

LIFE AND LETTERS IN RED RIVER.

1812 - '63.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

In 1812 the first Selkirk settlers arrived in Red River. In 1863 there took place the sale of the Hudson's Bay Company to the International Finance Corporation. The intervening period contains all that distinctively and peculiarly belongs to the life of the Red River Settlement.

This thesis presupposes a working knowledge of the political development of the country. Education and missionary work has received special and somewhat detailed treatment. An attempt has been made in the Introduction to give a graphic setting to a study which may tend to become prosaic in an effort to avoid fiction and rhetoric, and to arrive at truth and accuracy. The fact that the material available has been well nigh all of a secondary nature has made the attainment of this ideal doubly difficult.

The thesis falls into three distinct sections and it is hoped that the general plan of the work will be self-evident. As further aid to the reader a table of contents has been included and the several chapters sub-divided.

G. H. D.

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CHAPTER 1.

INTRODUCTION - 'ORIGINS AND EARLY TRIALS'.

The planting of the Selkirk Settlers in 1812 was the first attempt at civilization or colonization in the great Canadian West. True, Roman Catholic priests had accompanied La Verandrye on his western expeditions, but their excursions thither were without permanent results and voyages into the great 'lone land', prior to the date in which our inquiry begins, remained in the realm of exploration. Here, as elsewhere in the history of British colonization, the trader preceded the missionary, nor can the great trading companies be regarded as agents in the enlightenment of the territory over which they held such absolute sway.

Among the instructions given by the Hudson's Bay Company to its officers 'was one to the effect that the liturgy of the Church of England was to be read regularly at all the posts of the Company' (1). How far these regulations were operative we do not know. Available evidence seems to indicate that they were a dead letter. One thing is certain that for a century and a half there were neither churches nor schools in Ruperts Land. Several teachers, brought in by the Company fifteen or sixteen years prior to the advent of John West, soon sacrificed their more altruistic motives of training the native and half-breed children to the lure of the 'fur trade'. This unhappy result might have been obviated, had the H. B. Company had any well ordered plan for settling them to work on educational lines.

Whatever the provocation supplied by the fierce rivalry in trade, the Indians, it is quite evident were debauched by the free use of spirituous liquors - the price often of their good will, but the bane of all subsequent missionary endeavour. Marriage was unknown - it was impossible. The consequent relations of the officers of both Companies with native women did not exceed the highest recognized Indian standards, and at the various posts half-breed children grew up in 'ignorance and idleness'.

(1). "Life of Archbishop Machray". By Robert Machray.
See Bibliography.

To the native degradation, West and Provencher (1) both testify, nor do they withhold blame therefor, from the Lords of the Fur Trade. Some clue to the prestige and culture which the active and retired officers of the Hudson's Bay Company lent to the later life of Red River, is found in journals of travel of the latter years of the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth century. These indicate the presence of well stocked and well patronized libraries at many of the forts of both Companies. A fondness for music, an interest in natural history and some attention to the higher things of the intellectual life was characteristic of the officers of 'The Great Company'.

The presence of the Company's posts throughout the North West was a distinct aid to the work of the missionaries in later days. A vast tract of country was explored and opened up in the process of the fur trade:- friendly relations were established with the Red man, and his savage spirits somewhat tamed by the regular life of the Company's posts. This sums up the contribution of the Company 'Here Before Christ' to the development of the North West prior to 1812. It was a contribution not unworthy in the pregnancy of its results, and truly worthy of our admiration when we consider the hardihood and courage which such a mode of life demanded.

'It was with the pious and philanthropic desire of introducing civilization into this wilderness' (2) that Lord Selkirk established his settlers on the grant of land made him in 1811 by the Hudson's Bay Company. 'The tract of land thus set apart for the purposes of Agriculture and Civilization' says Ross 'extended in longitude from the sources of the Winnipeg River to the plains of the Saskatchewan, and in latitude from the sources of the Assiniboine to the International boundary', Here at Fort Douglas was the centre of what life there was in Red River, and this veritable oasis was reached from Hudson Bay by the fur trade water route, was the terminus of the overland Mail route from Montreal and was accessible to the ordinary traveller from the Canada's only by-way of St. Paul and Pembina. It required a man of Lord Selkirk's vision to realize the strategy of the position from a national standpoint; it required settlers of the type which he introduced to develop the potentialities which Selkirk rightly believed to be lying latent in the soil of Red River.

It will be our purpose in this thesis to trace the steps by which the Red River settlement 'gave the introduction from a barbarous and wandering life to habits of order and settled work' (3) and also to treat of the agencies by which such happy results were effected - for sure it is that the hard heartedness of the Duke of Sutherland in the eviction of these Selkirk 'crofters' from ~~the~~ estates proved to be the good fortune of this country,

- (1) Rev. John West was the first Anglican missionary. Rev. Joseph Norbert Provencher, the first R.C. envoy in the North West. (2) 'Red River Settlement', by Alexander Ross. (3) 'Old Settlers of Red River', Bryce-Transactions of the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society No. 19.

and in the long run, in the best interests of those evicted.

When the first group of settlers, Scotch crofters and Irishmen, arrived in August 1812, after a tedious ocean and inland voyage at Red River, they were met by a band of armed Metis, who conducted them to Fort Daer or Pembina, where subsequently they wintered for a number of years. There is no evidence that the Indians openly contemptuous of their early agricultural efforts were inveterately hostile to the settlers, and the Metis were inspired to their action more by a passionate devotion to the North West Company, than by any inherent enmity against the emigrants. From the first, the settlers (who by 1815 numbered some 280 souls), applied themselves to the cultivation of the soil and their early failure in matters agricultural may be credited to trials of nature; the ravages of weeds and birds, inexperience- North West Company hostility, and the lack of any kind of implements, or means by which the same might be constructed.

The subtle opposition of the North West Company to the whole Selkirk colonization scheme soon developed into active hostility against the settlers. Miles Macdonell's well intentioned proclamation in 1814, aiming to conserve the 'pemmican' of the country for the use of the settlers under the protection of the H. B. Company, provided the necessary pretext for the 'Nor-Westerns'. By a process of petty annoyance, attempts at seduction; by promises of farms and homes in Canada, and even by the use of their beloved Gaelic, they succeeded in effecting almost the complete abandonment of the settlement by the 'fall' of 1815. With the spring of 1816, however, the settlers returned with Governor Semple only to be plunged into the historic tragedy of 'Seven Oaks' and driven from the land. Lord Selkirk on the way to Red River, hearing of this disaster, seized on Fort William, the western headquarters of the North West Company, and arriving in the colony with a regiment of De Meuron mercenaries soon accomplished its re-establishment. Thus ended the worst of the fur trade rivalry. Complete freedom from the hostility of the 'Nor-Westerns' was not to be gained until the union of the two Companies in 1821. The De Meuron soldiers settled near Fort Douglas and across the Red River at the mouth of the Seine. They were of little permanent importance to the colony which was well rid of them when they left for the Mississippi after the flood of 1826.

With the presence of Selkirk in Red River in 1817, there took place the first real organization of his settlement. He was thoroughly alive to the need of his settlers for permanent homes, in which they would the more easily be induced to resist the enticements of the buffalo hunt, and would be content with the more sure if more laborious means of livelihood to be found in the cultivation of the soil. Accordingly, he planted his settlers on farms along the west banks of the Red River below the 'Fort'(1). Each lot fronted on the river

(1). The term here refers to Fort Douglas, but hereafter to Fort Garry.

was twenty chains in length, in immediate proximity to its neighbour, and extended back two miles to the road- beyond which there was a hay common and then limitless prairie. On the east side of the river, the settler was entitled to timber privileges. Thus were the early settlers, destitute of everything save courage and heroic patience, established on their own homesteads; and thus was created a compact society. Selkirk ordered a survey of the colony, which was finally completed under Governor Bulger. He also negotiated a treaty with the Indians, by which they surrendered their lands for purposes of settlement. 'In this treaty' says Ross 'we find the Saulteaux tribe mentioned first as if they had the better claim to priority, and the Crees last; whereas, the fact is - the Saulteaux have no claim at all to the lands of Red River being aliens or intruders. The Crees and Assiniboines are and have been since the memory of man the rightful owners and inhabitants of this part of the country'. Hence, the Saulteaux being parties to the treaty against the wishes of the other tribes, trouble was bound to follow. Further the Saulteaux were the natural enemies of the Sioux, a marauding band who abode further south in the neighbourhood of the border, and whose later visits to the settlement at times threatened it with destruction. Whether or not, the Saulteaux were aliens in Red River, it is clear that at the time the treaty was concluded, and for many years subsequently, they were resident in the colony, and Pegowis their chieftain figures in the most kindly relations with the Anglican missionaries. Ross seems to have no very high opinion of their character, but with all their pride and ignorance and their riotous indulgence in fire water, they were not without their finer qualities including a native politeness; Upon these qualities, the missionaries worked with good effect.

One of the most compelling clauses in the 'prospectus' of the colony which had come into the hands of the Selkirk emigrants, while yet in Scotland, was one which promised them a minister of their own persuasion. An arrangement was made before they ever left their homeland with one - the Rev. Alexander Sage to come out to Red River the following year, when he would have mastered the Gaelic dialect. Up to 1815, efforts to see this promise on which they most relied, fulfilled, had been fruitless, owing no doubt to the absence of Lord Selkirk and to the fact that their case was not pressed by the Governor, Miles Macdonell, a Roman Catholic. In that year, James Sutherland, an elder was appointed by the colony 'to baptize and marry'. He performed his duties with diligence and won the universal esteem of his flock, but none could take the place for them of an ordained minister of the Presbyterian Church. 'It is a subject' says Ross 'which has mixed itself up with every action of their lives in Red River'.

'As early as 1813' writes F. H. Schofield, 'Mr. K. McRae was appointed to look after their educational interests and he was expected to organize a school for boys and another for girls in the following year (1).' The children were to be instructed

(1). The Story of Manitoba. Vol. 1. By F. H. Schofield.
See Bibliography.

in Gaelic 'and in the girls school needlework and women's accomplishments were to be taught with reading'. Thus Lord Selkirk had his plans, plans which were to be defeated by the irregular life perforce led by the settlers during the first few years in Assiniboia. The distinctively 'Gaelic' character of this project is to be noted, for the Scots later coupled with their demand for a minister, a plea for their own schoolmaster.

At the end of five years of physical suffering, disappointment of hopes and spiritual deprivation, the colonists were not slow to urge their case to Lord Selkirk in 1817. He, in reply, reiterated his promise of a minister of their own persuasion and set aside Lots 3 and 4 in the Parish of 'Kildonan' for a church and school respectively. An early death *at* Pau in France in 1820, following the worries and distractions of the 'mud of the law', prevented the fifth Earl of Selkirk from fulfilling the promises made to his settlers, and denied him the joy of seeing the ultimate prosperity of his colony.

Complete religious toleration was one of the cardinal principles upon which Lord Selkirk undertook the work of settlement. We have recorded that there was a considerable admixture of Irishmen in the first contingent of settlers, and it was only the eccentricity of one 'Bourke' an Irish priest who was sent back from York Factory that prevented the appearance of a Roman Catholic priest in Red River at that early date. As it was, Selkirk had by no means relinquished the project, and it was only the bluster of 'Irish hating Auld' at York Factory that caused him to abandon recruiting in Ireland, and to turn his attention to securing a priest from French Canada. Morice (1) states that at the time of the coming of the first settlers, there were close on seven hundred souls of the Roman Catholic faith in Red River comprising Metis or Bois Brules, and retired voyageurs of the North West Company, the latter of whom but awaited the arrival of missionaries of their own faith to make Red River their home. The Metis were a turbulent though not a vicious lot, the offspring of the voyageurs and the native women. Engaged in the buffalo hunt, they 'had as little respect for the principles of religion as for the usages of civilized society' (2). These were the people none the less, who under the adroit and powerful influence of the Roman Catholic Church were later to be welded into 'The New Nation' and to form the basis of the vigorous French 'minority' in Manitoba.

Miles Macdonell while deaf to the insistent clamour of the Scotch for a minister of the Presbyterian Church was not slow to urge the claims and needs of his own creed. As a result, Pere Tabeau, commissioned by Bishop Plessis of Quebec in 1816, to make a tour of inspection in Red River, travelled

- (1). 'The Roman Catholic Church in Western Canada' by A. G. Morice, O.M.I.
- (2). 'Red River Settlement'. Alexander Ross.

as far as Lac La Pluie or Rainy Lake. Hearing of the Seven Oaks affray, and careless of further investigation, he returned to Montreal to discourage undertaking mission work in 'Assiniboia'. Lord Selkirk however was convinced of the indispensability of religion as a bulwark of civilized society. Before he left the colony in 1817, he secured the signatures of quite a large number of French Canadians and half-breeds, to a petition to the Bishop of Quebec asking for a missionary for these territories.

Mme. Lajimonerie, one of the first white women in the west and wife of a voyageur, records the intense joy with which the first two R. C. missionaries, Joseph Norbert Provencher and Severe Du Moulin were welcomed at Red River in the spring of 1818. At Montreal they had been enthusiastically dispatched by Lord and Lady Selkirk and by the Earl had been granted a Seigneury 5 X 4 miles at the mouth of the River Seine. Here was established the first Roman Catholic parish in the North West. It was named 'St. Boniface', after the German Saint, in honour of the De Meurons who together with forty French Canadian families (who accompanied the priests), some retired voyageurs and some Metis formed the first Roman Catholic flock in Red River. By 1820, a church and mission house were erected on the site of St. Boniface Cathedral. Armed with directions to 'watch with a jealous eye over the instruction of the youth' a school was soon in operation. In Provencher's correspondence to his superior in Quebec, there is early mention of his need of 'sisters' to assist him in his work with the young. In 1823, Senecal, a Canadian, and Chenier, a Metis, had completed the elementary and were ready to go forward to a collegiate course in 'St. Boniface College'. Raised to the episcopate as Bishop of Juliopolis' in partibus infidelium' in 1822, Provencher had by 1826, inaugurated the whole missionary and educational policy of the Church of Rome in Western Canada.

Du Moulin soon took up his abode at Pembina amongst the buffalo hunters, where with the assistance of one or two lay brothers, he contrived to do excellent missionary and educational work. In 1822, it was found that Pembina was in American territory, and the post had to be abandoned. The Roman Catholic priests did much to see the 'Metis' settled on 'White Horse Plains' on the Assiniboine and here by 1824 was created the second Roman Catholic parish, St. Francois Xavier.

The chagrin of the Scotch settlers at the arrival of the Roman Catholic priests was aggravated by the loss of Mr. Sutherland in the fall of the same year. Available evidence shows that that highly esteemed elder was forcibly carried off to Canada by the North West Company as a further act of opposition to the settlement.

In October of 1820, an event of parallel significance to that of the arrival of the first Roman Catholic priests occurred-namely the appearance in the colony as Chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Co., of the Rev. John West - the first Protestant ordained minister to

set foot west of the Red River. Enthusiasm on the part of the Scotch over his arrival was not to be expected, and they were perhaps not far wrong in their speculations that his introduction had been brought about by the representations of Governor Semple to the Hudson's Bay Company's Directors in London. There is evidence, certainly, that Semple was not a little depressed over the absence of both Church and School in this great wilderness, and the appointee of the Company to such a position as that held by Mr. West, would, in the natural course of events be a member of the 'Established Church'.

Roman Catholicism came to this new western land from older Canada, Presbyterianism at a much later date from the same source, but with the arriving of John West the blessings of the Church of England flowed into the life of Canada by a new stream direct from the fountain head of British Christianity. Fort Douglas served as a place of Anglican worship until the erection of Fort Garry, which in turn was used until the opening of the first 'mission' establishment in the fall of 1822. Mr. Geo. Harbidge a school master who accompanied West, took up his residence in a renovated log house amongst the Scotch where 'he began teaching from twenty to thirty children'.

On his incoming journey, John West had stayed some time at York Factory and Norway House. During his residence in the county, he visited a number of the Company's posts including Brandon House and Qu'Appelle on the Assiniboine. At these points, in addition to holding services and giving instruction he 'brought order and sanctity into their social life by the ministering of the sacred rites of baptism and marriage'. (1) He also visited Pembina, where some of the 'Swiss' (2) were wintering with the 'freemen' of the plains for he was mindful of his office as minister to the whole European population.

