

THE QUEBEC WINTER CARNIVAL OF 1894:  
THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE CITY AND THE FESTIVAL  
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

by

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## ABSTRACT

The ambiguous nature and the importance of ancient traditions adapting to modernization are very evident in the celebration of the winter carnivals held in Montreal between 1883 and 1889 and especially in Quebec City in 1894.

In looking at the motivations of their organizers, it is possible to see a primarily economic goal: the attraction of large numbers of American tourists to help the local economy in the slow winter season by offering to them "cultural" spectacles of French and English Canada. According to the newspapers of the period, these new carnivals had no connection at all with the older cyclical and religious celebration of Carnival-Lent-Easter which were well-known and celebrated with enthusiasm in New France from the seventeenth century onwards.

In fact the opposite was true. These events were seen as occasions for the amateur athletic clubs of the French and especially the English-speaking middle class of Quebec to put on spectacles of their winter sports like curling, snowshoeing and hockey. Along with this went the expectation of decorous behaviour within the limits of Victorian morality and an end to the traditional public drunkenness and boisterous behaviour traditionally associated with such occasions.

The centrepiece of this event was the evening torch-light parade in and around the large ice palace, a tradition which the English speaking organizers of the five Montreal carnivals of the 1880's had borrowed from winter festivals of the Imperial Russian court. Paradoxically, this has survived to become one of most famous symbols of the present Carnaval de Québec.

The participation of middle class French Canadians and even the tacit support of the Catholic Church, one of the most persistent foes of the older carnival celebrations, both contributed immeasurably to the success of the new festival. This can be explained by three related phenomena:

- 1) A change in social mores in general between the beginning and the end of the nineteenth century gave the Church a large voice over the lives of French Canadians.
- 2) A greater process of regulation of the society, and especially the city, was reflected in and even responsible for the disappearance of several old community festivals of the past like the carnival. It is not yet possible to say conclusively whether the authorities suppressed these old festivals or whether the public simply abandoned them, though it appears to be a combination of both.
- 3) The economic transformation of the city of Quebec from a commercial centre to an industrial city, with the consequent social changes.

Thus the study of the carnival raises cultural and a social questions. By studying the history of the changes in the observance of the carnival and in who observed its celebration, it is possible to understand a little more about the mentality of the urban population of the time and to begin to understand their responses to the other changes taking place in the society around them.

## SOMMAIRE

La nature ambiguë et l'importance du processus d'adaptation des anciennes traditions devant la modernisation sont bien évidentes dans les "carnavals d'hiver" tenus à Montréal entre 1883 et 1889 et surtout à Québec en 1894.

En étudiant les motivations des organisateurs, il est possible de voir le but qu'ils visaient: soit d'attirer beaucoup de touristes américains, d'aider à l'économie locale durant la saison hivernale en leur offrant des spectacles 'culturels' du Canada anglais et du Canada français. Au dire des journaux de l'époque, ce carnaval n'avait rien à voir avec l'ancien cycle de "Carnaval-Carême-Pâques" bien connu et très célébré dans la Nouvelle-France depuis le 17<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Au contraire, les "sporting clubs" de la classe moyenne francophone et surtout anglophone de Québec voyaient dans cette célébration l'occasion de faire des spectacles de leurs sports d'hiver comme la raquette, le curling, le hockey. Ainsi pouvait-on s'amuser dans les limites de la moralité victorienne: c'en était fini de l'ivresse publique et de la conduite tumultueuse traditionnelle.

Le chef d'oeuvre de cet événement était le défilé nocturne autour du grand palais de glace, une tradition empruntée à la Russie par les anglophones de Montréal pour leurs carnavals des années 1880. Paradoxalement, il est devenu

l'un des symboles les plus connus de l'actuel Carnaval de Québec.

La participation des Canadiens-français de la classe moyenne, et même l'appui réservé de l'Eglise Catholique, l'un des ennemis de l'ancien carnaval, contribuaient beaucoup au succès de cette nouvelle fête. Cela s'explique par trois phénomènes :

- 1) Un changement dans les moeurs sociales en générale entre le début et la fin du XIXe siècle donnait à l'Eglise une influence restrictive sur la vie des Canadiens-français.
- 2) Une plus grande réglementation de la société entière qui se reflétait dans la disparition de quelques fêtes populaires du passé comme le carnaval. Il n'est pas déjà possible de dire si les autorités supprimaient ces fêtes ou si le public les abandonnait.
- 3) La transformation économique de la ville.

Ainsi les questions qui se posent sont d'ordre culturelles et sociales. Etudier l'histoire des changements dans le carnaval c'est étudier un peu la mentalité de la population urbaine de l'époque et comprendre leurs réponses aux autres grands changements dans leur société.

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This is dedicated to

My Mother and Father

## CHAPTER I

### NOTHING "INCONSISTENT WITH DUTY AND SELF-RESPECT"

#### I. Introduction

On the night of February 2, 1894, twenty-five hundred torch-bearing snowshoers and militiamen wearing "tuques", blanket coats and the ceinture fléchée of old Quebec, participated in one of the grandest spectacles seen in Quebec City. The occasion was the storming of the ice palace at the Quebec Winter Carnival which had begun at the beginning of that week and which was to last a few days longer. The night's show was definitely considered to have been the high point of the celebration. From a balcony of the neighbouring Quebec Legislative Assembly building, Lord Aberdeen, the Governor-General of Canada, and his party watched the torchlit procession as it approached the massive walls of the ice palace and observed the ensuing firework display, as each side filled the air with multi-coloured fireworks for three-quarters of an hour. Thousands of spectators were thrilled by the impressive sight of the attack upon and the capitulation of the ice fortress and the later torchlight procession through the streets of the city. The organizers of the revived celebration of the carnival in Quebec City could well congratulate themselves.<sup>1</sup>

The success of this carnival would lead to a repeat performance in 1896, followed by smaller affairs for a few years longer until, after fifty years of neglect, there would be a permanent revival of "le carnaval de Québec" in its present form in the mid 1950's. In 1894, contemporaries, including the wife of the Governor-General Lord Aberdeen were impressed by the order of the vast throngs and the lack of any serious trouble to mar the festivities.<sup>2</sup> Aberdeen himself made these observations in a speech at the close of the carnival when he congratulated the city:

I venture to say that among the many conspicuously happy features of the occasion, one of the most notable, one which will be remembered with permanent satisfaction, is the admirable order which has been maintained on the part of the large crowds which have been witnessing the spectacle of the week. '(Cheers)' There has been abundant hilarity and cheerfulness but a general maintenance of self-control and appropriate conduct, and thus Quebec has set an example which may well be followed, showing how people can be merry and cheerful without indulging in that which would be inconsistent with duty and self-respect. '(Renewed Cheers)'<sup>3</sup>

The fact that the press did not report disturbances or episodes of drunkenness at a time of year when the Church and State had traditionally had good reason to expect both, is striking. Lord Aberdeen may have been expressing, implicitly, a Victorian ideal about public leisure activities, but in Quebec City in 1894, reality and ideal seem to have merged. This was a very different kind of carnival than the traditional pre-Lenten debauch of pre-modern Europe, if for no other reason than the fact that it enjoyed official approval. Govern-

ment approval was due in part to the Governor-General's leading role in the important events of the carnival, with the huge supporting cast of ordinary citizens and tourists acting as spectators. For example, his arrival was one of the major events at the beginning of the carnival. Apart from a number of hockey games, snowshoe competitions and curling matches by teams of wealthy citizens, other carnival events included a costume ball, the Grand Ball in honour of the Governor-General held in the Parliament Building and attended by the socially and politically prominent, and the storming of the ice palace. Events that required the participation of lower class people were "The Allegorical Drive" in which some of the trades of the city including the firemen, the ferry men and the drivers of the old city water carts entered symbolic vehicles, but the general tone was upper class. Ice sculptures of figures from French Canadian history, by the famous carver Jobin which adorned various parts of the Upper Town, were one of the few explicitly French Canadian elements. Many members of the Quebec garrison also participated in the sports events, the society balls, the public spectacles and provided much of the music for these affairs. The organizers also advertised the carnival in Canada and the United States as a tourist attraction and so large numbers of visitors arrived daily by rail to fill the hotels, especially the newly completed Château Frontenac.<sup>4</sup>

In 1894, this carnival was important to the citizens of Quebec City, though a modern reader might justifiably question its historical importance, especially since nothing out of the ordinary apparently took place. Nevertheless a study of this apparently frivolous event will reveal a great number of things about the Quebec City of 1894 and will add to the understanding of its cultural and social history.

Three basic questions arise at once. The first concerns the relationship of this carnival to the older celebrations of the people of the city, and why the older carnival was no longer being celebrated in its traditional French form. The second concerns who was involved in the organization and celebration of this new carnival and for what purposes the celebration was revived. It will be necessary to look at participation and to note how this reflected the social and economic realities of the city in the last decade of the nineteenth century. An understanding of the carnival's setting is therefore necessary in order to understand the carnival itself. In that sense, the carnival becomes a "text" superimposed upon a social "context", a way of reading the society itself.<sup>5</sup> By contrast to the assertion that, for example a strike brings out most clearly social interrelationships in a community by emphasizing the cleavage between different classes, this study's approach is that the celebration of the status quo, reveals how social consensus is generated, or maintained and social divisions seem to



disappear. The study of strikes is a rewarding way to observe the temporary breaking down of this consensus, but at any given time this breakdown affects only a small number of people and for a very short time. It is the other mechanisms in a community that have a far more permanent affect upon the forming and acceptance of social values.

This leads inevitably to the question of "social control", that is the control or modification of objectionable behaviour by the more concerned or articulate members of "the ruling class". These attempts at social control range all the way from the temperance movement to the society for the prevention of cruelty to animals.<sup>6</sup> There is a certain difficulty in bringing together in a study of a leisure activity like the carnival the concepts of work, leisure and class. On the one hand, the relationship between all three appears abundantly clear, if at times a little oversimplified; or at least overstated: that the ideas and cultural values of the ruling class, because of the economic and social hegemony of that class, become the ideas and values of all other classes in the community, making most people passive observers and ensuring their adherence to the social status quo. As a general statement, this may or may not be true, but in the particular case of the carnival, as it has been celebrated, the situation is more ambiguous. On the one hand, it can be seen as an instrument of social control by the ruling class, a short period when the rules of the community are suspended and when ritual inversion of the social order reinforces the

everyday world.<sup>7</sup> Or, it can be seen as the temporary leveller of class barriers or even an instrument to undermine them. Of course that depends less on the carnival than on the community. When a community celebrates carnival it is in a very real sense reaffirming its values.

Thus the celebration of a community event, a fête like the carnival, is not a deliberate departure from the daily rhythm of "ordinary" life. Instead, it can be seen as reinforcing it: "un temps fort", à savoir comme un événement spécial dont on prend conscience et par lequel les participants se sentent concernés en tant que collectivité..."<sup>8</sup>

While a culture might be largely composed of the so-called "ordinary", even individual aspects of life, the temps forts make up the larger collectivity's definition of itself, where the culture "se manifeste et se reconnaît à ses propres yeux" and where each member sees himself as part of a coherent whole.<sup>9</sup> The way that the celebration of carnival changed in Quebec, then, would indicate some of the changes in the culture as a whole.

The older carnivals were based on a coherent rural community, but with the industrial revolution in the latter part of the nineteenth century, a process of cultural transformation began. The people migrating from the Quebec countryside to work in the factories of Quebec City and Montreal were like immigrants to the industrial work situation which confronted them. In Herbert Gutman's words, their

response can be described as being "shaped by the interaction between their culture of origin and the particular society into which they enter(ed)".<sup>10</sup> Just as W.I. Thomas, in a similar context, observed that the function of Americanization in Gutman's study was "the destruction of memories",<sup>11</sup> factory discipline can be seen to have had the same effect culturally: the destruction of old customs and their replacement with new ones more suited to the new environment. This is the working out of a process, the interrelationship and tension between pre-industrial society and industrial society, also been called "modernization".<sup>12</sup>

Quebec City at the end of the nineteenth century is an excellent place to study the working out of this process of transformation. Its carnival celebrations of 1894 and 1896 imitated and even surpassed, if local opinion is to be believed, the brilliantly-successful revivals of mardi gras celebrations in Montreal from 1883 to 1889. At the same time, in places such as Trinidad and New Orleans whose carnival celebrations still survive, similar revivals were occurring after periods of neglect, while in Europe folklorists were recording the decline of folk culture.<sup>13</sup>

## II. Marketing the Past

The passing of some of the old ways in Quebec as well did not go unnoticed or unlamented only by the ordinary people most affected. While the old carnival, it will be seen, had

few, if any, articulate defenders among the educated, there were other appealing customs whose passing was regretted, as severing a necessary link with the past. The late nineteenth century provided, especially in Montreal and Quebec City, what might simply be called a receptive "psychological climate" for interest in past customs. It expressed itself partly in the lament for the loss of the "bon vieux temps" of the bygone rural community on the part of urban writers:

Dans le bon vieux temps, cette fête était célébrée dans presque toutes les maisons canadiennes. C'était un jour de grande liesse. Le travail était suspendu et le plaisir était partout à l'ordre du jour...La soirée et la nuit entière étaient consacrées à la danse. Tout le monde sautait, les vieux comme les jeunes, au son du violon et de la clarinette... Au dire des plus vieux citoyens de Montréal, la célébration de cette fête (25 novembre) remontait au temps de leurs ancêtres.<sup>14</sup>

This particular festival, "la Sainte Catherine", had been a traditional marriage and courtship holiday. H.P. LeMay, writing in the same period, also eulogized the "good old days", lamented their passing, but looked to the revival of old customs to strengthen the bonds of the modern community growing up around him. The decline in numbers of public holidays and festivals at the time, a process begun in the eighteenth century New France, was a cause of concern for him because he linked that to the decline in community spirit and cohesiveness of earlier times. For him, public festivals were like family gatherings, linking the body of the community together in the same way that a family is linked together.<sup>15</sup>

He also believed that it was, above all, in its choice of amusements that a people most genuinely revealed its character, and if those celebrations changed, it was because the people themselves had changed. He was imprecise about the reasons for the changes in the community, and he certainly never alluded to the massive social and economic changes occurring in the society of Quebec at the time, instead attributing this to:

...un brin de flêgme dans l'air que nous respirons, dans la nature sévère qui s'étend sous nos yeux, dans le froid qui nous engourdit et dans la fréquentation des Anglais qui nous entoure...<sup>16</sup>

He rejoiced that the period was witnessing a revival of the old customs, even if they took new forms, as was the case with the summer feast of Saint John the Baptist, formerly a festival of summer celebrated with huge bonfires and rejoicing. In 1834 this had become a celebration of nationalism so that le Saint-Jean-Baptiste was now for him, "L'expression heureuse et forte admirable des sentiments d'amour et de foi, de patriotisme et de religion du Canada-français", as it is today, with the religious element in eclipse.<sup>17</sup>

One of the interesting things about the discussion of the past and about leisure was the fact that both French and English speaking Quebecers were involved. This is not to say that they were speaking to each other about these issues, for the tone of commentary in the French and English-speaking press indicated one group was not affected by the

other. It is significant that both were dealing with the idea that the community needed to benefit from leisure. For the French Canadians, leisure and public festivals were means to strengthen community and social bonds, and thereby to ensure the continued survival of the community. For English-speaking commentators, moments of recreation made one work harder and better. Governor-General Lord Landsdowne's speech at the Montreal Winter Carnival in 1884 is an excellent illustration of this Anglo-Saxon approach which formed the dominant element in all the carnivals:

Neither the nation nor the individual can exist without recreation. Amid the strain and pressure of life whether our habitual vocation calls us to the field, or to the city, to the desk or to the bar, to the Legislature or to the study, the recreation which shall give strength to the intellectual fibre -- which shall bury the monotony of our daily existence -- which shall give refreshment to the jaded body and the overwrought mind -- which shall render our youth manly and active and our maturity vigorous and robust is an necessary to us as the air we breathe.' (Applause)<sup>18</sup>

Part of this may be attributable to Landsdowne's British background and to the changes in the nature and perception of leisure activities in Britain over the course of the nineteenth century. It would be perhaps misleading to treat these views as entirely representative of Canadian opinion.<sup>19</sup>

There were other, and perhaps more influential, currents of thought that were operating at the time and they also seem to have influenced English Canadians, especially the English-speaking minority in Quebec and Montreal. These

looked to Quebec's past and also at rural Quebec, seeking an Arcadian alternative to urban industrial society. These people idealized the rural peasant life of Quebec and believed that it had been transplanted into the cities; they ignored the poverty of the industrial centres like Montreal and Quebec, as well as much of the misery of the countryside. What became a staple of many late nineteenth century travel guides and popular histories was a rural, Catholic, old French Quebec to which urban Protestant middle class Americans and English Canadians felt compellingly drawn on their summer vacations and which they also attempted to interpret to their friends and contemporaries. A good example of this popular literature was William Parker Greenough's Canadian Folk-Life and Folk-Lore which purported to describe, "from a long time of residence and observation", "My friends, the habitants of Canada, their occupations, amusements, songs, language and national characteristics".<sup>20</sup> Among French Canadians as well, the agrarian bias of Catholic nationalism produced an equally romantic view of rural life. This found one expression in Henri Bourassa's rejection of the golden calf of industrialism.<sup>21</sup>

What is important here is not only the presence or level of accuracy of this literature, for even as late as the 1970's the casual American visitor would assume an instant understanding of Quebec and its customs,<sup>22</sup> but this literature formed the North American middle class audience's views of

Quebec. Just as important was the marketing of this folklore by a developing tourist industry. Thus a community festival of the past, like the carnival, was turned into a huge public spectacle whose success or failure was measured by the presence of numbers of outsiders such as Americans. The railroads made it possible to hold such festivals, even in winter, for people living more than thirty miles away.<sup>23</sup>

By the 1880's, it is apparent that tourist appeal was a standard for success. This marked the beginning of a deliberate and effective "marketing" of the most attractive elements of French Canada's past -- the beginning of a tourist industry.

What happens to popular culture when elements are selected and reshaped to attract tourists? This distortion, it could be argued, will have an effect on the way in which the community, whose culture is being exploited, sees itself. The broader implications of tailoring, or drastically changing the customs and practices of a community's culture resulted, even at the time, in some sections of the community, the business men, using it as a market for their own gain. Thus it was no longer a question of celebrating ancient community rites whose roots went back into its collective heritage which may have interested outsiders but whose presence was peripheral to the event. Now it was a question of developing a reason to attract outsiders in large enough numbers so that the participation of the non-commercial elements of the local



community became unnecessary. In figurative terms, this developing tourist industry could be seen as turning social cement into social solvent by appealing to the community's need for connection with its past in order to justify selling it on the open market.

Winter was customarily the season for socializing and leisure activities in French Canada; what the generation of the 1880's and 1890's was trying to do was to draw outsiders into this cycle. In the same way the Parisians would turn their sewer system and some of their factories to the same good account at the same time, providing a tourist "experience".<sup>25</sup> The carnivals, as revivals of the community customs of the past appealed to the French Canadian community for their cultural benefits, and to the English-speaking part of the business community for the financial benefits from the presence of thousands of strangers. For a time the cultural and the commercial could co-exist, and a fusion of Ancient and Modern was temporarily obtained.

