

*The Merchants of Montreal at the Conquest: Socio-Economic Profile**

José E. IGARTUA**

I

Without question, the most fundamental issue in the historiography of Canada in the eighteenth century revolves around what is usually referred to as "the Conquest question." The Conquest of New France by the British in 1760 profoundly altered the course of Canadian history. It replaced one imperial power by another and it brought within the British Empire a fairly large, non-English-speaking, white population of European origin. The fate of that population is the issue at stake in the "Conquest question." Some historians have contended that the defeat of France meant the inevitable disintegration of a Canadian socio-economic structure which had been growing since the early seventeenth century. The Conquest, it is argued, established the colonialism of the British Empire over the Canadian population. As a result, the society of French Canada was not to develop normally. French Canadians were subjected to a political, economic, and social inferiority because of the British Conquest.

Against this is the view, advanced long ago and more recently revitalized, that the Conquest did not bring basic transformations to Canadian society, at least not in the short run. Those transformations which occurred later—the elimination of a Canadian élite from business life, the rise of French-Canadian nationalism, the deficiency in agricultural production, the worsening economic position of French-Canadians—were as much the product of the Canadians' conservative mentality as of the British minority's struggle for domination.¹

In this debate, the crux of the matter is the fate of the business élite of New France after the Conquest. The business élite is often assumed to have been the driving force of Canadian society before 1760 (a debatable assumption which, for the sake of brevity, is not challenged here). On one side, it is argued that it was driven out of business by the aggressiveness of the British merchants and the protection of the Imperial authorities; it

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** Department of History, University of Western Ontario.

¹ See Michel BRUNET, *La présence anglaise et les Canadiens* (Montreal: Beauchemin, 1964) and *Les Canadiens après la Conquête. 1: 1759-1775* (Montreal: Fides, 1969). For the other side see Fernand OUELLET, "M. Michel Brunet et le problème de la Conquête," *Bulletin des recherches historiques* [hereafter *BRH*], LXII (Avril-mai-juin 1956), 92-101; *Histoire économique et sociale du Québec, 1760-1850* (Montreal: Fides, 1966); Jean HAMELIN, *Economie et société en Nouvelle-France* (Quebec: Les Presses universitaires Laval, 1960).

had no hope of competing on an equal footing with the newly-arrived "Old Subjects." On the other side, it is assumed that the contest was open to all and that the elimination of the Canadian merchants from trade was attributable to their backward attitude towards business, their reluctance to pool resources, and their lack of response to the demands of a changing economic climate. The Canadians, in short, were not very good entrepreneurs.

Because of its mainly speculative nature, the debate could continue endlessly. There is some question, first of all, whether there existed a mercantile class of any magnitude in New France. Secondly, it is not established whether the merchants of New France (supposing that there was a sizeable number of them) stayed in the colony after the Conquest or left for France. Thirdly, no distinction has been made between the activities of the fur traders and their outfitters based in Montreal and those of the import-export merchants in Quebec. Their fate may have been different.

The purpose of this paper is to throw some light on the issue. Most observers had viewed the fur trade as a much better source of potential capital accumulation than the colonial import-export trade and have implied that this was the sector most conducive to the development of a mercantile "bourgeoisie" in New France. But how was this bourgeoisie made up? What were the main socio-economic characteristics of its members? If the biographical sketches of the first three volumes of the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* and the fine study of Montreal by Louise Dechêne have begun to provide an answer to this question for the seventeenth century, the identification of the "bourgeoisie" in New France at the time of the Conquest has hardly begun.² On a more modest scale, this paper attempts to identify the *négociants* and traders of Montreal from 1750 to 1775 and examines a core group of active merchants.

The first task is that of identification. Attempts by Canadian historians to retrieve the Montreal merchants from their anonymous past have been rare. The neglect of social and economic history has been the main reason for this lack of concern. Only one author, Judge L.-F. Baby, a turn-of-the-century antiquarian, has attempted a listing which is incomplete and inaccurate.³ Michel Brunet, in his treatment of the Montreal merchants after the Conquest, did not attempt any description of the group; he only referred to the activities of a handful of them to buttress his general argument about the decapitation of French-Canadian society.⁴ Yet if the merchants are to be studied as a group, their number and importance within the Montreal community must first be determined. Secondly, the social behaviour of the merchants, the prevalence of kinship

² See *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, I-III (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966-); Louise DECHÊNE, *Habitants et marchands de Montréal au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, Montreal: Plon, 1974).

³ L.-F. BABY, "L'exode des classes dirigeantes à la cession du Canada," *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*, third Series, II (1899), 97-141.

⁴ Michel BRUNET, *La présence anglaise et les Canadiens*, 48-112.

ties within the group, and the overlapping of kinship and business connections deserve some attention. In his study of the *Bourgeois-gentilhommes de la Nouvelle-France*, Cameron Nish devoted a full chapter to "la bourgeoisie et le mariage." He suggested a "... modèle du schéma général des liens matrimoniaux et de leurs conséquences possibles."⁵ Yet nowhere did he show how the *possible* became the actual; neither did he make clear what the "consequences" might be. It could be argued that difficulties of geographical mobility and a small population seriously limited the number of eligible spouses or business partners. It is therefore important to establish the extent of *actual* overlapping of family and business connections within the merchant group and within strata of that group, and the degree to which merchant families were tied to the military and administrative élite which governed the colony in the last years of French rule.

In many instances only glimpses of family and business connections between merchants can be obtained. In others, the available data — business papers, notarial records, and vital statistics — while abundant, often take for granted the very kind of information that is sought. Though the unraveling of these connections remains incomplete, an understanding of the Montreal merchants' business practices cannot be achieved without it, and sufficient information is available to outline how family and business links operated and what influence they had upon the business practices of the Montrealers.

II

Around 1760, the people who were called *marchands* or *négociants* made up a sizeable portion of the Montreal population. In a town of about 5,000 people, over 200 individuals were described at one time or another by these labels between 1750 and 1775; ninety-two of them, selected here as the "core group," appear to have been in business for an extended period of time.⁶

The Montreal merchants formed a real as well as a statistical group. Their very demographic behaviour set them apart from the common inhabitants of New France. The "average" merchant was born in the colony in 1715; he was a mature man during the Seven Years' War, and may perhaps have felt a bit too old by 1765 to reorganize his business within the British imperial framework. He had married later than the usual run of people, at almost thirty-two years of age, while the common age at marriage for a man was close to twenty-seven. His first bride —

⁵ Cameron Nish, *Les Bourgeois-gentilhommes de la Nouvelle-France* (Montreal: Fides, 1968), 181.