In the autumn of 1821 largely through the influence of Mr. West, the Church Missionary Society committed itself to the vast project of the evangelization of the native tribes of the North West. The new arrangement became operative in October of 1822. Mr. West was thenceforward Chaplain to the Company and C.M.S. missionary to the Indians. Harbidge too became an employee of the C. M. S.

When John West left Red River in the spring of the following year, as it proved never to return, he had sown the seed of the whole subsequent missionary and educational policy of the Church of England in the North West. His 'mission' establishment, located near, not on the spot where St. John's Cathedral now stands, included a residence for Harbidge (whom he left in full charge of the school), boarding accommodation for Indian

(1). 'John West and His Red River Mission'. Bertal Heeney.

(2). 'Settlers from Cantons of Switzerland'. (1821).

boys and girls, a day school for the children of H. B. Company's officers and of the settlers, and a depository for the British and Foreign Bible Society from which Bibles were freely distributed. From the spire of the first church west of the Red River, a church bell announced the dawn of Christianity in this benighted land. Nor were more practical concerns neglected. The native children toiled happily in plots of ground set aside for the purpose, and a 'farm' was operated to supply the needs of the mission.

Thus was commenced the first school- the germ of all subsequent parish schools in Protestant Red River, and more indirectly of the first institution of 'higher' learning from which sprang St. John's College. The whole principle of the settlement and civilization of the natives, wherever possible, before attempts at evangelization, had been established. But of greatest significance the C. M. S. had undertaken the work of religion and education which it was to carry on, almost single handed among Indians and settlers alike until 1849.

After the loss of Sutherland the Scotch renewed their agitation for a minister. Alex. Macdonell, Governor of the colony and a Papist, turned a deaf ear to their pleas, while Pritchard, Selkirk's agent, an Anglican, was equally uninterested in their grievance. A letter sent to the Rev. John Urquhart, Rosshire, Scotland, met with no response, and for many years, the Selkirk settlers were forced to content themselves with Anglican ministrations.

West was succeeded by the Rev. D. T. Jones, who in 1824, erected a church on 'Image Plain' some miles north of West's structure, later known as St. Paul's or Middle Church. Here he ministered to the Scotch and by them was preferred to John West, because of his less strict adherence to Anglican ritual. Thus was created the second Anglican parish. In 1825 came the great missionary and builder of churches, Rev. Wm. Cochran.

In 1821, the foolhardiness of Selkirk's agent effected the introduction of settlers from the Cantons of Switzerland. They were for the most part artisans, mechanics and pastry cooks, and resembled the De Meurons with whom they intermarried in one respect at least; their common ignorance of husbandry. They too left the colony after the flood of 1826. Mention is made of them here together with the De Meurons, not merely because of colour and romance which they may be conceded to have lent to early days in Red River, but because a sufficient remnant of them remained to add to the cosmopolitan nature of the colony, which by 1830 numbered some fifteen hundred souls of varied nationality.

Lord Selkirk's hope that his settlers would produce a sufficient quantity of the fruits of agriculture for their own use and that of all the Company's posts was doomed for a time to disappointment. No sooner was the worst of the North West Company's hostility over and the settlers established on their own farms, than fierce plagues of grasshoppers in 1818 and '19 wrought havoc. By the beginning of 1820, the last of their British seed wheat was gone, and they

dispatched a party of men on snow-shoes to 'prairie de Chien' a distance of five hundred miles to purchase American wheat, The crop sown late, yielded fair returns, but it was not until 1824 that a really satisfactory harvest was garnered. 'The Hayfield Experimental farm' established by Lord Selkirk's agent Pritchard before the union of the two Companies, collapsed in 1822, as the result of foolish and extravagant management. It was the forerunner of a series of such undertakings which suffered a similar fate. The subsequent history of Manitoba, however, has vindicated Lord Selkirk's faith in the Experimental farm. In 1822 was launched the Buffalo Wool Co., which contrived for a time to lure many away from agriculture, but ended in one worth while result. It so stimulated the circulation of money that three hundred head of cattle introduced as an American speculation were at once snapped up. A further addition to the live stock of the colony took place in 1825 and cattle now roamed over plains where previously the buffalo had reigned in undisputed possession.

By 1824 primitive implements were in general use in Red River. Home made plows were produced at a considerable cost; cutting was done with a sickle and threshing with a flail. The hand stone or 'quern' had been succeeded by the two horse tread-mill and in 1825 we find record of the first windmill in the country. After 1822, the colony, under Governor Bulger, began for the first time to exhibit some order and system and in the agricultural community the 'huts' referred to by Mr. West were in many cases replaced by more substantial structures.

The year 1826 marks quite definitely the close of the first period in the history of Red River life and the beginning of a new era. In that spring occurred the great flood, for a time 'a complete extinguisher', but as it later appeared a real blessing to the settlement. Red River was purged of its human dross on the departure of the Swiss and De Meurons, and through the tenacity of the Scotch went forward to prosperity. A compact society had been formed; the worth of Red River as an agricultural country had been discovered; schools and churches had been established and marriage was an institution of the land. In this remote and little known part of the world there met, to separate again, the two races distinctive of the national growth of Canada. At the very outset the peculiar interest of Red River history is revealed. That interest is intensified when one realizes, that with the passing of Selkirk's influence, the settlement entered on an era of complete isolation; cut off from Canada until the great immigration of the early sixties.

'LIFE AND LETTERS IN RED RIVER'.

1812 - '63.

CHAPTER 11. (1826 - '49).

With the abandonment of Pembina in 1822 there began the process of segregation of the two populations in Red River. It was in its essence religious and racial, but it will be an aid to the imagination to keep in mind the rough geographical division which existed as well as the general distinction of occupation.

For a period after the flood 'all classes and sects banded together for mutual support'. After 1830, however, Fort Garry may be regarded as at once the common centre and the divisional point of the two communities. Below the 'Forks' chiefly on the western banks of the Red, and extending through the parishes of Kildonan, Middle Church and St. Andrew's, lay the Protestant sector. The Roman Catholic sector on the other hand occupied the upper banks of the Red, chiefly on the east side, with headquarters at St. Boniface. Another large settlement on the Assiniboine at 'White Horse Plains' provided a rallying point for the devotees of the chase and was later presided over by Cuthbert Grant as 'Warden of the Plains'(1). Of necessity, the economic and to some extent the social life of the two communities was inter-dependent. With this fact in mind, however, it will, I trust, be found advantageous to trace the life of the two groups separately. In so doing, the points of contact between the two will be sufficiently indicated, confusion obviated, and the distinctive features of each rendered the more conspicuous.

1. THE PROTESTANT COMMUNITY.

(a) POPULATION. The main part of the Protestant population included the original Selkirk settlers dwelling chiefly in the neighbourhood of the 'Middle' Church, and the Orkney men or retired officers of the H. B. Company, a growing body who came to occupy all the surveyed portion of the settlement down to the 'Grand Rapids'. On the union in 1821, a large number of the officers of both Companies retired; many of them came to Red River, having heard that churches and schools were established here, and brought with them their native wives and half-breed families. Of such as these were the Orkney-men. Intermingled with them were the English speaking half-breeds and a few 'foreign' families. Unlike their turbulent brethren

(1). Cuthbert Grant a Metis was appointed by the Council of Assinaboie on its creation in 1835.

across the river, the English half-breeds took readily to agriculture. Estranged, however, by the haughty demeanour of the officers of the Company and not over enamoured of the Scotch, they later joined the Metes in the agitation for Free Trade. In 1847, Isbister, one of their number sent a petition to the Queen asking for a more 'popular' mode of government in Red River. Their disaffection, however, was never deep-rooted, and they consistently appear as a steady and reliable element of the population. They were willing disciples of the Anglican faith.

In 1843, the farming community received a welcome but otherwise insignificant addition in the arrival of twenty families of Lincolnshire farmers. The one^{hundred} and forty 'Pensioners' who succeeded Col. Crofton's troops in 1848, under Col. Caldwell were generally regarded as a second edition of the De Meurons. Although given grants of land, there is no evidence that they made any very important contribution to the life of 'Assiniboia' either as farmers or in any other capacity.

From Indian troubles the colony was comparatively free. This happy circumstance was due, at least in part, to the salutary influence of Cochran's Indian Settlement of which we shall hear more elsewhere. Some of the Saulteaux remained vagrant annoying the settlers by contempt, deceit and drunkenness, as well as by their hostile relations with the Crees. In the period 1840-'44, the peace of the settlement was somewhat rudely disturbed and its safety threatened by a series of guerilla engagements between the Saulteaux and the Sioux. The former were joined by many of the half-breeds.

There remains but to note those in Protestant Red River who did not follow agriculture. These included the active officers of the H. B. Company, clergy, teachers and public officials; the mention of whom indicates their occupation. One other important class emerged after 1834, in which year the Company by the introduction of currency, commuted the credit system in its stores bringing much suffering to the poorer settlers. At the same time, it encouraged importation in its own boats, so that every man who could muster a few shillings became an importer. The first panic subsiding, there remained a class of 'petty' merchants who by extending credit, for a time exceeded the sales of the Company stores. By 1849, however, the credit system was everywhere abandoned and we learn that in that year, there were several merchants in the colony 'doing well on the cash basis'.

(b) DOMESTIC AND SOCIAL LIFE.

Immediately following the flood in Red River, the number of houses of a more substantial and commodious nature increased rapidly. By 1830, there were two hundred and four houses, and

by the end of the period under discussion, some seven hundred and forty-five homes. With the construction of Lower Fort Garry in 1833, stone came into more general use in the erection of public buildings, churches, etc. The majority of private dwellings, however, were of log or frame construction, usually one storey in height and whitewashed. For a long time, parchment took the place of glass as a window material, and the chinks in the walls required constant attention, but in spite of such primitive conditions, all alike were warm and neatly arranged.

Protestant Red River 'never became independent of the splendid necessity for continuous toil'(1). It was, however, a genuinely comfortable community. Each small homestead could boast good outhouses, 'barns teeming with grain and stables with cattle'. There was too, no doubt, a satisfaction in the knowledge that 'all they had was their own - for there were no landlords nor dues of other kind to church or state'(2). By 1831, most of the farmers' wives had commenced spinning and domestic life was greatly improved. Indeed the little Protestant settlement must have presented something of the appearance of life and industry for which John West had sighed. So rapidly did the spinning wheel take its place amongst them that in a tour of the colony in 1837, Ross records:- 'most of the settlers were clothed in garments of their own manufacture.' There were no tradesmen nor skilled artisans in Red River at this period, or indeed for many years subsequently. Consequently, the resourcefulness of the settler was so developed that he became the author of everything from 'a horseshoe to a windmill'. The characteristic economy and industry of the Protestant settlers was nowhere more in evidence than at the Middle Church, 'where' says Ross, 'the people surpass in comfort those of the same class in other countries'. Rich in food and clothing all of them have saved more or less money'. Some of the wealthier of the Scotch settlers migrated to the United States in 1843, weary of the turbulence and fearful of the violence of the Metis. Ross goes on to describe 'the profusion within doors and without' the children 'well clothed and in good health', 'who provide a striking contrast to the Canadian and half-breed children up the river'. 'Here too', he adds, 'every man minds his own business and every woman stays in her own kitchen'. There was little real poverty, 'though some age and improvidence'.

The character and life of the settlers is revealed by their rules of self government. Locks were unknown. No legal documents nor contracts of any kind were used and a man's word was as good as his bond. In 1830, the first code of laws in Red River provided in part that 'settlers are allowed to fire at horse thieves', no loaded vehicle might pass on the 'Sabbath Day', no manure was to be thrown into the River and

- (1). R. G. Macbeth. 'Romance of Western Canada'. See Bibliography.
- (2). F. H. Schofield-'Story of Manitoba'-Vol. 1. Chap. XXI. ('Social Life').

there must be 'no conjuring over sick persons'. Thus they had their laws for mutual protection and improvement. We have observed the compact farm system in the colony. The result was a practical communism and the farmers throughout were a 'law unto themselves'. A date was set before which no man might cut hay in the common. Once cutting was under way, a swathe protected each farmer's preserves from the encroachments of his neighbours.

Under Governor Simpson, there was instituted temporary machinery of government, consisting of magistrates and constables chosen from among the people, who served in this capacity on 'extra time' duty. This in turn was superseded by the Council of Assinaboia in 1835. To it the main body of the Protestant settlers yielded a loyal submission 'and backed and strengthened the hands of justice' (1). Nor did the passing of 'Solomonic' methods of justice and the introduction of a more strictly legal system under Adam Thom in 1839, change their law abiding state of mind.

Hospitality in Red River was unbounded. The absence of public houses made it a duty as well as pleasure. It was too a product of the isolation of the community and the warm social nature of the inhabitants. With the latch string always hanging out no one, not excluding the roving Indian, was at a loss for a winter camp at any hour of day or night. During the long winter evenings, Celtic imagination found full scope in the recitation of stories of adventure and ancestral tales before the open fire or round the old kitchen stove where burned the spruce and poplar logs rafted down from the 'Upper Red' during the previous summer. The Orkney-men, of similar extraction and temperament to the Scotch, found the latter's company very congenial and interchange of visits was constant and cordial. One can picture little groups of these retired H. B. Company's men and sturdy Selkirk Crofters, enjoying to the full the 'social pipe' and recounting in turn thrilling snatches of exploration or of the chase, or the heroic details of the early struggles of the Selkirk men in this Western wilderness.

Home life, particularly among the 'Selkirk' settlers was 'strong, simple and pure'. Indeed the Scotch consecration of the whole sweep of life cannot be overemphasized in consideration of its beneficial results. The efforts of Church, school and consistent family worship combined to achieve Selkirk's high ideals of home life, education and religion. 'Little by little their social life grew and took form until there were in Red River all the essential elements of contentment and happiness' (2).

The consideration of certain local pastimes and customs reveal one of those points of contact between the French and European communities to which we referred. It required the rigour of Scotch parental control to prevent their children from an admiring imitation of the little Metis. The blue Capote and

(1). Ross- 'Red River Settlement'. (2). The Story of Manitoba- Vol. 1. By F. H. Schofield. Chapter XXI. 'Social Life'.

red belt typical of the voyageur and the plainsman was soon adopted by many of the Europeans while the 'sine qua non' of winter enjoyment was a horse and a cariole. 'Carioling' says Ross 'is a pastime as harmless as it is amusing'. None the less he is not a little indignant at the indecorous behaviour of the Protestant youth, who race one another to Church, and enter with whip in hand and pipe visible in their pockets. On the return journey they caused pedestrians no little inconvenience by their fierce and careless driving. The church yard itself 'presented the appearance of a fair-ground' for being the weekly place of meeting it soon became the centre of news and gossip. Carioling and driving parties were the chief sports of winter. The industry of summer on the other hand which precluded such frivolity was robbed of drudgery by fine fellowship and a spirit of co-operation, most conspicuous in haying season. The long summer evenings were wiled away in a game of ball paradoxically enough called 'bat'. Another pastime demanding both skill and energy was the Red River jig performed to the strains of the alluring fiddle.

Weddings and funerals in Red River were alike occasions for feasting. In the case of the former, the guests were invited by personal solicitation on the part of the bride's father. The ceremony over, and one more link forged in the ever extending chain of kinship, the usual wedding breakfast was the order of the day. The event was concluded the following Sunday by the official 'kirking' at the parish church. The absence of a feast at a funeral was a mark of extremely 'bad form', if not of actual disrespect to the memory of the departed. The funeral service over, the feasting began accompanied by much gossip and not a little merriment.

There were two holidays of universal importance in Red River. The 'day of days' was New Year's. All the men including the Indians started early in the morning on a long round of calls. At each point of call, refreshments were served and the climax was reached at the Fort, where the Hudson Bay officers, joined in the fun and a great 'ball' was held. Here Blue Capote and Beaver hat met in rooms with papered walls and carpeted floors. The twenty-fourth of May was another day of celebration, featured by horse-racing from the Fort down what is now 'Main' street. Scarcely necessary to add that the furious driving of the young Metis usually claimed the prize.

A unique life, that lived in Red River three quarters of a century ago, and not without its attractions.

(c) AGRICULTURE.

