8	47	94.0
V: labourers - non-specified	48	75.0	29	100.0	12	70.6
Unclassified	0	0.0	1	100.0		-
Total	535	74.6	535	98.9	301	91.8

Sources: See table 5-2, 214.
For full description of socio-professional categories, see table 2-19, p. 75.

After 1830, the support was even greater for patriote candidates. with only a few francophone voters in each category not supporting Papineau's national appeal.

A more general investigation of socio-professional status and political affiliation shows that status also influenced the decisions of anglophone voters when facing Canadian-party candidates. Here the pattern observable with anglophone support for francophone candidates is repeated. As status decreased, anglophone support for Canadian-party candidates decreased. In 1814, for instance, 28.6% of the anglophone voters in the highest-status group cast a vote for Panet (see table 8-14, p. 331). Panet's support was even less from the anglophone voters in category II (11.1%) and III (17.4%). Panet did even worse among the lowest-status groups; not a single anglophone voter in categories IV or V voted for the long-time Canadian-party candidate. Anglophone voters displayed the same mode of behaviour in the elections of 1824 and 1827. Those in the highest-status categories gave a higher percentage of support than those in the lower-status categories. The tendency for anglophone support to decrease as status decreased is

Figure 8-4: Profile of Anglophone Voters According to Socio-Professional Status, Voting for at Least One Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829



Sources: See table 5-2, 214.

mirrored in an index of representation. The anglophone voters with the highest socio-professional status were overrepresented as anglophone supporters of the Canadian party; this was the case in 1814 (64.4), 1824 (48.4) and 1827 (21.3) (see figure 8-4, p. 334). Conversely, the unskilled labourers (V) were underrepresented as Canadian-party supporters. Their scores were -100.0 (1814), -76.1 (1824) and -62.4 (1827).

Table 8-16: Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Voters, According to Socio-Professional Status, Voting for at least One Bureaucratic/Constitutional-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Socio-Prof. Status	1814		1816		1824		1827		1834		1836*	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Anglophone												
I: gentlemen etc.	41	97.6	34	100.0	25	55.6	110	95.7	101	98.1	71	98.6
II: retailers etc.	36	100.0	18	100.0	39	75.0	101	87.1	131	97.0	111	97.4
III: artisans	45	97.8	27	100.0	80	80.0	115	82.1	129	90.8	110	94.8
IV: labourers - spec.	10	100.0	5	100.0	13	92.9	28	82.4	25	96.2	166	100.0
V: labourers - non.	6	100.0	1	100.0	15	88.2	24	85.7	10	55.6	15	100.0
Unclassified	4	100.0	17	100.0	3	60.0	25	100.0	14	93.3	2	100.0
Total	142	98.6	102	100.0	175	75.1	403	88.0	410	93.4	325	97.0
Francophone												
I: gentlemen etc.	52	94.5	52	100.0	9	11.5	22	19.8	11	11.5	4	7.3
II: retailers etc.	37	92.5	31	100.0	15	38.5	32	31.7	3	4.3	4	10.8
III: artisans	197	98.5	141	97.9	48	27.9	76	22.8	14	5.3	11	6.5
IV: labourers - spec.	50	96.2	21	100.0	12	21.8	19	17.8	4	5.0	3	6.0
V: labourers - non.	36	97.3	11	100.0	6	27.3	10	15.6	1	3.4	5	29.4
Unclassified		-	3	100.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0		-
Total	362	96.9	259	98.9	91	24.6	159	22.2	33	6.1	27	8.2

Sources: See table 5-2, 214.
For full description of socio-professional categories, see table 2-19, p. 75.
*=by-election; Bureaucratic/Constitutional: Includes Moderate Bureaucratic
Prof.=Professional; spec.=specified; non.=non-specified

The response of the anglophone voters to the Bureaucratic Party, in contrast, was much more uniform. Few anglophone voters rejected the Bureaucratic party (see table 8-16, p. 335). With only two exceptions, every status category in every election provided a very high percentage of votes. In the same way, an examination of francophone response to Bureaucratic party candidates, does not reveal distinguishable status behaviour.

8.4. Conclusion

There was a link between occupation and party. This was particularly true for local political leadership. Until 1820, lawyers represented the Canadian party, while merchants carried the political banner for the Bureaucratic party. At the grassroots level the occupational distinctions were less evident. In terms of voting support, it is not useful to describe the Bureaucratic party as the merchants' party. Both parties received the largest portion of their votes from merchants and artisans. Regarding relative support, the response of the merchants was not extraordinary; they were not overrepresented as Bureaucratic-party supporters. Anglophone merchants acted like anglophone nobles, liberal professionals, artisans, and labourers and carters. They voted overwhelmingly for the Bureaucratic party. Closer to the mark is the equating of liberal professionals with the Canadian party. Only liberal professionals represented the party on the hustings. And although only providing about five per cent of the total number of votes for Canadian candidates, both anglophone and francophone liberal professionals were overrepresented as Canadian-party supporters.

It is equally evident that there was a connection between socio-professional status and Upper-Town Quebec politics. Only those with the highest status (I and II) ran as candidates and were elected to the Legislative Assembly. On the other hand, it was the artisan group (III) that provided that largest percentage of support. In that sense neither party was a "middle-class" party. This is not to deny the role that socio-professional status played in the response of the voters to the two contending political organizations. In particular, status affected the voters' response to the Canadian party. In the case of the anglophone voters, as status decreased support for the parti canadien decreased. This was true in the elections of 1814, 1824 and 1827. The actions of the francophone voters were less discerning, but they too demonstrate the influence of status. In 1814 and 1816, the percentage of francophones voting for English-speaking candidates increased as socio-professional status decreased. More generally, francophone

support for the parti canadien was considerably higher among the highest-status voters.

Chapter Nine: Property Ownership and Assessed Value of Property

9.1. Introduction

Knowledge of the occupation of the voters allowed us to consider the impact of economic sector, occupational and socio-professional status. Two other socio-economic factors, the owning of property and the value of that property, also influenced the Upper-Town Quebec electorate. This was particularly true prior to 1824. The response of the voters was conditioned in part by property ownership: anglophone and francophone tenants provided a larger percentage of support for English-speaking candidates than did anglophone and francophone property owners. For French-speaking candidates, it was anglophone property owners who furnished the highest percentage of anglophone support. In terms of political affiliation, there was little to distinguish the behaviour of property owners from that of tenants. The one exception was the reaction of the anglophone voters to the Canadian party. In 1814 and 1824, the Canadian candidates attracted a larger degree of support from anglophone property owners than from tenants.

The connection between wealth, as measured in terms of assessed value of property, and electoral behaviour is less conclusive. It is true that the wealthiest voters provided a larger percentage of votes for English-speaking and Bureaucratic-party candidates than they did for French-speaking and Canadian or Patriot candidates. Similarly, those with the lowest assessments constituted a greater percentage of votes for French-speaking and Bureaucratic candidates. This implies a direct connection between wealth and voting response. Unfortunately much of the differential behaviour disappears when language of the voters is considered. Whatever the level of assessment, normally francophones supported French-speaking and Canadian/Patriot-party

candidates and anglophones sided with English-speaking Bureaucratic candidates. There were exceptions. The results of 1824 suggest that wealth was a factor: the wealthiest francophone voters gave the least amount of support for the Bureaucratic party, while the wealthiest anglophone voters cast the highest percentage of votes for the Canadian party. In 1827 and 1834 anglophone voters with the highest assessments also provided the highest percentage of support for English-speaking and Bureaucratic candidates.

9.2. Property Ownership

The owning of property was one way in which Le Canadien distinguished between the voting public of 1834.[308] Our analysis of this factor suggests that the distinction between "propriétaires" and "locataires" was correct. The first indication of this is evident when we consider how anglophone voters responded to the appeals of French-speaking and English-speaking candidates. With the exception of 1816, anglophone tenants accounted for about seventy per cent of all anglophone votes received by English-speaking candidates. It was not until 1827 that this same group formed a comparable percentage of anglophone support for French-speaking candidates (see table 9-1, p. 340). The pattern of francophone response to the language affiliation of the candidates was not so dramatically different; nonetheless, differential behaviour according to property ownership was present. Anglophone tenants usually represented about twenty-five to thirty per cent of francophone support for English-speaking candidates, but only fifteen to twenty per cent of francophone support for French-speaking candidates (see table 9-2, p. 341).

In terms of relative support, generally tenants gave much greater support to anglophone candidates and property owners provided much greater support for francophone candidates (see table 9-3, p. 342 and table 9-4, p.

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[308] Le Canadien, 12 November 1834.

Table 9-1: Number and Percentage of Anglophone Voters, According to Property Qualifications, Voting for at least One English-Speaking or French-Speaking Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Property Qualifications	1814		1816		1824		1827		1829*		1834		1836*	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
English-Speaking Candidate														
Tenant	91	69.5	71	79.8	161	70 3	289	71.7			300	73.2	222	68.3
Property Owner	40	30.5	18	20.2	68	29.7	114	28.3			110	26.8	103	31.7
Total	131	100 0	89	100.0	229	100.0	403	100.0			410	100.0	325	100.0
French-Speaking Candidate														
Tenant	40	47.1	10	50.0	87	60.4	130	68.1	41	67.2	127	68.3	6	60.0
Property Owner	45	52.9	10	50.0	57	39.6	61	31.9	20	32.8	59	31.7	4	40 0
Total	85	100.0	20	100.0	144	100.0	191	100.0	61	100 0	186	100.0	10	100.0

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election

Table 9-2: Number and Percentage of Francophone Voters, According to Property Qualifications, Voting for at least One English-Speaking or French-Speaking Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Property Qualifications	1814		1816		1824		1827		1829*		1834		1836*	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
English-Speaking Candidate														
Tenant	30	29.7	17	43.6	75	23.7	51	32.1			9	27.3	5	18.5
Property Owner	71	70.3	22	56.4	242	76.3	108	67.9			24	72.7	22	81.5
Total	101	100.0	39	100.0	317	100.0	159	100.0			33	100.0	27	100.0
French-Speaking Candidate														
Tenant	82	21.9	64	28.2	85	23.6	113	17.3	74	17.9	95	17.8	47	15.6
Property Owner	291	77.8	163	71.8	275	76.4	540	82.7	339	82.1	440	82.2	254	84.4
Total**	374	100.0	227	100.0	360	100.0	653	100.0	413	100.0	535	100.0	301	100.0

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; **=includes 1 not clear in 1814

Table 9-3: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Property Ownership, Voting for at least One Anglophone Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Property Own.	1814 N	1814 %	1816 N	1816 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836* N	1836* %
All Voters												
Tenant	140	67.0	97	56.7	248	94.7	358	74.7	329	76.3	238	81.8
Property Owner	122	33.2	44	20.6	321	88.9	235	31.9	141	23.9	133	33.8
Total	262	45.4	141	36.6	569	91.3	593	48.8	470	46.0	371	54.2
Anglophone												
Tenant	91	96.8	71	93.4	161	99.4	289	89.2	300	96.5	222	97.4
Property Owner	40	80.0	18	72.0	68	95.8	114	85.1	110	85.9	103	96.3
Total	131	91.0	89	88.1	229	98.3	403	88.0	410	93.4	325	97.0
Francophone												
Tenant	30	33.7	17	21.3	75	85.2	51	38.6	9	9.4	5	9.6
Property Owner	71	24.1	22	12.1	242	86.7	108	18.5	24	5.4	22	8.0
Total	101	26.3	39	14.9	317	86.4	159	22.2	33	6.1	27	8.2

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; Own.=Ownership

343). This is not surprising since a large percentage of anglophone voters were tenants and large percentage of francophone voters were property owners. However, a comparison of language affiliation and property ownership of the voters indicates that there existed a relationship between property qualification of the voter and language affiliation of the candidate.

Within the general observation that anglophone voters highly favoured the anglophone candidates, anglophone tenants gave a higher percentage of support than anglophone property owners to anglophone candidates. This was the case in three of the six elections (1814, 1816 and 1834) and is reflected in the mean percentages of anglophone support: 95.5% for the tenants and 85.9% for the property owners. Distinctions of francophone support for anglophone candidates are also observable in three elections. In the elections of 1814, 1816 and 1827 a higher percentage of francophone

Table 9-4: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Property Ownership, Voting for at least One Francophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

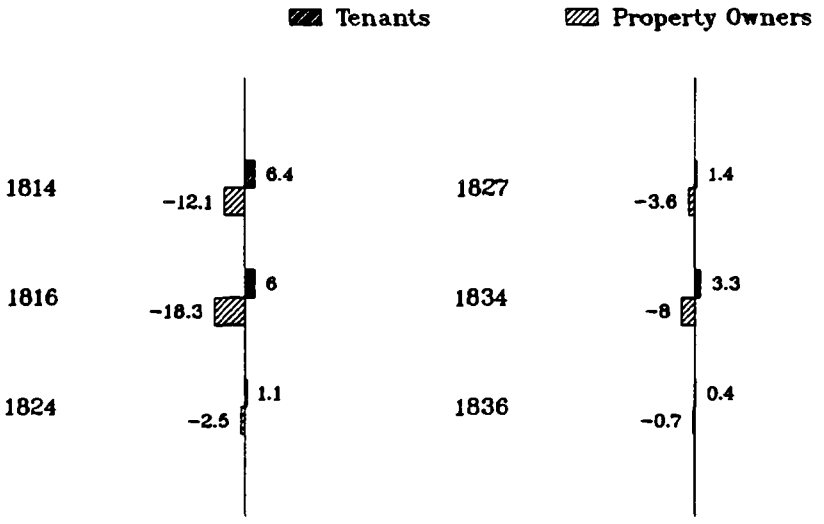
Property Own.	1814 N	1814 %	1816 N	1816 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829* N	1829* %	1834 N	1834 %	1836* N	1836* %
All Voters														
Tenant	144	68.9	81	47.4	180	68.7	258	53.9	121	37.1	238	55.2	53	18.2
Property Owner	357	97.3	177	82.7	342	94.7	612	83.0	364	62.3	513	86.9	260	66.2
Total**	502	87.0	258	67.0	522	83.8	870	71.5	485	53.3	751	73.6	313	45.8
Anglophone														
Tenant	40	42.6	10	13.2	87	53.7	130	40.1	41	19.2	127	40.8	6	2.6
Property Owner	45	90.0	10	40.0	57	80.3	61	45.5	20	19.6	59	46.1	4	3.7
Total	85	59.0	20	19.8	144	61.8	191	41.7	61	19.3	186	42.4	10	3.0
Francophone														
Tenant	82	92.1	64	80.0	85	96.6	113	85.6	74	76.3	95	99.0	47	90.4
Property Owner	291	99.0	163	89.6	275	98.6	540	92.3	339	72.6	440	98.9	254	92.0
Total**	374	99.4	227	89.6	360	98.1	653	91.1	413	73.2	535	98.9	301	91.8

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; **=includes 1 not clear in 1814; Own.=Ownership

tenants than property owners cast votes for anglophone candidates. The mean percentages of francophone support for the three elections were 31.2% (tenants) and 18.2% (property owners).

The differential behaviour depending on property ownership is evident in an index of representation. Anglophone property owners were underrepresented as anglophone supporters in the elections of 1814 (score = -12.1), 1816 (-18.3) and 1834 (-8.0) (see figure 9-1, p. 344). Among the francophone voters, a greater difference according to property ownership is evident. Francophone tenants were overrepresented as anglophone supporters in 1814 (score = 28.1), 1816 (43.0) and 1827 (73.9) (see figure 9-2, p. 345). The francophone property owners, in contrast, were underrepresented as anglophone supporters in 1814 (-8.4), 1816 (-18.8) and 1827 (-16.7). Thus for these three elections property ownership influenced the voters' response to anglophone candidates.

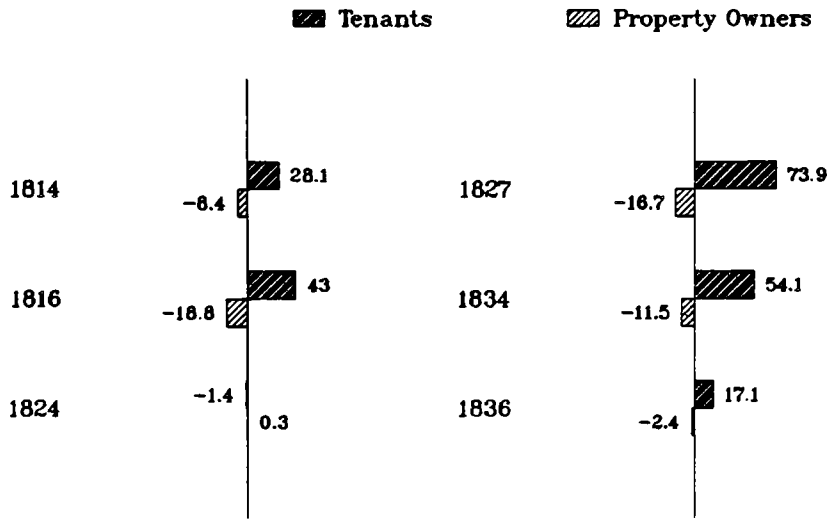
Figure 9-1: Profile of Anglophone Voters According to Qualifications, Voting for at least one Anglophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836



Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

Votes for francophone candidates were less affected by property ownership. Among the francophone voters, the distinctions between the behaviour of the property owners and that of the tenants were minimal. For the seven elections, the mean percentage of francophone support for tenants was 88.6%, for property owners 91.9%. Conversely, the anglophone voters in the first three elections demonstrated a distinctive response to francophone candidates according to property ownership. Anglophone

Figure 9-2: Profile of Francophone Voters According to Property Ownership, Voting for at least one Anglophone Candidate, Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836



Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

property owners furnished a much higher percentage of support than anglophone tenants. For the three elections, the mean percentage of francophone support for the anglophone tenants was 36.5% and for the property owners 70.1%.

Our analysis reveals a correlation between Property ownership of the voter and language affiliation of the candidates in the pre-1820 period. In

1814 and 1816 anglophone tenants provided a greater degree of anglophone support than anglophone property owners, while the latter group furnished a greater degree of francophone support. Assuming that tenants had lower status than property owners, this corresponds to the findings concerning socio-professional status in 1814 and 1816 with anglophone voters in the higher-status groups providing greater francophone support. In the same elections, francophone tenants also behaved differently than francophone property owners: a higher percentage of tenants than property owners voted for anglophone candidates. This too supports the earlier contention that lower-status francophone voters supplied a greater degree of anglophone support than higher-status francophone voters. The influence of property ownership, however, was minimal after 1820, with its effects seemingly influencing only one of the language groups in one election but with no discernible pattern.

A preliminary look at property qualification of the voters and political affiliation of the candidates suggests that party choice and property ownership were linked. In the four elections from 1824 to 1836, about three-quarters of the tenants cast votes for the Bureaucratic party, while only about one-third of the property owners followed suit. The mean percentages of Bureaucratic support for the four elections are: 73.6% for the tenants; and 30.4% for the property owners (see table 9-5, p. 347). Conversely, property owners favoured the parti canadien in the pre-1830 period. The mean percentages of Canadian support for the four elections are: 47.6% for the tenants; and 72.1% for the property owners (see table 9-6, p. 348).

Once again, however, categorizing the voters according to their language affiliation greatly reduces the differential behaviour according to property qualifications. For the most part, anglophone voters enthusiastically supported the Bureaucratic campaigns. This was true for anglophone tenants and property owners, and is reflected in the mean percentages of Bureaucratic support: 93.9% for tenants and 87.8% for property owners. It is only in the election of 1824, that a significant difference in the degree of

Table 9-5: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Property Ownership, Voting for at least One Bureaucratic/Constitutional-Party Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Property Own.	1814 N	1814 %	1816 N	1816 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836* N	1836* %
All Voters												
Tenant	205	98.1	168	98.2	161	61.5	358	74.7	329	76.3	238	81.8
Property Owner	356	97.0	214	100.0	116	32.1	235	31.9	141	23.9	133	33.8
Total**	562	97.4	382	99.2	277	44.5	593	48.8	470	46.0	371	54.2
Anglophone												
Tenant	94	100.0	76	100.0	130	80.2	289	89.2	300	96.5	222	97.4
Property Owner	48	96.0	25	100.0	45	63.4	114	85.1	110	85.9	103	96.3
Total	142	98.6	101	100.0	175	75.1	403	88.0	410	93.4	325	97.0
Francophone												
Tenant	87	97.8	77	96.3	23	26.1	51	38.6	9	9.4	5	9.6
Property Owner	285	96.9	182	100.0	68	24.4	108	18.5	24	5.4	22	8.0
Total**	373	97.1	259	98.9	91	24.8	159	22.2	33	6.1	27	8.2

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; **=includes 1 unclassified voter in 1814; Own.=Ownership; Bureaucratic/Constitutional=Includes Moderate

support is evident: 80.2% of the anglophone tenants, but only 63.4% of the anglophone property owners, sided with the Bureaucratic party. Property ownership also does not distinguish francophone voters' reactions to the Bureaucratic party. Support from the tenants and property owners followed the same pattern: over ninety-five per cent in 1814 and 1816; about twenty-five per cent in 1824 and 1827; and less than ten per cent in 1834 and 1836. The parallel behaviour is mirrored in the mean percentages: 46.3% for the tenants and 42.2% for property owners. The only exception was the election of 1827, with the tenants providing more than two times the degree of support than the property owners (38.6% to 18.5%).

Both francophone tenants and property owners responded positively to the Canadian-party candidates, with a minimum of difference in the degree of support. The mean percentages of Canadian support in the elections of

Table 9-6: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Property Ownership, Voting for at least One Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829

Property Ownership	1814 N	1814 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829* N	1829* %
All voters								
Tenant	88	42.1	159	60.7	241	50.3	121	37.1
Property Owner	278	75.7	299	82.8	497	67.4	364	62.3
Total**	367	63.6	458	73.5	738	60.7	485	53.3
Anglophone								
Tenant	10	10.6	71	43.8	121	37.3	41	19.2
Property Owner	15	30.0	44	62.0	53	39.6	20	19.6
Total	25	17.4	115	49.4	174	38.0	61	19.3
Francophone								
Tenant	69	77.5	80	90.9	106	80.3	74	76.3
Property Owner	250	85.0	246	88.2	435	74.4	339	72.6
Total**	320	83.3	326	88.8	541	75.5	413	73.2

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; **=includes 1 unclassified voter in 1814; Own.=Ownership

1814, 1824, 1827 and 1829 are: 81.3% for the francophone tenants and 80.1% for the francophone property owners. Conversely, anglophone reaction to the Canadian party waned in two elections according to property ownership. In 1814 about thirty per cent of the anglophone property owners voted for Panet, the only Canadian candidate, while only ten per cent of the anglophone tenants favoured the Speaker of the Assembly with a vote. In 1824, Stuart and Vallières managed to attract over sixty per cent of anglophone property owners, but less than half of the anglophone tenants. An index of representation underlines the distinctive actions of the anglophone tenants and the property owners until 1824 (see figure 9-3, p. 349). The anglophone tenants were underrepresented as Canadian supporters in 1814 (-39.1) and 1824 (-11.3) and the anglophone property owners were overrepresented in the same two elections (72.4 and 125.5). The differential anglophone behaviour according to property ownership disappeared after 1824

Figure 9-3: Profile of Anglophone Voters According to Property Ownership, Voting for at least one Canadien-Party Candidate, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

indicating that the owning of property was not a distinguishing factor after 1824.

Comparing property ownership of the anglophone and francophone voters to the political affiliation of the candidates suggests that the owning of property was not a significant factor after 1824. Before that time, it was only when the anglophone voters faced a Canadian-party candidate that the

actions of property owners were distinguishable from the actions of the tenants. Thus, the influence of this factor was limited to the anglophone voters in the elections of 1814 and 1824.

9.3. Annual Assessed Value of Property

The availability of assessment rolls enables us to delve deeper into the voting behaviour of the constituency's property owners and to consider the effects of wealth. Unfortunately, there is no assessment information available for elections prior to 1820, a period when socio-economic considerations, at least in terms of property ownership, were influential.[309] Furthermore, not all the voters appeared in the assessment rolls; consequently, our analysis involves about three-quarters of the propertied voters in the five elections from 1824 to 1836.[310]

Political commentators of early nineteenth-century Upper-Town politics rarely made distinctions between the actions of the wealthy and less wealthy voters. Neilson's Gazette included indirect reference to wealth in the election of 1824 when it suggested that those "who live in easy circumstances" sided with Stuart and Vallières.[311] Our analysis suggests that wealth, at least as far it is measured by assessed value of property, was an important factor in the election of 1824. A comparison of the support that each candidate received indicates that Stuart and Vallières owed more than ten per cent of their vote to the wealthiest individuals (£100-£499), a group of voters which only accounted for two or three per cent of their opponents' totals (see table 9-7, p. 351). The lowest assessed voters (£1-9 represented about three-quarters of the support for Primrose and Perrault, but only two-thirds of Stuart's and Vallières' support. The same pattern of support held for both

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[309]The assessing of property began in Quebec City in 1820, only to be discontinued the next year. It continued, without interruption, from 1824.

[310]See table G.5, Appendix G.

[311]Quebec Gazette, 12 August 1824.

Table 9-7: Total Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Voting for at least one Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824

Assessment (£)	Stuart N	Stuart %	Vallieres N	Vallieres %	Primrose N	Primrose %	Perrault N	Perrault %
All Voters								
1-29	118	59.6	130	62.8	30	73.2	41	75.9
30-99	52	26.3	52	25.1	10	24.4	11	20.4
100-499	28	14.1	25	12.1	1	2.4	2	3.7
Total	198	100.0	207	100.0	41	100.0	54	100.1
Anglophone								
1-29	9	37.5	11	35.5	17	65.4	8	66.6
30-99	8	33.3	13	41.9	8	30.8	4	33.3
100-499	7	29.2	7	22.6	1	3.8	0	00.0
Total	24	100.0	31	100.0	26	100.0	12	100.0
Francophone								
1-29	107	63.7	117	68.4	12	85.7	32	80.0
30-99	42	25.0	37	21.6	2	14.3	7	17.5
100-499	19	11.3	17	9.9	0	0.0	1	2.5
Total	168	100.0	171	99.9	14	100.0	40	100.0

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
Assessment (£)=Annual Assessed Value of Property

language groups, with the greatest differences occurring among the anglophone electorate.

An analysis of relative support underscores the influential role that wealth played in the election of 1824. While Stuart and Vallières received a great deal of support from the voting public in general, they obtained a greater degree of support from the wealthiest voters. About three-quarters of the voters voted for Stuart and/or Vallières; all but one of the voters with property assessed between £100 and £500 voted for Stuart (see table 9-8, p. 352). His co-campaigner, Vallières, received votes from 86.2% of the voters in the wealthiest category. In contrast, their opponents received very few votes from these voters: 3.5% voted for Primrose and 6.9% for Perrault.

Table 9-8: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Voting for at least one Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824

Assessment (£)	Stuart N	Stuart %	Primrose N	Primrose %	Vallieres N	Vallieres %	Perrault N	Perrault %	Total N	Total %
All Voters										
1-9	58	68.2	13	15.3	64	75.3	22	25.9	85	
10-19	42	77.8	9	16.7	42	77.8	9	16.7	54	
20-29	18	58.1	8	25.8	24	77.4	10	32.3	31	
30-49	25	89.3	3	10.7	21	75.0	6	21.4	28	
50-99	27	75.0	7	19.4	31	86.1	5	13.9	36	
100-499	28	96.6	1	3.5	25	86.2	2	6.9	29	
Total	198	75.3	41	15.6	207	78.7	54	20.5	263	
Anglophone										
1-9	1	12.5	6	75.0	2	25.0	4	50.0	8	
10-19	5	50.0	6	60.0	4	40.0	1	10.0	10	
20-29	3	37.5	5	62.5	5	62.5	3	37.5	8	
30-49	2	50.0	2	50.0	2	50.0	1	25.0	4	
50-99	6	42.9	6	42.9	11	78.6	3	21.4	14	
100-499	7	87.5	1	12.5	7	87.5	0	0.0	8	
Total	24	46.2	26	50.0	31	59.6	12	23.1	52	
Francophone										
1-9	56	74.7	6	8.0	61	81.3	17	22.7	75	
10-19	36	83.7	3	7.0	37	86.0	8	18.6	43	
20-29	15	65.2	3	13.0	19	82.6	7	30.4	23	
30-49	22	95.7	1	4.4	18	78.3	5	21.7	23	
50-99	20	95.2	1	4.7	19	90.5	2	9.5	21	
100-499	19	100.0	0	0.0	17	89.5	1	5.2	19	
Total	168	82.4	14	6.9	171	83.8	40	19.6	204	

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214
Assessment (£)=Annual Assessed Value of Property

Both language groups reacted to the candidates in the election of 1824 in the same way. In general, about half the anglophone voters sided with Stuart, but he received votes from 87.5% of the wealthiest voters (£100-£499). Similarly, while Vallières obtained votes from about sixty per cent of the anglophone voters, 87.5% of the wealthiest voters supported him. Primrose and Perrault, on the other hand, received little support from the

wealthiest anglophone voters. In regard to francophone voters, the wealthier voters, while their actions were less discernible from that of all the voters, still displayed noticeable behavioural differences. About eighty per cent of all voters sided with Stuart, but over ninety-five per cent of the voters with assessments higher than twenty-nine pounds sterling voted for Stuart. Similarly a large percentage of francophone voters voted for Vallières, but he received even greater francophone support from the wealthier voters. Francophone support for their political opponents was minimal, but even less among the wealthiest voters. Only one of the nineteen francophone voters with properties assessed at £100 or greater voted for Primrose or Perrault.

An examination of voting behaviour in 1824 according to annual assessed value of property suggests that those "in easy circumstances," as Neilson concluded, favoured Vallières and Stuart. In other words, among the Upper-Town propertied voters, the degree of wealth was a voting determinant in 1824. Nonetheless, an extensive investigation of voters' language affiliation and candidates' language and political affiliations reveals that 1824 was exceptional rather than representative of the five elections occurring after 1820. Wealth, as indicated by assessed value of property, did not play an important role in the voting behaviour of most of the Upper-Town property owners in 1827, 1829, 1834 and 1836.

A general examination of assessment values and language affiliation suggests that in the elections of 1827, 1834 and 1836, the wealthier a voter, the greater tendency to vote for an anglophone candidate and conversely, less the tendency to support a francophone candidate (see table 9-9, p. 354 and table 9-10, p. 355). However, a careful study of assessed value, according to the language affiliation of the voters and the language affiliation of the candidates diminishes the importance of wealth among the propertied electorate. As was the case in the general electorate, anglophone property owners, no matter what the assessed value of their property, strongly supported anglophone candidates.

Table 9-9: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Voting for at least one Anglophone Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

Assessment (£)	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836* N	1836* %
All Voters								
1-9	71	83.5	48	23.6	27	11.9	37	25.5
10-19	50	92.6	31	30.7	18	22.5	18	25.4
20-29	26	83.9	18	40.0	8	27.6	10	38.5
30-49	28	100.0	21	36.8	21	61.8	10	38.4
50-99	34	94.4	32	66.7	30	62.5	21	63.6
100-499	29	100.0	25	53.2	13	52.0	19	70.4
Total	238	90.5	178a	35.3	118b	26.6	116b	35.3
Anglophone								
1-9	7	87.5	12	85.7	20	71.4	22	95.7
10-19	10	100.0	13	86.7	15	88.2	15	100.0
20-29	8	100.0	9	81.8	5	83.3	8	100.0
30-49	4	100.0	14	93.3	16	100.0	9	100.0
50-99	12	85.7	22	100.0	24	96.0	20	100.0
100-499	8	100.0	15	93.8	10	100.0	15	100.0
Total	49	94.2	86b	91.5	90	88.2	89	98.9
Francophone								
1-9	62	82.7	33	17.9	4	2.1	10	8.5
10-19	39	90.7	17	20.0	3	4.8	2	3.7
20-29	18	78.3	8	25.0	3	13.0	2	11.1
30-49	23	100.0	7	17.1	4	23.5	1	5.9
50-99	21	100.0	9	36.0	5	22.7	1	7.7
100-499	19	100.0	7	25.0	1	7.7	2	20.0
Total	182	89.2	82b	20.7	20	6.1	18	7.9

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
Assessment (£)=Annual Assessed Value of Property; a=includes 3 voters with value 500-1999; b=includes 1 voter with value 500-999

Within this strong predisposition, however, another pattern is evident. An increase in wealth translated into an even higher percentage of anglophone support for the anglophone candidates. This pattern appeared in 1827 and 1834 and is mirrored in the mean percentages of anglophone support for anglophone candidates. The percentage of anglophone support

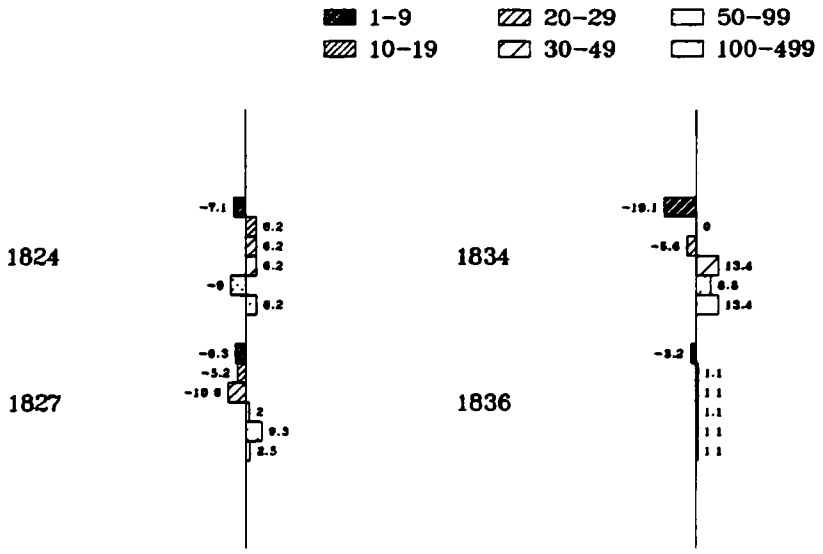
Table 9-10: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Voting for at least one Francophone Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

Assessment (£)	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829* N	1829* %	1834 N	1834 %	1836* N	1836* %
All Voters										
1-9	82	96.5	183	90.1	152	66.4	209	92.1	108	74.5
10-19	49	90.7	85	84.2	51	56.0	70	87.5	53	74.6
20-29	30	96.8	33	73.3	21	61.8	25	86.2	16	61.5
30-49	27	96.4	44	77.2	22	52.4	19	76.0	16	61.5
50-99	36	100.0	33	68.8	16	55.2	42	73.7	12	36.4
100-499	27	93.1	38	80.9	24	72.7	19	76.0	8	29.6
Total	251	95.4	416	82.5	287a	62.4	385b	86.7	213	64.7
Anglophone										
1-9	6	75.0	7	50.0	4	19.0	13	46.4	1	4.3
10-19	5	50.0	6	40.0	3	15.8	7	41.2	0	0.0
20-29	8	100.0	3	27.3	0	0.0	2	33.3	0	0.0
30-49	3	75.0	3	20.0	2	14.3	9	56.3	0	0.0
50-99	14	100.0	9	40.9	2	20.0	14	56.0	0	0.0
100-499	7	87.5	11	68.0	2	25.0	5	50.0	0	0.0
Total	43	82.7	39	41.5	14b	17.7	50	49.0	1	1.1
Francophone										
1-9	74	98.7	172	93.5	147	72.1	191	99.5	107	91.5
10-19	43	100.0	78	91.8	47	67.1	62	100.0	52	96.3
20-29	22	95.7	29	90.6	20	74.1	23	100.0	16	88.9
30-49	23	100.0	40	97.6	19	73.1	15	88.2	16	94.1
50-99	21	100.0	23	92.0	14	73.7	22	100.0	12	92.3
100-499	18	94.7	26	92.9	22	88.0	13	100.0	8	80.0
Total	201	98.5	368	92.9	269	72.5	326	99.1	211	92.1

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; Assessment (£)=Annual Assessed Value of Property
a=includes 3 voters with value 500-1999; b=includes 1 voter with value 500-999

among anglophone voters in the lowest category of assessed property (£1-£9) was 85.1%. For the next two highest categories the percentage of support increased to 93.7% (£10-£19) and 91.3% (£20-£29). In the three highest levels of assessment the mean percentage of anglophone support was even greater: 98.3% (£30-£49), 95.4% (£50-£99), and 98.5% (£100-£499). This

Figure 9-4: Profile of Anglophone Voters According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Voting for at least one Anglophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836



Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

pattern of increasing anglophone support suggests wealth was a factor, albeit a minor consideration, in the voting behaviour of the anglophone propertied voters in the elections of 1827 and 1834. This conclusion is underscored in an index of representation (see figure 9-4, p. 356). The anglophone voters in the three lowest categories of assessment tended to be slightly underrepresented as anglophone supporters in 1827 and 1834, while the more wealthy voters were overrepresented. It is also evident that by 1836, these

minor differences of support disappeared altogether with all scores virtually at zero.

