Blunted Lives: Working Children in East-End Montreal, 1880-1890

Kathy C. Provost

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ABSTRACT

Blunted Lives: Working Children in East-End Montreal, 1880-1890

Kathy C. Provost

This thesis is a cross-sectional study with some longitudinal elements using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods to describe, compare and contrast the lives of working-class children in the municipal wards of St-Laurent, St-Louis, St-Jacques and Ste. Marie in the City of Montréal between 1880 and 1890. The research involved conducting an investigation of a select group of children aged 10 to 16 years through the use of contemporary census, demographic and pedagogical data. The pure research was used to better understand the roles that age, gender, parental occupational status, ethnicity and religion play in the work and educational life trajectories of children in Montréal's East-End wards in the late nineteenth century.

Research findings include that adolescent children (14-16 years) of fathers in unskilled occupations were the most likely to be working and the least likely to be in school. Boys and girls residing in female-headed households were generally more likely to be working than their counterparts in male-headed households. Children whose parents held professional/white collar occupations were more likely to be in school than their counterparts whose parents held skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled occupations. A critical shift in activity status occurs for girls around the age of 13 years and for boys around the age of 14 years. Irish Catholic and English Protestant children were more likely to be in school than their French Catholic counterparts.

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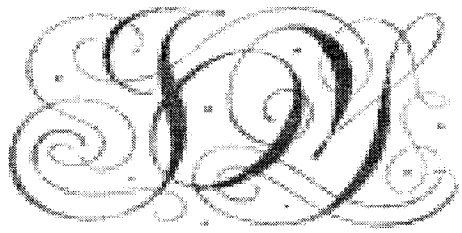
Mrs. Gloria D. Colangelo very kindly ran a protective interference when I needed to remain absorbed in the pages of *La Patrie* and the albums of E.-Z. Massicotte. Her husband, Mr. Robert St. Pierre, indirectly provided research inspiration and encouragement, with his own family history entrenched in Victorian East-End Montréal.

And last, but certainly not least, to my sister, Dr. Terry M.T. Provost, whose stubborn encouragement first stoked the moribund academic engine.

DEDICATION

To my mother and father, whose courage and perseverance are attestations to the greatness of the human spirit.



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1880-1890

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CHAPTER I.
INTRODUCTION: A PROLONGED CHILDHOOD FOR WHOM?

> Mrs. Otis Rockwood
> (Of Boston)
> begs to announce to the Musical Amateurs of Montreal that she is prepared to receive young Ladies and Gentlemen as students of Vocal culture at her residence,
> NO. 959 DORCHESTER STREET,
> between the hours of 10 and 2 daily. Special hours can be arranged for those finding the above inconvenient. Instruction in classes is also contemplated.[1]

This study examines the existence of a group of children who could not attend at Mrs. Rockwood's residence as students of vocal culture. Confined by the structural circumstances of their class, they inhabited a social space which was a world away from Mrs. Rockwood's respectable and elegant pedagogical activities. Rather than learning how to sing between the hours of 10 and 2 daily, they were learning about cigar moulds, shoe lasting machines, mechanical looms and making hats for the sartorial pleasure of women such as Mrs. Rockwood. Overlooked by adult labour activists as a very specific group in the nineteenth-century urban workforce, working children were textually/legislatively paired (and thereby subsumed) with adult female workers in contemporary political debates and oratory.

The chance to contemplate instruction in classes other than those of the cigar and tobacco factories, the boot and shoe factories or the cotton mills, was a pivotal component of the prolonged childhood which contemporary social gospellers were advocating in large North American and European cities. In this regard, the scholarly

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[1] The *Montreal Gazette*, Monday, January 3, 1881, pg. 4.

literature on Victorian childhood and child labour is almost unanimous in its agreement that a shift in adult perceptions of childhood occurred in the nineteenth century, and that this new notion of a prolonged childhood propelled the (often misguided) efforts of social reformers in large urban centres toward a concern for the lives of working-class children (see, for example, Zelizer, 1985; Cunningham, 1991; and Hopkins, 1994; as more fully discussed in Chapter II). Historical documents in the form of monographs, pamphlets, letters to newspaper editors, school charter letters patent, photographs and published statistical studies bear out the evidence of this new perception of childhood in large industrialized cities such as Boston, London, Toronto, Hamilton and New York. In these cities, reformers from one socioeconomic class became "concerned" about children from another (*viz.*, reform efforts driven from "above"). In London, for example, Lord Shaftesbury beat the drum loudly at Whitehall on behalf of the children in the Yorkshire coal mines and the textile factories in Leeds. Although many of the motives for this middle-class "concern" were heavily permeated by a socio-religious preoccupation with social control of the poor, Victorian reformers in the aforementioned cities were nonetheless recognizing as a "problem" the stark contrast between children playing in a bucolic schoolyard and their less-privileged peers "playing" on a factory floor.

However, apart from the charitable efforts of Protestant and Catholic bourgeois matrons with regard to the city's orphanages, this cross-class "concern" does not seem to have been wielded to any appreciable degree in Montréal. Working-class children in late Victorian Montréal were perceived and expected by the adults around them to behave and live in a manner which was quite different from that expected of their middle-class

counterparts. Childhood for the son of a day labourer in Ste. Marie Ward *ends* when he is sent as a twelve-year-old to work as an "apprentice" in a tobacco or boot factory. By contrast, childhood for his wealthier counterpart in St-Antoine Ward *continues* as he is sent to learn, for example, the Mazurka at Signor Hazazer's Dancing Academy on Cathcart Street.[2]

This nuanced dichotomy of prolonged childhood on the one hand, and attenuated or "blunted" childhood on the other, can be seen at work in the attitudes and expectations of Montréal's adults across *all* socioeconomic classes towards working-class children during the period under study. For example, it is doubtful that manufacturer Joseph M. Fortier treated his son, Napoléon, with the same egregious physical abuse which he inflicted (or sanctioned) on the children working in his cigar factory. Indeed, when pressed on this same point in 1889 by a fuming Jules Helbronner, Fortier's evasive and dissimulative responses indicate that he would not truly countenance his child being repeatedly struck with large, heavy objects for "corrective" purposes.[3] Similarly, Fortier's special constable, Ernest Goudreau, himself a member of the same proletarian class as Fortier's paediatric employees, did not hesitate to severely punish the children for "infractions" which were not considered to be infractions among middle-class children playing, for example, in Fletcher's Field Park: talking, fidgeting, laughing, roughhousing, and in cases where moulds or other machinery were too large or unwieldy for them to physically handle, dropping objects on the factory floor. The case of Fortier and his

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[2] Archives Massicotte: *Canadian Illustrated News*, April 13, 1872, pg. 227.

[3] Deposition of J.M. Fortier, *Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor in Canada, 1889*, Vol. 3, pp. 126-128 ("***RCLC***").

child employees illustrates that working-class children were *expected by adults to behave like adults* in a manner which was not expected of their middle-class peers outside the classroom: to be disciplined in their work habits, to be prompt in their attendance at work and to sit quietly, silently and obediently at their work benches. In the particular case of Montréal, adult expectations of the "orderly" (mature) comportment of working-class children were reflected in the published proceedings of contemporary institutional and regulatory bodies. For stealing an unspecified sum of money from his father, eleven-year-old Elzéar Lapointe was sentenced by a judge in the Police Court to five years at the juvenile reformatory.[4] Innocuous truancy, such as the pursuit of leisure instead of work, was also not a pastime deemed to be "suitable" for working-class children, especially in cases where it involved financial obligations to the family economy. For choosing to attend the circus one Saturday instead of going to work, a then-sixteen-year-old Edouard Miron was arrested and held for one day in the jail at City Hall.[5] Public roughhousing, particularly among working-class male children and youth, was treated with the same sanctions as those legislated for adult males. Such was the case of fifteen-year-old John Smith, who was arrested for intoxication and fighting on Ste. Catherine Street. Although he had the option of paying a $2.50 fine to the Recorder's Court, he most likely served the full sentence of 15 days in jail since he was unemployed at the time of his arrest[6], and the fine represented two and a half days' wages for an adult male labourer.[7]

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4 Court Reporter, *La Patrie*, Monday, February 24, 1879, p. 3.

5 Deposition of Edouard Miron, Aged 22 Years, *RCLC*, pp. 29-30.

6 Court Reporter, *La Patrie*, Tuesday, February 25, 1879, p. 3.

7 Municipal General Labour Pay Records, Town of Maisonneuve, Week of May 26, 1888.

I present here the notion of prolonged childhood as the anchoring litmus against which to examine the research topic of child labour; for by notional definition, working children represent the antithesis of prolonged childhood. Furthermore, the dichotomous model of prolonged/attenuated childhood determined both the direction of the research conducted herein, and the focus of the final analysis. Thus, like the contrast between dancing and cigar-making, my study can be mainly viewed as an examination of one child activity as contrasted with its opposite, namely: (i) work as a material manifestation of attenuated ("blunted") childhood; and (ii) schooling as a representation of prolonged childhood. It is important to stress here that the main focus of this study is an investigation into the structural and institutional conditions which shaped the experiences of working children. The issue of schooling is used as a backdrop to play up the inferred future occupational trajectories for children who did not stay in school long enough to qualify (as adults) for the occupational positions which opened up in a modernized industrial climate at the turn of the twentieth century.

In the scholarly works reviewed for this research (and more fully discussed in Chapter II), working children are posited as an ancillary *en passant* to the main discussion of working-class *adults*. Some modern studies have been conducted on Victorian poverty and adult working-class life conditions in Montréal, but less focused research has been done on the lives of, for example, *child* and *teen* cigar makers in Montréal's East-End wards. Additional research is thus needed to more thoroughly describe aspects of nineteenth-century child labour and its implications for the educational and occupational mobility of these children. To this end, I conducted a cross-sectional study using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods to compare, describe and infer the

life experiences of working-class children (as contrasted with middle-class children) in the understudied municipal wards of St-Laurent, St-Louis, St-Jacques and Ste. Marie in the City of Montréal between 1880 and 1890. The research involved conducting an investigation of a select group of children through the use of contemporary manuscript census and institutional data, such as the annual reports published by the Superintendent of Public Instruction. The goal of the research is to better understand the roles that age, gender, parental occupational status, ethnicity and religion play in the activity status of Montréal's working children and youth in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 2 presents my theoretical framework and more extensively discusses the literature on nineteenth-century childhood, child labour and the comparative absence of both contemporary and modern writings which specifically treat child labour in Victorian Montréal.

Chapter 3 sets out the methodology of my research, including operational terms and assumptions, a descriptive summary of the primary sources used in the study, and the conceptualization, definition and coding of variables used for the quantitative component of the analysis.

Chapter 4 presents the results of my quantitative analysis, and draws interpretations based on this data about who was more likely to be in school or at work in late nineteenth-century East-End Montréal.

Chapter 5 presents an ethnography in a case-study format of the social and institutional conditions under which children lived and/or laboured in late nineteenth-century East-

End Montréal, using as instruments of reference and analysis the relevant primary source material collected for this qualitative phase of the study.

Chapter 6 presents my conclusion, and discusses the long-term implications for working-class children of the social and institutional barriers which existed in late nineteenth-century East-End Montréal.

In the interests of respecting the citation style of both the disciplines of history and sociology, all archival (primary) sources are cited in footnotes, and all current (secondary) sources are cited parenthetically within the text of this work.

This study does not in any way claim to speak for a group of people who are long deceased. Rather, it presents a descriptive and interpretive portrait using the extant archival documents relevant to certain issues surrounding childhood and child labour for a group of children residing and/or working in late nineteenth-century East-End Montréal.

CHAPTER II.
LITERATURE REVIEW

A. LABOURING CHILDREN: A GENERAL DISCUSSION

One of the most striking omissions in the body of Canadian historical literature is the paucity of contemporary accounts, studies and monographs which document the conditions and existence of working children in nineteenth-century Montréal's industrial topography (a lack noted by Bradbury in her 1984 Ph.D. dissertation). The dearth is all the more puzzling in a climate where Victorian middle-class social reformers were in full cry in the United States, Great Britain and English Canada. Booth (1850) knocked on doors and interviewed working-class labourers all over East London, and published his findings in an eventual seventeen volumes. Riis (1890) took his camera and his journalistic skills to New York's Lower East Side to document the conditions of labour and poverty for both adults and children. It is largely due to his interviews with "street" urchins and homeless children, that modern researchers can write about nineteenth-century paediatric cocaine addiction and small children hawking items (flowers, matches, newspapers, stolen goods) in New York City's streets to support, for example, their own or a parent's opium habit. In the twentieth century, the richest ethnographic study of Edwardian child labour still remains that of Hine (1910), whose combined methodology of work-site interviews and candid photographs kept American working children at the *forefront* of his investigation.

In other Canadian cities (particularly those in Ontario), Protestant child welfare reformers were active when Montréal seemed to be buried under the "cone of silence" of the Roman Catholic Church. For his history of the Children's Aid Society in the City of

Hamilton, Raychaba (1992) drew largely upon the investigative reports of J. J. Kelso, founder and superintendent of what would become the largest child-welfare organization in Ontario. Parr (1980) had the benefit of firsthand reports and minutes produced by child immigration agents for her study of the Barnardo orphans in Victorian Canada.

In the case of Montréal, historians have examined the city's working-class history from the architectural (Marsan, 1974), political (Gagnon, 1985) and religious (Lapointe-Roy, 1987) perspectives. One of the most frequently cited works in the literature is that of Montréal's Victorian researcher, Herbert Ames (1897). His study, partly conducted to make a case for adopting the American philanthropic model of "profit at 5%", documented the unhealthy sanitary and living conditions for the West End working-class neighbourhoods scattered around the Lachine Canal (Richmond Square). Scion of a capitalist family and graduate of American Methodist schools which stressed the obligation of wealth to do "good works", Ames argued that Montréal's capitalist class could profit by building healthier and more modern housing for the City's working classes. He contended that this "model house" project could be achieved without resorting to the cramped, jerry-built and noxious housing erected by builders/speculators to accommodate Montréal's ever-growing population of labourers.

Ames' study is one of social and environmental contrasts between the crowded, claustrophobic dwelling spaces located at the foot of Mount Royal ("below the hill") and the airy, cleaner ecology of the residential neighbourhoods located near the summit of the mountain ("above the hill"). Although useful in providing an atmospheric picture of the built and social landscape, the aforementioned studies leave the reader with no real sense of how working children fared in an increasingly large urban centre where both

employers and parents utilized their labour power. Other historians such as Copp (1989) and Bradbury (1982, 1993) have examined the lives of working-class Montréalers in great detail, charting cultural differences between ethnic groups within the city's working-class population and documenting economic coping strategies for fiscal hardship. However, with few exceptions, no close focused study has been conducted in the literature which specifically tracks and documents the life trajectory of Montréal's child labourers.

Much more research has been conducted by modern historians for the case of Victorian working children in Ontario. For example, Hurl (1988) examines the paradox of children working in an environment where English Canadian social reformers were both vocal and active. Using the 1884 Ontario *Factory Act* as an instrument of analysis, Hurl investigates the complex relationship between the new social perception of children as needful of prolonged adult nurturance, the statutes passed ostensibly for their protection against employer exploitation and the matter-of-fact treatment colouring contemporary media reports on child worker injury and death in late nineteenth-century Ontario. Furthermore, Hurl challenges the traditional view that links the end of Victorian child labour in Ontario to the successful campaigns of progressive reformers, the enactment of anti-child labour statutes and compulsory education laws. She contends that while there may be a strong correlation between these factors in the case of the United States, this causal triumvirate cannot be exported as easily into Canada.

Within the context of the family wage economy, Hurl describes the necessity for children in Ontario's working-class households to enter the waged labour force at early ages. This necessity was particularly acute for children of widowed households and those from households without a working male head. Equally affected by the burgeoning industrial

technology were the children of unskilled and skilled (artisanal) men, with children from both groups at work in the waged labour force. In this climate of need, Hurl argues, schooling became less of a priority for parents, and a cost-saving boon to employers in search of cheap labour to operate their new machines. The ensuing child labour legislation was therefore the result of a patchwork of political intentions enacted to address the concerns of social reformers, but which also contained loopholes to accommodate manufacturers and parents. In addition, Ontario's compulsory education statutes carried the same type of loopholes as those contained in the *Factory Act*. Hurl uses school inspectors' reports to illustrate that between 1866 and 1880, rates of regular attendance in Ontario's public schools increased by only 2% from 43% in 1866 to 45% in 1880 (1988:92). She attributes this stasis to popular valorization of work over schooling as the less costly prospect for children in a family wage economy. Moreover, jurisdictional fighting between the provincial and federal governments over who should enact child labour legislation served to retard the enforcement of existing statutes.

Hurl's statistical tables on the employment of children in Ontario reflect the perception of schooling as a child activity which took second place to the primacy of work. Between 1871 and 1891, the number of children under 16 years of age in the workforce increased from 7,101 to 10,354 (1988:99). The number of child workers only begins to decrease after 1891. Hurl attributes this decrease not to any special concern for (prolonged) childhood, but rather as an incidental by-product of social reformers' overriding concern for the rupture caused to motherhood by the participation of women in factory labour. The National Council of Women, comprised of Protestant middle-class members, "...showed itself to be more interested in the working conditions of

women than of children" (1988:106). Hurl further stresses class and religion to demonstrate that social reformers' attitudes towards child labour were actually in accordance with the tenets of the Protestant faith. Specifically, she draws our attention to *who* was doing the protesting for child labour reforms by noting that most reformers were middle-class wives of manufacturers and members of a faith that sees predestination as a given, and work as a virtuous antidote to immoral idleness:

> Believing that God had willed that there would be a humble class whose members would toil laboriously, many believers could accept that child labour was inevitable and appropriate. Thus, concern therefore, was not to free the child from labour, but to assure that labour was not morally debilitating. (Hurl, 1988:108)

Hurl also concludes that the statistical decrease of children in Ontario's workforce in the mid-1890s was due in large part to economic, and not reformist, forces. Modernization of industry and the attendant shift in the type of worker required by employers, expansion in manufacturing, advanced mechanization of industrial methods, renewed access to international markets and an increase in the standard of living for workers (particularly for skilled tradesmen), are some of the contributing factors that Hurl cites as impacting declining rates of child labour in Ontario. This new climate of modernized industry demanded a highly-skilled and adult labour force that could manage, administrate, act as representatives of a company, keep detailed financial ledgers, handle business correspondence and interact efficiently with customers and suppliers. In such an industrial climate, there was no room for the mid-Victorian 12-year-old who had an intermittent schooling of perhaps three weeks in a scholastic year, and who could not read the complicated gauges on the more advanced machinery now installed in the employer's factory.

There were no steam gauges in the working-class household, but their absence did not preclude work as an activity for children in the family. In his study of unpaid child labour in the late nineteenth-century urban Ontario home, Bullen (1986) argues the importance of children's domestic assistance to the working-class family's survival. Cleaning, babysitting, gathering fuel, keeping small market gardens and animal husbandry are some of the ways in which the household contributions of children ensured the family's survival. However, included in this list of domestic child labour was the enlistment of the children in the home-based sweating system of clothing manufacture. Bullen cites the 1896 report of sweating-system investigator Alexander Wright, to illuminate that in the vicious circle of family necessity and domestic child labour, the urban working-class family survived at the expense of its children. In homes in cities such as Montréal, Toronto and Hamilton, "Wright encountered scores of children working in excess of 60 hours per week in converted bedrooms, kitchens and living rooms" (1986:172).

In addition, and highlighting Hurl's argument on the inefficacy of the 1884 statutory "protection" of working children, sweat work in the home was legislatively deemed to be "family work" and therefore exempted from legal sanctions. Bullen uses the example of the residential sweating system to challenge the traditional view of a rural family economy being transported intact to an urban setting. Rather, he contends that new and harsher elements of the urban environment radically transformed the nature of work done by family members for their collective survival:

> ...the urban sweatshop was a long way from the country quilting-bee. Clothing contracts violated the privacy of working-class homes and subjected adults and children to

> strenuous conditions over which they had little influence...Naturally, children occupied the bottom position in the work hierarchy. (Bullen, 1986:174)

Even with the advent of free elementary public schooling in Ontario in the 1860s, working-class children who were needed at home had little chance of attending school regularly. Toronto School Board statistics for 1863 show that of the 1,632 children aged 5-16 years who were not attending school, 16% of them worked in the family home and 28% of them in the waged labour force. A similar situation existed in the City of Hamilton in 1871, with children in households headed by females the least likely to attend school regularly (Bullen, 1986:183). With regard to the long-term implications for the children in these statistics, Bullen disputes the conclusion of historians who see schooling as having little impact on a working-class child's future occupational mobility. Bullen argues that this may have been the case in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, but the situation changed dramatically as the century progressed. Thus, in Bullen's view, missing school to tend the family garden plot or care for siblings may not have greatly affected a child's occupational mobility in 1850s Toronto (when the school system was mainly motivated by a desire for social control and reproduction). However, it would certainly impact whether a child could calibrate sophisticated pressure gauges as an adult in 1910:

> By the latter decades of the century...less obsessive school boards injected more skill-oriented programs into the educational curriculum, such as bookkeeping and commercial arithmetic. This development occurred at the same time that the urban-industrial market began to place a premium on these and other basic academic skills. The rapid growth of the white-collar work force sustains this argument. In 1898, Imperial Oil Canada employed only eleven white-collar workers. This number grew to 6,000 by 1919. Although policies of social control and other "ascriptive" conditions remained dominant

> factors in late nineteenth-century society, improvements in school curriculum, coupled with the opening of new sectors in the labour market, increased the value of education for working-class children. (Bullen, 1986:184)

In light of the foregoing studies documenting the socioeconomic conditions for working children in late-Victorian Ontario, we can pose the following general questions:

- What does the social topography look like for late-Victorian children living and working in Montréal's understudied East End?
- How did working children in Montréal personally experience the industrial forces which existed during their childhood and youth?
- What were the specific structural/institutional factors at play which served to ensure a prolonged (school) or a blunted (work) childhood for children in East-End Montréal?

B. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

My theoretical framework borrows from the model devised by Thompson (1963) in his study of the history of England's working class. Developed as an interpretive response to the stark economic dichotomy of Marxist/structuralist theory, Thompson's model stresses the equal importance of cultural, social and moral factors (such as religious beliefs) which determine human *agent* experiences (and therefore reactions) of their external environment/society (*structure*). Rather than seeing historical subjects as passively reactive agents to the economic events occurring in the external social structure (in the traditional Marxist theoretical manner), Thompson vigorously advocates for a dialectic interpretation of historical phenomena, wherein, as Trimberger (1984:220)

states: "[Human] experience is both structured and determining, but also shaped by human intervention...". Furthermore, using his dialectical model, he made a cogent case for individuals who, by their behavioural exercise of agency, were finding ways to circumvent the prohibitive dictates that were at force in the larger society *(structure)*.

By contrast, a purely Marxian/structuralist approach using the concept of the family wage economy sees the structural barriers in the larger society as the decisive force which necessitated working-class child labour. In this regard, both Copp (1989) and Bradbury (1993), in their respective discussions on the conditions of wage labour in late nineteenth-century Montréal, point to the heavy reliance by unskilled labourers on the wages of their children to support the household income. This reliance was carried across the generations (*viz.*, children themselves becoming unskilled adult labourers who in turn rely on their own children's working income).

The foregoing view theoretically collides with Zelizer's (1985) argument that in the latter half of the nineteenth century, people from all social classes began to move away from the utilitarian perceptions of children as "miniature adults" who must earn their own (and their family's) bread and board. Hopkins (1994) and Cunningham (1991) are partially in accordance with Zelizer, but argue that the changed perception of childhood (and its attendant child-saving reforms) were *solely driven, and ascribed to, by the middle-class*. In his study of the transformation of perceptions of working-class children in England, Hopkins argues that from the seventeenth to late eighteenth centuries, adults from *all classes* in England saw children as smaller versions of themselves, but that these perceptions changed among the middle class at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Similarly, in his examination of contemporary newspaper articles, literature,

pamphlets, broadsheets and parliamentary speeches, Cunningham (1991) concludes that it was England's middle-class romanticization and equation of child labour with African slavery which drove the shift in perception of working-class children. Although his conclusions must be viewed with some caution since discursive archives are problematic in terms of class-power determinants, his argument nonetheless makes a case for middle-class perceptions of working children as a "social problem" which contravened the new notion of (prolonged) childhood. Cunningham leaves the question of *working-class* adult perceptions of childhood to be interpreted mainly from trade union activist rhetoric around the issues of the Ten Hours Movement and adult male labour market competition with working children.

C. Parental Occupational Status, Age, Gender, Ethnicity and Religion

A structurally-determined parental occupational status is clearly an important factor in the economic mobility of families. In his discussion of the progressive stages of poverty in late nineteenth-century York, Rowntree (1913) quantitatively charts "spikes" at different times in the life-cycle of the male unskilled labourer when poverty was the most severe. By using a methodology which cross-referenced the father's wages with number of children and the age of the parents when each child was born, Rowntree concludes from his extensive data that the life-cycle periods of poverty for the unskilled labourer were severely compounded with each addition to the family of another child who was not of an age to work. In addition, in his analysis of the cost of living and wages for different occupations, Rowntree concludes that the average wage paid by an employer to

an unskilled labourer was minimally sufficient to support a young couple, but became increasingly insufficient with the addition of each non-working child to the family.

Taking into account that wages were deliberately and chronically depressed by Montréal's industrial employers until the mid-1940's (Westley, 1990), skilled and clerical workers who apprenticed in trade or clerical guilds may have had less need to resort to putting their children to work as a utilitarian economic strategy. In addition, whether as a white collar clerk in a factory mill, or as a blue collar steel founder, occupations that required prolonged academic or manual training were often imbued with "protective" benefits such as progressive promotion on seniority, insurance benefits (such as those of Great Britain's Friendly Societies) or some type of provision for "retirement". These "perks" of the skilled job, coupled with the traditional guild proscription against early marriage, would be carried over into a family economy augmented by an older, more financially secure male breadwinner. However, although the foregoing trade arrangements were still the case to some extent in Great Britain, Baskerville and Sager (1998) argue that both the pre-industrial guilds and industrial trade unions fought a losing battle against the encroaching juggernaut of nineteenth-century Canadian industrialism. Practices and customs devised by traditional guilds to regulate and protect the supply of adult labour were being continually eroded with the amplified participation of women and children in the workforce. The perpetual introduction into the industrial workplace of labour—(and therefore, cost)—saving technology, made it possible and cheaper for a small child to be standing on the factory floor in the place of his father. Sale (1995) points to the Luddite rebellion at Pentrich in 1817 as early evidence of the conflict between nascent technology and artisanal labour. Like the adversarial dichotomy produced between the "injured"

trade of shoemaking and the lasting machine in Montréal (Burgess, 1977), the advent of the mechanical loom in England's textile heartland ensured certain "injury" (i.e., deskilling) to its adult handloom weavers.

