THE BRITISH GARRISON

AT QUÉBEC

Christian Rioux

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The British Garrison at Québec 1759-1871

Christian Rioux

Translated from the original French

Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History

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1 James Wolfe, leader of the British army to which the city of Québec fell, was killed in the battle of the Plains of Abraham. *Archives du Séminaire de Québec.*

Introduction

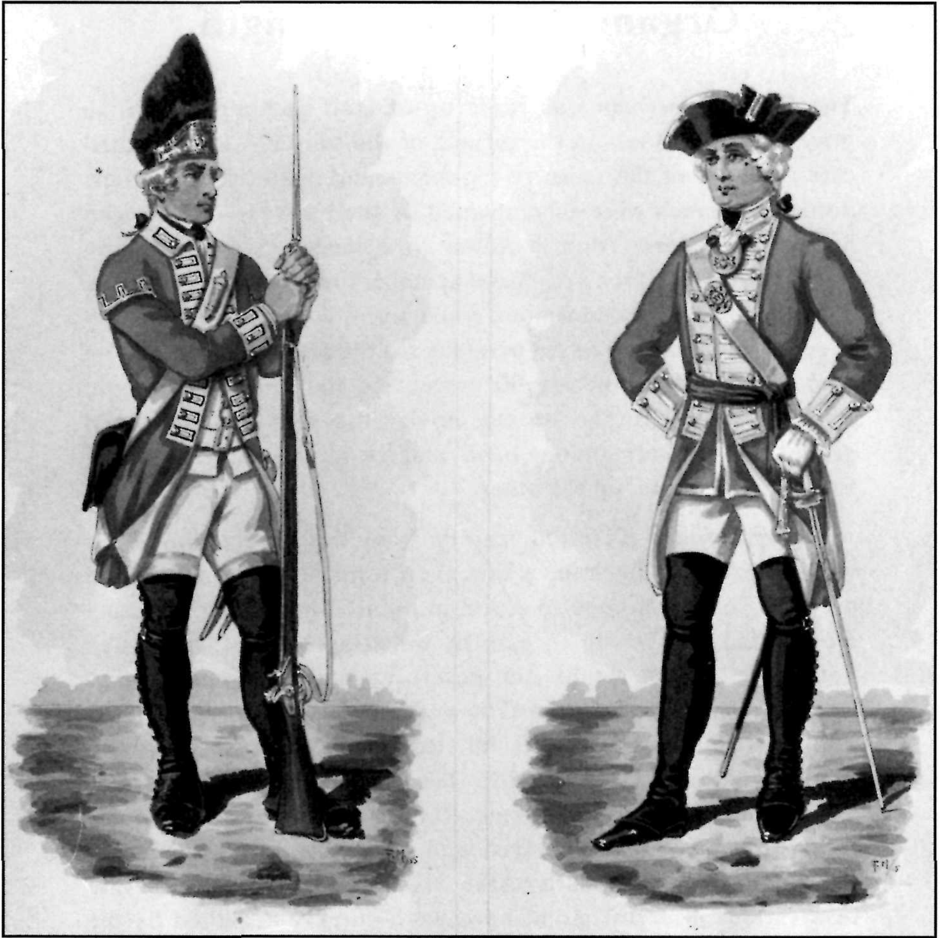
With the Seven Years' War between France and England came the conquest of New France by the British army. The city of Québec fell in September 1759, and a number of the British troops stayed to form a garrison. In spite of the victory of Sainte-Foy in the spring of 1760, the French army failed in its attempt to retake the city, and the British garrison received reinforcements allowing it to mount a counterattack. In September 1760 the French army capitulated at Montréal. The Treaty of Paris, which was signed in 1763, officially marked the takeover of the colony by the British government. The fortified city of Québec became the capital of the colonial government and a very important garrison location for the British army in Canada.

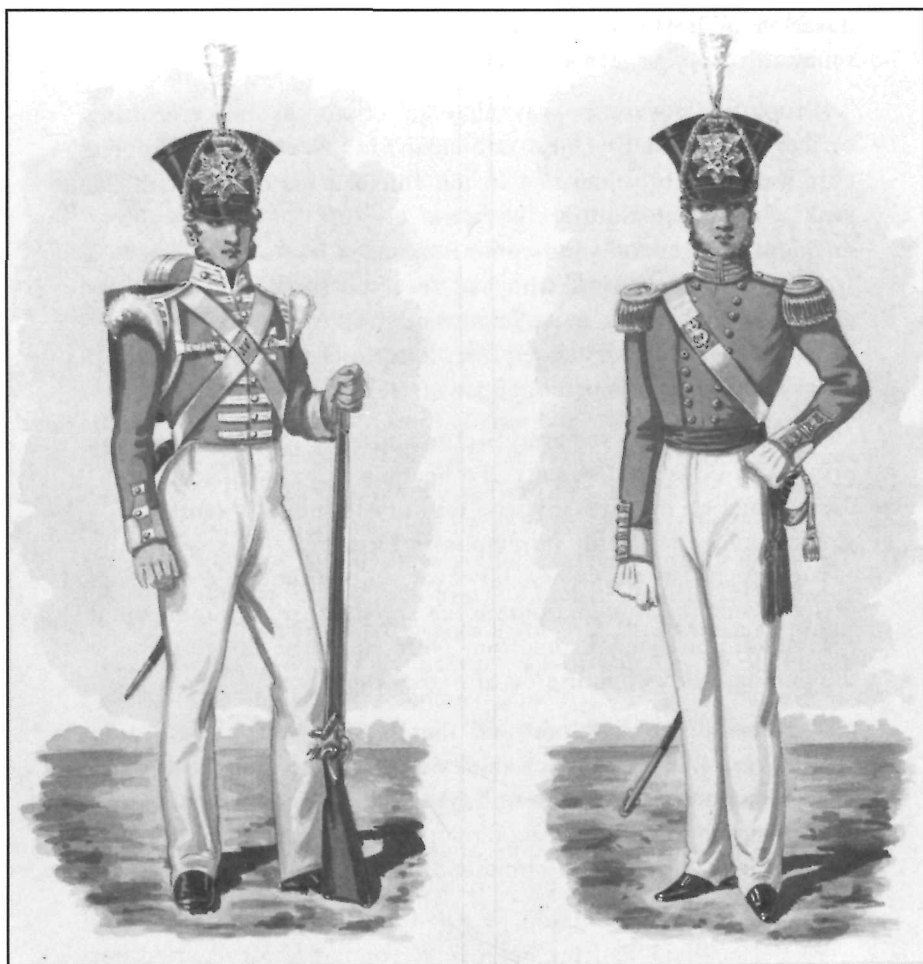
For 112 years, Great Britain sent infantry regiments and artillery companies to Canada, where they generally stayed for a period of six to ten years. While in the colony, units were posted from garrison to garrison, spending not more than two or three years at any single location. During the 112-period, Québec witnessed the coming and going of a considerable number of regiments, companies and soldiers. These men lived in the heart of the city, within the walls. Our aim is to briefly describe the garrison, the lives of the men who served it and the influence it had on the city.

Organization and Strength

The Québec garrison was made up of staff personnel, civilian government officials in the service of the military, and the officers and men of the infantry regiments and artillery companies. Some of the men were accompanied by their wives — those who had received permission to follow their husbands to the colony — and their children. All were members of a social hierarchy characterized by an enormous disparity in living conditions between those at the top of the pyramid and the privates at the bottom who accounted for nearly 90 percent of the military strength. This hierarchy can be broken down into two distinct social groups: the officers, on one hand, and the non-commissioned officers and privates, on the other.

Soldiers were recruited mainly from the poorer classes. It would be wrong to believe that they were all from among the dregs of society, forced to enlist in public houses, for the army clearly had everything to gain by enlisting healthy, motivated young men who would not desert at the first opportunity. Recruiting relied on the art of verbal persuasion and the recruit's wish to improve his lot. Recruiting officers painted a glowing picture of military life: the army would provide clothing, shelter and a steady income. Recruits would have the opportunity to become non-commissioned officers and a chance to travel the length and breadth of the British Empire. Any lingering reservations a recruit might have were quickly dispelled by the offer of a handsome enlistment bounty. To be accepted, candidates had to be between the ages of 17 and 25, stand at least five feet six inches (1.68 metres) tall for the infantry or five feet eight inches (1.73 metres) tall for the artillery, and undergo a medical examination. In theory, men enlisted for life, but in practice the army released its soldiers when sickness or age made them unfit for duty. In wartime, recruiting standards became more flexible: age and height limits were relaxed, enlistment bounties were increased and recruits joined up for the





2 Officers and soldiers of the 15th Regiment in the uniforms they wore in 1760 (left) and in 1830 by F. Milner. This regiment was represented in Québec from 1759-60, 1763-65, 1767-68, 1827, 1828-33 and 1837. It was one of the many regiments garrisoned at Québec. *National Archives of Canada (C5685, C5686).*

duration of hostilities. After 1847 soldiers were recruited for renewable 12-year terms.

