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PRESENTEE

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par

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Apprenticeship in early nineteenth century Quebec, 1793-1815.

November 1969.
Who built the seven towers of Thebes?
The books are filled with names of kings.
Was it kings who hauled the craggy blocks of stone?...
In the evening when the Chinese wall was finished
Where did the masons go?...

Young Alexander plundered India
He alone?
Ceasar beat the Gauls.
Was there not even a cook in his army?
Philip of Spain wept as his fleet
Was sunk and destroyed. Where there no other tears?
Frederick the Great triumphed in the Seven
Years War. Who
Triumphed with him?

Every ten years a great man,
Who paid the piper?

So many particulars.
So many questions.

-Bertolt Brecht

This poem refers to an aspect which is of interest to
this study, that is, the observation that past events and
societies, have often been described solely on the basis of
studies of minorities at the top. Historians have neglected
those who were not considered as heroic discoverers, nation

1. From "A Worker Reads History", by Bertolt Brecht, in
   Selected Poems, translated by H.R. Hays, and quoted in
   Jesse Lemisch, "The American Revolution Seen From The
   Bottom Up", Towards A New Past, Dissenting Essays in
   American History, ed by B.J. Bernstein (New York, 1963),
   p. 3.
2. J. Lemisch, op.cit., p. 4.
builders, generals, high government officials and politicians.

According to Herbert Marcuse,

The bulk of historiography, at least up to the nineteenth century, is written in terms of the predominant historical nations, tendencies institutions and personalities. To report the facts objectively thus meant to report then in the light of the great historical forces. The fate of their nameless victims, their suffering and misery, appeared only as incidental, as by-products of the objective course of events. History almost inevitably records only the deeds and consequences of what has acquired power, position, and influence. The objective record is slanted in their favor, illuminated in their light, the rest remains in the shadow.3

Some historians maintain that the past has often been depicted from the perspectives of the articulate—the inarticulate being largely unrepresented.4 If this is true, then it would seem that histories of the masses, of the common people and of all those who were not considered as part of the elite groups and their heroic figures, have been neglected.

Neglecting to describe the part played by the majority of people in the past, or describing their part in the past from minority perspectives, renders our understanding of the past incomplete.5 The past, of course, will always be incomplete. Life's complexities are difficult enough to measure in the present, let alone the past. Nevertheless,

5. For a discussion of what is meant by the terms "elite" and "minority" perspectives, see J. Lemish, op.cit., pp. 3-6.
iv.

this does not mean that one cannot attempt to reconstruct what has transpired. In this sense, historians who have analysed the past from elite perspectives cannot be criticized; first, because this could have been their purpose and second, because they contributed to our understanding of history. In the same light, one can add, that as many perspectives as possible are desirable.

Additional perspectives are desirable, not only because they can help contribute to our understanding of the past, but also because they can have a significance for our present. A growing number of historians are beginning to consider the effect that a type of elite history has had on present generations.\(^6\) Because the records of history have had a tendency to applaud the achievements of the articulate, those who are not members of articulate groups, often experience a sense of being disinherited. If the past is a series of events and actions involving the powerful and heroic, what do the majority of people have in common with such a past? Furthermore, if one accepts the idea that the way in which the great and powerful influenced or determined the events of the past, was positive, in the sense that, because they were the major actors they must have been the most capable, then one runs the risk of not only accepting a past which has been distorted, but also of accepting the results

of that past, which is the present.

In this light, one critical of the present is probably going to have mixed feelings about the past, or, at least, the way in which the past has been portrayed. On the one hand, he is alienated from those who seemed to dominate the country's affairs, to the detriment of the native people and every group, other than their own. On the other hand, he may find himself identifying with those who were victims of the times and who tried to alter the existing state of affairs. His identification with the latter groups will likely be limited, mainly because, although leading figures have been discussed, little has been said about the larger masses of people involved in such situations in the past. Consequently, recourse to the past, as portrayed by many writers, can hardly be an inspiration or source for "forgotten alternatives" in the present.

It seems evident, then, that we need more perspectives which can respond to the lack of information concerning the inarticulate, and which, by revealing the existence of a common man's past, can help to provide a heritage for many, and, perhaps, "forgotten alternatives" for social transformation in the present. A desire to explore such perspectives,

7. S. Lynd, Intellectual Origins Of American Radicalism, p. 1. We are indebted to Lynd for the outline of this discussion.
8. Ibid., p. 9
9. Hopefully, an examination of aspects of the common man's history, will not lead to over simplifications, nor to an exaggerated identification or naive sympathy for lower
has been one of the motivations of this present work. It should be evident, however, that the present study is intended only as a small contribution towards such a past. Consequently, conclusions about the specific ways in which this study reveals a common man's past and relates to the present, are left up to the reader.

Thus far, we have not commented on the attempts of Canadian historians to explore social and economic characteristics of the past and of the inarticulate. According to some historians, the emphasis on political and biographical studies, with their often idealistic, nationalistic and, or romantic interpretations, has tended to limit the range, depth and validity of Canadian historiography. Fernand Ouellet summarized these tendencies when he stated that,

La primauté excessive de l'histoire politique et constitutionnelle, de la biographie, n'est pas seulement le signe d'un déséquilibre, elle prouve la prééminence d'une conception de l'histoire qui n'accorde qu'une importance réduite aux conditionnements économiques, sociaux et mentaux.10

The few studies which have seriously considered social and economic influences and movements, have largely neglected to discuss the inarticulate. Thus, although much has been said, for example, about the mentalities of French speaking social and economic groups. For some of the interpretational and ideological problems, involved in studying these groups, see E.D. Genovese, "Marxian Interpretations Of The Slave South", Towards A New Past, p. 120 and B. Moore, Social Origins Of Dictatorship And Democracy, Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World (Boston, 1966), pp. 520-522.

habitants and artisans, little has been said about their actual social and economic situations. Because they were not part of the bourgeoisie capitaliste group, which did so much in the development of the country's economy, they were not considered. In other words, although some modern historians are using quantitative methods in analyzing social and economic settings, they continue to discuss history from elitist perspectives. They have replaced elite histories of biographical and political figures, by economic studies which prejudice the role of the bourgeoisie d'affaires. Consequently, the inarticulate remain silent.

Canadian historians have been reluctant even to discuss the relation of such groups as habitants, labourers and artisans to mercantile, professional and aristocratic groups. Instead they have been intent on discussing the relationships between the ruling groups and, particularly between the English speaking and French speaking groups.* Although the roles of these two ethnic groups in Canadian history are important, the constant treatment of their roles in similar ways, becomes tiring and boring. We agree with Alfred Dubuc, who maintains that "the study of Canadian society at

12. For a discussion of this reluctance, see Stanley B. Ryerson, The Founding of Canada, Beginnings to 1815 (Toronto, 1960), pp. ix and x. See also Cameron Mih, The Canadian Bourgeoisie, 1729-1748 (Thèse de doctorat, Université Laval, 1967), pp. 2-5.
* For an example of such an approach, see Helen Taft Manning, The Revolt Of French Canada 1800-1835 (Toronto, 1962).

Different approaches to this question, are discussed by S.R. Mealing, in "The Concept of Social Class and the Interpretation of Canadian History", CHR (Toronto, 1965), Vol XLVI, pp. 218ff.
the end of the 13th and first half of the 19th century would be more "comprehensive"... if the cleavage between groups was analysed, not chiefly on ethnic lines, but primarily according to social classes."¹³ Such an analysis, however, must be based on studies of individual groups and especially on studies of groups occupying the lower economic levels.

Our interest in such groups, as the habitants, labourers and artisans has led us to a consideration of the craft apprentice. We are interested in his formation, in the social and economic conditions in which he lived and worked and in his relations with other groups and with those who controlled production.

This work endeavors to study social and economic conditions of apprenticeship in Quebec City and its suburbs,¹⁴ from approximately 1793-1815. This study presents, first (Chapter I), a discussion of the origins of the apprenticeship system in Lower Canada and an examination of the characteristics evident in apprenticeship contracts in Quebec City. Second (Chapter II), an examination of the place of the artisan and apprentice in the social and economic context of Lower Canada, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Third (Chapter III and IV), a quantitative analysis

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¹⁴ For a definition of these limits, see Antonio Drolet, La ville de Québec, histoire municipale, 1759-1833 (Québec, 1965), pp. 9-16.
of the apprentice's social and economic conditions. In
the conclusion, a general summary is given, followed by a
brief discussion of some of the implications of this study and
the possibilities open to those who wish to pursue further
research in this area. This work, then, is an attempt to
discuss the early beginnings and formations of apprenticeship
and the significance of its setting and operating conditions
for apprentices over a period of approximately twenty-five
years.

The years from 1793 to 1815 were chosen primarily
because they represent a fairly consistent and stable period
of economic development. The period from 1759 to 1792, was
avoided because of the numerous events, interruptions, and
re-adjustments which effected most aspects of the economy.

15. This period corresponds to F. Ouellet's discussion of
conjonctures, with the exception of the years of the 1812
to 1814 war. Cf. Histoire Économique Et Sociale Du
Québec, pp. 125-169. The war years were included because
some notaries continued to keep relatively complete
records during the war and we were curious to see what
effect induction into the militia had on available
apprentices. Our interest in the interaction between
French-speaking and English-speaking craftsmen, also
contributed to the choice of these years. It appears
that a significant influence of English-speaking craftsmen,
in such crafts as the building trades and architecture,
did not appear until after 1780. A discussion of
the English-speaking craftsmen in the building trades
and architecture can be found in Gérard Morisset,
L'Architecture En Nouvelle France (Québec, 1949),
pp. 36, 64, 66 and 79. Our study revealed that this
was true in most crafts. One historian maintains that
a study of the influence of the English-speaking
population in French-Canadian milieu should begin after
1784. See B. Sulte, Histoire Des Canadiens-Francais,
1608-1880 (Montréal, 1882), Tome VII, p. 139.
16. For a discussion of the economic effects of the British
take over of New France and the American Revolution, see
Although we had intended to consider apprenticeship over a period of two generations, or at least, forty years, this project was abandoned when we found ourselves faced with more material than anticipated. Nevertheless, although 1793 to 1815, represent the formal limits of this work, our observations are drawn from notarial records beginning in 1780 and ending in 1830.

Although a detailed study of apprenticeship in all crafts was considered desirable, limitations in time and space, led us to a choice of seven crafts. These crafts are, the bakers, blacksmiths, cooperers, shoemakers, ship carpenters, tailors and wood-workers. The criterion for choosing these crafts was basically based on the amount of information available, the size of the crafts and the representation of different ethnic groups in these crafts. Although all crafts were not studied in detail, the general characteristics of these seven crafts, were found to be prevalent in almost every craft. Because it was considered necessary to put the craft apprentices in some kind of a context and, thus to give a more meaningful perspective of their social and economic

Ouellet, op.cit., pp. 45-125. These events also resulted in the disorganization of the notarial profession and interruptions in some of the notarial records which were temporarily suspended. Cf. J.-E. Roy, Histoire Du Notariat Au Canada (Lévis, 1900), Deuxième Volume, pp. 30-40 and André Vachon, Histoire du notariat canadien 1621-1960 (Québec, 1962), pp. 53-63.

17. The wood-workers include menuisiers and joiners and cabinet-makers. See our discussion on pages 48 to 50.
18. These crafts, with some exceptions, were among the largest in terms of the number of apprentices accepted in each graph. See the table of apprentices taken by trades, on page 46.
conditions, comparisons between their conditions and those existing for servants and mercantile and professional apprentices, are also included.

Because some of the innumerable differences and aspects involved in social and economic studies can escape a general observation, quantitative analyses are considered essential for a clarification of the most important aspects of such studies. This is one of the reasons why we chose to base our discussion of apprenticeship on a quantitative study. We are aware, however, that such an approach is not superior to qualitative studies, nor in opposition to other approaches. On the contrary, we consider our approach as an integral and

19. Some criticisms of quantitative studies seem to miss the primary objectives of such studies. This is the case, with Michel Brunet's claim that, "plusieurs historiens en concurrence avec les spécialistes des sciences dites exactes..., fascinés par les prétentions de l'histoire quantitative, oublient trop souvent que les grandes découvertes sont bien plus le fruit d'une observation patiente de quelques faits dominants que le résultat d'un amoncellement de données hétéroclites et indigestes". From *Les Canadiens Après La Conquête 1759-1775* (Montréal, 1969), p. 13. One considers sources which can lead to quantitative analysis, or "accumulations of observed details", in an attempt to bring added dimensions to bear on the often studied "dominant facts" and to reduce the tendency of some historians to rely on impressionistic evidence and intuitive conclusions, the validity of which have not been sufficiently demonstrated. For a discussion of the characteristics of quantitative studies, see M.-A. Tremblay, *Initiation À La Recherche Dans Les Sciences Humaines* (Montréal, 1968), pp. 2, 207 and 218-226. We are indebted to the author for many of the ideas and structures included in our study.
continuing part of all studies which have attempted to contribute to the construction of those circumstances and factors which characterized the past. 20

A consideration of a particular historical question usually involves, first, an examination of secondary works and, second, an analysis of existing primary sources. In this case, the lack of secondary social and economic studies on this period and on the question of apprenticeship, restricted our work, because we had few guidelines to follow. Professor Ouellet's *Histoire Economique Et Sociale Du Québec*, was helpful, only to a limited degree, because the artisan was hardly touched. One of the few works that we found helpful, was Harry Clare Pentland's doctoral thesis, *Labour And The Development Of Industrial Capitalism In Canada*. 21 Although Pentland's discussion of different elements of labour is often quite general, his thesis provides one with a general outline of labour in the nineteenth century.

The neglect shown by Canadian historians for the question of apprenticeship is also disappointing. Whereas, other historians have found a discussion of apprenticeship to be helpful in clarifying changes and developments in the social and economic structures of their respective nations, 22 Canadian historians have made no such discovery. The one study of apprenticeship by Canadian authors which we found,

22. For references, see Chapter I.
was primarily a discussion of the educational aspects of apprenticeship in the twentieth century. A study in this area by an American student, which was helpful in clarifying and verifying certain aspects of apprenticeship, was Ian M.G. Quimby's *Apprenticeship In Colonial Philadelphia*. Although Morrison H. Heckscher's *The Organization And Practice Of Philadelphia Cabinetmaking Establishments, 1790-1820* was received too late to be of any significant help, it merits the attention of students interested in similar topics.

The primary sources for our study were, fortunately, much more abundant than the secondary sources. The sources on which this study is based, are the notarial records kept in the provincial archives. Although inventories and contracts between many different groups were studied, the main source of information on apprenticeship was the indenture or contract between the apprentice and his master. As we will see in Chapter I, the apprentice's indenture provides vital statistics on almost all aspects of apprenticeship. The existence of the French civil law tradition in Lower Canada, with its careful conservation of almost all business transactions, provides us with an almost complete set of

24. (Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1963). Although this thesis was received after our research was completed, it provided some ideas and comparisons concerning the presentation of our work. Quimby's bibliography shows that considerable work has been done in this area by students at the University of Delaware.
indentures for this period. An examination of all notaries practicing in Quebec and of a number practicing in surrounding villages, from 1790 to 1815, revealed the existence of approximately eighteen hundred apprenticeship indentures. These indentures, along with the many contracts studies between different merchants, masters and professionals, provide us with a considerable base for our study. In general, the notarial records have been well preserved and, although most are written in long hand, they are relatively easy to read. Some difficulty was experienced at the outset because of the different terms used to describe apprenticeship indentures. Some are marked in the repertories, in French, as "brevets" or "brevets d'apprentissage" and in English as "articles of apprenticeship", "indentures", and a few, as "agreements". The majority, however, are described as "engagements". The verification of all these terms and contracts involved a

28. According to the Tableau de L'Ordre Des Notaires De La Province De Québec (Québec, Palais de Justice, 1967), the notaries mentioned in our bibliography, include all notaries practicing in the city of Quebec, from 1790 to 1815, but do not include all village notaries practicing at this time.
29. Table 3, on page 46, gives the number of indentures for various crafts and trades in Quebec and its suburbs from 1790 to 1815. Approximately two hundred contracts were studied between 1780 and 1790 and 1815 and 1830. Thus, although all were not studied in detail, the total number of contracts considered, was about two thousand. This
considerable amount of time. Although many such problems were encountered, the major problem that we experienced, was the practice of many notaries of omitting such important details as the apprentice's age and the father's occupation and residence.

Another possible omission which rendered our figures incomplete was the practice which seemed to have existed, of master craftsmen accepting their sons as apprentices, without recording the act and the practice of some craftsmen of accepting apprentices without indentures. Because we are not aware of the extent to which such practices existed, their effect on this study is difficult to determine. It is doubtful, however, that such omissions were widespread or that they seriously affected the number of indentures which have been found at this time.

Before beginning this study we would like to thank some of the people who contributed to making this work possible. We wish to thank our thesis director, Jean Hamelin, for his guidance in the choice of this topic and his help in defining the limits of the study.

Mr. Roger Lortie and members of his staff, at the judicial section of the provincial archives, were most 

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does not include the fifteen or twenty indentures considered in the Ancien régime, nor the twenty indentures found in the English Register, Letter E (in the National Archives, Ottawa), from 1770 to 1790. Unless otherwise stated, all percentages, tables and graphs found in this thesis, are based solely on indentures, found in the records of notaries in the city and suburbs of Quebec. Village notarial records were not directly used.
considerate in rendering assistance on all kinds of orthographic and translation problems. Mr. Michel Gaumond and Mr. Jacques Pierre of the Institut National de la Civilisation, facilitated certain aspects of the research by providing relevant information concerning different aspects of crafts in the Ancien Régime and the period in question. Other people to whom I am indebted, include Barry Morris, professors Fernand Ouellet, Yves Roby and Jean-Claude Dupont and the staffs of the libraries of Laval University and Quebec Seminary.

Finally, my warmest thanks, are addressed to my wife, who has participated in most aspects of this work. Her contribution in the closing stages of the research, in the tabulation and verification of different tables and figures, in the correction and typing of the thesis and her endurance in seeing this work through to the end, make this thesis, almost as much hers as mine.
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Social and economic status and the apprentice's choice of a craft. Ethnic origins, differences and influences, in relation to religion, education and other aspects of apprenticeship. The apprentice in his master's home and in public places. Significance of the apprentice's relationship to his master for his moral and technical instruction.
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ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
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<th>Description</th>
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<td>BRH</td>
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<td>Canadian historical review</td>
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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The difference between the form used in the bibliography and that used in the footnote is a result of an error on my part, in not realizing the discrepancies in the footnote form until this paper was finished. Although, some details of the bibliography are missing, I have tried to follow, with some modifications, the directions outlined in Michel Dassonville's, *Initiation à la recherche littéraire* (Québec, 1961), pp. 91-105.
I. SOURCES

1. MANUSCRIPTS

1. Public Archives of Canada


The English Register, Folio E. 1774-1791.

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* Apprentice indentures were not found in the French Register.
Three indentures were found in the English Register, Folio P.
** These sources are listed in chronological order. Because of their importance to this study, we have given the notary's residence and the years of his practice which we studied.
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2. ARTICLES AND THESSES


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Morisset, Gérard. "Dossier de recherche", L'inventaire des oeuvres d'art.

* This dossier includes information on most crafts and, particularly, on that of the blacksmith, in the French and English régimes.

** This dossier consists of information on most aspects of craftsmanship. It includes apprentice and journeymen indentures, marchés between masters and various groups, descriptions of work done by certain masters and a study of the owners of houses in the Upper and Lower Towns of Quebec. The dossier appears to emphasize the building trades in the French régime. Both dossiers are found in the collection of the Inventaire des oeuvres d'art, maintained by the Minister of Cultural Affairs.


________. "Les premiers 'metiers' canadiens", Dossier de recherche. Musée de Québec.


IV. METHODOLOGY


INTRODUCTION

Apprenticeship in early nineteenth century Canada was an integral part of the existing organization of skilled labour. The type of relationship skilled labour had to the organizers of production was similar to the one which craft apprentices had to their employers. This relationship, in distinction to the impersonal obligations which existed in a highly industrial society, was characterized by a maximum amount of contact with the craftsman and his master or employer. Because of the scarcity of skilled labour and the often tenuous possibilities for continuous employment, both the employer and craftsman developed strong ties to each other.¹ This mutual dependence led to a relationship in which the employee was relatively submissive and the employer was quite agreeable. Instead of using dismissal as an inducement to conscientious work, the employer, or master craftsman, emphasized positive incentives such as praise, paternal care and other symbolic rewards.² It was in this type of relationship, with innumerable variations, that the apprentice found himself. Various strains and breaks in

₂. Ibid.
this organization of labour appeared late in the eighteenth century and became increasingly evident as one progressed towards the free labour organization of industrial capitalism evident in Canada after 1850.³

Skilled labourers were evident among French-Canadians and among incoming Americans and British.⁴ Although the American and British craftsmen received their training outside Lower Canada, the French-speaking Canadians, and to an increasing degree, the sons of the settled English-speaking community, received their training within the province. The way in which the majority of these resident craftsman received their training, was through apprenticeship.

In order to understand apprenticeship, let us turn to a brief discussion of its nature, its place in the social and economic setting and some of the other avenues which might have led to the position of a journeyman artisan.⁵

Apprenticeship in the beginning of the nineteenth century involved a reciprocal relationship between a master craftsman and a minor or major. In return for work in the master's shop, the minor was instructed in the master's trade and provided with the basic necessities of daily life. The

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³ Idea from Pentland, _op.cit._, pp. 60 and 110.
⁴ _Ibid._, p. 145.
⁵ Many of the sources for this discussion are taken from our study of indentures. Though not cited, their origins should become evident in the following chapters.
term of work and instruction varied from craft to craft and was usually determined by the master craftsman and the minor's father or tutor.

The apprentice's life was dependent, to a large degree, on his relationship to his master and on the character of the master's trade. It was the master who normally decided on the functions and hours of work that the apprentice would follow in the shop and in the home. Although the parents or tutors could specify certain conditions, such as the apprentice's right to practice his religion and go to evening school, the master determined the quality of the apprentice's training as a craftsman.

The efficacy of the apprentice's training as a craftsman was related to the type of shop in which he worked. If the shop was an average size, including the master and one journeyman and one or two apprentices, then the possibility of the apprentice receiving the attention and instruction necessary for his understanding of the craft, was relatively good. If the shop was large, employing numerous journeymen and apprentices, then the apprentice's possibility of receiving the necessary amount of instruction in the various aspects of his craft became increasingly limited.*

Apprenticeship during this time distinguished itself

* This aspect is considered in greater length in Chapter III.
from servanthood, in that, whereas the apprentice was learning a trade, the servant would probably always remain a servant.*

The difference between the apprentice and journeyman was the difference between a novice whose skill was considered too elementary to merit payment and a trained craftsman whose skill in the production of finished goods was rewarded with an agreed salary.

Although artisans were the largest group practicing apprenticeship, other groups also followed this system. Their systems of apprenticeship varied widely from that practiced among craftsmen. "Apprentice farmers" were not taught the often highly technical skills of the artisan and did not have the same opportunities to go to a night school or to be taught reading and writing in the home. Girls were much more limited in their choice of crafts and although many were hired as "apprentice housewives" or as helpers to the wives of craftsmen, these positions were probably little more than those of servants. Those girls who came closest to learning a trade, in the sense of an artisan, were the girls who entered religious communities and those who were engaged as apprentice milleniers and mantua-makers. The sons of fathers who occupied the higher social and economic brackets of the day, became apprentice merchants, notaries, lawyers and doctors. The

* Although a labourer worked under different conditions than the servant and apprentice, one could say that one of the basic differences between the labourer and the apprentice, was that the labourer also had little hope of becoming a journeyman.
specialized skills and working conditions prevalent in the mercantile and professional apprenticeships were of a widely different nature than those prevalent in the craft apprenticeship. Instead of producing products for the market, the merchants acted as middlemen between producers and consumers and the notaries, lawyers and doctors provided what were considered vital services in the protection of property and life.  

On the other hand, there were many who did not follow formal apprenticeships. This included the often privileged sons of master craftsmen, who, while living at home and enjoying the benefits of the family household, could learn the mysteries of their father's trade. Although they might be bound for a short time to another master craftsman to perfect the skill they had learned from their fathers, they did not have to undergo the same kind of apprenticeship as most craft apprentices. This also included those who were not so privileged. For example, many sons of farmers and labourers because of their social and economic background,

5. Members of religious communities learned and became highly skilled in many crafts. See Marius Barbeau, Saintes Artisans, Les Brodeuses (Montréal, 1943), Tome I and Saintes Artisans, Mille Petites Adresses. (Montréal, 1946), Tome II.

6. For an interesting discussion of these distinctions in the Thirteen Colonies, see Quimby, op.cit., pp. 117-126.
and, or, their affinity for other positions, did not enter craft or professional apprenticeships.

The existence of another group, of servants and labourers, who, after working for a craftsman for several years, became journeymen, is unknown. Whether or not craftsmen were formed in the ship yards without undergoing apprenticeships, as in the French regime, is equally unknown. Since servants and labourers were employed by craftsmen and in ship yards, their acquaintance with certain crafts seems evident, but a much more detailed study of these groups is needed before their final positions can be established with any certainty.

Another avenue, which might have led to craftsmanship, was the craft school. The exact relationship of the increasing number of schools where artisans taught their crafts to students, to the existing craft system is not clear. What was the status of a student who was taught painting and carving every day, except Sunday, from six o'clock to eight o'clock in the evening, at the home of the well known sculpturer, François Baillargé? Do the hours from six to eight imply that this master sculpturer was giving additional instruction to apprentice sculpturers or wood-workers, who worked elsewhere during the day? Similar questions can be asked about the instruction given to students, either from eight o'clock in the morning to four o'clock in the afternoon, or five o'clock to eight in the evening, by the Deputy Provincial Surveyor, J. McCarthy, in the branches of

7. J. Mathieu, *La construction navale royale 1739-1759* (Thèse de D.E.S. de L'Université Laval, 1967), pp. 121-123. See also our discussion of this subject in Chapter I.
"Mensuration, Gauging, Navigation, the use of Globes and Maps, Astronomy, Gunnery, Fortification, Architecture and Surveying both in Theory and Practice...". 9

Arts and crafts schools, such as those which existed in New France, do not seem to have been present in Lower Canada. Whereas the arts and crafts schools in New France, at the Quebec Seminary and at St. Joachim, were part of the Church's educational system, which provided room and board, elementary education in reading and writing and craft instruction leading to craftsmanship, 10 the craft schools in Lower Canada did not seem to offer the same living conditions, range of crafts or the same type of instruction. They appeared to be a type of private or evening school, usually conducted by one master craftsman on a part time basis.

A possible exception to these schools, though still far from the arts and crafts schools of New France, may have been a kind of a combination of industry and school which was said to have existed in the early nineteenth century at Saint-

Vincent-de-Paul, near Montreal. It was known as the Louis Quévillon school. Morisset describes Quévillon's operation in the following manner.

Son atelier de Saint-Vincent-de-Paul est une sorte de pensionnat, de manufacture-école régie par un règlement strict et conduite sur un pied d'affaires. Ses apprentis, il les loge, les nourrit et les considère un peu comme ses enfants; il s'engage à leur enseigner non seulement la menuiserie fine, la sculpture et la dorure, mais encore la lecture et l'arithmétique... 11

The description given of this "school" leads one to the conclusion that it was not the New France type of craft school, but a large sculpturing or wood-working shop, where apprenticeship, was organized, with some variations, in the traditional manner.

This sketch of many of the possible ways in which skilled craftsmen were formed would seem to indicate that apprenticeship, as initially defined, was the primary way in which young men achieved the right to work in the existing crafts as journeymen. This being established, let us proceed to a discussion of the development of apprenticeship in England and France, its appearance in the New World and the particular characteristics of the system practiced in Quebec City.

CHAPTER I

ORIGINS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF
THE APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM

Because the apprenticeship system in the early nineteenth
century in Quebec City was a result of systems existing in
France, New France, England and to a certain degree, New
England, one must have a brief understanding of these systems
before he can fully appreciate the one under consideration.
The following discussion of apprenticeship in these places
will necessarily be limited to a brief outline of general
characteristics and significant differences and similarities.