The history of the windmill in Red River is a striking indication of the diverse interests of the two groups in the population. With the introduction of Logan's mill in 1825, it

soon became a familiar feature of the landscape. Thos. Simpson tells us that 'of fifteen wind and three water mills all but two belong to the Protestant community which constitutes but two fifths of the entire population'(1).

It must be kept in mind that during the period 1821-'34, the colony was nominally under the control of the Douglas family. The intense personal interest of Selkirk was gone. The H. B. Company was bent on safeguarding its monopoly. The projects sponsored by the Company therefore during that period show neither good executive ability, nor any real desire to help forward the cause of settlement, but rather an attempt to so circumscribe and direct the activities of the colony that it retain a place subordinate to the Fur Trade. This period is marked by a series of ill-managed experiments, agricultural and industrial. Of the first two of these, we have already heard(2). The next was an Experimental farm projected by Governor Simpson to experiment in wheat growing, mixed farming and the production of flax and hemp. After six years, it collapsed at a loss of thirty-five hundred pounds; resulting in one real benefit to the settlement, the introduction of a stallion which much improved the breed of horses. The third and last of these experimental farms known as 'the three unfortunate sisters' was the undertaking in 1838 of one Marcus Cary a theorist on the Council of Assinaboia. During the ten years of its pitiful existence it did no more than supply the Governor's tea table with milk and was at length abandoned at a loss of ten thousand dollars. Scotch shrewdness too saved the colony from the expense of another riotous scheme - the 'Assiniboine Wool Co.' The idea was to import sheep in great numbers even until the plains groaned beneath their weight, but the time having arrived to launch the venture the canny Scots refused to advance the requisite capital. The Governor next conceived the idea of a 'Flax and Hemp' Co. Premiums were offered for the production of these two crops which it was found would grow in profusion in Red River. Instead of building up the essential export trade, however, the promised award was made for the finest specimens which were then left to rot on the ground. The futility of this type of venture was finally made apparent on the failure of a sheep speculation fathered by Governor Simpson. Two men were dispatched to Kentucky to buy sheep. Disagreeing over the price demanded by that State they finally made their purchase of fourteen hundred head of sheep in Missouri. Only 250 out of the 1400 head ever arrived in the settlement.

Apparently, the Hudson Bay Company was unable to rely upon the settlers for its supplies until 1831, for in that year, Governor Simpson decided to discontinue the importation of wheat and dairy products. The result was a flood of the market, a drop in prices, and as a consequence of indiscriminate buying

(1). Life and Travels of Thomas Simpson. By Alex. Simpson. See Bibliography. N.B. Letter written in 1831.

(2). The Hayfield Experimental farm and the Buffalo Wool Co.

from local farmers, poor products and fierce protests from the H. B. posts. The Governor accordingly determined to buy up all the wheat in the colony and mill it himself, renting the settlers' mills for the purpose. Little improvement was thus effected. Failing a suitable store-house, the grain was packed eight feet deep in a small structure, where moisture, mice and 'pemmican' as a leaven contrived to make it offensive to the nose let alone the palate. The same was true with regard to butter and cheese.

With the establishment of the Council of Assinaboia in 1835, a policy of excessive paternalism on the part of the H. B. Company succeeded that of 'making the best of a bad bargain' in its relations with the settlement. The settlers continued doggedly on their way. They did not cultivate large patches of land chiefly because of the absence of an outside market. It was their practice too to subdivide their farms to accommodate married sons and their families, and at no time was farm labor plentiful for many 'servants' were enticed away in the spring by the lure of the Buffalo Hunt.

Thos. Simpson observed in Red River abundant live stock and grains of all kinds, 'staple' vegetables and the land cultivated 'one quarter to one half mile back from the river'. Beyond the hay common, on the limitless prairies, there roamed horses of a fine breed, (much in demand amongst the hunters,) cattle, swine, oxen and sheep. Six thousand acres were under cultivation according to the census of 1849. Each settler sold to the one and only market the H. B. Company, eight bushels of grain per annum. Agriculture had developed thus far only through the industry of the settlers. Its progress alone during the period we have examined, would be a sufficient indication that :- thenceforward Fur Trade 'must decrease'; 'settlement must increase'.

(a) RELIGION AND EDUCATION.

The measure of material prosperity achieved in Protestant Red River by 1849 was achieved only by force of character, and the character of the settlers in turn found the springs of its origin in their religion. The church too, as we shall find was the 'source of all blessings'- the author of educational and cultural advance. Her servants were men of strong personality and of powerful influence in the social and political life of the community. In the absence of any official system of Government or law up to 1835, the contribution of religion in holding society together was rendered the more conspicuous. Indeed, a comprehensive view of the actual undertakings of the church, and an understanding

of the religious nature of the people, is essential to a correct interpretation of Red River life.

In the very nature of things the congregations both at 'St. John's' and at the Middle Church were largely composed of the Selkirk settlers, and the Anglican clergy found it wise to make certain concessions to the 'Presbyterians' in the matter of extempore prayer and the like. In 1827 the Rev. Mr. Jones recorded, somewhat injudiciously, in the 'Christian Register', his preference for the Orkney-men and even for the English speaking half-breeds over the Scotch. The fires of resentment again burst into flame and the Scotch replied by a strongly worded petition concerning their grievance to the Hudson's Bay authorities in London. Their conviction that the Anglican clergy, chaplains to the Company were 'hand in glove' with the official party was not a little deepened when Jones took upon himself, at York Factory to substitute for their document a counter petition of his own. It required all the tact and indulgence which Jones and Cochran could command to win them back even to formal allegiance to Anglican ritual.

Historians of the 'Selkirk' settlers are one in their eulogy of the pioneerwork of the Church of England in Red River, and there is every evidence that harmonious relations between Anglicans and the Scotch were the rule rather than the exception. The Presbyterians, however, could never entirely reconcile themselves to the Anglican ritual and in 1835, on the arrival of Governor Christie, the question of their own minister again came into prominence. Once again, their efforts were in vain, and about 1845, they instituted a further very vigorous agitation for a minister of their own persuasion, coupling with that demand, a plea for a schoolmaster.

They were doubtless stirred to action by the presence of newly arrived Anglican clergy who would feign have returned to the strict ritual of the Church from which Cochran and Jones had allowed some latitude. The 'higher' school in Protestant Red River too was reserved almost exclusively for gentlemen sons and daughters of the H. B. Company's officers. The ordinary parochial schools on the other hand did not provide the standard of instruction that Scotch pride desired, nor that Scotch means could command. Neither did they satisfy the distinctly denominational aspirations of the Selkirk settlers. Petitions to the London Committee, urging Lord Selkirk's promises as to a minister met with the emphatic reply that the Hudson's Bay Company recognized no responsibility in the matter and only made a grant to the Anglican missionaries because of the latter's work among the Indians. An appeal was then made to the Free Church of Scotland and three years later a reply was received from the Rev. John Bonar assuring them that he was still on the look out for a suitable man. By 1849, the whole matter had been turned over to Dr. Burns of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

The third parish in Protestant Red River was the work of the tireless Mr. Cochran, who conceived the idea of planting a church at 'Grand Rapids', some miles below 'St. Paul's' as a rallying point for settlement. By 1831, there was established 'a church, a school and a parsonage'. The inhabitants were at first mostly half-breeds. Mr. Cochran entered in the most intimate way into every phase of the life of the people. He encouraged industry and husbandry and gave four days a week to instruction in the school. Within two years, his congregation had grown from thirty-one to three hundred.

The next practical step in the salvation of the Red man was inaugurated in 1832, when after prolonged negotiation with Pegowis, chief of the Saulteaux tribe, Cochran undertook to establish an Indian settlement. The site chosen was Netley Creek on the east side of the Red about fifteen miles below the 'Rapids'. The Indians had shown a friendly interest in the settlement at St. Andrew's and beginning with three families, Cochran, aided by Cook, a half-breed interpreter and school master, soon induced a large number of the natives to settle. By 1836 the work was well under way. The great missionary established a school of industry, where Indian girls made their own clothes and learned to know their God. Indefatigably he labored to wean the Indians from a vagrant life to 'habits of order and settled work'. It was no small tribute to the C. M. S. who made the work possible and to Mr. Cochran that when Bishop Mountain visited Red River in 1844, he found the Indian settlement in a flourishing condition and Bishop Anderson in 1849 recorded that 'a greater amount of good has been accomplished than I believed possible'.

In 1844, Bishop Geo. Jehoshaphat Mountain of Quebec performed the first Protestant Episcopal Acts west of the Great Lakes, confirming 846 persons and ordaining two clergy. Cochran's invaluable work in Red River was recognized in 1839 by a grant of one hundred pounds from the Council of Assiniboia. His parish at 'St. Andrew's' had grown rapidly, and by 1845 there were some one thousand settlers, scattered over a space of twelve miles within its borders. Cochran now led in the construction of a new church. It was completed in 1849 and stands on the banks of the Red to-day, a monument to his labours.

About this time the C. M. S. in financial distress threatened withdrawal from its work in Ruperts Land, and was only deterred from so doing by the stirring appeals of its representatives in Red River - These pleas were strongly endorsed by Bishop Mountain who also played no small part in bringing about the appointment of the first Bishop of Ruperts Land.

In 1847, Cochran succeeded the Rev. John McAllum as Incumbent of the 'Upper' Church (1). He built during this

(1). Mr. West's Church - St. John's of to-day.

period, St. Cross House which later became a school for young ladies. In the same year at a missionary meeting at the Middle Church, the first local offering to the C. M. S. was made. In 1849, came the Rt. Rev. David Anderson.

The letters of John Pritchard a pioneer Anglican settler indicate that as early as 1826, Mrs Cochran was engaged in the instruction of the daughters of H. B. factors. In the following year, Mrs D. F. Jones established a boarding school for 'gentlemen sons and daughters of Hudson's Bay Factors'. This project was aided by the C. M. S. and undertaken at the request of the Company, who in 1823, recognized its worth by a contribution of one hundred pounds. It is interesting to note that even after this date certain young H. B. ladies went to England for their education.

In the narrative of W. M. Robert Smith, clerk of the 'Council' in 1848, it is recorded that having settled in the vicinity of 'Little Britain', he was induced to undertake the work of a catechist at St. John's at a salary of one hundred pounds per annum. In 1832, he opened a school of his own at 'Maples' near the Middle Church under the patronage of the C. M. S., where he remained doing successful work until 1835. From that date until his appointment to the Council, he was in charge of the parochial school at the Middle Church.

In 1833, an annuity of twenty five pounds was voted to Mr. John Pritchard by the H. B. Company in consideration of 'his services to religion and education' in Red River'. In the early 'thirties' he had founded a school at the 'Elms', a spot on the east side of the Red opposite Mildonan, for the 'gentlemen sons and daughters of H. B. Company officers'. In the year of his annuity, this school was amalgamated with the parochial institution at St. John's in which Pritchard continued as master.

'Higher' education in Protestant Red River may be said to have had its beginning in 1836. In that year, John McAllum, an Edinburgh University man, became 'actual' head of the school founded by Mrs Jones. The recently created Council of Assiniboia made an annual grant of one hundred pounds to the institution and the fees amounted to thirty pounds per annum. It was rather a fine building, that of McAllum's School or Red River Academy, for a settlement so remote, and comprised two large wings, one for boys and the other for girls.

In 1838, Mr. & Mrs Jones left the settlement permanently. The Council bought the school and leased it to Mr. McAllum, who now became responsible head. After 1844, the support of the C. M. S. was withdrawn and the headmaster carried on the work of the school with local support. In 1847, the academy was at its zenith, having over fifty paying pupils, boys and girls, and the death of the Rev. John McAllum two years later, was a very great blow to education in Red River.

The reader will have observed the contributions made by the H. B. Company to the cause of religion and education in the Protestant community, both before and after the creation of the Council of Assiniboia. In 1832, the Council of the Northern Department of Rupertsland confirmed a grant made by Sir George Simpson 'to the building of a Protestant Church in Red River'. Simpson himself made a personal gift of thirty pounds a year to the Red River Academy and seems to have been enthusiastic in the cause. The main burden, however, was borne by the C. M. S. which was responsible for 415⁰⁰ of the educational and religious expenses, the remainder being supplied by the Company and by such as could afford to pay fifteen shillings a year for sending their children to the parochial schools and were willing to do so.

When the Rt. Revd. David Anderson first bishop of Ruperts Land arrived in Red River in 1849, he found that from the seed of Mr. West's school had developed the first 'school system' in Manitoba; Sunday schools in each parish were doing excellent work. One 'higher' academy provided a good sound business education and gave instructions in mathematics and classics, and to the young ladies in music and drawing. The Red River Academy had produced some excellent scholars. Further the tradition of a college school had been established and hopes excited later to be realized in St. John's College. From that first little wooden structure on the Kildonan site four Anglican churches of more enduring stuff had sprung. Finally, Lord Selkirk's ideal of the diffusion of the finer elements of our civilization among the natives of these western wilds had received its most concrete expression in the success of the Rev. William Cochran's Indian settlement at 'St. Peter's'.

11. ROMAN CATHOLIC RED RIVER.

(a) THE HUNT.

To the Roman Catholic element in Red River 'hunting was as the breath of their nostrils', as much their habitual mode of life as was farming in the Protestant community. Indeed the buffalo hunt was for many years at once the most unique and the most common feature of Red River Life. When the farms failed, the products of the chase were in demand and vice versa, and 'Pemmican' the by product of the buffalo meat was for long years a staple article of diet in the colony (1).

Few visitors of importance to 'Assiniboia', scientists, literary men or members of the nobility, but accompanied the plainsmen on one of their semi-annual excursions, and we have already noted the attraction which the 'chase' held for the servants in the farming community. Even the settlers them-

- (1). 'Pemmican' and H. B. Co. aid saved the settlers from starvation in the early days, i.e. prior to '26.

selves were at times induced to take part, and certainly the departure of the hunters in the Spring and their return in the autumn was a cause of no little disturbance at these critical seasons in the agricultural calendar.

The 'hunt' was not conducted without order or restraint. A Roman Catholic priest usually accompanied the 'freemen'. A Headman or President supported by a sort of cabinet enforced the laws of the chase, including such rulings as 'No buffalo shall be run on the Sabbath Day' and exacted severe penalties for their violation.

On these expeditions the hunter was usually accompanied by his wife and family. They proceeded generally in a southerly or south westerly direction over the prairies to the hunting ground, sometimes at as great a distance as two hundred miles. The whole settlement is soon apprised of their departure by the creaking of the long line of Red River carts. The function of the women is to skin the animal, cut up the meat and make 'Pemmican'. Arrived at the scene of action, the hunter mounts a plain horse tightly girthed in Mexican style, seeks out the herd on one of the treeless plains thirty or forty miles in extent and approaching quietly, puts spurs to his horse and soon overtakes the furious fugitives. A powder flask at his belt and several bullets in his mouth, he fires, rarely failing to hit in front of the flank and to lay low his victim. He goes on to do likewise to six or eight buffalo and then retraces his steps and claims his own booty generally without dispute, 'so keen is the eye of the child of the prairie'. The camp moves forward and the women do their part. So it continues for many days until 'the haul' is deemed sufficiently great when Eastern cavalcade returns with skin and 'Pemmican' to simple homes.

(b) DOMESTIC AND SOCIAL LIFE.

There was one class in the Roman Catholic community which, at all events, avowed the pursuit of husbandry. This class included those of pure French Canadian blood- retired voyageurs and the Canadian families who had accompanied Provencher in 1818. They were for the most part a people happy and contented in poverty. Of system they knew nothing and the want of it produced confusion and barrenness. In fact, they did all things out of season, and in the Spring when the Protestant was hard at work these so-called 'farmers' might be seen fishing for gold eyes or wasting their time in gossip and dissipation. They seem to have combined the indolence of the habitant with the turbulence of the Metis. Their principle of living being as Ross says:- 'Divide while anything remains and beg when all is done'; They never learned by experience though as a consequence they suffered extremes of abundance and want. In their domestic habits, they were more civilized than their half-breed fellows and a study of their home life reveals 'floors clean- beds made up- and cupboards orderly'(1).

(1). Alexander Ross. 'Red River Settlement'.

