

EATING IN THE CITY:
DIET AND PROVISIONING
IN EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY MONTREAL

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ABSTRACT

Food history is a key element in the reconstruction of everyday life in the past. As one of the most pervasive characteristics of human existence, food is important in and of itself; but it also illuminates other facets of a historical society. This study surveys two aspects of food in early nineteenth-century Montreal, diet and provisioning.

Montreal was well supplied with a variety of foods, but this had little connection with actual diets. Using business records and other sources, this study reconstructs diets for two groups at opposite ends of the city's social structure, canal workers and wealthy elites. As in other societies, class was the most important determinant of diet, with the vast differences in the type and quality of foods eaten by these two groups outweighing the influences of ethnicity and personal preference. The diets of the canal workers also showed similarities to industrial diets, although they had some pre-industrial characteristics.

Montreal was equally well endowed with food provisioning options. Retail outlets provided most of the city's provisioning needs, supplemented by bulk purchases and home production. The nature of retail provisioning did not change dramatically in the city during this period of urbanization and economic transformation, with markets and other food retailers keeping pace with demographic expansion. Once again, class differences expressed themselves: how and where people got their food, as well as the economic aspects of food-getting, prices and food budgets, showed evidence of social stratification.

RESUME

L'alimentation est un élément clé dans la vie quotidienne, au passé comme aujourd'hui. Pour l'historien, elle peut en plus éclaircir une foule d'autres aspects d'une société antérieure. Cette recherche se porte sur deux aspects de la nourriture de Montréal au début du XIXe siècle, les régimes alimentaires et l'approvisionnement.

A Montréal, le menu possible fut vaste et varié, mais la nourriture quotidienne ne l'était pas nécessairement. Avec les livres de compte et d'autres sources, cette étude reconstruit les régimes alimentaires de deux groupes sociaux contrastantes, constructeurs de canaux et grands bourgeois. Comme ailleurs, la classe sociale déterminait le type et la qualité de ce qu'on mangeait, encore plus que l'ethnicité ou la préférence individuelle. Les régimes alimentaires des constructeurs de canaux partageaient quelques caractéristiques avec celles de travailleurs industriels, tout en conservant des éléments pré-industriels.

Montréal avait aussi de bonnes sources de ravitaillement. Détaillants fournirent la plupart de la nourriture, en concours avec achats en gros et auto-production. La structure fondamentale du réseau d'approvisionnement ne changea guère pendant cette époque d'urbanisation et de transformation économique, comme les marchés et boutiques d'alimentation s'étendirent en fonction de la croissance démographique. La classe sociale s'exprima ici aussi, dans le où et le comment de l'approvisionnement, ainsi que dans son côté économique, c'est à dire les prix et les budgets alimentaires.

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CURRENCY, UNITS OF MEASURE, AND ABBREVIATIONS

My use of currency and units of measure respects that of my sources. All monetary values are expressed in Halifax currency, the standard unit of account at the time, where:

£1 (one pound)
 = 20s (twenty shillings, also expressed as sh)
 = 240d (two hundred and forty pence)

Where the sources expressed amounts in the pre-Conquest French currency, these were converted to Halifax currency at a rate of 5 shillings = 6 livres.

Likewise, all measures are expressed in the contemporary English units, essentially those still used in Canada under the Imperial system.

Abbreviations

ANQM: Archives Nationales du Québec à Montréal
 IAD: Inventaire après décès
 OOA: National Archives, Ottawa
 QS: Registers of the Quarter Sessions of the Peace
 RHAF: Revue d'histoire de l'amérique française
 RR: Rules and Regulations of Police for Montreal
 SH/HS: Social History/Histoire Sociale
 SS: Registers of the Special Sessions of the Peace

INTRODUCTION

ARTICLE 9

No horses, hogs or goats, shall be suffered to stray in the streets, under the penalty of five shillings; and it shall be lawful for any person to seize, or, if that cannot be done, to kill any hog straying in the streets, and cause the Bell-Man to publish in the principal streets, and in particular in that street where the said hog was seized or killed, that he is ready to deliver it to the owner, on paying the above fine of five shillings, and charges; but if no person claims the said hog within two days after such publication, or, if claimed, shall refuse to pay the five shillings and charges, the person seizing or killing the hog, may then retain it for his own use.

ARTICLE 10

No person shall keep any hogs so near any street, as to be offensive to the neighbours or passagers' under the penalty of ten shillings, and the expence of removing the same.

ARTICLE 11

No person shall singe any hog within the distance of one hundred feet of any building within the Town or Suburbs, under the penalty of ten shillings.

- Rules and Regulations of Police for Montreal, 1800.

No more than a minor nuisance to the Justices of the Peace who framed these regulations, the errant pig nonetheless embodies and illustrates many aspects of Montreal in the early nineteenth century. Although the pig itself was not class-conscious, it might belong to a carpenter, a labourer, an export merchant, or a government official. It might have been raised in the city, or in the local rural hinterland, or even further afield, the Eastern Townships, Upper Canada, or the United States. It might be part of Montreal's international economy, destined for salting and export, or the focus of a

more traditional exchange on the local market, or completely isolated from the market economy, consumed entirely by its owner/producers. And wandering or not, the pig might encounter one or many levels of the legislative/judicial framework: local regulations concerning butchers, hygiene, and markets, provincial ordinances governing meat packing, duties, and trading restrictions, prosecutions in the criminal courts, suits in the civil.

Above all, whether legal or in contravention, purchased or raised, imported or exported, the pig's destination was, in all cases, a human stomach. The pig reflects many of the social, geographical, economic, and judicial elements of Montreal in the early nineteenth century; but always in the context of its acquisition and eventual ingestion, either by Montreal's people, or their customers outside the city. Hence, to know Montreal through its pigs, we must first know the pig's position in the city's food; and to do that, we need to know more about food consumption in Montreal in general.

Food history: theoretical and historiographical orientations

The notion of food history as "valid" history is no longer new,(1) and the copious literature suggests many possible approaches. Food can be conceptualized in several different ways: from the mouth to the stomach, as an organic necessity; from the field to the mouth, as an economic commodity; and throughout the entire process, from production to ingestion, as

the nexus of a whole set of social values and constructs. As a survival item, food lies in the realm of both the historical demographer and the nutritionist: effects of diet on demographic variables on the one hand; chemical composition and nutritional value of various diets on the other.(2) As a commodity, food interests the economic and agricultural historian: price fluctuations, production techniques, distribution systems, expenditure patterns.(3) And as a social phenomenon, food excites the historical anthropologist and the student of "mentalités", as well as the social historian: for the first two, food preferences and taboos, cooking techniques and gastronomy; for the third, social stratification by diet, social tensions caused by food shortages, and other general social phenomena.(4)

Diversity of approach, of method and of goals thus seems the rule in food history,(5) and hence the focus and scope of any examination of food in history is largely defined by the particular optique that the examiner brings to bear on the past. My interest centers around the basic features of everyday life in early nineteenth-century Montreal: the daily experiences shared by all of the city's people, refracted through the prism of their personal situations. Food is one of these repeated, universal experiences; but only because everyone eats. This leads me to concentrate on the perspective of the individual buyer / eater of food rather than the producer / wholesaler / distributor: a consumer's history of food, rather than a farmer's, merchant's, or

shopkeeper's. As a corollary, I find the food history of larger institutions less compelling than that of households or individuals: though interesting for its own sake, institutional food is often different in the way it is acquired, prepared, and consumed.(6) My interest in the day-to-day also draws me away from the demographic and nutritional approaches, which tend to emphasize overall averages, and from some of the more strictly economic perspectives, which often seem more concerned with processes than with people. In sum, my approach to food in early nineteenth-century Montreal is that of the social historian, with frequent borrowings from economic history, and only a few gleanings from demography, nutrition, anthropology, and mentalités.

Food and the urban consumer

What was food for the urban consumer? The term "consumer" is itself heavily loaded, often associated with industrial societies and a cash economy. But for my purposes, "consumers" were simply those who "consumed" "consumables;" or in terms of food, people who ate, whether they bought, grew, stole, or were given what they put in their mouths. For the urban consumer in this broad sense, food had three interlocking faces, corresponding to the three daily decisions it involved: ingestion ("what" to eat), acquisition ("how" to get it), and preparation ("how" to eat it). The first two elements in particular were interdependent and inseparable. What people ate obviously had a great effect on where they acquired it: a

high meat diet meant many more trips to the butcher (or the backyard feeding trough) than a high bread diet. But at the same time, the means available to get this food impinged back again upon diet: no butchers and no backyards meant no meat. An understanding of urban food consumption comes only through exploring both these elements of the consumption process; and even then, a complete picture of food history comes only with an awareness not only of what was eaten, but also how it was eaten.

The constraints of space lead me to concentrate on the first two faces of food, ingestion and acquisition, at the expense of the third, preparation. My study thus has two complementary sections. The first deals with the question of diet in early nineteenth-century Montreal: what food was available, and what people actually ate. And the second looks at how people got their food: the city's retail distribution network; less commercially integrated forms of procurement; and the concatenation of provisioning and diet through prices and budgets.

The food of Montreal: themes, approaches, and sources

What people ate, and where they got it from, independent of any wider theoretical context: this is the major theme of my examination of Montreal's food. Given the prominent place of eating in the human experience, food history is self-justifying. As Louis Stouff puts it, "l'histoire de l'alimentation (est) un chapitre de la résurrection intégrale

du passé, chapitre indispensable sans lequel la compréhension des hommes, de leur comportement, de leur mentalité, ne serait réellement possible."(7) But like the wandering pig, food can also illuminate many other aspects of a historical society, from collective mindsets, to social stratification, to urbanization and economic activity, to agricultural change and development. To place food within this wider context, I focus on two issues at the centre of historiographical debate on early nineteenth century Montreal: the question of social groupings, and the impact of urbanization and economic transformation.(8) Thus, two further sub-themes run through my study. The first explores the relationship between food and an individual's social circumstances, such as class and ethnicity. And the second compares diet and provisioning in Montreal to that of other societies, both pre-industrial and industrial.

My approach to these sub-themes, and to the entire problem of food in Montreal, is largely dictated by my sources. Food was a part of everyday life in the city, and yet so fundamentally transient that only scattered traces of it remain: a few account books and business records, none extensive; legislative, judicial, and administrative documents dealing with the limited aspects of food that came under official scrutiny; lists of food-oriented professions in censuses and quasi-censuses; scattered references in notarial records, especially inventaires après décès; and occasional mentions in a wide variety of other sources, from newspapers,

to travellers' accounts, to artwork.(9) The disjunctures of chronology and content inherent in such a fragmented collection of sources define my structure and methodology. My time-frame is deliberately vague, with sources ranging from the beginning of the century up until the early 1830s, although concentrating on the period from 1815 to 1825. Except for a brief discussion in the section on provisioning, my treatment of Montreal's food is also largely static, focussing again on the late 1810s and early 1820s. Finally, especially with regards to diet, I use specific examples backed up by complementary evidence, rather than overall averages illustrated by specific examples: I analyze in detail what was eaten by a few individuals, situate them roughly within the social context, and then suggest their representativity through less detailed evidence. Along with a few other stratagems, discussed as they are brought up, these broad orientations help form my fractured sources into a cohesive survey of food in early nineteenth century Montreal.

PART I: DIET

ARTICLE 4

Fruits, greens, roots, or other garden stuff, brought to the market shall be sold or exposed to sale, upon the benches under cover on the South West sides of the Old and New Market places; and the said benches, or such part thereof as shall not be occupied by persons selling the above mentioned things, as well as the benches under cover on the North East side of the Old Market place, may be occupied by persons selling or exposing to sale, butter, eggs, or poultry. And also everything contained in this article, and small meat brought by farmers and other persons not butchers, and not being in carts, trains, or sleighs, may be sold on the open space of the South West side of the Old and New market places, but placed in ranges, so as not in any case to incumber any part of a foot path; and on the North East side of the Old Market place there may be one range of fruit, garden stuffs, and such articles of provisions, exclusive of that for salted provisions, provided the footpath be not incumbered.

- Rules and Regulations of Police for Montreal, 1817.

Despite the growth of diet history in Europe since the 1960s, historians of New France and Lower Canada have until recently largely ignored the field. Apart from a brief overview of pre-Conquest diet by Robert-Lionel Séguin, and occasional references in other works, the day-to-day diet of the area's European inhabitants was still the purview of the antiquarian and the popularizer.(1) The gap in knowledge was such that two different historians, needing dietary estimates for Montreal in the early nineteenth century, had to stretch, respectively, back to the early 18th century, and forwards to the late 19th.(2)

In the last decade, a few more works have treated pre-industrial diets in Quebec. Most notable of these is François Rousseau's study of the diet of patients at the Hôtel-Dieu in

Quebec during the French régime, applying all of the techniques of the European historians of diet to analyzing consumption levels, dietary preferences, and nutritional standards, as seen through the hospital's account books.(3) As well, there are a few archaeological studies,(4) and a number of works concentrating on other subjects have touched on diet as part of their analysis of French-Canadian society.(5) But Rousseau's work remains the only exhaustive historical study of diet in the period up until 1850, and relates only indirectly to nineteenth-century Montreal.(6)

The sources I exploited present two aspects of Montreal's diet, the first qualitative, and the second quantitative. The first is the potential diet, in other words the sorts of foods generally available in the city. And the second is the actual diet of various individuals, drawn from various social groups in the city.

A. A CITY WELL-PROVISIONED: THE POTENTIAL DIET

Despite arguments about its relative commercial importance vis-à-vis Québec, most historians accept the hypothesis that Montreal in the early nineteenth century was at the nexus of an important commercial network: a crucial point of exchange for goods from inland regions, especially the local hinterland, Upper Canada, the North West, and some sections of the United States; and from overseas, mainly Great Britain and the West

Indies.(7) As the official returns of imports and exports show, at least part of this trade revolved around food: grain, butter, cheese, salt beef and salt pork from the inland areas; sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, alcohol, salt, and other similar foods from overseas.(8)

However, the wholesale flow of these goods in and out of Montreal gives a distorted view of the foods available to the urban consumer. On the one hand, the wholesale trade dealt only with items transportable over long distances: fresh produce lay outside the import/export merchant's domain, except if it could be processed for shipment abroad. And on the other, import/export figures are unreliable sources for trade at the retail level, even in imported goods: detailed import figures from overseas areas were tabulated only at the main initial point of entry, Quebec City, several stages removed from the Montreal retail environment.(9)

According to most contemporary observers, early nineteenth-century Montreal had a plentiful and varied supply of food, with the city's fresh-food markets coming in for particular praise from travellers. "The markets of Montreal are extremely well supplied with all the necessaries and most of the luxuries of the table," noted Hugh Gray in 1809;(10) and according to another observer at the end of the 1820s, they were "said to excel any in North America," although since this same claim was also made for many other North American urban markets, it should be treated with caution.(11) Beef, lamb, veal, sheep, various types of poultry, salt and fresh water

fish, maple sugar, milk, butter, and a wide selection of fruits and vegetables: travellers extolled local supplies of all these fresh foods.(12)

Although many travellers' accounts were written as tracts to encourage immigration,(13) their accuracy is confirmed by another, likely less biased source. The "Market Expenses Book" of Frederick William Ermatinger, businessman and then Sheriff of Montreal, in which he scrupulously recorded his purchases on the market between 1805 and 1814, records the same wide variety of fresh agricultural produce, especially the various forms of animal protein (Table 1).(14) Unsurprisingly, domestic animals dominate: beef, veal, lamb, and pork; chickens, ducks, geese, and turkeys. But plover and sturgeon, snowbirds and eels, woodcocks and haddock, all are reminders of Montreal's natural surroundings, still a source of food despite heavy settlement. Along with the standard dairy products, and a healthy component of fruits and vegetables, the list certainly suggests a well-stocked market, even during what some historians consider a crisis period.(15)

The variety of fresh agricultural products on the markets is unsurprising, given Montreal's geographical situation. In the first place, Montreal was a typical pre-railroad city, surrounded by a ring of orchards and market gardens, "producing vegetables of every description, and excellent in quality, affording a profuse supply for the consumption of the city."(16) Beyond the immediate hinterland, Montreal was also the nearest fresh food market for producers in other parts of

TABLE 1

Foods Bought by Frederick William Ermatinger on the Montreal Market,
1805 to 1814

Butchers' Meat:

beef
 calf's feet
 calf's heads
 calf's pluck [offal]
 cow's feet
 fresh pork
 heart
 hog's heads
 hog's lard
 lamb
 mutton
 pig's heads
 pigs
 pork chine [ribs]
 pork leg
 pork loin
 pork shoulder
 pork sparerib
 salt pork
 sausages
 sheep
 sweetbreads
 tongues
 tripe
 veal

Poultry:

chickens
 ducks
 fowl
 geese
 turkies

Game:

black ducks
 hares
 partridges
 pigeons
 plover
 snipes
 snowbirds
 teal
 venison
 wild ducks
 wild geese
 woodcocks

Fish:

bar
 cod
 doré
 eels
 haddock
 misquinonge
 oysters
 salmon
 salt fish
 shad
 smoked eel
 sturgeon
 tommycods
 whitefish

Dairy Products:

butter
 cheese
 eggs
 milk

Fruits, Vegetables
and Grains:

apples
 asparagus
 buckwheat
 cabbages
 cauliflowers
 cucumbers
 green peas
 greens
 hickory nuts
 indian corn
 melons
 nuts
 onions
 pears
 peas
 potatoes
 radishes
 turnips

Lower Canada, including some of the Eastern Townships, and except during and just after the War of 1812, for upstate New York and Vermont. Winter was especially kind in this regard, with frozen waterways providing excellent transportation arteries for more distant producers to bring large quantities of fresh-frozen pork, cod, and other meats to the city.(17) And as well as goods brought specifically for sale fresh on its markets, Montreal benefitted from its position as a slaughtering, packing, and exporting centre for salt meat, some of which also ended up on the market.(18)

The retail availability of imported products is simpler to sketch through the inventories and purchases of members of the Montreal elite. The inventories of the stores of two prominent Montreal retail grocers, James Birss and Malcolm Alexander, show a wide variety of imported goods. Carraway, cinnamon, and cloves; anchovies, olives, and India soy; raisins, currants, and prunes; brandy, noyeau, and teneriffe wine; coffee, limejuice, and tea; candy, loaf, and muscovado sugar: from spices, to condiments, to dried fruit, to alcohol, to beverages, to sweeteners, the retail customer could buy them all, for a price (Tables 2 and 3).(19) The record of foods bought by Thomas McCord, a Justice of the Peace, between 1810 and 1825,(20) is also suggestively lyrical: French brandy, Cheshire cheese, Jamaica spirits, Liverpool mustard, English tea, Madeira wine, London vinegar, Lochfine herrings, Spanish nuts, Florence oil, speak strongly of Montreal's insertion into the international commercial circuit (Table 4). As well, some

TABLE 2Foods in James Birss' Store, February 1821

allspice	ginger	rum
anchovies	herrings	Leeward rum
cognac brandy	mushroom ketchup	cherry rum
brandy	limejuice	salmon
capers	liquorice	salt
carraway	mustard	fine salt
Gloucester cheese	nutmeg	saltpetre
Cheshire cheese	oatmeal	sauce
chocolate	Luca oil	India soy
cinnamon	olives	Jamaica spirits
cloves	split peas	muscovado sugar
large codfish	cayenne pepper	loaf sugar
small codfish	pepper	souchong tea
coffee	peppermint	hyson tea
currants	pickles	green tea
anchovy essence	common raisins	vermicelli
peppermint essence	muscatel raisins	vinegar
figs	ground rice	Teneriffe wine
flour	rice	Spanish wine
gin		

From a copy of an inventaire après décès, in the possession of Jean-Pierre Wallot et.al. at the Université de Montréal. See Appendix II.

TABLE 3Foods in Malcolm Alexander's Store, January 1823

allspice	root ginger	salt
barley	molasses	shrub
bitters	mustard	Jamaica spirits
Spanish brandy	noyau [brandy]	shop spirits
cognac brandy	nutmeg	muscovado sugar
butter	oatmeal	loaf sugar
cheese	Florence oil	candy sugar
cider	black pepper	twank tea
old cider	cayenne pepper	hyson tea
cinnamon	peppermint	green tea
cloves	prunes	black tea
coffee	common raisins	vinegar
colouring	rice	madeira wine
crackers	rum	white wine
currants	Leeward rum	Teneriffe wine
flour	Jamaica rum	Spanish wine
gin	cherry rum	port wine

From a copy of an inventaire après décès, in the possession of Jean-Pierre Wallot et.al. at the Université de Montréal. See Appendix II.

TABLE 4

Foods Bought by Thomas McCord, 1810 to 1824

Burton ale	*figs	live pork
mild ale	*cod fish	pork loin
*allspice	*dried fish	*mess pork
*almonds	*green fish	*prime pork
*bitter almonds	haddock	potatoes
*Jordan almonds	fine flour	*prunes
*alum	shurtbread flour	*muscatel raisins
*anchovies	pastry flour	*sultana raisins
fameuse apples	superfine flour	*Carolina rice
*arrowroot	*gin	*pickled salmon
pearl barley	*ground ginger	*Liverpool salt
pot barley	*race ginger	*table salt
fresh beef	*root ginger	*saltpetre
dried beef	hams	*sardines
hung beef	*lochfine herrings	*cayenne sauce
*mess beef	*red herrings	*cherokee sauce
round beef	*smoked herrings	*Harvey's sauce
mild table beer	*hollands [spirits]	*ketchup sauce
spruce beer	honey	*mushroom ketchup
table beer	*isinglass	sausages
bran	lamb	*shrub
*brandy	hogs' lard	*Jamaica spirits
*cognac brandy	*lemonpeel	*bright sugar
*French brandy	*lemons	*brown sugar
brown bread	*preserved lemons	*double refined sugar
white bread	*limejuice	*East India sugar
*American butter	*liquor	*lump sugar
fresh butter	*liquorice	*muscovado sugar
roll butter	*mace	*patent refined sugar
*salt butter	melons	*raw sugar
cabbages	milk	*refined sugar
*carrawayseed	*molasses	*single refined sugar
carrots	*mustard	*yellow mus. sugar
smoked cheek	*Liverpool mustard	*yellow sugar
*American cheese	*mustardseed	*tamarinds
*Cheshire cheese	*noyau [brandy]	*English tea
*Gloucester cheese	*nutmegs	*green tea
*king's arms cheese	*nuts	*gunpowder tea
*pine apple cheese	*Spanish nuts	*hyson tea
chestnuts	oatmeal	*hyson skin tea
*chocolate	*Florence oil	*singlo tea
cider	*olive oil	*souchong tea
*cinnamon	*salad oil	*twankay tea
*cloves	*olives	*young hyson tea
*green coffee	onions	fresh tongues
*Jamaica coffee	*oranges	salt tongues
crackers	*oysters	smoked tongues
*cream of tartar	pears	veal
criblings	peas	*London vinegar
*currants	*pepper	*walnuts
black currants	*peppermint	wheat
*dates	*rich perry	*madeira wine
ducks	pigs' heads	*port wine
		*Teneriffe wine

* denotes foods that were likely imported

Source: McCord Museum, McCord Papers, bills and receipts

of McCord's purchases suggest the other side of the import/export trade: certainly the American butter and cheese, likely the mess and prime (salt) beef and pork, possibly the salt tongues and live pork. And McCord also supplements Ermatinger on the range of local products: fameuse apples, black currants, carrots, and chestnuts; sprucebeer, cider, table beer, and Burton ale.(21)

Judging only from foods that entered the commercial arena of market or shop, Montreal's consumers had a varied potential menu, both local and imported, fresh and preserved, staple and luxury. But potential availability has little to do with actual availability; and there is an even wider gap between the possibility to acquire, and the ability or desire to acquire. To make this transition, from potential to actual diet, we must use different sources, and a different approach.

B. THE ALIMENTARY REALITY: EXAMPLES OF ACTUAL DIETS

1. Reflections on Examining Historical Diets

A person's position in the social hierarchy, or class in the broadest sense, is one of the key determinants of his or her diet. Whether purchased or produced, food demands an outlay of resources: time to produce food, and/or capital to own the means of producing it, and/or money to pay someone else to produce it. In general, the more these resources are available, the "better" the diet: more varied, more luxurious,

more expensive. And since they are also closely linked to social class, it is hardly surprising that most social-historical studies of diet have found that what people ate was closely tied to their class: "better" at the upper reaches of the social hierarchy, "worse" at its base, and "middling" in the middle.(22) Thus, the question "what did people eat in the past?" demands more than simply calculating an average diet, even if this is possible; it also requires an idea of the range of diets, and how this related to social class.

To gauge the range of diets in Montreal, I focus on the food habits of two groups at opposite extremes of the social hierarchy. For the diets of day labourers and the poorest category of artisans, I have analyzed the food purchases of 47 Lachine Canal workers at the company store in Lachine, over the fourteen months from September 1822 to October 1823.(23) And for the diets of the wealthy commercial and professional elites, I have examined the personal accounts of three households: the receipts collected by Thomas McCord, representing his disbursements on various foods between 1816 and 1824; the "household expenses" of George Gibb, joint owner of a retail/wholesale grocery firm, covering most food expenses between May 1823 and August 1824;(24) and the account book of Frederick William Ermatinger, covering the fresh food he bought between 1805 and 1814. By concentrating on the extremes of diet in Montreal, I largely ignore social groups in the middle: better-off artisans, small entrepreneurs, poorer members of the liberal professions, and so on. But given the basic premise

that diet shades upwards through socio-economic status, sketching the diets associated with the top and bottom of the class structure should also give an idea of the types of diets that lay in between.

Relating diet to social position is not the only way to address what people ate. Calculating overall averages without regards for class is a useful starting point for food history, and diet was obviously also influenced by other factors than class, most notably the sorts of cultural influences studied by anthropologists and historians of mentalités, and of course personal preference. The sources available for Montreal in my period unfortunately do not allow the calculation of an average diet;(25) but they do allow me to test the influence of ethnicity and personal preference on diet, especially for the Lachine canal workers. Finally, urban diets changed not only with social circumstance and personal preference, but also in response to transformations in the economic, demographic, and physical characteristics of the urban environment, especially those associated with industrialization.(26) The freeze-frame coverage of my sources limits my ability to judge how diet changed in Montreal over the early nineteenth century; but by comparing the food of the city's popular classes to similar diets in both industrializing and pre-industrial societies, I can nonetheless test the extent to which dietary patterns usually associated with industrialization were evident in what people ate in Montreal.

2. The Root of the Problem: Source and Source Accuracy

As quantitatively rigorous as some may seem on the surface, all attempts to reconstruct historical diets from exemplary sources rest upon a strong critique of these sources, and an awareness of their limitations. Two basic flaws characterize fortuitously preserved examples of diets rather than carefully chosen sample groups. On the one hand, written records do not necessarily correspond exactly to actual diets, especially since most are business records or bureaucratically recorded dietaries, and thus do not reflect consumption that occurred outside the commercial or official sphere. And on the other, even if accounts and the like do give an accurate picture of the diet of a particular person or group, the relationship between these specific diets and the dietary patterns of the wider society is equally problematic.

My sources distort the actual diets of the people they cover on three fronts. Since all are transaction records, they only include items that passed through commercial channels: any food not bought by the people themselves falls through the cracks. As well, for the Lachine Canal workers, the account books cover only what they bought at the company store, and are thus "open" sources, showing some of what they bought, but not necessarily all, given the possibilities of buying food elsewhere. Finally, all my sources record overall household consumption only, making it difficult to determine the differences between the diets of adults and children, women and men, and in the case of the elites, servants and masters.

Wherever possible, I have introduced tests to gauge the extent of these distortions, using other more tangential sources; but in some cases, such as the dietary patterns of males and females, this has proved impossible.

As for whether the Lachine canal workers or the elite households I have chosen are good indicators of the diets of the broader social groupings to which they belong, I begin this study with no firm evidence, but only a few hypotheses based on some general indications. Ermatinger, McCord, and Gibb all lived in the city or suburbs, and were thus full participants in the urban food consumption process; and given their prominent social positions, they are valid representatives of Montreal's elites. The Lachine canal workers present more of a problem, since Lachine, where they lived during the period covered by the records, was not Montreal. However, it was not far from Montreal, and by 1825, many of the workers I chose had returned there, carrying their dietary preferences with them.(27) As well, the economic conditions and commercial possibilities of the workers at Lachine were very similar to those of their counterparts in Montreal: their wages were essentially comparable to those earned by similar urban workers, and the store carried most of the major foods available in the city, at similar prices.(28) With additional controls introduced by supplementary evidence from Montreal, the Lachine Canal workers' diets are thus useful in divining what similar labourers and poorer artisans likely ate in the city itself.

3. The Lower Margin: the Lachine Canal Workers

Apart from the brief treatment in Gerald Tulchinsky's thesis,(29) not much is known about the workers who built the first Lachine canal. Tulchinsky lumps them together as "an earthy, hard-drinking, brawling crew;"(30) but even from his account, they seem a far more diverse lot. There was diversity along occupation and thus wage lines: artisans, earning from three to five shillings a day, seventy-five to 125 per month, depending on the season;(31) foremen, with between two and three shillings per day, fifty to seventy-five per month; rock drillers, gaining between two and four shillings per hundred feet drilled, with monthly pay varying wildly;(32) day labourers and assistants to the artisans, at one shilling sixpence to two shillings sixpence per day, around forty to sixty shillings per month; and "boys", ranging from tenpence to one shilling sixpence, or about twenty to thirty-five shillings per month. There was diversity along ethnic lines: most of the workers were Irish immigrants, but there were also a few French-Canadian workers, and likely some British.(33) And there was demographic and household diversity: some of the workers were single males, living in bunkhouses, while others had families, and lived in their own tents and shanties.(34)

While I can only guess at the demographic status and exact ethnicity of most of the 47 workers,(35) I can nonetheless divide them roughly into several sub-groups. The first division is by occupation, based on evidence from pay lists, yielding three groups: artisans (three cases), foremen (seven

cases), and labourers (thirty-seven cases), the latter consisting of drillers, "daymen" or regular labourers, assistants to the artisans, and boys. The second division is along ethno-linguistic lines, based on names; since all the francophones were labourers, and it is impossible to distinguish between Irish and other anglophones on the basis of name alone, I have isolated only two subgroups, francophone labourers (10 cases), and anglophone labourers (27 cases). I also have a third, artificial division, designed to test the source's accuracy: it divides labourers, a group with essentially the same potential wages, by the amount that they spent each month at the store.

(i) Presentation of the Data

Each time a worker bought something on account from the store in Lachine, a clerk recorded the purchase under the worker's name, giving the date, the amount, the item, and the price. The simplest calculation would be to tote up all the amounts and expenditures for each worker, get an average monthly figure for each different food item, divide the workers into the various categories outlined above, and figure out average consumption and expenditure on each type of food for each category. However, since the source does not necessarily cover all the foods eaten or even bought by the workers, and since the various workers spent varying amounts at the store, the absolute amounts bought or spent mean very little, and do not allow comparison across groups. As well, there is the

problem of apples and oranges: how to compare, for example, a worker who buys a pound of sugar and an ounce of tea to one who replaces these by a piece of pork and a half pint of rum.

To avoid both problems, I have reworked the absolute amounts in two fashions. Firstly, I have reduced all the foods to two basic common denominators, representing the economic and biological aspects of food: price, in the contemporary unit of account, Halifax currency; and energy value, in calories.(36) And secondly, I have expressed most of my data in terms of relative proportions, rather than absolute amounts. In this way, I can represent the workers' diets in three different ways, each of which approaches diet from a different perspective. The first perspective is impressionistic, tracing the relative importance of the various foods by showing what the workers bought in significant amounts (Table 5).(37) The second perspective is economic: the percentage of the workers' total food expenditures that went to the various foods, both food by food, and organized into major food groups (Tables 6 and 7).(38) And the third perspective is quasi-nutritional: where the workers' calories came from, again food by food and by major food group (Tables 8 and 9).(39)

(11) A Diet of Starches?

A constant theme in the literature on European dietary history is the predominance of bread or other starches in popular diets.(40) From Russia to Britain, historians stress the importance of the starch staple, both in terms of

TABLES 5 through 7

Monthly Purchases by Lachine Canal Workers at the Company Store, Lachine, 1822-1823: Significant Purchases and Percentile Expenditure

TABLE 5. Significant Purchases

Category of Worker	Total (cases)	Beer/						Salt Fish	Flour
		Beef	Cider	Bread	Butter	Cheese	Eggs		
all workers	47	43	38	100	45	28	43	4	15
all artisans	3	67	100	100	67	33	100	0	33
all foremen	7	29	43	100	43	57	71	14	29
all labourers	37	43	32	100	43	22	32	3	11
english labourers	27	56	37	100	44	22	37	4	11
french labourers	10	10	20	100	40	20	20	0	10
>20 sh labourers	17	59	47	100	47	41	53	6	24
>25 sh labourers	11	73	64	100	55	64	64	9	9
>30 sh labourers	6	67	50	100	67	67	83	17	0

TABLE 6. Percentile Expenditure

Category of Worker	Total (sh)	Beer/						Salt Fish	Flour
		Beef	Cider	Bread	Butter	Cheese	Eggs		
all workers	24.8	2.0	0.8	35.3	4.1	0.7	1.9	<0.1	0.4
all artisans	42.4	3.6	2.8	20.8	3.9	1.0	5.0	0.1	1.2
all foremen	32.6	1.3	0.6	30.8	3.2	1.2	2.3	0.1	0.4
all labourers	21.9	2.1	0.7	37.3	4.3	0.6	1.5	<0.1	0.3
english labourers	23.0	2.7	0.8	38.6	4.6	0.5	1.6	0.1	0.4
french labourers	19.2	0.3	0.6	33.9	3.4	1.0	1.4	0.0	0.2
>20 sh labourers	29.7	3.1	0.9	32.4	4.0	0.9	2.0	<0.1	0.5
>25 sh labourers	33.9	4.5	1.3	27.6	4.2	1.3	2.0	0.1	0.2
>30 sh labourers	40.0	4.5	0.5	26.4	4.6	1.1	2.7	0.1	<0.1

TABLE 7. Percentile Expenditure: Major Food Groups

Category of Worker	Total (sh)	Bread	Starches	Meat	Dairy	Alcohol	Drink	Condiments
all workers	24.8	35.3	1.6	15.6	6.7	23.8	16.2	0.8
all artisans	42.4	20.8	2.0	5.6	9.8	45.3	15.7	0.8
all foremen	32.6	30.8	2.6	13.1	6.7	21.8	23.0	2.0
all labourers	21.9	37.3	1.4	16.8	6.5	22.4	15.0	0.6
english labourers	23.0	38.6	1.2	10.7	6.7	26.0	16.2	0.6
french labourers	19.2	33.9	2.0	33.5	5.8	12.9	11.5	0.4
>20 sh labourers	29.7	32.4	2.0	17.7	6.8	26.5	14.2	0.5
>25 sh labourers	33.9	27.6	1.1	15.3	7.5	35.1	13.0	0.4
>30 sh labourers	40.0	26.4	0.6	15.5	8.4	37.6	11.3	0.2

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Flour	Other Grain	Herrings	Lard	Mustard	Peas	Pepper	Salt Pork	Potatoes	Salt	Spirits	Sugar	Tea	Vinegar
15	10	17	0	2	32	38	87	23	40	94	91	87	4
33	35	33	0	33	33	67	67	33	33	100	100	100	67
29	57	29	0	0	0	86	86	29	71	86	100	100	0
11	3	14	0	0	38	27	89	22	35	95	89	84	0
11	4	15	0	0	26	33	85	26	41	96	96	93	0
10	0	10	0	0	70	10	100	10	20	90	70	60	0
24	0	18	0	0	41	29	88	35	35	94	100	88	0
9	0	27	0	0	27	36	91	45	36	100	100	91	0
0	0	33	0	0	33	17	100	33	17	100	100	83	0

Flour	Other Grains	Herrings	Lard	Mustard	Peas	Pepper	Salt Pork	Potatoes	Salt	Spirits	Sugar	Tea	Vinegar
0.4	0.3	0.1	<0.1	<0.1	0.4	<0.1	13.3	0.4	0.7	23.0	10.7	5.5	<0.1
0.2	0.5	0.1	<0.1	0.3	0.2	0.1	1.8	0.1	0.3	42.5	8.8	6.9	0.2
0.4	1.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	11.5	1.2	1.9	21.2	15.9	7.1	<0.1
0.3	0.2	0.1	<0.1	0.0	0.6	<0.1	14.6	0.3	0.5	21.7	9.9	5.1	<0.1
0.4	0.2	0.1	<0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1	7.8	0.4	0.6	25.2	10.7	5.5	<0.1
0.2	0	0.1	0.1	0.0	1.6	<0.1	33.0	0.1	0.4	12.3	7.6	3.9	<0.1
0.5	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.7	0.1	14.3	0.6	0.4	25.7	9.6	4.5	<0.1
0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.1	10.6	0.5	0.3	33.8	8.2	4.8	<0.1
0.1	0.2	0.1	<0.1	0.0	0.2	<0.1	10.7	0.2	0.2	37.1	7.2	4.1	<0.1

Significant purchases: bread: two loaves; spirits, one half pint; sugar, one pound; pork, one pound; tea, one ounce; butter, one pound; beef, one pound; eggs, one half dozen; salt, one half pint; pepper, any purchases; beer/cider, one pint; peas, one pound; cheese, one half pound; potatoes, four pounds; herrings, one unit; flour, one pound; other grains, one pound; fish, one half pound; vinegar, one half pint; mustard, one quarter bottle; lard, one half pound.

Major food groups: Bread: bread; Starches: flour, other grains, peas, and potatoes; Meat: beef, salt fish, herrings, lard, and salt pork; Dairy: butter, cheese, and eggs; Alcohol: beer/cider and spirits; Drink: tea and sugar; and Condiments: pepper, salt, and vinegar.

Source: McCord Museum, Bagg Papers, Lachine store account books. See Appendix I for the exact method used to derive these figures.