The corporative organization of crafts in France began,
in a definitive manner, in the thirteenth century.¹ The
basis of this corporation was the division of artisans into
three classes: apprentis, valets, (later called compagnons),
maîtres.² Each level had its corresponding duties and rights,
which were regulated and supervised by a committee of
magistrates (prud’hommes jures), who were chosen from the
masters. This committee was responsible for the treatment

¹ Etienne Martin Saint-Léon, Histoire Des Corporations De
² Ibid., p. 75.
and education of the apprentice. After paying a droit d'entée, the apprentice began a specific term, which varied considerably from one craft to another. Although age limits were not clearly indicated for all crafts, it was evident that apprentices considered too young to learn or to apply themselves to their trade, were not accepted. The apprentice's working day was said to have begun before the arrival of the journeymen and master, at five o'clock in the morning, and ended after their departure, at eight o'clock in the evening. Two hours were given for meals.

His term finished, the apprentice appeared before a committee of magistrates, pledged his allegiance to the statutes and rules of the society, and paid his "droit d'inscription" to the funds of the Brotherhood (Confrérie). He could now work for wages as a journeyman. Those who aspired to be masters had to make a "chef d'oeuvre". Because of the time and money involved in such a work, many apprentices were prevented from reaching this stage.

Although the apprenticeship system in New France was similar to the counterpart in France, a number of differences

3. Ibid., pp. 76 and 79.
4. P. Quef, Histoire De L'Apprentissage, (Paris, 1964), p. 23. Quef maintains that this entrance fee was imposed arbitrarily and for reasons that had no relation to the difficulties of the craft (p. 24).
7. Quef, op.cit., p. 105. For an interesting description of the apprentice's functions see Ibid., p. 79.
8. Ibid., p. 29.
9. Ibid., p. 52.
were evident. The cooperative system, with its many requirements, such as the "prix d'entrée" and the "droits d'inscription" did not seem to be practiced in the colony.* In New France the number of years of practice in a craft, and not the years of apprenticeship and presentation of a "chef d'oeuvre", was the determining factor in giving access to the master's title. Consequently, children could learn the trades of a carpenter, a wood-worker, and a blacksmith, by working with craftsmen in the naval ship yards.

In addition to these avenues of craft instruction, were the craft schools established by the religious communities at Quebec and Montreal. In the seventeenth century, two schools of arts and crafts were formed at Saint-Joachim and at the Seminary of Quebec for "des élèves que le manque de ou le défaut de vocation éloignaient du cours classique". Arts and crafts which were considered the most useful, such as those of the sculpturer, wood-worker, carpenter and roofer, shoemaker, couturier, mason and others, were taught at the

10. For example, the basic form of the contracts of apprenticeship, given in Hauser, op.cit., pp. 24-32 and in Quef, op.cit., pp. 63-65, is almost identical to forms employed in New France. Because this statement is only based on a study of approximately fifteen forms from notarial records in New France, it is tenuous and needs verification.
12. Ibid., p. 102. For other references to boys practicing a craft without having taken an apprenticeship, see L'Abbé Amédée Gosselin, L'Instruction Au Canada Sous Le Régime Français (1635-1760), (Qué., 1911), pp. 348 and 349.
14. Ibid., pp. 54 and 347.
15. Ibid., p. 349.
* For a discussion of some of the religious aspects of this system which existed in New France see, M. Barbeau, "Confrérie Des Menuisiers De Madame Sainte Anne", Les
Seminary. At St. Joachim, arts and crafts, such as those of the sculpturer, painter, gilder, wood-worker, shoemaker, tool-maker, taylor, locksmith, roofer, and others, were taught. 16

The apprenticeship term in New France was said to have started between the ages of twelve and eighteen, 17 and lasted for a period of three to five years. 18 The average working day was thought to be twelve hours. 19 The contract obligations and conditions closely resembled later French language forms found in Lower Canada, and thus, references to them will be given with the consideration of forms in Lower Canada. 20

The apprenticeship system in England had many of the characteristics which existed in the above systems, 21 with obvious differences and variations. Certain divisions and

16. Ibid., p. 360.
18. Ibid. and P.-G. Hoy, “L’Apprentissage Autrefois”, BRH (Levis, 1942), Vol. 48, p. 237. Massicotte maintains that the apprenticeship term in Montreal, was almost always three years, and rarely more than four or five years”. Hoy gives four or five years as the general term of apprenticeship.
20. A comparison of the previously mentioned notarial contracts of New France, with later contracts in Lower Canada, showed close similarities in the actual contract forms. See Appendix A for an example of a contract in Lower Canada.
21. The contract forms given in J. Dunlop and R. D. Denman, English Apprenticeship And Child Labour (London, 1912), pp. 53-54, follows the same basic structure as those studied above.
rules in the English system were considered to be less rigidly controlled than those in France. Thus, the Chef d’oeuvre, or “test work”, was not so extreme in England.\(^2\)

The Statute of Artificiers in 1563 officially established the seven year term for all crafts, ruled that apprentices be retained until the age of twenty-one and registered with a high constable.\(^23\) Officiers supervised wages and breaches of contract were regulated by justices of the peace.\(^24\)

Wages or a sum given to the apprentice at the end of his term became more general in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Hours were thought to be “probably” the same as the masters, from six o’clock in the morning to six in the evening.\(^25\) Premiums, money paid by the father to the master, became in vogue in the seventeenth century and bonds from parents and the withholding of a certain part of the apprentice’s wages for security, began to be practiced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.\(^26\)

The British apprenticeship system, with some modifications, was practiced in almost all the Thirteen Colonies.\(^27\) Regulations governing apprentices were administrated by town and country officials and not by guilds. Instead of the seven year term,

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24. Ibid., p. 192.
25. Dunlop and Denman, *op.cit.*, pp. 55 and 56.
26. Ibid., pp. 53 and 230.
required in Britain, the colonies accepted four to seven year terms. Although the practice was criticized, apprentices in some parts of northern New Jersey in the 1750's were allowed to serve for three years. Termination of the apprenticeship was usually twenty-one for boys and sixteen to eighteen for girls.

As part of colonial labour, the apprentice's day was probably the twelve to sixteen hours— from sunrise to sunset, worked by the journeyman artisans. Although the apprentice "rarely" received wages for his work, he or his parents received compensation for clothing when it was not provided by the master, and often received a lump sum at the end of his term. As early as 1642, elementary instruction in reading, writing, cyphering and the bible, was required by the statutes of many of the colonies. Because the northern colonies required that formal schooling be given to apprentices, private evening schools and special day schools were created to meet this need and soon became a regular addition to the existing school systems.

The constant advertising and demand for apprentices and trained artisans and the high wages paid to the artisans

32. Hayback, loc.cit.
34. Scott, op.cit., p. 61; Douglas, op.cit., p. 20 and Bridenbaugh, op.cit., p.130.
opened the way for many to go into business for themselves.36

These conditions were not the same for girls. Although they were often bound to tradesmen, girls were rarely taught a trade. They were usually hired as housekeepers or servants. Their terms were generally longer and their education considerably less.37

How did the apprenticeship system in Lower Canada after 1791 compare to the systems outlined above? Because a detailed comparison of these systems is not within the scope of this paper, we will limit our remarks to general comparisons. Our description of the clauses in the apprenticeship contract in Lower Canada will allow interested parties to make further comparisons.

The craft system in Lower Canada followed the general outlines of the craft systems discussed above. Thus, it had the three basic divisions of apprentice, journeyman and master, and similar requirements for the apprentice to fulfill. Although, droits d'entrée, droits d'inscription, and the chef d'oeuvre, were not required, the apprentice was obliged to serve a certain term which varied from craft to craft, and which included specific functions and obligations.

Although differences and variations existed between the above systems and the apprenticeship system in Lower Canada, it is of interest to note the close similarities found in the contract forms. For example, the contracts in French,

particularly between French-speaking Canadians, closely resembled forms found in France and New France. Variations existed in the arrangement of such things as the order in which the contracting parties, obligations and conditions were given, but the content of these different aspects portrayed a marked similarity.  

This was also the case with the contracts in English. In some ways, the English language contracts showed a closer resemblance to their English antecedents than the French language contracts. Thus, the apprentice's obligations were often stated in the same order and language as that used in England and New England.* It is evident then, that the apprenticeship contracts in Lower Canada followed forms which were previously developed in France and England.  

For a better understanding of the particular characteristics of the contract form in Lower Canada, and to provide a base for our detailed study of the social and economic conditions described in these contracts, let us briefly examine the clauses found in most apprenticeship contracts.  

38. The French language form does not seem to have changed significantly from its early form in New France to its later form in Lower Canada. For examples see the Brevets d'apprentissage registered in the fonds of the following notaries: F. Genaple, 3/9/1685; De la Cetierre, 2/2/1720; Lemaitre-Lamorille, 16/2/1764 and the contract given in Appendix A.  

* The English language contract given in Appendix 3, was almost a replica of forms used in England (Cf, Dunlop, op. cit., pp. 130-131).  

39. Contracts examined from 1780 to 1830 support this statement.  

40. This description follows, with many variations, those given in Hauser, op. cit., pp. 22-34, Quef, op.cit., p. 26-29, and Bridenbaugh, op.cit., pp. 130-132.
The contract always began with the names of the parties involved. These parties were usually the father, or mother, or tutor if the father was absent, son and master. In French language forms between French Canadians, before a French-Canadian notary, the father's name usually came first. It was the father who, for "the advantage and profit" of his son bound him into apprenticeship with the master. Occasionally, after the father and master were mentioned, a phrase followed, stating that the son, assisted by the father, voluntarily engaged himself to the master. 42

In the English language form it was usually the son, who, assisted by the father, "voluntary, and of his own free will and accord, put himself apprentice" to the master. 43 These forms varied greatly according to the circumstances. Thus, if the apprentice was twenty-one or over, and appeared without his father (which was often the case), he "voluntarily and for his own advantage", engaged himself to the master.

The age of apprentice and his term were usually included in the reference to the contracting parties.

The obligations of the apprentice were basically to serve and obey, and to avoid any damage to his master. The

41. If the parents lived elsewhere, the father would often write a letter, giving his consent to his son, or to someone else in favour of his son. See Appendix C.
42. Voluntary consent was one of the requisites to the validity of a contract. In the above case, the consent was given by the son and father, but technically, in the case of a minor, only the father's consent was needed. For the basis and origin of this law, see W.P. Sharp, Civil Code Of Lower Canada (Montreal, 1889), p. 362.
43. See Appendix B.
French and English language forms differed in their content and length. The English language contract usually listed a number of regulations that the apprentice was to follow.\textsuperscript{44} The apprentice was usually required to make up for time lost by negligence or sickness.\textsuperscript{45} In both language forms, and particularly in the French language form, the apprentice was often required to help with household work after the ordinary hours of the boutique.

The father of the apprentice also had some obligations. In the French language form, a clause was almost always present, requiring the father to search for the son in case of absence and to return him to the master to fulfill the remainder of his term.

The master's obligations included the instruction of his apprentice in all the mysteries of his craft, and "toute chose dont il se mêle en icelui, sans rien excepter ni reserver". The master usually provided food, lodging, bedding and clothing\textsuperscript{*} for the apprentice. When clothing was not included, which was often, an allowance or remuneration was paid to the father or son. Part of this remuneration, or of the contract arrangement, was the specification, that at the end of the contract, the master was to give the apprentice a sum of money and, or, a suit of clothes, and occasionally, some tools of the trade.\textsuperscript{46} Occasionally the master was

\textsuperscript{44} For a comparison, see Appendixes A and B.  
\textsuperscript{45} For a discussion of the many variations concerning sickness see chapter III.  
\textsuperscript{*} This often included souliers français or souliers sauvages.  
\textsuperscript{46} For examples see, the fonds of Charles Voyer, 25 mars, 1793 and Roger Lelièvre, 16 juillet, 1806.
also responsible for the washing and mending of the apprentice's clothing. Included in these obligations was the requirement of the master to treat the apprentice "doucement et humainement".

Often the contract or indenture specified instruction in reading and writing, with that of cyphering occasionally added. Sometimes night school at the master's or parent's expense was also stipulated. In the French language forms, instruction in catechism to prepare the apprentice for his first communion, was emphasized more than instruction in reading and writing. Contracts in French, or contracts between French speaking Canadians and British Canadians masters, often specified that the master allow the apprentice time to go to church, Sundays and obligatory holidays.  

Many variations appeared in the contracts, all of which are impossible to mention. Some that appeared in a number of contracts are the following. Occasionally masters were required to give the apprentice a certificate at the expiration of his term.  

Contracts, especially those in French, involving a master who was probably elderly, stipulated certain conditions if he

47. For examples see the archives of Jean Belanger, 10 mars, 1812 and Felix Têtu, 1 juin, 1806. A detailed discussion of the emphasis on education and religion is given in chapter IV.

48. Cf. The Archives of Jean Belanger, 13 mars, 1806 and of Charles Voyer, 5 janvier, 1807. Both examples mention "une certificat afin d'obtenir une licence de Boulanger". Other contracts, and especially those involving servants, refer merely to a certificate, or a certificate of conduct. Cf. A. Dumas, 26 octobre, 1796.
died before the end of the apprenticeship. For example, the contract between the minor Pierre Proteau and Pierre Grenier in 1812, stipulated that, in case of the death of the master, "l'apprentis sera tenu de rester avec D. Catherine Chamberland, son époque, a cette condition, qu'elle continue de faire la bonté par un ou des compagnons." In other cases the master's death meant the termination of the apprenticeship. If the apprentice had paid the master a certain sum for perfecting his knowledge of the craft, as was the case with garçon majeurs, then, in case of the master's death, the wife was obliged to reimburse the apprentice the total sum received up to that point.

Special consideration was often given to the possibility of a master's move to another city or province. The position taken on whether or not the master could take his apprentice with him outside the city or province, depended on a number of factors. One of these factors seemed to be the possibility of the master's departure. Thus some Canadiens-français had a clause added to contracts with British-Canadian masters, in a phrase, similar to the following statement, stipulated, "que si dans le cas que le dit Alexandre Fraser allait demeurer hors la ville de Québec, que le dit apprentif, ne sera pas tenu de parachever le dit temps qu'il restera."

49. Archives of Roger Lelièvre, 2 mars, 1812. This practice was also prevalent in France. Cf. Hauser, op. cit., p. 27.
50. Archives of Barthélemy Faribault, 7 juin, 1814.
52. Archives of B. Faribault, 1 mai, 1798 and Charles Voyer, 4 avril, 1808.
Other French-Canadians would allow their children to follow the British-Canadian masters, if the master wanted to go to Trois-Rivières ou Montréal. Some, though permitting their sons to leave the city of Quebec, would not allow the master to "transport" their sons out of the province. Thus, the master's departure from the province, terminated the apprenticeship, "entirely discharging" the apprentice from the remaining time. Variations among the French-speaking Canadians were evident. Thus, the labourer, Michel Constant, would permit Frederick Fraser to take his son out of the city, if the said master would clothe his son to the sum of five pounds which the master had been giving his apprentice as a clothing allowance. Very few contracts were found between French-speaking Canadian apprentices and masters in which the same restrictive clauses were present as those evident between French-speaking apprentices and English-speaking masters. This may have been a result of an unwritten understanding between the parties, or of the fact that French-speaking masters were not considered as likely to leave the province as their English-speaking counterparts.

English speaking fathers were also often reluctant to allow English-speaking masters to take their sons out of the province. Although their reluctance seemed to be based on

55. Archives of Jean Belanger, 16 janvier, 1812.
56. For an example of an apprenticeship in which a clause prohibited a French-speaking master from transporting the apprentice out of the province, see archives of Michel Sauvageau, 21 déc., 1808.
similar motives as their compatriotes, differences existed. Restrictive clauses usually referred to departure from the province and rarely to departure from the city.\(^57\) For instance, Hugh Neger (spelling not clear) would allow Alexandre Olscamp to take his son anywhere in the province, but not elsewhere.\(^58\) Although some soldiers would allow their sons to leave the city of Quebec,\(^59\) others wanted their sons to remain close to their stations. This was the case with Thomas Evans, a sergeant in a New Brunswick regiment. In a letter to someone he hardly knew, the sergeant explained his reasons for wanting his son to stay in the city of Quebec. In his words,

> William (a brother) writes that the man the boy is now with, is going away in the Spring, but I don't want to let the boy leave Quebec. This regt. will assuredly go there next summer, thus it is needless to say anymore on the affair\(^60\)...(brackets mine).

Although there were differences in emphasis, both French-speaking and English-speaking parents, showed a desire to keep their sons relatively close to home.

If the apprentice reached his age of majority before finishing his term, the contract often stipulated that he ratify the terms of apprenticeship at his twenty-first birthday.\(^61\) In some apprenticeships, the father was required to guarantee the contract after his son reached the age of

\(^{57}\) Cf. Archives of B. Faribault, 2 mai, 1807.
\(^{58}\) Archives of Joseph Plante, 1 sept., 1801.
\(^{59}\) George Scott, a gunner in the Royal Artillery, would permit his son to follow his master as long as the master did not leave the province. If the master left, the boy was to be discharged of the remaining time. See the archives of Jean Belanger, 4 Feb., 1813.
\(^{60}\) Archives of Felix Tête 17 jan., 1805. For the context of this letter see Appendix C.
After the contract was read, the parties either signed, or made their mark, or declared they did not know how to write or sign their names. Although witnesses were often present and signed, many contracts lacked any mention of witnesses.

During the apprenticeship a number of things could occur to change or annul the contract. Although contraventions were forbidden by law, contracts could be transferred from one master to another, with the apprentice's or his father's consent, or they could be cancelled. Although transfers were not seen as often as cancellations, one suspects that many were probably unrecorded. This would explain, in part, the appearance of an apprentice, two or more times, with different masters, the existence of contracts that had the name and trade of the master crossed out in pencil and replaced by the name of another master craftsman and the practice of some fathers who stipulated that the master could, in no way, transfer the contract to another master.

62. Cf. The Provincial Statutes Of Lower Canada (Que., 5 April, 1802), 42 George III, Cap. II, pp. 111 and 112. The terminology employed in this law could imply that breaches of contract were fairly common. The law was passed because of the insufficiency of existing laws to govern apprentices, domestics, hired servants and journeymen and the resulting "inconvenience to the community, agriculture, commerce and Trade". Anyone breaking the rules of the law (including masters), could be fined ten pounds currency or imprisoned for two months. This law in 1803, 1807, 1811, 1815 was passed again and was refined in 1817.

63. For some examples, see the archives of B. Faribault, 23 avril and 3 nov, 1806; 10 Feb., 1807 and 16 août 1808; 16 avril and 26 sept., 1808. See also, the archives of Jean Belanger, 31 August, 1807.
An interesting example of the transferal of an apprentice from one master to another, is seen in the apprenticeship of John Bennett. John Bennett, with the consent of his father, a soldier in the Twenty-Fourth Regiment of Foot in his Majesty's forces, stationed at Quebec, bound himself as an apprentice blacksmith to the merchant blacksmith, ironmonger, tool-maker and hardware man, James Hunt, in 1799. On May 21, 1801, the apprentice agreed to transfer his service*, under the same conditions to which he had previously agreed, to Obediah Aylwin, a merchant baker. On August 26, 1803, the apprentice once again consented to transfer his services, under the conditions of the first contract, to William Hall, Quebec hatmaker.

As was the case in other transfers between craftsmen, the initiative for the transfer seemed to come from the master. The basis for this statement, is the fact, that it was usually the apprentice, and not the master, who consented to be transferred from one craft to another. The transfer seemed to take place between men, who, because of their particular economic and social position in the community (i.e., merchants), or because of the relation of their crafts (i.e., shoemakers and tanners), were in some way, aware or acquainted with each other.

64. The transfers are included under the date of the original contract. Cf. Archives of Jacques Voyer, 3 avril, 1799. Apprenticeship transfers seemed to appear more with notaries and lawyers, than with craftsmen. For an example of a transfer of an apprentice lawyer, see Ibid., 23 février, 1799.

* James Hunt's wife, Hannah Hunt, acted in her husband's behalf. The apprentice's father's presence was not indicated.
The frequency of contract cancellations can be seen in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CRAFT</th>
<th>CONTRACTS CANCELLED</th>
<th>TOTAL NO. OF CONTRACTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter (ship)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooper</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodworker</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These cancellations do not include term reductions.

The five to ten percent cancellation evident in the above crafts seemed to be present in most crafts at this time.65 The variation in these crafts results from many different factors.* The cancellation frequency among the coopers, for example, is probably a result of the particular nature of the craft and to the small number shown in the table. The cancellation frequency among the shoemakers is possibly a bit high because of the number of contracts cancelled in 1807 and 1808. In these two years, nine apprenticeships were annulled. Out of these nine, six, three in 1807 and three in 1808, took place with the master Alexandre Charon.65

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65. This is based on an observation of the other crafts, not on a statistical analysis.

* The frequency of contract cancellation, like that of transfers, is problematic, because of the possibility of unrecorded cancellations. One does not know, for example, whether an apprentice who appears in more than one apprenticeship, has had his contract transferred or cancelled.

66. Five of these six were recorded in the archives of Jean Belanger. See, Ibid., 14 July, 31 août, 22 sept., 1807 and 17 mai, and 2 mars, 1808.
Why did Charon have so many cancellations in such a short period? Because no explanations were given, this question cannot be answered. Nevertheless, some characteristics of these particular cancellations may provide some clues as to the reasons for their termination. Five of them were cancelled within six months and none of them seemed to involve payments of any kind. Four of the six involved English-speaking apprentices and two were with apprentices who had been involved in previous cancellations. The contract with Patrick Russel, the son of a tailor in the Forty-ninth Regiment of Foot soldiers, had the phrase which stated that the master was to instruct his apprentice in the mystery of a shoemaker, changed to that of a tanner's murrier and saddler. What part these various aspects played in the cancellation of the contracts is difficult to determine, but it is quite likely that they had played some part.

Cancellations seemed to take place within the space of a month, a year, or two years after the beginning of the original contract. The cancellation of an apprenticeship contract was usually recorded with the original contract. Because the record of the cancellation usually stated that the contract was annulled for reasons known to the involved

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67. The number of apprentices hired by Charon in 1307 and 1808, was eight. He made one contract with a French-speaking apprentice in 1809 which was also cancelled. See the archives of F.-X. Chevalier, 2 sept., 1809.
68. One was with a saddler and the other a shoemaker. See the archives of Jean Belanger, 9 janvier and 17 avril, 1807.
69. Ibid., 31 August, 1307.
parties, it is difficult to determine the exact reasons for many cancellations.70

The word cancellation (rèiliation), was employed for apprenticeships which were annulled and also for those that were reduced in time. In the first instance, the apprenticeship was declared null and void, but in the second, it was merely shortened. Although annulled contracts usually read that the parties had agreed to cancel the apprenticeship, without obligations or costs,71 one occasionally read that the parties had "fait droits entre eux" or that they had made arrangements before the cancellation was recorded.72 If they had not made arrangements, a clause might be added, stating that the cancellation "ne puisse en aucune manière alterer ni diminuer aucune des charges, clauses et conditions portees au dit engagement...pour laquelle les dits parties se reserverent à se faire droits conformement auprès l'engagement".73

When a discharge of time was agreed upon, the master was frequently reimbursed for the lost time by the apprentice or his father. The amount paid varied according to the length of the discharge and circumstances involved. In

70. For examples, see the archives of Jean Belanger, 31 août, 1807 and 1 August, 1811.
72. Ibid., 25 sept., 1811. In 1811, a habitant paid the wood worker J.B. Chamberland, ten pounds for the cancellation of a four year apprenticeship which had three years remaining to be served. See the archives of Roger Lelièvre, 7 août, 1811.
1806, twelve pounds were paid for the discharge of one year and a half, and in 1811, a habitant, paid a similar amount, fifty piastres, for the discharge of one year. Occasionally, the payment was paid in kind. Thus, a garçon majeur who was apprenticed for only seven months to a woodworker, was discharged of three months, on the condition that he cut and transport to the master's house in Quebec, "trois cordes et un voyage de bon bois de corde recevable d'environ deux pieds et demi de long au moins"... In addition to the wood, he promised to work one day for the master in May.

Other reductions in time resulted in the apprentice's immediate possession of a position as a journeyman. In 1814, Thomas Teasdale, the son-in-law of a master tailor, promised to pay John Shea, a Quebec master shoemaker, an indemnification of sixty pounds by installments of fifteen shillings a month and "in order to facilitate this payment the said John Shea promises to give him work as a journeyman shoemaker, if he requires it, and allow him therefore at the same rates as he will pay to other journeyman shoemakers".

In addition to cancellations resulting from agreements to reduce apprenticeship terms, contracts were also cancelled.

73. Archives of Felix Têtu, 5 avril, 1802.
74. Archives of Roger Lelièvre, 13 nov., 1806. In the same year the apprentice, Joseph Giroux paid the master woodworker, M. Crépean, eighteen piastres for his release from the balance of approximately two years time. Archives of Charles Voyer, 14 oct., 1805.
75. Archives of Roger Lelièvre, 2 février, 1811. See also Ibid., 16 mai, 1814.
76. Archives of B. Faribault, 15 janvier 1811.
77. Archives of Jean Belanger, 28 mai, 1811. This was a reduction of more than two years.
as a result of prolonged sickness, injury and militia obligations. Under these conditions, the cancellation usually stipulated that the master had the right to require the apprentice to fulfill his term after the illness or militia service was terminated. If the apprentice was seriously injured while working at his craft, the apprenticeship was cancelled and he was not required to fulfill the remaining time. Thus, in 1807, William Horton, a sixteen year old apprentice blockmaker, was released from his apprenticeship, "being impeded of serving the said John Smith by reason of his being lame, occasioned by a fall from the King's warf."  

Additional reasons for apprenticeship cancellations could probably be found in the nature of the relationship between master and apprentice and the conditions under which the apprenticeship transpired. Although this question will be discussed in chapters two and three, a few inferences pertinent to cancellations can be given. Apprenticeships were probably broken by masters because they were no longer convenient for them. Thus, if the master left the province and did not want to take the apprentice with him, he could leave the apprentice behind. If he was dissatisfied with his apprentice, he could put him out of his house.

79. For examples see the archives of B. Faribault, 18 avril 1814 and Roger Lelièvre, 3 juillet, 1813.
80. Archives of Jean Belanger, 15 mars, 1806.
dissatisfaction with an apprentice was probably one of the reasons that certain apprentices had their apprenticeships cancelled one or two times in succession. The father of an apprentice shoemaker, who had had his apprenticeship recently cancelled, added a clause to a second apprenticeship contract which stated that, if the master decided to cancel the apprenticeship after the first six months, he would have to reimburse the father for money paid for his son's upkeep. In this instance, the contract was cancelled after three weeks.

A master's dissatisfaction with an apprentice was probably one of the contributing factors to an apprentice's dissatisfaction with his position. Dissatisfaction on both parts, probably resulted in some of the many "agreements" to cancel the apprenticeship.

The relation of the master's conduct to the termination of apprenticeship is illustrated in contracts where a clause was added stating that the apprenticeship would be annulled if the apprentice was badly treated. In the apprenticeship contract between Pierre Boutelit and the master shoemaker, John Miller, in 1307, such a clause was present. It stated, that, "en cas de mauvais traitement, de sa part, le présent engagement demeura nul et resilie de plein droit:et sera

83. Ibid., 31 August, 1307.
84. Archives of Jean Belanger, 17 avril, 1307.
This apprenticeship was cancelled a month and a half later. Whether mistreatment was the reason, is difficult to say. Although all the reasons for cancelled contracts were not given, it appears that apprenticeships were terminated as a result of dissatisfaction of one or both of the parties, term reductions, sickness, injury and militia obligations.

Although the apprenticeship system in Lower Canada appeared to lack some of the formal aspects of the older systems in France and England, it followed the general lines of these systems. The indenture form was usually detailed, taking into considerations such aspects as the apprentice's age and length of service and the names, residences, occupations and obligations of the contracting parties. Thus, apprenticeship in the early nineteenth century seemed to have been a relatively developed and established practice of training young men as future artisans.

85. Archives of B. Faribault, 1 avril, 1807.
ARTISAN AND APPRENTICE IN PERSPECTIVE.

Apprenticeship in Lower Canada from 1793 to 1815 was not only a product of a lengthy anterior development, it was also a result of a particular social and economic setting. Before beginning a study of apprenticeship conditions, let us briefly examine the position of the craftsmen in rural and urban settings. An understanding of the artisan's place and role in rural and urban settings will give us a picture of some of the social and economic factors which contributed to the evolution of the craft system in Lower Canada, and consequently, which influenced the system of apprenticeship.

