The Domestic Textile Industry in the Region and City of Quebec, 1792-1835

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Résumé/Abstract

Le matériel servant à la fabrication des tissus et les vêtements faits à la maison et importés recensés dans plus de 400 inventaires après décès de la région et de la ville de Québec, au cours de quatre périodes situées entre 1792 et 1835 (1792-1796, 1806-1812, 1820-1825 et 1830-1835), permettent d'analyser la production domestique et l'importance des importations dans le domaine vestimentaire. Ces inventaires et d'autres documents comme des contrats de travail (engagements), des lettres commerciales, des rapports de recensements et des journaux, portent à croire que, même si environ 40% à 50% des habitants des régions rurales possèdent un matériel suffisant pour produire des tissus, plus de la moitié des principaux vêtements (pantalons, gilets, robes, manteaux d'été et d'hiver, etc.) sont importés.

Contrairement aux ruraux, qui fabriquent tout leur linge de maison et une bonne partie de leurs vêtements, les citadins portent peu d'étoffes tissées sur place. Les membres de la classe ouvrière possèdent une quantité limitée de tissu de fabrication domestique, spécialement du linge de maison, mais l'élite (officiers militaires, marchands, professionnels, etc.) de la ville préfère les importations. Malgré la diversité des tenues vestimentaires chez les membres des divers groupes sociaux, on peut habituellement reconnaître la profession, le rang social et, à l'occasion, l'origine ethnique d'une personne en observant ses vêtements. L'élite porte des vêtements de luxe confectionnés par des tailleurs britanniques tandis que les familles de la classe ouvrière se contentent d'imitations moins coûteuses ou de tissus plus grossiers, mais plus chauds et plus durables de laine et de lin, fabriqués par les modistes et les ménagères. L'apparition de grandes quantités d'étoffes de coton chez les marchands au début du XIX^e^ siècle offre aux habitants un plus grand choix de tissus et de styles vestimentaires, et c'est peut-être l'une des raisons de la baisse du tissage domestique du lin et de la laine.

En défavorisant les industries domestiques du Bas-Canada au bénéfice de l'importation de produits fabriqués en Grande-Bretagne, le colonialisme a largement empêché l'industrie textile locale de répondre aux besoins et aux désirs de la population. À l'époque où des dirigeants comme Papineau commencent à favoriser le remplacement des textiles étrangers par des produits locaux, les habitudes vestimentaires de la population locale, tout comme l'économie du Bas-Canada, sont tellement tributaires des importations britanniques qu'il est pratiquement impossible de renverser la situation. L'intervention de l'armée britannique dans le conflit entre les partisans de Papineau et le gouvernement colonial ayant mis un terme à la campagne des Patriotes pour encourager l'industrie textile nationale, il est difficile d'évaluer les résultats à long terme du programme nationaliste. Toutefois, le goût de plus en plus prononcé des ruraux et des citadins pour les tissus faits à la maison témoigne de l'influence des dirigeants locaux dans la promotion des textiles domestiques.

An analysis of textile equipment, homespun and imported cloth in over 400 postmortem inventories of the inhabitants of the region and City of Quebec during four periods between 1792 and 1835 (1792-1796, 1806-1812, 1820-1825 and 1830-1835), provides one with a basis for analyzing the domestic production of cloth and the role of imported cloth in household wardrobes. A consideration of these documents, as well as others, such as labour contracts (engagements)*, commercial correspondence, census returns and newspapers led to the conclusion that although approximately 40% to 50% of rural residents possessed enough equipment to produce cloth, over 50% of important articles of their clothing, such as pants, vests, summer and winter coats and dresses, were imported.*

In contrast to rural resident who made all of their household linen and much of their clothing, urbanites possessed only small amounts of homespun material. Whereas members of the working class possessed a limited amount of homespun cloth, and especially of household linen, élite residents of the City, such as military officers, merchants and professionals, clad themselves in imported clothing. Although members of social groups were attired in a wide range of clothing of different styles, their profession, social status, and, occasionally, their ethnic origin, were usually easily recognized by the type of clothing they were wearing. While members of the élite wore fine clothing made-up by British tailors, working-class families wore less expensive imitations or coarser, but warmer and more durable cloths of wool and linen, made-up by milleners and housewives. The appearance of larger quantities of cotton cloth in merchants' stores, in the early nineteenth century, provided

inhabitants with a greater choice of materials and clothing styles, and may have been one of the reasons for the reduction in the production of homespun linen and wool.

The role of colonialism in discouraging domestic industries in Lower Canada while encouraging the importation of manufactured goods from Great Britain, played an important role in the failure of the local textile industry to meet the needs and desires of the population for cloth and clothing. By the time leaders such as Papineau began encouraging the replacement of foreign textiles by domestic products, both the clothing habits of the local population and the Lower Canadian economy were so dependent on British imports that it was virtually impossible to change the existing situation. Since the intervention of the British Army in the conflict between Papineau and his followers and the colonial government put an end to the patriots' campaign to encourage the domestic textile industry, it is difficult to speculate on the long term results of the nationalist program. The incresed interest shown by rural and urban residents in the possession of homespun cloth, is an indication, however, of the importance of the local leadership's role in encouraging domestic textiles.

Introduction

An analysis of over 400 post-mortem inventories of individuals living in the city and region of Quebec between 1792 and 1835 reveals that most urbanites clad themselves in imported cloth, and rural families also acquired large amounts of it although approximately 50 per cent made their clothing.[1] By analysing the amount of imported and homespun cloth and textile equipment in these inventories, it is possible to discover the approximate amount of domestic fabric produced and imported material consumed. Caution must be taken, however, when basing one's conclusions on post-mortem inventories. This is particularly true when studying clothing because often part of the spouse's belongings had previously been reserved (in the *preciput*) and was therefore excluded from the inventory. By studying a large number of inventories over a long period, this difficulty is largely overcome because clothing omitted from some inventories is found in others. A serious problem in terms of the accuracy of statistical information is the failure of some notaries to distinguish in a systematic way between homespun and imported fabric. Although the identification of household clothing is often imprecise, information concerning merchants' stocks and farming families' textile equipment appears much more accurate. Because of the financial importance of both these items, notaries indicated the quantities and prices, as well as identifying different fabrics found in the merchants' stores.

In spite of the wealth of information found in inventories, other sources obviously have to be consulted. Labour contracts, commercial correspondence, census returns, newspaspers and pertinent iconographical material were used to fill in gaps in the inventories and provide more general information on the subject and period. When combined with an analysis of post-mortem inventories, this documentation provides a basis for studying not only the relationship between homespun and imported cloth, but also the nature of the occupations involved in the textiles trades, the effect of domestic production on the local market and clothing as a symbol of class and ethnicity.

1. Rural and Urban Occupations in the Textile Trade

In Quebec City and region the production of cloth in the colonial periods (1660-1840) was shared by Canadien* countrywomen using homespun and imported material and urban artisans of mainly British origin working with imported fabric. Although the cultivation of flax and hemp and the care of sheep were shared by men, spinning and weaving were, from at least the late seventeenth century, considered woman's work.[2] Writing in the early 1830s, Joseph Bouchette maintained that weaving was the "universal" responsibility of the female members of the rural family, who worked at their looms during the late autumn and winter months.[3] Since only a few references to male weavers exist and none has been found to men spinning, these activities seem to have been reserved almost exclusively for rural women.[4]

Urban textile trades were dominated by merchants and tailors. The major change in the role of these trades during the French and British regimes in Quebec was the gradual domination of the market by anglophones. The severe reduction in commercial relations between France and Quebec following the British takeover of the colony, combined with the difficulty francophone tailors and merchants had in trading with British textile suppliers, resulted in the disappearance of many of the French-speaking merchants and artisans in Quebec.

Merchants exporting British manufactured goods to the colonies were among those who benefitted most from mercantilism. The domination of the import and retail trades in Quebec by British merchants occurred almost overnight. In the 1760s, approximately 110 British merchants competed with 80 to 90 Canadien merchants.[5] By

* "Canadien" is used throughout for French-speaking inhabitants. This term was used by both linguistic groups in Lower Canada when referring to members of the majority. Only a small number of anglophones identified themselves as Canadians; most preferred to be known as British citizens.

LOOMS were present in about 40 to 50% of country homes and absent in Quebec city. Although this painting by William Brymner dates from a later period, the loom portrayed in it resembles those found earlier. Weaving and spinning in rural homes was the responsibility of women. (Photo: Musée du Québec).

FLAX BRAKES, occasionally worked by men, were used to release the best fibers from flax plants by breaking the stems. Few of these instruments were found in household inventories, possibly because farming families used a flax swingling knife to break the outer flax stems. This photograph of Suzor Coté's 1913 painting, represents a traditional activity of the domestic industry. For more information on the processes and tools involved in the production of domestic cloth, see *La fabrication artisanale des tissus: appareils et techniques*, Quebec, Ministère des Affaires culturelles, 1974, 103p. and D.K.Burnham, *Warp and weft. A textile terminology*, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 1980, 216 p. (Photo: Musée du Québec).

the end of the century, anglophones controlled the import trade, including the acquisition and shipment of goods, and owned most of the wharves. Scots dominated the trade: between 1765 and 1800, approximately 45 per cent of the importers and retailers were Scots, 34 per cent were English, and 21 per cent were Canadiens.[6] The role of the textile trade in making the import market an exclusive British domain is evident in the fact that during the latter part of the eighteenth century over 90 per cent of the textile merchants were anglophones.[7] Although more Canadiens appeared in the textile trade in the early nineteenth century, most were relegated to the secondary position of retailers or shopkeepers. Even those trading with British textile suppliers did not succeed in importing the same diversity and quantity of merchandise as their British counterparts.[8]

The British domination of the import trade also contributed to the appearance of anglophones as auctioneers, shopkeepers, tailors and specialized workers. The British tailors' close association with the import and retail trades and their practice of choosing apprentices from the army garrison in Quebec and from English-speaking families in Montreal, Upper Canada and Great Britain[9] led to the development of a craft dominated by anglophones: by 1840, 86 per cent of tailors were English speaking.[10] Similarly, the few specialists in the textile trade, such as pattern-makers, dyers and satin imitators, were also of British origin.

Although most apprenticeship contracts signed between 1760 and 1830 for the female professions of seamstresses, cloakmakers, mantua-makers and milliners also involved anglophones, Canadien women continued to work as seamstresses.[11] The traditional teaching of knitting in the home and of specialized trades in the convents of Lower Canada probably contributed to the continuation of skilled needlework among Canadien women.[12]

Juſt imported in the Apthorp *from* GLASGOW, *and to be Sold by* MOORE & FINLAY,

PORK,

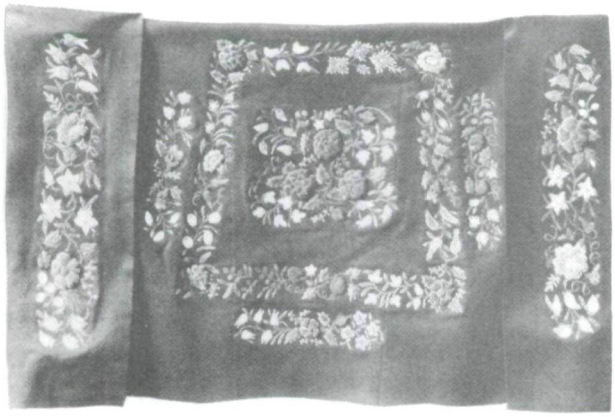
Butter,
A few Boxes moulded, and } Candles.
A few Boxes of dipt }
Alſo a Quantity of light Sail Cloth,
Scots Carpets,
Striped Cottons, and
Checks.

A VENDRE

Par MOORE *et* FINLAY, *les Articles ſuivans, qui viennent d'arriver par* L'Apthorp *de* GLASGOW,

DU Lard,
Du Beurre,
Quelques Caiſſes de Chandelles moullées,
Quelques Caiſſes idem communes,
Quantité de Toile à Voile legere,
Des Tapis d'Ecoſſe,
Des Cottonnades rayées et à carreaux.