⁶Evidence of mercantile activity, however scarce, which spread over any period of thirteen consecutive years between 1750 and 1775 was deemed to indicate (somewhat arbitrarily) that a man or woman was an established merchant and that reference to that person as *marchant*, *négociant*, or *voyageur* was not a misleading accident. He was therefore included in the core group. Those who did not meet this qualification were put in the "peripheral" group.

one merchant out of five married more than once — was older than the average bride, twenty-six compared to twenty-two and a half. Merchants also had fewer children than the average population. Their average was slightly less than four, and the median, which in this case is more revealing, was two children per merchant family, while the average for the colony in general was 5.6 children per family. These figures are heavily weighted by the large number — over 43 percent — of merchants who had no children at all.⁷

These merchants hardly made up a wealthy bourgeoisie. The level of business which even the most active of them were able to attain was quite low. It is doubtful if the wealthiest of the Montreal merchants earned as much as shopkeepers in the American colonies, if one relies on Jackson Turner Main's broad evaluations; that would have required yearly profits of 5,000 *livres* or more and, by all appearances, none but one or two of the Montreal merchants could have been that successful.⁸

That is largely explained by the geographical location of the town. Montreal was mainly an inland staging area for the fur trade, not a port of entry, and opportunities for growth were limited on the whole to the exploitation of the fur trade and of the local market for imported merchandise.

Yet this lack of wealth did not preclude occupational stratification, even within the merchant group. First in importance were the importers and wholesale merchants, some of whom also engaged in retail selling or in fur trading; below them were the outfitters who put together fur trade expedition, hired canoemen, and entered into partnerships among themselves or with wholesalers; then came the traders, loners who did all their own trading; then merchants-artisans who retailed the products of their craft; shopkeepers; and lastly, the money lender. [See Appendix A.]

⁷ Unless otherwise noted, data on birth, marriage and death dates, along with kinship ties, have been taken from *abbé* Cyprien TANGUAY, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes depuis la fondation de la colonie jusqu'à nos jours* (7 vols. Montreal: Eugène Sénécal, imprimeur-éditeur, 1871-1890). Demographic data for the average population came from Jacques HENRIPIN, "From Acceptance of Nature to Control: The Demography of the French Canadians Since the Seventeenth Century," in Marcel RIOUX and Yves MARTIN, eds., *French-Canadian Society I*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1964), 208-209. Henripin's figures on age at marriage are for the 1700-1730 period, and his figure on the average number of children is for "the first half of the eighteenth century." While these time spans do not coincide exactly with those of the present study, it is believed that the time lag is not large enough for the figures to have altered substantially.

Louise Dechêne's work on seventeenth-century parish registers for Montreal has not revealed any differences in the demographic behaviour of the urban and rural populations of the island of Montreal, and the impression derived from the present study is that no such differences emerged later. At first glance, therefore, the Montreal merchants' particular demographic behaviour would be attributable to their occupation rather than to their urban status. See Dechêne, "La croissance de Montréal au XVIII^e siècle," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* [hereafter *RHAF*], XXVII (septembre 1973) 171; *Habitants et marchands...*, 104 n. 13.

⁸ Jackson Turner MAIN, *The Social Structure of Revolutionary America* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), 87-88.

III

At the top of the merchant group of Montreal stood the import merchants. These men and women outranked their fellow merchants both economically and socially. To them came the militia commissions, the seats on the *cour de milice*, and other official honours; they alone, it seems, kept the account books and the correspondence which bore witness to the scale of their business. As a group they possessed particular social characteristics as well: they showed a marked preference for marrying women from their own group or from the group immediately below them. Louis Saint-Ange Charly and Jacques Hervieux were related to René de Couagne the elder and to the mother of Pierre Guy, who carried on the family business between her husband's death in 1748 and her son's majority in 1763. Jacques Dupéron Baby, Ignace Gamelin, Pierre Gamelin Maugras, Pierre-Joseph Gamelin, Jacques and Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Hervieux, and Toussaint Baudry, who made up the rest of the group, were either interrelated or married into the group immediately below them. Jacques' and Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Hervieux's cousin, Jean-Baptiste Le Compte Dupré, was the nephew of Louis Saint-Ange Charly's mother. Pierre Guy's wife was the daughter of Louis-François Hervieux, the brother of Jacques and Pierre-Jean-Baptiste; her stepmother, Angélique Gamelin, was the sister of Pierre-Joseph Gamelin and the niece of Pierre Gamelin Maugras. Pierre Gamelin Maugras and his cousin Ignace Gamelin married sisters. Finally, Jacques Dupéron Baby was married to a Réaume girl.⁹

It would be wrong to read into these ties evidence of clan rule; no clear anthropological pattern of descent emerges from the study of these family ties. What these kinship ties indicate is the narrowness of the endogamic group for the élite of the Montreal merchant community. (Endogamy was the rule for the lower ranks of the merchant group as well, as will be shown below.) Such endogamy, a characteristic of other Ancien Régime societies as well, had old roots in Montréal.¹⁰

Etienne Augé held a prominent place among the import merchants and his well-documented career¹¹ may serve as illustration of business at the top. During the French regime Augé imported trade goods from La Rochelle either on his own account or through agents in Quebec; he sold his merchandise both wholesale and retail, for cash or for credit, since the

⁹According to Dale B. MIQUELON, "The Baby Family in the trade of Canada, 1750-1820," (M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1966), App. B. TANGUAY, *Dictionnaire* does not give a wedding date for Jacques Dupéron Baby.

¹⁰ See DECHÉNE, *Habitants et marchands*..., 436.

¹¹ Étienne Augé's business records, in the possession of the Montreal Antiquarian and Numismatic Society, have been microfilmed and are available at the Public Archives of Canada under the call numbers MG 23 GIII (25) and (29). However, for easy reference one also has to use their given titles, since the records have not been microfilmed in any particular order. The records are: "Factures, 1750-1780" (M-859), "Livre A 1768 [1765-1775]" (M-852), "Journal B 1768 [1764-1768]" (M-852), "Livre de lettres répondu [sic]" (M-852), "Livre no. C[1769-1773] (M-852), "Journal no. D[1769-1771]" (M-869), "Grand Livre no. D[1770-1774]" (M-852), and "Journal no. E [1771-1779]" (M-852).

small population of Montreal could not sustain businesses exclusively specialized in wholesale trade. Augé appears to have shied away from extensive involvement in the fur trade; he hired canoemen for the trade only in 1751, 1752, and 1755.¹² In 1753 and 1754 he supplied goods to a few traders,¹³ but the bulk of his business remained the importation of French articles for local consumption. After the Conquest Augé shifted his accounts to London merchants, but with mediocre results. One of this new suppliers, the firm of Daniel and Antoine Vialars, kept sending what Augé considered over-priced goods. They also muddled the liquidation of his French paper money.¹⁴ Yet in spite of these difficulties, and with credit more costly in England than in France,¹⁵ Augé's trade continued much as before 1760 and his retail sales increased regularly in number and in value from 1771 to 1775.¹⁶ Augé had found some way of coping with the economic consequences of the Conquest.