The expensive and precarious nature of the large scale trade and commercial export of first the fur trade, and later, the lumber trade, limited craftsmen, who lacked the necessary capital and knowledge of foreign markets, from participating, to any great degree, in commercial trade. The relatively small and rural population of late eighteenth century Canada, the lack of capital and large quantities of finished products,

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limited the exportation and importation of finished products. Consequently, production was limited to local needs and demands. The artisan's practice depended on these local needs, such that in rural areas where there was little demand for specialized or manufactured goods, there was usually little demand for trained craftsmen. Many farmers and residents of small villages were almost self-sufficient. One writer, on commenting on the customs of the habitants of the Murray Bay region, described this self-sufficiency in the following way.

He is pre-eminently a handyman... he is carpenter, farmer, blacksmith, shoemaker; and if not he, his wife is weaver and tailor. The waggon he drives is his handiwork; so is the harness; the home spun cloth of his suit is made by his wife from the wool of his own sheep... Sometimes the habitant makes his own boots, the excellent bottes sauvages of the country. The women make not only home-spun cloth, but linen, straw hats, gloves, candles, soap. When there are maple trees, the habitant provides his own sugar; he makes even the buckets in which the sap of the maple tree is caught. Tobacco grows in his garden, for the habitant is an inveterate smoker.

According to another chronicler of these times, the production

2. J. lbavor, op.cit., p. 11
4. G. M. Wrong, A Canadian Manor And Its Seigneurs (Toronto, 1908), pp. 180 and 181. For similar descriptions, see J. Lambert, Travels Through Lower Canada And The United States Of North America In The Years 1806, 1807, and 1808
of "Les bas, les gants, les mitaines et autres ouvrage de
tricotage, et les chapeaux de paille ordinaires pour hommes
et femmes", was a general branch of domestic industry among
the Canadians. Thus the habitant knew enough different
crafts to respond to many of his daily wants.

Consequently, his relationship with the village or city
merchant was limited. P.-G. Roy stated that the Ile-d'
Orléans habitants,

n'ont recours aux villes-marchands que pour certaines
choses dont ils ne peuvent absolument se passer ou
qu'ils ne recueillent pas sur leurs terres, telle que
l'eau-de-vie, la mélasse dont ils se servent pour
sucrè, le tabac en poudre, car pour celui à fumer,
ils en vendent en quantité chaque année, l'huile
qui leur sort de chandelle, et un habillement complet
d'étoffe étrangère qu'ils achètent tous les deux ou
trois ans, le conservant pour les fêtes et les dimanches.

The above necessities, and others, such as some utensils or
farm implements, were obtained by barter. In exchange for
merchandise, the habitant would provide their produce, grains,
vegetables and fruits in the summer and live stock in the
winter.

A number of factors influenced the habitant's position

Eastern Townships (Montreal, 1863), pp. 80 and 81. For a
discussion of rural and urban tendencies in the dress of
French-speaking Canadians in the French and English regimes,
see, E. H. Loosley, "Early Canadian Costume", The Canadian
356-359.

5. From a letter concerning "statistics" in Boucherville in
1811, quoted in full in M. Bibaud, La Bibliothèque
Canadienne (Montréal, 1825-26), Tome II, p. 94.
of relative self-sufficiency and his relation to urban techniques and merchandise. For example, the closer he was to large villages or small urban areas, the more he seemed to depend on manufactured products. The proximity of a large village or urban area allowed the habitant to enter into various business arrangements with merchants and artisans. Some habitants, for example, made contracts to supply merchants, bakers, and blacksmiths with orders of grain and particular cuts of wood for their ovens and forges.

In many villages there was enough industry to support a number of craftsmen, who, in addition to their crafts, often cultivated a small plot of land and owned some livestock. An example of the number of artisans in a village during this time can be seen in the case of Boucherville. In 1810-1811, the parish of Boucherville was said to have had a population of approximately two thousand, four hundred and twenty-five souls, with five hundred and seventy people living in the village. In the seigniory there were four windmills. The

city included six merchants and three inns. There were fifty-four domestics and apprentices, including thirty-four females, and twenty-two males.

Les artisans y sont en assez grand nombre. Voici ceux du village seul: six forgerons; cinq tisserands; deux tonneliers; huit menuisiers, dont deux font aussi le métier de charpentier; un horloger; cinq bouchers, dont deux seulement fournissent le village; un charrier; deux maçon; deux boulangers; et six cordonniers, dont un est, en outre, sellier, charpentier et bon biberon, par dessus le marché: preuve incontestable, je crois, qu'ici, comme ailleurs, on trouve des gens à talents universels.13

In addition to the five weavers in Boucherville, others were known to be practicing in Varennes, St.-Denis, Véchères and Berthier. "Ils manufacturent du coutil, de la flanelle, du droguet, de la toile de diverses sortes, de l'étoffe croisée, du berg-op-zoom et du basin."14

Artisans were also present in the rural parishes of the Quebec district. Blacksmiths, wood-workers, carpenters, shoemakers, and millwrights were found in Château-Richer, Beauport, Charlesbourg; Saint-Jean (Île D'Orléans), Jeune-Lorette, St. Augustin, Portneuf, Ancienne Lorette, Pointe-aux-Trembles, Lotbinière, St.-Antoine, St.-Henri, and La Pointe-Levy.15

13. Ibid., p. 93.
14. Ibid., p. 94. Included in this reference are the prices and number of articles made per day.
15. The sources for this statement are found in the archives of the notaries of these villages, all of which are listed in the bibliography. These artisans and others probably existed in other villages also, but because notarial records of all villages were not studied, these are the only villages which we can cite with any certainty. Masons, blockmakers and sailmakers were also evident in some villages.
The village craftsman's main sources of employment seemed to come from working on local mills, churches and fulfilling the needs of the habitants and villagers for more sophisticated products. Wood-workers, and or carpenters, and blacksmiths were hired by seigneurs to construct and maintain their mills. It is likely that they worked on farm implements which were often difficult to construct. The local blacksmith probably repaired damaged or faulty firearms. Wood-workers and, or sculpturers did alot of work in the building and maintenance of the parish churches. The wood-worker or sculpturer was responsible for the decorative sculpturing and many of the fine pieces, found in the interior of the church, such as statues, altar pieces, candle holders, tables, pews, vaults, arches, tabernacles, pulpits and many other richly ornate pieces of furniture. 

16. Thus, the country tailor, at least before 1760, worked in the habitant's home, showing the habitant or his wife the correct cut for certain clothes. From Massicotte, loc.cit.
17. Cf. Archives of Chavigny La Chevrotiere, 15 août, 1515. Included in this contract or marché is a description of the work required of a menuisier and a forgeron.
20. The association of the village menuisier and sculpteur was evident in Boucherville in 1760. See G. Horisset, Philippe Liébert (Québec, 1943), pp. 9 and 10.
21. Ibid., pp. 17-24, and M. Berbeau, Quebec Where Ancient France Lingers (Québec, 1936), pp. 54 and 55.
areas did not seem to need artisans, rural villages often provided certain craftsmen with employment.

The largest concentrations of artisans were in the largest industrial centers such as Quebec and Montreal. Here the artisan had a population, which, although it often had some land and livestock, was not equipped, in the same way as the habitant, to provide itself with the needs of daily life. Consequently, although some city dwellers, and particularly the British Canadians, preferred certain exported goods, over local products, a large part of the populace obtained their goods from craftsmen such as the woodworker, cooper, blacksmith and tool maker, shoemaker, saddle-maker, watch and clock maker, hatmaker, tailor, baker

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pp. 4-6. Both Morisset and Vaillancourt give descriptions of the works done by Quévillon's apprentices in some of the rural churches in the district of Quebec. For a discussion of the works of the "Montreal School" and the "Quebec or Laval School" in the Quebec area, see G. Morisset, Coup D'Oeil Sur Les Arts En Nouvelle France, pp. 28-41, Phillippe Liebert, pp. 11 and 17, and the following works of M. Barbeau: Au Coeur de Québec (Montréal, 1934), pp. 11-132; Maîtres Artisans de chez nous (Montréal, 1942), pp. 60-63 and "Two Centuries of Wood Carving in French Canada", pp. 2-4.

23. For a discussion of the dependence of city residents in New France and Lower Canada on manufactured clothing, produced in the mother countries, see E.H. Loosley, op. cit., p. 164.

24. The Quebec Gazette, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, is constantly advertising the arrival and sale of English imports. These advertisements included such items as wines, honey, molasses, barley, oats, rice, chocolate, tea, coffee, sugar, soap, candles, pepper, paints, nails, furniture and hardware goods and all sorts of iron, leather and clothing goods and jewelry and musical instruments. There seems to have been little, in fact, that was not imported.
and potter. They depended on the mason, carpenter and woodworker for the building and finishing of their homes.

At the end of the eighteenth century, commerce was still characterized by individual orders and products between the craftsman and the customer who wanted a pair of shoes or his family house built. The craftsman fulfilled these demands with the aid of members of his family or a small number of journeymen and apprentices who lived and worked in the master's house. Crafts at this time were organized to produce for what was known as the custom-order market. Although the "home stage", where individuals made their own clothing, shoes and tools, probably continued to exist in the country, urban areas appeared to have at least passed to the handicraft stage.

In the first phase of this stage the artisan dealt directly with a market composed of his neighbours. The exact termination of this type of organization is difficult to ascertain, mainly because it was characteristic among beginning craftsmen and those who employed only members of their family and one or two journeymen. This kind of organization was evident in Quebec City in the 1790's. The next stage, the "domestic


stage", where the masters began to employ their journeymen and apprentices in producing shop work for a stock of standard products, for a larger market\textsuperscript{27}, was also evident in Quebec in the 1790's. Many examples could be given to illustrate the existence of these types of organization, but we will limit this discussion by only giving two from the shoe industry. Production for the custom-order market is evident in the advertisement of two "young beginners", Thompson and Fraser, who, informed the ladies and gentlemen of the city, "that being provided with a quantity of the choicest Leather of different kind--the same will be made up in the most fashionable and neatest manner, for those who may be pleased to honor them with their Custom".\textsuperscript{28} Production for the larger market is portrayed in an advertisement appearing in \textit{The Quebec Gazette} within a month of the previous article. Samuel Jefferys, an established boot and shoe maker, after notifying his customers of his new address, added, "that he had \textit{Ready made}, a variety of Ladies' Shoes and Slippers, and Gentlemen's Boots, shoes, Goloshes of the neatest and best workmanship, which he will sell on the most reasonable terms".\textsuperscript{29} The underlining of "Ready made" may indicate that this practice was not universal. In any case, the craftsman's traditional production pattern appeared to be under going some changes.

Some of these changes resulted from the accumulation

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid. and J.R. Commons, \textit{loc.cit.}
\textsuperscript{28} \textit{The Quebec Gazette}, 6 April, 1797.
\textsuperscript{29} \textit{The Quebec Gazette}, 23 March, 1797.
of capital, credit, skilled labour, and the increasing exportation of lumber and the beginning of large scale ship-building. Some artisans began to produce large stocks and operate often more than one shop. An example of an artisan with an operation of a network of shops is evident in the system run by the wood-worker Jean Baptiste Chamberland, who employed a considerable number of journeymen and apprentices on numerous contracts in his boutiques and yards in the city and country. Some of the artisans who owned fairly large scale operations, had contracts with merchants to build houses, warehouses and hotels, with large ship builders to build hangards, docks and parts of ships, with church-wardens for the construction and maintenance of city churches, and with the government for the construction of government buildings, such as lighthouses, and the prison, and the fulfillment of government orders for supplies such as army boots and tools.

30. Mavor, loc. cit.
31. References to the size of the shops of Chamberland and others are given in chapter III.
32. For examples, see the marchés between the Union Company and J.B. Chamberland, and Edward Cannon to build the "maison de l'Union" in the archives of Michel Bertholet, 15 août, 1805. See also the archives of Joseph Planté, 15 Dec., 1800, and Roger Le Lièvre, 20 mai, 1812.
33. This is not a reference to ship carpenters, shipwrights, caulkers, sawyers, blacksmiths and others who worked in quite large numbers in the ship yards, but to artisans, such as menuisiers, who did special contracts for the shipbuilders. Cf. Archives of Jean Belanger, 20 mars, and 29 mars, 1809.
34. M. Barbeau, op. cit., p. 123. For an interesting description of the work done by craftsmen on the English Cathedral and a list of many of the artisans who did the work, see Fred. C. Wurtele, "The English Cathedral of Quebec", Transactions Of The Literary And Historical Society Of Quebec (Quebec, 1891) New Series, No. 20, pp. 76-82.
Many artisans, and particularly those doing business on a large scale, titled themselves master (artisan) merchants and some carried the title of "Ecuyer". Others were known as entrepreneurs, and, or, hommes d'affaires. The origin of these terms probably originated in the nature of the master artisan's functions. He was not only an artisan and master of the boutique, he was also a merchant in the sense that he carried on the commercial aspects of the shop and occasionally corresponded with, or travelled to other parts of the province in search of business contracts. The occasional adoption of the title "esquire", was probably both a reflection of the master merchant's feeling of importance, and his position in society. Having attained

35. Archives of N. Berthelot, 5 mars, 1808.
36. Ibid., 1, 9 and 11 juin, 1808; 10 juin, 1812 and 18 juillet, 1812. These marchés involve the government and such artisans as masons, carpenters, wood-workers, blacksmiths, tinsmiths, roofers, and glass makers. For a documented but unpublished study on the contracts and types of craft work done on the prison see, "Un dossier compilé au Service d'Archéologie du ministère des Affaires Culturelles" par Michel Gaumond.
38. This practice seemed to have existed for a long time. See Massicotte, op.cit., pp. 277 and 278 and G. Morisset, Coup D'Oeil Sur Les Arts En Nouvelle France, p. 125.
39. The French term was also used for English-speaking masters. Cf. Archives of Felix Têtu, 17 jan., 1805.
42. Cf. Ibid. This aspect of the master artisan was quite evident in our research as one would often find contracts and marchés between artisans and numerous other groups, both in Lower and Upper Canada. Interesting information on the activities of master artisans, especially sculpturers, wood-workers, architects and contractors, can be found in the Gérard Morisset archives kept at the Institut national de la Civilisation.
the position of merchant, some economically successful masters, participated in social groups composed of mercantile and professional members. 43

Economic changes and the organization of crafts had many implications for apprenticeship, all of which cannot be immediately discussed. Increased activity and prosperity after 1793 in agriculture, the fur trade, shipping and the lumber industries, 44 provided employment for many and created an increasing demand for skilled labourers. Agricultural prosperity, especially that experienced from 1793 to 1802, encouraged habitants' sons to continue to seek their livelihood in clearing the land and farming. 45 The importance of agriculture for the employment of the young is portrayed in the fact that as high as eighty percent of the population was said to be concentrated in this industry. 46 Although not as important in terms of direct employment as agriculture, the fur trade continued to attract many young men from the Quebec area. Young men from fourteen to eighteen, left their homes, usually from one to three years, as highly paid voyageurs, 47 others hired out as cooks, and still others earned higher than normal urban wages, as artisans. 43

43. This was evident in the career of Obediah Aylwin, who, after beginning as a baker, soon began hiring journeymen, buying property and warehouses and appearing on the lists of important groups. For some references to Aylwin see The Quebec Gazette, 14 Nov., 1793; 26 June, 1794; 12 April, 1798 and 10 June, 1802.

44. Cf. Ouellet, op. cit., pp. 149-165.

45. Ibid., p. 156.

46. Pentland, op. cit., pp. 148, 149 and 196. For a contemporary comment on habitants leaving their seigniories for the fur trade, see Joseph Bouchette, A Topographical Description Of The Province Of Lower Canada (London, 1815),
An indication of the status of many of the crafts existing previous to 1806 can be found in curé Joseph-Octave Plessis' censuses taken in 1792, 1795, 1798 and 1805. Even though the province was experiencing a light recession, beginning in 1803, and was not yet experiencing the prosperity resulting from the increased activity in the lumber industries, which began after 1807, the changes in some trades between 1792 and 1805, reveal that social and economic conditions had brought considerable expansion in business and production. Table 2 shows considerable expansion in the trades of bakers, carpenters, innkeepers, lawyers and notaries, menuisiers, sawyers, saddlers, shoemakers, tanners and merchants. The prosperity of the years following 1807 resulted in further expansions, not only in the shipping and building crafts, but also in other trades which benefited from the prevailing prosperity. Table 3 shows the crafts which were most notably affected, if not in general expansion, at least in terms of increasing apprenticeships. Some of the trades affected were the bakers, merchants, pilots, ship carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, wood-workers and servants.

47. Many voyageurs were used also as fishermen and hunters and did many odd jobs during the off-season. See the archives of R. LeLievre, 1803-1805 and Jacques Voyer, 1802-1807. A description of some of the off-season jobs done by the voyageurs can be found in C. H. Gates, Five Fur Traders Of The Northwest (Minnesota, 1965), pp. 220-255. Wages are given in the notarial contracts and in H. Innis, The Fur Trade In Canada (Toronto, 1962), pp. 211, 215, 223, 226, 238 and 308.

48. See J. Voyer, loc. cit. Wood-workers, blacksmiths, and coopers signed contracts with the North West Company. Coopers were by far the most numerous group. The cooks included the largest number of minors.

49. Ibid., pp. 175-190.
### Table 2*

**Trades Existing in 1792 and 1805 in Quebec City**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trade</th>
<th>1792</th>
<th>1805</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookbinder</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butcher</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carter</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caulker</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coachmaker</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clock and watch maker</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couturier</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>121</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunsmith and locksmith</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hair and wig maker</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inn keeper</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menuisier</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navigator</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notary</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potter</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddler</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sawyer</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sculpturer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School master</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silversmith</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surveyor</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanner</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tinsmith</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Information for table two was taken from Antoine Roy’s tabulation of many of the trades given in the curé’s censuses of 1792 and 1805. Since Roy compiled statistics, in some cases, for only one census, and in other cases, not at all, additional information was taken from the actual censuses. See Joseph-Octave Plessis, “Dénombrements De Québec Faits En 1792, 1795, 1798 et 1805”, *RAPQ*, pp. 5, 6, 9-55 and 159-214.
### Table 3

**Number of Apprentices Taken by Trades from 1790 to 1815 in Que. City**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRADE</th>
<th>1790-95</th>
<th>96-1800</th>
<th>1801-05</th>
<th>1806-10</th>
<th>1911-15</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blockmaker</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookbinder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butcher</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter (ship)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clock &amp; Watch maker</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coach maker</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooper</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultivator</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furrier</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatter</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hair &amp; wig maker</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jailmaker</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mariner</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchant &amp; clerk</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millener &amp; women’s app.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millier</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millwright</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miner</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navigator</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notary</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>181</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper maker</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potter</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soapmaker</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddler &amp; Harness maker</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sail maker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sculpturer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servant (girl)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servant (boy)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silversmith</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surveyor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanner &amp; Currier</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tinsmith</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabacconist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodworker</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>63</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>596</td>
<td>1,573</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Information for table 3 is taken from the archives of the notaries practicing in Quebec from 1790 to 1816. Although the records of all the notaries practicing during this time were considered, this does not mean that the numbers shown in Table 3 are complete. As previously mentioned, the existence of a number of problems, would imply that they are not complete. Nevertheless, as shown above, these figures give an approximate indication of existing apprenticeships.

In order to understand these figures, some explanation must be given to the nature of some of the crafts appearing above. It must be remembered that many craftsmen were capable of performing more than one craft. This was particularly true in terms of those artisans that practiced crafts which were related to other crafts. Morisset explains this facility to change crafts in the following way.

L'apprenti-orfèvre qui se débrouille tout seul dans les rouages d'un mouvement d'horloge, ne perd pas son temps à marteler des feuilles d'argent: il se fait horloger; le forgeron de village n'a souvent qu'un faible effort à faire pour devenir ferronnier; le rémouleur se transforme vite en potier, le vitrier en verrier, le menuisier en sculpteur; le ferblantier rivalise avec l'orfèvre en adresse et en invention.50

The multiplicity of functions was evident in many of the crafts given above.51 Master craftsmen occasionally gave different occupations or crafts in different situations.

Because a discussion of the different aspects involved in

51. In his censuses, Plessis often attributed more than one craft to certain men. For example, he gave Augustin
some of these crafts would be too lengthy, only the *menuisier* will be discussed at any length. A good example of some of the definitional problems involved in a discussion of artisans, and of the multiple functions of a craftsman, can be seen with the *menuisier*, who, in one indenture, would be designated as *menuisier*, and in another, carpenter, joiner, or sculpturer. The first problem is the question of defining meaningful categories so as to classify the apprenticeships studied. Basically, the way this was resolved was by classifying indentures according to the trade being taught to the apprentice. Thus, if the sculpturer, P.-F. Baillargé, agreed to teach his apprentice the art and mystery of a *menuisier*, the indenture was included under *menuisier*, but if he agreed to teach the apprentice the art of sculpturing, the indenture was recorded under the sculpturer's craft.

Instances where words such as "*meublier et tapissier"* were used to describe the art to be taught the apprentice, were treated in a somewhat different manner. This time, an effort was made to locate other contracts involving the same master to see what description he used to describe his functions. In this case, it was found that craftsmen taking apprentice *meubliers*, were *menuisiers* or cabinetmakers. Hence, apprentice *meubliers* were also included under *menuisier*.

---

Bonais' occupation as a navigator and shoemaker. In another instance, he listed one man in the following manner, "Thomas L'Evesque dit La France, de tout metier". See J.-O. Plessis, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 and 35.
An additional problem immediately arises, and that is the question of translation. Is a menuisier a cabinetmaker and can both menuisier and cabinetmaker be described as "wood-workers"? Jean Palardy maintains that the menuisier did all the work defined by Didérait and D'Alembert in their Grande Encyclopédie, but that this did not include the work of an ébéniste, or cabinet maker. The English equivalent of menuisier, according to Palardy, is "joiner." One of the difficulties with this interpretation is that it does not completely define the status of English speaking artisans who designated themselves as, "Joiner and Cabinetmaker". The Gazette's translation of "Joiner and Cabinetmaker" was either, "Menuisier" or "Menuisier et etc.". This indicated that cabinetmakers were often joiners and that they were considered as menuisiers. Thus, apprentice cabinetmaker's were included.

Finally, Palardy describes the skilled carpenter or joiner who worked in solid wood, as a "wood-worker". Although the term "wood-worker" is accepted because it is a convenient term to describe artisans who performed the many functions of


53. For some examples, see The Quebec Gazette, 15 May, 1794; 22 Dec., 1796; 5 Jan., 1797 and 25 March, 1802.
menuisiers, this again raises a problem. Is a carpenter also a joiner? Fortunately, this problem helped to resolve itself, in that most, if not all, indentures gave the craft to be taught as "joiner and carpenter". Does this mean that, by including joiners and carpenters with menuisiers, we have mixed the crafts of carpenter and menuisier? To a certain degree, yes. Carpenters who were also designated as joiners, or in French, menuisiers, were studied as one craft. Nevertheless, the number of apprentices being taught the trade of carpenter and joiner was small and the few indentures which mentioned only carpenter were not included in the menuisier's craft.

This system of evaluation, or a similar one, was used in almost all trades listed above. The apprentice's craft was determined both on the basis of the trade defined in the indenture and on the master's trade as seen in a number of contracts. A number of dictionaries and specialized books giving information on crafts were included in this evaluation. 54

54. Examples of these sources are: E. Littré, Dictionnaire De La Langue Française (Paris, 1873), Tome III, p. 516; Dictionnaire Encyclopédique Quillet Edition Du Cinquantenaire, Publié sous la Direction De Raoul Mortier (Paris, 1938), Tome III, pp. 2395-2897. This book gave a helpful explanation of many aspects involving menuisiers. A description of the many functions of the menuisier is given in Aristide Poutiers, La Menuiserie (Paris, 1921), pp. 19-25. The many works of G. Morisset and M. Barbeau included information on some of the terms used by menuisiers. A dictionary that was used not only in defining menuisiers, but other crafts as well, was Jaubert's Dictionnaire Raisonné Universel Des Arts Et Métiers, Contenant L'Histoire, La Description, La Police Des Fabriques Et Manufactures de France et des Pays Étrangers (Lyon, 1801), Cinq Tomes.
Obviously an evaluation of all crafts listed in table 3 is out of the question. Consequently, only those crafts that we have chosen to study in detail will be considered. This consideration will involve a listing, not an evaluation, of different titles involved in the classification of these crafts. Included with the bakers, are apprentice boulanger, pastry cooks and makers. The blacksmiths constitute apprentice forgerons and apprentice forgerons et maréchals. This last title usually embraced both blacksmiths and shoing smiths. Gunsmiths and locksmiths were relatively rare and were not considered a part of the blacksmith grouping. 

Ship carpenters include apprentice charpentiers de navire, constructeurs de vaisseaux, shipbuilders, shipwrights and about four carpenters.55 The figures given above clearly illustrate the effects of the conjonctures on this craft. The obvious lack of apprentices before 1306, raises a few questions about the validity of these figures. One would think that even though the activity in the ship yards previous to 1306, was limited,56 that it would have occasioned the training of more apprentices than shown above.

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* Their scarcity probably results from their being a part of the blacksmith's craft at this time. The presence of gunsmiths was evident as a number of them contracted to work in the fur trade and were listed by Plessis in his censuses.

55. These, and similar terms, seemed to be used indiscriminantly, with as many as three terms appearing in one indenture. The apprentice carpenters were bound to master shipbuilders.

56. Craig maintains that though a few small boats were built and others repaired, shipbuilding in late eighteenth century was of little significance. Op. cit., pp. 154 and 155. For a discussion of shipbuilding activity from 1803 to 1812, see Ouellet, op. cit., p. 190.
Perhaps, this small scale activity was conducive to the training of ship carpenters, who, for one reason or another, were not bound as apprentices. If this was so, it would help to explain some of the questions which constantly appear in relation to the formation of skilled labour for the ship yards.

Apprentice shoemakers almost always appeared as shoemakers or cordonniers. The only exception to this, was the appearance of three cordwainers. This was also true for apprentice tailors. The slow beginning of apprentices in shoemaking and tailoring was probably due in part to the practice of shoemakers and tailors to import large quantities of finished products from Great Britain. Advertisements sponsored by tailors were probably more numerous than any other craft until the early 1800's, when shoemakers also began to advertise widely. In the 1790's, many English-speaking tailors seemed to conduct their affairs in a very similar manner as the merchant importers, who filled the columns of The Quebec Gazette with news of their newly arrived goods. After 1806, the tailors and shoemakers began fabricating more of their production and consequently, their need for journeymen and apprentices increased.

The difficulties involved in classifying servants who

57. References are numerous. For examples, see 26 May, 1791; 11 July, 1793; 26 Sept., 1793; October 29, 1795; 23 June, 1796; 12 Jan., 1797; 14 June, 1798; 9 July, 1800 and so on.
were garçon majeurs, or adults, led to the exclusion of this group. Similiar problems with infant servants led to their exclusion. The above categories embody only boys and girls between the approximate ages of six and twenty-one. It is interesting to note how the demand for servants also seemed to be a reflection of the existing economic and social conditions. Before 1801, very few advertisements for servants were present in The Quebec Gazette, whereas, after this time, their presence became increasingly evident.

Merchant and clerk apprentices comprehend almost an equal number of apprentice merchants and apprentice clerks. Other apprentices, such as apprentice merchant tobacconists and apprentice merchant silversmiths, were omitted from this formation. The demand for apprentice clerks and merchants in the 1790's did not seem to meet the needs of available apprentices. Advertisements of young clerks desiring employment, seemed to be more prevalent and exist longer than any other advertisements requesting employment. Although this situation improved after 1806, it was not until much later that it gained significant proportions.

58. The number of such servants appearing in the contracts during this period was approximately thirty-eight.
59. See in 1801 and 1802 above, 8 October, 1801; 22 Nov., 1801; 21 Jan., 1802; 4 March, 1802; 29 April, 1802 and 24 June, 1802.
60. Examples of advertisements for clerks can be found in The Quebec Gazette, 13 April, 1794 and 12 April, 1798.
61. For example see The Quebec Gazette, 11 March 1790; 10 Dec. and 13 August, 1795; 8 March, 1798 and 13 June, 1801. This last advertisement was still appearing at the end of October.
Apprenticeships among pilots obviously experienced a substantial increase after 1806. This could be directly related to the large increases in ships entering the ports of Quebec during this time. The lack of figures for apprentices before 1796 may have resulted from the fact that rigorous regulations governing the formation and practice of pilots did not become law until 1788. It may have taken a few years before these laws were instituted. This would help to explain the gap between 1788 and 1796.