In addition, the gradual disappearance of the craft tradition of apprenticeship further circumscribed the opportunities for young males to become fully-skilled craftsmen and artisans. Various scholars, including Bradbury (1993), Baskerville and Sager (1998) and Hamilton (1999), have pointed to the steady erosion of the practice of apprenticeship during the advance of industrialism in the nineteenth century. In this regard, Hopkins (1994) argues that the nineteenth-century English factory system was premised precisely on the disappearance of traditional apprenticeship positions. Looking particularly at the testimony rendered at the 1831 Saddler Committee of Inquiry, he argues that the segmentation of tasks created by mechanization ensured that a young male apprentice would eventually be able to do only that certain part of his trade which he repetitively performed daily on a machine. In the case of Victorian Montréal, his conclusion is borne out by the testimony of the deponents at the 1889 *Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labour in Canada.* The overwhelming majority of young adult male deponents testified that although they had signed papers of apprenticeship, their "apprenticeship" consisted of learning only one part of their trade. Thus, for example, an "apprentice" cobbler in a shoe factory would only be able to make one part of a shoe and not the entire product.

To a greater degree than with their middle-class counterparts, age is also a significant factor in determining the activity status of nineteenth-century working-class children. As discussed in Chapter I, a ten-year-old living "above" the hill is deemed by adult society to

be a "child", and therefore his/her "childhood" is continued (or prolonged) with a combination of primary and secondary schooling, leisure pursuits and most likely further academic or practical study until he/she reaches the age of majority of 21 years (Gay, 2002). For a 10-year-old living "below" the hill, he/she is deemed by adult society to be a "child" only until there is need in the family household for an extra wage, and work (or the pursuit thereof) to contribute to the family economy becomes his/her activity status (Bradbury, 1993).

In the case of male youth at or near the age of majority working outside the wage-based factory system, Westley (1990) points to the many young, unmarried male Scottish immigrants of humble origins who "invested" their youth in building personal fortunes in the Canadian fur trade. These Scottish males, through their life-cycle occupational "investment", would eventually come to form (as older men), the bulwark of Montréal's late nineteenth-century Anglo-Protestant élite. Here, in Westley's research group, we see the first generation of men acquiring an occupational status from which their children benefited with regard to their own educational and occupational attainments.

The issue of young men acquiring a trade raises the question of parental gender and its impact on the activity status of working-class boys and girls. Since nineteenth-century work culture decreed males to be the primary breadwinners, marriage for women carried important implications which affected the economic circumstances of both themselves and their children. Furthermore, in late-Victorian workforce culture, the division of labour and its attendant sex roles were heavily predicated on an economically precarious premise which *structurally imagined* (society) men as "immortal" (i.e., that the male breadwinner would always be "around"), and no provision/contemplation was made

within this cultural paradigm for the very real possibility of their illness, sudden/accidental death or, as Nootens (2005) has discussed, abandonment of their families. The illness or death of the primary male breadwinner could therefore propel both the widow and the child(ren) of the family into the labour force. This picture of working-class widowhood is presented by Bradbury (1982), wherein she argues that working-class widows in Montréal coped with the loss of the family's main male breadwinner by the use of animal husbandry, charitable orphanages and the labour of their children and themselves.

The factors of ethnicity and religion also play key roles in determining whether a child was sent out to work or to be taught. In the case of an industrializing Montréal, we find sharp ethnic and religious differentiations in the city's population of workers. Both Copp (1989) and Westley (1990) draw attention to the heavy influx of Protestant immigrants from Great Britain, many of whom arrived with the skilled occupational background and advantages described above.

Furthermore, in her study of English Protestant working-class theodicity, Christie (2003) draws connections between class, gender and religious culture. Using the diary and correspondence of Frederick Brigden, an English Protestant skilled workman who emigrated to Toronto in 1868, Christie argues that the particular bundle of "Protestant" beliefs centered around work and mutual self-help were not merely religious values imposed by the middle-class onto a passive working-class populace. Rather, she argues, these beliefs were negotiated and adapted to form an important part of English working-class male identity. In addition, Christie describes English Protestant society as an elastic

space across which the social classes moved and interacted within the boundaries of the established status quo:

> Here was the community in which Brigden situated himself, in the shadowy social elisions between middle-class shopkeeper, middle-class artisan, workingman, and labourer, and the potential to move up or down this fluid social scale was defined, he believed, by the degree to which one committed oneself to religion. Indeed, for Brigden, it was not merely occupational status that defined who belonged to his working-class community, but religion that constituted the central benchmark of his sense of collective identity. (Christie, 2003:154)

With regard to Catholic communities in nineteenth-century Canada, recent literature has challenged the traditional view of socioeconomic polarity between upwardly mobile English Protestants and downwardly mobile Catholics. Both Baskerville (2001) and Olson and Thornton (2002) find that Irish Catholics formed a significant socioeconomic group within the fabric of upwardly mobile Canadian society in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Using a 5% sample of households drawn from the 1901 Canadian census, Baskerville (2001) teased out the differences in socioeconomic "success" between English, Irish and French Catholics and the dissentient Protestant sects. He found that of the three groups of Catholics, Irish Catholics most closely mirrored Methodists and Presbyterians in their ownership of real property and size of living space in the province of Ontario. By contrast, French Catholics in and outside Québec had a more difficult time scaling the economic ladder and, as Baskerville suggests, this may be due in large part to linguistic rather than ethno-religious barriers.

In the case of nineteenth-century Montréal, Olson and Thornton (2002) furnish an intergenerational *coda* to the picture of Irish Catholics fleeing the vicissitudes of famine and oppression from the English Crown. Through their use of marriage, baptismal and

notarial records, they document the progressive upward political, civic and socioeconomic mobility of the City's Irish Catholics. An interesting parallel occurs between Christie's world of English Protestant workmen and the Irish Catholics in Olson and Thornton's study. Both works document immigrant communities moving across shifting structural boundaries, adapting strategies, forming contingent alliances and mutual self-help societies to gain political and socioeconomic "clout" within the social structure. In addition, what is muted in both the case of English Protestant workmen and Irish Catholics is the heavy hand of intervention from any clerical hierarchy. Although religion was important to both ethnic groups, individual/collective acts of defiance and agency reduced the power of clerical hierarchies in the Protestant and Catholic Churches to completely dominate the lives of their respective parishioners. Christie's English Protestant workman believed that he could commune with God just as well from his front parlour as from a pew in the local presbytery. Olson and Thornton's Irish Catholic workmen defied the proscriptions of the French Catholic clergy by their membership in labour organizations banned by the Church.

In contrast to the foregoing cases of structural fluidity and agency, McQuillan (2004) presents a more fixed picture for the case of French Catholicism in nineteenth-century Québec. In his study on the effect of religious affiliation on fertility, McQuillan argues that the Church deployed its institutional power through the use of community sanctions to control the religious, civic and social behaviour of their parishioners. For a French Catholic in nineteenth-century Québec, straying from the clerical fold could incur significant repercussions:

> For French Canadians prior to 1960, to be barred from active involvement in the Church had both practical and emotional consequences...Indeed, especially in smaller communities, to be publicly identified as a "bad Catholic" might entail economic disadvantage and social exclusion, as well as the emotional costs associated with a marginal status in a society in which religion played such a vital role. (McQuillan, 2004:36)

In his analysis, McQuillan offers a finely-nuanced version of conflict theory to illustrate the conditions under which a "coercive" Catholicism is able to thrive through the "voluntary affiliation" of its parishioners. These conditions were present in Poland under Romanov rule, and Ireland and Québec under British rule:

(a) Socially and politically, Catholics are relegated to the position of a colonized group;

(b) The dominant group in the society adheres to a "foreign" religious denomination;

(c) Ethnic identity becomes tied to religious affiliation to produce a nationalistic (collective) identity and sentiment;

(d) There are other ethno-religious groups jockeying for political and economic power in a limited structural space; and

(e) The Church of the colonized group presents itself to be the only force capable of guarding the political and economic interests of its adherents.

Under these conditions, McQuillan argues, the Church in Québec was able to exert its institutional leadership and run "protective" interference between the colonized group and the "foreign" colonizing State.

Ethno-religious affiliation may also have an impact on children's schooling. In their study of socioeconomic mobility in Montréal's Irish Catholic community, Olson and Thornton (2002) found that many of the community's early immigrants (1840s-50s) to Québec came with a "baggage of schooling", in that literacy rates were significant. In addition, Irish Catholics took advantage of all existing school systems in the City (French and English Catholic and Protestant) to educate successive generations of children in their community. The attainment of high rates of literacy, numeracy and English-language skills made these children ideally situated to move into white collar occupational positions at the turn of the twentieth century. Olson and Thornton's findings for Irish Catholics in Montréal serve as a qualifier to McQuillan's conditional typology of Church as intervenant statesman and protector of the rights of the "colonized". For although his postulate of a subjugated and marginalized Catholic population ruled by "foreign" Orangemen existed in Ireland, this relationship between Irish Catholics and English Protestants did not seem to be as intense outside of Ireland and varied in degree depending on the sites of settlement in Canada for the two groups.

Within the Protestant community, MacLeod and Poutanen (2004) found that local populations in towns all over Québec were banding together to build schools and form boards, sometimes before building the local church (an exercise of popular agency reminiscent of Christie's English Protestant workman and Olson and Thornton's Irish Catholic Knights of Labour). MacLeod and Poutanen also examine the dynamic of class in the Protestant educational structure, particularly as it manifested in nineteenth-century urban Québec. Specifically, they point to the recognition by Montréal's Protestant school boards that the number of available academic scholarships was insufficient to

ensure that all working-class children would have access to schooling. Both the Catholic and Protestant boards addressed this issue by building charity schools for poor children. However, MacLeod and Poutanen maintain that what distinguished Protestant schools from their Catholic counterparts was that Protestant schools placed less emphasis on moral education and more on "...a good deal of flexibility on matters of language instruction, a strong science program, and a broad, inclusive approach to the study of morals and values." (2004:401).

By contrast, Gagnon (1996) points to the dilatory efforts of the French Catholic Church to form and erect institutions of public (popular) education. In addition, he argues that in its attitudes towards its parishioners, the Church stubbornly maintained a class-driven educational hierarchy, wherein classical colleges were promptly built to educate the children of Francophone professionals in the city, and trade institutes intended for the Francophone working-class offered only a cursory curriculum in the academic disciplines needed to succeed in the City's burgeoning knowledge economy. Furthermore, through his usage of encyclical discourse of the period, Gagnon documents the Church's endorsement of keeping the classes "in their place" and the reciprocal belief among working-class parishioners that their lot in life did not include extensive (or prolonged) education.

Marcoux (2003) uses ethno-religious identity and residential district as analytical *planchettes* to examine work, schooling and the economic role of children from three main ethnic groups in Québec City in 1901: French Catholics, Irish Catholics and English Protestants. Working quantitatively with the original completed manuscript questionnaires, Marcoux obtained information not otherwise available in the published

census returns about individuals and families residing in Québec City's topographical versions of "above" and "below" the hill. Marcoux found that area of residence and ethno-religious affiliation had an impact in determining the duration of school attendance and work in Edwardian Québec City.

School attendance was most often interrupted at earlier ages for Catholic children residing in the working-class neighbourhoods of the Basse-ville. Marcoux also found that between the ages of 12 and 14 years, more Irish Catholic girls than boys were at school. The picture for French Catholic girls was not as salutary. Marcoux argues that from the age of 13 years upwards, the educational gap between French Catholic girls and boys widens, and it does so at the expense of girls. In his research, Marcoux found French Catholic girls occupying the position of the young "inactif", performing domestic labour duties in the household rather than going to school or working outside the home.

Julien (2005) enlarges upon Marcoux's (2003) work in her study of schooling in Québec City for the census years 1871 and 1901. She challenges historians' traditional explanation for low rates of schooling among French-Canadians before the advent of compulsory education in the province. She argues that contrary to the paradigm of low cultural valorization of education, the factors affecting schooling among late-Victorian and Edwardian French-Canadians in Québec City were varied and multifaceted.

Using multiple regression analysis, Julien looks closely at the impact of gender, cultural affiliation (ethnicity), social class and socioeconomic situation (e.g. family size, net amount of household income) on regular school attendance for English Protestants, Irish Catholics and French Catholics in Québec City in 1871 and 1901. She found that,

especially for her 1901 panel, children from families with more than four children were least likely to attend school regularly and more likely to be working. Furthermore, for each of the three ethnic groups, Julien found differences in school attendance which were tied to children's gender. French-Canadians were more likely to keep boys in school. Among the Irish Catholic group, girls were more likely to be in school and boys in the waged labour force. For the Protestant group, rates of school attendance were much higher for both boys and girls than the rates for French and Irish Catholic children, and the likelihood of early entry into the workforce was lower. In this regard, Julien's findings for Québec City differ from Baskerville's (2001) results for Ontario since in terms of rates of schooling, Irish Catholics were apace with English Protestant dissentient sects in late-nineteenth century Ontario. In the case of French Catholics, her findings parallel Baskerville's in that he also found French-Canadian Catholics inside and outside Québec faring less well in rates of schooling and occupational mobility than Irish Catholics.

Julien also found that in 1871, children from households headed by Irish, English and Scottish nationals (whether Catholic or Protestant) were the most likely to attend school regularly. She obtained similar results for children in both her 1871 and 1901 panels when she compared ethnicities within the same social class, and concludes that a social-reproduction model, rather than an ethno-cultural one, was strongly at play in Québec City in 1871 and 1901.

In light of the foregoing perspectives, a purely Marxian/structuralist theoretical approach may occlude the impact of ethno-cultural affiliation and other factors which shape perceptions, experiences, decisions and responses to events in the larger society.

Furthermore, this approach tends to overlook the micro-nuances of agency (such as decisions evinced in areas other than the family economy) that would have a direct impact on the lives of the children about whom these decisions were made. In this regard, I argue that under the aforementioned intensified conditions which buffeted working-class livelihoods (*viz.*, the erosion of apprenticeships, the waning power of trade guilds and a structurally-maintained class and sex-role hierarchy), parental decisions made about the life trajectories of their children become crucial to the far-reaching implications for the socioeconomic mobility of their descendants (ancestral echo).

This is not to deny the very real existence of economic structural barriers to educational and occupational opportunities for working-class children in the nineteenth century. Rather, the proposed theoretical framework seeks to *complement* the structuralist approach by looking at other equally compelling institutional forces such as those of the Church, the family and ethnic identity. In light of the foregoing, the theoretical framework for my research adopts a mixture of structuralist, exchange and symbolic interactionist theories to examine the combined impact of **age**, **gender**, **parental occupational status**, **ethnicity** and **religion** as determinants of work as contrasted with school as a central child activity (attenuated or prolonged childhood). It is important to stress here that for the purposes of this research, the lives of working children in the four wards are interpreted and analytically discussed using variables formulated around the socioeconomic situations of their parents.

The focus of my analysis at the quantitative stage of the study is substantive, in that I am examining a particularized facet of the child labour phenomenon (*viz.*, inferred occupational mobility as influenced by early work or prolonged schooling), and not the

broader, more general area of nineteenth-century Canadian working-class families. My research adopted both positivist and interpretive approaches, to better understand the roles that parental ethno-social and occupational factors play in working children's educational and occupational trajectories. My study operated at the micro level, since my research focuses on a specific segment of the general Canadian population (working children in Montréal). One aspect of my analysis is inductive in direction, since I developed principles from my findings. Another aspect of my analysis is deductive in that I began my study with some general assumptions based on the literature:

(A) the majority of the population of Montréal in 1881 was comprised of workers who adopted the family wage economy as a coping strategy, in which the economic contributions of all members of the family were used to support the entire household. The implications of this collectivist strategy for my research is that children present on a factory floor in Montréal were there as an important source of income to their respective families. This effectively resulted in a shortened (blunted) childhood as manifested by the necessity to begin work at an early age. In light of the open "collusion" during the research period between employers and parents in Montréal to circumvent existing labour laws (Copp, 1989), I expected to find more *de facto* evidence of children working only in the retrospective work histories given by young adult deponents before the *Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital* held in 1888-1889;

(B) the social structure (and its attendant barriers) was peculiar to Québec, in that the Catholic Church exercised a sacerdotal power alongside the governing power of the political state. In Montréal, the Church advocated a social hierarchy (*status*

quo) particularly among its parishioners in the French Catholic community. The implication for my study is that within Montréal's Francophone community, there would be a class structure in place which determined both barriers and opportunities (such as those to education) in the broader society; and

(C) although employers often took advantage of "cheap labour practices" by hiring women and children, the culturally-designated primary breadwinner was still overwhelmingly the head male of the household. As a result, the implication for my research is that the characteristics of the "Parental Occupational Status" variable in my research model is analyzed more toward androcentric (male) characteristics.

Research Theory

I theorized that the extent and degree to which the forces set out below were present in *adult* society in late-Victorian Montréal would produce differential socioeconomic outcomes which were detrimental for *children* in some ethno-religious groups (work=attenuated childhood) and beneficial for others (school=prolonged childhood), since children from all socioeconomic backgrounds were powerless as legal minors to decide their own life trajectories:

- Structural forces: the nature of the City's economy, opportunities for occupational mobility and demographic patterns of settlement.
- Institutional forces: "normative" sex-role socialization and reinforcement in the City's schools, judicial and legislative regulation of children, clerical control of parishioners' autonomy.

- Symbolic forces: nationalist identities filtered through ethno-religious affiliation and collectively-perceived "threat", gender identity defined through occupational status and membership in civic, political or trade organizations.

- Exchange forces: the amount of social space available in the City for exercising agency to form political, economic and civic alliances (temporary or permanent) across ethnic groups for the aggregate advantage of each group in a particular alliance.

I propose the following hypotheses:

H_1 Children from families where the father's occupation requires little or no educational or manual/technical skill will be more likely to be working, than children from families where the father has an occupational status which requires prolonged educational or manual/technical training;

H_2 Working-class children aged 11-13 years will be more likely to be working than working-class children under 11 years of age, because this is the age at which they are more physically capable of performing a larger variety of light manpower tasks in the labour force, such as operating machines or repetitive piecework in a specialized department of a manufactory;

H_3 Working-class boys will be more likely than girls to be in the workforce and at earlier ages, because the Victorian cultural paradigm of sex-role division of labour associates waged labour as an all-age male activity and domestic labour as an all-age female activity;

H_4 Working-class children of both sexes in households headed by widows (and female-headed households in general where an adult male breadwinner is absent) will be more likely than their middle-class counterparts to be in the work force, due to low wages paid to adult working women and the cultural dissuasion of women occupying positions in "exterior" society (i.e., outside the home) which are deemed to be the sole preserve of men;

H_5 Roman Catholic boys will be more likely to be at work than either their female or English Protestant counterparts, because the constrained socioeconomic position of Catholics in Québec would necessitate sending the male children of the family household into the waged labour force.

CHAPTER III.
METHODOLOGY

The research involved looking at the activities of a group of 11,495 children and youth between 10 and 16 years of age (i.e., those who, in 1881, had not yet reached the contemporary majority age of 21 years). "Child" in this study is defined as between 10-13 years of age. "Youth" in this study is defined as between 14-16 years of age. My research group is selective (but not a sample in the conventional sense), comprised of girls and boys 10 to 16 years of age (*viz.*, born between 1865 and 1871) and selected from the 1881 Census populations of the contiguous Montréal Wards of St-Laurent, St-Louis, St-Jacques and Ste. Marie. I chose these four wards for my research because they contain a more varied ethnic, religious and class mix than, for example, the more homogenous West-End wards of Ste. Anne, which was predominantly comprised of Irish Catholic labourers or St-Antoine, which was predominantly comprised of wealthy English Protestants. The data contained on the 1881 Census were used to conduct an in-depth investigation into the activities of the children in my research group (*viz.*, whether they were working, in school or neither), while taking into account the characteristics of the parents found on the 1881 Census. The children were investigated using the following primary sources (as more formally cited in the Bibliography hereto):

(i) *Census Returns, District 90 (Montréal), for Subdistricts E (St-Louis), F (St-Jacques), G (Ste. Marie) and I (St-Laurent), April 4, 1881.* These records contain information on occupation, age, sex, marital status, ethnicity (as defined by the origin of first male descendant), religion and place of birth for all members of each household;

(ii) *Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Province of Quebec* for the years 1879-1880, 1880-1881 and 1889-1890. These reports contain statements and statistics on school expenditures, school attendance, the condition of the province's schools, notes on curricula, minutes of denominational school committees and level of teacher qualifications for the districts of Montréal, Laval and Hochelaga, which was municipally contiguous to the easternmost ward of Ste. Marie when the 1881 Census was taken.

These two sources (Census and School Report data) provide a more comprehensive portrait of prolonged childhood as manifested in school attendance in the four wards, such as who was more likely to be in school (age and gender). These records are also useful in providing an overview of how and whether school attendance patterns in East-End Montréal had changed over the research period. The reports were a matter of public record, since the Superintendent was legally required to present his report on an annual basis before an appointed body in the National Assembly. Similar to the 1888-1889 *RCLC* depositions in its public nature, these reports are a good source to obtain both a qualitative and quantitative overview of who was likely to be in school, and what was being taught in Montréal's schools at this period;

(iii) Minutes and Resolutions of the City of Montreal Protestant and Catholic School Committees (as published in the *Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Province of Québec*). This body of correspondence sheds light not only on prevailing attitudes towards public instruction, but also on

the differences in allotted school tax funds between the Protestant and Catholic School Commissions in East-End Montréal;

(iv) First-person interrogatories of young workers on the conditions of their work in industrial Montréal, Proceedings, *Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor in Canada, 1889* (*RCLC*). These records include the name, age, occupation and work history of the deponent. The Royal Commission's Montréal evidence consists of 732 pages of over 250 testimonies, all of which were reviewed during the initial stages of my research. Fifty-three of the most relevant testimonies were subsequently collected based on the following criteria: (i) the deponents fell into the research-defined 18-24 age bracket in 1889; (ii) their testimonies provide a picture of experience as child/youth workers (10-16 years) in 1889; or (iii) in cases where the deponents were more senior adults, their testimonies contained lengthy discussions concerning the working conditions of their younger (age 18-24 or 10-16 years) charges or co-workers. Of the 53 depositions, 20 cases (comprising 12 young adult deponents aged between 18-24 years and 8 child/youth deponents aged between 10-16 years) were finally selected for qualitative analysis.

When examined <u>in tandem</u> through the lens of the 1881 Census data, the *RCLC* depositions provide a more comprehensive portrait of attenuated ("blunted") childhood as manifested in early workforce participation in the four wards, such as who was more likely to be at work (age, gender and parental occupation). The data also provides a retrospective overview of how child workforce patterns/conditions in East-End Montréal changed between 1880 and 1890; and

(v) *Lovell's Montreal City Directories, 1880-1881* and *1888-1889* (*viz.*, for the years common to the 1881 Census enumeration and the *RCLC* proceedings). For those cases where the child (Census) is also an *RCLC* deponent, occupational information contained in the 1888-1889 City Directory was useful in providing a longitudinal portrait of the information on occupational trajectory from the time of his/her appearance on the 1881 Census to his/her appearance at the Royal Commission in 1889 (the practical application of this method and its results are more fully discussed in Chapter V).

The individual data were used in a case-study format (ethnography) to examine the life cycle educational and occupational trajectories of the children and the young adult *RCLC* deponents.

To provide a more representative overview, a quantitative analysis of the four wards in the 1881 Census was conducted to discern which children were more likely to be at work or in school, and thereby to describe and interpret the socioeconomic conditions under which these children grew into young adulthood. There is precedent in the literature for using these alternate demographic sources for linking analysis in my research. In his study of white and blue collar occupational patterns in the Union Park community of West Side Chicago, Sennett (1970) employed both census and city directory data. Using this method of linking, he was able to "trace" across two generations the occupational mobility patterns of individuals, and show an intergenerational leap in social "status" from manual labourer (father) to clerical worker (son).

Limitations

The first and most obvious limitation is with the 1881 Census itself. The Census only captures family situations at a particular moment in time (specifically, April 4, 1881), and it cannot provide information about prior or subsequent events which occurred in any family. Furthermore, it is limited in its scope as to how much "background" or "foreground" information can be furnished for the families it recorded. For example, the 1881 Census can tell us that Thomas Gratorex was a Protestant Sugar Refinery Weigher from England living in Ste. Marie Ward in 1881.[8] However, it cannot tell us that a year prior to the 1881 Census, Mr. Gratorex, forced by economic circumstances to live close to his place of work, had experienced difficulties with his landlord and had been evicted from his home for three months' back rent; nor does it tell us that his home furnishings had been seized and sold at yard auction to pay the outstanding debt.[9] In addition, the data transcription of the 1881 Census done by the Church of Latter Day Saints omits information on schooling for a good number of the children in the wards. This drawback was rectified by consultation of, and case matching with, Gauvreau *et al.*'s (2003) database, which contains a more accurate transcription of the original Census manuscript. It was with these limitations in mind that I chose to use other archival sources in tandem with the information provided on the 1881 Census.

A second limitation that arose during my research was that the data set from a particular primary source did not yield enough consistent information for me to be able either to link with another source or to conduct a meaningful analysis. This was partially the case

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[8] *1881 Census*, District 90 (Montréal), Subdistrict G, Division 8, Family No. 285.

[9] Deposition of Thomas Gratorex, *RCLC*, pp. 84-89.

for the child/youth and young adult *RCLC* deponents, wherein I was only able to determine parental occupation characteristics if the deponents were also listed as children on the 1881 Census.

A potential problem could have been that the city directories for any given year would not contain a good representation of the city's population, since only those residents who could afford to pay for a listing are included in the directories. Very poor residents (especially labourers) were therefore not always included on the directory lists, and members of the city's transient underclass (Sennett's "transitory urbanites", 1970:157) were excluded from the annual listings altogether. To address the foregoing limitations, I used as much as possible data drawn from the more consistent Census of 1881 as the anchoring instrument for linkage and tracing the cases in my research group. In addition, I looked for patterns and trends in the combined data which were useful in augmenting the activity portrait of children in the four wards. For example, although the 1881 Census enumerators were not concerned with recording the distinctions between wealthy and working-class widows, it was possible (particularly for those widows of prominent men) to look at and compare the types of activities in which the children of the two classes of widows were engaged. It was also possible in some cases, by using the 1881 Census in tandem with the *RCLC* testimonies, to observe who had become widows in the interim period between 1881 and 1889 and how their children had fared.

A third challenge to my research was that not all couples listed in the 1881 Census were of the same ethnicity and/or religion (*viz.*, ethnically or religiously mixed marriages). Where such cases occurred, I focused more in my analysis on the ethnic and religious characteristics of the male head of the household, because although mothers played an

important role in the socialization of children (and in keeping with item C of my theoretical assumptions), all final authority for family decisions vested with the male head of the family.

In cases where the family is headed by a widow, the ethnic and religious characteristics of this parent was the focus of my analysis, and I took into account the gender of the children in these cases. As Bradbury (1982) has documented, there were particular gender and age differentials at play in the families of widows, in that boys in the widowed family were more likely to be sent out to work at an earlier age and girls kept at home to assist with childcare and domestic tasks.