### III. Civilizing the Carnival

Of course not all the strands of this popular culture were represented in the revived carnivals, and the concept of a revived celebration implies that carnival had only been dormant, not abandoned. There is ample evidence to show that the celebration of carnival in its older form had been censured by leading citizens and even that attempts at suppression were

at last successful. In February, 1866, on the day before mardi gras, the Quebec Mercury alluded to the legal penalties for its celebration:

Steps are being taken to arm and reinforce the police to prevent parades of masked and armed people such as have of late years, made a practice of entering houses and intimidating their inmates. The law on this point is severe and properly so and it will we believe hereafter be more strictly enforced than formerly.<sup>26</sup>

This by-law had only been passed the previous December 22nd by the City Council of Quebec City and provided for a fine of up to forty dollars or imprisonment at hard labour for up to two months for anyone, who, on each offense, might "disturb, without lawful cause, the peaceable inhabitants residing in any street; or shall be masked or disguised by day or by night in any street; or ...shall knock at any door, window or shutter... or shall cause or make any tumult, noise, disorder or disturbance, or shall form that part of any tumultuous assemblage in any place whatsoever, in any house, building or place, enclosed or unenclosed..."<sup>27</sup> Apparently the law and the judiciary were effective in discouraging what the Mercury called "the impropriety of these modern turn outs"; in the Recorder's Court on the day after mardi gras and for several days thereafter only one case of carnival behaviour came before it:

MARDIGRAS - Only one Mardigras representative came up, viz: Samuel Rochford, a young boy having his face blackened in Defosses Street. He was fined \$2 and costs or four days. He was locked up.<sup>28</sup>

It is evident that the magistrates frowned on this kind of tradition, but it is not clear why. It is possible that it was part of an assault on popular traditions in the name of middle class morality or else, seen in the context of other city regulations of the time, as part of a desire to regulate public and private behaviour in order to make the city itself run more efficiently. At the same time as this by-law "For the Good Order and Peace of the City of Quebec" was passed and used against mardi gras revellers, the Council also passed by-laws regulating, but not banning, "House of prostitution, houses of ill-fame, disorderly houses and taverns".<sup>29</sup>

From other sources, however, it is clear that if effective opposition to traditional carnival behaviour was a phenomenon of the mid-Victorian period, the celebration and clerical disapproval both had deep roots in Quebec. The carnival season in New France had been a time of great celebration and rejoicing though it is uncertain when it was first celebrated in the colony. According to the early twentieth-century Quebec folklorist E.Z. Massicotte, who obtained his information from the Journal des Jésuites, it usually began eight days before Ash Wednesday and ended at midnight Tuesday, mardi gras. The first mention of its celebration is in 1647 when the Journal mentions that there was "un balet..... le mercredy gras".<sup>30</sup> It is quite possible that there were earlier celebrations in New France and the

custom was so ingrained that it was considered superfluous to mention it. In New France, as elsewhere, the upper classes and their social inferiors both celebrated carnival and that the single dissenting voice was that of the Church, which throughout the years remained consistent in its opposition. Robert-Lionel Séguin tells the story of the Intendant Bigot's mardi gras celebration in 1749 which lasted all night and ended at seven thirty on Ash Wednesday morning. Bigot's attempt to have the Ash Wednesday service advanced from eleven in the morning to seven in the morning so that his guests could finish their party, receive their ashes and then go home to sleep received a rather frosty reception from the priest in question.<sup>31</sup> A few years later the engineer Franquet wrote from the governor's palace in Montreal that on the day of mardi gras, 1753, "on y reçut les masqués qui apportèrent des momons".<sup>32</sup> An early nineteenth century English traveller also found the people of the countryside celebrating at this time of year:

They (the countryfolk) are fond of dancing and entertainments at particular seasons and festivals, on which occasions they eat, drink, and dance in constant succession. When their long fast in Lent is concluded, they have their 'jours gras', or days of feasting. Then it is that every production of their farm is presented for the gratification of their appetites...<sup>33</sup>

Drink played no small part in the gratification of these appetites and even late in the nineteenth century Massicotte noted that among the customs at St.-Scholastique

was that before mardi gras, the large bucket of water in the main room of the house was replaced with a large bucket of beer.<sup>34</sup> LeMay also remembered that at habitant parties during carnival time when 'il fait froid et l'on prend une verre de gin pour se réchauffer; s'il ne faisait pas froid, on en prendrait quand-même..."<sup>35</sup> In the Beauce region south of Quebec City, the three days before Ash Wednesday were the most active of all and these celebrations are of interest. They occurred near Quebec City and involved the kind of behaviour that the city frowned upon in 1866. On Tuesday morning disguises and masks were usually completed and in the early afternoon men en travesti, as well as some women, assembled with sticks to keep away the dogs and began to make the rounds of houses in search of food and drink. Niggardly hosts were punished by the community. According to one ethnographic source, "le peuple était impitoyable pour les 'baise-la-piastre'. Il les houspillait et souvent les mettait au ban de la société. Parfois on renversait tables et fauteuils en chantant des couplets ironiques..."<sup>36</sup> The whole point of the exercise was to remain masked and to provide entertainment for the masquers and the people watching them. However, these community get togethers were not only frivolous entertainments but also occasions to express the collective identity. This was done through supporting community standards for social behaviour (marriage and generosity) or applying punitive sanctions (stinginess).<sup>37</sup> In this regard, a discriminatory

aspect of this custom was the popular disapproval of female participation in some of these mummeries. She who flouted custom ran the risk of being known as 'hardie' if not downright 'coureuse' and bore such epithets for the rest of the year.<sup>38</sup>

The persistence of carnival celebrations in Europe and New France thus rested upon a functional foundation that was related to the collective social needs of the community, a community which was predominantly agricultural. Closely tied to the agricultural year, which was seasonal, the cyclical religious calendar complemented that pre-industrial seasonal rhythm.<sup>39</sup> For instance, carnival time is celebrated near the end of winter, just as Easter is celebrated near the beginning of Spring, the fires of St.-Jean at the summer solstice, All Saints' Day in autumn, and the twelve days of Christmas, New Year and Epiphany (les Rois) in the winter. The period of Carnaval-Carême was the period of feasting and revelry at the end of winter when it was permitted to eat meat and celebrate until Ash Wednesday. On that day, forty days before Easter, a period of total abstinence from meat and other pleasures began, and, as had been the Catholic custom for centuries, "pendant laquelle règnent plusieurs interdictions, alimentaires surtout, mais aussi sexuelles".<sup>40</sup> Halfway through Lent there was a short suspension of the rigors of fasting and abstinence known as the Mi-Carême which in French Canada was characterized by large feasts at home and in the Beauce, it was the time to

begin maple sugaring. Easter with its outburst of joy, its end to self-denial, and the return of spring marked the end of the winter cycle.

In Europe, Carnival itself was often personified, sometimes as a man of straw, sometimes not, and a burlesque battle between him and Lent was played out in which he would be allegorically vanquished and Lent would triumph.<sup>41</sup> There have been several explanations advanced for the tenacity and popularity of the festival. A modern writer on the Trinidad carnival has noted that the only effective means that the Church had in taming it was to give "religious sanction to a pagan rite too profoundly rooted in the sustenance of life to be effectively suppressed".<sup>42</sup> The key to these deep roots in pre-industrial society may have lain in its blending of the forces that sustained life in a complex interrelationship of the fertility of people and soil, the community, the cycle of nature and the deity, all expressed through revelry. The European expression especially in France, often took the form of "street processions, costuming and masking, music making, energetic dancing, singing of satiric or laudatory songs, jesting, mummary, feasting, and general revelry, as well as "torch carrying, bonfire lighting (originally aimed at purifying the fields and frightening off demons, thereby ensuring a good crop), and the pitched battles between contesting bands, symbolic of the struggle between Life and Death, Summer and Winter, New Year and Old Year, or the more mystic combat

between the forces of good and evil".<sup>43</sup> It is not surprising that in more literal or less "poetic" times, like Quebec in the 1860's, such symbolism had little meaning for urban politicians, and it is evident that the disorderly elements that gave carnival its life would repel or offend the more ordered and moralistic minds of the community.

In seventeenth century, the clergy not only in Quebec but also in France certainly feared or disapproved of the celebrations and moved with the central government to control or suppress them. For remarkably similar reasons, either in the name of reason or of morality the French pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary authorities moved to abolish this "système de survie" of which the carnival was a part. The French Revolution which, as Benjamin Gastineau so delicately put it, "voulait la vérité sur le visage de l'homme aussi bien que dans son coeur",<sup>44</sup> abolished the celebration, and even its brief revival under Napoleon could not give it credibility in the early nineteenth century. With the new perception that the carnival was not only objectionable from a moral point of view but also as being beneath the dignity of reasonable men, it lost some of its old force and credibility. However, it did not disappear and the appearance of Benjamin Gastineau's Carnaval ancien et moderne in 1866 indicates that it was of some importance and represented something threatening:

Les extravagances et les folies du carnavail attestent un spleen, un vide, un abîme incommensurable dans le coeur humain. Comme toutes les débauches, le carnavail vient de



privation, de malaise. L'histoire en main, nous avons la preuve que les peuples les plus corrompues et les plus asservis se sont données corps et âme aux mascarades qui leur ont ravi leur dignité et leur indépendance.<sup>45</sup>

The nineteenth century witnessed the continuation of the process of repression that had begun in the seventeenth. As an institution, the carnival was suppressed or abandoned by the articulate sectors of the urban community, though for a long time it continued to survive in rural areas. However, another process was occurring at the same time. In some areas, the lower classes fought to maintain their control over the carnival; in others, the carnival became transformed into a vehicle for the upper classes. The experiences of the carnival on the island of Trinidad and the relatively late introduction of a carnival festival to New Orleans in the mid nineteenth century best illustrate the two possibilities. The former started as an upper class affair but became and remained a popular festival despite attempts at repression; the latter became a vehicle for upper class amusement despite lower class attempts at participation. These two opposite experiences are helpful in understanding the context in which the Montreal and Quebec carnivals of the 1880's and 1890's were situated, and of the possibilities open to them.

Before 1783, the island of Trinidad had been under Spanish rule for three hundred years and there is no evidence of Carnival celebration until a number of French speaking planters began to arrive with their African slaves. The

island became British in 1797 and until 1834 when the slaves were emancipated, the carnival became a very important institution for the white upper classes who excluded the slaves, the Indians and the "free persons of colour" from participation.<sup>46</sup> After emancipation, as ex-police Chief L.M. Fraser noted in his report to the governor in 1881, "things were materially altered, the ancient lines of demarcation between classes were obliterated and as a natural consequence the carnival degenerated into a noisy and disorderly amusement for the lower classes".<sup>47</sup> He contrasted that with earlier happier days before the slaves were freed and the carnival was the property of the upper classes.<sup>48</sup>

The local press also expressed itself in antipathetic terms and throughout the nineteenth century found occasion to bemoan its celebration. In 1838, carnival was termed "wretched buffoonery (tending) to brutalize the faculty of the lower order of our population"<sup>49</sup>, while in 1846 it was called "an orgy indulged in by the dissolute of the town"; eleven years later it was an "annual abomination", in 1863, "a licensed exhibition of wild excesses"; in 1874, "a diabolical festival"; and in 1884, "a fruitful source of demoralization throughout the whole country". A surprising change appeared in 1896 when, with the first note of approval in over fifty years, carnival was "most successful, and one of the pleasantest features was the number from the upper classes who joined in the celebration of the custom". The honeymoon was short-lived,

however, for three years later, carnival was once again "all immorality and no refinement" with the wish expressed for its early demise. Press opposition did not cease until the 1930's.<sup>50</sup>

Some of this invective was doubtless well justified and there were serious problems, but as one chronicler points out, the desires for a 'clean' carnival were absurd,<sup>51</sup> especially when, as was the case between 1858-1884, carnival was in the hands of "uncouth elements of the population". Nevertheless, these "uncouth elements" seem to have remained impervious to press criticism and strongly attached to their way of celebrating since they resisted five attempts on the part of the police and the military to suppress it in a forty-year period. These attempts occurred in 1833, 1846, 1858 and 1859, and in 1871-1872. Another attempt in 1881 caused a riot in Port-of-Spain.<sup>52</sup>

By the middle of the nineteenth century there were a number of problems associated with the urban celebration of carnival that could not entirely be blamed on the perceptions of the upper classes. The case of the carnival in New Orleans was an example of, at times, rather destructive disorder. Introduced long after the city's foundation in 1718, it was at first largely confined to the upper classes, especially the Creoles who celebrated it with enthusiasm. One of the main events in that city's celebration was, and would always be, the procession of masked and costumed characters through

the streets of the city. This was sometimes a custom that the civic authorities were uneasy about especially during periods of political unrest. Both the Spanish and later the American authorities would ban it outright.<sup>53</sup> The very first recorded street procession however received favourable attention from the local press, as the Ash Wednesday, 1838 edition of the Daily Picayune attested:

...A large number of young gentlemen, principally Creoles of the first respectability, went to no little expense with their preparations. In the procession were several carriages superbly ornamented - bands of music, horses richly caparisoned - personations of knights, cavaliers, heroes, demigods, chanticleers, punchinellos, &c, &c, all mounted. Many of them were dressed in female attire, and acted the lady with no small degree of grace.<sup>54</sup>

Within ten years, however, as the popularity and elaborateness of the affair increased, and participation passed out of the exclusive control of the Creole upper class, public opinion as expressed in the local press began to be a little more critical. One of the features of the early carnivals had been the custom of throwing confetti or bonbons back and forth between paraders and spectators, but this soon degenerated into the throwing of sand, flour and even quick-lime which damaged clothing and eyes<sup>55</sup> so that by 1854, the Bee was less enthusiastic about mardi gras:

The detail is very short. Boys with bags of flour paraded the streets, and painted Jezebels exhibited themselves in public carriages, and that is about all. We are not sorry that this miserable annual exhibition is rapidly becoming extinct. It originated in a barbarous age, and is worthy of only such.<sup>56</sup>

One of the features of the 1850's that many contemporaries noted was the decline in the participation of the French population and a greater emphasis on American participation and customs. In 1855, the Daily Delta lamented that "the march of Anglo-Saxon innovation has made sad havoc with the time-honored customs of our ancient population".<sup>57</sup> The following year the Bee noted the decline of the festival "before the march of new people, customs and religion"<sup>58</sup> so that the following year saw the old celebration take on an entirely new face and totally sever itself from the pre-Lenten customs of Catholic Europe. In 1857, six young Americans who had been members of a carnival group in Mobile, Alabama, chose a minor Greek god of festive mirth, Comus, as the patron of an entirely new form of carnival and returned its celebration to the monied classes. In such a form it continued with the approval of the local press and the articulate public. The new carnival of "The Mistick Crewe of the Court of Comus" was a very exclusive affair with participation even in the actual street parades confined to socially prominent families and individuals, as were the private high society balls and parties, all of which had rigidly-controlled entrance policies by invitation only. The general public was free only to enjoy the street parade of the costumed wealthy revellers as spectators. As in the class- and caste-bound society of Trinidad earlier in the century, where Hill noted that the celebration of carnival had either "to die from neglect or

change its character completely" because it had been "the traditional leveller of social distinctions"<sup>59</sup>, the carnival changed its character. Perhaps the "rich" hoped that, as a social leveller, the carnival would die, but what seems to have happened was a reassertion of upper class control and a further emphasis on social distinctions.

It is this kind of carnival that most resembled the ones held in Montreal from 1883 to 1889 and especially in Quebec City in 1894 and 1896. The Montreal Star noted during the carnival of February 1884 a close resemblance between the New Orleans mardi gras and its celebrations stating that "the approach of Lent has little or nothing to do with their being held".<sup>60</sup> In Quebec City, the "modernization" of the old mardi gras festival reflected the changes undergone in the fortunes of the city and of its people over the nineteenth century. It was those changes that resulted in the industrial city of the 1890's.

## CHAPTER II

### THE CARNIVAL CITY AND THE REAL CITY

#### I. Behind the Carnival Veneer

Quebec City is an impressive sight when viewed from across the St. Lawrence River. In the carnival year of 1894 visitors to the city who had travelled there by the railroads terminating on the southern bank of the river would have seen the impressive procession of buildings along the cliffs which symbolized the many aspects of the city's character and history. The imposing Citadel dominated snow-covered Cape Diamond on the south. Below its ramparts the wide wooden promenade of the Dufferin Terrace stretched along the cliff-top to the castle-like Château Frontenac Hotel. Just beyond the dome of the nearby post office stood the massed grey buildings of the Quebec Seminary and Laval University topped by a slender spire. With the houses and shops of the Lower Town huddled together under the cliffs the city presented an appearance more suited to the eighteenth century than to the industrial age of the 1890's. Thousands of outside visitors to the carnival who traversed the narrow, snowy streets within the walls of the old city by day, or especially at night in a light snowfall, could easily have imagined that they had returned to the days of New France. Despite the changes

wrought by the twentieth century, such an illusion is still possible for the tourist who would have few chances for contact with the majority of the city's inhabitants.

But behind the gothic snow castles, arches and statues, and even behind the stone ones of the carnival city was the real city of Quebec, as its inhabitants experienced it: the second important industrial centre in Quebec after Montreal. It was fully integrated into the realities of the Canadian industrial revolution. If one could be misled by the appealing physical appearance of the city into thinking that it had somehow escaped industrialization and class conflict, that arrangement of buildings along the cliffs could also be seen, on closer inspection, clearly to reveal the city's social structure.

The Upper Town had always contained the highest offices of Church and State ever since the city had been founded in 1608. Perched symbolically on the heights or just behind them were the provincial Parliament building with the offices of the Quebec government, the Citadel and the military establishment, the Catholic archepiscopal palace, the Basilica, Seminary and University, the Anglican Cathedral, and the new City Hall. The recently completed (1893) Château Frontenac Hotel, the CPR's public expression of its close interest in the city, completed the statement of the city's dominant institutions.

The four city wards into which the Upper Town was



divided - du Palais, St. Louis, St. Jean and Montcalm - also contained the homes and businesses of the city's wealthy and professional citizens. It is true that a few small factory owners and some lumber company representatives did live close to their business premises in the Lower Town, but in general, it is correct to say that the city's physical division into Upper and Lower Towns was also a class division, as Roger Lemelin noted as late as the 1940's.

Carnival visitors might have had occasion to notice that, or to visit the Lower Town, the residence of the working class. Some carnival events like the parade took place in the other four of the city's wards, into which the straggling Lower Town was divided. Champlain and St. Pierre wards were under the cliffs in the narrow stretch of land along the Saint Lawrence while Jacques Cartier and St. Roch were located on the flat land north of the city at the mouth of the St. Charles River. The industrial suburb of St. Sauveur which also contained many of the city's working people lay immediately to the northwest of St. Roch and Jacques Cartier, outside the city boundary. (See map). The city's major industries and working population were concentrated in these wards. St. Roch, in particular, contained the business premises of many prominent French Canadians and received many carnival visitors.

What the tourists saw of this other Quebec is interesting. All French Canadians were seen as charming laughing people, usually with sparkling dark eyes. The usually

observant correspondent for the New York Sun, Julian Ralph, wrote:

The happiness of the people is really wonderful. They all laugh and they seem to laugh always. They meet a stranger's gaze with a smile, and in the jolliest democratic way, will exchange jokes with anyone who tries them.<sup>1</sup>

These and other tourist impressions reveal how readily they accepted the carnival promoters' view of Quebec as a unique city with many advantages. Visitors left the city impressed by its antique charm, its friendly people and its French atmosphere. The same conception of Quebec - accurate yet limited - is still the stock-in-trade of the modern tourist industry. In this period and in common with other tourist spectacles, there was the official show put on for outsiders and also the area hidden from the visitors - the back stage - where the work of presenting the illusion was done. Understanding that theatrical duality is important in distinguishing the complete city from the carnival city, which was a selective presentation, with exaggeration, of aspects of city and its culture, thought to be most appealing to tourists.

