

## **Philanthropy and Propaganda: The Bust of George III in Montréal**

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### Résumé de l'article

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Cet article explique pourquoi Hanway, un homme qui n'aurait jamais visité le Canada, ni aucune autre colonie britannique, ressentait le besoin de souligner la générosité britannique en érigeant un monument au roi. Cette étude examine, en outre, les relations entre Hanway et le groupe de marchands anglais établis à Montréal et ennemis jurés du lieutenant-général, James Murray. Reste à savoir si le buste fut envoyé à Montréal pour l'unique bénéfice des Canadiens comme Hanway le laissait entendre ou bien si la sculpture ne devait pas plutôt servir à rassurer les marchands de Montréal quant à leurs droits sous le lieutenant-gouverneur?

# Philanthropy and Propaganda: The Bust of George III in Montréal

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## Résumé

En 1765, deux ans seulement après l'instauration du régime civil britannique, un incendie rasait presque entièrement le quartier des affaires ainsi qu'une grande partie de la ville de Montréal. Quand on apprit la nouvelle à Londres, un certain Jonas Hanway, commerçant et philanthrope, organisa une souscription pour venir en aide à la ville sinistrée. Il envoya à Montréal deux voitures de pompiers, la somme de 8,415 livres sterling et un buste de Georges III. Le buste sculpté par Joseph Wilton, "Sculptor to the King", fut érigé sur la Place d'Armes en souvenir de la générosité britannique.

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The use of the printed word and the popular press as vehicles for propaganda in eighteenth-century Britain has been well documented and cannot be disputed.<sup>1</sup> However, the press was not the only means by which people sought to disseminate a particular message to a particular public. The eighteenth century may have been the century of the press in Britain, but it was also the century of the marble monument.

Many individuals who used the press so effectively, such as William Pitt the Elder and Richard, Earl Temple, recognized the propagandistic properties specific to monumental sculpture and commissioned elaborate and expensive monuments. For example, the huge monument to Major-General James Wolfe in Westminster Abbey was called for by Pitt in the House of Commons the day after Wolfe's funeral. The path of the funeral cortège from Portsmouth to Greenwich had been lined with thousands of people mourning the loss of the hero who had made the ultimate sacrifice for his country.<sup>2</sup> By the time the monument was unveiled in 1773 it had cost the government £3000.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, Westminster Abbey became, in effect, the nation's Valhalla, nearly overflowing with monuments in commemoration of Britain's heroes. Similarly, Earl Temple, who was Lord Privy Seal during Pitt's administration and the financial source behind John Wilkes' *North Briton*, created another Valhalla in the Grecian Valley at Stowe. He erected monuments to Wolfe and to British victories achieved in the Seven Years' War.<sup>4</sup>

Many of these monuments were intended to elicit patriotic sensibilities in the viewer and foster a growing appreciation of the emerging British Empire. This paper focuses on a single monument which belongs to the type mentioned above but which was directed at a public that

was not necessarily as congenial as the British public. The monument is a bust of George III shipped to Montréal in 1766, just three years after Canada had come under British civil rule (Fig. 1). The bust was designed by Joseph Wilton who had won the competition for the Wolfe monument in Westminster Abbey seven years before and who had been appointed Sculptor to the King in 1761.<sup>5</sup> The slightly larger than life-size bust (now much mutilated, lacking its shoulders and original socle) is the earliest known representation in sculpture of George III as King, pre-dating such grand works as Wilton's lead equestrian statue of George III erected in New York in 1770.<sup>6</sup>

In May 1765, a fire had destroyed a quarter of the houses and most of the commercial district of the town of Montréal. When news of the fire reached London, the merchant-philanthropist Jonas Hanway initiated a subscription, and largely through his efforts, £8,415 sterling, two fire engines and the marble bust were shipped to Montréal in compensation.<sup>7</sup> The bust was placed on a pedestal and set within a protective kiosk directly across from the Roman Catholic Church of Notre Dame in the Place d'Armes. The inscription, presumably composed by Hanway, emphasized the King's benevolent nature:

Temporal and eternal happiness  
to the sovereign of the British Empire  
GEORGE III  
who relieved the distresses  
of the Inhabitants of his City  
of Montreal  
Occasioned by the Fire  
MDCCLXV<sup>8</sup>

The purpose of this paper is to examine why Hanway in particular felt he needed to impose British benevolence on

Figure 1. Joseph Wilton, *Bust of George III*, before 1766, marble, slightly larger than lifesize. Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne/McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montréal, 15885.

the *canadiens* and why he chose to use a monument to disseminate his message.