ADVERTISEMENT for food, candles and textile products imported from Scotland, which appeared in the *Quebec Gazette*, 27/ix/1764.



EMBROIDERED altar frontal made by Mother Sainte-Hélène, Hotel Dieu, Quebec, in the late eighteenth century. Embroidery, such as this example (of flowers done with coloured silk), was a craft taught by sisters in convents and hospitals in Quebec City. (Photo, Marius Barbeau, N.M.M.).

2. Imported Fabrics

"Any sort of goods will sell if cheap and not out of the way articles" was the opinion of a Scottish merchant in early nineteenth-century Montreal.[13] Because of their knowledge of the local market, merchants played an important role in the textile trade. They tended to respond quickly to the demands of the local population, to price changes and the availability of different types of imported articles. A comparison of merchants' stocks and household inventories will provide a rough idea of the types and quantities of imported textiles acquired by the local population. First, let us consider observations on the Canadian market made by British merchants and the role of the British in the European textile trade.

Two Scottish merchants residing in Lower Canada in the early nineteenth century have left revealing comments concerning the textile market. According to Alexander

SHAWLS were one of the most popular items imported by British merchants between 1765 and 1840. Although an authority on early textiles has identified the shawl shown here as a homespun fabric from early nineteenth century Quebec, it was more likely imported from Great Britain. Although Scottish patterns, such as the one seen in this shawl were probably imitated by Canadien women, the fact that well-made and relatively cheap shawls were imported in large quantities by Quebec City merchants, suggests this shawl was not homespun in Canada. The reference to the shawl's Canadian origin can be found in the Burnham's work, *op. cit.*, p. 79. (Photo: R.O.M. 961 112 1).

McDonald, fabrics sold if they were of good quality, attractive and cheap. If fabrics were also scarce, their value and the likelihood of selling them increased. Although customers demanded that material be finely woven, well combed and of the appropriate weight, clients could be seduced by inferior articles if they looked "extraordinary well and [were] cheaper than any has come to the country."[14] Attractive and cheap items were considered "perfect for sale." Since coarse fabrics were not popular at this time, they did not sell well, even if inexpensive. Although McDonald questioned the wisdom of carrying an inventory of fabrics over the winter, his associate, John McKinsty, recommended this policy because most materials were sold during the active winter months and were not replenished before the arrival of ships in late spring. Thus, the merchant who had been able to keep material such as cotton on hand could sell it at a profit.

The merchants' capacity to sell fabrics depended on a number of factors. Worth discussing are the problems merchants experienced when farmers had poor crops and the market was flooded with goods. Both appear to have had a negative effect on the textile market: the first reduced the farming family's capacity to acquire goods and the second brought prices down. Whereas in 1801, McDonald ordered a whole range of materials (including printed cottons, fine linen, cotton handkerchiefs, flannel blankets and clothing accessories) from his Scottish suppliers, he complained in 1802 that

> trade this year particularly in the dry good line has been worse than ever I have seen it ever since I came to this country and nothing almost a doing but by public sale which is indeed very much against the people who have imported this year ... the harvest is almost over and farmers complain very much of the badness of the crops – the spring was very unfavorable being a continual rain which destroyed great part of the seed and the summer again dry which hardened the stalk of the wheat and dried the grain before it was properly filled, in some places in this country it was scarcely worth cutting....[15]

According to James Dunlop, a Montreal merchant and son of a Glasgow textile manufacturer, British fabrics flooding the Canadian textile market were a major cause of the low price of goods.[16] This is one of the reasons he was unable to sell a quantity of Russian and Scottish shirtings and Osnaburg linens and woollens in 1799. Discouraged with the textile market in 1811, he wrote to his sister: "The market for dry goods in Canada is very bad ... I don't think I will import dry goods again."[17] Contrary to the situation in 1799 and 1811, Dunlop was able to sell a large supply of Osnaburg and Russian shirtings to the government in 1813. Encouraged by the possibility of selling fabrics to the military during the 1812-14 war, he ordered a large supply of dry goods, including 2,000 pairs of blankets. Since the government had also ordered military cloths, blankets, shoes and stockings, Dunlop found himself without a lucrative market. The following year, he complained that peace had reduced the value of his goods by at least £15,000.[18] The abundance of fabrics on the market in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is an indication that urbanites were buying large quantities of imported fabrics. Poor growing seasons affected the rural population's capacity to acquire fabrics and likely resulted in increased domestic production during difficult times.[19] In the early nineteenth century, poor agricultural returns seemed to have been more critical in terms of the habitant's capacity to buy textiles than the high prices charged for fabrics. According to some merchants, many items did not sell in spite of low prices. The merchants' policy of acquiring goods according to changing conditions suggests that their inventories are a good point from which to begin an analysis of consumer textile habits. As mentioned earlier, the merchant's in-

ventory appears, moreover, to be an accurate record of his stock.

If one excludes mixed materials like camlet (included in Table 1 in the category "other"), the most important fabrics present in the stocks of Quebec cloth merchants were cotton (42 per cent), wool (30 per cent), linen (11 per cent) and silk (5 per cent). According to an analysis of census returns from between 1827 and 1852 linen and wool were the most common fabrics produced in Lower Canada (Table 2). Although farming families in Lower Canada made more linen per inhabitant than their counterparts in Upper Canada, and some merchants traded small amounts of it, both Canadien and British merchants imported greater quantities of cotton and wool than linen. The cloth merchant's preference for cotton and wool corresponds well to the position of Great Britain in the European market and to the British government's policy of encouraging its traditionally strong textile manufactures. In the late eighteenth century, a French government official maintained that the French had some advantages in the production of fine woollens, but "could not complete with common woollens made of cheap British and Irish wool whose staple and lustre were unmatched in Europe."[20] Similarly, though the French could match the British in the manufacture of printed cotton, the latter's

TABLE 1

Yards of Fabric Found in the Inventories of Quebec City Textile Merchants between 1792 and 1835

Merchants	Wool	Linen	Cotton	Silk	Other	Total	Ribbon	Lace	Total
1792-1796									
P. Lugiens	193		27	32	112	364		81	81
M. Cormier	1,601	745	1,979	195	351	4,871	604		604
1807-1812									
J. Ward	6,382	189	4,475	1,044	1,379	13,469	916	494	1,410
C. Deblois	298	413	1,784	14	106	2,615			
A. Dumas	227	108	563	6	79	983	592	101	693
A. Amiot	248	27	196	45	103	619	103	22	125
C. Derome	76	47	420	4	36	583	1 lot	35	35
1820-1825									
P. Pelletier	151	147	403	96	166	963	1 lot	186	186
V. Bonenfant	214	353	644	39	113	1,363		11	11
L. Dennett	11	300	598	1 lot	202	1,111	1 lot	–	
L. Noël	64	437	977	14	21	1,513	1 lot	58	58
1830-1835									
J. Leblond	154	131	48	20	261	614			
J. Weippert	313	807	1,452	125	1,111	3,808	542	213	755
J.-B. Garneau	81	52	158	6	166	463		62	62
M. Borne	1,018	400	605	89	54	2,166			
Marg. Morin	85	45	961	18	48	1,157	642	101	743
Total	11,116	4,201	15,290	1,747	4,308	36,662	3,399	1,364	4,763
Percentage	30	11	42	5	12				

Source: Because of the changing nature of textile nomenclature it is difficult to establish a system of classification that includes variations in fabrics over 43 years. Fabrics listed at random in cloth merchants' inventories were classified in the following way; wool: calamanco, cashmere, drugget, flannel, kersey, serge and shalloon; linen: cambric, Irish and Russian linen, oilcloth, sheeting, osnaburg and ticklenburg; cotton: bombase, calico, corduroy, dimity, fustian, gingham, jean, muslin and nankeen; silk: satin, taffeta and velvet; others and mixed: check, bath-coating, coasse, crimson, camlet, fringe, and malmole. Although the quantities of fabric left in a merchant's stock depended on when the inventory was taken (before or after the arrival of ships in the spring), the analysis of a series of inventories over a long period provides an indication of the relative importance of different fabrics and the position of individuals in the textile trade. Because of the difficulty of calculating quantities such as rolls and lots, they were omitted from the totals. They were not numerous, however, so their omission does not change the relative importance of different fabrics or the place held by the various merchants in the trade.

technological advance resulted in a cheaper cotton cloth. The French could compete, however, in silk and linen. According to the British Board of Trade, Scottish cambrics and lawns were neither as cheap nor as fine as those made in France, and French silks, laces and millinery were such a threat to the domestic market that the British had excluded their free entry in 1765.[21] Given the British superiority in the production of woollen and cotton cloth, it is not surprising to see large quantities of these fabrics in the cloth merchant's store in Lower Canada. In 1830 the relative values of fabrics exported to British North America from Britain corresponds well to the quantities of material found in the inventories of Quebec City merchants: cotton: £349,256 (or 45 per cent of the total value of fabrics); wool: £281,895 (36 per cent); linen: £81,960 (10 per cent); silk: £71,613 (9 per cent).[22]

3. Rural Homespuns vs Foreign Fabric

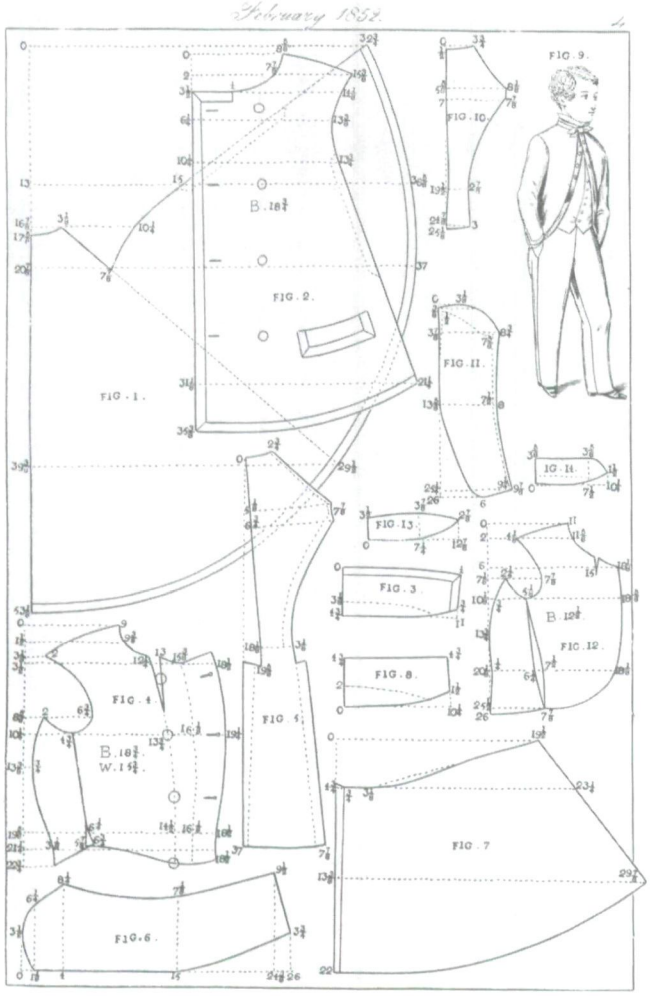
Because of the difficulty of distinguishing between clothing identified simply as wool or linen cloth and that clearly listed as homespun (*étoffe du pays* or *toile du pays*), it is not easy to determine the relative amounts of homespun and imported cloth present in rural wardrobes. Imported wool and to a lesser degree cotton were more commonly found in rural household inventories than imported linen.