Promotions were not as easy to obtain as the recruiting officers suggested. Only one man in five was promoted corporal; no more than one in ten finished his career with the rank of sergeant. Soldiers were not eligible for officers' commissions. In general, non-commissioned officers were selected from among candidates who had received some education, acquired seniority and, most importantly, shown a great willingness to accept military discipline. Sergeants were often obliged to take orders form much younger officers.

Officers made up the army's elite and were recruited from the privileged classes of society. To become infantry officers, candidates had no need of any true military training: a gentleman's general education with its emphasis on the classics was quite sufficient. It was necessary, however, to pay the price of a first officers' commission and obtain the sponsorship of a regimental commanding officer. Promotions were similarly gained through the purchase of a commission of higher rank.

Officers of noble blood and the sons of military and very wealthy families were much more likely to rise quickly through the ranks since, in addition to buying their commissions, candidates for promotion had to obtain the approval of the commanders-in-chief and regimental commanding officers, who favoured their own relatives.

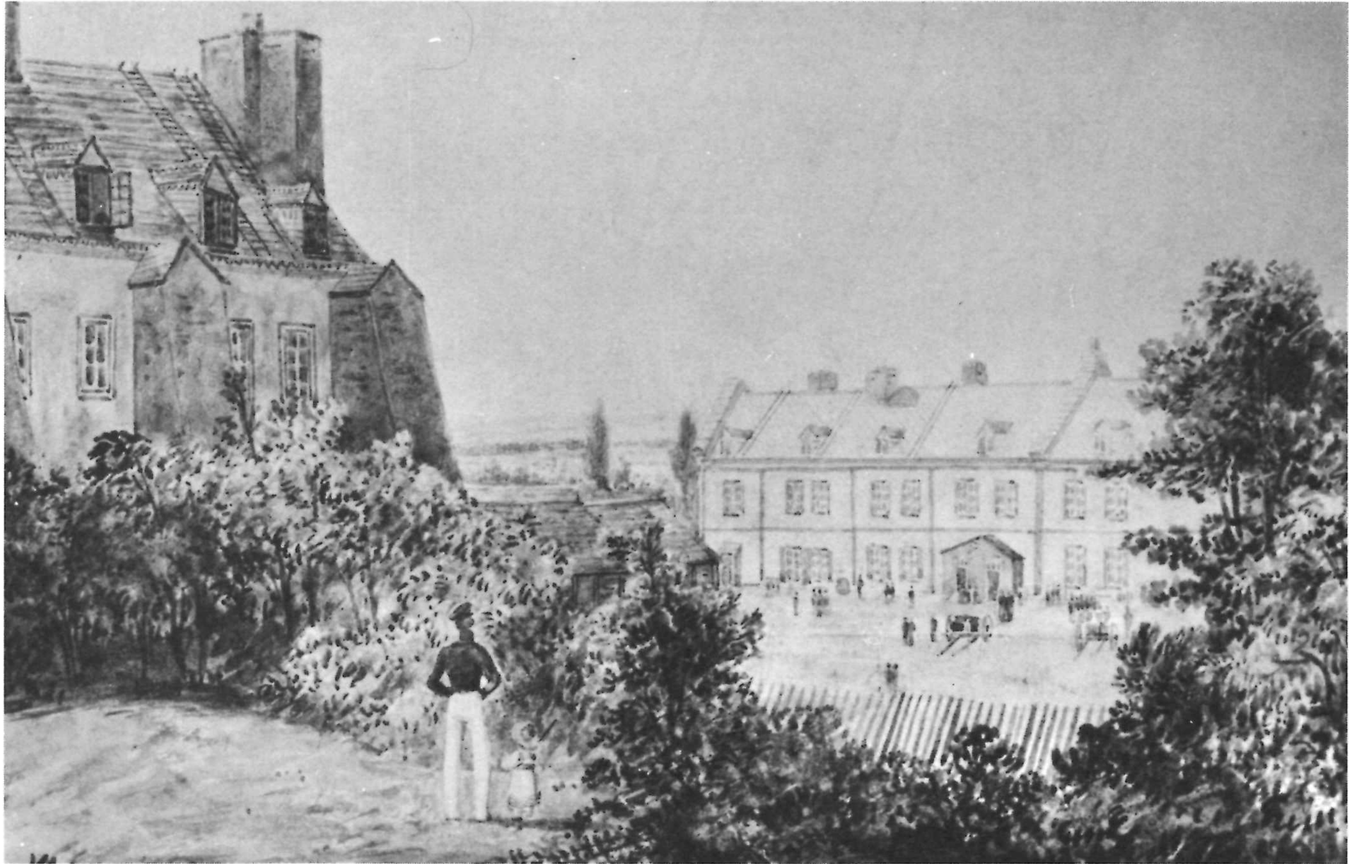
In the artillery and the engineers, young officers started out at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, where they received their professional training. The cost of tuition was borne by the cadets. Admission to the college was most often a matter of patronage. Cadets received an officers' commission at the end of their training and subsequent promotions came with seniority.

Officers were sometimes recruited from noble families having several sons. Titles of nobility were handed down to the eldest son while military careers were planned for the younger

brothers as a means of maintaining their social standing. Many officers were sons of officers and married officers' daughters.

The Cockburn family, a number of whose members visited Québec, offers a striking example of a military dynasty. The father, John Cockburn, entered Woolwich in 1763. In 1779, while he was serving as a lieutenant in the Royal Artillery at New York, his wife gave birth to a son, James Pattison Cockburn. In 1785, John Cockburn came to Québec for a short stay of about a year. The son, James Pattison, entered the Royal Military Academy at the age of 14 and became an artillery officer in 1795. Two of his sons took up similar careers, John Henry in 1815 and Charles Vansitard in 1826. James Pattison first came to Québec in 1822-23. He returned in 1826 as Commanding Officer of the Royal Artillery in Canada for a term that extended to 1832. It was during this period that he painted a series of watercolours depicting Québec scenes. In 1828, one of his sons, John Henry, joined him in Québec as adjutant. During his stay, John Henry's wife gave birth to a son, Charles Frederick, who also went on to become an officer. In 1829, James Pattison's daughter Eliza married Frederick Hope, a captain in the infantry. Charles Frederick Cockburn entered Woolwich in 1846 and received his commission as an artillery officer in 1849. He was in Canada in 1850-51.

There were often ties of blood and marriage created between military families. A well-situated general officer could help his brothers, children and nephews to obtain positions of importance in the hierarchy. For example, in 1776, Commander-in-Chief Guy Carleton appointed his brother, Major Thomas Carleton, quartermaster-general and his nephew, Christopher, aide-de-camp. And in 1793, by which time had had become Lord Dorchester, he appointed his two sons aides-de-camp. It could therefore be said that the army was run by a clique of the nobility that occupied the top of the hierarchy and was carried on from father to son. Members of the middle class sometimes



3 The Dauphine Redoubt (on the left) and the Artillery Barracks in 1831 by J.P. Cockburn. The artist notes on the back of his watercolour that he painted his son, John, and his grandson in the foreground. *Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum (960.276.18).*

obtained officer positions, but never reached the summit of the pyramid.

The commander-in-chief was the head of the military hierarchy. His residence was in Québec until 1838, when the headquarters was moved to Montréal. From that time on, the military at Québec came under the authority of a district commander, who appointed a staff to assist him in his duties.

The hierarchy also included chaplains and surgeons, whose standing was equivalent to that of a captain. The chaplain was an Anglican, but Catholic or Presbyterian soldiers had access to the civilian churches. A surgeon was in charge of the garrison hospital and was empowered to take on assistants and nurses as they were required.

Civilian government officials were engaged to supply the army and administer its materiel. The Commissary-General purchased victuals, which then became the responsibility of the storekeeper. Munitions were the province of the ordnance storekeeper, and a barrack master attended to quarters and lighting and heating. The persons responsible for these different areas each maintained a subordinate staff whose number varied according to requirements.

In addition to the servicemen, there were their wives and children. Soldiers were subject to marriage restrictions. They could not marry without special permission and required further authorization to bring their families to Canada. Only about six men out of 100 received such authorization. They were selected at random or on the basis of seniority, with preference going to non-commissioned officers. Wives accepted by the army were entitled to half-rations. In return, they performed chores such as laundry and caring for the sick. Children under the age of 14 could stay with the army but, once they turned 14, had to earn their keep. Some boys joined up as drummers and became soldiers when they reached the age of 18.

