

Population and Economic Activity - A Geographical  
and Historical Analysis, based upon selected censuses,  
of the Red River Valley in the period 1832 to 1856

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By

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"Three-fold the stride of Time from, first to last!  
Loitering slow, the Future creepeth -  
Arrow-swift the Present sweepeth -  
And motionless for ever stands the Past."

J. C. F. Schiller

To My Mother and Father

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A Note on the Abbreviations Used

- P.A.C. Public Archives of Canada.  
P.A.M. Public Archives of Manitoba.  
P.C.M.S. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society  
R.R.C. Red River Census

In the text of this dissertation a reference to a particular individual who appears in the census is expressed in the following manner. The census year in which the reference occurs is given by the first two figures which follow the letters R.R.C. The particular entry number in that census is shown by the next three numbers. Thus entry number 245 in the Census of 1849 appears as R.R.C.49.245.

- S.P. Selkirk Papers.

FOREWORD

In the preface to his book Manitoba - A History , (1) W. L. Morton remarks that "Manitoba has not wanted for historians". Manitoba has indeed had several historians of note (2). Each has, however, been denied the full use of some of the more important primary source materials - the early Colonial Censuses of the Red River Settlement. The summary totals of the Censuses have indeed been used to provide data on a number of elements, such as the changing number of people, livestock or agricultural implements within the settlement but no real attempt has hitherto been made to use the Censuses to determine the ethnic composition of the colony or to illustrate the different economies practised by the various groups (3). Both the history and the geography of the Red River Settlement is one of ethnic differentiation but in the alphabetical form in which they have remained since first taken the Red River Censuses have been of little value to geographer or historian. To have been of immediate value they would have had to have been

- 1 Morton, W. L., Manitoba - A History, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1957.
- 2 e.g. Begg, Bryce, Gunn, Garrioch, Hargrave and Ross. see Bibliography.
- 3 Marcel Giraud in his "Métis Canadien" did attempt to show the varying degrees of participation in agriculture and dependance upon the Red River hunt but his use of the Census was limited to a discussion of arable acreage.

grouped by ethnic origins rather than in alphabetical order. After nine months of rather dull 'spade' work this has at last been accomplished. A number of Censuses have been re-organised into a more meaningful form which permits their use as a source for a study of the relationship between the cultural origins of the settlers and the extent and nature of participation in agriculture by each ethnic group.

Geographical studies of cultural origins are not numerous in North America. In the Canadian context the most obvious example is Andrew H. Clark's Three Centuries and the Island which was conceived as a pilot study for further research in Nova Scotia (1). In the introduction to this work Clark cites Professor J. E. Lattimer's statement that Prince Edward Island was "the best laboratory for studying agriculture of any place in the Dominion." (2). As justification for this opinion Clark stressed the uniformity of climate and of vegetation and the relative lack of variety of soils and surface landforms. Yet this description is as applicable to the Red River country as it is to Prince Edward Island because such differences as do occur within the former, occur on the micro-environmental level.

- 1 Clark, Andrew H., Three Centuries and the Island, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1959. For an American example see Lemon, J. T., A Rural Geography of S. E. Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century. Ph.D. dissertation, the University of Wisconsin, 1964.
- 2 Lattimer, J. E., Economic Survey of Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown, 1954, p. 4.

This area is monotonously level; all parts of it endure the same rigorous climate and the differing soils shown on a modern soil map are a product of the work of the soil-scientist! (1). All the soils of the Red River area belong to the Chernozem zonal type, one of the most fertile soils in the world. Such differences as occur because of different drainage conditions are slight. It is unlikely that the earliest settlers were aware of them and micro-environmental differences can have had no part in shaping the economic dichotomy which characterised the Red River Settlement in the first half of the nineteenth century. The differences which occur and which are characterised on the one hand by the European farmer and on the other by the Metis hunter-fisherman are differences not of environment but of cultural background. The environment was everywhere uniform. It is this negative role of environment that makes the Red River country a most suitable area for a study of cultural origins and agricultural differences.

This dissertation may be divided into two distinct parts. The first part is concerned with an evaluation of the Censuses as a source material and with a description of those aspects of the population of Selkirk's colony which can be gleaned from them. In Chapter 1 the terminology of the Census is investigated and the defects of the source material discussed. Chapter 2 takes the

1 Reconnaissance Soil Survey of Winnipeg and Morris Sheet areas  
The Manitoba Soil Survey, Soil Report No. 5., Winnipeg,  
October 1953.

form of a description of the origins and characteristics of the various groups which composed the population in these early years. The changing ethnic composition of the settlement is discussed and an explanation of the change offered. In Chapter 3 the religious adherence of the inhabitants is discussed and the age/sex structure of the population described. Part I is therefore encyclopaedic. Every aspect of the population on which information was provided in the census has been graphed or mapped in the belief that it's original character has justified it's presentation. In the second part of this dissertation the differing rates of participation in agriculture and the concomitant role of country of origin are examined both graphically and spatially. It is this spatial view-point, permitting a full appreciation of those differences first described in detail by Alexander Ross that the author believes to be the outstanding aspect of the whole study. However, even if it could be said that this had failed and that the study of cultural origins had been unsuccessful, the author believes the data presented in Appendices to have been sufficient justification for the study.

1 Ross Alexander, The Red River Settlement, London. 1856.

CHAPTER ONE

THE COLONIAL CENSUSES AS A SOURCE MATERIAL

## CHAPTER ONE

### The Colonial Censuses as a Source Material

Hitherto unexplored in any depth, the eleven censuses taken at irregular intervals between 1818 and 1856, were initiated by the Hudson's Bay Company, which in at least two cases (1) entrusted to its employee W. R. Smith, the task of enumeration. All but the two earliest are available for examination. The census of 1821 and of 1827 remain the property of the Hudson's Bay Company and have not as yet been released from its archives. However the remainder are readily available for consultation at the offices of the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa and duplicates of seven are housed in the Provincial Archives in Winnipeg (2). They are, for their time, remarkably complete documents. Returns were made upon the age, religion and country of origin of the individual householder; the size and the structure of his family was recorded as was the number of farm buildings, the number of livestock and of farm implements he possessed and the amount of land he cultivated (see duplicate of page 23 of the 1838 Census on page 7 ). The censuses represent an unparalleled source material for a historical geography of the Red River settlement but their use as such was not without difficulties.

1 The Censuses of 1849 and of 1856.

2 The Censuses were taken in either April or May of 1821, 1827, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1834-35, 1838, 1840, 1843, 1846-47, 1849 and 1856.



THE DIFFICULTIES AND DEFECTS OF THE CENSUS AS A SOURCE MATERIALThe Meaning of Terms used in the Census

Before commencing the lengthy task of re-organising what was essentially an alphabetically organised census and assembling the data for each ethnic group, it was necessary to establish the exact meaning of the terms chosen by the enumerator to describe each group. The meaning of such terms as Irish, Scots, Orkney, English, German and Swiss was plainly obvious. Greater difficulty was experienced however, when the author came to consider those people who had moved into the colony from various parts of North America. In the Census these internal migrants are shown as Canadian, Natives and Rupertlanders but no attempt is made to discuss the meaning of the terms.

The meaning of Canadian may be deduced from a petition asking for a priest to be sent to the Red River colony, submitted by the Roman Catholic element in the population, to the Bishop of Quebec in 1817. The signatories to the petition declared

Qu' il y a une population chrétienne établie dans ce pays et qui se propose d' y faire leur demeure; que cette population est composée en partie de Canadiens qui ayant été autrefois engagés au service des traiteurs et ayant achevé le terme de leur engagements, sont connus sous le nom de Canadiens libres, et en partie de nouveaux colons qui sont natifs de différent pay en Europe (1).

1 Petition of the Residents of the Red River Colony (1817), Public Archives of Canada, Series Q 143 : 341, 342.

The Canadians were retired "voyageurs" of the great fur trading companies.

In the earliest days of the Red River colony the word Native was used to describe both the full-blooded Indian and the off-spring of marriages between Indian women and white men. There is ample evidence of the dual use to which this term was put. Robert Clouston described the son of William Simpson, Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company as "the son of an Orkney gentleman by a Native (1). Here Native is used in the sense of aborigine (2) but there is also evidence to show that the word was used to describe those of mixed blood.

"In the spring of 1815 they collected a number of persons mostly Natives of the country, the sons of Canadians by Indian women ..." (3).

Writing in 1824 the colony's Anglican priest declared that

"the Church has been crowded all the winter by Europeans, Half-breed Natives and Native Indians." (4).

- 1 Letter of Robert Clouston, 8th August 1843. Contained in "A Red River Gossip" by Elaine Allan Mitchell, The Beaver, Outfit 291, Spring 1961.
- 2 e.g. Pegius, the Indian Chief who befriended Selkirk's early colonists. As William King, the name he assumed on his reception into the Church of England he appears in the Census of 1838 (entry no. 689) where he is described as a Native.
- 3 Petition to H.R.H. George, Prince of Wales, extracted from the Colonial Record Office, Ottawa, Liber 150 and printed in Appendix F of Archer Martin's Hudson's Bay Land Tenures, London 1898.
- 4 Report of the Rev. David Jones to the Church Missionary Society, Proc. C.M.S. for 1824-1825, 192.

As such the term was used in the Censuses of 1832, 1838 and 1840 but in the first census mentioned its meaning was somewhat more restricted than in subsequent enumerations. Doctor W. L. Morton, suggested to the author that the census enumerator, had in 1832 attempted to distinguish between those people of French and Indian parentage and those of British and Indian parentage. To the former the term Native was applied; the latter were designated Rupertlanders. In an attempt to substantiate this statement the author examined the names and religious adherence of those described as Natives or Rupertlanders in the census of that year. Of the 66 heads of families described as Natives, 39 were by name and religion (Catholicism) considered to undoubtedly be of French-Indian extraction. There was insufficient evidence to judge the remaining 17 to be of French heritage. Ninety-six householders were reported as Rupertlanders and using the same criteria i.e. wholly British names and adherence to Protestantism, all but 10 were considered of British patrimony. Doctor Morton's hypothesis was further substantiated by reference to the census and to the genealogy of certain prominent men within the settlement. Pierre Falcon is known to have been of Canadian extraction (1); Alexander Ross (2) describes William Ross as a "Half-breed of English

1 Pierre Falcon (38.592), poet of the French voyageurs.

2 Ross, Alexander, Op. Cit. p. 121.

extraction" and Robert Saunderson as a "Half-breed of Orkney extraction". The 1832 Census records Falcon as a Native and Bird and Saunderson as Rupertlanders (1).

The term Rupertlander was not used in the census of 1838 or 1840. It was replaced by Native, a term descriptive of those of mixed blood irrespective of cultural affinities. Beginning in 1840 however, Rupertlander was revived to describe these same people. To a community in which the half-breed element was numerically the most important element Rupertlander was undoubtedly more acceptable than Native which implied that those categorised in this way lived in an uncivilised or barbaric state. The changing use of the terms Rupertlander and Native is summarised in Table I.

#### The Selection of Suitable Censuses

Having deduced the meaning of the terms used by the census officials, the next step was to select a number of censuses which could be used to determine the ethnic composition of the settlement and the degree of participation in agriculture by each ethnic group, in the early decades of the nineteenth century. In selecting representative censuses the following criteria were used. The information given should be as complete as possible and those selected ought to be separated by as equal a time interval as was possible. Two censuses were immediately excluded

A TABLE TO SHOW THE CHANGING USE OF THE TERMS NATIVE  
AND RUPERTLANDER

Name of Head of Family	Classification and Entry Number in the Respective Censuses			
	1832	1838	1840	1843
Bird James	-	Nat. 38	-	Rup. 36
Bird Joseph	Rup. 33	Nat. 39	-	Rup. 37
Bird Henry	Rup. 35	Nat. 42	Nat. 39	Rup. 38
Bird William	Rup. 36	Nat. 41	Nat. 38	Rup. 39
Bird Thomas	-	Nat. 44	Nat. 41	Rup. 40
Birston Alexander	Rup. 51	Nat. 45	Nat.	Rup. 42
Briston Magnus	Rup. 50	Nat. 47	Nat. 44	Rup. 43
Birston William	-	Nat. 48	Nat. 45	Rup. 44
Bruce James	Rup. 44	Nat. 64	Nat. 58	Rup. 56
Bruce William	Rup. 43	Nat. 66	-	Rup. 57
Bunn John	Rup. 54	Nat. 70	Nat. 64	Rup. 67
Cremer Charles	-	Nat. 109	Nat. 112	Rup. 80
Caplette Louis	-	Nat. 111	Nat. 113	Rup. 81
Cook Samuel	Nat. 88	-	-	Rup. 98
Cook Charles	Rup. 80	Nat. 104	Nat. 102	Rup. 99
Cook Jeremiah	-	Nat. 105	Nat. 103	Rup. 100
Griffith Daniel	-	Nat. 124	Nat. 130	Rup. 111
Daniel John	-	Nat. 160	-	Rup. 115
Ballosh Baptiste	-	Nat. 16	Nat. 16	Rup. 16
Beauchamp Charles	-	Nat. 19	Nat. 19	Rup. 18
Beauchemin	Nat. 27	Nat. 21	Nat. 20	Rup. 20
Belgarde Simon	-	Nat. 26	Nat. 24	Rup. 26
Carriere Andre	Nat. 92	Nat. 83	Nat. 85	Rup. 72

TABLE I CONTINUED

Name of Head of Family	Classification and Entry Number in the Respective Censes			
	1832	1838	1840	1843
Beucher Paul	Nat. 39	Nat. 75	Nat. 70	Rup. 49
Brouseau Louis	Nat. 49	Nat. 79	-	Rup. 63
Bruineau François	Nat. 62	Nat. 67	Nat. 61	Rup. 60
Cardotte Laurent	-	-	Nat. 116	Rup. 78
Charette Baptiste	-	Nat. 114	Nat. 118	Rup. 86
Charette Joseph	-	Nat. 115	-	Rup. 87
Cockran Thomas	-	-	Nat. 124	Rup. 92
Cochran William	-	-	Nat. 126	Rup. 93
Collin Baptiste	Nat. 77	Nat. 95	Nat. 97	Rup. 94
Complois François	-	Nat. 106	Nat. 108	Rup. 95
Daniel Alexis	-	Nat. 157	Nat. 132	Rup. 113

because the data presented in them had been collected over a period of at least nine months. (1) The census of 1831 was rejected because of the incompleteness of the data presented. The censuses selected were those of 1832, 1838, 1843, 1849 and 1856; the census of 1840 being excluded because it disrupted the otherwise almost equal time interval between enumerations.

1 i.e. the censuses of 1834 - 1835 and of 1846 - 1847.

The Merits and Shortcomings of the Source Material

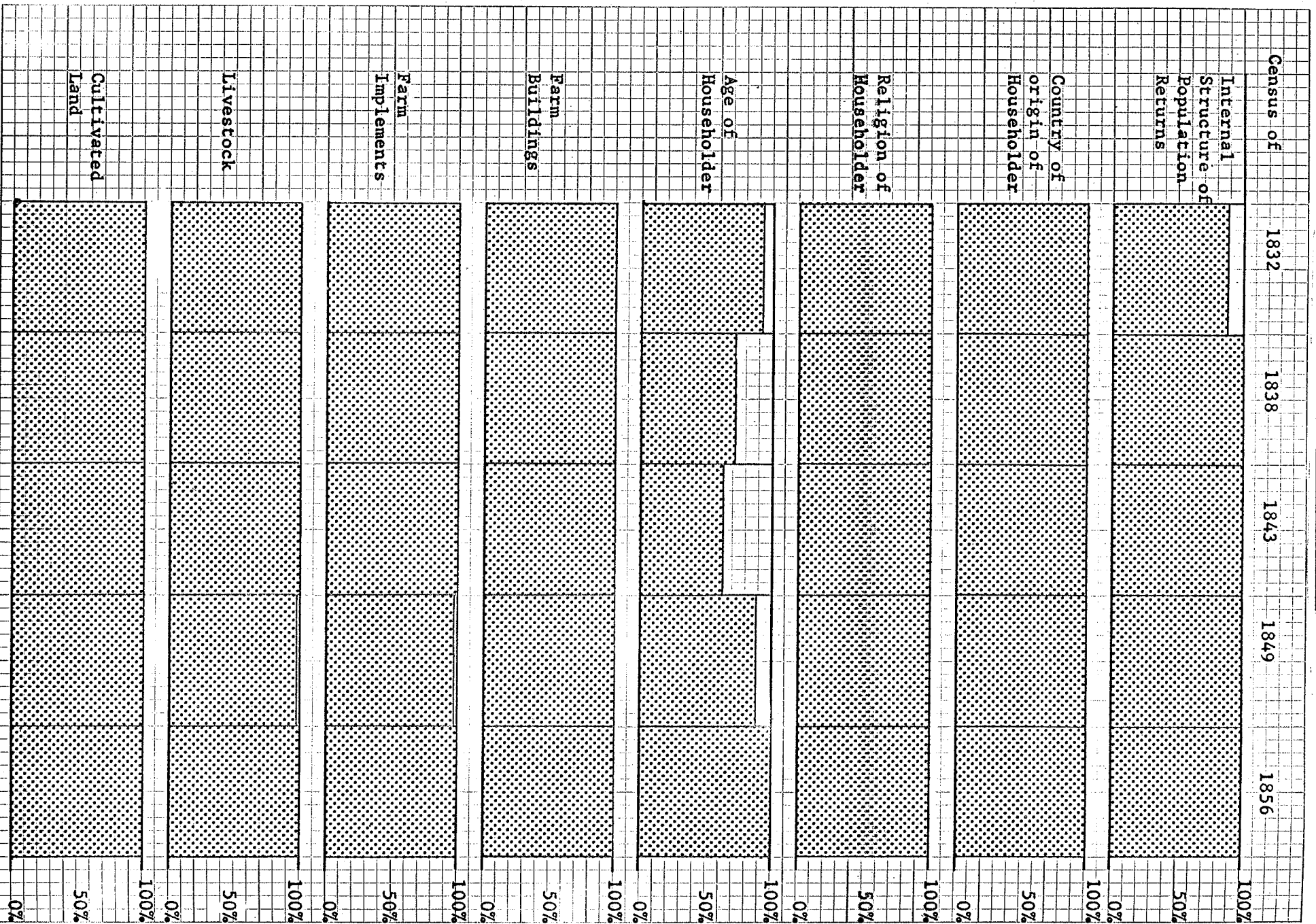
Though those selected represent the most complete censuses available, gaps in information do occur in those areas where they might be most expected, that is in those sections devoted to population. Information on the number of livestock, farm implements, the extent of land cultivated, the ethnic origin of the householder, his religion and the size and sex structure of his family is readily available to the enumerator. However, in a frontier society such as the Red River settlement the precise age of each and every householder might not be known. This would appear to be the reason for the failure to report the age of many Canadians and half-breeds and is the undoubted explanation of the paucity and in some years total lack of age returns at the Saulteau and Swampy Villages, whose inhabitants were full-blooded Indians. The age of householders only, then was reported and this not in every case. The age of the householder's wife and of adult dependants was ignored by the census officials. Moreover although the householder's sons and daughters are respectively categorised as over or under 16 and over or under 15, one cannot assume that those over 16 and 15 lie in the age cohorts 16 to 20 and 15 to 20. Where the age of householders had been reported in one census and not in another such inconsistencies were interpolated. In a few cases it was possible by reference to the "Index of Claimants of

Grants of Scrip-Issue" (1) to establish the age of some whose age had not been reported. Even so the age of many could not be established and the failure to do so is reflected in the census completeness diagram (Diagram I ) on page 16.

Though the country of origin and the religion of householders was faithfully reported in all the censuses, those of 1838, 1843 and 1849 were the most inconsistent in terms of age returns. Conversely, as diagram I indicates the censuses of 1832 and 1856 were the most complete or consistent. Only a few pages of the 1856 census survive intact and the author might have been denied the use of the most valuable of all censuses had not Mr. Barry Kaye (2) located the sum totals of the census, in the Crofton and Lefroy reports to the British War Office (3).

- 1 "Index of Names of Claimants to share in the Grant of Scrip to Original white settlers, who came to the Red River country or to the North-West Territories, between 1813 and 1835, inclusive, and their descendants not being Halfbreeds, who were alive on the 26th May 1874". Archives of the Department of Interior, Ottawa. Reprinted as the "Pioneers of Western Canada", Free Press, Winnipeg - January 16th 1911.
- 2 Kaye, Barry, Author of "Some Aspects of the Historical Geography of the Red River Settlement", Unpublished M.A. thesis, the University of Manitoba, 1967.
- 3 "Notes on the routes from Lake Superior to the Red River and on the Settlement itself, compiled from Reports by Captain Palliser, Professor Hind and Messrs. Dawson and Napier, with Notes Relating to the Transport of Troops by Colonel Crofton and Captain (now General) Lefroy R.A., The War Office (W.O. 33/21), London 1870. p. 42.