The scale of Augé's trade may be suggested by some of his accounts with his La Rochelle and London correspondents. On 18 October 1757, for instance, Augé had 33,865 *livres* sent in letters of exchange in a single transaction to the *négociants* Paillett and Meynardie at La Rochelle.¹⁷ His current account with them from December 1755 to December 1758 amounted to over 115,000 *livres*.¹⁸ On 31 October 1768, Augé's current account with Daniel Vialars stood at £ 1,566.2.8. sterling.¹⁹ It was not

¹² The *engagements* of canoemen by merchants were compiled from the "Répertoire des engagements pour l'ouest conservés dans les Archives judiciaires de Montréal" published in the *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec* [hereafter *RAPQ*], 1930-1931 (for the years 1746 to 1753), 1931-1932 (1753-1758), and 1932-1933 (1758-1778). The compilation was confined to the years 1750 to 1775 inclusive. The frequency of *engagements* provides a rough guide to the extent of a merchant's involvement in the fur trade.

¹³ Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal [hereafter ANQ-M], Greffe de Jean-Baptiste Adhémar, 18 juin 1753, no. 11738, obligation by Raymond Quesnel to Augé for 11,947 *livres* 18 *sols* 7 *deniers* "marchandises de traite;" *ibid.*, 21 septembre 1753, no. 11776, a similar obligation by Louis Ducharme fils "négociant demeurant à la Pointe-aux-Trembles"; *ibid.*, 9 juin 1754, no. 12132, obligation by Antoine Janisse to Augé for 6,468 *livres* 4 *sols* "en marchandises de traite."

¹⁴ See Public Archives of Canada [hereafter PAC], "Livre de lettres répondu" (M-852), Augé to Antoine Vialars, 28 August 1770 and 27 September 1771. See also PAC, MG 24 L3 [hereafter referred to as "Baby Coll.'], vol. 6, 3407-3410, Antoine Vialars to Etienne Augé, London, 30 September 1772; 3411-3414, Etienne Augé to Antoine Vialars, Montreal, 1 October 1772.

¹⁵ French merchants did not bill interest charges as distinct costs; they charged a commission on purchases made by them for the Canadians and on the cost of the attendant services, such as transportation, packing, loading, and port clearance, but on the current accounts sent to Montreal, prices were not set to take into account the length of time during which credit was extended. In accounts sent by London merchants, however, no commissions were charged but a 5 per cent interest was computed on the Montrealers' debit and tacked on to their total bill. Interestingly, no interest was credited the Montrealers' accounts when these showed a surplus. See for instance PAC, Etienne Augé, "Factures, 1750-1780" (M-859).

¹⁶ See PAC, "Livre A 1768 [1765-1775]" (M-852).

¹⁷ PAC, "Factures, 1750-1780" (M-859), doc. no. 27.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2 février 1759, doc. no. 40.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, doc. no. 63. The exchange rate used in these invoices was 21 *livres* 16 *sols* for £ 1 stg.

be too far off to estimate Augé's average yearly business at the time at around 30,000 *livres*. His rate of profit cannot be ascertained from the available accounts, but it would be surprising if it reached as high as 20 percent of his yearly turnover, or 6,000 *livres*.

Augé's close social relations with the other leaders of the business community of Montreal may be seen by the names of the witnesses who signed his marriage contract of 1751. His witnesses were Louis Damour de Clignancour, Jean Giasson, Louis Saint-Ange Charly, and Jean-Baptiste Gareau Saint-Onge., "tous marchands bourgeois de cette ville [Montreal]." Witnesses for his bride, "tous parents et amis de la Damelle future Epouse," included Pierre Guy's mother, Jacques Hervieux, Hervieux's sisters-in-law Catherine and Marie-Joseph Quesnel Fonblanche, and René de Couagne the elder.²⁰

René de Couagne was another prominent member of the merchant group in Montreal. Son of a prosperous fur trader,²¹ he had married a merchant's daughter and entered trade for himself. Like Augé, he was not involved directly in the fur trade; he hired canoemen in only five years of his long career. De Couagne imported merchandise from France until the Seven Years' War put a stop to his overseas trade. The colony's shift of allegiance after the Conquest caused de Couagne some economic hardship. Goods which he had purchased in 1757 and 1758 from La Rochelle merchants were never shipped but were retained there until 1766 when they were disposed of at a loss.²² There was no market for them in France, but they had to be sold because Great Britain prohibited the importation of French goods to Canada and did not relax the Navigation Laws in spite of the Montrealers' pleas.²³ In 1764, when British civil government was inaugurated in Quebec, de Couagne was an old man of seventy-four. He does not seem to have tried to establish new mercantile connections in England. He died in 1767.

During his long life de Couagne had undertaken various social duties in keeping with the high standing he had acquired in his community. In 1730 he had been asked to help collect the tax for the building of fortifications, and he conscientiously carried out the unpleasant duty.²⁴ De Couagne had been a churchwarden for the Montreal parish,²⁵ a militia

²⁰ ANQ-M, Greffe de Jean-Baptiste Adhémar, 11 septembre 1751, no. 11090.

²¹ See Cameron Nish, "Charles de Douagne," *DCB*, II, 153-154.

²² PAC, Baby Coll., vol. 3, 1610-1613, Bourgine to de Couagne, La Rochelle, 24 April 1758; 1619-1620, 1692-1694, 1706-1707, D. Goguet to de Couagne, La Rochelle, 29 April 1758, 4 February 1759, 12 March 1759; vol. 4, 2336-2338, D. Goguet to de Couagne, 25 March 1766.

²³PAC, C.O. 42/24, ff. 72-73v. Enclosed in Gage's letter of 12 February 1763 to Egremont, Secretary of State for the Southern Department. The French suppliers of the Canadian merchants held some hope that French merchandise would be allowed in Canada (see Baby Coll., vol. 4, 1926-1930, S. Jauge to François Baby, Bordeaux, 25 January 1763), but this request was denied; see BRUNET, *La Présence anglaise*, 64.

²⁴PAC, Archives Nationales, Colonies [hereafter AN, Col.], C 11A, vol. 53, ff. 59-59v.

²⁵ De 1657 à 1913: Marguilliers de la paroisse Notre-Dame de Ville-Marie de 1657 à 1913," XIX (Septembre 1913), 278.

colonel who had fought at the battle of Sainte-Foy in 1760,²⁶ and a member of the militia court during the military regime which followed the Conquest.²⁷ In his later years de Couagne seems to have turned away from trade and towards more public activities as more becoming for an honourable citizen.

Unlike Charly and de Couagne, another of the important merchants, Louis Saint-Ange Charly, the son of a fur trader and militia colonel, invested directly in the fur trade, making a large number of *engagements* on his own account between 1750 and 1763. He sometimes outfitted other traders for considerable amounts: a current account of August 1760 between Charly on one hand and Ignace Hubert, Pierre-François Rigaud de Vaudreuil, and Jacques Giasson on the other, shows a balance in favour of Charly of 157,905 *livres*.²⁸ Admittedly, these figures were somewhat bloated by inflation, but they hint at the order of Charly's trade. In 1744 Charly's fellow merchants had recognized his standing by electing him *syndic*.²⁹ One of the few Montreal merchants who took the opportunity to leave Canada for France after the Conquest, Charly realized 100,000 *livres* from the sale of his land holdings.³⁰

The second merchant who left Montreal for France after the Conquest was Toussaint Baudry.³¹ Born in Chinon, Touraine, France, he had come to New France as a young man before 1738. An importer and fur trade outfitter, he had dealt extensively in real estate on the island of Montreal as well.³² He had even attempted to deal in ginseng, a staple which was never produced extensively in the colony.³³ On the eve of his departure for France, Baudry inventoried his Canadian assets, which amounted to 33,500 *livres*, a considerable fortune by Canadian standards.³⁴

²⁶Louis DE COURVILLE, *Mémoires sur le Canada, depuis 1749 jusqu'à 1760. En trois parties: avec cartes et plans lithographiés* (2nd ed. Quebec: Quebec Literary and Historical Society, 1873), 185.

