

THE ELUSIVE LAY SCHOOLMASTERS OF NEW FRANCE*

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Introduction

New France is that period in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Canada when a vast territory of North America was under French control or influence. At its height, New France stretched from Acadia in the east to the Mississippi River basin in the west, from Hudson Bay in the north to Louisiana in the south. As a working colony, the modest population of New France was concentrated in Canada, the area along the St. Lawrence River between the towns of Quebec and Montreal. In 1760, at the end of the French regime in Canada, the colonial population numbered less than 60,000 souls.

Despite its small population, the French colony possessed many of the institutional features of a normal society, including government and military offices, stores, churches, hospitals, workshops, and schools. Some idea of the spread of learning can be ascertained by a tally of the schools that existed. One estimate is that the colony had forty-seven schools.¹ This figure is an aggregate one and does not reflect the number of schools in existence at a particular time, which was far less since most schools did not enjoy a long and uninterrupted life.

Described in institutional terms, early Canada boasted a loose collection of schools, mostly of the elementary school variety, that were known as *petites écoles*. Supplementing the "little schools" were a boys' college run by the Jesuits, several trade schools, and a seminary for the training of priests. Though the colony did not have a university in name, the Jesuit college performed some of the academic functions of a higher education facility.

The schools of that day were not evenly distributed across the colony. Continuing a trend that had been at work since the rise of towns in the Middle Ages, educational facilities were concentrated in and around the towns of Quebec, Montreal, and Trois-Rivières, because it was in the urban centres that lettered persons were most in demand. As one left the cultural and geographical orbit of the towns, educational provision fell off dramatically. Indications are that most rural parishes were without teachers and schools.

As in the mother country, education in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Canada was largely a prerogative of the Roman Catholic church. In learning as in other areas of social welfare the civil authority remained in the background, content to play an assisting role. While clerical representatives of every stripe, from the bishop to the parish priest, had a hand in learning, it was the male and female orders who were most directly involved, establishing, running, and

staffing schools. Of the male orders, the Jesuits, Sulpicians, and Charon Brothers were dominant in boys' education.² Girls' education was the responsibility of the Ursulines and the sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame.

Since the teaching orders did not leave detailed records of their educational activities, we must be content with a rough estimate of the number of religious schoolmasters and schoolmistresses in early Canada. What is clear is that on the eve of the fall of New France the female as opposed to the male orders maintained more schools and supplied more teachers. This phenomenon may be attributed to the fact that the female communities were much larger in membership and hence had more educational workers at their disposal. At any rate, in 1759 the Jesuits and Sulpicians counted three schools and eight to ten teachers between them.³ The Charon Brothers were not a factor at this date, having folded as a community in 1747. The Ursulines and Notre Dame Sisters, for their part, had a combined total of ten schools. Although teacher numbers are not known, they may be deduced from membership size, which in 1759 showed seventy sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame and forty-five Ursulines in Canada.⁴ Applying the rule that roughly two-thirds of their members were involved in instructional duties, it is estimated that about seventy female religious were teachers. Thus at the end of the French period in Canada the colony counted some eighty or so male and female teachers.

Although the religious orders supplied the colony with most of its teachers, this is not the whole story. Examination of the documentary evidence of the period testifies to the existence of a surprisingly large number of lay schoolmasters, which is a reminder that the church's role in education was not exclusive. We now turn our attention to this elusive group of teachers, of which little is known.

Lay Schoolmaster Identification

Existence precedes essence, preaches the existentialist philosopher, and in this respect our first task is to establish the identity of lay schoolmasters in the French colony. The phenomenon of lay teachers in early Canada is not unknown to historians, but confirmation of their existence and number has been wanting owing to guesswork and shaky evidence. In order to avoid these pitfalls, we intend to rely as much as possible on official records of the period, not only because they meet the test of authoritativeness but because they contain occupational data. In other words, if an official document lists someone as *maître d'école* or *instituteur*, it may be accepted as fact that not only was the person a schoolmaster but a lay one. This is because religious teachers who appear in the records are always identified by their ecclesiastical rank, e.g., *prêtre, frère, soeur, sous-diacre*.⁵

Although New France manifested many of the characteristics of a frontier society, it resembled the mother country in its Gallic devotion to the written record. Relations between persons, institutions, and property were formalized in writing in contracts, ordinances, clerical letters, and judicial rulings. Of official

records in the colony there were broadly two types: those maintained by religious authorities and those by civil ones. Central to the former are the parish registers, which are among the most complete of any pre-industrial society, owing in large part to a dutiful clergy who kept records of births, baptisms, marriages, and deaths. Furthermore, thanks to a massive project recently completed at the University of Montreal, demographers have brought to print the parish acts of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Canada, an achievement that will greatly facilitate the work of researchers interested in the social history of the period.⁶ Taken together, the baptismal, marriage, and death acts constitute the richest source for the detection of lay schoolmasters because they often contain occupational information on the principals and witnesses. For example, we can assert with certainty that Julien Beaussault was a schoolmaster in Boucherville in 1689 since he is identified as an *instituteur* in two death acts and one marriage act of that year.⁷ Similarly, Charles Corvaisier was a teacher in Ste-Anne-de-la-Pérade in 1738, for in three marriages at which he was a witness, the register lists him as a "*maître d'école*."⁸