The economic realities of life for the city's working people were, however, not entirely hidden from the gaze of tourists who might have ventured into the area below the cliffs.<sup>2</sup> Ralph also observed the efforts of "the big fur-swaddled sleigh drivers, who make their little ponies dash like made through the streets" in drumming up business:

Mr. E.D.T. Chambers, one of the leading spirits of the carnival rebuked a couple of carters yesterday for making such a nuisance of themselves, but they were not abashed. "It's a very short season, sir, said one," and you must excuse us for looking out sharp for ourselves."<sup>3</sup>

If nothing else, that shows that working people, as well as the local merchants, were quick to appreciate the economic benefits of tourism. Still, the prevailing impression of tourists and even of local English language writers was that the ordinary citizen was relatively well off. That view was also shared by the few French Canadian writers whose opinions were published. H.M. Fairchild Jr., writing about the important local shoe industry, declared in 1908:

The shoe worker earns from \$4 to \$20 a week according to capacity. Many of the skilled operatives are women. When two or three members of a family are employed the combined wages enable them to live in the greatest ease and comfort and to make a good appearance on Sundays and holidays. The majority of the heads of families own their own snug little houses in some of the many streets in St. Roch's or Saint Sauveur.<sup>4</sup>

Other observers at the time, however, concluded that poverty and financial insecurity were much more common for working people than Fairchild indicated. Seen from another, less sanguine perspective, the need to have two or three persons working as wage-earners reveals the inadequacy of individual incomes. Arthur Saint-Pierre, a contemporary of Fairchild, found that for many workers revenue was insufficient to meet even their basic needs, especially "les commis, les préposés aux écritures, les employés de bureau - moins les

sténographes - les fonctionnaires et la grande et noble phalange de nos éducateurs que tourmente le problème du budget à équilibrer".<sup>5</sup> In direct contrast to Fairchild, he stated in 1915:

Et de tout nos calculs paraît bien se dégager la conclusion que, non seulement en 1915, mais d'une façon permanente, la gêne et la hantise de la misère accompagnent la majorité de notre classe ouvrière le long de la vie.<sup>6</sup>

A recent study of the shoe industry, one of the mainstays of the economy of the Lower Town, also comes to different conclusions than those of Fairchild. The salary range is slightly different with \$7 to \$13 a week calculated as the average for the year 1902. Salary was not the sole consideration for measuring income, however. The monteur (operative) in the shoe factory was paid on a piece-work basis, and was often laid off during slow periods. Thus a theoretical average annual salary of \$468 (\$9x52) which would have barely covered the necessities remained beyond the reach of many, and Jacques Mathieu wrote that "le monteur moyen, en 1902, arrive difficilement à boucler son budget, et que sa condition matérielle est caractérisée par la privation".<sup>7</sup> Behind the recitation of statistics like that lay the painful compromises made on a daily basis by household money managers trying to make one dollar do the work of two. Even the relatively well-off printer's family that the Abbé Stanislas Lortie studied in 1903 could only attain and maintain the comfort he described because two unmarried, grown-up sons had steady jobs and

contributed to the family income.<sup>8</sup> Nine years earlier during the carnival the threat of unemployment was also quite real. It was not a seasonal problem, however. The port, of course, closed in winter, as did many of its related activities. Building construction and many of the city's public works were suspended until late spring (April-May). This seasonal slow-down affected the deckhands, the stevedores, the employees of the navigation companies, the carpenters, masons and bricklayers in the building trades and the day-labourers of the various municipal public works. Layoffs in the manufacturing industry were not strictly seasonal and had more to do with business conditions.<sup>9</sup>

The winter of 1893-94 appears to have been a typical one for working people in the city, with some occupational groups suffering more unemployment than others. L'Electeur reported an upswing in the fortunes of the boot and shoe industry with a twenty-five percent increase in the number of products ordered that fall and winter. In contrast to this good news, it was revealed that there was more unemployment than usual with the closing of the port for the season.<sup>10</sup>

The year before, on January 23, 1893, about three hundred of the city's unemployed had gathered in the square of the Champlain Market to discuss a solution to the economic problems of the city. It was then decided to send a workers' delegation to Ottawa to compel the Federal Government to invest money and interest in the city's economy on public works like

the Citádel and the port. Certainly working people and their friends were well aware of the need for action to relieve the unusual distress, though it appears that the Federal Government did not respond to their representation. As a prominent local labour leader pointed out at the time, ordinary people were reduced to exceptional levels of deprivation. "Hier encore, au prône de Saint Sauveur, le révérend père Grenier a dit que dans cette paroisse la misère est plus grande que jamais, des familles sont complètement dépourvues de tout et n'attendent plus leur subsistance que de la charité publique".<sup>11</sup> By the time of the carnival, conditions had not altered. Though the winter of 1893-1894 was not as harsh as that of the previous year, it was still difficult for many people. The timber trade, once a mainstay of the city, was continuing its gradual decline, construction had slowed, and hours and wages had been reduced in several factories.<sup>12</sup> Even organizers of the carnival were concerned that the current economic climate of financial crisis would affect attendance by American visitors.<sup>13</sup>

There were a few palliatives to relieve some of the worst symptoms of this economic insecurity, though not its causes. In January especially, large numbers of men were traditionally engaged to cut ice for refrigeration from the frozen St. Lawrence. Carters and snow haulers also benefitted from winter work as road cleaners. The abundant snowfall of 1894 was kind to these people. Some carpenters also took

advantage of the slack winter season to make storage barrels for fish and found themselves with nine weeks of extra revenue. Paul Larocque also noted that activity in the port actually recommenced in February when "machinistes, mouleurs de fer, et mécaniciens s'affairent sur les quais à la réparation des vaisseaux pour préparer l'ouverture de la saison de navigation, redonnant au port un semblant de vie."<sup>14</sup> As l'Événement optimistically noted, the carnival provided similar relief work:

Heureusement nous avons le carnaval qui fournit actuellement quelque ouvrage à plusieurs centaines d'ouvriers.<sup>15</sup>

The value of this carnival as a make-work project in winter and as a palliative to the chronic economic problems of many people in the city cannot be overestimated. As in Montreal during the previous decade, hundreds of workers received temporary employment in cutting blocks of ice for the carnival buildings, removing snow and in constructing the ice palaces in the weeks before the festivities. This extra source of income made the difference between survival and deprivation for many working families.<sup>16</sup> Participation in the carnival as anything but labourers or spectators however, seems to have been unlikely for most working people in the city. The reason again was cost.

In Montreal's 1885 carnival, one of the fancy costumes to be worn at the grand ball in the Windsor Hotel cost \$250, an extraordinary amount for the time, perhaps three-quarters

of a working person's yearly income.<sup>17</sup> By comparison, the five dollar admission price to the Grand Ball in the Legislative Building for Quebec City's 1894 carnival seems modest. It was equal to the weekly wages of a good section of the city's working people - and there remained other necessary expenses, such as that for suitable attire.<sup>18</sup> It is clear that, judging from the Grand Ball, the carnivals were not intended to be popular festivals within the community since the cost of full participation would necessarily have excluded most of the people of the city. This explains not only why the presence of large numbers of tourists with money to spend on amusements was so important to the festival's success, but also why citizen and tourist would have had little occasion to mingle as social equals.

It would, however, be misleading to imagine the wealthy tourists revelling and carousing in the gilded halls of the Château Frontenac while the workers froze around pitiful fires in the Lower Town. It would be more accurate to say that there were two cultures that rarely met, that of the working people of the city, and that of the wealthy people, both French and English speaking. Each had its own institutions. It cost comparatively little for working people to dance and sing and even to drink with each other, and there were certainly enough places to do so, though contemporary limits were very well prescribed.



In contrast to the early part of the century when the curés and bishops often complained of the impiety and scandalous behaviour of habitant parties, and the excesses of patronal feasts, by the 1890's, it appears that ordinary and apparently harmless activities like dancing had come under the supervision and control of the Church.

At the beginning of the century, Mgr. Plessis could only say, somewhat wistfully, that dancing and veillées were harmful to proper morals and that "il n'y a de bonnes paroisses ... que celles d'où les danses sont absolument exclues".<sup>19</sup> By the end of the century, his successors and the priests serving under them were deciding for French Canadian Catholics which dances were sinful and which ones could be reluctantly tolerated. At mardi gras, the clergy forbade modern dances like the waltz and the polka which involved closely dancing couples, allowing instead only the traditional group dances like the quadrille, the lancers or the cotillon.<sup>20</sup> These, in fact, made up the dance programmes of the carnival of 1894. In addition to dancing, the Church expressed official opinions in its various episcopal mandements on other aspects of leisure in the nineteenth century: theatres, circuses, clubs, novels, dime museums, feuilletons, and scandal sheets.<sup>21</sup> There were also periodic calls for a stricter observance of Sunday and the usual condemnation of gambling, picnics, excursions and morally dangerous books on the Lord's Day.<sup>22</sup> Even snowshoeing had come under clerical attack.<sup>23</sup> In light

of this, it may not have been necessary for the Church to have a specific policy towards the carnival, but once in a while, members of the clergy did express opinions. In October 1845, the Jesuit superior in Montreal, Félix Martin, described carnival time to another member of his order as "l'époque malheureuse des plaisirs du carnaval, et quoique l'on ne se livre pas ici aux tristes excès que l'irreligion et le libertinage effréné inspire ailleurs, la vertu trouve encore dans les danses et les réunions de la jeunesse de grands dangers..."<sup>24</sup> In 1956, Archbishop Maurice Roy of Quebec City seems to have been thinking along similar lines when he warned that, during the Carnival, the city must not "hide its Christian face behind the veil of paganism or degenerate into organized debauchery".<sup>25</sup> As for drinking, by 1910, the City of Quebec had a licenced drinking establishment for every 367 inhabitants, the highest ratio of twelve principal Canadian centres. Because of that, even in 1894, alcoholism was seen as a major problem. The curé of Saint Roch said that alcohol use was on the increase in 1893,<sup>26</sup> while a letter from a group of "concerned citizens" demanded that the city watch over the hotels which opened secretly on Sundays because "... leur clientele est nombreuse et il s'en suit (sic) des spectacles vraiment désolants".<sup>27</sup> While the anti-alcohol league, which began in 1907 on traditions that went back to the 1850's, addressed itself to working class drunkenness, its own executive committee was made up of respectable business and

union leaders.<sup>28</sup> As with similar middle class movements to reform the habits of the working class, it is often difficult to distinguish where concern for the welfare of the people overlapped with intolerance for the different mores of the lower classes. The rhetoric of middle class reform was sometimes marked with hypocrisy. In part this was because the worker was more visible than the middle class social drinker and he was thus often seen as the fit target for reform and seemingly more in need of lessons on thrift and morality than drinkers on other levels of society.<sup>29</sup> Of course, one of the major reasons for the success of the temperance campaigns was that many workers themselves actively and enthusiastically participated in and supported them. There is no reason to assume that drinking to excess was such an integral part of working class culture that to try to restrict it could be seen as a middle class assault on the very foundation of working class life.<sup>30</sup>

In Quebec City and elsewhere, it should be remembered, not everyone was drawn to the same pleasures. Though the days were long gone when a city alderman could speculate that every seventeenth house in the city was a brothel, it is more than likely that there were a few, since by-laws, like Quebec City's, appear to have succeeded more in keeping them out of sight than in putting them out of business.<sup>31</sup> The local press does not mention any such activities during the carnival of 1894, nor did the Montreal papers during its carnivals, but

there is evidence of at least one, catering to a wealthy clientele in Montreal in 1885.<sup>32</sup> There were leisure activities primarily for families and others which appealed more to young single people. The printer's family that the Abbé Stanislas Lortie studied in 1903, for example, took a few day trips during the year, one to the shrine of Ste.-Anne-de-Beaupré near the city, and two others to visit their friends in the country. On the other hand the city also had a large number of unattached young people who in 1901 made up about two thirds of the city's population.<sup>33</sup> Over half of this group were women, many of whom worked in the city's factories. Though sharing the cultural values of the older and married section of the population, there are indications that this large and transient population also had its own distinctive features. We are familiar with the matriarchal figure of Mme. Plouffe, created by Roger Lemelin, and with the struggling poverty of Rose Anna Lacasse, described by Gabrielle Roy, two enduring archetypes of Quebec literature. But even Rita Toulouse had a counterpart two generations earlier.<sup>34</sup> In the censorious atmosphere of turn-of-the-century Quebec, the desire of single young women to be attractive did not go without comment. Lortie, the priest, noted with some asperity that the young factory women "aiment les toilettes brillantes et dépensent souvent la plus grande partie de leur salaire à l'achat de vêtements dont le prix est peu en rapport avec leur bourse et leur condition".<sup>35</sup>

There were few facilities for outdoor sports. A park was opened in St. Roch in 1893, the only one in a working class quartier of the city. Activity there was severely circumscribed.<sup>36</sup> City by-law 415 prohibited physical exercises, songs, or shouting that might disturb the public peace in parks or open spaces. These spaces were meant mainly for promenading. There is some indication of the beginnings of a working class interest in sports,<sup>37</sup> but most people still had to work long hours six days a week and taverns still were, for males, a place of relaxation and social intercourse. The lack of adequate public transportation restricted mobility, keeping people in or near neighbourhoods. As for many out-of-town excursions, the deciding factor, apart from transportation, would have been enough time off work. With the uncertainty of employment, few people seem to have taken voluntary vacations. If travel occurred on Sundays, the usual day off, Catholics were aware that the Church disapproved of secular expeditions on the Lord's Day, or even profane leisure activities, a stand that had much in common with the Protestants of Toronto.<sup>38</sup>

Thus the winter carnival provided an opportunity for the young to mingle as spectators for the events that took place outside, especially on the half day that work was suspended. For those few who could afford to participate, it was one of the relatively few opportunities for intermingling among young people, when the mantle of disapproval of clerical or paternal chaperones was lifted ever so slightly. Neverthe-

less, the Church did declare the period immediately following the carnival to be one of extra devotion to religious duties, for the young of all classes, not only working people.<sup>39</sup>

There are many questions still to be asked and answered about the young and single members of the working class population. However, for the purposes of this study, one can advance a few tentative conclusions based on the evidence we have. It seems unlikely that all these young people originally came from the city. This meant that many of them were first-generation urban dwellers who had emigrated from the country-side and maintained many links with families there. For the young with no families of their own close by, these links were doubtless important, and difficult to maintain for the economic reasons outlined above. Secondly, since they were separated from their families and parish communities, the familiar figure of the parish priest, took on more importance as a force of social control, to be sure, but also of social cement. Later writers have been critical of the way that the priests filled this vacuum, but for transplanted rural people used to a small integrated traditional community, the priest was more likely to have been seen as a benign person who mediated between them and the new urban, industrial and often English context into which they had ventured. In this new urban and industrial territory it is not, surprising that French Canadians clung to what familiar landmarks there were. Their urbanized offspring inevitably

developed their own loyalties and their own different and often more militant responses as part of this process.<sup>40</sup>

Paradoxically, in the process of zealously removing or reducing the secular opposition to its influence so that the spiritual path could more clearly be seen, the Church seems to have helped to undermine some of the very foundations of the communities and the authority it hoped to preserve for itself. In William Ryan's words, the Church took the side of the emerging capitalists, hoping to create "a sober, hard working and peaceful labour force", for whom it could become the essential mediator. It ultimately surrendered much of its authority to these capitalists.

## II. The Economic Transition

The last fifty years of the nineteenth century were the key period of economic, social and even cultural uncertainty for Quebec City. The loss of some of the old cultural traditions like the carnival occurred in this period as the city moved from a mercantile economy into an industrial one.

That fifty year period saw a complete change in the economy of the city accompanied by a modest growth in population. The period can also be seen as one of relative decline for the city. The rival city of Montreal rose to regional as well as national dominance. Montreal's commercial rise led to a transfer of economic power from Quebec.

In 1851 Quebec City was the great port of the lumber export trade, surpassing Montreal in the number of ships and the volume of traffic. Montreal, as the centre for the import of finished British goods and West Indian products, surpassed Quebec in the value of that traffic.<sup>41</sup> Then, late in the 1850's, concerted efforts by Montreal merchants for the improvement of navigation along the Saint Lawrence even began to undermine Quebec's control of the lumber trade itself. When the timber resources of the Ottawa and Gatineau began to be developed, it was Montreal which benefited, not Quebec.<sup>42</sup>

Quebec's prosperity was tied to "the age of wood, wind, and water". Like the Maritime provinces the introduction of the iron-ribbed, wooden-hulled composite ship, and then the fully iron-hulled steamship after 1860, began the steady erosion of the wooden shipbuilding industry. From 1871 to 1880, Quebec City yards turned out about twenty-five ships per year in twelve yards directly employing about 800 workers. In the following decade, the annual average of ships built fell to two.<sup>43</sup> The term "ships" is, however, a somewhat misleading way to indicate the full extent of that decline - the size of the vessels dropped just as drastically as their numbers.<sup>44</sup> That decline affected the shipyard workers, the owners, and many related businesses and trades.<sup>45</sup>

At the same time as ship builders were experiencing the first stages of their decline, new industries were being introduced into the city. These would shift the economy away



from the export of raw materials like timber towards an economy based on the production of finished goods, especially shoes and leather products in small and medium-sized factories.

That transformation was not an easy one for many and did result in hardship. It began with the opening of the first mechanized shoe factory in the city in July 1864. Three young French Canadians had returned from living in New England and brought back with them the new American technology. Small manufacturers and workers in the city's leather crafts put up initial resistance but were defeated by the cheaper, faster machines. Seven years later, there were seven large mechanized factories in the city. Six of them were French Canadian enterprises with a total workforce of over two thousand people.<sup>46</sup>

Montreal was the centre for leather production for Canada but, Quebec City, because of its smaller size, came to depend much more heavily on this trade.<sup>47</sup> By the 1890's, the leather industry had laid the foundations for many of the city's modern social and industrial characteristics. This was especially true for the working class areas of St. Roch and Jacques Cartier, where leather production was predominantly concentrated. In 1893-94, thirteen out of eighteen boot and shoe manufacturers were concentrated in a small area of St. Roch and Jacques Cartier wards, with ten of the twelve tanners and curriers located nearby.<sup>48</sup> By 1901, according to one reliable estimate, the city would have twenty-seven

tanneries and thirty-five shoe manufacturers, with a combined workforce of about 4200, a third of them women.<sup>49</sup> The clothing industry which was second in importance to the leather industry had a workforce of about 1300 in 1891.<sup>50</sup> The rest of the city's industrial economy centered around the production of light consumer goods like furs, beer, tobacco and food and beverages, though on a small scale.<sup>51</sup>

The social transformation of the city that accompanied the change from a mercantile to an industrial economy was equally comprehensive. Both working class and the business class were affected. This was reflected most notably in the change in the ethnic composition of the city. The British and Irish population moved away and the French Canadian population grew. By the 1890's there was a small English speaking working class population and a declining English-speaking business community.<sup>52</sup> On the other hand, the working class population was overwhelmingly French Canadian, as were large and important elements of the local business community. French Canadians in this latter group appear to have been spread rather liberally through the city's medium and small businesses. In contrast to the 1850's when the Anglo-Scottish timber merchants and brokers dominated the city's economy through their control of the timber trade, the more diversified industrial sector of the 1890's permitted French Canadians to take over a large share of economic activity.