For the officers, there do not appear to have been any marriage restrictions other than having their commander's approval. However, they generally waited until they had obtained promotions before getting married. A number of officers attained the rank of captain before giving up the bachelor life. Officers encouraged their sons to take up military careers and their daughters often married other officers.

Family size is difficult to determine. For the soldiers, the average was 1.5 children per family, including families with no children and excluding children more than 14 years old. Infant mortality, somewhat late marriages, and unexceptional economic conditions brought down the fertility rate. The officers, on the other hand, sometimes kept large families of with up to 10 children or more.

The total number of men and women in the Québec garrison varied a great deal. The strength of the garrison fluctuated according to economic and strategic imperatives. Each year, the Parliament in London passed a budget that determined the strength of the army. It grew considerably in wartime, while in peacetime contingents were cut back to a bare minimum. Quotas for the colonies were set by officials in London. In Canada, the commander-in-chief was responsible for posting the troops that came under his jurisdiction. He had a choice between concentrating his men in Québec and a limited number of other stations or sending smaller detachments to all the border posts. In wartime, most of his troops were needed where the fighting was taking place.

Québec received its greatest concentration of soldiers in the first years following the conquest. From 1759 to 1760, the British army maintained a force of 3000 to 5000 men there. In contrast, at the beginning of the American revolution, most of the troops set off for the American cities, leaving behind only 500 regulars to defend Québec against Benedict Arnold's invasion in the winter of 1775-76. The rest of the time, the garrison was composed of two infantry regiments and a number of

artillery companies, giving it a total strength of about 1000 to 2000 men.

While the Québec garrison was present in the city for 112 years, it cannot be said that the members who served it were there for any great length of time. British units travelled a great deal. Regiments assigned to Canada generally stayed for a period of six to ten years. During this time they might be posted first to Ontario, then to Montreal, and finally to Québec or posts in the Richelieu Valley. As a result, regiments never spent more than three consecutive years at Québec. In fact, some regiments were in the city for only a few months, while awaiting their transport back to Great Britain. Still, some individual servicemen managed to stay in Canada or Québec for longer periods by obtaining transfers. A number of officers spent more than 10 years at Québec.

The population of the Québec garrison came to superimpose itself on that of the city. From 1760 to 1871, the civilian population of Québec grew from 8000 to 60 000, while the strength of the garrison fluctuated around 1500. The impact of the military presence must therefore have been much greater at the beginning of this period than at the end of it, since the ratio of military to civilian inhabitants dropped from about one-in-five to one-in-forty. However, the military population was concentrated within the walls of the Upper Town and therefore had a greater influence on the people of this part of the city than it did on the residents of the suburbs and Lower Town.

4 Inspection and drill on the esplanade in 1832 by R.A. Sproule. The troops are carrying out exercises under the direction of an officer on horseback. *National Archives of Canada (C1050).*

Military Properties

For the residents of Québec, the presence of a garrison was a normal, everyday part of their existence. The amount of urban property occupied by the military was quite considerable. In 1840, it was estimated that military holdings accounted for 28 percent of the area of the city of Québec (bordered at the time by Salaberry and Langelier streets and the Saint-Charles River) and 42 percent of the land within the walls of Upper Town. The defence system required enough land to maintain its strategic value and a garrison to keep it operational, and the garrison in turn needed space for quarters and activities.

In 1759, the British captured the defence system built by the French to which they later made a number of improvements. Between 1790 and 1800, they added the Hope and Prescott gates; in 1808, they built four martello towers outside the walls; and between 1820 and 1830, they constructed a permanent citadel on Cap Diamant. In addition, the military authorities proceeded to regulate and buy up lands adjacent to the fortifications in order to prevent the construction of buildings that could be used by an enemy to launch an attack. At the time of the siege of 1775, the British forces razed the suburbs of Saint-Jean and Saint-Roch in order to hamper the American troops.

The closing of the city gates at night by the military was another factor that the residents of the city had to contend with. In his *Memoires* (1866), Philippe Aubert de Gaspé tells the story of an evening when, upon returning at about 10 p.m. from a picnic in Ancienne Lorette, he was obliged to detour all the way around the fortifications to reach his home because only the Prescott Gate was open. Furthermore, the gates and fortifications were under constant army surveillance.

Exercises were carried out at a number of locations in the city. Each barracks area had its own parade ground. Large formation drills were held on the Esplanade or the Plains of

Abraham, but Place d'Armes was still the major garrison assembly point for the changing of the guard and other ceremonies.

The British army, when it arrived in 1759, inherited the quarters used by the French army for lodging its troops. There were the Artillery Barracks (Nouvelles Casernes) with room for almost 400 men, the Dauphine Barracks with a capacity of 100 men, and the guardhouses at the gates. The army occupied all vacant houses and turned the former Intendant's residence into barracks. Only privates and non-commissioned officers were lodged in these barracks with as many as 12 or more to a room. The officers were entitled to one or more rooms depending on their rank, and received an allowance from the army to defray the cost of renting civilian lodgings. When the strength of the garrison exceeded the capacity of the regular accommodation facilities, the army rented additional houses or quartered the men in the neighbouring parishes of Sainte-Foy, Ancienne Lorette, Charlesbourg and Beauport, using a system of billets in which civilians were ordered to provide lodging for a specified number of military personnel.

Because of reductions in garrison strength and deterioration of the building, use of the Dauphine Barracks for accommodation purposes was discontinued in 1770. The barracks were subsequently utilized as storage and service areas.

In 1775-76, the siege of Québec by the Americans caused the evacuation of the Intendant's residence so the army converted the old Jesuit College into barracks. Then, in 1779, military engineers built a temporary citadel on Cap Diamant with barracks large enough to accommodate the men of an infantry regiment.

At the turn of the 19th century, the military authorities decided to establish officers' quarters in order to reduce lodging costs. In 1811, they purchased the property belonging to Judge Emsley on Saint-Louis Street and converted the house into quarters for infantry officers. In 1820, military engineers set up

seven quarters for artillery officers: two at the western end of the Artillery Barracks, one in a former bakery on McMahon Street and four in the Dauphine Redoubt. The Citadel, built between 1820 and 1830, also held officers' quarters. In spite of these provisions, the available quarters were not sufficient and, when the strength of the garrison was up, military personnel continued to rent civilian lodgings. The officers chose to live in the most elegant neighbourhoods along Grande Allée and close to the Citadel and the Château Saint-Louis, while a number of men were quartered near Saint-Jean Street and in Lower Town.

The military administration at Québec required considerable office space. In 1759, the army took over the Château Saint-Louis, which served as a residence for the commander-in-chief and a headquarters, and requisitioned the Bishop's residence for its offices. In the 19th century, the Royal Artillery occupied the eastern portion of the Artillery Barracks and the Royal Engineers were installed in the buildings of the Saint-Louis Bastion. The Commissariat owned a house on Saint-Louis Street and the offices of the barrack master and the quartermaster rented space in houses in Upper Town.

In order to provide hospital services from 1759 to 1784, the garrison occupied the Hôtel Dieu leaving the Sisters only a few rooms for shelter. From 1784 to 1819, the army rented various houses to accommodate the garrison hospital. At the beginning of the 19th century, military authorities found that rents were too high and the available space too limited. They planned to build a fully equipped military hospital on the site provided by the rear garden of Judge Emsley's property, which they purchased in 1811. A second military hospital was later built in the Citadel.

In 1759, religious services were held in the chapel of the Récollets' convent. By 1802, the garrison's place of worship was the Anglican cathedral.

The storage of food and military supplies required considerable space. The army used the vaults and sometimes the lofts of the barracks and warehouses near the docks to store food, clothing, weapons and building supplies. Powder was kept in the powder magazines along the fortification walls while and a yard near the former Indendant's residence held stocks of firewood.

The British garrison occupied a sizable assortment of properties and buildings, which it had acquired through the conquest or had purchased, requisitioned or rented. To live in Upper Town was necessarily to live close to a military lodging, office or yard.

Military Activities

From 1759 to 1871, Canada was at war for a total of 15 years: 1759-60, 1775-83, 1812-15 and 1837-38. During this time, the British garrison faced combat on only two occasions: the battle of Sainte-Foy in 1760, and the American siege of the city in 1775-76. The garrison was therefore blessed with 110 years that were free of fighting and almost 100 years of peace. As a result, its activities were limited to routine duties, exercises and efforts to maintain or extend the fortifications. The soldiers performed these duties under the direct supervision of the non-commissioned officers, and the officers supervised the overall endeavours indirectly. For this reason, the timetables of the two groups were somewhat different.