Of records maintained by civil authorities in New France, notarial acts head the list by reason of their number and variety, as evidenced by a thirty-two-volume inventory.⁹ Notaries were popular and useful persons in the colony. Every parish seemed to have one or more such individuals whose job it was to draw up contracts of every description. Notaries prepared, among other documents, marriage contracts, bills of sale, inventories, wills, and apprenticeship agreements. The bulk of notarial acts is housed in the Montreal and Quebec City branches of the Archives nationales du Québec. Occasionally, the names of schoolmasters appear in notarized documents. For example, in a sales agreement drawn up by the Montreal notary Raimbault in 1731, one of the parties, Jean Guillon, is described as a "*marchand et maître d'école à Ville-Marie*."¹⁰ Again, thanks to two *greffes* of the notary Dionne, operating in the lower St. Lawrence, we learn that Henri Legrand was a *maître d'école* in Kamouraska in 1750 and Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière in 1756.¹¹

Other civil records from which the existence of lay teachers may be discovered are censuses, intendants' ordinances, government correspondence, and judicial rulings. The principal censuses of New France were those of 1666, 1667, and 1681. From that of 1666 we learn that François Dumoussard, aged twenty-three, was a schoolmaster in Quebec.¹² It should also be noted that individual towns and parishes sometimes undertook their own population counts. In the census of Quebec households for 1744, Charles-Guillaume Valens is listed as a twenty-nine-year-old schoolmaster, married but with no children.¹³ An ordinance issued by the intendant Dupuy on October 16, 1727 authorizes Raymond Bertrand Junceria, a native of France, to serve as boys' teacher in Charlesbourg.¹⁴ A piece of correspondence reveals that the longtime notary of Trois-Rivières, Séverin Ameau, doubled as schoolmaster. In a letter to Intendant Champigny in 1687, Ameau speaks of himself in the third person, saying that

for 35 years now [he] has continuously held the office of court clerk in the jurisdiction of Trois-Rivières. And in addition [he] has always exerted himself to render service to the population of the aforementioned place, either in teaching the children or in participating in the singing at divine service in the church.¹⁵

Judicial records also shed light on the existence of schoolmasters. In a ruling by the Superior Council of New France in 1736, the highest court in the colony charged Charlotte Laroche with contempt of court, identifying her as the "wife of the named Couet, schoolmaster."¹⁶ Similarly, René Remy is known to have been a schoolmaster in Trois-Rivières in 1666, for in that year he initiated a legal action against Marguerite Hayet for the recovery of three *livres* owed to him for the *escholage* (schooling) of her son.¹⁷

Number and Type of Schoolmasters

As Table 1 indicates, some fifty-seven lay schoolmasters have been identified in New France, or more properly, Canada, since our survey is limited to the towns and parishes of the governments of Quebec, Montreal, and Trois-Rivières. Except for a small number of cases, which are cited in the footnotes at the end of Table 3, the listed schoolmasters have been confirmed in their status in official records. Since it is likely that the names of some schoolmasters are missing, either because they have escaped our attention or because they do not appear in the official records, the list is not advanced here as a complete one.

A glance at Table 3 reveals that lay schoolmasters were spread across the colony, operating in the towns as well as in the countryside. On balance, however, they were more numerous in Quebec and its surrounding parishes, which probably reflects the region's larger population as compared to that of Montreal and Trois-Rivières.

As a group, lay schoolmasters were an independent lot, little affected, it appears, by attempts to subject them to clerical control.¹⁸ In that respect, they deserve the title of free-lancers, for like artisans and craftsmen in the colony they were generally self-employed and able to negotiate their own arrangements. Some of them performed their pedagogical tasks in a specific location, whether town, parish, or seigneurie; others, in the manner of the peripatetic Greeks of antiquity, travelled from place to place, peddling their educational wares for a fee. Thus their classroom was neither permanent nor physical; where they were, so was the school. It is reported that the footloose schoolmaster François Labernade carried an *écritoire* or writing desk in his wanderings.¹⁹

Some schoolmasters performed as private tutors engaged by families to instruct their children in basic letters, usually for a fixed period of time. It is worth recalling that tutorial instruction had been for centuries the preferred mode of learning among the better classes of society. And although it began to lose ground to the class method of instruction around the seventeenth century, it continued to enjoy a solid reputation well into the next century. Let us not forget

that in 1762 Rousseau sketched his educational treatise *Emile* around the principle of tutorial instruction.