A CENSUS COMPLETENESS DIAGRAM

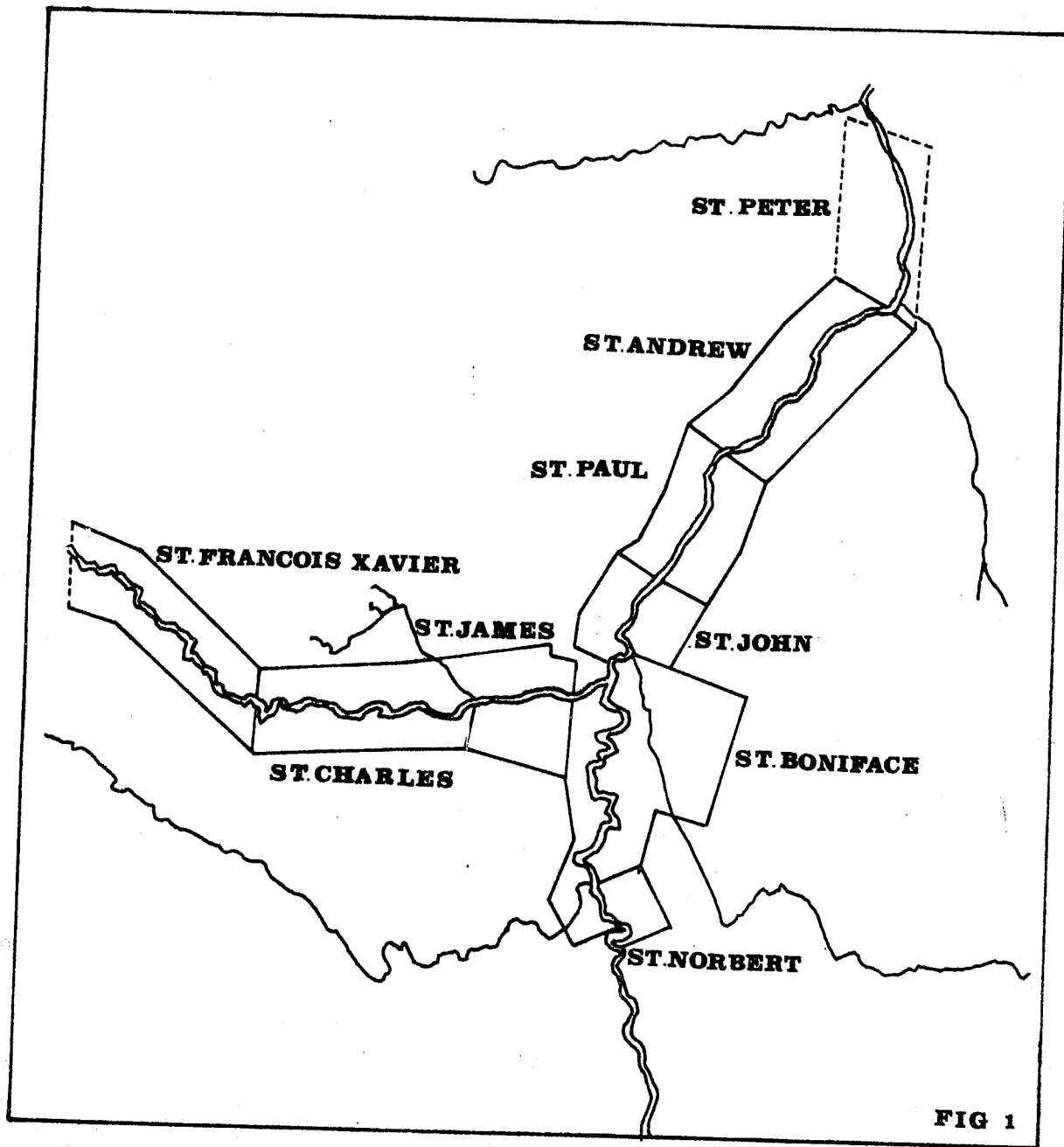


DEGREE OF COMPLETENESS

The historical geographer shares with other systematic branches of his discipline an interest in time and in space and it is the ability to express spatially those elements reported in the census of 1856 that makes it the outstanding member of the whole series. In the 1856 census the parish was recognised as the unit of enumeration for the first time(1). Ten parishes were utilised, nine are shown on Henry Yule Hind's map of 1856.(2). Prior to 1856 the enumeration had been taken at Grantown, subsequently named St. François Xavier; at the Indian and Swampy Villages established under the aegis of the Church Missionary Society in which became St. Peter's Parish; at the Saulteau Village at Baie Saint Paul and at the Lower Settlement, a term which the author believes to have applied to all the settlements on the Red and Assiniboine

- 1 For the dates of establishment of the respective parishes see - Morton, W. L., "The Red River Parish Its Place in the development of Manitoba", Manitoba Essays, Toronto, 1937 p. 89-95 and Tucker, S., - The Rainbow in the North, the Church Missionary Society, London, 1849., and Morice A. G. Rev., Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique dans le Nord-Ouest, Toronto, 1910.
- 2 Hind, Henry Yule, - Report of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition, 21 A Victoria, Toronto, 1858.  
The map shows nine parishes - St. Peter's, St. Andrew's, St. Paul's, St. Boniface, St. Norbert, St. James, St. Charles and St. Francois Xavier. For the purposes of the census the Parish of St. Andrew was split into two parts, i.e. St. Andrew's Upper and Lower.

**THE PARISHES OF RED RIVER - IN 1856**



rivers (with the exception of those already mentioned) (1). Grantown and the Swampy and Saulteau Villages are therefore the only areas that can be treated in a satisfactory manner before the census of 1856. Yet the 1856 census, whilst the most valuable of all censuses, has defects though of a minor scale compared to those of the earlier censuses. Only the summation of individual entries from the 1856 census have survived to the present day. Thus whilst the total number of people in each parish and the number of families belonging to each ethnic group is reported it remains impossible to establish the exact size of a particular ethnic group unless one makes an assumption about the average size of family in each case. Such an assumption is scarcely possible. Moreover since the individual entries are not available it is impossible to check the accuracy of the totals which are shown. It was possible to do this for the earlier censuses and errors in both the returns on population and agriculture were found to occur, most especially in the census of 1849 (2).

- 1 In the early decades of the nineteenth century "Lower Settlement" generally referred to those settlements below the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine rivers i.e. the settlements known as the parishes of St. John, St. Paul, St. Andrew and St. Peter in 1856. The "Upper Settlement" included the parishes of St. Boniface and St. Norbert. However, the census would seem to use "Lower Settlement" for the settlements both on the Red, above and below the forks and on the Assiniboine. It is in this sense that the term is employed throughout this dissertation.
- 2 In certain cases the returns made to the enumerator were incorrectly totalled. The population of the Lower Settlement was 3, 158 in 1838 and not 3, 156 as is shown in the census. The greatest errors were found in the 1849 census. The enumerator counted six more horses and mares and 201 more pigs than were reported and 109 more oxen, 81 less cattle and 10 less carts than were reported. The totals as corrected by the author are shown in Appendix 3.

As Appendix 2 and Plate No. I show the survey of agriculture was fairly complete in every respect except the size of holding and the amount of cultivated land devoted to particular crops. The failure to make returns on other than the acreage cultivated is the major defect of the agricultural survey.

In a settlement from which a large number left to take part in the bi-annual buffalo hunts, it might appear that many of its inhabitants might be ignored by the census enumerator. It would seem that this was not so. The censuses were taken in April or May and the hunts did not usually take place until June and August. Even in 1849 when it would seem that the spring hunt was particularly early, Ross notes that the 875 people who were in the plains, had been included in the census (1). The censuses themselves provide little information on this seasonal migration, the only mention being found in the remarks column of the 1846 census. Thirty-nine heads of families are known to have left the settlement in that year. Surprisingly, only two entries refer to Grantown. Of the remaining 37 three were from what the enumerator chose to describe in 1846 and again in 1849 as the "Protestant Settlement"; 34 were normally resident in the "Catholic Settlement" (2). The 39 entries presented in Table 2 would seem to substantiate the contention that the Roman Catholic half-breeds were more prone to hunting than the half-breed adherents to Protestantism.

1 Ross, Alexander, Op. Cit. p. 295.

2 Saint Boniface and Saint Norbert.

TABLE 2

A List of Seasonal Migrants, Extracted from P.A.M. R.R.C. 1846

Place of Residence	Entry No. In Census	Name		Age	Country of Origin	Remarks
Grantown	751	Reclud	I.	52	Rupertsland	Wintering at Partridge Loop
	801	Trotier	?	49	Rupertsland	Wintering in the plains
Lower Settlement 1. Protestant Settlement	46	Favel	?	?	Rupertsland	To the plains
	120	Hallets	Henry	47	Rupertsland	To the plains
	121	Hallets	William	?	Rupertsland	To the plains
Lower Settlement 2. Catholic Settlement	356	Alard	Pierre	?	Canada	No settled place of abode
	358	Allery	Michell(a)	?	Rupertsland	Gone to the plains
	359	Allery	Michel(b)	?	Rupertsland	Gone to the plains
	389	Berger	Pierre	?	Rupertsland	To the plains
	415	Caplet	Louis	?	Rupertsland	In the plains
	416	Caplet	Joseph	?	Rupertsland	In the plains
	418	Clyne	Michel	34	Rupertsland	To the plains
	419	Coke	Alexis	?	Rupertsland	To the plains
	449	Duganne	Widow	?	Canada	No regular place of abode
	451	Ducharme	Joseph	25	Rupertsland	In the plains
	479	Gourneau	Joseph	?	Rupertsland	Passing the summer at Red Lake
	483	Hoole	Antoine	?	Rupertsland	Gone to winter on the plains
	484	Hoole	Charles	?	Rupertsland	In the plains
	486	Hume	Alexis	?	Rupertsland	In the plains
	488	Isard	Widow	?	Rupertsland	No settled place of abode
	517	Lahanboise	Baptiste	?	Rupertsland	Gone to winter in the plains
	543	Lapierre	Louis	60	Rupertsland	Absent
	547	Ladonevir	Eustin	?	Canada	Gone to the plains
	559	Morin	Etienne	72	Canada	In the plains
561	Morin	Widow	?	Rupertsland	At Red Lake	
562	Montret	Joseph	?	Rupertsland	At Pembina	
570	Morin	Louis	23	Rupertsland	Absent	
571	McMillan	W.	?	Rupertsland	To plains	

TABLE 2 CONT'D

Place of Residence	Entry No. In Census	Name	Age	Country of Origin	Remarks
Lower Settlement 2. Catholic Settlement Continued.	580	Parisien Laventure	36	Rupertsland	To Plains
	581	Parisien Eustace	40	Rupertsland	To Plains
	582	Parisien Germaine	?	Rupertsland	To plains
	583	Parisien Etienne	?	Rupertsland	To plains
	590	Paranteau Joseph	?	Rupertsland	In the States
	592	Paranteau Pierre	?	Canada	In the Plains
	626	Trefond Louis	?	Rupertsland	Gone to winter in the plains
	628	Torima Louis	?	Canada	Gone to the States
	632	Trotier Adotte	40	Rupertsland	To the plains
	637	Vandalle Antoine	?	Canada	Gone to the plains
	641	Vandalle Pierre	?	Canada	Gone to the plains
646	Washteape Michel	34	Rupertsland	To the plains	

### The Methods Used in this Study

This survey has revealed the advantages and defects of the Colonial Censuses. The changing terminology of the enumerator has been explained and several minor defects revealed in the original material e.g. the incorrect summation of the census of 1849 and the lack of distinction between Scots and Orkney groups in that same census; a lack of distinction which has forced the author to examine the population and agricultural returns not of the Scots and Orkney groups but of a Scots/Orkney group. Such shortcomings must, however be considered minor to the inability, before 1856, to express spatially those agricultural and demographic elements which are the subject of this dissertation. The method of presentation has therefore been determined by the shortcomings of the censuses. The different patterns of agriculture have been illustrated by means of a ratio per one hundred people and the preference of a group for a particular livestock element by means of an inter-livestock ratio, a technique for which the author acknowledges his debt to A. H. Clark (1). Before 1856 the resultant ratios have had to be represented graphically; in 1856 it has been possible to represent the spatial differentiation, in turn a reflection of the pattern of ethnic distribution, by choropleth maps.

1 Clark, Andrew H., "The Sheep/Swine Ratio as a Guide to a Century's Change in the Livestock Geography of Nova Scotia", Economic Geography, Vol., 38, 1962. pp.38-55.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ORIGINS, GROWTH AND ETHNIC STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE ORIGINS, GROWTH AND ETHNIC STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION

#### Introduction

In the pages which follow there is a heavy reliance upon secondary material and the primary or censal material is used to add an ethnic flavour to a "story so often told". (1) It has been possible to show the exact ethnic composition of the population for every year with the exception of 1832. Returns were not made for some thirty families in that year (2) and because of this the relative importance of each group has had to be determined from an incomplete enumeration. In this chapter the growth and ethnic composition of each of the four units used by the census officials (Lower Settlement, Grantown, and Swampy and Saulteau Villages) is described and the causes underlying such changes as occurred are examined. As is usual in such studies the explanation of change proved more difficult than the description of change but in this case it was further complicated by the operation of what may be termed "ethnic transfer"

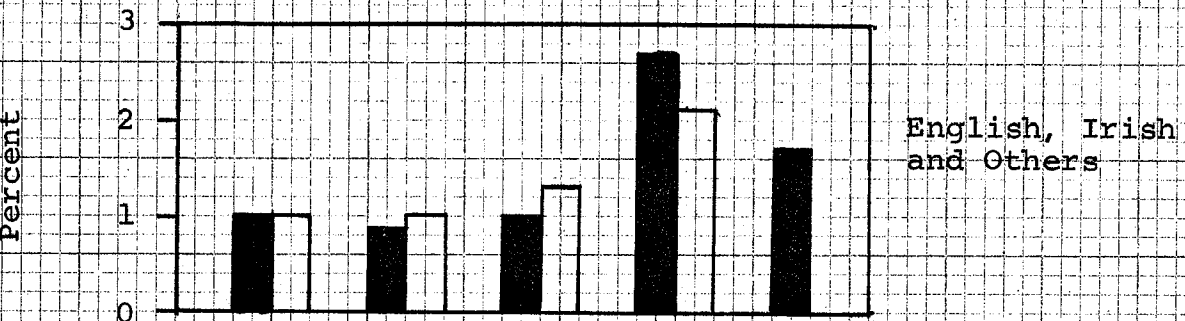
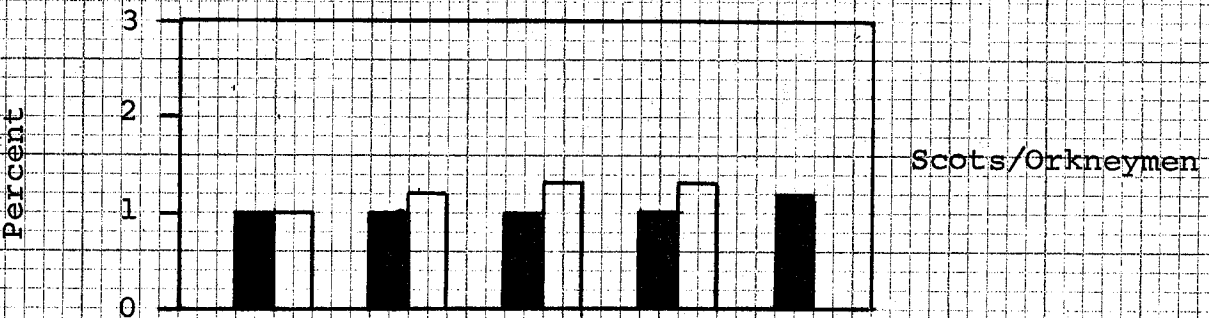
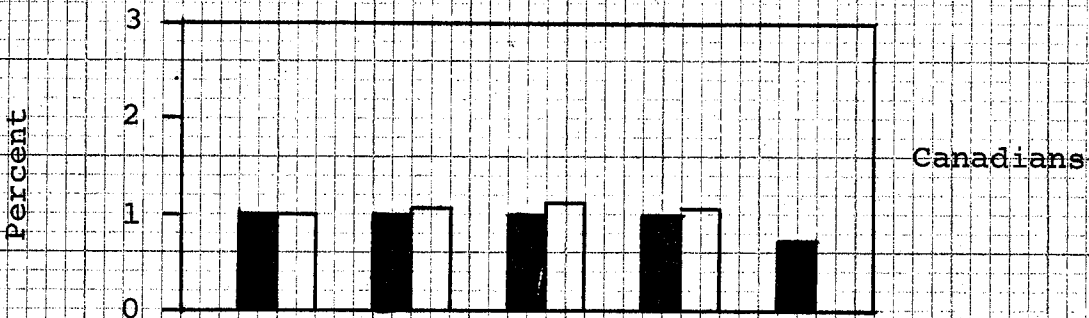
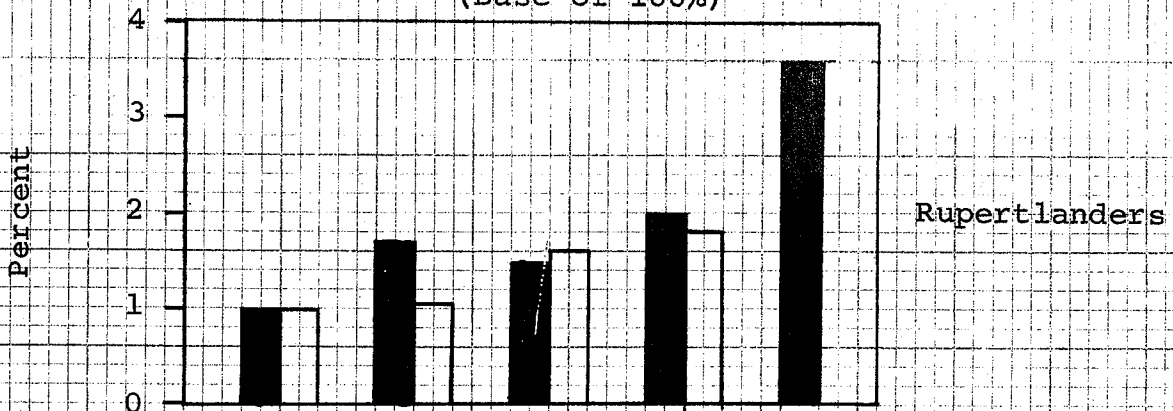
- 1 Morton, W. L., Manitoba, A History, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 1957.
- 2 The following entry numbers were not considered in the calculation of the ethnic composition of the settlement in 1832. This was because of defective reporting of either population totals or of ethnic allegiance.  
Entry numbers 19, 20, 21, 22, 106, 117, 203, 205, 217, 225, 255, 266, 270, 324, 325, 327, 335, 340, 342, 343, 350, 360, 367, 368, 378, 383, 419, and 442.

The term refers to that process whereby the necessary but in many cases inaccurate classification of children, with the ethnic group of the householder with whom they were enumerated, was rectified. The process may be illustrated by reference to the family of the Orkney man Thomas Halero. Although married to an Indian women, he (Halero), his wife and his children were in 1838 counted as Orcadians (1). However the census of 1843 revealed his sons Thomas and Joseph as Rupertlanders (2), and they were counted as such by the author. On the expression of their separate existence as householders the ethnic allegiance of many was in this way changed from that claimed by their father (see glossary of terms used). Any explanation of for example the reasons behind the changing importance of any of the groups shown on diagram IA must take into account not only differential rates of reproduction and of migration to the colony but also the direction in which this process of "ethnic transfer" was operating. The changing importance of each group throughout the period 1832 to 1856 is shown on this diagram, which uses a base of 100 percent in 1832 (for both the number of families and of people) as an index of change. Ethnic transfer must therefore be considered as an important factor in the marked increase in the number of Rupertlander families between 1849 and 1856. The Rupertlander group was by definition parasitical

1 P.A.M. R.R.C. 38.230 and 38.232.

2 P.A.M. R.R.C. 43.227, 43.228 and 43.229.

The Changing Importance of the Groups  
(Base of 100%)



Change  
 □ Total Size of Group  
 ■ Total Number of Families

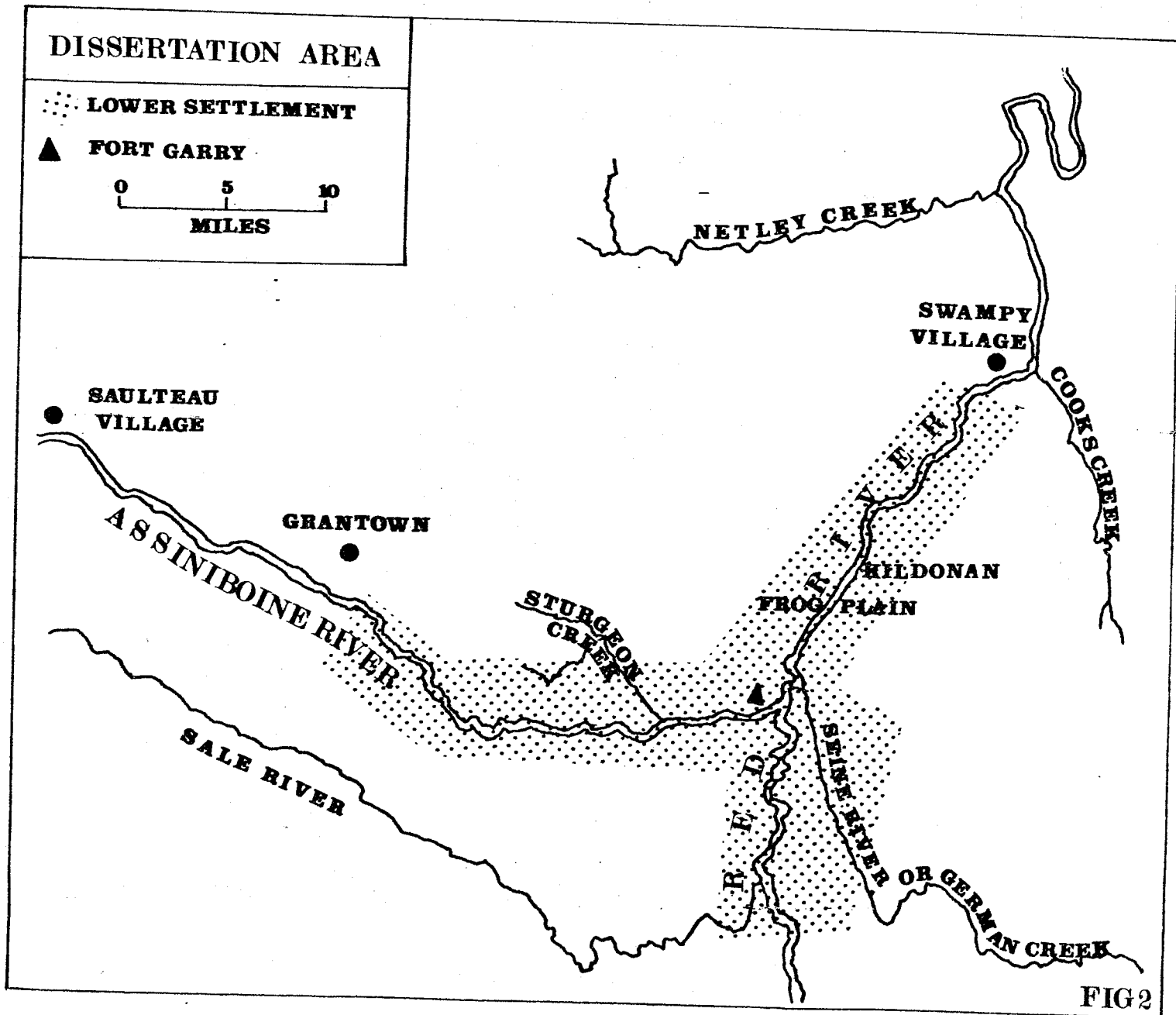
(see glossary) and might be expected to grow irrespective of a particularly high birth rate or of annual renewal by immigration. Conversely, lacking an influx of European stock the Orkney and Canadian groups, among whom the majority of women and children had some measure of Indian blood, might be expected to decline. In the absence of suitable statistics the author has been obliged to make a qualitative judgement of the extent to which ethnic transfer was productive of change in the ethnic structure of the colony.

#### THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE LOWER SETTLEMENT

##### 1. The Origin and Development of the Scots/Orkneymen

In 1810, the Earl of Selkirk, a man possessed of a genuine desire to ameliorate the lot of the Scots Highlanders and Western Irish, deprived of their lands by "improving" landlords, sought to establish many of these dispossessed people at his Red River Colony. The colony met with little success, however, until 1813. The early settlers lacked the discipline and pioneering spirit necessary in a people who were to combat a rigorous environment. In 1813 however, Selkirk changed his field of recruitment and henceforth the prospects for the colony improved (1). The settlers arriving in 1814 and 1815 were predominantly Scots drawn almost entirely from the

1 Selkirk Papers (hereafter S.P.) Volume H p. 1194 - 1195  
Macdonnel to Selkirk, 25th July 1814.



parish of Kildonan in Sutherland, a county in which expropriation had been particularly severe (1). In two parishes in Sutherland the conversion of a single holding into sheep runs had displaced one hundred tenants (2). An appeal to the Government having failed, many decided to emigrate. Seven hundred people applied for Selkirk's offer of land in North America, but only a fraction could be accepted because of the shortage of boats for the inland voyage between York Factory and the settlement (3).

Between 1813 and 1815, 182 people arrived from Kildonan. The majority of the settlers returning to the settlement after the ravages committed by the North West Company in 1817, were drawn from this group. They settled in what became known as Kildonan (See Figure 2 ) where they were given lots in free soccage along the river, from one mile below Fort Douglas to the Frog Plain (Figure 2 ).