²⁷PAC, MG 8 E6 (Registre des audiences de la chambre de milice de Montréal, 1760-1764), vols. 1, 4, 5. As judge, de Couagne signed the proceedings from 4 November 1760 to 6 October 1763. He is not mentioned in the 1764 register.

²⁸See ANQ-M, Greffe de Henri Bouron, 20 juin 1750, nos. 64, 65, 67, actes between René Truillier Lacombe and Saint-Ange Charly; *ibid.*, Greffe de Louis-Claude Danré de Blanzly, 28 août 1760, no. 8348.

²⁹PAC, AN, Col., C11A, vol. 82, ff. 338-343, Pierre Trottier Desauniers [the Quebec merchants' *syndic*] and Saint-Ange Charly to Maurepas [the French Minister of Marine], Quebec, 30 October 1744. The *syndics* asked that shipping between La Rochelle, Bordeaux, Nantes, and Quebec be provided with escort.

³⁰ANQ-M, Greffe de Pierre Panet, 16 août 1764, no. 2190. Charly sold six parcels of land to Williams Grant. Payment was to be made in four yearly instalments of 25,000 *livres* each, free of interest, in France or in London. On Charly see S. Dale STANDEN, "Louis Charly Saint-Auge," *DCB*, III, 110-111.

³¹ANQ-M, Greffe de Gervais Hodiesne, 7 septembre 1763, no. 4642.

³²*Ibid.*, 11 août 1754, no. 1097, no. 1097; Greffe de Pierre Panet, 12 septembre 1758, no. 925; *ibid.*, 12 [septembre] 1758, no. 926; Greffe de Louis-Claude Danré de Blanzly, 9 juillet 1760, no. 8299; Greffe de François Simonnet, 6 mars 1762, no. 38; Greffe de Gervais Hodiesne, 27 juillet 1763, no. 4592.

³³*Ibid.*, Greffe de Gervais Hodiesne, 21 juin 1752, no. 316.

³⁴*Ibid.*, Greffe de Gervais Hodiesne, 7 septembre 1763, no. 4642.

Other importers may be mentioned briefly. Jacques Dupéron Baby was a member of a fur-trading family: with his brothers Louis and Antoine he journeyed to the western country, while a fourth brother, François, oversaw the sale of furs and the importation of trade goods, first in Montreal, then in Quebec.³⁵ In 1757 Jacques Dupéron Baby was among the main Montreal merchants called upon by the colony's supplies contractor, Joseph Cadet, to provide foodstuffs for the western forts.³⁶

The Gamelin family was also an established fur-trading family.³⁷ A militia officer, Ignace Gamelin sat on the military court from 1760 to 1764.³⁸ No estimate of his wealth is available, but the summary inventory of his estate made after his death in 1771 revealed over 50,000 *livres* in outstanding accounts receivable (exclusive of bad debts), which hints at the scale of his business.³⁹ His eldest daughter was married to Joseph Porlier Benac, a fur trade outfitter. Both Jacques and Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Hervieux also sat on the militia court.⁴⁰ Pierre Guy, who came of age after the Conquest, was a man of another generation. He was to have a successful career as a wholesale merchant, landowner, political activist, and militia colonel.⁴¹

IV

Immediately below the group of import merchants, who controlled the trade of Montreal, came the bulk of the fur traders. The group of fur trade outfitters, by far the largest, may be subdivided into large and small outfitters. Of fifty-five merchants included in this category, the majority (thirty-two) made on the average less than one *engagement* for the fur trade a year from 1750 to 1775 and were thus considered small outfitters. Eleven outfitters made between one and two *engagements* a year, twelve had an average of two *engagements* or more. Among the latter, four made more than one hundred *engagements* during the period. These top four outfitters were Alexis Lemoine Monière the younger (with 306), Jean Léchelle (130), Thomas-Ignace Trottier Desauniers Dufy (129), and Alexis Le Pellé Mezières (whose 122 *engagements* were made in partnership with Rigaud de Vaudreuil).

Alexis Lemoine Monière was by far the most important trader of the pre-Conquest period. Son of a prosperous fur trader, Monière married in 1747 a daughter of René de Couagne the elder;⁴² with his father, Monière

³⁵ See MIQUELON, "The Baby Family," 5-6.

³⁶ ANQ-M, Greffe de Pierre Panet, 23 août 1757, no. 594. "Marché du Sieur Baby et compagnie au Sieur Cadet..."

³⁷ See Cameron NISH, "Ignace Gamelin," *DCB*, II, 236.

³⁸ PAC, MG 8 E6 (Chambre de milice de Montréal).

³⁹ ANQ-M, Greffe de Pierre Panet, 8 mai 1771, no. 3653.

⁴⁰ PAC, Chambre de milice de Montréal.

⁴¹ See Hilda NEATBY, "Pierre Guy: A Montreal Merchant of the Eighteenth Century," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, V (Winter, 1971-72), 224-242.

⁴² Tanguay lists him as "Pierre" Lemoine under the entry for his marriage, although he is called "Pierre-Alexis" on the previous page under the entry for his birth. Notarial records refer to him simply as "Alexis." *Dictionnaire*, V, 338.

leased the fur trading posts at Lac La Pluie, Lac des Bois, and the Illinois country from the explorer La Vérendrye until 1753.⁴³ At that time, Louis Pennisseaut, an enterprising French merchant who had arrived in the colony a few years earlier, married Monière's sister Marie-Marguerite and managed to have the Monières turn over part of their trading rights to him.⁴⁴ Yet between 1753 and 1758 Monière hired 300 *engagés* for the fur trade; this represented an average yearly investment in wages alone of over 12,000 *livres*.⁴⁵ Still, when he died in 1768 Monière left less than 1,000 *livres*, all in household goods, a rather modest sum for such an important trader. His sister Marie Louise, who inherited his estate, was married to François-Marie de Couagne, a nephew of René de Couagne the elder and a cousin of Monière's wife.⁴⁶

By his dealings with La Vérendrye and Pennisseaut, Monière had been the outfitter most closely linked with the governing élite of the colony. Jean Léchelle, the next largest outfitter in numbers of *engagements*, had no connections with the governing élite save his marriage to a daughter of Jean-Baptiste de Couagne, an army engineer and captain stationed at Louisbourg who was also the brother of René de Couagne the elder. Léchelle acted as legal guardian for the de Couagne children and represented them in a few notarized transactions, but the notarial records reveal no business connections between Léchelle and the de Couagne.⁴⁷ In October 1764 Léchelle and his family were granted permission to cross to La Rochelle.⁴⁸ Léchelle had been born near La Rochelle and preferred, it seems, to return to France than to live under British rule.