As previously mentioned, most girls bound as apprentices were servants, not apprentices, in the sense of artisans. Exceptions, as the table shows, were few. We found only eight artisan apprenticeships. Of these eight, one was a mantua-maker, two were couturiers and five were milleners. The apprentice and master milleners were English-speaking, as was the mantua-maker. The couturiers seemed to consist of a French-speaking apprentice and English-speaking mistress and an English-speaking apprentice and a French-speaking mistress. The appearance of the milleniers from 1806 to 1810 could possibly also be attributed to the economic prosperity of this period.

63. Ibid., p. 114.
64. For examples, see the archives of Roger Lelièvre, 24 février, 1806 and 15 janvier, 1810, and Jacques Voyer, 27 juillet, 1810.
Economic and social factors, such as the British demand for wood and the 1812 to 1814 war, influenced the nature of apprenticeship from 1793 to 1815. The particular nature and needs of the province's economy, contributed to the growth of certain crafts and, this, in turn, led to an increase in the number of apprenticeships. Consequently, the greatest number of apprentices were found in the largest crafts, such as those of the ship carpenter, baker, blacksmith, shoemaker, pilot and wood-worker.

Although the characteristics of the craft system in rural areas needs further investigation, the results of this study indicate that the majority of artisans and apprentices worked and were trained in urban centers, such as Quebec city. Craftsmen often appeared to perform functions which encompassed more than a single craft and in craft organisations which were slowly evolving with different changes in the economy. In order to understand some of the effects of these structures on the apprentice, a consideration of the apprentice's social and economic conditions is necessary. This question is the subject of the following chapters.

* After finishing this paper, we discovered that the conclusion for this chapter had been omitted. Thus, we were obliged to add an extra page.
CHAPTER III

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF APPRENTICESHIP

Thus far we have been trying to clarify some of the social and commercial aspects of the artisan and to outline some of the trades open to the young, with special reference to those involving apprenticeships. At this point we are ready to begin a detailed study of the social and economic conditions* of the apprentice artisan and to relate, to a limited degree, his position to the larger context.

Although other sources were used, the main source for this study of the conditions in which the apprentice lived and laboured, were the indentures. As previously mentioned, these contracts contain the vital information on apprenticeships. By examining and tabulating some of the information given in these indentures, one can arrive at a fairly comprehensive description of apprenticeship in Quebec City from 1793 to 1815. The following discussion is an attempt

* It must be stated at the outset, that the division of this section into "social" and "economic" aspects is solely for the purpose of discussion and organization. These aspects form a unit and must not be understood as forming separate categories.
to establish, as clearly as possible, what were considered some of the most important aspects of apprenticeship. This discussion consists of an examination of such aspects as the age, term, duties and hours of work of apprentices, the tools they used, the composition and ratios, of some of the shops in which they worked, and the compensation they received for their labour. A consideration of other aspects involving, what one could designate as social conditions, will complete this exposé. These conditions are primarily related to the seven crafts chosen at the outset of this work. Points of comparison between these crafts and other crafts and trades, especially the servant, mercantile and professional trades, will be given periodically.

The beginning age of the apprentice and the length of his term of training varied from craft to craft. Generally, apprentice age limits and lengths of terms seemed to follow the pattern established in New France, that is apprentices began between the ages of twelve and nineteen and served a term of three to five years. Wide variations, however, existed within and between crafts. These variations depended on a number of factors, which will be discussed after a consideration of the ages and terms of the crafts chosen to be studied in detail.

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1. To portray these differences, figures will be given for the crafts of the baker, blacksmith, cooper, ship carpenter, shoemaker, tailor and wood-worker. Because the graph form seemed to illustrate the information more clearly than the table form, the previous mode of presentation was chosen.
GRAPH I

AGE OF APPRENTICE TAILORS, 1793-1815

GRAPH II

AGE OF APPRENTICE COOPERS, 1793-1815
GRAPH III

AGE OF APPRENTICE SHIP CARPENTERS, 1793-1815

GRAPH IV

AGE OF APPRENTICE BLACKSMITHS, 1793-1815
GRAPH V

AGE OF APPRENTICE BAKERS, 1793-1815

GRAPH VI

AGE OF APPRENTICE SHOEMAKERS, 1793-1815
GRAPH VII

AGE OF APPRENTICE WOOD-WORKERS, 1793-1815

GRAPH VIII

AGE OF DOMESTICS AND SERVANTS, 1793-1815
Before commenting on some of the different aspects of these graphs, a few terms and characteristics involved in their construction must be clarified. First, because most indentures gave the age as "environ", the ages shown above must be considered as approximations. Ages given in terms of months or half years, were tabulated according to the nearest year or in terms of the first number. Thus sixteen and a half, became sixteen. Although this involved a significant group, the omission of half years was not considered a serious distortion of the graphs.

The large groupings at twenty-one in some of the graphs involve a few problems. Included in these groups are apprentices given as twenty-one years of age and those designated as garçons majeurs. Apprentices described as majors usually appeared in a much higher proportion than those given as twenty-one. For example, in the graph of the apprentice shoemakers, two were given as twenty-one years of age and twenty-one were described as majors. It is difficult to establish the exact age of the majors. Were they all twenty-one? This is doubtful. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that a large number of them were twenty-one. This hypothesis is based on the fact that occasionally one would see the age of twenty, crossed out and replaced by garçon majeur. This would imply that instead of giving twenty-one as an age, the title of garçon majeur, was preferred.

2. For example, this involved the ages of thirty apprentice wood-workers, out of a total of two hundred and ten.
The different status of a garçon majeur, might be one of the reasons why this term was preferable to twenty-one. Other factors, such as the very few numbers of apprentices whose ages were given as twenty-one and the practice of giving the ages of many apprentices over twenty-one, would also support our premise. It is evident, however, that this explanation is limited and will remain so until additional investigation, into the practices and customs of these times, is undertaken.

These graphs also portray the existence of a certain number of "unknowns", seen in the graph as "unkn", and a number of minors. A calculation of the ages of the unknowns and minors on the basis of the length of their term, which was usually given, seems problematic. The most that we are prepared to say, is that many of the minors probably fell within the major age concentrations of their respective crafts.

In terms of some of the deviations in ages between crafts, one could say that the differences in concentration in most of the crafts, were due, in large part, to the craftsman's consideration of his needs and the apprentice's (or family's) interests and possibility of choice. Although

3. In his study of apprenticeship in colonial Philadelphia, Ian Quimby, calculated the apprentice's age, which was often omitted, by subtracting the length of the term from twenty-one. Cf., op.cit., pp. 40 and 41. If one can establish that apprenticeships always terminated at twenty-one, such a practice would be feasible. In this study, this practice is not possible.

* The age of minority ended when the apprentice reached the age of twenty-one. For the basis and origin of this law see Sharp, loc.cit.
this will be discussed later, one can note at this point, that the age of the apprentices in the crafts in question, seemed to vary according to this principle. If, for example, one considers only the nature of the crafts, it seems evident that they can be examined in two large groups. The first, would include crafts in which one worked indoors on patterns and quantities of materials to fit certain well defined specifications. This group would consist of tailors, bakers and shoemakers, and, to a certain degree, servants. The second group would include those whose work had a greater relationship to the outdoors and whose jobs were generally, not as fine, as the first group. This group would consist of coopers, blacksmiths, ship carpenters and wood-workers.

In this first group, the concentration of ages is generally a bit lower than that evident in the second group. A glance at the graph of the apprentice tailors shows that the tailors accepted a greater number of young apprentices than most other crafts. This graph shows that the heaviest concentration of apprentice tailors is found between the ages of eleven and fifteen, which is considerably lower than the concentrations evident in the second craft group and is equalled only by a different category, the servants. The baker's graph shows an almost equal distribution of ages between the twelve to sixteen bracket, and seventeen to twenty-one bracket. This balance puts the bakers in between

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4. Not included in the graph of apprentice tailors are a six-year old and a seven-year old apprentice.
both groups, but its lack of concentration in the seventeen to twenty-one group, distinguishes it more from the second group than the first.

The concentration of ages in the apprentice shoemakers follows, with some variations, characteristics of the first group-apprentices working indoors on fine materials or substances, tended to be younger than those having a greater relationship with the outdoors with physical exertion, and with rougher, or cruder products.\(^5\) The largest concentration of ages of apprentice shoemakers, falls within the ages of ten and sixteen.\(^6\) Although the ages of seventeen to nineteen are fairly well represented, they represent only about thirty-five percent of the total. The nature of those listed at twenty-one, would, to a certain degree, imply that many of them probably began before this age. The age preferred by masters probably depended on their circumstances at the time when they wanted an apprentice. The fact that certain ages were probably more popular than others, is evident not only in the graph, but also in newspaper advertisements which specified a certain age. The desire for sixteen year olds is perhaps evident in the advertisement of John Shea, a master boot and shoemaker, who wanted “a Boy of good character, as an Apprentice about 16 years of age.”\(^7\) Unfortunately, the scarcity of such advertisements

\(^5\) The fact that this includes other factors will be discussed later.
\(^6\) Missing from this graph, is one apprentice at seven years of age and one at twenty-six.
\(^7\) The Quebec Gazette, 30 June, 1803.
precludes any definitive help from this source.

The second group portrays many similarities. For example, the master craftsmen in these crafts obviously had a preference for older apprentices, especially for those aged between fifteen and nineteen. There is an obvious lack of young apprentices, especially in the crafts of the coopers, ship carpenters and wood-workers. The seven apprentices twelve and under in the blacksmith's craft is also quite low. The largest number of apprentices in these crafts started between the ages of sixteen to eighteen, with eighteen being the most common beginning age. The ship carpenters, wood-workers and blacksmiths\(^3\) seemed to attract more older apprentices than the other crafts, with the exception of the shoemakers.\(^9\) Although ages varied significantly within and between crafts, most apprentices, did not begin before the age of twelve or after the age of twenty-one.

The ages of apprentices to mercantile or professional trades seemed to follow the concentrations evident in what we have designated as the second group of crafts. The majority of apprentices in these trades seemed to begin between the ages of sixteen and twenty, with few before twelve or over twenty-one.\(^10\)

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8. Missing from the graphs of the blacksmith and wood-workers are respectively, one twenty-seven year old apprentice, and one twenty-eight year old apprentice.
9. This exception is due to certain practices, particularly relevant to shoemakers.
10. We did not find any apprentices in these trades under twelve years of age. It is possible that they existed, especially in the case where a son was serving his father.
The age concentration prevalent in the servant's graph is a contrast to those present in most of the crafts and trades discussed above. The heaviest concentration evident in the servants is from eight to fourteen. Because the girl domestics were slightly younger than the boys, their inclusion in the graph contributed to this concentration in the lower ages. Nevertheless, the number of boys from the ages of sixteen to twenty, was only seventeen. This shows that the combination of boy and girl domestics, has not distorted the above graph in a serious way.

A relationship existed between the beginning age of the apprenticeship and the length of his term. Because many apprenticeships terminated just before, or at the age of majority, the term often depended on the age at which they began. If they commenced at fifteen, their term would probably be four to six years. If they started at eighteen, their term usually terminated at twenty-one, a term of three years. Thus, the younger apprentices usually served longer terms than their older counterparts. Age, however was not the only determining factor; the needs and practices of the craftsman and his craft, also played a deciding role in the length of the term. The importance of this factor will become clearer with an examination of the terms for the respective crafts.

11. It must be noted that the beginning age in the servant's graph was advanced to six years instead of eight years given in the other graphs.

* The girls' younger age, can in part, be attributed to the fact that many girls' terms finished at eighteen.
GRAPH IX
TERM OF APPRENTICE TAILORS, 1793-1815

#TA-21 = Terminating Age (21)

GRAPH X
TERM OF APPRENTICE COOPERS, 1793-1815
GRAPH XI
TERM OF APPRENTICE SHIP CARPENTERS, 1793-1815

GRAPH XII
TERM OF APPRENTICE BLACKSMITHS, 1793-1815
GRAPH XIII
TERM OF APPRENTICE BAKERS, 1793-1815

GRAPH XIV
TERM OF APPRENTICE SHOEMAKERS, 1793-1815
GRAPH XV

TERM OF APPRENTICE WOOD-WORKERS, 1793-1815
Comments on these graphs must begin on a note of explanation for the appearance of a new category, "Terminating age (21)". This designation represents the number of apprentices who finished their terms at the age of twenty-one. The very small number of unknown terms illustrates the lack of distortion in these graphs. Although explanations for some of the irregularities seen above would also seem to be attributable to the nature of the different crafts, many of them are puzzling. The number of these deviations between some crafts emphasizes the unique character of many of the crafts.

The graph of the terms of the apprentice tailors corresponds in many ways to its earlier age graph. Both
Portrayed some departures from most of the other graphs. The earlier graph illustrated a high proportion of young apprentices and the term graph portrays an expectable high number of long terms. Proportionally, the tailor's craft included more apprentices serving terms of six to nine years than any of the other crafts. The exact reasons for this practice are unknown. The number of apprentices serving seven years may be an indication that the British practice was followed by a number of tailors. The fact that English-speaking tailors seemed to dominate this industry and took the majority of apprentices bound to tailors would seem to support this assumption. Further evidence of this possible relation of six to nine year terms to the British practice of binding apprentices for seven years, is seen in the fact that, out of the thirty apprentices bound for six years or over, twenty seven were bound to English-speaking tailors. Like most terms of nine or more years, the fifteen year term shown in this graph, was an exception.

The length of the terms for apprentice coopers reveals a consistency to that pattern seen for most crafts. This graph reveals a representative grouping of terms, with the greatest number in the three to five year bracket.

Three years was obviously the usual term for ship

12. Of those craftsmen who took apprentice tailors, eleven of the total sixteen were English-speaking.
13. In this instance, one of the reasons for the long term was probably related to the social and economic position of the mother, who was a widow.
carpenters. The three year term was probably a result of a number of factors. Some of these would consist of the craft tradition, the needs of the craft and the ages and types of young men attracted to the craft. At the time of most of the apprenticeships shown in the above graph, shipbuilding was becoming a thriving industry. Demand for skilled shipbuilders was high. This demand probably exerted some influence on keeping the term down. On the apprentice's part, it did not make sense to work for a long time as a novice, when he could easily find well paying positions as a journeyman. Although the generally higher age of apprentice ship carpenters and the relatively large number who began their terms after twenty-one, would seem to tend towards, at least some, six to eighteen month terms, the pressure of the industry's need for workers for a certain period of time, seemed to counterbalance this tendency. The three six and four seven year terms shown above do not seem completely characteristic of this group. None of these seven terms involved ship carpenters in the narrow sense of this phrase. The four seven year terms were served by apprentice ship wrights. One ship wright, one "boat builder" and one "constructeur de navire" served the three six year terms. Granted, these were also carpenters and worked on boats, but the difference may help to explain the existence of the longer terms.

The blacksmith's craft also portrayed an inclination towards the three year term. Although it has a higher
number of terms of four to six years, its lack of both short and long terms gives it a marked similarity to the ship carpenter's craft and also to that of the wood-workers, coopers and, to a certain degree, the bakers.

The bakers follow most of the larger crafts studied above in their preference for the three year term, but depart from them, in their higher than normal choice of the six and seven year terms. The majority of these longer terms, including the three nine year terms, were served with English speaking masters, another indication, perhaps, of the English influence. The terms at eleven and thirteen years are obviously exceptions. Once again, the fact that the parents of the boys who served these terms, were a widow and a farmer, may explain, in part, the longer than normal terms.

The range of terms evident in the shoemaker's craft, is not surprising. After seeing the spread of ages in the previous graph, one would almost expect the graph of terms, to take the shape it did. The large number of apprentices beginning their terms at the age of twenty-one, for example, would lead one to expect a corresponding number of shorter than usual terms. This expectation is based on the knowledge that many older apprentices served short terms with

14. The deterioration of the seven year term in both England and the United States at this time does not preclude the the influence of this practice in Lower Canada. The craft system in Lower Canada evolved more slowly than its counterparts in other more industrialized nations.
the aim of perfecting skills they had already gained elsewhere. Thus, sons of craftsmen who learned their skills from their fathers, apprentices having served in rural areas, or abroad\textsuperscript{15} and apprentices who had had their terms interrupted, would occasionally serve short terms\textsuperscript{16} to broaden their understanding of the skills of the craft\textsuperscript{17} and to complete their terms.\textsuperscript{18} This type of apprentice existed in greater numbers in the shoemaker's craft than any other craft studied. The fact that he was perfecting his knowledge in the craft was evident because this object was often clearly stated in the indenture. Indentures that did not state this aim, often included a phrase obligating the apprentice to pay the master for his troubles of teaching an apprentice all he knew in a very short period of time. Thus the \textit{garçon majeur}, Pierre Renaud, from the parish of St. Ambroise, was obliged to pay the master shoemaker, Joseph Plamondon, seventy piastres for one year, "pour indemniser ce dernier d'espèce de service qu'il retirera du dit apprentif pendant la dit terme et des dommages qu'il pourrait recevoir et de l'assiduité qu'il faudra qu'il porte d'enseigner la dit profession au dit

\textsuperscript{15} This was the case with John Ogilvie, who having already served his apprenticeship in Scotland, bound himself to Lewis Cramer for six months "for perfection in the craft". See the Archives of Jean Belanger, 31 octobre, 1809.

\textsuperscript{16} Two terms of three months are not shown in the above graph.

\textsuperscript{17} Another reason for short terms may have been the desire of someone who had not served a formal apprenticeship to receive a stamp of approval from a recognized craftsman. Idea from Quimby, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 40.

\textsuperscript{18} Cf. Archives of J. Belanger, 27 March, 1809.
This helps to explain the existence of the number of apprentice shoemakers beginning at twenty-one and the short terms, but it does not explain the reason for the presence of so many apprentices finishing their terms at twenty-one. This aspect of apprenticeship among shoemakers can be partly related to the beginning age of apprentices. Many, having commenced at a young age, could not be expected to continue after their age of majority. Also, like the shipbuilding industry, shoemaking was becoming a profitable trade for many masters, and consequently, there was room for young journeymen who either wanted to open their own trade, or work for wages as journeymen. Thus, many would be eager to terminate their apprenticeships at twenty-one or in the shortest time possible. Although the terms of apprentice shoemakers involved some deviations, the large number of three, four and five year terms show that this craft followed the general pattern of apprenticeship terms prevalent at this time.

The picture portrayed by the graph of apprentice wood-
workers is quite similar to those portrayed by the graphs of the blacksmiths and ship carpenters. The obvious difference is the domination of the four year term. Why these craftsmen should emphasize four years more than three, is difficult to explain. It is evident, however, that three and four year terms were the most popular lengths, and thus, the slight ascendency of one over the other is not too surprising.

Most of the crafts in Lower Canada from 1793 to 1815 followed the general patterns in respect to ages and terms, discussed above. This period of approximately twenty-five years witnessed a large increase in apprenticeships after 1806, but little change occurred in respect to the variations and lengths in ages and terms of apprentices. These variations and lengths were seen throughout this period. It is evident that apprenticeship terms seemed to be regulated more than the beginning ages of apprentices. The primary reason for this probably resulted from the traditions and natures of the crafts at this time. The presence of a considerable number of English-speaking artisans seems to have had some influence on the lengths of many of the longer terms served by apprentices. The most common terms, however, were relatively short. Three and four year terms were served by the majority of apprentices, with five, six and seven

23. Explanations for the existence of different aspects in the wood-worker's graph, such as the absence of a large number of short terms, can also be attributed to reasons similar to those given for these crafts.
year terms following.

The popularity of the three to five year terms was also reflected in the terms of mercantile and professional apprentices. The majority of the terms of apprentice clerks and merchants were concentrated in these years. Apprentice doctors seemed to serve three year terms. Many of them began their apprenticeships after having received some form of schooling. This was also the case for many apprentice notaries and lawyers, who, served apprenticeships of five years.24

A point of comparison is once again provided by the servants and domestics. As one can see from the graph, servants and domestics, served more one year terms and long terms than apprentices. The nature of servanthood explains, to a large degree, the presence of these extremes. First, servants in general, usually served terms of one year.25 The very few servants serving six or eighteen month terms implies that employers preferred to hire their servants and domestics in terms of years, not months.26 Servants

24. This was required by a law passed in 1785. Six years were required for apprentice lawyers serving apprenticeships with court clerks. See J.-E. Roy, Histoire Du Notariat Au Canada, Volume II, p. 174 and A. Vachon, histoire du notariat canadien, 1621-1960, pp. 117 and 118.
25. Twenty three of the thirty-seven servants who were found serving masters during this time, served for one year.
26. Seven servants of those previously mentioned, served four to six month terms. These servants refer to servants who were twenty-one or older and who were not included in the servant's graph.
serving one year terms were composed, almost completely of boys. The ages of these boys ranged from ten to twenty. The large number of terms of six years and over illustrates the different nature of servanthood. Having started their service at a generally lower age than the majority of apprentices, they served for a longer period of time. Although the practice of hiring help for eight to fourteen years is understandable on the master's part, it is not as clear on the apprentice's part. Because long terms deprived parents of valuable help and provided their children with little tangible training, one would think they would be avoided. Perhaps this is true, but the existence of lengthy terms may be attributed to the desire of some parents to free themselves from feeding large families.

Whatever the reasons, it is evident, that although the majority of terms of servitude for young apprentices, were from three to five years, the terms served by domestics and servants were generally considerably longer.

What did the apprentice do while serving terms of three to five years? With what tools did he work? How long was his working day? These questions are among the most difficult to respond to with any certainty. Although a

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27. Only two girls were found, serving one-year terms.
28. Occasionally contracts would state that the parents, being without the means to support their families, or being incapable of supporting the particular child in question, as well as the soon-to-be employer, had decided to bind their children as servants or domestics. For an example, see the archives of Roger Lelièvre, 18 July, 1794.
general idea of the length of the working day can be sketched, the tasks and tools of the apprentice are difficult to delineate. The indentures and most other sources that we considered were quite silent about the apprentice's duties. Tools were mentioned in a greater frequency, but only for certain crafts and a complete description of them was usually lacking.

Because the type of tools the apprentice used is related to the functions he performed and both are related to the nature of the craft in which they were bound and to the training they received, such aspects are worthy of our consideration. The lack of secondary information in these respects, our modest aims and the limited amount of time available for a detailed study of them, necessarily limits out discussion. Because the purpose of this discussion is

30. Secondary material does exist but in a limited quantity. A brief discussion and outline of secondary sources available for crafts in the United States is given in J. L. Cotter's book, *op.cit.*, pp. 52 and 53. A large amount of material can be gleaned from French literature which discusses and portrays functions and tools prevalent in France. The similarity of French tools to those in Lower Canada is evident when one compares descriptions of some of the functions and tools which exist with those given in French sources. Sources which we have not mentioned and which appear worthy of note are, M. le Marquis De Courtivron et N. Boucher, *Art Des Forges Et Fourneaux A Fer* (Paris, 1762) Deux Tomes and C.C. Gillispie, ed. *A Diderot Pictorial Encyclopedia Of Trade And Industry. Manufacturing And The Technical Arts* in plates selected from "L'Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers" of Denis Diderot (New York, 1959), Two Volumes. Canadian sources which contain abundant information on the craftsmen's tools are the notarial inventories of deceased craftsmen's possessions,
primarily to reveal some of the different characteristics of the crafts in question and raise some questions about the apprentice's training, which will be discussed later, a detailed discussion is not called for. Consequently, the following discussion of the functions and tools of the apprentice are not to be considered, in any way, as a detailed description of these aspects. In many cases, the lack of information directly concerning the apprentice, has led us to a consideration of information concerning artisans, from which we have tried to extract relevant details regarding the apprentice. Although this method involves some obvious problems, such as the fact that we have only a limited basis for saying that the apprentice's tools and functions resembled those of the journeyman, it provides a beginning upon which one can build.

Clarification in terms of the hours of work of the apprentice is also needed. In general, craft apprentices worked every day, except Sundays and religious holidays. In the winter season, which was considered to exist from approximately the first of November to the first of May, the apprentice usually worked eleven hours. In the summer season, or from the first of May to the first of November, he worked twelve or twelve and a half hours. Many indentures also specified that the apprentice must help with household chores. Thus, his day did not finish when the shop closed.

31. Occasionally, a few days holidays were given to apprentices to visit parents who lived outside the city and suburbs of Quebec.
Variations existed, such that some apprentices were required to work on Sundays and religious holidays and some apprentices worked longer or fewer hours than those mentioned above.

These crafts are discussed in the same general order outlined previously. That is, the bakers, tailors and cordonniers are seen as one group and the blacksmiths, coopers, wood-workers and carpenters, as another group.

Bakers were responsible for most of the bread, biscuits and pastry produced in the city of Quebec. After preparing the leaven and dough, they cooked it for a specified period of time in brick ovens of approximately eleven feet long and ten feet wide, which were heated by wood burned in the furnaces under the ovens. They stored the biscuits and some of the bread in attics or storing spaces of their boutique and regulated their prices according to the supply of flour and demand for baked goods. After the baking day was finished, one of the journeymen helped the apprentice bring in the wood for the following day. Some of the baker's tools consisted of a kneading-trough or dough-box,

32. A few indentures specified that the apprentice would only be required to do the work of the craft. Cf. Archives of Michel Sauvageau, 21 déc., 1808.
33. The religious communities also provided some baked goods for the city's use. See, M. Barbeau, Saintes Artisanes Tome II, pp. 95-99.
34. Cf. Archives of Félix Tétu, 15 avril, 1802 and Jean Belanger, 18 mars, 1811.
36. Archives of Roger Lelièvre, 15 mars, 1800.
containers for storing and transporting water, dough scrapers and cutters, large tables, round bowls, large flat cutting boards, baskets for the finished bread and baker's shovels or placers, called pelles rouables.

Although we are not aware of the tools asigned to the apprentice, we are aware of some of his functions. One of the first tasks performed by apprentice bakers, appeared to be delivering bread to the homes of his master's customers. Frequently, one would read a phrase in an apprentice baker's indenture, which stipulated that the apprentice, "sera tenu et obligé de mener la bérline au pains par les rues soit pour en vendre soit pour mener chez les Pratiques pendant un an". The fact that fathers occasionally took the trouble to add a phrase, stating that the apprentice would be obliged to deliver bread for no longer than one year, indicates perhaps, that some apprentices spent more than one year as delivery boys. Although we are unaware of other tasks which were undertaken particularly by apprentices, other aspects of his working day can be seen in the hours he served.

Apprentice bakers seemed to work particularly long hours. Although the normal hours were probably similar to

38. Archives of Roger Lelièvre, 24 mars, 1795.
the hours present in other crafts, that is, from five o'clock in the morning to six or seven o'clock in the evening in the summer and from six or seven o'clock in the morning to seven o'clock in the evening during the winter, the apprentice was often required "travailler à toute heure de la nuit qu'il sera nécessaire". The fact that this practice was probably widespread is evident in the wording of a phrase obliging one apprentice "travailler nuit et jour et de la même manière que l'on fait en toute boutique de Boulanger". If the master needed his help, the apprentice could also be required to work after the Sunday service. The apprentice in addition to working at the shop after hours, was also obliged to do housework. The number of hours this would involve is unknown, but one can be certain that the apprentice baker worked a long day.

Tailors made clothes of all descriptions, usually with imported material. After measuring their customer with a paper band, they cut and sewed the chosen material together, spending most of their time working on large benches. The tailors' basic tools consisted of awls, needles, pins, patterns, scissors, and different types of irons. One can add to this description, the one found in Jaubert's Dictionnaire Des Arts Et Métiers, which stated that,

41. Precise hours were not found for journeymen or apprentice bakers.
42. Cf. Archives of A. Dumas, 1 nov., 1789.
43. Archives of J. Belanger, 13 mars, 1806.
44. Cf. Archives of A. Dumas, 30 déc., 1797.
45. Archives of Jean Belanger, 2 and 14 janvier, 1815.
...la main d'oeuvre du Tailleur consist principalement à tracer, couper et coudre; mais comme il chiffonne un peu les endroits qu'il travaille, il est obligé de remettre l'étoffe dans son premier lustre, et de faire une espèce de repassage avec le carreau, la craquette, le billot, le passe-carreau et le patira. 46

Although it is unlikely that the apprentice did any measuring or cutting of material, since this was a task reserved for the master or "foreman", 47 it is likely that he was used as a model and did some of the ironing of the material. The tools he would use would be limited, until he became quite skilled in the techniques of measurement and cutting material.

Although specific hours for apprentices did not appear in the indentures, tailors appeared to work approximately twelve hours a day. The hours most commonly mentioned for journeymen and foremen, were from six o'clock in the morning to seven in the evening during the summer season and from seven o'clock in the morning to seven o'clock in the evening during the winter season. One hour was allowed for lunch. This meant that tailors and, most likely, their apprentices, worked twelve hours a day in the summer and eleven hours in the winter. 48 These hours, as will be seen were slightly less than those existing in some of the other crafts.