The aim of these Scots farmers was to maintain their group identity. They came as families and formed a distinct community within the settlement. Determined to farm, they resented the circumstances which in these early years, forced them to rely for sustenance upon the Canadians and the half-breeds living at Pembina. Men of strong character, they

- 1 Fairhurst, H., "The Survey of the Sutherland Clearances 1813 - 1820", Scottish Studies, Vol. 8, 1964 p. 1-16.
- 2 i.e. the parishes of Clyne and Kildonan, S.P. Vol. 2, p. 650 Selkirk to Macdonnel, 12th June, 1813.
- 3 S.P. Vol. 2, p. 488, Auld to Selkirk, 11th September, 1812.

possessed the qualities necessary in a people who were to conquer a wild land. Undaunted by the almost annual natural calamities which beset them and the ravages of the enemies of the colony, these resolute men returned each year to renew the struggle with the environment. Their determination wavered somewhat in 1818, when a plague of locusts destroyed the work of many years unremitting sweat and toil, but once again they returned. They never again wavered. Even the disastrous flood of 1826 was not sufficient to shake their resolution. As the waters retreated they again returned. They learnt to adjust to the harsh climate of the country; changing as it were so that they would not have to change. They became hunters and fishermen by which means they supplemented their as yet precarious agricultural economy. In the early days of the Red River Colony these Scottish custodians of a European culture, gave a necessary strength and solidarity to Selkirk's emergent colony (1).

The Scots were joined after 1821 by many Orkney clerks and voyageurs made redundant by the amalgamation of the fur companies in that year. The new company believing such employees and their dependants "dangerous to the peace of the country and the safety of the trading posts" thought "it prudent and economical to incur some expense in placing these people where they may maintain themselves and be civilised and instructed in religion"(2).

1 The material presented on this and the previous page has been gleaned from the many histories of Manitoba.

2 S.P. Vol. 3, p. 724, Selkirk to Macdonnel, June 20th, 1813.

They were to be removed to Red River Settlement where, as a condition of the original grant of land, Selkirk had reserved a tenth of the colony for such exigencies. In 1818 a number of Orkneymen (1) settled along the Assiniboine in close proximity to Grantown, the half-breed settlement at the White Horse Plan (Figure 2). However their numbers only became significant after 1821.(2). A few came in 1822 (3) but in 1823 more than 200 discharged employees left the North-West fur posts most of them for the Red River Colony (4) where they hoped to escape the social ostracism which would have faced them had they and their Indian wives and half-breed children (5) returned to Europe. From 1822 onwards the arrival of the Orkneymen was an almost regular occurrence. The early arrivals were given land north of Frog Plain and the Kildonan settlers, in what became St. Paul's Parish. Later arrivals moved into the Grand Rapids area which later became Saint Andrew's Parish. A minority moved to the

- 1 S.P. Vol. 15, p. 5199, Alexander McDonnell to Selkirk, July 30th, 1818 and S.P. Vol. 15, p. 5330, Capt. Mutley to Selkirk, August 30th, 1818. According to M. Giraud their settlement was known for some time as Birsay after the Orkney parish of the same name. Giraud, Marcel, Le Métis Canadien, Paris, 1945, p. 670-701.
- 2 S.P. Vol. 23, p. 7384, Simpson to Colvile, September 8th, 1821.
- 3 The task of setting this group on the eight lots surveyed by Kemp on Image Plain was entrusted to Chief Factor John Clarke. Included amongst this group were John Park (38.415), I. Whiteway, J. Foster (38.182 or 38.183) and George Spence (32.406), Bulger Papers, Vol. 2, p. 251.
- 4 Giraud, M., Op. Cit. p. 685.
- 5 The characteristics and social attributes of the Orkneymen are described in Ross, A., Op. Cit. p. 110-111.

lower reaches of the Assiniboine or to Point Douglas. Most received land grants of up to 100 acres but a few retiring officers were given as much as 2,000 acres in the Frog Plain area.

By 1832 so great had been the exodus from Rupertsland that the Orkneymen outnumbered the Scots who had been the predominant element in the Red River Settlement since its early days. (Appendix 4A). The Scots remained numerically subordinate to the Orkneymen until at least 1843 and probably to 1849 when the census recognised the two component units of this Scottish group as one. The Scots/Orkneymen (the term applied to the amalgamated Scots and Orkney groups) were by 1832 the least important of the major groups represented at the Lower Settlement and remained so throughout the period 1832-1849. In 1832 they formed 23.2% of the total population of the Lower Settlement (13% of the total were Orkneymen) but thereafter their importance in relation to the other groups declined until by 1849 the Scots/Orkneymen made up only 19.6% of the population at the Lower Settlement. The declining importance of this Scots/Orkney group can be attributed to the lack of replenishment of the Scots from outside the settlement and to the unfavourable operation of the process of ethnic transfer. This transfer process did not affect the Scots, who remained largely an ethnically homogenous group, to any real extent, but it did reduce the numbers of Orkneymen, most especially after about 1840 when the Orkney migrations to the Colony had ceased and the full effects of ethnic transfer to the Rupertlanders were felt. The

Scots/Orkney population was further depleted by the movement from the colony of many Presbyterians, who lacking a Minister of their own faith, were unable to accept the administrations of the colony's Anglican priest. Emigration cannot, however have been as important as ethnic transfer in the declining importance of the Scots/Orkney group. Yet the Scots/Orkney element did grow most especially in the period 1832 to 1838, when the retired fur traders were arriving in ever-increasing numbers. A Scottish population of 543 in 1832 had by 1849 increased to 744, an overall increase of 36.5%. The increase was however, largely artificial because the Orkney element in the Scots/Orkney group functioned as a "holding" unit for the Rupertlanders, who were to constitute approximately 80% of the population in 1856.

## 2. The English, Irish and Others

The English were numerically the most important of these three smaller elements accounting for approximately four percent of the total population of the Lower Settlement throughout the period 1832 to 1849. This was in addition to the Rupertlanders, the only group to increase in importance throughout the period. Numbering 98 persons in 1832 they had increased to 161 persons in 1849 - an increase of 64.3% in 17 years. (Appendix 4A and Appendix 6A). The Census appears to mask changes which occurred in this group in the period 1832-38. In 1836 the Hudson's Bay Company established an experimental farm within the colony. Thirteen Lincolnshire families were brought out to work it. They

brought the total number of English families to 28 but in 1838 only 19 families are shown in the Census. Nine families would appear to have emigrated.

Several Irishmen had been among the early settlers. Particularly pugnacious representatives of the West of Ireland and of County Sligo in particular they were constantly quarrelling with the Scots. Many withdrew; those who remained included amongst them some of the settlement's most important men. For example Andrew McDermott (1) was one of the colony's larger farmers and perhaps its most important trader and shop-keeper. The Irish never numbered more than 40 people, by 1849 they were reduced to 17 persons (Appendix 4A).

To the Scots, English and Irish there was added a further European element, composed in part of ex-soldiers and former artisans. In 1821 the colony had received 170 Swiss (2) who had been recruited, with the help of some highly subjective literature, in the cantons of Berne and Neuchatel. Townsfolk, artisans and craftsmen, they were speedily disillusioned with the land in which they had hoped to make a new beginning. Lacking the skill and perseverance of the Scots they were never reconciled

- 1 For an appreciation of his work in the settlement see Oliver, E. H. (ed) The Canadian North-West : Its Early Development and Legislative Records, Vol 1, (Publications of the Canadian Archives) No. 9., Ottawa, 1914.
- 2 For the Swiss colonists see Stanley, G. F., (ed) Documents relating to the Swiss Migration to Red River in 1821, Chapter 22, 1841, p. 42-50 and Reminiscences of Mrs. Ann Adams, "Early days at Red River and Fort Snelling 1821-29", Minnesota Historical Collections, Vol. 6, p. 75-115.

to pioneering life and became instead the pioneers of the emigration movement from the colony in the 1820's (1). Some gave up immediately; others endured a hostile environment for another few years but the majority withdrew from the colony after the flood of 1826.

"The colonial authorities, glad to be rid of this disgruntled element, provided the provisions to allow them to move en bloc to America's emerging Mid-West ..." (2)

In 1821 five Swiss families had moved south to Fort St. Anthony; in 1823 a further thirteen had moved to Missouri but the majority of the Swiss left in 1826 for Galena, in Wisconsin (3). In 1832 only two Swiss families were left at the Lower Settlement. They have been added to the miscellaneous group which has been made to include the few representatives of Norway, Germany, Poland (4) and Denmark present in the colony. The majority of these "Europeans" were probably what remained of the De Meuron soldiers instrumental in Selkirk's recapture of his colony from

- 1 Oliver, E. H., Op. Cit., p. 228-230.
- 2 Provencher to Bishop Panet, 15th July, 1826. Letter in Nute, Grace Lee, (ed). Documents Relating to North-West Missions 1815 - 1827, St. Paul, 1842.
- 3 Estimates of the size of the 1826 party (which included Swiss and De Meurons) vary between 243 and 300 people. See Ross, A., Op. Cit., p. 109 and S.P. Vol. 27, p. 8471, D. Mackenzie to Colville, 30th January, 1827.
- 4 See Turek, V., "Poles among the De Meuron Soldiers", Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society, Series 3, Number 9, 1954, p. 53-68.

the North-West Company (1) Mercenaries who enlisted in various parts of Europe for the British service, these soldiers of the De Wattville, Glengarry and De Meuron regiments were given land across from the "forks" in the well-wooded but essentially fertile tract of country between the Seine and the Red River. Placed as a military and defensive force at the centre of the colony they were an unruly and constantly grumbling body of men who, presented an open threat to law and order. They decried their lack of wives and farm implements and the price of goods at the colony store and because of their linguistic uniformity and their impassioned outbursts on the state of affairs within the colony, they were an easily recognised and distinct group. German was their lingua franca and accordingly their settlement became known as Germantown, the river Seine was for some time known as German Creek (2) and the tract connecting their lots was termed German Street. Initially Selkirk had engaged about 100 De Meurons but not all chose to remain at the colony. In 1821 Nicholas Garry listed "65 Meurons of all ages". (3). Most of them, together with the wives they had acquired and the children they had fathered,

- 1 At the instigation of the North-West Company, the Métis feeling their existence threatened by the young agricultural colony, seized it in 1816 and destroyed the settlers' lots. The De Meurons were hired by Selkirk to recapture the colony.
- 2 The name was used as late as 1856 when the river Seine was described as German Creek on Henry Youle Hind's map.
- 3 Garry, Nicholas, "Diary of Nicholas Garry", Trans., Roy. Soc., Canada, Section 2, 1900, p. 73-204.

withdrew after the flood of 1826. In 1832 those remaining probably numbered about 34 persons (1). The whole of the Other or Miscellaneous group numbered 49 persons in that year and experienced only a slight increase in numbers until 1848 when a second group of former soldiers arrived in the colony. These men were Irish, Scots and English. In 1849 there were 46 families of them, totalling 163 people. They have been treated as part of the Miscellaneous group.

### 3. The Rupertlanders at the Lower Settlement

It was perhaps inevitable that many employees of the great fur companies trading in the North-West should form unions with the Indian women of the plains and of the forests. When Henry Kelsey arrived back at Hudson Bay with an Indian women in 1692, he only began among the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company what had been common among the French traders since earlier times (2). Some of these marriages were permanent; the majority were temporary. The quasi-military fur companies looked favourably upon such unions because they had a steadying influence upon the men and usually led to better trade relations between the companies and the tribes with which they traded. Indeed

1 The Americans and the Red Indians (a total of 3 people) numbered amongst this group in 1832 were obviously not De Meurons. If the Swiss are also excluded (12 people) the De Meurons numbered 34 people at a maximum.

2 Stanley, G. F., The Birth of Western Canada, London 1936 and Toronto, 1963.

in at least one case the daughter of a chief was formally installed in the officers' quarters for the purpose of securing the trade of a hostile tribe.

From the union of fur trader and Indian there developed in the North-West a distinct group termed half-breeds, *bois brules* (1) or métis (2). Most of these people, shown in the census as Native or Rupertlanders, were the descendants of Scottish or more commonly French Canadian fathers, these being the two groups from which the employees of the fur trade were drawn. Their mothers were mainly Cree, the group most frequently in contact with, and the most favourably disposed, toward the traders. Even before the establishment of Selkirk's colony they came in every increasing numbers, scattering widely as they wished to all parts - to the "forks", along the Assiniboine and especially to Pembina, the base for the buffalo hunt on which so many relied. In 1824, encouraged by the leaders of their church the majority of these Pembina Rupertlanders moved north and settled at the colony, increasing an already well marked tendency towards a predominantly Rupertsland population.

Throughout the period 1832 to 1849 the Rupertlanders were numerically the strongest single group in the Red River Colony.

- 1 Literally "burnt wood" - a term indicative of the skin colour of many of the people.
- 2 Métis is derived from the latin "mixtus" or mixed - Tremaudan, A.H. Histoire de la Nation Metisse dans L'Ouest Canadien, Edition Levesque, Winnipeg 1935, p. 46.

The majority lived within the bounds of what the census speaks of as the Lower Settlement. As might be expected of a group which by definition was dependant upon the other groups represented at the settlement, the importance of the Rupertlanders increased throughout the period as a result of natural reproduction, of migration to the colony and of ethnic transference. As time went on and the effects of immigration declined, natural reproduction and ethnic transference played increasingly important parts in the growth of the Rupertlander group. By 1840 immigration, had, if it not wholly then largely ceased. There is no evidence to suggest that the Rupertlanders were any more productive of children than any other group. Ethnic transfer would therefore appear to be the main reason for the increase in the number of Rupertlanders. (Diagram 1A). However immigration (together with natural reproduction) must have been particularly important in the period 1832 to 1838, an era when it played an important part in the changing demography of the whole colony. In these six years the Rupertlanders increased by approximately 58% (Appendix 6A ). In 1832 there were at least 914 Rupertlanders at the Lower Settlement, accounting for 38.9% of the accurately known population of the Lower Settlement. Of these, 56% were born of British fathers; the remainder were the children of Cree and French Canadian parents. The census of 1849 does not permit a patrimonial breakdown but shows that there were 2,032 Rupertlanders who composed 53.7% of the population at the Lower Settlement. During these years the Rupertlander element

increased rapidly, at first by immigration and natural reproduction, later by natural reproduction and especially by the process of ethnic transfer.

#### 4. The Canadians at the Lower Settlement

After the Rupertlanders, the Canadians in 1832, were numerically the second strongest group. In that year they numbered at least 703 people and formed about 33% of the population of the Lower Settlement. After 1838 the numbers of these people resident in St. Boniface declined because they, like the Orkneymen, were the parents of the Rupertlanders and because immigration to the settlement had almost ceased.

#### THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF GRANTOWN

The half-breed hunters who left Pembina were divided in their choice of a place of settlement within the Colony. Some chose to live in Saint Boniface but the majority opted for their old camping ground on the Assiniboine. At the White Horse Plain they established what became known first as Grantown, (after Cuthbert Grant, their leader) and later as the parish of Saint Francois Xavier. In 1827, there were 19 families and a total of 111 persons (1) but following the amalgamation of the fur companies and the subsequent redundancies, the village grew rapidly until in 1832 there were 47 families and a total of 294 people (2). It is impossible to ascertain the ethnic composition

1 Giraud, Marcel, Op. Cit., p. 844.

2 P.A.M. R.R.C. 1832.

of the entire Grantown population in that year because of the short comings of the census. The total number of people was recorded as was the number and the country of origin of the householders but no information was provided about the composition of each family. However, the number of householders in each ethnic group can be used to give a rough estimate of the relative strength of each group. The majority of families were in that year Rupertlanders; Canadian families represented 29.7% of the total and other families 4.25% of the total. An examination of the census reveals a predominance of French names among the householders of Grantown. The Rupertlanders of French descent inherited to a greater extent, the cultural traits of their mothers than did those born of Orkney fathers. The Orkneymen generally occupied higher positions in the fur trade than did the Canadians and their children had therefore a place to maintain in society. It was because of this socio-economic difference that there were no Orkneymen or children of Orkneymen resident at Grantown. The half-breed children of the Canadians were as might be expected the largest element in the population of the settlement; the Canadians as at the Lower Settlement declined in importance in the same period though their absolute numbers increased (Appendix 4B). Between 1832 and 1838 immigration largely accounted for the rapid increase in population. Thereafter natural reproduction and ethnic transference must account for the increase in the number of Rupertlanders.

Indian Missionary stations at the Red River Colony

The first settlers who arrived at Red River in 1811 found two bands of Indians living in close proximity to one another at a semi-permanent encampment on the banks of the Red. These were the Saulteaux and the Cree, both members of the great Algonkian nation and therefore possessing a similar language and culture. The former came from the south-eastern shores of Superior where the term 'saulteurs' had first been applied by the French to these Indians, then living near the 'sault' or rapids at Sault Sainte Marie. The latter would seem to have originated in the north. They referred to themselves as Muscaigoes (1). Heeney states that the Muscaigoes came from the vicinity of Norway House and as far north as York Factory (2) and the early records of the Church Missionary Society state that

for several years, many Cree-Indian families, from between Hudson's Bay and Cumberland House, have been drifting to the Settlement, having connections there among the half-castes and others (3).

In the 1830's in an attempt to prevent the exploitation of both Cree and Saulteaux by land speculators (4) and to convert them to Christianity, the Reverend William Cockran determined to establish a permanent settlement where they could acquire European techniques of farming.

1 meaning "swampy" or Cree of the muskeg.

2 Heeney, William Pental, Leaders of the Canadian Church, Toronto, 1920, p. 54

3 P.C.M.S. for 1832-33p.64.

4 P.A.C. A84, Cockran to C.M.S. (n.d.) received October 20th, 1832

In the spring of 1832 Cockran chose Netley Creek, the traditional camping site of the Indians as the site for his agricultural settlement. By 1834 there were 14 farmers at Netley Creek (1). But because of disagreement between the Cree and Saulteau Cockran decided that two settlements were necessary. In 1833 Cockran had established another settlement at Cook's Creek (Figure 2 ) for the Cree, the more enthusiastic and enterprising farmers, to whom Cockran now devoted his whole attention. By the fall of 1833 Cockran had completed nine small cabins (2) and by 1834 they were occupied by 29 farmers; 15 at the Indian Settlement (Cook's Creek) and 14 at the Indian farm (Netley Creek) (3). By 1835 the landscape at Cooke's Creek had been radically transformed. Cockran himself testified to the change

"Now from the opposite side of the river, I see the village standing along the crescent bay; twenty-three little white-washed cottages are shining through the trees, each with its column of smoke curling to the skies, and each with its stack of wheat and barley. Around them lie various patches of cultivated ground; here and there pigs are seen busily seeking for their food, cows are lowing for their calves, while in the centre stands the school house, where sixty merry children, just let loose from school are leaping running or wrestling; and all is life and cheerfulness" (4)

- 1 Tucker, Sarah, The Rainbow in the North, London, 1858, p. 94.
- 2 Bishop Mountain, The Journal of the Bishop of Montreal during a Visit to the Church Missionary Societies North America Mission, London (1845), p. 209.
- 3 P.A.C. A84 Cockran to the C.M.S., July 24th, 1834.
- 4 Tucker, Sarah, Op. Cit., p. 83-84.

In 1838 when the settlement at Cook's Creek was first reported in the census there were 71 families and a total of 289 people. (1) Between then and 1843 the population increased by slightly more than 50 per cent as a result of the arrival of an increasing number of Swampies from the north. In 1838 there were 102 families and a total population of 434. In 1849 there was a further sixteen people. The success of the village was largely due to the participation of the inhabitants in agriculture, in turn a reflection of its ethnic structure and of the leadership and inspiration of Cockran. In 1840 the Rev. John Smithurst, Cockran's successor reported that the people were "for the most part Muscaigoes with a few Saulteaus" (2). The Swampy Cree were more amenable to farming and the European way of life than the Saulteau who held more to the ways of their ancestors. It was mainly because of this difference of outlook that Cockran's Swampy Village succeeded and the Roman Catholic Mission Station at Baie Saint Paul failed (3).

The Saulteau Village, the Roman Catholic counterpart to Cockran's Anglican mission is first mentioned in the census of 1840 when there were 98 people living there. Between 1840 and

1 P.A.M. R.R.C. 1838. In 1838 Cockran's settlement was termed Indian Settlement but the terminology was changed in that year. In the census of 1843 and 1849 it was termed the Swampy Village; and in 1856 it became the parish of St. Peter.

2 A. Rl. Smithurst Letter Book for 1840 (n.d.)

3 In 1849 Father Belcourt moved south to the métis settlement at Pembina. His withdrawal undoubtedly influenced the decline of the settlement.

1849 the Swampy Village lost 15.2% of its population, during the same period the Saulteau Village lost 49.1%. The Saulteau were never fond of agriculture because of the hard and continuous labour it required and when the harvest failed they returned to the hunting economy of their forefathers. By 1849 the Saulteau Village was well on its way to total abandonment.