TABLES 8 and 9

Monthly Purchases by Lachine Canal Workers at the Company Store, Lachine, 1822-1823: Caloric Value

TABLE 8. Percentile Caloric Value

Category of Worker	Total (cal)	Beer/		Bread	Butter	Cheese	Eggs	Salt Fish	Flour	Other Grains	Me
		?	?								
all workers	100200	2.6	0.4	50.5	4.6	0.7	0.7	<0.1	0.7	0.6	
all artisans	129600	6.6	1.7	41.6	5.8	1.3	2.5	0.1	2.8	1.2	
all foremen	129800	1.5	0.3	47.1	3.9	1.0	0.7	0.1	0.7	1.9	
all labourers	92200	2.5	0.3	51.8	4.7	0.6	0.5	<0.1	0.5	0.4	
english labourers	88800	3.4	0.3	56.1	5.3	0.5	0.6	<0.1	0.6	0.4	
french labourers	101400	0.2	0.2	40.2	2.9	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.1	
>20 sh labourers	120400	4.0	0.4	46.7	4.4	0.9	0.7	<0.1	0.8	0.3	
>25 sh labourers	123700	5.9	0.5	44.3	5.1	1.3	0.8	0.1	0.4	0.3	
>30 sh labourers	142200	5.8	0.2	44.5	5.6	1.1	1.0	0.1	<0.1	0.3	

TABLE 9. Percentile Caloric Value: Major Food Groups

Category of Worker	Total (cal)	Bread	Starches	Meat	Dairy	Alcohol	Drink	Condiments
		?	?	?	?	?	?	?
all workers	100200	50.5	5.5	20.7	6.0	9.5	7.9	0.0
all artisans	129600	41.6	6.1	10.5	9.6	23.4	8.9	0.0
all foremen	129800	47.1	7.0	18.7	5.6	8.5	13.2	0.0
all labourers	92200	51.8	5.1	22.0	5.8	8.5	6.8	0.0
english labourers	88800	56.1	3.5	16.0	6.5	10.3	7.7	0.0
french labourers	101400	40.2	9.6	38.0	4.0	3.7	4.4	0.0
>20 sh labourers	120400	46.7	7.1	22.8	6.0	10.6	6.9	0.0
>25 sh labourers	123700	44.3	4.4	23.2	7.2	14.5	6.5	0.0
>30 sh labourers	142200	44.5	2.8	24.1	7.6	15.1	5.9	0.0

Major food groups: Bread: bread; Starches: flour, other grains, peas, and potatoes; Meat: beef, salt fish, herra lard, and salt pork; Dairy: butter, cheese, and eggs; Alcohol: beer/cider and spirits; Drink: tea and sugar; and Condiments: pepper, salt, and vinegar.

Source: McCord Museum, Bagg Papers, Lachine store account books. See Appendix I for the exact method used to de these figures.

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Other Grains	Herrings	Lard	Mustard	Peas	Pepper	Salt Pork	Potatoes	Salt	Spirits	Sugar	Tea	Vinegar
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
0.6	0.1	0.1	0.0	2.7	0.0	17.9	1.4	0.0	9.1	7.9	0.0	0.0
1.2	0.1	<0.1	0.0	1.9	0.0	3.7	0.3	0.0	21.7	8.9	0.0	0.0
1.9	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.9	4.4	0.0	8.2	13.2	0.0	0.0
0.4	0.1	0.1	0.0	3.3	0.0	19.3	1.0	0.0	8.2	6.8	0.0	0.0
0.4	0.1	0.1	0.0	1.2	0.0	12.5	1.3	0.0	9.9	7.7	0.0	0.0
0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	9.0	0.0	37.5	0.2	0.0	3.5	4.4	0.0	0.0
0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0	4.2	0.0	18.6	1.8	0.0	10.2	6.9	0.0	0.0
0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0	1.8	0.0	17.1	1.9	0.0	13.9	6.5	0.0	0.0
0.3	0.1	<0.1	0.0	1.6	0.0	18.0	0.9	0.0	14.9	5.9	0.0	0.0

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sugar; and

used to derive

expenditure and of calories. In France in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, starches accounted for 35 to 75 percent of the total expenditures of popular-class households, depending on prevailing economic conditions, and thus an even higher proportion of food expenditures;(41) and starches also made up between 60 and 80 percent of their calories.(42) Rousseau's study of New France presents a similar picture: his patients got from 55 to 75 percent of their calories from bread alone, much like their counterparts in Europe.(43)

On the surface, the Lachine canal workers were full participants in this overall culture of starch consumption, mainly in the form of bread. All workers in all categories ate at least two four-pound loaves of bread per month, and in terms of both expenditure and calorie values, bread was the largest single item, and as well the largest major food group. But while bread may have been the single most important item in the Lachine workers' diet, a closer look reveals that it was not overwhelmingly dominant. Even discarding the low amounts of bread bought by the artisans, whose average figures are unreliable due to the small sample size, and adding other starches to bread, starches as a whole still constituted at most a little over a third of the workers' expenditures at the store, and between 40 and 60 percent of their calories, figures that lie at the very bottom of the ranges for Europe or New France.

The problem might be one of methodology or source. In the first place, the calorie values are based on the assumption

that the bread the workers ate was a four-pound white loaf yielding 5000 calories, rather than a six-pound brown loaf giving 6600 calories.(44) Brown bread was definitely consumed in Montreal, since the assize of bread was for both white and brown, and all acts, ordinances, or other regulations constantly referred to brown bread on an equal footing to white. As well, in 1810 the Special Sessions of the Peace noted "the difficulty which the labouring people in this city have of late experienced to obtain brown bread for their subsistence."(45) On the other hand, the same Special Sessions in 1821 included both white and brown bread among items "which are such as chiefly constitute the wants and expenditures of the Carter."(46) And in England, white bread was pre-eminent in popular class diets by the end of the eighteenth century, even in the face of its higher relative cost, with all attempts by philanthropists to induce the populace back into eating what they considered the healthier, cheaper brown loaf ending in failure.(47)

While no direct evidence exists on the type of bread eaten by the Lachine canal workers, a rudimentary analysis of the Lachine bakery's accounts, along with the fact that there was only one type of bread mentioned, eaten by the poorest labourers, artisans such as the baker and the butcher, and elites like the chief contractor himself, Abner Bagg, suggest white rather than brown.(48) But even assuming the very unlikely situation, that all the bread was six-pound brown bread, and thus had about one and a third times as many

calories, the average proportion of calories from bread would be about 57 percent, and the absolute maximum about 63 percent; and white or brown, the relatively low percentage of expenditure on bread would remain the same.

Since the store account books are not a comprehensive source, perhaps the canal workers were also buying bread or other starches elsewhere, or growing them themselves, especially potatoes. But a couple of indicators suggest otherwise. In the first place, if some of the workers got starches from other sources, one would expect those workers to spend less on food at the Lachine store, and within that lesser expense, a smaller proportion on bread. However, comparing the average percentages devoted to bread by all labourers, to those of labourers spending more than 20, 25, and 30 shillings per month at the store, a slight opposite trend is apparent: the more the labourers spent at the store, the lower proportion bread made up of their expenditure and calories, declining from 32 to 26 percent of expenditures, and from 47 to 44 percent of calories.

The seasonal patterns of bread consumption also argue against bread being significantly supplemented by home-produced starches, especially potatoes. If workers were growing their own starches, then the average percentage spent on breads and grains at the store month by month would gradually decline from spring to fall, as potatoes and the like matured. The fourteen-month span analyzed for this study does not allow any detailed analysis of seasonal fluctuations in the workers'

diets; however, a rough compilation of the average amount of bread bought by the workers does not show any definite pattern, with the highest amount, about sixteen loaves, coming in May, but the next highest, fifteen loaves, in August, when potatoes would be ready for harvesting.(49) At any rate, the Lachine workers' labouring conditions and domestic situations hardly allowed them to place any great reliance on their own production. With a fourteen-hour workday running from 5 AM until 7 at night, six days per week,(50) only workers with family members who could add their labour to the domestic economy could have maintained gardens large enough to supplement store-bought food to any great extent; and even workers with families were apparently squatters, living in transient dwellings unsuited to large-scale home production.(51) The fact that theft of both animals and vegetables from local farmers was a constant problem for the canal contractors also suggests that most workers did not produce these foods on their own.(52)

Thus, while the canal workers may well have got some starches elsewhere, the relative proportion of these in their actual diet was likely either close to the proportions indicated by their purchases at the Lachine store. And this reinforces the tentative conclusion that bread and other starches, while a very important part of the canal workers diet, were far from having an overwhelming place.

While the workers on average thus ate relatively low proportions of starches, there were some interesting

divergences among the various categories of workers. Keeping in mind the possible inaccuracy of the average figures for artisans, there was a slight inverse relationship between occupation and the proportion of diet devoted to bread. Foremen got less calories from and spent less of their food budget on bread than did labourers, although the difference in caloric value evens out a bit when other starches are added; and artisans were even less bread-dependant. There was also a definite contrast between francophone and anglophone labourers: the former spent about 5 percent less of their budget, and got 16 percent less of their calories from bread; and while only 26 percent of anglophone labourers bought a significant amount of peas, 70 percent of francophone labourers did so, accounting for almost a tenth of their calories, eight times as much as anglophone workers.

The relative unimportance of potatoes is also significant. Except in a single case, where a foreman bought 160 pounds per month, (53) potatoes were not a major part of the workers' purchases, or likely their diet, even though many were of Irish extraction. This suggests that the potato, while known, still could not compete with the more traditional bread staple; and the pre-eminence of bread also comes through in various scattered references to bread and potatoes in Montreal itself. The elites certainly thought that bread was the main staple of the poor: not only was bread considered one of the two "necessaries of life", along with fuel, it was also the principal component of relief offered to destitute families by

the Ladies Benevolent Society, along with soup, with 642 pounds given to 291 people over four days.(54) In contrast, the Society listed bread, barley, and rice among foods affording the "cheapest sustenance" to the poor, but not potatoes;(55) and furthermore, the estate inventories of forty-six labourers and artisans in the city with estates worth less than £100 mention potatoes only once, while peas, flour, and more especially, debts owing to local bakers, showed up more often.(56) A final indicator is the tenuous reporting of potato prices on the Montreal market: even in the late 1820s, they were ignored for months at a stretch, including eighteen months in 1825 and 1826, suggesting that they were a marginal item, as opposed to other starches such as flour and peas which were almost always covered.(57)

Unlike Europe, the potato revolution thus seems only to have begun reaching Montreal.(58) Given the Irish background of many of the Lachine labourers, this is even more surprising, especially since at retail prices, potatoes were calorifically as cheap as brown bread at its cheapest, around 1.1 pence per 1000 calories, and of course cheaper than white.(59) Convenience and taste are possible factors. Bread was easier to prepare than potatoes, which had to be cooked, requiring pots, fuel, and time. And perhaps as in France until the end of the eighteenth century, potatoes were still looked down on by the popular classes as animal food and a sign of pauperization, and thus to be avoided if possible.(60) An article in the Montreal Herald in 1819 discussing potatoes

talked about them mainly as animal feed or for making whiskey, indicating that even the elites doubted the tubers' general acceptance as food; although as we shall see later, they had no problems eating potatoes themselves.(61)

(iii) The Other Staples: Animal Products and Alcohol.

If bread represented only one third of the Lachine canal workers food budget and half of their calories, what else did they eat? In pre-industrial Europe, there were two other main food categories: animal products, and alcohol, with widely variable proportions of diets going to each of these depending on location and circumstance. The same held for Rousseau's hospital diets, which consisted mainly of starches, animal products, and alcohol.(62)

Both of these food groups were significant parts of the Lachine canal workers' diets: around 90 percent of the workers I examined made significant purchases of both alcohol and animal products (meat and dairy products). On average, they devoted 22 percent of their store purchases to animal products, representing 27 percent of their store-bought calories, along with 24 percent of their expenditures, 8 percent of their calories, to alcohol. Considering that at least some of the workers also got animals through theft, and also quite possibly bought alcohol elsewhere with part of the significant amounts of pay they drew in cash, these proportions are likely either similar or lower than those of the workers' actual diets.

Breaking down the animal products category further reveals a number of other interesting trends. The predominance of salt pork over beef is perhaps the most striking: almost 90 percent of the workers bought pork in significant quantities, as opposed to only 40 percent for beef, with the former constituting on average 13 percent of the expenditures and 18 percent of the calories, against only 2 and 3 percent for the latter. This is unsurprising: with a 14 hour working day, it was far easier to have a chunk of salt pork on bread than to cook fresh meat, unless one had a wife to manage the domestic economy;(63) and salt pork was cheaper for the calorie value it provided than fresh beef, at 2.3 pence per 1000 calories rather than 2.7 pence.(64) But averages aside, there were at least eight workers who bought more than five pounds of beef per month, four of whom were daymen; clearly, pork was also partly a matter of taste and convenience, rather than dictated by economics alone. Again, some Montreal sources suggest similar patterns: while the inventaires après décès fairly often mentioned salt pork, one poorer artisan also owed debts to a butcher;(65) and beef was one of the foods included among the Ladies Benevolent Society's "cheapest sustenance" for destitute families.(66)

The absence of fish is also important, with less than one percent of either expenditure or calorie value for all categories of workers. This is likely indicative of their actual diet: while the workers might have obtained fresh fish away from the store, they would surely have bought their salt

fish from the same place as their salt pork, given that it was available. But here, the canal workers were probably less representative of popular class diets in Montreal. The Herald, in May 1819, describing the fish available in the Montreal market, noted that "the rare and finest kinds brought high prices, being purchased by the rich class of citizens; but the common sort sold reasonable [sic] and afforded a very seasonable supply to our numerous poor people,"(67) and on at least one other occasion, the newspaper's market price list made the distinction between "better" and "common" fish, the latter about a third the price of the former.(68) Furthermore, the existence of a separate forty-stall fish market in the city is also testimony to significant fish consumption. And finally, while the observance of days of abstinence may have loosened by this period,(69) Montreal's substantial Catholic population probably still consumed some fish, especially during Lent. Indeed, it was during the Lenten season, the first quarter of the year, that the large loads of frozen codfish arrived on the market from Boston; in the first three months of 1823 for example, some 38 459 pounds of fresh-frozen cod passed by this route, or almost two pounds for every inhabitant of the city, Catholic or otherwise.(70)

Dairy products present another problem. In terms of what the workers bought at the store, butter, almost always salt butter,(71) dominated over cheese and eggs, likely due to its properties in making stale bread more palatable. But the other main dairy product, milk, was never carried consistently

by the store, and thus its consumption is hidden. A few pointers suggest milk in the diet: a foreman and a carpenter bought small amounts of milk on one occasion; and two daymen and a driller bought cream jugs or milk pots from the store. Given that there were other sources of milk in the Lachine area, namely farmers with cows, some of the workers at least probably had milk in their diets, but the relative amounts are impossible to judge. Milk was definitely a part of popular class diet in Montreal: ten of the inventaires of poorer artisans and labourers showed milk-cows, often the only food-related item.

As for alcohol, the Lachine Canal workers bought mainly rum from the store, with only a few pints of locally produced fermented alcohol, including beer, cider, and sprucebeer, much like their counterparts in the United States, where spirits also reigned supreme.(72) Newspaper reports cited the canal workers as unusually heavy drinkers,(73) and almost all of the workers bought at least some alcohol. But at the equivalent of about six ounces of spirits, their average daily purchases were substantial but not outrageous, although there were a few heavier drinkers who bought up to a pint of spirits per day. The canal workers probably got alcohol elsewhere as well with some of the cash that most drew as part of their pay, since workers who spent more at the store averaged the equivalent of ten ounces of spirits per day.(74) But this was not necessarily all for individual consumption: some workers were buying food for households, although to what extent their

wives and offspring drank is unknown. The canal workers' alcoholic consumption was not unusual: buying the equivalent of nine gallons of pure alcohol per year for themselves and their households, even the heavy drinkers were likely comparable to ordinary drinkers in the United States, considering that at the same time every American regardless of age or sex drank three gallons of pure alcohol equivalents each year.(75)

While overall averages are interesting, equally so is the relationship between animal products, alcohol, and ethnic divisions. At the same time as a less bread-, more pea-oriented diet than their anglophone counterparts, francophone labourers also devoted roughly three times as much of their diet to meat, with a very heavy emphasis on salt pork and almost none on beef. As well, they apparently drank less, buying less than half as much alcohol as anglophones.

(iv) The International Component: Luxurious Necessities

Unlike pre-industrial European diets, the diet of the Lachine canal workers did not stop at bread, animal products, and alcohol. A fourth category had added itself by this time: drink, consisting of tea and cane sugar, the latter most likely to sweeten the tea.(76) In the number of workers buying significant quantities of these foods, they ranked as importantly as animal products and alcohol: 91 percent of all diets for sugar, 87 percent for tea. Tea and sugar were equally important as components of expenditure and of calories: together, they made up on average 16 percent of the first,

while sugar accounted for 17 percent of the second. However, since the canal store was probably the only place that the canal workers bought these items, these proportions are probably the same or a bit higher than those of the actual diets.(77)

This aspect of the canal workers' diet had much more in common with the sort of English industrial diets described by John Burnett, than with those of the pre-industrial patients analyzed by Rousseau. General consumption of tea and cane sugar is taken by many historians of diet as a symptom of industrialization: a relatively well-off family of industrial labourers in Manchester in the 1840s, for example, might spend 14 percent of its food budget on coffee, tea, and sugar,(78) but for Rousseau's hospital, tea was a luxury, coffee consumed only sporadically, and sugar limited to small quantities, often for medicinal purposes.(79) Both Burnett and Sydney Mintz have traced this proletarianization of sugar and tea, tying it to the changing standards of living associated with industrialization;(80) as Burnett puts it, "a cup of tea converted a cold meal into something like a hot one, and gave comfort and cheer besides. ... In the circumstances of early industrialism this type of diet had an additional advantage that it could always be procured close at hand and required little or no preparation."(81) In the context of a fourteen hour day, and a bread/pork/butter diet, this fits in perfectly with the experience of at least some of the Lachine canal workers:

instead of rare treats, tea and sugar, though still luxuries, had also become necessities.

Cane sugar and tea were also consumed by the popular classes in Montreal, judging by the stocks carried by grocers and tavernkeepers: muscovado sugar, the cheap, unrefined variety consumed by poorer consumers, was generally the most important item after alcohol, and many had large stocks of cheap tea as well.(82) Cane sugar was not the only sweetener available in the city: throughout the 1820s, maple sugar was sold in cakes on the markets by country producers, at prices slightly lower than muscovado.(83) Unfortunately, there are no indications as to the relative importance of these two main types of sweeteners to popular class consumers; one small hint is that of the forty-six inventaires of poorer households, two showed small quantities of cane sugar, while none showed maple sugar.(84)

Not all the canal workers shared equally in this tea and sugar predilection. Again, the main cleavage was along ethnic lines: anglophones devoted about one and a half times as much of their purchases to sugar and tea as francophones, and while 96 and 93 percent of anglophone labourers bought significant quantities of tea and sugar, only 70 and 60 percent of francophone labourers did the same. Gradual implantation of a new habit? Perseverance of traditional dietary patterns? As in the case of bread and meat, a faint pattern is discernable.

(v) The Others: Condiments, Occasionals, and Invisible Foods

While bread, animal products, alcohol, and tea/sugar formed the overwhelming majority of the canal workers' diets, as seen through their purchases, they also ate other foods. About 40 percent of all workers bought pepper and/or salt, suggesting that these workers at least were probably doing some more complicated food preparation, for example stews. The other condiments, mustard and vinegar, were almost entirely limited to artisans, and even in their cases made up minuscule proportions of their food expenditures; for the daymen and even the foremen, these were unnecessary luxuries, perhaps not beyond their economic reach, but certainly not a part of their food consumption habits.

Occasionally, other items appeared in the store's account books, suggesting other possible elements of the workers' diets that largely escaped this "open" source. William Willcock and Thomas Welch, for example, carpenter and foreman respectively, each bought a goose a few days before Christmas, and small amounts of onions in the early spring. And there were a few other occasional purchases: now and again, little cakes or crackers costing a penny apiece; a couple of ox heads bought by William Morris, a driller; some suet by John Daley, also a driller; and a gill of molasses, by John Ingles, a smith's assistant.

Finally, there were also those "invisible" foods that almost never show up in written sources, but that formed a part of most diets nonetheless: garden vegetables and fruits. The

workers' consumption of these can only be guessed at: the theft of vegetables from farmers' gardens is a small pointer, but a pointer only. Vegetables were apparently not the sole preserve of the wealthy in Montreal: a charity drive for pauperized immigrants in 1820 asked for donations of "vegetables, and other articles useful to the poor,"(85) and a few of the inventaires of artisans and labourers showed stocks of either vegetables or garden tools.(86) None of these foods formed a significant part of the workers' food purchases, which were dominated by the quartet of bread, animal products, alcohol, and tea and sugar. But they do suggest a diet that was perhaps not quite as limited, or as monotonous, as the averages and tables might imply.

(vi) Occupation and Ethnicity: Some Typical Diets

Averages are useful in their place, but they do not give an idea of the potential variety of diets in concrete terms. For that, we have to turn to what real people bought, and ate. The diets of five specific canal workers epitomized the various eating habits associated with the overall social categories, although all displayed personal idiosyncracies. The diet of William Wilcock, a carpenter, was representative of artisans; John Keating illustrates what foremen ate; for francophone labourers, Baptiste Cotteau, a dayman, is a good example; for anglophone labourers, Andrew Fitzpatrick, also a dayman; and Patrick Reilly, a dayman as well, illustrates the possibilities of a beef diet.

William Wilcock was the Lachine store's most faithful customer, spending almost seventy shillings per month on food, and in some months drawing all of his wages in goods from the store, mainly food. The census of 1825 suggests that he had a wife and two children; and buying about 220,000 calories worth of food per month gave him just enough to feed this family of four.(87) Wilcock's family had a varied diet, with all the basic staples. For starches, each month they ate nineteen loaves of bread; twelve pounds of flour; eight pounds of peas; five pounds of potatoes; and two pounds of other starches, mainly barley, oatmeal and rice. Their meat was both pork and beef: five pounds of the former and six pounds of the latter, along with perhaps a quarter pound of fish, and an occasional herring. Two pounds of butter, two and a half pounds of cheese, and three and a half dozen eggs completed the range of animal products, along with the Christmas goose. Wilcock drank a lot: six pints of beer or cider, and twenty-five pints of spirits per month. And his family was also fond of tea and sugar: eighteen ounces of the first, and fifteen pounds of the second. Finally, Wilcock also bought a selection of other items: an ounce of pepper, a pint of vinegar, two pints of salt, the occasional small cake, perhaps a few pints of milk and some vegetables. All in all, a relatively balanced and varied diet, perhaps heavy in starch, but made palatable by the many extras.

John Keating, a foreman, had a much more constrained diet than Wilcock. Spending around thirty shillings per month, he

bought some 115,000 calories, enough to feed only himself.(88) Bread dominated his starches: fourteen loaves per month, with only a pound of flour and other grains, and a few pounds of potatoes. Keating bought about three pounds of beef, and four pounds of salt pork; along with three pounds of butter, a half pound of cheese, and a dozen eggs. Seven pints of spirits and the occasional pint of beer made up his alcohol intake; and he drank four ounces of tea sweetened with six pounds of sugar. A couple pints of salt, and very occasionally some pepper, rounded off a diet much more limited, and even more starchy, than Wilcock's.

Baptiste Cotteau's twenty-three shillings and 120,000 calories were enough to feed himself better, and much more economically, than Keating. His was a diet of pork, peas, and bread: seventeen pounds of the first, nineteen pounds of the second, and eight loaves of the third, along with three dozen eggs and a pound and a half of fish. Apart from that, little else: a half pound of butter, three pints of spirits, three ounces of tea and three pounds of sugar, as well as minimal amounts of flour and lard. With the new element of sugar and tea removed, Cotteau's diet would have suited the patients of Rousseau's Hôtel-Dieu very nicely, fitting in perfectly with their normal food habits.

Andrew Fitzpatrick's diet was much narrower, with more emphasis yet on starches. With his twenty shillings, he bought 100,000 calories, just enough to feed himself on the basic staples:(89) sixteen loaves of bread, four pounds of peas, four

pounds of pork, six pounds of sugar, three ounces of tea, only a pint of spirits, a pint of salt, and very occasional treats of butter, cheese, eggs, flour, beer, or other starches. His represented perhaps the lowest range of diet, stripped down to the bare essentials: bread and peas, with only enough animal products to make them palatable, and weak tea to wash the whole down.

But not all daymen lived so frugally. Patrick Reilly, spent twice as much as Fitzpatrick to get only a third again as many calories: 140,000 for thirty-nine shillings.(90) Reilly was a true meat-eater: nineteen pounds of beef and seven pounds of pork, to go along with his eleven loaves of bread and seventeen pounds of potatoes. He was also fond of other animal products: 4 pounds of butter, a half pound of cheese, and two dozen eggs. And he partook of the general tea-sugar-alcohol partiality, although with more concentration on the latter: three ounces of tea, three pounds of sugar, twelve pints of spirits, and four pints of beer or cider. Given his household's composition in 1825, it is likely that he got other foods elsewhere as well, potentially adding even more variety to his diet.(91)

All of these diets illustrate the general trends first suggested by the averages. Even at this level, there was a certain social hierarchy of diet, in part based on occupation and income. Willcock, who earned nearly twice as much a day as Fitzpatrick, could obviously afford a more varied, plentiful, and luxurious diet. But diet did not only vary by class alone.

Judging by the vast differences between Reilly and Fitzpatrick, both of whom were daymen, or the more general differences in the average diets, as shown by the wide variance in beef consumption, personal preference was also an important factor.

As well, the canal workers' diets demonstrate an obvious interplay between at least two different cultural backgrounds, francophone and anglophone. It would be tempting to say that the francophone diet, heavier in meat and bread and lighter on alcohol and hot drinks, represented the old, pre-industrial order; and that the anglophone labourers were the first wave of an industrial standard of living that would soon sweep the city, replacing meat by more bread, along with butter and tea to make it palatable, and alcohol to make life more tolerable. Certainly, a comparison of the average francophone labourer's diet and that of his anglophone counterpart invites this conclusion.

But the situation was more nuanced than that. In the first place, even the average anglophone Lachine labourer's diet was considerably more varied than those sketched out by Burnett for industrial England in the early nineteenth century: as opposed to bread being "practically the total diet, supplemented by tiny quantities of butter, cheese, bacon, and tea,"(92) it formed an important but not overwhelming proportion of both expenditure and calories, supplemented by considerable quantities of animal products, alcohol, and tea and sugar from the store, and very likely vegetables and perhaps milk or fruit from other sources.(93) As such, the

canal workers' diet, while likely near the bottom of the scale in Montreal at the time, was as good or better than that of the very best off of urban labourers in full scale industrialization, as outlined by Burnett.(94)

And diets such as Reilly's or Cotteau's emphasize that while some elements of the canal workers' eating habits do suggest a change towards an industrial type of diet, especially the consumption of tea and cane sugar, other diets are equally reminiscent of an older order: the frontier diets of New England, for example, with their range of grains, preserved meats, dairy products, and in small cities, a variety of imported goods,(95) or the food eaten by Rousseau's hospital patients. The canal workers' diets suggest the beginnings of a transition in popular class diets, but one also accompanied by the maintenance of traditional patterns.

4. The Upper Margin: Ermatinger, McCord, and Gibb

If the 47 Lachine canal workers represented the popular and poorer artisanal classes, Frederick William Ermatinger, Thomas McCord, and George Gibb were their inverses, representing Montreal's elites. Ermatinger was a merchant and a crown official, initially engaged in supplying the fur trade through his brother in Sault-Saint Marie, and then Sheriff of the Montreal district, as well as a Colonel in the militia.(96) McCord was also a crown official, but of a different sort: as a senior Justice of the Peace, and chairman of the Weekly

Sessions of the Peace, he was involved in the governing of Montreal, combining executive, legislative, and judicial functions.(97) As for George Gibb, he was a merchant: joint owner and operator, along with Albert Ware, of a large, import/export, wholesale/retail grocery firm, and connected to the pre-eminent tailoring firm in Montreal at the time, Beniah Gibb & Co. A glance over the food purchases of these three households should thus give a perspective on diets at the other end of the social spectrum from the Lachine canal workers.

(1) The Sources

Ermatinger, McCord, and Gibb all left different kinds of records of the foods their households bought and ate, each with its own strengths and problems. Ermatinger's "Market Expenses" book is the most internally complete of the three, recording the date, amount spent, exact type, and, in most cases, absolute amount of all foods that he bought on the market between 1805 and 1814; however, it does not record non-market goods, such as bread, imported groceries, or alcohol, and is thus useless in reconstructing his household's overall diet. McCord's food records consist of a large series of bills and receipts from various retailers, covering most sorts of food, and ranging from 1810 up until his death in 1824, with similar price and quantity information as Ermatinger. But while some sorts of foods are well-covered by lengthy, obviously consecutive series of bills, such as bread, beer, and imported foods, others, such as fresh meat and dairy products,

are represented by purchases made over only a month or two; and there is the additional problem of foods which may not have been covered by any bill or receipt, but paid for with cash, or grown in the garden for which McCord bought many vegetable seeds. George Gibb's "House Expenses" account, in the firm of Ware & Gibb's general account book, likely covers most foods bought by this household; but only over the 15 months from May 1824 to August 1825, and often without specifying quantities or even exact types of food.(98)

Despite the difficulties, these sources can provide the same sort of information as for the Lachine canal workers: proportional expenditure and, for McCord and Gibb's households at least, proportion of calories from various foods, although again absolute consumption by individuals is unknown.(99) Five tables encapsulate this information: the first four cover tentative monthly food expenditure analysis and caloric schedules for both McCord and Gibb (Tables 10 through 13); and the last, a detailed analysis of Ermatinger's consumption and expenditure on market goods, especially meat (Table 14).(100)

(11) A Diet of Animals

The most obvious difference between the food eaten in the elite households and that of the Lachine canal workers was the much reduced place of starches, in favour of meat and dairy products. While the canal workers might spend a third of their budgets and get a little over half of their calories from bread and other starches, as opposed to around a quarter of both on

TABLE 10. Monthly Food Expenditure of McCord's HouseholdI. Consumption calculated from runs of bills and receipts

White Bread:	22 loaves	13.6 sh
Brown Bread:	17 loaves	11.3 sh
Flour:	8 lb	2.0 sh
Barley:	1 lb	0.3 sh
Rice:	1 lb	0.5 sh
Oatmeal:	6 lb	1.1 sh
Salt Butter:	18 lb	15.4 sh
Cheese:	3 lb	2.4 sh
Salt Fish:	14 lb	4.5 sh
Salt Beef:	8 lb	3.2 sh
Salt Pork:	24 lb	9.6 sh
Other Salt Meat:	4 lb	3.0 sh
Muscovado Sugar:	31 lb	18.7 sh
Loaf Sugar:	17 lb	15.5 sh
Tea:	4 lb	21.3 sh
Coffee:	5 lb	9.3 sh
Beer/Cider:	26 gallons	24.4 sh
Spirits:	3 gallons	15.3 sh
Wine:	7 gallons	60.0 sh
Dried Fruit:	2 lb	1.8 sh
Nuts:	1 lb	0.9 sh
Limejuice:	.5 bottle	1.0 sh
Mustard:	.25 bottle	0.5 sh
Oil:	.5 bottle	2.5 sh
Vinegar:	2 quarts	2.3 sh
Pepper:	3 oz	0.3 sh
Table Salt:	.25 basket	0.3 sh
Other Spices:	2 oz	0.9 sh

II. Estimated consumption based on scattered sources

Fresh Butter:	15 lb	12.5 sh (10 d/lb)
Milk:	100 pints	16.7 sh (2 d/pint)
Potatoes:	40 lb	2.0 sh (3 sh/bu)
Fresh Beef:	100 lb	33.3 sh (4 d/lb)
Fresh Veal:	3 quarters (@ 22 lb)	18.0 sh (6 sh/qtr)
Fresh Lamb:	4 quarters (@ 13 lb)	12.0 sh (3 sh/qtr)
Fresh Pork:	10 lb	5.0 sh (6 d/lb)
Others (Eggs, Vegetables, Fruit, etc.)		?.? sh

III. Total estimated expenditure 340.4 shIV. Recapitulation by major food group (see Table 5)

Bread:	24.9 sh	(7 %)
Other Starches:	5.9 sh	(2 %)
Meat:	93.6 sh	(27 %)
Dairy Products:	46.5 sh	(13 %)
Alcohol:	99.7 sh	(29 %)
Drink:	64.8 sh	(19 %)
Condiments:	10.5 sh	(3 %)

Source: McCord Museum, McCord Papers, bills and receipts

TABLE 11. Monthly Calorie Schedule for McCord's HouseholdI. Calories from known purchases

White Bread: 22 4-lb loaves @ 5000 calories	110 000
Brown Bread: 17 6-lb loaves @ 6600 calories	112 200
Flour: 8 lb @ 1500 calories	12 000
Barley: 1 lb @ 1600 calories	1 600
Rice: 1 lb @ 1800 calories	1 800
Oatmeal: 6 lb @ 1800 calories	10 800
Salt Butter: 18 lb @ 3300 calories	59 400
Cheese: 3 lb @ 1900 calories	5 700
Salt Fish: 14 lb @ 1300 calories	18 200
Salt Beef: 8 lb @ 1000 calories	8 000
Salt Pork: 24 lb @ 3100 calories	74 400
Other Salt Meat: 4 lb @ 1000 calories	4 000
Muscovaço Sugar: 31 lb @ 1700 calories	52 700
Loaf Sugar: 17 lb @ 1600 calories	27 200
Beer/Cider: 26 gallons @ 2000 calories	52 000
Spirits: 3 gallons @ 11 000 calories	33 000
Wine: 7 gallons @ 3900 calories	27 300
Dried Fruit: 2 lb @ 1300 calories	2 600
Nuts: 1 lb @ 2800 calories	2 800

II. Estimated calories from other sources

Fresh Butter: 15 lb @ 3300 calories	49 500
Milk: 100 pints @ 320 calories	32 000
Potatoes: 40 lb @ 350 calories	14 000
Fresh Beef: 100 lb @ 1300 calories	130 000
Fresh Veal: @ 22 lb @ 1200 calories	26 400
Fresh Lamb: @ 13 lb @ 1300 calories	16 900
Fresh Pork: 10 lb @ 1200 calories	12 000
Others (Eggs, Vegetables, Fruit, Miscellaneous):	??

III. Total estimated calories 896 500

IV. Recapitulation by major food group (see Table 5)

Bread:	222 500 calories	(25 %)
Other Starches:	40 200 calories	(4 %)
Meat:	287 500 calories	(32 %)
Dairy Products:	146 600 calories	(16 %)
Alcohol:	112 300 calories	(13 %)
Drink (sugar only):	79 900 calories	(9 %)
Condiments and Other:	at least 5 400 calories	(? %)

Source: McCord Museum, McCord Papers, bills and receipts

TABLE 12. Monthly Food Expenditure of Gibb's HouseholdI. Consumption calculated from "house expenses" in Waste Book

Potatoes:	85 lb	2.7 sh
Peas:	30 lb	1.0 sh
Flour:	6 lb	1.3 sh
Other Grains:	4 lb	0.3 sh
Butter:	21 lb	14.1 sh
Cheese:	2 lb	1.1 sh
Eggs:	7 dozen	5.0 sh
Fresh Beef:	23 lb	7.4 sh
Other Butchers' Meat:		3.5 sh
Poultry:		3.2 sh
Salt Meat:		7.2 sh
Fish (fresh and salt):		5.7 sh
Muscovado Sugar:	20 lb	10.5 sh
Loaf Sugar:	6 lb	5.1 sh
Tea:	2 lb	10.4 sh
Coffee:	6 lb	10.3 sh
Beer/Cider:	1 quart	0.6 sh
Spirits:	6 quarts	11.2 sh
Wine:	1 quart	3.2 sh
Dried Fruit:	3 lb	3.1 sh
Pepper:	1/2 oz	0.1 sh
Table Salt:	1/10 basket	0.1 sh
Other Condiments:		2.0 sh
Fruit and Vegetables:		6.0 sh

II. Estimated consumption based on references in Cash Book

Bread:	24 loaves	15.8 sh
Milk:	60 pints	10.0 sh

III. Total estimated expenditure 140.9 shIV. Recapitulation by major food group (see Table 5)

Bread:	15.8 sh	(11 %)
Other Starches:	4.3 sh	(3 %)
Meat:	27.0 sh	(19 %)
Dairy Products:	30.2 sh	(21 %)
Alcohol:	15.0 sh	(10 %)
Drink:	36.3 sh	(25 %)
Condiments:	5.3 sh	(4 %)
Fruit/Veg	6.0 sh	(4 %)

Source: McCord Museum, Gibb Papers, Items 53 (Waste Book)
and 27 (Cash Book)

TABLE 13. Monthly Calorie Schedule for Gibb's HouseholdI. Calories from known and estimated purchases

White Bread: 14 4-lb loaves @ 5000 calories	70 000
Brown Bread: 10 6-lb loaves @ 6600 calories	66 000
Potatoes: 85 lb @ 350 calories	29 750
Flour: 6 lb @ 1500 calories	9 000
Other Grains: 4 lb @ 1700 calories	6 800
Butter: 21 lb @ 3300 calories	69 300
Cheese: 2 lb @ 1900 calories	3 800
Eggs: 7 dozen @ 980 calories	6 860
Milk: 60 pints @ 320 calories	19 200
Fresh Beet: 23 lb @ 1300 calories	29 900
Other Butchers' Meat: @9 lb @ 1300 calories	11 700
Poultry: @11 lb @ 850 calories	9 350
Salt Meat: @15 lb @ 3100 calories	46 500
Fish: @17 lb @ 800 calories	13 600
Muscovado Sugar: 20 lb @ 1700 calories	34 000
Loaf Sugar: 6 lb @ 1600 calories:	9 600
Beer/Cider: 1 quart @ 500 calories	500
Spirits: 6 quarts @ 2750 calories	16 500
Wine: 1 quart @ 975 calories	975
Dried Fruit: 3 lb @ 1300 calories	3 900
Vegetables: [exact quantities unknown]	??

II. Total estimated calories 457 235

III. Recapitulation by major food group (see Table 5)

Bread:	136 000 calories	(30 %)
Other Starches:	45 550 calories	(10 %)
Meat:	111 050 calories	(24 %)
Dairy Products:	99 160 calories	(22 %)
Alcohol:	17 975 calories	(4 %)
Drink (sugar only):	43 600 calories	(10 %)
Condiments:	3 900 calories	(1 %)
Vegetables:	?? calories	(? %)

Source: McCord Museum, Gibb Papers, Items 53 (Waste Book)
and 27 (Cash Book)

TABLE 14. Monthly Market Expenditure of Ermatinger's Household

Beef:	@ 120 lb	58.8 sh	(30.4 %)
Veal:	@ 35 lb	31.6 sh	(16.4 %)
Lamb/Mutton/Sheep	@ 25 lb	20.7 sh	(10.7 %)
Fresh Pork:	@ 29 lb	14.4 sh	(7.4 %)
Roasting Pigs:	0.6 (@ 6 lb)	2.1 sh	(1.1 %)
Tongues:	1.7 (@ 4 lb)	2.5 sh	(1.3 %)
Heads:	0.4 (? lb)	1.4 sh	(0.7 %)
Sausages:	0.7 lb	0.7 sh	(0.4 %)
Offal:	(? lb)	0.4 sh	(0.2 %)
Total Butchers' Meat:	@ 220 lb	132.6 sh	(68.6 %)
Turkies:	1.5 couple (@ 30 lb)	7.4 sh	(3.8 %)
Chickens/Fowl:	5.0 couple (@ 20 lb)	8.3 sh	(4.3 %)
Geese:	0.6 couple (@ 9 lb)	3.7 sh	(1.9 %)
Ducks:	0.9 couple (@ 5 lb)	2.9 sh	(1.5 %)
Total Poultry:	@ 64 lb	22.3 sh	(11.5 %)
Hams:	0.7 (@ 12 lb)	5.3 sh	(2.8 %)
Salt Pork:	@ 2.5 lb	1.3 sh	(0.7 %)
Hog's Lard:	0.1 lb	0.1 sh	(.0 %)
Total Salt Meat:	@ 15 lb	6.7 sh	(3.5 %)
Fresh Fish:		6.3 sh	(3.3 %)
Fish (unidentified):		5.4 sh	(2.8 %)
Salt Fish:		0.9 sh	(0.5 %)
Total Fish:	(@ 25 lb ?)	12.6 sh	(6.6 %)
Pigeons:	0.3 dozen	1.3 sh	(0.7 %)
Game:		1.1 sh	(0.6 %)
Partridges:	0.3 couple	0.7 sh	(0.3 %)
Gamebirds:		0.2 sh	(0.1 %)
Total Game:	(? lb: likely < 5)	3.3 sh	(1.7 %)
Total Meat:	@ 325 lb	177.5 sh	(91.9 %)
Butter:	5.7 lb	6.9 sh	(3.6 %)
Eggs:	2.4 dozen	2.0 sh	(1.0 %)
Cheese:	@ 2 lb	1.2 sh	(0.6 %)
Milk:		0.3 sh	(0.2 %)
Total Dairy:		10.4 sh	(5.4 %)
Vegetables:		1.4 sh	(0.7 %)
Fruit:		0.4 sh	(0.2 %)
Cauliflowers:	0.2	0.2 sh	(0.1 %)
Cabbages:	0.5	0.2 sh	(0.1 %)
Total Vegetables:		2.2 sh	(1.2 %)
Potatoes:	@ 60 lb	1.8 sh	(0.9 %)
Grains:		0.1 sh	(0.1 %)
Total Starches:		1.9 sh	(1.0 %)
Non-market Goods (salt, candles, etc.):		1.2 sh	(0.6 %)
<u>Total Monthly Market Expenditure</u>		193.2 sh	(100.0 %)

Source: OOA MG19 A2, Series 3, vol. 177, file 1.

animal products, in the elite households animal products played a much greater role. In McCord's household, only 9 percent of expenditure and 29 percent of calories went to starches, while 40 percent of the food budget and 48 percent of the calories came from foods produced by animals. And Gibb's household was similar, although with more emphasis on starches: 14 percent of expenditures and 40 percent of calories from various starches, against 40 percent and 46 percent respectively for animal products.