By then, the old commercial English names were in the majority only among the timber merchants and brokers, on the boards of the paper manufacturers and on the two street railway companies.<sup>53</sup> In most of the other key local industries, especially the boot, shoe and leather trade, companies with French names were more numerous. This was also true of much of the city's service and retail business, especially in the food industry, but since that involved dealing with a bilingual clientele, this was perhaps to be expected. Not unexpectedly, among the lawyers and doctors, French names also predominated, giving French Canadians effective control over such areas, for example, as civic politics.<sup>54</sup> The decline of the English business community appears to be the main reason for the relative strength of its French Canadian counterpart. It was less a matter of individual businesses being ruined, but rather an attrition of the power of the English speaking group. Though comprising only a twelfth of the city's population by the 1890's the influence of the English speaking community, especially the businessmen appears to have been disproportionately great. Their role in the economic and cultural affairs of the city has scarcely been investigated as yet, but some business figures appear to have been adaptable to the changed economic conditions.<sup>55</sup>

The carnival celebrations of 1894 are an excellent opportunity to see how both ethnic elements of the local commercial oligarchy worked together. French Canadian and

English speaking businessmen shared in running the economic, political, social and cultural affairs of the city, and as defenders of their interests and their place in the city, they worked quite well together. In the Chamber of Commerce, both ethnic groups were represented in equal numbers, and this equality extended to both the executive body and to the governing council.<sup>56</sup> This relationship also extended to bodies such as the City Council, where there were a few English speaking aldermen and councillors on the mainly French Canadian body, and to the Quebec Harbour Commission, where the ethnic numbers were more equally distributed. The small number of English speakers on the City Council is partially explained, of course, by the small numbers of English-speaking voters and the fact that their French Canadian counterparts were part of the very much larger French Canadian community, and would therefore be more well known. This working relationship between the two ethnic groups of the business community is also revealed in the organization and control of the carnival itself, but that is again a reflection of the situation of the larger community. Half of the organizers were English-speaking. This situation deserves comment because in the past, community celebrations like the carnival, usually arose out of the needs or traditions of the French Canadian population. The case of Quebec City in 1894, and for many years before that, is obviously more complicated. It does not seem to be a question of one ethnic group dominating the

other, but of the same social/occupational elements of each ethnic group finding common cause. Businessmen and working people crossed ethnic lines in times of stress and celebration to promote or defend their interests. This was borne out on another level. A recent study by Jacques Mathieu indicates that the Union des monteurs in the leather industry maintained a certain indifference to the "national" interests of the time as represented by the Société-St.-Jean-Baptiste. In 1902, the leather workers' union was reluctant to participate in one of the Society's parades. As well, they refused to supply money for a colonisation scheme at Lac des Commissaires, so that, concluded Mathieu, "dans cette perspective, l'Union des Monteurs se préoccupe peu de l'avenir national". His unwilling conclusion is that "l'image syndicale, et par conséquent l'image qu'ils veulent projeter à l'extérieur et dont ils sont fiers, est plus important que leur image nationale".<sup>57</sup> It is very likely this was also true in 1894.

In studying the Quebec business community, "la bourgeoisie québécoise" of the last half of the nineteenth century, Paul-André Linteau's study also found common interests prevailing over ethnic differences. Of its three basic levels - la grande, la moyenne, and la petite - each level was distinguished, in his analysis, by the degree of economic control exercised, not income, nor fortune or ethnicity alone. These were important considerations but not determinants. The level and extent of that control depended on whether the

economic activity was carried out on a local level, as in the case of the moyenne bourgeoisie, on a neighbourhood level, as in the case of the petite bourgeoisie, or on a pan-Canadian level as in the case of the grande bourgeoisie of Montreal.

In more precise terms, Linteau defines the representative of the province's grande bourgeoisie as directing ("dirigéant").

les institutions financières - banques, compagnies d'assurance et sociétés de fiducie - les plus importants; les principales industries; les entreprises de chemin de fer et de navigation d'envergure continentale ou internationale; le grand commerce; les projets foncières qui concernent d'immenses régions.<sup>58</sup>

Concentrated in Montreal, Canada's financial capital, this mainly Anglo-Scottish group also included a few French Canadians associated with the Bank of Montreal and the Canadian Pacific Railroad.<sup>59</sup> The Quebec City bourgeoisie did not attain this level of economic power, its leading members belonged to the middle group, the moyenne bourgeoisie, whose interests and level of economic control were regional. As Jean Hamelin observed when comparing Montreal and Quebec's business interests, "Montreal ouvre sur un marché continental, Quebec sur un marché régional". Archbishop Bourget's replica of St. Peter's in Rome, being built in Montreal at the time is illustrative that the outlines, if not ambitions of moyenne bourgeoisie were similar to the grande bourgeoisie, though on a somewhat reduced scale. Linteau's model applies well to the larger entrepreneurs of Quebec City, a group which:

...oriente ses activités vers les institutions financières d'envergure régionale, la petite et moyenne entreprise commerciale ou industrielle, la promotion urbaine, et la construction des chemins de fer dits de colonisation...<sup>60</sup>

In the area of politics, if the grande bourgeoisie's scale was national, the moyenne bourgeoisie's political ambition were local "plus spécifiquement au niveau municipal ou les décisions affectent leurs intérêts économiques immédiats".<sup>61</sup> The importance, power and composition of this local oligarchy deserves more attention.<sup>62</sup> In Quebec City, this moyenne bourgeoisie which was Anglo-Scottish, Irish and French Canadian, played a key role, even the decisive one, in the city's development. They extended the local hegemony of Quebec city by the development of three railroad projects.<sup>63</sup> These brought the area between Quebec and Trois-Rivières, the Beauce, some of the Eastern Townships, and the Saguenay-Lac St.-Jean area into Quebec City's economic orbit. In the city itself, the moyenne bourgeoisie was involved in commercial civic promotion through the Chamber of Commerce.<sup>64</sup> The winter carnival, beginning in 1894 and revived in 1954 was one instrument for that purpose. Because of the small size of the city - and consequently of the elite itself - it was easy for such a group to achieve consensus and mobilize itself for action in carrying out its objectives. In its relations with the rest of the city as well, this ethnically mixed elite generally displayed a remarkable degree of cohesiveness. ... During strikes and the carnival, the formal and informal ties

that bound its members together as a class could be seen in action. For example, having seen the Chamber oppose a bill (later withdrawn) making the owner of a factory responsible for accidents to workers suffered on his premises, city workers were likely in a resentful mood early in 1893. Indeed, at an indignant meeting of the Quebec and Lévis Conseil central des métiers et du travail on February 7, 1893, the labour movement showed that it was hostile to the activities of the Chamber:

Cette Chambre n'a pas le temps à consacrer ni l'habilité de travailler au progrès et à la prospérité commerciale de cette ville, mais elle a le temps de s'opposer aux légitimes aspirations d'une classe qui est le pilier de la province de Québec.

Nous ne sommes ni socialistes, ni anarchistes, nous blâmons même tous ceux qui cherchent à pousser la classe ouvrière dans cette voie néfaste, et nous censurons l'action de la Chambre de Commerce dans les questions ouvrières parce qu'elle est de nature à induire les ouvriers à s'insurger contre l'autorité.<sup>65</sup>

The recent past had also furnished examples that brought this class rivalry into even sharper focus. When Narcisse Rosa, a local shipbuilder testified before the Federal Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital in Quebec City in February 1888, his remarks were tinged with bitterness about the difficulties of living as a businessman in a city that had a powerful working class organization like the Quebec Ship Labourers' Benevolent Society. His castigation of the "despotism" of that organization, which was both a charitable body and acted like a union, might be better understood when it is remembered that he had provoked a three-



day strike in June of the previous year by employing non-union labour to unload a ship in the port.<sup>66</sup> On the other hand, there were working people who recalled life before the incorporation of the Society in 1862.<sup>67</sup> Some were present at the strike of July 11-23, 1866 when the Society attempted to have its uniform rates of pay for various categories of work accepted against employer resistance. A three-week old alliance of shipmasters, stevedores and timber merchants broke down on July 23, 1866 when the ship masters capitulated to the union. The next day, "a veritable roll-call of the old St. Peter Street oligarchy" met to express its annoyance at the defection of their erstwhile allies, and also to give in to the union, albeit grudgingly. Many of these merchants - Sharples, Wilson, Ross, Dean, Bickell, and Jeffery - were still active in business and social circles in the 1890's, and some of them were prominent in the carnival organization.<sup>68</sup>

Another witness before the Royal Commission hearings was the Quebec City journalist, Julius P. Tardivel, proprietor of the ultramontane newspaper La Vérité and a vigorous opponent of the International Knights of Labour.<sup>69</sup> When the Union des Typographes de Québec, an affiliate of the Knights, went on strike against the newspapers in the City in January 1888 for a reduction in the work day to nine hours from ten, and for a minimum salary of \$8 per week, a common front of the employers succeeded in resisting the strike. The workers were forced to return to work with no gains after a particularly virulent

anti-Knights newspaper campaign, lead by Tardivel. A few days later, the union itself was undermined when a new one was set up whose rules were to be submitted to the religious authorities. Clerical consent would also be needed for any changes.<sup>70</sup> With Tardivel's involvement, the labour issues became clouded and confused by the abhorrence of Catholic Nationalists like him for "masonic" secular workers' associations with ties to English speaking North America.

An even more concrete example of the high degree of cooperation among the city's employers took place in June-July, 1891. Three hundred fifty workers in the Lasters' Protective Union struck the local leather industry for higher wages, but a united front of the companies again succeeded in waiting out the strike during a month of slow business. At the end of that period, according to the Morning Chronicle of July 3, 1891, increased mechanization worked in the employers' favour, "douze machines destinées à accélérer le montage des chaussures sont déjà installées à Québec. On en attend huit autres. Une machine peut monter de 400 à 700 paires de souliers par jour".<sup>71</sup> In defence of their respective economic interests, both the working class and the business class were often united against each other. But that does not explain the way that consciousness of one's class was maintained between crises. Real structures of solidarity existed in Quebec City for other aspects of the lives of the local business community, notably their leisure activities, that brought them together regularly

as a class. The 1894 carnival and its successors was a celebration of the values and institutions of these people, just as the older carnivals were more broadly-based celebrations of pre-industrial society. In order to understand the difference between the two, it is now necessary to discuss the structure and values sustaining the modern carnival of 1894.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE CARNIVAL OF 1894

##### I. "The Ancient Capital Under a New Aspect"

When the estimated fifty to seventy thousand spectators turned out to see the storming of the ice palace on that cold night of February 2, 1894, they were witnessing the successful and dramatic conclusion of the local business community's celebration of its success. Whatever cultural aspirations this event may later have had, and whatever links with the past it may have hoped to invoke, it was essentially the celebration staged by the local commercial oligarchy.

In the few months between October, 1893 and February, 1894, the elaborate festival had been proposed, organized, financed, advertised all over North America, and carried out with a success beyond the expectations of even its most optimistic advocates. The support and enthusiasm of the business community in particular, and the participation of many local merchants in all aspects of the carnival were considered key factors in its success at the time. On the other hand, the virtual exclusion of most other sectors of the community ensured that the form and content of the carnival would primarily reflect the interests and preoccupations of these same businessmen.

The publisher of the Quebec Telegraph, Frank Carrel, first suggested the idea of a winter carnival for the city in October, 1893 and did so in an editorial appealing directly to the local businessmen for support:

Thousands of strangers would be attracted to our old city by so agreeable a break in the dead season and so favourable an opportunity to see the Ancient Capital under a new aspect, and our hotels and local trade would reap the benefit. In fact, a stir would be created in every department of our local life just when it would be most welcome, and a large amount of money would be put in circulation, when most wanted.<sup>1</sup>

The kind of carnival he had in mind was similar to the ones held in Montreal a decade earlier. These consisted of spectacles, sporting events and entertainment emphasizing the joyful aspect of the Canadian winter:

Of course, the staples would have to be the customary driving, skating, snow-shoeing, curling, hockey playing, tobogganning, masquerade balls on the ice, torch light processions, and the other seasonable sports, but such novelties, for instance, as a parade of our military on snow shoes, which, we believe, could be arranged for without any great difficulty, might be also introduced to great advantage. The attack and defence of a regular ice-castle or fort would also be a valuable spectacular adjunct to the programme.<sup>2</sup>

To ensure that all social classes would feel that they were involved, Carrel also proposed that it would be "not only a wise, but a graceful thing to have this fort erected somewhere in St. Roch's", the French speaking and working class area of the city.<sup>3</sup> He also alluded to the material benefit to the labouring population when he suggested that the

carnival would alleviate the winter plight "of a considerable number of our working classes "in a far better and more rational way than by charity."<sup>4</sup>

For whatever reasons that most appealed to them - and Carrel appears to have been a good salesman by using them all - the local business community responded favourably to his proposal. A few days later the Telegraph was reporting that prominent merchants were not only in favour of the carnival, but also promised their financial assistance.<sup>5</sup> J.B. Letellier, a St. Roch merchant, was quoted as saying "there would be a better circulation of money and all trades would more or less derive a benefit. February was a good month, as it was the dullest of the year".<sup>6</sup> No reference was made to mardi gras or any traditional festivals of the month. Expecting some apathy in the French Canadian community, the paper called on the French-language press to arouse "that unison and wise liberality in the matter, which are so essential to success" by getting the French Canadian "storekeepers, manufacturers, hotel and businessmen of St. Roch's" involved in having the ice palace located there. "It depends upon them and upon the generosity and enterprise of our merchants and business men generally to say whether effect shall be given to the proposition."<sup>7</sup>

A few days later, the Telegraph sent a reporter to St. Roch's and he found more support there for the idea than had been expected. J.B. Laliberté, owner of the largest fur

store in St. Roch's who sold, with G.R. Renfrew, the other large Quebec furrier, about seventy-five thousand dollars' worth of furs to tourists during the carnival, was enthusiastic from the start. He said, "thousands of Americans have told me if we have a winter carnival in Quebec, they would visit our city again, to see it in a different season to summer... With cheap excursions, we would have all the strangers we could accommodate..."<sup>8</sup> As president of the St. Roch Athletic Association, J.B. Laliberté would become heavily involved in the carnival organization and be a member of the executive committee, but this furrier noted correctly that the merchants of St. Roch would support the carnival "as it will deeply concern their own interests".<sup>9</sup>

Within ten days of the original article, eighteen merchants or firms that later dominated the carnival organization presented a petition to Mayor J.C. Frémont, calling for a public meeting on the subject. Eleven of the petitioners were French-speaking and seven were English speaking.<sup>10</sup> Along with the petition came a ready-made plan for a six-day carnival program that included all the events Carrel had originally proposed.<sup>11</sup> As the Telegraph noted a few days later, when it announced the public meeting to be held, the formula for a successful carnival was to "place the financial arrangements in the hands of sound enterprising business men and give our athletic associations as much as possible carte blanche to get up and carry out a suitable programme".<sup>12</sup>

Part of this concern for a successful carnival came from the sorry experience of the city's first carnival in 1883.

Imitating Montreal, Quebec City had held a three day affair which was generally considered a total failure, partly from the lack of organization and the shabby decorations, and partly from the failure to attract more than fifty Americans to town.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps it was also not as commercial as those of the 1890's. As one of the Montreal papers caustically noted then, "there appears to be a singular fatality attending everything connected with the Ancient capital".<sup>14</sup> A few days after the 1883 carnival the city's own engineer, Charles Baillaigré fired off an impassioned memorandum to the city council deploring the failure of the event and promising that under his direction a spectacle worthy of the Capital would be presented. At that time, Baillaigré wrote prophetically:

Appelez en temps opportun vos comités, le  
maire en tête - voyez à ce que toutes les  
sections de la ville et toutes les classes  
de la société soient représentées au concours;  
non pas encore, comme cette fois, ignorer  
complètement une des classes les plus  
influentes, la classe mercantile...<sup>15</sup>

At the public meeting on November 2, 1893, Eric Dorion, a civil service clerk and later member of the carnival executive and subscription committees as well as the secretary of the Quebec Amateur Athletic Association, estimated that "\$7,000 to \$10,000 judiciously expended would produce as good a carnival here as any in Montreal".<sup>16</sup> That meeting resulted in the formation of an organizational committee made up of



French and English-speaking businessmen. This body quickly divided into smaller committees with specialized tasks such as advertising the event all over North America, raising money by public subscription, arranging the sporting events, and the special railway transportation of visitors to the city, and construction of the carnival structures.

At the same time, the soon-to-be-famous Château Frontenac Hotel was nearing completion and would be opened, amid scenes of splendor rivalling those of the carnival, that December. On all fronts, the city was being organized for its successful début in promoted tourism.

## II. Organizing the Carnival

In looking at the rapid and efficient organization of the carnival in the late fall of 1893, one is immediately struck by the harmonious way the members of the business community of the city, who predominated on the committees, could work together. In trying to explain this, it is clear that the formal and informal channels of communication they possessed through their leisure and social activities acted as important adjuncts to their business links. It appears that the snowshoe or athletic clubs often brought some of these people together who otherwise would have been unlikely to have met in their ordinary business dealings. In that sense, the carnival could be said to have been a social event for the business community as a whole.

As noted before all the important carnival committees like Finance, Construction, Railway, Advertising and Construction were chaired and manned by members of the business community, and some contained at least one member of the Chamber of Commerce, an organization for the promotion of business interests. Similarly, members of the city's musical or sporting communities participated on bodies like the Snowshoe or Musical committees where their particular knowledge was applicable.

Since the number of committees and committee members was small to begin with, it is possible to trace some of the links which bound them together as a group. To do this it is necessary to look at the kinds of people making up these committees and to trace their membership in the various athletic, cultural, or business associations in the city. In so doing, a number overlapping areas of interest are revealed. These connections show that the carnival celebrations were by, of, and for the small and medium-sized businessmen of the city whether French or English-speaking. This suggests a community of interest that frequently superseded the division of ethnicity.

For example, in looking at the given occupations of "sportsmen" on the carnival committees, which is to say the members of the Quebec Amateur Athletic Association or the Association athlétique de St.-Roch-de-Québec, the vast majority were in business. This is especially true of the English

speakers, who made up not all, but the majority of participants in local, organized athletic activities. Out of the thirteen members of the executive of the Q.A.A.A., only two were French Canadians, but all were either merchants, businessmen or "investors" (rentier in the Directory). They ranged from wholesale grocers, lumber merchants, a tinsmith, bank clerk, and commission merchants, to an accountant. Others appear to have had family ties, to local merchants since they had the same surname and address in the city directory.<sup>17</sup> An occupational analysis of the members of the nine major carnival committees shows them to be, first and foremost, businessmen, with a clerk or investor or two, but there is no evidence at all of participation by labourers, or operatives in the important local leather industry or even of officers from any of the labour unions.<sup>18</sup>

Because it was the most modern element in the carnival organization the Advertising Committee should be looked at briefly. Its duty was to publicize the event all over Canada and the United States, and by issuing news to the press, though another committee made up of representatives of the local press also performed the same function. The advertising committee's members were a varied group of people. The president, G.M. Fairchild Jr., was a wealthy rentier from Cap Rouge, outside the city. He had a literary bent and produced an account of the 1894 carnival based on newspaper reports. From the evidence of his few papers in the Quebec Archives he

was also involved in the bi-cultural literary and social circles of the city, and appears also to have corresponded quite regularly with wealthy American and Canadian businessmen such as Cornelius Van Horne of the Canadian Pacific Railway.<sup>19</sup> Frank Carrel, the printer, proprietor and editor of the Quebec Daily Telegraph and the man who first proposed the carnival was also a member of this committee, as were several people connected to the railway and travel industry like the local CPR passenger and freight agent, or R.M. Stocking the U.S. Vice-Consul and general ticket agent for the railway and steamship lines. The secretary and manager of two important local railroads, the Quebec and Lake St. John and the Great Northern, as well as the manager of the Château Frontenac Hotel also brought their talents to the committee. Eric Dorion, secretary of the Quebec A.A.A. also served on the committee as did the local manager of the government steamers and the director of the French language daily newspaper, L'Événement.