Only two more of the larger outfitters had family connections which reached above the merchant group. The first one was Thomas-Ignace Trottier Desauniers Dufy. His father had been a merchant and his brother Antoine-Pierre, who was *syndic* for the Quebec merchants from 1740 to 1746, exploited a lucrative fishing monopoly on the Labrador coast, tried his hand at shipbuilding, and undertook the construction of fortifications for Quebec in 1745.⁴⁹ Desauniers's mother, Catherine Charest, was the daughter of the wealthy seigneur of Lauzon.⁵⁰ Yet these excellent family

⁴³ Antoine CHAMPAGNE, *Les La Vérendrye et les postes de l'ouest* (Quebec: Les Presses de l'université Laval, 1968), 363.

⁴⁴ See deposit of the deeds in ANQ-M, Greffe de Gervais Hodiesne, 17 juin 1754, nos. 1042 and 1043.

⁴⁵ Wages in the fur trade ranged from 100 *livres* to 350 *livres* a year, depending on the length of the trip and the skill of the *engagé*. A sampling of twenty-two of Monière's *engagements* for 1753 gives an average wage of 259 *livres*. Inflation may have driven this average higher in later years.

⁴⁶ ANQ-M, Greffe de Pierre Panet, 28 décembre 1768, no. 3141.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Greffe de Henri Bouron, 10 juin 1750, no. 82; Greffe de Louis-Claude Danré de Blanzay, 12 juin 1751, no. 4656; *ibid.*, 10 avril 1760, no. 8261; Greffe de Pierre Panet, 7 juillet 1764, no. 2119; *ibid.*, 8 août 1764, no. 2159.

⁴⁸ PAC, RG 4 B58, vol. 15. "Sepr [*sic*: October?] 4, 1764." Passes for "Lechelle, his wife and five children" to board the *Chevalier de Levy* for La Rochelle. Tanguay lists only two children alive in 1764. *Dictionnaire*, V, 234.

⁴⁹ See José IGARTUA, "Pierre Trottier Desauniers," *DCB*, III, 631-632.

⁵⁰ P.-G. ROY, "Thomas-Ignace Trottier Dufy Desaunier," *BRH*, XXIV (1918), 379-380.

connections do not appear to have brought Desauniers Dufy any tangible business advantages. Even though his brother Antoine-Pierre was an import-export merchant, there is no evidence that Thomas-Ignace ever used his services.

For the most part Desauniers Dufy organized his own fur trade expeditions but in 1753 he entered into a partnership with Nicolas Lefebvre for a single venture, the details of which may be mentioned here since they were typical of such arrangements. The partnership was to last for one year and end with the return of the expedition. Lefebvre was to take three canoes to the upper country and trade the goods supplied by Desauniers. Lefebvre was allowed a remuneration for his services. Profits (or losses) were to be divided two-thirds to Desauniers and the rest to Lefebvre, and were to be taken after deduction of the value of the trade goods supplied by Desauniers and of the wages allowed to Lefebvre.⁵¹ The arrangement shows the dominance of capital over labour in the economy of Montreal.⁵²

Further insight on Desauniers's socio-economic standing is provided in a will he drew up in 1760.⁵³ In it he bequeathed 28,000 *livres* from his *propres*⁵⁴ to the Superior of the Sulpician Order in Montreal. This was an amount over a hundred times greater than the annual wages of an *engagé* and it gives some indication of Desauniers's wealth. His reputation within the Montreal community was acknowledged by his election as churchwarden in 1753 and his position as militia captain before the Conquest.⁵⁵

The second large outfitter who had links with the ruling coterie was Pierre-Julien Trottier Desrivières. His father-in-law, Jacques Testard de Montigny, had made a glorious military career.⁵⁶ His sister Charlotte married one of his brothers-in-law, Jean-Baptiste-Philippe Testard de Montigny. Two of Trottier Desrivières's sisters-in-law, Marie-Anne and Marie-Anne-Amable Testard de Montigny, also married military officers (Charles Mesière de l'Épervanche and Louis-Joseph Gauthier de La Vérendrye).

In spite of these two cases, the rule that spouses should be chosen from families of similar occupational status applied to the outfitters as well as to import-merchants. Even among members of the Trottier family, endogamy applied most of the time. Jean-Noël Trottier Desrivières, Pierre-Julien's brother, took his wife from the Gamelin family. In 1751 he married Marie-Catherine Gamelin, the daughter of Jacques-Joseph Gamelin (a storekeeper for the King)⁵⁷ and the niece of Pierre Gamelin. His

⁵¹ ANQ-M, Greffe de Jean-Baptiste Adhémar, 18 juin 1753, no. 11737.

⁵² See DECHÉNE, "La croissance...", 163-179.

⁵³ ANQ-M, Greffe de Pierre Panet, 29 juillet 1760, no. 1168.

⁵⁴ For an explanation of the types of ownership according to the *Coutume de Paris*, see Yves F. ZOLTIVANY, "Esquisse de la Coutume de Paris," *RHAF*, XXVI (décembre 1971), 365-384.

⁵⁵ P.-G. ROY "Thomas-Ignace Trottier Dufy Desaunier," 379-380.

⁵⁶ See TANGUAY, *Dictionnaire*, VII, 283-284.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 166 n. 4.

wife's oldest sister had married Louis-François Hervieux, the brother of Jacques and Pierre-Jean-Baptiste. Another sister would marry François l'Huillier Chevalier in 1752.

Beyond his hirings for the fur trade, little is known of Jean-Noël Trottier Desrivières's business activities. He may have acted as agent in 1763 for the recovery of funds owed Etienne Augé by La Rochelle merchants.⁵⁸ Yet Trottier must have accumulated some wealth from his commerce in furs: at the registration of French paper money in 1763, he declared 12,221 *livres* in *ordonnances*, 120 *livres* in bills of exchange, and 2,604 *livres* in less valuable *états et certificats*.⁵⁹

François L'Huillier Chevalier, another important outfitter, was related through his wife's family to the Gamelins, the Hervieux, and the Trottiers. He made ninety *engagements* from 1750 to 1756, but here again notarial records do not tell much more. L'Huillier owned one house on Place d'Armes, the city square,⁶⁰ and another on Saint-Gabriel street. He sold the latter in 1754 for 5,000 *livres*.⁶¹ The inventory of his estate in 1772 listed household goods barely exceeding 1,000 *livres* in value, and a little silverware; that, it seems, was the extent of his wealth.⁶²

The career of Jean Orillat is easier to follow.⁶³ Excluding hirings for the fur trade, nearly a hundred notarial documents attest to the length and breadth of his business career. Born in Barbezieux, France, in 1733, Orillat came to Canada at an unknown date. In 1761 he married one Thérèse Filiau Dubois and declared in his marriage contract that his possessions amounted to 20,000 *livres* in cash and merchandise, "Laquelle Somme luy [Orillat] sortira nature de propre Et aux Siens de Son cote et Ligne." He was one of the few merchants to include such a stipulation in his marriage contract; thus he kept his capital free of the encumbrances of the *communauté de biens* and could invest all of it in speculative ventures.⁶⁴

Orillat's first notarized engagements were made in 1757; during the next six years he made over seventy of them. After the beginning of British civil government, Orillat continued to invest heavily in the fur

⁵⁸ ANQ-M, Greffe de François Simonnet, 13 octobre 1763, no. 185, "Procuration par le Sr. Estienne Augé Negotiant de cette ville au Sr. Jean Noel Desrivières aussy negotiant." No pass in Trottier's name was registered for La Rochelle in 1763.