With the retention of Canada at the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, Britain became master of 65,000 French-speaking Roman Catholic *canadiens*. They were too numerous to be expelled, as the British had expelled the Acadians in the 1740s, and their continued presence in Canada posed a constant potential threat of rebellion. In an effort to dissipate this threat, George III's Royal Proclamation Act of October 1763 assured the *canadiens* the rights and liberty accorded to any British subject and officially sanctioned the *canadiens'* right to continue to practise freely the Roman Catholic faith.<sup>9</sup> Such ameliorative measures were presented as examples of the true, magnanimous nature of the British people.

The silver, the fire engines and the bust were shipped in a similar spirit. Hanway outlined his motives to the people of London in an unsigned pamphlet published in January 1766, entitled "Motives for a Subscription Towards the Relief of the Sufferers at Montreal in Canada."<sup>10</sup> He attempted to coerce Britons into making a subscription by appealing to their honour and sense of patriotism. He stressed that any compensation would be an example to the *canadiens* of Britain's ability to exercise social virtues when revenge would have been expected from a lesser nation, especially after the suffering endured by British prisoners during the war at the hands of the French.<sup>11</sup>

Hanway was a master at using the printed word as a form of propaganda; he wrote no less than seventy-four pamphlets, many of them illustrated and many numbering into the hundreds of pages.<sup>12</sup> His decision to ship a bust to Montréal marks his first (and only) use of monumental sculpture to disseminate a message.

Drawing on French precedent, in that monuments of French monarchs could be found in countless cities and towns, he may have thought that a monument of George III was an appropriate means of communicating with the *canadiens* in Montréal, despite the fact that there had never been a corresponding image of a French king in the town.



Perhaps more to the point, Hanway may have felt that a monument functioned as a more effective form of propaganda than the printed word, given the peculiarities of the audience he intended to address. A pamphlet would be of little use where the audience was almost exclusively French-speaking, and even if a pamphlet were to be translated, it would still have reached only a comparatively small audience since the majority of the people were illiterate.<sup>13</sup> Finally, the problems of printing and distribution would have been compounded since Montréal did not have a printing press.<sup>14</sup> A sculpture, then, might succeed where the pamphlet or, indeed, the printed image would probably fail. Situated outside the church in one of the most public spaces in the town, the bust was undeniably and unavoidably obtrusive. The significance of the Place d'Armes as a meeting place after Mass, where news and information were ex-

changed, was particularly strong given the lack of printed newspapers or pamphlets.

The fact that the monument of George III is a bust is rather unusual within the genre of outdoor public monuments; grand pedestrian or equestrian monuments are the norm. The bust became an *outdoor* monument presumably by default since the only public indoor space in Montréal was the Roman Catholic Church. A bust of the Protestant British King inside the church would have been unthinkable and tantamount to sacrilege for both the *canadiens* and the British. However, by placing the bust outside the church but in juxtaposition to it, an implied contrast was created between the benevolent and magnanimous British monarch—and, by extension, the British Empire—and the uncaring, tyrannical French Crown. To a certain extent, the British government played upon the *canadiens'* already existing sense of abandonment, for the *canadiens* had been traded by the French Crown for Guadeloupe: snow for sugar.<sup>15</sup> With the bust, George III was presented as a benevolent father who stood among his people, at least metaphorically, in stone, in contrast to Louis XV who remained a distant figure and who had held little regard for the well-being of his subjects. This image was accentuated by the location of the bust, for as the *canadiens* entered and left the Church they were constantly confronted by the sculpture of the man who, in allowing the *canadiens* to continue to practise Catholicism, had made the most magnanimous gesture conceivable on the part of a Protestant British monarch.

The question remains: why was Jonas Hanway so interested in the plight of the inhabitants of Montréal; why did he put the time and effort into publishing a pamphlet, soliciting funds and shipping a bust of the King? He had no prior specific interest in Montréal, nor would he ever visit Canada, or any other British colonies for that matter.<sup>16</sup> By assessing the bust and the pamphlet within the context of Hanway's philanthropic career, it becomes evident that Hanway was not motivated to help the *canadiens* solely out of pity. His interest in Montréal and its inhabitants was part of a much larger scheme: his unceasing, life-long campaign to support the new British Empire.