The first thing that the Committee did was to issue twenty-one thousand copies of a thirty-six page book containing the 1894 carnival program and promoting winter activities in the city. It was paid for by advertising from local merchants and, shortly after it was printed, local citizens provided the names of eight thousand suitable recipients outside Quebec. The rest were sent to "hotels, clubs, ticket offices, railroads, newspapers and magazines in all parts of

the country".<sup>20</sup> The effectiveness of the advertising campaign had been demonstrated by the Montrealers. Montreal's 1883 carnival which had been publicized in American newspapers from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the Montreal Star calculated from a survey of the railroad stations that the number of out-of-town visitors for the carnival in 1885 was 53,000.<sup>21</sup> One enterprising ticket agent even went to Boston and set up a window display for the 1883 carnival in Montreal to arouse the interest of the American public. He was so successful that policemen had to clear the street in front of the display.<sup>22</sup>

The American presence became one of the more striking feature of the carnivals and was assiduously sought. Quebec City did not, as had Montreal in 1883 and 1884, invite the American president, the governors of the New England States and the Chiefs-of-Staff of the U.S. Army and Navy (who declined the invitations in any case), but no effort seems to have been spared to attract as many other Americans as possible.<sup>23</sup> And when prominent Americans like the Astors of New York arrived in their own private railway car, to stay for the duration of the carnival, their presence was publicized.<sup>24</sup>

The Advertising Committee also prepared and mailed ready-to-print articles to newspapers in "every town and city throughout Canada and the Eastern and Middle states" each week hoping - justifiably - for free advertising for the carnival.<sup>25</sup> Individual committee members also produced their own pamphlets and circulars. From the outset, considering the

scope of the advertising campaign alone, the carnival was to be a major business endeavour.

The Finance Committee was another body that revealed the financial commitment and enthusiasm of the businessmen for the carnival. At the very outset, when fears were expressed about the carnival committees going into debt, a Finance Committee was given the power to oversee all expenditures and to set limits on what each committee could spend.<sup>26</sup> The money for running the carnival, which the committee administered came from a public subscription which raised ten thousand dollars, and coupled with other monies, carnival receipts totalled \$13,200. After all expenses had been met, the committee came up with a seven hundred dollar surplus.<sup>27</sup>

Donations for the carnival came from companies and individuals. The City alone donated one thousand dollars, by far the largest amount, though less than a week before the opening of the carnival it had not yet done so and there was some nervousness because a part of the program was in jeopardy without it.<sup>28</sup> The next largest donations - five hundred dollars each - came from J.B. Laliberté the furrier, and the Château Frontenac Hotel. W.C. Van Horne and T.G. Shaughnessy of the CPR each donated \$250, while seventeen individuals, banks and companies donated sums ranging between one to two hundred dollars.

The committee overseeing the spending of this money was composed of some very highly respected Quebec citizens.

The president, R. Turner, was associated with the wholesale grocery and general merchandising firm of Whitehead and Turner, and was also one of the Vice-Presidents of the Quebec Amateur Athletic Association. Other committee members included Victor Châteauvert a china and glass merchant who was also the MPP for Quebec Centre, the president of the Chamber of Commerce, on the executive of the Quebec Skating Club, and a member of the Harbour Commission. Another member of the committee was the secretary treasurer of the Caisse d'Economie de Notre Dame, while a third was a vice president of the Chamber of Commerce and a prominent lumber merchant. A city alderman, a hardware company owner, and a partner in a heating company were the other members of the committee.<sup>29</sup>

The seven other major committees were made up from the same sort of people. One policeman, three or four "clerks" and one stone cutter were the exceptions to the representatives of the business community, who had a voting majority and who directly decided the form and content of the carnival. (See Table III, Appendix).

What Alan Metcalfe has called the English-speaking Montreal elite's "social sports" were the ones celebrated at the Montreal winter carnivals in the 1880's and at Quebec in 1894. The snowshoe clubs and the clubs devoted to two or four-horse tandem sleigh riding were the winter counterparts of the yacht, golf and hunt clubs and were, wrote Metcalfe, "sports that were central to the social life of the upper

segments of Montreal society".<sup>30</sup> At some levels, sport was secondary to the social function these clubs fulfilled. In these sports, the "amateur ideal" of gentlemen and the cultivation of desirable social qualities as opposed to competition were held up as models for society. The proposal for Montreal's first carnival in 1883 came from just such an "amateur" athletic association.<sup>31</sup>

It is possible to apply Metcalfe's interpretation to Quebec City and its carnival as well as to the amateur athletic associations of the binational business community there. The carnival also reveals a pattern of social interaction among the city's elite that is consistent with the ties already existing between them in business life, on the Chamber of Commerce, the City Council, and on the boards of the various public companies like the railways, the navigation companies and the relatively new power companies, indicating a closely-integrated binational business community.

Apart from these business-related activities, the common ground for many appears to have been the amateur athletic associations. From its list of officers, the Quebec Amateur Athletic Association (QAAA) appears to have brought together some of the upper levels of Quebec Society. Former Premier, the Hon. H.G. Joly de Lotbinière was its honorary president, while its honorary vice presidents were the mayor of the city, J.C. Frémont, the Hon. T.C. Casgrain, a lawyer and the provincial Attorney-General at the time, and two



prominent local wholesale grocers. These were honorific positions but the working executive of five officers and the eight member "Committee" contained a representative group of businessmen. All but three of these men were involved on at least one carnival committee, mainly the executive or finance committees while the more junior members served on the sporting committees. The Association athlétique de Saint-Roch de Québec appears to have been a smaller organization with its officers playing junior roles in the carnival organization, although its president, the furrier Laliberté, was a notable force. As far as its officers were concerned, the QAAA appears to have been an English-speaking body and the St. Roch Association a French speaking one. The presence of a few members of both ethnic groups on each body, however, indicates that the ethnic divisions were somewhat fluid. Members of both bodies also engaged in the same kinds of business and both clubs had members on a third body that contributed many members to the carnival organization: the Quebec City Chamber of Commerce.

The Chamber has long been recognized as a moving force in the economic life of the city by representing the city's business interests. Its strong influence on the city's social and cultural development has been often ignored, though there were some sections of the city's working class who could have testified to its ruthless influence when it came to matters affecting the workers' interests.<sup>32</sup> In the 1890's, other members of the Chamber could be found in a variety of the

city's cultural and civic organizations such as the Literary and Historical Society, the St. George Society and even the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.<sup>33</sup> What this suggests is that the many internal links of the local oligarchy extended across all sectors of the city's life, be they cultural, economic, political, or social. The carnival was the festive embodiment of that group of people: the hommes d'affaires.

### III. The Event

The six-day carnival opened at nine in the morning on January 29, 1894 in a rather low key fashion with a curling match, but official ceremonies really began that afternoon. To see what was being offered to the local and visiting public, one should look at the carnival events in some detail. Each day's events were a blend of sports, spectacles and cultural and social events. Each event contained elements of amusement while reinforcing social values.

The didactic and socializing aspects of the carnival of 1894 make a readable "text" of the social and cultural values of its active participants. That element of continuity with all the older carnivals must be kept in mind. In common with those older carnivals and pre-industrial community gatherings, the new carnival allowed members of both sexes to mingle with each other rather more freely than at many other times of the year, but as Peter Bailey so aptly points out,

the skating rink and other amusements incorporated into the carnivals also permitted middle class vigilance over the mores of its young, reproducing the "mutual vigilance which acted as a social discipline in the small town milieu", but which was more difficult to maintain in an urban setting.<sup>34</sup>

The first day of the carnival was taken up with inaugurating the celebration. The first was the opening of the ice palace in the early afternoon. At 2:30, and before a large crowd of spectators Mayor Frémont and a number of the city's leading citizens officially opened the gothic structure made from ice blocks from the river. Sitting on the Esplanade, atop the old city wall, across from the Legislature, the palace measured one hundred twenty feet long by fifty feet wide. Its central tower was sixty-three feet in height and flew the red ensign while the smaller side towers and turrets flew the flags of the United States, France and Britain. At night it was lit up from the inside with white and coloured electric lights. Though perhaps it was not quite as large as some of the ice structures at the Montreal carnivals, this palace's situation atop the city fortifications and its design provoked general admiration and many ecstatic descriptions survive. It was designed by M.D. Raymond, a local architect and built by the firm of Cummings and Sharp.<sup>35</sup>

The next event was suffused with cultural symbolism and represented one distinctively French Canadian element in

the carnival. After the opening of the palace, the crowds moved the short distance from the city wall to the square in front of the Catholic Basilica, a distance of about five or six blocks. Here, three ice statues by the famous sculptor, Louis Jobin depicting Champlain, Laval, and Bréboeuf were unveiled. The choice of these three historic figures was revealing. Champlain had founded the city in 1608, Laval was its first bishop and Bréboeuf was one of the first Catholic martyrs in North America. This trinity expressed local pride and the values of French Canada's Catholic nationalism. This was also the one event in which the Church was present. The students of Laval University and the seminary which face onto that square participated in this quasi-religious ceremony by singing the "Cantate de Mgr. Laval" as the draperies were removed from the statues. Religion and politics were thus blended and this reflected the blurred distinction of the time, L'Événement stated that "le dévoilement des statues peut être appelé une démonstration essentiellement politique".<sup>36</sup>

Other events of the day did not express cultural values so bluntly. A bowling tournament was held at the rooms of the St. Roch Athletic Association; a "Tea" at the skating rink, and fireworks in Lévis, across the river from the city, as well as an illumination of the Citadel and the Dufferin Terrace and the opening of a toboggan slide completed the day.

An unexpectedly heavy snowstorm delayed the events of the next day so that the "Tandem Drive", a parade of the

sleighs of prominent citizens, was postponed until the end of the carnival. The arrival of the Governor-General and his party was also delayed for several hours, and by then, the city was knee-deep in snow. Thousands lined the streets as members of the various snowshoe clubs who had unhitched the horses on the sleigh containing Lord and Lady Aberdeen and their two children pulled it up the hill from the CPR Station. They passed under a number of triumphal "living" arches, which were structures manned by enough snowshoers so as to resemble a human archway, to the Château Frontenac where they were staying.<sup>37</sup> The rest of the day was devoted to events on ice including a skating lacrosse match as well as a bicycle race and a skating championship. That evening, a "Fancy Dress Masquerade Ball" was held at the skating rink attended by large crowds of people. There was no special significance to the costumes which Lady Aberdeen noted, "looked airy for skating purposes, but the effect of knights and sultans and Mikados and sailors and peasant girls of all nations and various symbolical and allegorical figures skating through the dances with the utmost grace and ease was a sight to remember".<sup>38</sup> However, the fun was limited for those who could afford to acquire a costume and pay the price of admission.

Skating, bowling, sliding, tobogganing and curling took up the daylight hours on Wednesday January 31. That night, the "exceptionally brilliant" Grand Ball at the Parliament Buildings in honour of Lord and Lady Aberdeen brought

together the socially leading members of the community and their friends. Amid the twinkle of diamonds and emeralds, ball gowns,<sup>39</sup> black formal dress and military uniforms, Lord and Lady Aberdeen, Premier Taillon of Quebec, a number of provincial politicians, judges, military men and leading businessmen dined and danced until dawn in both Chambers of the Legislature to the music of military bands.<sup>40</sup> It was considered to be the major social event of the season.

Early Thursday morning, at 9:00 a.m., the military had its opportunity to stage a spectacle on the Plains of Abraham. The soldiers of the Citadel held a military review in winter dress and snowshoes and then engaged in a mock siege of the fortress. Two hours later, an event that is still an integral part of the modern carnival took place when the canoe race across the St. Lawrence from Lévis was held. The number of onlookers was large because the day had been declared a civic holiday. Many or most stores and businesses closed early or did not open at all, in order that their employees could also enjoy some of the carnival.<sup>41</sup> This reflected the high degree of support for the carnival in the business community.

In the afternoon, the carnival parade wound its way through the streets of the Upper and Lower Town and through St. Roch, passing under the various triumphal arches and past the ice carvings erected by private citizens. The event was described as "grande, nombreuse, superbe de chic et de gaieté".

d'originalité et singulièrement bien appropriée au carnaval. Plusieurs centaines de personnes, un grand nombre de chevaux et une centaine de chars allégoriques de toutes dimensions, de toutes couleurs et représentant toutes les industries canadiennes".<sup>42</sup> Some of the wagons included those of the amateur athletic and snowshoe clubs, historical sleighs with scenes "of the last century", a car from Laval University, one of the Huron Indians of Lorette, a car of the Typographical Union, cars from a few local businesses and a number of "comic" cars. To make the similarity with modern civic parades in Canada complete, the fire department as well as various military units complete with their bands participated in the procession. Though lacking the modern innovation of beauty queens representing blushing maidenhood, which would later be a staple of the Quebec carnival in the persons of the "princesses", there were sleighs for the various dignitaries like the Governor-General and the mayor and the carnival president.<sup>43</sup>

That night a concert at the Drill Hall on Grande Allée attracted five thousand people. The entertainment consisted of snowshoe club songs, songs by "gentlemen amateurs", and an address to the carnival visitors by the carnival president, Joly de Lotbinière. Jules Vézina who was already acquiring some fame as a composer conducted some four hundred musicians and choristers in various club songs, and in singing "Airs canadiens" and "Airs nationaux". Between

the first and second parts of the concert, described by Fairchild as "really the finest concert that has ever been held in this city", the final tug-of-war contest was held. L'Événement was more critical, though no less appreciative. The concert was described as having a "caractère essentiellement populaire et de nature à plaire à la foule, plutôt qu'aux délicats".<sup>44</sup>

The next day continued the pattern of the earliest part of the carnival with sports events during the day and socializing and illuminated spectacles in the evening. Skating and hockey began that day, a fancy dress ball for children was held on the ice of the skating rink in the late afternoon, but the night was devoted to what may have been grandest spectacle of all. This "grand spectacular drama", in the words of one of the main organizers of the carnival, was the mock battle around the carnival ice palace. This was the enduring and dramatic symbol of the whole carnival, and one which captured the imagination of all concerned.

Twenty-five hundred snowshoers from local clubs with members of the Eighth Royal Rifles and the Royal Canadian Artillery participated in the battle. The attackers proceeded from the ornate French Renaissance Drill Hall down the Grande Allée wearing blanket coats, tuques, and braided belts each bearing a torch. As they approached the palace, which was lit up with red and green electric lights, a fireworks display lasting nearly three quarters of an hour and



costing four thousand dollars, nearly half the carnival's budget, ensued. The fifty to sixty thousand people present then watched as the torch bearers manned the city walls on either side of the palace and marched and countermarched through it before parading through the streets of the city. The number of spectators at this event alone was equal to the entire population of the city, if the estimates were correct.<sup>45</sup> That number suggests something about the popular appeal of the spectacle.

As useful as the narrative of every event is to appreciate the carnival, it can be said that it basically had really only four main components. The program was made up of sport, spectacle, socializing activities and cultural events.

The sporting events were the ostensible reason for holding the carnival and many members of the local snowshoe and amateur athletic clubs regarded this as the main reason for their participation. Interest was intense, for example, in the hockey game between Montreal and Quebec City. But, it might be fair to say that those who got the most out of these events were the actual participants and those like them who had the money and leisure to become involved in what were still gentlemen's recreational activities.

Many of the spectacles, while having a mass audience, still expressed the interests of a small part of the population. This was especially true of the "Tandem Drive" which occurred on the last day of the carnival. It was a parade of the well-

to-do citizens driving their sleighs through the streets of the city, a visible display of wealth and social rank. The military review and the Grand Ball were other occasions for the local elite to display itself. None of them called for participation by anyone apart from the actual "performers", though certainly a large audience was required. Humbler sections of the community may or may not have had their own celebrations but they had no part in the carnival's official program. There remained a distinction between values of the elite and popular culture.

The actual "cultural" content of the carnival was also hard to define. Certainly the ceremony of the ice statues in front of the basilica represented a kind of clerical nationalism concentrating on the religious aspects of Quebec history. The other official carnival ice carvings, like that of Frontenac atop a large dome of ice or that of Jacques Cartier on top of a "living" archway at the corner of St. Joseph and Crown Streets in St. Roch, added to the French Canadian content.<sup>46</sup> But French Canadian culture in this most French Canadian of places was by no means predominant. The ice statue near the Citadel of the unfortunate American General Montgomery who died while his troops were retreating from the unsuccessful siege of the city in 1776, was no doubt intended for the many American visitors who looked upon him as a Revolutionary hero. The same must be said for the American flags on many of the carnival buildings and arches

which hung or flew beside the British and French ones. An archway in the shape of the Eiffel tower added another odd cultural element, a blend of modernity and French culture.

The carnival really represented a mixture of cultures and this explains its ambiguity. The presence of so many American tourists, and the aim of attracting them in the first place with the attendant flags and statues, along with the desire to present the city to them as an Old World City in North America may have made that confusion inevitable. It must be pointed out that some of the emphasis on the local and French Canadian content of the carnival was because those English-speaking residents who wished to proclaim the city's uniqueness were among the most ardent promoters of its French Canadian character.<sup>47</sup> In total however, the carnival was a rather eclectic and even haphazard blend of French Canadian, British, English-Canadian and American elements that were perhaps chosen as "crowd pleasers".

The ice palace, the central spectacle of the carnival, is a good example of commercial eclecticism that became a tradition in its own right. In its own time, the "experts" did not take it all that seriously but a century later, and hallowed by repeated use it became "Héritage". The palace had no cultural roots in Quebec but it became, and still is an important element of the event in the minds of many who know little else about the carnival. The Montreal papers of the 1880's, in explaining the ice palaces, traced their origins

to a winter festival at the Imperial Russian Court in 1732.<sup>48</sup> This cultural eclecticism of the carnival should not be surprising for an age that, in Canada, built Gothic churches and parliament buildings, CPR hotels that looked like Renaissance chateaux, banks reminiscent of classical temples the Grande Allée Armoury, the medieval gates in Quebec City and even planned, as did Lord Dufferin, to erect a new Château-St.-Louis at Quebec that looked like a cross between the University College at Toronto and the East Block of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa.<sup>49</sup> It appears to express a vaguely-felt desire to retain, in the words of a writer at the Montreal Carnival of 1884, "much that is worthy of reproduction from the stores of legend and remote history".<sup>50</sup> It is also some indication that the community saw the past as a nostalgic storehouse of consumable "experiences", both for itself and for outsiders.

#### IV. The Aftermath

With the end of the carnival celebrations, all voices were raised in praise of its success. That success was calculated in every way: financially, in numbers of people attracted, and, less tangibly, in the enhancement of the city's reputation, and in the strengthening of the community's own internal social bonds.