⁵⁹ *RAPQ*, 1924-1925, 323 (no. 2128); 349 (no. 124); 358 (no. 59).

⁶⁰ ANQ-M, Greffe de François Simonnet, 31 mars 1751, no. 77.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 9 mars 1754, no. 35.

⁶² *Ibid.*, Greffe de Pierre Panet, 15 [?] juin 1772, no. 3867.

⁶³ See Gabriel NADEAU, "Jean Orillat," *BRH*, XLI (1935), 644-685.

⁶⁴ ANQ-M, Greffe de Pierre Panet, 19 septembre 1761, no. 1385. He included the same provision in his second marriage contract. See *ibid.*, 29 août 1767, no. 2860. In the records Orillat's second wife, "Thérèse Viger," bears the same name as Orillat's mother-in-law by his first marriage. Tanguay's *Dictionnaire* clears up the confusion by being more explicit about Christian names; Orillat's first mother-in-law was baptized "Marie-Thérèse Viger," while his second wife, who was the niece of Marie-Thérèse Viger, was baptized "Thérèse-Amable Viger." She bore as part of her Christian name the name "Amable," which was Orillat's wife's Christian name. This case illustrates the possible confusion stemming from the use of notarial records only.

trade, even during the American Revolution, when conditions were difficult.⁶⁵ In 1763 he entered into a partnership with a smaller trader, Pierre Cardinal, while continuing to trade on his own account.⁶⁶ In 1768 he became, a partner with Gabriel Cerré, a trader living in the Illinois country. This agreement was more specific than the first one and provided for Orillat to remain in Montreal, order trade goods from the London firm of Watson and Oliver, and forward them to Cerré at Michilimackinac; Cerré was to send furs down to Montreal for Orillat to ship to his London suppliers, and it was Cerré who was to draw up the list of trade goods required for the following year. The partnership was not too successful, since it was not renewed and the dissolution agreement of 1771 mentioned only the partnership's debts.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, Orillat continued to invest substantially in the fur trade.

The forty or so lesser outfitters of Montreal had few business or family connections above their own stratum. Without going more than one generation above or below their own, two-thirds of the group of lesser outfitters could find they were interrelated by marriage. Spouses or parents of the rest were taken from the peripheral group, sometimes from the more important traders, and only exceptionally from the import merchant group. But family connections never reached above the mercantile group.

Business connections are harder to trace. The only way to estimate commercial interrelations among the lesser outfitters is to examine notarial records. Admittedly these tell little about everyday transactions; for these merchants notarization of a commercial transaction was an infrequent practice. Thus the links that can be traced through this method may have been very tenuous, as most of them represent only one transaction during the whole of the period. On the other hand, those notarial records which did involve outfitters as both parties covered important transactions: partnership agreements, obligations for trade goods, and quittances on payment of these goods. These transactions may be called structural in that they established legally binding links between merchants; they may be said to have formed the skeleton on which everyday transactions between outfitters were fleshed out.⁶⁸ Here again, the results, meager though they might be, show the concentration of commercial interrelations within the group: nearly 60 per cent of these lesser outfitters were involved in notarized commercial transactions with one another. Some of the business links paralleled kinship links, when relatives became partners, for instance, but the overlap accounts for only one-fourth of the business connections within this stratum.

⁶⁵ PAC, RG 4, B28 [fur trade licences], vol. 111, no. 40; vol. 113 (no number); MIQUELON, "The Baby Family," 188, 189.

⁶⁶ ANQ-M, Greffe de Pierre Panet, 26 mai 1763, no. 1871.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 24 août 1767, no. 3637. The dissolution agreement is on the same document.

⁶⁸ Only those notarial records which involved merchants as both parties were examined systematically. Other notarial deeds were looked at when the entry in the notarial registry indicated a document which might reveal special information (e.g., a marriage contract or a sale to a son).

Thus, to a considerable extent, socio-economic position determined familial alliances through marriage and set the range of possible business alliances. Marriage, for an outfitter at least, was seldom a means of social ascension; it had "possible consequences" for business, to use Cameron Nish's phrase, only in the sense that it reinforced an already-defined socio-economic status and that it steered an outfitter towards his peers in looking for business alliances.⁶⁹

V

Below the import merchants and the outfitters, the shopkeepers, traders, artisans, and money lenders make up distinct categories of lesser merchants. Next to the outfitters in numbers, the "shopkeepers" of Montreal remain somewhat of an enigma. The men listed under that heading are presumed to have been shopkeepers for want of more accurate information; they are described in documents as *marchands* without further qualification, unlike the traders or the artisans whose trade is sometimes mentioned. The sixteen individuals in that category had little in common besides their status as merchants. To use the word 'group' here would be misleading. There were no business links connecting the members of this category: nor were there many kinship ties among them. Three of the shopkeepers were brothers, and the rest were unrelated.

Indeed, the shopkeepers' kinship links were not with other members of their category, but with the outfitters. René Bourassa was Ignace Bourassa's brother; Alexis Campion was Etienne Campion's brother; Dominique Bartzsch's wife was the sister of Jean Orillat's wife; Pierre Courault La Coste's wife was Jean-Baptiste Le Compte Dupré's sister; Pierre Lefebvre du Chouquet was married to Noël Langlois's sister; Jean-Baptiste Legrand's daughter married Pierre Foretier; and Louis-Amable Perthuis married Jacques Giasson's daughter. Only Jacques-Joseph Gamelin, through his brothers Pierre and Michel, was related to some leading mercantile families; this may account for this posting as King's storekeeper.⁷⁰

VI

There remains a small number of Montreal merchants in the core group who do not fit the categories of importer, outfitter, or shopkeeper:

⁶⁹ These findings for the Montreal merchants tend to confirm Nish's assertion that there was horizontal mobility between the merchants, the fur traders, the seigneurs, and the governing élite of the colony. Only the most successful among the merchants and fur traders (Nish mentions only these) actually secured some kinship ties with the seigneurs, the military, and the administrators of the colony. This would suggest that military and administrative occupations by themselves, rather than the incomes generated by these occupations, conferred high status. The merchant's profession, on the other hand, did not automatically confer high status; those merchants who achieved such status did so because of their wealth and in spite of their occupations. A bourgeois was a *gentilhomme* only if he could afford to live like one, while a *gentilhomme* remained a *gentilhomme* regardless of his financial situation. NISH, *Bourgeois-gentilhommes*, 170.