An examination of the francophone response to the anglophone candidates, reveals that little distinguished the behaviour of the francophone property owners. No patterns relating to assessment values appear. In 1824, all francophone property owners in the three highest assessment categories cast a vote for an anglophone candidate. But again the difference in behaviour was in degree not kind; only a few of the less wealthy francophone voters did not vote for at least one anglophone candidate. On the whole, francophone property holders tended to react in the same way. This was also true when they faced francophone candidates. Actions of the poorest and the wealthiest francophone voters were indistinguishable. Consider the mean percentages of francophone support by francophone voters: 91.1% (£1-£9), 91.1% (£10-£19), 89.9% (£20-£29), 90.9% (£30-£49), 91.6% (£50-£99), and 91.9% (£100-£499).

Similarly, anglophone support for francophone candidates did not consistently increase or decrease with varying levels of assessment. Thus, in most circumstances, wealth, as measured by the annual assessed value of property, was not a distinguishing factor when considering the behaviour of the two language groups separately. Voters facing anglophone candidates in 1827 and 1834 marked the only exception, with the more wealthy providing a greater degree of support.

A preliminary examination of the relationship between the voters' annual assessed value of property and the candidate's political affiliation suggests some connection between wealth and the voter's choice of party. After 1824, the wealthiest voters constituted a larger percentage of the Bureaucratic total, than they did for those of the Canadian or Patriot parties (see table 9-11, p. 358). In the case of the latter two, the percentage of support dropped from 1827 onward, settling at 3.8% in 1836. In the same period, Bureaucratic support from the wealthiest voters remained over ten

Table 9-11: Total Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, at least one Canadian, Bureaucratic or Patriot Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

Assessment (£)	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829* N	1829* %	1834 N	1834 %	1836* N	1836* %
Bureaucratic										
1-29	57	72.2	97	54.5			53	44.9	65	56.0
30-99	19	24.0	53	29.8			51	43.2	31	26.7
100-499	3	3.8	25	14.0			13	11.0	19	16.4
Total**	79	100.0	178a	100.0			118b	100.0	116b	100.0
Canadian										
1-29	138	61.3	240	69.6	224	78.0				
30-99	59	26.2	68	19.7	38	13.2				
100-499	28	12.4	37	10.7	24	8.4				
Total	225	99.9	345	100.0	287b	100.0				
Patriot										
1-29			243	77.6			304	79.0	177	83.1
30-99			49	15.7			61	15.8	28	13.1
100-499			21	6.7			19	4.9	8	3.8
Total			313	100.0			385b	100.0	213	100.0

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; Assessment (£)=Annual Assessed Value of Property
a=includes 3 voters with value 500-1999; b=includes 1 voter with value 500-999

per cent. Conversely, the percentage of support attributable to the lowest assessed voters (£1-£29) increased in the case of Canadian and Patriot candidates, growing from about sixty per cent in 1824 to over eighty per cent in 1836. The same group only contributed about one-half of the Bureaucratic votes after 1824.

A general look at relative support also suggests a close connection between wealth and party selection: in 1827, 1834 and 1836 wealthier property owners gave a greater degree of support to the Bureaucratic party than the poorer property owners; in 1824, the wealthier voters were overrepresented as Canadian-party supporters; and in 1827, 1834 and 1836, the voters with lower assessed properties supplied a great deal of patriote support. Once more, the importance of wealth as a voting determinant greatly diminishes when the language affiliation of the voters are taken into account. Generally, the reaction of the anglophone voters to the Bureaucratic party was overwhelmingly favourable on the hustings, but differences in degrees of support are discernible according to the wealth of the anglophone voters (see table 9-12, p. 360. In the elections of 1827 and 1834, greater wealth translated into greater anglophone support. For the two elections, mean percentages of Bureaucratic support are slightly lower for those anglophone voters with the lower assessed properties: 78.6% (£1-£9), 87.5% (£10-£19), and 82.6% (£20-£29). The percentages jump to the mid-90s for the higher assessed voters: 96.7% (£30-£49), 98.0% (£50-£99), and 97.9% (£100-£499). These differences in voting behaviour according to wealth completely disappear in the election of 1836 with less than two per cent of the anglophone property owners rejecting Stuart, the sole Constitutional-party candidate. The complete success of Stuart among the anglophone property owners in 1836 contrasts with the lukewarm success of Primrose, the Bureaucratic standard bearer in 1824. The latter found little support (12.5%) among the wealthiest anglophone property owners.

With assessed francophone voters, a pattern of voting behaviour according to wealth is not evident. Generally the rejection or acceptance of

Table 9-12: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Voting for at least one Bureaucratic/Constitutional-Party Candidate, Election, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1836

Assessment (£)	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836* N	1836* %
All Voters								
1-9	28	32.9	48	23.6	27	11.9	37	25.5
10-19	16	29.6	31	30.7	18	22.5	18	25.4
20-29	13	41.9	18	40.0	8	27.6	10	38.5
30-49	8	28.6	21	36.8	21	61.8	10	38.5
50-99	11	30.6	32	66.7	30	62.5	21	63.6
100-499	3	10.3	25	53.2	13	52.0	19	70.4
Total	79	30.0	178a	35.3	118b	26.6	116b	35.3
Anglophone								
1-9	7	87.5	12	85.7	20	71.4	22	95.7
10-19	7	70.0	13	86.7	15	88.2	15	100.0
20-29	5	62.5	9	81.8	5	83.3	8	100.0
30-49	3	75.0	14	93.3	16	100.0	9	100.0
50-99	9	64.3	22	100.0	24	96.0	20	100.0
100-499	1	12.5	15	93.8	10	100.0	15	100.0
Total	32	61.5	86b	91.5	90	88.2	89	98.9
Francophone								
1-9	20	26.7	33	17.9	4	2.1	10	8.5
10-19	9	20.9	17	20.0	3	4.8	2	3.7
20-29	8	34.8	8	25.0	3	13.0	2	11.1
30-49	5	21.8	7	17.1	4	23.5	1	5.9
50-99	2	9.5	9	36.0	5	22.7	1	7.7
100-499	1	5.3	7	25.0	1	7.7	2	20.0
Total	45	22.1	82b	20.7	20	6.1	18	7.9

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; Assessment (£)=Annual Assessed Value of Property; Bureaucratic/Constitutional: Includes Moderate
a: includes 2 voters with value 500-999 and 1 voter with value 1000-1999; b=includes 1 voter with value 500-999

a party did not depend on the assessed value of the voters' property. This was true whether the francophone property owners faced Bureaucratic-, Canadian- or Patriot-party candidates. The one exception, as indicated above, was the election of 1824 when the wealthiest francophone propertied voters gave the least amount of support for the Bureaucratic party.

Table 9-13: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Voting for at least One Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824-1829

Assessment (£)	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829* N	1829* %
All Voters						
1-9	66	77.6	139	68.5	152	66.4
10-19	48	88.9	74	73.3	51	56.0
20-29	24	77.4	27	60.0	21	61.8
30-49	26	92.9	40	85.1	22	52.4
50-99	33	91.7	28	58.3	16	55.2
100-499	28	96.6	37	78.7	24	72.7
Total	225	85.6	345	68.5	287a	62.4
Anglophone						
1-9	2	25.0	6	42.9	4	19.0
10-19	7	70.0	6	40.0	3	15.8
20-29	5	62.5	2	18.2	0	0.0
30-49	3	75.0	2	13.3	2	14.?
50-99	12	85.7	9	40.9	2	20.0
100-499	7	87.5	11	68.8	2	25.0
Total	36	69.2	36	38.3	14a	17.7
Francophone						
1-9	63	84.0	130	70.7	147	72.1
10-19	40	93.0	67	78.8	47	67.1
20-29	19	82.6	25	78.1	20	74.1
30-49	22	95.7	38	92.7	19	73.1
50-99	20	95.2	18	72.0	14	73.7
100-499	19	100.0	25	89.3	22	88.0
Total	183	89.7	302	76.3	269	72.5

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*: by-election; Canadian=Canadian/Moderate-/Moderate-Patriote; Assessment (£)=Annual Assessed Value of Property
a=includes 1 voter with value, 500-999

In the same election, the anglophone response to the Canadian party became more favourable as the wealth of the voters increased. For example, while only twenty-five per cent of the anglophone voters in the lowest assessment category (£1-£9) voted for a Canadian-party candidate, over eighty-five of those voters with assessments of £50 or greater sided with

Table 9-14: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Annual Assessed Value of Property, Voting for at least One Patriote-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1827-1836

Assessment (£)	1827 N	1827 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836* N	1836* %
All Voters						
1-9	150	73.9	209	92.1	108	74.5
10-19	67	66.3	70	87.5	53	74.6
20-29	26	57.8	25	86.2	16	61.5
30-49	34	59.4	24	70.6	16	61.5
50-99	15	31.3	37	77.1	12	36.4
100-499	21	44.7	19	76.0	8	29.6
Total	313	62.1	385a	86.7	213a	64.7
Anglophone						
1-9	1	7.1	13	46.4	1	4.3
10-19	1	6.7	7	41.2	0	0.0
20-29	2	18.2	2	33.3	0	0.0
30-49	1	6.7	9	75.0	0	0.0
50-99	0	0.0	14	56.0	0	0.0
100-499	0	0.0	5	50.0	0	0.0
Total	5	5.3	50	49.0	1	1.1
Francophone						
1-9	147	79.9	191	99.5	107	91.5
10-19	66	77.6	62	100.0	52	96.3
20-29	23	71.9	23	100.0	16	88.9
30-49	32	78.1	15	88.2	16	94.1
50-99	15	60.0	22	100.0	12	92.3
100-499	21	75.0	13	100.0	8	80.0
Total	304	76.8	326	99.1	211	92.1

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; Assessment (£): Annual Assessed Value of Property
a: includes 1 voter with value, 500-999

Vallières or Stuart. But 1824 was exceptional, generally the anglophone response to the Canadian- or Patriot-party candidates did not vary according to wealth (table 9-13, p. 361 and table 9-14, p. 362). As was the case in the analysis of assessed value of property and language affiliation of the candidates, the relationship of the assessed value of the voters' property and

the political affiliation of the candidates, the common language explains much of the propertied electorate's actions. In other words, the voters' choice of a candidate because of his political tendencies depended little on the wealth of the voters. Anglophone voters sided with the Bureaucratic party, while the francophone voters favoured the canadien or patriote party. Within this general framework, it is also clear that to dismiss wealth completely as a voting determinant is incorrect. In two elections the wealthier anglophone property owners provided greater Bureaucratic support, while in the election of 1824 wealth affected both the francophone response to Bureaucratic party and the anglophone reaction to the parti canadien.

9.4. Conclusion

Socio-economic factors affected the decisions of the Upper-Town Quebec electors; several conclusions emerge. First, the influence of occupational or appointive connections to government is undeniable. Government-linked votes favoured government-approved candidates. The public/private sector dichotomy between the voters remained a valid distinction until the 1830s when the "national question" eclipsed all other issues.

Second, within the private sector itself, a voter's attachment to a certain economic sector clarifies the action of voters. In the pre-1820 period, francophone voters in the commercial sector put their faith in a francophone import/export merchant and were underrepresented as anglophone supporters. On the other hand, the response of anglophone and francophone voters to the Bureaucratic party was not dependent on economic sectoral affiliation, but voters in the commercial sector were overrepresented as Canadian-party supporters in the pre-1830 period.

Third, in terms of local political leadership, a significant occupational distinction existed until 1820: the Canadian party was the lawyers' party, while the Bureaucratic party was the merchants's party. This kind of characterization oversimplifies grassroots support. Both parties drew the bulk of their votes from the same two occupational groups, merchants and

artisans. Proportionally-speaking, anglophone merchants were not overrepresented as anglophone Bureaucratic supporters. On the other hand, both anglophone and francophone liberal professions were overrepresented in the parti canadien suggesting that in this case occupational differentiation was a factor.

Fourth, socio-professional status explains in part the reaction of anglophone voters to francophone and/or Canadian-party candidates. In three elections before 1829, anglophone support for these candidates decreased as socio-professional status decreased. Status was a less influential factor among the francophone voters. Prior to 1820, status based on occupation affected the francophone response to the anglophone candidates, increasing in strength as status decreased. Yet, before 1830 the highest-status francophone voters were overrepresented as Canadian-party supporters.

Fifth, property ownership was another influencing factor in the pre-1820 period. Anglophone tenants gave greater support than anglophone property owners to anglophone candidates. The same was true for francophone tenants who gave greater support than francophone property owners to anglophone candidates. Anglophone property owners, conversely, were overrepresented as francophone supporters. Similarly, anglophone property owners gave greater support than anglophone tenants to the Canadian party in 1814 and 1824. After 1824, property ownership was no longer a discerning factor.

Sixth, wealth as indicated by assessed value of property affected the decisions of property-owning voters. It was a key factor in 1824, with the two Canadian-party candidates attracting considerable support from the wealthiest voters. Specifically, the wealthiest francophone voters gave the least amount of Bureaucratic support and the wealthiest anglophone voters provided the greatest support to the Canadian party among the anglophone electorate. Wealth also makes more clear the actions of voters in the elections of 1827 and 1834, with anglophone support for anglophone and Bureaucratic candidates increasing with increasing assessments.

Thus, an explanation of electoral behaviour that ignores socio-economic considerations ignores the realities of Upper-Town Quebec politics. It remains to be seen how relatively important these factors were; this will be explored in the concluding part to chapter 10 where multivariate analysis will allows us to weigh the relative impact of ethno-cultural and socio-economic factors on the decisions of the voters.

Chapter Ten: Age, Area of Residence and Conclusion to Part III

10.1. Introduction

This final chapter examines whether the age of a voter or the area in which he lived affected the way in which he cast his votes. Our analysis of voting participation demonstrated the difficulty in separating the impact of these two variables from socio-economic considerations.[312] Furthermore, we have already found such socio-economic factors as socio-professional status and property ownership influencing the electorate.[313] Thus it would not be surprising to uncover patterns of differentiating behaviour among the voters according to age and area of residence. Indeed, age and residential distinctions are observable. For one, anglophone support for francophone candidates decreased with age in 1829 and 1834, while middle-aged francophone voters were underrepresented as anglophone-candidate supporters throughout the period. In addition, the youngest members of the francophone electorate were overrepresented as Canadian-party followers in 1824, 1827 and 1829. Area of residence was also a factor in the voters' response to the Canadian party. In the three elections in the 1820s, the residents in Upper-Town proper were overrepresented as anglophone supporters. As for francophone voters, those in St. Louis were underrepresented. On the other hand, consideration of socio-economic factors, while not eliminating completely, does diminish the effects of age and area of residence on the decisions of the Upper-Town Quebec electors.

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[312] See chapter 4.

[313] See chapters 8 and 9.

10.2. Age

An initial investigation which makes no attempt to account for socio-economic circumstances suggests that age conditioned that response of voters, particularly when they faced candidates, not sharing the same mother tongue. The response of the francophone voters to francophone candidates did not vary according to age, with comparable support provided by all age groups.[314] The same pattern of strong francophone support continued through all seven elections, as reflected in the mean percentages: 91.0% for 21-to-29; 92.1% for 30-to-59; and 90.5% for 60-and-over (see table 10-1, p. 368). On the other hand, a differentiating pattern of support occurred when an anglophone candidate appeared on the scene: middle-aged voters tended to be underrepresented as supporters. This is mirrored in the mean percentages for the six elections: 31.6% for the 21-to-29 age category; 25.8% for 30-to-59; and 31.2% for 60-and-over (see table 10-2, p. 369).

Similarly, age did not differentiate the behaviour of anglophone voters toward anglophone candidates.[315] A high proportion of anglophone voters, no matter what the age category, cast votes for anglophone candidates. The mean percentage of anglophone support for anglophone candidates in the four elections are: 93.9% for 21-to-29; 93.9% for 30-to-59; and 96.0% for 60-and-over. On the other hand, the anglophone voters' response to francophone candidates presents a more complex picture. In the elections of 1824, 1827 and 1836, differences in the three age categories were negligible. About sixty-five per cent of the anglophone voters in each category voted for a francophone candidate in 1824; this decreased to about forty-five per cent in 1827 and to less than five per cent in 1836. In 1829 and 1834, another

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[314]Linking the pollbooks to the census returns provides the ages of about two-thirds of the francophone electorate in each of the seven elections. See table G.6, Appendix G.

[315]Analysis of age of anglophone voters is restricted to the five elections after 1820 because in 1814 and 1816 less than ten per cent their ages are available. For the remaining elections, the ages of about forty per cent of the electorate are known. See table G.6, Appendix G.

Table 10-1: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Age, Voting for at least One Francophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Age in Years	1814		1816		1824		1827		1829*		1834		1836*	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
All Voters														
21-29	41	97 6	24	82 8	15	88 2	32	84 2	30	65 2	13	100 0	5	31 3
30-59	182	97 8	112	87 5	239	91 6	377	79 4	232	59 2	311	84 7	171	62 2
60+	33	100 0	20	83 3	64	85 3	123	74 5	68	51 1	104	75 9	44	44 0
Total	256	98 1	156	86 2	318	90 1	532	78 2	330	57 8	428	82 8	220	56 3
Anglophone														
21-29					3	60 0	4	40 0	4	30 8	7	100 0	0	0 0
30-59					37	68 5	48	44 0	22	22 7	50	49 5	4	4 2
60+					17	60 7	29	47 5	5	12 2	26	47 3	1	2 2
Total					57	65 5	81	45 0	31	20 5	83	50 9	5	3 3
Francophone														
21-29	40	97 6	22	81 5	12	100 0	27	93 1	26	81 3	5	100 0	5	83 3
30-59	163	99 4	104	89 7	198	98 0	323	90 7	209	72 6	254	100 0	166	94 9
60+	28	100 0	19	86 4	43	100 0	89	90 8	61	70 9	73	97 3	43	87 8
Total	231	99 1	145	87 9	253	98 4	439	90 9	296	72 7	332	99 4	214	93 0

Sources See table 5-2, p 214
*=by-election

Table 10-2: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Age, Voting for at least One Anglophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Age	1814 N	1814 %	1816 N	1816 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836* N	1836* %
All Voters												
21-29	15	35.7	4	13.8	17	100.0	17	42.5	7	53.9	11	68.8
30-59	33	28.5	19	14.8	231	86.5	186	39.2	113	30.8	104	37.8
60+	10	30.3	7	29.2	71	94.7	84	50.9	65	47.4	56	56.0
Total	78	29.9	30	16.6	319	90.4	287	42.2	185	35.8	171	43.7
Anglo.												
21-29					5	100.0	9	90.0	6	85.7	10	100.0
30-59					52	96.3	101	92.7	92	91.1	91	95.6
60+					28	100.0	56	91.6	52	94.5	44	97.8
Total					85	97.7	166	92.2	150	92.0	145	96.7
Franc.												
21-29	14	34.1	4	14.8	12	100.0	7	24.1	0	0.0	1	16.7
30-59	40	24.4	14	12.1	174	86.1	78	21.9	13	5.1	9	5.1
60+	8	28.6	5	22.7	39	90.7	23	23.5	7	9.3	6	12.2
Total	62	26.6	23	13.9	225	87.5	108	22.4	20	6.0	16	7.0

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; Anglo.=Anglophone; Franc.=Francophone

pattern arises: anglophone support for francophone candidates decreased with age in the by-election of 1829. Over thirty per cent of the anglophone voters under thirty years of age voted for J.-F. Duval, the francophone candidate. For the voters between thirty and fifty-nine support fell to less than twenty-five percent. The decrease of support by the voters over sixty was even greater, with only twelve per cent of the anglophone voters in that category siding with Duval.[316] In the election of 1834, a similar reaction took place, with the francophone candidates securing for much greater support from the youngest voters. All the voters less than thirty voted at least once for a

[316]Youth may have been a factor in this election. On the day of his electoral triumph, Duval was seventeen days short of his twenty-seventh birthday. His opponent, George Vanfelson, was forty-five years old (Roy, Les juges, 141, 561).

francophone candidate, while only about half of the voters between thirty and fifty-nine (49.5%) and sixty and over (47.3%) did so. These results suggest that age was a factor in the anglophone response to francophone candidates in two of the five post-1820 elections.

Table 10-3: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Age, Voting for at least One Bureaucratic/Constitutional-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Age in Years	1814 N	1814 %	1816 N	1816 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836* N	1836* %
All Voters												
21-29	41	97.6	28	96.6	3	11.8	17	42.5	7	53.9	11	68.8
30-59	182	97.8	128	100.0	89	34.1	186	39.2	113	30.8	104	37.8
60+	32	97.0	24	100.0	33	44.0	84	50.9	65	47.4	56	56.0
Total	255	97.7	180	99.4	125	35.4	287	42.2	185	35.8	171	43.7
Anglophone												
21-29					2	40.0	9	90.0	6	85.7	10	100.0
30-59					37	68.5	101	92.7	92	91.1	91	95.8
60+					21	75.0	56	91.8	52	94.5	44	97.8
Total					60	69.0	166	92.2	150	92.0	145	96.7
Francophone												
21-29	40	97.6	26	96.3	1	11.1	7	24.1	0	0.0	1	16.7
30-59	161	98.2	116	100.0	50	24.8	78	21.9	13	5.1	9	5.1
60+	27	96.4	22	100.0	11	25.6	23	23.5	7	9.3	6	12.2
Total	228	97.9	164	99.4	62	24.1	108	22.4	20	6.0	16	7.0

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; Bureaucratic/Constitutional=includes Moderate

An examination of age of the voter and political affiliation of the candidate does not reveal the same kind of variation. Generally, age did not determine what party the voter supported. Nevertheless, some variation according to age is evident, especially in the response to the Canadian-party candidates. In contrast, the voters reacted to the Bureaucratic party without much variance in behaviour (see table 10-3, p. 370). Anglophone voters in all age categories strongly supported Bureaucratic candidates. The mean

percentages of support for 1827, 1834 and 1836 are: 91.1% for 21-to-29; 93.2% for 30-to-59; and 94.7% for 60-and-over. In the election of 1824 the appeal of Stuart and Vallières diminished Bureaucratic support, but the percentage of anglophone support in each category remained relatively the same: 75.0% for 60-and-over; 68.5% for 30-to-59; and 40.0% for 21-to-29.[317] Nor does age differentiate the behaviour of francophone voters toward the Bureaucratic party. The pattern in all three age groups tended to be the same. Nearly all francophone voters voted for the Bureaucratic party in 1814 and 1816, about one-quarter did so in 1827 and 1829, and less than one-tenth voted for the Bureaucratic party in 1834 and 1836. The like behaviour of the three age groups is reflected in the mean percentages of francophone support for the Bureaucratic party: 41.0% for 21-to-29; 42.5% for 30-to-59; 44.5% for 60-and-over.

In much the same way, age did not affect the voters' view of the Patriot party. The young francophone voters reacted in the same way as the older voters. The mean percentages of Patriot support are: 85.2% for 21-to-29; 89.9% for 30-to-59; and 86.9% for 60-and-over (see table 10-4, p. 372). Nor does age distinguish the anglophone response in two of the three elections. Only a small percentage of anglophone voters in the three age groups cast patriote votes in 1827 and 1836. The election of 1834, however, saw a different mode of behaviour. About half the voters in the 30-to-59 and 60-and-over age groups voted for a Patriot candidate in 1834; but all the identified voters in the 21-to-29 age group supported the Patriot campaign. This suggests that for the one election age was a differentiating factor for the anglophone response to the parti patriote.

The response to the Canadian party also depended in part on the age of the voters. In the election of 1829, for example, the percentage of

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[317]Note that with only five anglophone voters identified in the 21-to-29 age group, the relative low figure (40.0%) is a product more of statistical probability than any kind of uniform behaviour. With the change of one vote, the percentage would drop to 20% or rise to 60%.

Table 10-4: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Age, Voting for at least One Patriot-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1827-1836

Age in Years	1827 N	1827 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836* N	1836* %
All Voters						
21-29	22	55.0	13	100.0	5	31.3
30-59	277	58.3	311	84.7	171	62.2
60+	77	46.7	104	75.9	44	44.0
Total	376	55.3	428	82.8	220	56.3
Anglophone						
21-29	1	10.0	7	100.0	0	0.0
30-59	8	7.3	50	49.5	4	4.2
60+	2	3.3	26	47.3	1	2.2
Total	11	6.1	83	50.9	5	3.3
Francophone						
21-29	21	72.4	5	100.0	5	83.3
30-59	266	74.7	254	100.0	166	94.9
60+	74	75.5	73	97.3	43	87.8
Total	361	74.7	332	99.4	214	93.0

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election

anglophone support diminished as age increased (see table 10-5, p. 373). Duval, the moderate parti-patriote candidate, received about thirty per cent of the 21-to-29 year-old vote, about twenty-two per cent of the 30-to-59 year-old vote and about twelve per cent of the sixty-and-over year-old vote. This pattern of decreasing support with age is only evident in 1829; age was not a factor in 1824 and 1827.

Age appears to have had an effect on the francophone reaction to the Canadian party. In the elections of 1824, 1827 and 1829, while francophone support was generally very high, the younger voters (21-to-29) consistently provided a relatively higher percentage of votes. The mean percentages of Canadian-party support according to age for the three elections are: 87.2%

Table 10-5: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Age, Voting for at least One Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829

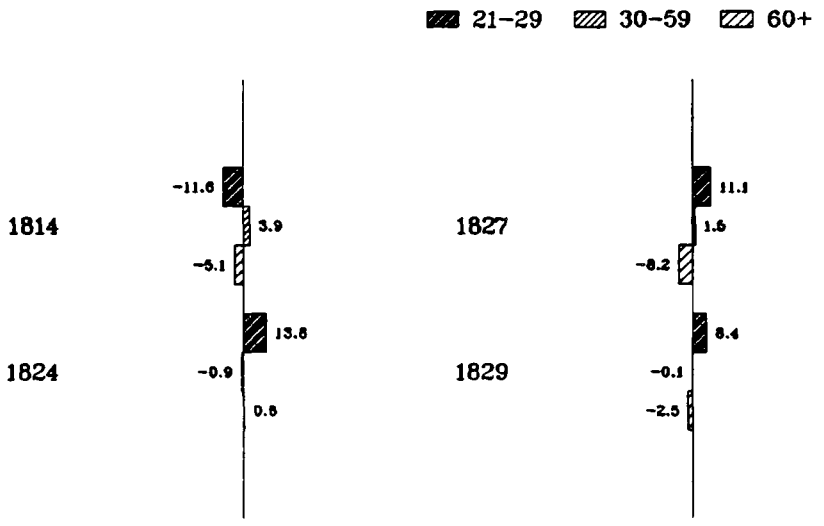
Age in Years	1814 N	1814 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829* N	1829* %
All Voters								
21-29	31	73.8	16	94.1	28	70.0	30	65.2
30-59	154	82.8	205	78.5	318	66.9	232	59.2
60+	25	75.8	60	80.0	99	60.0	68	51.1
Total	210	80.5	281	79.6	445	65.4	330	57.8
Anglophone								
21-29			4	80.0	3	42.9	4	30.8
30-59			25	46.3	44	40.4	22	22.7
60+			18	64.3	28	45.9	5	12.2
Total			47	54.0	75	41.7	31	20.5
Francophone								
21-29	30	73.2	12	100.0	24	82.8	26	78.8
30-59	141	86.0	176	87.1	269	75.6	209	72.6
60+	22	78.6	38	88.4	67	68.4	61	70.9
Total	193	82.8	226	87.9	360	74.5	296	72.7

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; Canadian:Canadian/Moderate-Canadian/Moderate-Patriot

for 21-to-29; 78.4% for 30-to-59; and 75.9% for 60-and-over. This suggests that the Canadian party had its greatest appeal among the youngest members of the francophone electorate. This assertion is underlined in an index of representation. The 21-to-29 francophone voters were overrepresented as Canadian-party supporters with scores of 13.8 (1824), 11.1 (1827), and 8.4 (1829) (see figure 10-1, p. 374).

Generally, the effects of age are difficult to pinpoint. On one hand, francophone voters of all ages responded in the same way to francophone, Bureaucratic or Patriot candidates. Age was also not a determining factor for anglophone voters. On the other hand, middle-aged francophone voters responded differently to anglophone candidates than their younger or older linguistic compatriots. There is also discernable differentiation in

Figure 10-1: Profile of Francophone Voters, According to Age, Voting for at least One Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829



Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

francophone behaviour toward the Canadian party in the elections of 1824, 1827 and 1829 with the youngest members of the francophone electorate supplying the greatest percentage of relative support. Furthermore, in the elections of 1829 and 1834 anglophone support for francophone and Canadian/Patriot-party candidates diminished with age. Thus, it is evident that age acted upon the decisions of voters. To what extent this was directly related to socio-economic circumstances is less clear. Without a sophisticated

statistical analysis accounting for a number of variables, it is only possible to speculate. It appears that socio-economic factors only partially explain away the effects of age. Consider, for example, the underrepresentation of francophone middle-aged voters as anglophone supporters. This behaviour may have been linked to the propensity of tenants, rather than property owners, to supply a proportionately higher percentage of support for English-speaking candidates.[319] It is probable that middle-aged francophone voters were overrepresented as property owners and, therefore, were underrepresented as anglophone supporters. If this was the case, what was the common denominator of behaviour, age or the owning of property? If it was the latter why did not anglophone middle-aged voters react in the same way?

What was the connection between age and socio-professional status? Our anlysis of age suggests that francophone middle-aged voters were underrepresented as anglophone supporters. It is likely that middle-aged voters also would have greater socio-economic status than either the younger or older voters. Chapter 8 revealed that in 1814 and 1816 francophone support for anglophone candidates increased as status increased.[320] Was it age, economic status or a combination of both factors at work? Furthermore, why did not the same conditions prevail after 1816? To answer these questions is a difficult task; for now, we must be content to acknowledge that the effects of age are observable under certain circumstances. But even this modest claim must remain tentative until the relationship between age, socio-professional status and property ownership is clarified.

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[319]See p. 343, chapter 9.

[320]See p. 326, chapter 8.

10.3. Area of Residence

Equally problematic is consideration of the influence of area of residence. Did the location of a voter's residence affect the way in which he cast his votes? Or was it a reflection of his socio-economic standing? Our study suggests that there was a link between area of residence and socio-professional status. Thus, as was the case with age, the influence of area of residence was less than is suggested by an analysis based solely on whether a voter lived inside or outside the walls of the Upper-Town Quebec.

A general examination of area of residence discloses the effects of British immigration. The changing composition of the candidates' support reflected the population shift toward the suburbs. In 1814 and 1816, for example, over eighty per cent of the anglophone supporters of English-speaking candidates lived within the walls of the Old City (see table 10-6, p. 377). After 1820, the percentage of voters with homes in Upper-Town proper fell to about sixty-five per cent. The anglophone response to French-speaking candidates was similar: seventy-five per cent or better prior to 1820; sixty-five per cent in 1824 and 1827; and slipping to fifty per cent in 1829. The increasing importance of St. Louis as an anglophone place of residence is also evident with its percentage of anglophone supporters increasing from 7.0% in 1824 to 13.5% in 1836.

Similarly, the decreasing percentage of francophone supporters residing in Upper-Town proper mirrored the growing linguistic exclusiveness of the Old City. The percentage of francophone support from Upper-Town Quebec for French-speaking candidates diminished from about fifty per cent in 1814 and 1816 to twenty-five per cent after 1824 (see table 10-7, p. 378). The continuing domination of the French in St. John is also discernable, as the percentage of francophone voters siding with French-speaking rose from about fifty to seventy per cent. Analysis of the political affiliation of the candidates reveals the same pattern of electoral support: an increasing percentage of anglophone voters from Upper-Town proper and St. Louis, and an increasing percentage of francophone voters from St. John (see table 10-8, p. 379 and table 10-9 and p. 380).

Table 10-6: Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone Voters, According to Area of Residence, Voting for at least One English-speaking or French-speaking Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Area of Residence	1814		1816		1824		1827		1829*		1836*	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
English-speaking												
Upper Town	109	83.2	82	91.1	134	58.5	275	68.2			210	64.6
St. John	20	15.3	8	8.9	79	34.5	89	22.1			70	21.5
St. Louis	-	-	-	-	96	7.0	39	9.7			44	13.5
Total	a130	100.0	90	100.0	229	100.0	403	100.0			d325	99.9
French-speaking												
Upper Town	70	82.4	15	75.0	94	65.3	126	66.0	30	49.2	2	20.0
St. John	13	15.3	5	25.0	37	25.7	43	22.5	27	44.3	6	60.0
St. Louis	-	-	-	-	13	9.0	22	11.5	4	6.6	1	10.0
Total	b85	100.0	20	100.0	144	100.0	191	100.0	61	100.1	a10	100.0

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

*=by-election;a=includes 1 unclassified;c=includes 1 St. Louis & 1 unclassified

Table 10-7: Total Number and Percentage of Francophone Voters, According to Area of Residence, Voting for at least One English-speaking or French-speaking Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Area of Residence	1814 N	1814 %	1816 N	1816 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829* N	1829* %	1836* N	1836* %
English-speaking												
Upper Town	38	37 3	17	43 6	122	38 5	57	35 8			7	25 9
St John	62	60 8	22	56 4	186	58 7	91	57 2			14	51 9
St Louis					9	2 8	11	6 9			6	22 2
Total	a102	100 1	39	100 0	317	100 0	159	99 9			27	100 0
French-speaking												
Upper Town	173	45 8	123	54 2	129	35 8	160	24 5	84	20 3	69	22 9
St John	202	53 4	103	45 4	215	59 7	447	68 5	304	73 6	208	69 1
St Louis					16	4 4	46	7 0	24	5 0	22	7 3
Total	b378	100 0	c227	100 0	360	99 9	653	100 0	c413	99 9	a301	100 0

Sources See table 5-2, p 214

*=by-election a=includes 2 unclassified b=includes 3 unclassified, c=includes 1 unclassified

Table 10-8: Total Number and Percentage of Anglophone Voters, According to Area of Residence, Voting for at least One Bureaucratic, Canadian or Patriot Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Area	1814 N	1814 %	1816 N	1816 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829* N	1829* %	1836* N	1836* %
Bureaucratic												
Upper Town	120	84.5	90	88.2	92	52.6	275	68.2			210	64.6
St. John	20	14.1	12	11.8	59	39.4	89	22.1			70	21.5
St. Louis	-	-	-	-	14	8.0	39	9.7			44	13.5
Total	a142	100.0	102	100.0	175	100.0	403	100.0			b325	99.9
Canadian												
Upper Town	25	100.0			84	73.0	121	69.5	30	49.2		
St. John	0	0.0			25	21.7	39	22.4	27	44.3		
St. Louis	-	-			6	5.2	14	8.1	4	6.6		
Total	25	100.0			115	99.9	174	100.0	61	99.9		
Patriot												
Upper Town							14	35.0			2	20.0
St. John							15	37.5			6	60.0
St. Louis							11	27.5			1	10.0
Total							40	100.0			b10	100.0

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; a=includes 1 St. Louis and 1 unclassified; b=includes 1 unclassified

These developments disclose how the massive influx of British immigrants transformed the geographic make-up of the voting public; for the role that area of residence played as a voting determinant let us consider relative percentage of voter support. Was a voter's response conditioned by the area in which he resided? The short answer is a qualified no. Generally the inhabitants of the suburbs behaved electorally as those living within the walls of Upper-Town Quebec. However, in certain situations, in particular when facing Canadian-party candidates, voters may have been influenced by their location within the constituency.