The 'plainsmen' became on the union in 1821, the 'sons of the Company' and were admitted to the colony on condition that 'they settle down, cultivate the soil and become Christians'(1). The habits of a life time however were not so easily broken; they remained vagrant and while envious of the farmers, by no means disposed to follow the latter's example. Sowing their little patches of ground early, they set out for the chase leaving only the aged and infirm to look after the crops, so turbulent was their disposition and so compelling the allurements of the chase. Their domestic life was as ill ordered as their farming efforts. Their houses presented a scene of complete confusion. Indifferently they slept on the rough floor, or on beds with the buffalo robe more often than blankets their covering. The average dwelling consisted of one room, bare of furniture and characterized by a multiplied sameness, occasionally relieved by a gaudy religious picture. Strong food, smoking and neglect combined to render the child death rate excessive, while those who survived received a slovenly upbringing. The chief articles of their diet were buffalo meat and strong tea, the latter of which they consumed in quite amazing quantities. Seldom even after a very successful hunt did they liquidate their debts, let alone put by any savings, and when in destitution they turned to the 'petty traders' or any others from whom they could extort an advance. A thriftless but not a vicious lot; on the contrary they were 'generous warm-hearted and brave'.

The 'Canadians' confounded the pursuits of fisherman, farmer and hunter. The chief concern of the Metis was the hunt. A third class, known as 'squatters' deserves our attention. It comprised those half-breeds who from time to time dropped off from the hunt or came in from the Indian camp. Seizing upon the first vacant lot, they 'squatted' on it and had little scruple in calling it their own. Having stripped it of its timber, they moved on to the next lot, there to repeat this performance. In this way the upper and best wooded part of the settlement was laid bare.

The description already given of the domestic habits of the Metis applies with equal force to these, their 'retired' brethren. Indeed it is very difficult to make any distinct cleavage in the characteristics and mode of life of the population of R. C. Red River and with the passing generations there was a rapid development towards homogeneity.

An interesting description of the dress of a typical Red River inhabitant is given us by the Earl of Southesk in his book 'Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains'(2). In this volume he describes a Red River man who met him at St. Paul-'He was dressed' he writes 'in Red River style; a blue cloth capote, hooded frock coat with brass buttons, red and black flannel shirt, (which served for a waistcoat), black belt around the waist, trousers of brown and white striped home made woollen stuff, and buff leather moccasins on his feet'. Though the earl's reference here was obviously to a member of the Roman Catholic community; as we have observed elsewhere- the

(1). Alexander Ross, 'Red River Settlement'.
See Bibliography.

Protestant population in matter of dress were somewhat imitative of their brethren across the river.

None, among the Canadians and half-breeds was so reduced that he did not possess a fine horse and a caricle gaily bedecked with bells and ribbons. Their passion for the pastime of cariolling was at once the height of their glory and the cause of their ruin. Driving parties and trotting matches played a large part in their lives, while of the fiddle they were ardently fond. Their domestic sloveliness may be accounted for, at least in part, by the fact that the half-breed housewives unlike the Scotch were seldom seen in their own kitchen, but more often in their neighbours' homes, abandoning themselves to tea drinking and gossip. Since they were all of the Roman Catholic faith, the great event of the year was midnight mass on Xmas Eve at St. Boniface Cathedral.

(c) THE FUR TRADE AND FREE TRADE.

In the early days the Company had encouraged the hunters for 'Pemmican' was a commodity much needed and well liked. So rapidly did their numbers increase, however, and so steady was agricultural progress in Red River that soon the demand for the products of the chase was quite inadequate to the supply. The Company, therefore, failing in an attempt to discourage so many going to the plains, finally refused to take their wares. Thus the hostility of the Metis aroused by an import duty, increased against the Lords of the Fur Trade. For a time, the Company allowed itself to be bullied into submission rather than risk an outbreak. The ugly feeling of the 'freemen' was shown in the La Rocque incident in 1834 (1). The following year their demand for an 'export trade and the removal of the import duty was simultaneous with the creation of the Council of Assinaboia and the renewed determination of the H. B. Company to overcome the violation of its monopoly.

A trade now sprang up between the Metis and growing American towns along the Mississippi. The Company further enraged the half-breeds by the prosecution of some of their number taken while engaged in this 'fur' trade, far more lucrative than dealing with the H. B. Company. The Papinean rebellion in Lower Canada in 1837 added fuel to the fires of unrest in Red River, and the Papinean flag was raised on the plains. The Metis were still further incensed by the introduction of Adam Thom as judge and Recorder of Ruperts Land in 1839. He was a man of known anti-French prejudices and prohibited the use of the French language in his courts. Moreover as a paid official of the H. B. Company, his chief business was zealously to enforce the monopoly. Scarcely surprising therefore than 1849 saw the 'Sayer' trial, the breakdown of justice and the achievement of Free Trade.

Just at this time, the Company promised twenty-five acres to each young man who would settle on a farm. The buffalo were daily growing fewer in numbers and withdrawing further from

- (1). La Rocque was struck by Thos. Simpson 'a Company's' man- and a hostile Metis demonstration resulted.

the colony. The population of Red River in 1849 was 5,391 souls, of whom 1511 were transients or those who spent part of their time in the colony and part on the plains. Of this number, six hundred and thirty six went to the United States, and the remainder began to settle down. In the final period of our study of Red River, we shall find that the 'hunt' was still the chief occupation of the Roman Catholic community. The purely vagrant life, however, was passing, and even for the turbulent plainsmen the era of settlement had begun.

(d) RELIGION AND EDUCATION.

The Roman Catholic Church had no organization corresponding to the C. M. S., supporting it in its work in Red River. The tithe, 1/26 of all grain customary in Eastern Canada was exacted here. The bishop was the recipient of two substantial grants from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in 1840 and '42, respectively. From 1825 - '33 the Bishop of Juliopolis received from the H. B. Company fifty pounds annually together with a supply of table luxuries. In 1830, on the instigation of Sir. Geo. Simpson, a grant of one hundred pounds was made for repairs to the church at St. Boniface. When the Council of Assinaboia came into being, it assumed a double responsibility and thenceforward the Catholic mission received one hundred pounds a year plus the table luxuries. A further donation of one hundred pounds was made to the construction of the first St. Boniface Cathedral begun in 1853 - the cathedral of the 'turrets twain'.

A parallel endeavour to that of Cochran among the Indians at Netley Creek was launched in 1834 under the direction of the Rev. Antoine Belcourt, a young priest of ability and energy later to come into prominence as the 'brains' behind the Metis agitation for Free Trade. This was really the second project amongst natives within the confines of the colony, sponsored by the Church of Rome, for even prior to 1826, Provencher had induced some of the Saulteaux to sow wheat in four different localities. This second attempt was made at Baie St. Paul or St. Eustache on the Assiniboine some thirty miles above the 'Forks'. A school was established by one Angelique Nolin, and two years later the first five members of the Saulteaux nation were admitted to the 'Christian Fellowship'. In 1837 Belcourt was succeeded by Pere Poire and six years later 'the settlement was abandoned. Its failure may be traced to two main causes. In the first place, the more practical side of the work, characteristic of Cochran, was less prominent and there was too little belief that civilization must to some extent precede evangelization. Secondly, whereas in the case of the Protestant venture, the natives were impressed with the order and industry of the settlers, in the Roman Catholic case, they beheld white men and half-breeds leading a life well nigh as vagrant as their own.

We have hinted at the influence of the Protestant clergy on the Council of Assinaboia - the father of social and political legislation in Red River. In 1837, Provencher was admitted to full membership on the Council, and thenceforward the R. C. Church wielded a growing influence on that body and hence in all matters relating to the general welfare of the people of Assinaboia.

The year 1844, is a significant date in the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Western Canada. In that year Provencher heretofore bishop 'in partibus infidelium' became episcopal head of a separate Apostolic Vicariate into which Ruperts Land was created by the Holy See. In this year too, Provencher finally prevailed upon De Mazenod, Superior of the order of 'Oblates of Mary Immaculate' in Montreal to undertake a supply of clergy for his newly created diocese. The coming of the first two Oblates was full of significance for the future of missions in this country, as our subsequent study will further reveal. Moreover, one of them was Frere Tache, later to become successor to Provencher and an illustrious figure in the history of the country. By the end of 1846, the bishop had seven priests. The era of great missionary activity in the colony and in the interior, had begun.

We have recorded the beginning of St. Boniface College. In 1827, there were students in residence, and in 1834 a class of six students under the direction of Rev. J. B. Thibault. It was not until 1857, however, that the work of 'higher' education in Roman Catholic Red River was seriously and successfully undertaken.

In 1829 the first school for girls was organized under Miss Angelique Nolin and her younger sister, daughters of a former officer of the North West Company. Two years later, these young ladies, who had been educated in Canada, organized a similar school for boys.

In 1838 two women from Canada were hired by the Hudson Bay Company to teach weaving. By arrangement with the bishop, the mission furnished a house, board and a loom. The garments produced were good and durable, if a bit crude. This was the first industrial school opened, the forerunner of technical schools in Manitoba. It was destroyed by fire a year later, but on a contribution of fifty pounds from the Council, the work was continued, though under less satisfactory conditions.

Perhaps the greatest of the three great events in the history of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, that took place in 1844, was the coming of Grey Nuns or Filles de Madame de Youville. It was extremely important, at all events in its relation to the colony, for these 'sisters' took charge of educational work in R. C. Red River. They, too, came from Montreal, the first ladies to arrive being Sisters Valade, Lagrave, Couttlic and La France. Their chief business was instruction, but each was skilled in some special field of knowledge, such as 'medicine'

and they performed no small number of acts of mercy and charity. A new era in education as in missions commenced. By June, 1845, there were eighty children at school in Red River under the Roman Catholics; five schools with a fair attendance and other less regular institutions. A Convent was commenced in this year, a two storey structure, which when completed was patronized by the best families of Red River including the H. B. bourgeois of whatever sort.

The year 1849 found the R. C. Church thoroughly organized. A seminary for boys and one for girls at St. Boniface, the primary schools already mentioned and the work of evangelization in the hands of a powerful order of priests. The next period was to see the R. C. Church engaged in a great program of native salvation throughout the Interior, and in the colony in the task of building up a 'Quebec' on the banks of the Red River.

111. CULTURE AND LETTERS.

The average settlers both Protestant and Roman Catholic in Red River were generally speaking 'strangers to books'. The literary and scientific activity of these early days is consequently thrown into more prominent relief and the 'prestige' which we have mentioned as a contribution of the H. B. officers to Red River is revealed.

The first collection of books in Assinaboia was the contribution of one Peter Fidler, a trusted servant of the Company, who on his decease in 1822 bequeathed to the settlement some five hundred volumes. He was no doubt typical in his habits of many of the Company's officers, whom, we learn, were wont to prefer to use the small space granted them in the annual 'packet' from England for the importation of books, rather than for luxuries or delicacies which might have added to their physical comfort.

In 1847 the Council of Assinaboia voted fifty pounds for the purchasing of books in England, for the 'Red River Library'. This was the first official recognition of the collection of books, which was under the charge of Donald Gunn in the parish of St. Andrew's. It is evident that the interest of the officers then present in the colony(1) stimulated the Council to action and on September 20, 1848, Adam Thom moved that 'the public library be a body politic and corporate' and 'that all importations of books be exempted from all public dues, and that the books bequeathed by the late Mr. Peter Fidler be placed under the corporation aforesaid'. Thus the Red River Library received its official inauguration.

The officers of the Company again appear prominently in a circle of 'correspondents' which continued to operate from the

(1). Five hundred troops came to the colony in 1846 under Col. Crofton from Canada.

Union of the Companies in 1821 up to 1859, but which was particularly active in its early years, and included Rev. D. T. Jones, Governor Bulger, James Hargrave, Alexander Ross and others. Their letters show an interest in current affairs and an attention to, and appreciation of the best of literature of the day. There were too, according to Mrs Bryce, 'some careful observers in daily diaries' (1), many of whom corresponded with the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, to which they contributed some valuable collections in natural history. This early scientific interest developed steadily in Red River and resulted, as we shall see, in the establishment in the early 'sixties' of the first 'Scientific Institute of Ruperts Land'. Several names prominent in the literary life of the period are worthy of mention. We have already referred to the letters of John Pritchard. Covering up to 1836, they give us interesting side lights on life in Red River, and on the character of the man himself, who before 1826 gave instruction to his own children and his 'evenings to self improvement'. During his stay in Assinaboia, (1839 - '54), Adam Thom undoubtedly earned the title 'judge and philosopher of Red River'. An old College friend of McAllum, he was like the former, a man of education and culture. We have noted his practical efforts on behalf of the Red River library. He was further a Bible student and a public lecturer of some repute. Alexander Ross came to the 'Colony Gardens' in 1825, having married a native wife in 'British Columbia'. He soon assumed leadership of the Presbyterian body, was Sheriff of the settlement and a man of very considerable influence. His chief published work up to 1849 was 'Columbia River', which appeared in that year.

Perhaps the most interesting of the literary figures of this epoch was Donald Gunn. Retired from the H. B. service, he took up farming at 'Little Britain', a pursuit which he soon abandoned to become for a period of eighteen years the master of the parish school of St. Andrew's. Full information on topography, history and natural history of the country and a constant correspondent of the Smithsonian Institute, Gunn lived at Little Britain 'at the centre of literary lore in Red River'. The happy guardian of the Red River library, he welcomed the frequent contributions of H. B. officers to its selves.

Other published works of this period include 'Journals of John West', which appeared in London in 1827, and which are unique as a revelation of the conditions of the country during the author's residence here. In the 'Life and Travels of Thomas Simpson', published in 1845, by his brother Alex. Simpson, we have letters from the 'explorer' (2) which are very intimate and graphic concerning the Red River of his day. It will be

- (1). 'Early Red River Culture'. Mrs Bryce. Transaction of Manitoba Historical Soc. No. 51.
- (2). Thomas Simpson was known as the Arctic Explorer.

remembered that it was he who struck La Rocque and precipitated the La Rocque demonstration in 1834. In 1847 appeared Sir Geo. Simpson's 'Voyage Round the World', containing interesting material concerning the settlement. Two years later, John MacLean wrote in 'Twenty-five years service in the H. B. Company' 'there are all the elements of civilized life in this remote settlement and many well educated and accomplished'.

In 1846-7, a young Toronto artist spent some time in the colony and recorded his impressions of the unique and romantic life of those days on canvas. These pictures by Paul Kane, a relic of the culture of Red River, should be secured and preserved by the Government of Manitoba. Little enough has been done to make accessible and operative the traditions of Red River 'of Old'.

IV. CONCLUSION.

Red River during the period we have examined has been called 'the one acted poem in our great national prosaic life'. The idyllic conception conveyed to the mind by this phraseology, I find, in my research, to be all too prevalent.

The suffering consequent on the crop failure, and the non-arrival of the annual Red River 'packet' in 1836, is a striking indication of both the isolation and struggle of life in Assiniboia. The terrible ravages of the 'Bloody Flux' among both whites and Indians in 1846, is an illustration of themisery which accompanied illness or any forced departure from the routine of life at the 'Forks'. The wretchedness of the life of many of the natives in and around the colony suggests little of the ideal. The uncouth and unhealthy home life of the Metis left much to be desired. The free use of liquor by whites and Indians could not have been tolerated in Sir Thomas Moore's 'Utopia'.

No. By the year 1849, some real material comfort had been achieved by industry and economy. Religion and education is firmly and finally established by the heroic efforts of the pioneer missionaries. The era of 'settlement' has begun: Life on the prairies has romance and attractions nowhere else offered, but we who live in the west today, cannot easily imagine an 'idyll' of existence three quarters of a century ago on the site of the City of Winnipeg.

LIFE AND LETTERS IN RED RIVER.

1812 - '63.

CHAPTER 111. (1849 - '63).

1. INTRODUCTORY.

The final period of our study of Red River is marked by geographical expansion and the growth of influences of the outside world. The first of these factors will be revealed in the sections dealing with the development of the church, for church extension paralleled and sometimes preceded that of settlement. It will be a further aid to the imagination to compare the extent of settled territory in Assinaboia in 1849 with that in 1863. In the latter year, the colony extended without serious interruption down the Red for a distance of about forty miles, up that river for some twenty miles and along the Assiniboine chiefly on its northern bank for some sixty miles.