46. Tome Quatrième, p. 173. A discussion of the use of these tools is also included.
47. Cf. J. Belanger, loc. cit.
48. For examples see the archives of Felix Têtu, 9 sept. and 27 août, 1797 and Jean Belanger, loc. cit.
Although shoes continued to be imported, shoemakers began to make an increasing variety of shoes. Soon, they were making almost every possible type. Those Quebec shoemakers that had contracts with the government made all sorts of military shoes and boots.\footnote{Cf. Archives of J. Belanger, 9 nov., 1803. For a description of some of the shoes and boots made in a Quebec shop and the prices paid to journeymen for each pair they made, see The Quebec Gazette, 10 May, 1810.} The master usually furnished and cut the leather and the journeyman, using his own thread, wax, needles and other tools, made the finished product.\footnote{Ibid.} A. Jobin, in his \textit{Histoire de Quebec}, gives a description of the functions and tools of the shoemaker of the early nineteenth century. In his words,

Le maître-cordonnier savait faire, de ses propres mains, toute sa chaussure, depuis la semelle jusqu'à l'empeigne. Il était taillieur, monteur, couturier, polisseur, etc. ... il m'a souvent été donné de voir, dans sa boutique, le cordonnier proprement dit, assis sur son petit banc, avec son tablier de cuir, ... la paume des mains recouvert d'un morceau de cuir pour lui permettre de tirer avec force sur son ligneul. If me semble le voir encore son geste familier, un poinçon dans la main gauche, le marteau dans la droite, la bouche remplie de pointes, et cognant sur sa semelle du matin au soir.\footnote{(Québec, 1947), pp. 151 and 152. The author gives a detailed description of each of the different steps involved in the construction of a shoe by hand. Following this description, is a discussion of the effect of the machine on the shoemaker's functions. The lack of information about this subject gives the author's descriptions a considerable value. For a similar description of the shoemaker's functions, see Jean-Alexis Néret, \textit{Quelques Métiers D'Homme} (Paris, 1943), pp. 3-8.}

Because this description appears to be of a master
shoemaker in a relatively small shop, any apprentices he might have had with him, probably did many of the functions outlined above. Although this would probably apply to most apprentices, it would not apply to apprentices working in large shops. Their functions would probably have been of more specialized nature, such as polishing the finished product and assisting the journeymen. The relatively small size of shops at this time would seem to imply that, inorder to be reimbursed for room, board and allowances given to apprentices, masters would have to oblige apprentices to do as many tasks as possible.

Jobin, also provides us with a description of many of the shoemaker's tools.

A son petit banc était finé, à portée de sa main, un casier sur lequel était rangé tout son outillage: marteaux, pinces, chevilles de bois et d'acier, couteaux, pierre à aiguisier... On y voyait aussi du fil et des soles de cochon pour raidir les bouts du ligneul. Il y avait encore des alênes, un poinçoin, des morceaux de vitre, du papier sablé, des pots de colle et de vernis, un morceau de bois pour polir, etc. ...il y avait un seau contenant de l'eau pour faire tremper son cuir à semelle, un poteau sur lequel il finiait sa forme en bois ou en fer, enfin une courroie passant sous le pied et servant à maintenir la chassure sur son genou. Sur les tablettes étaient rangées les différentes formes.52

Some of these tools were given to the apprentice at the end of his term. Tools given to apprentices at the termination of their apprenticeship, often included, "six formes, un couteau de cordonnier, un marteau, une paire de pincettes,

The customary hours of a shoemaker were said to be from sunrise to sunset. Journeymen shoemakers appeared to work similar hours as many other craftsmen, that is, from five o'clock in the morning to seven o'clock in the evening, in the summer and from six or seven o'clock in the morning to six or seven o'clock in the evening, in the winter season. Apprentices, with some exceptions, worked the same hours. Occasionally an apprentice's agreement would clearly specify that the apprentice was to work from five o'clock in the morning to seven o'clock in the evening, summer and winter. Thus, without including time spent on housework, the apprentice shoemaker often worked twelve and a half hours in the summer and at least eleven hours in the winter.

In addition to shoeing horses and doing all kinds of iron work on houses, buildings, mills, wagons and ships, the blacksmith made such tools and utensils as fire shovels,

53. Archives of R. Lelièvre, 22 juin, 1815. For other examples see the archives of Joseph Planté, 8 nov., 1796; R. Lelièvre, 15 avril, 1802; B. Faribault, 2 mai, 1807 and J.-M. Martineau, 8 février, 1810.
55. Garçon majeurs, serving short periods, were not always required to work twelve or twelve and a half hours. For an indenture only requiring eleven hours work, see the archives of R. Lelièvre, 15 mai, 1813.
57. This includes time off for breakfast and lunch.
hammers, pokers, chissels, punches, tongs, nails, wedges and axes.\textsuperscript{58} Most of their products were made with the use of forges and some of the tools listed above, especially hammers, sledge-hammers, tongs, presses, vices and anvils. The furnaces were usually heated with charcoal. Other than caring for the horses in the shops of shoeing smiths\textsuperscript{59} and assisting the journeymen by holding the objects on which they were working on anvils with tongs, the apprentice's functions are obscure.

Information about the tools of blacksmiths is more complete than most of the other crafts, with the exception of the shoemaker's craft. A description of "all the tools and utensils of a blacksmith" was given in a lease of a blacksmith's shop. They included,

\begin{verbatim}
une anclume, un soufflet, une étoque, cinq marteaux
une chasse, une paire de tenailles à hache, une paire
de tenailles droites, deux tisoniers, trois cloutières
dont une ronde et deux quarier, une filure et...
une boîte à ferre contenant une tenaille et un
boutaver et un mandrain rond...\textsuperscript{60}
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{58} Cf. Archives of Jean Belanger, 17 April, 1816.
\textsuperscript{59} Cf. Archives of Felix Têtu, 1 sept., 1806.
\textsuperscript{60} Archives of Michel Bertholet, 21 mai, 1806. For a similar description of the tools involved in a small shop see the archives of A.-C. de Lacherotiere, 1 déc., 1805 and for the tools involved in a large tool maker and ironmonger's shop, see the inventory in the archives of Jean Belanger, \textit{loc.cit.} These descriptions compare favourably with those given in notarial records for the French regime. Information about blacksmith tools in the French regime, can be found in the unpublished work done by Michel Gaumond.
Tools given to apprentice blacksmiths at the end of their terms consisted of, "un soufflet, une anclume, un bigorne, une étoque, un marteau, et une paire ou deux de tenailles avec un quintot de fer en barre". 61

According to certain contracts between journeymen and master blacksmiths, the hours of blacksmiths' shops were well established. 62 Nevertheless, they seemed to vary slightly from shop to shop and depended on the journeyman in question. The hours in the summer were usually from five o'clock in the morning to seven o'clock in the evening or from six o'clock in the morning to seven o'clock in the evening. A similar variation existed in the winter hours, which were an hour shorter than those of the summer, beginning at six or seven o'clock in the morning and going to six or seven o'clock in the evening. Some men worked from six o'clock in the morning to seven o'clock in the evening. Those that worked fourteen hours in the summer usually took a half an hour for breakfast and an hour for lunch, whereas those that worked thirteen hours, took only a half an hour for breakfast and a half an hour for lunch. The same arrangement existed for those working thirteen and twelve hours in the winter. Summer working hours, then, were either twelve or twelve and a half hours and winter working hours were either eleven or eleven and a half hours.

62. Thus, some contracts stated that journeymen were to work the accustomed hours established in all the shops. Cf. Archives of Jacques Voyer, 17 février, 1799.
61. Archives of A.-C. de Lachérotière, loc.cit.
Exceptions existed, whereby men began work later, for example, beginning at seven o'clock in the morning in the winter and ending at seven o'clock in the evening. Some blacksmiths only followed twelve hour days both in summer and winter, minus a half an hour for breakfast and half an hour for lunch.

The apprentices' hours seemed to correspond closely to the hours of the journeymen. Thus, they also began work in the summer months at five o'clock in the morning and finished at seven o'clock in the evening. In the winter they usually began work at six o'clock and worked to six or seven o'clock in the evening. They received a half an hour for breakfast and an hour for lunch. The following agreement between the apprentice Pierre Delaurier and the blacksmiths and ironmongers James and William Hunt, provides us with a description of an apprentice's schedule.

Comme le dit apprenti sera obligé d'aller diner, dejeuner où il le mettra la pension, il est convenu qu'à huit heures il ira dejeuner et reviendra à la boutique à huit heures et demie et que pour aller diner, il quittera la Boutique à midi sonnant et reviendra à la boutique à une heure pour continuer de travailler chaque jour de travail jusqu'à sept du soir à commencer à cinq heures du matin dans le printemps, et l'automne et l'été et dans le temps d'automne et d'hiver il commencera à travailler à six heures du matin pour finir aussi à sept du soir.64

The most common products of the cooper's shop appeared

64. Archives of Charles Voyer, 23 mai, 1795. A journeyman's schedule which is almost identical to this one can be found in Ibid., 22 nov., 1794.
to be boxes and casks or barrels. 65 The coopers received
the wood for these products, either outside their shop or
at docks. After bringing it into the shop, they sawed it
to size and planed it with an adze or doloire. 66 They
spent much of their time making staves (douves et douelles) 67
with which they constructed their products. According to
Jaubert’s Dictionnaire Des Arts Et Métiers, 

Le Tonneiller est l’artisan qui fait, qui relie,
et qui vend des tonneaux: ce qui comprend toutes
sortes de vaisseaux de bois reliés d’osier, propres
à contenter des liqueurs ou des marchandises; tels
sont entre autres, les tonnes, les cuves, cuvettes,
cuiviers, boignoires, sauniers, seaux, demi-muids,
quarts, demi-queues, etc. Les Tonneleurs font
aussi, et montent toutes sortes de cuves et autres
vaisseaux reliés de fer. ...Il destine ordinaire-
ment le temps de l’hiver pour préparer son bois,
travailler ses douver et ses fonds...il ne lui reste
plus pendant l’été, qu’à joindre ses douves...
Les autres dont a besoin le Tonneiller pour
façonner son merrain et son traversin, sont le
rabot, la colombe, la selle à tailler ou le chevalet,
le charpi ou tronchet, la cochoire, la doloire,
la scié à tourner, le coutre et la mailloche. 68

Although functions and tools mentioned above, provide
some clues as to the tools and functions of apprentice
coopers, little is known about the precise nature of these
aspects of the apprentice’s work. Fortunately, some infor-
mation is available on the length of his working day. The
cooper’s working day was a similar length as that of other
craftsmen. This was also true, with the apprentice’s

65. Archives of J. Belanger, 10 avril, 1810.
67. Ibid., 20 mars, 1809.
68. Tome Quatrième, pp. 283-285. A detailed description
of the coopers functions and the particular uses of
his tools are given on pages 285 to 291.
working day. It appears that the apprentice was given a total of an hour and a half for breakfast and lunch and worked twelve and a half hours in the summer. His working day in the winter began at six o'clock in the morning and finished at six o'clock in the evening. Time off for breakfast and lunch was probably one hour. If this was the case, the apprentice cooper worked eleven hours in the winter.

Although he was not usually required to work on religious holidays or Sundays, some masters required their apprentices to work in busy periods. Thus, the master, John McIntyre, would allow François Godebou to attend divine services, but, "dans le temps de travaux pressés le dit apprentif après et dans l'intervalle du service divins et de fêtes d'obligations sera obligé de travailler si son dit maître le requiert". One can imagine that busy periods of the year would find the apprentice cooper working every day, not to mention the house work he did after his day at the shop was terminated.

The wood-workers' multiplicity of tasks has already been briefly noted. We know that the menuisier performed tasks which touched the crafts of the carpenter, sculpturer and architect. As previously noted, wood-workers' tasks included everything from carving fine candle holders and

69. These hours for apprentice coopers were seen as late as 1828. See the archives of Thomas Lee, 10 sept., 1823.
70. Archives of Alexandre Dumas, 28 février, 1799.
71. Both M. Barbeau and G. Morisset discuss the architectural work done by craftsmen who were known as menuisiers. See M. Barbeau, Quebec Where Ancient France Lingers, pp. 54 and 55 and G. Morisset, L'Architecture En Nouvelle France (Québec, 1949), pp. 126-139.
statues and making furniture of all descriptions, to the construction of ship cabins and ware houses. \(^{72}\) The apprentice's tasks, and to a certain degree, the tools employed, depended on the type of tasks in which his master specialized.

The tools of the *menuisier*\(^{73}\) consisted of axes, saws, scrapers, sets of diverse types of planes,\(^{74}\) presses, pegs and glue.\(^{75}\) Tools given apprentices at the end of their terms, were mainly composed of different types of planes, particularly *bouvets, galeres* and *varlopes*.\(^{76}\)

Most wood-workers worked eleven hours in the winter and twelve or twelve and a half hours in the summer.\(^{77}\) Apprentices' hours were similar, though variations existed. An ordinary working day for apprentices appeared to be from five o'clock in the morning to seven in the evening, in the summer months and from six in the morning to six in the evening, in the winter months.\(^{78}\) If one does not count time

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\(^{72}\) For a division of the *menuisiers*' tasks into two large classes: "la Menuiserie En Batiments et la Menuiserie En Meubles", see A. Poutiers, *La Menuiserie*, pp. 17-25 and *La Dictionnaire Des Arts Et Métiers*, Tome Troisième, p. 126.

\(^{73}\) At this point, we are not discussing some of the specialized tools of the cabinet maker or upholsterer.

\(^{74}\) The different types of planes existing in the Montreal area in New France are described by Robert-Lionel Seguin in "Le Rabot Dans La Région Montréalaise", *RHAF* (Montréal, déc. 1960), Vol. 14, pp. 373-383.

\(^{75}\) A detailed description of tools used in a master *menuisier's* shop is given in an inventory of a master's possessions in the archives of Félix Têtu, 19 juillet, 1809. See also Jaubert, *La Dictionnaire Des Arts Et Métiers*, Tome Troisième, pp. 126-128.

\(^{76}\) Cf. Archives of Roger Lelièvre, 30 mars, 1809.

for breakfast and lunch, the apprentice usually worked twelve to twelve and a half hours a day in the summer and eleven hours in the winter. While some apprentices worked longer than twelve hours, others worked less. Thus, Joseph Létourneau agreed to work in Henry Bouré's *boutique* from six o'clock in the morning to nine o'clock in the evening, during the summer and from seven o'clock in the morning to nine o'clock in the evening, in the winter. In this instance, meal hours were not specified, thus the most we can say is that the fourteen and fifteen hour days worked by the young Létourneau suggests that he worked longer than most apprentice wood-workers. An apprentice who followed a much shorter day than Létourneau, was Antoine Jackson, who worked at Henry Henderson's shop, from six o'clock in the morning to six o'clock in the evening, in the summer and from seven o'clock in the morning to six in the evening, in the winter. Allowing, at least, an hour for meals, would give the apprentice eleven hours of work in the summer and ten in the winter.

Some apprentice wood-workers, required to work after ordinary shop hours. This was the case with Antoine Menard who agreed "que quand le dit Pierre Boisvert aura de l'ouvrage à faire faire au dit apprentif après les heures ordinaires de Journalliers, le dit apprentif promet et s'oblige de le faire." Although we are uncertain as to

73. Cf. Roger Lelièvre, 28 mai, 1795 and Thomas Lee, 4 avril 1811.
the number of apprentices who were obliged to work in the shop after hours, it is clear that most apprentices were required to do "tut l'ouvrage pour le besoin de la maison". Often the amount of time required for extra work was not qualified. The desire to limit household work is perhaps evident in the indenture where it was agreed that the apprentice, after finishing his work in the shop, would do household chores for one hour. If only one hour was added to the eleven and twelve or twelve and a half hours that the apprentice worked, this would give him a minimum of twelve working hours in the winter and thirteen to thirteen and a half in the summer.

The main functions of ship carpenters were building and repairing small boats, schooners and ocean going vessels. Many of the basic tools of the ship carpenter were similar to those of the carpenter. These consisted of different kinds of axes, including the mortising axe, saws, chisels, hammers and different cords, cables, pulleys, platforms, peculiar to ship yards.

79. One indenture was found which allowed an apprentice, who had agreed to work from five in the morning to seven at night, an hour for breakfast and an hour lunch, at his father's home. See, Archives of Charles Voyer, 6 juillet, 1814.
80. Archives of Charles Voyer, 19 avril, 1800.
81. Ibid., 18 oct., 1806.
82. Archives of Thomas Lee, 29 oct., 1813.
84. Archives of B. Faribault, 6 may, 1816. Some indentures clearly stated that the apprentice was not to be required to do housework.
85. Dictionnaire Des Arts Et Métiers, pp. 465 and 555. Many of these tools and others, are given in Diderot's Encyclopedia of Trades And Industry, Volume II, plate 281.
Working hours for ship carpenters in 1810 began at six o'clock in the morning and ended at six in the evening, summer and winter. Meal hours were from eight to nine o'clock in the morning and from twelve noon to one o'clock in the afternoon. This meant that ship carpenters appeared to work only ten hours a day, at least two hours less than most craftsmen. The apprentice's hours were not mentioned in the indentures, but, if one can judge from other crafts, the apprentice ship carpenter probably followed similar hours as the journeyman of his craft. The ten hour day of the ship carpenters was probably a result of the nature of the ship building industry. At this time, activity was intense and one would assume, well regulated and organized. The ship building industry needed ship carpenters. This may have led to demands by ship carpenters for lower hours. Whatever the reasons, the ship carpenter, and most likely his younger apprentice, worked less hours than most other craftsmen.

Because many apprentices did not live with their masters, they were not required to do housework. Thus, for many apprentice ship carpenters, six o'clock in the evening meant the termination of time spent working for their employers.

Three aspects concerning the tools and functions of these crafts can be briefly noted at this point. The first two

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86. For an example, see the contract involving thirteen ship carpenters, in the archives of Jacques Voyer, 10 mai, 1810.
relate to the nature of the craft and the third relates to the apprentice's training. We have already mentioned the existence of certain age groupings in terms of the nature of certain crafts. Younger apprentices seemed to be attracted to the crafts of the baker, tailor and shoemaker. The type of work done in these crafts and the materials and tools employed, portray a certain fineness which did not exist in the other crafts to the same degree. These crafts also involve certain working conditions which were peculiar to their nature. In these three crafts, most of the journeyman's work was conducted indoors. The crafts of the blacksmith, cooper, wood-worker and ship carpenter, which attracted older apprentices, were not only rougher in character, they also had a greater freedom of movement and relationship to the outside. Although these topics will be discussed later, one can note that these differences not only affected the age of the apprentices who were bound to the different crafts, but also seemed to affect the ethnic composition of the various crafts and, to a certain degree, the type of training the apprentice received.

Although we are not aware of many of the specific functions of the mercantile and profession apprentices, one could say that their functions, "tools" and hours differed significantly from those prevalent in the crafts. These apprentices usually came from wealthier homes, and had received some type of schooling before beginning their apprenticeships. The fact that parents of apprentice
notaries, lawyers and doctors often paid an apprenticeship fee, or gave the master money for board and lodging, put these apprentices in a different position in terms of the functions and hours that could be expected from them.

The hours of apprentice clerks and doctors are not known. Apprentice notaries and lawyers were known to work from eight o'clock in the morning to twelve noon and from two o'clock in the afternoon to six o'clock in the evening during the summer. In the winter months they worked from nine o'clock in the morning to noon and from two o'clock in the afternoon to four o'clock in the afternoon. This meant that they worked nine hours in the summer time and five hours in the winter time. A startling contrast to the hours of the apprentice craftsman. This contrast is heightened when one realized that professional apprentices were not usually required to help with the housework.

Another contrast is evident in the functions and hours of servants. This group was required to do numerous different things. The girls did housework, looked after the children and helped with the cooking and serving. The boys tended to chores such as sawing wood, driving the family calèche, caring for the horses and livestock, acting as attendants and butlers and also serving at their masters' tables. Most servants continued working until the household duties were done. Their hours were never seen, possibly because it was assumed that a servant was to be available to work at all
hours.

The hours and functions of the mercantile and professional group and the servants, illustrate some of the differences existing in the positions open to the young. Whereas, apprentices in the mercantile and professional groups performed functions involving relations with many people and relatively short hours, apprentice craftsmen performed functions involving the production of goods and fairly long hours. The servants probably performed the largest number of varied functions over the longest period of time. The type of functions he performed and the agreement he made with his master, in contrast to the agreement and functions of apprentices with their master, would likely always leave him in a situation in which he would be obliged to perform a multitude of tasks during a comparatively long day.

Part of what one would consider as the nature of a craft involved the number of apprentices and journeymen working in the various different shops. In this section we are going to briefly examine the size of a few shops. An analysis of shop sizes and the ratio of apprentices to craftsmen, can contribute to a better understanding of the apprentice's function and the situations in which he received his training. Because an analysis of each shop is out of the question, shop sizes will be discussed in a general manner, with only a limited number of specific examples given. The nature of craft
production and the apparent scarcity of skilled labourers, seemed to lead master craftsmen to dependence on family members and apprentices. Many journeymen appeared to be their own masters or were working for employers who, in many instances, were merchants, not master craftsmen. What then, was the general size of craft shops and the ratio of apprentices to journeymen? First, let us consider those crafts where almost all shops had relatively few journeymen and then turn to a few examples where journeymen were found in larger numbers. The shops of the tailors, coopers and bakers, were generally small. The majority of these shops were run by the master and his family or the master, his family and one or two apprentices. A few shops included only the master and his apprentices and no journeymen. Etienne Simard, a master baker, had six apprentices working in his shop from 1805 to 1817 and no journeymen. At one point, his shop

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87. A quick glance at the number of journeymen found in the notarial contracts from 1793 to 1815 will, perhaps, clarify one of the reasons for the lack of journeymen. We found the following number of contracts involving journeymen and masters or employers: tailors, 9; coopers, 10; this does not include the twenty-nine coopers hired by the North-West Company, nor the ten hired by the master cooper, Pierre Moreau, of Montreal; bakers, 32; woodworkers, 28; shoemakers, 25; blacksmiths, 36; masons, 22; butchers, 12; saddlers, 8. All the other crafts, with the exceptions of those involved with the sea, such as sailors, navigators and pilots and those involved in ship-building, such as ship carpenters, were lower than five. Although this includes some journeymen from Great Britain and the United States, we are almost certain that all journeymen from these countries are not included in the figures given above.
included himself and four apprentices. William Thomas, another master baker, hired one journeymen from 1808 to 1809 and seven apprentices from 1809 to 1816. During the period from 1809 to 1813 his shop appeared to be occupied by himself and six apprentices. A few shops hired only one or two journeymen and no apprentices.

The possibility that some masters and especially English-speaking masters, had journeymen from Great Britain or the United States in their employ which were not recorded in the notarial records, makes an accurate evaluation of shop sizes difficult. Nevertheless, one could say, that generally, shops of tailors, coopers and bakers, appeared to include one master and one to three apprentices. The approximate ratio of apprentices to craftsmen then, appeared to be about two apprentices to one craftsman.

Similar situations were evident in the shops of the blacksmiths, shoemakers and wood-workers, though some deviations existed. The most significant deviation occurring in the blacksmith's craft in Quebec City, was the existence of three, relatively large shops. The first shop was operated by William and James Hunt. From 1794 to 1814, with the exception of the period from 1802 to 1808, this shop employed an average, of at least five journeymen, a year. The number of apprentices working in this shop was only five, and out of these five, four were found working from 1793 to 1798. Apprentices were not evident in the shop after
1808. A similar lack of apprentices was evident in David Douglas' shop. Douglas had five journeymen working for him from 1801 to 1802 and six in 1811 to 1812, but no apprentices.

John Graves' shop seemed to be more balanced in terms of apprentices and journeymen. From 1806 to 1809 he had three apprentices in his employ and no apparent journeymen. From 1809 to 1815, he had an average of two journeymen a year working in his shop and from 1809 to 1815, he employed a total of nine apprentices. From 1809 to 1814, he had an average of about one journeyman to four apprentices. 88

Another blacksmith's shop which was similar in its composition to some bakers' shops, but different from the three previous shops, was that of Jacques Labrecque. From 1797 to 1809, Labrecque accepted eight apprentices and no journeymen. Two times during this period he had three apprentices working with him. In this instance, the ratio of apprentice to craftsman, was three apprentices to one craftsman.

The most notable deviation with the shoemakers and woodworkers is the existence of a higher ratio of apprentices to craftsmen. The large number of apprentices bound to artisans in these crafts and the surprisingly small number of available journeymen, would lead one to expect a slightly higher ratio of apprentices to craftsmen. In comparison with the

88. This ratio is worked out according to the overlapping years involved in the case of the apprentices.
crafts previously discussed, these two crafts, included a higher number of shops taking two to three apprentices and no journeymen. In most cases, the ratio in these shops was approximately one craftsman to three apprentices. Exceptions to this ratio can be seen in the shops of Pierre Terrien and John Livingston, master shoemakers. From 1806 to 1810, Terrien had six apprentices and no apparent journeymen in his shop and from 1808 to 1812, Livingston also had six apprentices and no journeymen in his employ. A slightly different situation existed with two other master shoemakers, George Stanley and John Shea. Although both employed journeymen, situations existed at different periods, whereby Stanley's shop portrayed a ratio of one craftsman to four apprentices and Shea's shop a ratio of one to seven.

Although similar exceptions were found in the shops of the master wood-workers, the ratio of apprentices to craftsmen, did not exceed five apprentices to one craftsman. One of the largest operations in terms of the number of apprentices and journeymen working for one master, was found in the case of Jean Baptiste Chamberland. From 1810 to 1811, this master menuisier, had one labourer, one carpenter, two sawyers and five menuisiers and six apprentices, working in his boutique on Ste-Ursule Street and in a chantier, in the country.

89. John Shea's desire for journeymen was evident in his advertisement for six journeymen, in The Quebec Gazette, 10 May to 31 May, 1810. The fact that this ratio existed in Shea's shop from 1811 to 1813, indicates, perhaps, that he did not succeed in obtaining the journeymen, and consequently, took apprentices in their place.

90. For references to the lumber yard in the country, see the archives of Roger Lelièvre, 22 janvier, 1811 and 5 nov., 1811.
is interesting to note, that from 1793 to 1811, Chamberland's boutique included an average of about four apprentices a year, but no apparent journeymen.

Thus far, we have not commented on the size of the ship carpenters' shops or of the ratio of apprentices to craftsmen. The most we can say in this respect, is that the ratio of apprentices to craftsmen, in most cases, probably did not exceed the three or four to one, evident in other crafts. A number of difficulties exist in this evaluation. First, it is very difficult to determine the number of ship carpenters working from 1793 to 1815, and particularly from 1809 to 1815. We found virtually hundreds of contracts involving ship carpenters, sawyers and axemen and master ship carpenters, or employers. These contracts often involved masters who were representing the government, or seemed to be representing the government. From 1813 to 1815, for example, over one thousand artificers, including a large number of carpenters, were hired in Quebec to work in the government ship yards in Kingston. Some of these employers were major ship builders who employed many ship carpenters and apprentices. The difficulty involved in establishing any type of ratio, is that we do not know if all the ship carpenters hired at this time, by certain ship builders, remained in Quebec or went

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91. Reference to these contracts can be found in the archives of Jean Belanger, from 1813 to 1814 and William Fisher Scott, from 1814 to 1815. One of the reasons for the lack of journeymen wood-workers, may be attributed to their decisions to work in some of the ship yards.
Another problem exists in the practice of master ship carpenters acting as their employers' agents in hiring craftsmen and apprentices. Because we do not know, in many instances, whether the ship carpenter was acting for himself or for an employer, we cannot establish, with any certainty, the number of journeymen and apprentices working in the various ship yards. These are only some of the many problems involved in an attempt to establish ratios and sizes of ship yards.

Our basis for saying that the ratio of apprentices to craftsmen did not surpass three apprentices to one craftsman, is that many apprentices were bound to ship carpenters or employers who employed many craftsmen. In many cases, such ship builders as David Anderson and Company, Newberry and Copper and Company, James Morrison, William Oviat, John Bell, Jonn Mure and Jolliffe and David Munn, employed fifteen to thirty ship yard workers at one time. Thus, apprentices hired to work in these ship yards, would probably find themselves in a distinct minority. Nevertheless, because they were probably put under specific masters, the three to one ratio, was probably maintained.