TABLE 2

Yards of Household Textiles Produced in United States, Lower and Upper Canada, 1810, 1827, 1842-1844, 1851-1852 (per capita estimates)

	Yards of Goods							Lbs of Wool			
Years	Linen		Cloth		Flannel		Mixed	Total			
	USA		USA		USA		USA	USA			
1810	21,459,868		14,857,847		9,222,166		26,831,683				
	(3)		(2)		(1.3)		(4)	10.3			
	L.C.	U.C.	L.C.	U.C.	L.C.	U.C.		L.C.	U.C.	L.C.	U.C.
1827	1,375,246		1,498,621		1,049,903						
	(2.9)		(3.2)		(2.2)			8.3			
1842-44	857,623	166,881	746,685	433,527	655,019	727,286					
	(1.2)	(.3)	(1.1)	(.9)	(.9)	(1.5)		3.2	2.7	1.7	2.7
1851-52	929,048	14,771	734,304	531,560	856,445	1,196,029					
	(1)	(.01)	(.8)	(.6)	(.96)	(1.3)		2.7	1.9	1.6	2.8

Source: Calculations based on Canadian census returns and the 1810 report on American manufactures given in Table XI of R.M. Tryon's *Household Manufacturers in the United States, 1640-1860* (Chicago, 1917), p. 166. Because of the chronological span separating the American and Canadian figures, their use for comparative purposes is limited. Although the 1827 figures for Lower Canada appear high, there is reason to believe that domestic production reached a peak in the late 1820s and in the mid 1830s. The 1827 census returns for these figures were given in French ells, which according to most dictionaries is 1.188 meters or 1.299 yards. Dictionaries consulted include: *Le dictionnaire universel d'Antoine Furtière* (1701; Paris, 1978), and *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* (1694; Paris, 1978). Commenting on the census returns of 1827, Joseph Bouchette, the surveyor general of Lower Canada, wrote that he had frequently "in the course of upwards of 3,000 miles of travel, in all parts of Lower Canada entered the labourer's humble dwelling, when his family were engaged in the spinning-wheel and the loom, to ascertain the exact nature of the domestic manufactures of the country."[23]



PATTERNS, such as the one shown above, were imported by merchant-tailors for use in their shops or to sell to dress makers and milleners. See, for example, the *Quebec Gazette*, 30/iii/1797 and the *Quebec Mercury*, 13/v/1834. The pattern shown above comes from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Feb., 1852. (Photo: National Museum of Man, 83-1464).

Since flax was a traditional Canadien crop, farmers were experienced in producing this cloth. In the nineteenth century it was used extensively for household linen. According to an analysis of rural inventories, over 80 per cent of shirts and household linen (sheets, pillowslips, pockets, sacks and bedcovers) were produced on the farm.[24] If only the clothing identified as imported is considered, the results are convincing: over 50 per cent of articles such as short dress coats and capes (*mantelets*), dresses, pants, vests, suits and winter coats were not homespun (Table 3). Although many of these items were likely part of the family's "Sunday dress" and therefore less numerous than working clothes, the presence of imported pieces of a more common nature, such as skirts and hooded coats, suggests that an important part of the rural family's wardrobe was made of British fabrics imported in the form of cloth or clothing.

Although difficult to verify, subtle changes apparently occurred in the consumption and production of textiles by rural residents. For example, whereas a slightly higher number of men's items (pants, vests and suits) were produced domestically between 1792 and 1812, a greater amount of imported clothing was acquired by rural women.[25] The increasing number of patterns for men's clothing, especially vests (appearing in newspapers and in the stocks and commercial correspondence of merchants in the early nineteenth century[26]), were probably being used by country women to make clothes which were previously purchased ready-made. Merchants were also importing large quantities of fabric designed for use with patterns, such as material for vests. The comment by British traveller John Lambert in 1806 that women from the country near Quebec City were buying more clothing is not only

TABLE 3

Percentages of Homespun, Wool or Linen Cloth, and Imported Clothing Found in the Inventories of Country Homes near Quebec City, 1792-96 and 1807-12

	1792-96			1807-12		
Clothing	Home	Cloth	Imports	Home	Cloth	Imports
Feminine						
Dresses					17	83
Shirts	7	70	23	8	63	29
Dress coats (*mantelets*)	15	18	67		21	79
Masculine						
Pants	15	12	73	7	41	52
Vests	18		82		50	50
Suits		33	67	5	33	62
Hooded coats (*capots*)	27	10	63	30	40	30
Common						
Winter coats			100		9	91
Shirts	83	16	1	56	28	16

NOTE: Homespun's reputation as a coarse fabric suggests that notaries would have been able to identify it easily, but the presence of common British wool might have made their task difficult. The existence of fine linen imported from Scotland in merchants' inventories and the difficulty of making this material leads one to believe that the significant quantity of it found in the inventories was indeed imported, but, since the possibility that it was made domestically exists, it cannot be identified as either homespun or imported cloth. Thus, the category indicated as "cloth" in the above table includes woollen and linen items, which, though identified as such, could not be classified as either imported or homespun fabric.

"HABITANTS in their summer dress". This well-know illustration from John Lambert's *Travels through Canada and the United States...1806, 1807 and 1808* (London, 1814), shows two rural residents wearing what appears to be their 'Sunday dress'. Although some of their clothing was probably made domestically (such as the foot and headwear), much of it was likely imported. This is particularly true of the stylish jacket worn by women and identified in household inventories as a *mantelet* of imported cloth. Although the woman's skirt and jacket were likely made of drugget, since this material was also imported (especially from Scotland), it may have been of British origin. Writing in the late 1820's, Pierre de Sales Laterrière maintained that, "The women are clothed nearly after the fashion of the French peasant, a cap, in place of a bonnet, with a dark cloth or stuff petticoat, a jacket *(mantelet)* sometimes of a different colour, and mocassins, the same as those of the men form their every-day dress. On the Sunday, they are gaily attired, chiefly after the English fashion, with only this difference: where the English wears one, the Canadian girl wears a dozen colours" *(A political and historical account of Lower Canada, London, 1830: 131)*. For another interpretation of the clothing shown in the above engraving see Jacqueline Beaudoin-Ross, "A la Canadienne" once more: Some insights into Quebec rural female dress", *Dress*, vol. 6, 73-74. (Photo: PAC, 1703).

confirmed by country inventories, it is also seen in a different perspective because of them. It is possible that male farmers were buying more imported clothing than their female counterparts in the late eighteenth century and that this situation began changing in the early nineteenth century.

The rural residents desire to imitate or acquire imported goods was probably due in part to the negative impressions urbanites had of the farmer's homespun fabric. A desire for something fancy, and for a change from the traditional, was likely another reason for the habitant's taste for manufactured clothing. When country residents could exchange an article worn out of necessity for something new, few hesitated.

The rural attitude concerning the importance of imported styles is reflected in the many alterations made to clothing., Writing in the early 1800s, G.L. Robin maintained that only the habitant's long hooded coat (*capot*) had survived the waves of changing styles.[27] Yet even this coat had been altered often: colours, fringes and epaulettes were only a few of the aspects obviously added or changed. Farming families adapted well to their situation: when they could afford to do so they acquired imported cloth, when they could not, homespun cloth was made and patterns and alterations introduced to make it conform to existing styles. Consumer habits are difficult to follow, but it is evident that, although the quantities of imported cloth in rural wardrobes fluctuated, it remained important during the first part of the nineteenth century.

TABLE 4

Percentage of Country Homes in the Quebec City Area Possessing Domestic Textile Materials, 1792-1812

Material	1792-96 %	1807-12 %
Wool		
Sheep	87	88
Uncarded wool	33	50
Carded wool	8	5
Linen		
Flaxseed	17	24
Linen (unfinished)	15	21
Linen (prepared)	13	4
Linen thread	76	28
Thread (unspecified)	29	35

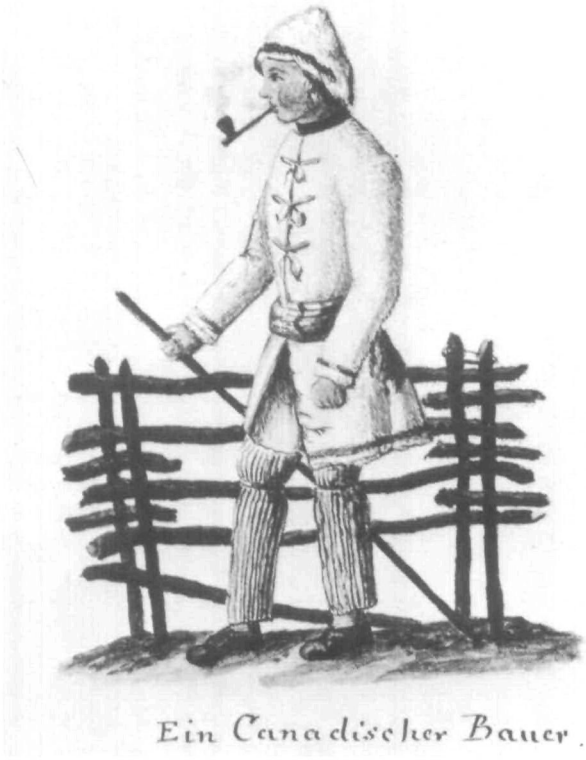
Source: Information for this table comes from an analysis of 182 post-mortem inventories (83 for the 1792-96 period and 99 for 1807-12) found in the Archives nationales in Quebec City.

RURAL COUPLE in spring or fall dress. Sempronius Stretton's 1806 pen and ink drawing portrays a man in a typical *étoffe du pays* outfit: grey woolen pants and coat and red toque. A *ceinture flechée*, mocassins, clay pipe, whip and possibly a scarf or handkerchief complete his attire. Notice the long braid of hair worn by both. The woman's outfit seems appropriate for a sunny, cool day: straw hat, short jacket and woolen skirt (Photo: PAC, 14835).

POOR RURAL farmers, labourers and vagabonds are rarely portrayed in the historical iconography of Lower Canada. The individual shown in this detail of J. Peachey's 1781 watercolour of the outskirts of Quebec City appears to be wearing heavy woolen trousers and coat. Clothing worn by poor rural residents was often more remarkable for its utilitarian function than for its style. (Photo: Public Archives of Canada, 2030).

Textile equipment: A measure of rural independence

Numbers of sheep, spinning wheels, looms and textile reserves owned by farming families fluctuated between 1792 and 1835, but the general tendency is of a small increase in these items over the 43-year period (Tables 4-6). Although the number of sheep per inhabitant had been steadily increasing since at least the late seventeenth century, most herds remained small.[28] According to census returns, the number of sheep per farm had grown from 2.4 in 1765 to 4.4 in 1784 and 7.5 in 1831.[29] These figures compare well with an analysis of the number of sheep per family appearing in inventories (Table 5), but instead of showing a steady progression, the latter shows a fluctuating situation. The averages of between 6 and 9 sheep per farm found in the inventories include some large herds, such as one of over 100 sheep in the 1830-35 period. Since the presence of a few large herds inflate these averages, the number of sheep per farm was probably less than the figures given above suggest. The difficulty of raising large herds of sheep had been a problem for



HABITANT in a traditional coat (*capot*), 1778. This watercolour by Fredrick von Germann shows the typical coat worn by Canadiens during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: a long woolen coat with a high collar, bands at the bottom and on the sleeves, toggles to attach the two sides at the front and a *ceinture flechée* around the hips. Although this basic style remained for most of the nineteenth century, it was modified often. European influences such as military - style épaulettes, buttons, and bands around the bottoms of coats and blankets were found on coats worn by farmers. Although distinctions between rural people were less evident than those in the city, a keen observer could distinguish between different social groups by the kind of coats individuals wore. For example, the *capots* of masters were said to be fuller and of a finer material than those worn by servants and farmers. See G.L. Robin, *Voyages dans l'interieur de la Louisianne... 1806*, Paris, 1807. vol. 2: 105. I am indebted to René Chartrand for sharing this reference with me. For another interpretation of the clothing shown in this watercolour, see Jacqueline Beaudoin-Ross, "A la canadienne: some aspects of the 19th century habitant dress", *Dress*, 1980 vol. 6: 71-73 (Photo: New York Public Library Astor, Lennox and Tilden Foundations).

Canadiens since the beginning of the colony. Harsh weather, disease and predators constantly reduced the size of the herds.