The constituent elements of the population have already been described. By 1857, there was a marked decrease in the number of pure European and Canadian families in Red River. The Rev. John Ryerson, a representative of the Wesleyan Church who visited the country in 1854, reported that 'In the two principal sections of the population the pure Europeans are necessarily very few and becoming fewer every day', and in 1856, Henry Youle Hind made note of the same condition (1).

The reason, of course, is not far to seek. The European element consisted, as we have seen chiefly of Orkney-men and Selkirk settlers; the Canadian sector of the retired voyageurs of the North West Co. The identity of the Selkirk people was scrupulously retained. The other types, however, intermarried with the natives with the result that after a few generations the European and Canadian blood was almost completely merged in the native. In addition to this cause of nature,

- (1). Mr. Ryerson's statement was contained in a letter to the Rev. Enoch Wood dated Lower Fort Garry, Aug. 1, 1854- Further references to Hind's report will make the second reference clear.

The 'Pensioners' who had come to the colony in 1847-8 had for the most part migrated and in 1857 were succeeded in their capacity as a local garrison by the 'Canadian Rifles'. The Lincoln farmers too had left the settlement; their failure being due to their natural incapacity for frugality and hardship, and in 1859, the Earl of Southesk observed that 'there were few Englishmen, in the Colony'. Red River, too was robbed of much of its youth by the migration of a considerable body of young men who sought reward for honest toil in the United States. It was this danger of a dominant native and half-breed population, combined with or resulting from the sterile political and economic condition of the colony which led Hind to urge an influx of immigrants from Canada and Europe as the only safeguard and guarantee for the future of the country. Soon many influences were at work to make the complete isolation of Red River short lived.

The incipient 'contraband' trade with the United States liberated in 1849, was fast developing and furs and farm products were given in exchange for manufactured articles at St. Paul. In 1853 a monthly mail service was established between Fort Garry and Fort Ripley in Minnesota. Some time later it became a bi-monthly service, and by 1863, mail was received and dispatched once a week between Fort Garry and Pembina. The fame of Red River was gradually noised abroad. Visitors recorded their impressions of the unique life of the community in journals, books, and in the Canadian and American Press. Explorers and investigators such as Hind wrote exhaustive reports of life in all its phases in this remote part of the world. Others came to hunt and were seized by the fatal fascination of this romantic, semi-civilized mode of existence. The report of the 'Dawson Route' expedition in 1859 attracted such men as Caldwell and Buckingham, first editors of the 'Nor Wester', which thenceforward was a great factor in minimizing the isolation of Assinaboia. Dr. Schultz too came about this time and it was approximately from this year forward that the great influx from Canada and the United States took place.

Immigration slow in its initial stages gained momentum with the passing years. The rule of the Hudson Bay Company was foredoomed. The 'Report' of 1857 had recommended that Ruperts Land be 'ceded to Canada' (1) and 'Assinaboia' moved rapidly forward to the 'Transfer' in 1870. We choose 1863 as the date to close our inquiry as logical, and at least in part, because of the Hudson Bay 'sale' to the International Finance Company in that year. This event would seem to indicate that the influence of the newcomers was beginning to make itself felt and that the Red River of 'Idyllic Tradition' may be regarded as a thing of the past.

The cosmopolitan nature of the population, is best described by Milton and Cheadle who passing through Assinaboia in 1862 wrote 'We found a very heterogenous community of about eight thousand souls, Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotchmen, English Canadians,

(1) The 1857 report had recommended that 'the districts on the Red River and the Saskatchewan' should be 'ceded to Canada on equitable principles by' arrangements as between her Majesty's Government and the Hudson Bay Company.

Scotch Canadians, French Canadians, Americans, English half-breeds, Canadian half-breeds and Indians'(1). It will be seen from this statement that the 'original' settlers were still in the majority. By 1866 however, the population was ten thousand, clearly indicating an increase by immigration while at the time of the 'transfer' the population of the colony has been variously estimated at from twelve to fifteen thousand souls.

11. ROMAN CATHOLIC RED RIVER.

(a) Life of the People.

In its issue for Oct. 1'61 the 'NorWester' said 'The part of the settlement on the Assiniboine is partly Protestant and partly Roman Catholic, that on the Red River above Fort Garry is exclusively Roman Catholic, that below the Fort exclusively Protestant'. Having in mind this geographical distinction and recognizing the inter-dependence of the two sectors in Red River, it will again serve our purposes to treat of each separately.

The factor of prime importance in our study of the Roman Catholic community in this last period is the growth of the church organization and the power of the priesthood. The types remained much the same, save (as we have already hinted), that with the passing generations those of pure French Canadian blood became fewer and the hybrid Metis greater in numbers.

The hunt and the fur trade continued to constitute the chief occupations of the half-breeds. Hind summed up the evidence as to their mode of life as follows 'No one' he said 'can fail to be struck with the indifference to the future which seems habitually to characterize the people, especially the French population, and to show itself in their unfinished dwellings neglected farms and extravagant indulgence in dress or articles they covet'. Under the influence of the church a larger proportion was induced to settle on the land or at least was weaned from complete abandonment to the hunt. None the less there developed two distinct bands of buffalo hunters, one being those of Red River, the other of White Horse Plains, who preferred the wild excitement and precarious independence of a hunter's life to the tame pursuit of agriculture. It was this independence which gave Hind some misgivings and led him to discern that the whole Metis population could pass at short notice on to the plains, where, capable of organization and thoroughly at home they could offer very considerable resistance to armed constituted authority.

The Earl of Southesk, who as we have observed passed through the colony in 1858-9, remarked on the demand for 'voyageurs' by land and water, which carried off a large proportion of the able bodied young men including French half-breeds of whom he says 'No man will labour more cheerfully or gallantly in the severe toil of the voyageurs calling, but these efforts are of short duration and when they are ended his chief desire is to do nothing but eat, drink, smoke and be merry'. Southesk's obvious admiration of the character and temperament of the half-breed is justified in virtually all available evidence on the matter. Indeed the only

(1). The 'North West Passage by Land'. Viscount Milton & Dr. Cheadle. See Bibliography.

contrary reference comes from the pen of Viscount Milton who spoke of the breeds as 'incorrigibly lazy, under the domination of the priests, grossly immoral, often dishonest and generally not trustworthy'. Morice resents such imputations and quotes Dawson as saying that 'Crime is scarcely known among the breeds who are a perfectly honest and moral people'. Ross is of the same opinion and cites the following instance in support of his contention: It was the winter season. A traveller in Red River dropped a money box in the snow. He discovered his loss the following day when a half-breed who had found the box and wished to restore it to its owner caught up with the party after a pursuit of many miles. On the whole the consensus of opinion shows the half breeds as a people, illiterate, much influenced by the priests, turbulent, but neither vicious nor immoral.

On the Council of Assinaboia the Roman Catholics had an influential voice. In 1850 three half breeds were appointed magistrates for the White Horse Plains district while Maximilian Genton and Francois Bruneau cooperated with three 'Englishmen' in the administration of the upper district 'all of which goes to show' says Morice 'the growth of the Catholic element and its importance in the colony of Assinaboia'. Of the relations of the Catholic priesthood to the people to whom they ministered Bishop Tache wrote as follows on his return from a trip to Europe in 1857-58. 'We live in the most cordial relationships, the law is obeyed, spirits are tranquil and hearts content'---'Nous n'avons point d'etranger et nous vivons en famille'(1). The personality of Tache made itself felt not only among his own people, but in the whole settlement. He aided in practical reforms for the moral and social good of the community and in 1860 secured the passage of a bill in the Council, providing that no work be done, no meetings of the Council or of the different courts be held on Saints Days or other Holy Days. Thus were certain dates in the Red River Calendar set aside as holidays. In the fight against the liquor traffic Provencher had led by a vow of personal abstinence. A temperance society was formed in St. Boniface and through R. C. influence the passage of a bill was secured providing that 'no one be allowed to sell beer or wine without a license.'

It is less than just to charge the Roman Catholic element with retarding the material or social progress of Red River at all events up to 1863. That progress was retarded by the condition of political sterility which induced an economic situation by which the two sections of the population were thrown into an inter-dependence almost absolute. It was only after the 'opening up' of the country that the inherent inability to adopt a civilized mode of life, and the tenacious guardianship of rights and privileges on the part of church and people in Roman Catholic Red River was thrown into prominence. The process however which ended in these results had been one of gradual and steady growth.

(1). Vie de Tache. Dom. Benoit. The liberty of a free translation has been taken.

(b) RELIGION AND EDUCATION.

There are R. C. charges substantiated by some evidence that the Hudson Bay Company lent its influence rather to the side of Anglican missions in the Interior. Its relations with the Roman Church however were on the whole of a harmonious nature. The one hundred pounds annual contribution to the Bishop's funds from the Council was continued and on Dec. 9, 1852, the Council voted fifteen pounds to the R. Catholics having made a similar grant to Rev. John Black, the Presbyterian minister, the year previously. The Bishop on his return from Europe received free passage for himself and two lay brothers. Convincing evidence of the attitude of the H. B. Co., to the question of education in the whole settlement is found in the minutes of the Council as late as Feb. 22, 1866, when it felt 'that its funds would not admit of grants to education'. Its further statement that the work must be carried on as in the past by the Churches was at once condemnatory of its attitude and an eloquent tribute to the Church. Aside from the H. B. contributions, the income of the R. C. Church in Red River was derived from the tithe (1/26 of all grain), certain fees and dues, gifts from the church in Europe and Canada, personal expenditure on the part of the bishop and the gratuitous services of many of his priests, nuns and lay brothers.

The year 1853 really corresponds in the history of the Catholic Church in Western Canada to 1849 in the Anglican Calendar. In that year, Provencher, apostle and pioneer, was 'cut off' before he could see the full fruits of his labour. Pere Alexander Tache who had been named coadjutor in 1850 succeeded Provencher as bishop of 'St. Boniface', as the R. C. diocese was now called. This final period demonstrated that nowhere has the characteristic thoroughness of R. C. organization been better exemplified than in the parishes of Assinaboia, and that its missionary zeal has never been more aggressive and comprehensive than in the vast interior of the North West.

St. Boniface remained the chief parish of Red River. In 1853 there were eleven hundred parishioners 'mostly on the soil'. Eleven sisters ministered to the sick. By 1860 the church population had grown to fourteen hundred. At St. Francois Xavier on White Horse Plains, the population grew in the same period from nine hundred to eleven hundred, and this number was exclusive of the large body of hunters who spent part of their time in the colony. A nucleus of a parish at Sturgeon River St. Charles, grew from two hundred to two hundred and fifty and in 1860 had a log house as a place of worship and a visiting priest. In 1854 materials for a church were collected at St. Norbert, nine miles up the Red on its western bank, and three years later it was created a parish. Benoit tells us in his 'Vie De Tache', that the bishop 'gave this new community a piece of land, four chains in extent, on the site of the church, extending in depth as far as the Red River and further on the east side of the river another piece of six chains by two miles in depth'(1). By 1860 there was at St. Norbert, a church, a

(1). As the title indicates this volume is in French. The liberty of a free translation has been taken.

a priest's house and seven hundred parishioners. In this year a few Metis began to settle on east side of the river about six miles up from St. Boniface. Tache created a parish naming it St. Vital after the patron Saint of his coadjutor. 'Vital Grandin'. 'He himself', writes Benoit 'became their visiting chaplain, celebrated Mass and gave instruction to some of the neighbourhood folk who gathered to hear him' at the end of the day(1).

1860 was the year of the great fire and the destruction of St. Boniface Cathedral. This shrine of Roman Catholic Red River was a total loss. Here where Lenten services had been solemnly observed and Mass celebrated in pomp and magnificence on Christmas Eve, Bishop Tache knelt in the ashes and accepted the catastrophe as of Divine Will. In one of its first issues the 'Nor Wester' referred to a Xmas eve celebration in the cathedral in terms which spoke of 'much magnificence, a crowded edifice, great ceremonial, fine organ and choir and an eloquent address'. A valuable library was destroyed and in the words of the colony journal 'the burning of the cathedral was a great loss architecturally as in other ways'. But chiefly conspicuous after the fire was the absence 'of the sweet chimes of the R. C. mission across the river' which for many years had charmed both visitor and dweller in Red River.

Undaunted the bishop went to Europe and returned by way of Canada bringing with him contributions to his cathedral fund, notably one of twelve hundred pounds from the 'faithful' in the east. Rebuilding was at once begun and on All Saints Day 1863 the new Cathedral was opened though it was not completed for some years.

The Oblates continued to grow in numbers and in zeal. In 1854 there were seven of the order, all but one at work in the Interior - and four secular priests. In the same year Pere Vital Grandin came to the colony and three years later was made coadjutor to Tache with the title of Bishop of Satala. 'By Dec. 20, 1857' says Morice 'there were fourteen Oblates in the diocese with headquarters in the Bishop's house, two secular priests, and six lay brothers who looked after the material side of the various establishments' (2). By the end of 1860 there were thirty three persons consecrated to the work of the Roman Catholic Church in the diocese of St. Boniface.

A short time subsequent to the bishop's return from Europe there was a division of the diocese and Pere Faraud who had accompanied him became 'Bishop of Anemour'. 'In 1862 came the Rev. Joseph Ritchot, the precursor of a new series of parish priests who helped Bishop Tache to make Catholic Manitoba what it is today' (2). Subsequent political events connected with the name 'Ritchot' increase our conviction that the racial and.....

(1). 'Vie de Tache'.

(2). The Roman Catholic Church in Western Canada. A.G.Morice,O.M.I, 1910.

religious movement which began with the arrival of Provencher in 1818 had become a very discerning policy of the Roman Catholic Church.

When Tache became bishop the work of education in the several R. C. parishes was in the hands of the Grey Nuns 'who not only taught the young' says Morice, 'but raised the orphans, treated the sick, took care of the sacristies and rendered innumerable smaller services'. The Metis parents were either too ignorant or too careless to teach their children and the torch of knowledge was kept burning by the nuns who entered every phase of the life of the people' and wielded as easily the scythe and other agricultural implements as those more usually associated with their sex'(1). In 1850 a school had been established by two sisters at St. Francois Xavier. At St. Boniface there was a convent for girls well attended not only by the R. C's but by the best children of the Protestant community including those of the H. B. Bourgeois. (3) The boys school however was but poorly attended and Provencher had only been prevented by lack of funds and an early death from bringing in Christian Teaching brothers to take charge of boys work. In 1852 the 'faithful' of Montreal contributed three hundred and sixty four pounds to schools in Red River, and as the fruit of their generosity there arrived two years later three 'brothers' who established at the Bishop's house. By 1857 they were giving a comprehensive course of instruction to fifty-eight boys in a building 60 x 34 - a short distance below the prelate's house. The same year a third convent in addition to those of St. Boniface and Francois Xavier was founded in the new parish of St. Norbert.

At one time the withdrawal of the Grey Nuns seemed inevitable. Word went forth that they should be under the direction of the diocese in which they laboured. In St. Boniface this responsibility would have been too great and the catastrophe of losing them was averted by union with Quebec and the assistance of a local 'Superior'. There can be no doubt of the fine calibre and great value of their work. Morice quotes Dawson as saying of them 'The effect of their zeal and piety and unflinching industry are manifest in the social improvement of the race for whose benefit they are content to lead a life of toil and privation'.

In Vol. 1 No. 1 of the 'Nor Wester' we learn of the success of the teaching brothers in the 'college'(2). Referring to the annual examination the paper spoke of its 'completeness and thoroughness'- the students 'familiarity with both French and English'; of debating 'practised with some ardour', musical performances 'pleasing and effective'. The usual elementary subjects were taught and attention was paid to branches of higher mathematics such as Algebra and geometry. The classics too were read though in a less ambitious way than in St. John's

- (1). Morice.
- (2). The first issue of the 'Nor Wester' appeared on Dec. 28, 1859.
- (3). Ryerson found between forty and fifty young women in this Convent.

College under the tutelage of Bishop Anderson.

In 1860 the three Christian brothers left Red River, apparently inspired with the timidity of their Superior in the East. Bishop Tache met the situation by adopting a plan which he had long nursed. He put Oblates in charge of the college. The scheme was successful. Bilingualism continued with Father Lefloch as head of the school - a specialist in French, and Father Oram his assistant professor of English. Elementary courses, commercial courses and a classical finishing school were the main features of the curriculum.