#### Conclusion - Red River in 1856

The population of Selkirk's Red River colony increased rapidly in the early decades of the nineteenth century as a result of natural reproduction, ethnic transfer and immigration to the colony. A population of 2,751 in 1832 had become one of 6,691 in 1856, an increase of the order of 70%. The most important period of growth was in the years 1832 to 1838 when the ex-employees of the fur company were arriving in great numbers. The population increased rapidly thereafter as a result of natural reproduction and of ethnic transference. However, in the years 1843 to 1849 the rate of increase dropped to 4.4% as a result of emigration from the colony. Henry Youle Hind states that in this period 120 persons left the colony to form a settlement at Portage Prairie, and that

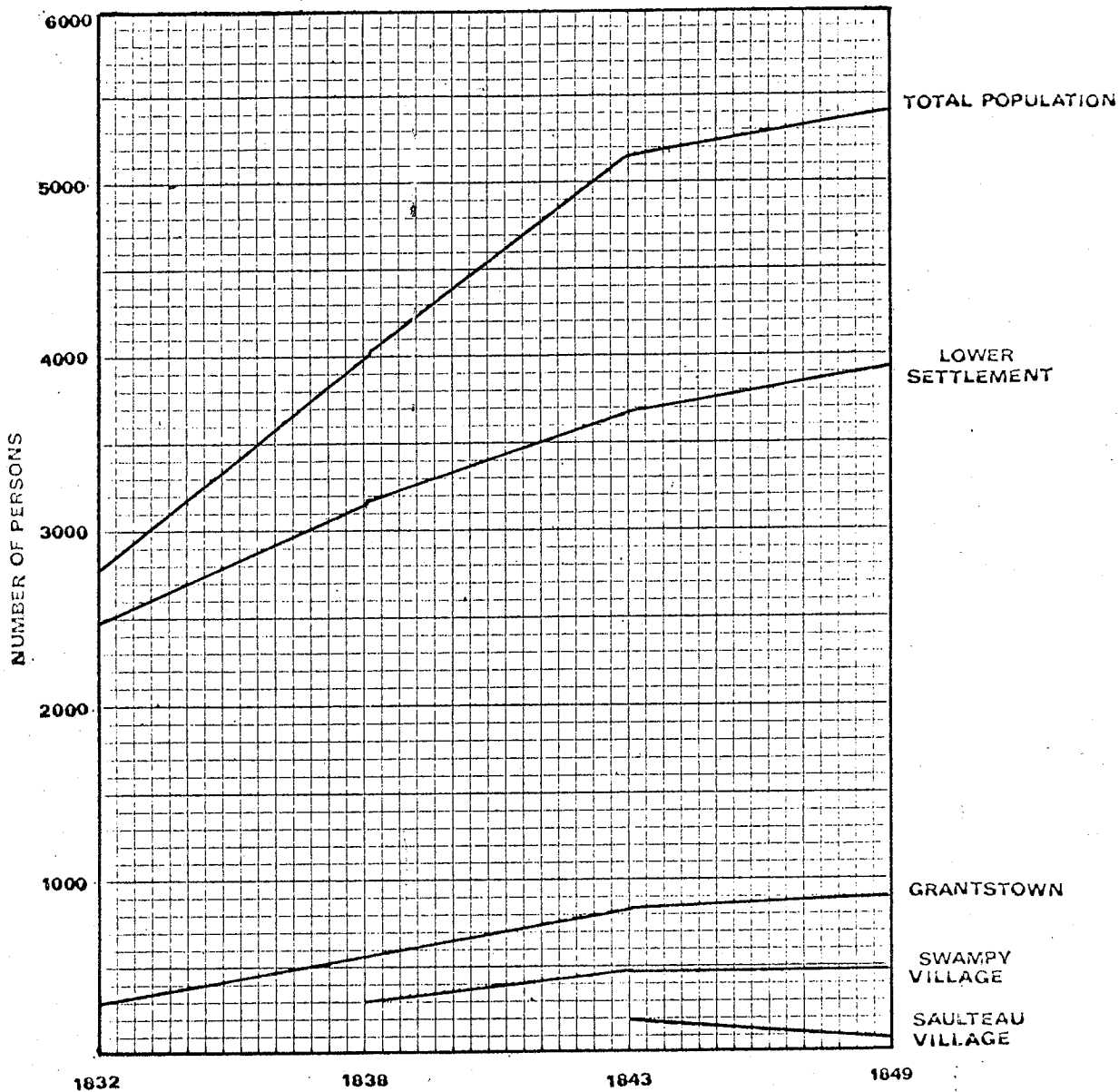
"St. Joseph's at Turtle Mountain has absorbed a very considerable number exceeding 500 persons and many families have left the settlement to seek a home in other localities"(1)

Even before 1843 migration had been an important factor in population change. In 1841 James Sinclair led 121 settlers

1 Hind, Henry Youle, Op. Cit. p. 176.

DIAGRAM 2

### POPULATION CHANGE—RED RIVER COLONY



### ETHNIC COMPOSITION - LOWER SETTLEMENT

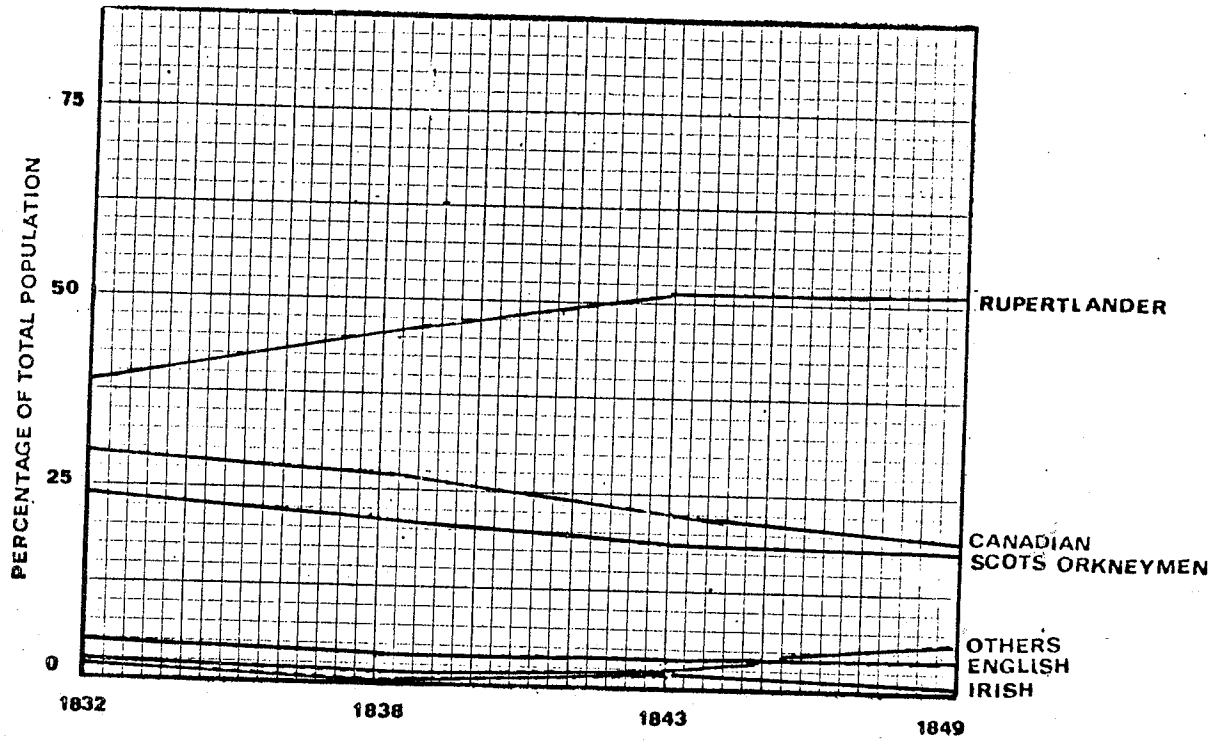
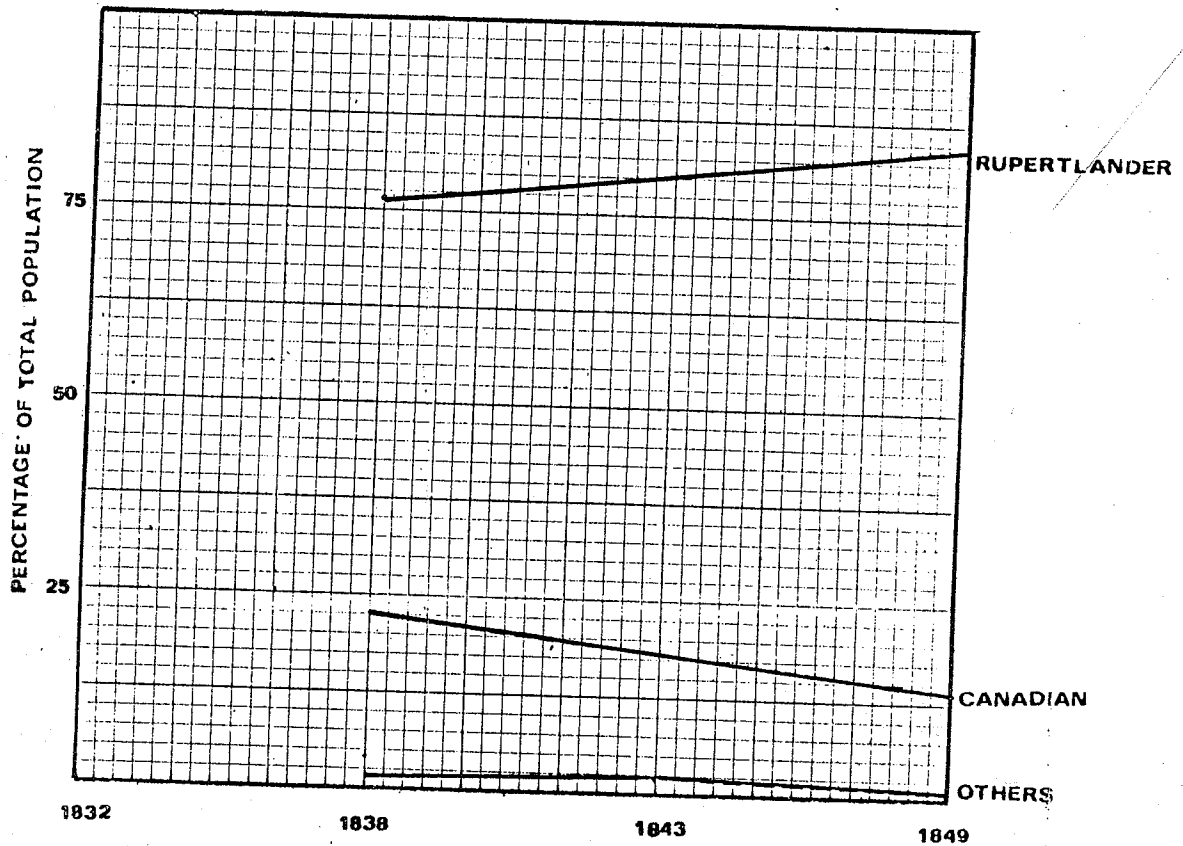


DIAGRAM 4

### ETHNIC COMPOSITION - GRANTSTOWN



westward to the Willamette Valley in an attempt to minimise American expansion in Oregon (1). Between 1821 and 1835 (2), 489 persons left the settlement for the United States of America. There were both economic and social reasons for leaving. Many were simply disgruntled and would never have been capable of settling in the colony for any prolonged period of time. The De Meurons were among this group. However other people who had contributed to the settlement and had borne considerable hardship were also leaving the colony. The Scots had for many years been requesting a minister of their own Presbyterian faith but had been obliged to content themselves with what they felt was the "excessive ritualism" of the Anglican Church. In 1852 114 people, mainly members of the Presbyterian community left the colony for the United States. (3) Further factors in the migration of many people from the colony in this period 1835 to 1849 were the monopoly of trade exercised by the Hudson's Bay Company, a monopoly which was regarded as oppressive (4) and the series of natural disasters which befell the colonists. In 1836, 1846 and 1847 the crops failed entirely at the colony and in 1837, 1840 and 1855 the harvest was poor. The hunt upon which

1 Galbraith, J. S., Hudson Bay Company as an Imperial Factor 1821 - 1869, Toronto, 1957, pp. 207 - 213.

2 the majority probably in 1826. F. D. Neil "Occurrences in and around Fort Snelling (1819 - 1840)", Minn. Hist. Sci. Collections, Vol. 2. p. 127.

3 Ross, Op. Cit. P.184

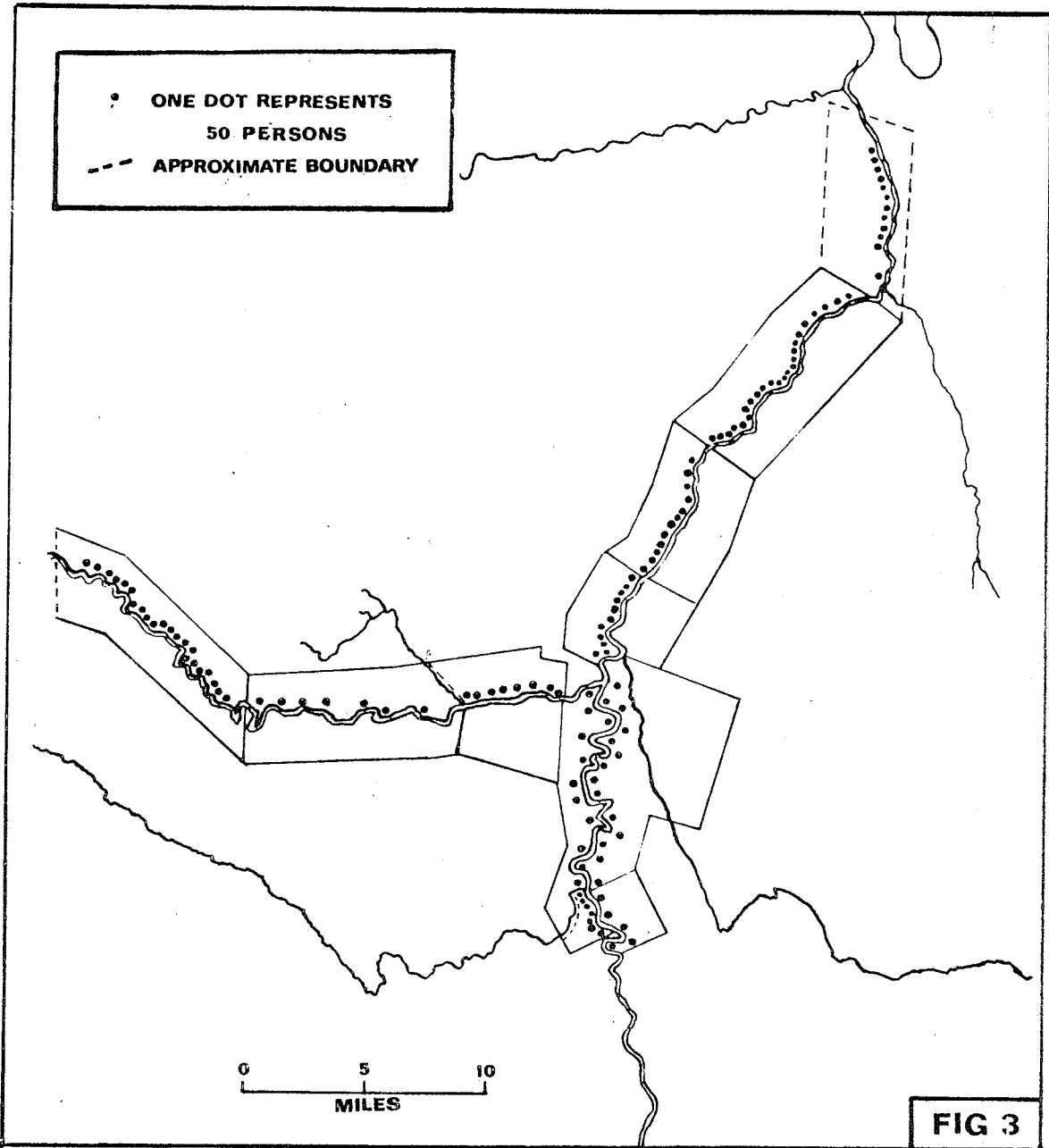
4 Morton, Op. Cit. P. 77

so many Rupertlanders were in whole or part dependant was poor in 1836, 1840, 1844 and 1855. Such natural disasters, in addition to the monopoly of trade exercised by the Hudson's Bay Company must have been a major factor in the movement from the colony. In 1834 and 1835 there were epidemics of whooping cough and influenza, in 1835 scarlet fever, in 1846 the "bloody flux" arrived (1) and in 1852 the re-occurrence of severe flooding destroyed life and property. Events such as these cannot but have had a limiting effect upon the population curve. Even so the population continued to grow. As has been shown it might have been greater than the 6,691 present in 1856.

The distribution of population in 1856 and its ethnic composition are shown on figures 3 - 9 and diagram 9 . The boundaries are taken from the Taylor instrumental survey conducted for the Hudson's Bay Company in 1836, subsequently reduced by pentagraph by Henry Youle Hind in 1856 and modified by the author in an effort to make for greater clarity. Where a parish boundary appeared to or actually followed the line of a meandering stream the boundary was established as the median line between such meanders, for example La Rivière Sale was taken as the northern boundary of St. Norbert parish. In one case a parish boundary was established de nouveau that is Netley Creek was taken as the northern boundary of the parish of St. Peter.

1 From the eighteenth day of June to the second day of August 1846, 321 people or one sixteenth of the population died from smallpox. Ross, Op. Cit. P. 363.

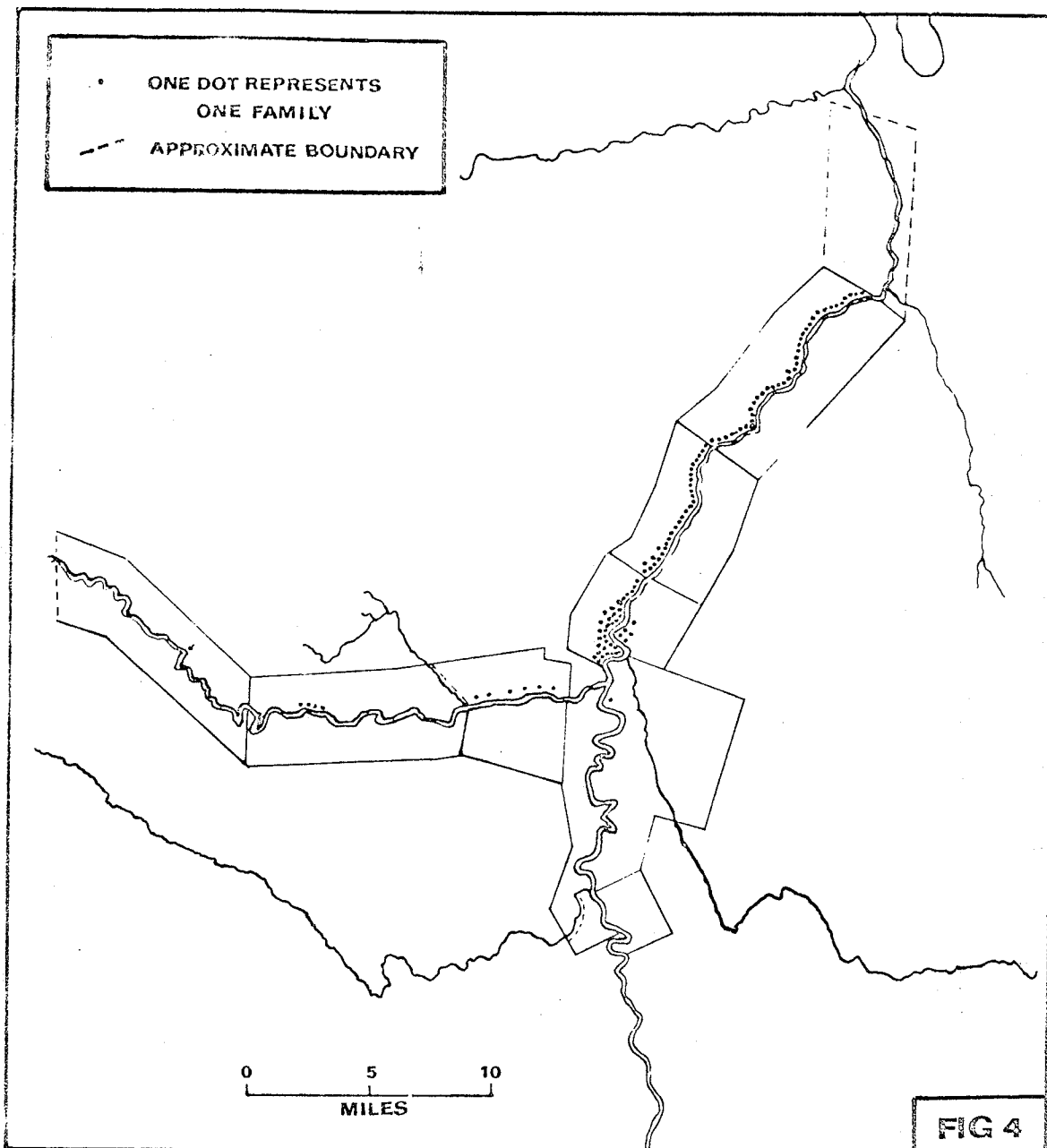
### POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN 1856