The Daily Telegraph estimated that the some 25,000 visitors, or about 15,000 on any one day in the city, spent

about \$450,000 over the course of the event. With 16,000 arriving by train from the previous Saturday to Thursday, an estimated 6,000 more on Thursday and Friday alone, this left about 3,000 people who were assumed to have come from the surrounding districts.<sup>51</sup> The French language press also considered the event a success, though its standards of measurement were a little broader. The good publicity for the city which the carnival had generated, it was said by L'Événement, would result in countless, future material benefits:

En venant ici par amusement, des gens qui ont des capitaux à flâner dans les banques, trouveront probablement l'occasion d'exploiter certaines ressources de notre district, et inaugureront peut-être des entreprises à leur bénéfice et à notre avantage.<sup>52</sup>

In an equally important way, the joyous celebrations of carnival week were seen to have had a beneficial effect on the community as a whole. This consideration, and even a pre-occupation, occurred more frequently in the French language press than in its English language counterpart. N. Levasseur, writing in L'Événement, somewhat optimistically saw the carnival as the beginning of a new period of political and social harmony for Quebec. Similarly, his contemporary Pamphile LeMay saw the effect of public rejoicing in general as strengthening the ties between members of society just as family gatherings brought that basic unit of society together physically and spiritually. Levasseur concluded:

...espérons que ce ne sera pas la dernière, et que le carnaval de 1894 aura servi de période transitoire, aura été comme une sorte de point jété de l'esprit de désunion et d'apathie du passé à la fraternité et à l'esprit public de l'avenir.<sup>53</sup>

In the warm afterglow of the carnival, the internal tensions of the city seemed unimportant. For a brief time social ranks and other distinctions appeared to evaporate. To Levasseur, the carnival belonged "non d'un faubourg, mais de toute une ville, auquel tous, pauvres et riches, ont contribué avec un entrain qui jouissait le coeur."<sup>54</sup> But those distinctions of neighbourhood or wealth did not disappear. As a retreat from the tensions of daily life, of course, the six day festival could not really be expected to reconcile, let alone erase, the social and economic complexities of the modern city of Quebec. What seemed to be a temporary escape from social reality in fact, reinforced it by celebrating the most basic of distinctions between the rich and the poor of the city. The hope that this carnival had acted as a social leveller could have only been expressed by those who had not experienced the width of the gulf separating the elite and the humble.

In 1896, the city held another even more successful carnival, for which the planning was more elaborate, the decorations more sumptuous, the attendance greater, and the commercial ambitions even grander.<sup>55</sup> T.G. Shaughnessy of the Canadian Pacific Railway suggested holding a carnival every year and "extending it over two weeks instead of merely one

because, as he said, wealthy Americans did not care to disturb themselves and come on here for merely two or three days' fun, but would readily do so in large numbers if they were sure of finding entertainment for a fortnight".<sup>56</sup> It was also suggested that there be a parallel summer carnival "during the high tide of American tourist travel next summer with an attack and defence of the Citadel on a grand scale by the military as the principal event on the programme".<sup>57</sup>

The 1896 event appears to have been the high water mark of the pre-twentieth century carnivals in Quebec City. After that, as J.T. Coulombe wrote in 1927, "il y eut quelques carnivals, organisés tant bien que mal, qui connurent plus ou moins de succes".<sup>58</sup> Part of the problem may have been the reliance on a public subscription campaign as a means of funding the event which the Telegraph noted in 1896 would not likely be "willingly faced again, even by the most ardent advocates of carnival sports".<sup>59</sup> The suggestion that the city levy a small tax in order to raise revenue to hold it does not appear to have been accepted. Montreal also held other carnivals, but by the second decade of the twentieth century they appear to have been much smaller in scale than their predecessors. In Montreal's case as well, even in the period of the successful carnivals of the 1880's, there was some question that the city was becoming more known for its winter amusements than for its business opportunities. The Star began to wonder about the emphasis on sport, noting that,

at least among gentlemen, "its value lies in its being a recreation from the serious and arduous duties of life, not in being one of life's main interests".<sup>60</sup>

The relatively limited sporting and commercial aims as well as the main events of the carnivals were of a nature which allowed them to be duplicated wherever there was ice and snow so that the major cities could no longer monopolize them. This made the long rail trip to Quebec unnecessary. By the end of the century there were accounts of similar winter festivals from Albany to Alberta, further indicating that the model was adaptable to a variety of locations.<sup>61</sup> Thus financial support diminished as the novelty of the event waned, the appeal of Quebec's carnival faded.

It was only in February 1956, when Quebec City again revived the carnival on the scale of those first ones in the 1890's, that the celebrations again proved to be very successful. Organized by local businessmen, the new carnival had a program similar to that of 1894 - the ice palace, the presence and participation of the Governor-General, the parade, the ice sculptures, and the hundreds of tourists. The Quebec carnival of today is still a commercial and secular event that is not a break from the past but is a resurgence of the late nineteenth century festivals. It has, however, considerably modified Lord Aberdeen's definition of carnival behaviour as doing nothing "inconsistent with duty and self-respect", and has become known as one of the more famous occasions for public drunkenness on the continent.<sup>62</sup>



## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION

The industrial revolution in Quebec was more than just a physical process of breaking down old communities and reconstituting them around factories. It also involved the "destruction of memories" by agents outside and inside the community and their replacement with new cultural forms and rituals, as the experience of the carnival indicates. The interrelationship of the changes in the society and the culture of French Canada over the nineteenth century was a complex one. The result of the process cannot simply be called an alienated society replacing "the world we have lost". That mystifies the whole process. The nature of the change, the development of a more complex urban industrial society was undoubtedly a mixed blessing for the ordinary people of the time.

One of the immediate results was alienation from the popular culture which had sustained the French Canadian rural and urban communities since the earliest days. But the process of alienation was present in the culture before the industrial revolution, as the experience of the older carnival celebrations attested. Paradoxically, though there was no articulate defence of the old customs, such as the pre-Lenten carnival, in the middle of the century, when it might have been most needed, the next generation would look back longingly

at these customs of "le bon vieux temps" as a means of bringing the community back together.

The new carnivals, without any meaningful connection with the majority culture in Quebec, illustrated by the adoption of habitant belts and tuques by wealthy English Canadians, could not be expected to fulfill that role. Their limited commercial aims and their selective nature and high cost of participation were more important in displaying and celebrating the official values of its bi-national elite, and in excluding most of the non-commercial elements of the city. In that sense they are more important to the social historian because they demonstrated the power structure of the community, but they have also endured, with interruption, to become community traditions themselves, with "popular" appeal.

The atmosphere of these carnivals was also a reflection of the Victorian attempt to "beguile the weary hours of sobriety" with decorous leisure, as Professor Bailey so happily put it in his study of Victorian England.<sup>1</sup> The docile crowds at the carnivals were the same people who were accepting, willingly or not, the direction of the Church and of the business community in many aspects of their lives. The reasons for that submission were not only to be found in the workplace, or in the culture, but in the interrelationship between the two.

It would be unfair to leave the matter here. Carnival was a fleeting affair that was vanquished every year by Lent,

just as it was overcome by capitalism:

Deux chanteurs, personifiant l'un, le Carême  
et l'autre, le Mardi-gras, vantent tour à tour  
les bienfaits du régime qu'ils représentent,  
puis au dernier couplet, le Mardi-gras s'écroule,  
vaincu, tandis que le Carême triomphe.<sup>2</sup>

But Lent does not last forever either.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

<sup>1</sup>G.M. Fairchild, Jr., A Short Account of Ye Quebec Winter Carnival Holden in 1894, Quebec 1894, pp. 71-72.

<sup>2</sup>John T. Saywell, ed., The Canadian Journal of Lady Aberdeen, 1893-1898, Toronto 1960, The Champlain Society, p. 69, "...The remarkable good order amongst both snow-shoers and amongst the enormous crowd was very noticeable again tonight, in spite of the cold and the long waiting out of doors."

<sup>3</sup>Fairchild, op. cit., pp. 77-78.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 117.

<sup>5</sup>For a fuller explanation and description of this "semiotique" approach, see Marianne Mesnil's Trois essais sur la fête; du folklore à l'éthnosémiotique, Bruxelles 1974, Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, especially the first essay, "Le lieu et le temps de la fête carnavalesque".

<sup>6</sup>For a fuller description of this, see P. Bezucha's "The Moralization of Society" in Jacques Beauroy et al., The Wolf and the Lamb; Popular Culture in France from the Old Regime to the Twentieth Century, Stanford French and Italian Studies, Saratoga 1977, pp. 175-187. This study of the Nineteenth century Société Protrectrice des animaux focuses on middle class distaste of popular blood sports, and its relatively late introduction into French sensibilities.

<sup>7</sup>See Natalie Zemon Davis on the temporary loosening of social bonds in order to strengthen them further in "The Reasons of Misrule: Youth Groups and Carnivals in Sixteenth Century France" in Past and Present, 1971, pp. 41-75. Michael R. Marrus "observations also apply here: "in a classic study of festivity, Roger Caillois once stressed the crucial function of release from the rules of daily life, the orgiastic reversal of everyday controls. My own reading of the significance of fêtes in French rural society is quite the opposite: while it is true that there was plenty of drinking

and blowing off steam during the fêtes, there was also an even greater degree of regulated behaviour than in the course of la vie quotidienne. Villagers marched about, danced, prayed, drank and feasted according to a regimen whose rigor impressed many observers". Michael R. Marrus, "Folklore as an Ethnographic Source: A Mise au Point" in The Wolf and the Lamb, pp. 109-125.

<sup>8</sup>Raymond, Montpetit, Le Temps des Fêtes au Québec, Montréal 1978, Editions de l'Homme, p. 12.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., "Un analyse de la symbolique et du rituel d'une fête permet de décèler la marque du pouvoir qui l'organise; la fête contient toujours une projection idéalisée de l'image qu'un groupe social cherche à donner de lui-même, de la conception qu'il se fait du pouvoir qu'il exerce et de l'ordre qu'il maintient. C'est ainsi qu'une messe de minuit de Noël et un réveillon en Nouvelle-France ne sont pas étrangers à la structure politique et religieuse du pays, ni à son mode de production agricole. ...Quand elle se produit, passé, présent, et avenir sont en elle articulés qu'à l'ordinaire, ce qui fait de la fête un moment qui se sait et se veut exceptionnel..."

<sup>10</sup>Herbert Gutman, "Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America 1815-1919" in American Historical Review (78), 1973, p. 543.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 554-556.

<sup>12</sup>Dean MacCannell, The Tourist, A New Theory of the Leisure Class, New York, 1976, an excellent study of the effects of "modernization" on the rest of the world through the medium of the North American middle class tourist, but with the lack of an adequate conceptualization of "modernization".

<sup>13</sup>Arnold van Gennep, Manuel de folklore français contemporain: "Les cérémonies périodiques, cycliques et saisonnières", Paris 1947, tome 1:3.

<sup>14</sup>Madeleine Doyon-Ferland, Coutumes populaires du Canada Français, Archives de folklore, Québec 1972, quoting Hector Berthelot, "Le bon vieux temps", p. 134-135.

<sup>15</sup>H.P. LeMay, Fêtes et corvées, Lévis, 1898, pp. 24-25.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>18</sup> Montreal Star, February 5, 1884, p. 5.

<sup>19</sup> For an excellent study of the question of leisure in nineteenth century Britain, see Peter Bailey's Leisure and Class in Victorian England, London, Toronto, Buffalo 1978. Bailey calls the field of leisure "one of the major frontiers of social change in the nineteenth century, and like most frontiers it was disputed territory" (p. 5). The crux of the problem for both the Victorians and for their Canadian counterparts seems, in the period of Bailey's study 1830-1895 to centre around "...the idea of recreation as a safety valve whose cathartic effect justified the suspension of normal social disciplines was unacceptable to men primarily concerned to maintain social control and conformity. Play was not to be allowed any form of special licence; rather it had to be firmly and unequivocally integrated with the rest of life and securely anchored in orthodox morality." (p. 94) This period then became "the house-training of the English proletariat". (p. 174).

<sup>20</sup> William Parker Greenough, Canadian Folk-Life and Folk-Lore, New York 1897.

<sup>21</sup> See Joseph Levitt, Henri Bourassa and the Golden Calf, The Social Program of the Nationalists of Quebec (1900-1914), Ottawa 1972.

<sup>22</sup> Kenneth MacLeish, "Quebec: French City in an Anglo-Saxon World" National Geographic, vol. 139, (3), march 1971, pp. 416-422.

<sup>23</sup> An interesting example of this travel literature by the publisher of the Quebec Daily Telegraph and a leading proponent of the Quebec Carnival in 1894 was Frank Carrel's Guide to the City of Quebec, Quebec 1896, Daily Telegraph which included everything that the visitor to the city might want to know: history, hotels, monuments, resorts, etc., and which was bound together with an All-round Route and Panoramic Guide of the Saint Lawrence (Montreal 1899, International Railway Publishing Co.) which covered beaches, towns, hotels, resorts and train schedules from Halifax to Buffalo and from the Adirondacks to the Saguenay River.

<sup>24</sup> Montreal Star, Friday Feb. 2, 1883.

<sup>25</sup>MacCannell, op. cit., Chapter 3, "The Paris Case: Origins of Alienated Leisure", pp. 57-76, the point being the distortions inherent in the mediated experience, especially in the mediated tourist experience, which can never penetrate to the interior of a situation but must be content with the "on stage" view, not the "backstage", even at the Gobelins or in the sewers. There is a "wall" of mediation between the workers here and their observers.

<sup>26</sup>Quebec Mercury, Feb. 12, 1866, p. 2.

<sup>27</sup>City Council of Quebec, Procès-verbaux du conseil, de Février 1865 à Août 1866, Municipal Archives of Quebec City, By-law 192 "For the Good Order and Peace of the City of Quebec", passed December 22, 1865 with bilingual texts, p. 273, and printed December 11, 1865 in Le Canadien and in The Daily News.

<sup>28</sup>Quebec Mercury, Thursday Feb. 15, 1866, p. 2.

<sup>29</sup>Quebec City Council, Procès-verbaux..., pp. 273-323, Règlement 196 "Concernant les maisons de prostitution et autres maisons de désordre" (23 février, 1866), Règlement 197 "Concernant les Maîtres, les Commis, les apprentis, les domestiques et les ouvriers" (23 février 1866) and also by the same council Règlement 206 "Concernant les maisons de prostitution, les maisons de désordre et autres réputées comme telles" (10 Août 1866).

<sup>30</sup>E.Z. Massicotte, "Jours gras, mardi gras, mercredi des cendres: Moeurs et coutumes d'autrefois", in Bulletin des recherches historiques, xxvii, 3, mars 1921, p. 89.

<sup>31</sup>Robert-Lionel Séguin, Les Divertissements en Nouvelle-France, Ottawa, 1968, p. 36. In February of 1663 an earthquake shook Quebec City and continued interittently until August, causing Mère Marie del'Incarnation to draw inevitable moral lessons from it. In a letter to her son on August 20, 1663, she wrote:  
"So unexpected a calamity, when the young people were preparing to spend the carnival season in excesses, was a clap of thunder on everyone's head. It was rather a clap of God's mercy upon the whole country, as was seen by its results..." in Joyce Marshall, trans., ed., Word From New France- The Selected Letters of Marie de l'Incarnation, Toronto 1967, p. 289. See also Ibid. p. 297 "...The days of carnival were changed into days of penitence and sadness;

public prayers, processions, and pilgrimages were continual, fasts on bread and water very frequent, and general confessions more sincere than they would have been in the extremity of sickness."

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., "Momon" or "mummary", to use the old English equivalent is defined in Seguin to mean: "le défi d'un coup de dez, qu'on fait quand on est déguisé en masque. Il est deffendu de parler quand on porte un mommon" Seguin, p. 36. Thus a "mommerie" in 1701 was "Mascarade, boufonnerie, déguisement de gens masquez pour aller danser, jouer ou se rejouir." Ibid. - the same use of the term is found in Newfoundland - see below Note 37.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Massicotte, op. cit. p. 93.

<sup>35</sup>LeMay, op. cit. p. 14.

<sup>36</sup>Madeleine Doyon Ferland, op. cit., pp. 97-99.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 99, for a modern study of a contemporary example of leisure activities as influencing and even determining work habits in the community for the year along these same lines, see Gerald M. Sider's "Christmas Mummery and the New Year in Outport Newfoundland" in Past and Present, 71, May 1976, pp. 102-125.

<sup>38</sup>Ferland, op. cit., p. 98.

<sup>39</sup>Van Gennep, op. cit., p. 869 and also:  
"On remarquera d'ailleurs que les fêtes du solstice d'été ne sont pas identiques à celles du solstice d'hiver. Comme les fêtes de Carnaval-Carême et du printemps, les premières sont collectives, intéressent tous les habitants de la localité, ou du moins leurs représentants, la Jeunesse des deux sexes et, par affaiblissement, la société restreinte des enfants; en principe tous participent à la joie, et aux cérémonies populaires. Au lieu que les fêtes et cérémonies de la Noël, du Jour de l'An et des Rois sont essentiellement familiales et domestiques, ainsi que leurs vigiles ou veilles...  
Dans les fêtes patronales, elles aussi périodiques, les deux éléments se combinent, car elles sont, en principe, autant qu'un baptême et un mariage ou des funérailles, une occasion de renforcer à nouveau les liens familiaux ou locaux, et, d'autre part, le saint patron est une propriété collective." (Manuel...838-39).



<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 869.

<sup>41</sup>Examples in Quebec are also available as for example in St.-Romauld de Lévis and Hawksbury where: "Deux chanteurs personnifiant l'un, le Carême et l'autre, le Mardi-gras, vantent tour à tour les bienfaits du régime qu'ils représentent, puis au dernier couplet, le Mardi-gras s'écroule, vaincu, tandis que le Carême triomphe". Massicotte, op. cit., p. 93.

<sup>42</sup>Errol Hill, The Trinidad Carnival, Mandate for a National Theatre, Austin, Texas and London, 1972, University of Texas Press, p. 4, and also R. Muchembled, Culture Populaire et Culture des Elites dans la France Moderne, Paris, 1978, Flammarion, who saw this popular culture out of which the carnivals and other celebrations grew as not only "vivante, active et dynamique" but also and even more crucially as "une système de survie". p. 11.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., see also Claude Gaignebet's interpretation of Peter Breughel's painting (1559) 'Combat de Carnaval et de Careme' in his article "Le Combat de Carnaval et de Careme de P. Breughel" in Annales E.S.C., mars-avril 1972, pp. 313-345, where he claims the whole cycle of Carnival, Lent and Easter is depicted in each area of what is ostensibly a painting of what looks like a scene of confusion in a sixteenth-century Flemish village. His description of what is happening bears many resemblances to Madeleine Doyon-Ferland's description of carnaval or mardi gras in the Beauce. For example, the celebration of the "Jour de l'Ours" involves man disguised as a bear, or perhaps as a savage, breaking into the community dance, ritually defiles a maiden and is ritually killed, a custom that occurs in both areas. Another is the "Danse du Barbier" where a barber lathers up a customer and stabs him. The customer quickly revives and the dance goes on. As well, there are similarities in the customs of transvestism, masks and disguises, and the importance of effigies and their ritual punishment. Today's "Bonhomme Carnaval" of the Quebec City carnival is only the latest in a long series of the personification of the festival. Later on in France, carnival would take on the political overtones that Quebec, except for the straw man (homme de paille) as a figure of fun at election time, would never see. In the nineteenth century as political expressions of the legacy of the Revolution became for one party or another difficult at one time or another, republicans and monarchists alike would seek to express their political opinions through the masked behaviour and symbolism of carnival in the tradition of anonymous protest. For a fuller discussion of this see Robert Bezucha's "Mask of Revolution: Popular Culture in the Second Republic" in Roger Price, ed., Revolution and Reaction: 1848

and the Second French Republic, pp. 236-253. For a fuller historical treatment of the subject for the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, see Yves-Marie Bercé, Fête et Révolte, des mentalités populaires du XVIIe au XVIIIe siècle, Paris, Hachette 1976.