Let us then sum up educational conditions in the Roman Catholic community in 1860. At St. Boniface there were two Academies, one for girls and the other for boys comprehending the ordinary day schools. In the Convent a boarding department took care of some twenty young ladies and a section for orphans and neglected children ministered to fifteen inmates. The sisters also kept a day school attended by from twenty to thirty children. At St. Norbert there were two schools; thirty one boys under lay brothers (1) twenty nine girls under Grey Nuns. At St. Francois Xavier one school under the nuns provided for the needs of twenty-six girls and thirteen boys. The newly created parish of St. Vital was looked after in matters of education by two nuns.

More schools were needed, adequately to minister to the large R. C. population. Lack of funds, however, and the apathy of the people set bounds to whatever the great enthusiasm of the church could accomplish. Scarcely one child in ten contributed the small annual fee of ten shillings. The operation of the college itself cost five hundred and eighty pounds per annum, of which the parents contributed but one hundred and sixty-three pounds. None the less, the good work went on. In 1862 there were some changes on the college staff and in 1866 St. Boniface College was re-organized on the basis on which it joined with its sister institutions St. John's and Manitoba to form the University of Manitoba in 1877.

All visitors to Red River seem to have been struck with interest and admiration for the work done by the Grey Nuns. The Earl of Southesk was delighted with the whole St. Boniface educational system. The pupils were instructed not only in the ordinary subjects of a school curriculum but in music, manners and morals, while in the grounds connected with the two Academies, skill in husbandry was developed and artistic taste inculcated.

Bishop Tache like his contemporaries Bishop Anderson and Rev. John Black, took a personal interest in the training of the youth, and Bencit tells us that in 1858 he sent three Metis boys

- (1). Note the distinction between Christian Teaching Brothers and Lay Brothers.

to Eastern Canada. Riel, brilliant but ill balanced was one of these and on the whole the experiment was not a success.

St. Boniface must have presented an attractive appearance in 1864 with its cathedral, bishop's house and handsome convent and college. Its appearance was not only attractive however, but typical of the system of the Church of Rome. Religion and education went hand in hand with 'social service', all directed by a benevolent priesthood. Having in mind the nature of the people among whom the work was carried on there can be no doubt that it was a success, both as a factor in the improvement of the life of society and from the standpoint of the Church in the safeguarding of French and Roman Catholic privileges.

III. 'THE PRESBYTERIAN COMMUNITY'.

With the separation of the highland people from the Anglican Church on the arrival of Rev. John Black in 1851, there developed a distinctively Presbyterian culture, with certain phases of which we aim to deal in this section. Ryerson who visited the settlement in 1854 observed 'the remnant of Lord Selkirk's highlanders who with very rare exceptions indeed have inter-married entirely with each other' (1). The backbone of the agricultural class they were universally allowed to be the most industrious people in the community, and in the words of a visitor in 1860 'the salt which has saved it till now. These circumstances merit special attention and make it a matter of wisdom if not necessity.

With loyalty and enthusiasm the Scotch settlers rallied round their first pastor proving that their persistent demand for a man of their own persuasion was no mere loud mouthed protest against Anglicanism. Soon they formed the only parish in Red River self supporting in matters of religion and education. The H. B. Co., made an initial contribution to their cause by a grant of 'Frog Plain' as a church site, accompanied by a donation of one hundred and fifty pounds. For some time too John Black was the recipient of an annual Company stipend of fifty pounds. On the whole one is inclined to agree with the Nor'Wester which wrote as follows in its issue for Nov. 1, '62. 'The company has treated the Presbyterians with definite generosity. They contribute annually as a Company as do many of their officers'. In addition the journal pointed out that the Company had granted the Presbyterians land on its reserve at the Lower Fort for church and school purposes- six chains in frontage and eighty-two acres in extent. In 1852 the Minutes of the Council of Assinaboia contain record of a special contribution of fifteen pounds to Rev. John Black 'for the purposes of education'.

Services were first held in a 'Manse' erected by the settlers on receipt of the news that they were to have their own

(1). Hudson Bay, A Missionary Tour in the territory of the Hon. Hudson Bay Co. Rev. J. Ryerson.

minister. By 1853 a stone church with a seating capacity of something over five hundred was opened, free of debt though its cost had amounted to 1050 pounds. In the same year a church was opened at 'Little Britain' - fourteen miles down the river from Frog Plain. In his ministrations to this second congregation Black was assisted by Donald Gunn, the chief resident of the district.

John Black soon proved himself spiritually, mentally and physically the man for the position. A man of deep conviction, accurate scholarship and vivid imagination he was destined to be a unique force in the religious and educational life of Assinaboia. In 1856 the condition of the church was shown in Black's report to Hind. The Presbyterian community numbered sixty families or seven hundred and eighty souls, chiefly Selkirk men plus a few Orkney-men, one Englishman and one Swiss. At both churches the 'Sabbath schools' were in a flourishing state. Besides the usual Sunday services and Union services with the Anglicans: mid-week prayer meetings were held on Tuesdays and a public lecture on Thursdays of each week.

In 1862 the Rev. James Nisbet arrived to assist Black in his ministerial labours and was hailed by the Nor'Wester as 'a man of a thoroughly missionary spirit and of first rate education'. In the same year the third Presbyterian church was opened at Headingley to provide for a growing population, and the following year the Church in Canada which had sent out Black and Nisbet donated two hundred pounds in aid of Presbyterian churches and schools in Red River. These are the beginnings of Presbyterianism in Western Canada and Knox Church, Winnipeg is the lineal descendant of John Black's first church on 'Frog Plain'.

Though he recognized the worth and influence of St. John's College, John Black had distinctly Presbyterian aspirations in education. He gave much time to the tutoring of some of the ambitious youth of his flock in classics and mathematics and not a few 'graduates' of the Presbyterian parish school having passed through his hands, pursued their courses with much success in Eastern institutions, notably Knox College, Toronto.

At St. Andrews Donald Gunn conducted a Commercial school for a period, the object of which was the training of those who intended to enter the service of the Company. The school was entirely supported by the fees of the scholars, most of whom were recruited from amongst the Scotch settlers.

We have observed the reason for the discontent of the Selkirk people with the average parish school and their plea for their own schoolmaster. In 1849 the first Presbyterian school was opened under one John Inkster in the house of John Flett. Some one hundred and fifty pounds was the initial voluntary contribution of the people to this project and economy was the watch word of the authorities. The caretaking was done by the pupils. Text books at first were little used. Reading and spelling from the Bible was the order of the day and a systematic study was made of the shorter

catechism. On long backless benches the children sat down to recite their lessons and rose up to take part in the frequent spelling contests. For fifteen years, instruction was carried on in a log house on Frog plain, and of the ordinary parish schools it was the best equipped in the colony.

The teacher was selected by a board of Trustees, plain blunt men who did their duty with conspicuous fidelity. Though the community was often sore pressed to raise a salary sufficient to guarantee the permanence of a good man the school enjoyed the services of a succession of teachers of character and ability. Black reported to Hind that the average attendance was from thirty-five to forty, that the teachers salary varied with the ability of successive teachers from twenty to forty pounds a year, and that the school was open all the year round with the exception of the usual holidays and a month in harvest season. The subjects taught included, Grammar, geography, English history, English composition, Arithmetic, and the elements of Algebra and geometry. By 1869 with D. B. Whimster as master, the School was at the zenith of its success. It had proved a fine influence on the intelligence of the community and worthy to be the forbear of Manitoba College founded in 1871 under Dr. Geo. Bryce.

The only key to the character of the Selkirk settlers is to be found in their religion. 'If there was a suspicion of superstition in the religion of those days' says R. G. Macbeth, 'it was begotten of a profound reverence for the Almighty and a deep sense of the mystery of Eternal things' (1). We have noted as features of their social life the custom of 'kirking' and the funeral feast- both connected with their religion. Baptism too was a great event. Long days were spent in the preparation of the christening robe and friends and relatives all attended the service. Their theology being of the sterner type emotions were stifled and undeserved eulogy even of the dead withheld. Family worship was the core of a rich home life - an art which by them was understood and practised.

A warmly hospitable people they were. Winter was the season for recreation, entertainment and the development of the social nature. For the younger folk there were dances and outdoor sports of which 'carioling' was the chief. For all, the 'Frog Plain' literary society provided stimulating discussions, preceded by honest research. The program included too recitations in prose and poetry and the usual social 'refreshments'. The class room of the school was the accustomed place of meeting and in these primitive forums was developed a rugged and forceful eloquence which proved its worth in the legislative debates of Manitoba of a later day.

IV. RELIGION AND EDUCATION UNDER THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

In 1849 the Bishopric of Rupertsland was created by Letters patent and endowed to the extent of ten thousand pounds by bequest of one James Leith- a chief factor of the Company. The bequest was made.

(1). 'Selkirk Settlers in Real Life'. R. G. Macbeth.

on condition that three hundred pounds per annum should be contributed to the same object by the H. B. Co., These amounts together with certain annual grants, the support of the several missionary societies in England and his interest in the Fur Trade were the sources of Bishop Anderson's income who did not spare personal expenditure on the spiritual and temporal welfare of his diocese.

The Minutes of the Council of Assinaboia for May 1, '51 contain record of a grant of one hundred pounds to be divided between the Bishops of Rupertsland and of the North West 'for the purposes of education. The Rev. John Ryerson referred in 1854 to a grant of one hundred and thirty pounds in aid of common schools 'a few years ago'. Such grants were deprecated by the London Committee 'as a misapplication of the Public fund' and this at a time when education in both Protestant and Roman Catholic Red River, owed its existence and its upkeep to church effort. We learn from the Report of 1857, that the annual grant of one hundred pounds formerly to the Red River Academy was now donated to the St. Cross school for young ladies. One of the clergy at the settlement was Chaplain to the Company at one hundred and fifty pounds per annum. Missionaries in the interior of the diocese, usually engaged in both teaching and preaching, received free transportation from the old land in the Company's boats, and in many instances a salary from the Company. On the whole the attitude of the Hudson Bay Co., towards missionary effort seems to have arisen from an attempt to reconcile justice in these matters with the protection of its monopoly and we can understand its fear that 'If missionaries and mission stations increase fur trade must decrease'.

At the settlement itself the Company showed little intention of responding to the Bishop's plea before the '57 Committee that it should make 'a grant in aid to education' and assisted by the settlers thus relieve the English Missionary Societies, nor is there evidence that it supplied His Lordship with the requested contribution of five hundred pounds to his new cathedral. A provision in the property lease of Assinaboia calling for the lessees contribution to religion and education was seldom enforced. The Company in defence of its position argued that as the chief importer in Red River, and hence as bearing the chief burden of the 4% import duty it was the largest contributor to the funds of the Council of Assinaboia, at least part of which were expended on religion and education. In short the direct assistance of the Lords of the Fur Trade to the funds of the Church in Assinaboia was limited to certain money payments as indicated and such spasmodic gifts as that recorded by the Nor' Wester for Aug. 1'62, in which there is reference to the consecration of a burial ground at Headingley - the donation of the H. B. Co.

The only instance of active opposition on the part of the H. B. Co. to missionary effort was its prohibition amounting to a threat against the planting of the 'Prairie Portage' in 1856. In that year Archdeacon Cochran established a mission on the present site of Portage La Prairie as a rallying place in the wilderness, just outside the boundaries of Assinaboia- It was opposed by the

H. B. Co., on the well founded assumption that it would operate to the jeopardizing of the monopoly. In 1863 the new settlement appealed for admission to Assinaboia, and meeting with an emphatic refusal an attempt was made to create municipal institutions in which 'all judges and other functionaries were duly elected by the sovereign people'. It required all of Cochran's personal power to quieten these activities subversive of peace.

In the report of 1857 the bishop avowed opposition to the principle of Free Trade and the abolition of the Company's monopoly fearing that the result would be demoralizing to the Indians. In the 'charge' to his clergy in 1860 he asked for their co-operation in making Red River a Crown Colony. This change in attitude was no doubt less the result of hostility to the Company rule or even of dissatisfaction with its relation to the Church, than of growing conviction that the interests of fur trade and settlement were irreconcilably diverse. This opinion became more pronounced with the increasing political agitation of the sixties and according to the 'Nor Wester' in 1862, the church was playing a big part in the political movement and at meetings in various parishes both sides were represented. Probably not a few were of the opinion of A. K. Isbister, who writing in the issue of the 'Nor Wester' for Aug. 1, '61 said 'Already with radiating missions there is machinery for government should the H. B. Co. withdraw.'

On the arrival of the Rev. John Black three hundred presbyterians left the Anglican fold in one day, and the attendance at St. John's 'Cathedral' was not a little diminished. The Council of Assinaboia enacted that thenceforward any legally ordained minister might baptize or perform the marriage ceremony in Red River. The two churches carried on side by side, until the arrival of the first Methodist minister- the Rev. Geo. Young in 1868. Good will one towards the other was the rule, and the representatives of both denominations co-operated in fighting the liquor traffic. By united services which became a regular institution Christian union was promoted and a deeper religious feeling created. The bishop was held in very great esteem as well by the Selkirk men as by his own people and when he departed Anglicanism was not a little touched with the leaven of Presbyterianism.

The head quarters of the Church of England in Ruperts Land has remained close to the site on which John West planted his first mission establishment. The bishop named the 'Upper Church' the Cathedral of St. John and his residence Bishop's Court, and here by 1856 he was planning, so Hind tells us, on a permanent fivethousand pound structure. In 1863 the new building was opened and stands today in the old churchyard of St. Johns.

In the period up to 1849 we traced the growth of the church along the Red River mainly between the Upper and Lower Forts. In this final period the extension of the church will serve to indicate the direction and extent of settlement. In 1850 St. James Church was established seven miles from the junction of the

Assiniboine and the Rev. W. H. Taylor under the direction of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel became the Incumbent. In 1854 the Rev. G. O. Corbett took charge of a church at Headingley acting for the Colonial and Continental Church Society. Archdeacon Cochran, as we have noted, established St. Mary's at Portage La Prairie in 1856. Here he remained till 1865 when he was forced by ill health to retire to Eastern Canada. Returning to the settlement he died in the same year, and was laid to rest in the churchyard of St. Andrew's where forty years previously he had begun his great work. The expansion westwards was continued by the erection of St. Margaret's Church, High Bluff and St. Anne's, Poplar Point, with the Rev. Thos. Cochran the son of the Archdeacon in charge(1).

In addition to this growth along the Assiniboine, the other churches in the colony were kept in a flourishing condition and in 1861 a stone church, St. Clement's, Mapleton was built and a live parish formed. By 1863 from the Indian Settlement on the Red to Westbourne, just beyond Portage on the Assiniboine, every short distance a church met the eye, and much of this had been accomplished since the arrival of the bishop.

The period under discussion was one of great missionary activity in the interior. In 1853 the Archdeaconry of Cumberland was created and Archdeacon Hunter named as its head. Before the '57 Committee the bishop testified that he now had twenty clergy as compared to five on his arrival and that of an annual C. M. S. expenditure of six thousand pounds - sixteen hundred were devoted to Indian work. True to Anglican tradition the principle of native settlement was adopted wherever practicable. The Indian station at St. Peter's continued to flourish under Cochran's successor the Rev. Ab. Cowley whom Hind found to be not only missionary 'but doctor, magistrate and arbitrator of the settlement'. 'A wonderful contrast' he wrote 'do the subdued Indian worshippers in this missionary village present on Sunday to the heathen dwellers of the prairies who perform their disgusting ceremonies within a mile and a half from some of the Christian altars of the Red River'. The Church of England never forgot its mission to the native races of the North West. In the Red River settlement itself it was the church that first induced the Indians to adopt an agricultural life and to the St. Peter's station 'there was a great and model farm attached'(2). It was the church too that introduced to them the blessings of religion, education and medical aid, factors which so subdued their savagery and elevated their conception of life, that it became possible for white men to live in the same community with them.