With specific regard to finding any of the children among the group of young adult *RCLC* deponents, a fourth problem was that a deponent's family may have originated from outside Montréal and only moved to the city at some point after April, 1881. Thus, the family would not appear as residing in any of the four wards on April 4, 1881. In cases where it was possible to find a child in two or more sources, the research value of this matching method was informative. This was demonstrated in the case of Census child and 20-year-old *RCLC* deponent, Stanislas Goyette, Jnr. At the time of the 1881 Census, he is a thirteen-year old child going to school and living in Ste. Marie Ward with his mother as head of the household.[10] His father, Stanislas Snr., does not live in the household. More significantly for what the 1881 Census omits, he speaks at the *RCLC* hearings of his work history, including becoming an "apprentice" cigar-maker at J.M.

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[10] *1881 Census*, District 90 (Montréal), Subdistrict G, Division 8, Family No. 318.

Fortier's factory in the same year that the Census was taken.[11] Thus, at some point in 1881 and subsequent to the April 4th enumeration, young Goyette left school and entered the labour force. His mother's *RCLC* testimony as to her current marital status (by 1889 she was widowed) and the number of children she had, made it possible to backtrack and find the family in the 1881 Census.[12]

In light of the selective nature of each of the sets of records and the relatively small number of cases where individuals can be linked, no attempt is made to generalize findings to the entire population of all working children in Montréal, but merely to present a microcosmic slice of the factors affecting the lives of children growing into young adulthood in the four wards. The main purpose of my research was to use available census and archival data to provide a statistical and ethnographic portrait of the social and economic conditions of the lives of working children in East-End Montréal, particularly in light of a shifting industrial climate which would demand higher academic/occupational qualifications from its labour force.

In this study, research concepts were measured or defined at the quantitative stage of the study in the following manner:

1. **Dependent variable**: **Children's Activity Status** is defined as the type of activity in which the children are engaged at the time of the 1881 Census. This variable has five coded categories:

   (i) NWS (0) = Neither work nor school declared;

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[11] Deposition of Stanislas Goyette, *RCLC*, pp. 39-41.

[12] Deposition of Dame Rose de Lima Lavoie, Widow of Stanislas Goyette, Snr., *RCLC*, pp. 72-73.

(ii) STUDENT (1) = Going to School;

(iii) At Work (2) = Working;

(iv) Housewife (3) = Married female child with no declared occupation; and

(v) Convent Boarder (4) = For those cases where the child is residing in a religious institution, and is possibly a student (i.e. the activity status is not clearly indicated on the 1881 Census).

With regards to the "At Work" category of this variable, children's activity is coded in my database using the occupational labels compiled by Olson and Sweeny (2003). However, to distinguish between the occupations of parents and those of the children, I devised the prefix "CH" to refer to the occupations of the children. Thus, for example in my SPSS coding, a "CHCIG" indicates that the child is a Cigar Maker, whereas his/her father (following the same occupation) is listed as "CIG".

The collapsed occupational categories for this variable follow the same ones used for the "Parental Occupational Status" variable defined below. The category code of UNDEC in this instance is used in my analysis to refer to those children on the 1881 Census with neither work nor school declared.

2. **Independent variable**: **Parental Ethnicity/Religion** is defined in this study as the ethnic and religious identity of the parents of the children in my Subject Group. This variable is comprised of two characteristics, namely: birthplace and religion. Thus, for the purposes of this study, ethnicities are (i) French = French-speaking natives of, or immigrants to, Québec; (ii) English = English-speaking natives of, or immigrants to, Québec; (iii) Irish = Irish natives of, or immigrants to, Québec; and (iv) Jewish =

natives of, or immigrants to, Québec whose religious and ethnic affiliation is Judaism. Religion is defined as the church denominations Roman Catholic, Protestant (including the subsets such as Presbyterian, Lutheran, Wesleyan, Methodist and Episcopalian) and Jewish.

When combined and coded, the foregoing characteristics become more analytically manageable and render a single modified "cultural community" variable based on that which was formulated for the 1881 Census database of Gauvreau *et al.*'s (2003) ongoing research project on youth transition in Victorian and Edwardian Montréal. Thus, for example, a category of this modified variable is "French Protestant" (**FPR**), which in this research designates a French-speaking member of the Church of England or of the dissenting sects such as Methodism. The modified variable also makes it possible to infer religious cultural distinctions between, for example, the notion of autodidactic "work ethic/self-improvement" which formed a part of Protestant religious theodicity (Thompson, 1986), and that of "sinful, suffering man", which formed part of the Ultramontane Catholicism predominant in Québec in the nineteenth century (Perin, 2001). The "cultural community" categories of the modified variable are as follows:

EPR: English-speaking Protestant residents of the four wards, comprising all Protestants from England, Scotland, Wales, the United States, Western Europe and the British Colonies such as India, Malta and the West Indies. With regard to those Protestant nationals from non-English-speaking countries such as Germany and Holland, I have chosen to include them in this group, since for work and/or school, they would have had to employ use of English as the dominant language

of daily commerce and institutional interaction (Copp, 1989). Thus, for example, a Dutch Protestant seeking membership in a Montréal chapter of a Masonic Lodge would have counted among his fellow lodge members a majority number of English-speaking Protestants. I subsequently found primary-source support for English usage as the dominant language of the research period in the 1880-81 Report of School Inspector S.F. McMahon, wherein he comments that not enough French was being taught in the schools of his districts and too much emphasis was being placed on the teaching of English;[13]

IPR: Protestant residents of the four wards of Irish ethnicity. I have given this group its own category, since Irish nationals comprised a significant presence as a distinct ethnicity in the City of Montréal during the research period;

FPR: French-speaking Protestant residents of the four wards, comprising all Protestants from France, Québec, Belgium, Switzerland, Wallachia (Luxembourg, the Low Countries and Liechtenstein) and the French Antilles;

EC: English-speaking Catholic residents of the four wards, comprising all Roman Catholics from England, Scotland, Wales, the United States, and British Colonies such as India, Malta and the West Indies. With regard to those Roman Catholic nationals from non-English-speaking countries such as Germany, Holland, Italy and Spain, I have chosen to include them in this group, since as stated above, for work and/or school they would have had to employ use of English as the

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[13] Report of Inspector S. Félix McMahon, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Education of Québec for the Year 1880-81*, pp. 81-82.

dominant language of daily commerce and institutional interaction (Copp, 1989). Thus, for example, a German Roman Catholic would have been more likely to enrol his children in an English Catholic school, rather than its French counterpart. Although Marcoux (2003) collapses English and Irish Catholics together into one amorphous group in his study of Québec City children in 1901, the two groups had very distinct ethnic, social and geopolitical histories (Trevelyan, 2000). I have therefore chosen to retain in my own research the established analytical method of religious historians such as Ozment (1992) and Jones *et al.* (1995), of keeping the two groups separate in their respective ethno-religious identities. However, due to the statistically insignificant numbers of English Catholics in the four wards, they were excluded from cross-tabulations of this variable;

IC: Roman Catholic residents of the four wards of Irish ethnicity. As mentioned above, my rationale for giving this group its own category is that Irish nationals comprised a significant presence in the City of Montréal during the research period. ;

FC: French-speaking Catholic residents of the four wards, comprising all Roman Catholics from France, Québec, Belgium, Switzerland, Wallachia (Luxembourg, the Low Countries and Liechtenstein) and the French Antilles;

JU: Residents of the four wards from all countries who are Jewish by ethnicity and religion; and

OTH: Residents of the four wards who are members of a visible minority. I included this code to account for the small number of cases of Chinese, African-American, East Indian and Aboriginal residents of the wards.

3. **Independent variable:** **Gender** is defined as a member of the male or female sex.

4. **Independent variable:** **Age** is defined as the age of the children when the Census was taken on April 4, 1881. The problem of age reporting was taken into account when running SPSS cross-tabulations around this variable.

5. **Independent variable:** **Parental Occupational Status** is defined in this study as the type of work being carried on or not being carried on by the head of the household at the time the 1881 Census was taken. The types of occupations were coded in my database using the occupational labels as devised by Olson and Sweeny (2003) (i.e. the same codes as those used for the "At Work" category of the Child Activity Status variable defined above). For optimal manageability when running SPSS cross-tabulations, these occupational labels were collapsed into four categories to create a modified concatenation of Olson and Thornton's (2002) median-rent occupational typology: "Professional/White Collar" (PROF); "Skilled/Semi-Skilled" (SK); "Unskilled" (UNSK); and "Undeclared" (UNDEC):

   (i) **Professional/White Collar occupations (PROF)**: a concatenation of median-rent classes A (e.g. merchants, manufacturers), B (e.g. notaries, doctors, architects) and C (e.g. agents, bookkeepers, clerks);

   (ii) **Skilled/Semi-skilled occupations (SK)**: a concatenation of median-rent classes D (e.g. machinists, printers) and E (e.g. painters, shoemakers);

(iii) **Unskilled occupations (UNSK)**: median-rent class F (labourers);

(iv) **Undeclared (UNDEC)**: is defined as no declared occupation in the waged labour force.

With the exception of item (iv), all of the occupations cited as examples in the above-listed categories are represented both in the 1881 Census and in the annual City Directories for nineteenth-century Montréal.

Operational Terms: A Note on Parental Occupational Status

Taking into account that people did not always work at the skill or trade for which they were trained, the occupational categories used for my discussion are *based solely on what is reported on the 1881 Census*, and *not as a reflection of the actual skill of the person holding the occupation.* With regard to the occupation of shoemaking, I took into account that older adult males in this occupation were of the generation that would have had a formal apprenticeship in this trade, but that their children would be of the generation born between 1865-1871, the period during which Burgess (1977) maps the acceleration of de-skilling of the shoe industry. Thus, male heads of households who hold this occupation are in the Skilled/Semi-Skilled category (Class E), but any children working in the shoe industry are classified in the Unskilled category of labourers (Class F).

In cases where women are listed as the head of the Census household, their occupations are herein classified while taking into account that they held occupations *in addition* to the domestic work done to maintain their own households. The 1881 Census is silent in the recognition of this "shadow" domestic labour, listing as "genuine" occupations only

that work which did not involve washing, cooking, cleaning or financial management exclusively for the needs of the woman's family. Thus dressmaking, for example, is only listed as an occupation if it was being done for a commercial garment establishment or clothing contractor, and not solely for the purposes of keeping the family clothed. With this omission in mind, I included Olson and Sweeny's (2003) occupational category for female labour (FEM) in my SPSS data to denote an occupation for those female children who are married and have no other declared occupation on the Census.

Male head of household is defined in this study as the most senior male (either married or widowered) first listed in each family household in the 1881 Census, followed by his wife or partner, and lastly his children.

Female head of household is defined in this study as the most senior female (either married or widowed) first listed in each family household in the 1881 Census, and followed by her children.

With regard to those female heads of households who are Widows holding occupations outside of domestic labour, the prefix "WID" was devised and appended to Olson and Sweeny's (2003) occupational codes as a way to indicate that they are "working widows". Thus, for example, a Widow who is listed on the 1881 Census as being the head of the household and who is also a Seamstress, was coded as "WIDSMS".

For the purposes of this study, all 11,495 children who fall within the age parameters of 10 to 16 years old living in four wards of the City of Montréal were pulled for analysis from the 1881 Census (City of Montréal).

For the qualitative phase of my research, I conducted an ethnographic (case study) analysis of the life-path conditions and work history of children working and/or living in nineteenth-century East-End Montréal. This was accomplished by selectively drawing on the first-person Parliamentary testimony of two categories of young workers who were: (i) aged between 18 to 24 years of age (young adult deponents); and (ii) aged between 10 to 16 years (child/youth deponents) when the Royal Commission Proceedings were held in 1888-1889. The former age set are deponents of the same age cohort as the children in my quantitative (1881 Census) group. The data gleaned from this source were used as an ancillary backdrop to the social and industrial topography which the children in my research group were required to navigate. At this qualitative stage of my research, the unit of analysis is working children as a group. In the precedent literature, Lovejoy (1908) used first-person testamentary evidence in his comprehensive analysis of the physical hazards faced by children working in New England's textile mills and factories.

CHAPTER IV.
EVERYONE IN THE CLASSROOM?

> I regret to say that my predictions have come true. We have gone back a step, and come to the olden days when the parents, left to their own ways, did not provide the children with the necessary class books. For those who know anything at all about our country districts, there is a great difference in the system which requires that a father of a family should go to the shop and buy and pay for the school books, and the one which authorizes the municipality to purchase from the government all school requisites with the common fund and to distribute them gratuitously to the scholars. The latter system has been abolished.[14]

The quantitative component of my research involved selecting from the 1881 Census a group of 11,495 children aged between 10-16 years, all of whom were residing in the four municipal wards of St-Laurent, St-Louis, St-Jacques and Ste. Marie in the City of Montréal on April 4, 1881 (Figure 1). The small number of cases residing in Centre (104 cases) and East (379 cases) Wards which meet the research-defined age parameters of 10-16 years were included in the results for children in St-Laurent Ward, since Centre and East Wards were both contiguous to the southernmost border of St-Laurent Ward in 1881.[15] The activity status of the children (i.e., whether they were declared on the Census as being in school, at work or neither) was then analyzed and interpreted through the variable prisms of age, gender, parental occupational status and ethnicity/religion (cultural community).

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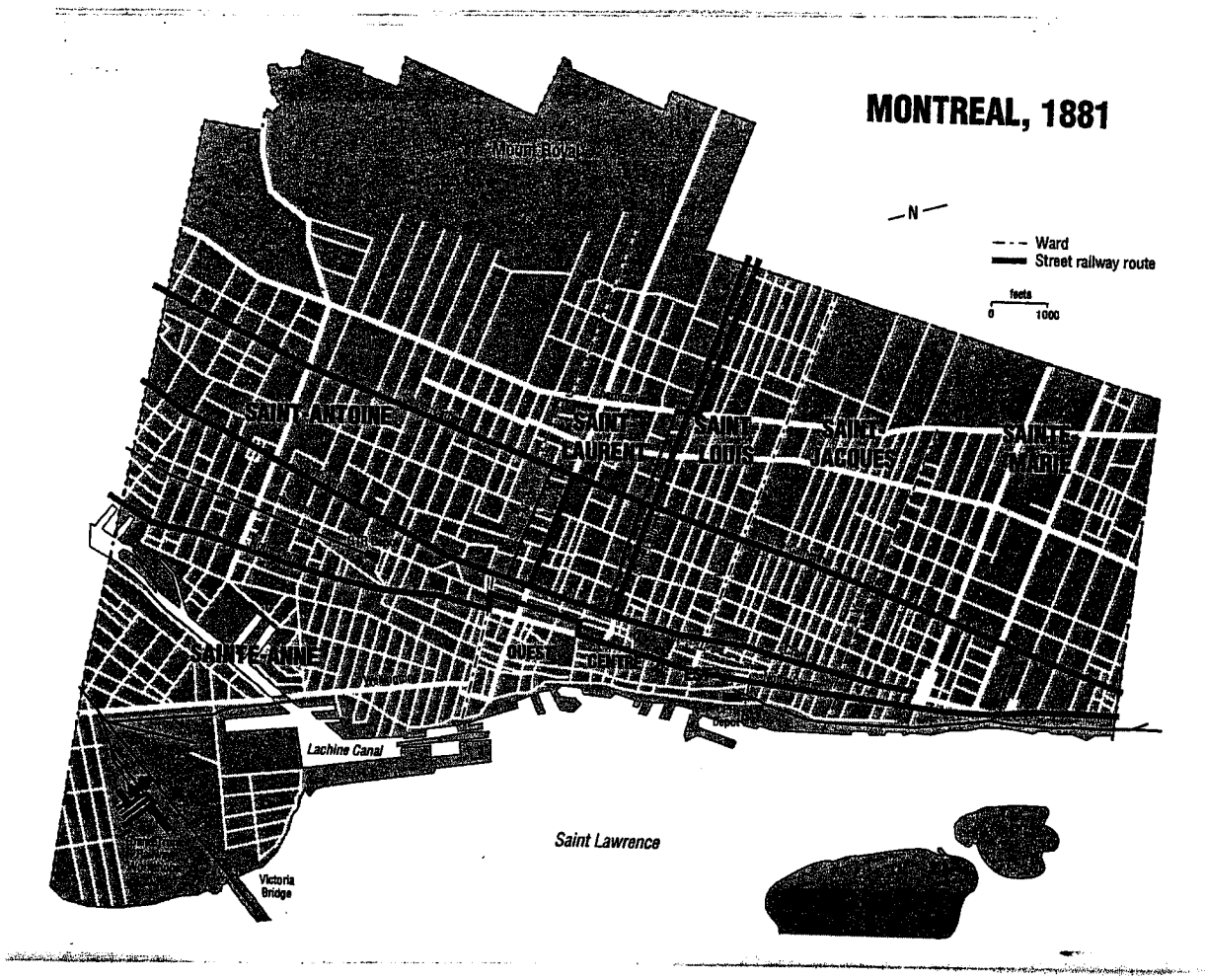
[14] *Reporting Address of Gédéon Ouimet, Superintendent of Public Education for Québec, to the Honourable E.T. Paquet, Provincial Secretary*, December 22, 1881, pg. vii.

[15] G.B. Lionais. *Plan of St. Lawrence Ward, Shewing the Several Properties According to Cadastral Plans Deposited in the Registrar's Office, 1881.*

Figure 1
Map of St-Laurent, St-Louis, St-Jacques and Ste. Marie Wards,
City of Montréal, 1881



Source: Statistics Canada: *Historical Statistics of Canada*, 1993.

I expected to find that children of parents who held semi-skilled (e.g., half-trained "journeymen") or unskilled (general labour/factory) occupations would be more likely to be working than children whose parents held skilled/semi-skilled, clerical/managerial ("white collar"), professional or commercial (manufacturing and trading) occupations, because the low wages of parents in unskilled occupations would necessitate deployment of their children into Montréal's workforce.

I also expected to find that male children would be more likely to be working than female children, because the workforce culture of the period (which was based on the gendered division of labour) was male-oriented. Thus, both married men and male children were associated in the cultural mind with the external sphere of wage labour (breadwinner and decision-maker roles). Married women and female children were culturally associated with the internal sphere of domestic labour and childcare (wife and mother roles).

I further expected to find that children of Roman Catholic parents would be more likely to be working than children of Protestant parents, because prior historical studies (such as Copp, 1989) have argued that the majority of Montréal's skilled and professional occupations were held by members of the Protestant faith, whereas the number of skilled and professional Catholics in the population who were actually practising their respective trades were far fewer. My theoretical expectation in this regard was also directed by the differences in theodicity between Protestantism (autodidactic, abstractly egalitarian, emphasis on work as a choice of "calling") and Ultramontaine Catholicism (authoritarian, hierarchical, emphasis on resigned acceptance of personal

fate/circumstances as "God's will") (Thompson, 1986; and Perin, 2001, respectively). Furthermore, the literature suggests that the differences between Protestant and Catholic institutional praxes produced contrasts in each denomination's approach to popular (public) schooling. As we have seen, MacLeod and Poutanen (2004) document active Protestant lay communities erecting schools in both rural and urban settings in many regions of the province. In addition, as Medres (2000) also noted, MacLeod and Poutanen argue that Protestant school boards did far more than their Catholic counterparts to accommodate and admit new immigrants (such as children in the Jewish community) into their schools. It should be noted that although they appear in the general frequency distribution tables, English Catholic, Jewish, French Protestant and Visible Minority (Other) children were excluded from cross-tabulations, since they do not occur in any statistically significant percentages which would render meaningful analyses.

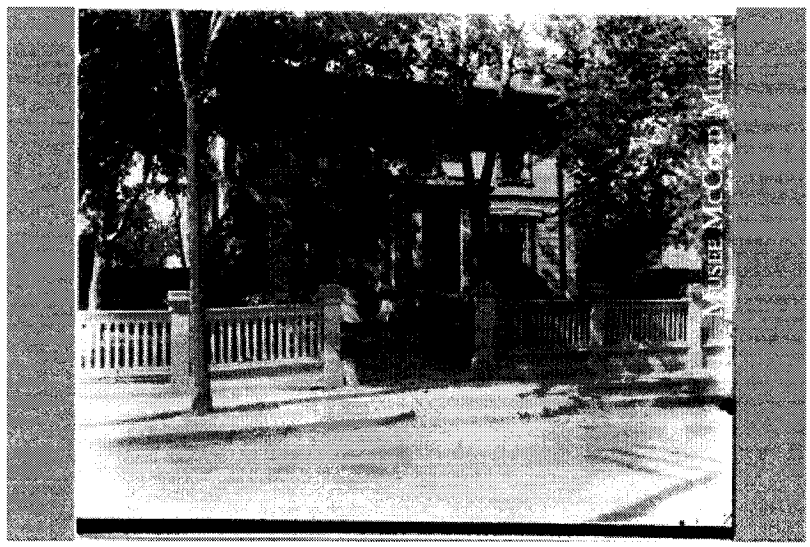
A. THE FOUR WARDS AND THEIR CHILD RESIDENTS

"Above" and "Below" the Hill: East-End Style

As the nineteenth century progressed, the growth in the City's population and rate of trade fuelled a population dispersal outward and northeast of the original commercial and residential spaces in the Old Port. In the case of all four wards, this settlement dispersal produced a motley assortment of occupational statuses residing alongside (or in proximity to) each other. We thus receive a panoramic picture of occupational/residential settlement which runs the gamut from the very wealthy ("above the hill") to the rear dooryard subsistence of wage labour ("below the hill"). For

example, 12-year-old George Notman's father, William[16], kept his photographic studio at its original location "below the hill" at 17 Bleury Street, but resided "above the hill" in a fenced, two-storeyed limestone mansion with an extensive, treed yard at 557 Sherbrooke Street in St-Laurent Ward.[17]

Figure 2
William Notman's Residence, 557 Sherbrooke Street West, 1893



Source: *Notman Photographic Archives*, Frame No. II-102141.

Three streets south of the Notman family and just below Dorchester Boulevard at 60 Anderson Street[18], resided labourer Richard Blanchfield with his family, including 10-year-old Mary Ann.[19] We find the same blend of wealth-and-wage in the other wards: large-scale merchants, professionals and manufacturers living "above" the hill, and wage labourers living in the same ward but remaining "below" the hill along the commercial corridor between Notre-Dame, St-Jacques and Ste. Catherine Streets.

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16 *1881 Census*: District 90 (Montréal), Subdistrict I, Division 7, Family No. 327.

17 Lovell's *Annual City Directory, 1881-1882*, pg. 549.

18 Lovell's, *Ibid.*, pg. 61.

19 *1881 Census*: District 90 (Montréal), Subdistrict I, Division 3, Family No. 139.

The topography of this corridor was comprised of a combination of commercial and financial enterprises closely interspersed with rental housing erected on the streets behind the imposing edifices on the main street of Notre-Dame. An interesting pattern of the built landscape on Notre-Dame Street is that the "cleaner" commercial and financial enterprises such as the Royal Insurance Company, the Merchant's Bank of Halifax and the Donegana Hotel Club[20] were clustered around the prime real estate of what is today's downtown core, but the further east along the escarpment one travelled, the more concentrated the noisy, heavy industries became. Contributing to the congestive bustle of these narrow streets was the criss-crossing of telegraph wires, which produced an even sharper socioeconomic contrast with that of the more spacious quietude of Sherbrooke Street.

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[20] *Notman Photographic Archives*, Frame Nos. MP-1985.31.67 and II-113630.

Figure 3
Notre-Dame Street, c. 1887

Source: *Notman Photographic Archives*, Frame No. VIEW-1577.A.

An example of this two-tiered settlement pattern can still be seen on the stretch of Notre-Dame Street between Viger and Berri Streets in St-Louis Ward. On Notre-Dame Street, we find the "grand" buildings of the Château Ramezay and the Municipal Court. However, on the side streets running eastward between and behind these symbols of middle-class civic activity, we find both the vestiges of defunct heavy industry such as J.P. Prud'homme's iron foundry and Victorian housing that is still being occupied by the area's working-class residents (St-Louis Street). Within the context of the above-described contrasts, we can now further examine the patterns of settlement in the four wards radiating outward from the Corinthian steps of the Municipal Courthouse.

The most populous ward is St-Jacques, containing 30% of the child residents, with Ste. Marie not far behind, containing 28% of child residents. The least populous ward is St-Laurent, containing 20% of the children in the group (Table 1).

Table 1
General Distribution of Children Aged 10-16 Yrs. by Ward

Ward	Frequency	Percent (%)
St. Jacques	3453	30%
St. Laurent	2339	20.3%
St. Louis	2494	21.7%
Ste. Marie	3209	27.9%
TOTAL	11495	100%

Guys and Dolls: Parsing Age and Gender

The group of 11,495 children is comprised of 5,886 girls and 5,609 boys, or 51% girls and 49% boys (Table 2).

Table 2
General Distribution of Children Aged 10-16 Yrs. by Sex

Sex	Frequency	Percent (%)
Female	5886	51.2%
Male	5609	48.8%
TOTAL	11495	100%

Although girls form the larger overall percentage of the distribution of children, a breakdown within the age groups shows more of one sex than the other forming the larger percentage of particular age groups (Tables 3 and 4). This occurrence may be indicative of age heaping in the 1881 Census, wherein children of different ages are

grouped together under one age set. In the age set of 12 years, more boys (52%) than girls (48%) form the majority of all 12-year-old children in the distribution (Table 4). We find the highest number of children distributed between the 15-year (1,709 cases) and 16-year (1,698 cases) age sets, each representing 15% of the distribution of children (Table 3). However, when cross-tabulated with gender, we see that there are more 15-year-old girls (53%) than 15-year-old boys (47%) in the distribution (Table 4). Furthermore, in the adolescent age set of 16 years, girls again overtake boys, forming the larger percentage of all 16-year-olds (55%) in the distribution of children. This latter statistic may be the result of adolescent girls coming to Montréal from the country or from overseas to work as domestics in the City.