But while both households ate more animal products than starches, the foods that made up these parts of each of their diets were not identical. The major starch in McCord's household was bread, with a few potatoes and a minimal amount of flour and other grains: an overall distribution not that much different from the canal workers. Bread was also important in Gibb's diet, but other starches played a greater role, especially potatoes. Furthermore, while meat formed the biggest proportion of the animal products eaten in both households, Gibb put more emphasis on dairy products, especially butter (to go with the extra potatoes?), getting almost as many calories from this source as from meat, while meat dominated in McCord's household, outweighing dairy products more than two to one in both expenditure and calories.

The meats and dairy products bought by Gibb, McCord, and Ermatinger, allow a further refinement: a rough hierarchy of consumption, based not so much on calories or on expenditure, but on actual amounts eaten. In terms of meat, fresh butcher's

meat(101) held the single most important position: 220 out of 325 pounds for Ermatinger, 145 of 195 pounds for McCord, and 32 of 75 pounds for Gibb. And of this sort of meat, beef was king, accounting in all three cases for more than half of butchers' meat, and in both McCord and Gibb for more than two thirds. But beef was far from dominant. Veal, mutton, and fresh pork, approximately in that order, vied for second place behind beef, followed by smaller amounts of sausages and offal; and varying amounts of fish, poultry, and salted provisions, mainly salt pork, accounted for the other meats, with each household having different priorities. Table 14 shows the variety of meats eaten by Ermatinger, the only one to leave detailed records of exactly what he bought: more than 20 different types of butchers' meat, the four main domestic birds, (102) 9 varieties of game birds, along with hares and venison, a dozen types of fresh fish, and three sorts of salted provisions, not counting differences in quality, for example between regular beef and "beefstakes" [sic]. Compared to the Lachine canal workers' salt pork, salt cod, beef, and herrings, the elites' meat diet was both fresher and more varied; not surprising, given that the elites had more than enough money to pay for these relatively more expensive calories.(103)

The hierarchy of dairy products shows less differences between the canal workers and the elites: for both groups, butter dominated, with eggs and/or milk in second position, and cheese a distant third. There were some differences, mainly in terms of quality: the canal workers, for example, ate the

cheaper, salted butter almost exclusively, while McCord and Ermatinger at least bought fresh butter, McCord almost as much as salt. Furthermore, while the canal workers' cheese, costing around sixpence a pound, was most likely the cheap variety imported from the United States, quite a bit of the cheese eaten in Gibb and McCord's households was English, costing up to three times as much, although Ermatinger did buy local cheese on the market. But the differences were much less than in terms of meat: the same basic quartet, butter, eggs, milk, and cheese, and in very much the same order of importance.

(iii) Other Fresh Foods

As well as fresh meat and fresh dairy products, the elite households also ate a variety of fresh fruit and vegetables. Both Gibb and Ermatinger bought garden produce, mainly from the markets: radishes, asparagus, cabbages, cucumbers, green peas, melons, onions, pears, apples, turnips, and the undifferentiated "sallad" (Gibb) or "greens" (Ermatinger), along with, in Gibb's case, oil and vinegar to dress the "sallad". McCord also bought apples, pears, and blackcurrants; and while he did not buy vegetables themselves, he did purchase a wide range of garden seeds, as Table 15 shows, along with the necessaries for dressing his lettuces and radishes.

As in the case of the canal workers, measuring the actual proportion of these in the diet is difficult, given the great possibilities of home production; but judging from the proportion spent on fruit and vegetables by Gibb's household,

TABLE 15

Garden Seeds Bought by Thomas McCord

1000 to 1 beans	mint
China beans	mustard
prolific French beans	onions
scarlet running beans	curld parsley
Turkey long pod beans	hamburg parsley
wax beans	parsley
Windsor beans	parsnips
yellow French beans	blue Imperial peas
German beets	Charleston peas
beets	early frame peas
purple broccoli	marrowfat peas
cabbage	peas
drumhead cabbage	cyan pepper
early York cabbage	peppers
early cabbage	early potatoes
red cabbage	potatoes
Imperial cabbage	red & white radish
carrots	black radish
cauliflower	early frame radish
celery	market radish
white & red celery	radish
tongue & pepper cress	salmon radish
early frame cucumbers	white turnip radish
endives	globe turnips
herbs	savory
leeks	shallots
London leeks	spinach
lettuce	thyme
mist lettuce	red top turnip
pot majoram	Swedish turnip
sweet majoram	yellow field turnip
mangelwurz	horse turnips
royal Madrid melons	stone turnips
white & green nutmeg melons	turnips
mignonette	

Source: McCord Museum, McCord Papers, bills and receipts

who likely did not have a garden, (104) these fresh foods accounted for no more than 5 percent of expenditures. Being relatively expensive for the calories they provided, they also accounted for an even lower proportion of the energy: carrots, for example, cost about four pence per thousand calories, compared to 1.6 for white bread, or 2.7 for beef at the same time; (105) and Ermatinger paid between sixpence and a shilling for a cabbage, the equivalent of two or three pounds of beef. Vegetables, of course, provided more than just energy; and they also added variety to the elite households' food. But overall, their importance was much less than starches, meat, or dairy products.

(iv) Alcohol, Drinks, and Condiments: Optional Luxuries.

Starches and animal products, along with a few vegetables, accounted for around 80 percent of the calories consumed in both Gibb and McCord's households, but a far lower proportion of expenditures: less than half, in both cases. Like the Lachine canal workers, they spent most of the remainder on three categories of food: alcohol, drink, and condiments. And like the workers, alcohol and drink accounted for the majority of with only a small proportion devoted to condiments.

However, beyond these superficial similarities, there were profound differences between the elite households and the canal workers, perhaps best exemplified by the role of condiments. The proportion of total food budget that the elite households spent on these items, while still negligible, was

from four to six times greater than the canal workers: 4 and 5 percent respectively for Gibb and McCord, compared to less than 1 percent for the average canal worker. More important was the difference in variety: while most of the Lachine workers' condiment expenditure was on salt, which was hardly a luxury, with occasionally a little pepper and vinegar, the elite households bought dried fruit, nuts, pepper, oil, vinegar, limejuice, various spices, mustard, and a variety of other true luxury products, with salt a minor part of expenditure on condiments.

Similar differences in quality were evident in alcohol and drink. The elite households, with surplus income to devote to taste, spread their alcohol purchases over a variety of products, from beer, ale, cider, and sprucebeer, to various grades of wine, mainly fortified, and all imported, to a wide range of spirits, mainly various brandies and rums, but also including gin, shrub (spirits mixed with fruit juice), and noyeau (brandy flavoured with fruit pits). The canal workers in contrast bought almost exclusively the lowest grade of distilled spirits, ordinary rum, with a few pints of fermented drinks here and there. The impact of different economic statures is evident in a comparison of the relative prices of these alcohols for the effect they produced: for one gallon of pure-alcohol equivalent in 1824, the canal worker's rum would cost about 15 shillings, beer about 17 shillings, and Thomas McCord's Teneriffe wine about 53 shillings. (106)

Likewise, the elite households bought both coffee and tea, in various grades, as well as both muscovado and loaf (refined) sugar, the latter up to twice as expensive as the first. The canal workers bought a single, cheap grade of tea, muscovado sugar only, and no coffee at all, even though it was available,(107) probably because they had neither the time nor the apparatus to roast, grind, and make it themselves.

A tentative hypothesis suggests itself. For the poorest canal workers, alcohol, tea, and sugar were luxuries, but also necessities, to improve an otherwise limited, perhaps even cold diet, and a long workday of hard labour. Sugar is a good example: while loaf sugar was within their reach economically, at least as a special-occasion luxury, they bought none at all, even though the store stocked it.(108) Sugar for them was a sweetener and nothing else, as such always to be bought at the lowest possible price; and a similar economically determined utilitarianism applied to drinks and alcohol. Even Pierre Elie, a well-off cooper employed by Ware & Gibb, bought 84 pounds of muscovado sugar and three pounds of twankay (cheap) tea in a year, as opposed to only a half pound of loaf sugar and a pound of coffee, although his superior economic position allowed him to supplement his thirty gallons of rum with ten gallons of more expensive fortified wine.(109)

The elites, on the other hand, had none of the workers' problems: their diet was varied, they had hired labour to prepare the food, and most importantly, their working lives were hardly as physically demanding as the canal workers. As

such, alcohol and hot drinks for them were much more a luxury than a necessity, with choice of product dictated not so much by utility and economics, but by taste and esthetics. Thomas McCord bought his twelve shilling a gallon Old Pale Teneriffe wine, and his twelve shilling a pound Gunpowder tea, with much more in mind than simply being stimulated by alcohol and caffeine; and his economic position allowed him to indulge his palate.

Class differences in food consumption attitudes is not a revolutionary interpretation: Sidney Mintz, for example, devotes part of his book discussing this in terms of sugar.(110) But it is a prime example of the way even detailed expenditure and calorie analysis can mask important cultural differences in food habits; and vital to understanding elite attitudes towards the poor. To the members of the Ladies Benevolent Society, who specified that "tea, sugar, oatmeal, eggs, and similar comforts are dispensed in sickness, wine only when ordered by the Physician,"(111) the canal workers' diet would have seemed wasteful and even opulent, with almost half the expenditures on what were for the elites optional luxuries.

(v) Households and Domestics: Some Observations

Treating the elite households as homogeneous units of consumption, masks one of the biggest potential problems with this sort of analysis: the fact that the households were not homogeneous, but rather comprised a number of interlocking groups, including males and females, adults and children and

especially, masters and servants. All these groups were fed out of the same overall household food purchases;(112) and since servants in particular very likely did not have the same diet as their masters, the "average" diet of the households does not necessarily represent what any person actually ate, but is rather a median between these groups.

While distinguishing between the diets of males and females, or adults and children, is impossible with these sources, the distortions introduced into the picture they give of "elite" diet by the presence of servants can be measured through manipulating the estimated food consumption of McCord's household to eliminate foods whose quality suggests that they were not destined for elite consumption. An account for servants' wages drawn up after McCord's death reveals that of the nine or ten people in the household, there were four servants, two male and two female, who would thus consume something between 40 and 50 percent of the food bought by McCord for the household.(113) Assume a "worst-possible case" where 40 percent of the servants' calories came from bread, mainly brown, and the remainder from the poorest and cheapest sorts of food, with all the salt provisions, half the muscovado sugar, all the cheap spirits, one third the beer, and portions of the salt butter and potatoes, along with two pounds of cheap tea and no condiments whatsoever. Subtracting this food from the overall household consumption, leaves the "best possible case" diet for the elite members of the household, which can then be compared to the average diet for the household.

As Table 16 shows, the presence of servants did not introduce a great distortion into the general characteristics of elite diet in McCord's household. Even with the servants' food removed, the caloric proportions, although they do make a ten percent shift from starches towards animal products, do not otherwise change radically; and even more importantly, the relative expenditure proportions remain almost exactly the same. Again, quality and price make their mark: with the bottom end of all major food groups going to the servants, only the more expensive foods remained, thus raising the overall proportion of total food budget spent on the elite group, but inside that overall proportion, keeping the relative amounts spent on the various food groups approximately constant.

5. Margin to Margin: The Middle of the Dietary Range

The canal workers represented the poorest elements of society, and elite households the best-off. But early nineteenth-century Montreal was not a two-tier society, with labourers on one side, elites on the other, and a blank space in between. While my sources do not allow me the same focussed analysis of the diets of better-off artisans, shopkeepers, and the like, a few examples nonetheless bolster my initial contention that their diets, like their social position, lay between the two extremes of the elites and the canal workers.

TABLE 16Distortion of Elite Diet by Presence of Servants

Based on comparing average diet of Thomas McCord's household to best possible case for elites. Best possible case for elites calculated by subtracting worst possible case for servants' diet from overall household consumption.

I. Proportion of calories devoted to major food groups

	Household Average	Best Possible Case
Starches:	29 %	21 %
Meat:	32 %	34 %
Dairy Products:	16 %	24 %
Alcohol:	13 %	12 %
Drink:	9 %	10 %

II. Proportion of expenditure devoted to major food groups

	Household Average	Best Possible Case
Starches:	9 %	10 %
Meat:	27 %	28 %
Dairy Products:	13 %	15 %
Alcohol:	29 %	28 %
Drink:	19 %	20 %
Condiments:	3 %	4 %

III. Proportion of total food expenditure devoted to elite group

With entire household eating same food:	61 %
With worst-possible-case scenario for servants:	72 %

The grocery foods bought over a year by Pierre Elle, Ware & Gibb's main cooper, while not all that he ate, suggest a mixture of the popular class and the elite diets sketched out above. A barrel of salt pork, a keg of salt butter, ten pounds of American cheese, 30 gallons of rum, 84 pounds of muscovado sugar, and 3 pounds of twankay (cheap) tea represent the popular class elements of his purchases. But he also bought ten gallons of fortified wine, a quart of gin, four pounds of rice, six pounds of oatmeal, a pound of coffee, a half pound of loaf sugar, a pound of chocolate, a half pound of bitter almonds, two ounces of cloves, a nutmeg, and even a coconut, foods more characteristic of the elites discussed above.(114)

Likewise, the debts owing by Antoine Côté in 1819, a master carpenter with an estate worth about £275, are evocative of this "middling" diet: £16 13s 4d "pour boissons", £13 6s 8d to Pierre Roy, a butcher; and £10 6s 6d to St. Germain, a baker.(115) And finally, the 1808 inventaire of Ignace Dorval, a baker in the St. Lawrence suburbs, suggests a similar mix a decade before. A bag of almonds, two pounds of rice, a "tinettes" of clarified butter, five pounds of salt butter, two salours, one with a little salt pork, two small hams, two dozen eggs, a cheese, a chest with apples in it, ten pounds of "sucre royal", seventy pounds of muscovado sugar, and a cow; not the fine wines of Thomas McCord or the choice cuts of Frederick William Ermatinger, but also not the salt pork, peas, bread, and tea of the Lachine canal workers, anglophone or francophone.(116)

6. Class, Ethnicity, and Preference: Diets in Montreal

My initial assumption in sketching out only the top and bottom margins of the dietary range in Montreal was that the most important determinant of what a person ate in the city was his or her socio-economic class. The specific examples of diet that I explored bear this out: the difference in diets even between George Gibb and William Wilcock was striking, not only in terms of the proportions of their diets devoted to various sorts of foods, but also in the quality of the foods that they ate. And diet also followed the social hierarchy fairly closely: the canal workers, at the lower end of this hierarchy, ate the least variety and the cheapest foods, although even within their ranks diet varied slightly according to occupation and wages; better-off artisans or retailers like Elie or Dorval included more condiments and meat among their foodstuffs; and at the top, the diet of the elites was truly luxurious, with fresh animal products, fine imported alcohols and drinks, an extensive variety of condiments, and in general a range and quality of foods that took full advantage of Montreal's dietary possibilities.

Class was not the only factor affecting diet, for both ethnicity and personal preference played a role, as the differences between Cotteau, Fitzpatrick, and Reilly demonstrate. But class over-rode ethnicity and personal habits: the differences between the food of these labourers and that of Thomas McCord or George Gibb was much more evident than the differences between ethnicities or individuals. The foods

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bought by two members of the francophone elites from Ware & Gibb also suggest the same conclusion. Jean Bouthellier and François Léonard were undoubtedly francophones; but as a government official and a businessman respectively, (117) their diet had much more in common with Thomas McCord than with Baptiste Cotteau: loaf sugar, quality teas, expensive and exotic condiments, and fine alcohols (Table 17). Within social groups, ethnicity and personal preference played their parts; but class was still the most important determinant of what people ate in early nineteenth century Montreal.

TABLE 17Foods Bought by François Léonard and Jean Bouthellier

Based on their purchases from Ware & Gibb, mid-May 1823 to mid-May 1824.

François Léonard

2 lb almonds
 8 lb barley
 19.5 gallons brandy
 32 lb salt butter
 6 lb fresh butter
 24.75 lb dolphin cheese
 6 bottles cider
 8 oz cloves
 11 lb coffee
 1 lb currants
 1 lb figs
 1 lb filberts
 19 lb flour
 .5 gallon gin
 .75 lb ground ginger
 .375 lb root ginger
 4 dozen lemons
 3 pints molasses
 4 lb mustard
 1 oz nutmeg
 3 bottles salad oil
 1/2 dozen oranges
 11 lb pepper
 1 cask porter
 30 lb raisins
 1 drum raisins
 38 lb rice
 15 lb table salt
 6 bushels coarse salt
 15 gallons Jamaica spirits
 1 keg Jamaica spirits
 28 lb best sugar
 7 lb bright sugar
 7 lb brown sugar
 62 lb common sugar
 240 lb loaf sugar
 132 lb muscovado sugar
 13.5 lb hyson tea
 2 lb souchong tea
 1 lb twankay tea
 20.25 gallons wine

Jean Bouthellier

5 lb bitter almonds
 6 lb barley
 2.5 gallons brandy
 125.5 lb salt butter
 1.75 lb cassia
 32 lb imported cheese
 2 lb chocolate
 1/2 lb cinnamon
 1/4 lb cloves
 13 lb coffee
 .5 gallon cognac
 32 lemons
 3 lb mustard
 3/4 nutmeg
 4 bottles salad oil
 2 quarts olive oil
 26 oranges
 4 lb pepper
 2.5 lb raisins
 48 lb rice
 24 gallons rum
 3 quarts table salt
 26 lb muscovado sugar
 379 lb loaf sugar
 5.25 lb green tea
 47 lb twank tea
 23.5 lb hyson tea
 18 pints vinegar
 1 gallon wine

PART II: PROVISIONING

REGULATIONS FOR THE MARKETS

It is ordered that the open square in the Lower Town, commonly called the Market Place, and also that part of St. Paul's Street, comprehended between the lower parts of St. Joseph and St. François Xavier's Streets, shall be reputed the Market Place of this city, for the purpose of buying and selling all kinds of provisions, except live oxen, cows, and hogs; that the south west side of the market-gate without the walls, be reputed the market-place for the purpose of exposing to sale, horses, cows, oxen, and live hogs, and that Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays be reputed Market-days.

ARTICLE 19

The Grand Jury having several times represented to the Court, that from the smallness of the Market-place, the selling Goods & Merchandize on Market-days, is become a nuisance: It is ordered that no person shall presume to sell, nor expose for sale, on the Market-place, within the walls, on the said Market days, any Goods, Wares, or Merchandize, or any article other than provisions, under the penalty of ten shillings.

ARTICLE 21

The Parade near the Parish Church shall be reputed a Market-place to which all persons may, on market days resort, for the purpose of selling every kind of provisions, wood, and provender, but no person shall suffer his or her, or their carriage or carriages to remain thereon within twenty-five feet of the said Church wall, under the penalty of five shillings.

ARTICLE 23

Every person or persons, bringing fish to market in canots or in any other vehicle, shall forthwith carry the whole of the said fish to the benches, near the Market-Gate, within the wall, to be there exposed for sale; and where there may not be sufficient room on the said benches, the said fish may be exposed for sale without the walls. And between the first day of April, and the fifteenth day of November no person shall expose fresh fish for sale elsewhere, within the walls than on the said benches, except there should not be sufficient room; in which case such fish so exposed for sale shall be place on board or bark; and every person or persons who shall use such boards or bark, shall remove the same to the distance of two hundred feet from the Town Wall, immediately after the sale of such fish, under the penalty of five shillings.

- Rules and Regulations of Police for Montreal, 1800.

Bread and beer, eggs and tea, beef and flour, pepper and butter, rum and peas, pork and sugar, onions and flour; in Lachine, William Wilcock could buy them all at the same store, and not pay a penny in cash. But this was unusual: a company store, in an area with otherwise limited retail

possibilities, (1) specifically set up to supply the canal workers with all their consumption needs, food and otherwise, (2) so that they could dedicate as much energy as possible to the store owners' main concern, the Lachine Canal. Once the Wilcock household moved back to Montreal, their food-getting options changed drastically: no more general truck store selling everything from bread to buttons, but instead, a large, urban retail network, with markets, bakeries, butcher shops, taverns, grocers, confectioners, and many others. The variety and range of commercial food suppliers in Montreal comes through clearly in the list of Thomas McCord's food suppliers between 1815 and 1825; (Table 18) and these 72 different suppliers represent only those from whom McCord preserved bills or receipts.

Food-getting had many aspects for urban consumers, whether McCords or Wilcocks. The city's retail provisioning network was the most important source of food: shops, markets, petty traders, and other food supplies based on commercial market exchanges. But there were also other provisioning options, especially direct contact with wholesalers or producers, and home-production and local barter. And retail provisioning itself involved more than just physical access to food supplies: it also required the ability to pay.

To examine provisioning in early nineteenth-century Montreal, I concentrate on these three aspects of food-getting. First I outline the city's retail provisioning options, mainly through a static analysis focussing on the early 1820s, but

TABLE 18. McCord's Food Suppliers, 1815-1825

<u>Name</u>	<u>Foods supplied McCord</u>
Albert, John Leonard	pork, lard, sausages
Andrews & Adams	bread
Baries, G	milk
Bellows, Geo I	salt butter
Benny, Walter	bread
Binley, W	groceries
Birss, J	vinegar
Blackwood & LaRocque	perry
Bothwick, O	salt butter
Bridge & Penn	groceries
Buck, Manna	salt butter, pork, & beef; apples, oranges, lemons
Cameron, Ewan	salt butter
Carswell, James	groceries
Chapman, Joseph	ale, beer
Ciedary, Allexandre	veal/lamb
Colt, J & Co	salt butter, flour
Craig, W	pork
Cuvillier & Co	oatmeal, wine, ginger, pigsheads
Dalrymple, Gardner & Reay	alcohol
David, Samuel	groceries
Day & Gelston	flour
Desrivieres & Blackwood	flour
Donnellan, John	melons, cabbages
Douglas, Patrick	beef & ducks
Eager, Daniel M	potatoes, carrots, onions, mess pork
Elvidge, Mark	fresh milk & butter, live pork
Ferrier, James	groceries
Field, Jackson	salt butter
Fisher, Daniel & Jonathon	groceries
Flaherty, John	beef
Forbes, W & Johnathon	salt butter & beef
Forsyth, Richardson & Co	flour
Fraser & Sanford Auction	oysters
Fraser, James	cheese
Froste & Porter	wine
Gates, Horatio & Co	salt butter, cod, beef, & pork; cheese
Gillis, W H	cheese, salt butter
Giraud, Joseph	cider
Glass, A&S	groceries
Hall, Nahum	flour
Healey, Joshua	salt provisions
Henry & Bethune	salt butter
Hunter, W ¹	salt butter
Hutchison, William	groceries
Johnstone, William	salt butter, haddock
Kimble, William	cows
Lacasse, Mrs P	fresh butter, currants
Lebert, Francois	fresh beef & veal
Leprohon, J P	pease, apples
Letourneau, Antoine	sprucebeer
MacNider Aird & Co	figs, wine
Macintosh, P	herrings
Maitland, Gardner & Auldjo	alcohol
McDonald, Davie Co	ham
McGill & Dowie	sugar
McMillan, Hugh	bread
Melvin & Belanger	wine
Nadeau, Joseph	cider, sprucebeer
Nichols & Sandford	cheese, salt butter & pork, wine, figs, dates, sardines
Ogilvie, James	potatoes
Ogilvie, James (estate of)	fresh milk & butter, potatoes
Ohare, Francis	beef
Osborne, Nicholas	alcohol
Page, R R	crackers
Platt, Ann	fruit
Proctor, G	spirits
Robmans	groceries
Torrance, John Thomas	groceries
Trim, John	tongue
Watson, Robert/William	bread
Whitcomb, J	pork, potatoes
Williams, W	beer

Source. McCord Museum, McCord Papers, bills and receipts

also with some thoughts on expansion and change through the period. Then I briefly survey non-retail provisioning options. And finally, I deal with the economic aspects of food, through a discussion of prices, credit, and budgets.

A. SHOPS, TRADERS, AND TAVERNS: THE RETAIL PROVISIONING NETWORK

Montreal by the beginning of the nineteenth century had a well-developed system of retail food provisioning based on exchanging cash or cash-equivalents for food.(3) Thomas Dolge's 1820 list of householders suggests the variety of possible retail food outlets: bakers, butchers, coffee houses keepers, confectioners, gardeners, grocers, ham curers, hawkers, market clerks, pork butchers, provision dealers, sausage makers, and tavernkeepers, along with unidentified "traders", "merchants", and "shopkeepers".(4) Five main types of retailers supplied food in Montreal, along with numerous hybrids: bakers, including pastry makers;(5) market vendors, including butchers; tavernkeepers and restaurateurs; grocers and general retailers; and hawkers and peddlers. Each presented the customer with different choices and problems, centering around accessibility, goods carried, and services offered.

1. The Staff of Life: Bakers and Bake-shops

While bread may not have been the only component in the diet of Montreal, it was usually the single most important source of calories and component of food expenditure. In Montreal, most people bought this part of their food from a professional baker: fuel was expensive in the city, ovens strictly regulated in order to prevent fires,(6) and working conditions not suited to the lengthy preparations necessary to make and bake bread.(7) Even McCord and Gibb, wealthy elites with both the resources and available labour for home-production, got their bread from bakers; and as for the popular classes, the Wilcocks or the Reillys, while a few may have had small bread ovens built into their chimneys,(8) the comparatively large number of bakers in Montreal -- one for every 350 inhabitants in 1820, as compared to 690, 490, and 430 respectively in Bolton, Leicester and York, three similarly-sized English cities, in 1822 --(9) suggests bought rather than home baked bread. That the popular classes bought their bread from bakers is also supported by the text of a number of official documents: a Grand Jury(10) presentment and magistrates' reply in 1801, which noted that due to the low amount of bread being baked by the bakers (because of low bread prices set by the magistrates), there was only enough to feed two thirds of the town, meaning that the poor in particular would suffer;(11) and the original ordinance of 1769 regulating

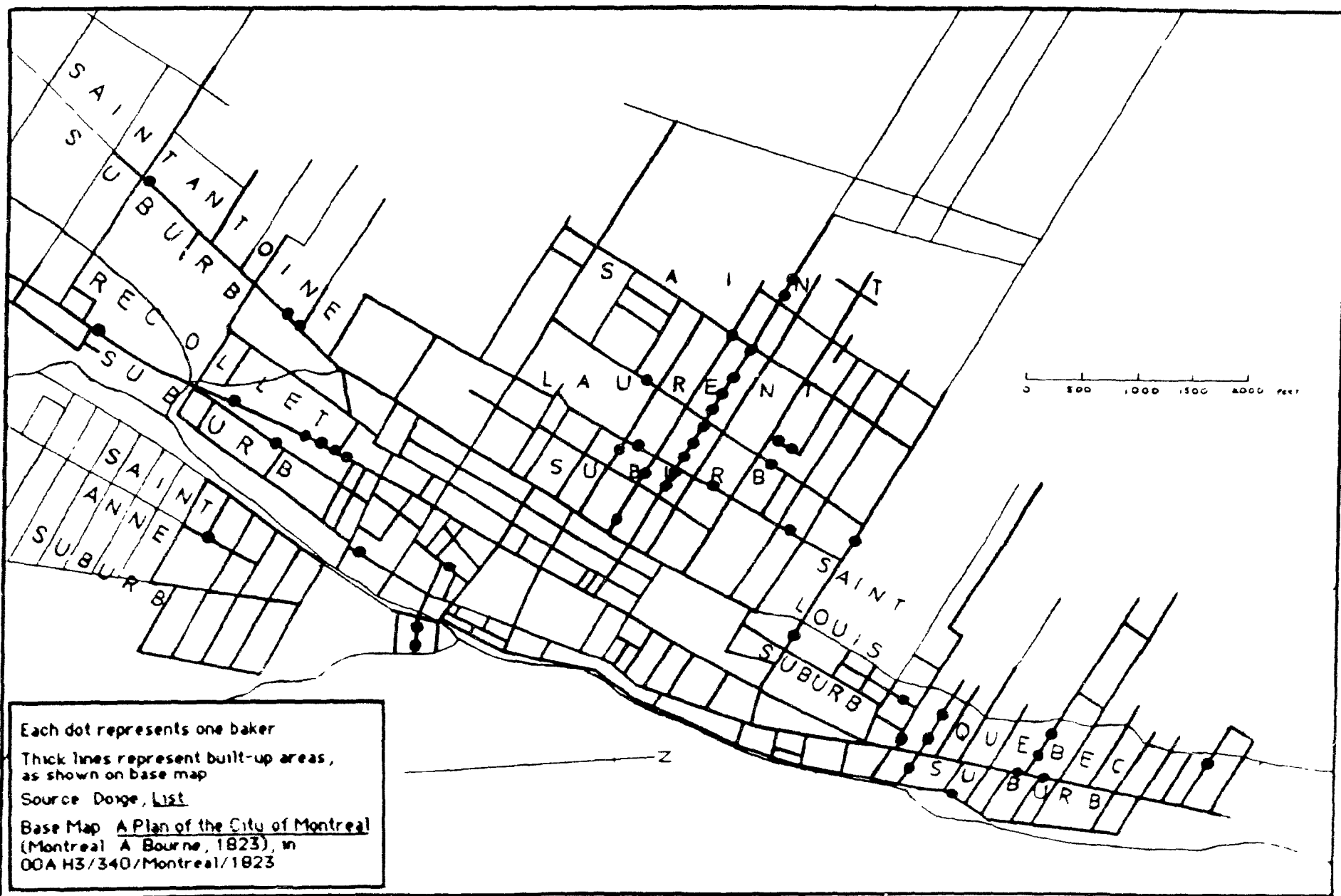
bakers in Montreal and Québec, suggesting that in times of scarcity and thus high flour prices, bakers were liable to shut up their shops rather than continue to sell at the legislated price, causing bread shortages "very grievous to the poorer sort of inhabitants."(12)

But if they bought most of their bread from bakers, how exactly did urban households go about this? Basing herself on the unequal distribution of bakers through the city, with a heavy concentration in the St. Lawrence suburbs, Corinne Beutler has suggested that rather than buying their bread from bakeshops, as was the custom in most English towns, people in Montreal got their bread from carts roaming the streets, as in some French cities.(13) However, a variety of evidence argues against street-sales of bread. In the first place, the ordinance of 1815 regulating bakers specified that "every baker ... shall keep his shop open to the Public from eight o'clock in the morning, until eight o'clock in the evening, of every day in the year, Sundays and the days called "fêtes d'obligations" excepted,"(14) and the police regulations specifically allowed bakers to sell bread "from their houses" on Sundays before 9 o'clock.(15) Furthermore, of nine inventaires après décès of bakers, only one mentioned any vehicles able to carry bread.(16) Finally, no travellers made mention of a practice which would have seemed strange to visitors largely accustomed to the British system of shop sales.

When the bakers listed in the 1820 Doige list are plotted on a city map, it is clear that, while the St. Lawrence suburbs did have a disproportionate number of bakers, all areas of Montreal apart from the old city itself had at least a few bakers (Figure 1).(17) Furthermore, the high number of bakers in the St. Lawrence suburbs was almost entirely made up for by the low number in the old city, with the two areas of the city added together accounting for a little over half of both the city's population and bakers: all other areas had bakers roughly in proportion to their relative population.(18) Thus, while the suburbs were amply supplied with shop outlets to buy bread, some of the bread baked in the St. Lawrence suburbs was perhaps meant for the old city, and delivered to households and institutions therein, which would explain a Grand Jury presentment of 1828 complaining that bread carts were driving dangerously fast through the streets of the old city.(19)

Delivery of bread to the old city raises the question of class distinctions in how people got their bread. Many of the households in the old city were elite households, with most of the professional and business classes concentrated there; and indeed many of the customers of the one baker whose inventaire listed a bread cart (and a bread sleigh), John Catanach, were elites, including James Carswell, a prominent merchant grocer, and William Martin, the city's fire inspector. This leads to

FIGURE 1. Distribution of Bakers in Montreal, 1820



another tentative conclusion: elites living in the old city, for example George Gibb, would have had their bread delivered, perhaps since they were often buying in large quantities to feed extended households; the popular classes, who tended to live more in the suburbs, where there was a sufficiency of bakers, bought their bread directly from bakeshops.(20)

Buying their bread mostly from bakers, consumers in Montreal were dealing with one of the most heavily regulated food trades, and were thus theoretically protected from fraud and abuses. At least until the 1830s, the size and quality of bread was controlled, with only two or four pound white loaves and three or six pound brown loaves allowed, made from specific types of unadulterated wheat flour.(21) Bakers had to keep their shops open on all working days, and to sell bread to whosoever asked for it; and until the early 1820s, even the price of bread, or "assize" was set by the local magistrates.(22) Finally, all bakers had to register with the local authorities, and post substantial securities to guarantee their compliance with these regulations.(23)

Whether this actually stopped the abuses, especially bread adulteration, that were rampant in England at the same time is impossible to determine.(24) Montreal bakers do not appear to have been charged with contraventions of the regulations governing them,(25) while other major food retailers were often pursued for various infractions.(26) Furthermore, the

inventaires of the bakers show no sign of alum, the compound most often used to adulterate bread in England, even though this was not specifically outlawed by the ordinances.(27) When the bakers did disagree with, for example, the price they were allowed to charge for bread, they seemed to favour the more accepted course of appealing to the Justices of the Peace through petitions, rather than attempting to correct matters by cheating the consumer.(28) Fraud did occur on some occasions: in 1819, a traveller complained that the bread he ate in Montreal was sour, dark-coloured, and bitter, much worse than that of England or the United States,(29) suggesting spoiled flour; and a newspaper account in the same year pointed to the identical problem, although blaming it on the low price of bread set by regulators rather than on malicious intent on the part of the bakers.(30) But complaints about the bread of the city generally centered more around high prices and low supply in times of crisis, than on poor quality.(31)

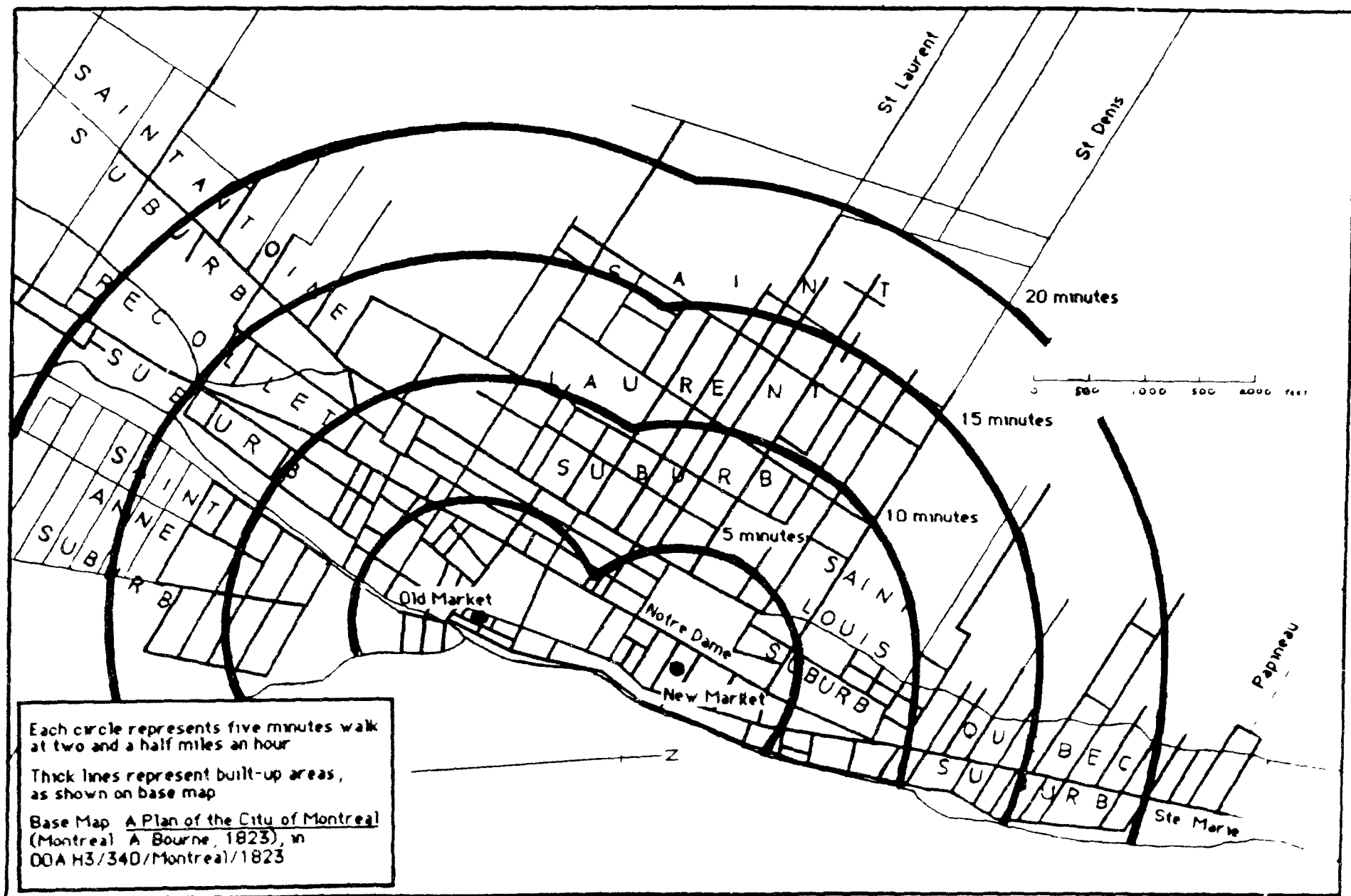
2. The Hub of Commerce: Provisioning Markets

While bakeries may have provided the single most important food item to Montreal's consumers, the city's markets were the most visible, and most concentrated centres of food provisioning. Retail urban food markets were the traditional provisioning centres in most European towns, often with roots dating back to the middle ages; and the European settlers who

came to North America brought this market tradition with them. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, most established cities had their market or markets, selling a variety of items, usually including meat, fresh produce, dairy products, fish, and other locally produced agricultural goods, and sometimes also bread, imported goods, and non-food items such as shoes or other drygoods.(32)

In the early 1820s, Montreal's consumers had two official food markets at their disposal, the "Old Market", in the current Place Royale, and the "New Market", in what is now known as Place Jacques Cartier. The markets were well-placed to provide maximum access to the city's inhabitants: as Figure 2 shows, most of the city and suburbs was within 15 minutes walk of at least one food market, and the markets could be reached from anywhere in the old town in five minutes or less. The Wilcocks for example, living in the Ste. Anne suburbs in 1825, could have reached the Old Market in less than a quarter of an hour: along Wellington, up Grey Nuns, and along St. Paul, for a total distance of not more than a half a mile. The markets' location also encouraged a good supply of food, especially from those whom the market was traditionally supposed to attract, farmers bringing produce in from the country. Both markets were directly accessible from the South Shore via the St. Lawrence, with a special farmers' dock erected at the New Market;(33) and the New Market in particular

FIGURE 2. Walking Time to the Markets, 1820



was easily reached from the Island of Montreal via St. Laurent and St. Denis, which crossed Notre Dame street a few hundred feet west and east of the market, or down Papineau Road and along Ste. Marie.(34)

Arriving at the markets after their fifteen minute walk, the Wilcocks would have been confronted by a range of food-buying options. At the core of both markets were butchers' stalls, housed in low, wooden, open-sided market houses down the middle of each market,(35) and selling fresh quadruped, or butcher's, meat: forty stalls on the New Market and fourteen on the Old Market in the early 1820s,(36) thus providing retail space for most of the 58 butchers in the 1820 Doige list. But though butchers likely accounted for the largest single portion of sales on the markets,(37) other retailers also plied their wares. Vendors of salt pork, salt fish, maple sugar, and other preserved foods occupied covered benches along the outside of the main market buildings, used benches, chests, or barrels on the open market squares, or on the New Market after 1821, sold from an annex to the main market shed built specially for their use. Fresh fish sellers used the forty benches in the "fish market" on the south end of the New Market from April to mid-December, and the main areas of both markets during the winter, when the sleighs loaded with fresh-frozen fish from Boston and other outlying areas were the main focus of this trade. And fruit, vegetables, pastry, roots, butter, eggs, poultry, and

"small meat brought to the market by persons not butchers" could be bought from covered benches, low benches in rows on the open spaces around both market houses, or from farmers' carts similarly arranged. The markets carried fresh and salt meat and fish; country products such as grains, fruits and vegetables, and maple sugar; dairy products, including eggs, butter, and local cheeses; and apparently a few prepared foods, such as pastry;(38) but no non-food items, which had been outlawed in 1811,(39) and no bread.