Substantial growth in the percentage of spinning wheels (17 per cent) and of looms (11 per cent) in rural inventories is a clear indication that farming families were

TABLE 5

Number of Sheep and Spinning Wheels per Family and Number of Families per Loom in Farms in the Quebec City Region, 1792-1835

	1792-96	1807-12	1820-25	1830-35
Sheep	7	9	7.5	[6]
Spinning Wheels	1.2	1.6	1.5	1.9
Families per loom	2.7	1.7	2.4	1.9

NOTE: It is unlikely that notaries would have failed to include all animals and equipment in their inventories of rural households. Consequently, the above figures are more accurate than those found in most of the tables in this paper. This being said, the number of sheep per inhabitant given for the 1830-35 period appears low, particularly when a similar figure calculated from census returns is higher. Although the gap between the two figures may be due to regional differences, it is probably a result of the work remaining to be done on the inventories for the 1830-35 period.

HABITANT in the 1840's. M. Chaplin's watercolour of a farmer in the mid-nineteenth century resembles the 1778 portrait mentioned above. Additions or modifications on this coat, include épaulettes, wide sleeve band and though not shown, the toggles on the 1778 coat were probably replaced by buttons (Photo: PAC, C 922).

TABLE 6

Percentage of Farms in the Quebec City Area Possessing Domestic Textile Equipment, 1792-1835

	1792-96 %	1807-12 %	1820-25 %	1830-35 %
Cards	42	51	25	26
Spinning Wheels	63	80	70	83
Looms	31	47	41	42

Source: For the number of inventories analysed in the two earlier periods, see Table 4; 55 and 53 inventories were studied for the periods 1820-25 and 1830-35, respectively. These documents come from the Archives nationales in Quebec City.

WOOL COMBS, used to prepare wool fibres for spinning, were, along with wool cards, numerous in household inventories. For more information on these and other textile tools, see D.K. Burnham, *Warp and weft. A textile terminology*, Toronto Royal Ontario Museum, 1980, 216p.

SPINNING WHEELS, such as the one shown here, were found in over 80% of country homes in 1835. This example includes a single drive band and a bobben-brake, typical of Quebec wheels in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The *godet*, or wooden water bowl (used by women to moisten their fingers while spinning flax), is probably a later addition as its size appears too large for this saddle type wheel. For more information on this wheel and on wheels in general, see (respectively), H. and D. Burnham, *'Keep me warm one night'. Early handweaving in eastern Canada*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1972:34 and Judy Buxton Keenlyside, *Selected Canadian Spinning Wheels in perspective: An Analytical Approach*, Ottawa, National Museum of Canada, 336 pp. (Photo: Royal Ontario Museum, 970 258 1).

increasing their capacity to make homespun fabrics. After a substantial rise in the amount of textile equipment between 1792 and 1812, it stabilized, grew only slightly in the early 1830s. Spinning wheels were more prevalent in homes than other textile equipment: from the later eighteenth century to the third decade of the nineteenth century, the majority of rural women owned a spinning

REELS, used in measuring yarn after it has been spun on a wheel, were numerous in country homes (Photo: N.M.M., 77-2924).

STRAW HATS of dried grass (such as the two shown on the floor in this 1852 Krieghoff water colour) were made by country women. Other home-made items in this illustration include the chairs, thick (probably) woolen rug, and most of the clothing worn by the family. According to an advertisement in *L'artisan*, 19/v/1842, straw hats were also imported (Photo: PAC, 11224).

wheel. By 1835, wheels were present in over 80 per cent of farms in the Quebec City area. Although many families owned betwen 3 and 5 wheels, and a few as many as 5 or 6, most had 1 or 2. Information on other pieces of equipment suggests that reels, instruments used to measure thread, were purchased at the same rate as the spinning wheel. Although the percentage of families possessing cards decreased, it is possible that these tools, along with others used outside the house, such as flax brakes, swingling-knives, and ripplers were occasionally forgotten by notaries doing the inventories.

Essential in the production of cloth, the loom is the most significant textile tool. Families owning a loom usually had a more complete set of tools than those without one. For example, in the 1807-12 period, 91 per cent of the families possessing a loom also owned at least one wheel, 48 per cent had the largest herds of sheep and 37 per cent had reserves of thread. In spite of the large increase in looms in the early nineteenth century, the number of families possessing one fell from 47 per cent in the 1807-12 period to 42 per cent in the early 1830s. According to these figures, only 40 to 50 per cent of farming families were capable of producing all their clothing and household linen., If one can judge by the number of looms in country homes, farming families did not significantly alter their production of homespun material after the early nineteenth century. During the first three decades of the nineteenth century only very modest progress was made in the domestic industry.

The relative independence of rural families: Local markets and fluctuating production

The local textile market

> "It is right to observe that the greatest part of the produce of agriculture in Lower Canada is consumed by the farmer...." Wm. Evans, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practices of Agriculture in Canada* (1835), p.43.

"Most of the woolen and linen manufactures are confined to the farmers' houses." Wm. Evans. *Supplementary Volume to a Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Agriculture in Canada* (1836), p.29.

Is it possible that the 40 per cent of the rural community equipped with looms could provide the rest with a sufficient amount of homespun fabric? One would have to respond positively to this question, but substantial quantities of British-made clothing in country homes indicate that farming families depended on imported fabric to meet some of their needs. The acquisition of British textiles, however, does not mean that spinning wheels and looms could not be harnessed to replace imported materials in the local market. The increase in the number of spinning wheels and looms and the appearance of greater amounts of woollen reserves in rural inventories in the early nineteenth century suggest that large quantities of woollen articles were being made. It is also evident that some families were selling their reserves of wool and linen to others.[30] It is unlikely, however, that this exchange of materials between neighbours was important enough to establish a dynamic local or national market.

The earliest example of a commercial venture attempting to tap the resources of the rural domestic industry comes from the Montreal area. In an advertisement in the *Vindicator* of July 6, 1832, for READY-MADE CLOTHING-5000 ETOFFES DU PAYS, Jean Bruneau listed the following items: "1,000 surtouts and frock coats; 900 jackets; 5,000 *étoffes du pays* and trousers; 2,100 vests; 2,500 shirts; 200 dozen American socks; 300 dozen Canadian socks; 500 trunks." Obviously, much of this material was imported, but the presence of homespun material indicates that at least one Canadien merchant was acquiring fabric from farming families and bringing it to market. It is difficult to evaluate whether some of this material came from recently established textile manufactures. In any case, the Montreal advertisement raises a number of questions. Did it indicate the production of homespun fabric on a larger scale and, consequently, a change in consumer habits? How representative is it of developments in the Quebec City area? Since more will be said about the first question later, the second question will be examined here.

Although modest advances were being made in the establishment of textile manufactures in the area in the early 1830s, it is unlikely they aided the homespun industry. Advertisements in Quebec newspapers in the 1840s announced the sale of homespun fabric on commission by city merchants and the opening of a new textile mill and maintained that these initiatives would free the farming family from wasting precious time making or selling their fabric.[31] Having their fabric sold on commission probably did not interest many domestic producers because of the low price they received. Similarly, the suggestion that the establishment of textile manufacturers would free the farming family from making fabric was probably not followed (at least not immediately), because it would have made rural residents even more dependent on clothing from urban centres.

DRIED GRASS such as the examples of crested dog's tail grass, and common mat-grass, shown here, were used to make straw plaits (shown above), which were, in turn, used in the production of straw - plaits for hats; from the *Pictorial Gallery of Arts* (circa 1830) (Photo: N.M.M., AC 27-74-3).

Because homespun fabric rarely appeared in merchants' inventories and no advertisements for domestic fabric were found in Quebec newspapers prior to the 1840s, it would appear that few attempted to bring fabric made in the country to the larger market.[32] In fact, comments made in the *Quebec Gazette* in 1819 and 1821 about the need for farmers to produce more woollen goods and thus avoid paying the rising prices of imported fabrics suggest that the production of wool in the Quebec area was not important enough to meet the needs of the rural family, let alone those of a larger market.[33] Many city residents did not find the "kind of coarse woolen cloth" made by coun-

try women attractive.[34] In 1830 Joseph Bouchette maintained that Canadien sheep had such coarse wool that they had little commercial significance.[35] According to another commentator, William Evans, ignorance of animal husbandry hindered the domestic wool industry. Evans maintained that in spite of the claim that imported wool deteriorated faster than the domestic product, the latter was far inferior to that of the "fine long wooled Leicesters."[36] Opinions such as these obviously did not help create a market for Canadien wool. Finally, the appearance of raw British wool, large amounts of woollen thread[37] and extensive assortments "of woolens proper for the country"[38] in newspaper advertisements and merchants' stores, as well as imported woollens in rural inventories, indicates the widespread presence of this fabric and the absence of a significant market for homespun material.

Fluctuating production figures

Although it is difficult to follow the fluctuating production patterns of domestic textiles, newspaper accounts and census returns confirm the fact that more homespun fabric was made during hard economic times.[39] Existing evidence suggests that domestic production was increasing during the second and third decades of the nineteenth century. In spite of this growth, however, a writer in the *Quebec Gazette* in 1819 reported that the large quantities produced were still insufficient to meet the farming families' clothing needs. He maintained that *habitants* had to produce more flax and raise more sheep to clothe themselves during "this period of low grain prices in the British market."[40]

Diminishing revenues and rising prices for imported goods were, according to local commentators, two reasons for increasing the production of domestic textiles.[41] After reaching the impressive amount of 8.3 yards per inhabitant in 1827, production declined, dropping to 3.2 yards in 1842 and 2.7 in 1851 (Table 2). Statements about the need for more domestic fabric again appeared in newspapers in the 1830s and 1840s.[42]

Because comparative figures for domestic production in other countries are often lacking, it is difficult to evaluate the significance of the Lower Canadian production. According to a study of textile production in the United States, farming families in 1810 made 10 yards per inhabitant and cotton manufactures produced an undetermined quantity of cloth.[43] If the American figure and the Canadian census returns are accurate, Lower Canadian production came close to the 1810 American output only once, in 1827. It is difficult to evaluate the effect of the declining production of homespun fabric, but a comment made by a writer about the limited amount available to rural residents in 1842 in the Rivière-du-Loup area is revealing. According to this commentator, 3 yards of homespun per individual, including ½ yard of woollen cloth, 1 yard of flannel and 1½ yards of linen was insufficient: income earned in the timber industry was needed to make up the difference between quantities of materials produced and consumed.[44] Another estimate of the amount of homespun produced per farm seems closer to reality: 27.3 yards in 1844 (9 yards of woollen cloth, 10.4 of linen and 7.9 of flannel), and 26.2 in 1851 (7.7 of wool, 9.6 of linen and 8.9 of flannel), or approximately 4 yards per rural resident.[45] This figure compares well to the slightly lower one of 3 yards per inhabitant mentioned earlier (see Table 2). Obviously, the amount of fabric made fluctuated according to different growing seasons, success with raising stock and prices for imported goods. Since a significant amount of imported fabric was found in the household inventories of rural residents both before and after the peak in cloth output in 1827, it is evident that farming families were unable to free themselves from imported cloth, even during periods of intensive domestic

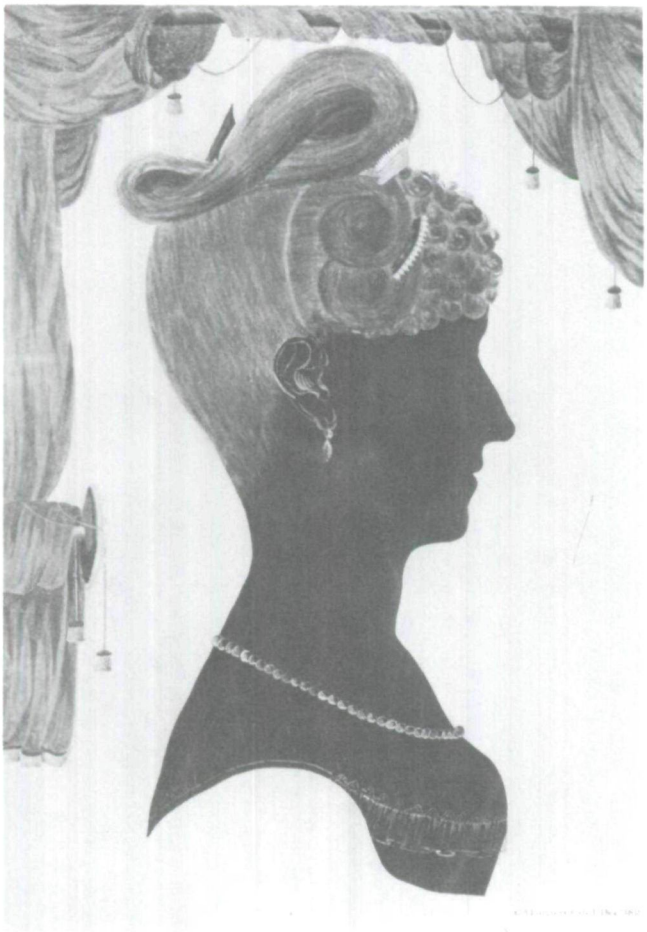
EUROPEAN STYLES, such as those shown in the above illustration from the *Montreal Monthly Magazine* in 1831, were adopted quickly by members of Quebec City's elite. Photo: Montreal Municipal Library.