Table 3
General Distribution of Children Aged 10-16 Yrs. by Age

Age	Frequency	Percent (%)
10 Years	1640	14.3%
11 Years	1560	13.6%
12 Years	1595	13.9%
13 Years	1697	14.8%
14 Years	1596	13.9%
15 Years	1709	14.9%
16 Years	1698	14.8%
TOTAL	11495	100%

Table 4
Cross-Tabs – Children Aged 10-16 Yrs. by Sex

	SEX		TOTAL
Age	Female (%)	Male (%)	
10 Yrs.	52.3%	47.7%	100% (N =1640)
11 Yrs.	49.2%	50.8%	100% (N = 1560)
12 Yrs.	48.3%	51.7%	100% (N = 1595)
13 Yrs.	50.2%	49.8%	100% (N= 1697)
14 Yrs.	49.8%	50.2%	100% (N = 1596)
15 Yrs.	53.4%	46.6%	100% (N = 1709)
16 Yrs.	54.8%	45.2%	100% (N = 1698)
TOTAL	51.2%	48.8%	100% (N = 11495)
X^2 Test: p = < . 05			

The "disappearance" of adolescent boys from the total number of all adolescent (15 years and 16 years) children initially confirms my theoretical expectations around male workforce culture, and can perhaps be attributed to three interrelated reasons. First, as mentioned above, the interconnected sex-role and work cultures of the period served to produce a gendered ecology of interior and exterior life, wherein girls were more likely to be kept in the relatively "safer" domestic (interior) sphere to be socialized for their ascribed future roles as wives and mothers. By contrast, boys were socialized for their ascribed future roles as primary breadwinners and protectors, which involved deploying them into the more physically hazardous outside (exterior) sphere, sometimes at a

distance from the family household. Thus, for example, the likelihood is stronger that child/teenage miners, stevedores, navvies or delivery runners (whether working in or outside Montréal) would be comprised of a higher percentage of boys. In addition, boys were more prone to "risky" behaviour which amplified the physical hazards already present in the exterior environment.

Secondly, in keeping with the cultural association of girls living and/or working in the interior domestic sphere, the numerical disparity between 16-year-old girls (55%) and boys (45%) may be reflective of the higher numbers of girls coming to Montréal to seek waged domestic positions. Thirdly, the above-described gendered ecological differentials speak to the mortality of males. Since boys were more likely to be deployed into the outside world and at earlier ages than girls, it is therefore more likely that they would "disappear" from the older age sets in the distribution of children. That is to say, the likelihood of male adolescent morbidity is higher if, for example, a 10-year-old boy is taken out of school to go and work in hazardous occupations such as mining (collapse of tunnels and explosions), stevedoring (loading cranes and heavy crates falling) or delivery (street accidents with carriages, horses and trams).

Matins and the Book of Common Prayer: Worship East of University Avenue

In general, French Catholics comprise the largest percentage (71%) in the distribution of children. English Protestants also make a much smaller appearance (12.5%) in the distribution. Similarly, although they predominated in other areas of Montréal, the number of Irish Catholic children residing "east of University Avenue" is only 10% (Table 5).

Table 5
General Distribution of Children Aged 10-16 Yrs. by Ethnicity/Religion

Ethnicity/Religion	Frequency	Percent (%)
English Catholic	289	2.5%
English Protestant	1438	12.5%
French Catholic	8118	70.6%
French Protestant	74	.6%
Irish Catholic	1111	9.7%
Irish Protestant	386	3.4%
Judaism	68	.6%
Other	11	.1%
TOTAL	11495	100%

In **St-Laurent Ward**, French Catholics comprise 40% of child residents, with English Protestants following close behind at 30% of child residents. The highest percentage of Irish Catholic children (22%) is found in this ward (Table 6). This ward is also where we find the highest percentage (7%) of Irish Protestant children (Table 6). In **St-Louis Ward**, again we find French Catholic children predominant (70%), but English Protestant children comprise a smaller number of residents (17%) than in St-Laurent Ward (Table 6).

As previously stated, **St-Jacques Ward** is the most populous ward and it is also where we find the highest percentage (89%) of French Catholic children. St-Jacques is also the ward in which we find the highest occurrence of blurring of occupational and residential hierarchies. Furthermore, the other religious/ethnic categories in this variable comprise much smaller numbers of child residents in the ward. For example, whereas Irish Catholic children comprise 21% of residents in St-Laurent Ward, in St-Jacques their

numbers shrink to 5% of residents. The case is similar for English Protestant children who also comprise only 5% of residents in St-Jacques (Table 6). In addition, Goad's *Surveyor's Map* (1890) shows the ward's architectural landscape as heavily permeated with Roman Catholic religious social and charitable institutions, built indicators of the predominant religious affiliation of the ward's residents.

Table 6
Ethnicity/Religion by Ward for Children Aged 10-16 Yrs.

		ETHNICITY/RELIGION				TOTAL
		French Cath.	**Eng. Prot.**	**Irish Cath.**	**Irish Prot.**	
Ward	St. Jacques	89.1%	5.2%	4.8%	.9%	100% (N=3374)
	St. Laurent	40%	30.4%	22.2%	7.3%	100% (N=2185)
	St. Louis	69.6%	17.4%	7.8%	5.2%	100% (N=2366)
	Ste. Marie	82.9%	5.8%	8.9%	2.3%	100% (N=3123)
TOTAL		73.5%	13%	10.1%	3.5%	100% (N=11048)
X^2 Test:						
p= < .05						

*Excluded Ethnicity/Religion categories: English Catholic, French Protestant, Jewish and Other.

To a lesser and different extent than in St-Jacques Ward, **Ste. Marie** is also a predominantly Catholic ward, wherein 83% of child residents are members of this faith. However, whereas the majority of Roman Catholic children in St-Jacques Ward are overwhelmingly French, in Ste. Marie Ward, Irish Catholic residents contributed to the picture of multi-ethnic Catholicism (9% of child residents). The Book of Common Prayer makes a much smaller appearance in this ward (as compared to, for example, St-

Laurent Ward), in that English and Irish Protestants form the minority of the ward's child residents (6% and 2% respectively) (Table 6).

The Conundrum of the All-Class Schoolroom: Child Activity Status

An initially surprising result of the analysis of the activity status variable was that 60% of the children are listed in the 1881 Census as "going to school". In addition, 20.5% of the children have neither work nor school declared, and only 18% of the distribution of children are listed as working (Table 7).

Table 7
General Distribution of Activity Status for Children Aged 10-16 Yrs.

Child Activity Status	Frequency	Percent (%)
Neither Work/School	2362	20.5%
Student	6929	60.3%
Working	2086	18.1%
Married Housewife	21	.2%
Convent Boarder	96	.8%
Total	11494	100%
Missing System	1	.0%
TOTAL	11495	100%

The high percentage of children from all socioeconomic classes listed as "going to school" was baffling, particularly in light of Superintendent of Public Instruction Gédéon Ouimet's gloomy prognosis in his speech before the National Assembly in 1881. In addition, prior historical research (Copp, 1989; Bradbury, 1993; and Gagnon, 1996) has documented the difficulty in the nineteenth century of sending a child to school if a parent did not possess the financial means to pay not only for school fees, but also for lesson materials. It therefore became important to conduct a more detailed investigation

through cross-tabulation, in order to precisely discern the variable characteristics of those children who are "going to school" and of those who are working in 1881.

The proposed relationship between age, sex and child activity status is one where whether a child is working, going to school or neither is determined by his/her age and sex. Age and sex would therefore have varying impacts on a child's activity status. For example, a fourteen-year-old male child may be working, whereas his female peer may be going to school. It is in this tri-variate analysis of age, sex and child activity status that my theoretical expectations around the relationship between gender and child activity are confirmed, since the relationship was significant for all age sets (Table 8). Obtained Cramer's V values for each age set indicate a pattern wherein the association between sex and child activity status becomes stronger the older the age of the children. For example, for both the 10-year and 11-year age sets, the obtained Cramer's V values indicate a weak association, but the association becomes increasingly stronger from age 12 upwards (from an obtained value of .15 to an even more substantial associative value of .34 for the 16-year age set).

In examining the variable of child activity status through the revealing prisms of age and sex, we find that whether a child was a student, working or neither was strongly dependent on his/her age and gender. At the "elementary school" age level, we find equal percentages of 10-year-old girls (89%) and boys (90%) listed as Students (Table 8). Nine percent (9%) of 10-year-old girls and boys are neither at work nor in school. The case is similar for both sexes in the "Working" category of activity, with less than 1% of ten-year-old boys and girls at work. The foregoing pattern of activity parity repeats itself until the children approach the age of puberty: (i) with marginally more girls than boys

likely to have neither work nor school declared as an activity; (ii) an only slightly higher percentage of one sex over the other listed as Students (for example, in the 11-year age set, boys overtake girls (90% versus 86%) as Students); and (iii) more boys than girls working across all age sets in the distribution of children.

Table 8
Child Activity Status by Age and Sex for Children Aged 10-16 Yrs.

		AGE							TOTAL
Sex		10 Yrs.	11 Yrs.	12 Yrs.	13 Yrs.	14 Yrs.	15 Yrs.	16 Yrs.	
Female	Neither Work/School	8.6%	10.7%	17.4%	27.3%	32.1%	46.3%	42.8%	27.2% (N=1598)
	Student	89.3%	86.1%	77.6%	63.4%	49.9%	26.6%	19.5%	57.5% (N=3385)
	Working	.1%	1%	2.6%	7.2%	17.0%	26%	34.8%	13.4% (N=786)
	Married Housewife		.1%				.3%	1.8%	.4% (N=21)
	Convent Boarder	2%	2.1%	2.5%	2.1%	1%	.8%	1.1%	1.6% (N=95)
	TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100.0%	100%	100% (N=5885)
Male	Neither Work/School	8.8%	8.8%	11.5%	13.6%	18.9%	15.8%	18%	13.6% (N=764)
	Student	90.3%	89.8%	83.9%	75.7%	51.1%	33.2%	15.9%	63.2% (N=3544)
	Working	.9%	1.4%	4.6%	10.7%	30%	50.9%	66.1%	23.2% (N=1300)
	TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100% (N=5608)
X^2 Test:	p =	< .05	< .05	< .05	< .05	< .05	< .05	< .05	

*Excluded Child Activity category for Males: CONVENT.

The crucial period when the activity status for both sexes becomes noticeably altered occurs between the 13-14 year age set. We can chart this shift by comparing what the children are doing between the ages of 13 and 14 (Table 8). In the 13-year age set, 27% of girls are listed as neither at work nor in school, as compared with 14% of 13-year-old boys. In addition, more 13-year-old boys are listed as Students (76%) than their female counterparts (63%). Significantly, 11% of 13-year-old boys are working, whereas only 7% of their female counterparts are engaged in this activity. By age 14, the percentage of female children in this age set with neither work nor school declared has increased to 32%, as compared to 19% of 14-year-old boys. In addition, the percentage of female Students has decreased to 50% (from 63% in the 13-year age set), and the percentage of male Students has also decreased from 76% in the 13-year age set to 51% of 14-year-old boys. The degree of gender differentials in the "Working" category of this variable becomes quite marked in this age set. Whereas the number of Working girls increased from 7% at 13 years to 17% at 14 years, the number of Working boys increases from 11% at 13 years to 30% at 14 years (Table 8).

The gender differences are more pronounced in the 16-year age set. Forty-three percent (43%) of girls in this age set have neither work nor school declared, as compared to 18% of 16-year-old boys in this activity category. Furthermore, more girls are Students (19.5%) than boys (16%). The gender differentials are reversed in the "Working" category of this variable, with only 35% of 16-year-old girls engaged in this activity and 66% of their male counterparts who are working (Table 8). Thus, between the ages of 13 and 16 years, the number of Working male children more than doubles, whereas there is a slower increase across these age sets in the number of Working female children. The

statistics in Table 8 indicate that for girls, the significant shift between school and staying at home to help with household chores occurs at age 13. For boys, the shift from school to work occurs at age 14. The 16-year age set is also where we find the largest number of married female children (17 cases) living in their own households. The information on age provided on the 1881 Census indicates that none of these girls' husbands can be considered to be their "peers", since their husbands' average age exceeds the majority age of 21 years. Here we see reflected the different gender expectations of the research period. None of the 16-year-old male children are married, even though, as we have seen in Table 8, 30% of them are pursuing the gender-ascribed adult male role of breadwinner from at least the age of 14 years. We can say then, that age and sex have varying impacts on children's activity status, in that whether a child was in school, at work or neither is affected by whether, for example, the child is a 10-year-old male or a 16-year-old female. In looking at Table 8, we can conclude that at least until the age of 13 years, both girls and boys are likely to be in school (prolonged) but that by age 14 years and older, both girls' and boys' formal education is more likely to be either intermittent or abbreviated (blunted); the former in favour of household assistance, the latter in favour of waged work.

A Day's Wage and a Daily Ledger: Parents and Children in the Labour Force

Although a variety of parental occupations from accountants to wood (lumber) dealers is represented in the distribution of children, we find the highest percentages of children distributed within certain parental occupations. Children whose fathers are day labourers are overrepresented in the total distribution, with 1,053 cases or 9.5% of all children (Table 19, Appendix 1). Children whose fathers are shoemakers are the second largest

group, with 658 cases (6%) in the distribution (Table 19, Appendix 1). At the other end of the occupational spectrum, children whose fathers are merchants represent 4% of the general distribution. The white collar professions are represented by the number of children whose fathers are clerks, being 4% of the general distribution (Table 19, Appendix 1). In the construction trades, the preponderance in the distribution is towards those parents working with wood: 4% of children have fathers who are carpenters and 3% of children have fathers who are carvers (Table 19, Appendix 1). If we were to picture the main parental occupational pattern in the general distribution, it would thus be one of a predominantly Unskilled occupation at one pole (day labourer) and a Professional occupation at the other (Merchant), with a specialized Skilled/Semi-skilled trade (Carpenter, Wood Carver) and a specific "white collar" occupation (Clerk) falling at points in-between the two poles.

If we examine the occupational distribution for those children who are Working, we see that a statistically insignificant number are pursuing skilled occupations such as marble sculpting or moulding (Table 20, Appendix 1). However, there is some parental occupational mirroring with regard to the categorical type of jobs held by Working children. We see that 43% of children of Skilled/Semi-skilled parents also hold Skilled/Semi-skilled occupations (Table 9). This occupational mirroring between Skilled parent and Skilled child must be expanded by considering that the continuity of any particular Skilled/Semi-skilled trade was not always intergenerational in nature, as is evidenced by the information on occupations provided in the 1881 Census. For example, a male parent may hold the Skilled/Semi-skilled occupation of engraver, but his son may hold a different Skilled/Semi-skilled occupation such as that of confectioner.

Like their counterparts in Skilled/Semi-skilled occupations, working children who hold Unskilled occupations are also more likely to mirror their parents' occupational status, since 61% of children of parents who hold Unskilled occupations also hold Unskilled occupations (Table 9). Surprisingly, 30% of children whose parents hold Unskilled occupations are working in Skilled/Semi-skilled occupations (Table 9). The 41% of children of Skilled/Semi-skilled parents and who are working at Unskilled jobs, may be a reflection of the gradual de-skilling in Montréal of certain artisanal trades that scholars, such as Burgess (1977), have documented.

Table 9
Child Occupational Category by Parental Occupational Category for Children Aged 10-16 Yrs.

	Parental Occupation Category			
Child Occupation Category	**Professional/White Collar**	**Skilled/Semi-Sk.**	**Unskilled**	**TOTAL**
Professional/White Collar	48.1%	16.4%	8.1%	18.8% (N=266)
Skilled/Semi-Sk.	27%	42.8%	30.4%	35.6% (N=504)
Unskilled	24.9%	40.8%	61.4%	45.6% (N=646)
TOTAL	17% (N=241)	46.5% (N=659)	36.4% (N=516)	100% (N=1416)
X^2 Test: p = < .05				

*Excluded Child Occupation Categories: CONVENT, Student, Married Housewife and No Occupation Declared. Excluded Parental Occupation Categories: No occupation declared..

Within the general distribution, clerking is the predominant occupation among Working children, comprising 3% of the general distribution (Table 20, Appendix 1). Furthermore, if we cross-tabulate the children's occupations with sex, we see more of one sex than the other distributed within certain occupations. Boys are more likely than

girls to be day labourers, with 70% of day labourers being boys, as compared to only 30% girls. Clerking also is a predominantly male occupation in the distribution of working children. Whereas 93% of clerks are boys, only 7% of children in this occupation are girls (Table 10). The reverse is true for children working as domestic servants. Only 10% of domestic servants are boys, as compared to 90% girls. By contrast, sewing as an occupation in the working child distribution is an exclusively female activity, with girls comprising 100% of children holding this occupation (Table 10). Thus, the predominant occupational pattern for Working children is dispersed along a gendered continuum of boys "keeping a daily ledger" (clerking) or working for "a day's wage" (day labourer), and girls sewing or serving (Table 10). This occupational continuum also reflects the previously discussed gendered ecology of external and internal activity spheres of sex-role socialization.

Table 10
Extract of Cross-Tabs for Selected Child Occupations by Sex for Children Aged 10-16 Yrs.

	SEX		
Child Activity Status	**Female**	**Male**	**TOTAL**
Clerk	6.9%	93%	100% (N=344)
Day Labourer	29.6%	70.3%	100% (N=209)
Seamstress	100%	0%	100% (N=198)
Servant	90.4%	9.6%	100% (N=219)
TOTAL	49.7% (N=482)	50.3% (N=488)	100% (N=970)
X^2 Test: p = < .05			

*Excluded Child Activity categories: CONVENT, Married Housewife, Student and Neither Work/School Declared.

B. A VARIABLE DISCUSSION

"My child came to me, at noon": Parental Occupation and Child Activity Status

Does parental occupation have an impact on child activity status, and if so, in what ways? If we use the information provided on the 1881 Census as the sole instrument to supply the answer, we receive a picture which can be somewhat incomplete. In an educational climate which Superintendent Ouimet was vocally lamenting during the same year that the 1881 Census was taken, what are we to make of the 60% of children "going to school" (Table 7)? Moreover, if we juxtapose the evidentiary weight of other relevant primary source material, the picture provided by the 1881 Census becomes even more conflicted. When fireman Gilbert Garand testified at the *Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labour* in 1889, he speaks of his 16-year-old son, Gilbert, Jnr., working at the same cotton mill and during the same time that Garand, Snr. was a foreman.[21] While the 1881 Census lists Garand, Jnr. as a non-working 8-year-old child of a day labourer[22], Garand, Snr.'s 1889 *RCLC* testimony on paediatric workplace abuse reveals that his son had been working at the mill since the age of ten years.

With the foregoing paradox in mind, it was important to measure whether there was indeed an association between parental occupation and child activity status. A Chi-Square test indicates that there is a significant association between the two variables. With regard to the strength of the association, the obtained Cramer's V value indicates a moderate to substantial association between parental occupation and child activity status. Furthermore, if we cross-tabulate the six largest occupation distributions for parents

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21 Deposition of Gilbert Garand, Snr., Fireman and Former Mill Foreman, *RCLC*, pp. 278-280.

22 *1881 Census*: District 91 (Hochelaga), Subdistrict E, Division 2, Family No. 383.

against child activity status, we see that the largest percentage of children who are Students (78%) is found among the children of clerks, with the children of merchants not far behind at 75% of them going to school (Table 11). Nonetheless, even the children of merchants were not immune to the spectre of early workforce participation, since 9% of merchants' children are at work. Only 23% of the children of day labourers are working. As previously stated, I expected a higher percentage than the obtained result for working children in this parental occupation, because the unsteady and precarious wages of "day's work" would necessitate sending the children of the household into the workforce.

Table 11
Extract of Cross-Tabs Activity Status of Children Aged 10-16 Yrs. for Selected Parental Occupations

	PARENTAL OCCUPATION						
Child Activity Status	**Carter**	**Clerk**	**Carpenter**	**Day Lab.**	**Merchant**	**Shoemaker**	**Total (All Parental Occupations)**
Neither Work/School	22.4%	13.2%	22.7%	30.6%	16.0%	21%	20.3% (N= 2025)
Student	56.5%	77.9%	56.3%	46.8%	75.3%	58.2%	63.5% (N = 6341)
Working	21.1%	8.9%	21.0%	22.6%	8.6%	20.8%	16.2% (N = 1621)
TOTAL	100% (N = 379)	100% (N = 448)	100% (N = 418)	100% (N = 1053)	100% (N = 474)	100% (N = 658)	100% (N = 9987)
X^2 Test: p = < .05							

*Excluded Child Activity Code: CONVENT, Married Housewife.

While it is true that the children of clerks and merchants were much less likely to be working than the children of carters, shoemakers or day labourers (9% versus 21%), it is also surprising that an even larger percentage of children of day labourers were neither working nor in school (31%) (Table 11).

We can say then that the children of clerks and merchants are more likely to be going to school than working. We can also say that children of men holding Skilled/Semi-skilled occupations were still more likely to be in school than the children of men holding Unskilled occupations. However, in the obtained statistics for the "Working" category of the distribution, we can see that the children of Skilled/Semi-skilled and Unskilled men were equally likely to be working, with the likelihood conspicuously reduced only for the children of clerks and merchants (Table 11). This may be reflective of the relatively low wages paid across all occupations in Montréal (in comparison to other large cities) during the nineteenth century (Westley, 1990), wherein even Skilled/Semi-skilled heads of households were forced to send at least one of their children into the workforce. With 47% of the children of day labourers and 58% of the children of shoemakers going to school, what about day labourer Gilbert Garand and his young son going to the cotton mill every morning? Or Achille Dagenais, whose father's wages as shoemaker was insufficient to send him to school in April 1881, and which propelled him into the workforce as a twelve-year-old cigar maker later that same year?[23] To further capture the nuances of how a parent's occupation determines the child's activity status, we must therefore treat the 1881 Census as an opaque window which does not

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[23] *1881 Census*: District 90 (Montréal), Subdistrict G, Division 5, Family No. 531; Deposition of Achille Dagenais, Aged 19 Years, *RCLC*, pp. 26-27.

adequately distinguish between part-time school and part-time work, and behind which other factors such as age, sex and ethnicity/religion are in play.

A 12-Year-Old Shoemaker or a 15-Year-Old Student: Age, Parental Occupation and Child Activity Status

We have seen that the age and sex of a child has an impact on the nature of his/her activity. Chi-Square tests for all the age sets in my model also indicate significant associations between the variables of age, child occupation and parental occupation. The obtained Cramer's V values reflect the varying strengths of the associations across the age sets in my model, and provide us with a picture of the influence of age on the original relationship. In all of the age sets (10-16 years), the obtained Cramer's V values strengthen the association between the variables in the original relationship (Cramer's V = .21). However, the impact of parental occupation on child activity status is not as strong in the younger age sets (10-12 years), with the strength of the relationship increasing after the age set of 13 years.

Table 12
Child Activity Status by Age and Parental Occupation Category for Children Aged 10-16 Yrs.

AGE	PARENTAL OCCUPATION CATEGORY			
10 Yrs.	**Professional/White Col.**	**Skilled/Semi-Sk.**	**Unskilled**	**TOTAL**
Neither Work/School	5.1%	6.3%	13%	7.5% (N=106)
Student	94.8%	93%	85.8%	92% (N=1292)
Working		.7%	1.1%	.6% (N=8)
TOTAL	34.6% (N=486)	40.8% (N=574)	24.6% (N=346)	100% (N=1406)
11 Yrs.				
Neither Work/School	4%	10.5%	16.2%	9.5% (N=126)
Student	95.5%	88.6%	81.6%	89.6% (N=1190)
Working	.4%	1%	2.2%	.9% (N=12)
TOTAL	37.1% (N=493)	38.8% (N=516)	24.2% (N=321)	100% (N=1328)
12 Yrs.				
Neither Work/School	8.3%	12.5%	22.5%	13.7% (N=180)
Student	91.2%	83%	72.6%	83.1% (N=1094)
Working	.4%	4.5%	4.9%	3.2% (N=42)
TOTAL	34.6% (N=456)	39% (N=513)	26.4% (N=347)	100% (N=1316)
13 Yrs.				
Neither Work/School	11%	22.2%	28.8%	20% (N=279)
Student	85.7%	68.9%	60%	72.4% (N=1010)
Working	3.3%	8.9%	11.3%	7.5% (N=105)
TOTAL	35.1% (N=490)	38.7% (N=540)	26.1% (N=364)	100% (N=1394)
14 Yrs.				
Neither Work/School	16.2%	29.7%	32%	25.6% (N=324)
Student	74%	42.6%	42%	53.3% (N=676)
Working	16.1%	27.7%	26.3%	21.1% (N=267)
TOTAL	35% (N=443)	39.8% (N=505)	25.2% (N=319)	100% (N=1267)
15 Yrs.				
Neither Work/School	29.9%	34.7%	35.4%	33.3% (N=424)
Student	52.7%	25.1%	16.8%	32.2% (N=410)
Working	17.4%	40.2%)	47.7%	34.5% (N=440)
TOTAL	33.8% (N=431)	38.7% (N=493)	27.5% (N=350)	100% (N=1274)
16 Yrs.				
Neither Work/School	32.4%	36.1%	35.2%	34.6% (N=408)
Student	38.4%	11.5%	8.3%	19.3% (N=228)
Working	29.2%	52.4%	56.4%	46% (N=542)
TOTAL	32.5% (N=383)	39% (N=460)	28.4% (N=335)	100% (N=1178)

*Excluded Child Activity Status: CONVENT and Married Housewife. Excluded Parental Occupation Category: No declared occupation.

The obtained statistical results in Table 12 indicate that between the ages of 10 and 12 years, the percentages of Students are comparable for children of parents who hold Professional/White Collar, Skilled/Semi-skilled and Unskilled occupations. We can say that between the ages of 10 and 12 years, going to school is the primary activity for children of parents in all three occupational categories (Table 12). For example, in the 12-year age set, 91% of children of Professional/White Collar parents, 83% of children of Skilled/Semi-skilled parents and 73% of children of parents holding Unskilled occupations are Students (Table 12). The noticeable differences in child activity status across the three occupational categories begin to occur in the 13-year age set, wherein 86% of the children of Professional/White Collar parents are Students, but only 69% of the children of Skilled/Semi-skilled parents and only 60% of the children of Unskilled parents are in school. In this age set, we also find that the children most likely to be working (11%) or "at home" (29%) are the children of parents holding Unskilled occupations. The percentage of Working children increases between ages 12 and 13 for the children of both Skilled and Unskilled Parents (from 4% to 9% for Skilled/Semi-skilled, and from 5% to 11% for Unskilled).

The influence of paternal occupation categories on the activity status of adolescent children becomes clearer when we collapse the individual age sets of 14, 15 and 16 years into a single age range of 14-16 years (Table 13). If we treat Professional/White Collar parental occupations as the "highest" value with Unskilled parental occupations being the "lowest", we see that the distributional pattern across the three main categories of activity status varies according to the type of parental occupation held by fathers (Table 13).

In the "Student" category of activity, 57% of adolescents whose fathers hold Professional/White Collar occupations are in school. As expected, only 18% of adolescents with fathers in this occupational category are at work. As we "descend" the occupational ladder in this age set, we see that the children of Skilled/Semi-skilled fathers are more likely to be at school (28%) than the children of Unskilled fathers (22%). Teenaged children of Skilled/Semi-skilled fathers are far more likely to be working than their peers whose fathers are Professional/White Collar, with 38% of adolescents with Skilled/Semi-skilled fathers being at work (Table 13). Finally, as expected, in the "lowest" occupational value, we see that adolescents whose fathers hold Unskilled occupations are the most likely to be working, with 43% of them being in the waged labour force (Table 13).

Table 13
Child Activity Status by Paternal Occupation Category for Children Aged 14-16 Yrs.