Thanks to the notarial and parish records of New France, we know the names of several tutors and something of the conditions of their employment. In a notarized contract of 1674, Nicolas Métru agreed to teach reading and writing to the best of his ability to the children of the Jacques Charrier family of Ile d'Orléans. For its part, the family promised to provide Métru with room, board, and heat, to treat him in a humane manner, and to pay him the sum of eighty *livres* for a year's employment.²⁰ In a contract of 1681, Pierre Bertrand, who reportedly had attended the University of Paris, agreed to serve as tutor to the family of the military figure Joseph-François Hertel of Trois-Rivières, for a period of a year. Bertrand promised to join the Hertel household upon completion of his teaching duties with the family of Antoine Troutier Des Ruisseaux of the same town.²¹ Further, in a baptismal act of 1703 at which he was a witness, François Pessureau is listed as *précepteur* (tutor) to the children of Governor Vaudreuil of Montreal.²²

Other lay schoolmasters were in the employ of religious authorities. In 1686 Jean-Baptiste Pottier was engaged by the church council of Lachine to serve jointly as schoolmaster, parish secretary, and precentor for the salary of fifty *livres* a year. However, before the year was out he found other employment. Raymond Bertrand Junceria, about whom we spoke earlier, was told by the intendant that he was answerable to the parish priest of Charlesbourg.²³ In addition, several laymen taught the navigational arts at the Jesuit college in the late seventeenth century. Martin Boutet, a married man with a family, was a longtime teacher of mathematics and later navigation at the school until his death in 1683. He was succeeded as navigation teacher, in turn, by the hydrographers Jean-Baptiste Franquelin, Louis Jolliet, and Jean Deshayes, all of whom were on state salaries.

The only example of lay schoolmasters banding together as a group was the teaching community known as the Rouillé Brothers. Founded in 1686 by six unmarried Montrealers headed by Mathurin Rouillé,²⁴ the community devoted itself to the education of the town's boys, "to instruct the children, to show them how to read and write and to raise them in piety, and other good principles."²⁵ A Sulpician donation of 1,000 *livres* and a two-room building permitted the teaching community to begin its work. However, seven years later the Rouillé Brothers enterprise folded, overcome by mounting debts and the loss of two members: Nicolas Barbier was killed in battle against the English at La Prairie, and Jacques Thoumelet had taken a wife.

Lay Schoolmistresses

A search of the documentary sources uncovered only one official lay schoolmistress for the period. In the death act of Marie Lecourt of Montreal, dated April 22, 1682, one of the witnesses, Barbe Barbier, is listed as *maîtresse d'école*.²⁶ In the town census of the preceding year, Barbier is described as the

twenty-seven-year-old wife of Toussaint Baudry and the mother of five children. It seems improbable that a person of her station would be a teacher. Although it cannot be proved, it is possible that her husband died around that time, forcing Barbier to turn to teaching to support herself and her children. And while nothing is known of her teaching career, it appears that she was educationally connected. Her brother Nicolas was a teacher with the Rouillé Brothers until his death in battle. Moreover, Mathurin Rouillé was in attendance at her wedding in Montreal in 1670.

The absence of the names of lay schoolmistresses in the official records of the period should not surprise us, for the times allowed lay females few professional outlets. Females in the colony traditionally remained in the domestic sphere: they were expected to marry young, raise a family, and run a household. Indeed, it was only in choosing the religious life that women were able to establish themselves professionally, as teachers, nurses, and social workers.

On the other hand, in the murky world of informal learning, there are instances when lay women came to the educational rescue in areas where no teacher or school was present. In a seventeenth-century seigneurie near Trois-Rivières, the wife of the local notary and another woman taught local children to form their letters, much as, in the dame schools of England, housewives and widows instructed neighbourhood youngsters in their kitchens for a nominal fee.²⁷ Moreover, before the Notre Dame Sisters opened a school in lower-town Quebec in 1691, a married woman used to make the rounds from house to house, teaching reading and writing to the young girls of the area.²⁸

Occupational Profile

Although the data are incomplete, they are sufficient to allow for the advancement of several tentative conclusions as to the occupational characteristics of New France's lay schoolmasters. The "average" lay teacher was in his twenties, a native of France, and not a career schoolmaster. By juxtaposing a schoolmaster's date of birth and his teaching year or years, it is possible to determine his teaching age. Of twenty-five individuals for whom we have data, one was in his teens, twelve in their twenties, five in their thirties, five in their forties, two in their fifties, and one in his sixties. The age spread may be explained in part by the fact that those who took up teaching arrived in Canada at different stages of their adult lives.