SOURCE R,R,C 1856

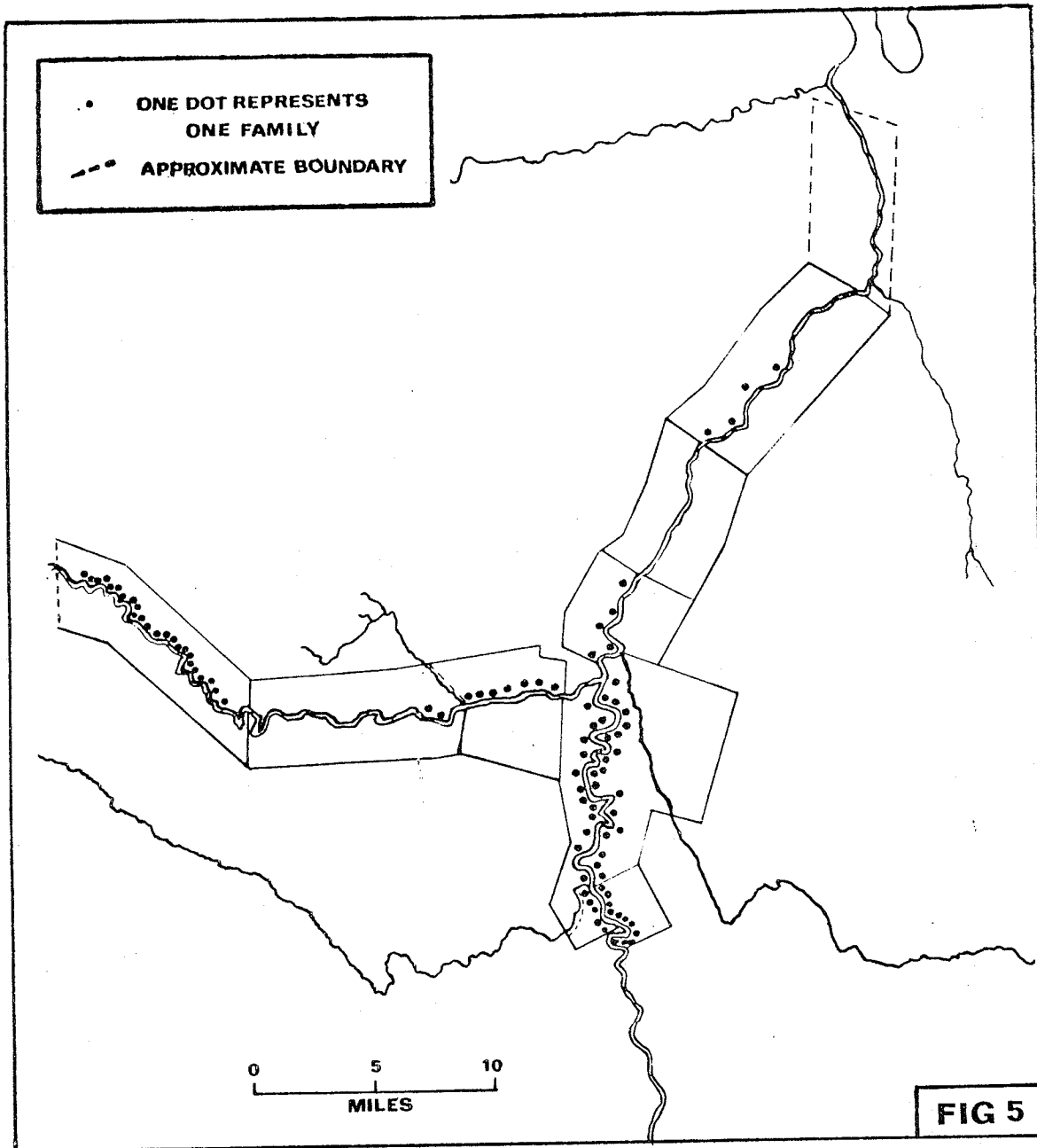
FIG 3

# SCOTS/ORKNEY FAMILIES IN 1856



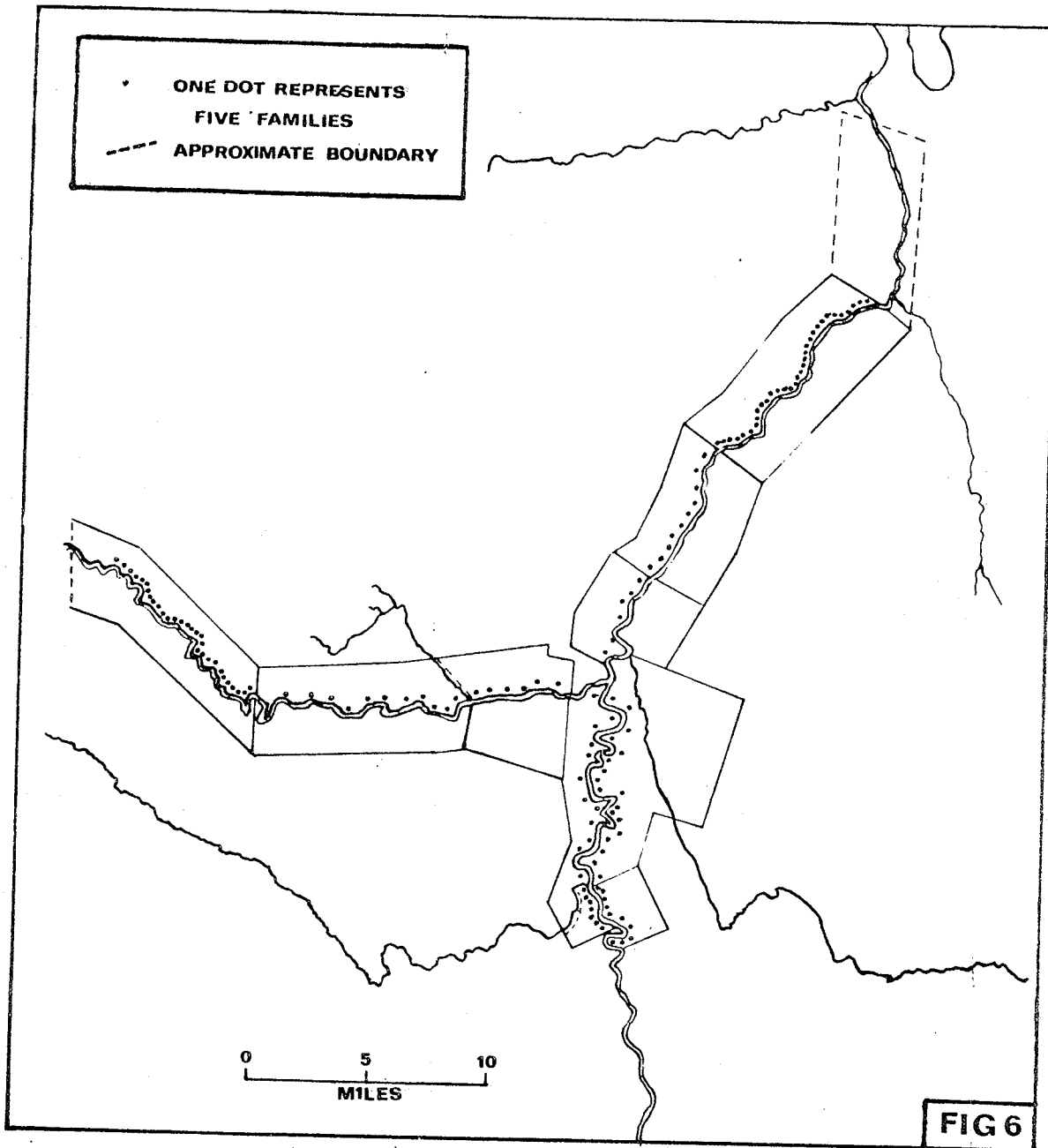
SOURCE R.R.C 1856

### CANADIAN FAMILIES IN 1856



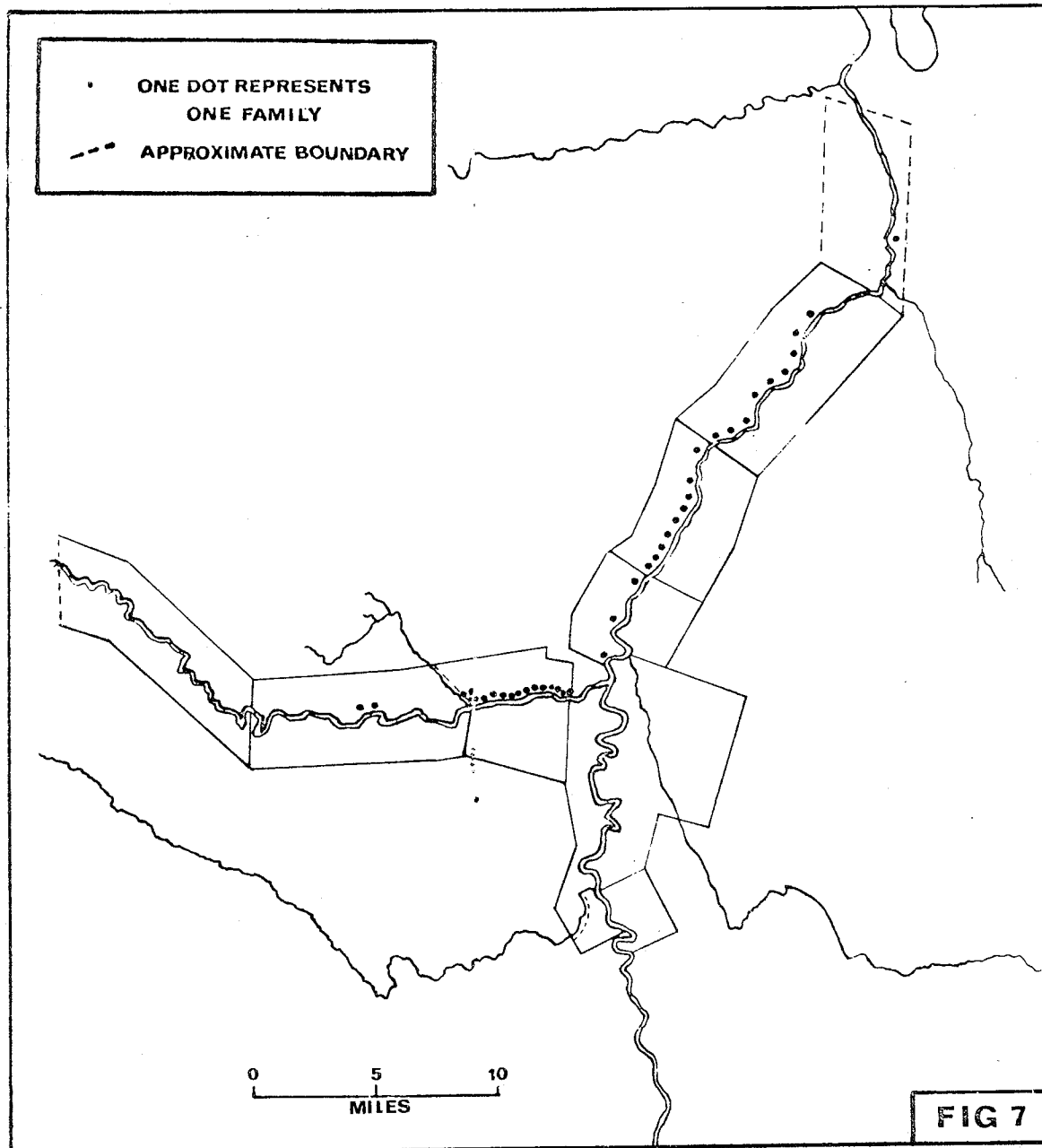
SOURCE R.R.C 1856

### RUPERTSLAND FAMILIES IN 1856



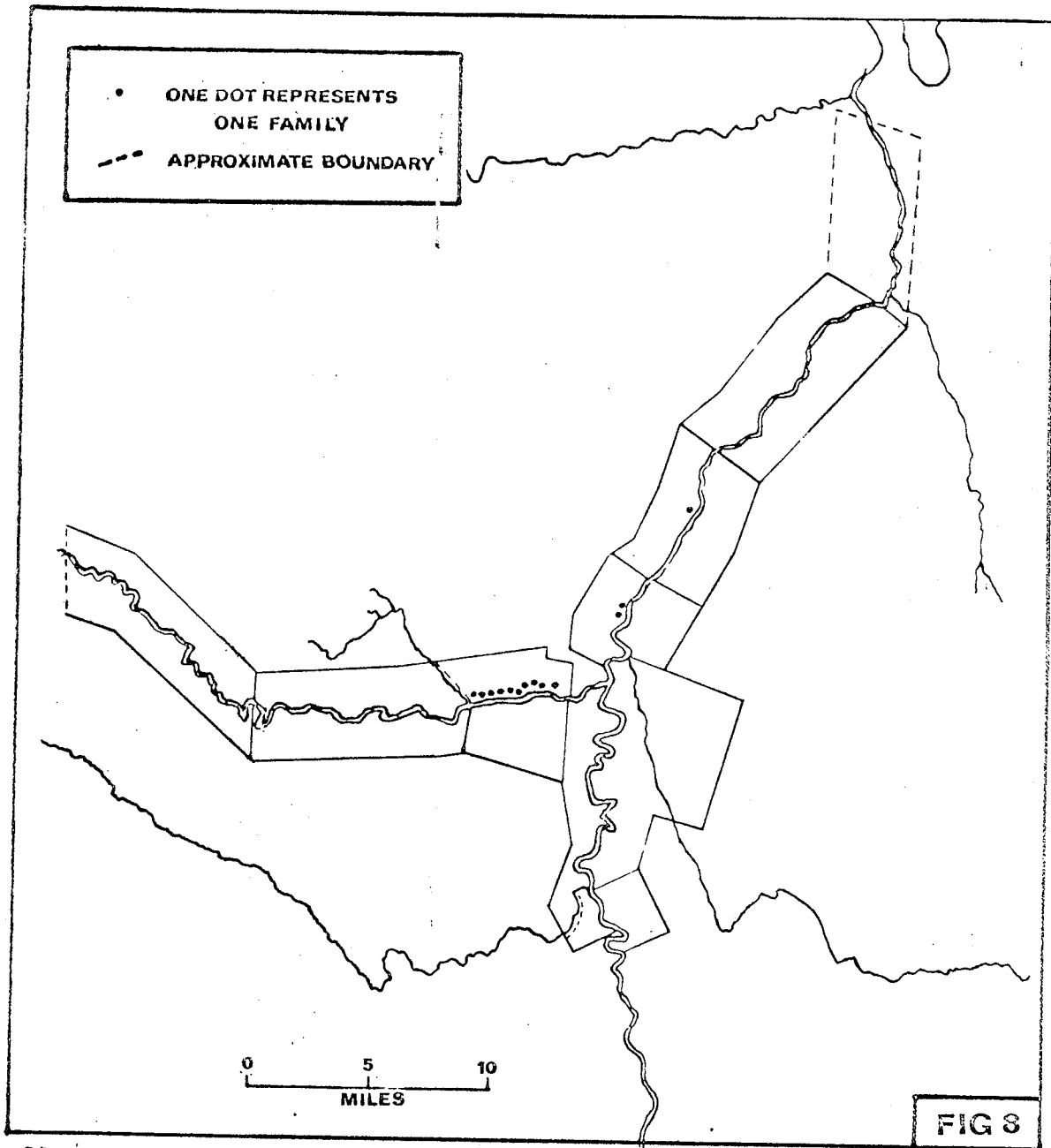
SOURCE R.R.C 1056

### ENGLISH FAMILIES IN 1856



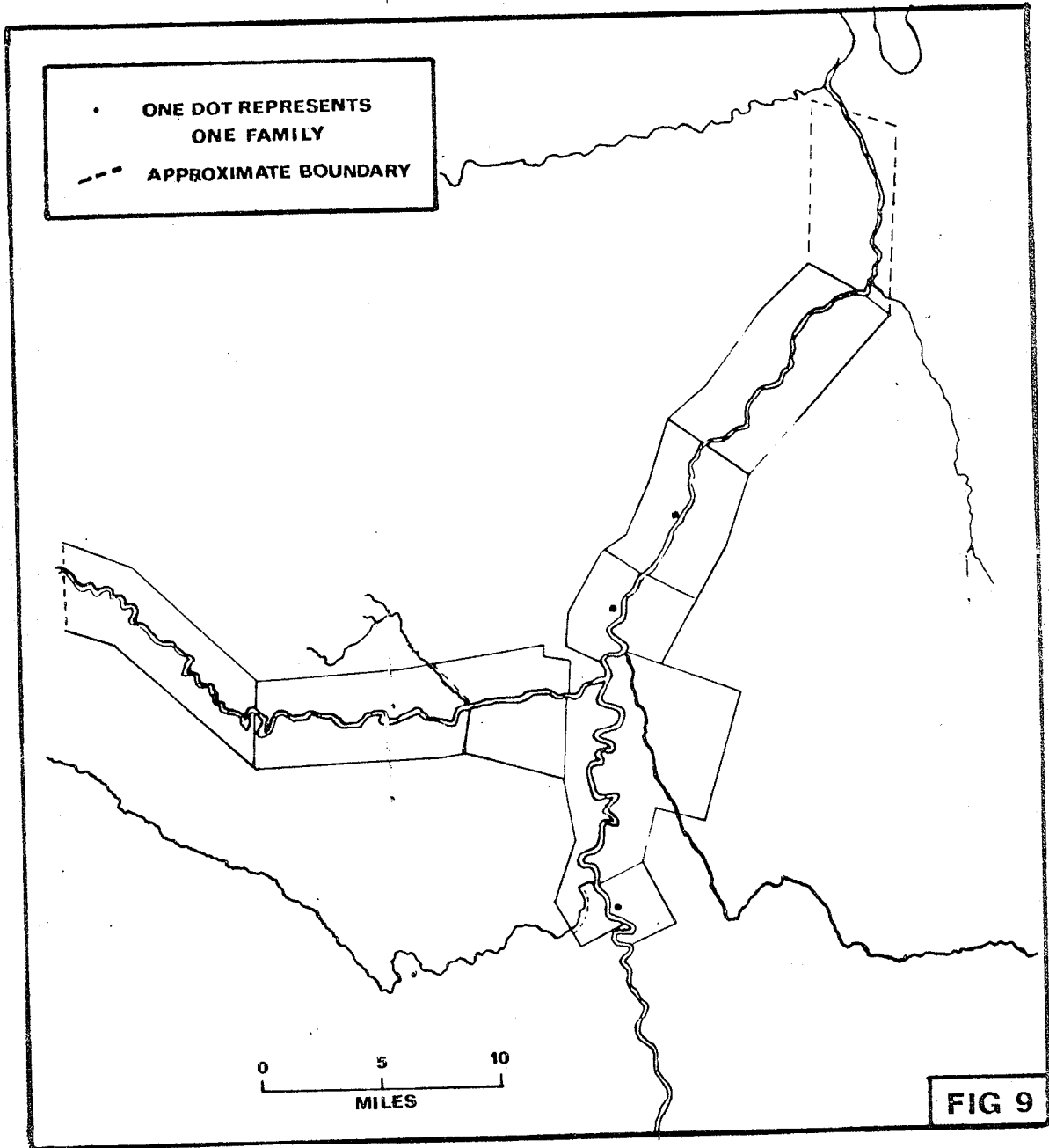
SOURCE R.R.C 1856

# IRISH FAMILIES IN 1856



SOURCE - R.R.C 1858

### OTHER FAMILIES - 1856



SOURCE R.R.C 1856

As figure 3 shows the Red River colony in 1856 was essentially a riparian settlement and the population was distributed in a linear fashion from the southern most boundary of St. Norbert to the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine and from the "forks" north for a distance of some thirty miles to Cockran's Swampy Village. Westward settlement stretched along the Assiniboine to the parish of St. François Xavier. Throughout the whole of this area settlement sought river frontage. The river was essential to easy movement; it was the prime source of water in an area in which it was thought impossible to obtain water by sinking wells on the plains; the best drained and most easily cultivated soils lay along the river banks which also provided timber for shelter, lumber and fuel. (1)

By 1856 the Red River Settlement was a predominantly half-breed colony. The extent to which ethnic transfer had supplemented natural reproduction as an agent of change may be seen in the fact that 828 of the 1,095 families were Rupertlanders. Of the remaining 267 heads of families, 92 were of French extraction and 175 were of British extraction. Among the latter the "Scots" (2) were numerically the most important (119 families) and as figure 4 and diagram 9 show they were concentrated in the parishes of St. John, St. Paul and St. Andrew. The "Scots" of St. Andrew's parish were mainly Orkneymen who as retired fur

1 See Morton, W. L., "Agriculture in the Red River Colony", Canadian Historical Review, December 1949, P. 317 - 320.

2 In the 1856 Census the term "Scot" includes those claiming the Orkney Islands as their country of origin.

traders made up by their wealth what they lacked in farming techniques. St. Andrew's parish, a parish of 1,209 people was however a predominantly Rupertlander parish, albeit a wealthy Rupertlander parish. Within it, the Rupertlander children of Orkney and Indian parents inherited the cultural and economic traditions of their Orkney fathers. The Indian inhabitants of St. Peter's parish, one of the least populated parishes, lying north of St. Andrew's had renounced nomadism for the sedentary life. The parishes of St. James and St. Charles though predominantly Rupertlander parishes were part of a British cultural area which included the parishes of St. John, St. Paul and St. Andrew. Those parishes south of the "forks" and west of St. Charles could in 1856 be considered the custodians of a French-Indian heritage. This division into French-Indian and British cultural areas was in 1856 the chief characteristic of the settlement. The inhabitants of the area, stretching from St. Boniface north to St. Andrew's parish and westward along the Assiniboine as far as St. François Xavier, were essentially farmers. Beyond this area, towards the fringes of the settlement the inheritors of a French-Indian culture, devoted the greater part of their time to the pursuit of the buffalo.

CHAPTER THREE

ETHNIC ORIGINS, RELIGIOUS ADHERENCE AND THE

AGE/SEX STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION

ETHNIC GROUP AND RELIGIOUS ADHERENCE

The religious adherence of the heads of families was the most faithfully reported element in each census. However, returns were made upon the heads of families only and the student has therefore to assume that the religion of the householder was, in every case, the religion of the householder's family. Such an assumption leaves no room for conversion from one branch of the Christian fold to another but nonetheless it would appear a valid assumption, since there is no evidence in the literature of the Red River colony that such a practice was common. The colonial censuses recognise a two fold division i.e. Protestant or Roman Catholic and provide no information on the numerical strength of the sects into which the Protestant community is known to have been divided. Thus one can never testify authoritatively to the number of Presbyterians who were in the colony though their numbers can be gauged because Presbyterian and Scots were almost interchangeable terms. The majority of the highland Scots living in the parish of St. John, are known to have been Presbyterian by persuasion but because of the absence of a minister of their own faith they were obliged to attend the services of the Anglican Church until 1851, when the Reverend John Black arrived from Scotland. The Orcadians and the English were undoubtedly more amenable to the rites and liturgy of the Anglican Church than these Scottish sons of the Reformation but the number of

Anglicans like the number of Presbyterians remains unknown. Swampy village was at least in name wholly Anglican as the Saulteau village was wholly Catholic. At Grantown the Canadians and Rupertlanders were faithful and devout members of the Roman Church. At the Lower Settlement the Canadian preference for Catholicism was almost equally as marked but the Rupertlanders of the Lower Settlement were divided in their allegiance. (appendix 7A).

Throughout the period 1832 to 1843 Roman Catholics outnumbered the Protestants in the colony. In 1838 there were 2,122 Roman Catholic's and 1,850 Protestants; in 1843, 2,776 Roman Catholics and 2,347 Protestants. By 1849, however the Roman Catholics had become a minority. This was a result of the arrival in the colony of the soldier-settlers, (the majority of whom were Protestants) in 1848, and of the decline of the Saulteau Village after the disastrous crop failures of 1846 and 1847 and the departure of Father Belcourt for Pembina. The changed religious composition was particularly noticeable amongst the Rupertlanders of the Lower Settlement. In 1843 there were 43 more Protestant than Catholic Rupertlanders at the Lower Settlement but by 1849 the Protestant community had increased by 78 families to give a Protestant majority of 416 people. The reasons behind this shift in allegiance are not clear. It would seem, however that the migration which occurred at this time affected the less committed farmers (who as it will be shown later were invariably Roman Catholic Rupertlanders)

to a greater extent than it did those who scorned the hunt except in years of particular scarcity. A further factor was the almost annual arrival of retired officers of the fur trade. The majority of these men, who came with their families to the colony, were Protestants. The Protestants may have remained in a majority until 1856 but this cannot be stated with any degree of certainty. The exact religious structure of the colony is not known for 1856. There were, however, more Protestant than Roman Catholic families in that year, (appendix 3 ) and since there is no evidence that Roman Catholic families were all that bigger than Protestant families, a slight Protestant majority would seem a feasible supposition.

In 1856 the Red River colony could be divided into two distinct parts on a basis of religion, a distinction which the census enumerator first made in 1849 when in the census of that year he recognised a Catholic and a Protestant Settlement. The settlers of the parishes of St. John, St. Paul, St. Andrew and St. Peter were predominately Protestant; those living in St. François Xavier, St. Charles, St. Norbert de la Riviere Sale and St. Boniface were mainly Catholic. St. James and St. Charles could be considered transitional in character between the almost wholly Catholic and Protestant parishes. In the early days of the Selkirk colony attempts had been made to segregate the population on an ethnic and religious basis and the two fold division of the colony may be considered a relic of that time. It was in St. James however, that majority of the soldier-pensioner

arriving after 1848 were settled. Both Roman Catholics and Protestants were numbered amongst their ranks and this would seem to account for the admixture of denominations present in this parish. What the 1856 census shows as the parish of St. Charles included the Protestant enclave of Headingley where a Mission Church had been established in 1853. The religious adherence of the colony in 1856 is summarised by parish in the following table.