Apart from the number of butchers stalls, the number of food retailers who frequented Montreal's markets is unknown, since the Clerks of the Markets, responsible for charging user fees to retailers, reported only fees received for fish and salt provisions sellers up until the 1830s. In March of 1821, a newspaper report estimated some 330 carts around the New Market alone;(40) and in 1822, fish and salt provisions sellers paid their one shilling threepence fee to the clerk of the markets around 4900 times, suggesting an average of about 95 market attendances by these retailers each week, about three quarters of whom were probably salt provisions sellers.(41) A traveller's description of the Old Market around 1820 is evocative, although likely semi-fictionalized:

Before reaching the centre of the Lower Market, by St. Paul Street, we pass through two long ranges of carts, loaded with the production of the country: wheat, flour, indian corn, potatoes, pork, mutton, live sheep, geese, turkies, ducks, chickens ... Approaching the square, the next scene is the vegetable market: cabbages, melons, cucumbers, fruits in season, apples, pears, currants, cherries ... My attention was caught by a soldier and a Canadian Butcher. "How much for your beef a pound, friend?" "Quatre sous, monsieur." "I know nothing about your cat sow, cut me two pounds of steak." "Du livres, mastier, ah oui, bon beef, bon beef!" "Give me none of your bones, friend!" "No, bon sacré!" Here a boy volunteered his services as an interpreter, so the matter was amicably adjusted.(42)

Even more so than bakers, markets were heavily regulated by local and provincial authorities. Market rules consistently formed the largest single element of the various police regulations in force in Montreal throughout the first third of the nineteenth century, and were also complemented by various provincial ordinances. Since the market was not just a place to get food, but a complex social and economic institution as well, many of these rules had implications beyond simple provisioning, with market regulation bound up in social control, economic ideology, public finance, and other elements that lie beyond the scope of this study.(43) Nevertheless, the face that the market presented to the urban consumer was heavily informed by regulation and control from above.

One main purpose of traditional market regulation in Europe and North America was to fulfill the dual purpose of providing local farmers with an outlet for their production, and ensuring a sufficient and sound food supply at low enough prices to prevent discontent among the city's populace, with the latter generally the more important consideration.(44) In

Montreal, this traditional elite attitude towards markets was clearly visible in the concerted efforts by regulators to eliminate extraneous middlemen, and bring the consumer into direct contact with the producer. Thus, provincial ordinances decreed that all fresh food brought to Montreal and Québec, apart from horned cattle, be sold on the markets; specified further that all butcher's meat be sold either on the markets, or directly from the butchers' houses; and also attacked the triple demons of forestallers (butchers, hucksters, or others buying from producers on their way to market), engrossers (persons contracting directly with farmers with the intent to sell again), and regrators (hucksters buying goods on the markets for resale), outlawing the first two with heavy penalties, and limiting the third to operating only several hours after the markets opened, to give the inhabitants first choice of market goods.(45) Local market regulations reinforced and expanded on this general theme: by the police regulations in force in the early 1820s, no foods sold on the markets could be sold in any public street or square of the city, apart from fruit and vegetables carried around in baskets; and regrators were severely curtailed, forced to register with the clerks and pay a heavy licensing fee, and even for a space prohibited altogether.(46)

But market regulation in Montreal was not limited to bringing producer and consumer together in the simplest fashion. In part based on the same rationale of maintaining social harmony, but also no doubt because regulators themselves

were market customers, regulations also sought to control market fraud. Ordinances authorized local Justices to seize and dispose of any fraudulently butchered meat or tainted food, and specified that all beams and scales were to be inspected for trueness and stamped;(47) and the regulations of police for 1821 prescribed supplementary penalties for tainted provisions, underweight butter, and non-standard weights, as well as ordaining that any purchaser could demand that goods be weighed at the public weigh-house, at the expense of the seller. The market regulations also sought impose order on the physical characteristics of the market, prescribing set areas for specific types of retailers, and invoking a number of sanitary measures, again with the basic intention of creating a retail arena conducive to efficient and pleasant food-getting, at least as the regulators conceived it.(48)

While all theoretically designed to aid and protect the food consumer, these aspects of market regulations did not necessarily do either in practice, as the attempts to outlaw or control regrators illustrate. Buying food to sell again was directly contrary to the traditional principles that informed the whole concept of the regulated market, and throughout the 1820s and early 1830s, regrators were repeatedly targeted as barely tolerated undesirables, both in the drafting of regulations, and through numerous cases brought against them by various city officials.(49) And yet, the professional market reseller apparently served a necessary function: as both the continued convictions, and Grand Jury presentments in the later

1820s make clear, many consumers still patronized these retailers in the face of elite attempts to control them.(50) One possible explanation of this lies in the importance of regrators in breaking market goods into quantities small enough to suit the limited budgets of poorer consumers: for example, buying a bushel of vegetables or fruit, or a dozen eggs, from a producer who might not want to sell in smaller quantities, and then retailing them in individual pieces.(51) Clearly, the elites continued to believe, as a 1779 proclamation had stated, that regrators were "oppressive to the poor of this province in general;"(52) but this was a position with which the intended beneficiaries of this control, poorer consumers, apparently disagreed.

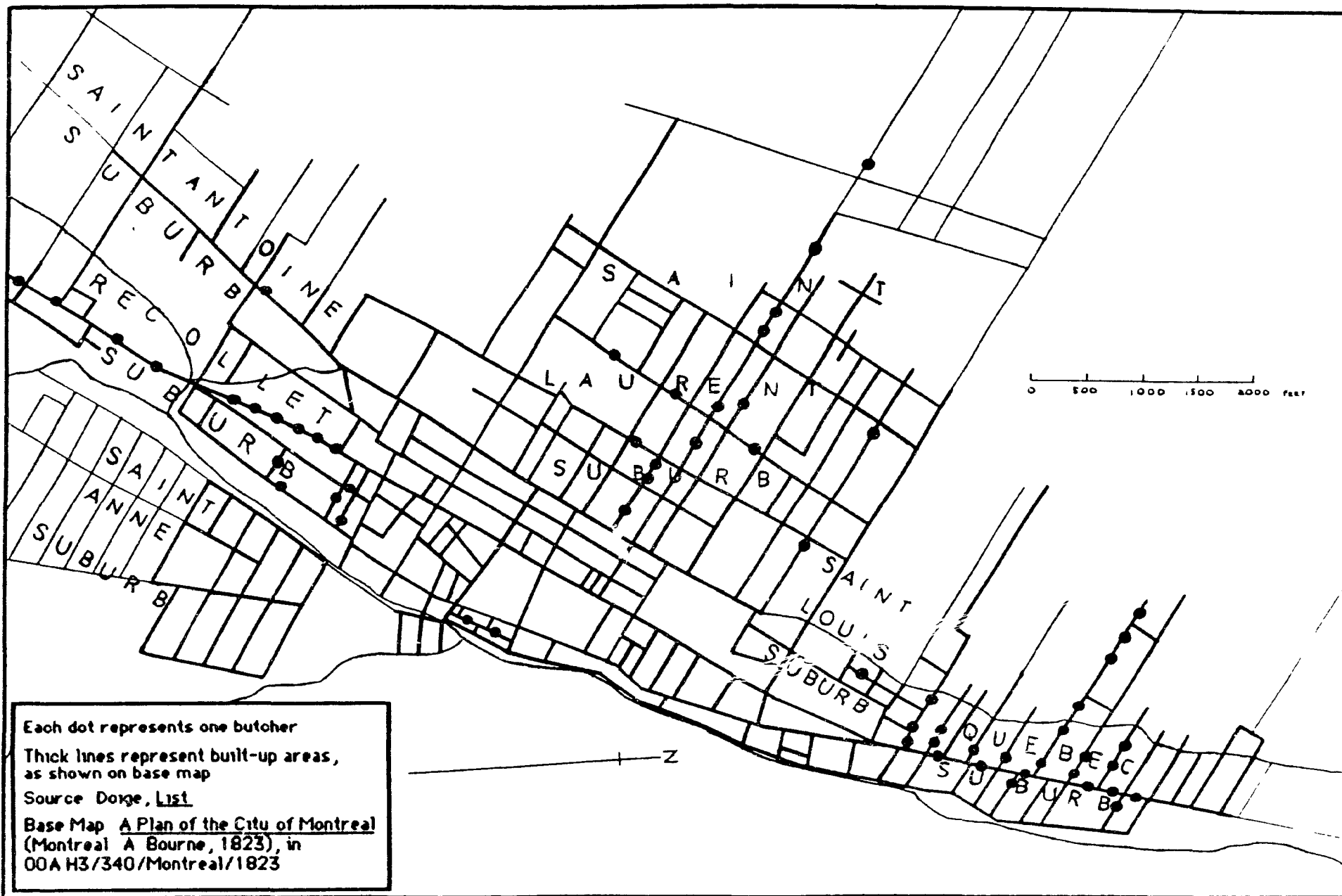
Official regulation thus helped define the market, and certainly had some effect on how consumers got their food, but by no means was regulatory control absolute. In cases such as regrators, where the regulations were in conflict with consumer needs, they were simply ignored, although not without official reprisals. And as a number of convictions and complaints regarding market fraud suggest, even those regulations that protected consumers directly could not completely control irregular practises on the city's markets.(53)

Finally, who bought on the markets? As the accounts of Gibb and Ermatinger showed, elite households definitely patronized these institutions, but whether the same was true of the popular classes is less certain. The high number of butchers' stalls on the markets, fifty-four in 1820, or one per

340 inhabitants, the same as bakers, indicates that unless stall sales were only a marginal part of butchers' revenues, large numbers of people bought fresh meat in the markets. The strong presence of both salt-provisions sellers retailing in small pieces from larger barrels or chests, as well as regrators, also suggests popular-class attendance on the markets, since as discussed above, this type of food and scale of retailing were tailored to the needs of poorer consumers.(54) Furthermore, a newspaper account in 1819 on fish in the markets noted that "the common sort sold reasonable and afforded a very seasonable supply to our numerous poor people."(55) And finally, as Figure 2 showed, a large part of the city's population was within a short walk of either the Old or New Market, and anyone could reach one of the markets, shop, and return to almost anywhere in the city within an hour.

On the other hand, many of the market goods that workers like Wilcock would have bought were also available elsewhere. Butchers sold fresh meat from their own houses, which as Figure 3 shows were scattered throughout most of the suburbs, although not in the old city itself;(56) grocers also carried salt provisions; and gardens or itinerant sellers provided vegetables. Thus, while popular class households living in or near the old city very likely got at least some food from the markets, especially from the salt provisions retailers, people living further out in the suburbs might not have had either the available resources or the need to make consistent journeys to the markets, depending on individual working conditions,

FIGURE 3. Distribution of Butchers in Montreal, 1820



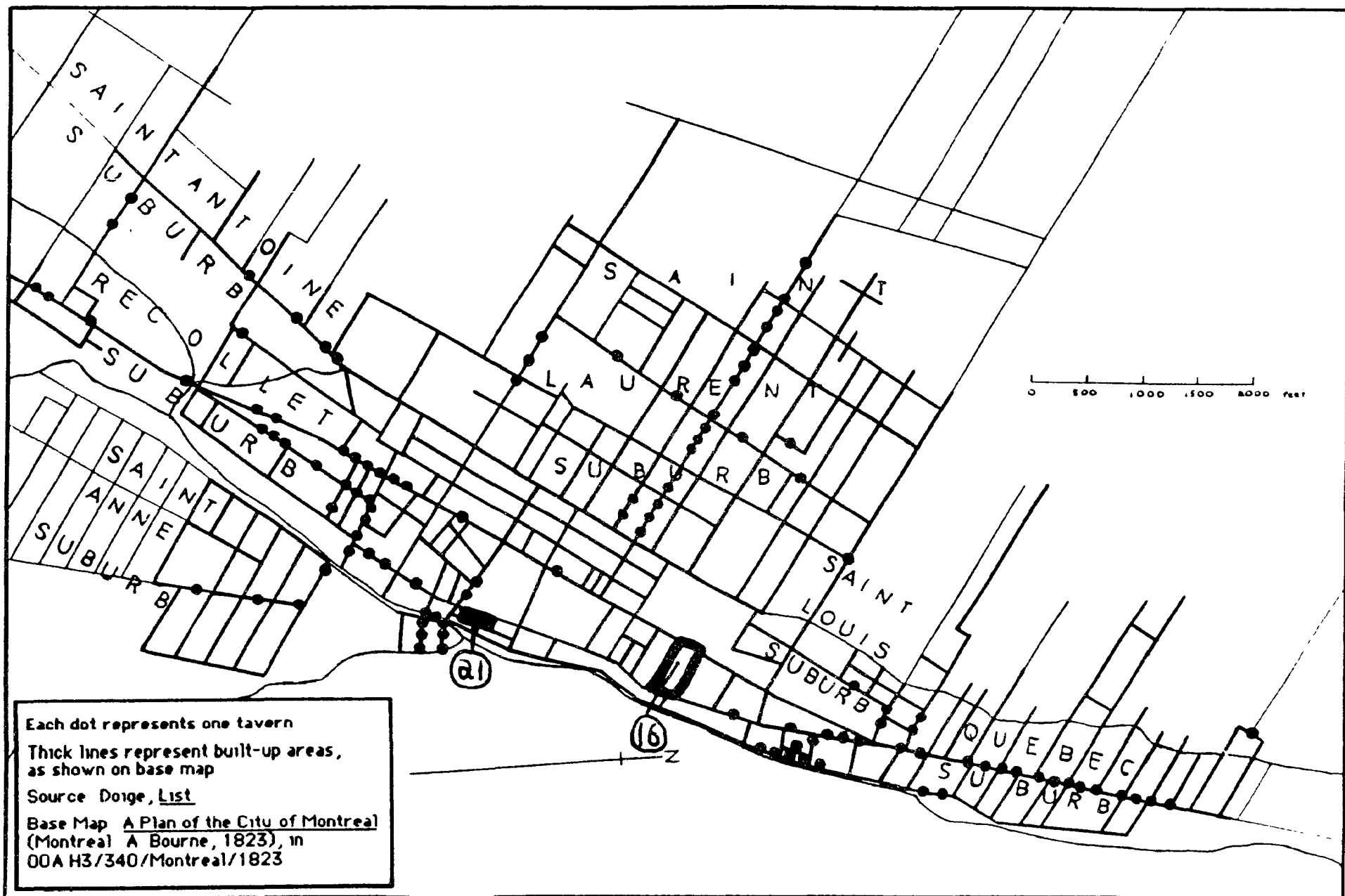
household composition, and dietary preferences. Certainly, a single worker living in the outer reaches of the St. Lawrence suburbs, and working Monday through Saturday, dawn until dusk, could not easily have gone to market; and if he or she ate mainly bread, salt butter, salt pork, sugar, tea, and alcohol, like some of the Lachine canal workers, the market might be an unnecessary adjunct.

3. A Drinking City: Taverns, Hotels, and Coffeehouses

Bakers provided the single most important food item in Montreal, and markets were the most concentrated and complex nodes of food retailing; but the most prevalent element of the city's retail provisioning network was the public house. One hundred and fifty seven licensed tavernkeepers, innkeepers, hoteliers, or coffee house keepers showed up in Doige's 1820 list, or about one for every 120 inhabitants, and this figure does not include the numerous illegal drinking establishments, hinted at by the many convictions for selling liquor without a license.(57) Unlike bakers or butchers, taverns were spread throughout the entire city and suburbs. As Figure 4 shows, about a quarter of the taverns were clustered around the Old and New markets, probably catering to habitants and traders bringing produce to market; but the suburbs also had a healthy supply, largely along their main streets.

For the city-dweller, Montreal's taverns filled three distinct food-provisioning needs, above their obvious social function. First and most importantly, they were one of the

FIGURE 4. Distribution of Taverns in Montreal, 1820



main sources of alcohol in the city, selling beer, wine and spirits in small quantities not available in true grocery stores.(58) But some taverns at least also acted as proto-restaurants or eateries: J.B. Girard advertised "good confections, sweetmeats, preserves, cordials, wines, liquors always on hand ... ice cream will constantly be ready from 8:00 AM to 10:00 PM;" the Belfast Coffee House offered soups, dinners, and suppers; and three inventaires of tavernkeepers mentioned food kept in the bar itself, including butter, hogs' lard, crackers, sugar, and salt beef.(59) Finally, a number of tavernkeepers were also grocers, selling alcohol and perhaps food for consumption off the premises: 23 people in the Doige census gave this tavernkeeper/grocer combination as their occupation.

While all classes drank, there was a distinct social hierarchy of drinking establishments. At the top were hotels, coffee houses based on the British model,(60) and a few "respectable" taverns frequented by the elites, most of which charged about one and a half times as much for alcohol as rougher taverns: places like Girard's, mentioned above, the Mansion House Hotel, or Clamp's Coffee House, "the resort of the Beaver Club and gentry of the city."(61) At the other end of this hierarchy, "the east end of Capital Street was filled with low drinking places for voyageurs and raftsmen ... along St. Paul street, near the barracks and Quebec gates was a succession of low grog shops for soldiers and market people, making that neighborhood very rough in those days."(62) The

distinction was clearly articulated in the attitudes of the elites: while cheerfully frequenting their own establishments, they objected to the taverns and drinking habits of the popular classes. Provincial ordinances strictly controlled and regulated taverns, and tavernkeepers were obliged to take out licenses every year and post substantial sureties.(63)

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, the Justices of the Peace also attempted to limit the number of taverns in Montreal: in 1812, for example, they resolved that there were more taverns than were "necessary or useful", and refused to issue any further licenses that year.(64) And other elements of the elites also decried the moral and physical effects of taverns on the popular classes: a Grand Jury presentment in 1833 complained that unlicensed taverns were "nests of vice" and should be strictly controlled;(65) and in 1819, a "friend of the poor" bemoaned the money they spent

"in the purchase of ardent spirits -- of Rum or some other deleterious liquor, which furthers the wretchedness and misery of the poor creature who indulges in taking it -- which incapacitates him from the discharge of his duty -- unfits him for decent society -- enervates his frame -- emaciates his body -- and not unfrequently, by the quick route of starvation, hunger, or apoplexy, [condemns] him."(66)

As well as class distinctions, taverns also exhibited some ethnic divisions, although not nearly as important. Seth Pomroy's City Tavern, at the west side of the old city, catered almost exclusively to anglophones, judging from the list of accounts owing to his estate.(67) But on the other hand, the regulars of Pierre Talon, Joseph Fagnant, and Joseph Tourelle, all tavernkeepers in various parts of the old city,

showed no such ethnic cleavages: both anglophones and francophones had accounts owing to their respective estates.(68) Class was much more important in determining where a person drank than ethnicity: George Gibb and Jean Bouthellier might drink in the same establishment, but would never enter the rougher taverns frequented by, for example, the Lachine canal workers.

4. Grocers and Traders

The fourth main component of the established retail provisioning network in Montreal was the grocery trade, selling mainly imported or preserved goods, especially sugars, teas, coffees, dried fruits and nuts, salt provisions, grains and flour, condiments, and alcohol. Both the Lachine canal workers and the elite households spent significant proportions of their food budgets on these items, especially tea, sugar, and alcohol: even disregarding alcohol, which he might have bought and consumed in taverns, William Wilcock devoted about 22 percent of his food budget to items that could only be bought in grocery stores, and a further 12 percent on food that grocers also carried, although not exclusively.

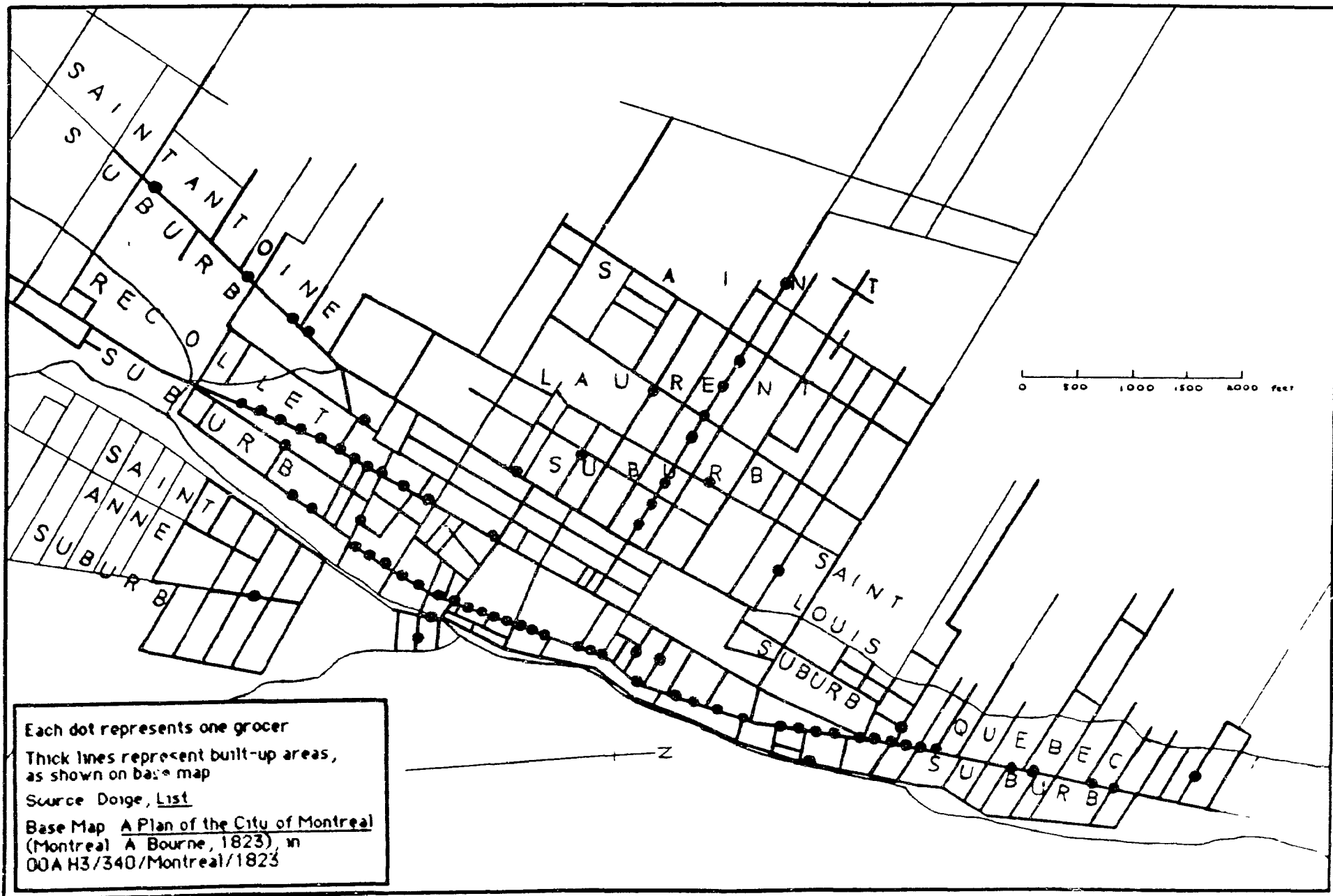
While grocers in some parts of England apparently retained their traditional position in the "high-class luxury trade drawing its customers from the middle and higher income groups" well into the nineteenth century,(69) grocers in Montreal by the early 1820s, were an established part of most urban consumers' shopping circuit. Dolge listed 94 grocers in 1820,

including the tavernkeeper/grocer combinations, or one per 195 inhabitants, compared to one per 310 in York, one per 480 in Leicester, and one per 1835 in Bolton in 1822;(70) and given that individuals who called themselves "traders" or "merchants" in the census may also have sold grocers' foods,(71) there were probably more outlets for these foods as well. As Figure 5 shows, known grocers in 1820 were distributed throughout the city in much the same fashion as taverns, with a strong concentration in the old city, especially along St. Paul St., but also in all of the suburbs, again primarily along their main arteries.

In the grocer, the consumer found the retail establishment closest to the modern notion of a "shop": a fixed location occupied by a single business, selling a variety of goods at prices set by the retailer, and in quantities mutually agreed on. As well, in contrast to the older order of retailing, represented by the strictly regulated bake-shop and the controlled food market, retail grocers were effectively free from any official mediation of the exchange process. Grocers were subject to the same licensing fee (but not sureties or conditions) for selling alcohol as tavernkeepers,(72) and they were also included under the general ordinances prohibiting false weights and Sunday sales; but apart from these restrictions, the trade was unregulated.(73)

How much effect this lack of regulation had on consumers can only be hinted at. In 1819, a newspaper report suggested that retail grocers should improve their ethics regarding

FIGURE 5. Distribution of Grocers in Montreal, 1820.



weights and measures, and indeed, between 1816 and 1820, the inspector of Weights and Measures prosecuted 18 grocers for weights and measures abuses.(74) But whether the food itself was adulterated, as was often the case in England, is impossible to know.(75) One small indication of possible abuses even by elite grocers comes in the inventaire of Malcolm Alexander, which among hundreds of gallons of various sorts of alcohol, included five gallons of "colouring", at a time when much alcohol in England was artificially tinted to raise its apparent quality.(76)

Retail grocers also showed the same sort of class differentiation as taverns, although perhaps not quite as extreme. On the one hand were establishments like Birss' or Alexander's stores, mentioned in part I, which carried a wide range of the luxury goods bought by elite households. The account books of Ware and Gibb, a large retail and wholesale grocer in the heart of the old city, give an idea of the clientele of this sort of grocery store: of 100 identifiable customers buying goods on account between June and August, 1823, 56 were in commerce, 13 artisans, 10 members of the liberal professions, 9 tavernkeepers, 4 rentiers, 4 clerks, and 4 labourers; of the labourers, clerks, and less prestigious artisans like coopers on the company books, more than half were directly connected to the firm in some way.(77) In contrast were stores like that of Toussaint Leboeuf, in the Recollet suburbs, whose inventaire in 1824 shows a very basic range of goods, mainly cheap tea, muscovado sugar, molasses,

salt butter, lard, and cheap alcohol, all in fairly small quantities, suggesting a clientele far different from the elite, downtown grocers.(78) It was from the latter sort of grocer, the smaller trader located nearby in the suburbs, that people like Wilcock likely bought their tea and sugar; McCord, in contrast, made all his grocery purchases from the large downtown grocers, sending his servants in to town to make purchases even when a number of local grocers had set up shop in the St. Anne suburbs, where he lived.(79)

5. Marginal Retailers: Hawkers and Peddlers

Bakers, markets, taverns, and grocers supplied the majority of food to Montreal's consumers. But there were also other, less fixed retailers: hawkers and peddlers who moved about the city, offering even easier access to goods. Itinerant urban retailers selling both food and other goods were very common in nineteenth century England, filling the retailing gaps left by rapid urban expansion by "carrying the facilities of centrally located markets and shops to the consumer".(80) Peddlers certainly existed in Montreal: in the 1825 Viger census, the only census of the period to give occupations of all inhabitants rather than just heads of households, some 42 "colporteurs" were listed, 38 in the suburbs, 20 in the St. Laurent suburb alone.(81) The census does not indicate whether these were selling food or other merchandize; but other sources suggest that itinerant food selling, while it existed, was much less important in Montreal.

Police regulations from 1810 on prohibited the sale of most market foods, including fish, salt provisions, meat, poultry, and dairy products, in any public places in the city apart from the markets, although qualified with the important proviso that "this shall not be construed to prevent fruit and garden-stuff from being carried round for sale in wheel-barrows or baskets."(82) No prosecutions were levied for contravening this regulation, at least up until 1833; and since a similar prohibition on selling non-food merchandize in the streets was the subject of a long battle between peddlers and established merchants in the late 1820s and early 1830s, accompanied by several prosecutions, interventions by Grand Juries, and petitions,(83) it seems unlikely that any widespread flouting of the regulation against food peddling would have gone unnoticed. A report to the Special Sessions in 1830 encapsulating the official view of street peddling also suggests that it was more concerned with non-food goods:

Considering the great number of Hawkers and Peddlars that are now in this city, some embarassing the streets with their tables and Hand Carts, and disturbing the Passengers with their clamorous importunities; others, going from house to house, withdrawing the domestics from the duties of their stations by tempting them to waste time and money in bargaining for Articles neither useful or necessary and frequently contraband; considering also that such Hawkers and Peddlars injuriously interfere with the pursuits and interests of the respectable class of traders, who offer their merchandize in shops, paying rent and other expenses attending to the convenient transaction of business in a well-ordered society ... Your committee recommends ... an additional duty ... on Hawkers and Pedlars selling goods, wares, and merchandize within this City and Banlieus.(84)

A Grand Jury presentment in 1831 similarly drew a distinction between regrators, who were by definition food sellers, and "colporteurs", who it claimed were damaging the business of established retailers in the lanes around (not in) the markets.(85)

Given the distribution of retail outlets across the suburbs, shown in Figures 1 through 5, this apparent insignificance of itinerant food retailing, apart perhaps from fruit and vegetables, makes perfect sense. Unlike English towns, Montreal's established food retailing network was geographically sound, and consumers in most parts of the city and suburbs were within easy access of retailers selling most of the sorts of foods generally consumed. The only exceptions were fresh fish, fresh produce, and dairy products, whose retailers were concentrated on the markets; but with the markets themselves within fifteen minutes walk of the bulk of the city's population, and as well many of these items produced by households themselves,(86) accessibility was still not a serious problem. Thus, it seems most likely that street peddling in Montreal centered more around merchandize such as cloth or hardware, perhaps with some unusual or luxury food goods, than around everyday foods like meat, bread, or alcohol, fruit and vegetables being the only exception. And given the relative unimportance of produce in even elite diets, itinerant retailing was thus not a major part of food provisioning in the city.

6. Growth and Change: Urbanization and the Retail Network

So far I have presented a static picture of food retailing in Montreal, focussing on its characteristics in the early 1820s. But in the first third of the nineteenth century, the city was far from static, with a demographic explosion that tripled the population between 1805 and 1831, a corresponding spatial expansion, and as well the beginnings of an economic transformation towards the end of the period.(87) In England, the same sorts of mutations led to equally radical changes in the ways city-dwellers got their food, especially an expansion of shop retailing over market sales by producers from outside the city.(88) In Montreal, the expansion of the city in the early nineteenth century also affected the retail provisioning options available to the consumer, but not in nearly so dramatic fashion as in England.

(i) The Public Market System

The easiest aspect of food provisioning to follow through the first third of the nineteenth century is the public market system, through acts, regulations, and other official documents. In 1800, Montreal had only one public market, the Old Market, in Place Royale. But even at this early period, urban expansion was putting pressure on the city's market facilities, and in 1803, the Justices of the Peace, "seeing the absolute necessity of a more spacious Market Place than the one now in use," set about acquiring land for another public

market. After a lengthy process involving land purchases, lawsuits, and financial problems, the New Market was opened in 1808.(89)

The New Market initially met considerable consumer and retailer apathy, and in ensuing years the Justices promulgated a series of regulations to encourage and coerce consumers and retailers, especially farmers, to use the new facilities they had so laboriously erected.(90) Even in 1816, the Old Market remained more popular, with retailers flocking to it as the "better selling ground."(91) But far from indicating a lack of interest in market expansion, this simply reflected the differences between what the elites thought consumers wanted, and what they actually preferred: rather than physical expansion, buyers and sellers favoured temporal extension of the markets. Thus, by using the markets on Wednesdays in defiance of regulations limiting market sales to Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays, consumers and retailers forced the Justices to add Wednesdays as a market day in 1810,(92) and in 1814, the markets were expanded chronologically once again to include all days save Sundays and holy days.(93)

Market expansion continued through the later 1810s and 1820s, mirroring the expansion of the city, although not smoothly. The existing facilities were improved on a number of occasions, with a covered fish market erected in 1817, new weigh-houses and stalls on both markets in 1819-1820, and an addition to the New Market hall in 1821.(94) On the other hand, an attempt to open a new market in the St. Lawrence

suburbs in the early 1820s failed, notwithstanding its promoters' assertions that the city's existing markets were once again inadequate, and despite backing from the provincial legislature.(95) One likely factor was the unexplainable decrease in activity on the markets in the mid-1820s, as seen through the number of fish and provisions sellers on the markets, and the total receipts of the Clerks of the Markets (Table 19).(96) And indeed, once market attendance had picked up again in the late 1820s, market expansion followed suit, with new markets opening at Près-de-Ville, in the south-east of the St. Lawrence suburbs, in 1829,(97) and further north in the same suburb, between Dorchester and Ste. Catherine, in 1831.(98)

Market expansion in Montreal was thus not a smooth process, but came rather in fits and starts, with one spurt from 1808 to 1814, and another beginning in the late 1820s, at least partly in response to the needs of urban consumers. Despite an apparent drop in market attendance in the 1820s, consumers continued to patronize these fundamentally pre-industrial institutions. By 1835, attendance on all the city's markets taken together, judging from the Clerk's receipts, was about double that in 1822, thus keeping pace with the demographic expansion in the city; and there were also twice as many of these institutions, spread further out into the suburbs to serve these rapidly expanding areas.

TABLE 19Market Attendance and Clerk's Receipts, 1822-1835

Year	Fish/Provisions per year	Sellers per week	Clerk of Markets Receipts
1822	4874	94	306*
1823	3847	74	-
1824	2859	55	-
1825	3577	69	331
1826	2609	50	306
1827	2508	48	255
1828	3617	70	347
1829	4138	80	392
1830	-	-	257
1831	3520	68	246
1832	-	-	403
1833	-	-	405
1834	5666	109	659
1835	-	-	618

* average of three previous years.

Sources: Fish and salt provisions figures from clerk of the markets returns scattered through Ville de Montréal, Service des Archives, Procès-Verbaux des Sessions Spéciaux de la Paix, 1822-1831, and from the "Retours hebdomadaire des revenus des marchés de Montréal" in ANQM 06,M-P20/1 (for 1834). Clerk of the market receipts from the Blue Books of Statistics 1822-1835, in OOA MG11 C047. Receipts for 1832-35 are likely for the St. Laurent and Près-de-Ville markets as well.

(11) Other Food Retailers

If the public market system more or less kept pace with Montreal's growth in the early nineteenth century, so too did other food retailers. Table 20, compiled from various sources between 1813 and 1831, shows both the absolute number of bakers, butchers, taverns, and grocers in the city, broken down by suburb, and the number of retailers per head of population.(99) The sources introduce a number of possible distortions into these figures: the 1813 assessment and 1816 "census" both list occupations for only part of the heads of households that they enumerate,(100) while the 1825 census, in contrast to all the others, gives occupational totals for all workers, as opposed to just heads of households, and is thus likely over-representative.(101) Nevertheless, taking these and other potential inaccuracies into account, some broad generalizations about the expansion of the urban retail provisioning network are possible.

In the first place, remembering the upward bias of the Vigier census, and assuming from the number of butchers known to have frequented the markets in 1809 that the 1813 and 1816 figures for these retailers is likely low, there were no significant changes in the relative numbers of either bakers or butchers over the period, both hovering around 300 to 350 inhabitants per retailer. This suggests two things: that bakers and butchers, like markets, maintained their relative

TABLE 20. Food Retailers in Montreal, 1813-1831I. Absolute numbers of retailers

Source/Suburb bakers butchers taverns grocers

1813 assessment

City	10	0	44	18
Quebec/St Louis	3	2	7	0
St. Laurent	14	9	12	6
St. Antoine	3	1	6	0
Recollet	6	3	9	0
St. Anne	0	0	0	0
Total	36	15	78	24

1816 "census"

City	8	0	63	13
Quebec/St Louis	6	12	6	1
St. Laurent	21	11	25	5
St. Antoine	4	1	11	2
Recollet	7	4	13	7
St. Anne	0	0	2	1
Total	46	28	120	29

1820 Doige list

City	5	3	81	46
Quebec/St Louis	13	27	22	16
St. Laurent	25	14	25	13
St. Antoine	3	1	8	5
Recollet	7	13	18	13
St. Anne	1	0	3	1
Total	54	58	157	94

1825 Viger census

City	13	5	75	40
Quebec/St Louis	16	37	12	17
St. Laurent	39	27	16	34
St. Antoine	7	8	4	5
Recollet	26	13	18	15
St. Anne	5	1	3	5
Total	106	91	128	116

1831 census

Total	85	86	112	127
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II. Population per number of retailers

Source	Population	bakers	butchers	taverns	grocers
*****	*****	*****	*****	*****	*****
1813 assesment	12300	342	820*	158	513*
1816 "census"	15000	326	536*	125	517*
1820 Doige	18300	339	316	117	195
1825 Viger	22540	213	248	176	194
1831 census	27297	321	317	244	215

* Figures likely high due to source under-representation.