According to Table 1, twenty-six of the thirty-one teachers for whom we have data were natives of France. In this respect lay and religious teachers resembled one another. Most were immigrants, having been born, reared, and educated in the mother country. But in another respect lay and religious teachers differed sharply. Lay schoolmasters came to the New World not as teachers but as persons in other occupations. As far as can be determined, the only layman to arrive in Canada with pedagogical credentials was Jean Deshayes, who had been an impoverished mathematics teacher in France. Even so, his purpose in coming to New France was not to instruct colonial boys but rather to undertake a

hydrographic survey of the St. Lawrence River. Table 2 shows that a fair number of teachers came to Canada as soldiers. The decision of a lay person to become a schoolmaster was apparently one taken on Canadian soil.

Table 1 reveals that of those schoolmasters for whom we have marital information, only one, Martin Boutet, was married in France. That a goodly number of them found brides in Canada should not surprise us. The population of New France was especially attracted to the marriage state—almost 95% of adults, say historical demographers.²⁹ Indeed, even among widows and widowers there was a marked tendency to remarry. On the other hand, there is evidence that lay teachers resisted this tradition, not marrying with the same frequency as other colonists. Of thirty-four teachers for whom information is available, ten were unmarried, some of whom later entered religious life or attached themselves to religious orders.³⁰

The notion of career lay schoolmaster in New France verges on the contradictory. Save for a few individuals—Martin Boutet, François Labernade and possibly Jean-François Janelle—rare was the person who held the title of *maître d'école* for any length of time. Lay teaching was marked by instability and impermanence as individuals slipped in and out of teaching, occupying other roles before, during, and after their pedagogical stints. In general, lay persons entered teaching earlier rather than later in life, only to move on to other pursuits, giving the impression that instructing children was neither socially nor economically rewarding. Jean-Baptiste Pottier's salary of fifty *livres* from the church council of Lachine prompted him to seek more remunerative employment during his first year of teaching. Before the year was out he had abandoned teaching and other parish duties for the notary, preparing his first contract on December 20, 1686. There is no evidence that he ever returned to teaching.

Thus for many lay schoolmasters, teaching became a stepping stone to other employments. Given their knowledge of letters, it follows that some of them were drawn to the legal occupations, becoming notaries, bailiffs, and clerks of court. A glance at Table 3 shows that no fewer than eight notaries were former schoolmasters, perhaps because the transition from teacher to legal officer presented no serious obstacles. As with lay teachers, notaries were "amateurs" in the sense that they did not come to the position with any specialized knowledge. In short, notaries were appointed by the intendant of New France from among applicants who were literate and of good moral character.³¹

The fact that many lay schoolmasters held second jobs suggests that teaching was a part-time activity and not particularly remunerative. As was noted earlier, the seventeenth-century notary Séverin Ameau was also schoolmaster and precentor, though it appears that his pedagogical work was done in his spare time. We also saw that in addition to teaching children, Jean-Baptiste Pottier was precentor and parish secretary in Lachine. Similarly, Nicolas Rousselot was both teacher and precentor in Pointe-aux-Trembles in 1684, as was Pierre-Georges Guelte in Repentigny in 1767. Etienne Marandeu was teacher and bailiff in Quebec in 1688, and Jean Guillon, as mentioned earlier, was both schoolmaster

and merchant in Montreal in 1731. Apparently teaching and soldiering could be simultaneously managed, for in the death act of his son on June 23, 1748, Charles Valin of Quebec is listed as *soldat et maître d'école*.³²

The practice of holding down several jobs at the same time was not unique to lay schoolmasters. New France was a frontier society and as such favoured the jack-of-all trades, the person who could perform a variety of skills. Remember also that social class conventions were less well defined in Canada than in the mother country, with the result that individuals changed roles more frequently and with greater social impunity. It also appears that moonlighting or holding down several jobs was for many in the colony an economic necessity. Thus surgeons were also barbers and wigmakers; notaries were clerks of court, bailiffs, and prisonkeepers.