The soldiers' schedules were set by the military authorities. The daily routine varied according to season and type of work. For the soldier, there were four different types of days: exercise days, paid work and fatigue days, guard days, and holidays or leave.

For exercise, and paid work and fatigue days, there was a standard timetable composed of three duty periods in summer and two in winter. For example, the Duke of Kent's Regulations, established in 1800, indicated that in the summer, soldiers rose at 3:30 a.m., worked from 4:00 a.m. to 9:00 a.m., breakfasted, went back to work from 9:40 a.m. to 1:30 p.m., had dinner, and returned to work for the final period from 2:30 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. In the winter, they rose two hours before sunrise, and took a break for dinner at 2:00 p.m. At sunset, in summer, or 6:00 p.m., in winter, the regiments assembled for a general inspection and the reading of the general orders. Soldiers then had free access to the city until the evening roll call, held 15 minutes before the beginning of curfew, which started at 9:00 p.m. in winter and an hour later in summer.

5 A fatigue party clearing snow from the parade square at Artillery Park. J.P. Cockburn, 1839. *National Archives of Canada (C40001).*

Exercise day routine varied somewhat depending on the type of exercises to be performed and the status of the soldier. There were daily drill exercises and special exercises, such as rifle practice and gunnery practice, which took place from time to time. For drill days, soldiers were divided into two groups: regulars, who drilled in the morning and had the afternoon off, and recruits and men being punished, who drilled throughout the day's duty periods. For regulars, the working day ended with a parade at 11:00 a.m., followed by the changing of the guard at noon.

Drill exercises for men in the infantry and the artillery consisted of marching formations and handling weapons. These exercises were to condition the men to follow orders blindly, thus making it easier to control them in combat. The key to victory in battle was cohesion among troops. Major tactical regrouping manoeuvres — such as forming defensive squares and columns and falling back — were also practised.

Special exercises generally involved the entire regiment and lasted the whole day. Each year, the commander-in-chief reviewed the regiments to ensure not only that the troops were properly fitted out, and more importantly, that they were able to perform the basic manoeuvres. The army also organized simulated battle days. Infantry and artillery troops occasionally held rifle shooting exercises, for which the army budget permitted the use of a limited quantity of munitions. In the 17th century, these exercises concentrated more on teaching the troops to fire in volleys than on marksmanship. The men formed two lines, with each line firing a volley in turn while the other lines reloaded their weapons. The objective of this tactic was to strike the enemy at random with rapidly repeated bursts of heavy fire. In the 19th century, improvements in weapon design led to the practice of precision shooting.

Artillery troops also held gunnery practice. The cannons on the fortifications were used for heavy artillery drills, while lighter, horse-drawn guns were employed for field exercises.

These were held on the ice of the Saint-Charles River in winter and on the Plains of Abraham in summer.

Some soldiers held jobs that provided additional income and exempted them from routine exercises. They worked at these jobs during the two or three duty periods mentioned previously. To build and maintain the fortifications and government and military buildings, the army employed a number of men as carpenters, masons, painters and labourers. This allowed them to save money on wages, since the soldier's additional pay was less than the cost of hiring a civilian to do the same work. Similarly, clothing was fitted and mended by soldiers who had learned tailoring and cobbling. Men who were employed as servants and mess cooks did not receive the same exemption. They had to take part in morning drill, special exercises and guard duty before placing themselves at their master's disposal.

Instead of attending exercises, some men were called upon to perform unpaid fatigue duties, such as hauling provisions and cleaning the latrines. Gunners in the artillery occasionally had to air out the powder magazines and maintain, transport or mount guns. In the winter, soldiers shovelled snow to keep accessways open between military installations, clear parade grounds and prevent the walls from being scaled.

The men were regularly assigned to guard duty. The number of days a soldier had to put in each month depended on the number of men required and the available strength of the garrison. For example, if the army needed 100 guards a day and there were 1000 available men, each man would be on guard duty every 10 days.

Guard duty lasted 24 hours. Every day at noon, the garrison conducted the changing of the guard at Place d'Armes. The men of the new guard then broke up into small detachments and proceeded to the various guardhouses located at the gates of the city, at barracks entrances and close to government buildings. Once they had arrived at their destination, the non-commissioned

6 Inside view of a barrack at Saint Andrews, N.B., around midnight by J.G. Clarke. *National Archives of Canada (C8404).*

officer in charge of the guardhouse divided his men into two or three groups that took turns on sentry duty, each group being relieved by the next after two hours. On the coldest days of winter the sentries were relieved every hour. They saw to it that general order was maintained, ensured that the installations remained secure, monitored traffic and sounded the alarm when fires broke out. In addition to the sentries, an emergency picket was formed in the evening to deal with contingencies and patrol the city.

On guard duty days, the soldier had no time off, but on working days he had the evening free. There were also a number of holidays to provide a break in the routine. No work was done on Sundays, although there was a morning exercise for all soldiers followed by compulsory church service. On some annual holidays soldiers were entitled to either a whole day or half-day off. New Year's Day, Easter Monday and Christmas were full holidays. On the King's Birthday, Queen's Birthday, St. David's Day, St. Patrick's Day, St. George's Day and St. Andrew's Day, the men received the afternoon off, and the garrison assembled at Place d'Armes to fire a salute.

The soldiers had very little in the way of activities to occupy their spare time. In the 18th century, they had little access to reading, theatre or sports. Their only pastimes appear to have been gaming (cards, dice) and drinking. During the 19th century, evening schools and a garrison library were established, and soldiers began taking part in popular sports such as soccer and cricket. Around 1860, military authorities went so far as to organize running, jumping and shooting competitions. In spite of this, it appears that drunkenness was fairly widespread among the men. The military authorities issued frequent threats of punishment for alcohol abuse. Around 1790, superintendent of fortification works, James Thompson, related in his journal that a number of the soldiers working with him spent their month's wages on drink in a single day, especially when they received their pay on the eve of a holiday.

Officers had much more free time than the soldiers. A distinction must be made, however, between some classes of officers, who had specific duties to perform, and the majority, who took turns supervising the routine of the garrison. Staff officers received additional pay and assumed their responsibilities on a day-to-day basis. Officers in the Royal Engineers prepared military construction plans and worked as they were needed. Artillery officers had to periodically inspect the guns and conduct inventories.

The job of supervising garrison and regimental activities was done by turns. Each day, the garrison commander appointed a field officer (a colonel, lieutenant-colonel or major) to command the town guard and a captain, an adjutant and several subalterns to assist him. The commanding officers of the regiments similarly called upon a number of officers to conduct the daily inspections of the barracks, the sick and the troops. Except for these duty days, the officers were free to organize their time as they wished. In addition, they were eligible for six months' to a year's leave to settle personal matters in Britain.

Recreational activities for officers were quite numerous. Several officers, including Tolfrey, Landmann and Walter Henry, have described their stays at Québec in their memoirs. They seem to have spent most of their time at hunting and fishing, picnicking, sleigh riding, horse racing and banqueting. Social life was centred around the governor, who resided in the Chateau Saint-Louis and regularly organized dinners and balls to which he invited senior government officials, seigneurs, wealthy merchants, officers and their families.

The officers of each regiment had a mess with a dining room, where they took meals together, and an anteroom, where they could play cards, read newspapers or have an aperitif. In the middle of the 19th century the mess also had a billiards room. The mess rules (on matters such as dues, staff, and guests) were set by the member-officers at an annual assembly. With the approval of the officers, a number of local dignitaries became

honourary mess members. Some officers organized theatre evenings for charity, while others devoted themselves to drawing and painting. From several of them, including Bainbridge, Hope, Skelton and Cockburn, we have inherited pictorial records of Québec as it was in their time. In spite of all these activities, a number of young officers, as Tolfrey notes in his memoirs, became desperately bored and slipped into a life of alcoholism. For, it must be remembered that the opportunities for drinking to excess were frequent.

The officers led a life very similar to that of the aristocrats and the gentry of the period, with their time divided between work and pleasure. By contrast, the soldiers worked every bit as hard as the peasants and labourers of their day.