⁷⁰ Tanguay, *Dictionnaire*, IV, 166, col. 1 n. 4.

they were the traders who conducted all of their own trade, without hiring *engagés*; three merchants who were really artisans; and one man whose function was obviously that of money lender.

Of the six traders included in the core group, only two deserve some mention. Joseph Baby Chenneville fell into this category because nothing was found to include him among the outfitters; but he was evidently of some importance in the Montreal community, for he had been the King's storekeeper at Fort Niagara in the 1740's, and left an estate of over 10,000 *livres*.⁷¹ He was a cousin of François, Louis, and Jacques Dupéron Baby, but there is no evidence of his having had commercial dealings with them. The other trader worthy of notice is Joseph Perinault, who is referred to as a tailor in the very document which bound him to René de Couagne as an *engagé* for the fur trade in 1752.⁷² He was still referred to as a tailor as late as 1764, but the following year he entered into a partnership with Pierre Foretier and two British merchants; Perinault was to be the partnership's resident trader at Michilimackinac, while the two British merchants (Boone and Price) were to see to the sale of the furs. Foretier's role was that of *équipeur*. Besides his labour, Perinault put some capital into the venture and invested in the fur trade throughout the period.⁷³

Even though Joseph Perinault was an artisan who abandoned his craft for the fur trade — as some others did — only two merchants-artisans belong to the core group. One, Jean-Baptiste Barsalou, was a tanner; the other, Charles Demers, was a tailor. Occupation is the only thing known about them. Obviously there were more than two artisans in Montreal during the period under consideration; the method of selection used here has retained only those who were called merchants as well. That only these two bore the joint label suggests that they were borderline cases between the two occupational categories. Unlike Perinault, however, they do not seem to have made the transition into the higher category.

The life of Pierre Ranger remains rather curious in comparison with that of all the other merchants who made up the core group. He resorted to the services of a notary more often than any other merchant, yet he made practically no hirings for the fur trade. Although he was described as a *négociant*, there is no evidence of his commercial transactions. What the notarial records do contain are numerous land transactions and above all, numerous obligations. More than 40 percent of the notarized documents dealing with Ranger were obligations for money loans.⁷⁴ From 1751

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, II, 93; ANQ-M, Greffe de Jean-Baptiste Adhémar, 15 avril 1752, no. 11218; Greffe de Pierre Panet, 10 avril 1771, no. 3633.

⁷² ANQ-M, Greffe de Jean-Baptiste Adhémar, 7 mai 1752, no. 11284.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Greffe de Pierre Panet, 2 juin 1764, no. 2112; *ibid.*, 25 avril 1765, no. 2412. PAC, RG 4 B28, vol. iii, no. 34; vol. 113 (no number); vol. 114 (no number); vol. 115, nos. 19 and 31. The bonds given by Perinault, which were equal to the value of the trade goods taken to the upper country, amounted to 8,000 *livres* in 1769, 15,000 *livres* in 1770, 30,000 *livres* in 1772, 30,000 *livres* in 1774, and 800 *livres* in 1775.

⁷⁴ An obligation was a mortgage.

to 1764 the monetary value of the loans for which these obligations were signed amounted to over 23,000 *livres*. Excluded from this total are obligations for payment in foodstuffs or for mixed payment (money and foodstuffs). Ranger's "commerce" was manifestly that of the money lender.

Unlike merchants who extended indefinite credit to other merchants or to urban customers out of the necessity of business, Ranger concentrated on lending money to habitants and on collecting it as soon as it fell due.⁷⁵ The amounts he loaned seemed to follow economic conditions in the colony: they steadily declined from 1754 to 1759 and they increased again from 1761 to 1763. It is hard to guess what the habitants used their loans for, and thus to evaluate Ranger's role in the economy of the Montreal area, but it would seem that the habitants bought land, or paid overdue tithes or seigniorial duties rather than spending for consumer goods.⁷⁶

VII

Besides the core group of Montreal merchants, eighty individuals could be positively identified as merchants and as residing in Montreal. They form a motley collection of persons who could not be included in the core group: some were mainly active outside of the period studied here, others left too little recorded evidence. The distribution of occupations within the peripheral group reflects that of the core group. Nearly two-thirds were fur trade outfitters, thirty per cent were labelled *négociants* for want of more precision on the nature of their activities, four were traders, and three were artisans (a tailor, a carpenter, and a black-smith). A few may be mentioned briefly by way of illustration.

The Chaboillers were a fur trading family *par excellence*. As soon as they were old enough, all six of Charles Chaboiller's sons invested in the fur trade as their father had done before his death in 1757.⁷⁷ In 1769, four of them had 60,880 *livres* invested in trade goods; in 1772 five of the brothers had 54,000 *livres* in fur trade goods, and two years later three of them had 55,400 *livres*.⁷⁸ They remained active in the trade until the end of the century. In 1793 Marie Marguerite Chaboiller, the daughter of Charles-Jean-Baptiste, was to marry Simon McTavish, a pivotal figure in the North West Company.⁷⁹

The Hurtebise brothers, Louis and Zacharie, were also well-connected fur traders, but they had consecutive rather than overlapping

⁷⁵ Two-third of the obligations were signed by habitants.

⁷⁶ This was similar to the use made of such loans in the Quebec district at the turn of the eighteenth century. See Diane LAVIOLETTE, "Le crédit dans le gouvernement de Québec, 1696-1730" (M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1971).

⁷⁷ Only two of the brothers, Augustin and Louis-Joseph, figure among the peripheral group; the others could not be positively identified as being from Montreal.

⁷⁸ PAC, RG 4 B28, vols. 111, 114, 115. The figures given in the documents are in pounds of New England currency. £ 1 cy. was worth 20 *livres*.

⁷⁹ W.S. WALLACE, ed., *Documents Relating to the North West Company* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1934), 432; E.-Z. MASSICOTTE, "Les Chaboillez," *BRH*, XXVIII (1922), 207-209.

careers. The most noteworthy of the documents pertaining to Louis Hurtebise is a partnership contract with his sister's husband, Pierre Leduc, and Louis Le Verrier, the captain in command at Rivière Saint-Joseph, for the trade of that post over a three-year period beginning in 1757. The merchants were to supply the officer with his usual victuals (including fourteen barrels of red and white Bordeaux wine a year!) and with the required trade goods; moreover, Le Verrier was to take two-thirds of all profits or losses.⁸⁰ The arrangement suggests the relative importance of trade expertise and military influence in running the fur trade. Zacharie Hurtebise was related through his wife and his sister's husband to the Barsalou family of artisans and shopkeepers.⁸¹ He appears to have been involved in the fur trade mainly from 1765 to 1772.

Among the *négociants* no names stand out. It is likely that most of them were fur traders themselves or associated with the outfitters or the traders. As for the artisans, little is known of them apart from their occupation.