Pedagogical Behaviour

It is one thing to establish the identity of lay schoolmasters in early Canada; it is quite another to sketch their pedagogical activities. The documentary evidence of the period allows no such luxury. Still, some things are known. Lay schoolmasters did what most other teachers of the colony did: they taught children their letters. We saw earlier that the tutor Nicholas Métru was engaged to teach reading and writing to the Charrier children of Ile d'Orléans. Similarly, in their act of foundation the Rouillé Brothers promised to instruct Montreal boys in reading, writing, and piety. On the other hand, we are on shakier ground with respect to how children were taught. Being without formal training, lay schoolmasters probably taught children as they themselves had been taught, employing the techniques of drill, rote learning, and punishment. Moreover, it appears that lay teachers, save for those engaged by religious authorities, ignored the clerical ban on coeducation and mixed teaching. Tutors, in particular, routinely taught boys and girls. Before taking up his teaching duties with the Hertel family of Trois-Rivières in 1681, Pierre Bertrand had instructed the daughter of M. Trottier Des Ruisseaux.³³

Despite their title, it appears that most lay schoolmasters did not keep schools. Except for the Rouillé Brothers who ran a school in Montreal in the late seventeenth century and a handful of teachers like Martin Boutet who taught in a school run by clerical authorities, the evidence suggests that lay teachers carried on their pedagogical duties in less than traditional settings. Most lay teaching was family or home-based, pupils going to the schoolmaster's house or the schoolmaster going to the pupils' homes. The teaching arrangements of Jean-Baptiste Franquelin, Jean-Baptiste Roucout, and Nicolas Métru were probably representative. The cartographer Franquelin taught students the navigational arts in his Quebec apartment. Finding that Detroit was without a school when he arrived there in 1760, Roucout turned his home into a makeshift school. For the tutor Métru and others like him, the problem of a classroom did not arise: they moved in with a family.

Conclusion

The main purpose of this article has been to establish the identity of lay schoolmasters in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Canada. Through an examination of the civil and religious records of the day, fifty-seven teachers have been identified by name. Their actual number is probably higher since it stands to reason that some schoolmasters are unaccounted for in the official records. Although it is difficult to measure the educational contribution of lay teachers, it is believed to have been slight. Two reasons underlie this assessment. First, since the educational work of lay schoolmasters was directed less at groups of children than at individual children, the number of youngsters touched by their instruction was limited. Second, unlike their religious counterparts, few lay schoolmasters made a career of teaching. For most, teaching was a temporary or part-time activity which subsequently gave way to more lucrative employment. Still, while their overall influence on learning was marginal, lay teachers helped to reduce ignorance in the colony. Their impact was probably greater in the country than in the towns, if only because religious authorities concentrated their educational attention on the urban centres. Finally, the very existence of a sizeable group of teachers other than those attached to the church demonstrates that learning in early Canada was not exclusively a clerical enterprise.

Table 1. Schoolmasters in New France

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth</u>		<u>Marriage</u>		<u>Death</u>	
	<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>
Ameau, Séverin	1620	Paris	1662	Trois-Rivières	1715	Trois-Rivières
Archambaut, Jean	?		?		?	
Barbier, Nicolas	1658	Montreal	unmarried		1691	Laprairie
Basset, Benoît	1662	Montreal	?		1737	?
Bau dit Lalouette, Jean	?	France	1678	Boucherville	?	
Beaussault or Bausault, Julien	?		?		?	
Bertrand, Pierre	?	France	?		?	
Boutet, Martin	c. 1616	Paris	1636	France	c. 1683	Quebec
Boy, Michel-Philibert	?		unmarried		?	
Cenus, Pierre	?		?		?	
ChAMPLAIN, Urbain	?		?		?	
Coron, Jean	?		?		?	
Couet or Couhet or Gaupet, Charles	1693	Martinique	1725	Quebec	1754	Quebec
Corvaisier or Corvoisier, Charles c.	1713	France	1755	Charlesbourg	?	
de Joannes, Charles-François	?		?		?	

Table 1. (continued) Schoolmasters in New France

Name	Birth		Marriage		Death	
	Date	Place	Date	Place	Date	Place
Demontigny, Phillipe	?		?		?	
Desgraviers, Pierre-Colin	1727	Rennes	1761	Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière	?	
Deshayes, Jean	?	France	unmarried		1706	Quebec
Destrade or Destrades, Jacques	?		?		?	
Dumoussard, François	1643	France	?		?	
Franquelin, Jean-Baptiste	c. 1651	France	1683	Quebec	?	
Gaulin or Golin, Pierre	1663	Château-Richer	unmarried		1687	Montreal
Guelte, Pierre-Georges	1722	?	1751	Repentigny	?	
Guillemain, Etienne	?		unmarried		?	
Guillon, Jean	?	France	1729	Montreal	?	
Guodot or Guodon, Paul	?		?		?	
Janelle or Janel, François	1707	Paris	1730	Baie-du-Febvre	1780	Canada
Jolliet, Louis	1645	Quebec	1675	Quebec	1700	New France

Table 1. (continued) Schoolmasters in New France

Name	Birth		Marriage		Death	
	Date	Place	Date	Place	Date	Place
Junceria, Raymond Bertrand	?	France	?		?	
Labernade or Laprairie, François	1649	?	?		?	
Le Chaste, Mathieu	?		?		?	
Legrand, Henri	1693	Paris	?		1759	St-Pierre-du-Sud
Lesage, Jean Bernardin	1660	?	1686	Neuville	?	
Maubisson, Jacques Lucas	?		?		?	
Marandeau, Etienne	1647	France	1671	Quebec	1714	Quebec
Maugue, Claude	1646	France	1679	Montreal	1696	Montreal
Ménage, Michel	?		?		?	
Ménard or Mesnard, Gilles	1638	France	unmarried		1690	Quebec
Métru, Nicolas	1651	France	?		1700	Lauzon
Nadeau or Nadaud, Olivier-François	?		1742	Yamaska	?	
Pegot, Gabriel	?		?		?	
Pessureau, François	?		?		?	