In accordance with his belief that an empire could only be sustained by a strong navy, Hanway founded the Marine Society in 1756 to take orphan boys and dispossessed men off the streets of London and train them as seamen. Backed by Pitt who needed an endless supply of seamen to fulfil his war policies, the Society was wildly successful; by 1762 over 10,000 men and boys had been outfitted.<sup>17</sup> Hanway also founded the Troop Society in 1759 and wrote numerous pamphlets on the need for the augmentation of troops and seamen to gain an Empire.<sup>18</sup> Pursuant to

Hanway's mercantile interests, he entered the colonial service at the beginning of the Seven Years' War and after the capture of Havana in 1762 he petitioned Sir George Pocock to become the island's colonial agent.<sup>19</sup>

Hanway saw Montréal and, by extension, all of Canada as a potential boon to British commerce. Although the population of the colony was much less than the million-strong population of the American colonies, he regarded the Canadian market as far more lucrative since Canada lacked the industrial infrastructure to produce manufactured goods. Laws imposed by the British government banning the production of manufactured goods in Canada ensured the colony's continued economic dependency on the mother country, while the raw materials imported from Canada further lined the pockets of British merchants.<sup>20</sup> The fire provided Hanway with an ideal opportunity to establish stronger trade connections in order to take advantage of the economic benefits which Canada could contribute to the Empire. Significantly, Hanway chose to ship the bust not to the town of Québec, the capital of the colony, but to Montréal which was the main mercantile centre. Whereas Québec served the merchants and traders who confined their activities to the Atlantic seaboard, Montréal was the hub of the western fur trade. Thus, locating the bust in Montréal also functioned, to a certain extent, as a symbolic demarcation of the vast expanse of the British Empire on the North American continent.

The pamphlet about the fire was aimed specifically at the merchants of the City of London; subscriptions were taken by a Committee of Trustees every Thursday at the New York Coffee House, the London focal point for people involved in the North American trade.<sup>21</sup> Hanway urged the merchants to put aside their prejudices and make a subscription, since the benefits would be mutual:

Nor ought it to be deemed any diminution of the most substantial virtue, on our part, whilst we pay a religious regard to the laws of our country, that we hope, both in our national and private capacities, to reap the advantages of commerce with these very persons whose misfortunes now claim a portion of our attention.<sup>22</sup>

In order to secure a sufficient amount of compensation for the rebuilding of Montréal, Hanway realized that he needed to separate the *canadiens* from the evil, war-mongering French in the minds of the British. In the pamphlet, he stressed that the *canadiens* had shown proof that they were different from the French: when faced with the option of moving to France at the end of the war, they had chosen to stay in Canada, having "felt the advantages [of British government] even under our military government."<sup>23</sup>

He neglected to mention that the main reason why the *canadiens* did not leave was because, for most, France was as foreign as any other country, and they were not willing to give up their possessions and leave their homes. Since the *canadiens* had shown their discernment, Hanway reasoned, it was now up to the British to rescue them: "it is the glory of the British subjects to promote universal happiness, and to succour the distressed in every form."<sup>24</sup> The rhetoric continued:

Scarce was the sword well-sheathed and the widow's tears dried up when this conflagration happened. These people had experienced the numerous calamities of war, under their former governors, who were grown desperate by repeated defeats: they had dreaded the same hard fate from us, but they were agreeably surprized by a different rule of conduct. The remains of their substance was now improving when this melancholy event [the fire] suddenly fell upon them.

Shall we not take a share in their distress? Shall not the various reasons which concern the situation of these Canadians, our new fellow-subjects, move our compassion?<sup>25</sup>

Hanway was not alone in taking this magnanimous line and appealing to the British sense of compassion. In 1761 Jonathan Tyers had hung a painting by Francis Hayman of *The Humanity of General Amherst* in the Rotunda at Vauxhall Gardens (Fig. 2 is a reproduction of the modello for the now lost painting). Amherst is depicted distributing food to the emaciated widows, children and elderly of Montréal following the surrender of Montréal to Amherst in September 1760. Hayman consciously emulated the ancient story of the Continece of Scipio Africanus which, according to Livy, exemplified righteousness triumphing over needless sacrifice.<sup>26</sup> British magnanimity was underscored by the inscription on a stone in the corner of the painting which read:

POWER EXERTED,  
CONQUEST OBTAINED,  
MERCY SHOWN  
MDCCLX

No reference was made to the fact that the plight of the *canadiens* under their French rulers had been exacerbated by the year-long British siege.<sup>27</sup> But while Hayman's painting was intended to elicit support for the continuation of the war in order to secure Canada for the British, Hanway used similar tactics five years later in an attempt to reactivate the colony's economy for the benefit of the mother country.

Despite his efforts, Hanway achieved only marginal success with the subscription. The funds amounted to only about ten per cent of the total losses incurred by the fire.<sup>28</sup> In contrast, after a fire destroyed much of Bridgetown, Barbados, in 1766, a subscription in the City of London achieved nearly double the amount raised for Montréal.<sup>29</sup> Although Hanway was involved in soliciting funds for the Barbadian victims, he did not write a pamphlet, nor was a bust of the King shipped to the island. Unlike the *canadiens*, the Barbadians were undeniably British subjects, and the success of the sugar trade was well proven. The merchants of London were presumably less wary of supporting what they knew was a viable and profitable market, while the Barbadians did not need to be convinced of the generous and benevolent nature of the British Empire.