A possible exception to this situation, involves the

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92. Some ship-builders appeared, at times, to be hiring for the government and yet, at other times, they appeared to be hiring men to work in their local ship yards.

93. In this respect, the ship yards were considerably larger than most other craftsmen's shops.
master ship carpenter, John Goudie. From 1302 to 1312, Goudie, or his clerk, was responsible for hiring thirty-two apprentices, almost fifty percent of all apprentice ship carpenters recorded from 1793 to 1815. From 1807 to 1810, he had twenty-one apprentices working for him and from 1811 to 1812, he employed eighteen. The fact that we only found contracts involving Goudie and four sawyers, illustrates, perhaps, a gap in our records, which probably resulted from our lack of knowledge concerning Goudie's operations. This gap presents serious difficulties in determining the size of Goudie's ship yard and the ratio of apprentices to craftsmen. It seems evident, that Goudie must have been working for, or in conjunction with, someone else. Twenty-one apprentice ship carpenters and four sawyers do not make a balanced working crew. If our premise is correct, then the ratio of apprentices to craftsmen probably resembled that existing in other ship yards.

Shop sizes and ratios of apprentices to craftsmen, varied considerably from craft to craft and within individual crafts. Shop sizes varied from small shops where masters worked alone, to large shops where masters hired numerous journeymen and apprentices. In those shops where apprentices and, or journeymen existed, the ratio of apprentices to journeymen and masters, varied from two apprentices to one craftsmen, to seven apprentices to one craftsmen. The majority of those masters who hired apprentices, usually operated shops in which the ratio of apprentices to craftsmen
was about three to one.

Some of the reasons for these variations probably find their origin in the existing economic setting. For example, just as the highest number of apprentices existed in the period from 1307 to 1311, so the highest ratios of apprentices to journeymen were found in this period of increased commercial activity. This activity brought a demand for skilled labourers, who, for the most part, were scarce. This scarcity seems to have led some master craftsmen to a dependence on apprentices. The result, in some cases, was the occurrence of a higher ratio of apprentices to craftsmen, than had previously existed.

The implications of shop sizes and ratios of apprentices to craftsmen, for the functions and training of apprentices, were many. As we previously stated, the quality of an apprentice's training appeared to depend, on part, on his relation to his master and on the character of the master's shop. If the master's shop involved himself and two or three apprentices, the possibility of the apprentice performing some of the craft's necessary functions and receiving instructions from his master, appeared relatively good. The fact that a ratio of two apprentices to one craftsman did not necessarily guarantee a good training is evident in the example of the baker's craft. The bakers seemed to have had relatively small shops and yet one of the basic functions for the apprentice appears to have been delivering bread. Does
this mean that a master and one or two journeymen could perform most of the vital functions in terms of production, so that apprentices were not needed to help in the actual productions and could be given menial tasks? Similar questions can be addressed to each craft.

If the apprentice found himself in a large shop, involving, either a large number of journeymen or of apprentices, the possibility of receiving a good training seemed to diminish. The presence of journeymen would imply that they would perform the most difficult and essential tasks and the apprentice would do the odd jobs regulated to him by the journeymen. On the other hand, it is also possible that the presence of a number of journeymen would increase the apprentice's chances of receiving instruction because of the increased number of craftsmen available to give him instruction. The existence of five to seven apprentices and one apparent craftsman also presented problems. Surely one craftsmen could not adequately teach five to seven apprentices at one time. Yet, what would such a large number of apprentices do? In order to respond to this question, we need to know more about the organization of crafts and the amount of resources used in sustaining apprentices. It is possible, in shops involving many apprentices, that some apprentices, especially a few who were older and more experienced, would perform essential tasks. On the other hand, the organization of some crafts, such as the bakers, tailors and shoemakers, would seem to lend themselves to
specialization, in the sense that there were a number of functions that could be done mechanically and a few that needed the hand of a master. In these cases, one could imagine the master organizing his shop so that apprentices prepared the crude product for his finishing touch.

The size of the shops in which apprentices worked and the ratio of apprentices to craftsmen obviously involve a number of interpretations. Nevertheless, it is probably fairly accurate to say, that, although the apprentice’s training was not guaranteed in any shop or craft, the existence of many relatively small shops in which the contact between masters and apprentices would be constant, appeared to favour situations in which the apprentice could perform functions and receive instruction, which facilitated his training as a craftsman.

Having discussed such aspects of apprenticeship as age, terms, functions, tools, hours and ratios of apprentices to journeymen, one aspect remains, which we have not fully explored. This aspect is the wages or allowances that apprentices were given for their work. Earlier we stated, that in return for his work, the apprentice received his training⁹⁴ and the basic necessities of life, such as, food, lodging and clothing, or an allowance for clothing. What we did not discuss was the practice of giving allowances to

⁹⁴ Although we have touched on the apprentice’s training, this subject will be evaluated at greater length, in chapter IV.
apprentices in the place of clothing and other necessities included in an apprenticeship. A discussion of the apprentice's allowance can provide us with an appreciation of some important trends in apprenticeship and with an understanding of how the apprentice's remuneration compared with journeymen and others.

Some crafts, particularly the tailors and, to a lesser degree, the shoemakers, did not emphasize allowances. Instead of exchanging money for clothing, they continued to furnish the majority of their apprentices with clothing. From 1793 to 1815, only three apprentice tailors were given money in place of clothing. In the place of suits, many shoemakers gave their apprentices shoes. Because these two crafts possessed clothing, in some form, it was in the craftsman's interest to provide their apprentices from their stock, instead of paying them a sum of money. This was not the case, however, with most other craftsmen, who did not possess stocks of clothing or shoes. The provision and upkeep of apprentices' clothing, appeared to be too much trouble for many craftsmen. A much less complicated method of taking care of this problem, was found in paying the apprentice a certain sum of money and allowing him to purchase his own clothing. If the craftsman's wife, or her helpers, did not want to be responsible for the upkeep of apprentices' clothing, the master could either oblige the apprentice's mother to undertake this task and, or, pay the apprentice.
Occasionally this arrangement was also evident in terms of the apprentice's schooling. Some masters, such as the shoemaker, George Stanley, obliged the parents to pay for the schooling, or made an agreement with them to reduce the apprentice's allowance. The payment of allowances to apprentices can be seen as a type of trend which was gaining wider acceptance during this time. It is a trend away from the practice of providing the apprentice with everything to a practice of replacing responsibilities by cash payments. The significance of this movement towards replacing responsibilities with allowances, is evident in the following graphs, which portray that more than fifty-percent of apprentices in these crafts, with the tailors and shoemakers being exceptions, received allowances in place of clothing.

GRAPH XVII

ALLOWANCE GIVEN TO APPRENTICE SHOEMAKERS, 1793-1815
GRAPH XVIII
ALLOWANCE GIVEN TO APPRENTICE COOPERS, 1793-1815

GRAPH XIX
ALLOWANCE GIVEN TO APPRENTICE BAKERS, 1793-1815
GRAPH XX
ALLOWANCE GIVEN TO APPRENTICE BLACKSMITHS, 1793-1815

GRAPH XXI
ALLOWANCE GIVEN TO APPRENTICE WOOD-WORKERS, 1793-1815
Before discussing some aspects of these graphs, let us briefly explain how we constructed them. First, the many different currencies given during this time were changed into pounds and calculated in terms of years. Second, allowances given in pounds and shillings were tabulated in terms of the nearest pound. The "0" in the wage line, indicates those apprentices which were given all necessities, including clothes. Missing from these graphs are a number of allowances.

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95. Currencies were changed according to Jean Hamelin's table of equivalences given in "À la recherche d'un cours monétaire canadien: 1760-1777", RHAF (Montréal, 1961), Vol. 15, p. 31. Unfortunately, this table did not account for all currencies given on the indentures. The equivalence of the "portugaire", for example, was not given. Thus, although the graphs are fairly complete, one or two, lack allowances given to three or four apprentices.

* As in all graphs, descent to zero or ascent from zero is indicated by a broken line.
over twenty pounds. One apprentice shoemaker was paid forty-eight pounds a year and eleven apprentices paid their masters seven to twenty-five pounds for one year of specialization. Five apprentice coopers were paid from forty to fifty-four pounds a year and two apprentice bakers were paid thirty and sixty pounds a year. Six apprentice blacksmiths were paid between forty and fifty-six pounds. Apprentice wood-workers receiving more than twenty pounds, included five between twenty-three and thirty-one pounds, two at forty-eight pounds, one at fifty-eight pounds and one at seventy-nine pounds. Five apprentice wood-workers paid their masters one to ten pounds a year. One apprentice carpenter received seventy-two pounds a year.

The above graphs, with the exception of the carpenter's graph, show that most apprentices were paid allowances between two and five pounds a year. Some were paid slightly higher, receiving six to ten pounds a year. Those that were paid between ten and twenty pounds a year were usually receiving only the bare minimums, in terms of necessities, from their masters. They were responsible for buying, washing and mending their own clothes. In most cases, those apprentices who received twenty pounds or more, received nothing else from their masters. Twenty pounds appeared to be considered sufficient for all the apprentice's basic needs. Many of the

96. The fact that many of these apprentices were older and were with English speaking masters, may also help to explain the high allowances.
apprentices, receiving approximately twenty pounds, were living with their parents or relatives. Thus, twenty pounds, was considered equal to all the responsibilities that the parents would have to undertake in behalf of their sons.

Apprentices receiving close to forty pounds or more, must almost be considered as a distinct group of apprentices. For the most part, they were older and many possessed some experience. The apprentice baker, for example, who was paid sixty pounds a year, was twenty-three years old and had already had some experience in the craft. Some of these apprentices, even worked for daily wages. François Cordellier, an eighteen year old apprentice joiner, was paid two shillings a day during the winter and three shillings a day, during the summer, for an eighteen month period, by the master joiner, Isaac Martin. These apprentices, then, were almost junior journeymen, who were paid similar wages and worked similar, one to two year terms.

In this respect, the apprentice carpenters were also a special group. In general, they were older than many apprentices for other crafts and many were bound for only

97. Some of them were sons of craftsmen. This was the case, for example, for François Dassilva, a nineteen year old son of a joiner, bound to Thomas Hunt, a master joiner. He was paid an average of thirty-three pounds a year over a period of three years. See the archives of Jean Belanger, 22 nov., 1815.

98. Archives of A. Dumas, 30 déc., 1797.

99. Archives of J. Belanger, 29 juillet, 1815. For an example of another apprentice wood-worker who was paid three shillings a day during the summer, see the archives of A. Dumas, 4 mai, 1801.
three years. Their situation, however, is probably more a result of the particular nature of ship building, than anything else. Master ship builders and ship yard owners, were also a special group of employers. Ship building was almost unique, in that it was one of the few industries at this time, which grouped large concentrations of men in specific places. Masters and employers hired too many journeymen and apprentices to provide all of them with food and lodging. Thus, although, some masters provided these services, most decided to pay their men wages. Most apprentices, were responsible for their own food, lodging and clothing. Provision for religion and education was rare among apprentice ship carpenters and did not exist among those who were paid twenty pounds or more. The trend of paying apprentices to take care of their own needs, is quite evident, then, in the ship building industry, where almost eighty percent of the apprentices were paid an allowance or wage.

This trend becomes increasingly evident in most crafts, after 1807. Masters who operated fairly large shops often decided to pay their apprentices, instead of lodging and

100. This characteristic also existed in the Ancien Régime. Another industry which consisted of a large number of men, was the St. Maurice forges. Cf. Craig, op.cit., p. 168 and L'Abbé N. Caron, Deux Voyages Sur Le Saint-Maurice (Trois-Rivières, 1890), p. 262. Caron states that in the 1770's four to eight hundred men were involved in working at or near the forge. Bouchette gives the figures of two hundred and fifty to three hundred men, as the number of men employed by the forges, in the early nineteenth century. See, Bouchette, op.cit., p. 305.
feeding them in their own houses. This does not mean that the practice of providing most necessities for apprentices stopped. On the contrary, this continued and was modified, only in the sense that, more and more masters provided their apprentices with a clothing allowance.\textsuperscript{101} The practice of providing all necessities, except clothing, continued, particularly among those masters who had apprentices on long terms in their employ. Paying for all the needs of a young, inexperienced apprentice, for a period of six or seven years would have been an expensive proposition. Consequently, young apprentices on long terms, rarely received more than an average allowance for clothing.

An interesting aspect, which the graphs do not portray, is the existence of arrangements, whereby the mothers washed and mended their sons' clothes, without remuneration. Although this arrangement appeared in a number of indentures, it was peculiarly evident in indentures involving mothers and widows.\textsuperscript{102} In some cases, the parents were furnished with the necessary soap and material for the washing and mending of their son's clothing, by the master.\textsuperscript{103} Although money was not involved in most of these agreements, this practice can also be seen as part of the trend away from responsibilities on the master's part.

\textsuperscript{101} This was probably a continuation of practices which existed earlier, both in New France and England. Cf. Chapter I, p. 13.
\textsuperscript{102} Cf. Archives of A. Dumas, 4 févriar, 1300.
\textsuperscript{103} Cf. Archives of F.-X. Chevalier, 10 sept., 1811.
Other aspects which involve the apprentice's remuneration and the master's responsibilities were agreements made concerning lost time and sickness. In order to ensure that they received the full value of the wages paid to apprentices, many craftsmen and, especially, master ship builders, required their apprentices to work two days for every day they lost. This agreement is evident in the indenture involving the master ship carpenter, John Goudie and his apprentice, Antoine Picaud (spelling, not clear), who promised his master

remettre à l'expiration de présent engagement, quatre semaines de temps qu'il a perdu depuis le dit jour premier Décembre, et de lui remettre à l'expiration du dit engagement, deux jours de travail pour chaque jour qu'il perdra par sa faute à compter de ce jour.104

In most indentures involving such master ship builders as John Goudie, John Munn and John Hendry, a clause was added, stating that two day's wages would be retained from the apprentice's pay at the end of the week or month, for each day that he missed, at the respective ship yards.105

Although the responsibility of caring for apprentices during sickness, seemed to be assumed by many masters and was stated in many indentures,106 an increasing number of masters began to put certain conditions on caring for their apprentices during sickness. A condition which appeared

104. Archives of Jean Belanger, 25 mars, 1807. From 1807 to 1810, Goudie required many of his apprentices to work two days for every day they missed.
105. Cf. Ibid., 19 mai, 5 juin, 14 juin, 15 août, 1808 and 1811.
106. Ibid., 25 juillet, 1811.
often, was the stipulation that the master would care for the apprentice, only when his sickness was a result of the apprentice’s service or work in the shop\textsuperscript{107} and not a result of negligence on the apprentice’s part.\textsuperscript{108} Many master craftsmen stipulated that apprentices would have to make up for any time lost during sickness and that they would not be paid during their absence.\textsuperscript{109} If they were injured, most masters agreed to have them treated and did not require them to make up the time lost. John Goudie, for example, usually agreed that, in case his apprentice “should be maimed in the ship yard of the said J. Goudie or elsewhere in his service, that he will not return such time and that the said J. Goudie shall find him with surgical or medical attendance, free of expense”.\textsuperscript{110}

These practices of requiring two days wages for every day absent and obliging apprentices to work one day for every day missed as a result of illness, appear to reveal more than a trend away from responsibilities. They also indicate the existence of a desire on the part of some masters, to organize their working force in such a way as to gain the greatest possible amount of production from the least amount of investment in time, money and responsibilities. Because of the implications that this type of organization had for the

\textsuperscript{107} Cf. Archives of J.M. Martineau, 5 février, 1806.
\textsuperscript{108} Cf. Archives of J. Belanger, 14 mars, 1810.
\textsuperscript{109} Cf. \textit{Ibid.}, 15 août, 1808 and 15 juin, 1810.
\textsuperscript{110} \textit{Ibid.}, 22 May, 1812. The fact that some apprentices were discharged as a result of being maimed indicates that accidents usually terminated the apprentice’s employment with his master.
apprentice's training, this subject will be developed further in Chapter IV.

How did the apprentice craftsman's allowance and standard of living compare with other craftsmen, apprentices and servants? First, inorder to put the apprentice's wage in some kind of a context, let us briefly compare his wage to the wage earned by his senior, the journeymen craftsman. In most crafts, and especially, in the crafts we have been discussing, with the exception of the tailors, the apprentice's wage or allowance was approximately between one-seventh and one-fifth the amount of the journeyman's wage. Although the journeyman's wage and the apprentice's allowance were fairly constant, the apprentice's allowance or wage, as the graphs show, represented a larger range. Consequently, some apprentices were given less than one-seventh of the journeyman's wage and others, received more than one-fifth.

The major concentrations shown in the previous graphs represent wage or allowances given to apprentices from 1793 to 1815. Other than the appearance of the higher than normal wages given to apprentice ship carpenters, no significant changes in the allowances given to most apprentices in most crafts, was apparent. Some changes could be seen in some

111. This comparison involves apprentices and journeymen who received food and lodging from their master and those who received only wages. Figures for journeymen are numerous and involve many deviations. The comparison given above, does not account for these deviations.
crafts, whereby more apprentice shoemakers after 1307, were receiving four or five pounds a year, than apprentices in the 1790's. A similar statement can be made about apprentice wood-workers. More apprentices in this craft were receiving two or three pounds after 1307, than in the 1790's. Since the majority of apprentices before 1307, received no allowances, these statements, are not too meaningful. It is very difficult then, to evaluate the apprentice's allowance level, with the standard of living. The most we can say is that, given the many variations, the apprentice's wage did not increase to any significant degree. Thus, it would appear, that, even though prices rose, at certain times, quite high, the apprentice's wage remained fairly constant.\textsuperscript{112}

Although the apprentice craftsman's allowance compared favourably with that given to servants, it was inferior to the allowance given to many apprentice clerks and merchants.\textsuperscript{113} One example of an apprentice merchant's pay is evident in the three year apprenticeship involving the apprentice clerk, Laurent Rolette and the merchant, Henry Black. Black agreed to feed and lodge his apprentice and provide him with an allowance of fifteen pounds the first year, twenty the second year and thirty pounds the third year.\textsuperscript{114} This

\textsuperscript{112} For a discussion of price increases during this period, see Ouellet, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 151-175.
\textsuperscript{113} In general, apprentice lawyers and notaries, did not receive allowances from their masters.
\textsuperscript{114} Archives of Jean Belanger, 25 mai, 1809. For a slightly lower allowance, see \textit{Ibid.}, 23 déc., 1815.
example shows that some apprentice merchants' allowances, were not only five to ten times that of most apprentice crafts­men, but they were higher than allowances or wages given to most apprentice ship carpenters. 115

The servants were provided for in a similar way as apprentice tailors. Almost seventy-five percent of the servants received all necessities, and therefore, no allowances. Of those receiving allowances, sixty-six percent received between one and three pounds a year. 116 The apprentice craftsman's allowance, then, appeared to be considerably less than the allowance received by many apprentice merchants, and a bit more than that received by servants.

This consideration of the apprentice's remuneration terminates this chapter. Characteristics of the apprentice's working conditions, should be a bit clearer. We now know that most apprentices worked eleven to twelve hours a day, at least six days a week, for periods of approximately three to five years. 117 Our discussion of the nature and basic organization of some crafts revealed that, although peculiarities existed, most apprentices were part of skilled working units, which constructed all aspects of their products by hand, with the use of different types of,

115. Although we have not done a statistical evaluation of all the wages of apprentice merchants, the example given above, appeared fairly representative.
116. Very few girls received allowances.
117. This appeared to be the case for almost all craft apprentices to at least 1830. For examples of similar conditions, existing at this time, see the archives of Pierre Laforce, 21 janvier, 14 nov., 1825; 20 April, 1826 and 17 mai, 1830.
basically primitive, tools. The apprentice's functions were probably elementary at first, increasing in complexity with his age and experience. Most shops at this time were small, including between two to three apprentices and one journeyman or master. Many exceptions were evident, with the largest number of apprentices with one master, being seven and the largest number of journeymen in one shop, being five.  

Although many apprentices continued to receive all their necessities, more and more agreed to accept allowances instead. These conditions for craft apprentices were often found to be similar or significantly different, depending on the particular characteristics in question, to conditions for servants, and mercantile and professional apprentices. As we will see in Chapter IV, many of these conditions were influenced by what one could designate, as social considerations.

118. These figures compare favourably with shops in Philadelphia, from 1795 to 1820. See Morrison H. Heckscher, The Organization And Practice Of Philadelphia Cabinet-making Establishments, 1790-1820, p. 20.
CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF APPRENTICESHIP

Social aspects played a major part in influencing the apprentice's choice of a craft and some of the conditions involved in his apprenticeship. In this chapter, we are going to consider the significance that such aspects as the apprentice's social and ethnic status, had for his apprenticeship. To do this we are going to examine the occupation and residence of the apprentice's parents and some of the differences which appeared to be a result of his ethnic background. Following this discussion, we will briefly discuss some aspects of the apprentice's social life and particularly, his relationship to his master. This will lead us to a brief evaluation of the apprentice's social situation and training.

What significance did the social and economic status of an apprentice's parents, have for the apprentice's choice of a trade? Similarly, what were the occupations of most of the parents of apprentice craftsmen, and how did they compare to apprentices in other trades? Where did most apprentices and their parents come from? What was the proportion of rural people in the city crafts? Most of these questions can be discussed by evaluating the occupation and residence of
apprentices' parents. Although these two aspects, do not in themselves, give an adequate picture of the social status of different apprentices, they provide us with some means, by which we can evaluate the relation of the parents' social and economic position, to their sons' choice of a craft. They also provide us with considerable information regarding the origins of most apprentices. With these objects in mind, let us turn to a consideration of the occupations and residences of the fathers of apprentices in the crafts and trades.

**TABLES 4 and 5**

**OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE OF THE FATHERS OF APPRENTICE BAKERS**

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooper</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navigator</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sawyer</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Baie De Febvre</td>
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**TABLES 5 and 6**

OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE OF THE FATHERS OF APPRENTICE BLACKSMITHS

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</tr>
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<td>Rural</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ile d'Orléans</td>
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<tr>
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# TABLES 8 and 9

## OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE OF THE FATHER OF APPRENTICE COOPERS

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<tr>
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<td>Chimney sweep</td>
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<td>Cooper</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mason</td>
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<td>Navigator</td>
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### TABLES 10 and 11

**OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE OF THE FATHERS OF APPRENTICE SHIP CARPENTERS**

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<tr>
<td>mason</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miner</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tailor</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitants</td>
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<td>Labourers</td>
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<td>Others</td>
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<td>Soldier</td>
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**SHIP CARPENTERS**

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<td>Blacksmith</td>
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<td>Carter</td>
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### SHOEMAKERS

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### TABLES 14 and 15

#### OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE OF THE FATHERS OF APPRENTICE TAILORS

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<tr>
<td>Schoolmaster</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coverer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood-worker</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCCUPATION</td>
<td>NUMBER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitants</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldiers</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother or widow</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garçon Majeur</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE OF THE FATHERS OF APPRENTICE WOOD-WORKERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OCCUPATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants and professionals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aubergist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourgeois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schoolmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carriage maker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distiller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunsmith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navigator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sawyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood-worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Habitants</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldiers</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother and Widow</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garçon majeur</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orphan</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>62</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total              | **211** |

### Wood-Workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Roch</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>98</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rural</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Anne</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Château Richer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ango - Gardien (L')</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauport</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlesbourg</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ile D'Orléans</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeune Lorette</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Foye</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Augustine</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancienne Lorette (L')</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neuville</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Nicholas</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Henri</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Pointe-Lévy</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Gervais</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Charles</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Giles</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berthier</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. François</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Pierre</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Thomas</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>56</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Others</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trois Rivières</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 13
**Occupations of the Fathers of Servants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Merchants and professionals</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants and professionals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carter</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooper</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navigator</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadler</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sawyer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Habitants</strong></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Labourers</strong></td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Others</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servant</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldier</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unknown</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother or widow</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 19
**Occupations of the Fathers of Apprentice Merchants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Merchants and professionals</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourgeoisie</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member of the Legislative Council</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Officer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notary</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School master</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surveyor</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCCUPATION</td>
<td>NUMBER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants and professionals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourgeois</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court's clerk</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Voyer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notary</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surveyor</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seigneur</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitant</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master craftsmen</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garçon majeur</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These tables show some interesting aspects about apprenticeship. First, they show that apprentices and their parents came both from the country and the city and that apprentices' parents were mainly craftsmen or habitants. Second, they show that the majority of the rural apprentices came from near-by villages or parishes and that, although most urban apprentices came from Upper or Lower Town, an increasing number came from the suburbs. Finally, they illustrate that little interchange, on this level, occurred between the mercantile and professional groups and the craftsmen.

Although many apprentices and, especially apprentice wood-workers, came from rural parishes, the majority of the apprentices came from the urban center of Quebec. As we noted in Chapter II, it was in the urban centers where craftsmen performed most of their activities. Thus, it is reasonable to expect, that the relationship which were established between craftsmen and others would result in agreements being made between different craftsmen concerning their sons' apprenticeships. It is interesting to note, in this respect, that in those crafts where there were large numbers of British Canadian masters, comparatively few

* This map comes from M. Trudel's, Atlas De La Nouvelle France (Québec, 1968), p. 182. Although it is said to be a map of villages and parishes at the end of the French regime, it includes almost all the parishes and villages which concerned our study.

1. The villages and parishes are ordered in the tables according to their appearance on the north and south sides of the River St. Lawrence. One should note that some apprentices came from distant parishes and villages. It was not always possible to distinguish between parishes and villages.
apprentices were taken from rural areas. The table of the residence tailors is a good example of this point.

Habitants and craftsmen were not the only groups represented in these tables. In almost every craft, the largest group, following the craftsmen and habitants, was composed of labourers. The appearance of sons of labourers is quite significant in the ship carpenter's craft. The fact that some of these labourers came from the suburbs of St. Roch and St. John, indicates, perhaps, that master ship builders appeared to be departing from a policy of hiring apprentices primarily from Upper and Lower Town. Following the labourers in terms of size, are sons of soldiers. Sons and daughters of soldiers were evident in almost every craft and trade. The trade chosen by a soldier's son was usually related to the status or rank of the apprentice's father. Some soldiers were also craftsmen and, thus had something in common with civilian craftsmen. This is evident in the tailor's craft, where soldiers' sons represent one of the biggest groups. A number of the soldiers who bound their children to tailors, were also tailors in the army.

The existence of a number of groups having different residential origins and occupational functions, implies that crafts were open to the sons of apprentices from almost every different background. However, the lack of complete figures for the occupations and residences of apprentices' parents, the relations of the apprentices' parents to their masters
and about the precise nature of the occupations of the fathers of some of these groups, means that a lot of research remains to be done, before definitive statements can be made in this respect. The appearance of craftsmen as apprentices' fathers, in larger numbers than other groups, implies that the sons of craftsmen were probably preferred before sons of other groups. Thus, in terms of the significance of the father's occupation and residence for his son's choice of an apprenticeship, one could say, that, although the sons of tradesmen, farmers and labourers, seemed to have had relatively good opportunities in achieving the position of journeymen, the sons of craftsmen appeared to have been accepted the most readily.

The significance of the occupations of fathers of servants, is that more labourers and soldiers bound their children as servants, than any other group. This probably implies that the children of these fathers could be easily

2. Although more research is needed in tracing the apprentice's role after his apprenticeship, the information that we have studied, shows that craftsmen's sons usually became masters faster than the sons of other groups.