Table 1. (continued) Schoolmasters in New France

Name	Birth		Marriage		Death	
	Date	Place	Date	Place	Date	Place
Pollet, Arnould-Balthazar	1702	Paris	1729	Les Grondines	1756	Batiscan
Porcheron, Charles	1735	France	1763	Quebec	1792	Canada
Pottier, Jean-Baptiste	?		1688	Montreal	1711	Trois-Rivières
Remy, René	1641	France	1667	Trois-Rivières	?	
Richard, Jacques-Barthélemy	?	France	1752	St-Vallier	?	
Rigault, Pierre-François	?	France	1744	Quebec	1778	Maskinongé
Roger, Charles	?		?		1715	Château-Richer
Rondeau, Jacques	?		?		?	
Rouillé or Rouillier, Mathurin	?	France	unmarried		1695	Montreal
Rousselot, Nicolas	1638	France	1673	Quebec	1708	Quebec
Roy, Jean	?		unmarried		1741	St-Antoine-de-Tilly
Tanqueret or Tancret, Jean-Pierre	1719	France	1748	Quebec	c. 1763	Quebec
Tétro or Tètreau, Jean-Baptiste	1683	Montreal	1710	Boucherville	c. 1730	Montreal

Table I. (continued) Schoolmasters in New France

<u>Name</u>	<u>Birth</u>	<u>Marriage</u>	<u>Death</u>
	<u>Date</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Date</u>
	<u>Place</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Place</u>
Thoumelet or Toumelet, Jacques	?	1692	c. 1711
Valin or Valens, Charles	1715	1744	?
		Montreal	Montreal
		Quebec	

Table 2. Lay Schoolmasters born in France and Occupation at Time of Arrival in New France

<u>Name</u>	<u>Year of Arrival</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
Ameau, Séverin	c. 1648	soldier
Couet, Charles	?	soldier
Desgraviers, Pierre-Colin	1752	soldier
Deshayes, Jean	1685	hydrographer
Dumoussard, François	1665	drummer in Carignan regiment
Franquelin, Jean-Baptiste	?	hydrographer
Guillon, Jean	?	soldier
Ménard, Gilles	1665	soldier in Carignan regiment
Remy, René	c. 1663	soldier
Rigault, Pierre-François	1726	soldier
Rousselot, Nicolas	?	soldier
Tanqueret, Jean-Pierre	c. 1748	soldier
Valin, Charles	?	soldier

Table 3. Occupational Profile of Lay Schoolmasters

<u>Name</u>	<u>Teaching Place and Date</u>	<u>Other Occupations</u>
Ameau, Séverin	Trois-Rivières, 1652-1701	soldier, 1648-49; notary, 1652-1701
Archambaut, Jean	Quebec, 1695	
Barbier, Nicolas	Montreal, 1686-91	
Basset, Benoist	Montreal, 1686	
Bau dit Lalouette, J.-B.	Boucherville, 1695-96	
Beaussault, Julien	Boucherville, 1689	
Bertrand, Pierre	Trois-Rivières, 1681	
Boutet, Martin	Quebec, 1645-83?	
Boy, Michel-Philibert	Montreal, 1686-93	parish priest, 1704
Canus, Pierre	L'Ange Gardien, 1671	
Champlain, Urbain	Quebec (Jesuit college), 1666	
Coron, Jean	Montreal, 1690-93	
Couet, Charles	Quebec, 1736, 1743-44	soldier, 1725; wigmaker, 1745
Corvoisier, Charles	Ste-Anne-de-la-Pérade, 1738	
de Joannes, Charles-François	Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière, 1757	
Demontigny, Philippe	Champlain, 1699	
Desgraviers, Pierre-Colin	Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière, 1753	soldier, 1752