Living Conditions

What is meant by living conditions here are those factors which have an influence on man's well-being, such as pay, housing, clothing and food, and might also include distance from one's native land. Poor living conditions are a source of discomfort and discontent, which in turn may lead to illness and crime. The living conditions of military personnel do not appear to have been better or worse than those of civilians. While it is true that the army offered steady employment and a degree of financial security to recruits seeking to improve their lot, it is also true that army life exposed them to danger and restricted their freedom. There should, however, be some distinction made between the living conditions of officers and those of the rank and file and non-commissioned officers. An officer embarked on a career in which his opportunities for promotion were far greater, his work was less demanding, he had more free time and a wider range of ways in which to spend it, and he could marry more easily than his subordinates. In short, he had some measure of authority over others and enjoyed greater freedom than did his men. The soldier, on the other hand, had to submit to a strict schedule and regulations and obey the orders of all who outranked him. The inequality of working hours also carried over to the recompense received whether in terms of pay, housing, clothing or rations.

With respect to pay, Table 1 on annual rates shows a great disparity among the various ranks. Thus a sergeant was paid the same as two soldiers. The most junior officer received the pay of six soldiers, while the commander-in-chief earned as much as 400 soldiers. Of course the commander-in-chief did have more responsibilities and expenses than the private, but he was also quite well paid. The pay shown for soldiers does not include the deductions made in America. Initially, a soldier's pay was set at approximately 12 pounds a year. Three pounds were then deducted in Great Britain for clothing purchases and pay administration. Of the nine pounds the soldier received in Canada, pay

Table 1
Annual salaries in pounds
(circa 1785)

Commander-in-chief	3650
Brigadier-General	547
Adjutant-General	365
Colonel	328
Lieutenant-Colonel	237
Major	210
Aide-de-Camp	182
Captain	137
Chaplain	91
Lieutenant	64
Regimental surgeon	55
Sub-lieutenant	55
Sergeant	18
Corporal	12
Soldier	9

officials kept back almost four pounds for rations, one pound for upkeep of arms and clothing, one for the baking of bread and one-half pound for the laundering of sheets, the surgeon and the regiment's paymaster, which left the soldier with a net salary of some two and a half pounds a year. In addition, the soldier had to pay the replacement cost for items he damaged or lost. The company captains and the pay sergeants kept an account of all these expenses. In order to ensure that the soldier did not have too large a sum of money in his pockets at any one time, he was given a part of his pay every week. At the end of the month an accounting was made and the soldier received whatever remained after deduc- tions. The soldier could save money by asking his captain to hold back some of his pay. Whenever a soldier became indebted to the military administration, his weekly pay was cut in half until full restitution was made. Officers also had basic deductions but had easier access to their money.

There were ways in which both officers and soldiers could increase their income. Officers were eligible for staff positions. Thus, if a lieutenant was appointed aide-de-camp, his salary quadrupled because he then held two positions. By the same token, it was in the interest of a regimental colonel to have himself appointed brigadier-general or commander-in-chief. However, positions on the staff were not accessible to all officers because they were reserved for friends of the commander-in-chief and the upper classes. On the other hand, officers were entitled to various bonuses, such as the extra allowances they received for replacing a commanding officer or for camping with their troops during a campaign.

Soldiers could add to their income by helping to build fortifications or by working as tailors, servants and so forth. Day labourers earned nine pence a day while skilled workmen such as masons and carpenters earned 15 pence a day (one pound equalled 240 pence). If they had the opportunity to work more than 200 days a year, soldiers could accumulate from seven to 12 pounds or the equivalent of their basic pay. Soldiers' spouses also earned money doing washing for bachelors, sewing, caring for the sick or teaching. Officers and men were also encouraged to give small jobs to soldiers' children. The children could also serve as apprentices to tailors and cobblers, thus supplementing the family income. If a comparison is made between the earnings of a soldier and those of a civilian day labourer, who could earn between 30 and 40 pounds a year, the latter would appear to have been better off. However, it should be kept in mind that the civilian had to pay for his housing, clothing and food while the soldier received most of these services from the army.

Housing space was allocated on the basis of rank or position in the military hierarchy. In the 18th century, military regulations stated that the commander-in-chief was entitled to seven rooms, field officers (colonels, lieutenant-colonels and majors) to two, a captain had one room, while lieutenants and sub-

AUCTION SALES

BY PARKE & SONS.

AUCTIO.\ SALE

—OF—

OFFICERS' EFFECTS.

WE have received instructions to sell at our Extra Auction Rooms,

No. 10, John Street, within.

—ON—

MONDAY

The 7th March,

The Furniture and Effects belonging to the Estate of the late Captain C. S. V. WILSON, Royal Artillery, consisting of:—

Portable Chest of Drawers, with cases, Arm Chairs and Cush ions, Folding Chair, Brussels and other Carpets, table and chair covers in Damask, plated Candlesticks, plated dinner and dessert Forks, plated table, dessert and tea Spoons, white and damask window cu1tains, a quantity of table and other linens, table napkins and towels, iron bedsteads and bedding. A large variety of Boots, Summer, Winter and under clothing, plated soda water stand, cut decanters, &c., &c.

—ALSO—

Superior Guns in cases, Ivory handled Pistols, Revolvers, Boxes of Ammunition, Field Glasses, Buffalo, Wolf Skin and other robes, and a large variety of other articles not enumerated.

By order of the executors,
Sale at TWO o'clock.

PARKE & SONS,
Auctioneers.

Quebec, March 2, 1870. 51

PARKE'S

NEW AUCTION ROOMS

No. 10 JOHN STREET.

AUCTION SALES.

BY CASEY & CO.

OFFICERS' EFFECTS.

SUPERIOR FOWLING PIECES, Rifles, English Saddlery and Harness, Bear Skin and Buffalo Robes, Iron Bedsteads, Hair Mattrasses, Reclining Chairs, Brussels Carpets, Tables and Bed Linens, Silver Plated ware, Glass ware, Civil and Military Clothing, and various household effects,

— ON —

Monday, the 7th March,

WILL BE SOLD, BY AUCTION

AT OUR LARGE AUCTION STORE,

No. 23 St. John Street,

The above effects, belonging to the Estate of the late CAPT. C. L. WILSON, Royal Artillery.

The articles will be on view on Friday and Saturday, 4th and 5th instants.

Sale on MONDAY, at half-past ONE o'clock.

By order of the Executors.

CASEY & CO.,
Auctioneers.

Quebec, March 2, 1870. 51

Evening Auction Sales!

ST. JOHN STREET

AUCTION MART.

THIS EVENING.

Sale at SEVEN o'clock.

CASEY & CO.,
Auctioneers.

Quebec, Jan. 18, 1870. 14

7 Advertisements for the auction of a deceased officer's belongings in the *Québec Mercury*, March 3, 1870. Such announcements give us a good idea of what the personal effects of an officer of the period included.

lieutenants were quartered two to a room. In practice, most officers lived in rented houses and received a housing allowance commensurate with their rank. Officers willing to pay the difference out of their own pocket could opt for more expensive accommodation. Officers could also make use of their regiment's mess for meals or as a meeting place. Soldiers and non-commissioned officers were lodged in barracks, surrounded by a guard wall, where their comings and goings were controlled. Regulations recommended that as many of them as possible be housed in each room, in so far as their health was not affected, and double beds were used to save space. Soldiers' families lived in the common barracks too, without any privacy. Children were not entitled to beds and slept either in those of the soldiers on guard duty or on the ground. A barrack-room served as dormitory, kitchen and living area.

During the 19th century, in a bid to offset rising rents, the army decided to build officers' quarters. The quarters of the artillery commander, in the western section of Artillery Barracks, comprised about ten rooms on three floors. Captains and lieutenants housed in the Dauphine barracks each had one room and a kitchen. Officers thus were allocated slightly more space than they had had previously. The living space assigned to soldiers increased substantially when, in 1828, double beds were replaced with single beds. As well, families were quartered together in the same rooms. Beginning in 1855, the military administration began to pay much more attention to the housing conditions of soldiers. In 1864, a barracks inspection board checked to see whether unmarried soldiers were receiving the 600 cubic feet of living space required by the regulations. Its actions prompted local authorities to give soldiers more space in the barracks. In 1866, the same authorities made plans to provide married soldiers with individual lodgings. In 1868, military engineers erected a building for this purpose outside the fortification walls.

Space was not the only factor in determining how comfortable accommodation was; furnishings, heating and the general healthfulness of surroundings also played their part. Furnishings for soldiers' rooms were supplied by the army and did not extend beyond beds, tables, benches and a rack for arms. Each man received sheets and one blanket. Officers furnished their quarters to suit their tastes, reflecting those of gentlemen of the period. Some even bought themselves pianos.