Hanway's version of the Empire was grounded in "Christian mercantilism;"<sup>30</sup> he was mentally unable to separate church from state. He conceived of an Empire founded on mercantilism and having a totally Protestant population bent on a strong work ethic. He believed that it was "beyond dispute that every one preserved from beggary and restored to the exercise of a useful occupation, is an acquisition of riches and strength to a community."<sup>31</sup> In addition to founding the Marine and Troop Societies, Hanway combatted idleness by acting for a term as a governor of the Foundling Hospital which fostered orphan boys for careers as seamen and orphan girls as domestics. He also established Magdalen House to reform repentant prostitutes; he wrote prayer-books for the troops and seamen; he advocated solitary confinement and daily prayer for prisoners; and he strongly supported the establishment of Sunday School. His writings resound with Christian rhetoric, and he was as passionate about one pursuit as he was about another. For instance, his attack on the growing fashion for tea drinking among the labouring population—"An Essay on Tea, Considered as Pernicious to Health, Obstructing Industry, and Impoverishing the Nation" (1757)—was as passionate as his vehement opposition to the proposed Naturalization of Jews Act. The former encouraged idleness that would have disastrous consequences among the labouring classes while the latter would be calamitous since it represented foreign encroachment which could only lead to a weakening of the Protestant British Empire.<sup>32</sup>

Hanway's encouragement of British merchants to ignore blatantly the Roman Catholicism of the people of Montréal would thus seem not to fit into his concept of Empire. But so strong were his convictions that the Protestant faith was *the* faith for all liberated individuals, he was convinced it was only a matter of time before the *canadiens*

Figure 2. Francis Hayman, *The Humanity of General Amherst*, 1760, oil on canvas, 70 x 91.4 cm. The Beaverbrook Foundation, the Beaverbrook Art Gallery, Fredericton, New Brunswick.



would see the light. He characterized the *canadiens* as “vigilant,” “laborious,” “obedient,” “stout, comely and intrepid,”<sup>33</sup> people who had simply been misguided and forced into Catholicism by the evil popish church. Once they had been in contact with the British monarch, he contended, they would soon become aware of “what our protestantism inspires . . . [in the] exercise of social virtues” and would quickly convert.<sup>34</sup>

In line with official government sentiments, Hanway was also not content to see Montréal populated solely by *canadiens*.<sup>35</sup> The bust was not only a symbol of benevolence and magnanimity; it was also a constant reminder of the British presence in and control of Montréal. Its situation in the Place d’Armes, which had functioned as the rallying point where the militia were called to arms to defend Montréal from invading forces—namely the British—accentuated Britain’s control over the colony. No matter what provisions were made to Anglicize the inhabitants, they

would continue to retain something of their “Frenchness” and would remain different.<sup>36</sup>

One potential source of British settlers for Montréal were some of the thousands of men who were expected to flood the streets of London once they were retired from the navy and army at the end of the Seven Years’ War. Hanway, like many others, feared the prospect of such an inundation of idle men; estimates were placed as high as 200,000 men retiring from the services.<sup>37</sup> Hanway stated his concern in a number of his pamphlets and sought alternative occupations and homes for some of these men, including mercantile careers in North America.<sup>38</sup> Typically, Hanway’s concern was governed less by a compulsion to help the individuals than by the possibility of contributing to the Empire. If trade were to be firmly established, Montréal had the potential of becoming an ideal centre for retiring sailors and soldiers since it offered plenty of opportunities in the mercantile sector. The vexing problem

of finding hard-working Britons to settle in the colonies would also be solved. As it turned out, the expected flood did not occur. For example, of the 4,787 boys who had joined the Marine Society, only 295 were accounted for at the end of the war.<sup>39</sup> Montréal was not to become a retirement centre for British troops.