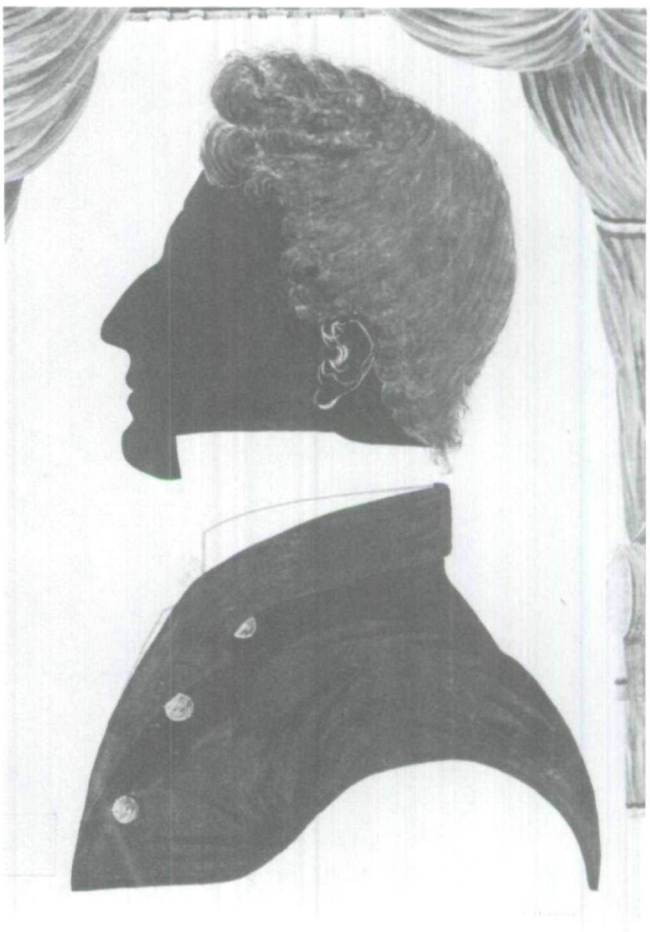
production. Moreover, the fact that such a quantity of domestic material was recorded only once in the first half of the nineteenth century suggests that farming families did not see homespun production as a solution to their need for fabric. Finally, when one realizes that in spite of the presence of locally manufactured cotton and a greater domestic production than Lower Canadians Americans were still dependent on British textiles, it seems evident that the former were even more dependent.

4. Textiles in an Urban Context

> They dress out very fine on Sundays and though on the other days they do not take much pains with other parts of their dress, yet they are very fond of adorning their heads, the hair of which is always curled and powdered, and ornamented with glittering bodkins and aigrettes ... On these days when they pay or receive visits, they dress so gayly, that one is almost induced to think their parents possessed the greatest dignities in the state. The Frenchmen, who considered things in their true light, complained very much that a great part of the ladies of Canada had got into the pernicious custom of taking too much care of their dress, and squandering all their fortunes, and more, upon it, instead of sparing something for future times.[46]

Residents of Quebec City had a reputation for dressing in the latest mode. According to the keen Swedish eighteenth-century observer, Peter Kalm, Canadiens adopted styles within a year of their appearance in France.[47] This traditional interest in the latest styles continued into the nineteenth century. Urbanites, and especially member of the élite, consumed far more imported goods than rural residents and members of the urban working class. So much fabric was brought to Quebec City that every social group found material to suit its needs. Fine woollens, such as cashmere, calamanco, and woollen





SILHOUETTES done of a husband and wife in Montreal in 1818, showing jewelry worn by women, high collared shirts worn by men, and current hair styles. Both portraits show the care taken by members of the elite to appear impeccably dressed (Silhouettes: McCord Museum; Photo: C. Pearson).

MADAME MARGUERITE MAILHOT's portrait, painted by François Beaucourt in 1793, illustrates the clothing of a female member of the Canadien elite: fancy bonnet and a full dress covered with a finely made (probably silk) shawl (Photo: Musée du Québec).

serge, as well as expensive linens, like cambric, exclusive cotton muslins and chintz and a wide assortment of silks, ribbons and lace were made up in the latest styles to satisfy the desires of the urban élite. Flannel, rough woollens and cheap cottons were imported for the urban working class.

The variety and value of cloth and clothing consumed depended on an individual's social standing. According to an analysis of the household possessions of urbanites, merchants not only consumed a greater quantity and variety of clothing and household linen than other groups, but they also spent a larger percentage of their money on cloth. Whereas clothing and household linen made up an average of 9 to 10 per cent of the total value of a farming family's possessions, it was 17 to 19 per cent of a merchant's.[48] Obviously the involvement of most merchants in some aspect of the import trade facilitated their acquisition of cloth and clothing.

As one might imagine from the quantity of imported fabrics in urban households, textile equipment was rare in Quebec City. Only seven spinning wheels and one reel were found in household inventories of urban residents between 1792 and 1835.[49] All the wheels, moreover, were owned by artisan families. The small number of wheels and the absence of looms suggests that urban women made little if any cloth. They made clothing instead. The large quantities of thread, buttons, scissors, sewing, darning and knitting needles advertised in newspapers and found in the merchants' inventories is an indi-

TABLE 7

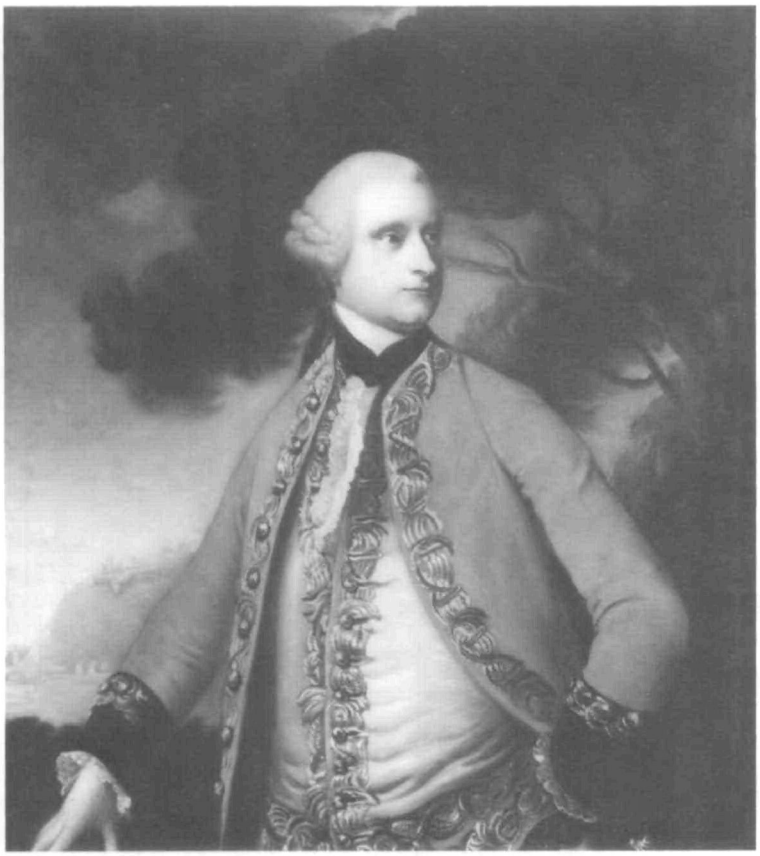
Percentage of Imported and Homespun Fabric and Unspecified Woollen or Linen Cloth Found in the Household Possessions of Artisans in Quebec City, 1792-1835

	1792-96			1807-12			1820-25			1830-35		
	Imports	Cloth	Home	Imports	Cloth	Home	Imports	Cloth	Home	Imports	Cloth	Home
Women's clothing	100			98	1.3	.7	93		7	75	24	1
Men's clothing	100			100			83	9	8	72	13	15
Common (coats, shirts and socks)	100			89	11		56	2	42	70	29	1
Household linen	39	13	48	50	26	24	45	13	42	46	18	36

Source: This table is based on an analysis of 66 inventories, including 3 blacksmiths and 3 joiners (*menuisiers*) from the immediate vicinity of Quebec City (Lauzon, Levy, Beaumont and Beauport).

MIRRORS were an important part of a wealthy household. The unusual one shown here was imported from Great Britain in the early nineteenth century (Mirror: McCord Museum; Photo: C. Pearson).

COAT AND VEST, the former lavishly decorated with flowers, dating from the late eighteenth century. Although the origin of the coat is uncertain, it was probably worn by a merchant. Peter Kalm, in his *Travels through North America (1755)*, stated, that Quebec "merchants dress very finely... and their ladies are every day in full dress, and as much adorned as if they were to go to court" (p. 411). The regime changed in 1760, but the merchant family's taste for expensive clothing did not (Coat: McCord Museum; Photo: C. Pearson).



MILITARY GOVERNORS represented the highest strata of colonial society. Thus, their clothing portrayed social status and British military might. This portrait of Quebec's first British governor, James Murray, shows a refined mixture of military and social clothing styles (photo: PAC, C2834).

cation that women knit garments from yarn and made clothing from imported cloth.[50]

Household inventories of the city's working class not only contained more textile equipment than those of the élite, they also included more homespun fabric. The only homespun in the possession of the urban élite was found in household linen: 10 and 20 per cent of the linen of merchants and professionals, respectively, was made of country cloth.[51] Between 24 and 42 per cent of household linen owned by Quebec artisans was homespun (Table 7). Though limited when compared to rural households, the families of labourers and artisans also possessed a few homespun coats, trousers and skirts.[52] Since the highest percentage of homespun material was found in the 1820s, it seems evident the peak in domestic production, mentioned earlier, had an effect on the acquisition of country-made fabric by members of the urban working class.

Quantities of inexpensive materials in the Quebec market allowed many urbanites to buy imported fabric. With no textile manufactures in Lower Canada to compete with British goods, the latter had almost a monopoly of the market. The appearance of cheap cotton cloth was an important factor in the urbanite's dependence on imported fabric. The practice of merchants in the late eighteenth century of advertising a limited number of cotton clothes or of ordering exclusive calico cloth for clients from Great Britain[53] changed in the early nineteenth century when ads and orders for a greater variety of more common cotton cloth and a wider range of clothing began appearing. The increasing importance of cotton cloth is evident in household inventories and especially in those of the cloth merchants. The percentage of cotton in the latters' stores grew from an average of approximately 24 per cent in the late eighteenth century to 52 per cent in the early nineteenth century; it remained at that level until the 1830-35 period when it dropped to 37 per cent.[54] A number of factors, all of which will not be studied here, were responsible for the increasing quantity of cotton in merchants' stores. Cheaper prices for cotton cloth, resulting from changes in the American and British textile industries, as well as the appearance of cotton imported from the United States, were factors influencing the market.[55] As cotton became cheaper, producers and merchants began promoting it as a substitute for expensive linen.[56]

5. Clothing as a Symbol of Class and Ethnicity

In the Quebec City of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, clothing was more than a means of

THE WEDDING DRESS show above is said to have been worn by Anne Hanna during her marriage to a military man, George Read, at the Anglican Cathedral in Quebec City on March 3rd, 1819. This one piece, Empire style dress, made of white chiffon, is trimmed on the sides and bottom with circles of white satin. The British style and expensive material from which this dress was made are indicative of the anglophone elite's attempt to portray its social status and relationship to Great Britain (Dress: McCord Museum; Photo: Cedric Pearson).