3. Because many of the fathers' occupations are not known and the servants' group is composed of girls and boys, the servants do not provide us with a good comparison this time. Because the parents' names were given on all indentures, additional research, especially of the marriage records, would probably reduce the number of unknowns in the above tables. This, however, is a very slow process. In this study, the search for the fathers' occupations plus an attempt to verify the information we possessed, was probably the most time consuming aspect of our work.
bound as servants and perhaps more easily bound as servants, than as apprentices. A number of craftsmen bound their daughters as servants, but few bound their sons. The large number of widows and mothers binding their children as servants, was partly a result of the desire, on the part of some mothers, to lessen their burden of caring for large families. 4 Thus, the widow of a former carpenter, in binding her small girl to the notary, Archibald Campbell,

> a déclaré que ne pouvant elle-même (vu sa pauvreté) éduquer et éléver le dit Elizabeth Forbes et désirant lui procurer des moyens sûrs de la faire vivre et éduquer l'a par ces présentes placé et mis sous la protection de Monsieur et Madame Archibald Campbell. 5

A contrast to the relative freedom of movement of sons of labourers, farmers and craftsmen into crafts, becomes evident when one examines the occupations of the fathers whose sons were entering a mercantile trade or profession. Sons of labourers, farmers and of most soldiers and craftsmen, were largely excluded from mercantile-professional occupations. Merchants, notaries, lawyers and doctors, 6 appeared to make agreements with each other for the apprenticeship of their sons. It is interesting to note that in the

5. Archives of B. Faribault, 20 déc., 1813. The death of the father or of both parents, seemed to have led to such situations frequently. In these instances, the child had no choice but to accept the arrangement made for him, either by, the judges of the peace, the ministers of the Church of England, or, after 1811, the commissioners appointed by Parliament, to take care of such children. For references to children bound as servants by these officials, see the archives of Felix Têtu, 10 July, 1309 and Michel Berthelot, 25 avril, 1312.
merchant's trade and the notary's profession a high proportion of fathers were of the same trade or profession as that in which their sons were entering. In the notary's profession, more than eighty percent of the notaries who bound their sons as apprentice notaries, bound their sons to themselves. The fact that merchants were the largest single group to bind their sons as notaries, would indicate a fairly strong, co-operative relationship, on this level at least, between some merchants and notaries. The same could be said about relations, between English speaking and French speaking merchants and English speaking and French speaking professionals, who appeared to co-operate with others, in accepting, as apprentices, the sons of the ethnic group. In this sense, the conflict which many historians have discussed between these different occupational and ethnical groups, did not appear to have prevented members of these groups in exchanging sons as apprentices.

6. Although information for doctors and lawyers was more incomplete than that available for notaries, the existing information portrayed characteristics very similar to that evident in the notaries' profession.

7. For examples see the archives of Jacques Voyer, 1 juin, 1807 and Jean Belanger, 7 nov., 1805 and 25 août, 1806.

8. Historians who have studied this period, maintain that the social and political climate was charged with a struggle for social, political and economic prestige, on the part of seigneurs, merchants and professionals. According to these historians, the gradual decline of the seigneurs social and political positions, made way for an ensuing conflict between the commercial and professional groups. Unfortunately, most of them do not mention the craftsman's place in these struggles and they do not discuss many of the common interests, that some merchants and professionals appeared to share. Some historians who have discussed these struggles are: A.R.M. Lower, Colony To Nation (Toronto, 1957), p. 68; M. Brunet, Les Canadiens Après La Conquête 1759-1775, pp. 174-190; F. Ouellet, "Le Nationalisme canadien-français: De ses origines à l'insurrection de 1837" CHH (Toronto, 1964), p. 280 and H. Neatby, Quebec, The Revolutionary Age (Toronto, 1966), p. 141.
A man's occupation appeared to have considerable significance for his son's choice of a trade or profession. Craftsmen’s sons had a more ready access to craft apprenticeships than the sons of many habitants and labourers. The sons and daughters of many labourers and soldiers appeared to be received as servants before being received as apprentices. The mercantile and professional occupations were almost closed to the sons of labourers, soldiers, habitants and most craftsmen. Many aspects of the social structure seemed to favour the sons of merchants and professionals. They not only had a wider choice of trades open to them, they also could choose apprenticeships which were considered to be highly desirable and were characterized by different social and economic conditions than craft apprenticeships.

A significant factor in determining the social conditions of apprenticeship, appeared to be that of ethnic origin. Because the city of Quebec during this time was mainly composed of French-speaking Canadians and British Canadians, the ethnic origin of most apprentices was usually that of one of these groups.

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10. In his 1792 census, the cure, Plessis, often refers to artisans of different nationalities and groups. A number of shoemakers, for example, were described as Germans. For references, see J.O. Plessis, op.cit., pp. 14, 16, 19, 24, 33, 37, 40, 49 and 50. Although, a study of the existence and behaviour of these groups, would be interesting, it is outside the scope of this work.
The way in which religious and educational conditions were treated in the agreements between the master and the apprentice's parents, reflect some of the ways in which the ethnic origin of the apprentice affected his apprenticeship. They also provide some information on how these ethnic groups behaved in the social and religious context of this time. As previously mentioned, French-speaking and English speaking parents and masters put different emphases on religion and education. French-Canadian, Roman Catholic parents, emphasized religious aspects and British Canadian, Protestant parents, emphasized formal education. A significant contrast existed in the way French-Canadians and British Canadians treated these questions. This contrast is evident in the way in which these religious groups made stipulations concerning their sons' religious training with members of the same religious persuasion and with members of the opposite faith. The Roman Catholics' concern for their sons' fulfillment of religious duties and education, was evident in many indentures. Although the religious training of Roman Catholic apprentices bound to Catholic masters, appeared to be assumed, occasionally, one would read stipulations which were to insure this training. Because some parents wanted their sons to take their first communion as soon as possible, they would stipulate that he be given time to go to catechism and

11. For a description of how a Catholic forgeron supervised the religious instruction of his apprentices and organized his work in consideration of religious holidays, see L'Abbe Ferland, Mgr. Joseph Octave Plessis (Québec, 1878), pp. 9-11.
to take his first communion. 12

This concern for the religious life of their sons, was also present, though in a much more significant way, when the sons of Roman Catholics, were bound to Protestants. 13 In these instances, the apprentice’s right to religious freedom was usually clearly indicated. A phrase in the indenture would usually state that the apprentice was to be free to profess his faith and to follow all the duties of the Catholic religion. 14 Thus, in the indenture involving Baptiste Wood, a Catholic, and the Protestant, master tailor, Richard Dallow, the following clause was added.

It is fully understood between the said parties, that the said apprentice being a Roman Catholic, it shall be at liberty for him to go Sundays to the mass...and also the said Richard Dallow shall take fortuitous care when it is requisite for the said Baptiste Wood to take the communion, to send the said apprentice to catechism in the work time if then required. 15

The master was required “lui donner le temps suffisant les fetes et dimanches pour professer sa religion”. 16 Younger apprentices and those who had not taken their first communion, were to be permitted the time necessary to go to catechism during the week, to prepare for their first

12. The master was often obliged to make sure his apprentice learned and said his prayers. See the archives of Roger Lelièvre, 15 avril 1802 and J.M. Martineau, 21 mai, 1808.
13. English speaking Roman Catholics followed the same practices as their French-speaking counterparts.
15. Archives of Thomas Lee, 15 mars, 1808.
16. Archives of J.M. Martineau, 1 déc., 1810. The holidays which were frequently mentioned were obligatory holidays, such as Easter, Pentecost, All Saints Day and Christmas.
The frequency at which such conditions were mentioned seems to indicate more than an average concern on the part of the parents, for the religious faith of their sons.

This concern was probably a result of a number of factors. The practice of some Protestant masters of obliging their apprentices to work on Sunday's, may have alarmed some Catholic parents. Disregard and lack of respect for the religion of their employees, shown by some Protestant masters, was probably also a matter of concern. This problem was noted by Plessis, who while taking his census, discovered that the faith of some of his flock was being impeded, in different ways, by Protestant masters. One of the ways that Protestant masters obstructed the religious training of their Catholic employees, was, first, by obliging them to work on Sundays and, second, by counting every Sunday that the employee did not work, as a lost day that had to be made up at the end of the term. Although this practice was not seen often, it appears evident, that some Protestant masters did not appreciate the existence of religious holidays. This

18. The number of times religious stipulations were mentioned in indentures involving a French-speaking Canadian, apprentice and a British Canadian, Protestant, master, can be seen in the following percentages for each craft: bakers, 73%; blacksmiths, 55%; carpenters, 2%; coopers, 25%; shoemakers, 45%; tailors, 100%; wood-workers, 45%.
19. Cf. J.O. Plessis, op. cit., pp. 21, 42, 45 and 53. Whether the question of mixed marriages concerned Roman Catholic parents in the same way as it did the clergy, is unknown.
may help to explain the stipulation of John Goudie, the master
shipbuilder, that his apprentice receive only two religious
holidays, in addition to Sundays. 21 The lack of religious
provisions for apprentice ship carpenters may reflect the
shipbuilder’s distaste for the observance of religious
holidays and also the Catholic parents’ realization of this
reluctance. Although the parents of apprentice ship
carpenters may have acquiesced to some of the tastes of the
shipbuilders, it is evident that most Catholic parents
stipulated that their sons be allowed to observe and practice
the requirements and duties of their religion.

The social and political climate at this time might have
also influenced the thinking of some Roman Catholic parents.
The religious fears of the Roman Catholic people and clergy
were partly relieved by the prudent policies and adminis-
tration of the English government and some of the governors, 22
but many uncertainties continued to exist which left many
people and, especially the clergy, in uneasy situations. The
British government’s refusal to recognize the official position
of the Roman Catholic Church, reluctance to officially
recognize the Bishop, suppression of the masculine orders, 23

21. Ibid., 29 nov., 1809.
22. On this subject, see Bishop Briand’s sermon to the Canadian
people immediately following the beginning of British
rule in the Mandements Des Evêques De Québec, eds. H.
169. See also Plessis’ sermons of 1794 quoted in full
in R. Christie, A History Of The Late Province Of Lower
Canada (Québec, 1848), Vol. 1, pp. 356-359 and his
Plessis et la naissance d’une bourgeoisie Canadienne, 1797-
1810”, Rapport de la société Canadienne d’Histoire de
desire to regulate the nomination of priests and the actions of the Bishop and plans to Anglicize, Protestantize and control the education of the young continued to keep the Catholic clergy in a position of suspense. Although this conflict did not seem to have created any serious public conflicts between Catholics and Protestants, it made questions such as religion and education sensitive subjects of contention. It is possible that this sensitivity to religious questions involving Protestants, contributed to the desire of some parents to attempt to protect their young from any infringements on their religious ideas and duties, by Protestant masters.

A significant difference existed in the way British Canadian Protestants treated the religious training of Protestant apprentices. Religious training was rarely mentioned. In the seven crafts studied in detail, Protestant parents made provision for the religious training of their sons twice in indentures involving other Protestants and once in indentures involving a Roman Catholic master. The

27. Not all French speaking Canadians showed this concern. A few, particularly those binding their children as servants, or at a very young age, specified only that the Protestant provide their children with a Christian upbringing. Cf. The archives of Jacques Voyer, 25 sept., 1809 and 23 mars, 1811.
28. This lack of provision for religious training was portrayed by Protestants in all trades.
small number of English speaking apprentices bound to French Canadian masters, would partly explain the low number of times provision was made for the religious life of Protestant apprentices bound to Catholic masters. The lack of concern for the religious beliefs of Protestant apprentices among Protestant masters is not so easy to explain. The presence of different Protestant denominations in Quebec City would lead one to expect the existence of some provisions for apprentices being bound to masters of a different denomination.29 This distinction between Protestant denominations seemed to be evident in one of the indentures mentioned above and in an indenture involving a young girl as a millener. In the two indentures mentioned above, one indenture required the master to allow his apprentice "to attend singing in the Church during the said apprenticeship"30 and the other indenture stipulated that the apprentice was to attend divine service at the established Church of England on Sundays.31 Reference to another denomination is evident in an indenture binding a young daughter of a British sergeant as a millener to Ann Goudie and Mrs. King. The mistress, Ann Goudie was "To instruct and cause to be instructed the said Marie Bird and will bring her up in the principles of a good Christian

29. Little has been written about the differences and conflicts between Protestant denominations. A description of some of the conflicts between the Presbyterians and Anglicans in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries can be found in W.S. Reid's book, The Church Of Scotland in Lower Canada. Its Struggle for Establishment (Toronto, 1936), pp. 28-65.
30. Archives of Jean Bélanger, 10 mars, 1812.
31. Archives of Felix Têtu, 29 April, 1811.
and according to the rules of the established Church of Scotland. The fact that religious provisions were not made more often, may be attributed to the possible practice of some Protestants in choosing masters of the same religious persuasion and to the possibility that Protestants were, because of their concentration in the city of Quebec, able to supervise the religious practices of their sons. The lack of consideration, on the part of many Protestant parents, for the practice of some masters who required their apprentices and journeymen to work on Sunday, would seem to indicate that many Protestants, instead of stipulating certain religious conditions, accepted the master's schedule. It appears that Roman Catholic parents were much more attentive to the religious practices of their sons, than Protestants, and whereas, some Protestants and a few Catholics, appeared ready to follow the ethics of their sons' masters, most Catholics obliged their sons' masters to recognize their apprentices' religious beliefs.

An apprentice's education was composed of instruction in techniques of his master's craft. What one could designate as formal education, such as the skills involved in reading, writing and arithmetic, were included in some apprenticeships. Training in the craft was given in the shop, while that of reading and writing was often provided for at a night school. It is this latter type of education which interests us at

this point. Information given on the indentures provides an indication of the place of formal education in apprenticeship. Because of the different ways in which education was treated in the indentures by the two major ethnic groups, one can also discuss this question on the basis of these groups.

If one could judge the interest in formal education of these two ethnic groups, by the number of times specific schooling was mentioned in the indentures, the number of apprentices and parents who could write and sign their names and the existence of night schools for the different ethnic groups, one would conclude that the parents of French Canadian apprentices showed little interest in this aspect, while British Canadian parents showed considerable interest. Provision for education was provided for six French speaking apprentices bound to French speaking masters and for seven French speaking apprentices bound to English speaking masters. Although education was only mentioned once in indentures involving English speaking apprentices and French speaking masters, it was frequently mentioned in indentures involving British Canadians. Provision for education for these British

33. This information often included provision for education and statements saying whether or not the contracting parties could write and sign their names.
34. These figures were similar for apprentices in most crafts but not for the mercantile-professional apprentices whose education was provided for to a large degree. This was also the case for French speaking apprentice merchants bound to English speaking merchants.
35. The frequency that education was mentioned is seen in the following percentages for each craft: bakers, 33%, black-smiths, 36%, coopers, 23%, carpenters, 13%, shoemakers, 20%; tailors, 33%; wood-workers, 12%.
Canadians, usually involved reading, writing and arithmetic or cyphering. To receive these skills, the master usually agreed to allow the apprentice to go to night school in the winter months and, though not always, often paid the tuition for the schooling.\textsuperscript{36} The amount of time provided for the apprentice's formal education varied from one to three months schooling each year of the apprenticeship. The majority of indentures mentioning schooling specified an average of one month a year. Some, left the amount of schooling to the master's judgment, stating that the apprentice be given "sufficient education to carry on a business".\textsuperscript{37} Others not only specified the length of time the apprentice was to go to school, but also the amount he was to learn. Thus, some parents required that their sons be taught reading, writing and cyphering to the rule of three or four.\textsuperscript{38} These provisions for the education of their sons, indicate that some type of formal education was considered by many English speaking parents as an important part of apprenticeship.

The provision of apprentices' education after working hours brought about the creation of a number of night schools which catered to apprentices and people who did not have time to go to school during the day. From 1790 to the 1812 war,  

\textsuperscript{36} Night School in the winter was almost always specified. The only exceptions were found in instances where the apprentice or servant was to be taught at home, and where apprentice merchants were given one or two hours schooling a day.  
\textsuperscript{37} Cf. Archives of B. Faribault, 25 mai, 1807.  
\textsuperscript{38} Cf. Archives of Jacques Voyer, 11 août, 1798 and 21 mai 1801 and Jean Belanger, 19 mars, 1811.
The Quebec Gazette was constantly advertising the opening of schools, some of which provided evening schools. During this period, The Quebec Gazette mentioned over forty different schools. Although many advertisements maintained that the education could be given in both languages, the fact that only three schools appeared to be directed by French-speaking teachers, indicates that these schools were primarily orientated towards Quebec City's English speaking community.

The number of teachers who continued their schools during the evening is not clear. Although many advertisements mentioned evening schools, some were vague about hours and stated that they would be arranged after classes began. Some of those that mentioned evening school, such as the Deputy Provincial Surveyor, Jeremiah McCarthy, stated that evening school was being provided for those that could not attend during the day, "they being employed in Public offices or otherwise". A night school which seemed to be open to the needs of craft apprentices, was opened in 1802 by John P. Doherty. Doherty ran a day school and also an evening school during the winter months, "chiefly for the use of those whose time will not allow them to attend by day".

39. The greatest number of schools were mentioned in the periods of 1790 to 1795 and 1807 to 1812. Nine of these schools appeared to be girls' schools. Most of these schools were day schools which emphasized reading, writing, arithmetic and book-keeping or merchant's accounts. They appeared to be orientated towards groups whose economic status would allow them to send their children to school, or to have them sent, during the day.

40. Cf. The Quebec Gazette, 5 Nov., 1795.
41. Specific mention of evening school was only found six times.
42. The Quebec Gazette, 1 Jan., 1795.
advertisements for many evening schools usually began in the month of October and the schools opened from November to May, one would think that some of these schools were adapting their timetables to the schedules of those craftsmen, who sent their apprentices to schools in these months.

The level of formal education possessed by apprentices during this time can be evaluated, to a certain degree, by whether they wrote or signed their names. Because notaries almost always stated whether or not the apprentice could write or sign their names, an analysis of those who signed and those who did not, can provide a means of measuring the apprentices’ level of formal education. Table 21 shows the number of apprentices in each craft who could sign their names. It is evident that English-speaking apprentices and their parents were fairly literate. In most cases, fifty percent or more of the English speaking parents and apprentices, could write their names. The percentage of French-speaking apprentices and parents who could write and sign their names was between six and thirty-three percent, with the majority falling between twelve and twenty-seven percent. An evident correlation appears to have existed between the apprentice’s

43. Ibid., 28 October, 1802.
44. We also found an early morning school which was “intended for those engaged in business during the day”. The hours were from six to seven o’clock in the morning. Ibid., 16 April, 1807.
45. In each case, the percentage of masters who could write and sign their names was much higher. Almost one hundred percent of the English-speaking masters, signed their names and about fifty to sixty-five percent of the French-speaking masters, signed their names.
ability to sign and his parent's ability to sign. This correlation implies that the parent's ability probably reflected his interest in writing and, to a certain degree, his interest in seeing that his son learned to do likewise.

How does this discussion relate to the education of the apprentice? The number of apprentices who could write or sign their names illustrates, to a certain degree, the importance placed on formal education by English-speaking and French-speaking parents. It supports the trend seen in the indentures of a greater interest in this question on the part of English-speaking parents than French-speaking parents. This, however, is about as far as one can go in terms of comparing these groups' interest in education. The difference in the way in which these groups viewed education probably had more to do with their conceptions of themselves in the social setting, than with the significance that the

46. The question of the significance of literacy among French-speaking Canadians has been discussed at such length among some authors that one would think that the degree of literacy portrayed something about the intrinsic intelligence or culture of a group of people. See for example the discussion in Amédée Gosselin, op.cit., pp. 28-32. We would agree with Marc Gaucher, who, in discussing the high level of illiteracy among some of the early craftsmen in New France, stated, "Par suite d'un préjugé défavorable, qui confond instruction et culture, cette constation heurte les conceptions modernes. Sous peine de refuser toute culture, tout 'wisdom' à des hommes qui ne manquèrent ni d'idéal ni de savoir-faire, une saine interprétation exige donc d'écarter cet à priori. D'ailleurs, en l'occurrence, ceux qui signent ne bénéficieront ni d'avantages particuliers, ni d'emplois mieux rétribués: C'est le métier qui situe l'homme". In "Carnet D'Un Albertain", RHAF (Juin, 1950), Vol. IV, p. 92.
ability to write had for the functions of most craftsmen. One of the skills of formal education that craftsmen seemed to use occasionally, was that of reading directions and plans. The apprentice could probably learn to read, in such a way that he could fulfill his functions, through the aid of journeymen or masters. Thus, although many English-speaking parents seemed to consider some formal education as a necessary part of apprenticeship, most French-speaking parents, did not appear to regard formal education, especially that given outside the shop, as essential to their sons' training as craftsmen.

### TABLE 21

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CRAFT</th>
<th>PARENT</th>
<th>NO. OF APPRENTICES IN EACH CRAFT</th>
<th>APPRENTICE</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sign-Did Ed</td>
<td>Total Sign-Did Ed</td>
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<tr>
<td>I English speaking</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Baker</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Blacksmith</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Carpenter(ship)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Cooper</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Shoemaker</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Tailor</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Wood-worker</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>II French speaking</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Baker</td>
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<td>48</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Blacksmith</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>3. Carpenter(ship)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Cooper</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Shoemaker</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>77</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Tailor</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Wood-worker</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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47. Morisset maintains that reading and arithmetic were taught in some shops at this time. For the reference, see our introduction, p. 8.
Ethnic differences affected more than religious and educational aspects of apprenticeship. The ethnic origin of apprentices and masters appear to have had significant implications for many aspects of craftsmanship and apprenticeship. Because a discussion of all these implications is not within the scope of this paper, we will limit our discussion to those which appeared to be directly related to our study. We have already noticed the fact that English-speaking apprentices, or apprentices bound to English-speaking masters, began at earlier ages than many of their French-speaking counterparts and served longer terms.\textsuperscript{48} We have also noted that English-speaking apprentices appeared to be taken, primarily from urban areas. Those that did not come from Quebec, usually came from Three Rivers, Montreal, Kingston or London. Very few came from rural areas surrounding Quebec. The contrary, was obviously the case for French-speaking apprentices. Those apprentices that did not come from Quebec, usually came from the surrounding parishes. Whereas, most English-speaking apprentices were bound to English-speaking masters, quite a few French-speaking apprentices were bound to English-speaking masters.\textsuperscript{49} The language in which the indentures involving French-speaking apprentices and English-speaking masters was written, was, with very few exceptions

\textsuperscript{48} Cf. Chapter III, p. 72.

\textsuperscript{49} This was also true with journeymen. The number of French-speaking apprentices bound to English-speaking masters is evident in the following figures: bakers, 15; blacksmiths, 9; coopers, 4; ship carpenters, 28; shoemakers, 38; tailors, 3; wood-workers, 37.
in French. 50 The one exception to this rule, was found in the case of the pilots, where a majority of all the contracts were in English.

Table 21 shows that certain crafts were more popular with one ethnic group than the other. Although the English-speaking population of Quebec City and its suburbs, was relatively small in comparison to the French-speaking populace, 51 English-speaking apprentices and masters were well represented in the crafts. The crafts which consisted of particularly strong representations of English-speaking apprentices, were obviously the shoemakers, ship carpenters, and tailors. Whereas, their representation in the other crafts, was between thirteen and twenty-four percent, their representation in these three crafts was, respectively, thirty-seven percent, forty-six percent and seventy-seven percent. Although these crafts included large numbers of English speaking masters, these percentages appear to be very high.

A number of questions as to the reasons for these high

50. Only seven indentures, involving French-speaking apprentices and English-speaking masters, in the ship carpenters, shoemakers and wood-workers crafts, were written in French. This practice was also evident in other contracts involving French and English speaking parties.

51. According to Plessis' censuses, the Protestant population from 1792 to 1805 was between 1,359 and 1,465 people. The Catholic population was between 6,153 and 7,397. This means that the Protestant community consisted of between approximately twelve and twenty-two percent of the total population of Quebec. In terms of apprenticeship, these percentages would be high, because, as the tables show, many French-speaking apprentices came from rural parishes. An accurate percentage then, would have to account for the rural parishes. For reference to these statistics see, loc. cit., pp. 55, 105, 156, and 212. See also, the Seventh Census of Canada, 1931 (Ottawa, 1936), Vol. 1, p. 146.
percentages can be raised. For example, does this situation imply that the English-speaking masters in these crafts preferred English-speaking apprentices, or does it portray a distaste for these crafts on the part of French-speaking Canadians? It is likely, that both of these implications were involved. Some English-speaking craftsmen showed a definite preference for English-speaking apprentices. This was true, for example, for the master shoemaker, John Shea and the ship builders, John Munn and David Anderson and Company. Although it seems evident that French-speaking boys could have been found as apprentice ship carpenters and probably also, as apprentice shoemakers, this is not so evident in the case of apprentice tailors. The lack of French-speaking apprentices in the tailors and shoemakers' crafts, can probably also be attributed to the French Canadian's traditional distaste for sedentary crafts. Our discussion of the peculiar natures of crafts, showed that these two crafts could be distasteful for boys who did not like working indoors on meticulous tasks. The tendency of French Canadians to begin their apprenticeships from fifteen to eighteen years of age and their apparent preference for three to five year terms, indicates that they would not be attracted to these crafts. The practice of tailors in taking apprentices at a young age for long periods of time, with little remuneration probably discouraged some parents, from binding their children to master tailors.

52. For a discussion of this aspect in the French regime, see J. Hamelin, *Economie et Société en Nouvelle-France*, pp. 105-107.
Thus, a preference for English-speaking apprentices, particularly among some ship carpenters on the part of some English-speaking masters, and the distaste for sedentary crafts on the French Canadian’s part, appeared to influence the number of apprentices in certain crafts.

The French-speaking Canadian’s traditional preference for the crafts of the forgeron and the menuisier, is evident in the above table. The peculiar nature of these crafts, with their relationship to the outdoors, their mobility and their emphasis on less meticulous tools and tasks, seemed to appeal to French-speaking Canadians. Another reason for the domination of these craft apprenticeships by French-Canadians can be attributed to the existence, especially in the case of the menuisiers, of numerous French Canadian masters.

In order to put factors such as the social and economic position of an apprentice’s parents and his ethnic origin in perspective, they must be considered in terms of the whole context of the apprentice’s social milieu and his existence in different training situations. Like other historians who have attempted to study the apprentice’s social life, we have discovered that little information is readily available in this respect. Fortunately, the indentures provide us with

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53. This was probably one of the reasons why few French-speaking Canadians bound their boys as servants.
some clues concerning the apprentice's life in his master's home and his relationship with his master and mistress.

The apprentice's life in his master's home was almost as important for apprenticeship, as his life in the master's shop. In many ways, they were inseparable. If the parents of the apprentice lived near, they could exercise some influence on their son, but, in many ways, their influence was considerably reduced, after the indenture was signed. The apprentice was now under his master's control and his former family unit was replaced by the family unit of his master. Consequently, during his apprenticeship, the apprentice had to abide by the established order and rules of his master's household.

Some of the basic guidelines the apprentice was to follow were outlined in the indenture itself. He was not to indulge in gambling, drinking, fornication, or marriage. Nor was he to absent himself from his master's service. He was to avoid his master's damage and behave himself.\textsuperscript{56} He was not only

\textsuperscript{56} See Appendix B.
required to do household duties, he was also obliged to observe the schedule set down by his master. In many instances, it was agreed that the apprentice would retire, or go to bed at an early, or reasonable hour every evening, without disturbing the order of the household. Some masters specified that the apprentice was to retire at eight or eight thirty in the evening and if he wanted to go and visit someone, he was to inform his master of the house in question and be back by nine o'clock. If one considers the working hours of apprentices, plus their housework, these hours would not leave them much time for social activities.

A glimpse into the home of a master blacksmith, has been provided by the Abbé Ferland, in his description of the order followed in J.O. Plessis' home. Ferland explains that,

Chaque soir les enfants et les apprentis se reunissaient autour des chefs de la maison, pour faire la prière commune, réciter le chapelet, et entendre une lecture de piété. Les apprentis, qui étaient toujours choisis avec une attention particulière à leur caractère et à leurs moeurs, étaient traités comme les enfants de la maison, et leur conduite était surveillée avec le plus grand soin. Une fois par mois, en compagnie de leur maître et de ses deux fils, Joseph et Louis, ils devaient se rendre à l'église et s'approcher du tribunal de la pénitence; c'était encore sous les yeux du bourgeois, qu'ils assistaient, les dimanches et les jours de fêtes, à tous les offices de l'église. De son côté, Madame Plessis remplissait les mêmes devoirs envers ses trois filles et les servantes du logis.

57. Examples are numerous. See the archives of Charles Voyer, 16 janvier, 7 nov. and 22 nov., 1810; 11 nov., 1811 and 8 février, 1814.
58. Ibid., 21 mai, 1808.
60. L'Abbé Ferland, op.cit., p. 9.
Because each household would be organized to meet particular needs of the master's family, it is difficult to know whether similar characteristics existed in other craftsmen's homes. The small proportion of the majority of shops, implies that the apprentice was probably frequently treated, as a kind of adopted son and, as such, expected to follow the rules of his master's home.