Hanway did not refer in the Montréal pamphlet to Montréal as a potential retirement centre for troops or seamen, nor did he mention the small group of British merchants who had already settled there. Consequently, he also did not state that the fire had started in a house belonging to one of these British settlers (hot ashes accidentally caught fire while a black servant was carrying them to a garret to make soap)<sup>40</sup> or that the commercial district that had been devastated was virtually controlled by the British merchants.<sup>41</sup> Many of these men had come with their families from the American colonies, and almost to a man they were held in fairly low regard by the merchants of London.<sup>42</sup> They had the reputation of being a rapacious group, having made quick fortunes by supplying the British troops and sailors during the war, and once that market had dried up, they had moved to Montréal to make further profits in the fur trade.<sup>43</sup> In order to elicit aid from the London merchants, Hanway chose to avoid mentioning the British merchants in his pamphlet and instead played upon the compassion of the merchants of London by harping on the injustices done to the *canadiens* by the tyrannical French King. Yet, there is significant evidence indicating that Hanway intended the bust of the British King to be as much for the British audience in Montréal as for the *canadien*. The inscription, after all, was in English.

The British in Montréal may have constituted a small group, numbering about 200 householders out of the 7,000 individuals in Montréal,<sup>44</sup> but they were extremely vocal, bordering on seditious. They were involved in an acrimonious feud with James Murray, the first civil governor of Canada. He made no attempt to hide his feelings when he described the merchants as "the most cruel, Ignorant, rapacious Fanatics, who ever existed."<sup>45</sup> Among other regulations, Murray had instituted trading restrictions and insisted that the inhabitants, including both the British and the *canadiens*, billet the troops of the standing army. The British merchants were furious, claiming such actions were disruptive to their trade and infringed on their liberty. Their anger was intensified when it became obvious that Murray, seeking to maintain cordial relations with the *seigneurs* who held influence over the *canadien* peasants, was intent on excluding the British from his government, inhibiting their chances of establishing a system of oligarchy. The British merchants screamed injustice, and under the leadership of

a merchant called Thomas Walker, they submitted a fierce petition to the King outlining their grievances and Murray's apparent injustices.<sup>46</sup> Walker was one of the more successful merchants in Montréal, and he owned a substantial stone house in the Rue Saint-Paul, one of the streets destroyed in the fire.<sup>47</sup>

The merchants appointed their own lawyer, Fowler Walker of Lincoln's Inn, to act as their agent to represent them in London.<sup>48</sup> Fowler Walker was a relation of Thomas Walker and an associate of Hanway; he was a co-founder of the Marine Society, and he had also served as a governor of the Foundling Hospital.<sup>49</sup> In March 1766, Fowler Walker submitted a fifty-page report to George III entitled "Considerations on the Present State of the Province of Quebec 1766."<sup>50</sup> The tone of this report is remarkably similar to Hanway's pamphlet in its paternalistic description of the *canadiens*, but while Hanway made only vague references to Murray's inadequate leadership in order not to detract from the tyrannical French theme,<sup>51</sup> Walker's report was a thoroughly damning indictment of Murray's inability to govern the colony.

Walker's report and the British merchants' petitions resulted in Murray's recall to London to answer their vociferous charges.<sup>52</sup> In his place Guy Carleton, who had the political backing and clout in Britain that Murray lacked, was appointed on 1 April 1766 as acting lieutenant-governor.<sup>53</sup> The bust of the King was onboard Carleton's ship.<sup>54</sup> Presumably, the British received the bust, along with Carleton, who sought to appease the British merchants from the beginning by arriving at the government seat at Québec only after first visiting Montréal,<sup>55</sup> as a symbol of hope and a reassurance of their rights and liberty. If Michel-Eugène-Gaspard-Alain Chartier de Lotbinière's comments on living with the British are anything to go by, the *canadiens* greeted the bust with a certain degree of resignation. In keeping with many of the other *seigneurs'* views on the British,<sup>56</sup> Chartier de Lotbinière wrote to his father:

Je suis destiné à vivre avec les Anglais, mon bien-être est sous leur domination, je dépends entièrement d'eux, il est donc de ma politique de m'accommoder aux circonstances.<sup>57</sup>

Years later, in 1800, Chartier de Lotbinière would commission a monument (now much mutilated) from John Flaxman in commemoration his wife, Marie-Josephte Godefroy de Tonnancour, for the Roman Catholic parish church of Saint-Michel, Vaudreuil, the seat of his *seigneuries*.<sup>58</sup>

If there had been no British settlers in Montréal, the bust of George III probably would have remained in the

Place d'Armes for longer than it did. On the eve of the institution of the Quebec Act, an act which guaranteed the *canadiens* a place in the governing of the colony and also assured them of their rights, property and possessions, the bust was painted black, a mitre was put on its head, a rosary of rotten potatoes was hung around its neck, and a new inscription was appended to the old: "Le pape du Canada ou le sot anglais."<sup>59</sup> The vandals were never caught, but contemporaries who recorded the event assumed that the bust was defaced by a particularly virulent faction of British merchants—perhaps led by Thomas Walker, who became a staunch republican<sup>60</sup>—who blamed both the British Crown and the *canadiens* for their predicament.<sup>61</sup> When the Americans occupied Montréal over the winter of 1775-76, the bust was torn from its pedestal and thrown into a well.<sup>62</sup> In July 1770, Americans also pulled down the equestrian monument of George III in New York.<sup>63</sup>