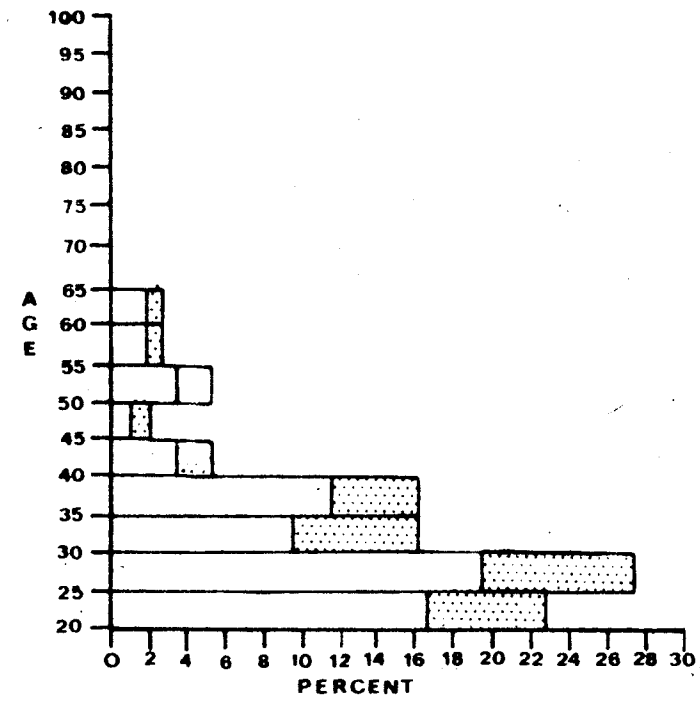
TABLE 3  
The religious Composition of the Red River Settlement in 1856  
(By family)

Parish	Percentage Protestant	Percentage Roman Catholic
St. James	57.4	42.6
St. John	95.0	5.0
St. Paul	96.7	3.3
St. Andrew Upper and Lower	96.3	3.7
St. Peter	98.3	1.7
St. François Xavier	1.7	98.3
St. Charles	22.3	67.7
St. Norbert de la Riviere Sale	-	100.0
St. Boniface	2.8	97.2

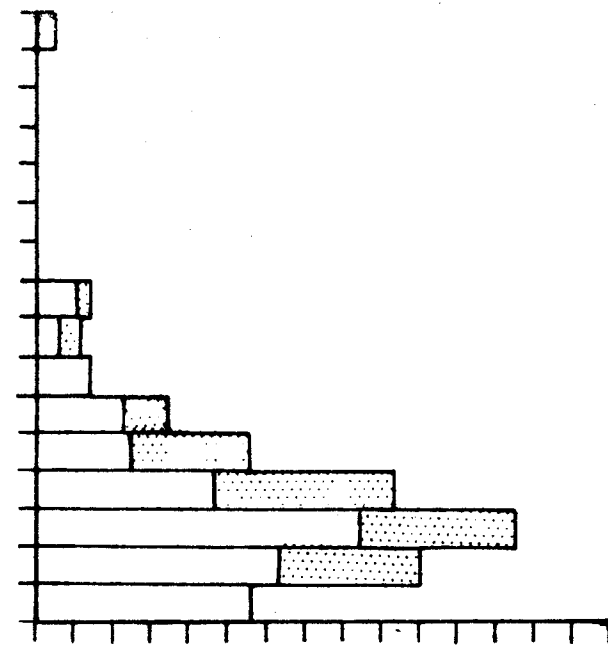
Ethnic Origins and the Age/Sex Structure of the Population

Diagrams 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 represent an attempt to show diagrammatically the ethnic and age structure of the peoples,

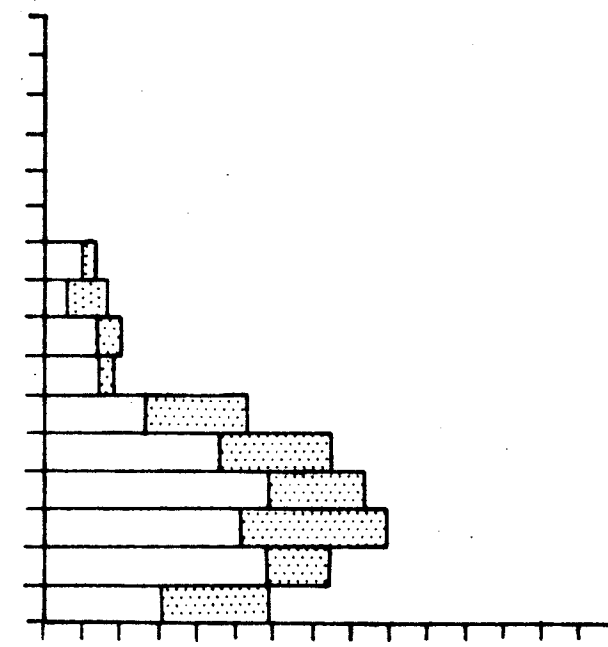
# AGE COMPOSITION OF ADULT HOUSEHOLDERS—LOWER SETTLEMENT



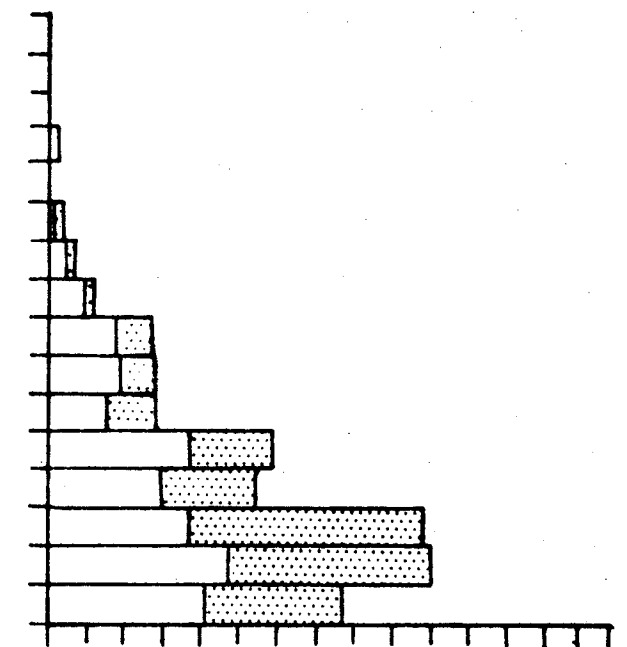
1832



1838

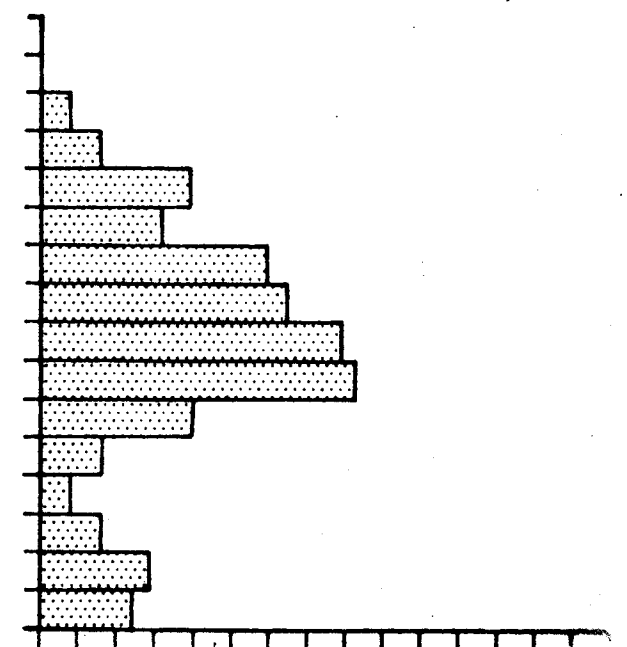
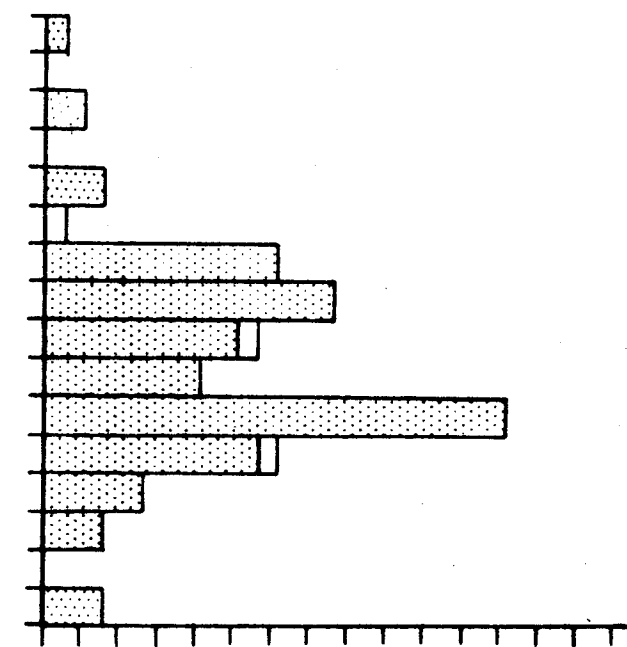
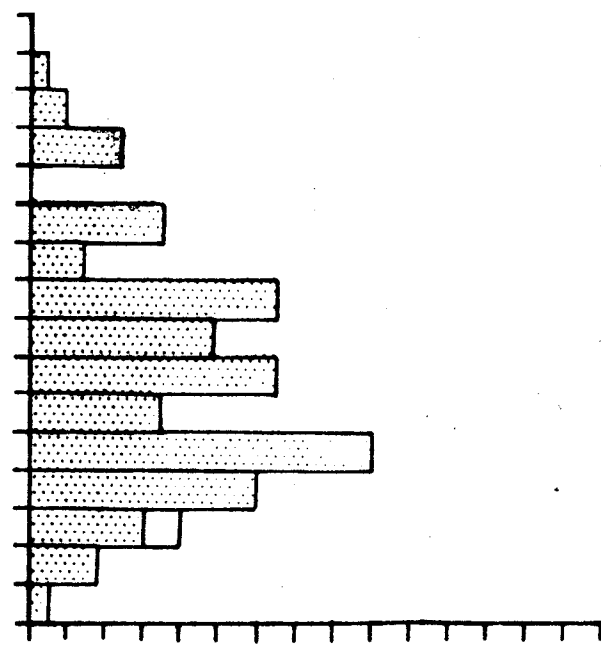
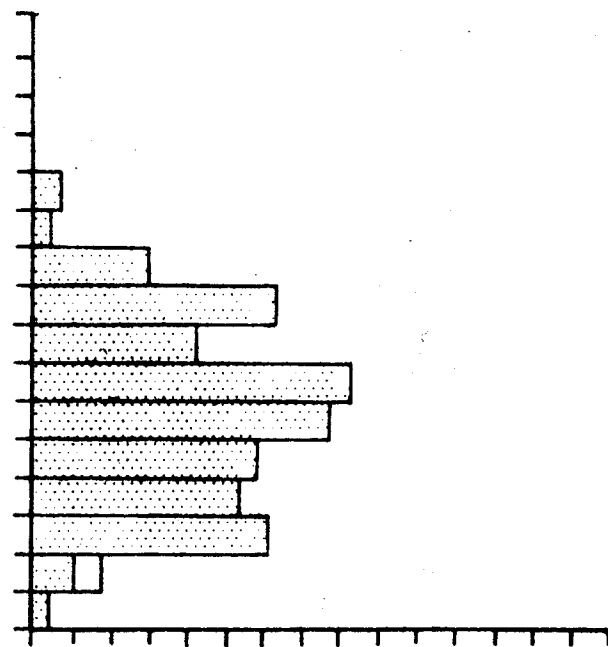


1843



1849

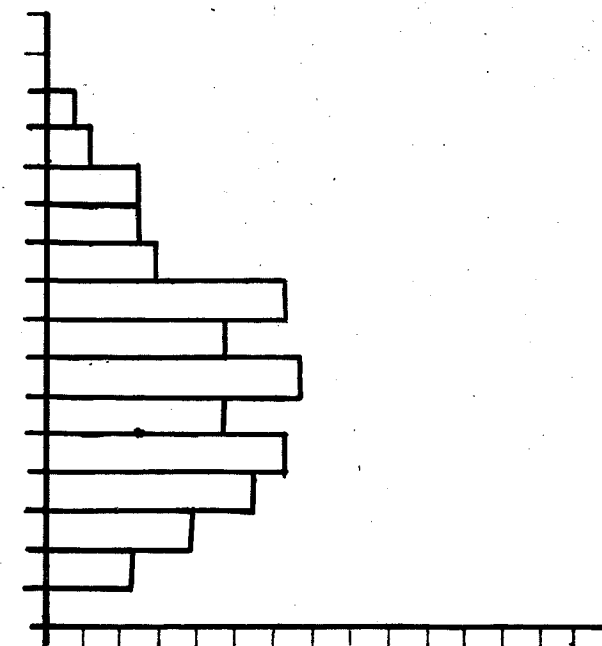
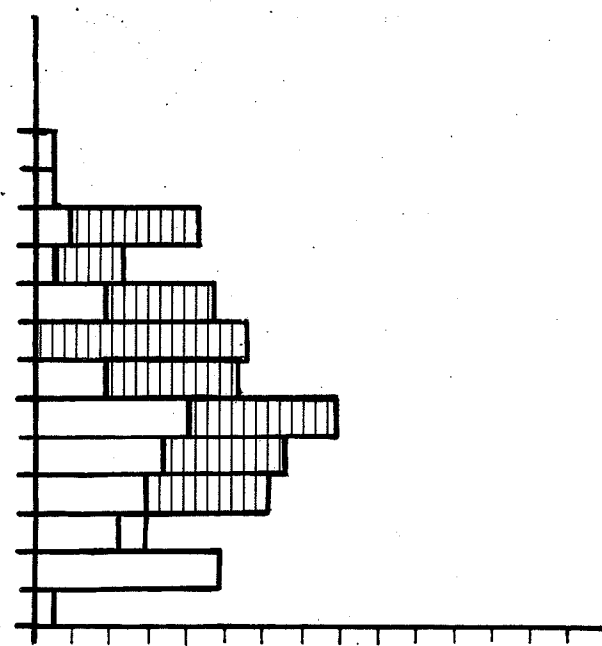
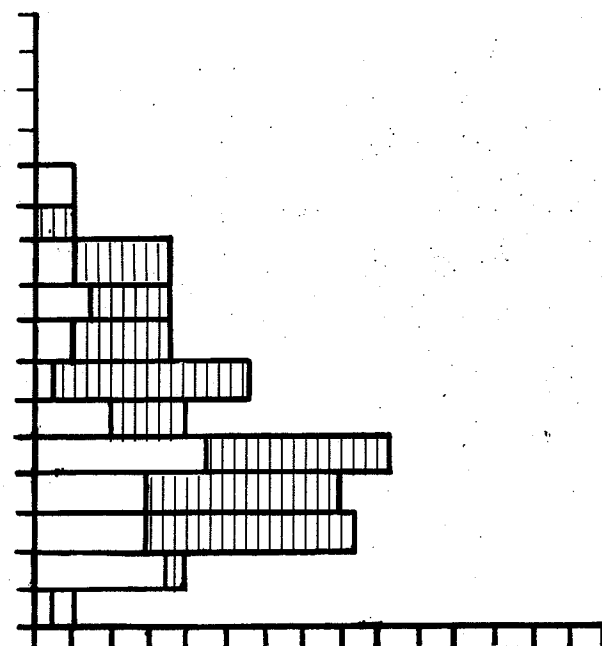
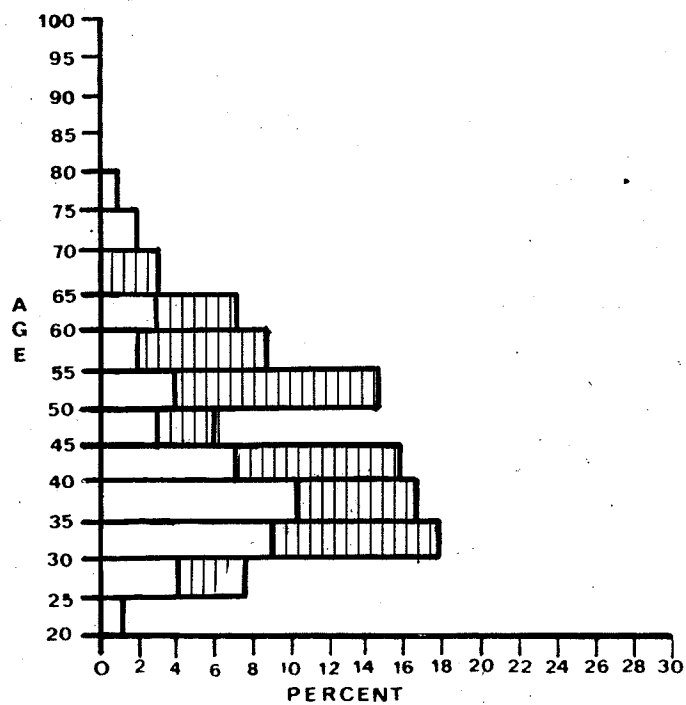
RUPERTLANDERS



CANADIANS

PROTESTANT
 
 ROMAN CATHOLIC

# AGE COMPOSITION OF ADULT HOUSEHOLDERS—LOWER SETTLEMENT



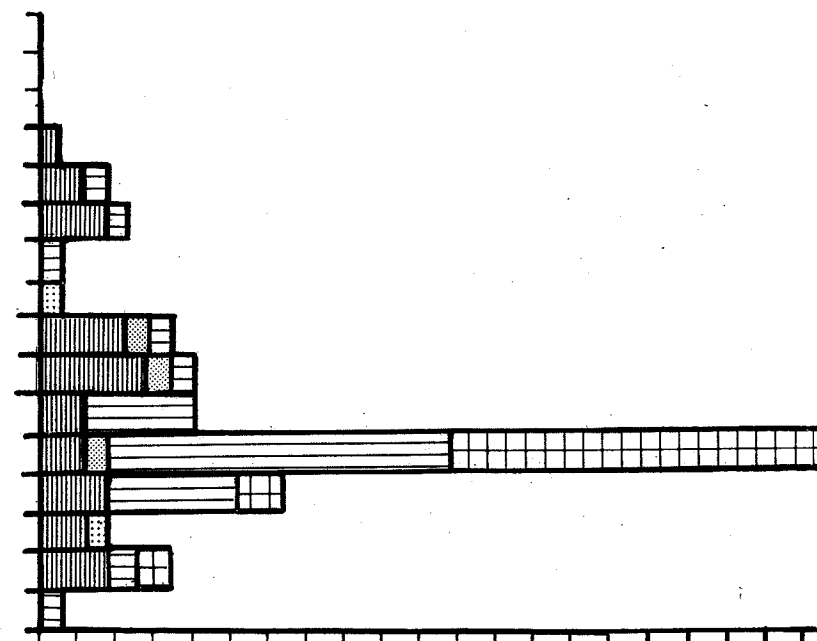
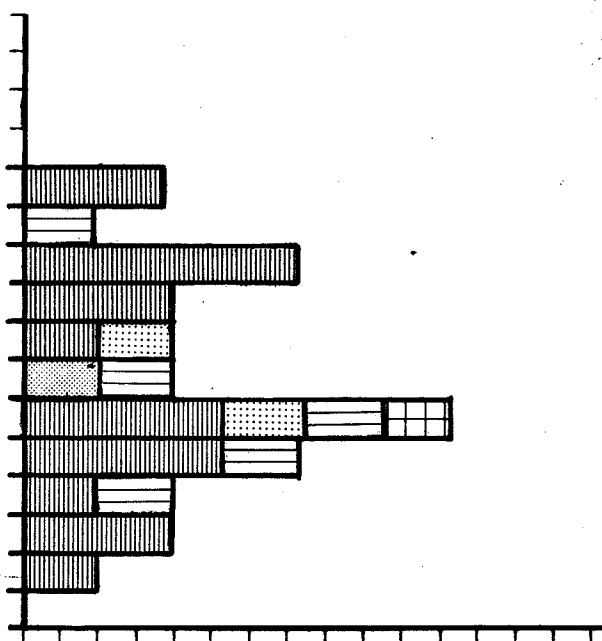
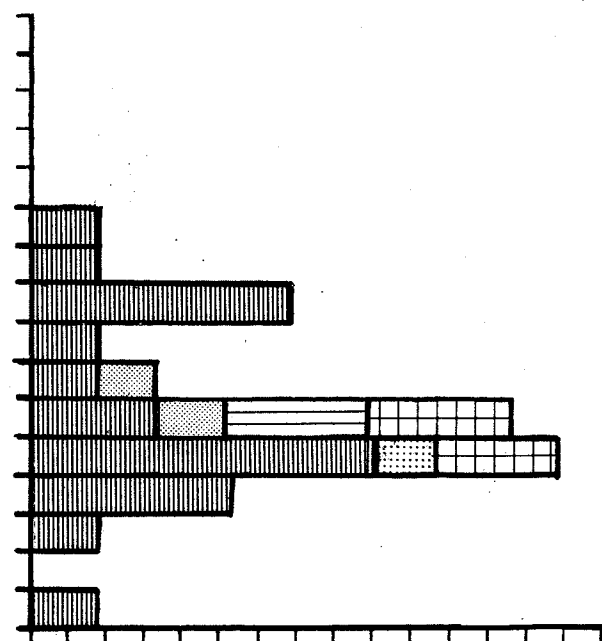
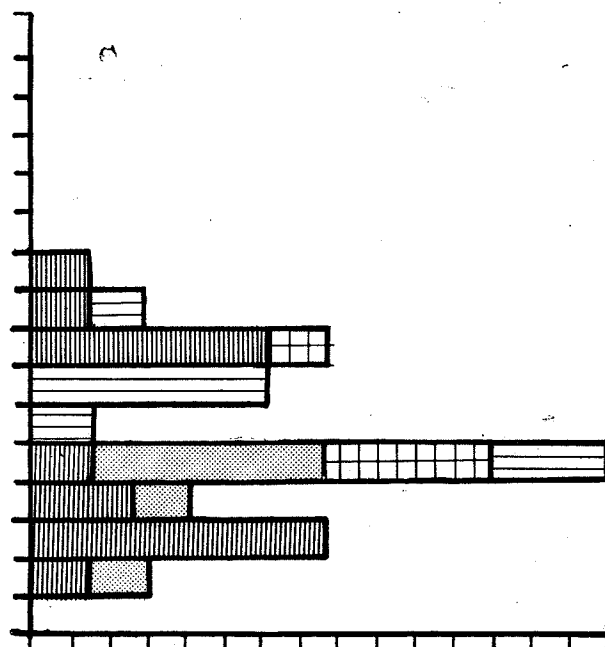
## SCOTS/ORKNEY

1832

1838

1843

1849



## ENGLISH IRISH & OTHERS



composing the population of the Selkirk colony in the period 1832 to 1849, and again in 1856. Diagrams 5, 6 and 7 lead directly to diagrams 8 and 9 which since they are the first to show the admixture of component groups are the first to accord with reality. As ethnic and age/sex pyramids, all are hopelessly incomplete. It was impossible, because of the shortcomings of the source material to construct anything other than the age structure of male adult householders. In each case the female half of the pyramid is entirely absent. The author had thought of depicting the female half by assuming that the age of each married woman fell within a few years of her husband. However the device would have necessitated lengthy investigations of each married woman's capacity to bear the children she did at the age assigned. It would also have had to be assumed that the menopause occurred as at present, at approximately 45 years of age and there may be grounds for believing that in the nineteenth century it occurred somewhat earlier. Furthermore it left those women who were unmarried, unaccounted, and in addition the basic premise was considered dangerous in a colonial society such as the Red River colony. The notion was therefore abandoned. The absence of the adult female half of the pyramid is not the only shortcoming of the diagrams. In spite of the fact that returns were made upon sons above and under 16 years of age and daughters above and below 15, the male and female halves are absent for the age cohorts 0 to 20. These cohorts were not shown, not only because of the obvious impossibility

of using two scales but also because one cannot assume that the age of a son above 16 or a daughter above 15 lies in that age cohort 16 to 21 or 15 to 21. Specific age returns were made upon male adult householders who are therefore the only element in the population whose age structure can be recorded with any tolerable degree of accuracy. Since the enumerator failed to make a return of age in each and every case the reader should be warned against a too ready acceptance of a particular pyramid as wholly representative. The extent to which each is representative may be ascertained by reference to Appendix 9.

### The Age/Sex Structure of the Lower Settlement

#### 1. The Scots/Orkneymen

The Scots/Orkney pyramids are the most representative of all (diagram 6 and appendix 9). Throughout the period 1832 to 1849 age returns were made upon almost every male adult householder. Diagram 6 shows that the Scots/Orkneymen (the parents of the protestant Rupertlanders) were an aging element in the population. In 1832 44% of the householders on whom age returns were made, were under 40 years of age: between 1838 and 1843 when the return on age was 100%, the percentage under 40 years of age declined from 43% to 29%. Since Scots/Orkney families were amongst the largest families (appendix 8) a decline of such an order between 1838 and 1849 must testify to a lack of replenishment by immigration to the colony, to the

importance of emigration as an agent of demographic change, and to the effects of ethnic transfer. Emigration had been active among the Scots component of the Scots/Orkney group since the middle 1830's and is likely to have affected the younger and more enterprising to a greater degree than it did the older more conservative settlers. Yet the effects of emigration must have been slight compared to those which resulted from the increased operation among the Orcadians of the process of ethnic transfer. Between 1838 and 1849 the Scots/Orkney group increased by only 28 people, a measure both of the extent of emigration and of the effectiveness of ethnic transfer. The vast majority of the children of the Orkneymen were half-breeds who when they became householders were classified by the census enumerator as Rupertlanders. The Scots/Orkney pyramid cannot therefore do other than show this group as an aging element of the population.