	PATERNAL OCCUPATION CATEGORY			
Age	**Professional/White Collar**	**Skilled/Semi-Sk.**	**Unskilled**	**TOTAL**
14-16 Yrs.				
Neither Work/School	25.1%	33.9%	35.5%	31.3% (N=1091)
Student	56.7%	28.2%	21.7%	36.5% (N=1271)
Working	18.1%	37.8%	42.8%	32.2% (N=1123)
TOTAL	34.9% (N=1217)	38.9% (N=1356)	26.2% (N=912)	100% (N=3485)
X^2 Test:	p = < .05			

*Excluded Child Activity Status: CONVENT, Married Housewife. Excluded Parental Occupation category: No declared occupation.

In addition, adolescents who are the children of fathers in Unskilled occupations are much more likely than their peers with Professional/White Collar fathers to have neither

work nor school declared, being 35% for children of Unskilled fathers and 25% for children of Professional/White Collar fathers (Table 13). We can say that for children between the ages of 14-16 years, the likelihood of school (prolonged) as a central activity is higher for adolescent children of Professional/White Collar fathers, but that work as a primary activity (attenuated) is more of a likelihood for children of Skilled/Semi-skilled fathers (38%) and most likely for adolescent children of Unskilled fathers (43%).

When paired with the results of the association between age, sex and child activity status, the portrait produced is one where the critical shift in child activity status occurs around the age point of 13 years, and the direction of the shift in child activity (i.e. whether in school, working or neither) is influenced by the occupation of the parent. In other words, we can construct a mock scenario wherein "Gaston" and "Marie" have both just turned 13 years old, and their father who is a day labourer must now decide: "Do we continue to send them both to the local convent school, or do we need the extra wages that Gaston can bring to the family household if we send him to make cigars?" In looking at the cross-tabulated results presented in this section, it is most likely that father's occupation has heightened impact on both "Gaston's" and "Marie's" activities during their adolescent years.

Instrumental Boys and Contingent Girls: Sex, Parental Occupation and Child Activity Status

Is the nuanced relationship between parental occupation and child activity status affected by the sex of "Gaston" and "Marie"? Chi-Square tests indicate that there is a significant association between parental occupation and child activity status within each sex. However, with regards to the strength of the association, sex (like age) plays a varied role

in the original relationship. The obtained Cramer's V values for both sexes indicate that parental occupation has a stronger impact on child activity status for female children (.26) than for their male counterparts (.15). This was an unexpected finding since, in light of Victorian sons often following in their father's occupational footsteps, I expected the values to be reversed (i.e., the relationship to be stronger for boys than for girls). Parental occupation may have a stronger impact for girls because of the more limited number of occupations in the waged labour force which were open to them.

In the "Student" category of activity, male and female children of Professional/White Collar parents are equally likely to be in school (77% of girls and 78% of boys), but girls are much more likely to be "at home" (20% girls vs. 8% boys with neither work nor school declared). Moving across Table 14, we see that the likelihood of schooling as an activity status decreases for boys who are the children of Skilled/Semi-skilled parents (63%) as compared to boys who are the children of Professional/White Collar parents (78%), but they are still more likely to be at school than their female counterparts who are the children of Skilled/Semi-skilled parents (58%).

The likelihood of the household or the workforce as primary sites of activity is highest for children of Unskilled parents, with male children of Unskilled parents more likely to be working (27%) and their female counterparts more likely to be "at home" (34% with neither work nor school declared). Children of Skilled/Semi-skilled parents are only slightly less likely to be in the same activity situation than their counterparts who are the children of Unskilled parents, since 24% of boys and 28% of girls who are the children of Skilled/Semi-skilled parents are neither at work nor in school (Table 14).

Table 14
Activity Status of Children Aged 10-16 Yrs.
by Parental Occupation Category and Sex

SEX	PARENTAL OCCUPATION CATEGORY			
Female	**PROFESSIONAL/WHITE COLLAR**	**SKILLED/SEMI-SK.**	**UNSKILLED**	**TOTAL**
Neither Work/School	20.5%	28.4%	34.3%	27.1% (N=1248)
Student	76.7%	58.4%	50.1%	62.7% (N=2885)
Working	2.8%	13.2%	15.6%	10.2% (N=468)
TOTAL	34.9% (N=1607)	39.5% (N=1819)	25.5% (N=1175)	100% (N=4601)
X^2 Test: p = < .05				
Male				
Neither Work/School	8.4%	13.7%	18.5%	13.1% (N=599)
Student	78.5%	62.7%	54.5%	66% (N=3010)
Working	13%	23.6%	27%	20.8% (N=949)
TOTAL	34.6% (N=1576)	38.9% (N=1774)	26.5% (N=1208)	100% (N=4558)
X^2 Test: p = < .05				

* Excluded Child Activity categories: CONVENT, Married Housewife. Excluded Parental Occupation category: No occupation declared.

The foregoing obtained values for the "Neither Work/School" and "Working" activity categories wherein more boys were working and more girls were "at home", may be partially reflective of the previously discussed sex-role expectations of the research period, in the sense that work as an all-age activity for boys was a normative "given", whereas girls could be "assigned" a variety of wage and non-wage roles ranging from going to school, working or staying home to care for younger siblings. Thus, we can say that although schooling was a primary activity for male and female children of parents in all occupational categories, in general boys were more likely to be working than girls, and girls were more likely to be "at home". The likelihood of these two activities is strongly dependent on the parent's occupation since as we have seen, the percentages of boys in the workforce and girls "at home" increase the further away we move from the Professional/White Collar occupational category.

The activity status of children may also be affected by the sex of both the head of the household and that of the child. The most pronounced differences between the two types of households occur in the "Student" and "Working" categories of activity status. Whereas only 20% of boys residing in male-headed households are working, 33% of boys residing in female-headed households are at work (Table 15). Girls residing in female-headed households are more than twice likely to be working (20%) than their counterparts residing in households headed by males (9%). The gender differentials between male and female children in the obtained statistics for male- and female-headed households may be indicative of parental economic decisions formed around the culturally-based (*viz.*, society) gendered ecology, wherein the activity status of children is determined according to their gender. Thus, if there is need in the male-headed

household for a child's wages, the likelihood is stronger that it would be the 20% of boys (as compared to only 9% of girls) who are sent into the exterior workplace with the male parent, perhaps to help him drive his cart, assist him in quarrying stone or carrying messages for the bank where he clerks.

A need for wages in female-headed households would see the 33% of boys and 20% of girls rendering assistance to their female parents from the exterior waged labour force, while the 31% of girls would be "at home" providing assistance to the female parent within the interior space of the family household. In female-headed households, the likelihood of children of both sexes being deployed into the workforce is higher than that for their counterparts residing in households headed by males, but girls residing in female-headed households are more likely to be "at home" than participating in the waged labour force (31% vs. 20%). Thus, it is not beyond the theoretical pale to conclude that girls residing in female-headed households would be more likely to be "kept at home" longer than boys. That is to say, the girls living in female-headed households would be more likely to be working or "at home" for reasons of long-term assistance with childcare and domestic labour, and if the boys were not at school, they would be more likely to be "at home" only until such time as they could find employment in the exterior labour force to support the family economy.

In the "Student" category, we see that 67% of male Students and 63% of female Students reside in households headed by males. By comparison, only 51% of male Students and 49% of female Students reside in households headed by females (Table 15). In the "Neither Work/School" activity category, we find only slight differences between the two types of households. Boys who reside in households headed by males are almost

as likely as their counterparts in female-headed households to be neither at work nor school (13% vs. 16%). A similar picture is presented for girls, in that 27% of girls with neither work nor school declared reside in male-headed households and 31% of girls in the same activity category reside in female-headed households.

Table 15
Activity Status of Children Aged 10-16 Yrs. by Sex of Household Head and Sex of Child

	HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD		
SEX	**MALE HEAD**	**FEMALE HEAD**	**TOTAL**
Female			
Neither Work/School	27.1%	30.7%	27.5% (N=1429)
Student	63.5%	49.5%	61.7% (N=3203)
Working	9.4%	19.8%	10.8% (N=559)
TOTAL	87.2% (N=4526)	12.8% (N=665)	100% (N=5191)
X^2 Test: p = < .05			
Male			
Neither Work/School	12.9%	16%	13.3% (N=686)
Student	66.9%	51.2%	64.7% (N=3344)
Working	20.3%	32.8%	21.9% (N=1134)
TOTAL	86.5% (N=4465)	13.5% (N=699)	100% (N=5164)
X^2 Test: p = < .05			

*Excluded Child Activity Status: CONVENT, Married Housewife.

The gender-based wage differentials between adult males and females in the labour market carry an economic importance for the activity status of children. Since men, as the primary household breadwinners, earned the lion's share of the household economy during the research period, the absence (whether through illness, death or abandonment) in the household of adult male wages could propel their children into the exterior workforce, irrespective of their gender. For example, in households headed by females, decisions that would see "Gaston" clerking in the exterior sphere of the labour force and

"Marie" remaining in the interior sphere of the home to help with domestic labour/childcare or do piecework in the family kitchen, would be more strongly at play in households headed by females than in households headed by males. The likelihood of work (both paid and unpaid) as a primary activity for children of both sexes is therefore higher in female-headed households.

Jet Beads and Copper Mangles: Children of Widows

Bradbury (1982) has pointed to the particular forces of illness and/or death, which affected working-class widows and their families in late nineteenth-century Montréal. However, since she focused on the experiences of the widows themselves (*adult*), we do not receive a clear picture of the particular ways in which illness and death in the family affected the lives of the *children themselves*. In both Bradbury's work and the related literature, we gain a thorough view of how the widows coped and the decisions they made according to the sex and age of their children. However, the children of these working-class widows do not "speak" about their lives in the literature. We do not hear, for example, of how Jules Chartrand so detested working as a child that, through perjury in the Recorder's Court, he deliberately engineered his committal to the grimly gothic locus of the juvenile Reformatory, because he felt that anything was better than the daily labour and abuse he received as a cigar-maker.[24]

Furthermore, loss of the primary household breadwinner obviously presents very different experiences (and activity trajectories) for the children of middle-class and working-class widows. Taking in laundry, animal husbandry and sending their children

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[24] Deposition of Jules Chartrand, Aged 18 Years, *RCLC*, pp. 107-108.

to work were some of the ways in which working-class widows in Montréal responded to the illness or death of the primary household breadwinner (Bradbury, 1982). Middle-class widows had different economic options, particularly if, as Goad's *Surveyor's Map* (1890) illustrates, they owned property in the city. Such class-driven differentials in the two types of widowhoods would in turn affect their children. With the important gender differentials for widowed children in mind, and the distinction between the politely hushed drawing-room shrouded in mourning brooches ("above" the hill) and the clamouring terror of suddenly-intensified economic insecurity ("below" the hill), how did sex and parental occupation determine the activity status of this group of children in 1881?

The highest percentages of children of widows fall within the category of Widows with No Declared Occupation. Surprisingly, children do not appear as either Students or Workers in statistically significant numbers in the waged occupational categories of "working" Widows (i.e., widows who have a listed occupation on the Census other than domestic labour). In looking at the cross-tabulated distribution of children in the "Undeclared" category of widowhood, we see that the variable of sex again plays a varied role among this group of children. In the "Student" category of activity, 57% of females who are the children of Widows with no declared occupation are in school. However, boys are more likely to be in school, with 63% of sons of widowed mothers in the "Undeclared" category of widowhood being in school (Table 16).

Table 16
Extract of Cross-Tabs – Child Activity Status by Sex for Children Aged 10-16 Yrs. of Widows With No Declared Occupation

SEX	WIDOW NO OCCUP. DECL.
Female	
Neither Work/School	27.2%
Student	57.5%
Working	13.4%
TOTAL	100% (N=382)
X^2 Test: p = < .05	
Male	
Neither Work/School	13.6%
Student	63.2%
Working	23.2%
TOTAL	100% (N=394)
X^2 Test: p = < .05	

*Excluded Child Activity Status: CONVENT, Married Housewife.

Sex as an influential factor presents a much stronger differential in the percentages of child Workers. While only 13% of daughters of widows with no declared occupation are working, 23% of sons of widows in this category are in the labour force. The obtained statistic for Working boys indicates the heavier dependence by Widows on their sons' wages. The previously-discussed sex-role differentials may be mirrored in the obtained statistics for those children with neither work nor school declared. More female children of "Undeclared" widows have neither work nor school declared (27%) than their male counterparts (14%), perhaps because they were kept at home to render domestic and childcare assistance.

Although the 1881 Census does not make any class distinctions between widows wearing jet beads and those carrying copper mangles, we can discern the children of

"Undeclared" widows of socially prominent men in the distribution. A comparative parsing of the relationship between sex, parental occupation and child activity status even at this "comfortable" level of widowhood is revealing. As we have seen, the impact of parental occupation on child activity status is stronger for female children than their male counterparts, most likely because activity roles for boys were more sharply divided between either work or school. This role-immutability for boys may also have been in operation for male children of widows with no declared occupation who were living "above" the hill. For example, the 23% of sons of "Undeclared" Widows who are working include such cases as 15-year old clerk, Theodore Gnaedinger[25], who lived with his widowed mother "above" the hill at 13 Plateau Street in St-Laurent Ward, and worked in his deceased father's long-established fur and millinery enterprise. His elder sibling, Emmanuel, was already head of the company and lived in his own household on the same street.[26] While his 12-year-old cousin was in school, 16-year-old George Notman was already taking pictures for his uncle William's studio in 1881, and also living with his widowed mother[27] "above" the hill at 108 Maple Street in St-Jacques Ward.[28]

Thus, although both the aforementioned male children are working sons of Widows with no declared occupation, their life trajectories and more importantly the *type* of work they do (Professional/White Collar) speaks to conditions where they are not only learning a trade, but are also assured the opportunity of a comfortable occupational position within the "family business" when they attain the age of majority. By contrast, although 14-

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25 *1881 Census*: District 90 (Montréal), Subdistrict I, Division 5, Family No. 224.

26 Lovell's *Annual City Directory, 1881-1882*, pg. 150.

27 *1881 Census*: District 90 (Montréal), Subdistrict F, Division 1, Family No. 442.

28 Lovell's *Annual City Directory, 1881-1882*, pg. 125.

year-old day labourer, Joseph Loiselle[29], may also have been joining the "family business" (his father, Joseph, Snr. possibly held this occupation), his widowed mother depended on his wages to a different degree than that of Mesdames Gnaedinger and Notman, perhaps to help pay the rent on their lodgings at 171 Plessis Street in Ste. Marie Ward.[30] We cannot know what awaited young Loiselle upon his attaining the age of majority, but it most likely did not include a limestone mansion on Sherbrooke Street, nor a "corporate executive" position in a thriving business that his father had begun.

In looking behind the chimerical window of the 1881 Census, we can say that parental occupation has more of an overall impact on the activity status for female children. However, this statistical result can perhaps be qualified in the specific case of working sons of widows with no occupation declared, since it seems to be the type of job and nature of the occupational connections of the deceased male parent which may determine the occupational direction of his surviving male offspring.

Praying for Charity or Success: Ethnicity/Religion ("Cultural Community")

With the presence in late-Victorian Montréal of social, lay religious and occupational institutions which were based on ethnic/religious affiliations (e.g., the Knights of St. Crispin—Roman Catholic shoemakers; the Prince Hall Masonic Lodge—African-American Protestant skilled tradesmen; and the St. Andrew Society—Scottish Presbyterian merchants and professionals), ethnicity and religion may be important determinant factors not only in the types of occupations held by parents, but also how their children "got along".

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[29] *1881 Census*: District 90 (Montréal), Subdistrict G, Division 3, Family No. 588.

[30] Lovell's *Annual City Directory, 1881-1882*, pg. 493.

Occupational advantages furnished by a parent's affiliation with an ethnic or lay religious collectivity could serve to determine the activity status of their children. An example of such religious-based advantage is the case of the working-class Irish Catholic siblings of New York City's John Archbishop Hughes, benefiting in many ways, including private secondary and post-secondary education at Catholic institutions over which their brother held sway (Asbury, 1928). Did ethnic/religious affiliation have a similar impact in Montréal on the relationship between parental occupation and child activity status in the four wards? Chi-Square tests indicate significant associations for each of the three categories of religious denomination in the Ethnicity/Religion variable (Table 17). Obtained Cramer's V values indicate that parental occupation forms the strongest association with the activity status of French Catholic children and Irish Catholic children.

Cramer's V measures indicate that parental occupation has the weakest association with the activity status of Protestant (English and Irish) children. The strength of the association between ethnicity, parental occupation and child activity status for French Catholic children may be a reflection of the social hierarchy promoted by the Church over its French Catholic parishioners, wherein social class ascriptions were "assigned" and cemented to a degree which left little institutional room for male parishioners to manoeuvre across upward or downward socioeconomic mobility outside the boundaries encouraged by the Church.

In the case of English-speaking Protestants (English and Irish), this group possessed the advantage of the dominant language of commerce and could therefore navigate/communicate more easily across the commercial, occupational and educational

spheres of the larger society (*structure*). When we take into account the combination of religious and linguistic commonalities, English Protestants would not be affected by the "locked-in" class-based occupational hierarchy of the French Catholic Church.

In the case of Irish Catholics, although there was intermarriage with French Catholics, as we have seen, their socioeconomic position increased significantly as the nineteenth century progressed, and McQuillan's (2004) typology of Church as omniscient protector of its "colonized" parishioners seems to be of a lesser intensity in the case of Irish Catholics in Montréal than it was for the community living in Ireland. As Olson and Thornton's (2003) findings indicate, the Ultramontane "state within the State" dynamic that existed within the French Catholic community was not as important a factor in Irish Catholic socioeconomic "success".

Furthermore, since as Marcoux (2003) found for Québec City in 1901, French Catholics were a socioeconomically marginalized ethnic group, they may have faced occupational barriers presented not only by the authority of the Catholic Church, but also social and linguistic barriers presented by large-scale employers in Montréal (Copp, 1989). Thus, despite the hierarchical difference in parental occupational status, a French Catholic cabinetmaker (Skilled/Semi-skilled) and a French Catholic day labourer (Unskilled) would face the same workforce barriers if an employer preferred to hire English Protestants to make his furniture and Irish Catholics to dig his canals. These barriers would be further reinforced in the Sunday morning confessional where, in keeping with Bishop Bourget's class-driven public oratories (Gagnon, 1996), both the day labourer and the cabinetmaker would have been more likely to be referred to the parish charities

for any assistance, rather than counselled with any practical solutions for overcoming social barriers.

Within the context of the foregoing, does the child of the English merchant clasping his Book of Common Prayer really experience a different activity trajectory than his socioeconomic counterpart genuflecting at *Compline*?

A Frenchman and Irishman Standing at Rome

If we examine child activity status between the two categories of Catholics, we see that French Catholic children of Skilled/Semi-skilled parents are the most likely to be "at home", with 44% neither in school nor at work, followed by Irish Catholic children of Skilled/Semi-skilled parents (20%). Surprisingly, French Catholic children of Unskilled parents were more likely to be in school than their counterparts with Skilled/Semi-skilled parents (49% vs. 42% of Students). However, Irish Catholic children of Skilled/Semi-skilled parents were much more likely to be in school (59%) than their French Catholic counterparts (42%). Similarly, Irish Catholic children of Unskilled parents were more likely to be in school (57%) than their French Catholic counterparts (49%).

Table 17
Activity Status of Children Aged 10-16 Yrs. by
Parental Occupation Category and Ethnicity/Religion

	PARENTAL OCCUPATION CATEGORY			
Ethnicity/Religion	**PROFESSIONAL/WHITE COLLAR**	**SKILLED/SEMI-SK.**	**UNSKILLED**	**TOTAL**
Protestant				
Neither Work/School	10.5%	16.5%	12.8%	12.3% (N=176)
Student	80.5%	65.2%	67.2%	74% (N=1059)
Working	9%	18.2%	20%	13.5% (N=193)
TOTAL	54.5% (N=781)	29.1% (N=417)	16.4% (N=235)	100% (N=1433)
X^2 Test: p = < .05				
French Catholic				
Neither Work/School	16%	43.9%	28.3%	21.8% (N=1420)
Student	76.2%	42%	49.2%	62% (N=4030)
Working	7.8%	18.2%	22.5%	16.2% (N=1051)
TOTAL	30.3% (N=1971)	43.6% (N=2832)	26.1% (N=1698)	100% (N=6501)
X^2 Test: p = < .05				
Irish Catholic				
Neither Work/School	13.2%	19.6%	25.3%	20.1% (N=178)
Student	79.5%	58.7%	57.2%	64.4% (N=571)
Working	7.3%	21.7%	17.5%	15.5% (N=137)
TOTAL	30.8% (N=273)	26% (N=230)	43.2% (N=383)	100% (N=886)
X^2 Test: p = < .05				

*Excluded Child Activity Categories: CONVENT and Married Housewife. Excluded Ethnicity/Religion Categories: English Catholic, French Protestant, Jewish and Other.

In the "Working" category of activity status, the two categories of Catholics are more similar. French Catholic children of Unskilled parents and Irish Catholic children of Skilled/Semi-skilled parents are equally likely to be working (22%). However, within their own ethnic group, Irish Catholic children of Skilled/Semi-skilled parents are only marginally more likely to be working than their counterparts with Unskilled parents (22% vs. 17%) (Table 17).

The Cathedral meets the Conventicle

When we compare the obtained statistics for all three religious categories, we see that there are both similarities and differences between Protestants, French Catholics and Irish Catholics. For example, in the "Neither Work/School" activity category, French Catholic children of Skilled/Semi-skilled parents are the most likely to be "at home" (44%), and English Protestant children of Professional/White Collar parents the least likely to be so (10%). However, Irish Catholic children of Professional/White Collar parents were also less likely than their French Catholic counterparts to be "at home" (13% vs. 16%), making Irish Catholic and English Protestant children of Professional/White Collar parents more similar in the degree of likelihood, than with French Catholic children of parents in the same occupational category.

In the "Student" activity category, French Catholic children of Unskilled parents are the least likely to be in school (49%) and English Protestant children of Professional/White Collar parents the most likely (80%) (Table 17). However, Irish Catholic children of Professional/White Collar parents are almost as likely as their Protestant counterparts to be in school (79%), which mirrors Baskerville's (2001) findings for Irish Catholics and

Protestants in Ontario. We see the same similarities among children of parents in the Skilled/Semi-skilled and Unskilled occupational categories. Irish Catholic children of Skilled/Semi-skilled parents (59%) are almost as likely as their English Protestant counterparts to be at school (65%). The distance between the two ethnicities widens slightly in the "Unskilled" parental category, in that 67% of English Protestant children of Unskilled parents are Students, compared to only 57% of their Irish Catholic counterparts. The scholastic activity gap is much wider between English Protestant and French Catholic children of Skilled/Semi-skilled and Unskilled parents. While 65% of English Protestant children of Skilled/Semi-skilled parents are Students, only 42% of French Catholic children of parents in the same occupation category are in school (Table 17). A similar result is obtained for English Protestant and French Catholic children of Unskilled parents, with 67% Students among English Protestant children of Unskilled parents and only 49% among French Catholic children of parents in this occupational category. We can say then, that although they share religious affiliation, Irish Catholic children are more likely to be in school than their French Catholic counterparts; a closer commonality (in terms of likelihood of schooling as an activity) with their English Protestant counterparts, than that between French Catholics and English Protestants.

In the "Working" category of activity, the three ethnicities are more homologous across the occupational categories. For example, only a small percentage of both English Protestant and Irish Catholic children of Professional/White Collar parents are working (9% and 7% respectively). English Protestant and French Catholic children of Skilled/Semi-skilled parents are equally as likely to be working (18%), and children of

Unskilled parents in all three ethnicities also have a proximate likelihood of being at work (Table 17).

The obtained results above indicate that parental occupation has a varying impact on child activity status, and the variety of results is heightened across the different categories of each of the variables of age, sex of parent and child, and ethno-religious affiliation. These variations in turn have an effect on my hypotheses.

H_1 ***Children from families where the father's occupation requires little or no educational or manual/technical skill will be more likely to be working, than children from families where the father has an occupational status which requires prolonged educational or manual/technical training;***

H_2 ***Working-class children aged 11-13 years will be more likely to be working than working-class children under 11 years of age, because this is the age at which they are more physically capable of performing a larger variety of light manpower tasks in the labour force, such as operating machines or repetitive piecework in a specialized department of a manufactory;***

My hypotheses are partially supported in this regard. Children of parents in Unskilled occupations are indeed more likely to be working than children of parents in both Professional/White Collar and Skilled/Semi-skilled occupations. However, the hypotheses must be qualified by considering that working as an activity is most likely

particularly for children of Unskilled parents in the 14-16 age range, and that adolescent children of parents in Skilled/Semi-skilled occupations are almost as likely to be working as their counterparts with Unskilled parents. In addition, 13 years is the critical age at which a shift in activity status from school to home is most likely to occur for girls and age 14 years is the age at which boys' activity status begins to move from school to work.

H_3 ***Working-class boys will be more likely than girls to be in the workforce and at earlier ages, because the Victorian cultural paradigm of sex-role division of labour associates waged labour as an all-age male activity and domestic labour as an all-age female activity;***

My findings support this hypothesis, since as we have seen, although schooling is the central activity for most of the children in the distribution, the likelihood of labour force participation is stronger for boys than girls, and girls are more likely to be at home. This likelihood intensifies as boys and girls enter adolescence. However, we must qualify by saying that the likelihood of gendered activity for both sexes is almost as strong for adolescent children with parents holding Skilled/Semi-skilled occupations.

H_4 ***Working-class children of both sexes in households headed by widows (and female-headed households in general where an adult male breadwinner is absent) will be more likely than their middle-class counterparts to be in the work force, due to low wages paid to adult working women and the cultural dissuasion of women occupying positions in***

"exterior" society (i.e., outside the home) which are deemed to be the sole preserve of men;

My findings support this hypothesis, since the obtained results for male- and female-headed households show differentials in the likelihood of work for children in the two types of household. Both boys and girls in female-headed households are more likely to be at work, with a pronounced increase in the likelihood for girls (as compared to their counterparts in male-headed households). By contrast, although boys in male-headed households are more likely than their female counterparts to be in the workforce, they are less likely to be so than boys residing in female-headed households.

In the case of households headed by widows with no declared occupation, boys are more likely to be in the workforce and girls are more likely to be at home. However, working sons of middle-class widows are more likely to hold occupations that are tied to the social and professional linkages established by their deceased male parents.

H_5 ***Roman Catholic boys will be more likely to be at work than either their female or English Protestant counterparts, because the constrained socioeconomic position of Catholics in Québec would necessitate sending the male children of the family household into the waged labour force.***

My findings partially support this hypothesis, since we have seen that there is a differential in socioeconomic mobility between French Catholics and Irish Catholics. Irish Catholic children of Professional/White Collar parents are almost as likely as their English Protestant counterparts to be at school. The obtained results generally reflect a

closer proximity in activity status between Irish Catholic and English Protestant children. The activity gap between French Catholic and English Protestant children is wider, except in the "Working" category of this variable, where the likelihood of work as an activity status for children in all three cultural communities becomes more homologous.