These images of the King had fallen victim to the inconsistencies in the ideology and the reality of empire. Hanway's ideal empire, like the British Empire, was inherently flawed. Theoretically, each British subject—at least those of European extraction—was to be accorded the same rights and liberties within the Empire. But problems arose when it actually came to institutionalizing these rights and liberties. In the case of Montréal, Hanway was unable to comprehend that assurances of liberty could not be offered to two very different groups of individuals, namely the *canadiens* and the British merchants, when one group was intent on using their liberty to subjugate the other. Similarly, assurances of liberty also could not be guaranteed when the colonies and, by extension, the people who lived in them, were always to remain dependent and subservient to the mother country. The eighteenth-century British Empire functioned much like a medieval country estate, where the condescending paternal squire saw the peasants not as individuals but as a collective mass that he controlled to his advantage. The American colonists were motivated to revolt by what they perceived to be infringements on their liberty for the sake of the mother country. Erected as embodiments of liberty and the Empire, the monuments of the King became, in their destruction, like the monuments to Lenin and the other Communist dictators, symbolic of the end of an era of oppression.

1 For the most recent relevant studies see John Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III* (Cambridge, 1976); Marie Peters, *Pitt and Popularity* (Oxford, 1980); and George Rudé, *Wilkes and Liberty* (London, 1983). This paper is based on the second chapter of my Ph.D. dissertation,

- "Eighteenth-century British Monuments and the Politics of Empire," recently completed at University College, London.
- 2 *Journals of the House of Commons* (1759), 643. Wolfe's funeral was described in the *Royal Magazine*, I (1759), 270.
- 3 John Fleming, "Robert Adam, Luc-François Brèton and the Townshend Monument in Westminster Abbey," *Connoisseur* (1762), 171n.7. The Wolfe monument, designed by Joseph Wilton, is illustrated in Margaret Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain 1530-1830* (Harmondsworth, 1964; revised by John Physick, 1988), 265.
- 4 An obelisk in memory of Wolfe was erected in the park at Stowe, and the Grecian Temple was dedicated as the Temple of Concord and Victory. The dedication was announced in the *Lloyd's Evening Post and British Chronicle*, 9-12 July 1762. Both the Wolfe monument in Westminster Abbey and Temple's work at Stowe are discussed in detail in the first chapter of my dissertation.
- 5 The authorship of the bust was not known until I ran across references to the bust amongst a group of eighteenth-century papers in the library of the Royal Academy, London. All of the papers in the collection, given to the Royal Academy by the estate of Sir Alexander Boyle, a descendant of Wilton, pertain to the career and various monuments by Joseph Wilton. Wilton's appointment as Sculptor to the King is also amongst the papers. The bust, now in the collection of the Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne/McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montréal, is briefly discussed and illustrated by John R. Porter and Jean Bélisle, *La Sculpture ancienne au Québec* (Montréal, 1986), 325; and by Donald Blake Webster, *Georgian Canada Conflict and Culture 1745-1820*, exhibition catalogue (Toronto, 1984), 113.
- 6 For the monument of George III in New York, see Arthur S. Marks, "The Statue of King George III in New York and the Iconology of Regicide," *The American Art Journal*, XIII (1981), 61-82; and Joan Coutu, "Eighteenth-century British Monuments and the Politics of Empire," Ph.D. diss., University College, London, 1993, 107-53.
- 7 John Pugh, *Remarkable Occurrences in the Life of Jonas Hanway Esquire* (London, 1787), 197.
- 8 The inscription, like its authorship, has also been lost since the eighteenth century. A transcript of the inscription is in the Wilton Papers in the Royal Academy, London.
- 9 For a wider discussion of the Royal Proclamation Act and its implications, see Pierre Tousignant, "The Integration of the Province of Quebec into the British Empire, 1763-1791, Part I: From the Royal Proclamation Act to the Quebec Act," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (hereafter *DCB*), IV, xxxii-xlix.
- 10 [Jonas Hanway], "Motives for a Subscription Towards the Relief of the Sufferers at Montreal in Canada" (London, 1766). Hanway's secretary and biographer, John Pugh, stated that Hanway wrote the anonymous pamphlet. Pugh, *Remarkable Occurrences*, 196-9. There is a copy of Hanway's pamphlet in the British Library, Add. MS 35915, fols. 3-17.