Table 3. (continued) Occupational Profile of Lay Schoolmasters

<u>Name</u>	<u>Teaching Place and Date</u>	<u>Other Occupations</u>
Deshayes, Jean	Quebec (Jesuit college), 1702-5	hydrographer, 1685-
Destrade, Jacques	St-Antoine-de-Tilly, 1758	
Dumoussard, François	Quebec, 1666	soldier, 1665
Franquelin, Jean-Baptiste	Quebec (Jesuit college), 1686-92	hydrographer, 1674-92
Gaulin, Pierre	Montreal, 1686-87	
Gueite, Pierre-Georges ¹	Repentigny, 1767	precentor, 1767; notary, 1751
Guillemin, Etienne ²	Beauport, 1750	soldier, 1734
Guillon, Jean	Montreal, 1731-33	merchant, 1731-62
Guodor, Paul ³	La Durantaye, 1747	
Janelle, Jean-François ⁴	Baie-du-Febvre, 1730; Trois-Rivières, 1736	
Jolliet, Louis	Quebec (Jesuit college), 1697	explorer, cartographer and organist, 1668-1700
Junceria, Raymond Bertrand	Charlesbourg, 1727	
Labernade, François	Ile d'Orléans, 1673; Champlain, 1682; Montreal, 1683; Pointe-aux- Trembles, 1684; Pointe-aux- Trembles, 1688	bailliff, 1666-67
Le Chaste, Mathieu	Kamouraska, 1757	

Table 3. (continued) Occupational Profile of Lay Schoolmasters

<u>Name</u>	<u>Teaching Place and Date</u>	<u>Other Occupations</u>
Legrand, Henri	Kamouraska, 1750; Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière, 1756	
Lesage, Jean-Bernardin ⁵	Ste-Anne-de-Beaupré, 1721?	
Maubuisson, Jacques Lucas	Québec, 1754	
Marandeu, Etienne	Québec, 1688	bailliff, 1681-98
Naugue, Claude	Beauport, 1673	notary, 1673-96; clerk of court, 1677-84
Ménage, Michel	Beaumont, 1729	
Ménard, Gilles	Québec (Jesuit college), 1666-86	soldier, 1665-67; servant, 1667; frère <u>donné</u> of Jesuits 1681-90
Métru, Nicolas	Ile d'Orléans, 1674	bailliff, 1677, 1678 and 1689; seigneurial notary, 1694
Nadeau, Olivier-François ⁶	Beaumont, 1728; Yamaska, 1745	bailliff, 1749-60
Pegot, Gabriel	Pointe-aux-Trembles, 1755	
Pessureau, François	Montreal, 1703	
Pollet, Arnould-Balthazar	Les Grondines 1728	notary, 1730-1753
Porcheron, Charles	Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière, 1753	surgeon, 1761, 1763; merchant, 1764
Pottier, Jean-Baptiste	Lachine, 1686	notary, 1686-1711; bailliff and clerk of court, 1701-11

Table 3. (continued) Occupational Profile of Lay Schoolmasters

<u>Name</u>	<u>Teaching Place and Date</u>	<u>Other Occupations</u>
Remy, René	Trois-Rivières, 1666	soldier, 1663; notary, 1669; judge, 1671 and 1681
Richard, Jacques Barthélemy	Trois-Pistoles, 1748-50	clerk, 1748-50; notary, 1751-69; bailiff, 1755
Rigault, Pierre-François	Trois-Rivières, 1736-39; Pointe-aux-Trembles, 1742	bailiff, 1743-; notary, 1749-60?
Roger, Charles	Château-Richer, 1686-91?	
Rondeau, Jacques	Château-Richer, 1691	merchant, 1700
Rouillé, Mathurin	Montreal, 1686-93	servant with Sulpicians, 1666; associate of Charon Brothers, 1695
Rousselet, Nicolas	Pointe-aux-Trembles, 1684	precentor, 1684; commandant, 1681
Roy, Jean	St-Sulpice, 1732; St-Antoine- de-Tilly, 1741	
Tanqueret, Jean-Pierre	Quebec, 1749 and 1751	soldier, 1748-54; king's writer, 1763
Tétre, Jean-Baptiste	Boucherville, 1703-11	notary, 1712 and 1727-30
Thoumelet, Jacques	Montreal, 1686-92	labourer, 1696-1700
Valin, Charles	Quebec, 1744, 1748 and 1750	soldier, 1748

¹Cyprien Tanguay, Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes (Montréal: Eusébe Sénécal et Fils, 1887), 4: 392.

²Ibid., 417

Table 3. (continued) Occupational Profile of Lay Schoolmasters

³mentioned in Amédée Gosselin, L'instruction au Canada sous le régime français (Québec: Laflamme, Proulx, 1911).

⁴One author boldly claims that Janelle was a teacher during his entire life in Canada, that is to say, between 1729 and 1780, and that he taught children of both sexes. See Joseph-Emile Janelle, La Famille Janelle (Drummondville, 1928).

⁵mentioned in Gosselin, L'instruction au Canada.