An examination of the voters according to area of residence and their response to the anglophone and francophone candidates does not reveal any

Table 10-9: Total Number and Percentage of Francophone Voters, According to Area of Residence, Voting for at least One Bureaucratic, Canadian or Patriot Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Area	1814 N	1814 %	1816 N	1816 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829* N	1829* %	1836* N	1836* %
Bureaucratic												
Upper Town	170	45.2	134	51.7	27	29.7	57	35.8			7	25.9
St. John	202	53.7	124	47.9	56	61.5	91	57.2			14	51.9
St. Louis	-	-	-	-	8	8.8	11	6.9			6	22.2
Total	a376	100.0	b259	100.0	91	100.0	159	99.9			27	100.0
Canadian												
Upper Town	157	48.6			124	38.0	140	25.9	84	20.3		
St. John	163	50.5			191	58.6	376	69.5	304	73.6		
St. Louis	-	-			11	3.4	25	4.6	24	5.8		
Total	c323	100.0			326	100.0	541	100.0	b413	99.9		
Patriot												
Upper Town							115	21.5			69	22.9
St. John							379	70.8			208	69.1
St. Louis							41	7.7			22	7.3
Total							535	100.0			d301	100.0

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; a=includes 4 unclassified; b=includes 1 unclassified; c=includes 3 unclassified; d=includes 2 unclassified

consistent pattern over the course of the two decades. Both language groups, no matter where they lived in Upper-Town Quebec, strongly supported those candidates sharing the same linguistic background as themselves. Anglophone voters in Upper Town and the two suburbs of St. John and St. Louis responded in a like fashion to anglophone candidates (see table 10-10, p. 381). The mean percentages of anglophone support for the five elections are: 86.0% for Upper Town proper; 87.6% for St. John, and 90.0% for St. Louis suburb.[321]

[321]For discussion of reliability of data concerning area of residence for election of 1834, see p. 153, chapter 4.

Table 10-10: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Area of Residence, Voting for at least One Anglophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Area of Residence	1814 N	1814 %	1816 N	1816 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1836* N	1836* %
All Voters										
Upper Town	169	50.6	107	44.8	269	95.7	346	70.8	229	76.3
St. John	90	37.3	35	24.0	275	89.0	196	31.5	90	29.4
St. Louis	-	-	-	-	25	75.8	51	49.0	51	68.9
Total	263a	45.3	142	36.8	569	91.3	593	48.8	371d	54.2
Anglophone										
Upper Town	109	89.3	82	91.1	134	99.3	275	92.0	210	99.1
St. John	20	100.0	8	66.7	79	97.5	89	81.7	70	92.1
St. Louis	-	-	-	-	96	94.1	39	78.0	44	97.8
Total	130c	91.0	90	88.2	229	98.3	403	88.0	325d	97.0
Francophone										
Upper Town	38	21.3	17	12.6	122	91.7	57	32.8	7	9.2
St. John	62	30.1	22	17.5	186	85.3	91	18.5	14	6.3
St. Louis	-	-	-	-	9	56.3	11	21.2	6	21.4
Total	102c	26.3	39	14.9	317	86.4	159	22.2	27	8.2

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; a=includes 1 St. Louis and 3 unclassified; b=includes 3 unclassified; c=includes 2 unclassified; d=includes 1 unclassified

Table 10-11: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Area of Residence, Voting for at least One Francophone Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Area of Residence	1814 N	1814 %	1816 N	1816 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829* N	1829* %	1836* N	1836* %
All Voters												
Upper Town	273	81 7	145	60 7	233	82 9	294	60 1	119	38 8	71	23 7
St John	228	91 8	112	76 7	260	84 1	507	81 4	337	64 3	216	70 6
St Louis				-	29	87 9	69	66 3	28	35 9	23	31 1
Total	506a	87 1	258b	66 8	522	83 8	870	71 5	485b	53 3	313e	15 8
Anglophone												
Upper Town	70	57 4	15	16 7	94	69 6	126	42 1	30	16 9	2	0 9
St John	13	65 0	5	41 7	37	45 7	43	39 4	27	27 0	6	7 6
St. Louis	-	-		-	13	76 5	22	41 0	4	10 3	1	2 2
Total	85c	59 0	20	19 6	144	61 8	191	41 7	61	19 3	10d	3 0
Francophone												
Upper Town	173	97 2	123	91 1	129	97 0	160	92 0	84	71 8	69	90 8
St John	202	98 1	103	81 7	215	98 6	447	91 0	304	71 7	208	97 7
St Louis					16	100 0	16	88 5	24	61 5	22	78 6
Total	378e	97 4	227d	86 6	360	98 4	653	91 4	113d	73 2	301f	91 8

Sources: See table 5-2, p 214

*=by-election a=includes 1 unclassified b=includes 1 unclassified, c=includes 1 St Louis and 1 unclassified d=includes 1 unclassified e=includes 3 unclassified f=includes 2 unclassified

All francophone groups also responded generously to their own kind: place of residence was not a factor in how they voted (see p. 10-11, p. 382). The mean percentage of francophone support for francophone candidates according to area of residence are: 90.0% in Upper Town, 89.6% in St. John; and 82.2% in St. Louis. The basis of slightly lower percentage for St. Louis lies with the elections of 1829 and 1836 when the percentage of francophone support was ten to fifteen per cent lower. This suggests that perhaps area of residence affected the decision francophone voters in the elections of 1829 and 1836.

The reaction of the voters to their linguistic opposites was not influenced by the area of residence in the constituency. A comparison of the language affiliation of the voters and language affiliation of the candidates discloses that there is no consistent pattern of support according to area of residence. Anglophone candidates received their highest percentage of francophone support from different areas in different elections. In 1814 and 1816 it came from St. John, in 1824 and 1827 from Upper Town proper, and in 1836 from St. Louis. The minimal influence of area of residence for francophone voters facing anglophone candidates is reflected in the mean percentages of support for the five elections: 33.5% for Upper Town proper; 31.6% for St. John; and 33.0% for St. Louis. Similarly, geographic location did not distinguish the anglophone response to francophone candidates. In the elections of 1814, 1816, 1829 and 1836 the greatest percentage of anglophone support for francophone candidates came from those voters with a residence in St. John. For the elections of 1824 and 1827 the highest percentage of support was found in St. Louis. This shifting geographic centre of anglophone support by francophone votes suggests that where a voter lived within Upper-Town Quebec was not a decisive factor in his voting behaviour. Consider the mean percentage of francophone support for anglophone candidates according to geographic location: 33.5% for Upper Town proper, 31.5% for St. John, and 33.0% for St. Louis.

In much the same way, the link between area of residence of the voter

Table 10-12: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Area of Residence Area, Voting for at least One Bureaucratic/Constitutional-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Area of Residence	1814 N	1814 %	1816 N	1816 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1836* N	1836* %
All Voters										
Upper Town	322	96.4	238	99.6	126	44.8	346	70.8	229	76.3
St. John	237	98.3	144	98.6	129	41.7	196	31.5	90	29.4
St. Louis	-	-	-	-	22	66.7	51	49.0	51	68.9
Total	565a	97.2	383b	99.2	277	44.5	593	48.8	371b	54.2
Anglophone										
Upper Town	120	98.4	90	100.0	92	68.1	275	92.0	210	99.1
St. John	20	100.0	12	100.0	59	85.2	89	81.7	70	92.1
St. Louis	-	-	-	-	14	82.4	39	78.0	44	97.8
Total	142c	98.6	102	100.0	175	75.1	403	88.0	325b	97.0
Francophone										
Upper Town	170	95.5	134	99.3	27	20.3	57	32.8	7	9.2
St. John	202	98.1	124	98.4	56	25.7	91	18.5	14	6.3
St. Louis	-	-	-	-	8	50.0	11	21.2	6	21.4
Total	376d	96.9	259b	98.9	91	24.8	159	22.2	27	8.2

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; Bureaucratic/Constitutional=includes Moderate; a=includes 1 St. Louis and 5 unclassified; b=includes 1 unclassified; c=includes 1 St. Louis and 1 unclassified; d=includes 4 unclassified

and party affiliation of the candidate is not strong. A general overview suggests certain inclinations of the voters regarding party choice: those in St. John were underrepresented as Bureaucratic supporters and overrepresented as canadien and patriote supporters, and those in the St. Louis suburb tended to be underrepresented as Canadian-party supporters. Nevertheless, these tendencies disappear when considering the linguistic affiliation of the voters. For anglophone voters facing Bureaucratic-party candidates, geographic location was irrelevant with a high percentage of support from all three areas (see table 10-12, p. 384). In 1814 and 1816, all but two of the anglophone voters residing in Upper Town or St. John voted for at least one Bureaucratic candidate. Anglophone support for the Bureaucratic party

remained high in the three post-1820 elections. For the three elections, the mean percentages of support are: 86.4% for Upper-Town, 86.3% for St. John and 86.1% for St. Louis.

The francophone response to the Bureaucratic party was less predictable, but none of the voters residing in a particular location consistently provided more support than voters from another area. In 1814 and 1816 the differences in degree of francophone support according to geographic location were virtually non-existent as over ninety-five per cent of francophone votes in Upper Town and St. John voted for a Bureaucratic candidate. In 1824 and 1827 the percentage of support decreased to the twenty-to-thirty per cent range, with greatest support coming from St. Louis in 1824 and Upper Town in 1827. In 1836 support fell to below ten per cent in all three areas except St. Louis where over twenty per cent of the francophone voters supported the Stuart campaign. Thus, electoral reaction to the Bureaucratic party suggests that place of residence did not influence the voters' electoral behaviour.

In contrast, the response to the Canadian party suggests a connection between party choice and area of residence. In 1814, 1824 and 1827, the greatest percentage of anglophone support for the Canadian-party candidates came from Upper Town proper (see table 10-13, p. 386). In 1814, for example, about one-fifth of the anglophone voters from the Upper Town voted for the Canadian party, but none of the St. John's residents favoured Panet with a vote. In 1824, over sixty per cent supported a Canadian-party candidate, but only about thirty-five per cent of the anglophone voters from the suburbs cast vote for that party. In the next election, anglophone support from the Upper Town diminished, but the pattern of greater Canadian-party support from anglophone residents of Upper Town continued until 1829. The propensity for Upper-Town anglophone voters to give greater support than the voters residing elsewhere is underscored in an index of representation (see figure 10-2, p. 387). Anglophone Upper-Town residents were overrepresented as parti-canadien supporters in 1814 (score = 17.8),

Table 10-13: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to area of Residence, Voting for at least One Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829

Area of Residence	1814 N	1814 %	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829* N	1829* %
All Voters								
Upper Town	197	59.0	218	77.6	269	55.0	119	38.8
St. John	170	70.5	223	72.2	429	68.9	337	64.3
St. Louis	-	-	17	51.5	40	38.5	28	35.9
Total	370a	63.7	458	73.5	738	60.7	485b	53.3
Anglophone								
Upper Town	25	20.5	84	62.2	121	40.5	30	16.9
St. John	0	0.0	25	30.9	39	35.8	27	27.0
St. Louis	-	-	6	35.3	14	28.0	4	10.3
Total	25	17.4	115	49.4	174	38.0	61	19.3
Francophone								
Upper Town	157	88.2	124	93.2	140	80.5	84	71.8
St. John	163	79.1	191	87.6	376	76.6	304	74.7
St. Louis	-	-	11	68.8	25	48.1	24	61.5
Total	323a	83.2	326	88.8	541	75.5	413b	73.2

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; Canadian=Canadian/Moderate-Canadian/Moderate Patriot; a=includes 3 unclassified; b=includes 1 unclassified

1824 (25.9) and 1827 (6.6), but anglophone residents in the suburbs were underrepresented as Canadian supporters in the election of 1814 (score = -100.0), 1824 (-37.5 and -28.5) and 1827 (-5.8 and -26.3).

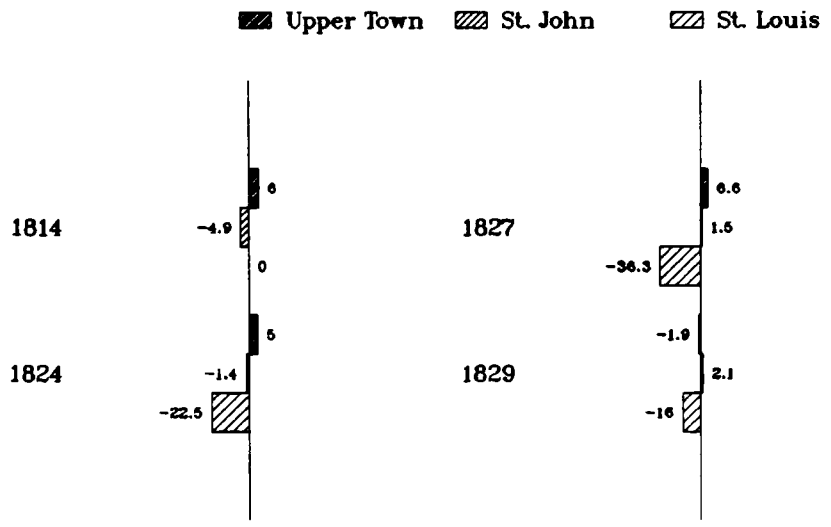
Place of residence also appears to have affected francophone voters' response to the Canadian party. Francophone inhabitants of Upper Town and St. John provided a consistently high percentage of support in 1814, 1824, 1827 and 1829. Francophone voters with residences in the St. Louis suburb behaved differently than their compatriots in the rest of the constituency. In 1824, 1827 and 1829, the support from St. Louis was lower, even dropping below fifty per cent in one of the elections. This differential

Figure 10-2: Profile of Anglophone Voters, According to Area of Residence, Voting for for at least One Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

behaviour according to area of residence is evident in the mean percentages of francophone support for the parti canadien: 81.8% for Upper Town, 79.6% for St. John's, and 59.5% for St. Louis. An index of representation also clearly demonstrates the unique behaviour of the francophone residents of the St. Louis suburbs. This group was underrepresented as Canadian-Party supporters with scores of -22.5 (1824), -36.3 (1827) and -16.0 (1829) (see figure 10-3, p. 388).

Figure 10-3: Profile of Francophone Voters, According to Area of Residence, Voting for for at least One Canadian-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829



Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

The voters' electoral response to the Patriot party does not display such a strong link between place of residence and party choice. The behaviour of francophone voters in all three geographical areas was similar. About three-quarters of the francophone voters in Upper Town proper and the suburbs cast a vote for Berthelot in 1827 (see table 10-14, p. 389). The percentage of support jumped to over ninety per cent in 1836 with one exception, the francophone residents of St. Louis. The relative

Table 10-14: Number and Percentage of Voters, According to Area of Residence, Voting for at least One Patriot-Party Candidate, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1827-1836

Area	1827 N	1827 %	1836* N	1836* %	1827 N	1827 %	1836* N	1836* %	1827 N	1827 %	1836* N	1836* %
Voters	All				Anglo.				Franc.			
Upper Town	130	26.6	71	23.7	14	4.7	2	0.9	115	66.1	69	90.8
St. John	399	64.0	216	70.6	15	13.8	6	7.9	379	77.2	208	93.7
St. Louis	53	51.0	23	31.1	11	22.0	1	2.2	41	78.8	22	78.6
Total	582	47.9	313a	45.8	40	8.7	10b	3.0	535	74.6	301c	91.8

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.
*=by-election; Anglo.=Anglophone; Franc.=Francophone; a=includes 3 unclassified; b=includes 1 unclassified; c=includes 2 unclassified

inconsequential effect of area of residence is mirrored in the mean percentages of support: 78.5% for Upper Town; 85.5% for St. John and 78.7% for St. Louis. The response of the anglophone voters to the Patriot party was not generally dependent on the voters' place of residence. In only one of the elections is the influence of area of residence suggested; in 1827 differential degrees of francophone support were present. The percentages of anglophone support for the patriote party were: 4.7% for Upper Town; 13.8% for St. John's; and 22.0% for St. Louis.

For most voters the place of residence was not a strong voting determinant. The behaviour of the anglophone voters toward anglophone and Bureaucratic candidates was not differentiated by geographical location. The same conclusion applies to anglophone voters facing francophone and patriote candidates. Francophone voters also acted in unison when presented with anglophone and Bureaucratic candidates. To reject completely, however, the influence of place of residence would be premature, as voters in certain situations behaved differently according to the area in which they resided. Francophone voters in the St. Louis suburbs were underrepresented as francophone supporters in 1829. Anglophone voters in the suburbs were also

underrepresented as patriote supporters in the election of 1827. More intriguing is the voters' response to the parti canadien. In the elections of 1814, 1824 and 1827, the anglophone voters in the Upper-Town area were overrepresented as Canadian-party supporters. In the case of the francophone voters, the suburb of St. Louis was underrepresented in terms of Canadian-party support in the three elections from 1824 to 1829.

These findings suggest that the role of area of residence as a voting determinant was not insignificant in some circumstances, particularly in the case of the voters' response to the parti canadien before 1830. Nonetheless, this differential behaviour according to place of residence appears to be linked to the particular socio-economic conditions of the different geographical parts of the constituency. A closer examination of the socio-professional status and area of residence reveals a direct connection between these two factors. From chapter 2, we know that Upper-Town proper became increasingly the reserve of the anglophone socio-economic elite. At the same time from chapter 8 we learned that in the elections of 1814, 1824 and 1827, anglophone support for the Canadian party decreased as socio-professional status decreased. Thus, it is not surprising to find that the highest-status anglophone residents of Upper-Town proper provided a higher proportion of Canadian-party support than any other anglophone group living outside the walls of the Old City. Similarly, the suburb of St. Louis remained until the 1830s a francophone residential area for artisans and labourers. Add to this the overrepresentation of the highest-status francophone voters as Canadian-party supporters in 1814, 1824, 1827 and 1829, and it is not an unexpected development to discover the francophone residents of St. Louis were underrepresented as parti-canadien followers. These two examples suggest that the importance of area of residence as a voting determinant is linked directly to socio-professional status, and to socio-economic factors in general; thus, it appears that the walls of the Upper Town did not form a boundary of differential voting behaviour. The concluding section of this chapter will allow us to consider whether this was the case as we employ multivariate analysis to weigh the relative impact of five of the variables, including area of residence, on the Upper-Town Quebec electorate.

10.4. Conclusion to Part III

A multivariate analysis allows us to add even more shading to our portrait of Upper-Town Quebec politics by considering the relative importance of five factors as the electors responded to anglophone, francophone, Bureaucratic, Canadian and Patriot candidates. The many high R-squared scores indicate that the five variables incorporated in the MCAs - language, economic sector, socio-professional status, property ownership and area of residence - explain a large percentage of the variation within the dependent variable.[322]

With the consistently highest beta scores, there is no doubt that language played the most influential role in determining the actions of the electors. It is also clear that "national" considerations constituted the only issue in 1836, dividing the electorate into two opposing camps (beta score of .84). However, socio-economic factors also influenced the voters. With beta scores ranging from .10 to .30, economic sector was a consideration in 1814, 1816, 1827, 1829 and even in 1834. Socio-professional status also affected the behaviour of voters in 1814 (beta scores from .08 to .15), 1816 (.13 and .15), 1824 (.09 to .15), 1827 (.09) and 1829 (.09). In addition, property ownership came into play in 1814 (.12 to .21), 1816 (.09 to .14), 1824 (.16 and .20) and 1827 (.09 and .11). Finally, a comparison of eta and beta scores supports the contention that the influence of area of residence diminished as the role of other factors are accounted for.

In the two decades prior to the Rebellions of 1837-1838, a complexity of ethno-cultural and socio-economic factors influenced the electoral behaviour of the Upper-Town Quebec inhabitants. The voting determinants included: language, religion, country of origin, government influence, occupation, socio-professional status, property ownership, wealth, age and area of residence. A

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[322]The only exceptions are the elections of 1824 and 1829 where the five variables explain less than thirty per cent of the variation. See: table 10-15, p. 393; table 10-16, p. 394; table 10-17, p. 395; table 10-18, p. 396; table 10-19, p. 397.

systematic analysis of newspaper reports and individual voting records indicate that as the "national question" increasingly dominated the hustings, language became a primary consideration. But it was not the only voting determinant; political affiliation at times diminished the importance of language. A second factor was religion, differentiating the response of the anglophone electors. Religion was also the basis of the parti-patriote appeal to the growing number of Irish voters. The Bureaucratic party countered with a call to British solidarity. Both campaigns had some success and divided the Irish Catholic vote until 1836.

Equally essential in understanding the actions of the Upper-Town voting public are socio-economic factors. Contemporary newspaper commentators raised the issue of government influence on government-appointed or -employed voters. This certainly was a factor, and in the case of the election of 1827, it meant the difference between victory and defeat for Andrew Stuart, the government-backed candidate. Other socio-economic factors - socio-professional status, property ownership and wealth - also came into play and do much to explain the actions of voters. Neither should age nor area of residence be completely discarded as voting determinants, as it appears that these factors influenced the response of voters.

Table 10-15: Voting for at least one Anglophone Candidate by Language Affiliation, Economic Sector, Socio-Professional Status, Property Qualifications and Area of Residence, Multiple Classification Analysis, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

riable	1814 N	Un	Adj	1816 N	Un	Adj	1824 N	Un	Adj	1827 N	Un	Adj	1834 N	Un	Adj	1836* N	Un	Adj
nguage Aff																		
iglophone	144	46	43	102	51	43	233	07	07	458	39	31	439	17	14	735	43	40
ancophone	384	-19	-18	262	-22	-18	367	-05	-05	717	-27	-21	511	40	37	328	-16	44
her	49	16	16	22	22	14	23	09	08	41	27	21	41	20	19	21	36	36
onomic Sector																		
overnment	71	45	18	53	59	18	52	03	05	110	49	23	57	45	07	31	46	12
rvice	294	-03	02	185	-08	02	299	-02	-00	585	-10	-04	556	-09	01	374	-08	-01
dustrial	65	-02	-03	43	11	08	73	02	02	116	12	-02	122	11	02	95	10	-01
ommerce	80	-15	-12	67	-16	-13	104	03	00	162	-00	-04	163	12	-04	100	03	01
tr-Unclass	67	-14	-09	38	-03	-03	95	00	02	213	-01	03	123	08	-04	84	05	02
c-Pr Status																		
ll	196	05	-04	143	05	02	226	05	04	461	12	-00	421	16	04	288	15	-00
tisans	265	-06	-01	178	-14	-06	281	-02	-02	486	-08	02	424	10	-03	295	-10	-01
bourers	112	04	10	44	09	12	110	-04	-03	239	-13	-02	160	-19	-04	99	-14	03
nclassified	4	30	-31	21	63	09	6	09	06	27	48	-07	16	41	04	2	46	02
operty Qual																		
nant	213	21	08	172	20	05	262	03	-01	479	26	06	471	30	04	291	28	01
operty Owner	363	-12	-05	214	16	14	361	-02	01	737	-17	-04	590	-22	03	393	20	-01
ot Clear	1	-4 5	-0 7		-	-		-	-		-	-		-	-		-	-
sidence																		
pper Town	332	05	-04	239	08	01	281	04	03	489	22	06				300	22	03
-John	239	-08	05	116	-13	02	309	-02	-01	623	17	04				306	25	-03
-Louis	1	55	15		-	-	33	-10	17	104	00	01				74	15	05
nclassified	5	15	07	1	-37	-03		-			-	-						-
mmary Statistics																		
ariable ta/beta)																		
nguage Aff		56/ 53			67/ 55			21/ 22			61/ 52			86 80			89/ 84	
onomic Sect		35/ 17			50/ 19			08/ 06			33/ 16			29/ 06			25/ 06	
c-Pr Status		11/ 11			37/ 13			13/ 10			26/ 04			10/ 07			26 03	
operty Qual		32/ 12			38/ 10			10/ 03			12/ 09			52/ 06			18/ 02	
sidence		14/ 08			21/ 03			18/ 15			37/ 10			26/ 05			16/ 08	
umber		581			386			623			1216			1021			684	
rand Mean		0 45			0 37			0 91			0 49			0 46			0 54	
		616			721			283			609			866			893	
Squared		380			520			080			118			750			797	

Sources See table 5-2, p 214
by-election, Language Aff =Language Affiliation, Soc-Pr Status Socio-Professional Property Qual Property Qualifications, sidence=Area of Residence, Extr-Unclass =Extractive and Unclassified

Table 10-16: Voting for at least one Francophone Candidate by Language Affiliation, Economic Sector, Socio-Professional Status, Property Qualifications and Area of Residence, Multiple Classification Analysis, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1830

Variable	1814 N Un Adj	1816 N Un Adj	1821 N Un Adj	1827 N Un Adj	1829* N Un Adj	1831 N Un Adj	1830* N Un Adj
Language Aff							
Anglophone	111 -28 -20	102 -17 -39	233 -22 -19	458 -30 -2	316 -31 -32	139 -31 -28	335 -13 00
Francophone	384 10 07	262 20 16	367 11 13	717 20 18	561 20 19	541 25 23	328 16 11
Other	49 01 03	22 -17 -09	23 -06 -07	41 -08 -07	30 -17 17	11 -00 -01	21 -36 -36
Economic Sector							
Government	71 -39 -26	53 -56 -17	52 -11 03	110 -35 -19	72 -38 -22	57 -45 -19	31 -46 -12
Service	294 07 05	185 09 01	299 03 01	585 06 03	485 01 -00	556 06 -01	371 08 01
Industrial	65 01 05	43 03 02	73 -11 -01	116 -09 03	85 -12 -03	122 00 05	95 -10 01
Commerce	80 01 01	67 15 08	104 07 00	162 05 03	109 11 09	163 -06 02	100 03 01
Extr-Unclass	67 07 02	38 04 01	95 -01 -02	213 02 01	159 05 06	123 03 04	81 -05 -02
Soc-Pr Status							
I, II	196 -04 06	143 -00 03	226 05 06	161 01 01	336 -02 05	421 -09 -01	288 -15 00
Artisans	265 01 -03	178 11 03	281 -02 -02	486 01 03	377 01 -02	421 08 02	295 10 01
Labourers	112 -02 -01	44 -10 -15	110 -02 -06	239 01 -03	195 03 -05	160 06 -02	99 11 -03
Unclassified	1 -12 36	21 -67 -17	6 -31 -16	27 -38 05	5 -53 -21	16 -49 -08	2 16 02
Property Qual.							
Tenant	213 -18 -09	172 -20 -06	262 -15 -09	479 -18 -01	326 -16 02	431 -18 -03	291 -28 -01
Property Owner	363 10 06	214 16 05	361 11 06	737 11 03	584 09 -01	590 13 02	393 20 01
Not Clear	1 13 36	- - -	- - -	-	-	- -	- -
Residence							
Upper Town	332 -05 00	239 -06 02	281 -01 03	489 -11 -00	307 -15 -01		300 -22 03
St-John	239 08 -01	146 10 -04	309 00 -04	623 10 00	521 11 01		306 25 03
St-Louis	1 13 26	- - -	33 04 06	101 -05 00	78 -17 -09		74 -15 -05
Unclassified	5 -07 05	1 33 01	- -	- - -	1 47 31		- -
Summary Statistics							
Variable eta/beta							
Language Aff	49/ 35	63/ 51	17/ 12	53/ 47	51/ 48	62/ 56	89/ 84
Economic Sect	44/ 30	48/ 15	18/ 05	27/ 14	25/ 15	27/ 11	25/ 06
Soc-Pr Status	12/ 15	37/ 15	13/ 13	15/ 08	09/ 09	23/ 05	26/ 03
Property Qual.	40/ 21	38/ 12	35/ 20	32/ 07	24/ 03	30/ 07	48/ 02
Residence	19/ 04	17/ 00	03/ 10	23/ 00	26/ 09	18/ 08	46/ 08
Number	581	386	623	1216	910	1021	681
Grand Mean	0 87	0 67	0 84	0 72	0 53	0 71	0 46
R	605	683	535	545	546	643	893
R Squared	366	467	286	297	298	414	797

Sources See table 5-2, p 214

*=by-election, Language Aff =Language Affiliation, Soc Pr Status Socio-Professional, Property Qual Property Qualifications, Residence Area of Residence, Extr-Unclass =Extractive and Unclassified

Table 10-17 Voting for at least one Canadian Candidate by Language Affiliation, Economic Sector, Socio-Professional Status, Property Qualifications and Area of Residence, Multiple Classification Analysis, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1829

Variable	1814 N	Un	Adj	1821 N	Un	Adj	1827 N	Un	Adj	1829* N	Un	Adj
Language Affiliation												
Anglophone	114	-16	-13	233	-21	-23	158	-23	-22	316	-31	-32
Francophone	384	20	18	367	15	15	717	15	14	564	20	19
Other	19	-19	-18	23	00	-03	41	-05	-06	30	-17	-17
Economic Sector												
Government	71	-17	-20	52	-14	-01	110	-21	-14	72	-38	-22
Service	294	05	-00	299	02	01	585	01	02	485	01	-00
Industrial	65	-01	01	73	-15	-03	116	-06	04	85	-12	-03
Commerce	80	12	10	104	13	03	162	10	05	109	11	09
Extractive-Unclassified	67	14	08	95	-01	-02	213	-03	-03	159	05	06
Socio-Professional Status												
I, II	196	-06	03	220	09	09	461	01	06	336	-02	05
Artisans	265	06	00	281	-05	-01	486	01	-01	377	01	-02
Labourers	112	-01	-07	110	-01	-07	239	-01	-04	195	03	-05
Unclassified	4	-39	23	6	-21	00	27	-27	05	5	-53	-24
Property Qualifications												
Tenant	213	-21	-08	262	-13	-07	479	-10	-01	326	-16	02
Property Owner	363	12	05	361	09	05	737	07	00	584	09	-01
Not Clear	1	36	-01	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Residence												
Upper Town	332	-05	05	281	01	08	489	-06	01	307	-15	-04
St-John	239	07	-07	309	01	-05	623	08	02	521	11	01
St-Louis	1	61	26	33	-22	-18	101	22	-16	78	17	-09
Unclassified	5	-04	03	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	17	31
Summary Statistics												
Variable (eta/beta)												
Language Affiliation		60/56			13/10			37/36			51/18	
Economic Sector		38/17			19/01			18/10			25/15	
Socio-Professional Status		13/08			16/15			09/09			09/09	
Property Qualifications		34/13			25/14			17/01			21/03	
Residence		13/12			13/17			19/10			26/09	
Number		581			623			1216			910	
Grand Mean		0.64			0.74			0.61			0.53	
R		618			507			405			546	
R Squared		420			257			164			298	

Sources See table 5-2, p 214

Table 10-18: Voting for at least one Bureaucratic Candidate by Language Affiliation, Economic Sector, Socio-Professional Status, Property Qualifications and Area of Residence, Multiple Classification Analysis, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814-1836

Variable	1814 N	Un	Adj	1816 N	Un	Adj	1824 N	Un	Adj	1827 N	Un	Adj	1834 N	Un	Adj	1836* N	Un	Adj
Language Aff																		
Anglophone	144	01	02	102	01	01	233	31	26	458	39	31	439	17	14	335	13	10
Francophone	384	-00	-00	262	-00	-01	367	-20	-17	717	-27	-21	541	-40	-37	328	-46	-44
Other	19	-01	-01	22	01	01	23	03	03	41	27	24	41	20	19	21	36	36
Economic Sector																		
Government	71	03	03	53	01	00	52	36	19	110	49	23	57	45	07	31	46	12
Service	294	-00	-00	185	00	00	299	-04	-02	585	-10	-04	556	-09	01	374	-08	-01
Industrial	65	03	02	43	-04	-03	73	09	-05	116	12	-02	122	11	02	95	10	-01
Commerce	80	-02	-01	67	01	00	104	-16	-09	162	-00	-04	163	12	-04	100	03	-01
Extr-Unclass	67	-02	-02	38	01	01	95	03	09	213	-04	03	123	-08	-04	84	05	02
Soc-Pr Status																		
I, II	196	-01	-01	143	01	-00	226	-03	-05	464	12	-00	421	16	04	288	15	-00
Artisans	265	01	01	178	-10	-00	281	03	05	486	-08	02	424	-10	-03	295	-10	-01
Labourers	112	00	00	44	01	00	110	-01	-00	239	-13	-02	160	-19	-04	99	-14	03
Unclassified	4	03	-01	21	01	00	6	22	15	27	18	-07	16	41	-04	2	16	-02
Property Qual																		
Tenant	213	00	00	172	-01	-01	262	17	09	479	26	06	431	30	04	291	28	01
Property Owner	363	-00	-00	214	01	01	361	-12	-07	737	-17	-04	590	-22	-03	393	-20	-01
Not Clear	1	03	06	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Residence																		
Upper Town	332	-01	-01	239	00	00	281	00	-05	489	22	06				300	22	03
St-John	239	01	02	146	-01	-01	309	-03	03	623	-17	-04				306	-25	-03
St-Louis	1	03	01	-	-	-	33	22	18	104	00	-04				74	15	05
Unclassified	5	03	02	1	01	-00	-	-	-	-	-	-				4	-29	-29
							397											
Summary Statistics																		
Variable (eta/beta)																		
Language Aff		05/ 06			06/ 11			18/ 41			04/ 52			86/ 80			89/ 84	
Economic Sect		10/ 10			16/ 14			26/ 15			33/ 16			29/ 06			25/ 06	
Soc-Pr Status		06/ 05			10/ 02			07/ 09			26/ 04			30/ 07			26/ 03	
Property Qual		02/ 02			10/ 02			29/ 16			42/ 09			52/ 06			48/ 02	
Residence		06/ 08			05/ 06			11/ 12			37/ 10			26/ 05			46/ 08	
Number		581			386			623			1216			1021			684	
Grand Mean		0 97			0 99			0 14			0 49			0 46			0 54	
R		142			217			536			669			866			893	
R Squared		020			047			287			448			750			797	

Sources See table 5-2, p 214

*=by-election, Language Aff =Language Affiliation, Soc-Pr Status=Socio-Professional, Property Qual =Property Qualifications, Residence=Area of Residence, Extr-Unclass =Extractive and Unclassified

Table 10-19: Voting for at least one Patriot Candidate by Language Affiliation, Economic Sector, Socio-Professional Status, Property Qualifications and Area of Residence, Multiple Classification Analysis, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1827-1836

Variable	1827 N	1827 Un	1827 Adj	1834 N	1834 Un	1834 Adj	1836* N	1836* Un	1836* Adj
Language Affiliation									
Anglophone	458	- 39	- 32	439	- 31	- 28	335	- 43	- 40
Francophone	717	27	22	541	25	23	328	46	44
Other	41	- 31	- 28	41	- 00	- 01	21	- 36	- 36
Economic Sector									
Government	110	- 46	- 21	57	- 45	- 19	31	- 46	- 12
Service	585	09	04	556	06	- 01	374	08	01
Industrial	116	- 13	02	122	00	05	95	- 10	01
Commerce	162	02	05	163	- 06	02	100	- 03	01
Extractive-Unclassified	243	03	- 04	123	03	04	84	- 05	- 02
Socio-Professional Status									
I, II	464	- 11	02	421	- 09	- 01	288	- 15	00
Artisans	486	07	- 02	424	08	02	295	10	01
Labourers	239	12	01	160	06	- 02	99	14	- 03
Unclassified	27	- 48	05	16	- 49	- 08	2	- 46	02
Property Qualifications									
Tenant	479	- 27	- 07	431	- 18	- 03	291	- 28	- 01
Property Owner	737	17	04	590	13	02	393	20	01
Residence									
Upper Town	489	- 21	- 06				300	- 22	- 03
St-John	623	16	03				306	25	03
St-Louis	104	03	08				74	- 15	- 05
Unclassified	-		-				4	29	29
Summary Statistics									
Variable (eta/beta)									
Language Affiliation		64/ 53			62/ 56			89/ 84	
Economic Sector		32/ 15			27/ 11			25/ 06	
Socio-Professional Status		24/ 04			23/ 05			26/ 03	
Property Qualifications		43/ 11			36/ 07			48/ 02	
Residence		36/ 10			18/ 08			46/ 08	
Number		1216			1021			681	
Grand Mean		0 48			0 74			0 46	
R		671			643			893	
R Squared		450			411			797	

Sources See table 5-2, p 214

Conclusion

What has our dialogue with the masses revealed about political behaviour in Upper-Town Quebec? First and foremost, it is clear that a simple explanation - be it ethnic, constitutional or economic - does not suffice. A series of forces operated on the inhabitants as they considered where to live, whether to vote or what candidate to support. Our analysis suggests that the importance of socio-economic considerations cannot be denied. To a large degree they determined if constituents lived inside or outside the walls of the Old City, if they were qualified to vote, and if the enfranchised participated in the voting process. How they voted was a different matter, as ethno-cultural factors more and more determined the response on the hustings.