- 11 [Hanway], "Motives," 5-6. Here Hanway was playing upon an already existing groundswell of anti-Gallican sentiment that permeated all levels of society. For a wider discussion of this anti-Gallicanism, see Linda Colley, *Britons Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven, 1992), 85-100.
- 12 For a list of the titles of Hanway's writings, see the entry on him in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter *DNB*). The frontispiece and another engraving for the pamphlet "Motives for the Establishment of the Marine Society" (London, 1757) are illustrated in James Stephen Taylor, *Jonas Hanway Founder of the Marine Society* (London, 1985), pl. 12, 13. The frontispiece, engraved by Samuel Wale, shows Britannia enthroned receiving the poor boys and dispossessed men of London, while on the left the same boys and men admire their new clothes outside the offices of the Marine Society.
- 13 It is impossible to establish precisely the rate of illiteracy in Canada in 1766. The rate probably increased dramatically after the Conquest since many Catholic schools were closed. Claude Galarneau has estimated that by 1789 only 4,000 people out of a total population of 140,000 (mostly Canadians) were literate. Claude Galarneau, *La France devant l'opinion canadienne (1760-1815)* (Quebec, 1970), 48.
- 14 A printing press was not brought to Montréal until after the Americans had occupied it in 1775. The printer, Fleury Mesplet, arrived in Montréal in May 1776 from Philadelphia with the intention of printing anti-British propaganda. Aegidius Fauteux, *The Introduction of Printing into Canada* (Montreal, 1930), 94-5.
- 15 The "snow for sugar" trade-off was preceded by a similar act of abandonment on the part of the French Crown. In late 1759 when it became apparent to the French government that it was heading toward bankruptcy, it immediately cancelled the Canada bills, thereby causing mass economic hardship in the colony. J.F. Boshier, *The Canada Merchants* (Oxford, 1987), 192 and *passim*. For the British side of the Canada-Guadeloupe controversy, see the pamphlets "Considerations on the Importance of Canada" (London, 1759) and "A Letter Addressed to Two Great Men" (London, 1760).
- 16 For the most recent biography of Hanway, see Taylor, *Jonas Hanway*.
- 17 *DNB*.
- 18 For example, see Jonas Hanway, "Reasons for the Augmentation of at Least 12,000 Mariners" (London, 1759); and Jonas Hanway, "An Account of the Society for the Encouragement of British Troops in Germany and North America" (London, 1760).
- 19 Letter from Hanway to Sir George Pocock, 18 November 1762. San Marino, The Henry F. Huntington Library, PO 797.
- 20 On a per capita basis, of all of the colonies it was believed Canada took the highest proportion of manufactured British goods in comparison to its exports. Fowler Walker, "Considerations on the Present State of the Province of Quebec 1766," British Library, Add. MS 35915, fol. 35.
- 21 [Hanway], "Motives," 24.
- 22 [Hanway], "Motives," 11.
- 23 "They have given proof of their discernment as well as of the necessity of their situation, by the preference they have shown to the British government when they were at their liberty to have gone to old France, instead of making themselves our fellow-subjects. They felt the advantages even under our military government. . . . Let us now, shew them that we are as willing to be their friends, as they can be ours. Let us endeavour to secure their fidelity to the crown of these realms, by engaging their hearts as well as their tongues. They profess allegiance to the King, let us engage them to render that allegiance invisible." [Hanway], "Motives," 9-10. Fewer than 300 individuals moved to France in the eighteen months following the Treaty of Paris. Tousignant, "The Integration of the Province of Quebec," xxxiv.
- 24 [Hanway], "Motives," 11.
- 25 [Hanway], "Motives," 19.
- 26 Brian Allen, *Francis Hayman* (New Haven, 1987), 66-7.
- 27 For more on the Vauxhall Rotunda paintings, see Allen, *Francis Hayman*, 62-70; and the *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXXV (1765), 353-6.
- 28 Total damages were estimated at £87,580.8.10 sterling. [Hanway], "Motives," 15-7.
- 29 The Bridgetown fire caused nearly £100,000 sterling damage, and the compensation amounted to £14,886 sterling. Pugh, *Remarkable Occurrences*, 199.
- 30 Taylor, *Jonas Hanway*, 124 and *passim*.
- 31 [Hanway], "Motives," 12.
- 32 Jonas Hanway, "An Essay on Tea, Considered as Pernicious to Health, Obstructing Industry, and Impoverishing the Nation" (London, 1757). Hanway's objections to the Naturalization of Jews Act were, of course, a convenient way to express his anti-Semitism. Jonas Hanway, "A Letter Against the Proposed Naturalization of the Jews" (London, 1753); Jonas Hanway, "Thoughts on the Proposed Naturalization of the Jews" (London, 1753); Jonas Hanway, "A Review of the Proposed Naturalization of the Jews" (London, 1753).
- 33 [Hanway], "Motives," 9.
- 34 [Hanway], "Motives," 21.
- 35 The Royal Proclamation Act encouraged British settlement by offering land on a quitrent basis and imposing English criminal and civil law.
- 36 It is tempting to speculate here that Hanway was involved in the programme, sponsored by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to distribute Protestant bibles to the *canadiens* in an effort to undermine the Roman Catholic Church at the grass-roots level. See the entry for James Murray in the *DCB*, IV, 574. Hanway became a subscribing member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in November 1766. Taylor, *Jonas Hanway*, 124.
- 37 Colley, *Britons*, 101.