Prior to the advent of Bishop Machray in 1866 there was no systematic public support to the work of religion and education. Hind could find no excuse for the slackness of Red River folk in this regard. At the same time he was amazed at the extent and generosity of the operations of the several British missionary

- (1). Compare site of these two towns today.
- (2). Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition- Henry Youle Hind.

societies. The C. M. S. remained in the forefront of these organizations and up to 1862 it had expended something over 60,000 pounds in the North West. It was joined after 1850 by the S. P. G., and the C. & C. C. S., the latter of which according to its report of 1861 spent 330 pounds each year in the colony and was now taking over St. Paul's Parish from the C. M. S. In this year also at least some measure of self support began for in the above parish and at Headingley an association in aid of the C. & C. C. S. was formed and the following year similar organizations began to function in aid of the C. M. S. at St. Andrew's and at the Indian village. (3).

The present churches of St. Andrew's, St. Peter's on the Red and St. Mary's at Portage La Prairie are sufficient indication of the fine type of edifices erected in old Red River and there was no doubt much truth in Hind's remark that 'many country parishes in England are far less attractive, remunerative or desirable than the missions at Red River Settlement'.

In addition to his ecclesiastical duties the bishop took charge of the Red River Academy, named it St. John's College, and gave it the motto 'In Thy Light shall we see Light'. He opened the institution to children other than those of the Hudson Bay officers and extended its scope to include the training of a native ministry (1). For a period he was assisted on his teaching staff by the Rev. Thos. Cochran (2) who in turn was succeeded by Colin Campbell Mackenzie, a native and a graduate of Cambridge.

In his 'charge' in 1851 the bishop really summed up the situation with regard to the higher branches of study when he spoke of the 'power of acquisition' the memory 'unusually retentive' characteristic of the people, who yet lacked the experience of life, which gives sound reasoning powers. For higher education the people had no real ambition, but Dr. Anderson seems to have regarded giving instruction in abstruse subjects as an enjoyable duty, and was content to leave the issue with Providence - Accordingly, he attempted mathematics and modern languages and his flights into the classics included a study of Thucydides, Herodotus and Aeschylus. His comparative failure in these ambitious undertakings was due in no way to lack of zeal (though perhaps in some degree to lack of discretion), but rather to the apathy of the people towards the higher things of the intellectual life, an apathy traceable in a measure to the political and economic sterility of the colony.

A new plan of management for St. John's inaugurated in 1855, did little to improve matters. At the same time new teachers were appointed and a good library established. The bishop had founded scholarships soon after his arrival as an

- (1). Rev. Henry Cochrane, ordained in 1859 was the third 'native' to enter 'Holy Orders'.
- (2). Mr. Cochran, son of the Archdeacon, became schoolmaster under his father on the founding of Portage La Prairie.
- (3). According to 'Nor Wester' Feb. 5, '62, Bishop asked for and received one half of the S.P.C.K. grant of five hundred pounds for his cathedral.

incentive to study. To the scholars elected from year to year was assigned free board, and the sum of ten pounds per annum. 'Of these so elected' the bishop told Hind, 'some have done well elsewhere and reflected credit on their early training'(1). Through hard experience the bishop had by this date apparently realized the futility of his more advanced efforts in education for he expressed the conviction to Hind that as the standard of education in the parochial schools rose, the Collegiate school as such would become comparatively unnecessary and would ultimately be limited to those preparing for 'Holy Orders'.

By 1860 St. John's Collegiate school had, it would seem fallen into decadence. On January 28, a correspondent to the 'Nor Wester' urged the need of a 'higher' school believing McAllum's institution to be well nigh dead. The bishop in reply tacitly shared this opinion but referring to the parish schools said 'Until these schools are in a measure self supporting I see little prospect of the maintenance of a higher seminary'.

From 1860 until the re-organization work of Bishop Machray in 1866, there was little that was definitive in the development of the college. In 1861 it was closed owing to a great deficiency of scholars and teachers, but Dr. Anderson still gave instruction to a few students of his own choice. The name, the motto and theological college were all incorporated in Bishop Machray's scheme in 1866. In 1877 St. John's College became an affiliated institution of the University of Manitoba and in 1883 the present building of the college school was erected.

In 1851 girls education, which had lapsed for a time was revived under the capable management of a Mrs Mills, and her two daughters who established a school for young ladies at St. Cross. In addition to the usual subjects of the curriculum social etiquette was taught and music, pianos being imported from England for the purpose. Mrs Mills conducted a special class for those beyond school age and also engaged heartily in Sunday School work. St. Cross was perforce abandoned during the flood of 1852 but continued its work, training children even from the far north up to 1856, when the girls married and Mrs Mills left the country. For two years after the Mills' departure the school was carried on by a Mrs Aldershaw from the old land.

The next ladies institution, that of Miss Matilda Davis at St. Andrew's was referred to by Hind who said 'The house is commodious and the boarders under excellent supervision'. This school continued to function until 1875 and the remains of the old building may still be seen on the west banks of the Red River - a short distance below the Church of St. Andrew's. It should scarcely be sacrificing truth to fancy to connect the St. Andrew's Ladies School with the similar Anglican institution of today - Ruperts Land Ladies College.

In 1849 Bishop Anderson found the ordinary parochial schools (at least one of which was connected with each parish) providing a

- (1). The Bishop reported to Hind that students at the Collegiate School 'have been as many as twenty four'.

'solid substantial and scriptural education'. The C. M. S. contributions made possible a proportion of free scholars and with fees at a minimum there was no excuse for ignorance. Two years later he was able to report 'In education things go on well'. Instruction of a superior order was given at St. John's Parochial school and at the 'Model' Training School at St. Andrew's. Parents were beginning to realize the importance of the work and to make some contribution thereto. In 1856 Dr. Anderson reported to Hind that there were thirteen schools under the Church of England 'and' he added 'they have been multiplied to suit the 'convenience of the inhabitants'. At the parochial school of St. John's, in addition to the usual elementary subjects, Latin, French and mathematics were taught. 'In the Model School which is taught by a certified master from Hinburgh' said the bishop 'the senior pupils have also the advantages of instruction in Latin, Euclid and Algebra'. They were thus an approach to the grammar schools in Canada. 'In other schools, of which St. Paul's is the best example' he continued, 'there is an excellent education afforded in British history, Grammar, geography and arithmetic with the elements of general history'.

For the sake of emphasis the statement will bear repetition that the political condition of Assinaboa throughout this period reacts in a clearly traceable way on the whole life of Red River. To the undiscerning the country was without a future. By 1860 few school masters could be induced to remain in the colony for any length of time. The correspondent, previously referred to, who wrote in the issue of the 'Nor Wester' for Jan. 28, '60, complained that there were not enough day schools in the Protestant section, that the attendance was poor and the schools 'not as efficient as four years ago'. To all of which the Bishop replied, that the schools were twelve in number, but that the stay of teachers was as a rule short lived. The parents were careless in the payment of the small fee required and the British societies bore well nigh the whole cost of education. The arrangement existing in regard to most of the parish schools was that the society responsible should pay one half the master's salary. The remainder to be provided by the parents was seldom forthcoming and the result was an inclination to decadence even in elementary education. The school of St. Paul's was a contrast. Here the parents did their share and could boast an institution, better than the average parish school in England in which a sound course of instruction in all the elements of education was given to sixty boys and girls. Amongst the farmers of the populous St. Andrew's district there were four schools, all of which were under the Church of England. In most of the parishes Sunday School work was in a flourishing condition.

In 1862 the parish school opposite the 'Elms' was re-organized under the Rev. John Inkster. The re-opening of the school at the 'Elms' proper took place in the same year under Rev. Samuel Pritchard son of its founder and it continued to function until its amalgamation with St. John's College on the arrival of Bishop Machray.

With the single exception of the Presbyterian community,

and that not until after 1849, the Church of England in its parish schools provided the only available education in Protestant Red River, and established the system which formed the basis of the first public schools in Manitoba. Moreover the work was done in the face of great obstacles and virtually without local assistance either intellectual or material. It required but the immigration of the sixties to liberate the colony economically, politically and mentally. By 1870, the parish schools (twelve in number on the arrival of Bishop Anderson) had increased to thirty-three. The following year the first Legislature of Manitoba enacted the 'Educational Act of 1871'. (1).

The period 1849 - '63 in matters of both religion and education was best summed up by the bishop in the final 'charge' to his clergy before his return to England in 1864. After deprecating the fact that the desire for higher learning was apparently diminishing, he gave it as his opinion that the settlement was becoming too scattered to be overtaken with schools at all events without further local support. In Miss Davis' school at Oakfield, St. Andrew's and Mr. Sam Pritchard's school at the 'Elms' he expressed every confidence - He hoped too to return to the colony and re-establish a seminary with the usual branches of a collegiate education - when he would bring with him two masters one for the Indians and the other for the English work 'to lay foundations for a future supply of native clergy and also for a permanent staff of candidates for our various scattered schools'. The idea of a cathedral system combining educational training and missionary activity which Dean Tucker says is 'unique in Canada' was clearly in his mind. This conception became an actuality under Bishop Machray while Dr. Anderson's annual 'Congress of Clergy' developed into a Synod. On his departure his clergy numbering twenty-five represented exactly a five-fold increase in the fifteen years. Evangelical scholar and pastor Bishop Anderson occupied 'an undying place in the affections of the people'.

V. THE AGRICULTURAL LIFE.

The historical site of the farming community, that set apart by Lord Selkirk continued to support the majority of those engaged in agriculture, including the Scotch who were the most industrious and least slovenly. Between the Upper and Lower Forts on the Red stretched the long line of white-washed farm houses. White Horse Plains too was found to be a most fertile region and became settled by English speaking half-breeds, a type which has played a worthy part in every phase of the life of our province.

'The Nor' Wester' in its issue for Aug. 6, '62 wrote of Headingley 'Ten years ago, there was nought but a waste where today we find this large and flourishing parish'. Hind reported that in this locality thirty bushels of wheat to the acre was an average crop while on new land forty bushels was expected. The farmers still clung to the banks of the two streams converging in Assinaboia, and it was not until 1875 that the first settlers 'Mennonites' ventured on to the open prairie.

(1). This includes both Protestant and Catholic schools.

In addition to the perennial complaint of a lack of market the settlers were still to suffer from the vagaries of nature. In 1852 the flood of 1826 was repeated with disastrous results. Some 3500 people were forced to flee their homes and take refuge on the height of land at Stony Mountain. The total damage amounted to twenty-five thousand pounds and the untiring efforts of the Governor and clergy of the colony was called forth in the work of restoration. In 1861 another flood occurred and since the farmers produced only enough supplies to fill their own wants and those of the Company any such emergency precipitated a shortage approaching the proportions of a famine. In 1857 grasshoppers of terrible memory again plagued the colony and paid return visits in '58, '64, '67 and '68. In the final year they wrought complete destruction. The resulting appeals of the Red River folk for help was generously answered from Canada- the United States and Europe, a striking indication of the growing interest of the outside world in the far north West.

The Minutes of the Council of Assinaboia for Sept. 5, '50 show a contribution of twenty-five pounds to the Red River Agricultural Association. In 1852 this annual contribution was cut off and the plea of the 'Nor Wester' in 1864 that such an association should be organized would seem to indicate that all artificial efforts to stimulate agriculture had failed in the face of a condition of economic death. So completely deadening was the result of a lack of market on the agricultural life of Assinaboia that it was long after the tide of immigration had begun to surge into Red River that this the 'native' industry of Western Canada really began to flourish. Indeed the first exportation of farm products from Manitoba to Eastern Canada did not take place until 1876.

The settlers held their land on a 999 year lease from the Company subject to such conditions as would protect the fur trade monopoly and induce production. The cost per acre was seven shillings and six pence. The average land holder knew that the property was his by reason of money or service payment or on the principle that 'possession is nine points of the law'. Of title deeds and receipts, however, he knew nothing.

The crops grown included all kinds of grain, wheat, oats, barley, peas, hay, tobacco, hops and sundry vegetables. Hind tells us of the case of a typical farmer, an English half-breed Gowler by name. This man owned a large tract of land on the 'plains' but found it futile to farm more than fifty acres. As it was in 1856 he carted a great quantity of potatoes nine miles to market where they brought the 'magnificent' selling price of six pence per bushel. Red River then as now produced unequalled vegetables of all kinds. Turnips, beets and all kinds of root crops flourished.

Live stock was the farmer's real source of wealth. Sheep, black cattle and horses roamed in great numbers over the prairies. Oxen too abounded to be yoked to the Red River Cart. Ryerson found many sheep in the country the wool of which was wrought up into 'country cloth'- a product of local manufacture. Hind reported two years later that live stock were increasing 'with the exception of sheep', which he said were fast diminishing for the sufficient

reason that 'there was only one carding mill in the colony and that not in operation'. More cattle would be raised he was convinced was there a local market for beef, tallow and hides. As it was however there was a ready sale at the Company's stores for all by-products of the buffalo, but the hides of domestic animals, beef and mutton, were a drug on the market. The only relief in sight was a growing cattle trade with Minnesota.

'The mechanical force employed in preparing food' wrote Hind 'is represented by sixteen windmills, nine water mills and one steam mill'. English and American plows and harrows were used and these together with scythes and flails constituted the chief farm machinery of Assinaboia. The 'natives' in cutting trees for fuel had little regard for the best timber nor were saw mills used though Hind remarked on the adequate water power of the Winnipeg River.

Of the wonderful fertility of the soil there could be no doubt, and Hind echoed Selkirk's far seeing prophecy when he gave it as his opinion that these vast prairies might support millions of people, What was needed was not only immigration, though that would provide a market for a time, but what would follow as a consequence - the political emancipation of the country. Meanwhile the presence of an exploring party or of a regiment of soldiers was sufficient to cause a near famine in the colony.

Hind summed up the situation when he said 'Introduce Europeans with the simple machinery they have been accustomed to employ in the manufacture of home spun, and in a few years the beautiful prairies of the Red and Assinaboine will be white with flocks and the cattle trade springing up with St. Paul will increase or become diverted to the East'. There was nothing to hinder this, he opined, if other interests were allowed to exist in the presence of the all absorbing fur trade. If the settlers of Red River of pre-Confederation days did nothing more they vindicated the faith of such men as Selkirk in the amazing agricultural wealth of the country.

VI. TRADES AND OCCUPATIONS.

'Speaking in general terms it may be said' wrote Hind 'that trades and occupations as representing special branches of industry do not exist in Red River'. Every man was his own wheelwright, carpenter or mason, or to state it conversely: although carpenters, masons, etc., were to be found they were also engaged in hunting or farming. Bishop Anderson voiced his doubt as to whether the colony 'in its present condition would support a distinct class of artificers'. At the same time he pointed out that some division of labor, some specialization was needed. A tanner for example could be usefully employed- for the hides of domestic animals were being wasted. A soap-maker who could instruct the people in his trade would limit the necessity of importing this bulky but essential commodity from England. Some one too who could improve the fulling of the 'country cloth' would enable the settlers to produce garments of sufficiently warm texture at less than the cost of imported goods. Meanwhile we behold the curious spectacle, curious at least for a civilized and organized society, of a complete absence of division,

of labour and all engaged in everything; carpentering, blacksmithing, lumbering, farming, hunting and trading.

The settlers enjoyed the privilege of importing from England in the Company's boats anything save spirits. Moreover they might buy or sell any article with the exception of furs. The result was two fold. In the first place Hind observed that in the last census there were some fifty-six merchant shops not in existence in 1849. Since there was virtually no local manufacture the Company stores and the merchants were the purveyors of staple goods, all imported from England, even down to the grindstone. Ryerson observed that there had developed quite a substantial 'middle' class of industrious and economical people, who having scraped together ten pounds for an initial venture had become constant importers from England 'and men of some wealth and consequence'. Even this class seems to have transacted a miscellaneous sort of business. They were certainly not specialists for Robert Machray tells us that at the time of Bishop Machray's arrival 'there were a few local traders but not a butcher, baker, tailor or shoe-maker in the whole land'.

There emerged too in addition to the local traders and importers a class of men engaged in trading with the United States. They were drawn from both the Protestant and Roman Catholic population and carried on a trade in cattle and in furs, for the Company was no longer able to defend its monopoly. At St. Cloud and St. Paul, Minnesota, manufactured articles were given in exchange for gold or peltries. (1).