It is certain that a mono-causal interpretation does not describe sufficiently all the nuances of political life during a period of substantial demographic, linguistic, ethnic, economic and social transformation. As was the case in the Quebec region as a whole, changes in the economy, British military policies and immigration from the British Isles altered the demographic, ethno-cultural and socio-economic structures of Upper-Town Quebec. From 1795 to 1842, the number of inhabitants increased three and a half times and the centre of population shifted from Upper Town proper to the suburbs. At the same time, the linguistic and ethnic balance of the constituency was altered. By 1831, English-speaking residents accounted for nearly half of the population and by 1842 the Irish constituted one-third of the British community. Spatial differentiation in terms of language and ethnicity also grew in intensity. By 1831, with sixty per cent of household heads, anglophones could claim Upper Town proper and St. Louis as their own. On the other hand, St. John remained a francophone suburb. Religious distinctions also emerged: by 1831 nearly three-quarters of anglophone

Catholics resided in the suburbs, while in Upper Town proper Protestantism persisted. There was a parallel pattern in terms of country of origin: three-quarters of the Irish settled in the suburbs, while the English, Scottish and English Canadians preferred to live within the Upper-Town walls.

Spatial differentiation according to occupation, social-professional status and wealth also intensified as Upper Town proper continued to be the enclave of the elite. A very high percentage of those with government connections or with involvement in maritime commerce resided within the walls of the Old City. Despite a decreasing proportion of the total population, Upper Town proper continued to account for about eighty per cent of the socio-professional elite. At the same time, the suburbs provided shelter for a growing percentage of the lower ranks - increasing from thirty per cent in 1792 to over sixty per cent in 1842. The wealthiest constituents also remained within Upper Town proper. Seventy per cent of Upper-Town heads received assessments of £30 or greater; eighty per cent of the suburb household heads were assessed at values less than £20 per annum. The wealthiest preferred Upper Town proper which accounted for over eighty per cent of those with assessments of £50 or greater. The poorer inhabitants found their way to the suburbs which sheltered about ninety per cent of those with assessments of less than £20.

Equally substantial were the socio-economic distinctions according to language. Anglophone dominance of the government sector accentuated: it increased from about seventy per cent in 1795 to over eighty per cent in 1842. Anglophones were also overrepresented in the higher socio-professional categories: they constituted half of the household heads in the two highest categories of status. British immigration also changed the composition of the lower-status categories. By 1842, thirty per cent of artisans and over forty per cent of the labourers were anglophones. Differences in assessed values of property suggest significant discrepancies in terms of wealth: anglophone property owners were grossly overrepresented in assessment values of £50 or greater, while francophones were moderately overrepresented in the lowest categories of assessment.

The impact of the demographic, ethnic, social and economic changes went beyond determining who would reside within the walls of Upper-Town proper. A growing percentage of the populace was disenfranchised, unable to meet the minimum property qualifications. Despite the largess of the British parliament, the constituency did not have a highly politically active population. Of those who were enfranchised, only about one-third voted. Two substantial groups remained "disenfranchised" throughout this period, women and tenants. Although constituting about five to ten per cent of the property owners, women did not vote, suggesting that social barriers were at work. For male tenants, discrimination came in another form, as the £10-per-annum minimum became increasingly more difficult to meet as economic conditions deteriorated. And they were perhaps now a group more easily cajoled and manipulated by the political leadership which turned to extra-legal activities to garner an advantage at the polls.

For those who met the legal requirements, our analysis suggests that socio-economic factors go a long way in explaining who participated in the elections. A direct relationship existed between voting and status: as socio-professional status decreased, the percentage of eligible voters voting decreased. Other socio-economic considerations affected the decision to vote. Government employees and appointees, perhaps under pressure from the government, were overrepresented as voters. So too were those involved in maritime commerce, perhaps reflecting their relatively high degree of socio-professional status. Particularly influential was the owning of property. Eligible voters were overrepresented as voters and those without property underrepresented. It remains unclear, however, why certain tenants did not vote. Without rental records, we are unable to differentiate between those tenants who met the property qualifications and those who did not; consequently it is impossible to separate legal restrictions from behaviour conditioned by socio-economic considerations.

This qualification underlines the importance of recognizing that while a socio-economic explanation makes the actions of many of the Upper-Town

eligible voters comprehensible, it does not do complete justice to the intricacies and subtleties of Upper-Town politics. For example, analysis of annual assessed value of property does not reveal any kind of differentiating behaviour according to varying levels of assessments. Why did the wealthiest property owners not participate at a greater rate than the poorer property owners? More importantly, non-socio-economic factors also affected the behaviour of the eligible electorate. The differing response of francophone and anglophone tenants, for instance, suggests that language played a part. Religious considerations also had a role as anglophone Catholics voted consistently at a lower rate than anglophone Protestants. Finally we cannot dismiss completely the influence of area of residence as the product of socio-economic conditions. This suggests that where a potential voter resided in the constituency may have affected his participation in the electoral process.

The impact of language on the decision to vote was minimal. Generally the anglophone and francophone enfranchised population responded in a like fashion. In other words, by the 1820s, if not earlier, the French were not disadvantaged because of their relatively late introduction to representative government. As far as voting is a measure of political activity, the Canadiens were as politically active as the British.

On the other hand, the voting responses of the two language groups were not always the same. Indeed, ethno-cultural considerations in general increasingly affected the reaction of the voting public. However, the role of socio-economic factors should not be ignored. The same factors that largely determined where constituents lived and if they voted, also influenced how they cast their votes. Analysis of the elections results for seven of the eight polled elections held in Upper-Town Quebec from 1814 to 1836 reveals the paramount role that language played as a voting determinant: francophone voters supported francophone/Canadian-party candidates and anglophone voters sided with anglophone/Bureaucratic-party candidates. However, it is also certain that such a conclusion does not describe adequately the actions and behaviours of the Upper-Town voters. In regard to language, the

question of increasing intensity after 1810 remains problematic. Without access to individual polling results, it is impossible to determine the degree to which language considerations influenced voters prior to 1810. Furthermore, the variety of electoral options that the voting population faced makes it difficult to measure accurately whether language increased in importance as a voting determinant from 1810 to 1836. Using an index of relative importance, our analysis demonstrates that language was without a doubt the only issue in the by-election of 1836 and that language affiliation of the candidates was not an issue in the election of 1824.

It is also clear that the response of the two language groups to language considerations differed from one election to the next. For francophones, language was an important issue in 1814, but its importance lessened in 1816 and 1824. From 1827 onward, language grew in importance again, reaching a peak in the 1830s. The anglophone response to language more closely fits the hypothesis that the language issue increased and dominated the elections: with the exception of 1816, language was relatively low in importance until after 1824; it increased moderately from 1827 to 1834, and then sharpened considerably in 1836.

But language differences did not constitute the only factor affecting voters. Intricately bound to language was politics. Political affiliation clarifies Stuart's unopposed election in July 1820, his overwhelming success in 1824, and his subsequent loss of francophone support in 1827. Similarly, the political prosperity of the Bureaucratic party in the pre-1820 period was largely due to Claude Dénéchaud's ability to attract anglophone, as well as francophone, votes.

The immigration of the 1820s swelled the ranks of the anglophone electorate and both parties recognized the need not to alienate the growing Irish contingent. The Canadian party focused on the common experience of religion and minority status within the Empire, while the Bureaucratic party underlined the common bond of language and King. Unfortunately the

success of either campaign in the 1820s is difficult to surmise because of a lack of sources allowing us to filter out the Irish from the British community as a whole. However, the differential behaviour of the Protestant and Catholic anglophones in 1827 and 1829, and the splitting of the Irish Catholic votes in 1834 suggest that religion and country of origin acted upon the English-speaking electorate until the by-election of 1836.

Thus, an explanation that refers to religious as well as linguistic differences, and that recognizes the link between language and political affiliation increases our knowledge of the network of forces that shaped Upper-Town politics. Even more comprehensive is an analysis that incorporates socio-economic factors. Until the 1830s, government influence, occupational considerations, socio-professional status and wealth influenced the electoral decisions of the Upper-Town voters. Consider the members of the voting population who had occupational or appointive connections with the government. For this group, language was not an issue - it sided overwhelmingly with government-approved candidates.

There was also a link between occupation and party. In terms of local political leadership, there was a significant difference until the third decade: lawyers controlled the Canadian party, while merchants dominated the Bureaucratic party. The influence on the voter is less evident. For example, anglophone merchants did not act differently than anglophone nobles, liberal professionals, artisans, labourers and carters - all strongly favoured the Bureaucratic party. There is a discernible difference among the Canadian-party supporters, as both anglophone and francophone liberal professionals were overrepresented.

Socio-professional status also affected the electoral response of Upper-Town voters. Until the end of the 1820s, anglophone support for francophone candidates diminished as socio-professional status lessened. Concurrently, francophone support for anglophone candidates increased as status decreased. This was only evident in the elections of 1814 and 1816.

Status also influenced the electorate's response to the political affiliation of a candidate, and in particular, to the parti-canadien candidates. Prior to 1830, anglophone support for the Canadian-party decreased as socio-professional status decreased. As for the francophone voters, the greatest percentage of support for the parti-canadien was found among those from the highest-status categories.

Property ownership also influenced the electoral decisions of voters. In the second decade of the nineteenth century, anglophone and francophone tenants gave a greater degree of support to anglophone candidates than anglophone and francophone property owners did. The response to francophone/Canadian-party candidates was less conclusive, as only anglophone property owners were overrepresented as francophone supporters. There is also evidence to suggest that in some elections wealth as measured in assessment values was a factor in determining the degree of support. A case in point was the election of 1824. The Bureaucratic party was not very popular with francophone voters, but the least supportive groups were those with assessments greater than £49. As for the anglophone response to the parti canadien, support was much higher among the wealthiest residents. In 1827 and 1834, the anglophone electorate was very generous to anglophone candidates, but the highest percentage of support came from the wealthiest anglophones, that is, those with assessments of £30 or greater.

There is evidence indicating that age and area of residence may have affected the response of voters. For example, among the francophones, middle-aged voters responded differently to English-speaking candidates while their younger linguistic brethen provided the greatest percentage of relative support for the Canadian party in 1827 and 1829. Under certain circumstances, it also appears that area of residence affected the voters' reaction to the Canadian party prior to 1830. In three of the five elections, anglophones residing in Upper-Town proper were overrepresented as Canadian-party supporters. In terms of francophone voters, St. Louis residents were underrepresented as Canadian-party supporters in the three

elections in the 1820s. How influential these variables were is difficult to ascertain. Certainly these were minor considerations, but until their relationship with socio-economic factors is delineated, our conclusions concerning their importance must remain modest.

From a methodological perspective, Upper-Town Quebec was no ordinary constituency. Its crucial blend of linguistic, ethnic, religious, economic, occupational and social differences has allowed us to evaluate the interplay of a large number of potential determinants and to consider the role of socio-economic and ethno-cultural factors in explaining electoral behaviour. The riding also served as a major political battleground in the critical period leading up to the insurrections of 1837-1838. These circumstances along with the rich deposit of routinely generated sources enable us to step beyond the boundaries of this single Lower-Canadian constituency for a moment and consider the larger historiographical question of the causes of the Rebellions. The results of our study underline the weakness of a simple explication. There were too many forces at work to capture the intricacies of Lower-Canadian political life in a single brush stroke. While language and nationality came to increasingly dominate politics in the twenty years prior to 1837, other factors, particularly socio-economic considerations, were at work, affecting the decisions and actions of the masses.

Appendix A
Sources and Variables

A.1. Routinely Generated Sources

P92: Pollbook, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792

P14: Pollbook, Upper-Town Quebec, 1814

P16: Pollbook, Upper-Town Quebec, 1816

P24: Pollbook, Upper-Town Quebec, 1824

P27: Pollbook, Upper-Town Quebec, 1827

P29: Pollbook, Upper-Town Quebec, 1829

P34: Pollbook, Upper-Town Quebec, 1834

P36: Pollbook, Upper-Town Quebec, 1836

R92: Dénombrement, Parish of Quebec, 1792

R95: Dénombrement, Parish of Quebec, 1795

R18: Dénombrement, Parish of Notre Dame of Quebec, 1818

R31: Census Return, County of Quebec, 1831

R42: Census Return, County of Quebec, 1842

A24: Assessment Rolls, Quebec City, 1824

A27: Assessment Rolls, Quebec City, 1827

A29: Assessment Rolls, Quebec City, 1829

A34: Assessment Rolls, Quebec City, 1834

A36: Assessment Rolls, Quebec City, 1836

A.2. Variable Number, Variable and Column Location

1. **Identification Number** (1-5)
2. **Source** (6)
3. **Year** (7-8)
4. **Family Name** (9-18)
5. **Given Names** (19-22)
6. **Area of Residence** (23-25)
7. **Language Affiliation of Spouse** (26)
8. **Occupation** (27-31)
9. **Gender** (32)
10. **Language Affiliation** (33)
11. **Property Qualfication** (34)
12. **Date of Election: Day - Month - Year** (35-40)
13. **Returning Officers** (41) and **Poll Clerks** (42)
14. **First Candidate Voted For** (43-44) and **Second Candidate Voted For** (45-46)
15. **Entitled to Vote?** (47)
16. **Objected To** (48)
17. **Objected to By Whom** (49-50)
18. **Number of Candidates** (51)
19. **Other Qualification** (52)
20. **Marriage Status** (53)
21. **Age in Years** (54-55)
22. **Religion** (56-57)

23. **Country of Origin** (58-59)

24. **Number of Years Resident in Province** (60-61)

25. **Additional Occupational Information** (62)

26. **Annual Assessed Value of Property in £** (63-66)

27. **Number of Servants** (67-68)

28. **Number of Cattle** (69-70)

29. **Number of Horses** (71-72)

30. **Number of Pigs** (73-74)

31. **Number of Four-Wheeled Carriages** (75-76)

32. **Number of Dogs** (77-78)

A.3. Sources and Variables

Table A-1: Variables Constructed from Pollbooks, Nominative Census Returns and Assessment Rolls for Upper-Town Quebec 1792-1842

Variable	R92	P92	R95	P14	P16	R18	A24	P24	A27	P27	A29	P29	R31	A34	P34	A36	P36	R42
1.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
3.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
4.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
5.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
6.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
7.						X												
8.	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
9.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
10.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
11.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
12.		X		X	X			X		X		X			X		X	
13.		X		X	X			X		X		X			X		X	
14.		X		X	X			X		X		X			X		X	
15.																		X
16.		X		X	X			X		X		X			X		X	
17.		X		X	X			X		X		X			X		X	
18.		X		X	X			X		X		X			X		X	
19.	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
20.						X							X					X
21.						X							X					X
22.	X		X			X							X					X
23.													X					X
24.																		X
25.													X					X
26.							X		X		X			X		X		
27.	X		X			X							X					X
28.													X					X
29.							X		X		X		X	X		X		X
30.													X					X
31.							X		X		X			X		X		
32.							X		X		X			X		X		

Sources: For description of sources see A.1.
For description of variables see section A.2.

Appendix B
Linking the Data

B.1. The Linking Process

The key to this quantitative analysis of voting participation and voting behaviour in Upper-Town Quebec is the linking of the individuals found in the eighteen routinely generated sources. This study opted for a letter-by-letter comparative algorithm in response to the linguistic complexities of the Upper-Town population.[323] It rejected such language-specific systems as the Russell Soundex Code, the Henry code and FONEM since they were designed

[323]This discussion of the linking process is largely drawn from: David De Brou and Mark Olsen, "The Guth Algorithm and the Nominal Record Linkage of Multi-Ethnic Populations," Historical Methods, 19(Winter 1986): 20-24.

for either the French or English language, but not both.[324]

Facing the tedious task of hand linking thousands of individuals, we looked for an automated means of linking the francophone and anglophone populace accurately and efficiently. Specifically, this study uses the Guth algorithm which depends on the relative position of letters within a word, rather than on phonetic similarity.[325] A computer program incorporating the Guth algorithm[326] was able to match correctly the names of individuals with slight variations in spelling caused by vowel replacement (Evantourel, Eventurel and Eventourel), consonant replacement (Lepre, Lebr and Letre) and consonant doubling (Maufet and Mauffet; and Morrison and Morrisson). The algorithm was also able to match correctly names with very different spellings (Sincere and St.-Cyre), alternative spellings (Louis and Lewis;

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[324]For a discussion of the Russell Soundex code see: L. Davidson, "Retrieval of Misspelled Names in an Airline Passenger Record System," Communications of the Association of Computing Machinery, 5(July-Aug. 1972): 169-171; Michael Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth City (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1975); Michael Katz and John Tiller, "Record Linkage for Everyman: A Semi-Automated Process," Historical Methods Newsletter, 5(1972): 144-150; Howard B. Newcombe, "Couplage de données pour les études démographiques," Population, 24(1969): 653-684; H. B. Newcombe, "Record Linkage: The Design of Efficient Systems for Linking Records into Individual and Family Histories," American Journal of Human Genetics, 19(1967): 335-359; Ian Winchester, "The Linkage of Historical Records by Man and Computer: Techniques and Problems," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 1(1970-1971): 115-117. For a description of the Henry Code and its use by Canadian social scientists see: Louis Henry, "Projet de transcription phonétique des noms de famille," Annales de démographie historique, (1976): 201-14; Jacques Légaré, Yoland Lavoie and Hubert Charbonneau, "The Early Canadian Population: Problems in Automated Record Linkages," Canadian Historical Review, 53(Dec. 1972): 427-42; Pierre Beauchamp, H. Charbonneau and Y. Lavoie, "Reconstitution automatique des familles par le programme 'Hochelega,'" Population, 28(Jan.-Feb. 1973): 39-58. In regard to FONEM, see: Gérard Bouchard and Christian Pouyez, "Name Variations and Computerized Record linkage," Historical Methods, 13(Spring 1980): 119-25; and Gérard Bouchard, Patrick Brard and Yolande Lavoie,"FONEM: Un code de transcription phonétique pour la reconstitution automatique des familles sauquenayennes," Population, (1981): 1085-104.

[325]Gloria J. Guth, "Surname Spellings and Computerized Record Linkage," Historical Methods Newsletter, 10(Dec. 1976): 10-19.

[326]Mark Olsen wrote the program using the SNOBOL4+ interpreter on am IBM-PC compatible microcomputer. The program was then uploaded to the mainframe at the Univerity of Ottawa.

Gignac and Jignac) and coding and transcription mistakes: (Acket and Hacket; Boutier and Routier; and Garwood and Yarwood). It was also able to match non-anglophone and non-francophone names (Stopbleben, Stoppleban and Stoppleben).

It was not enough to match the family name of an individual. This study's automated linkage program also included a simple weighting system. This system accorded points to four items: the family name with an identical match received 40 points and a non-identical match 35 points; the first name received 30 points; the residential location 15 points; and occupation 15 points. A total of 75 points was required to produce a correct match. In this way, a match could only occur when the family name, given name and at least one other item matched.[327]

B.2. The Data Set

The linking of the eighteen sources allowed for the creation of a very large data set which included close to thirteen thousand individuals. The focus of this study is political participation and behaviour; therefore, each case consists of eight lines of data, one line for each of the election for which a pollbook is available: 1792, 1814, 1816, 1824, 1827, 1829, 1834 and 1836. To maximize the amount of information for each individual, a computer program gleamed as much information from the eighteen different sources: the eight pollbooks, the three dénombrements, the two nominative census returns and the five assessment rolls. The following seven examples will demonstrate the usefulness of such a process.

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[327]For discussion of other weighting systems see: Winchester, "The Linkage of Historical Records," 117-122.

B.2.1. James Black

```
1087P02BLACK      JM   69       10      92   31          4
1087R18BLACK      JQ   69  19041101                      2    5                        R
1087P16BLACK      JM   69  1904110122  316214435         3
1087P24BLACK      JM   69  19041101 2  824351839         3                      108       1
1087P27BLACK      JM   69  19041101 7  827353918         4  299  2      1      100       1R
1087A29BLACK      JM    7  19041101                                             120       2
1087P34BLACK      JM   69  1904110123103467390 01         3  299  235    1      256  2    2R
1087P36BLACK      JM   69  1904110123 3366 39            2                      251       2
```

James [JM] Black appears in fourteen different sources. Black participated in the elections of 1792, 1816, 1824, 1827, 1834 and 1836. A merchant [19041], living on St. Anne St. [69], Black was a consistent supporter of Andrew Stuart [39], carrying his banner on four different occasions. The letter "R" at the end of the P27 and P34 indicates that Black also was counted in the dénombrement of 1818 and the census returns of 1831 and 1842. From these three sources, we learn that Black was a member of the Church of England [2] and was either Irish or more generally British Canadian [35]. The assessment rolls suggest that Black led a comfortable life with annual assessed values increasing from £108 in 1824 to £256 in 1834.

B.2.2. Pierre Bourassa

```
1113P14BOURASSA   PR  11515763411114 414341737        3  141  1                        R

1113P24BOURASSA   PR  115 5763411130 7243532 0        4   51                  27
1113P27BOURASSA   PR  115 57634111 8 827353918        4   54                  27
1113P29BOURASSA   PR  115 5763411125 6293544          26  56                  60
1113P34BOURASSA   P    39 576341112310346739140       3  161  1  1            13        R
1113P36BOURASSA   PR  130 5763411123 3366 39          2   83                   5
```

Pierre [PR] Bourassa was a gunsmith [57634] who lived in the suburb of St. John [115, 130], probably on St. John Street [39]. He voted in six elections: in 1814, he supported Claude Dénéchaud [17] and George Browne [37]; in 1824 he plumped for Francis Ward Primrose [32]; in 1827 he sided with Stuart [39] and Joseph-Rémi Vallières de St. Réal [18]; in the by-election of 1829, he favoured George Vanfelson [44]; in 1834 he split his

votes between Stuart and René-Edouard Caron [14]; and in the election of 1836 he helped Stuart to regain his Upper-Town seat. From the documents of 1818 and 1842, we know that Bourassa was Canadian-born [1], Roman Catholic [1] and forty-one years old in 1814.

B.2.3. Christian Hoffman

```
7004R18OFMAN      NG  130 19041190                    2   5          1     R

7004A24HOFFMAN    CS  130      191                                  202
7004P27HOFFMAN    CS  115 21021191 8 827353918     4 130 1   7      294     1 R
7004A29HOFFMAN    CS   52 21021191                                  459     1
7004P34HOFFMAN    CS   39 190411912210346739140   3 9301329   1     964 1     R
7004P36HOFFMAN    CS   42 2232219122 3366 39      26                800
```

Christian [CS] Hoffman's name is recorded in eleven different sources from 1818 to 1836. Hoffman was a merchant [19041], specifically a grocer [21021] who eventually specialized in tobacco [22322]. He owned a number of properties within Upper-Town proper [115, 130], including a residence on Couillard Street [52] and on des Pauvres [42]. Another Stuart [39] supporter, Hoffman voted in the elections of 1827, 1834 and 1836. Hoffman was very wealthy with total assessments of over £964 in 1834. The census of 1831 and 1842 reveal that Hoffman was between the ages of twenty-nine and sixty. Less clear is his religious affiliation. In 1818 he was recorded as a Protestant [5], in 1831 as a Catholic [1] and in 1842 as an Episcopal Methodist [13].

B.2.4. Jacques Bédard

```
14095R18BEDARD      JQ  1291500231 11                          150 1                  R

14095P248EDARD      JQ  115 50023111 2 824351839      4  56           15
14095A278EDARD      JQ  129      111                   7                20

14095A348EDARD      JQ  129 91860111                                    5
```

Jacques [JQ] Bédard, a carpenter [50023] and a joiner [51023], owned property on St. Gabriel Street [129] in the suburb of St. John [115]. Bédard is an example of a property owner with modest assessments of £18 and £20 who only voted in one election between 1824 and 1834. At the age of of sixty-six, Bédard was described in the assessment rolls of 1834 as a proprietor [91860]: his property was assessed at £5.

B.2.5. Joseph Déguise

```
1271R18DEGUISE    XJO   133       110                      229  1                  R

1271P27DEGUISE      JO   115 5152311013 8273517 0 1393 238  1          0    1   R
1271A29DEGUISE      JO   135 51523110                                  0
1271A34DEGUISE      JO   150 51523110              0      230  1  1     0        R
1271A36DEGUISE      JO   116 51523110                                  0
```

Joseph [JO] Déguise was a tenant [0] who participated in one election in the period from 1818 to 1836. A mason [51523], Déguise rented property in the suburbs. In 1829, he lived on St. Olivier Street [135]. In 1834, he was located at St. Augustin [150] in the suburb of St. Louis. By 1836, he had moved back to St. John, finding shelter on St. Joseph Street [116].

B.2.6. Widow Salgé

13304R18SALGE	NG	176157024011			13	1				R
13304A24SALGER	NG	113	011		1		367			
13304A27SALGE	NG	128	011		1399	1	406	1	1	R
13304A29SALGE	NG	128	011		1		539		1	
13304A34SALDGE	DA	130	011		1		443		1	
13304A36SALGUE	DA	15	011		1		307			

The widow [3] Salgé, whose husband had been a blacksmith [57024], is present in seven sources. Residing in the suburbs, she held property on Nouvelle [113], St. John's road [128] and Carrières [176]. Despite the very high level of assessment (from £307 to £539), the Dame [DA] Salgé does not appear in any of the pollbooks.

Appendix C
The Code Book

C.1. Variables, Codes and Column Position

1. **Identification Number** (1-5)

2. **Source** (6)

   P: Pollbook
   R: Census Return\Recensement\Dénombrement
   A: Assessment Roll\Rôle d'évaluation

3. **Year** (7-8)

   92. 1792
   95. 1795
   18. 1818
   24. 1824
   27. 1827
   29. 1829
   31. 1831
   34. 1834
   36. 1836
   42. 1842

4. **Family Name** (9-18)

5. **Given Names** (19-22)

   See Appendix D.

6. **Area of Residence** (23-25)

   See Appendix E.

7. **Language Affiliation of Spouse** (26)

0. anglophone
1. francophone
9. not clear/not known

8. **Occupation** (27-31)

See Appendix F.

9. **Gender** (32)

0. Female
1. Male
2. Not Clear

10. **Language Affiliation** (33)

0. anglophone
1. francophone
9. not clear/not known

11. **Property Qualfication** (34)

0. locataire/tenant
1. propriétaire/property owner
2. illegible
9. not given

12. **Date of Election: Day - Month - Year** (35-40)

13. **Returning Officers** (41) and **Poll Clerks** (42)

1. Ed. Glackmeyer
2. F. Durette
3. W. F. Scott
4. Pierre Gagnon
5. W. Patrick Lawler
6. J.B. Lindsay (W.B?)
7. B. Pouliot

14. **First Candidate Voted For** (43-44) and **Second Candidate Voted For** (45-46)

0. Did not use second vote
10. Perrault, Joseph-François
12. Berthelot, Amable
13. Duval, François-Joseph
14. Caron, René-Edouard

15. Painchaud, Joseph
16. Panet, Jean-Antoine
17. Dénéchaud, Claude
18. Vallières de St. Réal, Joseph-Rémi
31. Grant, William
32. Primrose, Francis Ward
35. Fletcher, John
37. Browne, George
39. Stuart, Andrew
44. Vanfelson, George
90. William Grant's opponents

15. **Entitled to Vote?** (47)

1. yes
2. no

16. **Objected To** (48)

0. Did not vote
1. Objected to
2. Crossed out
3. Withdrew/ Retired & Crossed Out
4. Withdrew/ Retired
5. Refused to take oath

17. **Objected to By Whom** (49-50)

10. Perrault, Joseph-François
12. Berthelot, Amable
13. Duval, François-Joseph
14. Caron, René-Edouard
15. Painchaud, Joseph
16. Panet, Jean-Antoine
17. Dénéchaud, Claude
18. Vallières de St. Réal, Joseph-Rémi
32. Primrose, Francis Ward
35. Fletcher, John
37. Browne, George
39. Stuart, Andrew
44. Vanfelson, George
89. Vallières and Stuart
92. Berthelot & Stuart

18. **Number of Candidates** (51)

19. **Other Qualification** (52)

1. Veuve/veuf/widow/widower
2. mlle./vielle fille/desmoisselles/spinster
3. vieille dame
4. écuyer
5. garçon
6. junior/cadet/fils
7. senior/père/ainé
8. absent
9. la femme de/madame/Mrs.

20. **Marriage Status** (53)

1. married
2. single
3. widow/veuve

21. **Age in Years** (54-55)
For Census of 1831 and 1842
Male
14. Equal to or Greater than 14, less than 18
18. Equal to or Greater than 18, less than 21
21. Equal to or Greater than 21, less than 30
30. Equal to or Greater than 30, less than 60
60. Equal to or Greater than 60
99. Not Given or Illegible

Female
10. Less than 14
14. Equal to or Greater than 14, less than 45
45. Equal to or Greater than 45
99. Not Given or Illegible

22. **Religion** (56-57)

1. R.C./Roman Catholic/Church of Rome
2. Church of England/Eglise de l'Angleterre
3. Church of Scotland/Eglise d'Ecosse
4. England/Scotland/Catholic
5. Protestant
6. England/Scotland
7. England/Catholic
8. Scotland/Catholic
9. British Wesleyan/Catholic
10. Methodist
11. British Wesleyan Methodists
12. Canadian Wesleyan Methodists

13. Episcopal Methodists
14. British Wesleyan/English
15. British Wesleyan/Scot
16. English/Scot/British Wesleyan
17. Congregationalist or Independent/British Wesleyan
18. English/Catholic/British Wesleyan
20. Presbyteria(e)ns (not connected with Church of Scotland)
21. Congregationalist(e)s or Independents
22. Presbyterians & Congregationalists, 1831
24. Congregationalist or Independent/Scot
25. Presbyterian (not connected w. Ch of Scot/Catholic
26. Congregationalist or Independent/Anabaptist/Baptist
30. Baptists/Baptistes, 1831
31. Baptists & Anabaptists
40. Jews
50. Other
51. Lutherans
52. Quakers
53. Moravians & Tunkers
54. Dutch Reformed Church
98. Page Missing
99. Missing, Illegible

23. **Country of Origin** (58-59)

1. Canada, French origin
2. Canada, British origin
3. Not indicated=Canada (1831)?
4. Canada, French/British
10. England/Angloise
11. Ireland/Irish
12. Scotland/écossais
13. United Kingdom (depuis 1825, by sea), 183
13. British (1842)
14. United Kingdom (depuis, 1825), 1831
20. Foreign Country/foreigner (1)
21. United States
22. français
23. champenoise
24. German/allemand
25. hollandais/Hollande
26. hongrois/bohémien
28. Turc
29. Europe
30. English/Irish
31. English/Scot
32. English/Canadian British

33. Scot/Irish
34. Scot/Canadian British
35. Irish/Canadian British
36. English/Irish/Canadian British
37. Irish/Scot/Canadian British
38. English/Scot/Canadian British
39. English/U.S.A.
40. Canadian French/Europe
41. Canadian French/Irish
42. Irish/Europe
43. Irish/Europe/Canadian British
44. Irish/Canadian French
45. English/Irish/Europe
46. U.S.A./Canadian British
47. Irish/U.S.A.
48. English/Irish/U.S.A.
49. English/Scot/U.S.A.
50. English/Europe
51. Canadian British/Europe
52. Canadian French/Scot.

24. **Number of Years Resident in Province** (60-61)

25. **Additional Occupational Information** (62)

1. commerce/négoce/engaged in trade or commerce
2. aumônes/subsisting on alms or paupers
3. auberges/maisons d'entretien/taverns/ houses of public entertainment
4. magazines - liqueurs fortes/ stores where spirituous liquors sold
5. tanneries or saw mills
6. 1 + 3
7. 1 + 4
8. 1 + 5
9. 1+2/2+3

26. **Annual Assessed Value of Property in £** (63-66)

27. **Number of Servants** (67-68)

28. **Number of Cattle** (69-70)

29. **Number of Horses** (71-72)

30. **Number of Pigs** (73-74)

31. **Number of Four-Wheeled Carriages** (75-76)

32. **Number of Dogs** (77-78)

Appendix D
Categorization of Given Names

Ideally a study in which names are crucial to the linking process should assign sufficient spacing for complete spelling of two given names. At the beginning of our study, in response to space limitations in a 80-column card, we opted for a two-letter code for each given name. It became clear eventually that this was too restrictive to cover all the possibilities of francophone or anglophone male and female given names.[328] A more acceptable compromise of efficiency and accuracy is a coding system which includes the first letter of the given name and two numbers (for example, A12 represents Aaron).

[328]For a list of given names from seventeenth-century Canada, see: Hubert Charbonneau and André Larose, eds., Du manuscrit à l'ordinateur. Dépouillement des registres paroissaux aux fins de l'exploitation automatique (Quebec: Government of Quebec, 1980?), 89-93.