⁶Like other schoolmasters, Nadeau also did some private teaching. In a contract notarized by Louis Pillard, dated June 14, 1762, Nadeau agreed to instruct the Lauzière children of St-François-du-Lac.

NOTES

- * A previous version of this paper was presented at the biennial conference of the Canadian History of Education Association, October 1988.
1. Amédée Gosselin, *L'instruction au Canada sous le régime français* (Québec: Laflamme, Proulx, 1911), 475-77.
 2. Historians to this day mistakenly claim that the Recollets, a Franciscan order, were active in education in New France. See Roger Magnuson, "Two Myths in New France Education," *McGill Journal of Education* 20 (Fall 1985): 225-38.
 3. The two Sulpician schoolmasters were Jean Girard and Jean-Baptiste Curatteau. Girard had been a teacher at the Montreal school since his arrival in the colony in 1724. Curatteau came to Canada from Paris in 1754 and appears to have succeeded Jacques Talbot who died in 1756. See Henri Gauthier, *Sulpitiana* (Montréal: n.p., 1926). It is likely that the number of teachers at the Jesuit College in 1759 was the same as in 1756, when we know there were six. See Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland: Burrows, 1901), 70: 81-85.
 4. Marcel Trudel, *L'église canadienne sous le régime militaire 1759-1764* (Québec: Les Presses Universitaires Laval, 1956), 2: 222.
 5. In the parish acts of the 1720s, individual members of the Charon Brothers are frequently listed as *frère et maître d'école*.
 6. Hubert Charbonneau and Jacques Légaré, *Répertoire des actes de baptême mariage sépulture et des recensements du Québec ancien*, 40 vols. (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1980-87).
 7. *Ibid.*, vol. 5.
 8. *Ibid.*, vol. 23.
 9. Pierre-Georges Roy and Antoine Roy, *Inventaire des greffes des notaires du régime français*, 27 vols. (Québec: n.p., 1943-76); vols. 28-32 were prepared at the University of Quebec at Trois-Rivières.
 10. Archives nationales du Québec (hereafter cited as ANQ), *greffe* of J.C. Raimbault, 4 Sept. 1731.
 11. ANQ, *greffes* of Joseph Dionne, 3 Mar. 1750 and 16 Oct. 1756.
 12. Recensement du Canada, 1666.
 13. Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes*, vol. 18.
 14. ANQ, Ordonnances des Intendants, cahier 12B, folio 17.
 15. Cited in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 2: 16-17.
 16. Pierre-Georges Roy, *Inventaire des jugements et délibérations du Conseil supérieur de la Nouvelle-France de 1717 à 1760* (Beauceville: n.p., 1933), 2: 153.
 17. Pierre-Georges Roy, *Inventaire d'une collection de pièces judiciaires, notariales, etc...* (Beauceville: n.p., 1917), 1: 123.
 18. In 1727 Intendant Dupuy issued an ordinance prohibiting anyone from teaching who did not have written permission from the bishop of New France. There is no evidence that this or similar regulations were respected by lay schoolmasters.
 19. Raymond Douville, "L'instruction primaire dans la région trifluvienne au début de la colonie," *Les Cahiers des Dix* 34 (1969): 52.
 20. ANQ, *greffe* of Gilles Rageot, 18 Apr. 1674.
 21. ANQ, *greffe* of Séverin Ameau, 4 Nov. 1681.
 22. Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes*, vol. 13.

23. Pierre-Georges Roy, *Inventaire des ordonnances des intendants de la Nouvelle-France* (Beauceville: n.p., 1919) 2: 22.
24. The other five members were Nicolas Barbier, Michel-Philibert Boy, Jean Coron, Pierre Gaulin and Jacques Thoumelet.
25. Archives du Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice de Montréal, Dossier I, Section II, écoles primaires, 1657-1921.
26. Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes*, vol. 5.
27. Raymond Douville, *Les premiers seigneurs et colons de Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pérade 1667-1681* (Trois-Rivières: n.p., 1946), 92.
28. Archives de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Montréal, Recueil-Documents 1, 1659-1698.
29. Lorraine Gadoury, Yves Landry, and Hubert Charbonneau, "Démographie différentielle en Nouvelle-France: villes et campagnes," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 38 (hiver 1985): 366.
30. When the Rouillé Brothers folded in 1693, Mathurin Rouillé became an associate of the Charon Brothers and Philibert Boy returned to France, only to come back to Canada as a priest in 1700, later serving as *curé* in Batiscan. When Martin Boutet's wife died in 1664 he did not remarry, becoming in the 1670s a *frère donné* of the Jesuits.
31. André Vachon, *Histoire du notariat canadien 1621-1960* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1962).
32. Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes*, vol. 18.
33. ANQ, *greffe* of Séverin Ameau, 4 Nov. 1681.