Some of the inhabitants were not only traders or merchants in the ordinary sense of the term but were engaged in 'freighting'. In this capacity they conveyed goods between the Hudson Bay and the valley of Lake Winnipeg. In the discharge of their duties they often employed Indians to assist, a custom which at times precipitated conflict with the Company. Whatever the condition south of Assinaboia and on the American border the Company was determined to enforce its monopoly in the Interior and it claimed that the work of 'freighting' was incompatible with the pursuits of the hunter in which the Indians were engaged by the Lords of the Fur Trade.

If the farmers of Red River in their docile existence at the 'Forks' were building up a community thoroughly British as a bulwark against American aggression- no less were the more venturesome traders establishing connections with the outside world which were to save the country from complete stagnation and finally to liberate it from an excessive paternalism.

- (1). Five hundred carts plied between the settlement and the border by 1856 and Hind wrote 'Communication may be said to be established between Fort Garry and St. Paul by steam boat and stage coach'.

VII. CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE.

The people resident in Fort Garry formed a distinct community of themselves, and a study of their life completely disproves the theory that 'there was not a man among them who had a soul above a beaver skin'. Regular hours for meals and the transaction of business were observed. Though much of their life was thus in common, there was still scope for the expression of individual taste and interest. Each man had his own living quarters and since the employees at Fort Garry were less subject to transfer than at many other of the Company's posts, those who so desired kept horses, cutters and buggies of their own. Reading men found abundant leisure in the long winter evenings for pursuing their hobby alone or in the 'Bachelors' hall, a great common room in which current newspapers and periodicals were to be found. Here too the church service was held under the direction of the Company's chaplain. Musical instruments of various kinds were to be found, and many could perform on the violin with enthusiasm if not with grace.

Of the books published by Red River authors or concerning Red River life during this period the following are the most important. In 1854 appeared 'Notes of the Flood at Red River' by Bishop Anderson. In this little volume he describes graphically the incidents of the flood and gives us a glimpse of the whole life of the settlement with particular reference to the missionary and educational work of the Church of England. Two years later there came from the pen of Alexander Ross 'The Red River Settlement', a book to which all students of the history of 'Manitoba' do well to have frequent recourse. It is a classic of style, graphic, fascinating, and in the main reliable- 'Hunters' of the Far West' published in 1855- is by the same author. 'Red River' by Joseph J. Hargrave (1871) is a mine of reliable information, particularly regarding the last twenty years before the 'transfer' to Canada. Hargrave, himself was for long years a resident of Assinaboia. For information as to the Roman Catholic parishes, as well as an inspiring record of Catholic missionary endeavour the 'Esquisse sur La Nord-Ouest de L'Amérique' by Bishop Tache is worthy of careful study. The 'History of Manitoba' by Donald Gunn and C. R. Tuttle published in 1880, may be mentioned for the material it contains relevant to the period under discussion. The name of its author vouches for its reliability. (1).

The political significance and influence of the 'Nor Wester' has been hinted at elsewhere. Here we treat of it as a literary production. First published in Dec. 1859 it appeared for a long time once fortnightly, the annual subscription being reduced from twelve to ten shillings. Changes in the editorial control took place twice before 1865. The first editors were Messrs. Buckingham and Caldwell, the former of whom had been a member of the Canadian Press- the latter shorthand reporter of the Canadian Legislative debates. In 1860 Buckingham's place was taken by

(1). Further mention of Hind's Narrative and Ryerson's Journal seems unnecessary here.

James Ross, a St. John's and Toronto scholar and in 1865 Dr. Schultz became sole proprietor and editor of the 'Nor Wester'.

Its most pronounced feature was its violent and relentless opposition to the rule of the H. B. Company and in this direction it was certainly not 'destitute of any great influence'. From the standpoint of English and style, it was perhaps superior to the average American daily of 1923. As an example of the printers trade it was creditable when one considers the circumstances of its production. By the publication of articles dealing with the life and politics of Europe and Canada it minimized the isolation of Red River, and served as some little intellectual stimulus; a claim which it made for itself in the last issue for 1861. So distorted were its news columns by its strong political views that one can hardly regard the 'Nor Wester' as a faithful mirror of life as lived in the colony. Rather did it strive to reflect life as its leaders conceived it ought to be. As a 'Vox Populi' it was new and valuable, and in addition to news items from home and abroad its columns were filled with local effusions, prose, poetry and letters. On the whole the 'Nor Wester' provides extremely interesting reading and may be relied upon for many facts and side lights on the settlement not elsewhere accessible. It was too a distinct addition to letters in 'this bit of ruder European civilization thrown haphazard into the wilderness'. (1).

Even Red River was not too remote to be affected by the spirit of Scientific Investigation so characteristic of the 19th century. The correspondence of certain Red River folk with the Smithsonian Institute in Washington continued; Donald Gunn acting for the Institute as late as 1862. In this year there was organized in the colony the Scientific Institute of Ruperts Land' to promote the social and intellectual life of the community. The Nor Wester in its issue for Feb. 19, enthusiastically referred to the launching of such a project 'as marking that we have reached the stage at which materialism succumbs to intellectualism and refining mental processes begin'. Those who sponsored the undertaking included Gov. McTavish; Dr. Schultz, the Bishop and several of his clergy and the leading laymen of Red River. These men were at once alive to the tremendous Scientific advance of the age in which they lived and sanguine of the vast natural resources of Ruperts Land, Bishop Anderson named President outlined the object of the Institute as threefold 'to encourage study to communicate and diffuse information and to collect results'. The idea further, according to Dr. Schultz was to begin in a practical way 'by being active collectors and observers and so gradually to build up the strength of the organization that it might contribute its mite to the magnificent offerings of the 19th century to Science'. The farmers, for the most part were either actively opposed or sullenly regardless of the scheme on the ground of its 'uselessness'. It was open to all who cared to join however for the modest annual fee of ten shillings. At the first regular meeting, which may be regarded as typical a paper was read on the Cree language by Archdeacon Hunter and one by Dr. Schultz on 'Sanitary conditions of the settlement'. The anticipated aid in books and interest was proffered by kindred societies in (1). 'Worthies of Old Red River'. Geo. Bryce. No. 48. Transactions of Manitoba Historical Society.

Eastern Canada and elsewhere and a museum and library was established. Though Hargrave writing in 1870 states that nothing practical had yet been accomplished, it was recorded by the Nor Wester in May 1864, that a meeting of the Council of the Institute reported 'fine additions to the museum and library' and 'a balance in the treasury'. The real importance of the whole project lay in the fact that it indicated the presence in Red River of minds keenly alive to the wonders of the age and deeply interested in both the intellectual and material development of the North West.

Here we aim to trace the efforts of intellectual leaders to break down the barriers of ignorance of things cultural and to minister in so far as possible to the elevation of the social life of the people. Bryce says that to the influence of the Hudson Bay officers may be traced the fact that 'in few countries is the speech of the people generally so correct as in Red River'. Against the corroding influences of materialism and sloth- which the economic condition of the colony certainly induced, the church and the 'press' fought vigorously. It was a slow process however and a correspondent to the Nor Wester in Dec. 1864 deprecated the fact that he found few books in the houses of the settlement nor were the libraries well patronized. He pointed out that Red River could no longer offer in explanation the excuse of a pioneer country that 'it had so many things to do'.

The problem of saving the youth from slothful ease and intellectual decadence was one of the most pressing. In his 'charge' in 1860- Bishop Anderson referred to the young Men's Societies then in existence which aimed to produce a desire for reading and to promote study. The 'Nor Wester' drew attention to the fact that four such organizations had sprung into existence since 1858. In the winter of '58 - 9 one was formed in the Presbyterian parish under Mr. James Ross, and another in St. Paul's under Mr. Bunn. At St. James, Mr. J. Stewart the schoolmaster was the popular leader of a young Men's Society which at its closing meeting for the season in Mar. 1860 counted fifty eight present. The fourth and last was led by the Rev. G. O. Corbett at Headingley. Besides such means of self improvement as discussions, essays, readings and recitations, instruction in Agriculture was one of the features of these clubs.

Church Music was developed, St. Andrew's choir being particularly commended by the 'Nor Wester'. The paper also mentioned in its first issue for 1860 the meeting of St. Paul's Choral Society, to take place thereafter every Thursday during the winter. The only book store in the colony, stocked standard works.

The Red River library survived the 'last phase' only to be destroyed for the most part in the fire of the Provincial Library in 1875. It boasted few works of fiction which may have accounted in some degree for the fact that by 1857 interest had flagged and there were only eight subscribers out of a population of eight thousand. By 1862 however it was again a going concern and since the subscription was low it was now accessible to the citizens at large.

The Bishop and his sister were instrumental in forming a 'reading club' for which the leading magazines were ordered. To

this project the Rev. John Black lent his support. Later there developed a 'Literary Club' at St. Andrew's. Modern books were imported and during the winter season lectures were given by the leading men of the colony; the bishop for example, on one occasion on David Livingstone. At the close of each season an entertainment was held, the proceeds from which went to defray the expenses of the club. Of organizations such as these the 'Nor Wester' said 'Elegance and refinement will come later. Meanwhile let us prize even a reading club, as the forerunner of a more intellectual era'. The club was the especial charge of Miss Anderson. That her labours bore fruit was evidenced by the parting words of members of the club who addressed her as follows:-'To you as the unwearied manager of the Book Club, we are indebted for the knowledge we possess of the best portions of current literature'. Fine thoughts thus aroused had led to fine actions and a consequent elevation of life.

Adam Thom had for a time filled with distinction the office of public lecturer in the colony. In 1860 John Black delivered a course of scholarly and vivid lectures on Italy, which threw not a little light on the history of the country which at that very time was working out its own salvation in the midst of a European maelstrom.

In this discussion of Red River culture we have made no mention of the French Canadian sector for the sufficient reason that we could find no evidence of such efforts as were characteristic of the Protestant population. On the Western banks of the Red, amongst a people of great diversity in nationality, interest and outlook, such high minded men as Dr. Anderson and the Rev. John Black were exerting every effort to save the people from intellectual torpor and rank materialism. This was a danger into which the very circumstances of life seemed to precipitate the pioneer dwellers of Manitoba. The measure in which they escaped from it was due entirely to the unselfish labours of the clergy and educational leaders.

CHAPTER IV.

CONCLUSION.

The lives of communities and nations as of individuals, are made perhaps not more by the qualities born with them than by the forces which surround them after birth. The Red River Settlement has been called 'the boldest attempt ever made to call civilization into existence'. It is safe to say that the success of that attempt may be accounted for by two main factors:- the character of the original settlers, and the work of religion, education, and social improvement carried on by the two great historic churches.

Since the purpose of this thesis has been to trace the social development of Red River rather than its evolution politically, the relation of the Hudson's Bay Company to the settlement may be dismissed somewhat perfunctorily. During the first ten years of the life of the colony and at subsequent crises in its history there can be no doubt that the Company (whether voluntarily or of necessity) was a factor of prime importance in saving the settlers from actual starvation. The anomaly of its position as a fur trading concern, forced to reconcile commercial interests with duties of government, must never be overlooked. Bearing this in mind, and consequently the fact that the Council of Assinaboia was virtually the instrument of the Company; its attitude and contributions to religion and education may be regarded in a much more favorable light.

The triumph of the Selkirk settlers over the destructive opposition of man and nature in those first terrible years, must be attributed to something more fundamental than those stoical characteristics usually regarded as typical of their race - namely to their fidelity to the principles of their religion. If any outward demonstration of this fact were required one need only point to their relentless efforts to secure a minister of their own faith, and to the consecration of the whole sweep of their life which our study has revealed. They were throughout the chief stabilizing element in the population of Red River. If Canada was finally awakened to the importance and value of the north west by a newer and more aggressive Canadian element; none the less did the colony remain thoroughly British in tradition and outlook, because of the inbred love of homeland of the Scotch settlers. Their steady if somewhat docile and inert existence at the 'Forks' may not have been the instrument designed to overthrow the paternalism of Company rule, but it was without doubt the chief bulwark against American aggression through long years of isolation, years in which Red River was not even a name on the map of Canada.

The officers of the H. B. Company, men not wholly ignorant of the social customs of the Old Land, lent to life in Red River a prestige and culture which otherwise would have been all but completely absent from so primitive an order of society. It was the needs of this class which inspired the first efforts at higher education in Assinaboia, and which in a great measure made possible

their continuation. Together with certain of the clergy, they were the chief contributors to 'letters' in the colony, and the strong and beneficial influence of such a personality as Sir Geo. Simpson, on the whole life of the community, should never be forgotten.

While the Selkirk settlers were perhaps the greatest single leavening influence in Red River, they were of course far outnumbered by the Orkney-men and by the English speaking half-breeds. Both these latter elements made no inconsiderable contribution to the material and social progress of the settlement. The comparative comfort which such breeds as the Gowlers, the Fletts and Mackays enjoyed (1) even in the face of a condition of economic sterility, was ample vindication of Lord Selkirk's faith in the tract of land granted him 'for the purposes of agriculture' and 'civilization'.

It was in this community of many degrees of difference in intelligence and interest, inwrought with Indian traits, that the Church of England carried on its great missionary and educational work, single handed up to 1849. The debt of gratitude which the people of western Canada owe to the great British Missionary Societies who made the work possible, and to the zeal and foresight of such men as West, Cochran, and Bishop Anderson, can never be calculated. One dares aver that the high mindedness, faith and heroism of the missionaries themselves, has nowhere been surpassed in the history of Christian Missionary endeavour; and John West is as worthy of canonization as many a Saint whose name now occupies an honoured place in the Church Calendar. The actual undertakings of these men have been herein recorded. Who can say how elevating and far reaching was the enriching and mind liberating influence of the Church of England in the 'small beginnings' of the great North West? Amongst the Indians within the confines of Assinaboia the Anglican Church, alone, carried out the ideals of Selkirk as to the diffusion of the finer elements of our civilization. The success of these efforts is best illustrated by the comparative freedom of the colony from the hostility of the natives, and in both settlement and the Interior by the fact that when Bishop Anderson left the country in 1864, eight out of twenty-five of his clergy were natives. They had responded to civilization and to Christianity.

There is every evidence that harmony between the Roman Catholic and Protestant communities in Red River was the rule rather than the exception. This was due not more to the economic interdependence of the two, than to the large minded tolerance in matters of race and religion which was characteristic of Assinaboia.

One cannot but be struck with admiration for the self sacrifice and genuine piety of the leaders of the Church of Rome in their great work of native evangelization, and for their zeal and organizing ability in the Red River parishes. It may truly be said of them as it was by Lord Durham of their brethren in Lower

(1).Hind mentions these men as successful farmers in the Headingley district.

Canada- 'They have been the promoters and dispensers of charity and the effectual guardians of the morals of the people'. In a turbulent if homogeneous community 'the Catholic priesthood were the only semblance of stability and organization, and furnished the only effectual support of civilization and order'.

Canada must be content to develop her nationality, by reconciling as far as possible the two great races within her borders. This can only be done by the recognition that both have a common economic goal but, still more by a spirit of compromise and tolerance. In this respect Red River is a microcosm of the Dominion at large.

One is forced to the belief that we as Canadians of today, can learn from the early years of settlement in the west, two things of fundamental importance to the future of our country and our Empire. We may realize that the permanence and happiness of a nation or a community depends first upon the character of its population, and secondly upon the elevating forces at work in the national life. This being the case the need of immigrants of sound character if the promise of a bright future for Canada is to be achieved, becomes readily obvious. Moreover a glance at the Pacific Coast suffices to convince one that these mighty prairies must speedily be populated with Christian and semi-Christian Europeans if they are not to be over run by non-Christian Asiatics.

It becomes still clearer that the Canadian people must vigorously propagate those religious and educational forces which make for sound character, stable government and an intelligence which spells death to the corroding influences of materialism. When these two motives have become the guiding principles of the national life; then and then only, will be realized Lord Selkirk's ideal of millions of happy and prosperous subjects on these western plains.

F I N I S .

LIFE AND LETTERS IN RED RIVER.

1812 - '63.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y.

NOTE. The bibliography of this Thesis is compiled from available material at the Legislative and Carnegie libraries in Winnipeg and from a library established in St. Luke's Church, in connection with the Centenary of the Anglican Church in Ruperts Land. With one or two minor exceptions, the author has had recourse to all of the published works mentioned.

The material which may be regarded, for our purposes as documentary or primary, is indicated by an asterisk. It will be observed that the sources are, in the main, of a secondary nature.

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