D.1. Alphabetical Categorization of Given Names

	A	AT	Augustus
AO	Aaron		
AB	Abraham		B
AA	Adam	BP	Baptiste
AD	Adelaide	BR	Barnard
AP	Adolphe	BA	Barnett
AP	Adolphus	BR	Barney
AK	Agathe	BY	Baroney
AE	Albert	BT	Barthélemy
AX	Alexander	BT	Barthelemew
AX	Alexandre	BZ	Basile
AX	Alexis	BZ	Bazile
AF	Alfred	BL	Beloni
AL	Alice	BN	Benjamin
AL	Allan	BE	Benoit
AL	Allard	BB	Bernabe
AL	Allen	BR	Bernard
AF	Alphred	WM	Bill
AM	Amable	BV	Bonaventure
AM	Amand	BA	Brian
AZ	Ambroise	BG	Brigette
AS	Amos	BO	Bruno
AJ	Anderson	BA	Bryan
AD	André	BU	Butler
AW	Andrew	BA	Byran
AC	Angélique		
AC	Angèle		C
NG	Angus	CC	Cécile
AY	Anicet	CX	Célestin
AN	Ann	CP	Campbelle
AY	Annisette	CP	Campble
AX	Anselm	CE	Caroline
AN	Anthony	CA	Catherine
AN	Antoine	CB	Cercbd [?]
AN	Antoinette	CC	Ceriac
AR	Archibald	CH	Charles
AV	Arnauld	CH	Charlotte
AV	Arnault	CV	Chevalier
AV	Arnold	CT	Chrétien
AH	Arthur	CS	Christian
AI	Athénas	CR	Christie
AI	Athanas	CR	Christoffer
AU	Aubert	CR	Christophe
AT	Auguste	CR	Christopher
AG	Augustin	CF	Cifroi

CM	Clément
CK	Clark
CD	Claude
CM	Clement
CL	Colin
CL	Collin
CN	Conrad
CN	Constance
CZ	Cormack
CO	Cornelius
CC	Cottrel
CL	Cullen
CU	Cuthbert
CY	Cyette
CY	Cyriaque
	D
DD	Damase
DE	Damase
DA	Dame
DL	Dandale
DN	Danial
DN	Daniel
DS	Danis
DR	Darbuael
DB	Darby
DV	David
DV	Davis
DL	Delisle
DS	Denis
DS	Dennis
DS	Denys
DI	Dieudonne
DL	Docile
DM	Dominic
DM	Dominique
DO	Donald
DO	Donel
DG	Douglas
DU	Dunbar
DC	Duncan
	E
ED	Edmund
ED	Edouard
ED	Edward
EN	Edwin
EX	Eléonore
EX	Eleonore
EL	Elias
EL	Elie
EL	Elisha
EZ	Elizabeth
EE	Elizha
EZ	Elizus
EO	Elliot
EE	Elzeand
EE	Elzear
EM	Emanuel
EM	Emanuele
EI	Emile
EP	Ephrain
EP	Ephreme
ER	Errol
ET	Etienne
EU	Eugene
EB	Eusebe
EH	Eustache
EV	Evrett
EW	Ewen
	F
FL	Félix
FB	Fabien
F	Fanaat
FE	Farnand
FY	Fay
FN	Fenton
FA	Ferdinand
FO	Fereol
FF	Feret
FE	Fernand
FI	Field
FN	Finley
FM	Firmin
FZ	Fitzgerald
FV	Flavien
FT	Fleurant
FU	Fleurie
FU	Fleury
FT	Florant
FD	Frédéric
FR	François
FR	Francis

FD Frederick

G

GB Gabriel
GE Garret
GS Gaspard
GN Geneviève
GN Genois
GR George
GR Georges
GL Gerald
GM Germain
GV Gervais
GA Gilbert
GI Girard
GF Godfroi
GF Godfroy
GD Gordian
GD Gordon
GG Grégoire
GT Grant
GY Gray
GY Grey
GU Guillaume
GG Guillin
GJ Guillin
GZ Gustave

H

HM Hamilton
HD Hammond
HH Hanna
HH Hannah
HI Hardy
HA Harper
HV Harvey
HC Hector
HE Hedley
HN Henri
HN Henri
HT Henrietta
HN Henry
HN Henry
HR Herbert
HL Hilaire
HL Hilairion
HS Honise
HS Honisette
HO Honoré
HT Horatius
HB Hubert
HX Huddley
HG Hugh
HG Hughes
HU Hurbin
HY Hyacinthe
HP Hypolite

I

IG Ignace
IS Isaac
IB Isabella
II Isai
II Isau
ID Isidore
IL Israël
IL Israel
IN Ivan
IV Ives

J

JR Jérôme
JB Jacob
JQ Jacques
JM James
JN Jane
JN Janet
JE Jasper
JN Jean
JN Jeanne
JY Jeffery
JK Jenkins
JI Jeremiah
JI Jeremy
JC Joachim
JH Johan
JH John
JT Jonathan
JO Joseph
JP Josephte
JS Joshua
JA Josiah
JA Josiash
JV Jovain

JU	Juchereau
JL	Julien
JJ	Jurn [?]
	K
KB	Kable
KR	Kcran
KB	Keable
KM	Kenelm
KN	Kenneth
KL	Kilury
KO	Konnor
	L
LD	Léandre
LG	Léger
LN	Léon
LC	Lacie
LM	Lambert
LT	Lant
LH	Laugh
LH	Laughin
LR	Laurent
LY	Laurey
LR	Lawrence
LZ	Lazare
LZ	Lazime
LP	Lepherin
LL	Leslie
LW	Lewis
LB	Liberal
LD	Lindsay
LE	Lisette
LE	Lizette
LS	Louis
LS	Louise
LI	Lubin
LC	Luc
LC	Lucerin
	M
MM	Maciman
MG	Magdeline
ML	Magloire
MO	Malcam
MO	Malcom
ML	Manuel
MD	Maradoth
MK	Marc
MK	Marcelle
MK	Marck
MG	Margaret
MG	Margarite
ME	Marianne
MA	Marie
MA	Marin
MK	Mark
MM	Marshall
MT	Martha
MN	Martin
MA	Mary
MS	Massug
MT	Mathew
MT	Mathieu
ML	Mathilde
MT	Mathurin
MR	Maurice
MX	Maximile
MX	Maximilien
MD	Meredeth
MD	Meredith
MV	Mervin
MY	Meyse
MC	Michael
MC	Michel
MW	Miles
MX	Modeste
MY	Moise
MQ	Monique
MI	Morin
MI	Morris
MI	Morrison
MZ	Moses
MY	Moyse
MU	Murdoch
MP	Murphy
	N
NR	Narcisse
NT	Nathaniel
NE	Neil
NE	Neilson
NP	Neptune
NC	Nicholas

NC	Nicole
NL	Noël
NO	Noah
NU	Norman
NU	Normandeau
NG	Not Given
NZ	Nozaire
	O
OD	Odillon
OK	Okill
OL	Oliver
OL	Olivier
OY	Olympe
ON	Onésime
OS	Oswald
OW	Owan
OW	Owen
OW	Owen
	P
PC	Pascal
PC	Pashcal
PE	Pate
PK	Patrick
PA	Patris
PA	Patry
PL	Paul
PO	Peitro
PG	Pélagie
PT	Peter
PH	Philip
PH	Philippe
PI	Pierre
PR	Pierre
PP	Plisha
PS	Prisque
PP	Propère
	Q
	R
RN	René
RR	Raby
RC	Rachel
RR	Raimond
RY	Raimsley
RL	Ralph
RY	Ramsay
RP	Raphaël
RR	Raymond
RB	Rebecca
RS	Régis
RS	Régisse
RT	Régistre
RI	Reine
RM	Rémi
RM	Remist
RD	Remuald
RM	Rémy
RD	Renold
RC	Richard
RH	Right
RB	Robert
RO	Roch
RO	Rochet
RK	Roderick
RK	Rody
RG	Roger
RO	Romain
RA	Ronald
RE	Rose
	S
SS	Salemon
SS	Salmon
SA	Salt
SL	Samuel
SY	Sandy
SR	Sarah
SV	Sauveur
SX	Saxton
SB	Scribner
S	Sebert
SI	Séraphin
SG	Serge
SG	Sergent
SC	Seriac
SS	Shanesy
SM	Simeon
SM	Simon
SP	Simpson
SC	Siriac
SO	Sopha

SO	Sophie
SN	Stanislas
ST	Stephen
SH	Stephen
ST	Steven
SW	Stewart
SY	Sylvente
	T
TI	Tacite
TB	Tarby
TP	Téophil
TP	Téophile
TE	Terrence
TA	Thaddeus
TA	Thadius
TD	Theodore
TD	Théodore
TP	Theophilus
TM	Theotime
TR	Therese
TH	Thomas
TT	Thorton
TY	Timothy
TY	Timothye
TU	Titus
TO	Torrence
TS	Toussaint
TC	Tracy
TR	Truth
	U
UL	Ulfran
UB	Urbain
UR	Ursule
	V
VS	Vassalde
VN	Venant
VD	Venerande
VN	Venerente
VR	Verroy
VC	Victor
VE	Vincent
VI	Vistos
VT	Vital
	W
WL	Walter
WA	Ward
WB	Webb
WC	Wilcocke
WM	William
WN	Wintwoth
WO	Wolf
WS	Woolsey
	X
XV	Xavier
	Y
YV	Yves
	Z
ZC	Zacharie
ZC	Zachary
ZP	Zepherin
ZO	Zoë

D.2. Alphabetical Categorization of Codes for Given Names

A	
AA	Adam
AB	Abraham
AC	Angélique
AC	Angèle
AD	André
AD	Adelaide
AE	Albert
AF	Alphred
AF	Alfred
AG	Augustin
AH	Arthur
AI	Athénas
AI	Athanas
AJ	Anderson
AK	Agathe
AL	Allan
AL	Alice
AL	Allen
AL	Allard
AM	Amable
AM	Amand
AN	Antoine
AN	Antoinette
AN	Ann
AN	Anthony
AO	Aaron
AP	Adolphus
AP	Adolphe
AR	Archibald
AS	Amos
AT	Augustus
AT	Auguste
AU	Aubert
AV	Arnauld
AV	Arnold
AV	Arnault
AW	Andrew
AX	Alexandre
AX	Alexis
AX	Anselm
AX	Alexander
AY	Annisette
AY	Anicet
AZ	Ambroise
B	
BA	Byran
BA	Bryan
BA	Barnett
BA	Brian
BB	Bernabe
BE	Benoit
BG	Brigette
BL	Beloni
BN	Benjamin
BO	Bruno
BP	Baptiste
BR	Barnard
BR	Bernard
BR	Barney
BT	Barthélemy
BT	Barthelemew
BU	Butler
BV	Bonaventure
BY	Baroney
BZ	Basile
BZ	Bazile
C	
CA	Catherine
CB	Cercbd [?]
CC	Cottrel
CC	Ceriac
CC	Cécile
CD	Claude
CE	Caroline
CF	Cifroi
CH	Charles
CH	Charlotte
CK	Clark
CL	Collin
CL	Cullen
CL	Colin
CM	Clement
CM	Clément
CN	Constance
CN	Conrad

CO	Cornelius
CP	Campble
CP	Campbelle
CR	Christopher
CR	Christoffer
CR	Christophe
CR	Christie
CS	Christian
CT	Chrétien
CU	Cuthbert
CV	Chevalier
CX	Célestin
CY	Cyriaque
CY	Cyette
CZ	Cormack
D	
DA	Dame
DB	Darby
DC	Duncan
DD	Damase
DE	Damase
DG	Douglas
DI	Dieudonne
DL	Delisle
DL	Dandale
DL	Docile
DM	Dominic
DM	Dominique
DN	Daniel
DN	Danial
DO	Donel
DO	Donald
DR	Darbuael
DS	Denis
DS	Dennis
DS	Danis
DS	Denys
DU	Dunbar
DV	David
DV	Davis
E	
EB	Eusebe
ED	Edward
ED	Edouard
ED	Edmund
EE	Elzear
EE	Elzeand
EE	Elizha
EH	Eustache
EI	Emile
EL	Elie
EL	Elias
EL	Elisha
EM	Emanuel
EM	Emanuele
EN	Edwin
EO	Elliot
EP	Ephreme
EP	Ephrain
ER	Errol
ET	Etienne
EU	Eugene
EV	Evrett
EW	Ewen
EX	Eléonore
EX	Eleonore
EZ	Elizabeth
EZ	Elizus
F	
F	Fanaat
FA	Ferdinand
FB	Fabien
FD	Frédéric
FD	Frederick
FE	Fernand
FE	Farnand
FF	Feret
FI	Field
FL	Félix
FM	Firmin
FN	Finley
FN	Fenton
FO	Fereol
FR	François
FR	Francis
FT	Florant
FT	Fleurant
FU	Fleurie
FU	Fleury
FV	Flavien
FY	Fay

FZ	Fitzgerald
G	
GA	Gilbert
GB	Gabriel
GD	Gordian
GD	Gordon
GE	Garret
GF	Godfroy
GF	Godfroi
GG	Grégoire
GG	Guillin
GI	Girard
GJ	Guillin
GL	Gerald
GM	Germain
GN	Geneviève
GN	Genois
GR	George
GR	Georges
GS	Gaspard
GT	Grant
GU	Guillaume
GV	Gervais
GY	Grey
GY	Gray
GZ	Gustave
H	
HA	Harper
HB	Hubert
HC	Hector
HD	Hammond
HE	Hedley
HG	Hughes
HG	Hugh
HH	Hannah
HH	Hanna
HI	Hardy
HL	Hilaire
HL	Hilairion
HM	Hamilton
HN	Henry
HN	Henri
HN	Henri
HN	Henry
HO	Honoré
HP	Hypolite
HR	Herbert
HS	Honise
HS	Honisette
HT	Henrietta
HT	Horatius
HU	Hurbin
HV	Harvey
HX	Huddley
HY	Hyacinthe
I	
IB	Isabella
ID	Isidore
IG	Ignace
II	Isau
II	Isai
IL	Israël
IL	Israel
IN	Ivan
IS	Isaac
IV	Ives
J	
JA	Josiah
JA	Josiash
JB	Jacob
JC	Joachim
JE	Jasper
JH	John
JH	Johan
JI	Jeremy
JI	Jeremiah
JJ	Jurn [?]
JK	Jenkins
JL	Julien
JM	James
JN	Jean
JN	Jane
JN	Janet
JN	Jeanne
JO	Joseph
JP	Josephte
JQ	Jacques
JR	Jérôme
JS	Joshua
JT	Jonathan

JU	Juchereau
JV	Jovain
JY	Jeffery
K	
KB	Keable
KB	Kable
KL	Kilury
KM	Kenelm
KN	Kenneth
KO	Konnor
KR	Kcran
L	
LB	Liberal
LC	Luc
LC	Lacie
LC	Lucerin
LD	Léandre
LD	Lindsay
LE	Lisette
LE	Lizette
LG	Léger
LH	Laugh
LH	Laughin
LI	Lubin
LL	Leslie
LM	Lambert
LN	Léon
LP	Lepherin
LR	Lawrence
LR	Laurent
LS	Louise
LS	Louis
LT	Lant
LW	Lewis
LY	Laurey
LZ	Lazime
LZ	Lazare
M	
MA	Marin
MA	Mary
MA	Marie
MC	Michael
MC	Michel
MD	Meredeth
MD	Meredith
MD	Maradoth
ME	Marianne
MG	Margaret
MG	Margarite
MG	Magdeline
MI	Morrison
MI	Morin
MI	Morris
MK	Marck
MK	Mark
MK	Marcelle
MK	Marc
ML	Manuel
ML	Mathilde
ML	Magloire
MM	Marshall
MM	Maciman
MN	Martin
MO	Malcom
MO	Malcam
MP	Murphy
MQ	Monique
MR	Maurice
MS	Massug
MT	Mathew
MT	Mathurin
MT	Mathieu
MT	Martha
MU	Murdoch
MV	Mervin
MW	Miles
MX	Modeste
MX	Maximile
MX	Maximilien
MY	Meyse
MY	Moyse
MY	Moise
MZ	Moses
N	
NC	Nicholas
NC	Nicole
NE	Neilson
NE	Neil
NG	Not Given
NG	Angus

NL Noël
NO Noah
NP Neptune
NR Narcisse
NT Nathaniel
NU Norman
NU Normandeau
NZ Nozaire

O
OD Odillon
OK Okill
OL Oliver
OL Olivier
ON Onésime
OS Oswald
OW Owen
OW Owen
OW Owan
OY Olympe

P
PA Patry
PA Patris
PC Pascal
PC Pashcal
PE Pate
PG Pélagie
PH Philip
PH Philippe
PI Pierre
PK Patrick
PL Paul
PO Peitro
PP Propère
PP Plisha
PR Pierre
PS Prisque
PT Peter

R
RA Ronald
RB Robert
RB Rebecca
RC Richard
RC Rachel
RD Renold
RD Remuald
RE Rose
RG Roger
RH Right
RI Reine
RK Roderick
RK Rody
RL Ralph
RM Rémi
RM Remist
RM Rémy
RN René
RO Rochet
RO Romain
RO Roch
RP Raphaël
RR Raby
RR Raimond
RR Raymond
RS Régis
RS Régisse
RT Régistre
RY Ramsay
RY Raimsley

S
S Sebert
SA Salt
SB Scribner
SC Seriac
SC Siriac
SG Sergent
SG Serge
SH Stephen
SI Séraphin
SL Samuel
SM Simon
SM Simeon
SN Stanislas
SO Sopha
SO Sophie
SP Simpson
SR Sarah
SS Shanesy
SS Salmon
SS Salemon
ST Steven

ST	Stephen
SV	Sauveur
SW	Stewart
SX	Saxton
SY	Sandy
SY	Sylvente
T	
TA	Thadius
TA	Thaddeus
TB	Tarby
TC	Tracy
TD	Theodore
TD	Théodore
TE	Terrence
TH	Thomas
TI	Tacite
TM	Theotime
TO	Torrence
TP	Téophile
TP	Theophilus
TP	Téophil
TR	Therese
TR	Truth
TS	Toussaint
TT	Thorton
TU	Titus
TY	Timothy
TY	Timothye
U	
UB	Urbain
UL	Ulfran
UR	Ursule
V	
VC	Victor
VD	Venerande
VE	Vincent
VI	Vistos
VN	Venant
VN	Venerente
VR	Verroy
VS	Vassalde
VT	Vital
W	
WA	Ward
WB	Webb
WC	Wilcocke
WL	Walter
WM	William
WM	Bill
WN	Wintwoth
WO	Wolf
WS	Woolsey
X	
XV	Xavier
Y	
YV	Yves
Z	
ZC	Zachary
ZC	Zacharie
ZO	Zoë
ZP	Zepherin

Appendix E
Categorization of Area of Residence

For our analysis of area of residence, we divided the constituency into three areas: Upper-Town proper (1-92); the suburb of St. John (110-149); and the suburb of St. Louis (150-199). The major methodological problem lay in ascertaining the location of the streets. For this purpose we relied upon the information provided by the dénombrements, census returns and assessment rolls. We also consulted Antonio Drolet's municipal history of the city[1] and the National Museums of Canada's published inventory of maps and plans relating to early nineteenth-century Quebec City.[2] In anticipation of a more detailed examination of the effects of area of residence, Upper-Town proper is divided into ten sub-areas (A to J).

[1]Drolet, La ville de Québec, vol. 2, 9-13, 140-1 and vol 3., 33-35, 105.

[2]Edward H. Dahl et al., La ville de Québec, 1800-1850: un inventaire de cartes et plans (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975).

E.1. Alphabetical Categorization of Area of Residence

A

133 à l'extremité de St. George, petites rues au dessus de la côte d'Abraham (1818)
32 Aiguillon
84 Aiguillon & Haldimand
131 Aiguillon (J)[1]
35 Angel
35 Angers
40 Arsenal
173 Artigny & Artillery (L)
151 Artigny, d' (L)
170 Artillerie & Berthelot
160 Artillerie (L)
173 Artillery & Artigny (L)
71 Artillery & St. Louis
160 Artillery (L)
160 Artillery Bk. (L)
44 Artillery Yard
114 Astigny, d' (J)
317 Au dessus de la rue côte d'Abraham
21 Auteuil, d'
21 Autreuil

B

40 Barrack
178 Batein [?] & St. John (L) [?]
303 Belle
162 Bellevue
162 Bellevue à l'est de la toure no. 3 ou rue Burton
170 Berthelot & Artillerie
155 Berthelot (L)
327 Bertrand (1824)
40 Bk.
70 Buade
68 Buade, North side
162 Burton

C

165 C. G. Stewart

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[1](J)=St. John; (L)=St. Louis)

139 côte à côteau
235 côte à Col.
139 côte à Coton
255 côte St. Jean
138 côteau Ste. Geneviève (J)
142 côteau Ste. Geneviève & Richmond
202 Canardière
106 Canoterie
 81 Cap
 81 Cap Diamond
 81 Cap des diamants/Diamond
 43 Carleton
 46 Carleton St. & Union Lane
 11 Carrières & St. Louis
179 Carrières & other streets (L)
176 Carrières (L)
  4 Carrières, des
  4 Carrier
 75 Casernes
 59 Casernes & Nouvelle
 59 Cazerne St.
 59 Cazernes, des
 63 Châteaugai & Fabrique
291 Châteauguay
104 Champlain
305 Chapelle, la
128 Chemin St. Jean
297 Chevalier
154 Chevrette (L)
154 Chevrotière, de la (L)
136 Christie
136 Christie ou Latourelle
 81 Citadelle
156 Claire Fontaine
172 Claire fontaine & St. Louis
 41 Collin's Lane
 41 Collin's St.
 52 Couillard
212 Cout
235 Cross

D
169 D'Entrée (L)
 20 Dalhousie Place
 30 Dauphin

30 Dauphin (Ste. Anne St. Prolonged)
30 Dauphine
21 Dauteuil sur la place d'armes
157 De Salaberry
154 De la Chevrotière (L)
126 Deligni
140 Deligny & Latourelle
126 Deligny (J)
148 Derriegr()re la rue St. Joachim (1827)
4 Des Carrières
59 Des Cazernes
7 Des Grisons
76 Des Jardins
42 Des Pauvres
49 Des Remparts
35 Des anges
211 Destauire
123 Deuxième de traverse (J) (1792)
148 Deuxième rue derrière le cimetière (1818)
134 Dillon
134 Dion
216 Duplessis

E
150 en descendant au côteau Ste. Geneviève
169 Entrée, d' (L)
131 Equillon
32 Equillon
22 Esplanade

F
63 Fabrique & Châteaugai
64 Fabrique, North side
50 Fabrique, la
55 Face sur la Laval & sur la rue Ménagerie (1818)
115 Faubourg St. Jean
199 Faubourg St. Louis
249 Faubourg St. Roch
273 Floti
71 Fort
60 French Burying Ground

G
48 GB.
76 Garden

120 Glacis (J)
48 Grand Battery
158 Grande Allée
7 Greeson
8 Grisons & Mont Carmel
10 Grisons & Ste. Geneviève
7 Grisons, des

H
6 Haldemand
6 Haldimand
84 Haldimand & Aiguillon
90 Haute Ville
92 Haute Ville, maisons détachées des rues
91 Haute Ville, rues sans noms
73 Hay Market
56 Hope
269 Hotel, un

I
J
78 Jardin & Parloir
76 Jardins, des
80 Jesuit Barracks
144 Jupiter (J)

K
L
50 La Fabrique
55 La Valler
305 La chapelle
65 La ménagerie
5 Laporte
9 Laporte & St. Denis
140 Latourelle & Deligny
136 Latourelle (J)
136 Latourelle ou Christie
55 Laval
55 Lavalle
105 Lower Town

M
74 Market Place
65 Ménagerie, la
3 Mont Carmel

8 Mont Carmel & Grisons
168 Mont Plaisant
100 Montagne
100 Mountain

N
59 New
59 New [Casernes]
103 Notre Dame
59 Nouvelle & Casernes
113 Nouvelle (J)
59 Nouvelle
163 Nouvelle (L)
163 Nouvelle rue, première en descendant(1818)

O
P
42 Palace
42 Palais
45 Parade, N.
45 Parade, S
78 Parloir & Jardin
77 Parloir des séminaires
77 Parloir des ursulines
72 Parloir du séminaire?
77 Parloir, du
77 Parloirs, des
77 Parlour
42 Pauvres, des
201 Petite rivière
116 Petite rue entre St. Olivier & St. George (1818)
311 Petite ruette sans nom qui descend de la rue Ste. Julie à la rue St. Joachim (1818)
74 Place du marché
180 Plessis (between Burton and Prevost)
302 Pointe aux trembles
42 Poor
30 Port Dauphin
30 Port Dauphin
5 Porte
104 Près de ville
163 Près la tour
330 Première de traverse (J) (1792)
147 Première de traverse (J)
318 Première rue qui descend à la g. rue St. Jean

161 Prevost
146 Projectée (J)
161 Provost
166 Quatrième derrière le cimetière

R
163 R. Nouvelle qui descend derrière le cimetière
49 Rempart
49 Remparts, des
177 Riche (L)
141 Richelieu & Ste. Geneviève
132 Richelieu (J)
331 Richelieu (J) (1792)
137 Richemond (J)
137 Richemond côte à coton
137 Richemond derrière la rue St. Olivier intersecté par
la rue St. Eustache sur le bord du Cap(1829)
137 Richemond derrière la rue St. Olivier intersecté par
la rue St. Eustache sur le bord du Cap (1827)
142 Richmond & côteau Ste. Geneviève
137 Richmond (J)
219 Ritchie
314 Robitaille
234 Rosemont
310 rue
150 rue St. Augustin depuis la rue ou St. wack [?] au bord du côteau
125 rue Ste. Claire qui descend de la rue St. Jean au
côteAU Ste. Geneviève (1827 1829)
315 rue [?]
312 rue derrière [?]
176 rue derrière la rue Gabriel, des Carrières (1824)
326 rue partant de la rue d'artillerie et aboutissant au
cimetière anglois (1827)
307 rue prèrs de Jupiter
327 rue qui descend de la rue d'artillerie, à
la rue Joachim ou rue Bertrand (1824)
313 rue qui descend de la rue St. Jean à la rue Richelieu
144 rue qui monte de la rue St. Jean aux Carrièes (1827)
144 rue qui monte de rue St. Jean aux Carrières ou rue Jupiter (1829)
309 ruelle montant de la rue St. Joachim à la rue Nouvelle
165 ruette de Chs. Gray Stewart au ouest de la seigneurie
de madame Panet
165 ruette de Cs. G. Stuart

S

157 Salaberry, de
157 Sallaberry
102 Sault au matelot
300 Scott
325 Seigneurie Berthelot
304 Seigneurie Légaré (1836)
101 Sous le fort
175 St. Amable & St. Michel
159 St. Amable (L)
122 Ste. Anatasie
 35 St. Angel
 35 Ste. Angèle
 31 Ste. Angèle, North of St. John's
 69 Ste. Anne
 67 Ste. Anne, côte sud de la
 66 Ste. Anne, partie superièure (1824)
174 St. Augustin & St. Julia (L)
331 St. Augustin (1796)
143 St. Augustin (J)
150 St. Augustin (L)
331 St. Augustin. (J) (1796)
107 St. Charles
125 Ste. Claire
125 Ste. Claire qui descend au St. Jean à Richelieu
  1 St. Denis
  9 St. Denis & Laporte
 86 St. Denis & Ste. Famille
122 St. Eustache (J)
122 St. Eustache en descendant jusqu'au côteau Ste. Geneviève (1818)
 56 Ste. Famille
 56 Ste. Famille
 62 Ste. Famille & St. Georges
 58 St. Flavien
167 St. Flavien, cinquième et derrièere rue
121 St. François (J), petite rue deuxième après la porte
    qui descente St. Jean (1818)
 57 St. François/IS
 57 St. Francis
129 St. Gabriel (J)
  2 Ste. Geneviève
 10 Ste. Geneviève & Grisons
123 Ste. Geneviève (1796)
123 Ste. Geneviève (J)
123 Ste. Geneviève (J) (1796)
123 Ste. Geneviève qui descend au sud ouest. du cimitière à

la côte d'Abraham (1818)
54 St. George
118 St. George (J) & St. Helen's
54 St. Georges
62 St. Georges & Ste. Famille
133 St. Georges (J)
33 St. HéLène
33 St. Helen's
118 St. Helen's & St. George (J)
117 St. Helen's (J)
33 St. Henri
33 St. Henry
148 St. Jacques (J)
148 St. James
148 St. James (J)
39 St. Jean
130 St. Jean (J)
53 St. Joachim
61 St. Joachim & St. John
254 St. Joachim (J) & Ste. Ursule
128 St. Joachim (J), première derrière le cimetière (1818)
39 St. John
178 St. John & Batein [?] (L) [?]
128 St. John Road
115 St. John's Suburb
38 St. John, North side
51 St. Joseph
116 St. Joseph (J)
116 St. Joseph (J) derrière la rue St. George (1827)
174 St. Julia & St. Augustin, (L)
166 St. Julia (L)
166 St. Julie (L)
15 St. Lewis
158 St. Lewis (L)
199 St. Lewis' Suburb
15 St. Louis
71 St. Louis & Artillery
11 St. Louis & Carrières
172 St. Louis & Claire fontaine
160 St. Louis Artillerie
158 St. Louis plaines d'Abraham
199 St. Louis' Suburb
24 Ste. Marie
330 St. Martin (1796)
330 St. Martin (1796)

111 St. Michel (J)
153 St. Michel (L)
37 Ste. Monique
108 St. Nicholas
135 St. Olivier
135 St. Olivier (J)
127 St. Pierre
149 St. Reac (J)
145 St. Simon (J)
34 St. Stanislas
36 St. Stanislas, North of St. John
29 St. Ursula
29 Ste. Ursule
85 Ste. Ursule & St. Flavien
28 Ste. Ursule & Ursuline Lane
254 Ste. Ursule & St. Joachim (J)
23 Ste. Ursule Lane
110 St. Vallier (J)
165 Stewart
165 Stuart
115 Suburb of St. John
199 Suburb of St. Lewis
199 Suburb of St. Louis
71 Sur le fort
328 Sutherland (F)

T
72 Trésor
72 Treasure
176 Troisième derrière le cimetière (1818)

U
269 Un hotel
46 Union Lane & Carleton St.
90 Upper Town
23 Ursuline Lane
28 Ursuline Lane & Ste. Ursule
23 Ursuline lane
23 Ursuline ruette
23 Ursulines, ruelle des

E.2. Geographic Categorization of Area of Residence

I: Upper-Town Proper/
Haute-Ville de Québec (1-92)

A: (1-11)
1 St. Denis
2 Ste. Geneviève
3 Mont Carmel
4 Carrières, des
4 Carrier
4 Des Carrières
5 Laporte
5 Porte
6 Haldemand
6 Haldimand
7 Des Grisons
7 Greeson
7 Grisons, des
8 Grisons & Mont Carmel
8 Mont Carmel & Grisons
9 Laporte & St. Denis
9 St. Denis & Laporte
10 Grisons & Ste. Geneviève
10 Ste. Geneviève & Grisons
11 Carrières & St. Louis
11 St. Louis & Carrières

B: (15)
15 St. Lewis
15 St. Louis

C: (20-28)
20 Dalhousie Place
21 Auteuil, d'
21 Autreuil
21 Dauteuil sur la place d'armes
22 Esplanade
23 Ste. Ursule Lane
23 Ursuline Lane
23 Ursuline lane
23 Ursuline ruette
23 Ursulines, ruelle des
28 Ste. Ursule & Ursuline Lane
28 Ursuline Lane & Ste. Ursule

D: (29)
29 St. Ursula
29 Ste. Ursule

E: (30-37)
30 Dauphin
30 Dauphin (Ste. Anne St. Prolonged)
30 Dauphine
30 Port Dauphin
30 Port Dauphin
31 Ste. Angèle, North of St. John's
32 Aiguillon
32 Equillon
33 St. Hélène
33 St. Helen's
33 St. Henri
33 St. Henry
34 St. Stanislas
35 Angel
35 Angers
35 Des anges
35 St. Angel
35 Ste. Angèle
36 St. Stanislas, North of St. John
37 Ste. Monique

F: (38-39)
38 St. John, North side
39 St. Jean
39 St. John

G: (40-46)
40 Arsenal
40 Barrack
40 Bk.
41 Collin's Lane
41 Collin's St.
42 Des Pauvres
42 Palace
42 Palais
42 Pauvres, des
42 Poor
43 Carleton
44 Artillery Yard
45 Parade, N.

45 Parade, S
46 Carleton St. & Union Lane
46 Union Lane & Carleton St.

H: (48-49)
48 GB.
48 Grand Battery
49 Des Remparts
49 Rempart
49 Remparts, des

I: (50-65)
50 Fabrique, la
50 La Fabrique
51 St. Joseph
52 Couillard
53 St. Joachim
54 St. George
54 St. Georges
55 Face sur la Laval & sur la rue Ménagerie (1818)
55 La Valler
55 Laval
55 Lavalle
56 Hope
56 Ste. Famille
56 Ste. Famille
57 St. François
57 St. Francis
58 St. Flavien
59 Casernes & Nouvelle
59 Cazerne St.
59 Cazernes, des
59 Des Cazernes
59 New
59 New [Casernes]
59 Nouvelle & Casernes
59 Nouvelle
60 French Burying Ground
61 St. Joachim & St. John
62 St. Georges & Ste. Famille
62 Ste. Famille & St. Georges
63 Châteaugai & Fabrique
63 Fabrique & Châteaugai
64 Fabrique, North side
65 La ménagerie

65 Ménagerie, la

J: (66-80)
66 Ste. Anne, partie superièure (1824)
67 Ste. Anne, côte sud de la
68 Buade, North side
69 Ste. Anne
70 Buade
71 Artillery & St. Louis
71 Fort
71 St. Louis & Artillery
71 Sur le fort
72 Parloir du séminaire?
72 Trésor
72 Treasure
73 Hay Market
74 Market Place
74 Place du marché
75 Casernes
76 Des Jardins
76 Garden
76 Jardins, des
77 Parloir des séminaires
77 Parloir des ursulines
77 Parloir, du
77 Parloirs, des
77 Parlour
78 Jardin & Parloir
78 Parloir & Jardin
80 Jesuit Barracks

K: (81-92)
81 Cap
81 Cap Diamond
81 Cap des diamants/Diamond
81 Citadelle
84 Aiguillon & Haldimand
84 Haldimand & Aiguillon
85 Ste. Ursule & St. Flavien
86 St. Denis & Ste. Famille
90 Haute Ville
90 Upper Town
91 Haute Ville, rues sans noms
92 Haute Ville, maisons détachées des rues

II: Lower Town/
Basse-Ville (100-108)

100 Montagne
100 Mountain
101 Sous le fort
102 Sault au matelot
103 Notre Dame
104 Champlain
104 Près de ville
105 Lower Town
106 Canoterie
107 St. Charles
108 St. Nicholas

III: Suburb of St. John/
Faubourg de St. Jean (110-149)

110 St. Vallier (J)
111 St. Michel (J)
113 Nouvelle (J)
114 Astigny, d' (J)
115 Faubourg St. Jean
115 St. John's Suburb
115 Suburb of St. John
116 Petite rue entre St. Olivier & St. George (1818)
116 St. Joseph (J)
116 St. Joseph (J) derrière la rue St. George (1827)
117 St. Helen's (J)
118 St. George (J) & St. Helen's
118 St. Helen's & St. George (J)
120 Glacis (J)
121 St. François (J), petite rue deuxième après la
porte qui descente St. Jean (1818)
122 Ste. Anatasie
122 St. Eustache (J)
122 St. Eustache en descendant jusqu'au côteau Ste. Geneviève (1818)
123 Deuxième de traverse (J) (1792)
123 Ste. Geneviève (1796)
123 Ste. Geneviève (J)
123 Ste. Geneviève (J) (1796)
123 Ste. Geneviève qui descend au sud ouest. du cimitière
à la côte d'Abraham (1818)
124 Ste. Marie
125 Ste. Claire

125 Ste. Claire qui descend au St. Jean à Richelieu
125 rue Ste. Claire qui descend de la rue St. Jean au côteau Ste. Geneviève (1827 1829)
126 Deligni
126 Deligny (J)
127 St. Pierre
128 Chemin St. Jean
128 St. Joachim (J), première derrière le cimetière (1818)
128 St. John Road
129 St. Gabriel (J)
130 St. Jean (J)
131 Aiguillon (J)
131 Equillon
132 Richelieu (J)
133 à l'extremité de St. George, petites rues au dessus de la côte d'Abraham (1818)
133 St. Georges (J)
134 Dillon
134 Dion
135 St. Olivier
135 St. Olivier (J)
136 Christie
136 Christie ou Latourelle
136 Latourelle (J)
136 Latourelle ou Christie
137 Richemond (J)
137 Richemond côte à coton
137 Richemond derrière la rue St. Olivier intersecté par la rue St. Eustache sur le bord du Cap(1829)
137 Richemond derrière la rue St. Olivier intersecté par la rue St. Eustache sur le bord du Cap (1827)
137 Richmond (J)
138 côteau Ste. Geneviève (J)
139 côte à Coton
139 côte à côteau
140 Deligny & Latourelle
140 Latourelle & Deligny
141 Richelieu & Ste. Geneviève
142 Richmond & côteau Ste. Geneviève
142 côteau Ste. Geneviève & Richmond
143 St. Augustin (J)
144 Jupiter (J)
144 rue qui monte de la rue St. Jean aux Carrièes (1827)
144 rue qui monte de rue St. Jean aux Carrières ou rue Jupiter (1829)
145 St. Simon (J)

146 Projectée (J)
147 Première de traverse (J)
148 Derrière la rue St. Joachim (1827)
148 Deuxième rue derrière le cimetière (1818)
148 St. Jacques (J)
148 St. James
148 St. James (J)
149 St. Reac (J)

IV: Suburb of St. Lewis/
Faubourg de St. Louis (150-199)

150 St. Augustin (L)
150 en descendant au côteau Ste. Geneviève
150 rue St. Augustin depuis la rue ou eSt. wack [?] au bord du côteau
151 Artigny, d' (L)
153 St. Michel (L)
154 Chevrette (L)
154 Chevrotière, de la (L)
154 De la Chevrotière (L)
155 Berthelot (L)
156 Claire Fontaine
157 De Salaberry
157 Salaberry, de
157 Sallaberry
158 Grande Allée
158 St. Lewis (L)
158 St. Louis plaines d'Abraham
159 St. Amable (L)
160 Artillerie (L)
160 Artillery (L)
160 Artillery Bk. (L)
160 St. Louis Artillerie
161 Prevost
161 Provost
162 Bellevue
162 Bellevue à l'est de la toure no. 3 ou rue Burton
162 Burton
163 Nouvelle (L)
163 Nouvelle rue, première en descendant(1818)
163 Près la tour
163 R. Nouvelle qui descend derrière le cimetière
165 C. G. Stewart
165 Stewart
165 Stuart

165 ruette de Chs. Gray Stewart au ouest de la seigneurie de madame Panet
165 ruette de Cs. G. Stuart
166 Quatrième derrière le cimetière
166 St. Julia (L)
166 St. Julie (L)
167 St. Flavien, cinquième et derrièere rue
168 Mont Plaisant
169 D'Entrée (L)
169 Entrée, d' (L)
170 Artillerie & Berthelot
170 Berthelot & Artillerie
172 Claire fontaine & St. Louis
172 St. Louis & Claire fontaine
173 Artigny & Artillery (L)
173 Artillery & Artigny (L)
174 St. Augustin & St. Julia (L)
174 St. Julia & St. Augustin, (L)
175 St. Amable & St. Michel
176 Carrières (L)
176 Troisième derrière le cimetière (1818)
176 rue derrière la rue Gabriel, des Carrières (1824)
177 Riche (L)
178 Batein [?] & St. John (L) [?]
178 St. John & Batein [?] (L) [?]
179 Carrières & other streets (L)
180 Plessis (between Burton and Prevost)
199 Faubourg St. Louis
199 St. Lewis' Suburb
199 St. Louis' Suburb
199 Suburb of St. Lewis
199 Suburb of St. Louis

V: Unclassified -
Unkown or Double Location (201-331)

201 Petite rivière
202 Canardière
211 Destauire
212 Cout
216 Duplessis
219 Ritchie
234 Rosemont
235 Cross
235 côte à Col.
249 Faubourg St. Roch

254 St. Joachim (J) & Ste. Ursule
254 Ste. Ursule & St. Joachim (J)
255 côte St. Jean
269 Hotel, un
269 Un hotel
273 Floti
291 Châteauguay
297 Chevalier
300 Scott
302 Pointe aux trembles
303 Belle
304 Seigneurie Légaré (1836)
305 Chapelle, la
305 La chapelle
307 rue près de Jupiter
309 ruelle montant de la rue St. Joachim à la rue Nouvelle
310 rue
311 Petite ruette sans nom qui descend de la rue Ste. Julie à la rue St. Joachim (1818)
312 rue derrière [?]
313 rue qui descend de la rue St. Jean à la rue Richelieu
314 Robitaille
315 rue [?]
317 Au dessus de la rue côte d'Abraham
318 Première rue qui descend à la g. rue St. Jean
325 Seigneurie Berthelot
326 rue partant de la rue d'artillerie et aboutissant au cimetière anglois (1827)
327 Bertrand (1824)
327 rue qui descend de la rue d'artillerie, à la rue Joachim ou rue Bertrand (1824)
328 Sutherland (F)
330 Première de traverse (J) (1792)
330 St. Martin (1796)
330 St. Martin (1796)
331 Richelieu (J) (1792)
331 St. Augustin (1796)
331 St. Augustin. (J) (1796)

Appendix F
Occupational Categorization

This study assigned a separate numeric code for each occupation found in the pollbooks, dénombrements, census returns and assessments rolls. We opted for a five-digit coding system allowing for an analysis of of socio-professional status (the first three digits) and economic sector (last two digits).[3] In regard to the latter, we used a modified version of Jacob Price's categorization developed for late eighteenth-century port towns situated on the east coast of the United States.[4] Like Philadelphia, New York and Boston, Quebec was a pre-industrial urban centre involved in administration, maritime commerce, industrial production and internal services.