<sup>44</sup> Benjamin Gastineau, Le Carnaval ancien et moderne, Paris 1862. The book appeared as part of a series entitled "Histoire de la folie humaine", p. 24. See also Perry Young's The Mystick Crewe, New Orleans 1931, pp. 5-6 for a brief history of Carnival in France and on the origins of the customs in Greece, their debauchery and decline, and the decline of its celebration after 1870 in France.

<sup>45</sup> Gastineau, op. cit., pp. 104-105.

<sup>46</sup> Hill, op. cit., pp. 10-12.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. Fraser said "In former days and down to the period of the emancipation of the slaves, the carnival was kept up with much spirit by the upper classes... the leading Members of Society used on the days of Carnival to drive through the streets of Port of Spain masked, and in the evenings go from house to house which were all thrown open for the occasion." p. 10.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>53</sup> Young, Mystick Crewe..., pp. 41-42. In 1868, during the political tensions in the aftermath of the U.S. Civil War, general masking in the streets of the city was ended forever and the unmasked crowds now watched the masked parades of the Crews of Comus, by virtue of the Police Chief's Special Orders No. 60, February 24, 1868. Young, p. 87.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 56, and also Leonard V. Huber's Mardi Gras: A Pictorial History of Carnival in New Orleans, Gretna Louisiana 1977, Pelican Pub. Co., p. 8.

<sup>57</sup>Young, op. cit. pp. 56-57.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>59</sup>Hill, op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>60</sup>Montreal Star, Thursday Feb. 6, 1884, p. 3.

NOTES

CHAPTER II

<sup>1</sup>G.M. Fairchild, Jr. A Short Account of ye Quebec Winter Carnival Holden in 1894, Quebec 1894, p. CIX.

<sup>2</sup>Stanley Triggs and J. Russell Harper. A Collection of Notman Photographs - 1851-1915. Portrait of a Period, it contains a number of pictures of very gaunt-looking people of the Lower Town, - McGill University Press, Montreal, 1967.

<sup>3</sup>Fairchild, op. cit., p. CIV quoting the New York Sun, dateline Quebec City, February 1, 1894.

<sup>4</sup>G.M. Fairchild, Jr. Gleanings from Quebec, Quebec 1908, p. 130, see also George Gale, Quebec Twixt Old and New, Quebec 1915, or Pierre Savard's reissue of Stanislas Lortie's Compositeur-typographique de Quebec, Paris 1903.

<sup>5</sup>Paul Laroque.- La Condition socio-économique des travailleurs de la Ville de Québec 1896-1914, MA Thesis, Laval University, Québec 1970, p. 163, Quoting Arthur St.-Pierre, La Question ouvrière au Canada, Montreal, 1920.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 24 in Laroque, emphasis mine.

<sup>7</sup>Jacques Mathieu, La condition ouvrière dans l'industrie de cuir à Québec de 1900 à 1930 d'après les procès-verbaux d'un syndicat, unpublished MA Thesis, Laval University, 1970, p. 19.

<sup>8</sup>Lortie, op. cit., pp. 111-112.

<sup>9</sup>Laroque, op. cit., p. 131.

<sup>10</sup>L'Electeur, 23 janvier, 1893.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Quebec Daily Telegraph, 7 November, 1893, p. 2 and L'Evenement, 18 janvier, 1894.

<sup>13</sup>Fairchild, op. cit., p. (on financial crisis...)

<sup>14</sup>Laroque, op. cit., p. 136.

<sup>15</sup>L'Evenement, 18 janvier, 1894, p. 2.

<sup>16</sup>Montreal Star, 8 January, 1884. For an indication of the number of men required for such work. Fifty to sixty labourers and masons began work on Montreal's ice palace that year just after Christmas and worked right up to the opening of the carnival in January. In Montreal for the following years carnival, the Star of 5 January reported that the applications for such work far exceeded the number of people required and that "Thousands of Montreal Workmen (were) in Actual Want".

<sup>17</sup>Montreal Star, 24 January, 1885, p. 6. The costume was Othello.

<sup>18</sup>Laroque for wages, op. cit., pp. 159-75 and Gregory Kealy, Canada Investigates Industrialism, Toronto, U. of T. Press, 1973, pp. 308-313 for further examples of wage rates.

<sup>19</sup>Jean-Pierre Wallot, "Religion and French Canadian Mores in the Early Nineteenth Century", Canadian Historical Review, LIII/1 (March 1971) p. 82.

<sup>20</sup>Stanislas Lortie, Compositeur-typographique de Québec dans le système des engagements volontaires permanents d'après les renseignements recueillis sur les lieux en 1903- in Paysans et Ouvriers de Québec d'autrefois, (Québec 1968) p. 67. Lady Aberdeen noted as well that "public opinion in favour of dancing is getting too strong for the clergy and the Church is beginning to forget to enforce its penalties." Canadian Diary, p. 17.

<sup>21</sup>Mandements, lettres pastorales, circulaires et autres documents publiés dans le Diocèse de Montréal depuis son érection, vol. IV, (Montréal 1893), pp. 130-133, and pp. 526-531.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., pp. 740-746.

<sup>23</sup>In 1885, Mgr. Fabre issued a mandement condemning the public slides and snowshoeing facilities where women were allowed to wear the costume of the snowshoe clubs, which he regarded as a form of male attire. Citing Deuteronomy, the prelate made it clear that such activities were relics of a savage past, and as Archbishop of Montreal, he would not tolerate such activity in his diocese. In Paul Carpentier, La Raquette à neige, Trois Rivières 1976, Boréal express, p. 102-103.

<sup>24</sup>Lorenze Cadieux S.J., ed. Lettres des Nouvelles Missions du Canada 1843-1852, (Montréal 1973), 18 e Lettre, p. 308.

<sup>25</sup>Joe Wildgust, "Cashing in on Carnival", Weekend Magazine, 14 Feb. 1978 p. 16.

<sup>26</sup>Larocque, op. cit. p. 186.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 188.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>For the hostile attitude of labour unions like the Knights of Labour to alcohol and those who served it see Pierre de Lottineville, "Joe Beef of Montreal" in Labour/Le Travailleur 8-9 (1981-82) pp. 33-34.

<sup>31</sup>See the Quebec Morning Chronicle, 2 December 1865, "Disorderly Houses"; the number of houses was quickly found out to be an exaggeration but not before the news had made the Montreal papers; also Journal de Québec 25 novembre 1865, "Conseil de Ville" and Ibid., 9 février 1866. The by-laws in question are from the Conseil de Ville de Québec, Procès-verbaux..., pp. 273-323, Règlement 196 "Concernant les maisons de prostitution et autres maisons de désordre" (23 février 1866), and Règlement 206 "Concernant les maisons de prostitution, les maisons de désordre et autres réputées comme telles" (10 août 1866) which amended the earlier by-law.

<sup>32</sup>L'Union médicale du Canada, XIV (1885), p. 96.

<sup>33</sup>Lortie, op. cit. p. 64. He found that out of a total population of 68,834 in 1901, there were 19,756 men and 24,348 women classified as unmarried. This made a total of 44,104 single persons, or about two thirds of the population.

<sup>34</sup>See Roger Lemelin, La Famille Plouffe and Gabrielle Roy, Bonheur d'Occasion two of the most powerful Quebec novels to depict the period of the 1930's, the former in the Lower Town of Quebec and the latter in the poor working class section of Montreal, St.-Henri.

<sup>35</sup>Lortie, op. cit., p. 100.

<sup>36</sup>Laroque, op. cit., p. 171.

<sup>37</sup>See Alan Metcalfe, "The Evolution of Organized Physical Recreation in Montreal, 1840-1895" in Social History XI (21) May 1978 pp.

<sup>38</sup>Gene M. Home, "Sliders and Backsliders - Toronto's Sunday Tobogganing Controversy of 1912" in Urban History Review X (2), October 1981, pp. 25-34.

<sup>39</sup>"Pour demander pardon à Dieu des offenses qui se commettent en ce temps de plaisirs et de fêtes", L'Electeur, 6 février, 1894.

<sup>40</sup>See Jacques Rouillard, Les Travailleurs de Coton au Québec 1900-1915, Presses de l'Université du Québec, Montréal 1974.

<sup>41</sup>Jean Hamelin, Yves Robie. Histoire économique de Québec, p. 17.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., pp. 264-265.

<sup>43</sup>Jobin, Histoire de Québec, p. 147; Hamelin and Roby, op. cit. pp. 275-76.

<sup>44</sup>Narcisse Rosa. La construction des navires à Québec et ses environs: Grèves et naufrages, Québec 1897, Léger Brousseau, pp. 26-27.

<sup>45</sup>Jobin, op. cit., p. 149.

<sup>46</sup>For a rather naively uncritical description of this process, see Jobin, op. cit., pp. 155-157.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., by 1939 well over half the shoe manufacturers in Canada were concentrated in Quebec (twice as many as in Ontario, the next largest concentration) and were a mainstay of French Canadian enterprise; most in Quebec were French Canadian owned, 114 out of 136.

<sup>48</sup>Indicateur de Québec et Lévis, Québec, Demers et Frère 1893, pp. 105 and 121.

<sup>49</sup>Laroque, op. cit., p. 10. There were 512 workers in the tanneries and 3858 in the shoe factories.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 20 and see also the Indicateur p.106 and pp. 115-121.

<sup>52</sup>The Irish, for example had dropped in numbers from 10,000 in 1861 to 4381 in 1901 and their decline also led to the decline of the Quebec Ship Labourers' Benevolent Society. For that see Hamelin, pp. 312-313 and also J.I. Cooper, "The Quebec Ship Labourers' Benevolent Society" in CHR 30 (4) December 1949, p. 342.

<sup>53</sup>Indicateur, p. 97, and pp. 105-117; See Table 5 Appendix.

<sup>54</sup>Indicateur, p. 25.

<sup>55</sup>See especially in this regard John Keyes "La diversification de l'activité économique de Timothy Hibbard Dunn, commerçant de bois à Québec 1850-1898" in RHAF 35 (3) Décembre 1981, pp. 323-336, and for the cultural interests of some members of the English community. See Ginette Bernatchez, "La Société littéraire et historique de Québec 1824-1890, RHAF 35 (2) Septembre 1981, pp. 179-192.

<sup>56</sup>Indicateur, p. 78, The president was a French Canadian, the vice president was English speaking, etc.

<sup>57</sup>Jacques Mathieu, "La condition ouvrière dans l'industrie de cuir à Québec de 1900 à 1930, d'après les procès-verbaux d'un syndicat", unpublished M.A. Thesis, Laval University, 1970, pp. 33-38. Emphasis mine.



<sup>58</sup> Paul-André Linteau. "Quelques réflexions autour de la bourgeoisie québécoise 1850-1914" in RHAF 30 (1) Juin 1976, pp. 55-66, this citation, p. 58.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>62</sup> cf. Ouellet's Chambre de Commerce de Quebec which has some useful information and John Keyes, op. cit. on members of the Dunn family.

<sup>63</sup> Linteau, p. 62, these railways were The Quebec North Shore Railroad, "le chemin de fer Levis à Kennebec (plus tard Québec Central)...enfin le chemin de fer Québec et Lac-St.-Jean" "Dans ce dernier cas, Normand Séguin a bien montré comment le chemin de fer a été un instrument majeur de pénétration du capital de Québec au Lac-St.-Jean. Les marchands de bois, les commerçants en gros, les sociétés de prêt hypothécaire représentent autant de facettes des activités de la moyenne bourgeoisie de la capitale. Celle-ci se dote d'instruments qui lui sont propres comme la Banque Nationale ou la Banque de Québec. Les Beaudet, Shehyn, Chinic, Thibaudeau, illustrent parmi d'autres, la diversité des activités de ce groupe."

<sup>64</sup> cf. Marc Bélanger "les Chambres de Commerce - groupes de pression ou coopératives de développement" Recherches sociographiques 9 (1968) 1 and 2, pp. 85-103, especially p. 86.

<sup>65</sup> L'Electeur, 8 février, 1893, p. 4.

<sup>66</sup> For his testimony, see Kealy, Canada Investigates Industrialism, pp. 286-288, and on the strike, see Jean Hamelin, Paul Laroque, Jacques Rouillard, Répertoire des Grèves dans la Province de Québec au XIX Siècle, Montréal, 1970, pp. 95-96.

<sup>67</sup> Kealy, Canada Investigates Industrialism, pp. 288-289 and for a graphic description of some of the working conditions, see Cooper, op. cit. on the Quebec Ship Labourers' Benefit Society, pp. 337-338.

<sup>68</sup>Cooper, op. cit., p. 340.

<sup>69</sup>Kealy, op. cit., p. 290-91.

<sup>70</sup>Hamelin et al., Répertoire des Grèves, pp. 97-98.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., pp. 109-110.

NOTES

CHAPTER III

<sup>1</sup>Quebec Daily Telegraph, 19 October, 1893.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. In the end the castle was placed elsewhere - in the Upper Town.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 21 October, 1893.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Quebec Daily Telegraph, 23 October, 1893.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 31 October, 1893.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 2 November, 1893.

<sup>13</sup>Montreal Star, 2 February, 1883.

<sup>14</sup>Montreal Star, Saturday, 27 January, 1883 - Joly, who headed 1894 Quebec Carnival, was quoted as being concerned with the "difficulty of doing anything civic in Quebec as compared to Montreal".

<sup>15</sup>Charles Baillargé, "L'Ingénieur de la Cité au Conseil de Ville", memo 5753 Québec, 1er février 1883- Archives de la Ville de Québec, Hôtel-de-Ville. The only

part of his advice ignored was that he was not placed in overall charge. He was just a member of the construction committee.

<sup>16</sup>Quebec Daily Telegraph, 3 November, 1893.

<sup>17</sup>See Table I - QAAA and Table 2, St. Roch, A.A. Appendix

<sup>18</sup>See Table **III**- Carnival Committees.

<sup>19</sup>G.M. Fairchild Jr. A Short Account of Ye Quebec Winter Carnival Holden in 1894, Quebec 1894. His papers in the Quebec Archives contain letters from Van Horne and one from Van Horne's widow. There are also accounts in his diary about dinners in town with the Literary Society, whose members were both French and English.

<sup>20</sup>Fairchild, op. cit. p. 13.

<sup>21</sup>Montreal Star, 29 January, 1883.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 6 January, 1883, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 19 January, 1883, containing a letter from the private secretary of the United States President declining, and Montreal Star, 8 January, 1884.

<sup>24</sup>Fairchild, op. cit., pp. 77-78. Fairchild often pointed out how impressed "high society matrons from Chicago" and others were with Quebec and the carnival.

<sup>25</sup>Fairchild, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., pp. 135-40 - for a list of subscribers to the Carnival Fund.

<sup>28</sup>L'Événement, 24 janvier, 1894.

<sup>29</sup>see Table III.

<sup>30</sup> Alan Metcalfe, "The Evolution of Organized Physical Recreation in Montreal, 1840-1895", in Social History, XI/21 (May 1978) p. 149, and see also Peter Bailey's Leisure and Class in Victorian England, London 1978, pp: 124-146 "Rational Recreation and the New Athleticism".

<sup>31</sup> The Montreal Daily Star, Literary Supplement to the Carnival Number of 1885, p. 1, "Origin of the Carnival". "It was at the annual banquet of the Montreal Snowshoe Club on Thursday, February 9, 1882 that Mr. R.D. McGibbon suggested the propriety of holding a Carnival of Winter Sports in Montreal every year, with the object of showing our neighbours to the South the glories of our Canadian Winter. The proposition was hailed with enthusiasm by the snowshoers, and joyfully echoed and reechoed by the tobogganers, the skaters, the curlers, and the press."

<sup>32</sup> See above Chapter 2.

<sup>33</sup> Indicateur, p. 78 for Chambre de Commerce, and S.P.C.A. p. 97; see Table 5, Appendix.

<sup>34</sup> Peter Bailey. Leisure and Class in Victorian England, London, 1978, p. 77.

<sup>35</sup> L'Événement, 30 janvier, 1894.

<sup>36</sup> L'Événement, 29 janvier, 1894.

<sup>37</sup> Fairchild, op. cit., pp. 115-116. Quoting J. Ralph of the New York Sun. Lady Aberdeen, who displayed a certain sensitivity to these things, observed that the hotel's chief function and orientation was to the American tourist trade "which is wise considering that it is the American public whom it is intended to catch so as to make this enterprise a success." Diary, pp. 63-64.

<sup>38</sup> Lady Aberdeen, Diary, p. 64.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> L'Événement, 2 février, 1894. Even before the ball L'Evenement observed the deliberately exclusive nature of the price of admission which was "tellement élevé qu'un petit nombre seulement pourront y assister." L'Événement, 29 janvier, 1894.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Fairchild, op. cit., pp. 55-60.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 56 and L'Événement, 29 janvier, 1894.

<sup>45</sup>Fairchild, op. cit., pp. 71-72.

<sup>46</sup>Quebec Daily Telegraph, Carnival Special Number 1894, Quebec, 1894.

<sup>47</sup>One thinks of Carrel, Fairchild, George Gale and a host of other popularizers who made the city known to an English-speaking audience.

<sup>48</sup>Montreal Witness, Carnival Number, 1885, p. 2, "Our Ice Castles Past and Present", and Ibid., Carnival Number of 1887.

<sup>49</sup>Marc Lafrance, "Le Project Dufferin: La Conservation d'un monument historique à Quebec au XIXe siècle" in Le Parc de l'Artillerie et les Fortifications de Québec (Ottawa 1977) Parcs Canada, pp. 80-81. It was only the federal government's inability to come up with the necessary \$100,000 that prevented the plan from being carried out.

<sup>50</sup>Montreal Star, 5 February, 1884.

<sup>51</sup>Telegraph, 3 February, 1894 and also L'Evenement, 5 fevrier, 1894, which calculated the financial benefits to be only ten times the original investment of \$10,000.

<sup>52</sup>L'Événement, 5 fevrier, 1894.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., see also Lord Aberdeen's telegram to Joly after the carnival: "When I have the honor of submitting to the Queen some account of the success and éclat which have distinguished this, the first carnival in Quebec, I doubt not that Her Majesty will be graciously interested and gratified by the intelligence, all the more because the success has been so largely due to the activity of Her Majesty's French Canadian subjects, whose loyalty is undoubtedly a source of pride and satisfaction to Her Majesty, as it assuredly is also

to the British people as a whole." Montreal Star, February 8, 1894.

<sup>54</sup>L'Événement, 5 fevrier, 1894.

<sup>55</sup>Telegraph, February 4, 1896. Eighty to one hundred thousand people were estimated to have witnessed the attack on the ice palace that year.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

<sup>58</sup>From a copy of an unpublished report by J.T. Coulombe (1927) p. 6, in the Quebec Municipal Archives/Archives de la Ville de Quebec at the City Hall. The department where the account originated was not indicated.

<sup>59</sup>Telegraph, February 4, 1896.