Sources: OOA RG4 B19; Doige, List; Robert et.al. "Tableaux"; computerized version of 1831 census held by GRSM at UQAM

places in the food-getting patterns of urban consumers; and that their products, bread and meat, did likewise in consumers' diets.

In contrast to this stability, both taverns and grocers showed more marked trends, the first becoming scarcer per population, the second more numerous. In both cases, however, the differences are easily resolvable in terms of sources and character of the trade. The apparently vast drop in the number of inhabitants per grocer is probably more the result of different census-taking techniques, with the first two tending to lump most grocers under the general rubric of "trader", while the 1820, 1825, and 1831 censuses gave the more precise definition; this would explain the marked similarity between the figures of the first two censuses, and the last three, and also avoid the problem of accounting for the threefold increase in the number of grocers between 1816 and 1820. With this in mind, it seems possible to suggest that grocers, like butchers and bakers, remained at a relatively constant ratio to the population, at around 200 inhabitants per grocer.

As for tavernkeepers, the relative drop in their numbers was probably more the result of the tight licensing policies of the Justices of the Peace, than any actual rise in the number of people per tavern. As Table 21 shows, the number of tavern licenses granted between 1800 and 1835 slacked far behind the demographic expansion, expanding by less than twice while population more than tripled; licenses for selling alcohol from shops, on the other hand, kept closer pace with population

TABLE 21

Alcohol Licenses and Offences in Montreal, 1800-1835

Year	Tavern Licenses	Shop Licenses	LWL Convictions	LOS Convictions
1800	89	-	-	-
1801	-	-	-	-
1802	89	-	-	-
1803	90	-	-	-
1804	-	-	-	-
1805	113	-	-	-
1806	-	-	-	-
1807	114	-	-	-
1808	115	-	-	-
1809	115	-	-	-
1810	126	-	-	-
1811	-	-	-	-
1812	127	-	-	-
1813	75	-	-	-
1814	111	-	-	-
1815	-	-	-	-
1816	160	-	-	-
1817	179	-	-	-
1818	134	-	-	-
1819	129	-	-	-
1820	124	-	16	4
1821	115	-	16	4
1822	115	-	16	4
1823	120	107	16	4
1824	127	98	(inferred from total	
1825	140	97	for these 4 years)	
1826	124	95	-	-
1827	120	111	-	-
1828	129	120	-	-
1829	126	120	32	1
1830	127	117	-	-
1831	129	115	51	3
1832	132	136	64	17
1833	145	160	-	-
1834	164	165	-	-
1835	157	149	-	-

LWL: selling liquor without a license
 LOS: selling liquor on Sundays

Sources: Licenses: OOA RG4 B28 vols 1, 4, and 124, OOA RG4 B35 vols 15-16 and 20 (1806-1835 passim), ANQM 06, M-P148-1/1, P-1000-44-880 and P-1000-46-946 (1800-1807, 1810 and 1817); Ville de Montréal, Service des Archives, Procès-verbaux des Sessions Spéciaux de la Paix (1808-1810, 1812, 1814, 1816) and "Statement shewing the gross and net amounts of taxes annually levied in the City of Montreal ... from the year 1818 to 1836"; convictions from OOA RG4 B35 vol 21, and ANQM, Préarchivage, Weekly Sessions of the Peace, register 1829 and index 1832-1833

growth. What is most likely is an increase in the number of unlicensed taverns operating in the city: a very sketchy run of convictions for selling liquor without a license suggests a sharp, fairly continuous rise between 1820 and 1832, with four times as many convictions at the end of the period. The nature of taverns likely changed, with these establishments being driven further underground; but their relative availability likely did not.

(iii) Expansion and Change: A Tentative Hypothesis

The apparently constant place of both markets and other food retailers relative to Montreal's demographic expansion allows for a tentative theory regarding their relationship to the broader changes that were remolding the city in the early nineteenth century. Whatever the other mutations in the features of daily life, consumers most likely continued to make most of their food purchases from the quartet of bakers, market and butchers, grocers, and taverns throughout the period. Changes in the internal nature of these trades may have occurred, as they did in England; but unlike industrializing England, there was not any major shift in the basic ways that urban dwellers bought food from retailers. William Wilcock living in 1813 would have had at his disposal bakers, markets, taverns, and grocers; William Wilcock living in 1831 would have had basically the same sorts of choices, and the same sort of access to these sources of food.

B. WHOLESALERS, PRODUCERS, AND GARDENS: NON-RETAIL PROVISIONING

Retail purchases were the most important way of getting food in Montreal. But there were other options open to urban consumers that bypassed the established retail network. In terms of everyday food provisioning, the two most important non-retail options were bulk purchases directly from wholesalers or from producers outside the markets; and home-production of various foods.

Elite households, with sufficient cash or credit resources and storage facilities, could cut middleman food retailers out of the provisioning process entirely by buying in quantity directly from wholesalers, thereby benefiting from lowered prices. Thomas McCord bought pork and wine in bulk directly off the boat from Austin Cuvillier and Co., wholesale auctioneers, paying the import duties himself; and several wholesale firms advertised pork, beef, flour, and oysters in kegs "fit for family use."⁽¹⁰²⁾ Bulk buying of this sort also extended down into the artisanal community: James Cowie, a cooper who lost a total of £131 3s 10d in an 1803 fire in the St. Lawrence suburbs, included among his claims half barrels of sugar, flour, and pork, worth £6 10s;⁽¹⁰³⁾ and Pierre Elie, the cooper who worked for Ware & Gibb, also bought a barrel of pork from them on one occasion. But this option was not open to the popular classes, for obvious reasons: few would have had the savings to pay the equivalent of almost a month's wages for a barrel of pork or flour. The occasional food items that showed

up in the inventaires of poorer artisans or labourers almost never represented large investments. Toussaint Rebou, for example, a carpenter, had eight pence worth of sugar, two little containers of lard worth two shillings threepence, and two shillings ninepence worth of tea in 1811.(104)

As well as buying wholesale, wealthier households also had the option of acquiring food in large quantities directly from the producer, either through cash purchases, or as rent on land owned by them. McCord bought cider and sprucebeer in barrels from Joseph Nadeau, a cidemaker, and large amounts of milk and butter over six months from James Ogilvie, a farmer in Rivière St. Pierre; and several fruit producers advertised quantity sales in the Herald.(105) McCord also received milk, butter, and pork from Mark Elvidge, a tenant on his Griffintown fief, as part of a farm lease signed in 1818.(106) And a study of farm leases in the Montreal area between 1780 and 1820 showed that perhaps 40 percent of leases were partly payable in kind, including directly consumable foodstuffs.(107)

More accessible to a wider range of households in Montreal was family production of animals and produce for home consumption. Since this form of provisioning lay by definition outside the formal exchange circuit, sources provide at best a few hints as to its extent and nature. Many elite and better-off artisanal households kept animals and gardens, with some of the wealthier ones even hiring labourers specifically to look after their holdings. Thomas McCord, for example, bought garden seeds and paid a gardener during six months of the year;

he also acquired two cows in 1814, reserving pasturage for them on his fief; and his purchases of saltpetre and bushels of salt, the ingredients necessary for salting meat, suggest that he may also have raised hogs or beef-cows for slaughter and home packing.(108) Furthermore, of fifty inventaires of elites and food retailers, twenty-five showed cows, nine mentioned chickens, seven listed gardens or garden tools, and five had either pigs or "saloirs" with lard.(109) Finally, in the Herald between 1815 and 1822, there were sixty-seven advertisements to sell or let houses with orchards or gardens, both in the suburbs and in the old city; forty-four mentions of animals, mainly concerning strayed cows, pasturage, and milkhouses attached to houses; twenty-nine offers to sell garden seeds or fruit trees; fourteen notices of jobs for gardeners; and throughout, the on-going results of the Montreal Horticultural Society's produce contests, often awarding prizes to the gardeners of elite households. But some popular-class households also produced some of their own food: the 1825 inventaire of Joseph Vincent, a joiner in the Quebec suburbs with a total worth of £50 included a cow, a heifer, three hens, and five chicks;(110) and of the forty-six inventaires of poorer artisans and labourers, ten mentioned cows, three suggested gardens, three listed chickens, two had pigs or saloirs, and one carpenter even had six beehives.

Whatever their class, many consumers likely produced their own milk, or acquired it for barter or cash from a neighbour, much as they continued to do later in the nineteenth

century.(111) Some milk was also sold by professional retailers,(112) but given that the 1825 census showed only three milk sellers, and the 1831 census only two, retail sales probably provided only a small proportion of milk drunk in the city. As well, the kitchen garden was probably an important source of vegetables for most families, especially considering their high retail value: a day's worth of "sallad" for Gibb in June 1823 cost from six to ten pence, the equivalent of two or three pounds of beef.(113)

On the other hand, the sources show a surprising absence of pigs, usually considered the traditional mainstay of urban home-production. There was only one advertisement for a strayed pig in the Herald, and of all the inventaires taken together only seven mentioned pigs or saloirs, a fifth as many as cows, and less even than chickens. Furthermore, most of these pigs were in the fifty inventaires of food retailers or elites: only two of the forty-six inventaires of poorer artisans or labourers mentioned pigs, compared to ten cows and three chickens. Given the number of working-class families who kept pigs later in the century, and the frequent mentions of pigs in the various police regulations, this could indicate a problem with the sources. But it might also be that with Montreal a packing, importing, and exporting centre for pork, and with salt pork in small quantities easily available from the city's retailers, it was simply cheaper and easier to buy professionally prepared salt pork than to acquire, house, feed, slaughter, and pack hogs oneself.

Home production was less class-specific than bulk or direct buying: elite, artisanal, and popular households raised some of their own food. But class differences came through nonetheless, both in the extent and in the internal features of this production. 56 percent of elite inventories showed cows, 44 percent of the inventories of retailers, and 22 percent of the inventories of poorer artisans and labourers; unsurprising considering that a cow might comprise up to one tenth the total value of an estate worth £50.(114) Furthermore, Thomas McCord obviously got more and a greater variety from his garden than the butcher Louis Beaudry's crop of "patates, ognions, choux, et carottes": McCord's seeds alone cost £3 19s 4d in 1819, more than the total worth of Beaudry's crop at harvest time in the previous year.(115) And Beaudry in turn likely produced more of his own food than a single labourer working dawn until dusk.

Large-scale buying and home-production were the main ways that Montreal's consumers could circumvent retail provisioning on an everyday basis. Other non-retail avenues also existed, in particular charity and food theft; but these were much more marginal. As in most early nineteenth-century Canadian cities, urban families who were destitute enough to attract the paternalistic attention of the elites could get some food through the sporadic attempts at charitable relief set up by "friends of the poor," especially in the late 1810s and early 1820s.(116) Food theft was also a possibility, as in European cities: between 1815 and 1830, some forty-six people were convicted specifically of stealing food, mainly in small

amounts.(117) Both charity and theft, though, were unreliable sources of food at best, and neither could have constituted more than a tiny element of even popular class households' overall food provisioning.

In the broader perspective of provisioning as a whole, even the mainstays of non-retail provisioning, large-scale purchases and home production, were themselves likely no more than supplementary to most households' food-getting efforts. Bulk or contract buying was not an option for the popular classes; and even McCord, who had the means to buy as much of his food in bulk as he wanted, still got over nine-tenths of his food in small quantities from urban retailers. Home production was a more viable alternative, as the inventaires suggested, and many households likely raised some of their own food. But nevertheless, of the basics of diet in Montreal, bread, animal products, alcohol, tea, and sugar, all but the second passed by necessity through the baker, the tavernkeeper, and the grocer; and given the number of butchers, salt provisions hawkers, and fish sellers, meat provisioning at least was also largely a retail phenomenon. Thus, the Wilcocks might get milk from a cow, eggs from some chickens, a few vegetables from a garden, perhaps with unpaid labour contributed by other family members while Wilcock worked his fourteen hour day; but they likely bought most of their food from urban retailers.

C. PRICES AND BUDGETS: THE CONCATENATION OF PROVISIONING AND DIET

Access to and use of various food provisioning options did not alone define food-getting in Montreal. Whether or not there were bakeshops, or markets, or grocers, or taverns, if a consumer could not get bread, or meat, or sugar, or alcohol, he or she would have to substitute different foods, from different sources. Basic foods might be physically unavailable, simply not to be had at all, in the classic model of a subsistence crisis; but except perhaps for a few brief periods in the mid 1810s, actual food shortages did not occur in Montreal in the early nineteenth century. Rather, food's availability to the urban consumer was determined more by strictly economic factors: retail price and the ability to pay.

1. Seasons and Trends: Retail Food Prices in Montreal

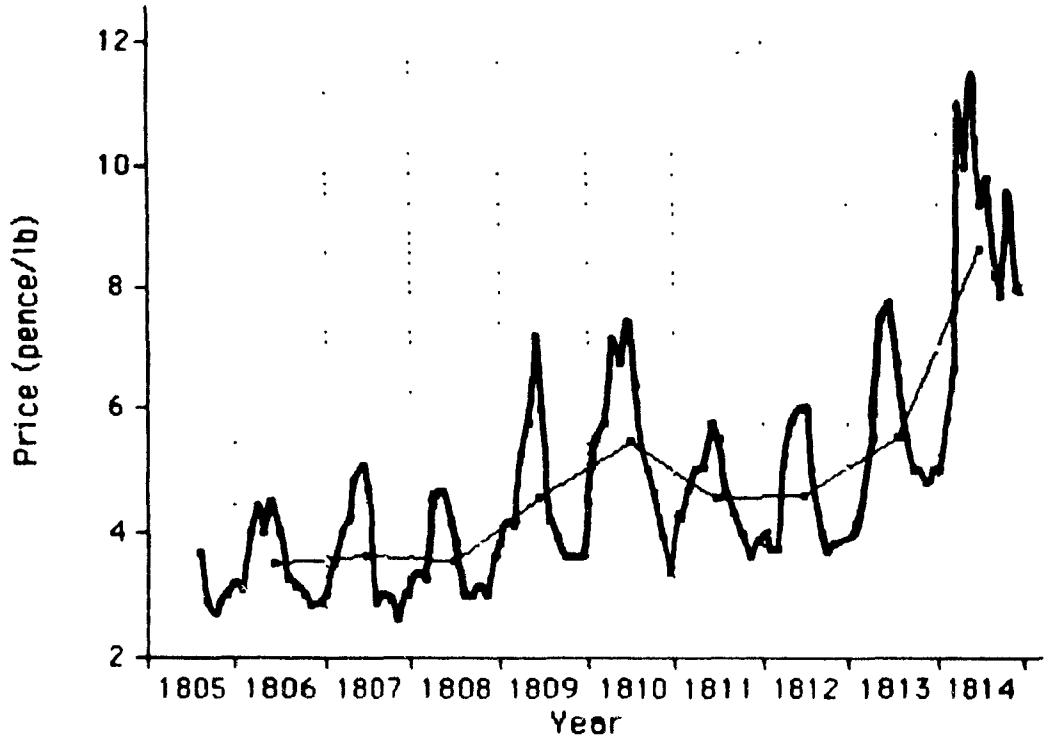
Food prices have been much analyzed by Quebec historians, especially by students of the conjoncture.(118) These studies give a general picture of price trends in the first third of the nineteenth century: high prices and a very curtailed supply during and for a few years after the war of 1812; a general bettering of supply and consequent drop in prices in the later 1810s and the 1820s; and a gradual rise again in prices from the late 1820s or early 1830s on.(119)

Unfortunately, the work of these scholars is only marginally useful in the theoretical context of this study: since the conjoncturistes are interested in change, whether long-term economic and social mutations as seen through agricultural prices,

or specific instances of food crises, they tend to ignore the ordinary features of daily life. Thus for example, conjoncture studies generally average weekly or monthly series of prices into single, average yearly prices so as to make analysis of long-term trends easier; and even when they do deal with prices on a month-to-month basis, they go to great lengths to "de-trend" their data, factoring out recurrent seasonal price fluctuations to aid in the identification of unusual short-term movements.(120) But as Figures 6 and 7 suggest, these repeated monthly fluctuations might have as much or more of an impact on consumers than long-term trends or unusual crises: beef prices from 1805 to 1812, and from 1825 to 1833, were characterized far more by repeated peaks and troughs in monthly prices, than by the longer-term movements revealed by yearly averages, although the growing economic crisis from 1813 on eventually outweighed the more "normal" fluctuations. Given my concentration on everyday life, it is precisely this sort of constant rhythm in the city's food provisioning that interests me most.

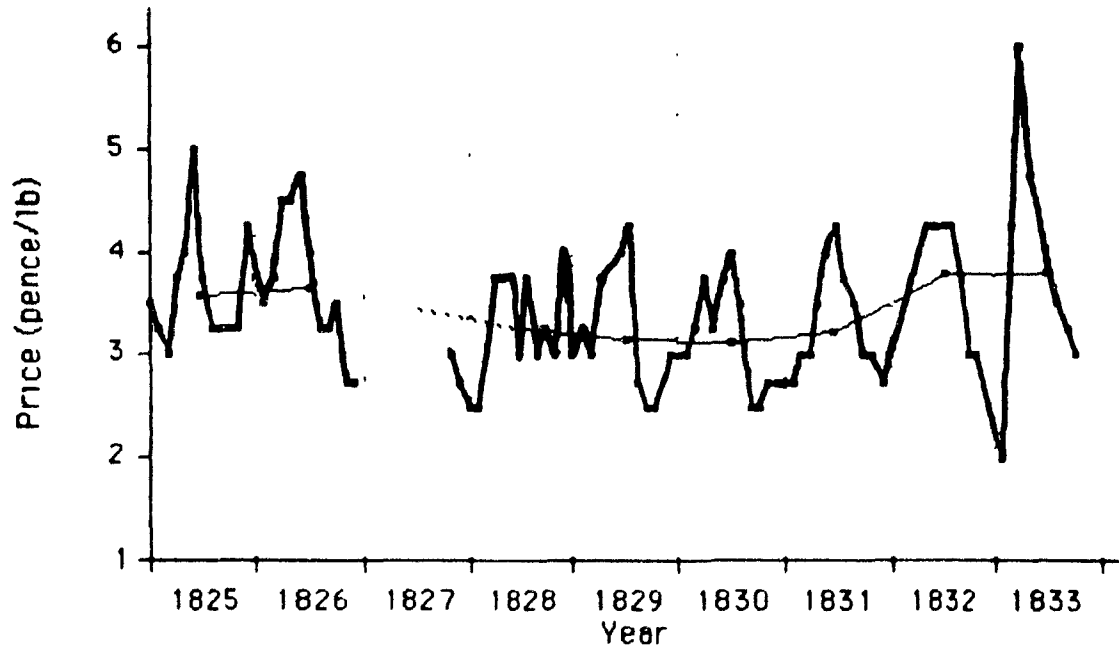
Since none of the conjoncture historians published the monthly series of prices they used to construct their yearly or de-seasonalized series for Montreal,(121) and furthermore dealt only with locally-produced agricultural products,(122) I was forced to construct my own series of monthly retail prices for various foods in Montreal in order to determine how food prices might vary by season. For market goods, I have two series: one running from mid-1805 to 1814, culled from Ermat'nger's account book and the other, running from mid-1824 to 1833, culled from reports on

FIGURE 6
Yearly and Monthly Price of Beef, 1805-1814



Source OOA MG19 A2, Series 3, vol 177, file 1

FIGURE 7
Yearly and Monthly Price of Beef, 1825-1833



Source Market price reports in various newspapers

market prices published in various newspapers. For other foods, I have the retail prices recorded by McCord receipts and Ware & Gibb's account books, which give a scattered series of monthly prices from 1809 to 1829, depending on the sort of food. Using a moving average, I can then calculate the average monthly variation in price for each food item; in other words, the average amount by which January prices deviated from the general yearly trend of the prices, similarly February, and so on.(123) Looking at these average monthly variations reveals some interesting features of everyday food-getting in early nineteenth-century Montreal.

As Figures 8 through 31 show, some foods had very specific seasons, at least in terms of price, while others were seasonally neutral. Fresh butchers' meat, poultry, and dairy products were the most affected by seasonal variation. Beef and mutton prices varied on average between forty and sixty percent between the cheapest months, in late fall and through the winter, to the most expensive, in mid-summer; lamb and poultry were cheapest in late summer, fall, and early winter; and the season for eggs was the middle third of the year, late spring and summer. Less variable across the seasons were pork and butter, with the former slightly more expensive in the summer than in winter, while the latter showed the reverse tendency.

All of these variations in animal product prices are easily explainable in terms of purely local conditions. Meat animals were generally slaughtered in the fall, to avoid the cost of feeding them over the winter; the low prices of most animals during the fall and early winter were due to the resultant glut of meat on the

FIGURES 8 through 13
Monthly Price Variation of Butcher's Meat

FIGURE 8
Monthly Variation of Beef (1)

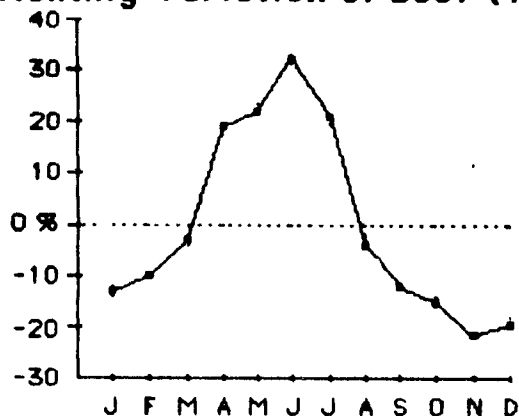


FIGURE 9
Monthly Variation of Beef (2)

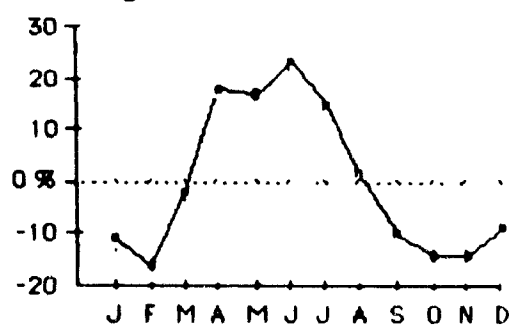


FIGURE 10
Monthly Variation of Lamb (1)



FIGURE 11
Monthly Variation of Lamb (2)

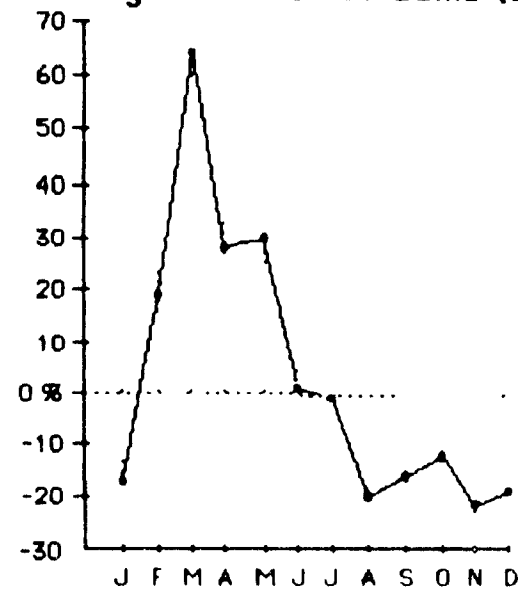


FIGURE 12
Monthly Variation of Mutton (2)

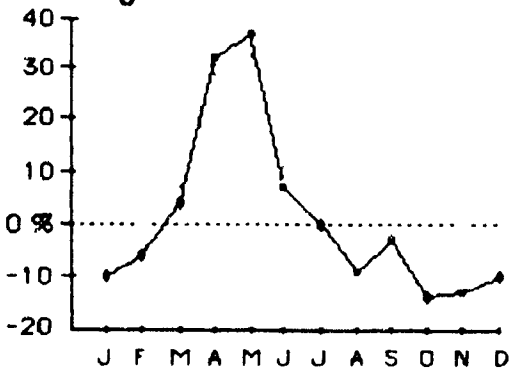
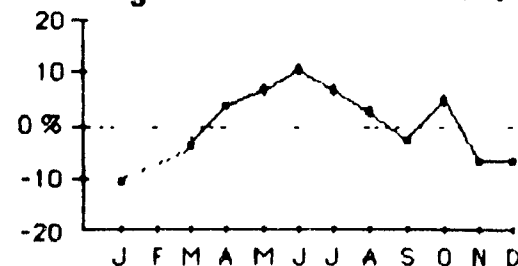


FIGURE 13
Monthly Variation of Pork (1)



Sources (1) OOA MG19 A2, Series 3, vol 177 (1805-1814)
 (2) Market price reports in various newspapers (1825-1833)

FIGURES 14 through 18
Monthly Price Variation of Poultry

FIGURE 14
Monthly Variation of Geese (1)

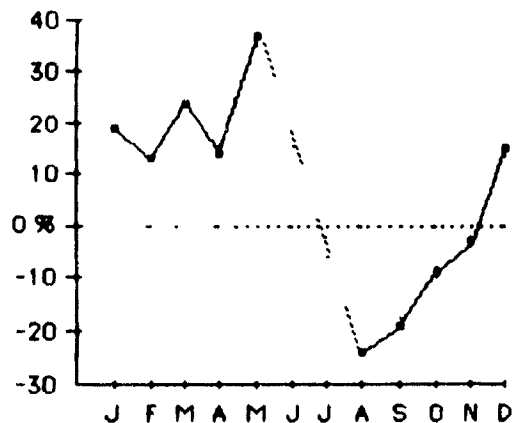


FIGURE 15
Monthly Variation of Geese (2)

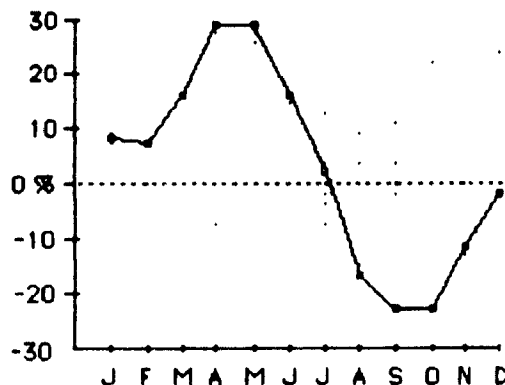


FIGURE 16
Monthly Variation of Turkeys (2)

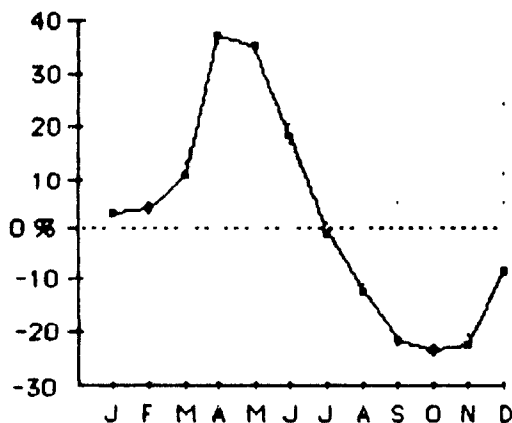


FIGURE 17
Monthly Variation of Fowls (1)

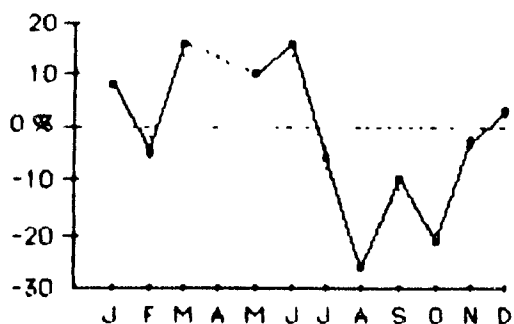
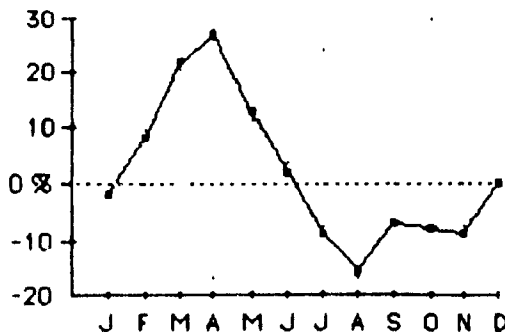


FIGURE 18
Monthly Variation of Ducks (2)



Sources (1) OOA MG19 A2, Series 3, vol 177 (1805-1814)
 (2) Market price reports in various newspapers (1825-1833)

FIGURES 19 through 22
Monthly Price Variation of Dairy Products

FIGURE 19
Monthly Variation of Eggs (1)

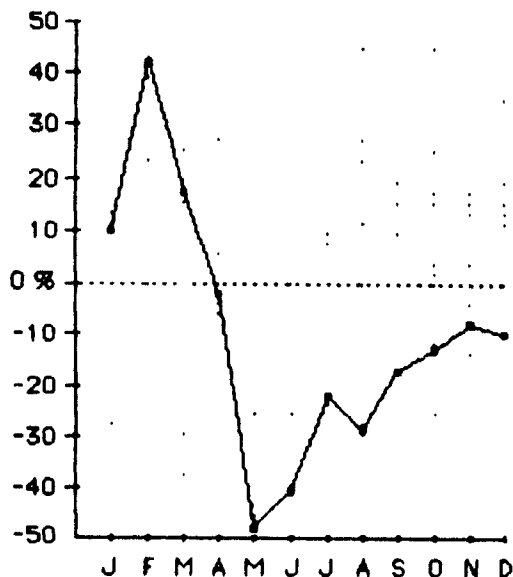


Figure 20
Monthly Variation of Eggs (2)

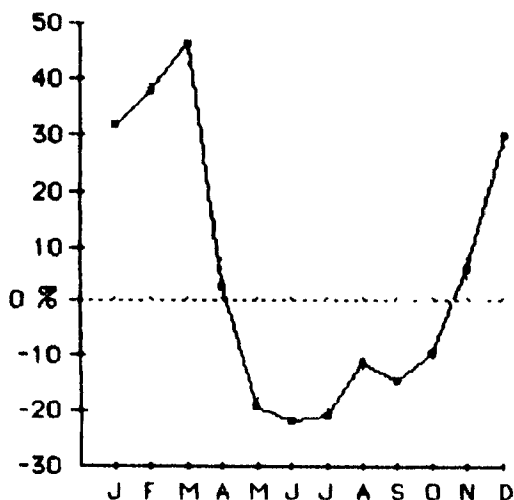


FIGURE 21
Monthly Variation of Fresh Butter (2)

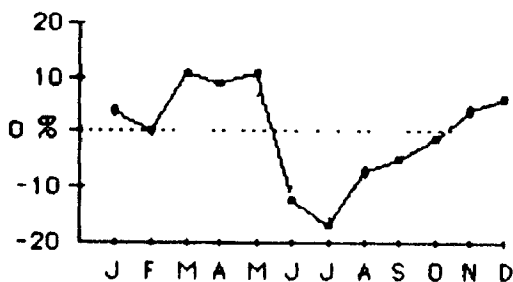
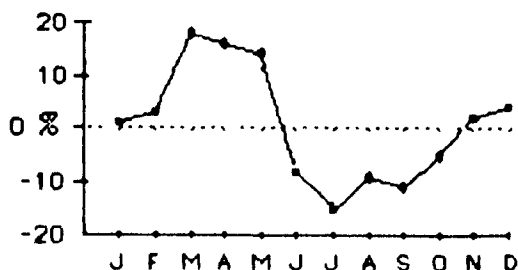


FIGURE 22
Monthly Variation of Salt Butter (2)



Sources (1) OOA MG19 A2, Series 3, vol 177 (1805-1814)
 (2) Market price reports in various newspapers (1825-1833)

FIGURES 23 through 26 Monthly Price Variation of Starches

FIGURE 23
Monthly Variation of Bread (1)
(white loaf, 1810-1824)



FIGURE 24
Monthly Variation of Flour (2)

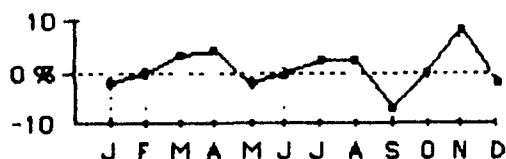


FIGURE 25
Monthly Variation of Peas (2)

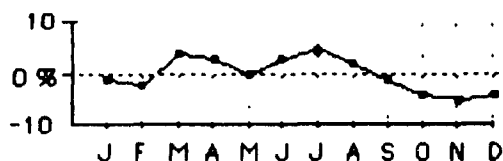
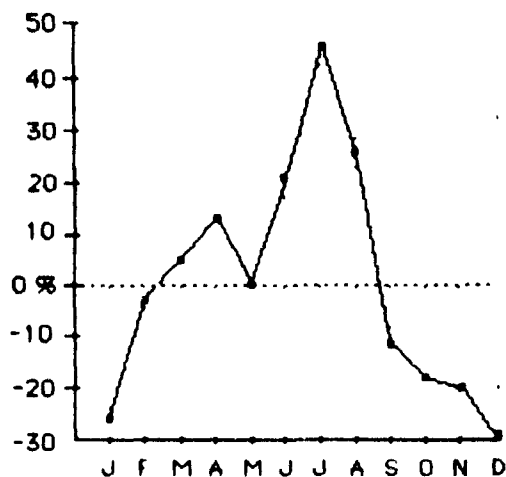


FIGURE 26
Monthly Variation of Potatoes (2)



Sources (1) McCord Museum, McCord Papers, bills and receipts
(2) Market price reports in various newspapers (1825-1833)

FIGURES 27 through 31
Monthly Price Variation of Sugar, Drinks, and Alcohol

FIGURE 27
Monthly Variation of Sugar (1)
(muscovado, 1812-1826)

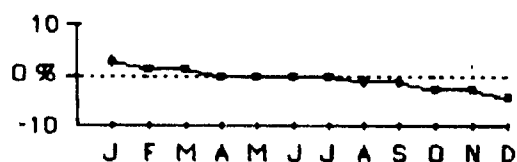


FIGURE 28
Monthly Variation of Maple Sugar (2)

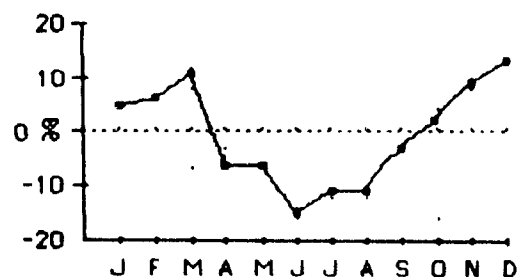


FIGURE 29
Monthly Variation of Tea (1)
(twankey, 1810-1826)

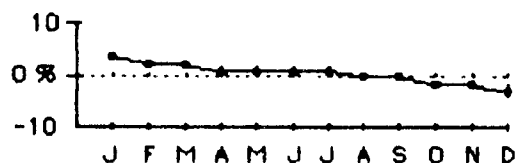


FIGURE 30
Monthly Variation of Coffee (1)
(1810-1825)

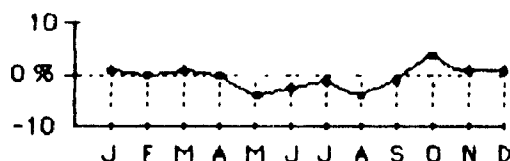


FIGURE 31
Monthly Variation of Alcohol (1)
(Jamaica spirits, 1816-1824)



Sources (1) McCord Museum, McCord Papers, bills and receipts,
 McCord Museum, Gibb Papers, Item 53 (Waste Book)
 (2) Market price reports in various newspapers (1825-1833)

markets. But the very harshness of the winter was also beneficial: it acted as a great natural refrigerator, keeping meat slaughtered in the fall right through until the next spring, and thus keeping the prices of the major meats, beef, mutton, and pork, at the same low post-slaughter level right until March. Thus, for example, the Herald's market report for March 3, 1821, noted that "fresh-killed Mutton is scarce, though that killed at the beginning of the winter is sufficiently abundant;" and travellers, painters, and even writers in Europe remarked upon this practise.(124) As for other animal products, more common, naturally based explanations account for their price variations: pre-hatchery chickens did not lay many eggs in the winter, although some eggs were usually available year round; most poultry apparently became increasingly inedible towards the spring hatching season, and disappeared almost entirely from the markets;(125) lambing season ran from June to August, with almost no lamb available immediately preceding that;(126) and butter was best when the pastures were full of green grass, in the spring and summer.(127)

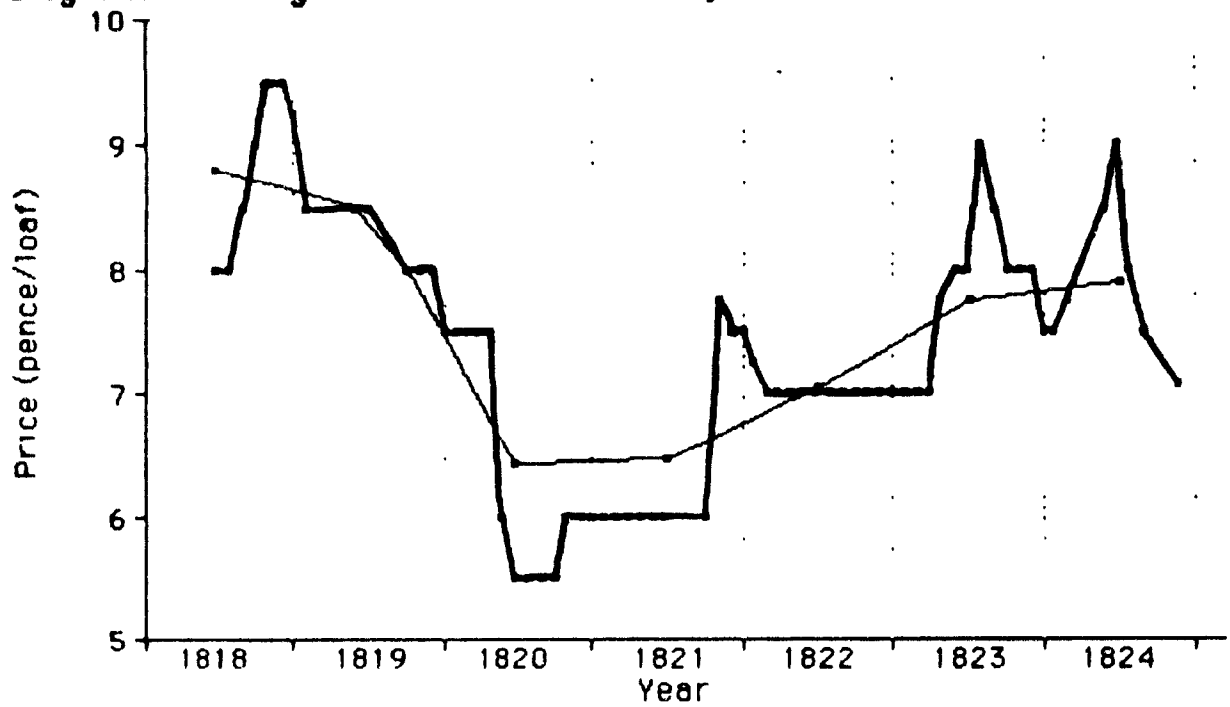
While most animal products thus had definite price seasons, dependant on local agricultural and climatic conditions, other foods showed much less seasonal variation. Of the major starches eaten in the city, bread, flour, peas, and potatoes, only the latter followed the agricultural cycle, dropping dramatically in price once they became ready for harvesting in late summer; bread, flour, and peas kept approximately the same prices across the seasons (Figures 23 through 26). Likewise, imported goods showed even flatter seasonal price curves; of sweeteners, drinks, and

alcohol, only locally produced maple sugar varied seasonally, most expensive during the winter and dropping in price after sugaring time, March and April (Figures 27 through 31). As Figures 32 and 33 suggest, long-term trends or unusual crises were much more important for these foods than the rhythm of the seasons.