With the significance (and associative factors) of the relationship between parental occupation and child activity status quantitatively established, we can now examine how prolonged/attenuated childhood manifested themselves in school and work "on the ground", even as Census takers were visiting residents in the four wards.

CHAPTER V.
CHALK AND CIGARS: WHO WAS AT WORK?

> In my last report, I said:— "I merely take the occasion to state that in taking away the depository, they have been taken from me the most effective means I had of carrying out reforms, and I wash my hands of the responsibility of this unfortunate determination. I hope the consequences will not be fatal."[31]

In the previous chapter, we looked at what the 1881 Census could tell us about which groups of young people were working, still in school or living at home. We can see that the Census is largely silent on exposing the extent of child labour, and does not distinguish how extensively students were in school. In this chapter, we turn to a closer look at the contrast between school and work as provided by school inspectors' reports and the personal accounts of working young people.

A. SCHOOL

Phantoms in the Classroom: the Factor of Attendance

At first glance, the parents of the pupils enrolled in the City of Montréal's schools in 1879-1880[32] were presented with an *embarras de choix* with regard to the types of schools dotting the city's pedagogical landscape. A parent residing in the City of Montréal in 1880 could choose, for example, from among the 16 Boys' Academies, 13 Girls' Academies, the 7 Boys' Model Schools, the 5 Girls' Model Schools or the 54 Primary Schools in which to enrol their child(ren).[33] In his large statistical tables, District School Inspector Félix S. McMahon does not provide a breakdown by district of the

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31 *Reporting Address of Gédéon Ouimet, Superintendent of Public Education for Québec, to the Honourable E.T. Paquet, Provincial Secretary*, December 22, 1881, pg. vi.

32 Report of School Inspector F.S. McMahon, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Education of Québec for the Year 1879-80*, pg. 70.

33 McMahon, *Ibid.*

number of students enrolled in each of the schools under his charge. Thus, since he is responsible for the districts of the City of Montréal, Hochelaga and Laval, McMahon presents an overall view of a total of 29,713 (14,783 boys and 14,930 girls) pupils enrolled in schools of all types in all three districts. What he does do, however, is distinguish between official enrollment and actual attendance. For the school year 1879-80, a total of 29,713 pupils were enrolled in his districts' schools, but only 25,874 pupils were attending school regularly.[34] Thus, although officially registered "on paper", 3,839 (13%) children were not attending school regularly.

Furthermore, by the beginning of the 1879-80 school year, the distinction between enrollment and attendance had intensified, since the provincial government had decided to dispense with the municipal Book Depository in 1878. A precursor to the modern regulations of providing school materials free of charge to students, the municipal Book Depositories had previously furnished learning materials to parents of students at discounted prices. In his plea for restoration of the Depositories, Superintendent Gédéon Ouimet attributes spotty class attendance and absenteeism to their discontinuance.[35]

This distinction between "on paper" enrollment and regular classroom attendance is an important factor not only in the quality of learning attained by Montréal's children, but also in 'explaining' the apparent socioeconomic dissonance presented in the 1881 Census

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[34] McMahon, *Ibid.*, pg. 131.

[35] *Reporting Address of Gédéon Ouimet, Superintendent of Public Education for Québec, to the Honourable E.T. Paquet, Provincial Secretary*, December 20, 1880, pg. xix. In 1877, a single map required to supply a pupil for his/her geography class cost .50¢ when purchased at the municipal Book Depository.

by the scenario of, for example, a day labourer and a merchant both sending their children to school. In an institutional climate where education was expensive (both school fees and classroom materials for all subjects had to be paid for by the parent of the child), the difference between *enrollment* and *regular attendance* clarifies the educational experiences between the child of the day labourer and the child of the merchant. It is one thing to report to the Census enumerator that the children in the household are "officially" at school, but the 1881 Census does not tell us whether the children attended school for the entire year, part of the year or for only a few weeks or months. In this light, it is possible to see how a day labourer's child(ren) could be listed on the 1881 Census as "going to school", but perhaps attending only intermittently (*viz.*, for those periods when extra wages were not as urgently needed in the family household). In the absence of any regulatory structure resembling modern-day truancy laws, the consequences to the educational attainment of a child pulled out of the classroom (but left enrolled and enumerated on paper) for needed wages or other family assistance (such as caring for younger siblings) are clearly spelled out in Superintendent Ouimet's 1879-80 Report:

> It must be understood that when a scholar absents himself from his class at school, he not only loses his own time, but also causes others to lose theirs, for when he returns he is found to be behind the others who have advanced while he has remained stationary. Then the teacher is obliged to recommence and repeat lessons previously given, and those who have continued assiduously at work thus suffer through the absence of the others; *but if the teacher will not, in such cases, repeat his lessons, then those who have been absent sink into lower classes* and their dislike for school increases.[36]
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> (Emphasis added)

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[36] Ouimet, *Ibid*, pg. xii.

The real-life manifestation of the dichotomy between enrollment and regular attendance can be seen at work in the *RCLC* testimony of cigarmaker Théophile Charron. He was forced to leave school at age 10½ years and "spun his wheels" for a six-month period before going to serve a 3-year "apprenticeship" making cigars for $1.00/wk. at age 11 years. As a result of the interruption in his education, he testifies that he has only a very rudimentary literacy.[37] Based on Ouimet's report, it is not difficult to imagine the conditions in a classroom where young Charron was re-situated and trying to "catch up" with those of his more fortunate 14-year-old peers who had continued their schooling while he walked out of the school gates for the last time in 1885. Schooling also took a back seat to the work bench for McDonald Tobacco workers 12-year-old Florina Lacoste and 10-year-old Maria Ethier, neither of whom by their own admission, could read or write "very well".[38] The testimonies of Charron, Lacoste and Ethier contrast my findings outlined in Chapter IV regarding 13 years as the critical age for a shift in activity status, since all three deponents moved into the labour force around the age of 10 years.

"This is a deplorable result"

When Superintendent of Public Instruction Ouimet made these remarks in his 1880-81 Report, he was lamenting the general decline (from the previous school year) in pupil scholarship in what he considered to be the most important subjects, namely "...history, arithmetic, geography and industrial drawing".[39] In the absence of the municipal discount Book Depository, these subjects would have represented the most expensive

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[37] Deposition of Théophile Charron, Aged 14 Years, *RCLC*, pg. 24.

[38] Deposition of Florina Lacoste, Aged 12 Years, *RCLC*, pg. 480; Deposition of Maria Ethier, Aged 10 Years, *RCLC*, pg. 481.

[39] *Reporting Address of Gédéon Ouimet, Superintendent of Public Education for Québec, to the Honourable E.T. Paquet, Provincial Secretary*, December 22, 1881, pg. vi.

outlay in school supplies for parents. For example, lessons in geography would have necessitated the purchase of several maps, a textbook, slates and charcoal. Lessons in industrial drawing would have required the purchase of mathematical instruments, and perhaps pencils with a special size lead. This would indeed be a tall financial order for a day labourer whose child was enrolled in school, but whose unstable wages of $1.00/day made the child's regular school attendance difficult, if not impossible. Let us now examine the other "deplorable" results of School Inspector McMahon's Report for 1880-81.

Four years before young Charron left school, the Superintendent of Public Instruction's Report was already documenting what could be seen as a harbinger of "things to come". Inspector McMahon's Report for the school year 1880-1881 (submitted in July 1881, three months after the 1881 Census was taken) presents statistics for enrollment and average attendance which run in a clearly positive-negative direction. More children were being enrolled in school, but more children were also not attending school regularly. In the 1880-81 school year, there were 29,886 children (12,913 boys and 16,973 girls) enrolled in schools of all types in his three districts of inspection.[40] If we compare these figures to those presented in his 1879-80 Report, we see that 2,043 more girls were enrolled in 1880-81. However, the boys did not fare as well. In 1879-80, there were 14,783 boys enrolled in the tri-district school area, but by 1880-81, 1,870 fewer boys were enrolled.

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[40] Report of School Inspector S.F. McMahon, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Education of Québec for the Year 1880-81*, pg. 151.

In addition, when we compare McMahon's statistics for average attendance between 1879-80 (25,874) and 1880-81 (25,120), we can see that the number of children who did not attend school regularly had *increased* over the same one-year period in relation to the number of children enrolled. Although there were 29,886 children enrolled in schools of all types in 1880-81, only 25,120 of them were attending school regularly. Therefore, 4,766 children (16%) were not attending school regularly in 1880-81 (as compared with the lower figure of 3,839 (13%) intermittent/non-attending children in 1879-80). With their almost identical testimonies of early childhood entry into the labour force around the same time that Inspector McMahon's 1880-81 Report was rendered, it becomes quite feasible to situate the group of 12 young male adult *RCLC* deponents within this larger statistic of 4,766 intermittent/non-attending children.

The educational portrait becomes even clearer when we compare McMahon's statistics for secondary school enrollment and attendance for the years 1879-80 and 1880-81. In 1879-80, the secondary school *enrollment* for boys (9,003) was very close to the 9,667 girls. However, in the 1879-80 statistics for *average attendance*, we see again boys' educational trajectory being blunted or attenuated (only 7,342 attending regularly) relative to that of girls (9,018 attending regularly). In 1880-81, although the secondary school enrollment for girls had improved (an increase to 11,299 girls over the 1879-80 figure of 9,667), the enrollment figure for boys had dropped to 8,178 pupils (a decrease of 825 boys over the 1879-80 figure of 9,003). Moreover, the regular attendance figures for both secondary school boys and girls had worsened overall, with boys again "disappearing" from the classroom in higher numbers than girls. According to Inspector McMahon's Report rendered during the Census year, 8,666 girls attended secondary

school regularly, while only 7,222 boys were regularly attending secondary school.[41] Here, through the filter of Inspector McMahon's statistics, we can perhaps "project" the activity findings for 14-16-year-olds in Table 13 of the previous chapter. Within his statistic of 15,888 children regularly attending secondary school in 1881, we can cautiously "fit" the 57% of teenaged children of Professional/White Collar fathers who were most likely to be in (secondary) school (Table 13). Similarly, it would not be difficult to situate the 22% of adolescent children of Unskilled fathers who were the least likely to be attending (secondary) school within the 4,766 children who were not attending school regularly in 1881 (see Figure 4 below).

Liberal Girls and Practical Boys: A Gendered Curriculum

The type of education received and its duration are also illuminated in the Superintendent's Reports. In his report for the 1879-80 school year, Inspector McMahon shows the gender disparities within and between subjects (at least, for those children attending school regularly). In the basic "liberal arts" subjects, such as (i) reading: more girls (4,807) than boys (4,555) were taking classes to read fluently; (ii) writing: more boys (12,121) than girls (11,552) were taking classes to write; (iii) English grammar: more boys (5,564) than girls (3,822) were taking classes; (iv) French grammar: more girls (10,523) than boys (8,797) were taking classes; and (v) geography: more girls (8,723) than boys (7,880) were taking classes. The unevenness of the distribution within and across these subjects could be attributed to the fact that more girls (14,930) than boys (14,783) were at school in McMahon's districts in 1879-1880, and not all of the

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41 McMahon, *Ibid.*, Grand Statistical Tables, 1880-81, pp. 142-149.

pupils would have been taking the same courses at the same time. However, in the more advanced and practical subjects (geared, according to Superintendent Ouimet, towards pupils' eventual participation in society as "productive" citizens[42]), the gender differentials become much sharper. In single-entry bookkeeping, more boys (1,130) than girls (725) are taking classes and in mathematics, more boys (202) than girls (128) are taking classes.[43]

With regard to the *duration* of schooling, again we see distinct gender differences in McMahon's statistical tables for 1879-80. Throughout both the levels of primary and secondary school, girls were more likely to be enrolled than boys (3,019 primary school girls and 2,136 primary school boys; 9,667 secondary school girls and 9,003 secondary school boys). In addition, the distribution widens when we look, for example, at McMahon's average attendance rates for secondary school: more girls (9,018) than boys (7,342) were attending secondary school regularly in 1879-80.[44] This latter statistic may be illustrative of the further gender differentials operating at the level of teaching practice during the research period. Not only were secondary school boys and girls taught separately within the same institutions (which could demonstrate social fears about the mixing of the sexes at the onset of puberty), there were also more female religious charity and convent secondary schools operating in Montréal than there were male religious charitable secondary academies/schools for boys.[45]

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42 Ouimet, *Ibid.*, pp. xxviii-xxix. Ouimet was also a strong advocate for the utility of teaching mechanical drawing to working-class boys (see pg. xxix).

43 McMahon, *Ibid.*, Grand Statistical Tables 1879-80, pp. 137-141.

44 McMahon, *Ibid.*

45 McMahon, *Ibid.*, Tables D, E and F, pp. 228-229.

Furthermore, McMahon did not report similarly comprehensive statistics for the Protestant schools under his supervision. There is passing mention in his 1879-80 Report of the 12 Protestant primary schools included in the total number of 54 schools of this type in his three districts[46], but he does not furnish distinctive statistics as to regular attendance rates or curricula in these schools. This omission is particularly curious in light of the ecumenical sniping that was raging at the time of his Report between the province's Protestant and Catholic School Committees over the allocation of school ratepayer funds according to religious denomination.[47] However, using as analytical markers: (i) the Catholic School Committee's published dismay at, and rearguard resistance to, the Protestant School Committee's proposed method of allocation, (ii) McMahon's statistical emphasis on Catholic educational institutions, (iii) the fact that Catholics were the predominant residents of Montréal during the research period, and (iv) the preponderance of female-based religious educational institutions in Montréal, we can surmise that in cases where the need for a child's wages arose in the family household, Roman Catholic boys' formal education was more likely to be interrupted (at both primary and secondary school levels) in favour of work than their female counterparts. McMahon's statistics provide support for my findings from the Census as set out in Chapter IV, wherein I conclude that in the "coin toss" between sex and activity status, boys were more likely to be sent to work and girls kept either at home or in school.

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46 McMahon, *Ibid.*, pg. 70.

47 Minutes of the Proceedings of the Council of Public Instruction, Catholic Committee, pp. 276-288, and of the Protestant Committee, pp. 290-302, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Education of Québec for the Year 1879-80.*

When summarized in tabular form, we can see the general numerical decrease across the two scholastic years (1879-80 and 1880-81) in the *enrollment* and *attendance* figures submitted by Inspector McMahon:

Figure 4
Number of Pupils Enrolled and Attending School in Montréal for the Scholastic Years 1879-80 and 1880-81

1879-1880		**1880-1881**	
Pupils Enrolled = 29,713	**Pupils Attending Regularly**	**Pupils Enrolled** = 29,886	**Pupils Attending Regularly**
14,930 girls	25,874 (-3,839)	16,973 girls (+2,043)	25,120 (-4,766)
14,783 boys		12,913 boys (-1,870)	
Total: 29,713	Total: 25,874	Total: 29,886	Total: 25,120

Source: Report of School Inspector S.F. McMahon, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Education of Québec for the Years 1879-80 and 1880-81.*

We now turn to a closer look at some of Superintendent Ouimet's 4,766 "unfortunate determinations", as they leave the intermittent schoolyard for the full-time industrial "classroom".

Not Reading, but Spinning: Illiteracy and the (Thread)Bare Foot

> **HOCHELAGA**
> (Incorporated in 1862.)
>
> A beautiful village on the outskirts of Montreal county of Hochelaga. It is the county seat, and is remarkable as being the natural harbor of Montreal. It has the largest convent in the province, a beautiful Catholic church, a Carmelite convent. It is the terminus of the Montreal City Passenger railway, and possesses several factories, saw and planing mills, and an extensive cotton mill, employing 750. The village is supplied with water from the Montreal Water works, and a thorough system of drainage is now completed. A Commissioners court has been established for the Parish. There is a station of the Montreal, Ottawa and Occidental Railroad here. It also contains the residences of a number of merchants and others doing business in Montreal. Lépine's race course forms one of the attractions. Mail three times a day. Population 4,200. [48]

What is most glaring in the above portrayal of halcyon industry and drainage is the complete absence of any mention of schools in Hochelaga Village. Equally as "remarkable" as its status as the City of Montréal's "natural harbor", is what the innocuous statement about the Village's "extensive cotton mill" conceals. Among the 750 hands employed at the Hochelaga Hudon Mill in 1881 are included such children as 11-year-old Antoine Frégeau; 12-year-old Joseph Gagné and his two older siblings, 14-year-old Alfred and 16-year-old Aristide; and 14-year-old Agnès Frigon and her elder brother, 15-year-old Elpide.[49] Moreover, the 1881 Directory description is particularly illusive in light of the fact that almost ten years later (1889), among the Hudon Mill's 1,100 employees tramping daily through the gates at 192 Notre-Dame Street East[50],

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48 Lovell's *Annual City Directory, 1881-1882*, pg. 686.

49 *1881 Census*: District 91 (Hochelaga), Subdistrict E, Division 2, Family No. 273; District 91 (Hochelaga), Subdistrict E, Division 2, Family No. 224; District 91 (Hochelaga), Subdistrict E, Division 2, Family No. 218.

50 Lovell's *Annual City Directory, 1888-1889*, pg. 457.

would be included a "couple of hundreds" of barefooted children aged 12 years and younger attending work between the hours of 6:25 a.m. and 9:00 p.m.[51] In addition, according to two of the 53 *RCLC* deponents, a large majority of the Hudon Mill's paediatric employees were illiterate: "Q. Can you give us an idea of the number of these children who know how to read and write? A. There is not a quarter of them."[52] The foregoing is not surprising since, as evidenced by the description in the 1881-82 City Directory, pedagogy in the Village occupied a negligible space in the minds of the civic fathers. How fared schooling, then, in the broader municipality of the City of Montréal?

At the time of the publication of the *RCLC* Proceedings in 1889, there were 33,677 children *enrolled* in schools of all types in the City of Montréal and its environs[53], an increase of just 6% from School Inspector McMahon's 1881 figure of 29,886 enrolled pupils. However, as in the previous scholastic years of 1879-80 and 1880-81, the total *average attendance* rate for 1889-90 is lower than the *enrollment* rate, being 25,493 pupils of both sexes. Thus, although *enrolled* "on paper", 8,184 (24%) children in Montréal were *not attending* school regularly in the scholastic year 1889-90. Here again, we see an increased enrollment concomitant with an increase in the number of pupils who perhaps, in a manner reminiscent of the Hudon Mill children, appeared in the classroom only when they had shoes or were not required to work. At the elementary

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51 Anonymous Deposition of Machinist/Foreman, Hochelaga Hudon Cotton Mill, *RCLC*, pp. 274-276; see also, Deposition of Gilbert Garand, Fireman and former Foreman, Hochelaga Hudon Cotton Mill, *RCLC*, pp. 278-280.

52 Anonymous Machinist/Foreman, Hudon Mill, *Ibid.*, pg. 276; see also, with regard to the paediatric cigarmakers at Fortier's factory: "Q. Are there many who can neither read nor write? A. I believe that you could not find ten in a hundred who can sign their names." Anonymous Deposition of Former Fortier Factory Foreman, *RCLC*, pg. 44.

53 Report of School Inspector J.G.W. McGown, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Québec for the Year 1889-90*, pg. 42.

school level, Roman Catholic girls (36.3% enrolled) again fared better than their male counterparts (31% enrolled). At the secondary school level, Roman Catholic boys and girls were almost equal (17% and 15.7% enrolled respectively), with the numbers for both sexes reduced from those of the elementary school level. We can say then, that secondary school was less of an option (and an even more expensive undertaking for parents) for both Roman Catholic boys and girls, but even less so for adolescent girls.[54]

At both the elementary and secondary school levels, the numbers of Protestant children enrolled in the City of Montréal are not as transparent, since School Inspector McGown's colleague who was responsible for inspecting Montréal's Protestant schools, Inspector James McGregor, collapsed all his figures for the rural and urban areas under his charge (including the City of Montréal, his inspection area covered 6,000 square miles and included Chateauguay, Huntingdon and other outlying regions[55]). Therefore, we cannot be certain precisely which of his figures represent those of the Protestant pupils enrolled in the City of Montréal.

To view in microcosm Montréal's pedagogical landscape in 1889-90, we return to the issue of schooling *manqué* around the site of the Hudon Mill. Since the census tract wards and boundaries shifted/changed over the course of the research period (between 1880-1890, the Village went from being a separate municipal entity to incorporation as one of the wards of the City of Montréal), we must stand at the gates of 192 Notre-

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54 McGown, *Ibid.*, General Statistical Tables, pp. 246-261.

55 Report of School Inspector J. McGregor, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Québec for the Year 1889-90*, pp. 47-49.

Dame Street East with a mental compass to gain a more fine-grained portrait of East-End schooling under School Commissioners' control in 1889-1890.

Taking as an arc of radius the Ward of St-Laurent together with its northern contiguous St-Louis du Mile-End as the northwesternmost borders of the area of the Mill, and treating St-Jean-Baptiste Village as municipally contiguous to the Ward of Ste. Marie, we can examine the inspection figures for a small selection of 14 schools in the area around and within the four Wards, namely: (i) St-Jean-Baptiste Village Boys' Academy; (ii) St-Jean-Baptiste Village Girls' Convent Academy; (iii) St-Louis du Mile-End Model Girls' Convent School; (iv) St-Louis du Mile-End Boys' Model School; (v) St-Denis Street Convent Academy; (vi) St-Jean-Baptiste Street Convent Academy; (vii) Visitation Street Convent Academy; (viii) Bleury Street Classical Collège Ste. Marie; (ix) Sacré-Coeur Convent Model School; (x) Courant Ste. Marie Convent Model School; (xi) Maisonneuve Street Convent Model School; (xii) St-Hubert Street Convent Model School; (xiii) 1270 Ontario Street Elementary School; and (xiv) Montcalm Boys' Model School.[56] The total number of pupils for all 14 schools is 5,419, with more girls (3,362) than boys (2,057) enrolled.

Although the selected 14 schools are scattered across a substantial geographical area (*viz.*, covering an area from the southeasternmost neighbourhoods abutting the Old Port, north to the City Limits and westward from Hochelaga Village to St-Laurent

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[56] Extract of "Roman Catholic Institutions Receiving Grants", *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Québec for the Year 1889-90*, pg. 200 and pg. 210.

Ward[57]), the number of pupils represent just 16% of all enrolled pupils in the City of Montréal in 1889-90.

A contributing factor to the absence of literacy in the easternmost sector of the above-described area, is the pattern of discriminatory fiscality on the part of the Catholic School Commissioners. When we examine and compare the general fiscal distributions of the Catholic School system in operation in 1889-90, we see that the ways in which operating and maintenance funds were distributed to the various schools in its jurisdiction made no room for the possibility of subsidizing the poorer enrolled students who could not afford to attend school regularly. In addition, school funding seemed to diminish progressively the further south and east any particular school was located, even in areas that were relatively populous. For example, the Commissioners granted $16,340.63 to the Plateau Academy in St-Louis Ward (a net cost of $19.95 per pupil/annum), 65% of which went to teachers' salaries, 5% to fuel and light and 1.8% to the maintenance of classrooms, printing and stationery. By contrast, the Model School at 174 Amherst Street in sprawling St-Jacques Ward received only $475.00 from the Commissioners (a net cost of $2.84 per pupil/annum), 100% of which went to teachers' salaries.[58] As for fuel, light, maintenance of classrooms, printing, stationery, textbook readers or.....shoes, the school staff and the 167 pupils at 174 Amherst Street (and by extension, the children living further east towards Hochelaga Village) were on their own.

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[57] See Goad, *Surveyor's Platte Map, 1890.*

[58] Extract of "Schedule A- Statement of Amounts Paid for the Maintenance of Various Schools", pg. 301; and Extract of "Schedule B – Statement Showing the Net Cost of the Maintenance of Each School", pg. 302, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Québec for the Year 1889-90.*

B. WORK

> I found that when I was an overlooker, that after the children from 8 to 12 years had worked 8 or 9 or 10 hours, they were nearly ready to faint; some were asleep; some were only kept awake by being spoken to, or by a little chastisement to make them jump up. I was sometimes obliged to chastise them when they were almost fainting, and it hurt my feelings; but the last 2 or 3 hours were my hardest work, for they got so exhausted. [59]

Working children were "nearly ready to faint" in England in 1833, and they were still fainting fifty-six years later in Montréal. The above-cited testimony, given by a factory foreman in England, could easily be transposed to that of a factory foreman testifying at the *Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labour in Canada* in 1888-1889 (*RCLC* Proceedings). The focus of the year-long Royal Commission's inquiry with regard to child/youth and young adult workers was predominantly centred around possible abuses and violations of the 1885 *Factory Act* committed mainly at four industrial sites: (1) J.M. Fortier's cigar factory in Ste. Anne Ward (although many of his paediatric employees resided in the easternmost wards); (2) the Christian Brothers' Montréal Reformatory in St-Laurent Ward; (3) the Hochelaga Cotton Mills (Ste. Anne and Hochelaga branches); and (4) William McDonald's tobacco factory in Ste. Marie Ward. A total of 53 *RCLC* testimonies was reviewed for this stage of my research, and 20 cases (12 young adult deponents aged between 18-24 years and 8 child/youth deponents aged between 10-16 years) were selected for this ethnographic analysis.

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[59] First Report, *Factory Inquiry Commission, 1833*, p. 27, as cited in Hopkins (1994), p. 95.

A Moral Water Closet: Gender and the RCLC

Although both male and female workers were called at the *RCLC* Proceedings, there was significant gender bias on the part of the Commission's members in terms of the types of questions they asked male and female deponents. Young adult and senior male deponents were questioned extensively as to their work histories, job tasks, wages and hours. By contrast, young adult and senior female deponents were questioned almost obsessively on the moral standards ("indecent conversation, bad language") of their working environment, and the location and nature of the water closets (i.e., whether there were separate facilities for male and female workers). Older female deponents, in particular, were asked very few questions about their work histories, tasks or wages. Instead, they were asked to testify whether they had witnessed any "immoral" acts between the sexes at their places of work.[60]

With specific reference to the site of the Hochelaga Hudon Cotton Mill, the Commissioners exhibited overweening concern as to whether there had been adequate sanctions (i.e., firing) of the young, unwed pregnant women working in the same space with their paediatric co-workers.[61] Thus, the 20 selected depositions are heavily skewed towards the androcentric (male) in terms of useful information on the work histories and conditions of Montréal's child labourers during the research period. What the Commissioners' questions do reflect, however, are their own perceptions of what were appropriate questions to be asked of each gender.

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[60] See, for example, Deposition of Dame Clarisse Gamache, *RCLC*, pp. 476-477; and Deposition of Dame Henriette Larouché, *RCLC*, pp. 482-483.

[61] Deposition of James G. Wolger, Second Overseer, Weaving Room, Hochelaga Hudon Mill, *RCLC*, pp. 502-510.