MAN'S WOOLEN SUIT. This outfit is identified as a woolen *(étoffe du pays)* suit made in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The coat and pants are similar to those worn by habitants and sailors. Though of a later period, the woolen material and style resemble those present in the early nineteenth century. The vest with its trim, coat with a double set of buttons, and slightly flared pants with an extra flap to cover the frontal openings, are characteristics which suggest the suit was made as a stylish, but warm outfit. Its similarity to outfits worn by sailors (found in scenes of Quebec) suggests it may be of British origin (Suit: N.M.M.; Photo: N.M.M. 76-3496).

protection against the elements, it was a symbol of social and ethnic distinctions. Wealth, rank, profession, origin and social relations "were worn on one's sleeve." Native peoples, voyageurs, merchants, the religious orders and the military were clad in some of the most remarkable outfits, but other groups and professions such as rural residents, urban labourers, housewives and lawyers were also known by their distinctive clothing. Clothing depicted function and hierarchy. Because most members of the élite, and especially notaries, lawyers, colonial officials, politicians and merchants, were involved in non-manual labour which was often highly remunerative, they were able to dress in delicate, elaborate and finely woven cloth of the latest styles. Ready access to Europe as well to the services of experienced tailors meant that members of the élite could have imported cloth made up in European styles to fit their needs.

Hierarchy, so evident in the great variety of buttons, colours, badges and braid which were carefully and logically designed as distinguishing marks of the military man, permeated clothing worn in British North America.[57] Intricately embroidered and matching vests and coats, accompanied by silk shirts and socks which were worn by merchants, physicians and military officers, represented more than elegance, they suggested social distinctions since most labourers, artisans and farmers were unable to acquire such items. Similarly, the élite woman's full-skirted, silk taffeta dress, with tightly fitting bodice (occasionally covering a corset) was rarely worn by rural or urban working-class women.[58]

The abundance of fine suits, robes and skirts and of lounging clothes of silk, satin and fine cottons indicates that the wealthy rarely dressed in the inexpensive cloth worn by the common people. When one adds to this collection of clothing curtains of calico and serge, it suggests élite intimacy and informality were separated from others by layers of expensive cloth. Curtains, tight-fitting corsets, silk dresses, shirts, socks and lounging wear and three-piece suits were rare in rural and urban working-class homes. For six and sometimes seven days of the week most people involved in manual labour went about their activities clad in rough woollen and linen clothing, often protected by an apron.

Many individuals, and especially carters, who wore homespun or cheap imported cloth were identified by British visitors as part of the rural or urban working class because of the coarse fabric of their clothing.[59] These people saw their clothing more in terms of its cost, warmth and durability than its style. Brightly coloured, coarse clothing accompanied by a variety of scarves and hats were distinctive traits of working-class clothing. Living alongside their warmly dressed neighbours, was a

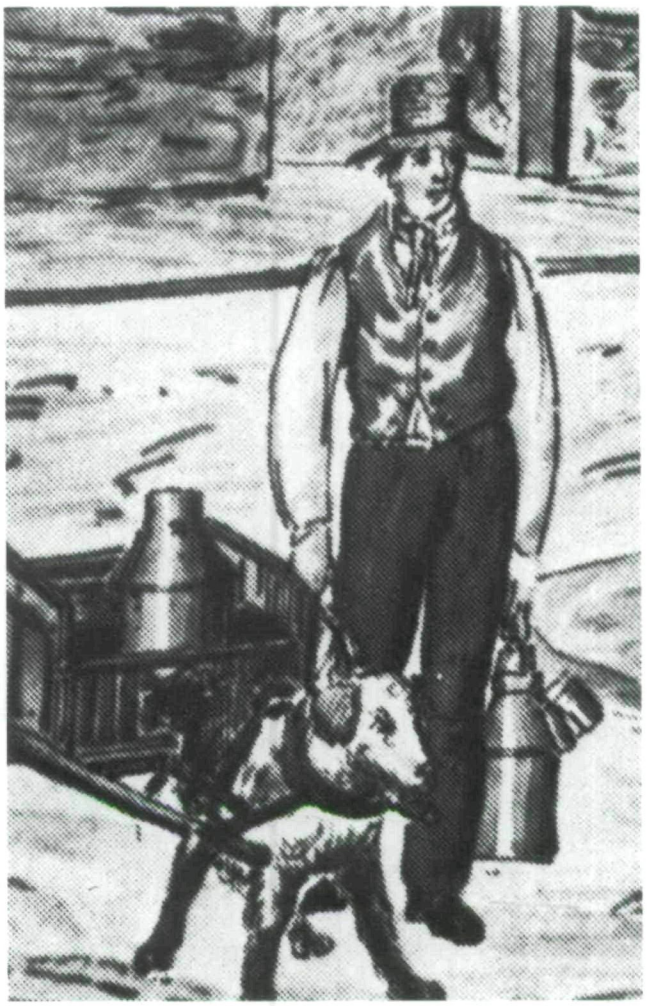
"RED COAT", a scarlet wool coat with dark blue facings, gold lace and 20 buttons attributed to Malcolm Fraser, and said to have been worn during his service in the late eighteenth century in Quebec as an officer in the Frasers Highlanders. Because these suits were a symbol of British military might, the men wearing them were occasionally challenged in City streets and taverns (Suit: McCord Museum; Photo: C. Pearson).

large group of urbanites who dressed according to the latest styles. Working-class people did not have to worry about soiling their clothes, and even some of those who did, such as housewives, dressed in printed cotton dresses, stylish vests, pants and shoes. Thus, although residents of Lower Canada were clad in a wide range of cloths and styles, their profession and social status were usually easily recognized by the type of clothing they wore.

Ethnic characteristics could also be identified by clothing. Two of the most easily spotted urban groups included the Catholic and French-speaking religious orders and the British military.[60] British military uniforms symbolized the occupation of Quebec City by a foreign army of about 2,000 between 1814 and 1840.[61] With so many soldiers in the city, it is not surprising to read of conflicts between Canadien residents and the "red coats."[62] Although military uniforms represented foreign domination to some, to others, notably to a number of Canadien women, they symbolized security and prestige.[63]

Imported textiles were not only a source of revenue, they were important to the commercial community in Quebec City as a means of identifying with the British Empire. Diaries and travel literature of English-speaking visitors to Quebec refer to the fact that local residents dressed in British styles, or that clothing stores in the city offered a choice of fabrics and accessories unequalled in Great Britain.[64] When one considers the clothing and household possessions of British merchants in Quebec, it is obvious they were recreating a familiar environment in a colonial setting.[65] Moreover, the language used to describe clothing spoke of British imperialism and international influences: "Scottish and Russian sheeting, English blankets, Yorkshire clothes, Wellington boots, Nankeen breeches, Leicester wool, Indian cotton, cashmir shawls,

SIMILARITIES are evident in the clothing depicted in the engraving on the left of a sailor in Great Britain in the early nineteenth century (circa 1817) and in the 1829 Cockburn watercolour (detail) of an urbanite in Quebec City in 1829. The pants, vest, jacket and neck handkerchiefs of the two sets of clothing are remarkably similar (Photos of details: author)



WORKING-CLASS URBANITES, such as the man shown in the illustration on the right and the woman on the left, often wore clothing which reflected current styles: the woman is probably wearing a corset underneath a printed cotton dress which is covered by a large apron and the man sports a vest and handkerchief around his neck (Photos of Cockburn watercolours details: author)

French shoes, Moroccan leather, Chinchillan fur" were only a few of the terms employed in the streets and stores of Quebec.

Merchants, colonial officials and Canadien politicians were well aware of the advantages gained by British commerce because of the government policy of discouraging domestic production. Crops of flax and hemp were considered useful by anglophone merchants and officials as long as they were sent to Great Britain as raw materials, or if the sale of such produce provided the farming family with money with which to acquire British manufactured goods.[66] Similarly, domestic clothing was seen by the British, and probably by a large number of Canadiens, as distinctively colonial in character. One of the reasons the *habitant*'s clothing was considered as typically *Canadien* was that it was both homespun and colonial. In spite of some of its admirable qualities, homespun cloth was considered by many British residents and urbanites in Quebec as unrefined and therefore unacceptable.

Members of the Canadien élite responded in a number of ways to the large volumes of British textiles arriving at the port of Quebec. Some, such as the retail merchants mentioned earlier, not only sold fabric acquired from British wholesale importers to the urban clientele, they also wore it. Others, like physician Philippe-Louis-François Badelard, attempted to maintain clothing traditions by dressing in the latest French styles.[67] French hats, shoes, gloves and clothing were imported to Quebec via England in modest quantities during this period, providing inhabitants with the possibility of dressing according to French styles.[68] It is doubtful, however, that this material was consumed solely by Canadiens interested in

identifying with the French. Members of the British élite in Quebec resembled its European counterpart whose tastes in consumer products knew no boundaries.[69]

Concern over the negative economic effects of the consumption of large amounts of imported goods, especially alcohol and textiles, began appearing in newspapers in the 1820s and reached a peak in 1837. During the 1830s members of the Canadien élite along with a few anglophone sympathizers, such as the editors of the *Vindicator*, began identifying locally produced articles, including homespuns, as symbols of independence from Great Britain. A campaign led by the nationalist politician Louis-Joseph Papineau urged the replacement of imports by domestic products. This campaign originated in a conflict between the colonial government and Canadien politicians over the former's refusal to give the latter control over taxes levied on imports, especially alcoholic beverages. Speaking to a crowd after his re-election in 1834, Papineau had suggested an effort be made to replace imported fabric and alcoholic beverages with homespun material and locally produced alcohol.[70] During the spring and summer of 1837 committees were established throughout the province to promote domestic production: newspapers reported promotion dinners where food was prepared in traditional ways and alcoholic beverages, tablecloths and dishes were of local manufacture.[71] Numerous resolutions were passed by different committees suggesting the "urgent necessity" to reduce the consumption of imported goods as much as possible by using those previously acquired and producing domestic articles.[72]

If one can judge from information appearing in newspapers, the symbolic use of homespun by Canadien politicians was not important before the summer of 1837. On

"BRITISH WOMAN AND FRENCH MAN". This illustration of two mannequins dressed in late eighteenth clothing shows the refined, elegant, imported fabric worn by members of the elite. The mannequin on the left is dressed in a polonaise silk robe with a snug fitting bodice, which laces up the front and is shaped with whale bone boning. According to notes furnished by the McCord Museum, the suit shown on the mannequin representing a man, was worn by Philippe-Louis-François Badelard, a Quebec City doctor known for having treated individuals afflicted with the Mal-Bay disease. The three piece outfit includes a peach "ciselé" velvet with fine gold stripes and rose couloured dots which form a small diamond pattern. The breeches, coat and waistcoat (vest) are lined with cotton and linen. If the McCord information is correct and the suit originated in France, it is an example of the effort by a member of the local elite to use clothing to symbolize ethnicity. Clothing such as that shown above and in contemporary paintings, confirms the statement made by a German officer serving in the British Army in the late eighteenth century: "People living in cities, and well-to-do *habitants* such as notaries, merchants and the like, dress in English or French fashion...", A.L. Schlozer, ed., *Letters of Brunswick and Hessian Officers during the American Revolution*, Albany, J. Munsell's sons, 1891: 34. I am indebted to René Chartrand for this reference (Clothing: McCord Museum; Photo: Cedric Pearson).

CANADIEN MINUETS such as the one depicted by George Heriot in 1801, were often performed by members of the local elite. The dress of both the male and female dancers shown above resemble European styles, but the mens' suits include a number of more characteristically Canadien items: plummed felt hats and *ceintures flechées*. The coats, breeches and shoes with buckles, worn by the men are typical of European clothing at this time (Photo: Public Archives of Canada, C 252).