- 38 See, for example, Jonas Hanway, "Reasons for an Augmentation of at least 12,000 Mariners to be Employed in the Merchants-service, & Coasting-Trade, with Some Thoughts on the Means of Providing for a Number of our Seamen after the Present War is Finished. . ." (London, 1759).
- 39 There was no mechanism in place to determine where the unaccounted individuals had actually gone, but Hanway reasoned that many must have settled in the North American colonies and some perhaps had found their way to Montréal. Hanway, "Reasons for an Augmentation," 2; and Taylor, *Jonas Hanway*, 72, 143.
- 40 Taylor, *Jonas Hanway*, 123.
- 41 The *Quebec Gazette* reported that the fire began in a Mr. Livingston's house and from there spread all over the marketplace: "Most unfortunately this fire happened in the very Place where the greatest Part of the British Merchants were collected together." See the *Quebec Gazette*, 30 May 1765. James Murray wrote that "the Canadians are the little Dealers in the Towns of Quebec & Montreal who are at the mercy of the British Traders their Creditors;" *DCB*, IV, 576.
- 42 British Library, Add. MS 35915, fol. 22.
- 43 British Library, Add. MS 35915, fol. 28.
- 44 Murray estimated the number of British in Montréal in October 1766; *DCB*, IV, 573. Hanway estimated the entire population of Montréal to be 7,000 in 1766; [Hanway], "Motives," 15.
- 45 *DCB*, IV, 575.
- 46 *DCB*, IV, 258-9; *DCB*, IV, 574-7; and British Library, Add. MS 35915 fols. 20-46, *passim*.
- 47 *DCB*, IV, 258; and [Hanway], "Motives," 15.
- 48 *DCB*, IV, 574.
- 49 Taylor, *Jonas Hanway*, 200.
- 50 British Library, Add. MS 35915, fols. 20-46.
- 51 "They felt the advantages even under our military government. Whether they will find still better under our civil economy, time must demonstrate;" [Hanway], "Motives," 10.
- 52 *DCB*, IV, 576-7.
- 53 Murray had enjoyed only the backing of the Earl of Bute and the Duke of Newcastle; *DCB*, IV, 571. Carleton had the support of the Duke of Richmond and the Rockingham Administration, while the King himself referred to Carleton as "a galant & Sensible Man;" *DCB*, V, 141-2.
- 54 Webster, *Georgian Canada*, 113.
- 55 Letter from Francis Maseres to Fowler Walker, 14 September 1766; British Library, Add. MS 35915 fol. 69.
- 56 *DCB*, IV, 143-5; and *DCB*, VI, 132-3.
- 57 Letter from Chartier de Lotbinière to Chartier de Lotbinière, quoted and no date given in Sylvette Nicolini-Maschino, "Michel Chartier de Lotbinière, l'action et la pensée d'un canadien de 18<sup>e</sup> siècle," Ph.D. diss., Université de Montréal, 1978, 187.
- 58 The monument is located in the north transept of the church. Flaxman recorded the cost of designing, carving and packing the monument in his account book which is now in the British Library, Add. MS 39784. The account book was transcribed, indexed and published by Edward Croft-Murray in *The Walpole Society*, XXVIII (1939-40), 52-101.
- 59 Pierre-Georges Roy, "Réponses," *Bulletin de recherches historiques*, VIII (1902), 21.
- 60 *DCB*, IV, 259.
- 61 See the letter to a Mr. Finlay from a friend in Montréal, dated 6 May 1775, that is reproduced in Roy, "Réponses," 21-2.
- 62 The bust, lacking its original socle and a little the worse for wear, was discovered in the well in 1834; Roy, "Réponses," 24.
- 63 *New York Mercury*, 15 July 1776, cited in I.N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island*, V (New York, 1926), 992. See also Marks, "The Statue of King George III;" and Coutu, "Eighteenth-century British Monuments," 148-9.