Small Limbs and Big Machines: Workplace Health & Safety

Child worker health and safety issues may seem anachronistic within the general context of the late-Victorian industrial workplace and in particular, the prevailing adult perceptions (norms) of working children exposed in the *RCLC* Commission's questions. Unlike England's Saddler Committee Inquiry (1833)[62] which was established specifically to question child labourers and their family circumstances, the 1889 *RCLC* Commission's questions to the child/youth and young adult deponents seem to be posed from the premised "norm" that 10-year-old working-class boys would "naturally" be standing, for example, at tables with unprotected double rotary saws in Montréal's saw mills.[63] Here, we cite Hurl's (1988) argument with regard to Protestant reformers' acceptance of child labour as "inevitable and appropriate". Based on the type of questions asked at the Saddler Committee Inquiry, upon hearing such testimony, the Saddler Commissioners would most likely have asked the deponent why (and under what specific circumstances) he was sent for a pittance to do the work of two adult men with a highly dangerous tool.

However, in the evidence given by young adult male deponents before the *RCLC* Commission, we do receive a portrait of often vituperative and dangerous working conditions (with limbs and digits lost in early youth). Other occupational hazards, such as those incurred by early, sustained and prolonged exposure to raw tobacco for cigar-

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62 Minutes of Evidence: *Report of the Commissioners on the Employment of Children in Factories*, Examination-in-chief, The Honourable Michael Saddler. London: Parliamentary Papers, 1833/xx.

63 Deposition of Edward Greaves, Aged 23 Years, *RCLC*, pp. 148-149.

making (toxicity to the nervous system)[64], glassblowing (inhalation of microscopic glass particles) and cotton mill bobbin retrieval (skeletal fusion and shortening)[65], were not examined in significant detail by the *RCLC* Commissioners in any of the 53 depositions reviewed for this analysis.

Apprenticeship and Children of the "Injured" Trades

The 53 testimonies reviewed for this phase of my research were revealing in that, when questioned as to whether "apprentices" had learned their full trade after the expiry of their term of engagement, not one of the deponents (who were employed in a variety of trades from boot and shoe manufacturing to printing) could offer a definite affirmative response. Furthermore, in all 12 testimonies of young male adult workers (18-24 years of age) selected for this stage of my research, none of them claimed the ability to practice their trade as fully-skilled workmen after they had completed the standard 3- or 5-year term of apprenticeship. Rather, they signed papers of "apprenticeship" which theoretically required the employer to teach them a particular trade, but which in practice were actually papers of cheap labour.

From a legal standpoint, the statutory schizophrenia surrounding contemporary perceptions of working-class children was as glaring as that which Hurl (1988) found embedded in late-nineteenth century Ontario's child-labour laws. In Victorian Montréal

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[64] Deposition of Augustin Duval, Aged 18 Years, *RCLC*, pp. 70-71.

[65] Gaskell, *The Manufacturing Population of England, 1833*. During his field research on textile workers, Dr. Gaskell noted at pg. 203 in his medical report: "Factory labour is a species of work, in some respects unfitted for children. ...Where the bony system is still imperfect, the vertical position it is compelled to retain, influences its direction; the spinal column bends beneath the weight of the head, bulges out laterally, or is dragged forward by the weight of the parts composing the chest...the whole body loses height, in consequence of this general yielding and pending of its parts." As late as the Great War, army recruitment offices all over Great Britain were seeing the long-term effects of this class-based skeletal deformity in the bodies of young working-class men who had been child labourers (Cannadine, 1992).

(as in Western-hemisphere countries of the research period), children were not legally considered to be adults, with all the entitlements entailed therein, until they reached the age of 21 (the "age of majority"). Thus, they were not free, for example, to marry without the consent of their parents, to own property, to enter into any type of commercial transaction or to inherit from an Estate. Yet, these age constraints were conveniently ignored when parents sought positions of "apprenticeship" for their children, or certificates of *Factory Act* age eligibility, or when employers required them to "sign" terms of hire and copies of factory rules that the workers could not read.

When a then-10-year-old Edouard Miron "signed" his engagement papers to apprentice in his father's trade of painter[66], he did so in solitary attendance before a notary. His father's consent was presumably supplied beforehand. Six years after the 1881 Census was taken, he had shifted occupations and moved into the cigar-making trade at age 16, serving a 3-year "apprenticeship" at J.M. Fortier's cigar establishment.[67] Although Miron does not elaborate on his relatively late start as an "apprentice" cigarmaker (the average age for commencing cigarmaking "apprenticeships" among my group of 12 young adult deponents is 11 years), we can say that painting was tied to the construction trade, and therefore was a precariously seasonal occupation subject to "slack" and "busy" periods. Thus, for this deponent, cigarmaking may have offered him (and his family dependent upon his wages) a better chance at year-round, steady employment. However, in terms of his ability to practice his trade, Miron testifies that he does not know the entire process of cigarmaking. He states that he is only capable of doing that singular part of

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66 *1881 Census*, District 90 (Montréal), Subdistrict G, Division 5, Family No. 609.

67 Deposition of Edouard Miron, Aged 22 Years, *RCLC*, pp. 29-30.

the process which he has repetitively done since he signed his papers of "apprenticeship".[68] This practice would be akin, for example, to learning only certain letters of the alphabet under the guise of "apprenticing" to learn how to read. Miron's testimony on the nature of his "apprenticeship" is consistent with the arguments in the literature (such as Hamilton, 1999) that see a shift in the nature of apprenticeship from that of learning a complete trade, to that of segmented job tasks.

Among the group of 20 child/youth and young adult deponents, cigarmaking seemed to be the "second-generation" economic response to the injurious problems encountered by the wards' parent shoemakers. This also is illustrative of the intergenerational skill-switching between parent and child discussed in my findings in Chapter IV (i.e., children not holding the same occupation as parents). None of the child or young adult cigarmaker *RCLC* deponents in my ethnographic group whose fathers were shoemakers were pursuing the occupation of shoemaking.

This was the case, for example, of George Robley, Jnr. At the time of the 1881 Census, Robley was 17 years old and still living at home with his family in St-Louis Ward, of whom George, Snr., a shoemaker, was the head of the household. George, Jnr. clearly went to work as a cigarmaker at some time subsequent to the 1881 Census, since he is listed therein as having no declared occupation. However, there is money in the household in 1881 to send his younger brother, 10-year-old Bernard, to school.[69]

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[68] Miron, *Ibid.*

[69] *1881 Census*, District 90 (Montréal), Subdistrict E, Division 4, Family No. 663.

Although George, Jnr. had to work a 16-hr. day to make $3.50, the $21.00 he brought home each week would have been a welcome addition to a straitened family economy.[70]

Cigarmaking in 1889 and its questionably more "stable" wage schedule could also be seen as one of the occupational "tethers" that kept the young adult deponents tied to the family economy of "injured" shoemaking past their childhood and youth years. As previously stated, George Robley, Jnr. still lived with his parents at the age of 25, although the 1888-1889 City Directory cannot tell us whether or not he was married with his own family at this time. Similarly, young adult deponent and Census child, 18-year-old Joseph Gagnon, an "apprentice" employee at J.M. Fortier's cigar factory, was also still living with his family in Ste. Marie Ward in 1889, with his shoemaker father, Joseph Snr., listed in the City Directory as the head of the household.[71]

Robley, Jnr.'s testimony provides some support for my argument that the relatively small number of working children recorded on the 1881 Census represents the early stages of industrial child labour force participation in Montréal. I have shown that between the time of the 1881 Census and the *RCLC* Proceedings in 1888-1889, there was a significant increase in the city's paediatric worker population, suggesting that an increasing number of children was progressively pulled into the labour force in the years subsequent to the 1881 Census:

> Q. How long have children been employed in factories *in such large numbers*?

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70 Deposition of George Robley, Aged 25 Years, *RCLC*, pg. 49.

71 *1881 Census*, District 90 (Montréal), Subdistrict G, Division 6, Family No. 499; see also, Lovell's *Annual City Directory, 1888-1889*, pg. 423.

> A. About seven years [since 1882]. I must say it is a very few years previous to that, that the same boss started his factory [Fortier started his factory c. 1880].[72]
>
> (Emphasis added)

"Corrective" Industry as Religious Business

Work at low wages for working-class children in East-End Montréal came, invariably, under the guise of "correction". The Christian Brothers' Montréal Reformatory on Cotté Street supplied a wealth of "wayward" hands to employers and manufacturers who sought to undercut competition in their respective trades. Of the 53 *RCLC* testimonies reviewed, three depositions were taken from senior adult males who were involved in either a supervisory or proprietary role with child and youth "workers" at the Reformatory. A variety of trades was carried on at this location, including printing, carriagemaking and boot and shoe manufacturing. In all three testimonies, the deponents describe a pay scheme whereby wages earned by the child/youth inmate "apprentices" were not paid directly to them, but to the Reformatory's administration. None of the three deponents could confirm to the Commission with any certainty what was done with these accumulated wages when the children were released. Furthermore, all three senior adult male deponents testify that none of the Reformatory's workers were considered, upon release, to be fully-skilled at the trade in which they "apprenticed". For example, paediatric inmates "apprenticing" in the Reformatory's printing factory never learned how to be printers.[73] What is curious about the *RCLC* Proceedings in this regard, is that the Commissioners did not think to directly interview any of the

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[72] Robley, *Ibid.*, pg. 49.

[73] Deposition of Eugene Globensky, *RCLC*, pp. 453-456.

Reformatory's inmates. Rather, they chose to obtain "secondhand" testimony from the adults who directed (and controlled) the children's activities. As a result, we do not have a clear window into the personal experiences of any of the children living behind the walls of this "corrective" labour system.

Boot and shoe manufacturer, Edmond Parent, established his factory on the Reformatory's premises and paid his paediatric charges (who were mainly aged between 13-15 years) 15¢ a day to operate shoe lasting and stitching machines. In addition, Parent got a "break" on his building rental, paying $10.00 a month to the Brothers for the use of their premises. Although he testifies that he could get the same monthly rental price at other non-religious premises in the city, the Commissioners failed to ask him why, if this was the case, did he still choose to operate a concern wherein newly admitted charges to the Reformatory worked for the first thirty days of their incarceration without remuneration.[74] Parent's testimony indirectly reveals the regulatory conditions under which the Reformatory children worked, and how they were perceived by the adults around them. The Christian Brothers served as foremen/overlookers on Parent's factory floor, monitoring the working children for any signs of recalcitrance or misbehaviour (which leads the reader to speculate about the collusive involvement of the Catholic Church).

In addition, neither Parent nor evidently, the Christian Brothers, thought that the children might possibly benefit more from a pedagogical (as opposed to a commercial) setting. Theirs was a partnership that saw adults (the Christian Brothers and Parent)

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[74] Parent, *Ibid.*, *RCLC*, pg. 436.

profiting from the enforced activities of children who were perceived as being in need of "correction" appropriate to their class. Such class-appropriate "correction" came in the form of printing *facta* at cut-rate prices (and wages) for the city's legal profession[75], building carriage parts or cutting leather for boots and shoes. In his recount to the *RCLC* Commissioners of the history of his commercial relationship with the Reformatory (by 1889, he had been operating on the premises for eight years), Parent also unwittingly furnishes a window onto contemporary adult attitudes regarding the relationship between class, industry and "correction". Of the Reformatory's daily environment which existed upon his arrival on the premises in 1881, he states:

> A. ...When I first went in there, *the school was carried on like a college. I took the children from out of the yard and set them to work.*[76]
>
> (Emphasis added)

We can only imagine what Parent's reception would have been, if he had presented himself to the Jesuit administration at the exclusive Collège Ste. Marie on Bleury Street, with his proposal to take the well-heeled sons of the Francophone bourgeoisie "from out of the yard and set them to work".

Fining as an industrial form of "correction" was a subtle and effective way that employers used to essentially obtain free or near-free labour from their child workers, and even to make a miniscule amount of money from the practice. At J.M. Fortier's establishment, fines were arbitrarily imposed for equally arbitrary reasons at the will of the foremen. There were no standardized amounts for standardized infractions, and no

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75 Globensky, *Ibid.*, pp. 453-456.

76 Parent, *Ibid.*, pg. 436.

official signs were posted anywhere in the factory clearly stating what the infractions were and the fines that would be imposed for them. The children would be fined for such "infractions" as "having talked, turned their heads, or for not attending to their work".[77] We receive a very clear picture of this ploy at work, when cigarmaker Alphonse Lafrance is questioned as to his own experience with fines:

> Q. Did you ever pay fines?
> A. Yes, sir.
> Q. Many?
> A. Yes, sir. Every week.
> Q. Which is the heaviest fine you paid in one week?
> A. I think it was three dollars and ten cents.
> Q. How did you make that?
> A. I had made three dollars and ten cents, or three dollars and twenty-five cents, and I owed him ten cents.
> Q. How many days had you worked?
> A. Ten hours a day. I had made six thousand cigars that week.
> Q. You had made six thousand cigars during the week?
> A. Yes, rolled.
> Q. And after making six thousand cigars you owed your employer ten cents?
> A. Yes, sir.[78]

A Factory Act is Only as Good as the Acts of the Factory

Québec's child labour legislation mirrored and produced the same outcomes as those that Hurl (1988) discussed for Ontario's statutes. The 1885 *Factory Act* (Québec) prohibited the factory employment of male children under 12 years of age and of female children under 14 years of age. However, in Chapter 2 of the *Act*, the legislators completely negate this prohibition by paving the way for employers and parents to

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[77] Anonymous Deposition of Factory Foreman, *RCLC*, pg. 42.

[78] Deposition of Alphonse Lafrance, Aged 24 Years, *RCLC*, pg. 31.

circumvent the age proscriptions of the law. Chapter 2 of the *Act* makes provision that any adult ward, guardian or parent of any child can furnish a certificate attesting to the "legal" age eligibility of the child to work. Thus, like the illusive practice of "apprenticeship", children were deemed to be children only on paper and only for as long as their services were not "useful" on the factory floor. Like the adult-condoned practice of cheap child labour masquerading as "apprenticeship", a 10-year-old boy could be pressed into workplace service as a "legal" 12-year-old, as long as he possessed an executed fiction attesting to his eligibility. Both employers and parents could ignore the proscriptions at will; the former if he saw a profitable way to do so, the latter if there was need in the household for the extra 25¢ or 50¢ per day. Adult need and profit converged in a symbiotic fashion to ensure that the *Act*'s proscriptions were not observed. This violation was compounded by the fact that by 1889, although the legislation had been "on the books" for four years, it was not actively enforced by judicial authorities to any degree. Neither the parents nor the employers were going to report witnessing, or having been party to, any such age contraventions, since both groups benefited to different extents from the practice.

Evidence that employers were not only aware of the *Act*'s age proscriptions but also that they were in contravention of it, was directly furnished by both the young adult and child/youth *RCLC* deponents. In his testimony, George Robley, Jnr. confirms that immediately after the announcement that a government public inquiry into labour would be held, Fortier dismissed from his factory all "apprentices" who were under 14 years of

age.[79] Of the 8 child/youth deponents (10-16 years of age), 3 were "let go" by their employer conveniently one week before the *RCLC* Proceedings were due to commence. All three deponents were employed at William McDonald's tobacco factory and were legally underage.

Although she testified that she did not know why she was dismissed from her job, ten-year-old Maria Ethier had begun working at the tobacco factory just eight days before the *RCLC* Proceedings began in February, 1888.[80] Maria's father, 29-year old André Ethier, was a stonecutter who lived in close proximity to the city quarry (Ste. Marie Ward), and he had a young family of three daughters, the youngest being Maria.[81] Illness or seasonal job slackness may have rendered his wages unreliable, thereby making it necessary for his 10-year-old daughter to work.

A slightly different picture of the relationship between paternal-dependent family economics and underage work history is presented in the testimony of 12-year-old Florina Lacoste. Unlike Maria Ethier, she had been working at the McDonald Tobacco factory for one year when she was hastily let go in 1888.[82] Also unlike the case of Maria Ethier, Florina's father was older. In 1881, Michel Lacoste was a 47-year-old day labourer living in Ste. Marie Ward with his wife and five children.[83] His two teenaged sons, Joseph (15 years old) and Ferdinand (13 years old), were also working as day labourers, and it is possible that they accompanied their father to the same work sites.

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79 Robley, *Ibid.*, pg. 49.

80 Ethier, *Ibid.*, pg. 481.

81 *1881 Census*, District 90 (Montréal), Subdistrict G, Division 3, Family No. 579.

82 Lacoste, *Ibid.*, pg. 480.

83 *1881 Census*, District 90 (Montréal), Subdistrict G, Division 9, Family No. 144.

Although he was not called to testify at the *RCLC* Proceedings, it is also probable that sibling, 14-year-old Horace, was working by 1888, either as a day labourer like his father and elder brothers, or with his sister at the McDonald Tobacco factory.

In the cases of both Florina Lacoste and Maria Ethier we can see at work the "contingent" nature of activity roles for female children as analyzed in Chapter IV.B. Whereas workforce participation as an activity for boys was a normative "given", the girls were just as likely to be working, going to school or neither. In the case of Florina Lacoste, her father's occupation as day labourer may have necessitated that she join her brothers in the workforce, because even with three males working in the household their combined wages were insufficient to support the family economy. Maria Ethier may have been working at the tobacco factory because her father was unable to find work in his trade and also because there were no elder brothers in her family who could help her father make ends meet. With the statistical findings in Chapter IV.B in mind, by the time Florina and Maria reach age 16 years, there is an equal chance that we may find them still working (depending on their respective fathers' occupational circumstances), at home caring for younger siblings or assisting their mothers in domestic tasks or married and running their own households. By contrast, we can safely presume that the Lacoste brothers continued their adolescent "breadwinning" activity status into young adulthood.

Sometimes a Ruler is Just a Mould Cover and a Coal Bin

With regard to corporal punishment inflicted by employers or their agents, a pattern prevails in the testimonies of both the male child/youth and young adult deponents, in that assaults by factory foremen/superintendents were most likely to occur and be the most severe between the ages of 12 and 15 years. In addition, despite J.M. Fortier's

claim during his *RCLC* testimony of a defamatory "conspiracy" among his workers[84], male paediatric workplace corporal punishment occurred so frequently and at such a variety of factories, that it could almost be considered as an age- and gender-specific occupational hazard of the research period. In light of testimonies from both child/youth and young adult deponents who hailed from different trades and types of manufactories, it is difficult to give credence to Fortier's claim of his workers' concerted perjury. For among the 20 cases reviewed for this ethnography, not all of the cigarmaker deponents testifying on abuse were Fortier's employees. In addition to the familiar litany of constant, arbitrary fining for unposted factory "rules" and illusory "apprenticeship", 15-year-old Edmond Gauthier, a journeyman cigarmaker with Messrs. Wood & Tassé, describes the almost casual cruelty of the foremen toward their paediatric workers. He states that during his three-year "apprenticeship" (begun at the age of 11 years), he was often slapped and cuffed for "offenses" such as talking or for work that was improperly done.[85]

J.M. Fortier's testimony concerning workplace "correction" presents an interesting exercise in obfuscation. When questioned by *RCLC* Commissioner Jules Helbronner, Fortier attempts to convey the impression that physical punishment of his young workers amounts to no more, in degree and intensity, than that found in any classroom. In addition, he "passes the buck" on his accountability for such punishment, by verbally shrugging his shoulders and stating that he is only doing what the Recorder had advised him to do:

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84 Deposition of J.M. Fortier, *RCLC*, pg. 129.

85 Deposition of Edmond Gauthier, Aged 15 Years, *RCLC*, pg. 29.

> A. [...] if we told a boy to do certain things, and he did not do them, or if he did not do right by taking tobacco or destroying tobacco, the foreman would very likely hit him on the fingers with a ruler.
>
> [...] Q. What kind of a rule?
>
> A. A foot rule.
>
> Q. From whom did the foremen receive instructions to beat the children?
>
> A. They have never been authorized by me to beat any children.
>
> [...] A. I have given them instructions to correct them, and those instructions come from the Recorder down stairs.[86]

If we are to give credence to Fortier's account in this regard, then 20-year-old Stanislas Goyette must be unable to tell the difference between being "hit on the fingers with a ruler" and being so badly struck with a mould cover (as a 14-year-old "apprentice") that according to him, he was treated in hospital.[87] Fortier tries to refute Goyette's testimony by describing the troublesome, recalcitrant nature of Goyette's behaviour on the factory floor; an indication, perhaps, that Goyette may have resented being under adult authority, and being forced to pass a 12-hour day in poorly lit and ventilated premises doing work that effectively "blunted" his childhood and youth. Although Goyette's misbehaviour may have been a contributing factor to the foreman's impatient "correction", it is unlikely that he suborned perjury of his mother, since her deposition also describes her son being brought home from the factory due to injury.[88]

Confinement of male paediatric workers in cellar storerooms was also a pattern that I found in the selected depositions of cigarmakers and tobacco workers (both child/youth and young adult). Messrs. Grothé had their "hot room", being a basement chamber

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[86] Fortier, *Ibid.*, pg. 125.

[87] Deposition of Stanislas Goyette, Aged 20 Years, *RCLC*, pp. 39-40.

[88] Deposition of Dame Rose de Lima Lavoie, Widow of Stanislas Goyette, Snr., *RCLC*, pp. 72-73.

where raw tobacco was placed to sweat.[89] The anonymous deposition of a former Fortier foreman mentioned at the beginning of this section reveals that the room used for male child/youth confinement at Fortier's factory (the notorious "black hole" of the period's yellow journalism), was actually an unheated coal storage bin in the factory's cellar. In addition, he calls into question the veracity of Fortier's testimony by stating that his employer was fully cognizant of, and amenable to, the excessive corporal punishment inflicted on the children working in his factory. Indeed, the foreman testified that Fortier found such incidents of "correction" to be amusing:

> Q. Can you say whether Mr. Fortier knew in what manner his apprentices were treated?
>
> A. Certainly, he knew it as well as I did; only when the superintendent told him something of the sort, he would burst out laughing.[90]

When questioned as to why he had left Fortier's employ, the foreman stated that he resigned because he feared it was "...very likely that I should have become as infamous as Mr. Fortier himself".[91] His stated reason for leaving Fortier's employ indicates that he was disturbed by the abusive practices he witnessed during his four-year tenure at the factory.

Cigar Children in Dollars and Cents

Although J.M. Fortier's workplace abuses of children caused the most sensation and scandal after the publication of the *RCLC* Proceedings in 1889, he was not the largest employer of paediatric cigarmakers in Montréal. Rather, that distinction went to S. Davis

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89 Duval, *Ibid.*, pg. 71.

90 Anonymous Deposition of Former Fortier Foreman, *Ibid.*, pg. 41.

91 *Ibid.*

& Son, with a total of 370 children working in his factory in 1888 (185 juvenile/youth "apprentices"; 125 "apprentices" who were small boys; 60 "apprentices" who were small girls).[92]

When Patrick J. Ryan, a labour activist and organizer for the city's adult male cigarmakers, appeared for his testimony before the Commission, he furnished quantitative evidence obtained from an investigation of child labourers in the cigarmaking trade conducted in 1888. According to his statistical tables, of the 457 workers in the S. Davis & Son cigar factory, 81% were children. Overall, of the 1,264 cigarmakers distributed among 17 cigar manufacturers in Montréal in 1888, 29% of the workers were children making cigars at S. Davis & Son.[93] Furthermore, in comparing the cost of child "apprentice" cigarmakers' wages and the wholesale selling price of the finished product, it can be seen in Ryan's table that manufacturers were paying more in excise tax per 1,000 cigars than the total amount expended on wages for the boys and girls in their employ. For example, the highest total wage outlay for paediatric male "apprentice" rollers was $1.85/1,000 cigars. Total excise tax on this quantity was $6.00. The product was then sold wholesale for $19.00/1,000 cigars.[94]

Surprisingly, the gender differentiation in wages is different from what we would expect. In looking at the "Wages" column of Ryan's Child Labour Salaries table, paediatric girl rollers were paid $2.85/wk., while paediatric male "apprentice" rollers were paid only $1.10/wk. The total cost of making 1,000 cigars with girl workers was higher

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92 Statistical evidence presented, *en liasse*, Deposition of Patrick J. Ryan, *RCLC*, pp. 32-38.

93 Ryan, *Ibid*, pg. 33.

94 Ryan, *Ibid*, pg. 35.

($15.76/1,000 cigars) than it was for similar work done by boys ($9.75/1,000 cigars).[95] Fourteen-year-old Théophile Charron would certainly concur. In his testimony before the Commission, Charron speaks of having served a 3-year "apprenticeship" (beginning at age 11) wherein to make 10¢, he had to roll 100 cigars. To make $1.00 per week, he had to roll 1,000 cigars. He also states that he worked on the average between 8-10 hours per day.[96] Twenty-five-year-old George Robley's deposition provides some support for the gender-based wage differentials I observed in Ryan's Child Labour Wage table. Specifically, he states in his testimony that female children receive the same pay as adult male cigarmakers for the same work, but that male child "apprentice" cigarmakers are paid less even though they do the same work as adult men.[97] Using Ryan's table as a quantitative referent, we can theorize that it made more financial advantage for cigar manufacturers to hire male children as "apprentices" than to employ their female counterparts. This financial advantage may also help to explain the gender differentials observed in the age/sex/activity status cross-tabulations presented in Chapter IV.A. If it was cheaper to employ small male children than their female counterparts, we can perhaps now situate the 5% of 12-year-old boys who were working in 1881 (Table 8). Furthermore, it would not be beyond the theoretical pale to envision this age/gender-based pattern persisting (and intensifying) long after the 1881 Census was taken. In this latter regard, Ryan confirms that cigar manufacturers' use of child labour under the ruse

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95 *Ibid.*

96 Charron, *Ibid.*, pg. 25.

97 Robley, *Ibid.*, pg. 50.

of "apprenticeship" *had escalated progressively since 1884*, with a concomitant decrease in adult male wages.[98]

The reliability of children's wages was also a characteristic very much at play in the cigar and tobacco trades. Both senior adult male (such as the anonymous Fortier foreman mentioned above) and young adult deponents testify as to the utter caprice with which paediatric workers' wages were withheld, confiscated or not paid with any regularity. This reality speaks to the precariousness of working children's wages—adult employers could choose, during any given week, to pay or not to pay the children, and to arbitrarily determine the amount of wages, despite any prior contractual agreements. Such caprice in turn, means that any heavy reliance by the family in their weekly budget on the child's wages would introduce the same precarious element into household/family economy finances. Eighteen-year-old Augustin Duval testifies that during his "apprenticeship", his wages were not regularly paid to him. The standard output requirement for "apprentices" for all 3 years at Grothé's establishment was that to make the contracted $1.00/$1.25 per week, 1,200 cigars had to be rolled, but the "apprentices" were paid for only as many cigars as they had managed to make at the end of each week.[99] Moreover, a confiscatory ploy was embedded in the forced payment of factory and operating utilities. For example, 24-year-old Alphonse Lafrance speaks of being obliged during his "apprenticeship" to pay 10¢ per week for the gas commonly used in cigarmaking, regardless of whether or not he had worked a full week and regardless of whether or not

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98 Ryan, *Ibid*, pg. 33.