The patterns of these seasonal price variations suggest some tentative conclusions about food provisioning and diet in Montreal. In terms of provisioning, they illustrate the clear distinction between the market and other retail food outlets, with the former maintaining its traditional characteristics of dependence at least in part on normal agricultural and climatic cycles, while prices in non-market outlets were more exclusively tied to the crises and long-term trends of the conjuncture. As well, the close coincidence between the seasonal variation curves for market goods at the beginning and end of my period of study also bolster the impression that the basic nature of the city's food markets did not change radically in the first third of the nineteenth century: in 1833 as in 1813, the markets were still fundamentally seasonal.

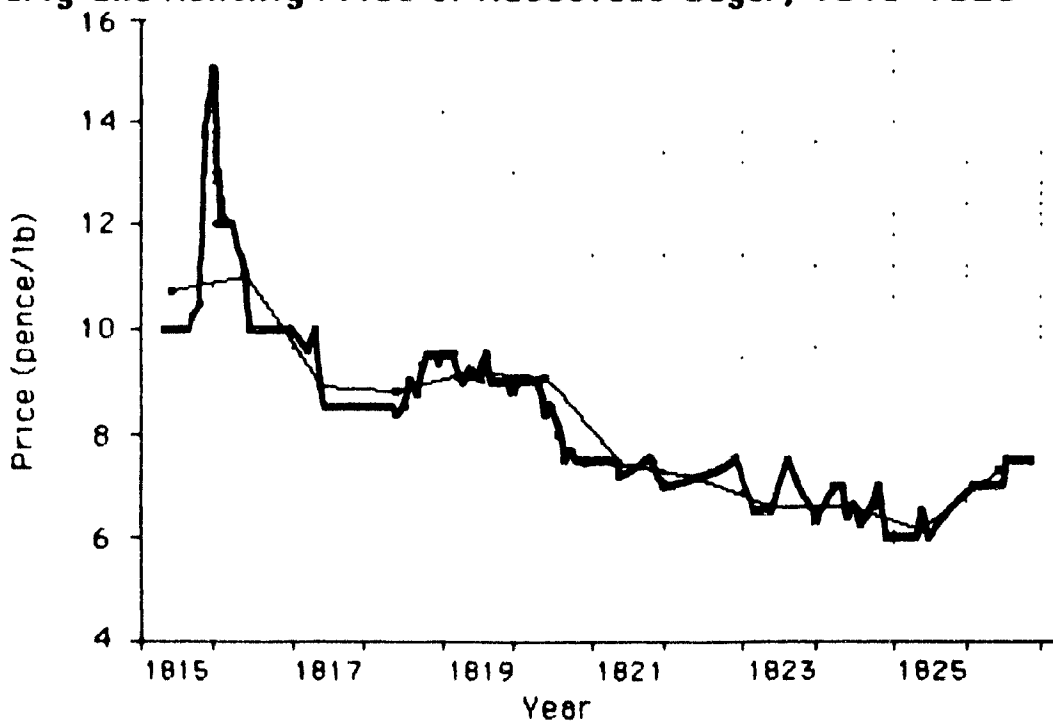
As for diet, the seasonal variation curves suggest that, the less animal products in a household's diet, the more that household was removed from the traditional pattern of seasonal dietary variation. Thus, a labourer eating eggs, beef, and butter would likely substitute one for the other at varying times in the year, depending on price, buying beef in the fall and winter, butter and eggs in the spring and summer; and while the data for the Lachine canal workers is too scant to allow a significant analysis of their seasonal patterns of consumption, the fact that they bought

FIGURE 32
Yearly and Monthly Price of White Bread, 1818-1824



Source McCord Museum, McCord Papers, bills and receipts

FIGURE 33
Yearly and Monthly Price of Muscovado Sugar, 1815-1826



Sources McCord Museum, McCord Papers, bills and receipts,
 McCord Museum, Gibb Papers, Item 53 (Waste Book)

significant quantities of eggs only in April, May and June, when prices of these were lowest, is suggestive.(128) On the other hand, a labourer who had switched over to the newer dietary pattern, of salt pork, bread, sugar, and tea, would have been almost completely isolated from the traditional patterns, since none of these items had any significant seasonal price variation, and wholly influenced instead by longer-term price fluctuations or sudden commercial crises.

Some of the seasonal price fluctuations may have been mitigated by the apparently widespread availability of credit in Montreal. A qualitative glance over the inventaires of grocers, bakers, butchers, and tavernkeepers, suggests that as in many cities, fixed food retailers allowed deferred payment for food, to all classes of customers.(129) But apart from butchers, the goods carried by these credit-offering retailers were precisely those that did not exhibit significant seasonal fluctuations. Market sellers on the other hand, whose goods showed the most seasonal fluctuation, apparently dealt on the traditional cash-only basis, thus negating the buffering effect of credit; even butchers selling from stalls apparently demanded cash.(130)

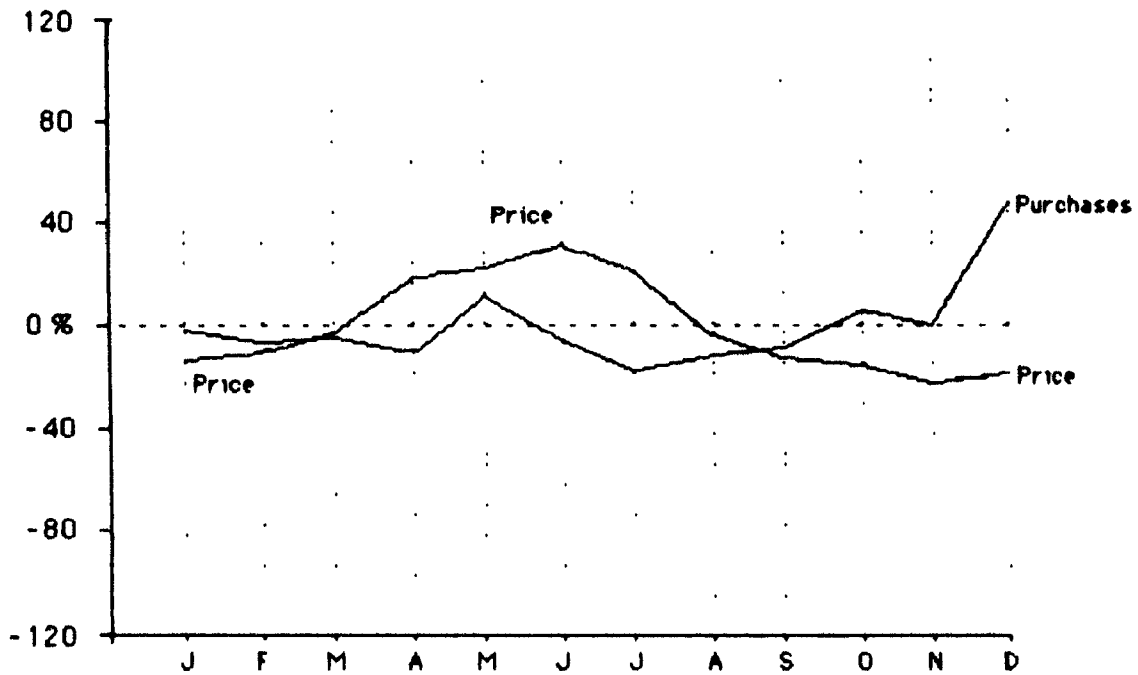
Finally, the consumers with the highest proportion of seasonally variable, cash-only goods in their diets, the elites, were also those best equipped to deal with these price fluctuations. Spending a low proportion of total income on food, one would not expect elite diets to follow price seasonality, but rather only seasonal fluctuations in actual availability. And comparing the seasonal variation in Ermatinger's market purchases

of beef, eggs, lamb, and poultry (figures 34 through 37) to the seasonal variations in the prices he paid for them, this trend is evident. Ermatinger's purchases beef and eggs, foods generally available year-round on the markets, took no account of seasonal price fluctuations, even increasing slightly as the price went up and decreasing as it went down. In contrast, his purchases of lamb and poultry, foods curtailed by short supply, dropped substantially during the seasons where these foods were virtually unavailable. Clearly, food prices meant little to the elites, much as their significant consumption of high-quality and luxury foods initially suggested; seasonality for them was a matter of supply, and not price.

2. Food Budgets and Food Expenditures: Some Speculations

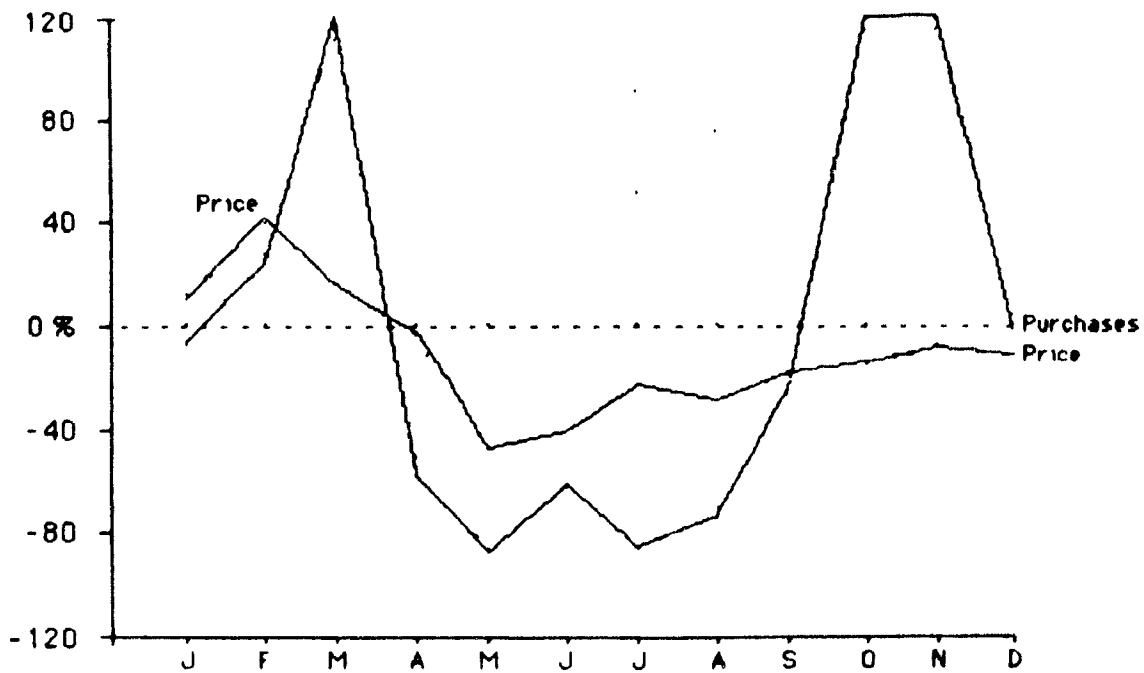
To illustrate the way food prices could affect provisioning very differently given varying household composition, diets, and economic circumstances, I have constructed a series of speculative monthly food budgets for popular class households. Based on the diets of six varied Lachine canal workers, along with a mainly bread, "minimal level" diet, these use prices from the series mentioned above to estimate the total amounts and percentage of monthly wage that each type of worker would spend on food in three different circumstances, and at four different times in the 1820s: December 1824, April 1825, and June 1825, as representing different seasons in a period of relatively normal prices; and July 1829,

FIGURE 34
Monthly Variation of Ermatinger's Purchases and Price: Beef



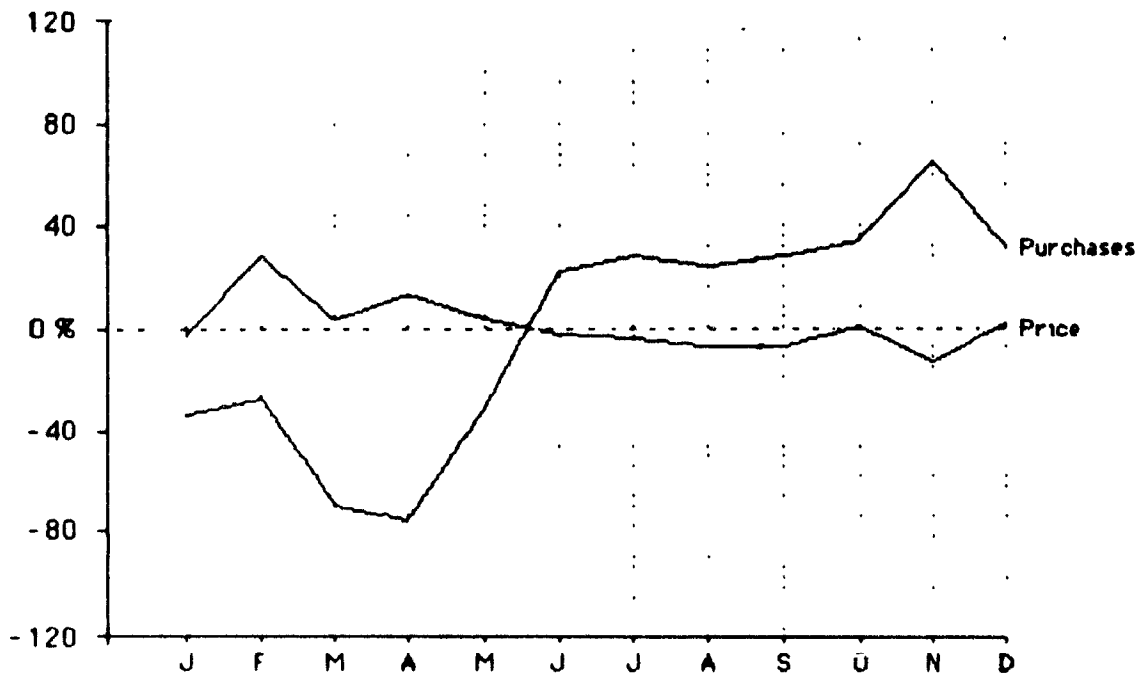
Source OOA MG19 A2, Series 3, vol 177

FIGURE 35
Monthly Variation of Ermatinger's Purchases and Price: Eggs



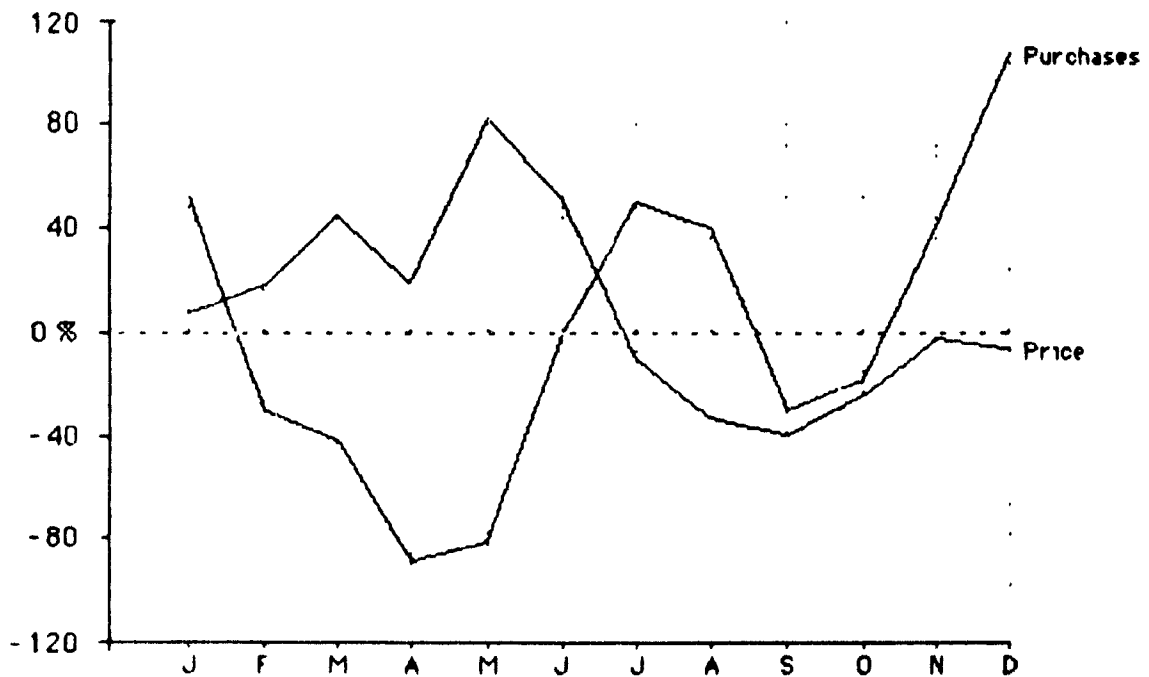
Source OOA MG19 A2, Series 3, vol 177

FIGURE 36
Monthly Variation of Ermatinger's Purchases and Price: Lamb



Source OOA MG19 A2, Series 3, vol 177

FIGURE 37
Monthly Variation of Ermatinger's Purchases and Price: Poultry



Source OOA MG19 A2, Series 3, vol 177

at the height of a small wheat and flour crisis which pushed the price of bread up by at least one and a half.(131) (table 22)

As the budgets show, the proportion that popular classes households spent on food could vary widely according to all of these factors, but most especially with wage levels, family size, and income. Wages varied seasonally in Lower Canada, dropping in winter and early spring,(132) and the effects of this are clearly visible: to maintain the same dietary level, an anglophone labourer would have to devote more than one and a half times as great a proportion of his monthly income to food in December or April as in June, even though his absolute expenditure would remain the same. Likewise, household composition was also key. A single anglophone labourer eating white bread could feed himself with less than half his wages even at their seasonally lowest point, in December; but to feed a family of five, he would need two thirds of his monthly income at the best of times, in June of 1825, a proportion which might rise to 85 percent if bread prices jumped, as in 1829, and to more than his entire monthly wage during the normal seasonal wage trough in the winter and early spring. Conversely, even at the worst of times, William Wilcock would need to spend about two thirds of his wages to support a family of five, and less than a fifth to support himself alone in June 1825.

These figures also underline the crucial importance that both contributions to the household economy by other family members and credit had to wage-earners at the bottom end of the wage-scale. It would be impossible for Antoine Bisson to support a family of five or more without either additional household income or access

TABLE 22. Speculative Monthly Food Budgets for Wage Labourers

	Anglophone labourer		Francophone labourer		Foreman		Alexander Reilly		Antoine Bisson		William Wilcock		Minimum diet	
	sh/	% of	sh/	% of	sh/	% of	sh/	% of	sh/	% of	sh/	% of	sh/	% of
	mth wages		mth wages		mth wages		mth wages		mth wages		mth wages		mth wages	
I. White bread														
<u>Single, subsistence</u>														
in December 1824	7.9		7.6		8.1		8.8		7.7		9.7			
in April 1825	8.2		7.7		8.2		9.6		7.9		9.9			
in June 1825	8.3		7.7		8.2		9.8		7.7		10.0			
in July 1829	10.5		9.7		10.3		10.8		9.5		12.0			
<u>Single, active</u>														
in December 1824	17.0	45.4	16.3	43.5	17.3	34.6	19.0	50.6	16.4	43.8	20.8	27.8		
in April 1825	17.6	47.0	16.6	44.2	17.6	35.3	20.6	54.8	16.9	45.1	21.3	21.3		
in June 1825	17.7	28.3	16.6	26.5	17.6	3.5	20.9	33.4	16.5	26.5	21.3	17.1		
in July 1829	22.6	36.1	20.7	33.1	22.0	29.3	23.2	37.1	20.4	32.7	25.8	20.6		
<u>Family of five</u>														
in December 1824	39.7	105.9	38.0	101.4	40.4	80.7	44.2	118.0	38.3	102.3	48.6	64.9		
in April 1825	41.1	109.7	38.7	103.1	41.1	82.3	48.0	127.9	39.4	105.2	49.6	49.6		
in June 1825	41.3	66.1	38.7	61.9	41.1	54.9	48.8	78.0	38.6	61.7	49.8	39.8		
in July 1829	52.6	84.2	48.3	77.3	51.4	68.5	54.1	86.5	47.6	76.2	60.2	48.2		
II. Brown bread														
<u>Single, subsistence</u>														
in December 1824	7.2		7.1		7.5		8.4		7.1		9.2		5.3	
in April 1825	7.5		7.2		7.6		9.2		7.3		9.4		5.6	
in June 1825	7.5		7.2		7.6		9.3		7.1		9.4		5.6	
in July 1829	9.5		8.9		9.5		10.2		8.8		11.3		8.5	
<u>Single, active</u>														
in December 1824	15.5	41.3	15.2	40.4	16.1	32.1	18.0	48.1	15.3	40.7	19.7	26.3	11.5	30.6
in April 1825	16.1	42.9	15.4	41.1	16.4	32.8	19.6	52.4	15.7	41.9	20.1	20.1	12.0	31.9
in June 1825	16.1	25.7	15.4	24.6	16.3	21.7	19.9	31.9	15.3	24.4	20.1	16.1	11.9	19.1
in July 1829	20.4	32.6	19.1	30.5	20.3	27.0	21.9	35.0	18.8	30.0	24.2	19.4	18.0	29.2
<u>Family of five</u>														
in December 1824	36.1	96.3	35.4	94.3	37.5	74.9	42.1	112.3	35.6	95.0	46.0	61.4	26.7	71.3
in April 1825	37.6	100.2	36.0	96.0	38.2	76.5	45.8	122.2	36.7	97.9	47.0	47.0	27.9	74.4
in June 1825	37.5	60.0	35.8	57.3	38.0	50.7	46.5	74.3	35.7	57.0	47.0	37.6	27.8	44.5
in July 1829	47.6	76.2	44.5	71.2	47.3	63.0	51.0	81.7	43.8	70.1	56.5	45.2	42.6	68.2

Calorie levels based on minimum recommended levels:

Subsistence for one adult male: 1400 calories/day

Active labour for one adult male: 3000 calories/day

Family of five (wife pregnant, three children under ten years old): 7000 calories/day

Wages based on working 25 days per month at the following rates:

Artisan: December: 3.0 sh/day; April: 4.0 sh/day; June/July: 5.0 sh/day

Foreman: December: 2.0 sh/day; April: 2.0 sh/day; June/July: 3.0 sh/day

Labourer: December: 1.5 sh/day; April: 1.5 sh/day; June/July: 2.5 sh/day

Minimum diet: 80% of calories from bread, 10% from salt pork, 5% from butter, 5% from sugar; 5% of budget on tea.

to credit: even if all the bread he bought was brown, food expenses would account for all of his wages during at least five months of the year, and almost 60 percent at the best season for earnings. And Bisson's diet was the cheapest of all canal workers: Alexander Reilly's relatively more expensive tastes would push his food expenditures well above his entire income in the winter and early spring, and up to three quarters of what he earned during the summer months.

The relative economy of various types of diets also comes through in this analysis. A hypothetical minimal diet consisting mainly of brown bread was by far the cheapest, and a single labourer could survive at the bare subsistence level on about seven shillings per month in normal times, or twelve shillings if he or she wanted enough energy to work. The costs of actual diets also show differences in economy, with William Wilcock's diet costing about ten shillings per month more than the economical francophone labourer's diet, given equivalent household circumstances in normal times. On the other hand, switching from a four-pound loaf of white bread to a six-pound loaf of brown bread had much less of an effect than one might assume on a household's food budget. The average anglophone canal worker supporting a family of five, for example, would only save about four shillings per month in 1824, or two days wages; and Wilcock would have to spend only about two shillings sixpence more per month to switch to white bread, or less than his daily wages even during the seasonal wage low in December. White bread was not that much more expensive than brown for the calories it provided, especially considering its less-than-

dominant position in the canal workers' food expenditures; and given that their considerable purchases of alcohol suggest their diet was not determined by caloric value alone, this offers further evidence and explanations for their consumption of white bread.

The budgets also belie the commonly-held assumption that winter was in all respects the harshest time for the popular classes.(133) Depending on diet, food was either somewhat or considerably cheaper in December than in either April or June, reflecting the seasonal variation trends that showed market goods cheapest in the winter and most expensive in the summer, while non-market goods stayed relatively constant throughout the year. Alexander Reilly's high meat diet, for example, might lead him to spend up to four and a half shillings more per month in June than in December, although he could mitigate this by substituting different animal products throughout the year; and even for the anglophone labourer's diet, low on animal products, winter food was still a little cheaper than that in mid-summer. Wage fluctuations far outweighed seasonal fluctuations in food costs; but since credit on non-seasonal goods had the potential to smooth out the annual rhythm of wages, seasonal fluctuations in the cost of cash-only foods, especially those bought from the markets, likely had some effect on the diets of even the popular classes. In terms of actual cash outlays on food, winter thus might not be the hardest season for popular class households, although increased fuel costs probably more than made up for the difference.

Finally, food prices and budgets highlight once again the recurring theme of food in Montreal in the early nineteenth

century: the primacy of class in determining both what people ate, and how they got it. For the elites, food expenditures were such a minor part of total expenses that the flux of seasons, the rise and fall of prices, the addition or subtraction of household members, would have had little effect.(134) But for popular households, all of these factors were crucial: with between 60 and 100 percent of the main wage-earner's income going towards food even in normal times, a labourer's family of five would feel the effects of price rises, wage losses, or new mouths with urgent immediacy.

CONCLUSION

Diet, food-buying, food-producing, prices, and budgets; the food of Montreal in the early nineteenth century was a many-layered dish, larded through with class, geographical location, household composition, personal preference, and a range of other elements into a complicated confection which defies simple serving by the historian. In this overview, I have tried to slice through Montreal's food from different angles, to uncover some of the many characteristics of this basic feature of everyday life, and to mold them into a coherent picture of eating and provisioning in the city.

But although my main focus has been on simply sketching out what people ate, and where they got it from, my study also suggests a few general hypotheses about Montreal's food. In the first place, the basic characteristics of eating in the city showed elements of both continuity and change, in this period of demographic and economic transformation. And secondly, daily food in all of its various guises was heavily informed by a number of social factors, especially class.

Diets in early nineteenth century Montreal looked both forwards and backwards. With their substantial consumption of the "new" necessities, tea and sugar, the Lachine canal workers had begun to adopt some of the dietary characteristics of their counterparts in industrializing England. But at the same

time, some of the workers, including daymen, continued the high animal product consumption that was more characteristic of an earlier age; and most had a diet with considerably more variety than even the best-paid industrial workers in England. The canal workers' diets were thus neither "industrial" nor "pre-industrial", but rather showed evidence of both influences.

Provisioning in the city exhibited even more continuity. The sort of shop retailing whose growth characterized industrialization in England was already in place in Montreal, at least by 1810, and did little except expand along with the city's population. At the same time, one of the most traditional provisioning arenas, the regulated market, maintained its position throughout, expanding along with shop retailing as the city grew demographically and spatially.

More conclusively, class was the most pervasive determinant of diet and provisioning in early nineteenth century Montreal. What people ate was very obviously influenced by their social position, as the comparison between the Lachine canal workers and some elite households has suggested. Both the canal workers and the elites were part of the same general western dietary pattern, resting on the five pillars of starches, mainly wheat bread, potatoes, and peas; meats, mainly quadruped; dairy products, with butter dominating; alcohol, of varying sorts; and stimulating drinks with sweeteners, mainly tea and coffee with cane sugar. But beyond this superficial similarity, there were considerable differences. What the canal workers ate was not entirely

monotonous: bread was the main staple, but supplemented by other foods, especially pork and butter, along with tea, sugar, and alcohol and a few other, less important foods. But the elite diet, even pulled down by the presence of servants, was far meatier, more varied, and more luxurious. In the best possible cases, meat and dairy products might outweigh starches by three to one, and differences in food quality were even more marked: fresh beef over salt pork, fine wines over cheap rum, refined sugar over muscovado, coffee over cheap tea, exotic spices and dried fruit over salt and pepper.

Diet was not divided into two distinct camps, with only the elites on one side, and only the popular classes on the other; in between these two extremes lay the food of artisans, shopkeepers, and other middling elements in the social structure, partaking of elements of both the elite and popular class diets. But the spread of the dietary range nonetheless reflected the distinct social hierarchy that prevailed in the city at the time.

Not only diet, but many aspects of food provisioning were also heavily influenced by class, partly because of the differences in diets, but also quite independently. Thus, while most people in the city got most of their food from the retail quartet of bakers, markets, taverns, and grocers, supplemented by various non-retail strategies, the more specific features of this food-getting showed distinct differences between, for example, William Wilcock and Thomas McCord. McCord and Wilcock, or at least the representatives of

their respective households, might meet on the markets, although buying from different suppliers; but probably not in the bakeshop; almost never in the grocer, unless Wilcock happened to be employed by the elite firms McCord patronized; and certainly not in the taverns. And while both might have gardens and animals, only food-theft would bring them in contact in the sphere of non-retail provisioning, with McCord, as a magistrate, committing Wilcock to the gaol.

Class alone was not the only factor that determined diet and provisioning. Ethnicity and personal preference in particular had an effect on what people ate, with francophone and anglophone canal workers showing evident differences in taste, and significant variations in diet even within these groups. Alexander Reilly, Baptiste Cotteau, and Andrew Fitzpatrick were all labourers; but the food they ate was different nonetheless. And both geographical location and household composition influenced retail and non-retail provisioning: a single labourer in the old city had more access to markets, but less to home-production, than an extended family living in the outer suburbs, although both were well-served by the other mainstays of provisioning, bakers, grocers, and taverns. But the most pervasive flavour of Montreal's food in the early nineteenth century was still social class: the differences between Reilly, Cotteau, Fitzpatrick and even Wilcock paled when compared to the vast gulf between their diets, and that of Thomas McCord.

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The wandering pig was unaware of the multiple levels of social significance that surrounded it. Stomachs were still its destination, but not just one stomach; rather, a variety of innards, and by many different routes. Fresh, its loins or its head might pass from a slaughterhouse, to the market, to a servant, to a cook, to another servant, to the guts of Thomas McCord or Frederick William Ermatinger. Professionally salted, its pieces might go from a pork butcher, to a wholesale provisions dealer, to a market vendor, to a carpenter's wife, to a carpenter's family, helping a piece of bread or a pot of peas through the mouth. And less heavily preserved, it might go directly into a family saloir, disappearing bit by bit with the flux of appetite and seasons. The pig cared little for the social implications of its death, dispersal, and digestion; but for its consumers, these were as weighty as the animal itself.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. Since the 1960s, food history has moved from the coffee table to the mainstream of academic history, in part due to the efforts of the Annales school in France, which launched a drive early in the decade to study European food consumption habits in detail, both diet and provisioning. See in particular volumes 25 and 30 of Annales ESC; the collection of articles in Jean-Jacques Hémardinquer, Pour une histoire de l'alimentation (Cahiers des Annales 28) (Paris: Armand Colin, 1970); and Fernand Braudel, Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th century. Volume I: The Structures of Everyday Life (New York: Harper & Row, 1981), pp. 66-191. For a review of the literature on diet up to 1973, see Hugues Neveux, "L'alimentation du XIVE au XVIIe siècle: essai de mise au point," in Revue d'histoire économique et sociale 51(3) (1973), pp. 337-379. Some aspects of food history have been acceptable to historians for much longer, in particular the sorts of price-series analyses carried out by Labrousse and others from the 1930s on. For a view of this approach, see Ernest Labrousse et.al. Histoire Economique et sociale de la France (Paris: PUF, 1970), especially volume 2, pp. 325-566, plus Labrousse's earlier works dating back to the 1930s. For England, E.H. Phelps-Brown and Sheila V. Hopkins' "Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables, Compared with Builders' Wage-rates," in Economica, New Series 23(92) (Nov 1956), pp. 296-314, is often cited, although there are many others.

2. There are many examples of this sort of food history. See the articles in Hunger and History: The Impact of Changing Food Production and Consumption Patterns on Society, a special issue of The Journal of Interdisciplinary History 14(2) (Autumn 1983); or the articles scattered throughout the Annales de démographie historique, especially 1976 and 1983.

3. Studies of food price-series center around the historians of the "conjuncture", who use food prices as a measure of economic well-being; see Labrousse and Phelps-Brown, cited above. Food production techniques and rural distribution systems are largely the concern of agricultural and rural historians, and have a vast literature; see, as one example, Joan Thirsk ed. The Agrarian History of England and Wales (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1967). Urban distribution and expenditure have also attracted considerable study, particularly from British economic historians; see for example, David Alexander, Retailing in England during the Industrial Revolution (London: Athlone Press, 1970); Janet Blackman, "The

Development of the Retail Grocery Trade in the Nineteenth Century," in Business History 9(2) (July 1967), pp. 110-117, "The Food Supply of an Industrial Town: A Study of Sheffield's Public Markets, 1780-1900," in Business History 5(2) (July 1963), pp. 83-97, and "Changing Marketing Methods and Food Consumption," in T.C. Barker et.al. eds. Our Changing Fare: Two Hundred Years of British Food Habits (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1966), pp. 30-46; or John Burnett, "The Baking Industry in the Nineteenth Century," in Business History 5(2) (July 1963), pp. 98-108. Examples from the French context include parts of Fernand Braudel's second volume, Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th century. Volume II: The Wheels of Commerce (New York: Harper and Row, 1982), and of Steven Lawrence Kaplan's Provisioning Paris: Merchants and Millers in the Grain and Flour Trade during the Eighteenth Century (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1984).

4. The anthropological approach to food history is summed up in Peter Farb and George Armelagos, Consuming Passions: The Anthropology of Eating (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1980); see also Stephen S. Mennel, All Manners of Food, Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present (London: Basil Blackwell, 1985), and Sidney W. Mintz, Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History (New York: Viking, 1985). In the American context, see Peter Benes, ed. Foodways in the Northeast: The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, Annual Proceedings, 1982 (Boston: Boston UP, 1984). The Annales school includes the best examples of historical examination of the "mentalités" of food; see, for example, Jean-Paul Aron, Essai sur la sensibilité alimentaire à Paris au 19e siècle (Cahiers des Annales 25) (Paris: Armand Colin, 1967). The basic social history approach borrows many elements from the other approaches to food history, but is fundamentally interested in social processes and social transformations. It is perhaps best exemplified by John Burnett's Plenty and Want: A Social History of Diet in England from 1815 to the Present Day (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968). For another way social historians use food, see the discussions of food riots in Richard Cobb's The Police and the People: French Popular Protest, 1789-1820 (London: Oxford UP, 1970), pp. 215-324.

5. As one pair of historians note, "For all its importance, the historical study of food is in practice extremely difficult to tackle systematically. There are a number of pioneering works in the field, but as yet there exists no clear methodology, and no general agreement even on the basic questions that need to be asked." [R.E.F. Smith and David Christian, Bread and Salt: A Social and Economic History of Food and Drink in Russia (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984), pp. 1-2]

6. As far as food procurement goes, large institutions are far more likely to have had at least part of their food supplied by wholesalers. In Montreal, for example, the army was generally supplied with beef through tenders publicized in the newspapers; see the Montreal Herald, 1/5/19, p. 3. The representativity of institutional diets is more a matter of contention: while some historians argue that when used with care, they can be a reflection of everyday, non-institutional diet, others note that there is often considerable divergence, especially regarding the military and hospitals, with diets in these institutions being both better than non-institutional fare, and often out of financial reach of the mass of the population. For a review of the various viewpoints, see Neveux, "L'alimentation", pp. 343-347, and the response/reply exchange between Neveux and Michel Morineau in "L'alimentation en Europe du X^{IV}e au X^{VIII}e siècles: notes sur une mise au point," in Revue d'histoire économique et sociale 54(2) (1976), pp. 258-265. Since I have other sources at my disposal, I decided to avoid the entire problem by largely ignoring the problem of institutional diet and food procurement.

7. Louis Stouff, Ravitaillement et alimentation en Provence aux X^{IV}e et X^Ve siècles (Paris: Mouton, 1970), p. 15. This is in opposition to, for example, Robert and Elborg Forster: "It is banal to say that humankind ... has spent most of its time "food-getting" and "food-consuming," and for this reason alone these activities must be minutely described" (Introduction to European Diet from Pre-Industrial to Modern Times (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), p. ix). Needless to say, I reject this view of food history as somehow subsidiary to the "real" questions that the historian must deal with.

8. See in particular the work of the Groupe de recherche sur la société montréalaise au 19^e siècle, summarized in Paul-André Linteau and Jean-Claude Robert, "Montréal au 19^e siècle: bilan d'une recherche," in Urban History Review 13(3) (Feb 1985), pp. 206-223, and of the members of the Montreal Business History Project (MBHP), for example the two theses by Robert Sweeney, "Internal Dynamics and the International Cycle: Questions of the Transition in Montréal, 1821-1828" (PhD, McGill University, 1985), and Mary-Anne Poutanen, "For the Benefit of the Master: the Montreal Needle Trades during the Transition, 1820-1842" (MA, McGill University, 1985).

9. For a discussion of the much more extensive sources available to European food historians, see Neveux, "L'alimentation", pp. 337-347, and for France in particular, see Guy Thuillier, "Notes sur les sources de l'histoire régionale de l'alimentation pour la France du X^{IX}e siècle," in Hémardinquer, Pour une histoire, pp. 212-227.

NOTES TO PART I

1. Robert-Lionel Séguin, "Le menu quotidien en Nouvelle-France," in Liberté 10(7) (jan-fév 1969), pp. 65-90. For other references, see the bibliography in François Rousseau, L'Oeuvre de chère en Nouvelle-France: le régime des malades à l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec (Québec: PUL, 1983), pp. 410-412. The diet of the province's native inhabitants, on the other hand, has formed the subject of many anthropological and archaeological inquiries; see for example almost any of the articles in Bruce Trigger ed. Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 15: Northeast (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1978).

2. Corinne Beutler, in "Le rôle du blé à Montréal sous le régime seigneurial," in RHAF 36(2) (sept. 1982), p. 259, uses an estimate of bread consumption made in 1706 by an intendant in order to calculate indebtedness to a local baker; Robert Tremblay, in "La formation matérielle de la classe ouvrière à Montréal entre 1790 et 1830," in RHAF 33(1) (juin 1979), pp. 47-48, uses estimates of dietary consumption in the late nineteenth century in order to calculate the proportion of family income spent on food. Given the obvious changes in Montreal's situation between 1706 and 1810, and 1820 and 1890, the uncritical use of these sources is problematic at least, especially in the latter case, since one of the fundamental issues of the history of diet is the change wrought by industrialization (see Burnett, Plenty and Want).