The socio-professional ranking was designed to reflect to the social and economic circumstances of Quebec City. It also drew from the work of scholars concerned with social mobility and socio-professional status in the United States and Canada during the nineteenth century.[5]

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[3]This code placed similar occupations in close proximity which in the future should enable us to create a more sophisticated weight system in a linking process with greater flexibility.

[4]Price, "Economic Function and Growth," 123-86.

[5]For example, see: Robert M. Hauser, "Occupational Status in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," Historical Methods Newsletter 15(Summer 1982): 111-26; Theodore Hershberg et al., "Occupation and Ethnicity in Five Nineteenth-Century Cities: A Collaborative Inquiry," Historical Methods Newsletter 7(1974): 174-216; T. Hersberg and R. Dockhorn, "Occupational Classification," Historical Methods Newsletter 9(March-June 1976): 59-98; Michael B. Katz, "Occupational Classification in History," The Journal of Interdisciplinary History 3(1972): 63-88; Katz, M. The People of Hamilton, Canada West. Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1975.

F.1. Alphabetical Categorization of Occupation

A

98391 à l'échange
95213 à l'office militaire
92591 à la Banque de Québec
93210 à la douane
65110 à la police
39413 a. commissarr
14220 abbé
96770 academy
44441 accountant
37110 acting inspector of chimnies
11213 adt. general
11213 adjt. genl. of m.
11313 adjt. veterans
11213 adjudant genl. des milices
11410 advocate genl.
11020 advocate
53373 affileur
20391 agent
20291 agent des émigrés
21791 agent h.(Hudson?)b.(Bay?)co.
18913 aide-de-camp
98524 Albion Hotel
55272 ancien boucher
23374 ancien cabaretier
23374 ancien cantinier
50673 ancien charpentier
70774 ancien charretier
30092 ancien fermier
28970 ancien interprète
80293 ancien journalier
80293 ancien laboureur
51873 ancien macon
19671 ancien marchand
23971 ancien marchand & boucher
51173 ancien menuisier
78514 ancien militaire
64990 ancien navigateur
19671 ancien négociant
33114 ancien officier d'artillerie
64790 ancien pilot
78275 ancien ramoneur
59881 ancien tanneur
20871 ancien traiteur
22571 ancien vendeur d'animaux
79774 ancien voyageur
61935 apholster
26013 apoth. g. to the forces
26020 apothicaire
26020 apothicaire de l'hopital des émigrés
26020 apothecary
80363 apprenti
14020 archdeacon
14020 archidiacre de l'église anglaise
14020 archidiacre
26220 architect
26220 architecte
26220 architeque

66252 are man
78941 arimeur
91465 arimist
57634 armorer
57634 armourer
57634 armurier
78613 army bill o.
26310 arpenteur
50973 arpenteur & menuisier & charpentier
26410 arpenteur genl.
78613 artillerie s.
29075 artist
29075 artiste
39610 ass. secret.
39713 assistant c. g.
39610 assistant secretaire civil
11313 asst. adjt. general
39610 asst. civil scoz. offce.
39713 asst. com. gl.
39413 asst. commissary
39510 asst. harbour master
17213 asst. surgeon 15th rgt.
17213 asst. surgeon 66th rgt.
11120 attorney
11410 atty. genl.
93513 au commissre.
93810 au postes
99665 au séminaire
23024 aubergiste
26621 auctioneer
13910 audr. gl. of accts.
96465 auissier
90165 aumeur
98265 aux ursulines
11020 avocat
11410 avocat du roy
11410 avocat généeral
11020 avocate

B

57024 bk. smith
32110 bailiff
54222 baker
44791 bank teller
92491 banque de Montréal
27641 banquier
27641 banquier
77025 barber
77025 barbier
90765 barbouillleur
94213 bark. dept. c.
33513 barrack master
94113 barracks off.
76524 batelier
97065 battrel
75025 beadle
75025 bedeau
75125 bedeau de l'église an.
75225 bedeau de l'église catholique
75025 bedeaun
75025 bedeaux
75425 bell hanger

28070 bibliothécaire
99365 billard
54422 biscuit baker
54422 biscuit maker
15520 bishop
15320 bishop of Montreal
14920 bishop of Quebec
63922 bk. binder
33513 bk. mr.
90265 Black & Henderson
57024 blacksmith
57113 blk. smith e.d.
55372 block meat maker
58484 blockmaker
23174 boarding ho. keeper
76424 boatman
79113 bombardier
26870 bone setter
63922 bookbinder
44391 bookkeeper
41341 bookkeeper Q. Bank
59131 boot & shoemaker
55022 boucher
54222 boulanger
54622 boulanger & confiseur
25061 bourgeois
79375 bourreur [stuffer?]
86321 boutique
96265 brasier
58034 brass founder
56032 brasseur
56032 brasseur de bière
56032 brewer
51473 bricker
18013 brig. major
97165 brikler
96041 Brit. Bank
20491 broker
80760 bucheur
27123 builder
25061 burgess
55022 butcher
71875 butler

C

93513 c. department
18113 c. in R. N.
61835 c. maker
92613 c. o. d.
61835 cab. maker
23524 cabaretier
79974 cabaretier & charretier
61835 cabinetmaker
44941 caissier
41341 caissier de la b. de Québec
52633 calfat
52633 calker
97565 campagnon
54772 campagnon boulanger
23674 canteen asst.
23474 canteen keeper
23474 cantinier

76971 cantinier & porte-cassette
18113 capt. & pm. 17th regt.
18213 captain half pay
18113 captain royal navy
18113 captain 24th regt.
18113 captain 66th regt.
18113 captain 71st regt.
18313 captaine
76740 captaine de vaisseau
50023 carpenter
50513 carpenter K. w.
50413 carpr. e. d.
61135 carrossier
90365 cartenier
70024 carter
44013 casher army b. o.
44941 cashier
44191 cashr. Q. Bk.
62135 chairmaker
62135 chaisier
76624 chaloupier
59631 chamoiseur
65441 chandler
60131 chapelier
60131 chapellier
14113 chaplain
14113 chaplain to the forces
50023 charp.
50023 charpentier
50873 charpentier & aide-bedeau
50773 charpentier & menuisier
50133 charpentier de navire
70024 charretier
70574 charretier & chasseur
70674 charretier & cordonnier
70474 charretier & fermier
70374 charretier & macon
70674 charretier & shoemaker
70274 charretier & vendeur de lait
60636 charron
70024 chartier
70110 chartier du roi, la tessier [?]
13510 chef de police
10661 chevalier
11910 chief justice
26170 chimiste
16120 chirurgien
16013 chirurgien dans l'ordinance
16013 chirurgien dans le 35e rgt.
16013 chirurgien de l'état major
42675 clr. qu. session
42775 church clerk
40810 city clerk
36010 city treasurer
38710 civil secretary
43010 ck. market
43010 clerc au marché
11870 clerc avocat
40613 clerc commissre.
42410 clerc de greff. du c. exe.
41110 clerc du c. a.
43010 clerc du marché

40741 clerc en change
11870 clerc notre.
40041 clerck
40041 clerk
40613 clerk commissary
41210 clerk j. c.
41341 clerk of council
42975 clerk of English Cathedral
43010 clerk of l. market
40310 clerk of peace
43010 clerk of the market
41341 clerk Q. Bk.
41641 clerk, Montreal Bank
41413 clk. adjt. gl. dept.
40441 clk. bank
41513 clk. bk. dept.
42775 clk. church
40613 clk. com. dept.
40110 clk. custom house
42013 clk. e. d.
42875 clk. Eng. Ch.
41710 clk. ho. assr.
40910 clk. l. c.
41010 clk. l. c. offr.
40213 clk. o. dept.
40213 clk. ord. dept.
40310 clk. peace
41810 clk. prot. seez. officer
41913 clk. qu. mr. gl. dept.
42013 clk. wks. e. d.
63234 clockmaker
58134 cloutier
61636 coachmaker
77174 coachman
90565 coisonnier
85065 col. inst.
94913 Coldstream
66586 coliseur
34010 collecteur
34010 collector
34110 collector of custom
34110 collectr. de la douane
64065 colleur
18413 colonel
75721 colporter
75721 colporteur
93513 com. dept.
17513 com. gl.
56736 comb. maker
29175 comedien
29175 comedienne
40041 comis
20121 commerçant
93621 commerce
40041 commis
42241 commis à la brasserie
40110 commis à la douane
42410 commis au greffe.
40641 commis b. de Q.
40541 commis des comtes, banque de Montréal
40213 commis de l'ordinance

45510 commis de la poste
42113 commis des ingénieurs
93513 commissaire
93513 commissaire des biens des jésuites
39913 commissaire des comptes
18513 commissaire des magasins du roi
17513 commissaire g.
17513 commissaire genl.
93513 commissar
93513 commissariat
93513 commisst. dept.
72813 commisst. messer.
93491 commr. transport
22621 commt. de bois
17513 company gen.
13010 concillier ex.
65013 conducteur au commisst.
65013 conducttor. commiss. dept.
13510 conétable
54322 confectioner
54322 confiseur
65110 connétable
13010 cons. execut. & legislat.
65110 constable
20523 contractor
67075 contremaître
35810 controleur
34110 controlr. de la douane
54075 cook
53975 cooker
61341 cooper
61413 cooper à l'ordinance
61413 cooper o. d.
61541 coopr. rab. pan. [?]
57534 copper
63886 copper plate pr.
57534 coppersmith
59031 cordonnier
91665 coreilleur
31010 coronaire
31010 coroner
78413 corporal
42310 councillor's clerk
20491 courtier
61734 coutellier
61734 coutelier
59572 couturier
59572 couturière
53073 couvraisan de bardeau
53073 couvreur
53073 couvreur de bardeau
53073 covenor
53073 coverer
77375 crieur
99565 crillemaker
54075 cuisinier
53875 cuisinier en séminaire
54122 cuisinier & patissier
66152 culler
30150 cultivateur
30550 cultivator
14220 curate

14220 curé
93210 custom h.
34710 custom ho. offr.
93210 custom house
34810 custom's
61734 cutler
66052 cutter

D

39013 d. asst. com. ge.
39313 d. commissarr
24313 d. ordinance, storekeeper
39013 d. a. c. g.
17813 d. a. q. l. [m?]
17813 d. a. q. m.
13610 d. p. m. g.
96365 dailer
73571 dairyman
96365 dayler
97965 de l'assurance
94713 de l'ordinance
22091 dealer
21871 dealer in cattle
26720 dentist
26720 dentiste
39810 dép. des sauvages, lacd [?]
93713 départmente médicale
96670 depository of books
17313 dépt. adj. genl. me. [?]
18513 dept. bk. mr. genl.
93113 dépt. des ingénrs.
38910 dept. registrar
39013 depty. asst. com. gl.
11313 député adjt. général
26510 député arpenteur général
39113 député commre. général
17713 député provost
32310 député sgt. d'armes
36691 député trésorier
35310 deputy post master
36910 deputy road inspector
17813 depy. asst. qr. mr. gl.
39113 depy. com. genl.
24313 depy. storekeeper
87163 désignantur mérétrices
22121 détailleur
60530 dier
13710 directeur des postes
56232 disteller
56232 distileur
21671 distributeur des provisions
16220 doct. r. a.
16320 docteur
16513 docteur du rgt.
16513 docteur général
16320 doctor
71025 domestique
71125 domestique au présbytère
71225 domestique au séminaire
71325 domestique aux casernes
71425 domestique au Mont Carmel
71525 domestique aux jésuites

62584 doreur
93210 douane
34210 douanier
13610 dr. post master g. s.
63513 draftsman e. d.
26970 dresseur de mals
59572 dressmaker
27070 druggist
74013 dy. mr. watch
60530 dyer

E

62685 ébéniste doreur
66252 écarisseur
28520 école
36691 économe
36491 économe du séminaire
36291 économe [des] ursulines
43591 écrivain
43610 écrivain à l'arsenal
45291 écrivain à l'office du sécretaire pro.
43510 écrivain au Château
43510 écrivain au greffier
43713 écrivain chez le commissaire général
43510 écrivain de l'ass. lég.
10161 écuier
99274 écuries
10161 écuyer
13310 écuyer gr. voyer
44591 éditeur
44591 editor
20291 emigrant agent
97865 empalotrier
66686 empeilleur
34810 employ. in the custom house
92810 employé à la chambre d'assemblée
34810 employé à la douane
92710 employé aux travaux du roi
26621 encanteur
80663 engagé
17613 engineer
93113 engr. dept.
63536 engraver
33213 ensign. r. v.
33213 ensign. 79th regt.
20041 entrepreneur
23771 entrepreneur & macon
21021 épicier
21271 épicier & aubergiste
10361 esquire
11570 ét. en dt.
17170 étud. en médicine
14920 évêque de Québec

F

94013 f. train. dept.
99913 f. e. dept.
63486 faiseur d'instrument
56686 faiseur de balais
62135 faiseur de chaises
58134 faiseur de clous
62871 faiseur de colliers

56836 faiseur de peignes
63386 faiseur de piano
61036 faiseur de valise
30250 farmer
57224 farrier
85365 femer
57934 ferblantier
64286 figure maker
21941 flour dealer
67075 foreman
67413 foreman au chantier du roi
67113 foreman blk. smith e. d.
67675 foreman du chantier
67213 foreman e. d.
67213 foreman labour e. d.
67313 foreman o. d.
67313 foreman orde. dept.
67513 foreman, g. w.
67413 foreman, King's works
57024 forgeron
57113 forgeron e. d.
56913 forgeron o. d.
78025 fossoyeur
60222 foureur
60222 fourier
60222 fourrier
32613 full pay offr.
60222 furrier

G

31410 gaoler
70975 gardant[e] d'enfants
74113 garde magasin
77550 gardener
73875 gardian & messagger
74825 gardien
73875 gardien & messagger
74213 gardien de l'office des ingénieurs
74510 gardien de la cour
74410 gardien des chambres du conseil
74725 gardien des offices des jésuites
74610 gardien des offices du gou.
74410 gardien du parc du roi
74310 gardien du télégraphe
94363 gendre de propriétaire
10261 gent.
10261 gentilhomme
31110 gentilhomme de la masse
31410 geôlier
31410 geôlier des prisons de Québec
62584 gilder
56182 ginger beer maker
52823 glazier
62934 goldsmith
12610 gouverneur de Gaspé
20510 gov't contractor
21021 gr:marchand & épicier
15820 grand vicaire
13410 grand voyer
78025 gravedigger
63536 graver
63536 graveur

43110 greffier
43410 greffier de la chambre d'assemblée
43410 greffier de la cour du b. du roy
43110 greffier de paix
43110 greffier de paix
43310 greffier du conseil
43213 greffier o. d.
43410 greffier, c. de la disponibilité
78513 grenadier
53373 grinder of tools
21021 grocer
21021 groceur
77224 groom
74825 guardian
79013 gunner, artillery
57634 gunsmith

H

30450 habitant
77025 haircutter
60425 hairdresser
32813 half pay asst. comy. genl.
32713 half pay lt.
32713 half pay officier
94413 halfpay comre.
21421 hardware merchant
60931 harnessmaker
60131 hatter
18213 he. pay capt.
13510 high constable
10561 honorable
63234 horloger
77374 horse rider
59221 hosier
23174 hotel keeper
23174 hôtellier
75521 hucster
32110 huissier
75521 huxter

I

37210 i. des chemins
37210 i. des rues
13810 i. gl. accounts
63636 imprimeur
63710 imprimeur du roi
66152 ind. du bois
17613 ingénieur
93113 ingénieur dept.
17613 ingénieur, dr.
23024 innkeeper
23174 innkeeper
37010 ins. chimnies
37910 insp. ardce. auty.
37210 insp. des chemins
37310 insp. of beachs. [?]
37210 insp. of street
35910 inspecteur
37410 inspecteur de bois
37010 inspecteur de chemins
37510 inspecteur de potasse
37810 inspecteur des comptes

37710 inspecteur des grèves
36710 inspecteur des travaux
36810 inspecteur farine
37610 inspectuer du police
13810 inspr. genl. des comptes
13810 inspr. genl. des comptes publiques
37810 inspr. of accts.
37210 inspr. of road
28420 instituteur
28770 institutuer des sourds muets
17913 intendant des casernes
38013 issuer comt. dept.

J

29275 j. de violon
12110 j. b. r.
31510 j. g. of p. a.
31610 j. p.
77550 jardinier
62621 jeweller
91165 jipstaff
62621 joaillier
62771 joaillier & orfèvre
51023 joiner
29875 joueur de clarinette
29175 joueur de marionnettes
29275 joueur de violon
80060 journ.
80060 journalier
80460 journalier & aide-bedeau
80113 journalier o. d.
80060 journalière
80560 journeyman
31610 judge of peace
11910 juge
12210 juge & greffier du cl. exec.
31610 juge à paix
11910 juge de la cour du banc du roi
12110 juge du banc du roi
11910 juge en chef de la province
11910 juge en chef de Montréal
11910 juge, conseiller

K

31310 keeper common gaol
34310 keeper ct. house
38310 keeper ho. assy.
38410 keeper of exchange
99765 keepeur
63710 King's printer
95310 King's work

L

80060 laborer
80060 labourer
80113 laborer o. d.
73571 laitier
62484 lampiste
62484 lampmaker
26310 land surveyor
63071 lapidary
85265 lauver

70825 lavandière
70825 laveuse
32513 leftenant
77610 letter carrier
77610 lettr. carr.
64121 libraire
28070 librarian
28070 librarian m. j. q.
96870 library
32513 lieutenant
77424 livery stable
15620 lord bishop
32513 lt. can. fen.
18613 lt. col.
33013 lt. royal navy
99452 lumber
29675 luthier

M

16320 m. d.
85165 m. m.
13220 m. p.
51523 mac.
51523 macon
70374 macon & charretier
51373 macon & sellier
85821 magazin
31710 magistrat
31710 magistrate
23174 maison de pension
28520 maître d'école
66975 maître d'escrime
67713 maître de chantier du roi
28670 maître de langues
29475 maître de musique
35210 maître de poste
76874 maître de steamboat
35210 maître poste
28520 maîtresse d'école
18713 maj.-gen.
18813 major
18813 major de brigade
18813 major de ville
60222 manchonnier
19041 marchand
23271 marchand & cantinier
19271 marchand - détailleur
22621 marchand de bois
19371 marchand de boissons
19481 marchand de chapeaux
22871 marchand de cuir
19871 marchand de cuire
19371 marchand de vin
19041 marchand en gros
21021 marchand épicier
21371 marchand épicier & peintre
21521 marchand sur le marché
19172 marchand tailleur
19571 marchand-parfumeur
73571 marchd. de lait
21021 marchd. épicier
31813 maréchal

33875 marguillier
76040 marin
76040 mariner
76040 marinier
76040 marmer
31813 marshal ve. admt.
51523 mason
51613 mason e. d.
57734 master armourer
76140 matelot
76240 matelot pêcheur
94563 mauvais commerce
93713 med. dept.
16320 médecin
16513 médecin au staff
17170 medl. student
13220 member of parliament
71975 ménager
98763 mendiant
51023 menuis.
51023 menuisier
19172 mer. tailor
19041 merchant
21421 merchant hardware
75671 merchant pedlar
19172 merchant tailor
72710 mes. c. s. off.
72275 mess. b. de Montréal
72113 mess. comt. dept.
72275 mess. mem. bank
72075 messager
72310 messager au Château St. Louis
72813 messager dans les offices mil.
72813 messager de l'ordinance
72310 messager de la chambre de l'assemblée
72410 messager du conseil
72813 messager office militaire
72813 messager, dépt. des ingénieurs
72075 messenger
72275 messenger bank
72510 messenger d. c.
73213 messman
72613 messr dey. officer
72710 messr. civil sy. of.
72813 messr. commt.
72910 messr. ex. com.
73013 messr. m. dept.
65952 mesureur de bois
61835 meublier
54832 meunier
78513 militaire
17413 military officer
17413 mility. office.
73571 milkman
54832 miller
60031 milliner
53223 millright
77751 miner
77751 mineur
14220 minister
14220 ministre
14320 ministre & instituteur

14620 ministre anglican
14620 ministre de l'église anglaise
14420 ministre de l'église d'écosse
14420 ministre de l'église St. Jean
14520 ministre presbyt, mtre. d'école
14620 minsistre de l'église de l'Angleterre
91075 modeuse
60031 modiste
66786 moldmaker
92491 Montreal Bank
50223 mr. carpenter
57384 mr. smith
60786 mrst. wheeler
51723 mtr. macon
29775 mtre. de dance
29975 mtre. de danse & barbouilleur
57384 mtre. forgeron
35210 mtre. général des postes
29475 music teacher
63486 musical inst. maker
29325 musician
29325 musicien

N

58134 nailer
58134 nailmaker
66686 naturalist
33013 naval off.
33013 naval officer
64840 navigateur
64840 navigateur aux postes
64840 navigator
19741 négociant
91963 no profession
10810 notaire royal
11620 not. pub.
11620 notaire
11620 notary

O

78613 o. veterans
16613 off. surgeon
93713 offce. med. dept.
73175 office messr.
38513 office. keep. e. d.
38691 officekeeper
17413 officer
18213 officier à demi-paye
17613 officier dans le génie
34210 officier de la douane
27270 optician
27270 opticien
12720 orateur de la chambre
24013 ordenance storekeeper
94713 ordinance
94713 ordnce. dept.
24013 ordnec. stor. per.
62934 orfèvre
29575 organist
29575 organiste
96165 orphan asylum
59221 osier

67213 overseer e. dt.

P

54422 p. biscuit
73671 p. de lait
32913 p. m. r. v.
77875 packer
77913 packer o. d.
77913 packer oe. dept.
77913 packer ordinance
75721 paddler
52023 painter
96565 palfrenier [surgeon?]
14720 pastor, Irish church
54522 pastry cook
54522 paticier
54522 patissier
91263 pauvre
32913 pay mr. 68th reg.
32913 paye maître
32913 paymr. h. pay
76340 pêcheur
75721 peddler
75721 pedlar
52023 peintre
52273 peintre & faiseur de chaise
21371 peintre & marchand épicier
52923 peintre & vitrier
52113 peintre o. d.
52023 peinturier
60222 pelletier
43813 penn r. art.
91363 pensioner
91363 pensionnaire
27970 percepteur
60372 perruquier
25970 pharmacien
16420 physician
63386 piano ft. maker
63386 piano l[f?]t. maker
63386 pianoforte maker
63386 pianoforte tunor
64540 pilot
64690 pilot's apprentice
64540 pilote
79574 piqueur
79510 piqueur au chantier du roi
52523 plaisterer
52523 plasterer
52523 platreur
52523 platrier
52723 plumber
55672 poissonnier
31910 police magistrate
65110 policeman
65110 policier
62386 polieur
75871 porte-cassette
73671 porteur de lait
77610 porteur des lettres
35210 post master
93810 post off. dept.

93810 post office
26510 post office surveyor
64436 potier
64436 potierman
62386 poulieur
62386 poullier
52323 pr. museum
97365 presseur
66686 pressier
14220 prêtre
14220 priest
63636 printer
91763 prisoner
11410 procureur général
17070 prof. de médicine
29475 prof. of music
28420 professeur
25261 propriétaire
25261 proprietor
90665 prospectier
87063 prostituée
11710 prot. not.
11710 prothonotaire
11710 prothy.
11710 protonotary
12810 provincial secretary
18913 provl. aide camp.
33313 purser royl. navy

Q

32413 q. master
17813 qm. general
93913 qr. mr. gl. dept.
17813 quartier mtre. genel.
96965 quartmer
92591 Quebec Bank
63710 Queen's printer

R

78813 R. Navy
98665 ramancheur
78125 rammenneur
78125 ramoneur
90465 ratreur
37210 rd. inspr.
36110 rd. treasurer
27370 rebouteur
13110 receiver general
13110 receveur général
66436 rédacteur du Mercury
75321 regratteur
63922 relieur
25161 rentier
13220 représentant de la hte. ville
22974 restauranteur
75971 revendeur
14220 reverend
26310 road surveyor

S

65652 s. de long
24521 s. keeper

59031 s. maker
28520 s. master
33625 sacristain
60831 saddler
60831 sadler
79220 sage femme
76040 sailor
91963 sans profession
55572 saucissier
55572 sausage maker
55572 sausage manfactr.
56536 savonier
56536 savonnier
65552 sawer
65552 sawyer
28520 school master
28520 school mistress
65552 scier
65552 scieur
65652 scieur de long
23871 scieur de long & marchand
64386 sculpteur
64386 sculptor
45191 sec. d'ass.
12510 secr. du gouv.
45091 secrétaire
44691 secrétaire de l'assurance du feu
45413 secrétaire militaire
38210 secretary, Indian department
12810 secrétaire de la province
32210 seere de ville
10061 seigneur
60831 sellier
66886 sellier & charron
33413 sergent
32010 sergent d'armes conseil législatif
32310 sergent d'armes de la c. d'assemblée
33413 sergt. barrack
58234 serrurier
71625 servant
71625 servante
71725 serviteur
33625 sexton
33725 sexton e. c.
33413 sgt. artillery
33413 sgt. de ville
33413 sgt. veterans
53373 sharpener
13510 sheriff
53173 shingler
50133 ship carpenter
65441 ship chandler
20683 shipbuilder
50133 shipwright
59031 shoemaker
24521 shopkeeper
59930 silkwork
57834 silver smith
10461 sir
57424 smith
56436 soap & candle
56536 soap boiler

56536 soapmaker
78713 sol. veterans
78513 soldat
79613 soldat-talleur [?]
78513 soldier
12910 solliciteur génl.
10920 sollicitor
12810 sollicitor
55572 soucissier
36910 sous inspecteur
36910 sous inspecteur des chemins
50333 sr. carpenter
92113 st. h. pay
99274 stable
77424 stable keeper (l.)
16513 staff doctor
16613 staff surg.
22421 stationer
78941 stavador
78941 steevadore
59221 stockingmaker
51923 stone cutter
51523 stone mason
24221 storekeeper
24113 storekr. q. dept.
11570 stu. at law
15020 supérieur du séminaire de Québec
15120 supérieur de l'hôtel Dieu de Québec
15220 supérieur des ursulines de Québec
38110 superintendant, icligraphs [?]
16613 surg. 79th reg.
16613 surg. rl. arty.
16613 surg. 68th reg.
16720 surgeon
16820 surgeon dentt.
34610 suroy. of customs
38810 surt. des ouvrages du gouvernt.
26310 surveyor
26410 survr. genl.
78125 sweep.

T

51923 t. de pierre
99165 t. w.
22322 tabaconiste
51923 tailleur de pierre
59322 tailleur
59322 tailleuse
59322 tailor
59731 tanner
59731 tanneur
61935 tapissier
98124 tavern
23024 tavernkeeper
59322 taylor
28420 teacher
60530 teinturier
44891 teller M. B.
44291 teller Q. B.
29475 thecr. of dancing
94813 32th regt.
37010 thss. [insp.?] chimmy

34410 tide waiter
57934 tinesmith
57934 tinsmith
59430 tisserand
22322 tobacconist
61341 tonnelier
20971 tonnelier & traiteur
31210 tourne clef
61135 tourneur
61235 tourneur & chaisier
18813 town major
36010 town treasurer
78374 trackman
20121 trader
28270 traducteur
28170 traducteur frs.
20721 traiteur
28270 translator
36591 treasurer of Wesleyan chapel
42510 treay. clk.
36391 trésor de la maison de Trinité
36110 trésor des chemins
36691 trésorier
61036 trunkmaker
61135 turner
31210 turnkey
28320 tutor

U

61935 upholster
92365 ussier

V

22771 vendeur
21021 vendeur d'épiceries
73371 vendeur de balais
22871 vendeur de cuir
73571 vendeur de lait
22222 vendeur du tabac
62085 vernisseur
33925 vestryman
78713 veteran
16920 veternary surgeon
21121 victualler
29675 violin maker
29675 violin seller
14870 visiting missionary
28320 visiting tutor
52823 vitrier
52923 vitrier & peintre
65233 voilier
70024 voiturier
79874 voyageur
79874 voyageur aux postes
78574 voyageur aux postes

W

63134 w. maker
34410 waiter
34510 waiter & searcher
63134 watchmaker
74925 watchman
60636 wheeler

60636 wheelwright
60636 whiller
57934 whitesmith
60636 willer
58384 wireworker
90965 Wm. Martin Chinic
43591 writer

X
Y
30350 yeoman
Z

F.2. Sectoral Categorization of Occupation

I: Government (10, 13 & 14)

A: Government Appointees and Employees (10)

10810 notaire royal
11410 advocate genl.
11410 atty. genl.
11410 avocat du roy
11410 avocat généeral
11410 procureur général
11710 prot. not.
11710 prothonotaire
11710 prothy.
11710 protonotary
11910 chief justice
11910 juge
11910 juge de la cour du banc du roi
11910 juge en chef de Montréal
11910 juge en chef de la province
11910 juge, conseiller
12110 j. b. r.
12110 juge du banc du roi
12210 juge & greffier du cl. exec.
12510 secr. du gouv.
12610 gouverneur de Gaspé
12810 provincial secretary
12810 secrétaire de la province
12810 sollicitor
12910 solliciteur génl.
13010 concillier ex.
13010 cons. execut. & legislat.
13110 receiver general
13110 receveur général
13310 écuyer gr. voyer
13410 grand voyer
13510 chef de police
13510 conétable
13510 high constable
13510 sheriff
13610 d. p. m. g.
13610 dr. post master g. s.
13710 directeur des postes
13810 i. gl. accounts
13810 inspr. genl. des comptes publiques
13810 inspr. genl. des comptes
13910 audr. gl. of accts.
20510 gov't contractor
26310 arpenteur
26310 land surveyor
26310 road surveyor
26310 surveyor
26410 arpenteur genl.
26410 survr. genl.
26510 deputé arpenteur général
26510 post office surveyor
31010 coronaire
31010 coroner

31110 gentilhomme de la masse
31210 tourne clef
31210 turnkey
31310 keeper common gaol
31410 gaoler
31410 geôlier
31410 geôlier des prisons de Québec
31510 j. g. of p. a.
31610 j. p.
31610 judge of peace
31610 juge à paix
31710 magistrat
31710 magistrate
31910 police magistrate
32010 sergent d'armes conseil légistatif
32110 bailiff
32110 huissier
32210 seere de ville
32310 député sgt. d'armes
32310 sergent d'armes de la c. d'assemblée
34010 collecteur
34010 collector
34110 collector of custom
34110 collectr. de la douane
34110 controlr. de la douane
34210 douanier
34210 officier de la douane
34310 keeper ct. house
34410 tide waiter
34410 waiter
34510 waiter & searcher
34610 suroy. of customs
34710 custom ho. offr.
34810 custom's
34810 employ. in the custom house
34810 employé à la douane
35210 maître de poste
35210 maître poste
35210 mtre. général des postes
35210 post master
35310 deputy post master
35810 controleur
35910 inspecteur
36010 city treasurer
36010 town treasurer
36110 rd. treasurer
36110 trésor des chemins
36710 inspecteur des travaux
36810 inspecteur farine
36910 deputy road inspector
36910 sous inspecteur
36910 sous inspecteur des chemins
37010 ins. chimnies
37010 inspecteur de chemins
37010 thss. [insp.?] chimmy
37110 acting inspector of chimnies
37210 i. des chemins
37210 i. des rues
37210 insp. des chemins
37210 insp. of street
37210 inspr. of road
37210 rd. inspr.

37210 rd. inspr.
37310 insp. of beachs. [?]
37410 inspecteur de bois
37510 inspecteur de potasse
37610 inspectuer du police
37710 inspecteur des grèves
37810 inspecteur des comptes
37810 inspr. of accts.
37910 insp. ardce. auty.
38110 superintendant, icligraphs [?]
38210 secretary, Indian department
38310 keeper ho. assy.
38410 keeper of exchange
38710 civil secretary
38810 surt. des ouvrages du gouvernt.
38910 dept. registrar
39510 asst. harbour master
39610 ass. secret.
39610 assistant secretaire civil
39610 asst. civil scoz. offce.
39810 dep. des sauvages, lacd [?]
40110 clk. custom house
40110 commis à la douane
40310 clerk of peace
40310 clk. peace
40810 city clerk
40910 clk. l. c.
41010 clk. l. c. offr.
41110 clerc du c. a.
41210 clerk j. c.
41710 clk. ho. assr.
41810 clk. prot. seez. officer
42310 councillor's clerk
42410 clerc de greff. du c. exe.
42410 commis au greffe.
42510 treay. clk.
43010 ck. market
43010 clerc au marché
43010 clerc du marché
43010 clerk of l. market
43010 clerk of the market
43110 greffier
43110 greffier de paix
43110 greffier de paix
43310 greffier du conseil
43410 greffier de la chambre d'assemblée
43410 greffier de la cour du b. du roy
43410 greffier, c. de la disponibilité
43510 écrivain au Château
43510 écrivain au greffier
43510 écrivain de l'ass. lég.
43610 écrivain à l'arsenal
45510 commis de la poste
63710 King's printer
63710 Queen's printer
63710 imprimeur du roi
65110 à la police
65110 connétable
65110 constable
65110 policeman
65110 policier
70110 chartier du roi, la tessier [?]