In the eleven years between 1838 and 1849, the number of men and women with a reproduction potential (puberty would seem to have occurred at the age of 16 and of 15 respectively) (1) remained almost equal amongst the members of the Scots/Orkney group. In 1838 there were 156 men and 161 women above the age of puberty; in 1849 there were 210 men and 191 women capable of reproduction. The fact that in 1838 there was an unusually

1 The different ages used by the enumerator to classify the ages of males and females is assumed to have denoted differences in the age at which puberty was attained.

large ratio of boys to girls (233 boys and 166 girls) must be attributed to chance occurrence and to the fact that of the 499 young people 48 were enumerated at John Pritchett's school-house (1). In an age which stressed male education at the expense of female, 32 of the 48 were boys. It would appear likely that these 48 young people were in fact the children of wealthy officers of the fur trade resident outside the settlement. There is however no evidence to substantiate this statement. If these were in fact the children of the settlers themselves the dominance of boys over girls must be wholly attributed to chance occurrence. A balance in favour of males was characteristic not only of those under 16 years of age but of the Scots/Orkney population as a whole. In 1838 the Scots/Orkney group included 389 males of all ages and 327 females; in 1849 there were 379 males and 365 females.

## 2. English, Irish and Others

Throughout the period 1832 to 1849 the percentage of householders in this group who were under 40 years of age varied, a variation which reflects the constantly changing numbers within the group. The majority of householders were however over 40 years of age. In 1838 the percentage of householders over 40 years of age was as high as 83%; even in 1849 those over 40 comprised 75% of the total number of householders in this group. The concentration in 1849, of male adult

1 P.A.M. R.R.C., 38.403.

householders in age cohort forty to forty-five (diagram 6) is accounted for by the arrival in the colony of the soldier-pensioners in the previous year. The fluctuations in the percentage under 40 years of age (diagram 6) may be attributed to differences in the accuracy of reporting and to the constant movement to and from the colony on the part of those classified as Irish and Others. Between 1832 and 1849 the percentage of those whose age was reported as under 40 dropped amongst the English from 26% of householders to 11% of householders. Several English families brought out the work the experimental farms, established by the Hudson Bay Company, withdrew from the colony in these years. Many more must have inter-married with people possessed of varying degrees of Indian blood and in this way contributed to the growing strength and importance of the Rupertlanders. With the arrival of the soldier-pensioners in 1848 the size of the total group (English, Irish and Others) expanded rapidly. Most of these ex-soldiers had however acquired wives before their arrival in the settlement and the sex structure of the total group therefore remained basically unaltered. In 1838 there were 97 males and 104 females; in 1849, 180 men and 168 women.

### 3. The Canadians

Of the pyramids depicting the age structure of Canadian male adult householders, the 1849 pyramid is undoubtedly the best (diagram 5). In 1849 age returns were made by 97% of male householders. Only 17% of the householders were under

40 years of age. As a result of the classification of the majority of the children of Canadian fathers as Rupertlanders, this is all that might be expected. Canadian householders were generally older than either the Sutherland Scots or the Orkneymen, who as comparatively young men had emigrated, to become settlers at the colony or to serve as officers in the fur-trade. Moreover, unlike the Sutherland Scots element in the Scots/Orkney group, the Canadians showed no reluctance to intermarry with the Indians or with the Rupertlanders. As a result the Canadian group gradually lost its identity since the children of Canadian fathers were "transferred" to the Rupertlander group.

#### 4. The Rupertlanders

In contrast to the Canadians and Scots/Orcadians the Rupertlanders were the youngest of all householders. In 1832 83% of those whose age was reported were under 40 years of age; in 1838 when the ages of all Rupertlanders were reported 75% of male adult householders fell into this category. The proportion would seem to have changed little between then and 1849 when 66.7% of the 89.2% of Rupertlanders whose ages were reported, were under 40 years of age. The size of family was smaller amongst the Rupertlanders than amongst any other of the major groups and as might be expected Roman Catholic Rupertlander families were larger than Protestant families.

The Rupertlander group increased in importance throughout the period 1832 to 1849 as a result of natural reproduction, continued

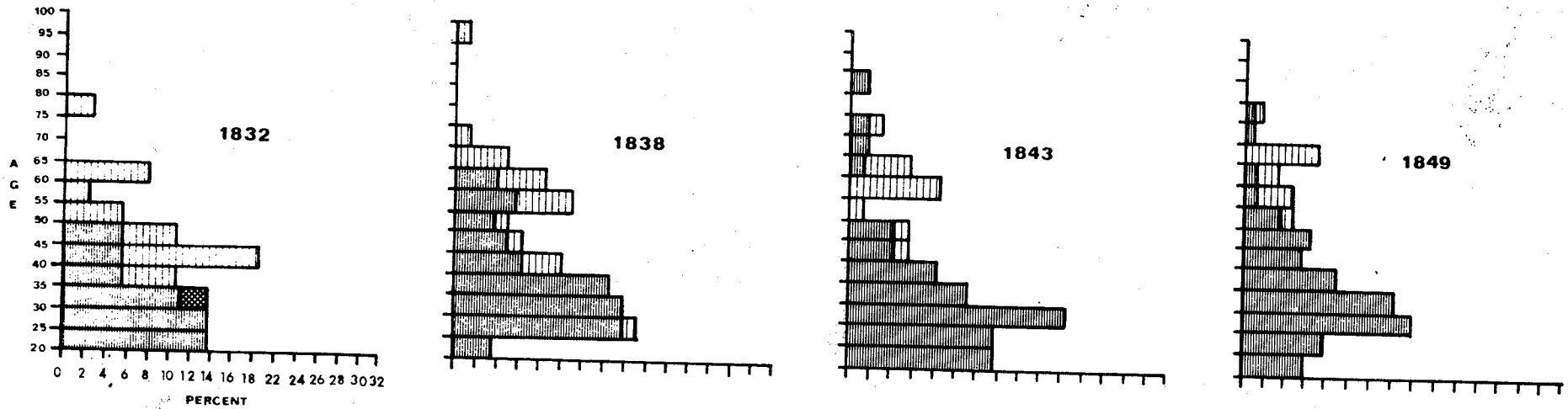
if diminished immigration to the colony and ethnic transfer. However throughout the period its growth was balanced. In 1838 there were 728 males (418 under 16 years of age) and 699 females (392 under 15 years of age). In 1849 there were 1,035 males (536 under 16 years of age) and 995 females (498 under 15 years of age).

#### The Age/Sex Structure of Grantown and the Indian Missionary Stations

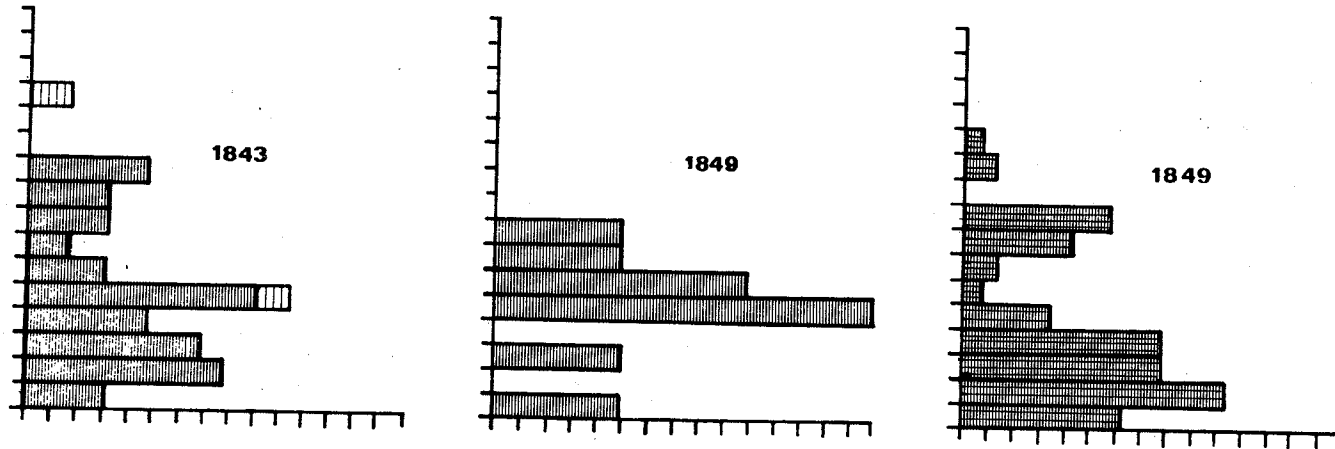
The age structure of male adult householders at Grantown is shown on diagram 7. As might be expected the Canadians were the oldest group. It would seem that between 1832 and 1849 there was not a single Canadian householder who was younger than 35 years of age and resident at Grantown. The more reliable pyramids are those for 1832 and 1838 when 95.7% and 98.9% of the ages of adult householders were reported. In 1832 and 1838, 53% and 51% of all householders were under 40 years of age. The higher percentage under 40 years of age in 1843 is due to the unfortunate and inadequate age reporting in that year. In 1843 only 49.3% of the householders had their age reported. The smaller percentage under 40 years of age in 1849 (40%) would seem to be an equally unreliable index since returns were made by only 38.8% of the total householders. The 1832 and 1838 pyramids would therefore appear the most reliable index of age and it would seem throughout the period 1832 to 1849 approximately 50% of all householders at Grantown were under 40 years of age. The validity of this assumption is proven

DIAGRAM 7

AGE COMPOSITION OF ADULT HOUSEHOLDERS



GRANTSTOWN



SAULTEAU VILLAGE

SAULTEAU VILLAGE

SWAMPY VILLAGE

PROTESTANT SCOT

ROMAN CATHOLIC CANADIAN

PROTESTANT

RUPERTSLANDER

ROMAN CATHOLIC RUPERTSLANDER

when the pyramid of age structure for St. Francois Xavier (diagram 8) is examined. In that year 53% of adult householders at what had hitherto been known as Grantown were under 40 years of age.

The ratio of males to females amongst the Canadians and Rupertlanders was little different than that amongst their representatives at the Lower Settlement. There were 65 male Canadians of all ages and 55 female Canadians in 1838, in 1849 there were 75 male Canadians and 57 females. Male Rupertlanders numbered 274 in 1838 and 453 in 1849; female Rupertlanders numbered 249 and 461 in the same years.

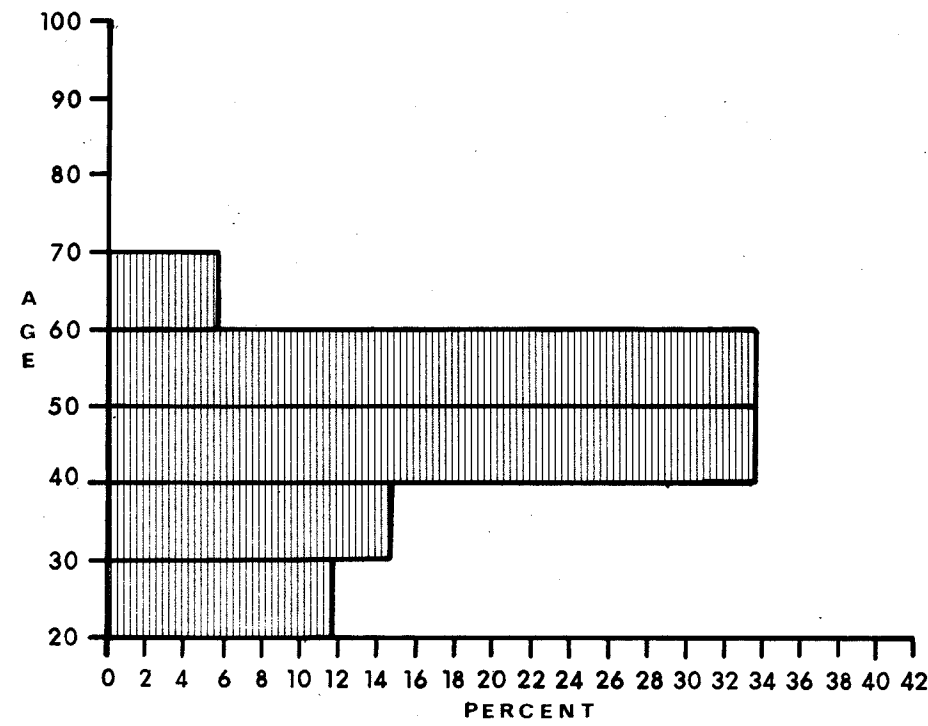
It was neither possible to construct age pyramids for the Saulteau Village in 1832 and 1838 nor for the Swampy Village in 1832, 1838 or 1843. Two pyramids are shown for the Saulteau Village (diagram 7); the first, based on a 96.9% return of age is the most reliable. Here again, a predominantly Rupertsland population ensured that a large number of the householders were under 40 years of age (approximately 46% under 40 years of age). The number of males and females in the categories above and under 16 and over and under 15 years of age are shown for the almost homogenous Saulteau and Swampy Villages in Appendix 2.

### Conclusion

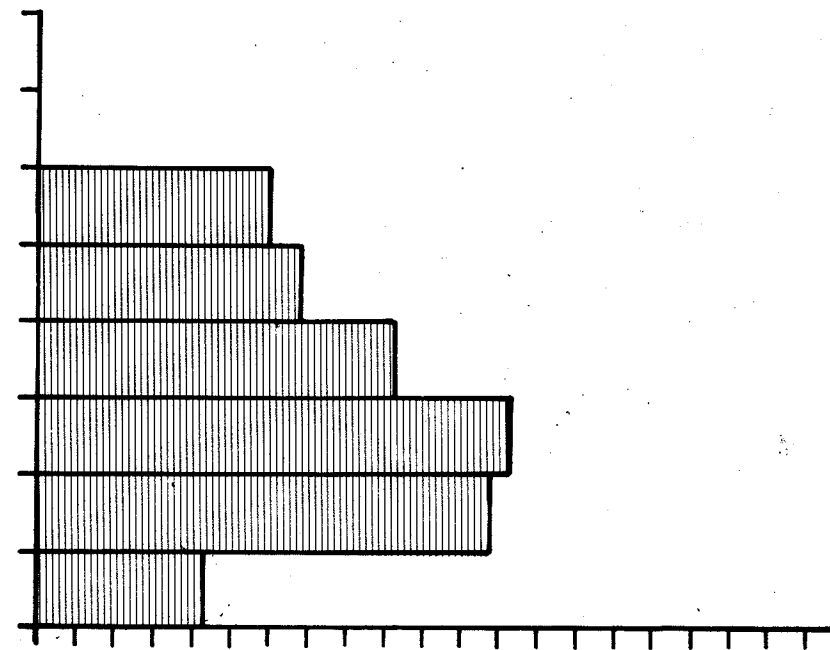
Though the deficiencies in the reporting of age do not allow a precise judgement to be made, certain trends can be perceived. Data were more reliable for the Lower Settlement than for any other part of the colony and at the Lower Settlement more complete returns of age were made by the Scots/Orcadians than by any other group. Scots/Orkney householders are seen to have been intermediate in age between the Canadians and the Rupertlanders, the youngest group of all. The marked imbalance between males and females characteristic of a moving frontier was not to be found within the sex structure of the Red River colony throughout the period 1832 to 1849. As has been shown in the preceding pages and as may be ascertained by reference to Appendix 3 the number of males and females was almost equal in 1856. There were in fact 189 more women than men; of the 189 women, 104 were resident in the parish of St. Boniface. The disproportionate ratio of women to men in this parish may be explained by the fact that it was in this parish that the Grey Sisters of Charity had chosen to erect their convent in 1844 (1) and by the fact that it was in St. Boniface that the colony's only hospital was located.

1 Morton, W. L., "Manitoba, A History", Toronto, 1957, P. 71.

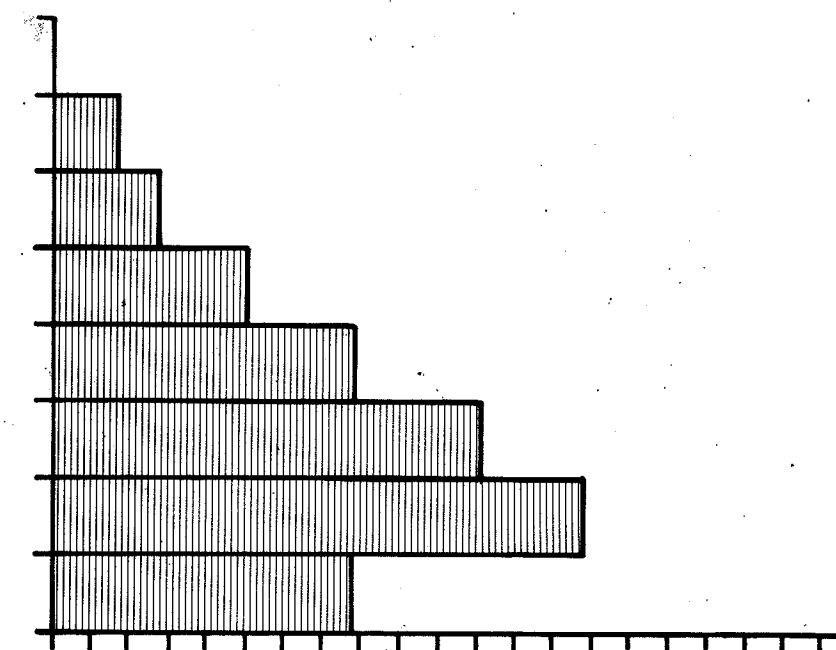
AGE COMPOSITION OF ADULT HOUSE HOLDERS (BY PAR