<sup>60</sup>Montreal Star, 13 February 1889, "The Young Men of Montreal".

<sup>61</sup>See Vancouver Sun, 8 February, 1982 p. B6. "Drunken revellers' stunts turn carnival into circus", for a recent example of a Canadian Press story calling the carnival an "annual celebration of ice and alcohol"; or Ibid., February 10, 1982, "Carnival's wicked brew warms revellers". p. A16. Quebec City's is not the only carnival to suffer unfavourable coverage, however. There have been deaths in New Orleans (Vancouver Sun, 4 March, 1981, "Mardi gras deaths spur safety charges", p. A9) and Rio (Vancouver Province, February 24, 1982, p. B3, "Revellers whoop it up"), and some forms of extreme behaviour like public nudity and street crime, (Vancouver Province, 22 February, 1982, "Topless revellers shock Rio").

NOTES

CHAPTER IV

<sup>1</sup>Bailey, op. cit., p. 64.

<sup>2</sup>Masicotte, op. cit., p. 93.



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APPENDIX OF PHOTOGRAPHS,

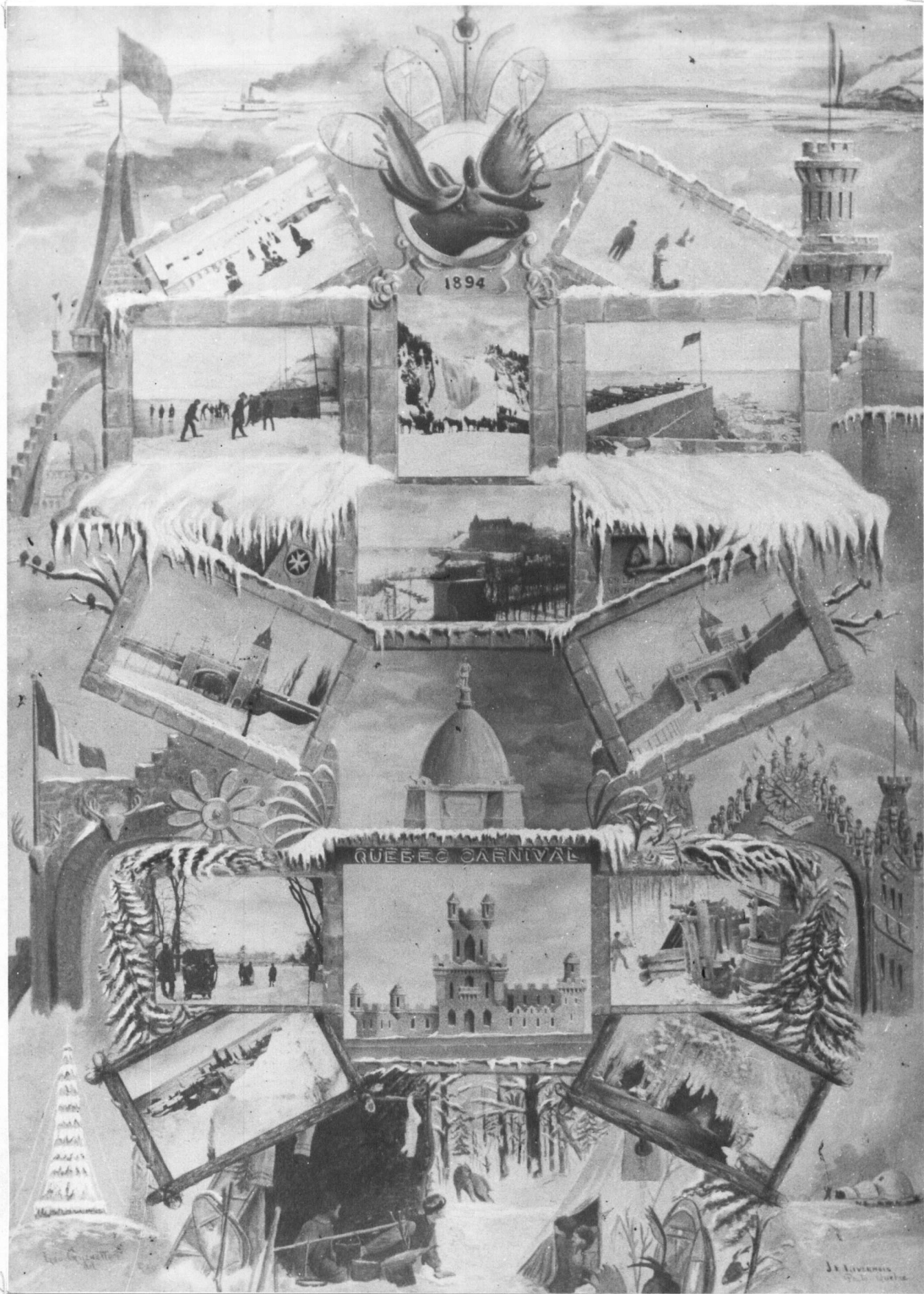
MAPS, AND TABLES.



1. Collage, the Quebec Carnival of 1894

A collage of various nostalgic and contemporary views of the city for the carnival of 1894 by Livernois. Note the flags on the archways, the "living arch" on the lower right, the ice palace, and the statue of Frontenac atop the ice cone in the centre of the picture. Just under the icicles of the eaves to the right of the picture of the Chateau Frontenac above the ice cone is the "Chien d'or" immortalized in a novel written in the period, about New France. At the top of the collage, the Quebec-Lévis ferry crosses the icy river.

Photograph by Charles Livernois, courtesy of the Public Archives of Canada.  
PA - 28844



2. Ice Statues, the Quebec Carnival of 1894

Jobin's large ice statues of Champlain, Laval and Bréboeuf, with the Seminary and the tower of the Basilica in the background.

Photograph by Charles  
Livernois, courtesy of  
the Public Archives of  
Canada.  
PA - 24069



3. Ice Palace, the Quebec Winter Carnival of 1894

The ice palace on the Esplanade with the roofs of the city in the background. The Public Archives dates the picture as "c. 1896" but the structure bears a closer resemblance to the palace at the 1894 celebrations. Note the French, British And American flags on the Towers as well as the Red Ensign.

Photograph by Charles  
Livernois, courtesy of  
the Public Archives of  
Canada.  
PA - 23630



4. Archway at the Quebec Winter Carnival of 1896

The elaborate archway at the corner of Crown and St. Joseph Streets in St. Roch. The spire of the parish church of St. Roch appears just to the left of the tower. This structure was more elaborate than the archways for the carnival of 1894. Plans in the Municipal archives indicate that it was designed by the city engineer, Charles Baillairgé.

Photograph by Charles  
Livernois, courtesy of  
the Public Archives of  
Canada.  
PA - 23636





5. Ice Palace, the Montreal Winter Carnival of 1889

The ice palace of the Montreal Winter Carnival of 1889. Covering much of Dominion Square in downtown Montreal, it was the largest and most elaborate of all the carnival palaces, and was constructed of thousands of blocks of ice from the St. Lawrence River. This night-time picture of its dramatic interior illumination gives a small idea of its striking appearance, even without the presence of the torchlit procession and fireworks that accompanied its "surrender" during the carnival celebrations.

Photograph by Charles  
Livernois, courtesy of  
the Public Archives of  
Canada.

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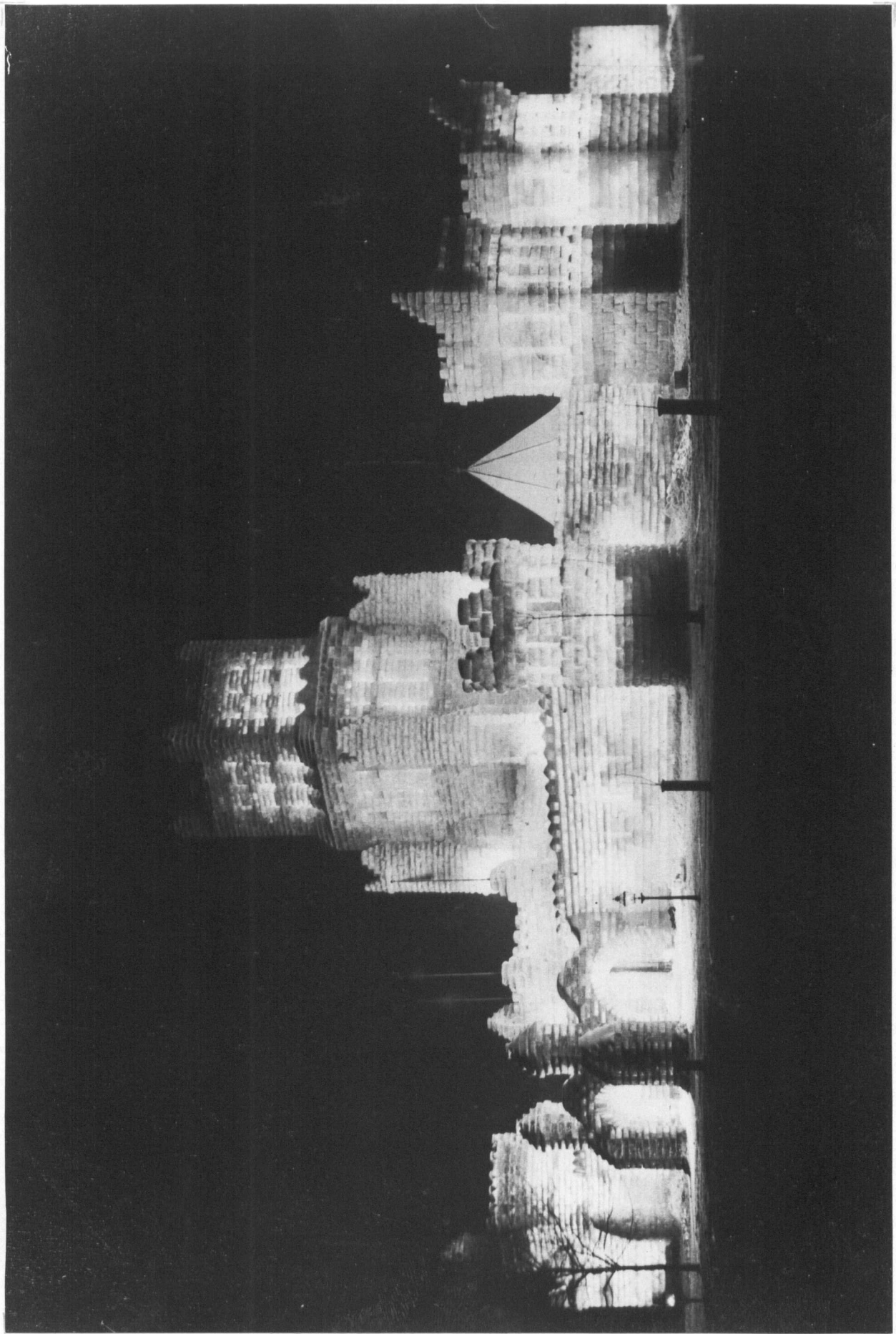




Table 1

The Quebec Amateur Athletic Association

Name of Member	Occupation	Carnival Committee
Honorary President:		
Ho. H.G. Joly de Lotbinière	Former Premier	Executive Comm. Carnival President
Honorary Vice-Presidents:		
The Mayor of Quebec	Lawyer	-
Hon. T.C. Casgrain	Lawyer, Quebec Attorney General	Railway Comm.
Richard Turner	Wholesale Grocer Chamber of Commerce	Subscription Finance Comm.
John T. Ross	Wholesale Grocer	-
President:		
Walter J. Ray	Lumber Company Manager	-
First Vice President:		
Arthur Picard	Plumbing Company Partner	Finance Comm.
Second Vice-President:		
H.B. Scott	-	-
Secretary:		
Eric Dorion	Government Clerk	Executive Comm. Subscription
Treasurer:		
H.A. Tofield	Bank Clerk	-
R.J. Davidson	Investor	Snowshoe Comm.
W.A.C. Baldwin	Commission Merchant	Snowshoe Comm. Sliding and Tobogganning
W. Price	Family ties with Lumber Merchant	-
Capt. C.J. Dunn	Clerk, Secretary- Treasurer of Quebec Garrison Club.	Hockey, Skating

Table 1 Continued...

Name of Member	Occupation	Carnival Committee
F.S. Stocking	Family ties to R.M. Stocking, U.S. Vice Consul, and General Ticket Agent	Sliding and Tobogganning
A. Turner	-	-
F. McKnaughton	-	Sliding and Tobogganning
James Piddington	Accountant	-

Compiled from the Indicateur de Québec et Lévis for 1893-1894, Québec 1893, Demers, and from G.M. Fairchild, A Short Account of ye Quebec Winter Carnival Holden in 1894, Quebec 1894, The Telegraph.

Table 2

L'Association athlétique de St.-Roch-de-Québec, occupations of members, membership on carnival committees

President:

J.B. Laliberté - Furrier, Executive Committee, Railway Committee

Vice-President:

G. Rochette - , Tandem Drive Committee

Secretary:

J.E. Boily - , Bowling and Rackets Committee

Treasurer:

N. Lavoie - Manager, Banque du Peuple (St.-Roch), Subscription Committee, Snowshoe Committee

J. Gauthier - - Subscription Committee

E.T. Nesbitt - Builder and Lumber Dealer; Factory Corner St.-Roch and Queen Streets; Chamber of Commerce, Snowshoe Committee

Charles Roy - Leather Merchant, Boot and Shoe Manufacturer, Quebec, Chamber of Commerce, Snowshoe Committee, Subscription Committee

J.H. Gignac - Timber Merchant and Sawmill Owner, Alderman for St. Roch Ward.

J.E. Martineau - Hardware Merchant, Chancellor of the Catholic Mutual Benevolent Association of St. Roch, Subscription Committee

Source: Indicatuier de Québec et Lévis pour 1893-1894, Quebec 1893, Demers.

Table 3

Names and Occupations of  
the members of major Carnival Committees  
(From G.M. Fairchild Jr., A Short Account of ye Quebec Winter  
Carnival Holden in 1894, Quebec 1894, The Telegraph, and In-  
dicateur de Québec, Québec 1894, Demers)

1) Executive Committee:

H.G. Joly de Lotbinière - avocat, former Premier of Quebec  
L.P. Pelletier - Registrar of Quebec  
Richard Turner - of Whitehead and Turner, Wholesale Grocers  
J.U. Gregory - Manager of Government Steamers; Agent,  
Department of Marine  
J.B. Laliberté - Hatter and Fur Merchant, President  
Association Athlétique de St.-Roch  
John H. Holt - of G.R. Renfrew and Co., Hatters and  
Furriers; "Furriers to the Queen"  
John C. More - Manager, Merchants' Bank of Canada  
Eric Dorion - Civil Service Clerk, Secretary Q.A.A.A.  
A.E. Swift -

2) Press Committee:

Thomas Chapais - Member of the Legislative Council,  
Proprietor and Editor Courier du Canada  
Jules P. Tardivel - Proprietor and Editor, La Vérité  
E.D.T. Chambers - Editor, Morning Chronicle, Councillor  
for St. Louis Ward  
T.W.S. Dunn - Court House Clerk  
N. Levasseur - Major, Ninth Battalion City Gas Inspector  
and Secretary, Quebec Board of Trade  
P.G. Roy - directeur, Le Moniteur (Levis)

3) Finance Committee:

Richard Turner - of Whitehead and Turner, Wholesale  
Grocers, see also Executive Committee, and Chamber  
of Commerce  
Herbert M. Price - of H.M. Price and Co., Lumber Merchants  
and Vice President, Quebec Chamber of Commerce  
Bernard Leonard - Alderman for St. Louis Ward, Painter,  
Glazier and Wallpaper Importer  
A. Picard - - a number of A. Picards in the Indicateur  
W. Shaw - of the Chinic Hardware Co.  
Victor Châteauvert - of J. Renaud and Co., (China, Glass  
and Earthenware), MPP for Quebec Centre, President  
Quebec Chamber of Commerce

Table 3 Continued

4) Snowshoe Committee:

Captain George Van Felsen - Clerk  
R.J. Davidson - -  
W. Baldwin - Commission Merchant  
Martin Foley Jr. - Merchant Tailor and Alderman for  
St. Pierre Ward  
J. O'Neill - -  
Octave Langlois - Manager, Millinery Imports Company  
J. Lortie - -  
E.T. Nesbitt - Builder and Lumber Dealer, Quebec Chamber  
of Commerce  
N. Lavoie - Manager, Banque du Peuple (St.-Roch) and  
Treasurer Association Athlethque de St. Roch de  
Quebec  
Charles Roy - Leather Merchant, Boot and Shoe Manufacturer,  
Quebec Chamber of Commerce

5) Construction Committee:

F.X. Berlinguet - "Arbitre Officiel", Architect  
H. Stavely - Architect  
J.F. Peachey - Architect  
G.E. Tanguay - Architect, Draughtsman, Quebec Chamber of  
Commerce  
J.M. Lemoine - Inspector of Inland Revenue  
J. Gauthier - of J. and O. Gauthier, Painters, Decorators,  
Glaziers  
E. Jacot - Watchmaker and Jeweller  
E.F. Taché - Deputy Commissioner of Crown Lands  
J.H. Gignac - of O. Gignac et Fils, Timber Merchants and  
Sawmill Owners, Councillor for St. Roch Ward  
L.A. Belanger - -  
Thomas Raymond - Architect  
C. Baillairgé - City Engineer

6) Railway Committee:

R.R. Dobell - of Dobell, Beckett and Co., Lumber Merchants,  
Quebec Chamber of Commerce  
Hon. P. Garneau - Wholesale Drygoods Importers  
Hon. T.C. Casgrain - Lawyer, Attorney General for the  
Province of Quebec, Professor, Laval University,  
Q.A.A.A.  
J.B. Laliberté - Furrier, Executive Committee of Carnival  
President, Association Athlétique de St.-Roch-de-  
Québec  
C. Duquet - -



7) Advertising Committee:

- Frank Carrel - Editor, Printer, Proprietor Quebec Daily  
Telegraph
- George Duncan - CPR Passenger and Freight Agent, Quebec  
City
- R.M. Stocking - General Ticket Agent for the Railroad and  
Steamship Lines, U.S. Vice-Consul.
- James G. Scott - Secretary and Manager of the Quebec and  
Lake St. John Railway; General Manager and Secretary,  
Great Northern Railway
- H. Dunning - Manager, Chateau Frontenac Hotel
- J.U. Gregory - Manager of Government Steamers and Agent  
for the Department of Marine (see Executive  
Committee)
- Eric Dorion - see Executive Committee)
- L.Z. Joncas - M.P. Gaspé, directeur, L'Evénement
- J. Spanjaadt - -



Table 5

The Quebec Business Community, 1894

Ethnic Breakdown of Major Industries in Quebec City in 1894  
According to Company Name.

(Source: Indicateur de Québec et Lévis pour 1893-94, Québec 1893 Demers)

Kind of Business	Total	French	English	Unknown
Boot and Shoe Manufacturers	18	12	5	1
Builders and Contractors	13	8	5	-
Leather Merchants	11) over-	9	2	-
Tanners and Curriers	12) lap	12		-
Lumber, Timber Merchants and Brokers	33	11	22	-
Paper Manufacturers	3	1	2	-
Printers	16	10	6	-
Saw Mill Owners	8	5	3	-
Ship Builders (all in Lévis)	3	2	1	-
Physicians and Surgeons	53	38	15	-
Avocats (called 1835-1893)	124	91	33	-
Notaires (1838-1892)	61	52	9	-