72310 messager au Château St. Louis
72310 messager de la chambre de l'assemblée
72410 messager du conseil
72510 messenger d. c.
72710 mes. c. s. off.
72710 messr. civil sy. of.
72910 messr. ex. com.
74310 gardien du télégraphe
74410 gardien des chambres du conseil
74410 gardien du parc du roi
74510 gardien de la cour
74610 gardien des offices du gou.
77610 letter carrier
77610 lettr. carr.
77610 porteur des lettres
79510 piqueur au chantier du roi
92710 employé aux travaux du roi
92810 employé à la chambre d'assemblée
93210 à la douane
93210 custom h.
93210 custom house
93210 douane
93810 au postes
93810 post off. dept.
93810 post office
95310 King's work

B: Military Officers, Soldiers and Employees (13,14)

11213 adjt. genl. of m.
11213 adjudant genl. des milices
11213 adt. general
11313 adjt. veterans
11313 asst. adjt. general
11313 deputé adjt. général
14113 chaplain
14113 chaplain to the forces
16013 chirurgien dans l'ordinance
16013 chirurgien dans le 35e rgt.
16013 chirurgien de l'état major
16513 docteur du rgt.
16513 docteur général
16513 médecin au staff
16513 staff doctor
16613 off. surgeon
16613 staff surg.
16613 surg. 68th reg.
16613 surg. 79th reg.
16613 surg. rl. arty.
17213 asst. surgeon 15th rgt.
17213 asst. surgeon 66th rgt.
17313 dept. adj. genl. me. [?]
17413 military officer
17413 mility. office.
17413 officer
17513 com. gl.
17513 commissaire g.
17513 commissaire genl.
17513 company gen.
17613 engineer
17613 ingénieur

17613 ingénieur, dr.
17613 officier dans le génie
17713 député provost
17813 d. a. q. l. [m?]
17813 d. a. q. m.
17813 depy. asst. qr. mr. gl.
17813 qm. general
17813 quartier mtre. genel.
17913 intendant des casernes
18013 brig. major
18113 c. in R. N.
18113 capt. & pm. 17th regt.
18113 captain 24th regt.
18113 captain 66th regt.
18113 captain 71st regt.
18113 captain royal navy
18213 captain half pay
18213 he. pay capt.
18213 officier à demi-paye
18313 captaine
18413 colonel
18513 commissaire des magasins du roi
18513 dept. bk. mr. genl.
18613 lt. col.
18713 maj.-gen.
18813 major
18813 major de brigade
18813 major de ville
18813 town major
18913 aide-de-camp
18913 provl. aide camp.
24013 ordenance storekeeper
24013 ordnec. stor. per.
24113 storekr. q. dept.
24313 d. ordinance, storekeeper
24313 depy. storekeeper
26013 apoth. g. to the forces
31813 maréchal
31813 marshal ve. admt.
32413 q. master
32513 leftenant
32513 lieutenant
32513 lt. can. fen.
32613 full pay offr.
32713 half pay lt.
32713 half pay officier
32813 half pay asst. comy. genl.
32913 p. m. r. v.
32913 pay mr. 68th reg.
32913 paye maître
32913 paymr. h. pay
33013 lt. royal navy
33013 naval off.
33013 naval officer
33213 ensign. 79th regt.
33213 ensign. r. v.
33313 purser royl. navy
33413 sergent
33413 sergt. barrack
33413 sgt. artillery
33413 sgt. de ville
33413 sgt. veterans

33513 barrack master
33513 bk. mr.
38013 issuer comt. dept.
38513 office. keep. e. d.
39013 d. a. c. g.
39013 d. asst. com. ge.
39013 depty. asst. com. gl.
39113 député commre. général
39113 depy. com. genl.
39313 d. commissarr
39413 a. commissarr
39413 asst. commissary
39713 assistant c. g.
39713 asst. com. gl.
39913 commissaire des comptes
40213 clk. o. dept.
40213 clk. ord. dept.
40213 commis de l'ordinance
40613 clerc commissre.
40613 clerk commissary
40613 clk. com. dept.
41413 clk. adjt. gl. dept.
41513 clk. bk. dept.
41913 clk. qu. mr. gl. dept.
42013 clk. e. d.
42013 clk. wks. e. d.
42113 commis des ingénieurs
43213 greffier o. d.
43713 écrivain chez le commissaire général
43813 penn r. art.
44013 casher army b. o.
45413 secrétaire militaire
50413 carpr. e. d.
50513 carpenter K. w.
51613 mason e. d.
52113 peintre o. d.
56913 forgeron o. d.
57113 blk. smith e.d.
57113 forgeron e. d.
61413 cooper à l'ordinance
61413 cooper o. d.
63513 draftsman e. d.
65013 conducteur au commisst.
65013 conducttor. commiss. dept.
67113 foreman blk. smith e. d.
67213 foreman e. d.
67213 foreman labour e. d.
67213 overseer e. dt.
67313 foreman o. d.
67313 foreman orde. dept.
67413 foreman au chantier du roi
67413 foreman, King's works
67513 foreman, g. w.
67713 maître de chantier du roi
72113 mess. comt. dept.
72613 messr dey. officer
72813 commisst. messer.
72813 messager dans les offices mil.
72813 messager de l'ordinance
72813 messager office militaire
72813 messager, dépt. des ingénieurs
72813 messr. commt.

73013 messr. m. dept.
73213 messman
74013 dy. mr. watch
74113 garde magasin
74213 gardien de l'office des ingénieurs
77913 packer o. d.
77913 packer oe. dept.
77913 packer ordinance
78413 corporal
78513 grenadier
78513 militaire
78513 soldat
78513 soldier
78613 army bill o.
78613 artillerie s.
78613 o. veterans
78713 sol. veterans
78713 veteran
78813 R. Navy
79013 gunner, artillery
79113 bombardier
79613 soldat-talleur [?]
80113 journalier o. d.
80113 laborer o. d.
92113 st. h. pay
92613 c. o. d.
93113 dept. des ingénrs.
93113 engr. dept.
93113 ingénieur dept.
93513 au commissre.
93513 c. department
93513 com. dept.
93513 commissaire
93513 commissaire des biens des jésuites
93513 commissar
93513 commissariat
93513 commisst. dept.
93713 departmente medicale
93713 med. dept.
93713 offce. med. dept.
93913 qr. mr. gl. dept.
94013 f. train. dept.
94113 barracks off.
94213 bark. dept. c.
94413 halfpay comre.
94713 de l'ordinance
94713 ordinance
94713 ordnce. dept.
94813 32th regt.
94913 Coldstream
95213 à l'office militaire
99913 f. e. dept.

33114 ancien officier d'artillerie
78514 ancien militaire

II: Service Sector (20-25 & 70-75)

A: Professions (20 & 70)

10920 sollicitor
11020 advocate

11020 avocat
11020 avocate
11120 attorney
11620 not. pub.
11620 notaire
11620 notary
12720 orateur de la chambre
13220 m. p.
13220 member of parliament
13220 représentant de la hte. ville
14020 archdeacon
14020 archidiacre
14020 archidiacre de l'église anglaise
14220 abbé
14220 curé
14220 curate
14220 minister
14220 ministre
14220 prêtre
14220 priest
14220 reverend
14320 ministre & instituteur
14420 ministre de l'église St. Jean
14420 ministre de l'église d'écosse
14520 ministre presbyt, mtre. d'école
14620 ministre anglican
14620 ministre de l'église anglaise
14620 minsistre de l'église de l'Angleterre
14720 pastor, Irish church
14920 évêque de Québec
14920 bishop of Quebec
15020 supérieur du séminaire de Québec
15120 supérieur de l'hôtel Dieu de Québec
15220 supérieur des ursulines de Québec
15320 bishop of Montreal
15520 bishop
15620 lord bishop
15820 grand vicaire
16120 chirurgien
16220 doct. r. a.
16320 docteur
16320 doctor
16320 m. d.
16320 médecin
16420 physician
16720 surgeon
16820 surgeon dentt.
16920 veternary surgeon
26020 apothecary
26020 apothicaire
26020 apothicaire de l'hopital des émigrés
26220 architect
26220 architecte
26220 architeque
26720 dentist
26720 dentiste
28320 tutor
28320 visiting tutor
28420 instituteur
28420 professeur
28420 teacher
28520 école

28520 maître d'école
28520 maîtresse d'école
28520 s. master
28520 school master
28520 school mistress
79220 sage femme

11570 ét. en dt.
11570 stu. at law
11870 clerc avocat
11870 clerc notre.
14870 visiting missionary
17070 prof. de médicine
17170 étud. en médicine
17170 medl. student
25970 pharmacien
26170 chimiste
26870 bone setter
26970 dresseur de mals
27070 druggist
27270 optician
27270 opticien
27370 rebouteur
27970 percepteur
28070 bibliothécaire
28070 librarian
28070 librarian m. j. q.
28170 traducteur frs.
28270 traducteur
28270 translator
28670 maître de langues
28770 institutuer des sourds muets
28970 ancien interprète
96670 depository of books
96770 academy
96870 library

B: Retailers & Local Wholesalers (21 & 71)

20121 commerçant
20121 trader
20721 traiteur
21021 épicier
21021 gr:marchand & épicier
21021 grocer
21021 groceur
21021 marchand épicier
21021 marchd. épicier
21021 vendeur d'épiceries
21121 victualler
21421 hardware merchant
21421 merchant hardware
21521 marchand sur le marché
22121 détailleur
22421 stationer
22621 commt. de bois
22621 marchand de bois
24221 storekeeper
24521 s. keeper
24521 shopkeeper
26621 auctioneer

26621 encanteur
59221 hosier
59221 osier
59221 stockingmaker
62621 jeweller
62621 joaillier
64121 libraire
75321 regratteur
75521 hucster
75521 huxter
75721 colporter
75721 colporteur
75721 paddler
75721 peddler
75721 pedlar
85821 magazin
86321 boutique
93621 commerce

19271 marchand - détailleur
19371 marchand de boissons
19371 marchand de vin
19571 marchand-parfumeur
19671 ancien marchand
19671 ancien négociant
19871 marchand de cuire
20871 ancien traiteur
20971 tonnelier & traiteur
21271 épicier & aubergiste
21371 marchand épicier & peintre
21371 peintre & marchand épicier
21671 distributeur des provisions
21871 dealer in cattle
22571 ancien vendeur d'animaux
22771 vendeur
22871 marchand de cuir
22871 vendeur de cuir
23271 marchand & cantinier
23771 entrepreneur & macon
23871 scieur de long & marchand
23971 ancien marchand & boucher
62771 joaillier & orfèvre
62871 faiseur de colliers
63071 lapidary
73371 vendeur de balais
73571 dairyman
73571 laitier
73571 marchd. de lait
73571 milkman
73571 vendeur de lait
73671 p. de lait
73671 porteur de lait
75671 merchant pedlar
75871 porte-cassette
75971 revendeur
76971 cantinier & porte-cassette

C: "Retail" Crafts (22 & 72)

22222 vendeur du tabac
22322 tabaconiste
22322 tobacconist

54122 cuisinier & patissier
54222 baker
54222 boulanger
54322 confectioner
54322 confiseur
54422 biscuit baker
54422 biscuit maker
54422 p. biscuit
54522 pastry cook
54522 paticier
54522 patissier
54622 boulanger & confiseur
55022 boucher
55022 butcher
59322 tailleur
59322 tailleuse
59322 tailor
59322 taylor
60222 foureur
60222 fourier
60222 fourrier
60222 furrier
60222 manchonnier
60222 pelletier
63922 bk. binder
63922 bookbinder
63922 relieur

19172 marchand tailleur
19172 mer. tailor
19172 merchant tailor
54772 campagnon boulanger
55272 ancien boucher
55372 block meat maker
55572 saucissier
55572 sausage maker
55572 sausage manfactr.
55572 soucissier
55672 poissonnier
59572 couturière
59572 couturier
59572 dressmaker
60372 perruquier

D: Building Crafts (23 & 73)

20523 contractor
27123 builder
50023 carpenter
50023 charp.
50023 charpentier
50223 mr. carpenter
51023 joiner
51023 menuis.
51023 menuisier
51523 mac.
51523 macon
51523 mason
51523 stone mason
51723 mtr. macon
51923 stone cutter
51923 t. de pierre

51923 tailleur de pierre
52023 painter
52023 peintre
52023 peinturier
52323 pr. museum
52523 plaisterer
52523 plasterer
52523 platreur
52523 platrier
52723 plumber
52823 glazier
52823 vitrier
52923 peintre & vitrier
52923 vitrier & peintre
53223 millright

50673 ancien charpentier
50773 charpentier & menuisier
50873 charpentier & aide-bedeau
50973 arpenteur & menuisier & charpentier
51173 ancien menuisier
51373 macon & sellier
51473 bricker
51873 ancien macon
52273 peintre & faiseur de chaise
53073 couvraisan de bardeau
53073 couvreur
53073 couvreur de bardeau
53073 covenor
53073 coverer
53173 shingler

53373 affileur
53373 grinder of tools
53373 sharpener

E: Travel and Transport Services (24 & 74)

23024 aubergiste
23024 innkeeper
23024 tavernkeeper
23524 cabaretier
57024 bk. smith
57024 blacksmith
57024 forgeron
57224 farrier
57424 smith
70024 carter
70024 charretier
70024 chartier
70024 voiturier
76424 boatman
76524 batelier
76624 chaloupier
77224 groom
77424 livery stable
77424 stable keeper (l.)
98124 tavern
98524 Albion Hotel

22974 restauranteur
23174 boarding ho. keeper

23174 hôtellier
23174 hotel keeper
23174 innkeeper
23174 maison de pension
23374 ancien cabaretier
23374 ancien cantinier
23474 canteen keeper
23474 cantinier
23674 canteen asst.
70274 charretier & vendeur de lait
70374 charretier & macon
70374 macon & charretier
70474 charretier & fermier
70574 charretier & chasseur
70674 charretier & cordonnier
70674 charretier & shoemaker
70774 ancien charretier
76874 maître de steamboat
77174 coachman
77374 horse rider
78374 trackman
78574 voyageur aux postes
79574 piqueur
79774 ancien voyageur
79874 voyageur
79874 voyageur aux postes
79974 cabaretier & charretier
99274 écuries
99274 stable

F: Other Services (25 & 75)

29325 musician
29325 musicien
33625 sacristain
33625 sexton
33725 sexton e. c.
33925 vestryman
60425 hairdresser
70825 lavandière
70825 laveuse
71025 domestique
71125 domestique au présbytère
71225 domestique au séminaire
71325 domestique aux casernes
71425 domestique au Mont Carmel
71525 domestique aux jésuites
71625 servant
71625 servante
71725 serviteur
74725 gardien des offices des jésuites
74825 gardien
74825 guardian
74925 watchman
75025 beadle
75025 bedeau
75025 bedeaun
75025 bedeaux
75125 bedeau de l'église an.
75225 bedeau de l'église catholique
75425 bell hanger
77025 barber
77025 barbier

77025 haircutter
78025 fossoyeur
78025 gravedigger
78125 rammenneur
78125 ramoneur
78125 sweep.

29075 artist
29075 artiste
29175 comedien
29175 comedienne
29175 joueur de marionnettes
29275 j. de violon
29275 joueur de violon
29475 maître de musique
29475 music teacher
29475 prof. of music
29475 thecr. of dancing
29575 organist
29575 organiste
29675 luthier
29675 violin maker
29675 violin seller
29775 mtre. de dance
29875 joueur de clarinette
29975 mtre. de danse & barbouilleur
33875 marguillier
42675 clr. qu. session
42775 church clerk
42775 clk. church
42875 clk. Eng. Ch.
42975 clerk of English Cathedral
53875 cuisinier en séminaire
53975 cooker
54075 cook
54075 cuisinier
66975 maître d'escrime
67075 contremaître
67075 foreman
67675 foreman du chantier
70975 gardant[e] d'enfants
71875 butler
71975 ménager
72075 messager
72075 messenger
72275 mess. b. de Montréal
72275 mess. mem. bank
72275 messenger bank
73175 office messr.
73875 gardian & messagger
73875 gardien & messagger
77375 crieur
77875 packer
78275 ancien ramoneur
79375 bourreur [stuffer?]
91075 modeuse

III: Industrial (30-36 & 81-86)

A: Textile Trades (30)

59430 tisserand

59930 silkwork
60530 dier
60530 dyer
60530 teinturier

B: Leather & Fur-Using Trades (31 & 81)

59031 cordonnier
59031 s. maker
59031 shoemaker
59131 boot & shoemaker
59631 chamoiseur
59731 tanner
59731 tanneur
60031 milliner
60031 modiste
60131 chapelier
60131 chapellier
60131 hatter
60831 saddler
60831 sadler
60831 sellier
60931 harnessmaker

19481 marchand de chapeaux
59881 ancien tanneur

C: Food and Drink Processing (32 & 82)

54832 meunier
54832 miller

56032 brasseur
56032 brasseur de bière
56032 brewer
56232 disteller
56232 distileur

56182 ginger beer maker

D: Shipbuilding and
'Fitting Crafts (33 & 83)

50133 charpentier de navire
50133 ship carpenter
50133 shipwright
50333 sr. carpenter
52633 calfat
52633 calker
65233 voilier

20683 shipbuilder

E: Metal Crafts
(except blacksmiths) (34 & 84)

57534 copper
57534 coppersmith
57634 armorer
57634 armourer
57634 armurier
57634 gunsmith
57734 master armourer

57834 silver smith
57934 ferblantier
57934 tinesmith
57934 tinsmith
57934 whitesmith
58034 brass founder
58134 cloutier
58134 faiseur de clous
58134 nailer
58134 nailmaker
58234 serrurier
61734 coutelier
61734 coutellier
61734 cutler
62934 goldsmith
62934 orfèvre
63134 w. maker
63134 watchmaker
63234 clockmaker
63234 horloger

57384 mr. smith
57384 mtre. forgeron
58384 wireworker
58484 blockmaker
62484 lampiste
62484 lampmaker
62584 doreur
62584 gilder

F: Furniture Trades (35 & 85)

61135 carrossier
61135 tourneur
61135 turner
61235 tourneur & chaisier
61835 c. maker
61835 cab. maker
61835 cabinetmaker
61835 meublier
61935 apholster
61935 tapissier
61935 upholster
62135 chairmaker
62135 chaisier
62135 faiseur de chaises

62085 vernisseur
62685 ébéniste doreur

G: Miscellaneous Trades (36 & 86)

56436 soap & candle
56536 savonier
56536 savonnier
56536 soap boiler
56536 soapmaker
56736 comb. maker
56836 faiseur de peignes
60636 charron
60636 wheeler
60636 wheelwright
60636 whiller

60636 willer
61036 faiseur de valise
61036 trunkmaker
61636 coachmaker
63536 engraver
63536 graver
63536 graveur
63636 imprimeur
63636 printer
64436 potier
64436 potierman
66436 rédacteur du Mercury

56686 faiseur de balais
60786 mrst. wheeler
62386 polieur
62386 poulieur
62386 poullier
63386 faiseur de piano
63386 piano ft. maker
63386 piano l[f?]t. maker
63386 pianoforte maker
63386 pianoforte tunor
63486 faiseur d'instrument
63486 musical inst. maker
63886 copper plate pr.
64286 figure maker
64386 sculpteur
64386 sculptor
66586 coliseur
66686 empeilleur
66686 naturalist
66686 pressier
66786 moldmaker
66886 sellier & charron

IV: Commerce (Maritime and Fisheries) (40-41 & 90-91)

A: Mariners (40 & 90)

64540 pilot
64540 pilote
64840 navigateur
64840 navigateur aux postes
64840 navigator
76040 marin
76040 mariner
76040 marinier
76040 marmer
76040 sailor
76140 matelot
76240 matelot pêcheur
76340 pêcheur
76740 captaine de vaisseau

64690 pilot's apprentice
64790 ancien pilot
64990 ancien navigateur

B: Merchants and Supporting Personnel (41 & 91)

19041 marchand
19041 marchand en gros
19041 merchant
19741 négociant
20041 entrepreneur
21941 flour dealer
27641 banquier
27641 banquier
40041 clerck
40041 clerk
40041 comis
40041 commis
40441 clk. bank
40541 commis des comtes, banque de Montréal
40641 commis b. de Q.
40741 clerc en change
41341 bookkeeper Q. Bank
41341 caissier de la b. de Québec
41341 clerk Q. Bk.
41341 clerk of council
41641 clerk, Montreal Bank
42241 commis à la brasserie
44441 accountant
44941 caissier
44941 cashier
61341 cooper
61341 tonnelier
61541 coopr. rab. pan. [?]
65441 chandler
65441 ship chandler

78941 arimeur
78941 stavador
78941 steevadore
96041 Brit. Bank

20291 agent des émigrés
20291 emigrant agent
20391 agent
20491 broker
20491 courtier
21791 agent h.(Hudson?)b.(Bay?)co.
22091 dealer
36291 économe [des] ursulines
36391 trésor de la maison de Trinité
36491 économe du séminaire
36591 treasurer of Wesleyan chapel
36691 économe
36691 député trésorier
36691 trésorier
38691 officekeeper
43591 écrivain
43591 writer
44191 cashr. Q. Bk.
44291 teller Q. B.
44391 bookkeeper
44591 éditeur
44591 editor
44691 secrétaire de l'assurance du feu
44791 bank teller
44891 teller M. B.
45091 secrétaire

45191 sec. d'ass.
45291 écrivain à l'office du sécretaire pro.
92491 Montreal Bank
92491 banque de Montréal
92591 à la Banque de Québec
92591 Quebec Bank
93491 commr. transport
98391 à l'échange

V: Extractive (except fishing) (50-52 & 92)

A: Agriculture (50 & 92)

30150 cultivateur
30250 farmer
30350 yeoman
30450 habitant
30550 cultivator
77550 gardener
77550 jardinier

30092 ancien fermier

B: Mining (51)

77751 miner
77751 mineur

C: Lumbering (52)

65552 sawer
65552 sawyer
65552 scier
65552 scieur
65652 s. de long
65652 scieur de long
65952 mesureur de bois
66052 cutter
66152 culler
66152 ind. du bois
66252 écarisseur
66252 are man
99452 lumber

VI: Unclassified (60-65 & 93)

A: Labourers (unassignable sector) (60 & 93)

80060 journ.
80060 journalière
80060 journalier
80060 laborer
80060 labourer
80460 journalier & aide-bedeau
80560 journeyman
80760 bucheur

80293 ancien journalier
80293 ancien laboureur

B: Unemployed & Retired (including gentlemen) (61)

10061 seigneur
10161 écuier
10161 écuyer
10261 gent.
10261 gentilhomme
10361 esquire
10461 sir
10561 honorable
10661 chevalier
25061 bourgeois
25061 burgess
25161 rentier
25261 propriétaire
25261 proprietor

C: No Stated Occupation (63)

80363 apprenti
80663 engagé
87063 prostituée
87163 désignantur mérétrices
91263 pauvre
91363 pensioner
91363 pensionnaire
91763 prisoner
91963 no profession
91963 sans profession
94363 gendre de propriétaire
94563 mauvais commerce
98763 mendiant

D: Illegible & Not Indicated (65)

64065 colleur
85065 col. inst.
85165 m. m.
85265 lauver
85365 femer
90165 aumeur
90265 Black & Henderson
90365 cartenier
90465 ratreur
90565 coisonnier
90665 prospectier
90765 barbouillleur
90965 Wm. Martin Chinic
91165 jipstaff
91465 arimist
91665 coreilleur
92365 ussier
96165 orphan asylum
96265 brasier
96365 dailer
96365 dayler
96465 auissier
96565 palfrenier [surgeon?]
96965 quartmer
97065 battrel
97165 brikler

97365 presseur
97565 campagnon
97865 empalotrier
97965 de l'assurance
98265 aux ursulines
98665 ramancheur
99165 t. w.
99365 billard
99565 crillemaker
99665 au séminaire
99765 keepeur

F.3. Vertical Categorization of Occupation

I (100-199)

A: Gentlemen etc. (100-106)

10061 seigneur
10161 écuier
10161 écuyer
10261 gent.
10261 gentilhomme
10361 esquire
10361 esquire
10461 sir
10561 honorable
10661 chevalier

B: Legal & Judicial Professions (108-122)

10810 notaire royal
10920 sollicitor
11020 advocate
11020 avocat
11020 avocate
11120 attorney
11213 adjt. genl. of m.
11213 adjudant genl. des milices
11213 adt. general
11313 adjt. veterans
11313 asst. adjt. general
11313 député adjt. général
11410 advocate genl.
11410 atty. genl.
11410 avocat du roy
11410 avocat généeral
11410 procureur général
11570 ét. en dt.
11570 stu. at law
11620 not. pub.
11620 notaire
11620 notary
11710 prot. not.
11710 prothonotaire
11710 prothy.
11710 protonotary
11870 clerc avocat
11870 clerc notre.
11910 chief justice
11910 juge
11910 juge de la cour du banc du roi
11910 juge en chef de Montréal
11910 juge en chef de la province
11910 juge, conseiller
12110 j. b. r.
12110 juge du banc du roi
12210 juge & greffier du cl. exec.

C: Important Government Officials (125-139)

12510 secr. du gouv.
12610 gouverneur de Gaspé
12720 orateur de la chambre
12810 provincial secretary
12810 secrétaire de la province
12810 sollicitor
12910 solliciteur génl.
13010 concillier ex.
13010 cons. execut. & legislat.
13110 receiver general
13110 receveur général
13220 m. p.
13220 member of parliament
13220 représentant de la hte. ville
13310 écuyer gr. voyer
13410 grand voyer
13510 chef de police
13510 conétable
13510 high constable
13510 sheriff
13610 d. p. m. g.
13610 dr. post master g. s.
13710 directeur des postes
13810 i. gl. accounts
13810 inspr. genl. des comptes publiques
13810 inspr. genl. des comptes
13910 audr. gl. of accts.

D: Clergymen (140-158)

14020 archdeacon
14020 archidiacre
14020 archidiacre de l'église anglaise
14113 chaplain
14113 chaplain to the forces
14220 abbé
14220 curé
14220 curate
14220 minister
14220 ministre
14220 prêtre
14220 priest
14220 reverend
14320 ministre & instituteur
14420 ministre de l'église St. Jean
14420 ministre de l'église d'écosse
14520 ministre presbyt, mtre. d'école
14620 ministre anglican
14620 ministre de l'église anglaise
14620 minsistre de l'église de l'Angleterre
14720 pastor, Irish church
14870 visiting missionary
14920 évêque de Québec
14920 bishop of Quebec
15020 supérieur du séminaire de Québec
15120 supérieur de l'hôtel Dieu de Québec
15220 supérieur des ursulines de Québec
15320 bishop of Montreal
15520 bishop
15620 lord bishop
15820 grand vicaire

E: Medical Profession (160-172)

16013 chirurgien dans l'ordinance
16013 chirurgien dans le 35e rgt.
16013 chirurgien de l'état major
16120 chirurgien
16220 doct. r. a.
16320 docteur
16320 doctor
16320 m. d.
16320 médecin
16420 physician
16513 docteur du rgt.
16513 docteur général
16513 médecin au staff
16513 staff doctor
16613 off. surgeon
16613 staff surg.
16613 surg. 68th reg.
16613 surg. 79th reg.
16613 surg. rl. arty.
16720 surgeon
16820 surgeon dentt.
16920 veternary surgeon
17070 prof. de médicine
17170 étud. en médicine
17170 medl. student
17213 asst. surgeon 15th rgt.
17213 asst. surgeon 66th rgt.

F: Military Officers (173-189)

17313 dépt. adj. genl. me. [?]
17413 military officer
17413 mility. office.
17413 officer
17513 com. gl.
17513 commissaire g.
17513 commissaire genl.
17513 company gen.
17613 engineer
17613 ingénieur
17613 ingénieur, dr.
17613 officier dans le génie
17713 député provost
17813 d. a. q. l. [m?]
17813 d. a. q. m.
17813 depy. asst. qr. mr. gl.
17813 qm. general
17813 quartier mtre. genel.
17913 intendant des casernes
18013 brig. major
18113 c. in R. N.
18113 capt. & pm. 17th regt.
18113 captain 24th regt.
18113 captain 66th regt.
18113 captain 71st regt.
18113 captain royal navy
18213 captain half pay
18213 he. pay capt.
18213 officier à demi-paye
18313 captaine
18413 colonel

18513 commissaire des magasins du roi
18513 dept. bk. mr. genl.
18613 lt. col.
18713 maj.-gen.
18813 major
18813 major de brigade
18813 major de ville
18813 town major
18913 aide-de-camp
18913 provl. aide camp.

G: Merchants (190-198)

19041 marchand
19041 marchand en gros
19041 merchant
19172 marchand tailleur
19172 mer. tailor
19172 merchant tailor
19271 marchand - détailleur
19371 marchand de boissons
19371 marchand de vin
19481 marchand de chapeaux
19571 marchand-parfumeur
19671 ancien marchand
19671 ancien négociant
19741 négociant
19871 marchand de cuire

II: (200-499)

A: Retailers, Dealers etc. (200-239)

20041 entrepreneur
20121 commerçant
20121 trader
20291 agent des émigrés
20291 emigrant agent
20391 agent
20491 broker
20491 courtier
20510 gov't contractor
20523 contractor
20683 shipbuilder
20721 traiteur
20871 ancien traiteur
20971 tonnelier & traiteur
21021 épicier
21021 gr:marchand & épicier
21021 grocer
21021 groceur
21021 marchand épicier
21021 marchd. épicier
21021 vendeur d'épiceries
21121 victualler
21271 épicier & aubergiste
21371 marchand épicier & peintre
21371 peintre & marchand épicier
21421 hardware merchant
21421 merchant hardware
21521 marchand sur le marché
21671 distributeur des provisions

21791 agent h.(Hudson?)b.(Bay?)co.
21871 dealer in cattle
21941 flour dealer
22091 dealer
22121 détailleur
22222 vendeur du tabac
22322 tabaconiste
22322 tobacconist
22421 stationer
22571 ancien vendeur d'animaux
22621 commt. de bois
22621 marchand de bois
22771 vendeur
22871 marchand de cuir
22871 vendeur de cuir
22974 restauranteur
23024 aubergiste
23024 innkeeper
23024 tavernkeeper
23174 boarding ho. keeper
23174 hôtellier
23174 hotel keeper
23174 innkeeper
23174 maison de pension
23271 marchand & cantinier
23374 ancien cabaretier
23374 ancien cantinier
23474 canteen keeper
23474 cantinier
23524 cabaretier
23674 canteen asst.
23771 entrepreneur & macon
23871 scieur de long & marchand
23971 ancien marchand & boucher

B: Storekeepers (240-245)

24013 ordenance storekeeper
24013 ordnec. stor. per.
24113 storekr. q. dept.
24221 storekeeper
24313 d. ordinance, storekeeper
24313 depy. storekeeper
24521 s. keeper
24521 shopkeeper

C: Bourgeois (250-252)

25061 bourgeois
25061 burgess
25161 rentier
25261 propriétaire
25261 proprietor

D: Professions (259-276)

25970 pharmacien
26013 apoth. g. to the forces
26020 apothecary
26020 apothicaire
26020 apothicaire de l'hopital des émigrés
26170 chimiste

26220 architect
26220 architecte
26220 architeque
26310 arpenteur
26310 land surveyor
26310 road surveyor
26310 surveyor
26410 arpenteur genl.
26410 survr. genl.
26510 député arpenteur général
26510 post office surveyor
26621 auctioneer
26621 encanteur
26720 dentist
26720 dentiste
26870 bone setter
26970 dresseur de mals
27070 druggist
27123 builder
27270 optician
27270 opticien
27370 rebouteur
27641 banquier
27641 banquier

E: Teachers etc. (279-289)

27970 percepteur
28070 bibliothécaire
28070 librarian
28070 librarian m. j. q.
28170 traducteur frs.
28270 traducteur
28270 translator
28320 tutor
28320 visiting tutor
28420 instituteur
28420 professeur
28420 teacher
28520 école
28520 maître d'école
28520 maîtresse d'école
28520 s. master
28520 school master
28520 school mistress
28670 maître de langues
28770 institutuer des sourds muets
28970 ancien interprète

F: Artists (290-299)

29075 artist
29075 artiste
29175 comedien
29175 comedienne
29175 joueur de marionnettes
29275 j. de violon
29275 joueur de violon
29325 musician
29325 musicien
29475 maître de musique
29475 music teacher

29475 prof. of music
29475 thecr. of dancing
29575 organist
29575 organiste
29675 luthier
29675 violin maker
29675 violin seller
29775 mtre. de dance
29875 joueur de clarinette
29975 mtre. de danse & barbouilleur

G: Farmers (300-305)

30092 ancien fermier
30150 cultivateur
30250 farmer
30350 yeoman
30450 habitant
30550 cultivator

H: Government Officials (310-323)

31010 coronaire
31010 coroner
31110 gentilhomme de la masse
31210 tourne clef
31210 turnkey
31310 keeper common gaol
31410 gaoler
31410 geôlier
31410 geôlier des prisons de Québec
31510 j. g. of p. a.
31610 j. p.
31610 judge of peace
31610 juge à paix
31710 magistrat
31710 magistrate
31813 maréchal
31813 marshal ve. admt.
31910 police magistrate
32010 sergent d'armes conseil législatif
32110 bailiff
32110 huissier
32210 seere de ville
32310 député sgt. d'armes
32310 sergent d'armes de la c. d'assemblée

I: Military Officers & Sergents (324-335)

32413 q. master
32513 leftenant
32513 lieutenant
32513 lt. can. fen.
32613 full pay offr.
32713 half pay lt.
32713 half pay officier
32813 half pay asst. comy. genl.
32913 p. m. r. v.
32913 pay mr. 68th reg.
32913 paye maître
32913 paymr. h. pay
33013 lt. royal navy

33013 naval off.
33013 naval officer
33114 ancien officier d'artillerie
33213 ensign. 79th regt.
33213 ensign. r. v.
33313 purser royl. navy
33413 sergent
33413 sergt. barrack
33413 sgt. artillery
33413 sgt. de ville
33413 sgt. veterans
33513 barrack master
33513 bk. mr.