May 15, 1837, Papineau informed his supporters he had ordered material from the country and would set an example for his compatriots by dressing in homespun fabric.[73] During the summer Papineau was seen in different parts of the country dressed in homespun and in August, he, along with a number of parliamentarians, were reported arriving in Quebec for the fall session of the Assembly clad in *étoffe du pays*.[74]

Exhortations by Papineau and other leaders began to have an effect on clothing worn by urbanites: newspaper articles reported that well-known individuals were seen wearing gloves, shoes, dresses, pants and vests of attractive, well-finished homespun fabric made from "exquisite patterns of the latest mode."[75] Similarly the patriots' campaign to increase the production and consumption of homespun fabric resulted in the appearance on the urban market of more domestic material than ever before.[76]

The effect of this enthusiasm for domestic manufactures is evident in the celebrations and meetings occurring at Saint-Denis, a village known for its support of the patriots. At a celebration of Saint-Jean-Baptiste day in

FELT HAT made from a model of an eighteenth century French hat. As shown in the aquatint of the minuet, these hats continued to be popular in the early nineteenth century (Photo: National Museum of Man, 82-8143).

1837, 113 people, most dressed in homespun, were reported to have attended a banquet of homemade foods and alcoholic beverages where even the tablecloths were of domestic material.[77] A month later, a resolution passed by the central committee of the Richelieu, meeting at Saint-Denis, defined the role homespun clothing was taking in the struggle with the British government: "During our trips and holidays, wrote a member of the committee, we will be proud to appear dressed in clothes which prove we are worthy of liberty, because we are taking the means with which to overcome despotism, the only imported articles of clothing we will wear are those we already possess."[78]

The anglophone press thought it unlikely the Canadiens would abandon their custom of wearing imported clothing for such undignified looking dress, but there was a slight possibility the patriots' campaign could have a negative effect on British textiles. After suggesting in a letter to the editor that "a deep-laid scheme of ruin to British commerce existed" a contributor to the *Quebec Gazettte* ridiculed the patriots' dress:

> When we behold Mr. Papineau and some dozen of his flock coming down to Quebec in a kind of Hermaphrodite rig with their vests and trousers apparently composed of their wives' and maid-servants' cast-off petticoats, and the remainder of their dress of British manufacture. I imagine they still retain their upper garments of English broadcloth as a pretty metaphorical emblem of Mercy and a hint that they do not intend entirely to exterminate the trade of Great Britain and Ireland.[79]

Another contributor to the *Gazette* suggested that the textile trade would not be affected because cloth merchants could sell British imitations of the Canadian homespun fabric which resembled the latter so closely that members of the population would not know they were buying imported fabric. Because the attitude and antipathy of much of the British élite for the patriots' homespun campaign are so well expressed in this article, it is worth quoting extensively. "We understand," wrote an apparently informed commentator,

> that in anticipation of the patriotic fashion of wearing etoffe du pays becoming general in this province, large orders have been forwarded to England for a supply of an imitation of that article of the most approved Canadian patterns. An eminent clothier has expressed his conviction that the etoffe will be furnished at so low a rate as to defy competition, as it can be made from a sort of coarse wool, now almost unsaleable of which the cloths called "Amens" were formerly manufactured for the Spanish market, but which since the vast improvements made by wool growers in the quality of their fleeces, the Dons have become too proud to wear. The imitation will be very close, even to the fabrique de Nelson or any other fabrique that may be required to be worked on the listing. The only chance of detection will be from the superiority of the texture; but this, the person we quote, thinks may be overcome by employing apprentices exclusively in the weaving of the new article for which a demand has been so unexpectedly created.[80]

Obviously anglophones, and especially those residing in Quebec City, were sceptical of the patriots' campaign. In a note criticizing the *Vindicator* editor's optimism concerning the success of the non-consumption scheme, the editor of the *Quebec Gazette* suggested that it was a pity Papineau had not been in Quebec City "to see nearly 180 ships arrive in two tides."[81] In spite of the campaign, the steady stream of imported goods into the city had not changed. Enthusiasm for the non-consumption program was higher in the Montreal area, perhaps understandably, since some of the most vocal leaders came from there.[82] With its port, citadel and traditional dependence on the import-export trade, it is not surprising to find that the residents of Quebec City and area were slower to respond to a call to undermine one of the region's economic mainstays.

CEINTURE FLECHÉE, a hand woven belt worn in Quebec until the early twentieth century. National Museum of Man, Photo. No. 77-364.

Conclusion

Reasons for the failure of the domestic textile industry to provide for the clothing needs of the population are numerous, but the most important involve the nature of colonialism. While encouraging the local population to acquire as much cloth and clothing as possible from European centres, both French and British officials discouraged colonial manufactures which would compete with imports.[83] Colonial production of flax and wool was acceptable, particularly if the raw products were sent over-

SOLDIERS of the light infantry in Quebec in 1839. The soldiers represented in this engraving had probably been brought to Lower Canada to end the political conflict between the patriots and the colonial government. The fact that the patriots had been boycotting British goods and especially alcoholic beverages might have influenced the artist of this engraving to include a soldier holding a bottle. Also of interest, is the long frock coat of the soldier shown on the left, which included a wide band around the bottom and on the sleeves, épaulettes, a high collar, and double buttons: — all characteristics of the *habitant's* coat. Because British soldiers had been wearing Canadien coats and mocassins since the 1770s, (according to *Letters of Brunswick and Hessian officers during the American Revolution:* 61), it is not surprising to find domestic influences in the military dress of the lower ranks. I want to thank René Chartrand for drawing this reference to my attention (Photo: Archives nationales du Québec).

seas to be manufactured. The use of these materials to make clothing was seen as a necessary evil: domestic cloth was needed when European cloth was rare and when farmers could not afford imported material because of poor crops. This situation was often self-defeating because, although imperial officials encouraged agricultural crops, the lack of rural industries complementing agriculture and providing incentives to increase production meant that farming families were often content to meet their own needs, or at most, to produce for a distant and fluctuating market controlled by foreigners.

During the British regime, the scarcity and high price of cloth, one of the threats to the import trade in the French regime, was largely overcome.[84] Thus, as long as the consumption of British textiles was not questioned, they remained a constant temptation to both urban and rural residents. Moreover, since colonists had been taught that refined European clothing was more attractive than homespun, they acquired as much of it as possible to maintain their status. Finally, the lack of a dynamic commercial élite with an understanding of the market and a capacity to mobilize economic and political resources was a handicap to the development of a strong internal market for domestic goods.[85]

In spite of the opposition of the commercial community, Canadien politicians achieved a measure of success in their attempt to promote indigenous textile production and consumption. The campaign to install pride in local products, as well as to create a market for them, brought results in a surprisingly short time. Within a few months, from May 15, 1837, when Papineau announced his intention to wear homespun clothing, to July when advertisements began appearing in local newspapers, producers and retailers had been mobilized.

What such a mobilization implies is that the basis of a local industry existed, but it lacked an infrastructure and leadership. It does not suggest, however, that a local

PATRIOTS in the 1837-1838 conflict between the colonial government and the Canadien nationalists wore homespun coats (*capots*), belts (*ceintures flechées*), woolen toques, shirts and trousers. This watercolour was done by Mrs. E. Ellice (Photo, PAC, C 13392).

textile industry could have replaced imported fabrics. During the patriots' campaign to promote indigenous manufactures, supplies were limited and occasionally of poor quality,[86] and only a few local merchants, most located near Montreal, were involved in marketing homespun fabric.[87] The import-export trade benefitted many people and was too well established to be easily displaced or threatened. The British textile trade was one of the biggest and most protected industries in Great Britain. It involved an integrated economic, political and military organization as well as a strong rural infrastructure and an extensive distribution system. The presence of large amounts of capital, sophisticated technology, a well-trained labour force and an abundance of raw materials enabled the British textile industry to produce huge quantities of cheap fabric.

Central to the evolution of clothing is the interaction between rural and urban traditions and styles. Much has been said about the traditional styles of the *habitant*'s clothing, but less has been written about the urbanite's traditional dependence on imported clothing. A case could be made to demonstrate the urbanite's blind faith in imported styles and the rural resident's ability to choose between domestic and foreign cloth and styles. Such polarities hide many circumstances: it was the constant interaction between rural and urban traditions which resulted in a unique blend of clothing and the continued presence of rural styles.

Consider briefly two extremes in clothing – that worn by the urban élite and by the *habitant*. Because of their close identification with imperial activities, the clothing worn by members of the colonial government, military officers and merchants tended to reflect both British and international currents more than that of other professions. This was also true of members of the indigenous élite, except for certain Canadien professionals, such as the Quebec physician Badelard, who were concerned about their French heritage and whose clothing reflected this aspect of their identity. There is little doubt, however, that as the nineteenth century progressed Canadien professionals dressed increasingly in international styles, heavily influenced by British clothing. Since even the

clothing of the Parisian élite was influenced by London styles in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century, a similar phenomenon in British North America is not surprising.[88]

Rural styles, as mentioned earlier, were not static. Even the traditional *capot* changed shape and reflected urban styles. An important element in rural clothing which changed little was the coarse cloth, which could not be made up to look as refined as European materials. The warmth and durability of this fabric made it ideal to wear while working on the farm and doing other outdoor activities. Thus, urban workers, and especially carters and ice-cutters, found clothing made from homespun fabric particularly appropriate. Because homespun clothing changed to reflect styles and was complemented by imported materials, people could choose the item best suited to their circumstances. Rural clothing traditions therefore continued to exist and to be found in cities such as Quebec and Montreal.

The Canadien élite's brief intervention in the domestic textile industry in 1837 shows both the importance of indigenous leadership in encouraging local production and of rural tradition as a source of inspiration for political leaders. The capacity of farming families to make their own food, alcoholic beverages and clothing was used as proof that local production could replace imported goods. Not only were farming families exhorted to produce more, but entrepreneurs willing to invest in distilleries and textile mills were also encouraged.[89]

Although statistics do not exist for these years, it is evident that the use of homespun clothing as a sign of liberty and independence had a positive effect on domestic production and consumption and on the existence of rural clothing traditions. As shown by the figures in the 1842 census, the impetus given to the domestic textile industry in the 1830s did not last. One reason for the failure of the patriots' campaign to have lasting results was the defeat of the nationalists the by British army in 1837-38. Writing in 1843, Papineau suggested that another reason was the British merchant's ability to flood the market with such cheap cloth that country people found it easier to buy imported fabric than make their own.[90]

In spite of the drop in the production of homespun cloth between 1827 and 1842, Canadien farming families continued to produce more linen than either their counterparts in Canada West or in the United States. The continued production of such a difficult and time-consuming fabric as linen was more a result of a long tradition than anything else, yet the patriots' use of it as a symbol probably contributed to the justification of homespun as an acceptable cloth.

CAPOT, or heavy winter coat worn by farmers and urban workers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. National Museum of Man, Photo No. 76-3495.