In the 18th century, the military burned wood to heat their buildings, but during the 19th century coal gradually supplanted wood. Officers were entitled to one ration per room while soldiers received an equal ration for a barrack-room containing 12 to 18 men. The heating ration was three times larger in winter than in summer. The cleanliness of the barracks depended on their location, their state of upkeep and the season. For example, the temporary barracks built in 1778 deteriorated bit by bit to the point where the soldiers living in them in 1790 complained of conditions. The board of inquiry in 1864 spoke out against the lack of ventilation in barracks, the high levels of dampness and the cramped quarters. One can well imagine the atmosphere in a room where twenty-some men were crowded together.

Latrines were located outside the barracks. According to André Gousse, the soldiers were confined to their room for the night and they could not use the exterior latrines. Each room was provided with an urinal, a sort of wooden tub with cover and handles, rather than a chamber pot. The urine tub was used both summer and winter. In the morning the tubs were taken outside, emptied and summarily rinsed out, after which some unscrupulous soldiers would use the tub to wash their face and hands. This practice, although often forbidden, brought about all kinds of infection, especially eye infections. It was only in the early 1840s that the problem was solved when the rooms were equipped with washbasins for morning ablutions. During the last ten years of the 18th century, running-water toilets were

8 A British army officer (on the left) and a Québec merchant dressed for winter in 1810 by John Lambert. Taken from Lambert's *Travels through Lower Canada and the United States of North America*, London, 1810, Vol. 1, p. 310. *National Archives of Canada (14491)*.

installed in officers' quarters and washrooms were built in the barracks. Housing conditions for soldiers improved at much the same rate as progress was made in civilian life.

The wearing of a uniform set the military man apart from the civilian. Colours and insignias were used to differentiate the various ranks and regiments. Uniforms reflected the fashion of the period and were not necessarily designed with the wearer's comfort in mind. In theory, each individual received a new uniform every year. In the 18th century, soldiers' uniforms and coats were all the same size. Regimental tailors adjusted them to fit and sewed on a regiment's distinctive badges. In the 19th century, uniform manufacturers arranged for three or four different sizes to be available. As a concession to the Canadian climate, tailors put linings into the coats each winter. For this season the army supplied mittens and snowshoes in addition to regular gear. The appearance of the regiments was extremely important to the military and all officers and men were required to take care with their dress. As for the other pieces of clothing not specifically mentioned above, the rank of the wearer was the factor that determined quantity and quality.

Officers possessed an extensive wardrobe. Table 2 lists the items in the wardrobe of a young officer circa 1772 shows us how many pieces of clothing were the strict necessity for officers. The officer was free to choose his own civilian wear and, when he travelled, the army supplied the transportation for his wardrobe.

The soldier, on the other hand, transported all his belongings himself in his haversack. The army drew up a list of the essential items he had to have (Table 3). It even dictated how these items were to be arranged in the haversack. In the 19th century, the soldier changed his shirt twice a week. We need to note her that the shirt or shirt-tail also served as an underpart. Underwear as separate pieces of clothing were not commonly used at this time and they were not supplied to the soldiers. His laundry was done by the wives of married personnel. All small

Table 2
Wardrobe of a young officer in 1772*

1 coat
1 waistcoat
1 hat and cockade
1 pair cloth and 1 pair ticking breeches
3 shirts
2 white and 1 black stock
1 pair brass stock-clasps
3 pairs white yarn stockings
2 pairs oiled linen socks
2 pairs shoes
2 pairs black linen gaiters (white for Guards)
1 pair black long gaiters (1772 list only)
1 pair half-gaiters
2 pairs white linen gaiter-tops (1778 only)
1 pair black leather gaiter-tops
1 pair linen drawers
1 forage cap ('red cap' 1772: presumably made from a previous year's coat)
1 knapsack
1 haversack
1 pair shoebuckles
black leather garters with 1 pair buckles
1 ball pipeclay
1 oil bottle
1 brush and picker (for the musket-lock)
1 worm
1 turnkey
1 hammer cap,
1 muzzle-stopper.

Other items might include:
clothes brush
shoe brush
"blackling ball"
comb
canteen
musket and accoutrements
cartridge box and belt
bayonet belt

* Taken from Thomas Simes, *Military Guide for Young Officers*, 1772.

Table 3
Items furnished to soldiers in the British Army of 1772

Necessities provided free
On Pair Black Cloth Gaiters, per year
One Pair Breeches, besides the Ammunition Pair
Altering Clothing to fit
One Hair Leather
Proportion of Expense for Watch Coats per Year
A Worm, Turnscrew, Picker and Brush, per year
Emery, Brickdust and Oil, per year
The articles in the last two categories, for cleaning arms, to be provided by the Ordnance or compensated for in money.

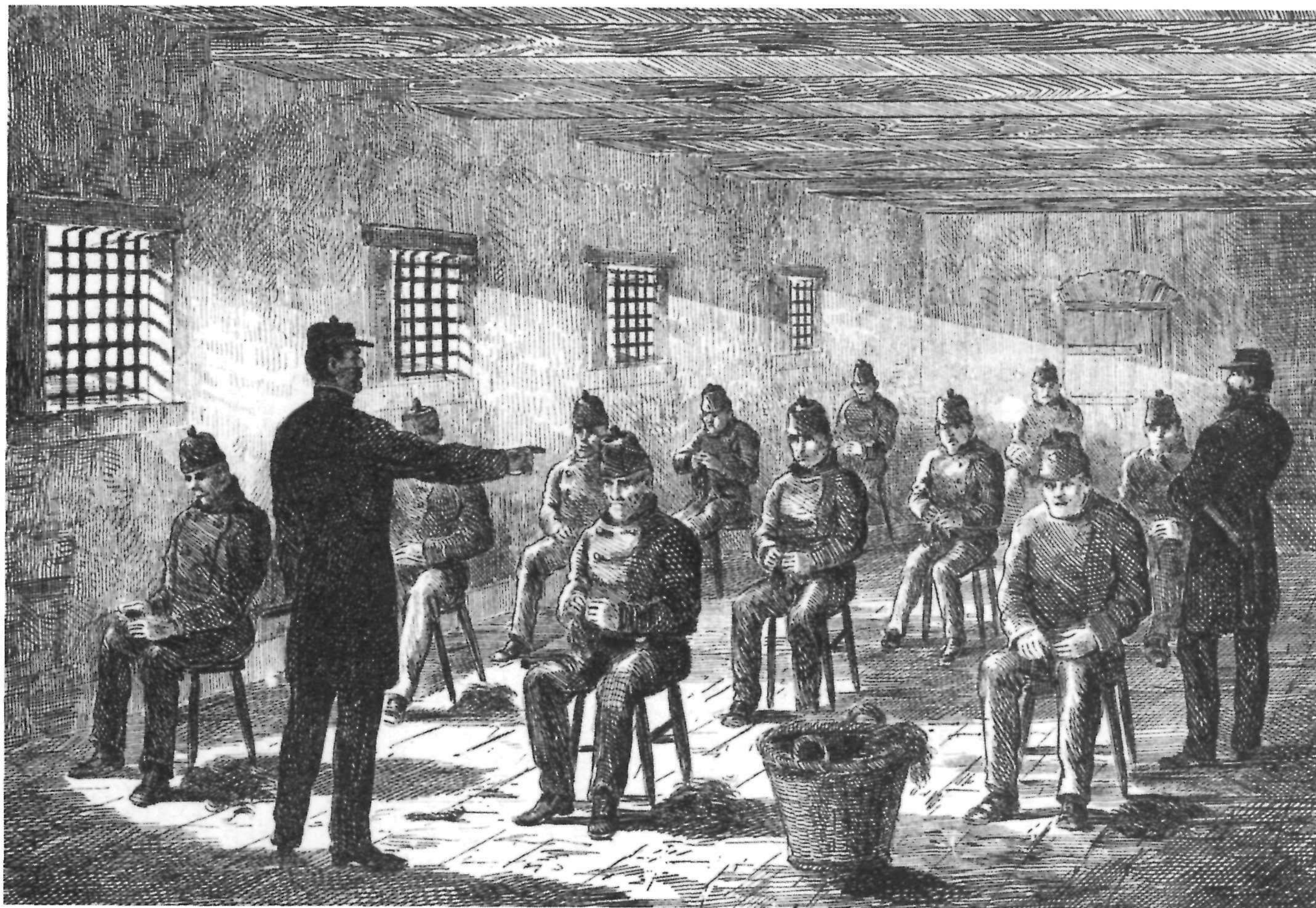
Provided at the soldier's expense
One Pair Black Gaiters, per Year
Two Pair Shoes, per Year, at 6s, per pair
One Pair Stockings, or Two Pair of Socks
Soleing and Heeling, per year
Two Shirts, per Year, at 5s. 6d. per shirt
A Foraging Cap, per Year
A Knapsack at 6s. once in 6 Years
Pipe Clay and Whiting, per Year
A Clothes Brush, 1s. once in Two Years
Three Shoes Brushes, Per Year, at 5d. per brush
Black ball, per Year
Worsted Mitts, per year
A Powdering Bag and Puff, once in Three Years at 1s. 6d.
Two Combs per year, at 6d. per comb
Grease and Powder for the Hair, per Year
Washing at 4d. Per Week, per Year

articles and pieces of clothing had to be marked with the soldier's name as well as his regimental and company number to prevent his clothing being stolen or sold, and to ensure that his own belongings were returned to him.