J: Church Officials (336-339)

33625 sacristain
33625 sexton
33725 sexton e. c.
33875 marguillier
33925 vestryman

K: Government Employees (340-399)

34010 collecteur
34010 collector
34110 collector of custom
34110 collectr. de la douane
34110 controlr. de la douane
34210 douanier
34210 officier de la douane
34310 keeper ct. house
34410 tide waiter
34410 waiter
34510 waiter & searcher
34610 suroy. of customs
34710 custom ho. offr.
34810 custom's
34810 employ. in the custom house
34810 employé à la douane
35210 maître de poste
35210 maître poste
35210 mtre. général des postes
35210 post master
35310 deputy post master
35810 controleur
35910 inspecteur
36010 city treasurer
36010 town treasurer
36110 rd. treasurer
36110 trésor des chemins
36291 économe [des] ursulines
36391 trésor de la maison de Trinité
36491 économe du séminaire
36591 treasurer of Wesleyan chapel
36691 économe
36691 député trésorier
36691 trésorier
36710 inspecteur des travaux
36810 inspecteur farine
36910 deputy road inspector
36910 sous inspecteur

36910 sous inspecteur des chemins
37010 ins. chimnies
37010 inspecteur de chemins
37010 thss. [insp.?] chimmy
37110 acting inspector of chimnies
37210 i. des chemins
37210 i. des rues
37210 insp. des chemins
37210 insp. of street
37210 inspr. of road
37210 rd. inspr.
37310 insp. of beachs. [?]
37410 inspecteur de bois
37510 inspecteur de potasse
37610 inspectuer du police
37710 inspecteur des grèves
37810 inspecteur des comptes
37810 inspr. of accts.
37910 insp. ardce. auty.
38013 issuer comt. dept.
38110 superintendant, icligraphs [?]
38210 secretary, Indian department
38310 keeper ho. assy.
38410 keeper of exchange
38513 office. keep. e. d.
38691 officekeeper
38710 civil secretary
38810 surt. des ouvrages du gouvernt.
38910 dept. registrar
39013 d. a. c. g.
39013 d. asst. com. ge.
39013 depty. asst. com. gl.
39113 député commre. général
39113 depy. com. genl.
39313 d. commissarr
39413 a. commissarr
39413 asst. commissary
39510 asst. harbour master
39610 ass. secret.
39610 assistant secretaire civil
39610 asst. civil scoz. offce.
39713 assistant c. g.
39713 asst. com. gl.
39810 dép. des sauvages, lacd [?]
39913 commissaire des comptes

L: Clerks (400-455)

40041 clerck
40041 clerk
40041 comis
40041 commis
40110 clk. custom house
40110 commis à la douane
40213 clk. o. dept.
40213 clk. ord. dept.
40213 commis de l'ordinance
40310 clerk of peace
40310 clk. peace
40441 clk. bank
40541 commis des comtes,
banque de Montréal

40613 clerc commissre.
40613 clerk commissary
40613 clk. com. dept.
40641 commis b. de Q.
40741 clerc en change
40810 city clerk
40910 clk. l. c.
41010 clk. l. c. offr.
41110 clerc du c. a.
41210 clerk j. c.
41341 bookkeeper Q. Bank
41341 caissier de la b. de Québec
41341 clerk Q. Bk.
41341 clerk of council
41413 clk. adjt. gl. dept.
41513 clk. bk. dept.
41641 clerk, Montreal Bank
41710 clk. ho. assr.
41810 clk. prot. seez. officer
41913 clk. qu. mr. gl. dept.
42013 clk. e. d.
42013 clk. wks. e. d.
42113 commis des ingénieurs
42241 commis à la brasserie
42310 councillor's clerk
42410 clerc de greff. du c. exe.
42410 commis au greffe.
42510 treay. clk.
42675 clr. qu. session
42775 church clerk
42775 clk. church
42875 clk. Eng. Ch.
42975 clerk of English Cathedral
43010 ck. market
43010 clerc au marché
43010 clerc du marché
43010 clerk of l. market
43010 clerk of the market
43110 greffier
43110 greffier de paix
43110 greffier de paix
43213 greffier o. d.
43310 greffier du conseil
43410 greffier de la chambre d'assemblée
43410 greffier de la cour du b. du roy
43410 greffier, c. de la disponibilité
43510 écrivain au Château
43510 écrivain au greffier
43510 écrivain de l'ass. lég.
43591 écrivain
43591 writer
43610 écrivain à l'arsenal
43713 écrivain chez le commissaire général
43813 penn r. art.
44013 casher army b. o.
44191 cashr. Q. Bk.
44291 teller Q. B.
44391 bookkeeper
44441 accountant
44591 éditeur
44591 editor
44691 secrétaire de l'assurance du feu

44791 bank teller
44891 teller M. B.
44941 caissier
44941 cashier
45091 secrétaire
45191 sec. d'ass.
45291 écrivain à l'office du sécretaire pro.
45413 secrétaire militaire
45510 commis de la poste

III: Tradesmen and Foremen (500-677)

A: Carpenters & Joiners (500-511)

50023 carpenter
50023 charp.
50023 charpentier
50133 charpentier de navire
50133 ship carpenter
50133 shipwright
50223 mr. carpenter
50333 sr. carpenter
50413 carpr. e. d.
50513 carpenter K. w.
50673 ancien charpentier
50773 charpentier & menuisier
50873 charpentier & aide-bedeau
50973 arpenteur & menuisier & charpentier
51023 joiner
51023 menuis.
51023 menuisier
51173 ancien menuisier

B: Masons & Stone Workers (513-519)

51373 macon & sellier
51473 bricker
51523 mac.
51523 macon
51523 mason
51523 stone mason
51613 mason e. d.
51723 mtr. macon
51873 ancien macon
51923 stone cutter
51923 t. de pierre
51923 tailleur de pierre

C: Painters, Plasterers & Glaziers (520-529)

52023 painter
52023 peintre
52023 peinturier
52113 peintre o. d.
52273 peintre & faiseur de chaise
52323 pr. museum
52523 plaisterer
52523 plasterer
52523 platreur
52523 platrier
52633 calfat

52633 calker
52723 plumber
52823 glazier
52823 vitrier
52923 peintre & vitrier
52923 vitrier & peintre

D: Shinglers, Grinders & Millwrights (530-533)

53073 couvraisan de bardeau
53073 couvreur
53073 couvreur de bardeau
53073 covenor
53073 coverer
53173 shingler
53223 millright
53373 affileur
53373 grinder of tools
53373 sharpener

E: Cooks & Bakers (538-547)

53875 cuisinier en séminaire
53975 cooker
54075 cook
54075 cuisinier
54122 cuisinier & patissier
54222 baker
54222 boulanger
54322 confectioner
54322 confiseur
54422 biscuit baker
54422 biscuit maker
54422 p. biscuit
54522 pastry cook
54522 paticier
54522 patissier
54622 boulanger & confiseur
54772 campagnon boulanger

F: Millers, Butchers & Brewers (548-562)

54832 meunier
54832 miller
55022 boucher
55022 butcher
55272 ancien boucher
55372 block meat maker
55572 saucissier
55572 sausage maker
55572 sausage manfactr.
55572 soucissier
55672 poissonnier
56032 brasseur
56032 brasseur de bière
56032 brewer
56182 ginger beer maker
56232 disteller
56232 distileur

G: Soap and Comb Makers (564-568)

56436 soap & candle
56536 savonier
56536 savonnier
56536 soap boiler
56536 soapmaker
56686 faiseur de balais
56736 comb. maker
56836 faiseur de peignes

H: Smiths (569-579)

56913 forgeron o. d.
57024 bk. smith
57024 blacksmith
57024 forgeron
57113 blk. smith e.d.
57113 forgeron e. d.
57224 farrier
57384 mr. smith
57384 mtre. forgeron
57424 smith
57534 copper
57534 coppersmith
57634 armorer
57634 armourer
57634 armurier
57634 gunsmith
57734 master armourer
57834 silver smith
57934 ferblantier
57934 tinesmith
57934 tinsmith
57934 whitesmith

I: Metal Tradesmen (580-584)

58034 brass founder
58134 cloutier
58134 faiseur de clous
58134 nailer
58134 nailmaker
58234 serrurier
58384 wireworker
58484 blockmaker

J: Shoemakers, Tailors etc. (590-604)

59031 cordonnier
59031 s. maker
59031 shoemaker
59131 boot & shoemaker
59221 hosier
59221 osier
59221 stockingmaker
59322 tailleur
59322 tailleuse
59322 tailor
59322 taylor
59430 tisserand
59572 couturière
59572 couturier
59572 dressmaker

59631 chamoiseur
59731 tanner
59731 tanneur
59881 ancien tanneur
59930 silkwork
60031 milliner
60031 modiste
60131 chapelier
60131 chapellier
60131 hatter
60222 foureur
60222 fourier
60222 fourrier
60222 furrier
60222 manchonnier
60222 pelletier
60372 perruquier
60425 hairdresser

K: Other (605-669)

60530 dier
60530 dyer
60530 teinturier
60636 charron
60636 wheeler
60636 wheelwright
60636 whiller
60636 willer
60786 mrst. wheeler
60831 saddler
60831 sadler
60831 sellier
60931 harnessmaker
61036 faiseur de valise
61036 trunkmaker
61135 carrossier
61135 tourneur
61135 turner
61235 tourneur & chaisier
61341 cooper
61341 tonnelier
61413 cooper à l'ordinance
61413 cooper o. d.
61541 coopr. rab. pan. [?]
61636 coachmaker
61734 coutelier
61734 coutellier
61734 cutler
61835 c. maker
61835 cab. maker
61835 cabinetmaker
61835 meublier
61935 apholster
61935 tapissier
61935 upholster
62085 vernisseur
62135 chairmaker
62135 chaisier
62135 faiseur de chaises
62386 polieur
62386 poulieur

62386 poullier
62484 lampiste
62484 lampmaker
62584 doreur
62584 gilder
62621 jeweller
62621 joaillier
62685 ébéniste doreur
62771 joaillier & orfèvre
62871 faiseur de colliers
62934 goldsmith
62934 orfèvre
63071 lapidary
63134 w. maker
63134 watchmaker
63234 clockmaker
63234 horloger
63386 faiseur de piano
63386 piano ft. maker
63386 piano l[f?]t. maker
63386 pianoforte maker
63386 pianoforte tunor
63486 faiseur d'instrument
63486 musical inst. maker
63513 draftsman e. d.
63536 engraver
63536 graver
63536 graveur
63636 imprimeur
63636 printer
63710 King's printer
63710 Queen's printer
63710 imprimeur du roi
63886 copper plate pr.
63922 bk. binder
63922 bookbinder
63922 relieur
64065 colleur
64121 libraire
64286 figure maker
64386 sculpteur
64386 sculptor
64436 potier
64436 potierman
64540 pilot
64540 pilote
64690 pilot's apprentice
64790 ancien pilot
64840 navigateur
64840 navigateur aux postes
64840 navigator
64990 ancien navigateur
65013 conducteur au commisst.
65013 conducttor. commiss. dept.
65110 à la police
65110 connétable
65110 constable
65110 policeman
65110 policier
65233 voilier
65441 chandler
65441 ship chandler

65552 sawer
65552 sawyer
65552 scier
65552 scieur
65652 s. de long
65652 scieur de long
65952 mesureur de bois
66052 cutter
66152 culler
66152 ind. du bois
66252 écarisseur
66252 are man
66436 rédacteur du Mercury
66586 coliseur
66686 empeilleur
66686 naturalist
66686 pressier
66786 moldmaker
66886 sellier & charron
66975 maître d'escrime

L: Formen (670-677)

67075 contremaître
67075 foreman
67113 foreman blk. smith e. d.
67213 foreman e. d.
67213 foreman labour e. d.
67213 overseer e. dt.
67313 foreman o. d.
67313 foreman orde. dept.
67413 foreman au chantier du roi
67413 foreman, King's works
67513 foreman, g. w.
67675 foreman du chantier
67713 maître de chantier du roi

IV: Labourers - Specified Occupations (700-799)

A: Carters (700-707)

70024 carter
70024 charretier
70024 chartier
70024 voiturier
70110 chartier du roi, la tessier [?]
70274 charretier & vendeur de lait
70374 charretier & macon
70374 macon & charretier
70474 charretier & fermier
70574 charretier & chasseur
70674 charretier & cordonnier
70674 charretier & shoemaker
70774 ancien charretier

B: Servants etc. (708-719)

70825 lavandière
70825 laveuse
70975 gardant[e] d'enfants
71025 domestique

71125 domestique au présbytère
71225 domestique au séminaire
71325 domestique aux casernes
71425 domestique au Mont Carmel
71525 domestique aux jésuites
71625 servant
71625 servante
71725 serviteur
71875 butler
71975 ménager

C: Messengers (720-732)

72075 messager
72075 messenger
72113 mess. comt. dept.
72275 mess. b. de Montréal
72275 mess. mem. bank
72275 messenger bank
72310 messager au Château St. Louis
72310 messager de la chambre de l'assemblée
72410 messager du conseil
72510 messenger d. c.
72613 messr dey. officer
72710 mes. c. s. off.
72710 messr. civil sy. of.
72813 commisst. messer.
72813 messager dans les offices mil.
72813 messager de l'ordinance
72813 messager office militaire
72813 messager, dépt. des ingénieurs
72813 messr. commt.
72910 messr. ex. com.
73013 messr. m. dept.
73175 office messr.
73213 messman

D: Watchmen, Bedeaus, Pedlars (733-759)

73371 vendeur de balais
73571 dairyman
73571 laitier
73571 marchd. de lait
73571 milkman
73571 vendeur de lait
73671 p. de lait
73671 porteur de lait
73875 gardian & messagger
73875 gardien & messagger
74013 dy. mr. watch
74113 garde magasin
74213 gardien de l'office des ingénieurs
74310 gardien du télégraphe
74410 gardien des chambres du conseil
74410 gardien du parc du roi
74510 gardien de la cour
74610 gardien des offices du gou.
74725 gardien des offices des jésuites
74825 gardien
74825 guardian
74925 watchman
75025 beadle

75025 bedeau
75025 bedeaun
75025 bedeaux
75125 bedeau de l'église an.
75225 bedeau de l'église catholique
75321 regratteur
75425 bell hanger
75521 hucster
75521 huxter
75671 merchant pedlar
75721 colporter
75721 colporteur
75721 paddler
75721 peddler
75721 pedlar
75871 porte-cassette
75971 revendeur

E: Sailors (760-768)

76040 marin
76040 mariner
76040 marinier
76040 marmer
76040 sailor
76140 matelot
76240 matelot pêcheur
76340 pêcheur
76424 boatman
76524 batelier
76624 chaloupier
76740 captaine de vaisseau
76874 maître de steamboat

F: Other (769-799)

76971 cantinier & porte-cassette
77025 barber
77025 barbier
77025 haircutter
77174 coachman
77224 groom
77374 horse rider
77375 crieur
77424 livery stable
77424 stable keeper (l.)
77550 gardener
77550 jardinier
77610 letter carrier
77610 lettr. carr.
77610 porteur des lettres
77751 miner
77751 mineur
77875 packer
77913 packer o. d.
77913 packer oe. dept.
77913 packer ordinance
78025 fossoyeur
78025 gravedigger
78125 rammenneur
78125 ramoneur
78125 sweep.

78275 ancien ramoneur
78374 trackman
78413 corporal
78513 grenadier
78513 militaire
78513 soldat
78513 soldier
78514 ancien militaire
78574 voyageur aux postes
78613 army bill o.
78613 artillerie s.
78613 o. veterans
78713 sol. veterans
78713 veteran
78813 R. Navy
78941 arimeur
78941 stavador
78941 steevadore
79013 gunner, artillery
79113 bombardier
79220 sage femme
79375 bourreur [stuffer?]
79510 piqueur au chantier du roi
79574 piqueur
79613 soldat-talleur [?]
79774 ancien voyageur
79874 voyageur
79874 voyageur aux postes
79974 cabaretier & charretier

V: Labourer - Unspecified

80060 journ.
80060 journalière
80060 journalier
80060 laborer
80060 labourer
80113 journalier o. d.
80113 laborer o. d.
80293 ancien journalier
80293 ancien laboureur
80363 apprenti
80460 journalier & aide-bedeau
80560 journeyman
80663 engagé
80760 bucheur

VI: Unclassified (850-999)

85065 col. inst.
85165 m. m.
85265 lauver
85365 femer
85821 magazin
86321 boutique
87063 prostituée
87163 désignantur mérétrices
90165 aumeur
90265 Black & Henderson
90365 cartenier
90465 ratreur

90565 coisonnier
90665 prospectier
90765 barbouillleur
90965 Wm. Martin Chinic
91075 modeuse
91165 jipstaff
91263 pauvre
91363 pensioner
91363 pensionnaire
91465 arimist
91665 coreilleur
91763 prisoner
91963 no profession
91963 sans profession
92113 st. h. pay
92365 ussier
92491 Montreal Bank
92491 banque de Montréal
92591 à la Banque de Québec
92591 Quebec Bank
92613 c. o. d.
92710 employé aux travaux du roi
92810 employé à la chambre d'assemblée
93113 dept. des ingénrs.
93113 engr. dept.
93113 ingénieur dept.
93210 à la douane
93210 custom h.
93210 custom house
93210 douane
93491 commr. transport
93513 au commissre.
93513 c. department
93513 com. dept.
93513 commissaire
93513 commissaire des biens des jésuites
93513 commissar
93513 commissariat
93513 commisst. dept.
93621 commerce
93713 départmente médicale
93713 med. dept.
93713 offce. med. dept.
93810 au postes
93810 post off. dept.
93810 post office
93913 qr. mr. gl. dept.
94013 f. train. dept.
94113 barracks off.
94213 bark. dept. c.
94363 gendre de propriétaire
94413 halfpay comre.
94563 mauvais commerce
94713 de l'ordinance
94713 ordinance
94713 ordnce. dept.
94813 32th regt.
94913 Coldstream
95213 à l'office militaire
95310 King's work
96041 Brit. Bank
96165 orphan asylum

96265 brasier
96365 dailer
96365 dayler
96465 auissier
96565 palfrenier [surgeon?]
96670 depository of books
96770 academy
96870 library
96965 quartmer
97065 battrel
97165 brikler
97365 presseur
97565 campagnon
97865 empalotrier
97965 de l'assurance
98124 tavern
98265 aux ursulines
98391 à l'échange
98524 Albion Hotel
98665 ramancheur
98763 mendiant
99165 t. w.
99274 écuries
99274 stable
99365 billard
99452 lumber
99565 crillemaker
99665 au séminaire
99765 keepeur
99913 f. e. dept.

F.4. Vertical Occupational Categorization According to John Hare

F.4.1. HAUT

I: Professionnels, Fonctionnaires[1]
- A: Professions libérales
  1. officiers
  2. notaires
  3. médecins
  4. avocats
  5. [arpenteurs][2]

- B: Hauts fonctionnaires
  1. [maréchals]

II: Commerçants, Boutiquiers
- A: Boutiquiers
  1. [perruquiers]
  2. [armuriers]
  3. [horlogers]
  4. [parfumiers]
  5. [chapeliers]

- B: Cabaratiers & Traiteurs
- C: Commerce de l'alimentation
  1. [bouchers]
  2. [boulangers]
  3. [épiciers]
  5. [brasseurs]

F.4.2. Bas

III: Artisans
- A: Métiers d'art et de luxe
  1. [musiciens]

- B: Métiers du vêtement
  1. [modeuses]
  2. [tailleurs]

- C: Métier du bois et du meuble
  1. [chaisiers]
  2. [ébénistes]
  3. [charpentiers]
  4. [scieurs]
  5. [charpentiers de navire]
  6. [menuisiers]
  7. [maçons]

---

[1]**Sources**: Hare, "La population," 23-47.

[2][ ]=Example given in Text.

D: Métiers du cuir
1. [cordonniers]
2. [selliers]

E: Métiers du bâtiment

F: Métier du fer
1. [serruriers]

F.5. Vertical Occupational Categorization According to David-Thierry Ruddel

I: Ruling Elite[3]
- A: Seigniors/Noblemen
- B: Merchants/Mercantile Society
  1. import-export merchants
  2. retail sellers
     - a) merchant-artisans
       - i) merchant-tailors
     - b) entrepreneurs
     - c) shipbuilders
  3. auctioneers & brokers
  4. merchants
     - a) large grocers
     - b) tavernkeepers
     - c) small retailers
- C: Professionals
  1. notaires
  2. lawyers
  3. military officers
     - a) religious orders
- D: Administrators/Government Officials
  1. translators
  2. clerks
  3. Indian agents
  4. Grands voyers
  5. police inspectors
  6. coroners
  7. surveyors
  8. commissioners

II:
- A: Craftsmen & Transport Workers
  1. timber trade
     - a) coopers
     - b) seamen
  2. shipbuilding
     - a) designers
     - b) shipwrights
     - c) ship carpenters
     - d) blacksmiths
     - e) caulkers
     - f) joiners
  3. distilleries & breweries
     - a) brewers
     - b) millers
     - c) coopers
     - d) carters
  4. hat manufacturing
     - a) skilled craftsmen
     - b) journeymen
  5. printing
     - a) printers
     - b) bookbinders
     - c) clerks

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[3]Ruddel, "Quebec City, 1765-1831," 129-47, 249-348, 664-5.

d) pressmen
e) apprentices

6. furniture
   a) menuisiers/joiners
   b) cabinetmakers
7. foundries & blacksmiths

B: Labourers & Domestics

III: Absent, Unknown or Without Profession

F.6. Vertical Occupational Categorization According to Fernand Ouellet

I: Professional Class/[4]
Effectifs des professionnels
Professionals/Professionnels
Liberal Professions/
Professions libérales/
hommes de professions
1. advocates/avocats
2. notaries/notaries
3. physicians/médecins
4. surveyors/arpenteurs
5. architects/architectes
6. engineers/ingénieurs
7. apothecaries/apothicaires
8. dentists/dentistes
9. opticians/opticiens
10. chemiste/chimistes

II: Merchant Class/Classess marchandes
Merchants/Marchands
Businessmen/Hommes d'affaires
Commerce
1. merchants/marchands
   a) en gros
   b) en détail
2. innkeepers/aubergistes
   a) tavernes & auberges
3. bakers/boulangers
4. butchers/bouchers
5. distillers/distillateurs, distilleurs
6. clerks/commis
7. hotel-keepers/hôteliers
8. builders/constructeurs
9. agent/agent
10. grocers/épiciers
11. peddlars/colporteurs
12. brewers/brasseurs
13. printers/imprimeurs
14. tobacconists/tabaconists
15. confectioners/confiseurs
16. furriers/fourreurs
17. contractors/contracteurs
18. paper manufacturers/
    faiseurs de papier
19. secondhand dealers/revendeurs
20. evaluators/évaluateurs
21. /bourgeois

III: Tradesmen/Artisans
Working Class/Travailleurs
/Ouvriers spécialisés
1. blacksmiths/forgerons
2. carpenters/charpentiers
3. joiners/menuisiers
4. cobblers/cordonniers
5. tanners/tanneurs

[4]See chapter 8.

6. coopers/tonneliers
7. tailors/tailleurs
8. wheelwrights/charrons
9. cabinet makers/ébénistes
10. masons/maçons
11. other skills
12. /ferblantiers
13. /couvreurs
14. /meubliers
15. /scieurs, scieurs de long
16. /tourneurs
17. /selliers
18. /charrons
19. /couturiers
20. /tisserands
21. /briqueleurs
22. /peintres
23. /plâtriers
24. /fondeurs
25. /bijoutiers
26. /orfèvres
27. /horlogers
28. /jardiniers
29. /pilotes
30. /navigateurs

IV: Farmers/Cultivateurs

V: Labourers/Journaliers

VI: Carters/Charretiers

VII: Other/Divers

F.7. Functional Occupational Categorization According to Louise Dechêne

I: Commerce[5]
1. marchands
2. bouchers
3. cabaretiers
4. aubergistes
5. traiteurs
6. cantiniers
7. encanteurs
8. colporteurs
9. commis
10. voyageurs

II: Fabrication (à l'exception du construction de maisons et de navires)

III: Construction (de maisons et de navires)

IV: Services

A: Services publics

B: Services professionnels
1. ministres du culte
2. notaires
3. practiciens
4. avocats
5. chirurigiens
6. sage-femmes
7. pharmaciens
8. maîtres d'éole

C: Petits Métiers
1. barbiers
2. ramoneurs
3. jardiniers
4. sacristains
5. crieurs
6. musiciens/comédiens

D: serviteurs (n'habitent pas chez l'employeur)

V: Transport

VI: Indéterminé (Journaliers)

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[5]Dechêne, "Quelques aspects," 490.

Appendix G
Number and Percentage of Household Heads, Eligible Electors and Voters

G.1. Heads of Household

Table G-1: Number and Percentage of Household Heads in Each Category, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Variable	1792 N	1792 %	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Gender	1126	100.0	1901	100.0	2581	100.0	3128	99.9
Language Affiliation	1126	100.0	1901	100.0	2581	100.0	3128	99.9
Religion	1038	92.2	1687	88.7	2209	85.6	2569	82.1
Property Qualifications	-	-	1899	99.9	2579	99.9	3129	100.0
Occupation	621	55.2	1353	71.2	2308	89.4	2660	85.0
Area of Residence	1126	100.0	1901	100.0	2581	100.0	3128	99.9
Country of Origin	119	10.6	65	3.4	1114	43.2	2574	82.3
Total	1126	100.0	1901	100.0	2581	100.0	3129	100.0
Age - Male	74	7.9	1096	69.8	1732	75.9	2018	75.0
Total	939	100.0	1571	100.0	2281	100.0	2691	100.0
Age - Female	20	11.0	173	72.0	180	62.1	243	56.4
Total	182	100.0	240	100.0	290	100.0	431	100.0

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

Table G-2: Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Household Heads, in Selected Categories, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Variable	1792 N	1792 %	1818 N	1818 %	1831 N	1831 %	1842 N	1842 %
Anglophone								
Occupation	129	44.8	329	67.4	931	91.4	1043	83.6
Religion	202	70.1	422	86.5	929	91.2	1064	85.3
Country of Origin	95	33.0	12	2.5	686	67.3	1065	85.4
Years of Residency	-	-	-	-	60	5.9	808	64.8
Total	288	100.0	488	100.0	1019	100.0	1247	100.0
Francophone								
Occupation	396	55.4	961	72.4	1254	88.3	1566	86.0
Religion	710	99.4	1140	85.9	1147	80.8	1457	80.0
Country of Origin	3	0.4	52	3.9	366	25.8	1461	80.2
Total	714	100.0	1327	100.0	1420	100.0	1822	100.0

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

G.2. Eligible Electorate

Table G-3: Number and Percentage of Eligible Voters in Each Category, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Variable	1824		1827		1829		1834		1836	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Language Affiliation	2001	100.0	2407	100.0	2427	100.0	2601	100.0	2572	100.0
Property Qualifications	2000	99.9	2407	100.0	2427	100.0	2600	99.9	2572	100.0
Occupation	1494	74.7	2163	89.9	2213	91.2	2291	88.1	2430	94.5
Assessed Value of Property	841	42.0	850	35.3	901	37.1	978	37.6	969	37.7
Age	644	32.2	796	33.1	898	37.0	676	26.0	801	31.1
Area of Residence	2001	100.0	2407	100.0	2427	100.0	2601	100.0	2572	100.0
Total	2001	100.0	2407	100.0	2427	100.0	2601	100.0	2572	100.0

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

G.3. Voters

Table G-4: Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Eligible Voters in Selected Categories, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1842

Variable	1824 N	1824 %	1827 N	1827 %	1829 N	1829 %	1834 N	1834 %	1836 N	1836 %
Anglophone										
Occupation	543	73.0	836	89.8	861	92.5	889	85.0	1035	96.4
Religion	164	22.0	238	25.6	283	30.4	228	21.8	277	25.8
Country of Origin	76	10.2	78	8.4	128	13.8	219	20.9	264	24.6
Years of Residency	-		45	4.8			151	14.4	183	17.0
Age	129	17.3	184	19.8	225	24.2	170	16.3	216	20.1
Assessed Value of Property	186	25.0	177	19.0	197	21.2	235	22.5	228	21.2
Total	744	100.0	931	100.0	931	100.0	1046	100.0	1074	100.0
Property Owners										
Assessed Value of Property	186	89.4	177	80.8	197	88.0	235	90.4	228	94.6
Total	208	100.0	219	100.0	224	100.0	260	100.0	241	100.0
Francophone										
Occupation	871	77.0	1247	90.3	1266	90.6	1301	90.1	1321	92.8
Religion	417	36.9	579	41.9	650	46.5	490	33.9	585	41.1
Country of Origin	231	20.4	344	24.9	378	27.1	494	34.2	583	41.0
Age	504	44.6	596	43.2	657	47.0	489	33.9	573	40.3
Assessed Value of Property	616	54.5	649	47.0	683	48.9	711	49.2	721	50.7
Total	1131	100.0	1381	100.0	1397	100.0	1444	100.0	1423	100.0
Property Owners										
Assessed Value of Property	616	87.8	649	77.3	683	87.8	711	86.3	721	94.0
Total	702	100.0	840	100.0	778	100.0	824	100.0	767	100.0

Sources: See table 5-2, p. 214.

Table 5: Number and Percentage of Voters in Each Category, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836

Variable	1792		1814		1816		1824		1827		1829		1834		1836	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Language	492	100 0	581	100 0	386	100 0	623	100 0	1216	100 0	910	100 0	1021	100 0	684	100 0
Religion	297	60 4	296	51 0	204	52 9	264	42 4	574	47 2	506	55 6	450	55 6	365	53 4
Prop Qu	-	-	577	99 3	385	99 7	623	100 0	1216	100 0	910	100 0	1021	100 0	684	100 0
Occupation	76	15 5	577	99 3	386	100 0	623	100 0	1216	100 0	910	100 0	1021	100 0	684	100 0
Age	72	14 6	261	44 9	181	46 9	353	56 7	680	55 9	571	62 7	517	50 6	391	57 2
Residence	492	100 0	581	100 0	386	100 0	623	100 0	1216	100 0	910	100 0	1021	100 0	684	100 0
Ass Value	-	-	-	-	-	-	263	42 2	504	41 5	460	50 6	444	43 5	329	48 1
Total	492	100 0	581	100 0	386	100 0	623	100 0	1216	100 0	910	100 0	1021	100 0	684	100 0
Prop Owners																
Ass Value	-	-	-	-	-	-	263	72 9	504	68 4	460	78 8	444	75 3	329	83 7
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	361	100 0	737	100 0	584	100 0	590	100 0	393	100 0

Sources See table TABLE4 2, p TABLE4 2
Language=Language Affiliation, Prop Qu =Property Qualifications, Residence=Area of Residence, Prop Owners=Property Owners, Ass Value=Annual Assessed Value of Property

Table 6: Number and Percentage of Anglophone and Francophone Voters in Selected Categories, Elections, Upper-Town Quebec, 1792-1836

Variable	1792		1811		1816		1824		1827		1829		1834		1836	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Anglophone																
Religion	62	47 7	12	29 2	29	28 4	76	32 6	171	32 6	116	46 2	160	36 9	119	41 5
Origin	7	5 3	12	8 3	10	9 8	35	15 0	136	29 7	69	29 7	158	36 4	117	43 9
Yrs Res	1	0 8	5	3 5	3	2 9	18	7 7	43	9 4	39	12 3	109	25 1	103	30 7
Age	3	2 3	11	9 7	9	8 8	187	37 3	180	39 3	151	47 8	162	37 6	150	44 8
Total	130	100 0	111	100 0	102	100 0	233	100 0	458	100 0	316	100 0	434	100 0	335	100 0
Francophone																
Age	65	19 8	233	60 1	165	63 0	257	70 0	483	67 4	707	72 2	334	61 7	230	70 1
Total	329	100 0	388	100 0	262	100 0	367	100 0	717	100 0	564	100 0	541	100 0	328	100 0

Sources See table TABLE4 2, p TABLE4 2
Origin=country of Origin, Yrs Res Years of Residency in Province

Appendix H
Index of Over/Underrepresentation

The index of representation employed in this study is a version of the index found in Verba and Nie's study of political participation in the United States.[1] The following comparison of formulae for calculating an index of over- and underrepresentation assumes that the formula presented by Verba and Nie in Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality, should read:

$$PR = \frac{Xi - Yi}{Yi} \times 100$$

where: PR = ratio of over- or underrepresentation
Xi = the proportion of a social group within a given category of participators
Yi = the percentage of the entire population in the same social group

H.1. Comparison of this Study's Definition with the Verba and Nie Defintion

H.1.1. This Study's Definition

$$\frac{\frac{Xa}{Xa+Ya} - \frac{X}{X+Y}}{\frac{X}{X+Y}} \times 100 = PR$$

---

[1]Verba and Nie, Participation in America, 96, 96n.

H.1.2. Verba and Nie Definition Definition

$$\frac{\frac{Xa}{X} - \frac{Xa+Ya}{X+Y}}{\frac{Xa+Ya}{X+Y}} \times 100 = PR$$

Where:

1. PR = ratio of over/underrepresentation
2. X+Y = total population
3. Xa+Xb = X
4. Ya+Yb = Y
5. $\frac{X}{X+Y}$ = proportion of group X in total population
6. $\frac{Xa}{Xa+Ya}$ = proportion of group X within category a
7. $\frac{Xa}{X}$ = proportion of category a within group X
8. $\frac{Xa+Ya}{X+Y}$ = percentage of the total population in category a

H.2. This Study's Definition = Verba and Nie Definition

1. $$\frac{\frac{Xa}{Xa+Ya} - \frac{X}{X+Y}}{\frac{X}{X+Y}} \times 100 = \frac{\frac{Xa}{X} - \frac{Xa+Ya}{X+Y}}{\frac{Xa+Ya}{X+Y}} \times 100$$

2. $$\frac{\frac{Xa}{Xa+Ya} - \frac{X}{X+Y}}{\frac{X}{X+Y}} = \frac{\frac{Xa}{X} - \frac{Xa+Ya}{X+Y}}{\frac{Xa+Ya}{X+Y}}$$

3. $$(Xa+Ya)\frac{Xa}{Xa+Ya} - (Xa+Ya)\frac{X}{X+Y} = (X)\frac{Xa}{X} - (X)\frac{Xa+Ya}{X+Y}$$

4. $$Xa - (Xa+Ya)\frac{X}{X+Y} = Xa - (X)\frac{Xa+Ya}{X+Y}$$

5. $$-(Xa+Ya)\frac{X}{X+Y} = -(X)\frac{Xa+Ya}{X+Y}$$

6. $$(X)\frac{Xa+Ya}{X+Y} = (Xa+Ya)\frac{X}{X+Y}$$

7. $$X(Xa+Ya) = X(Xa+Ya)$$

Appendix I
Multiple Classification Analysis

Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) is a form of multivariate analysis created by the Institute of Social Research at the University of Michigan in the late 1960s.[2] As Richard Jensen suggests MCA is "directly applicable to the kinds of problems social historians deal with, especially when using censuses, collective biography in which the independent variables can be interval, dichotomous ("dummy"), or categorical ("nominal"). The dependent variable can be either interval or dichotomous."[3]

What kind of information does MCA provide? Consider the example (see table I-1, 537). The question was asked: did the household head live in Upper-Town proper. This represents the dependent variable which is dichotomous (yes or no). In 1818, forty-four per cent (the "grand mean" = .44) resided within the walls of the Old City. MCA reveals those factors which distinguished those in Upper Town from those in the suburbs. It considers the effects of four factors: language affiliation, economic sector, socio-professional status and property qualifications. These constitute the four independent variables or predictors. Each independent variable has subgroups. For example, the three subgroups for language affiliation are anglophone, francophone and other. MCA shows the response of the various subgroups for each independent variable. The first column (N=Number) gives the number of cases. The second column (Un.=Unadjusted) provides the

[2]Frank N. Andrews, James N. Morgan and John A. Sonquist, A Report on a Computer Program for Multiple Regression Using Categorical Predictors (Ann Arbor, Mich: Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, 1969).

[3]Richard Jensen, "New Presses for Old Grapes: I: Multiple Classification Analysis," Historical Methods 11 no. 4 (Fall 1978): 174.

difference from the mean. For example, the anglophone heads were 38 points above the mean, that is, eighty-two per cent (44 + 38) of the anglophones resided in Upper Town proper. On the other hand, francophone heads were 14 points below the mean, that is, only thirty per cent (44 - 14) of the francophones resided in Upper Town proper. These results support the contention that anglophone heads were overrepresented as Upper-Town residents.

The MCA also shows that subgroups for economic sector and socio-professional status also responded in the same way as the anglophone heads. Those in the government sector were 40 points above the mean, those in commerce 29 points above and those with the highest status 33 points above. The difficulty lies in the fact that anglophone were overrepresented as government employees and as members of the highest-status groups. MCA allows us to go beyond the simple cross tabulation of area of residence by language by economic sector. It also considers each variable, while controlling for the other three. This is the "Adjusted" result given in the third column (Adj.). Now the spread between anglophone and francophone heads diminishes from 52 (38 - [-14]) to 37 (27 [-10]). The effect of controlling for the other variables is more evident with economic sector. The value for those employed by the government is adjusted from 40 to 5.

Columns 5 and 6 are the eta and beta values. The latter is the more useful as it measures the effects of each factor while controlling for the other three. This is an important consideration. The eta values, for example, suggest that economic sector (.37) should rank nearly as high as language affiliation (.45) and socio-professional status (.44) as a predictor of where the inhabitants should live. In contrast, the beta values indicate that its effects were much less (.14) than language affiliation (.32) and socio-professional status (.25).

MCA also provides two other values: multiple R and Multiple R-squared. The latter figure is an indication of how much of the variation

Table I-1: Area of Residence: Upper-Town Proper by Language Affiliation, Economic Sector, Socio-Professional Status and Property Qualifications, Multiple Classification Analysis, Upper-Town Quebec, 1842

Variable	Col. 1 N	Col. 2 Un.	Col. 3 Adj.
Language Affiliation			
Anglophone	337	.38	.27
Francophone	961	-.14	-.10
Other	53	.07	.02
Economic Sector			
Government	97	.40	.05
Service	765	-.02	.01
Industrial	119	.00	.04
Commerce	134	.29	.11
Extractive-Unclassified	236	.28	.13
Socio-Professional Status			
I, II	351	.33	.20
Artisans	622	-.07	-.06
Labourers	357	.23	-.10
Unclassified	21	.42	.21
Property Qualifications			
Tenant	744	.00	.00
Property Owner	606	-.01	-.00
Not Clear	1	.56	.35
Summary Statistics			
		Col. 5	Col.6
Variable		eta	beta
Language Affiliation		.45	.32
Economic Sector		.37	.14
Socio-Professional Status		.44	.25
Property Ownership		.03	.02
Number	1351		
Grand Mean	0.44		
R	.546		
R-squared	.298		

Sources: See table 1-6, p. 25.

within the dependent variable is explained by the independent variable.[4] In our example, language affiliation, economic sector, socio-professional status and property qualifications explain about thirty per cent (.298) of the variation.

[4]Mailhot, "Socio-Economic Background," 33-34.

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