3. Rousseau, Oeuvre.

4. Jean-François Blanchette, The Role of Artifacts in the Study of Foodways in New France, 1720-1760 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1981); Lise Boily and Jean-François Blanchette, Les fours à pain au Québec (Ottawa: Musées nationaux du Canada, 1976); and Darlene Balkwill, Salt Pork and Beef Again? The Diet of French and British Soldiers at the Casement, Bastion Saint-Louis, Québec (Ottawa: Environment Canada, 1987).

5. Along with Beutler and Tremblay, already mentioned, Allan Greer talks briefly about pensions alimentaires in Peasant, Lord and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes 1740-1840 (Toronto: Toronto UP, 1985), pp. 34-37 and 206-207; Claude Desrosiers mentions food within the broader context of the purchases of rural inhabitants from a country merchant in "Un aperçu des habitudes de consommation de la clientèle de Joseph Cartier, marchand général à Saint-Hyacinthe à la fin du XVIIIe siècle," in Historical Papers 1984, pp. 91-110; and Claudette Lacelle raises the question of servant diet in "Les domestiques dans les villes canadiennes au XIXe siècle: effectifs et conditions de vie," in SH/HS 15(29) (May 1982), pp. 195-196.

6. The next period in which diet is examined systematically, albeit from a purely nutritional viewpoint, is from 1851 on, by W. Peter Ward and Patricia C. Ward in "Infant Birth Weight and Nutrition in Industrializing Montreal," in American Historical Review 89(2) (April 1984), pp. 324-345.

7. Although the predominance of Montreal in this import/export trade has been called into question by Margaret Heap and Joanne Burgess, its importance as a commercial nexus is not in question (Linteau and Robert, "Bilan d'une recherche," pp. 209-210). For a general overview of commerce in Lower Canada as a whole, see Fernand Ouellet, Economic and Social History of Quebec, 1760-1850: Structures and Conjunctures (Ottawa: The Carleton Library, 1980), although many of Ouellet's views have since been challenged.

8. See Ouellet, History, especially the charts on imports and exports at the end of the volume; also the tables in Gilles Paquet and Jean-Pierre Wallot, "Aperçu sur le commerce international et les prix domestiques dans le Bas-Canada (1793-1812)," in RHAF 21(3) (hiver 1967), pp. 454-457.

9. Some overseas food items did make their way up through St. Jean, passing by way of the United States; but again, the range of goods recorded is very limited.

10. Hugh Gray, Letters from Canada, written during a residence there in the years 1806, 1807, and 1808 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1809), p. 151.

11. Thomas Johnston, Travels through Lower Canada (Edinburgh: J. Glass, 1827), p. 40. Similar praise was heaped on the public markets in most larger North American towns, including Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and New Orleans.

12. Johnston, Travels, p. 40. See also J. Bouchette, A Topographical Dictionary of the Province of Lower Canada (London: W. Faden, 1815), pp. 157-160; George Heriot, Travels Through the Canadas (London: R. Phillips, 1807), pp. 114-115; Edward A. Talbot, Five Years Residence in the Canadas: Including a Tour Through Part of the United States of America, in the Year 1823 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1824), p. 78; John McGregor, British North America (London: T. Caldwell, 1833), pp. 310-314; Adam Ferguson, Practical Notes Made During a Tour in Canada, and a Portion of the United States in 1831 (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1834), pp. 66-67. John Palmer, in Journal of Travels in the United States of America and in Lower Canada Performed in the Year 1817 (London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1818), was a little more circumspect, but nonetheless noted that the markets were relatively well supplied with meat, fish, and a number of fruits and vegetables (p. 215).

13. This is obvious from the content of many of the tracts, especially those written towards the later 1820s and the 1830s.

14. OOA MG19 A2, Series 3, vol. 177, file 1.

15. The question of a "crisis" in Lower Canadian agriculture in the first decade and a half of 19th century forms one of the major planks of the "agricultural crisis" debate, with Ouellet on the one hand arguing for the crisis, and Paquet-Wallot denying its existence. For an overview of the debate, see Robert Lavertue, "L'Histoire de l'agriculture Québécoise au XIXe siècle: une schématisation des faits et des interprétations," in Cahiers de géographie du Québec 28(73-74) (avr-sept 1984), pp. 275-287. Nevertheless, from the urban perspective, both Ouellet and Paquet/Wallot's figures show a fairly hefty price increase throughout the period covered by Ermatinger's book, hinting at a potential "crisis" for urban dwellers (Ouellet, Histoire, pp. 175-195, and Paquet and Wallot, "Aperçu"); and although some wage levels seem to have kept pace with this increase up until 1812 (Tremblay, "Formation", chart on p. 48), the almost doubling of average market prices in 1813-1814, evident in Ermatinger's book, is evidence of a true crisis. Even in that crisis period, the same wide variety of goods remained available on the market, at least as far as Ermatinger's accounts show.

16. Bouchette, Topographical, p. 160. Gray makes a similar observation, noting that due to the gardens between the town and the mountains, "no place can be better supplied with vegetables than Montreal" (Gray, Letters, p. 150). On the local market gardens that supplied European cities with produce before the advent of rail made rapid transportation possible, see Alexander, Retailing, pp. 36-38; similar conditions pertained in American cities. This zone of agriculture at least partly for the urban market appears also to have extended to the South Shore. Tyrone Power, in Impressions of America During the Years 1833, 1834, and 1835 (London: Bentley, 1830) mentions that the Laprairie steamboat was crowded with farmers returning from market in 1835 (p. 326); and the account book of the steam boat William Annesly, plying the same route in 1826, suggests a similar range of produce going to market, from twenty-six sheep to ten barrels of potatoes (OOA MG24 D93). As well, the profusion of ferry licenses, with rates for horses, cows, and carts, which appear in the registers of the Quarter Sessions of the Peace from at least the mid-1810s on, also tends to support this conclusion; for an example, see the entries for April 29, 1814, which gives rates for the Longeull ferries, dependant on which Montreal market they were asked to go to (ANQM, Préarchivage, registers of the Quarter Sessions of the Peace; henceforward QS). Jennifer Waywell, studying farm leases on the Island of Montreal, has noted the same sort of market-garden type agriculture around the city ("Farm Leasing on the Island of Montreal, 1780-1820," paper presented to the Cinq à Sept d'Histoire of the Montreal Business History Project, April 20, 1989).

17. Contemporary observers seemed particularly struck by the importation from the United States of great quantities of fresh-frozen codfish and pork during the winter season; see Heriot, Travels, pp. 114-115; Gray, Letters, p. 151; John Lambert, Travels through Canada and the United States of North America in the Years 1806, 1807, and 1808 (London: 1814), p. 528; Bouchette, Topographical, p. 157; Henry, Guide, p. 8; and McGregor, British North America, p. 310. The customs house figures for Saint John confirm these observations; even in 1806, some 11,100 pounds of fresh codfish and 67,943 pounds of fresh pork were imported in this fashion (Gray, Letters, p. 180); and figures for the 1820s are similar. See the quarterly statements of imports and exports from St. John in the Herald, 25/1/23, 26/4/23, 24/1/24, 24/4/24, 19/1/25, 30/4/25, 4/2/26, 13/5/26, 5/4/26, 13/12/26, and also the brief mentions in the Herald regarding fresh-frozen pork and codfish on the city's markets from the United States and the Eastern Townships, 21/1/15, 30/12/15, and 5/12/26. Since meat cannot be salted when frozen, these must have been destined for fresh consumption [Thomas DeVoe, The Market Assistant (New York: Hurd & Houghton, 1867), p. 97].

18. A pamphlet by the inspector of beef and pork, William Moore [Remarks on the subject of packing and re-packing beef and pork (Montreal: Nahum Moore, 1820)], suggests that beef and pork were, on the one hand, brought to the city live for slaughtering and salting, and on the other, shipped already packed from Upper Canada for re-export through Montreal. One passage is particularly revealing: "It has long been a settled principle, that neither Beef or Pork is improved by re-packing. Beef especially, should be slaughtered where it may be put up and qualified with the brand for exportation; and this fact may always be used, as a weighty reason for sending Beef to market on foot" (p. 15). The presence of two inspectors of beef and pork in the city in 1825, when beef and pork shipped in from Upper Canada was exempt from inspection, and when there was only one flour inspector; along with the comparatively large number of coopers and butchers in the city at the same time, ranking respectively fourth and sixth among manufacturing trades; also suggest a considerable local packing trade (Jean-Paul Bernard, Paul-André Linteau, and Jean-Claude Robert, "Les effectifs des professions à Montréal en 1825: Tableaux," in Groupe de recherche sur la société Montréalaise au 19e siècle, Rapport, 1973-1975). On salt meat in the markets, see the discussion in Part II.

19. Taken from the inventories collected by Jean-Pierre Wallot et.al. at the Université de Montréal, with thanks to Christian Dessureault for giving me access to this collection, as well as pointing me towards other sources for inventaires après décès. For complete references, see Appendix II.

20. From about 3300 entries collated from a series of bills and receipts regarding both food, and other items, in the McCord Museum, Thomas McCord Papers.

21. Burton-type ale, produced by Joseph Chapman, a local brewer, rather than ale from Burton-on-Trent, which would not have survived the journey from England.

22. As well as making intuitive sense, the link between socio-economic status and diet is noted by studies of diet in other societies, for example Burnett's Plenty and Want, pp. 30-98, or Stouff's Ravitaillement et alimentation, pp. 219-253, and is essentially taken as a given by most historians of diet, such as Rousseau (Oeuvre, p. 392).

23. McCord Museum, Bagg papers, Lachine store account books (title varies).

24. In McCord Museum, Gibb Papers, Item 53: "Waste Book No. 5, 1822-1824, Ware & Gibb."

25. Unlike in many European cities, no municipal officials in Montreal kept records of the amount of food consumed or sold in the city, even on the public markets. The only possible exception is the record of prisoners' heights in the registers of the Montreal Gaol, ANQM 06,M-E17, which would give an indication of nutritional standards, although not diet itself.

26. This is the main point of Burnett's Plenty and Want, and also forms part of the focus of the "cost of living" debate that has occupied British historians since the 1950s.

27. While it was the Lachine end of the canal that was being built in 1822-23, construction later moved towards the Montreal end, taking the workers and their dietary preferences along with it. The census of 1825 shows 16 of the workers I chose definitely living in the city, including representatives of all the sub-groups I isolated, mostly in the area around the foot of the canal, which was under construction when the census was taken in August; 3 other people living in the city who had the same last names as 3 of the workers along with other indications that they were likely related; and only 2 workers living in the country districts around Montreal, one still at Lachine, and one on Cote St. Catherine, behind the mountain [Claude Perrault, Montréal en 1825, (Montréal: Groupe Gen-Histo, 1977)]. Gerald Tulchinsky, basing himself on a contemporary account, suggests that some of the workers might later have gone on to build the Rideau canal; but Peter Russell's conclusions on the nature of similar transient labour in Upper Canada during the same period suggest a considerable attachment to the local urban environment, even in times of hardship (Gerald Tulchinsky, "The construction of the first Lachine canal, 1815-1820" (MA, McGill University, 1960), p. 107; Peter Russell, "Wage Labour Rates in Upper Canada, 1818-1840" (SH/HS 16(31) May 1983), pp. 61-80)). At any rate, almost half of my 47 workers were definitely part of Montreal's population in 1825 at least; and given that the census listed only heads of households, and that there were considerable problems with the mis-spelling of last names, probably more as well (Jean-Claude Robert and Claude Théoret, "Le Recensement de 1825," in Groupe de recherche sur la société montréalaise au 19e siècle. Rapport et travaux, 1972-1973.

28. The store's account and cash books show that it carried fresh beef and pork, salt pork, lamb, geese, salt fish, eggs, butter, cheese, bread, crackers, cakes, flour, peas, barley, Indian meal, rice, potatoes, sugar, tea, rum, sprucebeer, beer, and a variety of condiments. It might also have carried fresh vegetables, since the cash books often mention these; but given the small amounts, and the practice then current of mixing household with business accounts, these might have been only for the consumption of the storekeeper's household (McCord Museum, Bagg Papers, Lachine store cash books). Most prices during the period were similar to those that I have gathered for Montreal: three to three and a half pence a pound for beef, seven pence a pound for salt pork, seven pence a pound for muscovado sugar, and so on. The only exception was the price of bread: at seven to eight pence a loaf, roughly 10 percent more expensive than in Montreal; but as we shall see, any downward pressure that this might have had on the consumption of breadstuffs is likely to have been negligible, since it would have cost the average worker at the very most an extra two shillings per month if he were feeding himself, four shillings for a family of five, and since, while working, the canal workers likely had enough income to supply themselves with this basic necessity. As for wages, a day labourer might earn between three and three and a half pounds per month, based on working twenty-five days out of thirty; wages essentially in line with those discovered by Tremblay for Montreal at the same time ("Formation", p. 48).

29. Tulchinsky, "Construction," pp. 98-107.

30. Ibid., p. 104.

31. Based on working twenty-five days out of thirty. Wages varied according to the digging season: full wages from May to November; and then dropping in two stages to the lowest wages from January to May, when all that was being performed was maintenance work. All occupations maintained the same relative position on the wage scale, from artisans, to foremen, to drillers, to daymen (McCord Museum, Bagg papers, Lachine canal pay books).

32. Per week, a driller might drill anything from a hundred to a thousand feet of rock, with soft rock paying less than hard; the average per month seems to have been around 1700 feet, giving around seventy shillings per month.

33. Tulchinsky, "Construction", p. 98; Bagg Papers, account books and pay books. Without more detailed reconstruction from the 1825 census, it is impossible to tell where these workers came from; but some of the names in the account books (William Wilcock, John Smith, John Abbott) suggest mainland English extraction.

34. Tulchinsky, "Construction," pp. 66, 104.

35. The 1825 census gives the family composition of some workers, but detailed analysis is impossible, given the number of people about whom I know nothing. See Perrault, Montréal.

36. All caloric values in this study are from the Ministry of Health and Welfare's Nutrient Values of Some Common Foods (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1971), except for those for salt fish, which are taken from Rousseau, Oeuvre, p. 380.

37. I defined "significant purchases" rather arbitrarily as follows: (per month) bread: two loaves; spirits, one half pint; sugar, one pound; pork, one pound; tea, one ounce; butter, one pound; beef, one pound; eggs, one half dozen; salt, one half pint; pepper, any purchases; beer/cider, one pint; peas, one pound; cheese, one half pound; potatoes, four pounds; herrings, one unit; flour, one pound; other grains, one pound; fish, one half pound; vinegar, one half pint; mustard, one quarter bottle; lard, one half pound. It seems to me that if anyone bought these foods in these amounts, the foods formed a portion of their diets; and at any rate, changing the figures up or down slightly makes very little difference to the overall trends.

38. Major food groups are defined as follows. Bread: bread; Meat: beef, fish, herrings, lard, and pork; Starches: flour, other grains, peas, and potatoes; Dairy: butter, cheese, and eggs; Alcohol: beer/cider and spirits; Drink: tea and sugar; Condiments: mustard, pepper, salt, and vinegar.

39. Since I only use the energy value of various foods as a basis of comparison, my study is not really nutritional, despite its use of some of the techniques of nutritionists. For a detailed discussion of the derivation of the canal workers' diets, see Appendix I.

40. Starches is used throughout to denote both cereals such as wheat or barley, and cereal-replacements such as potatoes or pulses.

41. Michel Morineau, "Budgets populaires en France au XVIIIe siècle," in Revue d'histoire économique et sociale 50(2) (1972), pp. 203-237, and 50(4) (1972), pp. 449-481.

42. Neveux, "L'alimentation", pp. 350-352. On Russia, see Smith, Bread and Salt; on Britain, see John Burnett, "Trends in Bread Consumption," in Barker et.al. Our Changing Fare, pp. 61-62.

43. Rousseau, Oeuvre, p. 340. The proportion of bread was even higher in crisis years (p. 342).

44. Brown bread gives 1100 calories per pound, while white bread gives 1250.

45. Ville de Montréal, Service des Archives, Procès-verbaux des Sessions Spéciaux de la Paix (henceforward SS), 12/7/10.

46. Ibid., 14/4/21.

47. Burnett suggests that by 1750, the white bread habit had reached even provincial towns like Nottingham, and that by 1800 it was firmly entrenched throughout England ("Trends", p. 62).

48. The Lachine store and bakery made no mention of different types of bread, which given the practice in Montreal at the same time of distinguishing between brown and white, even if the prices were the same, suggests a single type of bread produced there. The Montreal assize of bread specified two types of bread only, the four-pound brown loaf, and the six-pound brown loaf, also sold in half-loaves of two and three pounds respectively; and while Lachine did not fall under the jurisdiction of the assize, the fact that on several occasions the bakery bought bread from Montreal, and also shipped some of its own bread in the city for sale, suggests that the bakery's bread was compatible with that sold in the city, and thus either 4 or 6 pounds per loaf. White or semi-white bread is strongly suggested by the type of flour bought by the store, which was mainly in barrels, and thus not the whole flour sold in sacks on the markets; and while the bakery also had a mill attached, and bought large quantities of wheat, the presence of a large amount of bran in an inventory of the mill taken in early 1823 suggests that this wheat was turned not into the farine entière specified by the assize for brown bread, but some less coarse sort of flour. Finally, an analysis of some

partial accounts of the bakery, in the Lachine store's cash book, covering purchases of wheat and flour and major bread sales between Feb. 1 and May 1 1823 yields the following results:

Flour bought: 11,834 lb
 Wheat bought: 449.5 bushels, yielding 20,281 lb flour
 Total flour bought: 32,115 lb

Less 644 lb sold as flour: 31,471 lb
 Less an estimated 5% wastage in bakery: 29,897 lb flour
 Yielding, at a 1.33:1 bread:flour ratio: @ 40,000 lb bread

Sales of bread on account by bakery:

To store: 1277 loaves
 To a contractor: @6500 loaves (based on 7d/loaf wholesale)
 To Abner Bagg: 12 loaves
 Total recorded sales on account: @7800 loaves

$40,000 \div 7800 = @5.1 \text{ lb/loaf.}$

Taking into account the fact that the bakery likely sold bread for cash as well, and that it definitely shipped at least one load of bread to the Tanneries district of the city for sale during this period (although unfortunately the exact amount is not specified), the Lachine canal workers' bread was thus most likely the four-pound white loaf (or 2 pound half-loaf) (Bagg Papers, Lachine store cash book 1822. Wheat, flour, and bread ratios from Rousseau, Oeuvre, p. 395, converted into English measures).

49. The average purchases of bread, in loaves, were as follows (the sample size for February and March is too low to be of use):

January:	11	August:	15
April:	11	September:	9
May:	16	October:	11
June:	13	November:	11
July:	13	December:	11

The low figure in September was accompanied by low purchases in all categories, including items that could only be bought at the store, such as tea and sugar.

50. Tulchinsky, "Construction", p. 103.

51. Ibid., pp. 66, 104. The nature of my sources does not allow me to explore fuller contributions to the household economy by family members apart from the principal wage earner, either in my discussion on diet, or my treatment of provisioning. Many social historians have treated this topic in depth; see for example Bettina Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows and Boarders: Non-Wage Forms of Survival among Montreal Families, 1861-91," in Labour/Le Travail 14 (Fall 1984), pp. 9-46, or Marjorie Griffin Cohen, Women's Work, Markets, and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto: Toronto UP, 1988).

52. Ibid., pp. 88, 103.

53. This may seem a lot, but per day provided only about 1900 calories, not even enough to feed one person.

54. Herald, 25/1/17, 18/12/19.

55. Ibid., 12/2/20.

56. In 46 inventaires après décès or similar documents, dettes passives to bakers turned up three times, including twice in the inventaires of labourers, peas three times, oats twice, flour twice, and potatoes only once. Potatoes in contrast turned up three times in 223 inventaires of merchants, large retailers, and members of the liberal professions. This is only an impressionistic survey, without the methodological rigorousness or scope of focussed studies of notarial records. But since less than 20 percent of the inventaires of people who were not food retailers showed stocks of food; and since some of my documents do not show the debts owing by an estate, and even for those that do, many of the creditors are unidentifiable; further precision seemed unwarranted. For a complete list of the inventaires après décès used in this study, see Appendix II.

57. Market prices reports in various newspapers, 1824-1833. See Part II.

58. The impact of the potato on Europe is one of the most hotly debated questions in European dietary history, with some historians arguing that it allowed a "demographic revolution", while others downplay its significance. On the first, see the work of Christian Vandembroeke on Belgium, especially his published thesis, Agriculture et alimentation: l'agriculture et l'alimentation dans les pays-bas Autrichiens. Contribution à l'histoire économique et sociale à la fin de l'Ancien Régime (Leuven: Centre Belge d'Histoire Rurale, 1975), pp. 270 ff. For the opposite view, see Michel Morineau, "La pomme de terre au XVIIIe siècle," in Annales 25(6) (nov-déc 1970), pp. 1767-1785. The potato is also a key player in Irish historiography; see the twenty-year exchange between K.H. Connell, "The Potato in Ireland," in Past and Present 23 (Nov 1962), pp. 57-71, L.M. Cullen, "Irish History Without the Potato," in Past and Present 40 (July 1968), pp. 72-83, and Joel Mokyr, "Irish History With the Potato," in Irish Economic and Social History 8 (1981), pp. 8-29. The debate centers mainly around the potato's place in the late 18th century; none of these scholars question its importance to Ireland by the early 19th.

59. Based on two shillings per bushel for potatoes, and seven pence per loaf for brown bread at its cheapest. White bread at seven pence per loaf would cost around 1.3 pence per 1000 calories.

60. Morineau, "Pomme de terre," pp. 1774-75, 1783.

61. Herald, 13/3/19.

62. Rousseau, Oeuvre, pp. 282-290. Unfortunately, Rousseau does not give any overall averages, but rather lists consumption year by year; in 1750, for example, patients consumed on average about 1050 grams of cereals per day, mainly bread, about 300 grams of various animal products, mainly meat, about 100 ml. of alcohol, and about 60 grams of other products. Comparison is also made difficult because Rousseau does not make a detailed breakdown of where calories came from, apart from bread and alcohol; the latter ranged between 5 and 8 percent of total calories.

63. It is also possible that beef was under-represented in the account books due to the way it was usually procured. The men bought their beef directly from a butcher, James Kelso, who kept his own accounts, and then every month transferred them over to the store, which reimbursed Kelso and then added his bill to the workmens' general accounts; and this raises the possibility that Kelso only extended credit to some of the workmen, demanding cash payments from others, which might come out of the considerable portions of their salary that the workmen received in cash (Bagg papers: James Kelso's beef account book, Lachine store cash books, and Lachine store account books). Looking again at the division of labourers into expenditure-level groups, a faint supporting trend is distinguishable, with beef rising from 2 percent of expenditures for all labourers to 4.5 percent for labourers spending over thirty shillings per month. But this is still minimal in terms of overall expenditures; and the fact that on January 20 1823, the men were given 312 pounds of beef "for a New Year gift" suggests that beef was not entirely an everyday food (James Kelso's beef account book). As for the theft of animals from farmers, I doubt that this ever rose above the level of a pig or a chicken; for obvious reasons, a cow is both harder to steal, harder to hide, and harder to slaughter discretely.

64. Salt pork was also more than twice as compact a calorie-package as fresh beef, carrying 3300 calories per pound as opposed to only 1300.

65. Seven of the forty-six inventaires mentioned stocks of pork, the most common food that showed up, while one carpenter with an estate worth about £35 had debts to a butcher for beef; and considering that most meat was sold on the markets, and thus would not show up in credit records, probably even more people consumed fresh meat.

66. Herald, 12/2/20.

67. Ibid., 1/5/19.

68. Ibid., 5/5/21 and 12/5/21.

69. As is suggested for France by Laurier Turgeon in "Consommation de morue et sensibilité alimentaire en France au XVIIIe siècle," in Historical Papers 1984, pp. 39-41.

70. Herald 24/4/23.

71. Fresh butter was available at the store, and occasionally some workers bought it in small quantities. But salt butter was cheaper by almost half, sixpence a pound rather than ten pence or a shilling, and kept better as well; hence, its predominance in the workers' butter consumption.

72. W.J. Rorabaugh, "Estimated U.S. Alcoholic Beverage Consumption, 1790-1860," in Journal of Studies on Alcohol 37(3) (March 1976), p. 360.

73. Tulchinsky, "Construction," p. 104.

74. It could also be that the workers only bought alcohol at the store, and that those spending less on food were using the extra money for other purposes; but this seems less likely. given that the census of 1825 shows ten tavernkeepers in the parish of Lachine, and thus in easy reach of the canal workers (Perrault, Montréal, p. 129).

75. Rorabaugh, "Consumption," p. 360. The U.S. figure has been translated from U.S. into Imperial gallons.

76. This was what cane sugar was mainly used for by the popular classes in most parts of the western world at this time (Mintz, Sweetness, passim).

77. This is suggested by the stability or decrease in proportions going from workers who spent the least at the store to those who spent the most; and it is also hinted at by the way in which both these items were bought, in small amounts and fairly regularly.

78. Burnett, Plenty and Want, pp. 69-70.

79. Rousseau, Oeuvre, pp. 181-189.

80. Burnett, Plenty and Want, pp. 48-73 passim; Mintz, Sweetness, pp. 74-150. Mintz's treatment of the shift in sugar consumption patterns is by far the most thorough examination of the problem.

81. Burnett, "Trends", pp. 62-63.

82. IAD 11/1/21, 6/2/21, 2/1/23, and 9/11/24. All specific references to inventaires après décès and similar documents are presented in this form; the exact references are organized by date in Appendix II.

83. From various newspaper reports of market prices; see Part II.

84. IAD 5/6/11 and 20/5/17. The inventaires are unreliable in this case, since the small quantities in which most poorer consumers would have bought sugar would not generally have been recorded.

85. Herald, 5/2/20

86. Four altogether.

87. In 1825, he and his wife were between 25 and 40 years old, with a boy and a girl both under 6 years old (Perrault, Montréal, p. 344). Based on a dietary allowance of 3000 calories for Wilcock, 1900 for his wife, and 1200 calories each for the two young children, Wilcock bought enough calories to fulfill average energy requirements suggested in the Department of National Health and Welfare's Recommended Nutrient Intakes for Canadians (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1983), pp. 22-23. But given that we do not know exactly how old Wilcock's children were, what his personal requirements were, or even if he had any children in 1822 and 1823, further speculation on nutritional standards is fruitless. If his work involved heavy manual labour, he might need an extra six or seven hundred calories; but on the other hand, if he had only one young child in 1822/23, his family's caloric requirements might drop accordingly. And of course, he might also have had access to other food sources, in the form of domestic production by his wife to supplement his own labour.

88. This would yield about 3800 calories per day, at the upper end of what is required for heavy manual labour.

89. Equivalent to about 3300 calories per day, which if he was under 25 and doing the sort of hard manual labour required of a dayman, would be just enough to fulfill his energy requirements.

90. The census of 1825 mentions that Reilly had a wife but no children; however, 135,000 calories per month yields only 4500 calories per day, enough to feed Reilly and supply one half his wife's requirements. Two possibilities exist: either Reilly was not married at the time, and ate extremely well; or he was married and got some calories elsewhere. The latter seems more likely.

91. See above.

92. Burnett, "Trends", p. 70.

93. English labourers also drank alcohol, of course; unfortunately, Burnett in Plenty and Want does not include alcohol expenditures in the household budgets he draws up, so comparison with the canal workers is difficult.

94. Such as the Manchester workers that Burnett sketches out in Plenty and Want, pp. 69-72. With mainly bread, along with a little fresh meat, sugar, tea, butter, potatoes, and small amounts of bacon, eggs, milk, and cheese, these workers' diets were no better than those of the average anglophone Lachine canal worker.

95. Sarah F. McMahon, "A Comfortable Subsistence: The Changing Composition of Diet in Rural New England, 1620-1840," in William and Mary Quarterly 42(1) (Jan. 1985), pp. 26-65; and Daphne L. Derven, "Wholesome, Toothsome, and Diverse: Eighteenth-Century Foodways in Deerfield, Massachusetts," in Benes, Foodways, pp. 47-63. Specific comparisons of diets with these articles is difficult, since both authors rely on sources that do not immediately point to actual diets: McMahon on notarial inventories, and Derven on the number of transactions in various foods in a variety of sources. As well, neither are able to break down their sources by socio-economic status, thus bringing in the possibility of and upward distortion due to the diets of the elites.

96. Myron Momryk, "Frederick William Ermatinger," in Francis G. Halpenney ed. Dictionary of Canadian Biography volume 6 (Toronto: Toronto UP, 1987), pp. 237-239.

97. Justices of the Peace at the same time initiated local municipal regulations, passed them into law, and then enforced them in their own courts. They also enforced provincial ordinances, and represented the first step in almost any judicial matter, from galloping a horse too fast to treason. For more on McCord himself, see Elinor Kyte Senior, "Thomas McCord", in Halpenny, Dictionary, vol. 6, pp. 432-434.

98. The presence in the firm's accounts of several payment to a boardinghouse keeper on behalf of Albert Ware, as well as the fact that only Gibb was listed as a householder in the 1825 census, make it most likely that this "household expenses" account was for Gibb and not Ware. However, even if that were not the case, it would make little difference to my analysis, since both were members of the elites.

99. The 1825 census, taken after Thomas McCord's death, shows a household with 8 members: John Samuel McCord, his son; 3 other males, 18-25 year; 3 females, 14-45 years; and 1 female over 45 years. Adding Thomas McCord himself, this would give a total monthly household energy requirement, with generous allotments, of some 820,000 calories, within the range of monthly calories purchases calculated from the bills and receipts. For the 7 people listed as living in George Gibb's house in the 1825 census, (3 males 25-40 years old, 2 boys 14-18 years old, 1 female 14-45 years old, and 1 male 18-25 years old, all unmarried), total monthly energy requirements would be at least 573,000 calories, of which monthly calorie purchases calculated from the "house expenses" account for only about 80 percent; possibly one or more of the house's inhabitants were in fact not part of Gibb's household, but simply boarders who took care of their own food. The potential inaccuracies of the census, along with the difficulty of knowing exact household composition and eating practices, make any deeper analyses of individual consumption impossible. Household compositions from Perrault, Montréal.

100. For a detailed discussion of how I handled the various problems connected with these sources, see Appendix I.

101. Butcher's meat is any meat coming from quadrupeds, excluding such meat usually covered by poulterers, such as hares, but including fresh preparations from meat, such as sausages.

102. Fowl and chickens are the same animal; the latter are simply older.

103. As a comparison, based on average prices in 1824, salt pork cost about 2.1 pence per 1000 calories, as opposed to 2.7 for fresh beef, around 3 for mutton, lamb, and veal, 3.5 for salt cod, more than 10 for the various poultry, and ranging from 2.1 upwards to over 15 for fresh fish, depending on the season and quality. Bread, on the other hand cost about 1.6 pence per 1000 calories for white, 1.3 for brown.

104. Gibb's household was most in the old city, on St. Paul Street, where there were few gardens. That they had no access to such a garden is also suggested by the range of vegetables that they bought from the market, and the frequency of these purchases.

105. Based on 1822 prices of three shillings for a bushel of carrots.

106. Based on 40 percent alcohol for rum, 5 percent on beer, and 17 percent for fortified wine, alcohol contents which if not exact, are likely close.

107. The store's cash book shows that it carried small amounts of coffee.

108. In small quantities, probably for the use of the contractors and other better-off consumers who also shopped there.

109. Elie's account, Gibb papers, Waste Book, May 1823 to May 1824.

110. Mintz, Sweetness, especially pp. 74-214.

111. Herald, 12/2/20.

112. In almost all cases, household servants were fed by their masters as a condition of service (Lacelle, "Domestiques," pp. 195-196).

113. In McCord Papers, file 0455.

114. Gibb papers, Waste Book, passim.

115. IAD 4/11/19.

116. IAD 30/11/08.

117. Bouthellier was inspector of pot and pearl ashes for the city, and also owned the store on St. Paul street rented by Ware & Gibb. Léonard, in association with his brother Reuben, was a dry goods merchant.

NOTES TO PART II

1. The 1825 census shows, including the canal stores, four bakers, three "marchands", two butchers, and one grocer in the parish of Lachine (Perrault, Montréal, 1825). Given that the census' occupation compilations covered all workers, and not just heads of households; and that the "Lachine [canal] Bakery" household in the census had eleven members, four of them males over 25 years old; it seems likely that apart from the canal stores, Lachine had at best a couple of bakers, one butcher, no grocers, and perhaps a couple of general goods stores, which may or may not have carried food.

2. The store sold cloth, shoes, and various household items, as well as food.

3. On the retail food trade in other western cities in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, see in particular Alexander, Retailing; Karen J. Friedmann, "Victualling Colonial Boston," in Agricultural History 47(3) (July 1973), pp. 189-205, and "Food Marketing in Copenhagen 1250-1850," in Agricultural History 50(2) (April 1976), pp. 400-413; and Blackman, "Food Supply" and "Retail Grocery". Almost any city biography also has a section on food-provisioning networks; see for example Jean Legoy, Le Peuple du Havre et son histoire. Du négoce à l'industrie, 1800-1914. Le cadre de vie (Le Havre: Ville du Havre, 1982), pp. 119-127.

4. Thomas Doige, An alphabetical list of the merchants, traders and housekeepers residing in Montreal. The second edition (Montreal: James Lane, 1820). A printout of the computerized version of this census was also kindly provided me by Jean-Claude Robert of UQAM.

5. Pastry makers were often also bakers, and bakers in turn might sell pastry; the terms were sometimes used interchangeably in censuses, as in the case of Jean-Baptist Doval, a "pastry chef" in the 1811 Jury list, but a "baker" in the 1813 assessment. For the purposes of this study, I have lumped them together; while this may introduce a slight distortion, their numbers are so small (one only in the Doige census, in the old city; eight in the 1825 Viger census; and six in the 1831 census) as to have only a minor effect on my analyses. (OOA RG4 B19 vol 1 (1811 Jury list and 1813 assessment); Bernard et.al. "Tableaux"; computerized version of 1831 census held by the GRSM at UQAM)

6. By the 1810 regulations of Police for Montreal, continued in similar form through to the 1830s, no ovens could be built unless on a thick (and costly) base of brick or stone, with a three-foot ring of stone pavement around them, and hefty fines were imposed on both the builders and the proprietors if the regulation was contravened. (Rules and Regulations of Police for Montreal [henceforward RR], 19/1/10. For complete references to the locations of the various rules and regulations, see Appendix III.)

7. This was also the case in England, where home baking had declined almost completely by the beginning of the nineteenth century, for the same reasons. See Alexander, Retailing, p. 124-125, and Burnett, "Trends", pp. 64-66.

8. This is suggested by Boily Blanchette in Fours, p. 4, based on the existence of notarial contracts for the repair of such ovens.

9. Alexander, Retailing, pp. 261-264. Bolton's population in 1822 was about 33 000, Leicester's 28 000, and York's 22 000. Some of the bakers in Montreal may have been baking to fill government or large corporate contracts, as in the case of Antoine Bourg, a St. Lawrence suburb baker whose 1815 inventaire après décès showed large debts due him by the North-West company; (IAD 24/6/15); but the inventaires of most bakers show that they were engaged in the retail bread trade.

10. Up until its incorporation in 1833, municipal government in Montreal was the responsibility of the local Justices of the Peace, under a similar system to that used in other British colonies, notably Ireland and the United States. The Justices, sitting in both Quarter and Special Sessions of the Peace, promulgated rules and regulations for the city, similar to modern municipal bylaws, as well as judging minor crimes and dealing with administrative matters such as licensing, road construction and upkeep, bread price-setting, and so on. One of their sources of information for what was going on in the city, and what problems needed rectifying, was the so-called "presentments", or reports, of the Grand Jury, a body of citizens convened for each sitting of the Quarter Sessions (four times yearly) to present indictments under a system similar to that in place today in a number of American states, although with the additional duty of acting as a "second opinion" to the magistrates' unilateral powers over local government. See my unpublished paper, written with Elsbeth Heaman: "Justices as Legislators: the governing of Montreal, 1777-1833" (Montreal: McGill University, 1987).

11. QS 19/1/01.

12. Ordinance promulgated by Carleton in 1769, no official numbering (Quebec Gazette 15/6/69).

13. Beutler, "Blé", pp. 260-261. Legoy's work on Le Havre mentions that bread was often delivered to households in that city (Legoy, Peuple, p. 122); however, Alexander's work on retailing in England suggests that most bread there was produced and distributed "through the typical shop and house combination" (Alexander, Retailing, pp. 124-125). The numerous advertisements for shop-bakery combinations in the Herald between 1815 and 1826 suggest that this was also the case for Montreal.

14. 55 Geo III cap. 5, sec. 9 (1815).

15. RR 19/1/21, continued by subsequent rules and regulations into the 1830s.

16. IAD 20/7/16.

17. The assumption here is that the addresses given in Doige's list were also retail shops. While a couple of Montreal's bakers may have had separate shops and residence, the "lock-up" shop did not become widespread even in England until mid-century; and the shop-residence combination remained the rule until then. I derived the exact locations plotted on this and subsequent maps by working out an equivalence between Doige's house numbering system and that used in the 1811 Jury List and the 1813 assessment, through identifying runs of householders whose house numbers showed the same relative placement in both the Doige and the earlier sources. While Doige does not explain his numbering system, nor give street addresses for any major identifiable landmarks, the earlier lists give house numbers for a number of public buildings, for example the markets, thus allowing me to first convert the older numbers to Doige's system, and then use the results as benchmarks to situate the rest of his house numbers. As well, Doige's practice of numbering houses up one side of a street and then back down the other also helped, especially in the suburbs; knowing the approximate limits of settlement, the highest number that Doige gave for each street, and assuming approximately equal numbers of houses on both sides of most streets, I could follow his numbers up one side of the street, to the middle number of that street, and then back down the other side. The results are not perfectly accurate, especially since for one or two streets Doige gave no numbers; but the general distribution pattern is very likely close. Since these maps depict potential shop outlets, multiple food retailers at the same address were counted only once.

18. 55 percent of bakers and 56 percent of the population lived in the St. Lawrence suburb and the old city. The population distribution is based on the 1825 Viger census, since the Doige list was not nominative; any increase in the proportion of people living in the St. Lawrence suburbs in the five years between the two would most likely have come about only because of a decrease in the relative number of people living in the old city, and thus would be cancelled out in the total of the two.

19. QS 20/10/28.

20. On the differing social structures of the city and suburbs, see Alan Stewart, "Settling an 18th-Century Faubourg: Property and Family in the Saint-Laurent Suburb, 1735-1810" (MA, McGill University, 1988), pp. 56-57 and 136-146; and the occupational distribution tables given in Bernard et.al. "Tableaux".

21. By 17 Geo III cap 10 (1777) up until 1815, and by 55 Geo III cap 5 (1815) subsequent to this.

22. For more on the gradual fall into disuse in Montreal of the assize of bread, see David Schulze and Raymond Garcia, "Liberalization and Transition: The Ordinance Regulating Bakers in Lower Canada, 1764-1844" (unpublished paper, 1989).