It was difficult for soldiers to consider their clothing their own since they could not do with it as they pleased. They were, moreover, responsible for keeping it clean and in good repair. While on duty officers too wore military garb, but in their off-duty hours they dressed to suit themselves.

The food military personnel received was also controlled in large part by the army. The army supplied food rations to the troops, who were then free to add to them as their tastes or their purse dictated. Every day, the military issued a salt ration or a fresh ration, depending on what food was available. In theory, a single day's salt ration was 360 of salted meat (beef or pork), 450 grams of flour, 340 grams of butter or cheese, 284 millilitres of peas and 28 grams of rice or oatmeal. Vinegar was sometimes provided as well. There were fewer items in the fresh ration, which comprised 450 grams of flour or bread, 450 grams of meat or fish and 113 grams of cereal grains. Women and children over 10 years of age received a half-ration and children under 10 were entitled to a one-third ration.

In the 18th century and in times of war, the army imported its salted provisions from the British Isles, but the hazards of navigation often caused supply problems and shortages. Whenever there was a shortage of meat, for example, the allotment of bread was increased to compensate. In the wintertime, the more frequent consumption of salt rations and the scarcity of vegetables resulted in illnesses such as scurvy. The army was also at the mercy of local market conditions. If it bought too many foodstuffs in Canada, it created a scarcity and prices went up. This was why the military and the civilian populations suffered equally when harvests were poor. In wartime, military personnel received a ration of 284 millilitres of rum. The army provided them with spruce beer to ward off scurvy during the winter.



9 The military jail at Québec in 1871 taken from the *Canadian Illustrated News*, Vol. 9 (December 9, 1871), p. 373. *National Archives of Canada (C39705).*

From time to time, an extra ration of rum was issued to the men was issued to help them carry out such unpleasant tasks as emptying the latrines.

Even though officers and men received similar rations, there was no similarity in the quality of their meal. The men took their meals in the same room in which they slept. The occupants of the same barrack-room pooled their rations. It was necessary to use part of their pay to buy extra vegetables and one person was designated by the regiment to do the purchasing. Each one took his turn to cook for the group. Meals had to take place at a set hour and the table was laid in accordance with regulations under the watchful eye of a non-commissioned officer. In each regiment, the officer of the day inspected the barracks to make sure that mealtimes were being conducted properly. The regulation in 1800 scheduled only two meals to be eaten as a group, the men ate the third meal alone.

If the memoirs of officers garrisoned at Québec are anything to go by, their mealtimes were a far cry from those of the rank and file. Officers took part in festivities of all descriptions — governor's banquets, picnics in the country, hunting and fishing parties — all of which included lavish meals. Feasts were organized on the slimmest pretext, such as the birthday of the king, the governor or another officer. There was no stinting at mess meals either. Officers pooled their funds to hire a cook and took turns providing a man to serve. Their mess was able to purchase wine and victuals cheaply. As a result, mealtimes were for officers a time of relaxation while for soldiers they were simply another part of military routine.

The military personnel stationed at Québec had left their native land to hold the conquered territories of the British Empire. They led a nomadic life from one posting to the next and Québec was but one stop among many. Even the officers found the distance from home hard to bear. It was for this reason they re-created in Québec a miniature society modelled on the one they had left behind in Great Britain. Despite their

efforts, they were still homesick. Some of the young unmarried officers, unable to cope with colonial life, sank into alcoholism. The fact remains that officers preferred Québec to remote posts such as Chambly and Fort Lennox.

The climate too was a source of much unpleasantness. These natives of the British Isles were rudely shocked by the severe cold of Canadian winters. A number of them fell victim to fever, scurvy or frostbite. Some officers were granted sick leave to return to Great Britain because the Canadian climate was undermining their health. Their men, however, had no choice but to stay, and the lack of fruits and vegetables in winter made them even more vulnerable to sickness.

The ever-present regulations and controls were the bane of the soldier's existence. Any misconduct was severely punished. For minor infractions, extra duty and drills were levied, leave passes were cancelled or the culprits were confined to barracks. More serious offences drew harsher penalties such as jail terms with loss of pay, brutality up to deportation or the death penalty. The severity of punishments varied with the times. In the 18th century, showing disrespect to a superior was punishable by 200 lashes. In time of war a deserter was condemned to death, while in time of peace he risked deportation. In the 19th century, corporal punishment was practised less often, and there was some talk of abolishing it altogether beginning in 1860. The techniques of repression were refined. For example, soldiers guilty of drunkenness were made to wear their jackets inside out and suffer the taunts of their comrades. Alcoholism appears to have been the major problem. The military authorities issued frequent directives banning the sale and consumption of alcohol in the barracks. Alcohol was at root of four-fifths of the crimes and offences committed by soldiers. Some of them stole or sold army property in order to buy liquor. Others drank while on duty. On occasion, soldiers under the influence came to blows with civilians in the town. Profound discontent and alcoholism drove some soldiers to suicide or to murder. Others, having

10 Military musicians parading down Saint-Louis Street in 1830 by J.P. Cockburn. *National Archives of Canada (C12702).*

barely reached the age of 40, were released from the army because their health had been ruined by alcohol.

Nevertheless, the majority of the men stayed sober and obeyed orders. The officers kept a record of any impropriety and took a man's behavior into consideration when making decisions concerning promotions, permission to marry and hiring for para-military work. Soldiers could hope to improve their lot some-what as long as they submitted to military discipline.

Relations with the Civilian Population

We have seen earlier that the British garrison made its presence felt at Québec by its numbers and the space it occupied. However, one might well ask on what terms civilians and military personnel co-existed in the city.

For many of the townspeople the garrison was a daily source of entertainment. According to accounts in the newspapers, the local people enjoyed watching the soldiers marching down the streets, conducting inspections, changing the guard and carrying out drills. The garrison also added an imposing presence to funeral processions, special ceremonies and the opening of sessions of parliament.

In the 19th century in particular, the garrison participated in the local citizenry's social activities. The regimental bands held concerts on the esplanade and the boardwalk during the summer, and at the public skating rink during the winter. They also played at various social functions organized by civilians. The officers put on plays and they organized horse races, shooting competitions and soccer or cricket matches between members of the garrison and civilians.

On the other hand, there were also those who were not entirely happy to have the garrison so close at hand. The French-language newspapers in particular laid the blame for deteriorating moral standards and escalating violence at the garrison's doorstep. In 1810, there were in fact more than 500 prostitutes in the city. The newspapers also reported fights between civilians and soldiers in the Saint-Jean suburb where houses of ill repute abounded. However, the garrison was not the only group responsible for this state of affairs since Québec was also a stopover for thousands of sailors. Alcohol abuse led some soldiers to commit crimes. It is also true that certain citizens were the victims of thefts and acts of vandalism perpetrated by military personnel. The military authorities took

JEU. DE BALLON (FOOL BALL).—Il y aura samedi après-midi sur l'Esplanade une partie au jeu de ballon (Foot-Ball) entre quinze québecquois et quinze officiers et sous-officiers de l'Artillerie Royale. Les québecquois sont :

MM. R. Young, W. G. Griffith, H. Sewell, H. C. Sheppard, C. Pentland, A. Stuart, A. Chapman, E. Bonson, C. E. Montizambert, W. Ross, John Gilmour, McKay, H. Miller, E. Montizambert, Armstrong.

Réserves : MM. B. R. Epps, E. Jones et G. R. White.

11 Announcement of a soccer match between civilians and military personnel in Québec's *Evènement*, October 6, 1871.

steps to prevent such incidents by setting up a military police force that patrolled the city during the hours the soldiers were at liberty.

Québec merchants benefited greatly from the garrison's presence for a substantial portion of the army payroll was spent in the city. Drinking establishments especially proliferated near the barracks and, from time to time, storekeepers announced in the newspapers that they carried a specific article of interest to army personnel. The military authorities let contracts for troop supplies and transportation, and wholesalers found many bargains at army surplus sales. In 1871, the newspaper *Le Canadien* noted that the withdrawal of the garrisons from Canada would deprive the colony of the several million dollars that the army spent every year.