NOTES

1. The years studied were divided into four five-year periods: 1792-96, 1807-12, 1820-25, and 1830-35, and the number of inventories for each are 99, 144, 83, 80 respectively. In addition to these inventories, 26 from Saint-Roch between 1820 and 1825 were consulted. The author wishes to thank Jean-Pierre Hardy for allowing him to use information from these inventories. For additional information on the Saint-Roch inventories, see Jean-Pierre Hardy's article in this issue of the *Bulletin*. Although numerous individuals have participated in this project since it was begun in the late 1960s by Gilles Paquet and Jean-Pierre Wallot, the author would like to thank especially those people involved with compiling information from the inventories in the Archives nationales in Quebec City: George Bervin, Huguette Savard and François Morel. Nicole Casteran and Susan Sebert also helped with various aspects of the work on the inventories and, along with François Morel, in the study of newspapers. I would also like to thank the personnel of Parks Canada for providing access to their files on newspaper advertisements between 1765 and 1840. Adrienne Hood and Catherine Cole made helpful suggestions concerning sources and René Chartrand generously allowed me to consult his research notes. In addition to the institutions listed in the photograph captions, a number of individuals helped provide illustrations for this text. They include the staff of the Photographic Division of the National Museums of Canada, and Nicole Casteran, Jim Donnelly, Claude Gauthier, Kris Kirby, Cedric Pearson, Susan Sebert, Jean Soublière and Judy Tomlin. Finally, I would like to thank Nancy Ruddell for proofreading the text, Mary Maude for editing it and Lena Minor and Lise Le Bourdais for typing it so quickly. For additional information on the preliminary results of the project that Paquet and Wallot initiated on post-mortem inventories, see their article, "Les inventaires après décès à Montréal au tournant du XIX^{e} siècle: préliminaires à une analyse," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, (septembre, 1976), pp. 163-223, and the introduction, and articles in this issue of the *Bulletin*.
2. One of the first references which mentioned the woman's responsibility to produce cloth is found in Denonville's 1686 complaint that women were neglecting this activity. PAC, MG 1, C^{11A}, Vol. 7, f.58. Another reference to women making linen can be found in Madame de Repentigny's letter to the minister, Quebec, October 29, 1708, PAC, MG 1, C^{11A}, Vol. 29. I am indebted to René Chartrand for this latter reference. For a much later reference, see *Le Canadien*, September 22, 1865.
3. Joseph Bouchette, *The British Dominions in North America* (London, 1832), p.370.
4. In a systematic study of agreements and labour contracts in Quebec City (the results of which were published in Jean-Pierre Hardy and David-Thiery Ruddel, *Les apprentis artisans à Québec, 1660-1815* (Montreal, 1977), pp.99-100 and in the countryside (unpublished research notes at the National Museum of Man), no reference was found to weavers.
5. For more information on this subject see my Ph.D. thesis, "Quebec City, 1765-1831: The Evolution of a Colonial Town (Université Laval, 1981), pp.374-77.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. See Table 1.
9. J.-P. Hardy and D.-T. Ruddel, *Apprentis artisans*, pp.153 and 168.
10. Information from the 1842 census. Canadiens shared the occupations of upholsterers and furniture-makers with anglophones.
11. From a study of apprenticeship contacts, part of which is published in Hardy and Ruddel, *Apprentis artisans*.
12. See Marius Barbeau, *Saintes artisanes, les brodeuses* (Montreal, 1943), Vol. I, and *Saintes artisanes, mille petites adresses* (Montreal, 1946), Vol. II. According to the 1842 census, 10 of the 15 dressmakers and milliners in Quebec City were francophones.
13. A. McDonald to J. McIlwraith, Quebec, September 7, 1802. Scottish Record Office (hereafter SRO).
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. James Dunlop to Alexander Dunlop, Montreal, May 5, 1800, SRO.
17. J. Dunlop to Janet MacNair, Montreal, July 6, 1811, SRO.
18. J. Dunlop to J. MacNair, Montreal, June 12, 1814, SRO. Dunlop is probably also referring to losses on other goods such as wheat and timber.
19. According to an observation made by an official at the end of the French regime, farmers responded to high prices for imported fabric by making their own clothing. La Galissonière to the minister, Quebec, September 26, 1748, PAC, MG 1, C^{11A}, Vol. 91, f. 40. I want to thank René Chartrand for bringing this reference to my attention.
20. Marie Donaghay, "Textiles and the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty of 1786," *Textile History*, Vol. 13 (1982), p.209.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Henry Bliss, *The Colonial System: Statistics of the Trade, Industry and Resources of Canada* (London, 1833), p.85.
23. Joseph Bouchette, *op. cit.*, p.365.
24. This is a modest estimate because information found on household linen, which is more accurate than that on clothing, shows that imported linen was rare in rural homes.
25. Cited in Robert-Lionel Séguin, *La civilisation traditionnelle de l'habitant aux XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècles* (Montreal, 1973), p.492.
26. See, for example, the reference to 43 patterns shipped from London to Quebec City in 1825. SRO, GD 45/4/114(2).
27. G.L. Robin, *Voyages dans l'intérieur de la Louisiane ... pendant les années 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805 et 1806* (Paris, 1807), Vol. 2, p.105. I am indebted to René Chartrand for bringing this reference to my attention.
28. See Jacques Mathieu, "Un pays à status colonial," Jean Hamelin, ed., *Histoire du Québec* (Saint-Hyacinthe, 1977), pp.196, 197, and the *Statistical Yearbook of the Province of Quebec* (1914), pp.55, 200.
29. Fernand Ouellet, *Histoire économique et sociale du Québec* (Montreal, 1966), pp.86, 342.
30. A few families with 3 or 4 wheels and 2 or 3 looms were producing extra quantities of linen, and especially of tablecloths, towels and sheets.
31. *L'Artisan*, April 13, 1843, and July 19, 1844.
32. A few Canadien merchants, such as Augustin Amiot and Charles Deblois kept bed sheets and roles of domestic linen in their stores. Only one reference was found to homespun wool in a merchant's inventory.
33. August 2, 1819, and October 18, 1821. The 1821 reference comes from Ouellet, *Histoire*, p.258.
34. P. Finan, *Journal of a Voyage to Quebec in the Year 1825 with Recollections of Canada ... in the Years 1812-1813* (Newry, 1808), p.70.
35. Cited in Robert Leslie Jones, "French-Canadian Agriculture in the St. Lawrence Valley, 1815-1850," *Agricultural History*, Vol. 16 (1942), p.143.
36. W. Evans, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Agriculture in Canada* (1835), pp.115-116.
37. Thread was being imported from Great Britain as early as 1765. See the *Quebec Gazette*, May 16, 1765.
38. *Ibid.*, September 9, 1797.
39. This hypothesis can also be found in Fernand Ouellet, *Histoire*, pp.86ff.
40. August 2, 1819.
41. *Ibid.*, October 18, 1821, and *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada*, 1826, App. E. Both references are from Ouellet, *Histoire*, pp.242, 250.
42. See, for example, *La Minerve*, July 27, 1837.

43. R.M. Tryon, *Household Manufacturers in the United States, 1640-1860* (Chicago, 1917), p.166.
44. From *Le Canadien*, June 23, 1843, cited in F. Ouellet, *Histoire*, p.448.
45. *Ibid.*, p.458.
46. Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America (1749)*, trans. John R. Forster (Barre, Mass., 1972), p.386.
47. *Ibid.*, p.495.
48. Because clothing and household linen was reserved for the surviving partner in a number of inventories, many of them could not be included in this analysis. The information on which this analysis is based includes only 11 inventories for merchants and 46 for farming families.
49. This information comes from an analysis of 92 inventories of artisans and labourers, including 26 from Saint-Roch.
50. For examples of newspaper advertisements for sewing equipment, see the *Quebec Gazette*, May 16, 1765, May 20, 1786, and May 1, 1815. An example of sewing equipment in a merchant's store was listed in Michel Cormier's late eighteenth-century inventory, which included 5½ dozen scissors and 4,523 needles.
51. Because of insufficient information for the earlier periods, these percentages are taken from the analysis of the two later periods (1820-25 and 1830-35).
52. In an analysis of 26 inventories of labourers (*journaliers*) and artisans in the suburb of Saint-Roch in the 1820s, only a small number of clothes were homespun.
53. See the shipment of goods sent to J. Dunlop from A. and R. Dunlop, Glasgow, May 1, 1774, SRO GD 1/151/1.
54. These percentages are calculated from figures given in Table 1.
55. Cotton cloth was mentioned in customs and census returns in the 1820s. See Bouchette, *The British Dominions...*, p.47.
56. See J. Dunlop's letter to John Tennent, Montreal, May 23, 1811, SRO.
57. Idea from René Chartrand and David Ross, "Guidelines for Cataloguing Military Uniforms," *Gazette* (Canadian Museums' Association Quarterly), Spring 1977, p.25.
58. Silk robes were common in the inventories of merchants. See, for example, the late eighteenth-century inventory of Pierre Du Calvet published in the *Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1945-1946*, pp.348ff.
59. Isabella Lucy Bird, *The Englishwomen in America* ([1856]; (Toronto, 1966), p.252.
60. These groups were also identified by Bird, *Ibid.*, p.252.
61. Claudette Lacelle, "La garnison britannique dans la ville de Québec vue par les journaux de 1764-1840," *Le Parc de l'Artillerie et les fortifications de Québec* (Quebec, 1976), p.41.
62. Statement attributed to a francophone resident of Quebec in the early nineteenth century, cited in an unpublished analysis of court cases in Quebec City.
63. This hypothesis is based on the existence of intermarriage between British military men and Canadien women, discussed in Ruddel, "Quebec City, 1765-1831," pp.158-60.
64. A number of travellers to Quebec City, such as Thomas Fowler in 1831 and Isabella Bird in 1856, referred to its excellent choice of clothing shops. See Christina Cameron and Jean Trudel, *Québec au temps de James Patterson Cockburn* (Quebec, 1976), p.117 and Bird, *Englishwomen*, pp.201, 253.
65. For a description of the furnishings of British merchants, see George Bervin, "Espace physique et culture matérielle du marchand-négociant à Québec au début du XIX^{e} siècle (1820-1830)" *Material History Bulletin* (Spring, 1982), pp.7-16.
66. See Lord Hillsborough's instruction to Carleton to discourage the production of linen and the latter's response which suggested the cultivation of flax and hemp would provide habitants with money they could use to purchase British clothing; quoted in I. Caron, *La colonisation de la province de Québec* (Quebec, 1923), p.159.
67. Information from the McCord Museum, Montreal.
68. Advertisements for such items appeared to diminish at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, increasing again in the late 1820s and early 1830s. For example, ads from the early 1830s include French jewellery, perfume and quilts from Marseille, and silk, lace and ribbon from ports in southern France. See the *Quebec Gazette*, 1832.
69. For a description of a French and European commercial family's tastes in clothing in the first part of the nineteenth century, see Anka Muhlstein, *James de Rothschild* (Paris, 1981), p.55.
70. *La Minerve*, December 8, 1834.
71. Dishes were made at the Saint-Denis pottery shops. See *La Minerve*, September 4, 1837. For more information on these shops see Michel Gaumond and Louis Martin, *Les maîtres potiers du bourg Saint-Denis, 1785-1888* (Quebec, 1978), pp.29ff.
72. *La Minerve*, June 30, July 20, and August 3, 1837.
73. *Ibid.* and *Le Canadien*, May 5, 1837.
74. *Quebec Mercury*, September 23, 1837; *L'Ami du peuple*, May 17, June 3, and August 9, 1837.
75. *La Minerve*, October 23, and November 28, 1837; see also August 7 and 28, 1837.
76. The advertisements appeared after Papineau's May 15 announcement that he intended to dress in homespun fabric. Examples can be found in *Ibid.*, July 17, September 7, and November 5, 1837.
77. *Ibid.*, July 3, 1837.
78. *Ibid.*, July 21, 1837. Author's translation.
79. *Quebec Gazette*, August 23, 1837. See also *L'Ami du peuple*, August 5, September 16 and 19, 1837.
80. *Quebec Mercury*, August 15, 1837. See also *L'Ami du peuple*, August 19, 1837.
81. September 15, 1837.
82. Enthusiasm, such as that reported at Saint-Denis near Montreal, was not evident in the region of Quebec. Only a few resolutions in favour of the non-consumption program came from the Quebec City area and most of them were concentrated on the south shore (Saint-Thomas and L'Islet). See *La Minerve*, August 6 and 24, 1837.
83. In addition to references in notes 19 and 65, see the discussion of French policy in New France in Sophie-Laurence Lamontagne, *L'hiver dans la culture québécoise (XVII^{e}-XIX^{e} siècles)* (Quebec, 1983), p.73.
84. See note 19.
85. Canadien merchants probably refused to embrace the patriots' campaign to encourage domestic products because of the degree to which many of them were involved in the import-export trade.
86. *La Minerve*, July 27, 1837.
87. *Ibid.*, August 17-31, Septembe 7, and October 5, 1837.
88. Anka Muhlstein, *James Rothschild.*
89. *La Minerve*, August 17, and September 21, 1837.
90. From Ouellet, *Histoire*, p.459.