VIII

The core group, rather than the peripheral group, constituted the mercantile élite of the Montreal community, and it is the élite's behaviour that mattered in the confrontation between Canadian and British or American merchants after the Conquest. There was little wealth with the merchant community as a whole and social mobility was quite restricted. Such a situation would put the body of Montreal merchants at a disadvantage after 1760: the traditional social rigidity of Montreal society could not lead to great expectations of upward mobility. The weight of tradition which hung over their business and their meager financial resources held them back in the post-Conquest struggle for the control of the fur trade. The British merchants' advantage of familiarity with British business practices and the British military's suspicions about the Canadian fur traders' activities among the Indians only compounded the difficulties and obstacles which were all at once thrown in the path of these merchants.⁸² One may understand how all these factors, coming together quickly as they did, overwhelmed the Canadian merchants of Montreal.

⁸⁰ ANQ-M, Greffe de Gervais Hodiesne, 29 mars 1757, no. 2177.

⁸¹ Jean-Baptiste Barsalou and Zacharie Hurtebise married each other's sisters.

⁸² See José IGARTUA, "The Conquest and the *Marchands* of Montreal," Canadian Historical Association *Historical Papers*, 1974, 115-134.

APPENDIX A

MONTREAL MERCHANTS — CORE GROUP

Import Merchants

Augé, Etienne
 Baby, Jacques Dupéron
 Baudry, Toussaint
 Charly, Louis Saint-Ange
 De Couagne, René (the elder)
 Gamelin, Ignace
 Gamelin Maugras, Pierre (elder)
 Gamelin, Pierre-Joseph
 Guy, Mme.
 Guy, Pierre
 Hervieux, Jacques
 Hervieux, Pierre-Jean-Baptiste

Outfitters

Adhémard, Jean-Baptiste
 Baby, Louis
 Bertrand, Laurent
 Blondeau, Jean-Baptiste
 Blondeau, Louis
 Blondeau, Maurice
 Bourassa, Ignace
 Campion, Etienne
 Cardinal, Pierre
 Cazeau, François
 Danguihle, Joseph
 De Couagne, François-Marie
 De Couagne, René (the younger)
 Dejean, Philippe
 Ducharme, Laurent
 Dufresne, Nicolas
 Foretier, Pierre
 Gamelin Gaucher, Michel
 Giasson, Jacques
 Giasson, Jean
 Godet, Dominique
 Guillon, Jean-Baptiste
 Guyon Després, Joseph
 Héry, Charles
 Hubert Lacroix, Ignace
 Hubert Lacroix, Louis-Joseph
 Langlois, Noël
 Léchelle, Jean
 Le Compte Dupré, J.-B. (younger)
 Leduc, Philippe
 Leduc Souigny, Pierre
 Lemoine Despîns, Jacques
 Lemoine Monière, Alexis
 Le Pelle Mezières, Alexis
 L'Huilier Chevalier, François

Méthivier, Barthélémi
 Monbrun, Pierre
 Nivard Saint-Dizier, Etienne
 Orillat, Jean
 Pillet, Pascal (the elder)
 Porlier La Groizardière, Jacques
 Prolier Benac, Joseph
 Quesnel Fonblanche, Jacques
 Quesnel, Raymond
 Réaume, Charles
 Séjourné dit Sanschagrin, Alexis
 Tessier, Urbain
 Trottier Desauvier, Thomas-Ignace
 Trotier Desrivières, Amable
 Trotier Desrivières, Jean-Noël
 Trotier Desrivières, Jacques-Hypolite
 Trotier Desrivières, Pierre-Julien
 Truillier Lacombe, René
 Vallé, Pierre (the younger)

Shopkeepers

Barsalou, Jacques
 Bartzsch, Dominique
 Bourassa, René
 Boutheillier, Pierre
 Campion, Alexis
 Courault La Coste, Pierre
 Desautels, Gilbert
 Douaire de Bondy, Jean-Baptiste
 Gamelin, Jacques-Joseph
 Lefebvre du Chouquet, Jean-François
 Lefebvre du Chouquet, Louis
 Lefebvre du Chouquet, Pierre
 Legrand, Jean-Baptiste
 Le Pallieur, Charles
 Neveu Sevestre, Pierre-Paul
 Perthuis, Joseph

Traders

Baby Chenneville, Joseph
 Bernard, Jean-Baptiste
 Carignan, Jean-Baptiste Bernard dit
 Martel, Pierre
 Menard, Raymond
 Perinault, Joseph
 Prudhomme, Louis

Artisans

Demers, Charles
 Barsalou, Jean-Baptiste

Money Lender: Ranger, Pierre

APPENDIX B

MONTREAL MERCHANTS — PERIPHERAL GROUP

Outfitters

Augé, François
 Augé, Michel
 Berthélet, François
 Bezzo, Nicolas
 Biron, Joseph
 Borrel, Joseph
 Bourdon, François
 Cadet, Simon
 Carignan, Louis
 Caron, Joseph
 Chaboiller, Augustin
 Chaboiller, Louis-Joseph
 Chevalier, Charles
 Chevalier, Louis
 Curotte, Amable
 Denoyers, J.-B.
 Doyon, J.
 Dubois, Antoine
 Dubois, E.
 Ducharme, Jean-Marie
 Dufresne, Antoine
 Dumeyniou, Etienne
 Dumoulin, Jean
 Du Roseau, René T.
 Filiau Dubois, François
 Fleurimont, Pierre
 Fouché, Amable
 Houtelas, J.-B.
 Hubert Lacroix, Dominique
 Hurtebise, Louis (the younger)
 Hurtebise, Zacharie
 Irlande, Bazile
 Janisse, Barthélémi
 Janot, Henri
 Laforge, Vincent
 Lahaie, Alexis
 Landriève *dit* Lamouline, Pierre
 Languedoc, Etienne
 Lasselle, Hyacinthe
 Lasselle, Jacques (the younger)
 Marechesseau, Nicolas
 Morel, J.-B.
 Mouton, François
 Paillet, Gabriel
 Perrin, Dominique
 Poupart, Joseph

Reihle, Antoine
 Rousseau, Saint-Jean¹
 Saint-Omer, Lambert
 Sanguinet, Christophe
 Tabaux, J.-B.
 Traversy, André *dit* Langlois

“Négociants”

Avrard, Michel
 Baby, Antoine
 Baron, Antoine
 Barron, Joseph Lupien
 Beaugrand, J.-B.
 Campeault, Henry
 Desfonds, Louis
 Ferrant, Vincent
 Garaud Saint-Onge, Jean-Baptiste
 Hubert Lacroix, Pierre (the elder)
 Hubert Lacroix, Pierre (the younger)
 Lafrenay, Joseph
 Le Gras, Pierre Ville
 Lemer Saint-Germain, Charles
 Lequesne, Jean
 Lestage, Mme.
 Papin, Pierre
 Pothier, Louis-Toussaint
 Roger, François
 Roussel, Adrien
 Sanguinet, Simon²

Traders

Cardin, Charles
 Hurtebise, Louis (the elder)
 Hurtebise, Pierre
 Janisse, Antoine

Artisans

Desautels, Joseph-Marie
 Lasselle, Jacques (the elder)
 Le Duc, Lambert (the elder)

¹ also interpreter for the military.

² later notary and judge.