Relations between officers and the English-speaking gentry of the city were very cordial. They met each other at dinners and the governor's balls, they shared the same pastimes, and some of them formed links beyond those of mere acquaintance. For example, Tolfrey often went on hunting trips with one of the local merchants. The officers' messes admitted civilians as honorary members. Some of the young officers married the daughters of local merchants and judges. One of them even wed the daughter of the Anglican bishop.

The families of the French-speaking gentry made efforts to penetrate this mainly English-speaking high society and tried to form friendships with officers from the garrison. Louis de Salaberry, for example, struck up a friendship with the Duke of Kent when the latter arrived in Québec in 1791 as head of his regiment. De Salaberry chose him as godfather for his fourth son. Later on, having returned to England, the Duke of Kent helped the four De Salaberry sons obtain officers' commissions in the British army. Some of the seigneurial families intermarried with British officers. In 1795, Captain Thomas Allison wed Thérèse Baby and left the British army. He made his home

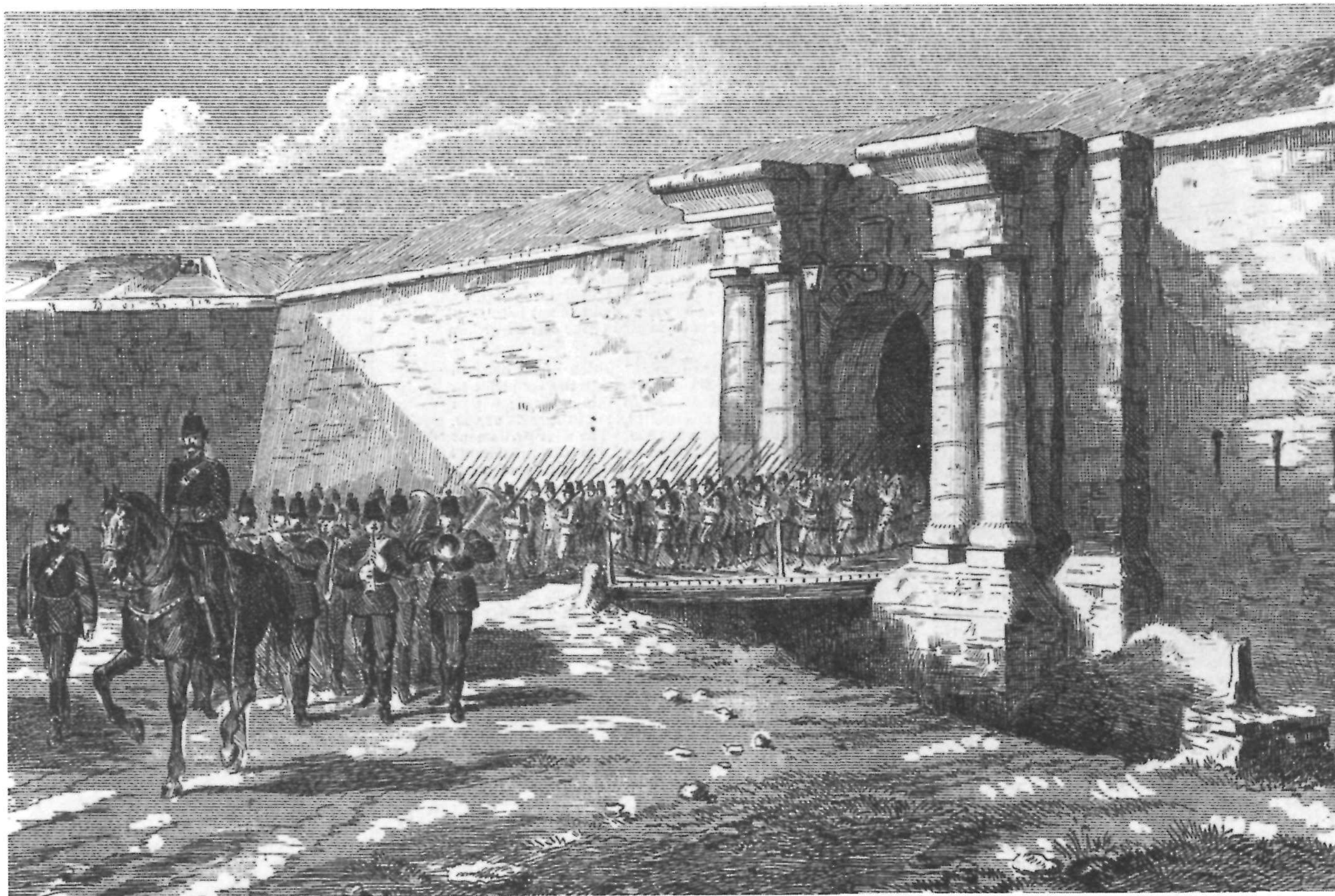
in Québec and remained active in the militia. Some years later, his daughter Suzanne married Philippe Aubert de Gaspé.

For the rich and those who were close to the government, a garrison at Québec was a guarantee that the established order would be preserved. Not only was the garrison a defence between the town and possible attack by the French or the Americans, it was also a protection against a popular revolt. In 1837 the garrison of Québec prepared for combat against an attack on the city by the Patriotes. In 1878, seven years after the departure of the garrison, an English-language newspaper declared that if the British garrison had still been at Québec, it would have prevented the riot among the stonecutters. The British army had, in fact, helped to preserve order whenever the civilian police force was overburdened. One of the functions the military had performed was to keep watch over polling stations at election time.

The troops also turned out to fight fires whenever requested to do so by the municipal authorities. The civilian population was most grateful for such assistance and published their thanks in the newspapers. In October 1866, an officer of the Royal Artillery regiment perished while fighting a fire in the Saint-Roch suburb. The mayor of Québec started up a fund which was used the following year to erect a monument in his memory.

The part the military played in increasing the population of the city is also worth mentioning in any discussion of civilian-military relations. During the 112 years the garrison was at Québec, and especially during post-war periods, the army gave permission to various officers and men to settle in Canada at the end of their military career. Some of them decided to stay on in the city where they found work with the government or the army or set up businesses. Along with immigrants from other places, these ex-army men helped to swell the numbers of the English-speaking population in Québec. Around 1840, it was estimated that 40 percent of the city's population was of British extraction.

Clearly then, the presence of the British garrison had demographic repercussions in that it made some contribution to populating the city. It generated a dynamic economy through the expenditures it made there and the money it injected into local businesses. It was the pillar on which the political authority of the government rested. Lastly, its social presence made an impact in all the classes of society, though this varied according to the social group affected.



12 The 60th regiment leaving the Citadel in 1871 taken from the *Canadian Illustrated News*, Vol. 4 (December 2, 1871), p. 360. *National Archives of Canada (C56617).*

Conclusion

In February 1870, with the aim of reducing military expenditures, the British government decided to withdraw all its garrisons from Canada except the one in Halifax. That summer, the troops left Ontario and the Montréal area. The removal of the Québec garrison was delayed to the following year. In May 1871, the signing of the Treaty of Washington ensured lasting peace with the United States and as a result, the British army left Québec in November 1871.

The mayor of the city organized a farewell ball for the officers and men of the garrison in late October. The newspapers filled their pages with reporting on the departure of the British troops. Its withdrawal was considered one of the most important events since the Conquest. It was also one more step toward the independence of Canada. For some people, Québec was losing its crown jewel, the element that endowed it with a distinctive character. Others were more concerned with the substantial decrease of money in circulation ensuing from the loss of a garrison of 2000 men. One English-language newspaper stressed the fact that the departure of the officers deprived high society of a good many of its members.

The British garrison at Québec influenced the city's history throughout its 112 years. The British soldiers had come as conquerors, they stayed on to become the city's defenders against the Americans. They occupied a great deal of space, especially in upper town, and constituted a fairly large addition to the population of the city. The scenes of soldiers on guard duty, at drill or on parade were an everyday sight in the city. The officers led a life as full and varied as any of the well-to-do citizens there. But their soldiers, severely restricted by regulations, lived under second-rate conditions.

Confederation in 1867 along with Great Britain's desire to cut expenses, and the signing of the Treaty of Washington all

led to the departure of the British garrison from Québec. The garrison did leave some trace of its passing, however, in the descendants of the officers and soldiers who chose to make their home in this country.

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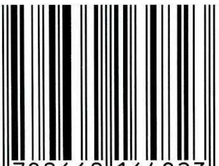
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