Some aspects of the apprentice's social life were governed by actions taken on the part of the government. A law passed in 1801, attempted to prevent servants, apprentices and journeymen, from playing billiards and gambling. 61 Legislation was passed in 1802, "to make Rules and Regulations to restrain, rule and govern the said Apprentices, Domestics, hired-servants and Journeymen and also to make Rules and Regulations for the conduct of Masters and mistresses toward their said Apprentices..." 62

The fact that the stipulations governing the apprentice's conduct in indentures continued to grow and legislation was passed to make regulations "to restrain rule and govern" apprentices, indicates that masters and members of the government wanted to control the apprentice's conduct in the master's home and in public places. Many masters took advantage of the new legislation governing their apprentices conduct. Reports of the sessions of the Justices of the

61. The Provincial Statutes of Lower Canada (Quebec, 8th April, 1801), 41 George II, Cap. XIII, p. 74.
62. Ibid., 42 George III, Cap. II, pp. 111 and 112.
Peace, appearing in *The Quebec Gazette*, revealed that masters used these sessions in attempting to control the tendency of some apprentices to misbehave in the home and to absent themselves from their master's service. Misbehaviour or disorderly behaviour, and "neglect of duty" were some of the major charges brought against apprentices who were fined forty shillings, or sentenced to eight to ten days hard labour in the House of Correction. 63 The extent to which apprentices misbehaved in their masters' homes, was evident in the statement of one authority on this subject, who maintained that they

become disorderly in the house of their master; treat him with taunting contempt; contest his reasonable commands; interrupt his domestic arrangements; dissipate his property; and by gradual advances finally combine to rob him. 64

This is a striking contrast to the description of the orderly behaviour of apprentices given previously. The daily behaviour of most apprentices was probably somewhere between these two descriptions.

The apprentice's contribution to public disorder was a subject of concern for the authorities of the City of Quebec. This concern was evident in the "charge" delivered by Ross Cuthbert, the chairman of the Court of Quarter Sessions, to the Grand Jury in 1811. Cuthbert, maintained that,

...the moral condition of the apprentices in this city, has become truly alarming. As a body, they are insolent, idle and immoral... Not long since,

63. For examples, see *The Quebec Gazette*, 26 July, 1810; 7 Feb., 1811 and 30 Jan., 1812. Servants and journeymen received sentences for similar offences.
64. *Ibid.*, 2 May, 1811.
they chiefly composed those meetings, the exclusive design of which was to indulge in the most corrupting debauchery at certain infamous houses now suppressed... They have been found to be actors in almost every scene of turbulence or depravity that has undergone public investigation; and it is now certain that they have contributed more than any other class to the total amount of public indecorum and misfortune. 65

Although this description is probably exaggerated, 66 it gives one an idea of the attitude of some civil authorities concerning the conduct of apprentices.

Ross Cuthbert's solutions to this situation, describes the lengths that civil authorities had gone in their attempts to control the apprentices' conduct. He stated that this situation should have never reached such proportions, because the law had provided masters with the means of correction. First, it had given them the power to correct their apprentices and to enforce certain rules and regulations concerning their work. Second,

The law has given to Magistrates, the power of punishing all apprentices for refractory conduct, idleness, absence without leave, gross negligence, dissipating the Master's property, disobedience of lawful and reasonable commands, and in fine for every act that may affect the Master's interest, or the peace and good order of his family. They according to circumstances, may condemn such offenders, to different durations of confinement to the House of Correction, there to be kept at hard labour and under very many painful privations. 67

65. Ibid. This edition gives the sentences brought against ten "common Prostitutes", for their disorderly behaviour.
66. An earlier charge of Cuthberts about disorder caused by drunkenness, did not mention the apprentice. Ibid., 17 May, 1810. His criticism of the apprentice may be a reflection of his desire to explain public disorder.
67. Ibid. Cuthbert's comments seem to illustrate that, in terms of apprentices, the Judges of the Peace interpreted the 1802 law, basically as a instrument to restrain and govern them.
If these two modes of correction did not achieve their purpose, then the law provided the master with a final recourse, the procuration of the indenture for cancellation. 68

What led the apprentice to situations in which his authorities felt compelled to use so many regulations to correct and guide his conduct? Earlier, we mentioned the fact that dissatisfaction on the part of both parties was probably one of the causes for apprenticeship cancellations. Although many of his actions probably came from natural adolescent tendencies, his dissatisfaction with his situation may also have contributed to misbehaviour. The few records of masters mistreatment of apprentices indicate that such practices existed 69 and probably affected some apprentices in adverse ways.

A more important reason for certain types of apprentice behaviour and the enforcement of rules and regulations by the courts, can probably be found in the deterioration of apprentice-master relations. In his discourse to the Grand Jury, Ross Cuthbert came to the conclusion, that masters were primarily responsible for their apprentices’ misconduct. He suggested that one on the reasons for apprentice disorder was that both the apprentice and the master were not honouring

68. We have already commented on cancellations recorded in the notaries archives. See pp. 25-31. Some cancellations were cancelled because of an apprentice’s continued misbehaviour, by the Judges of the Peace. For an example, see Ibid., 21 Feb., 1811.
69. See our discussion on p. 31 and The Quebec Gazette, 9 July, 1810.
the obligations imposed upon them "by the acts of indenture and by the law". He stated that many masters seemed to have forgotten, that they were made by law, "for every civil purpose", fathers to their apprentices. Further more, he stated that,

A master who supposes his duty to his apprentice is confined to instructing him in his trade or craft, is in a deep, and as it regards the apprentice, a fatal error. The master is bound, also, by all the means in his power, to make his apprentice a good citizen, a good subject, and a good christian. Correct moral habits, and sound principles, are not only necessary to enable an apprentice to turn to advantage the skill he may have acquired in his trade or craft; and in this respect, such habits and principles may be considered as an essential part of the instruction due to him; but from the dignity of his nature, and his elevated destiny, are at all times, and in all situations, of the first importance to him, and therefore call for the attention of the master, as his primary duty."

This description of the master's responsibilities, raises numerous questions. For example, why were some masters neglecting this aspect of the apprentice's training and what effect did this neglect have on the apprentice's total training?

As we previously mentioned, some masters had exchanged many of their responsibilities for monetary benefits. Although many masters continued, in theory, to be following the traditional practice of teaching the apprentice morals and craft techniques, their interest or responsibility for the moral condition of their apprentices, seemed to be declining. This disinterest probably resulted in a decrease in the family control that the master traditionally exercised.

70. The Quebec Gazette, 2 May, 1811.
over the apprentice and a greater dependence on institutions, such as the parliament and court, in governing the apprentices' public behaviour.

We have discussed what recourse the law provided for masters who were dissatisfied with their apprentices, but we have not discussed how the law protected apprentices. The 1802 law was passed, not only to regulate apprentices, but also to govern the conduct of masters toward their apprentices. We are not aware of how effective the law was in governing the master's conduct. The Quebec Gazette often mentioned fines and sentences which were given to servants, apprentices and journeymen, for misconduct, but only occasionally mentioned sentences given to masters. Does this mean that masters did not usually mistreat their apprentices, or that apprentices did not find the courts so accessible? Additional study is necessary before these questions can be discussed in a meaningful way. One can note, however, that apprentices did not appear to be well protected. Little effective protection was given to apprentices who had their indentures transferred or cancelled. Their approval was necessary, but their choice would seem to be dependent, to a large degree, on the master. Although provision was made, in some indentures, for the apprentice whose master died, or left the province, these provisions appeared limited and difficult to uphold. Some masters put their apprentices out of their homes and others, in leaving the city, left their apprentices, homeless.71

71. Cf. Appendix C.
In these cases, the apprentice was dependent on his master. No formal protection was given to apprentices who were maimed in their masters' employ and little provision was made for apprentices who became seriously ill. The fact that some were discharged indicates that the master felt that his responsibility did not go beyond the point of giving the apprentice his freedom. The justices of the peace appeared to take action against masters, primarily when it could be shown that they were neglecting to properly feed and clothe their apprentices. Because of the nature of employment at this time, the apprentice was more dependent on his master for protection than on any public institution.

One of the ways in which apprentices displayed their displeasure with their masters was by deserting his service. Thus, in some ways, the relationship between the master and the apprentice, can be evaluated by the number of times apprentices ran away, or absented themselves from their masters' services.

The exact number of apprentices who deserted their masters or absented themselves from his service, is not clear. From 1790 to 1812, we found references to the desertion of approximately thirty craft apprentices and about twenty apprentice sailors. All references, were to apprentices who had deserted English speaking masters. Twelve were apprentice shoemakers. It is obvious, however, that many more apprentices deserted or absented themselves from their masters' service. The Quebec Gazette's reports of the sessions of the
justices of the peace, reveal that many apprentices were put in the House of Correction, for running away or absenting themselves. For example, in one year, 1811, seven apprentices were sentenced to the House of Correction, for eight to ten days hard labour, for being absent from duty or for deserting. Although, they were deserting English speaking masters, five of the seven, were French Canadian apprentices.

The number of times apprentices absented themselves from work and deserted their masters, implies that the bond between masters and apprentices was often under considerable strain. This seems to have been particularly true in apprenticeships involving English speaking masters. Because English speaking masters often operated the largest shops and appeared to favour reductions in obligations, their relationships with their apprentices could easily have been the most tenuous.

The decrease in the parental functions and responsibilities of some masters was paralleled by a similar decrease in their supervision of the apprentice's training. As the master became occupied with the expansion of his business and other affairs outside his shop, he became less and less inclined to supervise his apprentice's training. Those who styled themselves as entrepreneurs, or merchants, often spent much of their time diversifying their businesses.

72. These were not included in the number of apprentices given above. A distinction seemed to have been made between apprentice's who deserted and those who absented themselves. Absenteeism seemed to occur more often and was not considered as serious as desertion.
travelling and investing in real estate\textsuperscript{73} and left the apprentice's training to foremen, head clerks, journeymen and elder apprentices.\textsuperscript{74} The notarial records provide numerous examples of contracts between masters and foremen and journeymen, in which the foremen and journeymen were required, as part of their work, to teach the apprentices.\textsuperscript{75} Frequently, a clause was added to the apprenticeship indenture, stating that the apprentice would be taught by the master or by a journeyman. Often, especially in the case of apprentice ship builders, apprentices were hired by a clerk or a foreman.\textsuperscript{76}

It was probably this system of training, that one father wanted to avoid, by demanding that his son be given eight days instruction a year by the master (shoemaker).\textsuperscript{77} The fact that the father had such a demand written in the indenture, indicates that the practice of regulating the apprentice's training to a foreman or journeyman, was becoming fairly widespread.\textsuperscript{78}

Social factors appeared to play an important role in determining the apprentice's choice of a craft and the

\textsuperscript{73} See our discussion and references on pages \textsuperscript{42}. A number of contracts were found involving artisans who appeared to be investing in different kinds of real estate.

\textsuperscript{74} \textit{The Quebec Gazette}, 2 May, 1811.

\textsuperscript{75} For examples see, the archives of Roger Lelièvre 2 avril, 1810 and 22 avril, 1815; Jacques Voyer, 12 juin, 1810 and Jean Belanger, 14 janvier, 1815.

\textsuperscript{76} Cf. Archives of J. Belanger, 4 and 16 janvier and 31 juillet, 1811. In many cases, because the master ship builder was often working for a company of merchants, the apprentice ship carpenter, probably rarely met his employer. Apprentice ship carpenters were frequently required to obey any master who was in their employer's service.
educational and religious provisions provided for him. Social customs, traditions and laws, effected and governed the type of order that apprentices followed in the homes of their masters and in public places. The relationship of the apprentice to his master, both in terms of apprentice's training in the home and the shop, was influenced by the practice of some masters, to reduce their responsibilities in these areas of apprenticeship.

77. Archives of François-Xavier Larue, 4 mai, 1812.
78. Quimby, maintains that this practice was fairly prevalent in Philadelphia in 1771-1773. Cf. op.cit., p. 69.
CONCLUSION

Characteristics of apprenticeship in the early nineteenth century were determined by social and economic traditions and influences. The different types of apprenticeship were a result of the particular nature of the various crafts and of economic and social factors which were changing the organization of crafts and apprenticeship. At this time, traditional apprenticeships and apprenticeships which were departing from previous traditions, can be seen existing side by side. Changing apprenticeships were evident, in different degrees, in most crafts and, were perhaps, the most clearly portrayed in the craft of the ship carpenters. In this craft, the whole structure of apprenticeship was effected by social and economic changes. The possession of capital in sufficient quantities gave master ship carpenters the opportunity to reduce and exchange responsibilities for monetary benefits. This was true both in terms of the apprentice's working world and social situation. In some instances, the lack of contact with master merchants and master ship builders and ship yard owners in his work and in

1. In this respect, apprenticeship in Lower Canada appears to have been following a similar path as apprenticeships in countries such as France, England and the United States which had already experienced these changes.
his social setting, rendered the identification of an apprentice with his master difficult and superficial. These practices, along with others that we have already mentioned, not only indicate a trend away from responsibility on the master's part, they also indicate that the concept of apprenticeship was slowly changing. Some masters appeared to see the apprentice, primarily as a producer, or shop worker. A close personal relationship with the apprentice, which involved an interest in his moral and technical training, seemed to be giving way to a more formal, distant relationship, involving little concern or responsibility for the apprentice's total training. Traditional responsibilities were increasingly being replaced by allowances and wages and obligations involving the apprentice's moral training, were being transferred to other secular and spiritual authorities.

One must add, however, that the traditional type of apprenticeship continued to exist and examples of it were evident, at least, as late as 1830. We have emphasized those aspects which appeared to be changing because they indicate some of the strains and adjustments that traditional apprenticeship was undergoing. In general, craft apprenticeship continued to be a system of training which took place in

2. One that we have not mentioned, was the practice of some masters who demanded that the father post a bond or security for the guarantee of his son's good conduct and faithful service.

3. Cf. Archives of Pierre Laforce, 17 mai, 1830. Our study of indentures from 1815 to 1830 revealed that the only noticeable difference in these apprenticeships was a greater occurrence of allowances.
relatively small shops where personal contacts between the apprentice and his master was high. The type of production which characterized this period limited the majority of crafts to small units of men finishing products by hand. Although younger apprentices were probably given many small jobs which were hardly related to their training, they probably received instruction in all aspects of production, when they were older and more experienced. Thus, although the familial relations and responsibilities of the apprentice and the master were changing, apprenticeship appeared to continue to fulfill one of its main functions—the training of young men as craftsmen.

The opinion of some authorities, that masters were failing to fulfill their moral duty of preparing their apprentices as good citizens, seems to indicate that many people, were not yet aware, or not prepared to consider the changes which had occurred in the organization of the craft system and in apprenticeship. Because many masters did not want to be held responsible for their apprentices, they were conducting their business, as if they were not responsible for their actions. If one can accept the description of the apprentice's social behaviour, by what the police chief, Ross Cuthbert, stated, it would appear that many apprentices were enjoying their freedom of movement. Cuthbert's criticism of their behaviour and of the masters lack of responsibility, implies that he thinks this situation is not in the best interest of the apprentice, the master and the public in
general. Although such a value judgement is difficult to evaluate, it raises some interesting questions about apprenticeship and social attitudes. Was this changing situation in the best interests of the apprentice and master? How did different organizations of capital and industry affect public attitudes and actions?

Although these questions cannot be explored in depth, a consideration of one or two aspects, can perhaps, clarify some of the implications involved in this study and illustrate some of the areas which need to be explored in greater detail.

In so far as masters and merchants were able to organize their labour and production in the most efficient manner possible, the changing situation, would appear to be in their interest. In the sense, that the freedom and responsibility given to apprentices, would allow them to conduct themselves according to their own choice of behavioural patterns, this situation, would also appear to favour them. This would also be true with parents, who were given the possibility of undertaking the responsibilities given up by masters. The difficulty with this evaluation is that we do not know how apprentices and parents responded to changing responsibilities. The fact that the initiative for many of the changes occurring in apprenticeship, came from the masters who determined the organization and formation of their labourers, implies, that apprentices and parents did not have much influence in the implementation of these changes. In certain respects, they
had a choice of what type of occupation they preferred and, could conceivably, object to certain types of apprenticeship training. The action open to apprentices and parents, appears, however, to be contradictory. If, for example, objection to certain types of training meant that a craft such as the ship carpenters, would have to be avoided, then objection would lead to a reduction in choice. Because an apprentice's choice seemed to have been dependent and limited, to a certain degree, on his social and economic relations and position in society, additional reductions in choice, would appear to have been undesirable. The fact that a few parents objected to some aspects of apprenticeship, was evident in their stipulations involving certain conditions and practices. Such objections, however, were raised only in individual indentures and, consequently, the influence they had on conditions, which might have been considered undesirable, would seemed to have been minimal.

Because the question of whether the changes in apprenticeship benefited the apprentice, involves an understanding of how apprenticeship evolved after 1815, it cannot be discussed in any depth at this point. Although we are aware that the organization of labour after 1850, tended to place many young people in situations where they were exploited, we are not aware of how this situation relates to the situation

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4. For examples of the conditions of some young labourers after 1850, see the Report Of The Royal Commission On The Relations Of Capital And Labour In Canada. (Ottawa, 1889), pp. 150-163.
before 1815. If it was possible to show that the organization of labour after 1850 was a continuation of trends evident from 1790 to 1815, then, one could say that to the degree that they led to a reduction in the care with which labour was formed and, consequently to a reduction of apprentices' privileges, these trends were not in the interest of apprentices and their parents. The lack of information, however, on how the formation and organization of labour and production evolved from the early nineteenth century, to the late nineteenth century, does not allow us to relate these trends, with any degree of certainty. 5

A much more detailed study of the relation of the formation and organization of labour to the means of production is essential for an understanding of these questions in the nineteenth century. Such a study would need to consider how changes occurred, and how the initiators and the recipients, viewed and responded to them. It would need to include an examination of the various attitudes and mentalities involved in the face of increasing demands for speed and efficiency in the formation of labour and in the production of finished products. In order to understand how many people considered their social and economic conditions, we need to know what

5. It is possible that these early trends can be seen in the efforts of employers after 1840 to free themselves of “labour's overhead costs”, by freeing themselves of any responsibilities to their labourers. The transition from a constant relationship of master and journeyman to a loose, transitory and impersonal relationship of employer and employee, is discussed at some length in Pentland, op.cit., pp. 400-406.
kinds of attitudes existed and the ways in which such attitudes changed and reflected prevailing conditions.

Different approaches to the studies of mentalities and values are necessary for a better understanding of the significance of these aspects for social and economic studies. For example, although the question of the economic mentality of different ethnic groups has often been discussed, it has almost always been discussed in terms of economic achievements.

In many cases, this seems to have been one of the criterions for evaluating a group's contribution to its past and its present situation. These evaluations need to be examined, not only because they are often based on quantitative, economic studies and not on studies of collective psychologies and ideas, but also, because they seem to imply certain value judgements which are questionable. They appear to imply that economic achievement is a very worthy object and one to which people must aspire if they are to develop their nation. This may be so, but what this conclusion does not seem to consider, is that economic achievement can lead to the sacrifice of certain values which have considerable importance for many people. An example of this can be seen in the case of those masters who reduced their responsibilities towards their apprentices. On the one hand, the reduction,

6. Professor Ouellet's discussion, for example, of French Canadian mentality, appears to be primarily based on his quantitative study of Quebec's economy. Thus, one wonders, where his ideas about "la mentalité héritée de la société paysanne", came from. Cf. Histoire économique et sociale du Québec, p. 202. Ouellet acknowledges his insufficiency in this area in his avant-propos, p. XIII.
in some ways, could be seen as an improvement in craft organization in terms of greater financial returns and, perhaps, increased production. On the other hand, these reductions could be seen in terms of a reduction in the usually close and sympathetic relations which existed between apprentices and masters. This in turn, could be seen as a beginning of distant and superficial relations between employees and employers and, to a certain degree, the ascendency of capital gains over personal relationships. Although these changes are difficult to evaluate, the possibility that they led to negative, rather than positive situations, calls into question the assumption that economic achievement is a positive force.

Studies which reveal the significance of social and economic status, for employer-employee relations are also essential to a greater understanding of this period. Genealogical works and studies which examine marriage patterns could help to clarify how different groups related to each other and the importance of these relations and contacts for occupational choices. Although we were constantly aware of the existence of familial ties between some apprentices and their masters and between different masters, the inconclusive nature of our evidence, did not allow us to give it the consideration it appears to have merited. This was also true, in the case of soldiers. The presence of their sons in most crafts, implies that they played some kind of a role in the social setting, but we are unaware of the
significance of their role. Although we discovered relations between merchants and professionals and between different ethnic groups, the lack of information in these areas, seriously limited out evaluation of these relations. Studies which could clarify many of these information gaps, could be undertaken on the numerous contracts and marriages between different groups, existing in the notarial records.

Other aspects which need investigation are the organisations of crafts in other cities and in rural areas. Such studies could help to clarify craft characteristics which might have been unique to different cities and rural areas and they could perhaps help to explain some elements of the behaviour of apprentices coming from different areas. Although source material for rural studies do not appear to be as accessible, or as abundant as the sources for urban studies, rural studies could probably begin with the urban sources and complement them with the existing archives for rural areas. Because studies on the social and economic conditions in the different periods of a nation’s evolution, can contribute substantially to our knowledge of these periods, it is hoped that more interested laymen and students of history, will begin to consider and evaluate the vast amounts of original sources waiting to be examined.

7. Existing information was not considered conclusive enough to be of any significant help. References to relations between French-speaking and English speaking bourgeois, can be found in D. Creighton’s The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence 1760-1850 (Toronto, 1937), pp. 32-3.

8. In discussions with professors Yves Roby, and Jean-Claude Dupont, they suggested that some of the characteristics of French speaking apprentices may have been a result of certain geographical factors. Thus, rural apprentices' choice of certain crafts may be attributed to the existence of these
APPENDIX A

Brevet d'apprentissage. (Taken from the archives of T. Lee, 4 avril, 1815).

4me Avril 1815

Fut présent Hyacinthe Lacombe garçon âgé de dix huit ans et Louis Clement Lacombe, Journalier demurant à 1'Isle d'Orléans son père d'une part et Dominique Mirant M. Cordonnier demurant à Québec d'autre part les quelles parties sont convenus de ce qui suit savoir, Que le dit Hyacinthe Lacombe assisté du dit Louis Clement Lacombe son père s'engage volontairement au dit Dominique Mirant en qualité d'apprentif Cordonnier pour le temps espace de quatre années entières et revolus et qui ont commencé a courir des le septième Novembre dernier le dit Dominique Mirant acceptant le dit Hyacinthe Lacombe pour son apprentif, auquel pendant le dit temps il promet enseigner son dit métier de Cordonner et tout ce dont il se mêle en icelui, et le loger, nourrir, coucher, et entretenir de chaussures, pendant le dit temps et de le traiter honnêtement.

De sa part le dit apprentif promet apprendre de son mieux tout ce qui lui sera montré par son dit Maitre obéir en tout ce qu'il lui commendera de licite & d'honnête faire son profit, éviter son dommage et l'en avertir s'il vient a sa connaissance sans pouvoir s'absenter, ni pouvoir aller servir ni demeurer ailleur pendant le dit temps auquel cas d'absence le dit Louis Clement Lacombe son père promet de le chercher et le faire chercher pour après l'avoir trouvé et faire se peut, le renvoyer a son dit Maitre pour parachever le temps qui pourroit lui rester a faire—Et pour être le présent Engagement executé a peins de tous dépens Car ainsi et—Fait et passé a Québec Etude de M. Thomas Lee le quatrième Avril, mil huit cent quinze, Et a le dit Dominique Mirant signé avec nous Notaires les dit Engagé ainsi que son père ont déclaré ne le savoir de ce requis lecture faite.

Dominique Mirant

T. Lee

APPENDIX B (page 184)

Photocopy of an apprenticeship indenture. (Taken from the archives of Charles Voyer, 5 octobre, 1793).
THIS INDENTURE

Witnesseth, That Joseph Lyburne, of the City of London,

hath put himself, and by these Presents,
done voluntarily, and of his own
free Will and Accord, put himself Apprentice to Mr. Obedia Sylvin
in the said City to learn the Art, Trade and Mystery, and after the
Manner of an Apprentice to serve during three Years commencing from the Day of the Date hereof, for and during, and to the full end and
Term of three Years — next ensuing. During all which Term
the said Apprentice his said Master faithfully shall serve, his Secrets keep, his lawful Commands every where readily obey. Shall do no Damage to his said Master nor see it to be done by others, without letting or giving notice thereof to his said Master shall not waste his said Master's Goods, nor lend them unlawfully to any. He shall not commit Fornication, nor contract Matrimony within the said Term.

At Cards, Dice, or any other unlawful Game, he shall not play, whereby his said Master may have Damage. With his own Goods, nor the Goods of others, without Licence from his said Master shall neither buy nor sell. He shall not absent himself Day nor Night from his said Master's Service without his leave: Nor haunt Ale-houses, Taverns, or Play-houses; but in all things behave himself as a faithful Apprentice ought to do, during the said Term. And the said Master shall use the utmost of his endeavours to teach or cause to be taught or instructed the said Apprentice in the Trade or Mystery of a Baker

and procure and provide for — sufficient Meat, Drink,

Lodging and Washing, fitting for an Apprentice,
during the said Term of 

And his said Master promises to pay the said Apprentice one Dollar per Month for the first and during the three Years.

AND for the true Performance of all and singular the Covenants and
Agreements aforesaid, the said Parties bind themselves each unto the other
firmly by these Presents. IN WITNESS whereof the said Parties have
 interchangeably set their Hands and Seals hereunto. Dated the thirty-

Day of October, — in the thirty-third Year of the
Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third King of
Great-Britain, &c. Amenoge Domin, One Thousand Seven Hundred and

ninety Three.

Sealed and Delivered in the Presence of

O. Sylvin

C. Peverell

Marque whose
Seal was hereunto
APPENDIX C*
Letter requesting assistance and giving parental consent.
(Taken from the archives of Felix Têtu, 17 janvier, 1805).

Fredricton 1st December 1804

Dear Sir

I take liberty to address you with the few line hoping
The will find you & family in good health as the leave one
Enjoying that Blessing—
I understand by a letter from William that my poor Son Thomas
Who was bound prentice to W. Reed, is left entirely desolate
And without any means of helping himself,—

I shall until my last moments remember the kindness and
Humanity of M. Heck for taking the boy when I say in the
Open Streets, and did know where to let his head — all
that gives me uneasiness is, that your Business is not so
As to still Continue the boy with yourself, Which if that
Was the Case I would Rest Contented, as I have that favourable
Opinion of you that you would be both a Master & a father
To So helpless a Mortal as he must be without Either
father or mother look after him, all the blessings that I
Could crave would seem to be Satisfied, if you could make
it convenient to take the boy to yourself, as he is a
Prosperous promising boy, and might Clear his way with
Credit to himself, and Satisfaction to his master,
If you can take him I will deliver the boy to you for six
Years from the date of this letter—and If you Cannot
Make it Convenient to take the boy to yourself—

As I have neither friends nor relations in that place
You will please to favour me out of humanity and for the
Sake of God to take the trouble of Procuring a proper
Master of the Same branch. I shall Mention Mr. Sutherland
Mr. Standly or Mr. Norris and if none of them wants him
I shall leave it altogether with yourself in hopes that you
wont See poor orphan Child Suffer, What ever terms you may
Agree uppon, I will consent to, as I am Shure you will
Do for the best, and the same as I Could do myself if I
Was Personally Present—.

I hope that you will pardon me for making so bold as to think
Of putting you to all this trouble as I am Sensible it will be
Considerable, to Settle the boy properly.—
But my Effectons and feelings is so much moved to hear
that the boy is left in Such a Desolate way that I hardly
Know how to Utter myself on Such bussiness of Importance
And the Good opinion which I myself, and all that is
Acquainted with you, Makes me apply to you on this
piece of Importance hoping that for pity sake you will
take into Consideration the distress of Children when the
have no one take notice of them.—
I have Inclosed a Guinea in this letter and beg you Will
Lay it out, or see that it is laid out for what ever the boy
Stands most in need of as his master left him naked
And even barefooted—
William Writes, that the man the boy is now with, is going away
In the Spring, but I dont want to let the boy leave Qué
This Regt. will assuredly go there next Summer—
It is needless to say any more on the affair, I shall (altho
I may say nearly a stranger to you) Content myself as well as
I can till Such times as I hear from you Which I beg
You will Write to me as soon as the boy is settled—
Please to remember me to Both the boys—

I am Sir
with respect
Your Sincere Wellwisher

Tho$ Evans
Segt. N.B. Regt.

N.B. If this arives
safe I will send one Guinea
More by the next post on as
Soon as I have an answer to this—
I Would have sent Clothes but I could not
on accont the post Could not Carry them.

* Like all citations, the apprentices are presented in
their original form.
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* Unless they were mentioned in the text, names of parishes
and villages given in the tables on pages 127 to 135 and
on the map on page 138, are not included in the index.
This is also the case, for most terms appearing in tables
and graphs.