23. Under the 1777 act, the sureties were to be £20 from the baker and £10 each from two other persons, with penalties of £5 per offence for refusing to post such bonds, and forfeiture of the bonds for any offence against the regulations of the ordinances. The 1815 act upped the sureties to £25 plus two times £12, with a £10 penalty for refusing to register.

24. See Burnett, Plenty and Want, pp. 102-108; Frederick A. Filby, A History of Food Adulteration and Analysis (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1934), pp. 99-102; and for a contemporary look at the problem, Frederick Accum, A Treatise on Adulteration of Food and Culinary Poisons (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1820), pp. 131-142.

25. At least not so far as I can determine, having systematically gone through all Quarter Sessions registers between 1800 and 1833, where one would expect such cases to turn up.

26. While no bakers were ever charged by William Mechtler, the city's Inspector of Weights and Measures, for selling bread underweight or with false scales, many butchers, grocers, innkeepers, and market vendors were (QS 1816-1820 passim.); and butchers were also on a number of occasions disciplined for breaching consumer-oriented regulations such as not appearing on the markets three weeks running (SS 3/10/18).

27. When added in quantities of between three and four ounces per 240 pounds of flour, alum whitened and lightened the resultant loaf by bleaching the natural colouring that exists in all but the finest of flour. This was not a fraud in terms of actual danger to the consumer, as in other instances where bone-meal, chalk, or even whiting was added to bread; but it did allow the baker to cover up the use of poorer flour, and thus charge more for his bread. Even under the controlled system of the assizes, this had an effect, for white bread could be produced from middling flour (Accum, Treatise, pp. 131-152; Burnett, Plenty and Want, pp. 99-120).

28. See for example the petition of the bakers of Montreal in QS 27/10/09, in which they pleaded with the Justices to raise the price of bread since their own costs had increased considerably.

29. Benjamin Silliman, Remarks made, on a short tour, between Hartford and Quebec in the Autumn of 1819 (New Haven: S. Converse, 1820), pp. 351-352.

30. Herald, 21/8/19.

31. For example, see the Grand Jury petitions in QS 19/1/01 and SS 12/7/10.

32. The literature on retail provisioning markets is immense, ranging from antiquarian accounts, to city biographies, to economic histories, to anthropological accounts of contemporary societies. For general bibliographies on the subject, see in particular R.J. Bromley, Periodic Markets, Daily Markets, and Fairs: A Bibliography (Melbourne: Department of Geography, Monash University, 1974), and H.T. Smith ed. Market-Place Trade: Periodic Markets, Hawkers and Traders in Africa, Asia and Latin America (Vancouver: Centre for Transportation Studies, 1978), pp. 255-264. Both of these concentrate mainly on the anthropological approach to markets, although with some references to historical markets; contemporary work on European markets by historians includes Braudel, Wheels of Commerce, pp. 21, 28-60; Kaplan, Provisioning; Blackman, "Food Supply"; Friedmann, "Copenhagen"; and Guy-Patrick Azémar and Mireille de la Fradelle, "Une histoire de marché," in Annales de la recherche urbaine 12 (oct. 1981), pp. 70-102. For the origin and implantation of public markets in North America up to the early nineteenth century, see Jane Pyle, "Farmers' Markets in the United States: Functional Anachronisms," in The Geographical Review 61(2) (April 1971), pp. 167-175; Friedmann, "Victualling"; and Robert A. Sauder, "The Origin and Spread of the Public Market System in New Orleans," in Louisiana History 22(3) (Summer 1981), pp. 281-285. For Canada, the only serious discussion of markets in the early nineteenth century is in Brian S. Osborne, "Trading on a frontier: the function of peddlers, markets, and fairs in nineteenth-century Ontario," in Donald Akenson ed. Canadian Papers in Rural History III (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1980), pp. 69-72.

33. When the New Market was set up in 1808, the Justices paid £12 for "erecting a quay or wharf for farmers;" (SS 16/4/08) and as noted above, many cross-river ferries had their termini at one of the two markets.

34. On the Papineau route taken by the habitants, see J.H. Dorwin, "A Glimpse of life in Montreal in 1816. Reminiscences of the late Mr. J.H. Dorwin," (Ville de Montréal, Bibliothèques Municipales, Salle Gagnon, env. 1851).

35. On the physical layout of the markets in the early 1820s, see the information given during the New Market's construction in SS 16/4/08, 23/7/08, 9/8/08, 23/8/08, and 10/6/09; other references to constructions and improvements of the markets in SS 28/9/20, 3/11/21, 10/8/22, and 4/9/24; the regulations for the markets, especially RR 19/7/08, 30/4/17, 19/1/21 and 19/7/21; various city accounts for repairs to the markets in ANQM 06,M-P20/1, especially the bills dated 16/12/17, 16/3/18, and the three accounts with Simon Delorme, a carpenter, dated 11/16, 2/17 and 12/17; and the various drawings of the New Market by contemporary artists, especially James Patison Cockburn, "Nelson's Monument and Marketplace, Montreal, 1829" (OOA Art Section, C-10 0293), and the series of market scenes sketched by James Duncan in the 1830s, (Royal Ontario Museum, Early Canadian Art Section, catalogue numbers 691, 695-96, 700-03, 707, and 711).

36. ANQM 06,M-P238/1.

37. Of food bought on the market, butchers' meat made up the largest part of both Ermatinger and Gibb's purchases on the market, about two thirds of market expenditure for the first, and a little under half for the second. In 1822, out of a total market revenue of about £790, divided between the Clerks of the Markets and the city, £313, or about 40%, came from the leasing of butchers' stalls, along with another unknowable amount, probably in the range of £50-£100, from butchers' payment for weighing large amounts of meat at the market weigh-houses (SS 20/12/23; Clerks of Markets' income, Blue Book of Statistics for 1822, OOA MG11 C047).

38. This is inferred from a variety of sources, including the rules and regulations themselves; market receipts; travellers' accounts; market price reports in various newspapers; and the goods bought by Ermatinger and Gibb on the markets.

39. As a result of a petition by more established shopkeepers, who complained that market sales of non-food items harmed their business (SS 3/5/11).

40. Herald, 24/3/21.

41. SS 4/22. The figure given in this source represents the city's half of the receipts from fish and salt provision sellers, maple sugar sellers being included among the latter. The estimate of the number of salt provisions sellers is based on the market receipts reported in 1834, which broke down the category further into fresh and salt provisions sellers (ANQM 06,M-P20/1). Since fish-sellers were exempted from fees from mid-December to the end of March, when large quantities of fresh-frozen fish were brought in from the United States, the figure for them is probably low.

42. Johnston, Travels, p. 42.

43. No historian has satisfactorily explored the non-economic implications of markets as social institutions; for this, the best work has come from anthropologists. See for example William G. Davis, Social Relations in a Philippine Market: Self-Interest and Subjectivity (Berkeley: California UP, 1973), or the introduction to Paul Bohannan and George Dalton eds. Markets in Africa (Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1962), pp. 15-19. On economic ideology and regulated markets, see especially Kaplan, Provisioning, pp. 23-33.

44. See Kaplan, Provisioning, pp. 23-33, for a discussion of the ancien-régime paternalism, only partly based on self-interest, which underlay traditional market regulation; also Pyle, "Anachronisms", pp. 170-171; Sauder, "New Orleans", p. 283; Osborne, "Frontier", p. 72; and Friedmann, "Copenhagen", p. 400.

45. On markets in general, 13 Geo III cap 4 (1777), in force until 1831; on butcher's meat, 47 Geo III cap 7 (1807), in force in the 1840s. On the exact meanings of the terms forestaller, engrosser, and regrator, see a proclamation by Haldimand in 1779 (Quebec Gazette 17/6/79).

46. RR 19/1/21; 19/7/21 (banning regrators altogether), and 30/10/23 (allowing regrators once again, under severely limited conditions).

47. 17 Geo III cap 4 (1777), section 5; 39 Geo III cap 7 (1799). Counterfeiting stamps on weights was punishable by a fine of £5 for the first offence, £10 for the second, and £10 plus a term in prison for the third.

48. RR 19/1/21.

49. Although records are very sketchy, due to the loss of most of registers of the Weekly Sessions, which were the courts which usually dealt with minor offences, there are a few scattered accounts of prosecutions and fines set. Between 1823 and 1825, there were ten prosecutions for regrating (Herald 1823-25 *passim*; ANQM 06,M-P20/1; OOA RG4 B35 vol. 21); in 1829 six regrators were fined (ANQM, Préarchivage, register of the Weekly Sessions of the Peace, 1829); and four more in 1832-33 (ANQM, Préarchivage, index of the registers of the Weekly Sessions of the Peace, December 30 1831 to Feb 1 1834).

50. QS 19/7/26, 30/10/28, 30/4/30, and 30/4/33. A petition from 293 residents of the city in 1831 also complained of the ineffectuality of the controls on regrators (QS 18/1/31).

51. As was apparently the case in England (Alexander, Retailing, pp. 48, 70).

52. Proclamation by Haldimand in the Quebec Gazette, 17/6/79.

53. From 1816 to 1820, the inspector of weights and measures prosecuted 11 market sellers for selling with false weights (QS 1816-1820, passim). But market fraud continued nonetheless; see the Herald, 9/10/19 and 22/12/24, which complain of short-selling by butchers and other market sellers.

54. Apparently, salt provisions sellers were not regarded as regrators, probably since they were likely buying from larger-scale provisions dealers off the markets: the Clerk of the Market continued to report user fees collected from salt provisions sellers throughout the period in 1821-1823 when regrators were entirely outlawed (SS 1821-23 passim).

55. Herald, 1/5/19.

56. That some butchers sold from their own houses is suggested by the ordinance of 1807 specifically allowing them to do so (47 Geo III cap 7 sect 10), and the 1821 regulation of Police prohibiting Sunday sales but nevertheless allowing butchers and bakers to sell from their houses until 9 AM (RR 19/1/21, art 43).

57. Around 65 convictions in Montreal between 1820 and 1823 (OOA RG4 B35 vol 21). The common-sense assumption would be that unlicensed tavernkeepers would not declare themselves as such in a published document like the Doige list; but a compilation of tavern-licenses granted by the Justices of the Peace in the same year shows only 124 (Ville de Montréal, Service des Archives, "Statement shewing the gross and nett amounts of taxes annually levied in the City of Montreal ... from the year 1818 to 1836"). The 33-person discrepancy is partially accounted for by the 23 tavernkeepers who were also grocers, although since grocers were expressly prohibited from selling alcohol in small quantities, this seems to indicate an accepted disregard of the provincial ordinances.

58. Thomas Fowler, The Journal of a Tour through British America (Aberdeen: Lewis Smith, 1832), p. 124, suggests that a glass of spirits or wine was about a gill, and a glass of beer, cider, or sprucebeer a half pint.

59. On Girard and the Belfast Coffee House, see the Herald, 11/5/16, 31/8/16, and 18/9/19. Samuel Pomroy (IAD 19/8/18) had 56 lb of crackers and 50 lb of loaf sugar; Pierre Talon (IAD 3/3/19) had a barrel with salt beef, along with two quarts of mustard; and Frederick Stemm (IAD 6/12/20) had 36 pounds of butter and 37 pounds of hogslard. Even in Paris, true restaurants did not become widespread until after the Revolution; and outside the London clubs, only inns, hotels, or chophouses served food in England until mid-century (Aron, Sensibilité, p. 15; Burnett, Plenty and Want, p. 97).

60. Coffee-houses were fashionable mainly in eighteenth-century England, and by 1850 had all but disappeared; Lower Canada appears to have been behind the fashionable round in this regard (Burnett, Plenty and Want, p. 95).

61. Dorwin, "Glimpse,"; Fowler, Journal, p. 124.

62. Dorwin, "Glimpse". See also Lambert, Travels, p. 521.

63. 35 Geo III cap 8 (1795) imposed an annual £2 licensing fee, required a bond of £10 and 2 £5 sureties, and enjoined tavernkeepers "to keep the peace and an orderly house, and not to vend liquor during divine service on Sundays or holy-days ... nor to suffer any seamen, soldiers, apprentices, or servants to remain tippling ... after nine o'clock in the evening in winter, or after ten in the evening in summer," and not to spread sedition; 58 Geo III cap 2 (1818) imposed a further £10 annual fee over and above this; and 3 Geo III cap 15 (1823) allowed the Justices to permanently revoke the licenses of any tavernkeepers offending against these regulations, and stipulated that anyone selling alcohol to drink "in their house, out-house, yard, garden, orchard, or other place" without a license was in contravention of the ordinances.

64. SS 14/3/12; see also QS 17/1/05, and SS 20/4/16 and 4/5/16.

65. QS 30/4/33.

66. Herald, 16/1/19.

67. Only one of his thirty-seven debtors was francophone (IAD 19/8/18).

68. 22 of Talon's debtors were francophones, 16 anglophones; 17 francophones as opposed to 9 anglophones for Fagnant; and 18 francophones and 6 anglophones for Tourelle (IAD 3/3/19, 30/4/19, and 6/6/09). Some of these may have been for other than tavern services; but since most of the debts were in small amounts, and some accompanied by the notation "par compte", they probably represented regular customers.

69. Blackman, "Retail Grocery", p. 110.

70. Alexander, Retailing, pp. 261-264.

71. Such as Toussaint Leboeuf, a "general trader" in the Recollet suburbs, whose inventaire lists a fair range of grocery items in both cellar and shop (IAD 24/11/09).

72. Grocers were subject only to the £2 fee imposed by 35 Geo III cap 8, not the later £10 surcharge imposed on tavernkeepers.

73. 39 Geo III cap 7 (1799), and 45 Geo III cap 10 (1805).

74. QS 1816-1820 passim.

75. Burnett, Plenty and Want, pp. 99-120. Adulterations included adding dried thorn leaves to bulk out tea, or adulterating pepper with warehouse floor sweepings, producing a commodity known in the trade as "D.P." (pepper dust), or worse yet, "D.P.D" (dust of pepper dust).

76. IAD 2/1/23; Accum, Treatise, pp. 95-130.

77. Gibb Papers, Item 3: "Ledger B, Ware & Gibb" (1822-1826). This figure is not necessarily distorted by the granting of credit only to elites, since most of Ware & Gibb's sales were credit rather than cash, and as we shall see later, even the popular classes had access to credit.

78. IAD 24/11/09.

79. Bernard et.al. "Tableaux" shows five grocers in the Ste. Anne suburb in 1825; but in 1824, McCord's grocery purchases were almost entirely from Carswell & McLean, a large downtown firm. That he sent servants in to get supplies is suggested by several handwritten notes signed by McCord, asking various downtown grocers to give the bearer specific groceries, and on one occasion promising to "call and settle ... the first day I go to town" (McCord papers, file 0309).

80. Alexander, Retailing, p. 61.

81. Bernard, "Tableaux". Doige lists only one of these individuals.

82. RR 19/1/10, 30/4/17, 19/7/21, and 7/31.

83. See QS 30/10/28; 30/4/30; 18/1/31, and 30/4/33 (petitions and Grand Jury Presentments); Weekly Sessions registers, 20/1/29 (2 cases) and 27/1/32 (2 cases); Weekly Sessions Index 14/9/32 (2 cases), 18/9/32, 17/11/32, 21/5/33, 15/10/33, 5/11/33 (2 cases) and 22/10/33; and account of peddlers' petition and suit against St. Paul merchants in the Gazette, 17/2/31.

84. SS 25/1/30. "Merchandize" in this period referred to non-food items; food was not mentioned in the report at all.

85. QS 18/1/31.

86. See below.

87. On the demographic and spatial expansion, see Jean-Paul Bernard, Paul-André Linteau and Jean-Claude Robert, "La croissance démographique et spatiale de Montréal dans le 1er quart du 19e siècle," in Groupe de recherche sur la société Montréalaise. Rapport, 1973-1975. The economic change towards industrial capitalism has been the subject of much debate, centering around how much of a transformation occurred in the 1820s.

88. See Alexander, Retailing; Blackman, "Retail Grocery"; and Blackman, "Food Supply".

89. On the initial land purchases and financial problems of the market, see SS 11/10/03, 16/11/03, 19/12/03, 24/12/03, 31/12/03 17/3/04, and 21/4/07, along with ANQM P1000-43/863. The three provincial ordinances that set up the market, along with the first rules and regulations promulgated to regulate it, also contain valuable information on the institutional history of the New Market; see 47 Geo III cap 7 (1817), 48 Geo III cap 4 (1818), 49 Geo III cap 5 (1819), and RR 19/7/08. SS 28/4/08, 23/7/08, 9/8/08, 23/8/08, 31/8/08, 3/9/08, 16/9/08, 17/9/08, and 29/4/09 contain information regarding the construction of the market and the leasing of its stalls.

90. In 1809, the Clerk of the Markets was ordered to apportion sellers equally between the two markets, carts were banned from all but St. Charles and La Fabrique Streets (bordering the New Market), and the three pence per day users fee imposed on fruit and vegetable sellers was lifted from the New Market, but kept on the Old. Apathy continued, and by new regulations in 1811, fees were waived for salt provisions sellers on the New Market, as opposed to a shilling threepence on the Old; no traders were to remain on any one market more than three months in succession; and the clerk was to send even more retailers from the Old Market to the New (RR 19/1/09, 19/7/11).

91. Dorwin, "Glimpse".

92. RR 19/1/10 and 30/4/10. The text of the latter clearly shows that the Justices were acting to bring an already existing irregular practice under their formal sphere of jurisdiction.

93. RR 19/1/14.

94. On the fish market, see 57 Geo III cap 22 (1817), RR 30/4/17, and SS 28/6/17. On the new weigh-houses and stalls, see 59 Geo III cap 4 (1819), and SS 8/9/19, 23/9/20, and 28/9/20. On the addition to the New Market, see SS 27/10/21 and 3/11/21, and RR 30/10/23.

95. Petition in Quebec Gazette; 9/11/20; 1 Geo IV cap 16 (1821).

96. The Justices also noted this trend, but offered no explanations (SS 9/8/23).

97. This market was the result of the endeavours of three private individuals, who bought land, erected stalls and a weighhouse, and then presented the market as a fait accompli to the provincial legislature, asking for it to be put under the control of the Justices of the Peace. See 9 Geo IV cap 39 (1829), the act authorizing the market, and also the Weekly Sessions register, 12/5/29, 9/6/29, and 7/7/29.

98. See 9 Geo IV cap 40 (1829), the act authorizing its construction, and 1 Will IV cap 36 (1831), the act stating that construction had been completed.

99. I counted all grocer/tavernkeeper combinations twice, which may introduce a slight upward bias. Since my study is concerned with consumer access, this seemed justifiable; and at any rate the maximum distortion is about 10 percent upwards in the number of inhabitants per outlet.

100. On the 1813 assessment, see Stewart, "Faubourg", pp. 137-140. To compensate somewhat for the downward bias, I checked householders listed as food retailers in the 1811 Jury List against the 1813 list, and if they appeared with no occupation in the latter, I added them to my figures.

101. See Robert, "Recensement".

102. Herald, 14/11/18, 5/6/19, 6/5/20, 20/5/20, 24/11/21, and 15/12/21.

103. ANQM P-1000-49-1057.

104. Of a total estate worth about £35 (IAD 5/6/11). Only one of the 46 inventaires of non-food artisans or labourer with estates worth less than £100 had quantities of food that suggest bulk buying, a carpenter who had a cask of cider in the cellar; food in smaller quantities appeared eight times.

105. Herald, 23/12/15, 19/9/18, 3/10/18, 7/10/20, 16/10/21, 14/9/22, 5/10/22, and 19/10/22.

106. The lease is in ANQM, Greffes Notaires, André Jobin, 11/6/18, minute 1193; Elvidge's accounts with McCord are in the McCord Museum, McCord Papers. My thanks to Jennifer Waywell for communicating the relevant information from the former to me.

107. Waywell, "Farm Leasing".

108. The gardener is listed in the servants' accounts drawn up after McCord's death, McCord Museum, McCord Papers, file 0455; the reservation of pasturage is in McCord's lease with Elvidge, mentioned above; the other purchases are scattered through the receipts analyzed for the discussion on diet in Part I.

109. For the inventaires used, see Appendix II.

110. IAD 13/9/25.

111. Bradbury, "Pigs".

112. Gibb bought milk from a milkman; a regulation of police for 1831 prohibiting carters from working on Sundays nonetheless allowed them to cart milk on that day (RR 7/31, art 21); Grand Jury presentments twice complained of milk carts being driven too fast in the city (QS 30/10/28 and 30/5/30); and a traveller in 1827 mentioned that in winter, milk was brought to market in small ice cakes (Johnston, Travels, p. 41).

113. Travellers also remarked on the cost of vegetables: John Palmer, for example, visiting Montreal in September and October of 1818, noted that vegetables were "very dear", except potatoes (Palmer, Journal, p. 215).

114. In the inventaires, cows were valued at anywhere from £3 to £5.

115. Beaudry's crop was valued at £3 16s. This would represent about twenty or thirty bushels of the various vegetables, depending on the exact mix (IAD 18/9/13).

116. See the subscriptions for the poor in the Herald, 25/1/17, 16/1/19 18/12/19, 5/2/20, 12/2/20, and 10/2/21. On poverty relief in pre-Confederation Canada in general, see Judith Fingard, "The Winter's Tale: The Seasonal Contours of Pre-Industrial Poverty in British North America, 1815-1860," in Historical Papers 1974, pp. 65-95.

117. From accounts in the Herald; calendars of prisoners in the Université de Montréal, Service des Archives, Collection Baby, J1/30, J2/243, and J2/249; and the registers of the Montreal Gaol, 1825-1830, in ANQM 06,M-E17. On food theft in European cities, see in particular Arlette Farge, Délinquance et criminalité: le vol d'aliments à Paris au XVIIIe siècle (Paris: Plon, 1974). A fuller analysis of this phenomenon in Montreal would require an extensive study of the records of the Court of King's Bench and other judicial records.

118. In particular, see Jean Hamelin, Société et économie en Nouvelle France (Québec: PUL, 1960); Jean Hamelin and Fernand Ouellet, "Le Mouvement des prix agricoles dans la province de Québec: 1760-1851," in Claude Galarneau and Elzar Lavoye, eds. La France et le Canada Français du XVIe au XXe siècle (Québec: PUL, 1966), pp. 35-48; Gilles Paquet and Jean-Pierre Wallot, "Crise agricole et tensions socio-ethniques dans le Bas Canada, 1802-1812: éléments pour une ré-interprétation," in RHAF 26(2) (sept 1972), pp. 185-237 and "Aperçu"; Ouellet, History; and Fernand Ouellet, Jean Hamelin and Richard Chabot, "Les prix agricoles dans les villes et les campagnes du Québec d'avant 1850: aperçus quantitatifs," in SH/HS 15(29) (May 1982), pp. 83 86.

119. See Ouellet, History, pp. 221-394 passim.

120. On de-trending, see for example the comments in Paquet and Wallot, "Aperçu", pp. 469-470.

121. Paquet and Wallot did so for Québec, in "Aperçu"; but the monthly series for Montreal in "Crise agricole" is both deseasonalized, and not broken down by individual commodity.

122. This was because in the context of Lower-Canadian historiography, the conjoncture was mainly a tool of the agricultural crisis debate. See Lavertue, "Crise".

123. Ermatinger's market expenses book; and market price reports in L'ami du Peuple, de l'Ordre et des Lois, the Herald, The Irish Vindicator, La Minerve, and Le Spectateur Canadien, 1824-1833; McCord's bills and receipts; Ware & Gibb's Waste Book. I derived Variation of monthly prices from the longer trend by first calculating the average price for the eleven-month span stretching from five months before to five months after each month in the series, and then determining the percentage by which the middle month's price deviated from the average, yielding a series of monthly deviations. The deviations for each month of the year (all January deviations, all February deviations, and so on) were then averaged, giving for each month the average deviation of that month from the yearly trend, expressed as a percentage above or below the mean.

124. Of travellers, see Johnstone, p. 41; MacGregor, p. 310; and Henry, p. 8; one of Duncan's sketches, catalogue no. 696, shows two frozen sheep propped up against a pillar; and in Europe, J.B. Fournier, Essai sur la préparation, la conservation, la désinfection des substances alimentaires (Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1818), p. 120; Michael Donovan, Domestic economy (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1830), p. 221; and J.S. Forsyth, A Dictionary of Diet (London: John Churchill, 1834), p. 76, all mentioned this practice.

125. DeVoe, Assistant, pp. 138-139. By March of 1821, the Herald was reporting a scarcity of poultry; and by the beginning of April, noted that it had disappeared almost completely (7/4/21).

126. DeVoe, Assistant, p. 75.

127. Fournier, Essai, p. 137. The salt butter on the market was likely not the imported salt butter sold in grocery stores, which would have been independent from the local agricultural cycle, but rather locally produced, perhaps salted by farmers in order to bring it to market.

128. Bagg Papers, Lachine Store Account Books.

129. Sales on account formed the bulk of Ware & Gibb's business, with cash sales accounting for 7.9 percent of total sales (McCord Museum, Gibb Papers, Item 27: "Cash Bk. 2, Ware & Gibb, 1822-1826); and the inventories of other food retailers show many debts owing them for small amounts, sometimes with the added proviso "par compte" (IAD 20/3/18, 5/6/09, 6/6/09, 1/8/10, 6/4/12, 9/6/12, 5/6/13, 1/6/14, 20/7/16, 20/3/18, 19/8/18, 27/2/19, 3/3/19, and 30/4/19). The inventaires of both poorer artisans and labourers, and of food retailers, showed nine carpenters and a labourer owing sums to bakers, butchers, tavernkeepers, and grocers (IAD 7/6/08, 15/9/08, 5/6/11, 1/6/14, 9/8/14, 20/5/17, 4/9/18, and 4/11/19). Given that I did not systematically attempt to identify the debtors of food retailers, but went only on the very occasional notations of occupation that were included, there were probably many more of this class of buyer in the inventaires. Pierre Camus, for example, a labourer living in the St. Antoine suburbs, with a total estate worth £11 5s 6d, owed £7 15s 7d to a baker, or about 200 loaves of bread, enough to feed a family of five for ten months on white bread, fifteen on brown, based on 9.5 pence per loaf (the average price paid by McCord in 1818). On credit available from fixed retailers in other cities, see George Bervin, "Aperçu sur le commerce et le crédit à Québec 1820-1830," in RHAF 36(4) (mars 1983); Wilbur C. Plummer, "Consumer Credit in Colonial Philadelphia," in Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 66(4) (Oct. 1942), pp. 385-409; Blackman, "Retail Grocery", pp. 112-113; Burnett, Plenty and Want, p. 55; and Alexander, Retailing, pp. 175-185.

130. Though he had a more than adequate credit rating and bought everything else on account, Ermatinger paid cash for all market goods, including meat. Gibb also paid cash for everything his household bought on the markets, including meat, although he did buy some meat on account from a butcher. While no study appears to have been made on payment forms in markets, the general implication in all works is that only shop retailers, along with a few itinerant peddlers, offered consumer credit.

131. From an average price of 8 pence per loaf to 12 pence per loaf.

132. See the chart in the Montreal Daily Advertiser, Aug. 12 1833.

133. See in particular Fingard, "Winter".

134. The small place of food expenditures in elite budgets is suggested by a number of considerations. In the first place, the general account books of both Ermatinger and Ware/Gibb show that, compared to their overall cash flow, their food expenses were minimal. Against about 10 pounds per month in market expenses, Ermatinger might have several thousand pounds in other transactions, divided up between various intricately connected accounts covering the various aspects of his business and office. Similarly, Ware and Gibb's grocery firm, which was their personal property as opposed to a limited company, had monthly cash receipts averaging around 1700 pounds per month, plus innumerable sales on account, against around 5 pounds spent on food. Of course, neither of these figures give an idea of what proportion of actual profit each spent on food, a calculation which would require a detailed reconstruction of the financial histories of both. But the fact that in Ermatinger's case, the "market expenses" formed only a small proportion of even his "profit and loss" account, and was sometimes entered under "Sundries"; and that George Gibb spent more than 5 pounds per month on the few other sundries noted in the accounts, such as hats and subscriptions to magazines; all suggest that personal food expenses were a very minor part of these households' overall budgets. As for McCord, while his personal finances are not recorded in any overall account book, and are thus harder to estimate, the fact that he spent almost as much per month on servants' wages alone as on food, suggests a similar minor role for food in his overall budget. See Ermatinger's various account books in OOA MG19 A2 Series 3; Ware & Gibb's Cash and Waste books; and McCord's bills and receipts.

APPENDIX I

Methodology Used to Reconstruct Diets

I. Lachine Canal Workers

I chose the 47 workers on the basis of consistent purchases at the store over a period of three months at least. All their purchases and the prices they paid for them were recorded, and then an average monthly consumption of each major item was calculated for each worker based on the length of time that worker bought food from the store. I eliminated obvious outliers: for example, if a worker bought only alcohol from the store during a particular month, I eliminated that month.

II. Thomas McCord

I recorded approximately 3300 entries of food purchases from the various bills and receipts in the collection. From these, I created monthly series of purchases for each type of food, and then calculated the average monthly purchase. Some items, such as bread or imported groceries, were covered by lengthy series which made consumption calculation relatively easy. Others, however, such as fresh meat, were covered by much shorter periods, sometimes as little as one or two months; with these, I had to make some adjustments in order to arrive at a "best guess" for monthly consumption. Again, I eliminated obvious outliers, for example where the only purchase of an item was a large quantity in a single month. I made no distinctions between qualities of foods in my final calculations.

III. George Gibb

I recorded the food purchases in the "house expenses account" for approximately fifteen months between mid-May 1822 and August 1823. About a third of the entries did not specify type of food, only cost, with the entry reading simply "marketing" or "from the market." Since all imported groceries were recorded scrupulously, I took the "marketing" category to mean fresh foods, and apportioned it among the fresh foods that were recorded in proportion to their respective shares of fresh food purchases. In other words, if a food represented five percent of fresh food purchases, then I increased it by five percent of the value of the "marketing" category, adjusting for quantity at the same time.

IV. Frederick William Ermatinger

Since the account book represented all market purchases, I simply totaled all expenditures and divided by the total number of months.

APPENDIX IIInventaires Après Décès and Similar Documents

I used three main sources for household inventories. The first was the claims submitted by various households for goods lost in a fire in the St. Laurent suburb in June 1803, in ANQM P-1000-49-1057. Of these claims, I only considered those cases where it was obvious that all household goods had been lost, which gave me twenty inventories. The second source was inventaires après décès entered onto fiches by Jean-Pierre Wallot et.al. and kept at the Université de Montréal. Of those, I used the inventaires of the following households:

24/8/07	Francois Bouvet (blacksmith)
23/3/08	Patrick Robertson (merchant)
9/4/08	Barthelemy Billon (merchant)
28/7/08	Pierre-Amable Dezery (surveyor)
1/8/08	Louis-Raymond Plessis (merchant)
14/9/08	Augustin Fournel (carpenter)
28/2/09	François Boyer (joiner)
15/5/10	Charles Blake (surgeon)
10/10/10	Joseph Caman (blacksmith)
19/4/11	Michel Fournier (merchant)
19/11/11	Louis Chaput (joiner)
11/4/20	William Hutchison (grocer)
6/12/20	Frederick Stemm (merchant and innkeeper)
30/12/20	Toussaint Casimir Truteau (doctor)
11/1/21	John Seybold (merchant and innkeeper)
6/2/21	James Birss (grocer)
7/3/21	Joseph Desautels (notary)
13/3/21	Etienne Guy (surveyor)
30/4/21	John James White (joiner)
24/7/21	John Stephenson (tobacconist)
28/7/21	Benjamin Wragg (blacksmith)
4/11/21	Gilbert Miller (carpenter)
9/11/21	Toussaint Leboeuf (trader)
4/1/22	Alexander Allison (merchant)
9/3/22	William Stemm (merchant)
5/7/22	William Ricket (trader)
29/7/22	Thomas McLeish (merchant)
2/1/23	Malcolm Alexander (grocer)
29/1/24	André Jobin (notary)
10/7/24	François Langlois (joiner)
14/8/24	François Allard (joiner)
5/1/25	David David (merchant)
16/2/25	Joachim Berthelet (carpenter)
24/3/25	John Firebank (labourer)
23/5/25	François Dezery (notary)
25/6/25	Pierre Tessier (cultivator)
13/9/25	Joseph Vincent (joiner)
31/12/25	Michel Belisle (joiner)

My other source of inventaires was the references given in Robert Guillemette, "Les bibliothèques personnelles de Montréal entre 1800 et 1820: une contribution à l'histoire du livre" (MA, Université de Montréal, 1988), of which I chose the following:

3/12/07	H-G Mayrand (tavernkeeper)	Latour min 304
19/4/08	Joseph Métivier (carpenter)	Barron min 1370
7/6/08	Toussaint Rebou (carpenter)	Latour min 355
30/11/08	Ignace Dorval (baker)	Barron min 1463
5/6/09	Pierre Monarque (butcher)	Papineau min 3972
6/6/09	Joseph Tourelle (tavernkeeper)	Latour min 464
12/4/10	Hyacinthe Beïcque (butcher)	Papineau min 4080B
1/8/10	Joseph Charlebois (baker)	Papineau min 4140
5/3/11	Saloman Mittleberger (baker)	Delisle min 6424
29/5/11	Toussaint St Aubin (tavernkeeper)	Barron min 1898
5/6/11	Toussaint Rebou (carpenter)	Cadieux min 209
18/1/12	André Giroux (baker)	Desautels min 279
6/4/12	Pierre Damour (baker)	Desautels min 346
9/6/12	Julien Perrault (baker)	Cadieux min 195
5/8/12	Charles Serres (gardener)	Barron min 2093
5/6/13	George Baker (tavernkeeper)	Cadieux min 261
18/9/13	Louis Beaudry (butcher)	Prévost min aucun
6/5/14	Jacques Boufard (baker)	Trudeau min 253
1/6/14	Joseph Charlebois (baker)	Barron min 2390
27/6/14	Louis Girard (<u>cantinier</u>)	Desautels min 1055
9/8/14	Paul Mayet (carpenter)	Cadieux min 305
20/9/14	Jacques Perrault (carpenter)	Desautels min 1186
13/12/14	Joseph Tessier (carpenter)	Cadieux min 416
20/3/15	J-B Châlu (tavernkeeper)	Latour min 1013
28/3/15	L-H Collins (carpenter)	Jobin min 115
24/6/15	Antoine Bourg (baker)	Jobin min 187
23/3/16	Charles Collin (labourer)	Cadieux min 145
28/5/16	Pierre Lefebvre (butcher)	Cadieux min 257
20/7/16	John Catanach (baker)	Griffin min 1513
20/9/16	Toussaint Décary (carpenter)	Trudeau min 442
28/12/16	Magloire Derome (carpenter)	Cadieux min 532
11/2/17	André Bray (<u>cantinier</u>)	Barron min 3045
8/5/17	John Brown (tavernkeeper)	Griffin min 1849
20/5/17	Joseph Comte (carpenter)	Cadieux min 255
12/11/17	François Picard (carpenter)	Latour min 1392
13/12/17	Pierre Lefebvre (butcher)	Cadieux min 496
19/12/17	Hugh Fraser (grocer)	Trudeau min 590
14/1/18	Luc Berthelet (cultivator)	Cadieux min 18bis
20/3/18	Daniel McKinnon (grocer)	Griffin min 2174
18/4/18	Augustin Huot (baker)	Jobin min 1115
1/5/18	Louis Longpré (labourer)	Trudeau min 627
4/7/18	Charles Bélanger (carpenter)	Cadieux min 341
19/8/18	Samuel Pomroy (tavernkeeper)	Jobin min 1249
4/9/18	Pierre Camus (labourer)	Trudeau min 670
28/09/18	Augustin Lanollière (carpenter)	Latour min 1462
3/2/19	François Corbin (carpenter)	Barron min 3382
27/2/19	Pierre Delvecchio (tavernkeeper)	Papineau min 4419
3/3/19	Pierre Talon (tavernkeeper)	Jobin min 1457
30/4/19	Joseph Fagnant (tavernkeeper)	Jobin min 1527
4/11/19	Antoine Coté (carpenter)	Jobin min 1718

APPENDIX IIIDates and Locations of Rules and Regulations of Police

13/4/00* Université de Montréal, Archives, Baby collection
 12/7/00 Montreal Gazette 9/11/00
 21/4/03* ANQM P-1000-44/871
 30/4/05 ANQM P-1000-44/871
 19/7/06 ANQM P-1000-44/871
 19/7/08 Gazette 19/7/08
 19/1/09 ANQM, Préarchivage, Quarter Sessions register 19/1/09
 19/1/10* Gazette 19/1/10
 30/4/10 Quarter Sessions Register 30/4/10
 19/7/11 Gazette 16/9/11
 19/1/14 Gazette 8/3/14
 30/4/17* Montreal Herald 21/6/16
 19/7/17 Gazette 3/9/17
 19/1/21* Herald 14/3/21
 19/7/21 Quarter Sessions register 19/7/21
 24/10/23 Quarter Sessions register 24/10/23
 19/7/24 Quarter Sessions register 19/7/24
 30/4/29 Quarter Sessions register 30/4/29
 19/1/30 Quarter Sessions register 19/1/30
 7/31* Canadian Courant 31/8/33

* denotes a complete set of regulations; the others are regulations promulgated for special purposes, such as the opening of the New Market. This list covers only regulations that dealt with food or provisioning; the Justices of the Peace also promulgated many other rules regarding other matters. For references to these, see Fyson and Heaman, "Governing".

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06,M-E17 (fonds Ministère de la Justice): Registers of the Montreal Gaol, 1825-1830.

06,M-P20 (fonds ville de Montréal).

06,M-P148 (collection Charles Phillips, ville de Montréal, documents administratifs, 1796-1831).

06,M-P238 (collection J.-P. Lauzé).

Greffes Notaires:

CN 601-016 (Thomas Barron)
 CN 601-068 (Jean-Marie Cadieux)
 CN 601-074 (Louis Chaboillez)
 CN 601-121 (Jean-Guillaume Delisle)
 CN 601-126 (Joseph Desautels)
 CN 601-187 (Henry Griffin)
 CN 601-215 (André Jobin)
 CN 601-243 (Louis Huguet dit Latour)
 CN 601-313 (Joseph Papineau)
 CN 601-334 (Charles Prévost)
 CN 601-383 (Louis Thibaudeau)
 CN 601-384 (François-Joseph Trudeau)

P-1000-43-863 (Montréal, règles et règlements).

P-1000-44-880 (Montréal, aubergistes).

P-1000-46-946 (Montréal, Juges de Paix).

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Préarchivage: register of the Weekly Sessions of the Peace, 1829.

Préarchivage: registers of the Quarter Sessions of the Peace, 1800-1833.

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Index to the Montreal Herald and the Montreal Gazette.

McCord Museum

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Gibb Papers: Item 3: "Ledger B, Ware & Gibb"; Item 27, "Cash Book 2, Ware & Gibb, 1822-1826"; Item 53, "Waste Book No. 5, 1822-1824, Ware & Gibb".

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L'Ami du Peuple, de l'Ordre et des Lois

The Canadian Courant

La Minerve

The Irish Vindicator

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The Montreal Gazette

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The Quebec Gazette

Le Spectateur Canadien

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