99 Duval, *Ibid.*, pg. 70.

the gas had been lit in any particular week.[100] Thus, whether he made cigars in the dark, or whether he lit the gas to see what he was doing, 10¢ would be deducted from his wages every Saturday.

In light of the foregoing testimonies, a troubling "corrective" parallel emerges between the Reformatory and factory floor as sites of working-class paediatric daily existence. In both places, Reformatory staff and factory foremen serve the same regulatory and punitive functions. Furthermore, children's wages at the two sites were subject to both the whimsy and benefit of the adults around them; in the former case, at the pleasure of the "boss" or Reformatory wardens, in the latter case, in the practice of parents appearing every fortnight at the children's workplace to collect their wages directly from the factory paymaster. The economic dramas being enacted over working children's heads (be it an employer's profit-driven motives, religious commercial opportunism or parental collusion), served to produce an existence that was buffeted (and attenuated) from all directions by the varied and competing exigencies of the adults who controlled their lives.

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[100] Lafrance, *Ibid.*, pg. 31.

CHAPTER VI.
CONCLUSION: "GOING TO SCHOOL" AND GOING TO "SCHOOL"

At first glance, the information recorded in the Census would lead one to conclude that all was relatively well with the children of lawyers and labourers residing "east of University Avenue" in 1881. The majority (60%) of children aged 10-16 years in St-Laurent, St-Louis, St-Jacques and Ste. Marie Wards were "going to school". Indeed, the children of all occupational classes were most likely to be at school. However, when we peer behind the rosy window of the 1881 Census, we see that all was most definitely not equally cut-and-dried with the 60% of children "going to school" in 1881.

This becomes even more clear when we examine more closely who was going to school, working or staying at home according to the age and gender of the child and occupational status and ethno-cultural identity of the parents. Although parental occupation was significant for the activity status of both boys and girls, we see that whether "Marie" was "going to school", working or neither, depended not only on whether she was 10 years old or 16 years old, but also on whether her father was an English Protestant docker or a French Catholic doctor. Her assigned activity roles were "contingent", flexible and deployed more according to the needs of the "interior" household (i.e., economic, domestic or a combination of both) than with her male counterpart.

Contrary to my theoretical expectations with regard to the impact of gender on the relationship between parental occupation and child activity status, the ascribed roles for "Gaston" were more sharply divided between either work or school as a primary activity,

and his father's occupation had less of an impact on his activity status—whether "papa" was a docker or a doctor was less significant in his case than in "Marie's". This is perhaps because his gender culturally consigned him to the exterior workplace activity of breadwinner "in training".

However, although there were fewer choices of activity roles for boys, they may have been no less constrained than girls by their socioeconomic status. This latter consideration is demonstrated in the work-history testimonies of the *RCLC* deponents, where schooling or staying at home was a temporary activity until they could find employment in the labour force.

The type of paternal occupation has an impact on the activity status of adolescent (14-16 years) children, since the largest percentage of students in this age range is found among children whose fathers hold Professional/White Collar occupations (57%), whereas the smallest percentage of this activity category occurs among children whose fathers hold Unskilled occupations (22%). We also see that working children with fathers in Skilled/Semi-skilled occupations are most likely to also be employed in Skilled/Semi-skilled occupations, although not always at the same trade as their fathers.

A household headed by a primary male breadwinner more significantly determines the activity status of a child, with girls more likely than boys to be "at home", and more boys in school than at work. In female-headed households, the activity status of children is more strongly partitioned by gender, with boys more likely to be at work and girls more likely to be "at home", at school or at work. Moreover, we see that working sons of "non-working" widows hail from both the middle and working classes, but the *type* of

work in which they are involved (i.e., whether on an Unskilled factory floor or at a Professional/White Collar desk) seems to be connected to the type of work and nature of the occupational connections in which their deceased male parents had been involved.

We have seen that to be Roman Catholic in Montréal was associated with different socioeconomic outcomes according to ethnicity. Specifically, Irish Catholics, with political savvy, skill in the dominant language of commerce and a "baggage of schooling" did not "voluntarily affiliate" with the Church in Montréal to the same degree as McQuillan (2003) found for Ireland. As immigrants to Québec, Irish Catholics may not have experienced McQuillan's protective Church-threatened group typology with the same intensity as on their home soil. In addition, by taking advantage of a variety of school systems to educate their children and joining Church-banned labour organizations, Irish Catholics exercised an agency that saw them putting the interests of their community before clerical dictates.

With the exception of the activity status of work, Irish Catholic children almost equal their English Protestant counterparts in the activity categories of "Neither Work/School" and "Student". By contrast, French Catholic children were more likely than both Irish Catholics and Protestants to be "at home", and the gap in student percentages is wider between French Catholics and English Protestants, than it is between Irish Catholics and Protestants.

Results from cross-tabulations on age/sex/activity status contradict the work history testimonies of child/youth and young adult deponents at the 1889 *Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital*). In Chapter IV, we see that a critical change

in activity status occurs around the age of 13 years for girls and 14 years for boys, and that 14-year-old boys were more likely to be sent to work than their female counterparts.

Among the young adult *RCLC* deponents, the average age for this critical shift into the labour force occurred at around 11 years (which buttresses my second hypothesis). The gender differentials observed around this critical age were also muted, since both boys and girls testified to beginning work at around 11 years of age. If we take into account the testimony from the ex-foreman on children working at the Hudon Mill, we can almost imagine a critical-age range of 10-12 years specifically for the children and young adults appearing at the *RCLC* Proceedings.

This early work-force profile is more in keeping with contemporary reports by late-nineteenth century investigators (such as Booth, Gaskell and Shaftesbury) in other industrial centres, wherein children's presence on the factory floor was neither a rarity, anomaly nor statistical minority (18%), but a much more visible collectivity. It would appear that while Census enumerators were recording 60% of children as "going to school", some parents were simultaneously making economic decisions about their children's activities that saw School Inspector McMahon reporting more boys than girls leaving the classroom in the months and years subsequent to April 4, 1881. An increasing number of students were enrolled in school, but were not actually attending school. This trend increased substantially over the period 1881-1890.

Furthermore, my investigation shows that although "Gaston" may be sitting with "Marie" in the same classroom during his earlier elementary school years, by the time he is 16 years old, he is less likely than his female peers to be attending school, and more

likely to be receiving "corrective" instruction on a factory floor or facing physical hazards such as those waiting in a lumber yard. Since Inspector McMahon's statistics show that more girls than boys were staying in school longer, a topic for future research would be to examine the issue of literacy rates of young adult couples according to gender. That is to say, whether females would be more likely to be literate than their husbands as a result of the opportunity for more (longer duration) schooling and greater concentration on reading and writing.

The conclusion that going to school was the central activity status for most children in the four wards is further in need of qualification. For as we have seen, Superintendent Gédéon Ouimet and his team of school inspectors would beg to disagree.

Like the illusion of "apprenticeship", the terms "school" and "going to school" as discursively used on the Census, appear in the material world of 1881 to be rather elastic and liminal terms with meanings, conditions and implications deployed according to the momentary needs/decisions of adults (*viz.*, manufacturers and their agents, parents and school commissioners). For example, the official designation in the 1888-1889 City Directory of the Christian Brothers' Montréal Reformatory as a "school"[101], belies the industrial (as opposed to pedagogical) nature of the institution's "corrective" approach to its young charges. Although Edmond Parent testified his vague belief that his young employees at the Reformatory had school hours "in the forenoon", it is difficult to see

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[101] Lovell's *Annual City Directory, 1888-1889*, pg. 110.

how the children could have received any significant instruction when they were compelled to work a 7½-hour day in his shoe factory.[102]

Balanced against the foregoing perspective, the school inspectors' reports produced during the earlier part of the decade contain a portent of the child/youth experiences that would later be deposed to at the *RCLC* Proceedings. Beginning in 1879, the Montréal School Inspectors' statistical tables show an increase in pupil *enrollment* with, simultaneously, increasing student *irregular attendance rates* between the successive years of 1880-81 and 1889-90.

Collectively, and in direct contradiction to the general impression conveyed by the 1881 Census, the Superintendent's Reports for the aforementioned three scholastic years demonstrate that between 1880 and 1890, increasing numbers of children, and particularly male children, were intermittently shifted from instruction in the classroom to "instruction" on the factory floor. Census child and *RCLC* Deponent, Stanislas Goyette, may have been "going to school" at age 13 on April 4, 1881, but by the end of that same year, he was already going to "school" as an "apprentice" in a cigar factory.

Based on both John Ryan's and George Robley, Jnr.'s testimonies as to the increasing number of children in the waged labour force after 1884, we can conclude that if the Census enumerators had returned to the four wards at various times subsequent to the Spring of 1881, far more than the reported 18% of working children would be found to be participating in the waged labour force, and that the number of children in this category of activity status would continue to rise the further the decade progressed.

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[102] Deposition of Edmond Parent, *RCLC*, pg. 436.

The persistent situation of children progressively "disappearing" from the classroom was not helped by the uneven fiscal policies of the Catholic School Commissions in the four wards. The allotted amount of school operating funds dwindled the further south and east the schools were located. Next door to Ste. Marie Ward in the Village of Hochelaga, working children endured both the absence of literacy and the absence of shoes to ensure that Victor Hudon's looms continued their incessant roar.

From a longitudinal perspective, both the absence of literacy and the Catholic Church's inattention to a more academic public education for its working-class parishioners seem to have gone "full circle". In 1982, over 100 years after the 1881 Census was taken, we still see vestiges of the East-End socioeconomic and educational distress described in the preceding chapters.

In the ensuing century, Hochelaga had been municipally transformed from a village with "remarkable" drainage and unschooled children into a district of the City of Montréal which also incorporated the former Town of Maisonneuve (1918). Claire Auger, a 51-year-old single mother with six children, was one of the 28,000 residents of Hochelaga-Maisonneuve who could neither read nor write in 1982. Notably, the concern for high illiteracy rates in the District and the collection of the relevant statistics was conducted by the Protestant School Board of Greater Montréal (PSBGM). In addition, the PSBGM instituted and oversaw the District's remedial adult literacy program in which Madame Auger was taught to read and write.[103] The anomaly of English Protestants operating in

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[103] Cattaneo, Claudia. "Mother of six decides it's time to learn to read", The *Montreal Gazette*, Tuesday, September 14, 1982.

a heavily French Catholic ward is reminiscent of the class-driven inattention towards its poorer parishioners with which the Catholic School Commission operated in 1881.

When Claire Auger was born in 1931, residents of Hochelaga-Maisonneuve could drink and bathe in various hospitality establishments strung out along Ontario Street East[104], but affordable education and schoolhouses were still thin on the ground. The Hudon Cotton Mill still swallowed many of the District's young workers, but it now did so under the auspices of the Dominion Textiles cartel.[105]

In light of the persistent socioeconomic circumstances which did not permit Claire Auger to attend school as a child, it is unlikely that the teenagers streaming through the Mill gates in 1931 were any more literate (or better shod) than their younger counterparts from fifty years earlier. A second topic for future research would be to longitudinally "track" a sample of the 28,000 illiterate residents of Hochelaga-Maisonneuve to examine their intergenerational life circumstances, including whether any of the cases are the descendants of the children who tended Victor Hudon's looms in 1881.

The beguiling picture presented by the 1881 Census of pervasive schooling *across all social classes* residing in the four wards, represents the commencement of a decade in which working-class children were not reading but spinning, not writing but cutting, and gaining less than the institutional cost to "maintain" them in school. Indeed, what the Census actually reveals about the "minimal" 18% of children who were working in 1881,

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104 Lovell's *Annual City Directory, 1931-1932*, pg. 1226.

105 Lovell's, *Ibid.*, pg. 1025.

is that Edmond Parent's grand design to shunt childhood out of the schoolyard and onto the "corrective" factory floor had only just begun.

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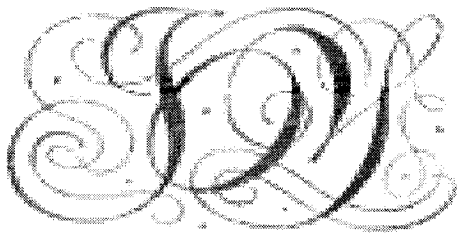

APPENDIX 1

Table 18
General Distribution of Parental Occupation Categories

	Parental Occupation Category	Frequency	Percent (%)
	Professional/White Collar	3184	27.7%
	Skilled/Semi-Skilled	3595	31.3%
	Unskilled	2383	20.7%
	No Occupation Declared	1194	10.4%
	Unknown	1139	9.9%
	TOTAL	11495	100%

Table 19
General Distribution of Parental Occupations (All Wards)

	Parental Occupation	Frequency	Percent (%)
	Accountant	31	.3
	Advocate	85	.7
	Agent	146	1.3
	Apprentice	1	.0
	Architect	15	.1
	Artisan	4	.0
	Artist	17	.1
	Ashmaker	3	.0
	Auctioneer	2	.0
	Auditor	4	.0
	Baggageman	7	.1
	Bailiff	20	.2
	Baker	91	.8
	Banker	2	.0
	Barber	21	.2
	Basketmaker	4	.0
	Broker	5	.0
	Bookseller	15	.1
	Blacksmith	119	1.0
	Bookbinder	17	.1
	Bookkeeper	132	1.1
	Bottler	7	.1
	Boxmaker	4	.0
	Brakeman	2	.0
	Bricklayer, Tile Layer	28	.2
	Brickmason	59	.5
	Brass Finisher	12	.1
	Brushmaker	22	.2
	Brewer	3	.0
	Builder	21	.2
	Butcher	152	1.3
	Cashier	9	.1
	Carter	379	3.3
	Cabinetmaker	57	.5
	Conductor	24	.2

	Parental Occupation	Frequency	Percent (%)
	Civil Engineer	5	.0
	Chemist	3	.0
	Cigarmaker	4	.0
	Clergy (Protestant)	20	.2
	Clerk	448	3.9
	Clothier	5	.0
	Carriagemaker	17	.1
	Compositor, Copyist	5	.0
	Confectioner	26	.2
	Coachman	15	.1
	Collector (Revenue)	24	.2
	Cook	17	.1
	Captain	7	.1
	Cooper	34	.3
	Carpenter	419	3.6
	Court Clerk, Court Reporter	11	.1
	Carver	325	2.8
	Constable	23	.2
	Caretaker	18	.2
	Contractor	120	1.0
	Currier	11	.1
	Customs House	38	.3
	Cutter (Cloth)	3	.0
	Day Labourer	1053	9.2
	Decorator	7	.1
	Dentist	1	.0
	Detective	3	.0
	Director	1	.0
	Dealer	40	.3
	Doctor	49	.4
	Druggist	9	.1
	Driver	48	.4
	Dyer	14	.1
	Editor	3	.0
	Engine Driver	1	.0
	Engraver	8	.1
	Electrician	1	.0
	Employee (City)	25	.2

	Parental Occupation	Frequency	Percent (%)
	Engineer	72	.6
	Factory Worker	6	.1
	Farmer	16	.1
	Father Employed	20	.2
	Funerary Services (Undertaker, Casketmaker, Pallbearer, Coroner, Mortician)	11	.1
	Founder (Iron)	4	.0
	Married Housewife	2	.0
	Finisher	9	.1
	Fireman	8	.1
	Fitter (Gas)	8	.1
	Florist	2	.0
	Foreman	35	.3
	Furniture Maker, Divan Maker	5	.0
	Furrier	9	.1
	Gardener	47	.4
	Guardian	65	.6
	Gentleman	32	.3
	Gilder	11	.1
	Glassmaker, Glass Blower	8	.1
	Glazier	4	.0
	Goldsmith	6	.1
	Grinder	2	.0
	Grocer	136	1.2
	Grand Trunk Railroad Employee	3	.0
	Gunsmith	10	.1
	Hairdresser	7	.1
	Hatter	19	.2
	Hotelier	64	.6
	Horseshoer	5	.0
	Hunter	7	.1
	Innkeeper	23	.2
	Inspector	18	.2
	Joiner	30	.3
	Journeyman	152	1.3
	Judge	12	.1

	Parental Occupation	Frequency	Percent (%)
	Jeweler	26	.2
	Labourer	198	1.7
	Leather Cutter	15	.1
	Laundryman	8	.1
	Letter Carrier	23	.2
	Lithographer	8	.1
	Locksmith	3	.0
	Lime Burner	6	.1
	Luggagemaker	2	.0
	Magasin Employee	40	.3
	Marchand	203	1.8
	Mason	87	.8
	Machinist	38	.3
	Mechanic	21	.2
	Merchant	474	4.1
	Messenger	14	.1
	Metal Worker	1	.0
	Manufacturer	83	.7
	Manager	33	.3
	Miller	3	.0
	Miner	6	.1
	Milkman	41	.4
	Milliner	1	.0
	Military Officer	1	.0
	Moulder	27	.2
	Musician	9	.1
	Midwife	1	.0
	Navigator	25	.2
	Notary	31	.3
	Officer	7	.1
	Operator	8	.1
	Optician	1	.0
	Painter	127	1.1
	Packer	12	.1
	Patternmaker	1	.0
	Pawnbroker	4	.0
	Pedlar	9	.1
	Picture Framer	3	.0

	Parental Occupation	Frequency	Percent (%)
	Pharmacist	11	.1
	Photographer	17	.1
	Pilot	8	.1
	Pipemaker	2	.0
	Plasterer	39	.3
	Policeman	97	.8
	Polisher	10	.1
	Politician, Alderman, Diplomat	5	.0
	Plumber	22	.2
	Piano Maker	6	.1
	Porter	22	.2
	Printer	76	.7
	Proprietor	11	.1
	Presser	2	.0
	Piano Tuner	1	.0
	Quarryman	1	.0
	Rabbi	7	.1
	Restaurateur	19	.2
	Roofer	8	.1
	Ropemaker	10	.1
	Reporter, Journalist	6	.1
	Roadmaster	2	.0
	Rubber Worker	7	.1
	Rugmaker	2	.0
	Saddler	36	.3
	Salesman	13	.1
	Saw Maker	3	.0
	Sawyer	2	.0
	Shipwright, Ship Carpenter	5	.0
	Sculptor	20	.2
	Secretary (Corporate)	8	.1
	Shelf Stocker	9	.1
	Shipper	2	.0
	Shoemaker	658	5.7
	Silversmith	2	.0
	Sailmaker	3	.0
	Soapmaker	7	.1

	Parental Occupation	Frequency	Percent (%)
	Athlete	1	.0
	Superintendent	6	.1
	Surveyor	3	.0
	Stableman, Livery	6	.1
	Stevedore, Docker, Shoreman	17	.1
	Stenographer	3	.0
	Stonecutter	101	.9
	Storekeeper	56	.5
	Stationer	2	.0
	Steward	12	.1
	Sugar Factory	1	.0
	Servant	16	.1
	Tailor	139	1.2
	Tanner	26	.2
	Tavern Keeper	9	.1
	Teacher	39	.3
	Tinsmith	61	.5
	Turnkey	9	.1
	Telegraph	3	.0
	Tobacconist	30	.3
	Trader	51	.4
	Treasurer (Corporate)	4	.0
	Traveller	8	.1
	Typographer	22	.2
	Upholsterer	24	.2
	Veterinarian	2	.0
	Waiter	8	.1
	Weigher	3	.0
	Wheelwright	2	.0
	Wire Maker	1	.0
	Watchmaker	8	.1
	Wood Dealer	5	.0
Female Head of Household Occupations			
	Boardinghouse Keeper	4	.0
	Cook	2	.0
	Day Labourer	10	.1
	Dressmaker	5	.0

	Parental Occupation	Frequency	Percent (%)
	Dyer	2	.0
	Factory Worker	1	.0
	Hatter	3	.0
	Journeywoman	1	.0
	Labourer	1	.0
	Laundress	2	.0
	Milliner	5	.0
	Restaurant Keeper	1	.0
	Saleswoman	2	.0
	Seamstress	18	.2
	Servant	3	.0
	Tavern Keeper	2	.0
	Widow (No occup. decl.)	776	6.7
	Widow Boardinghouse	25	.2
	Widow Clerk	1	.0
	Widow Carver	1	.0
	Widow Caretaker	4	.0
	Widow Day Labourer	52	.5
	Widow Dressmaker	38	.3
	Widow Dyer	1	.0
	Widow Employee	11	.1
	Widow Grocer	6	.1
	Widow Hotelier	1	.0
	Widow Journeywoman	20	.2
	Widow Labourer	20	.2
	Widow Laundress	64	.6
	Widow Marchand	4	.0
	Widow Merchant	16	.1
	Widow Manufacturer	3	.0
	Widow Milliner	12	.1
	Widow Musician	2	.0
	Widow Nun	2	.0
	Widow Sick Nurse	11	.1
	Widow Pedlar	1	.0
	Widow Printer	1	.0
	Widow Rubber Worker	2	.0
	Widow Saleswoman	1	.0
	Widow Shoemaker	1	.0

	Parental Occupation	Frequency	Percent (%)
	Widow Seamstress	130	1.1
	Widow Store Keeper	6	.1
	Widow Servant	11	.1
	Widow Tailor	4	.0
	Widow Tavern Keeper	2	.0
	Widow Teacher	8	.1
	Widow Trader	1	.0
	Widow Weaver	2	.0
Total		9988	86.9
Missing	99	1507	13.1
TOTAL		11495	100

Table 20
General Distribution of Child Occupations (All Wards)

	Child Occupation	Frequency	Percent (%)
	Appren. Baker	1	.0
	Appren. Barber	4	.0
	Appren. Blacksmith	6	.1
	Appren. Bookkeeper	1	.0
	Appren. Butcher	8	.1
	Appren, Cabinetmaker	4	.0
	Appren. Cigarmaker	3	.0
	Appren. Clerk	1	.0
	Appren. Clothier	1	.0
	Appren. Carriagemaker	1	.0
	Appren. Confectioner	4	.0
	Appren. Carpenter	1	.0
	Appren. Carver	1	.0
	Appren. Decorator	4	.0
	Appren. Druggist	1	.0
	Appren. Dressmaker	2	.0
	Appren. Finisher	1	.0
	Appren. Forwarder	1	.0
	Appren. Glass Blower	2	.0
	Appren. Goldsmith	3	.0
	Appren. Hatter	1	.0
	Appren. Hunter	1	.0
	Appren. Joiner	1	.0
	Appren. Jeweler	4	.0
	Appren. Machnist	5	.0
	Appren. Mechanic	2	.0
	Appren. Merchant	1	.0
	Appren. Milliner	7	.1
	Appren. Moulder	2	.0
	Appren. Painter	9	.1
	Appren. Plumber	3	.0
	Appren. Porter	1	.0
	Appren. Printer	4	.0
	Appren. Saddler	1	.0
	Appren. Sculptor	2	.0
	Appren. Shelf Stocker	1	.0

	Child Occupation	Frequency	Percent (%)
	Appren. Shoemaker	36	.3
	Appren. Seamstress	16	.1
	Appren. Stonecutter	1	.0
	Appren. Tailor	14	.1
	Appren. Tinsmith	5	.0
	Appren. Typographer	1	.0
	Appren. Upholsterer	1	.0
	Appren. Wire Maker	1	.0
	Appren. Watchmaker	1	.0
	Accountant	1	.0
	Agent	1	.0
	Apprentice	71	.6
	Artist	1	.0
	Baggage Handler	4	.0
	Baker	1	.0
	Barber	6	.1
	Blacksmith	6	.1
	Bookbinder	15	.1
	Bookkeeper	6	.1
	Boxmaker	1	.0
	Brickmaker	1	.0
	Brass Finisher	4	.0
	Brushmaker	2	.0
	Builder	1	.0
	Butcher	11	.1
	Cashier	1	.0
	Carter	21	.2
	Cabinetmaker	3	.0
	Cigarmaker	16	.1
	Clerk	344	3.0
	Clothier	1	.0
	Compositor	2	.0
	Confectioner	7	.1
	Coachman	1	.0
	Cook	2	.0
	Cooper	1	.0
	Carpenter	9	.1
	Carver	12	.1
	Day Labourer	209	1.8
	Decorator	1	.0

	Child Occupation	Frequency	Percent (%)
	Dressmaker	55	.5
	Driver	2	.0
	Dyer	1	.0
	Editor	1	.0
	Engraver	3	.0
	Employee	70	.6
	Engineer	3	.0
	Factory Worker	37	.3
	Farmer	6	.1
	Housewife (Married Female)	21	.2
	Finisher	5	.0
	Fireman	1	.0
	Fitter (Gas)	1	.0
	Furniture Maker	2	.0
	Furrier	2	.0
	Gardener	1	.0
	Guardian	1	.0
	Gilder	5	.0
	Glass Worker	12	.1
	Goldsmith	3	.0
	Grinder	1	.0
	Grand Trunk R.	1	.0
	Hunter	2	.0
	Inspector	1	.0
	Journeyman/Journeywoman	10	.1
	Jeweler	7	.1
	Labourer	45	.4
	Laundress	6	.1
	Leather Cutter	9	.1
	Laundryman	1	.0
	Lithographer	4	.0
	Luggagemaker	2	.0
	Magasin Worker	8	.1
	Mason	6	.1
	Machinist	6	.1
	Mechanic	1	.0
	Merchant	8	.1
	Messenger	21	.2
	Milkman	1	.0
	Milliner	35	.3

	Child Occupation	Frequency	Percent (%)
	Moulder	12	.1
	Musician	3	.0
	Navigator	1	.0
	Newspaper Seller	1	.0
	Nun	24	.2
	Sick Nurse	1	.0
	Operator	1	.0
	Painter	20	.2
	Packer	1	.0
	Pedlar	1	.0
	Pharmacist	1	.0
	Photographer	4	.0
	Pipemaker	2	.0
	Plasterer	1	.0
	Polisher	1	.0
	Plumber	15	.1
	Printer	33	.3
	Ropemaker	2	.0
	Rubber Worker	1	.0
	Saddler	1	.0
	Salesman/Saleswoman	13	.1
	Sculptor	2	.0
	Shelf Stocker	3	.0
	Shirt Maker	1	.0
	Shoemaker	81	.7
	Silversmith	1	.0
	Seamstress	198	1.7
	Soapmaker	2	.0
	Stovemaker	1	.0
	Stonecutter	3	.0
	Storekeeper	1	.0
	Stationer	1	.0
	Servant	219	1.9
	Tailor	43	.4
	Tavern Helper	1	.0
	Teacher	5	.0
	Tinsmith	5	.0
	Telegraph	6	.1
	Tobacconist	33	.3
	Traveller	1	.0

	Child Occupation	Frequency	Percent (%)
	Typographer	6	.1
	Upholsterer	6	.1
	Waiter	2	.0
	Weaver	3	.0
	Weigher	1	.0
	Watchmaker	1	.0
	Convent Boarder	155	1.3
	Neither Work/School	2362	20.5
	Student	6870	59.8
	Total	11492	100
Missing	CH99	3	.0
TOTAL		11495	100