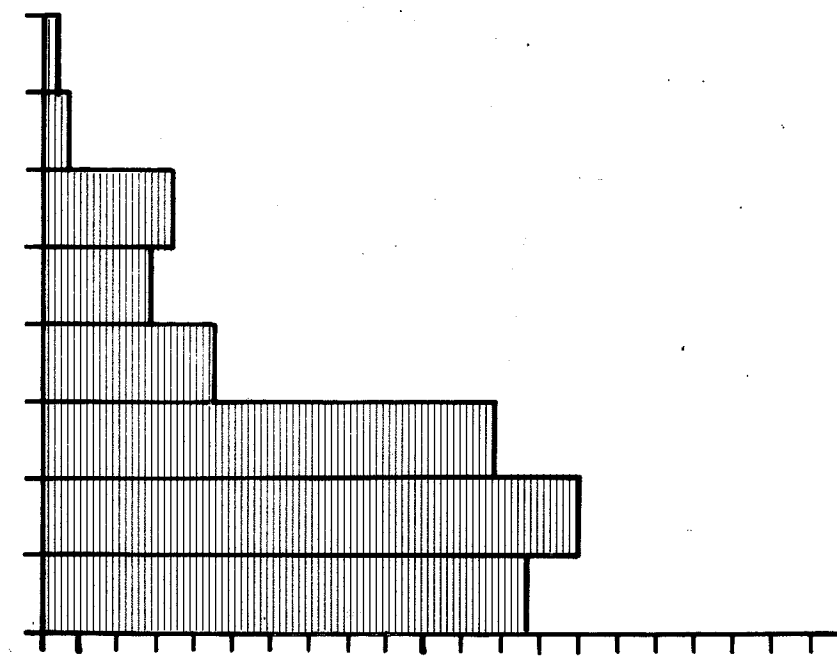
ST. JAMES



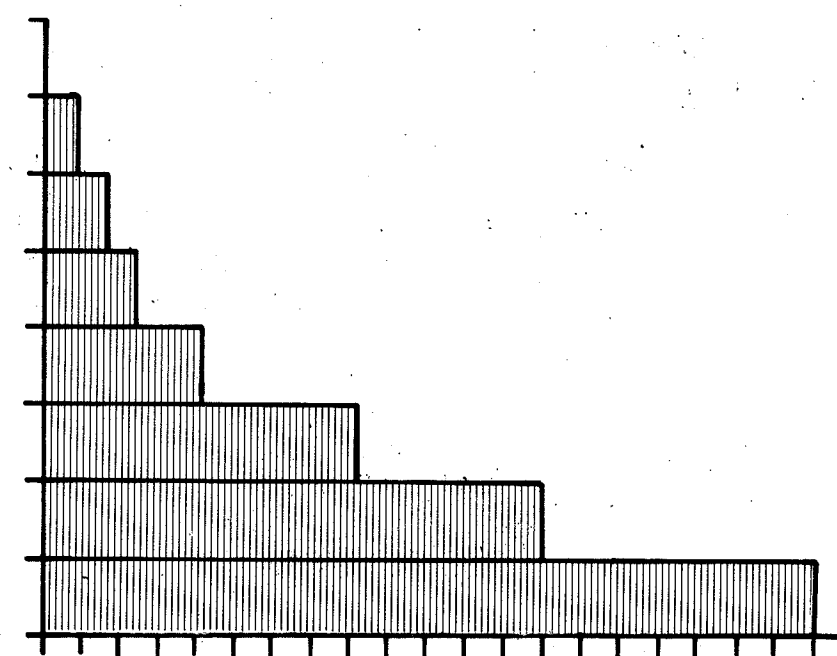
ST. JOHN



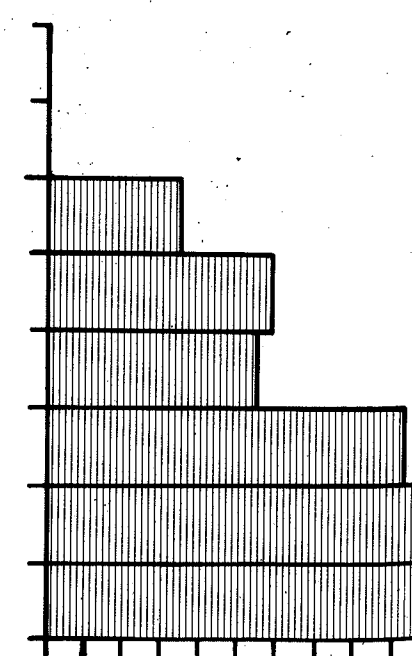
ST. PAUL



ST. FRANCOIS XAVIER

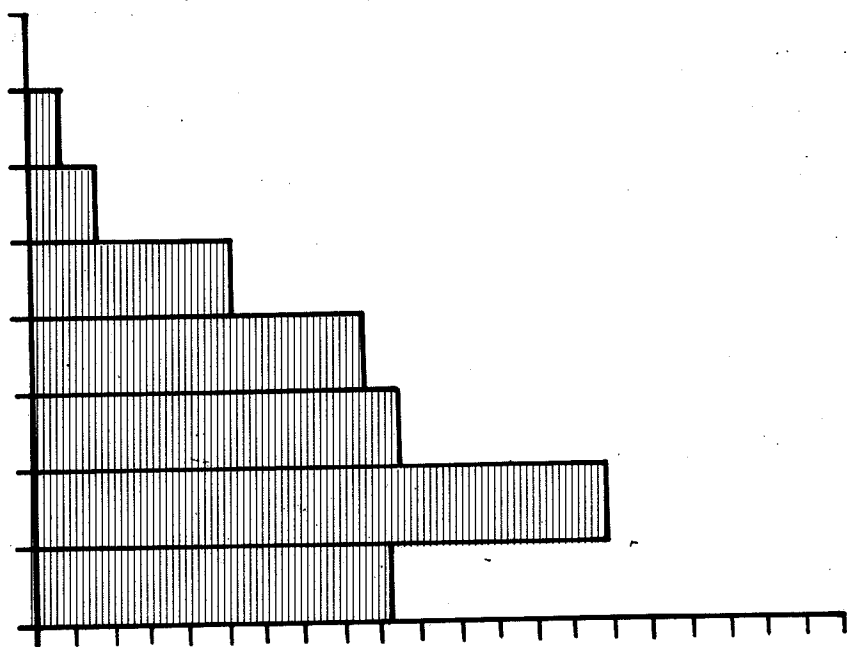


ST. CHARLES

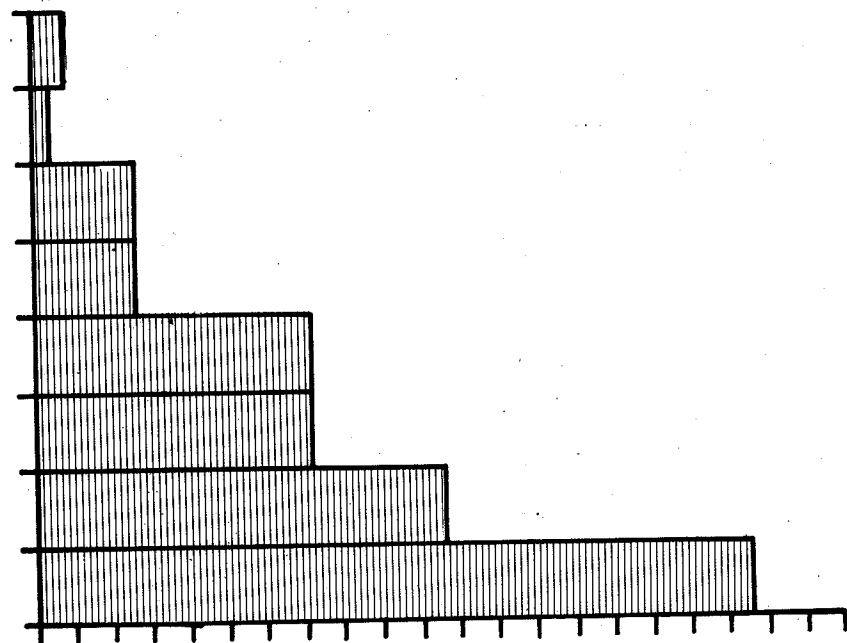


ST. NOR

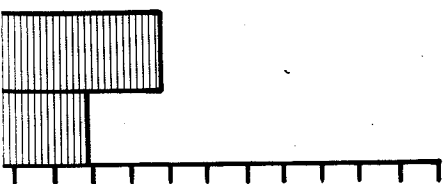
ISH) - IN 1856



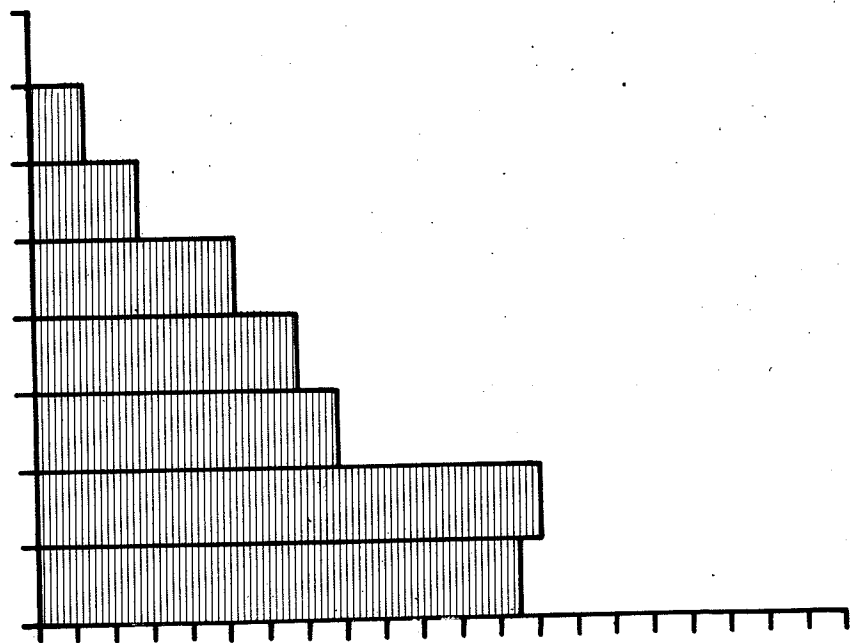
ST. ANDREW



ST. PETER



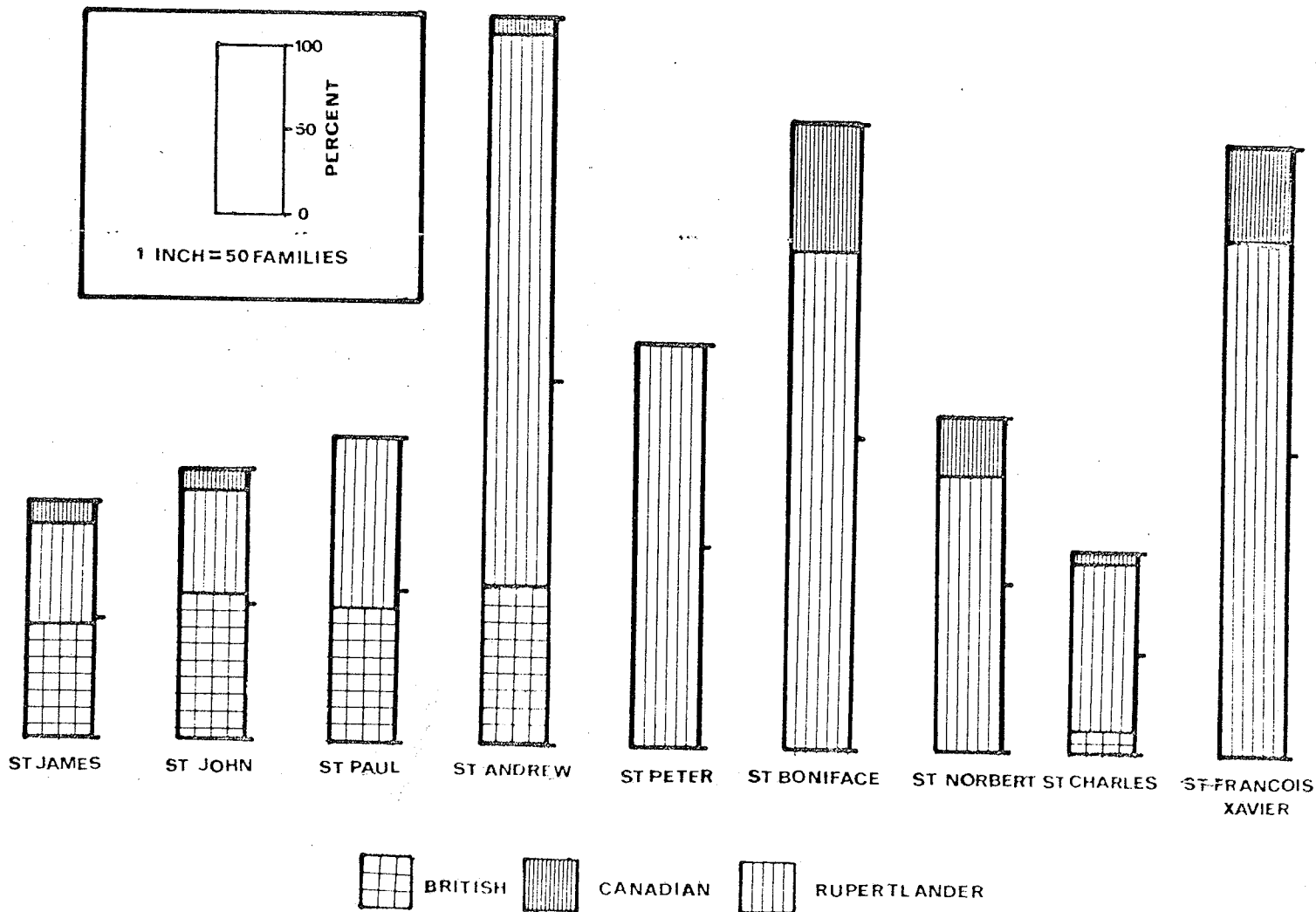
BERT



ST. BONIFACE

DIAGRAM 9

### THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE RED RIVER PARISHES (BY FAMILY) - 1856



Differences in the age of adult male householders are reflected in diagram 8 , which shows the age structure of the Red River parishes in 1856. The oldest householders were found in the almost exclusively Protestant parishes of St. James, St. John, St. Paul and St. Andrew, parishes in which British settlers predominated. The pyramids for all four of these parishes show clearly the lack of replenishment amongst the British settlers. Within these parishes between 52% and 73% of male adult householders were over 40 years of age. In St. James, the concentration of householders in the category 40 years of age and above, was due to the arrival of the soldier-pensioners in 1848. The lack of replenishment in the French-speaking and Catholic parishes of St. Boniface, St. Norbert and St. Francois Xavier though evident, was not nearly as marked as in the four "British" parishes already mentioned. The Canadian group was less numerous in these parishes than was its Scots/Orkney counterpart in the parishes of St. James, St. John, St. Paul and St. Andrew. Rupertlanders formed a greater proportion of householders in the French speaking parishes than in the English and Gaelic speaking parishes and as a result the pyramids for the French speaking parishes have a more youthful aspect. In 1856 the largest proportion of young householders were resident in the recently established parish of St. Charles and at the former Indian mission station within the parish of St. Peter.

CHAPTER FOUR

ETHNIC ORIGINS AND AGRICULTURAL PARTICIPATION

CHAPTER FOURINTRODUCTION

In this chapter the relationships existing between the cultural origins of the settlers and the extent of their participation in agriculture are investigated. The scope of the investigation has however been limited by shortcomings in the information given in the census concerning population. The technique employed has been the calculation and presentation in graphical or map form of the particular agricultural element per 100 people. Since the exact ethnic structure of the population of the colony could not be determined for the year 1832, only agricultural returns made by those whose country of origin was specified in the census, could be used in the calculation of the ratio. The 1832 ratio must therefore represent something less than the real situation. Moreover, since the census of 1849 failed to distinguish those claiming the Orkney Islands as their country of origin from the Sutherland Scots, it has been necessary to discuss the economy of both peoples in terms of Scots/Orcadian group. This may not be such a serious drawback as might first appear. As a group the Scots were undoubtedly more productive than the Orkney men but the differences between the two were slight compared to those between either of the two and any third group. A similar expedient had to be adopted with regard to the Irish and the Miscellaneous or Other groups. These people were not sufficiently strong numerically to warrant separate

treatment and they have therefore been considered with the English, with whom they shared an interest in the sedentary agricultural life. In the discussion which follows and which has been organised thematically, the amount of text has been kept to a minimum in the belief that the varying degrees of participation in agriculture and the major trends in arable and livestock farming may be easily discerned from the material contained within the appendices and presented on the maps and diagrams included in this chapter. Though the approach is essentially statistical the reader should be warned against the danger of placing a wholly unwarranted interpretation upon the statistics. Statistics are seemingly authoritative. They can however be formidable masters as well as faithful servants. True changes may be disguised in a line of interpolated change between specific dates. The graphs which follow, accurately represent the importance of particular phenomena at particular points in time and may show overall trends but do not represent the exact nature of change between points in time. If, for example the ratio of a particular element was 150 in 1843 and 100 in 1849 this need not indicate an overall decline in the six year period. On the contrary the 1849 figure might represent an all time low in a period in which the overall trend was towards the increasing importance of that phenomena. In terms of arable cultivation and livestock husbandry such a low could be produced by a natural catastrophe, or a particularly severe winter or dry summer, killing both crops and livestock or reducing the amount of fodder available. In the Red River Colony too great a reliance

upon wild hay is known to have been responsible for serious depredations amongst livestock totals (1). There was a noted tendency to keep more animals than could in fact be maintained throughout the long winters and the lack of 'forethought for the morrow' so prevalent amongst the Catholic Ruperlanders was responsible for the frequent extermination of individual livestock herds in those years in which crops and/or hunting had been especially poor. The consequences of this mental trait were noted by Giraud

"De ce petit cheptel, Simpson s' efforce de prévenir la destruction dans les années de mauvaise récolte et de chasse insuffisante, car le métis, cédant alors à son imprévoyance, n' hésite pas à abattre son bétail et à sacrifier son unique capital agricole. (2)

Thus it can be seen that a 'low' need not indicate an abandonment of for example a particular livestock element but may instead testify to marked extremes in climatic conditions and a failure to provide adequately for stock in a particular year. Such 'lows' or for that matter 'highs' may also reflect the different dates at which the enumeration was taken. A census taken in April would not include large numbers of livestock born in May. If the subsequent census was not taken until breeding was completed this would result in marked but wholly unjustified oscillations in the livestock curve. Such oscillations in curve would be especially great amongst those animals which produce large litters

1 Kaye, Barry, Some Aspects of the Historical Geography of the Red River Settlement, Chapter 8, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1967.

2 Giraud, M., Op. Cit. P. 832.

and this must largely account for the great fluctuations in the number of pigs. (Appendix 2 ).

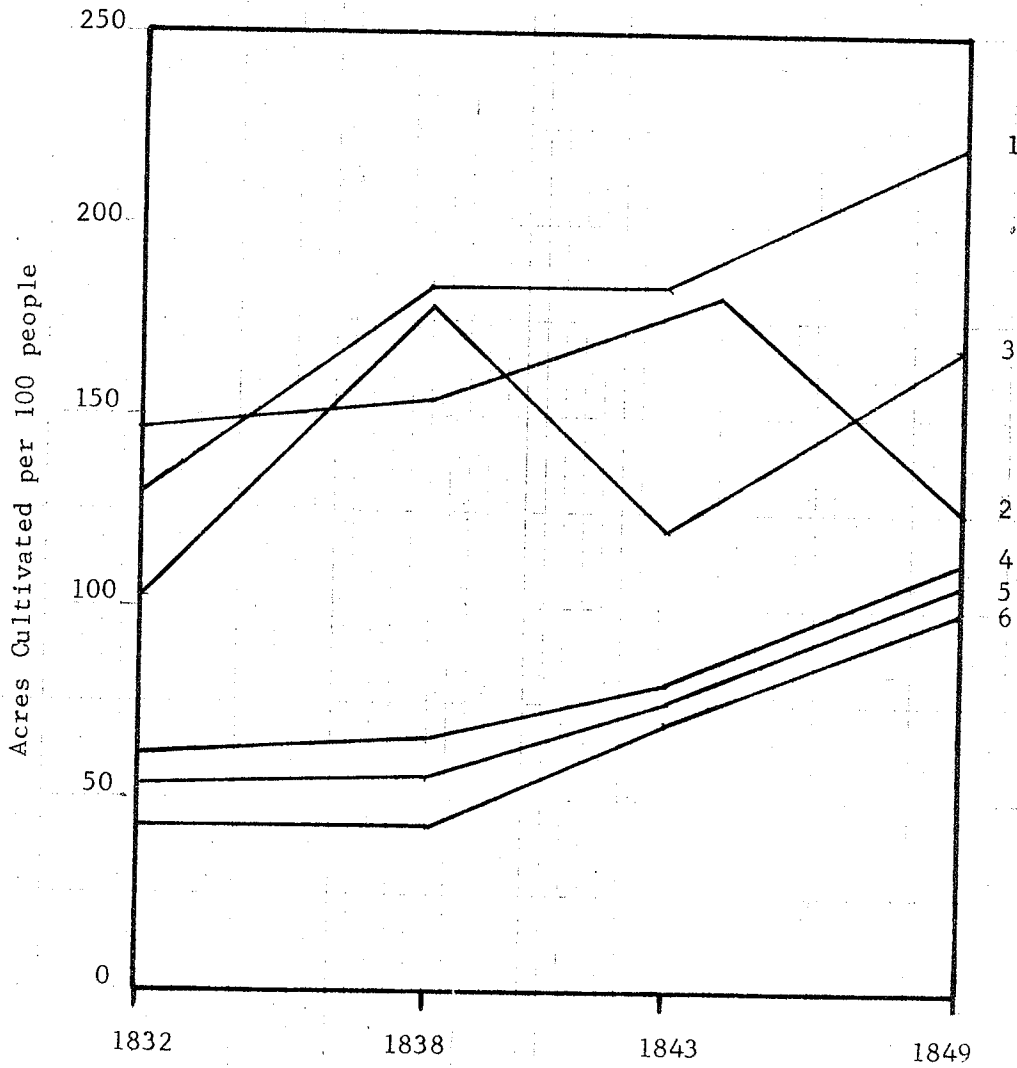
### Cultivated Acreage

As the population of the Red River colony increased throughout the period 1832-1856 there was a corresponding increase in the amount of land brought under cultivation. The period of instability and political uncertainty passed (1), the cultivated acreage was rapidly expanded at the settlement, by both Selkirk settlers and by those retiring annually from the fur posts of Rupertsland. Between 1832, when more than 2,100 acres were cultivated and 1849, the amount of tilled land almost trebled. By 1856, cultivated acreage had increased to 8,806.5 acres, representing an increase of 334.7% between 1832 and 1856.

As diagram 10 shows, the Scots/Orcadians were by far and away the most committed of all the groups to arable farming. In 1832 the Scots/Orkney group had a ratio of 131.1 cultivated acres per 100 people; between 1838 and 1843 the ratio changed little but in 1849 it had reached a figure of 221 cultivated acres per 100 people (Appendix 12A). The English, Irish and Others were after the Scots/Orcadians, the most important cultivators of land. The sudden drop in the cultivated acreage ratio of these people between 1843 and 1849, a drop from 182.7 to 126 cultivated

1 The fusion of the North-West and Hudson's Bay Companies in 1821 brought peace to the whole of Rupertsland.

DIAGRAM 10

RATIO OF CULTIVATED LAND PER 100 PEOPLELOWER SETTLEMENT 1832 - 1849

1. Scots/Orkneymen.
2. English, Irish and Others.
3. Canadians.
4. Protestant Rupertlanders.
5. Total Rupertlanders.
6. Roman Catholic Rupertlanders.

acres per 100 people (Appendix 12F) is explained, not by a sudden disinclination to till on their part, but by the recent addition to this group of the soldier-pensioners, arriving in 1848. The Census of 1849 reports that not one single acre was cultivated by the pensioners. They had neither time nor inclination to cultivate large areas before the census "caught" them. Their failure to do so has resulted in diagram 10 conveying a false impression, against which the reader should be warned. The ratio of people to cultivated acreage would in 1849, have been much higher amongst this group had it not been for the arrival of these former soldiers, whose accumulated capital amounted to no more than one horse, an ox and eleven cattle (1). Between 1832 and 1849 the Canadian acreage underwent a rapid expansion. In 1832 the ratio per 100 people (2) was 102.7; in 1838 it was 179 and in 1849 168. (Appendix 12B).

These three were the most committed groups. They may be separated from the Rupertlanders by their differing rates of participation in arable cultivation. Among all three but most especially among the Scots/Orcadians and the Canadians, the rate of increased cultivation was particularly high in the period 1832 to 1838. Starting from a small base, these "Scots" peasant farmers and Canadian "habitant" strove fiercely to achieve a level of prosperity equal to or better to that which they had

1 P.A.M., R.R.C., 1849

2 The ratio of specified element per 100 people is hereafter expressed as "the ratio".

known in their respective homelands. The Rupertlanders, still to be convinced of the virtues of the 'settled' agricultural life and lacking the capital to participate in it fully had the smallest ratio of all the groups. After 1838, however, the Rupertlander ratio began to climb. Within the Rupertlander group, the degree of cultivation varied with the religious adherence of the farmer. Generally, Protestant Rupertlanders sowed more than their Roman Catholic counterparts (diagram 10 and appendix 12E) but the gap began to close after 1838. Both the improvement and the degree of participation in cultivation are shown in Table 4 . which represents the percentage of cultivated holdings in each category, by specified ethnic group and for the years shown. In 1838, 82.3% of Protestant Rupertlanders cultivated under 10 acres, in the same year the percentage of Roman Catholic Rupertlanders who had under 10 acres cropped, accounted for 97.7% of all Roman Catholic holdings. The situation was better in 1849. In that year in which 71.8% of Protestant householders tilled under 10 acres, 79.3% of the Roman Catholic acreages fell into this category. Yet the seeming improvement as revealed by the 1849 figures does not, as Giraud noted, reveal an increase in agricultural activity so much as it reveals the superiority of a few enterprising families amongst the Catholic Rupertlanders (1)

1 The following Roman Catholic families are shown in the census of 1849 to have cultivated ten or more acres. Entry numbers, 400, 403, 410, 412, 426, 430, 431, 439, 449, 458, 461, 475, 479, 485, 490, 494, 502, 503, 525, 550, 608, 624, 633, 647, 649, 651 and 658.

TABLE 4

Percentage of Holdings in each Category

Lower Settlement 1838 and 1849

Group	0 - 5 acres	5 -10 acres	10-20 acres	20-30 acres	30-40 acres	40-50 acres	Over 50 acres	Year
Scots/Orcadians	21.4	30.4	38.4	8.9	-	-	0.08	1838
	15.2	22.4	36.8	19.2	4.8	1.6	-	1849
English, Irish and Others	30.0	33.3	20.0	6.6	6.6	-	3.3	1838
	71.1	8.9	8.9	5.5	2.2	2.2	-	1849
Canadians	59.5	29.75	8.8	2.0	-	-	-	1838
	28.4	28.4	23.0	15.7	1.5	2.2	-	1849
Rupertlanders	73.6	16.0	7.8	1.85	0.37	-	-	1838
	51.8	23.0	19.8	3.96	1.0	0.25	-	1849
Protestant Rupertlanders	62.5	19.8	14.0	2.9	0.7	-	-	1838
	48.9	22.9	22.9	4.0	0.9	0.45	-	1849
Roman Catholic Rupertlanders	85.6	12.1	1.5	0.75	-	-	-	1838
	56.1	23.2	15.5	3.9	1.3	-	-	1849

TABLE 5

Percentage of Holdings in each Category  
Grantown 1838 and 1849

Group	0 - 5 acres	5 -10 acres	10-20 acres	20-30 acres	30-40 acres	40-50 acres	Over 50 acres	Year
Canadians	22.7	4.5	21.8	22.7	4.5	9.0	4.5	1838
and Others	53.3	26.76	13.3	6.6	-	-	-	1849
Rupertlanders	53.7	19.4	19.4	4.5	1.5	-	1.5	1838
	81.3	8.6	7.9	2.1	-	-	-	1849

Certes, elles ne sont qu' une minorité; pour vingt-quatre familles Canadiennes dont les terres cultivées atteignent ou dépassent 20 acres, huit familles métisses seulement disposent de champs également étendus. Une vingtaine de familles ont ensemencé entre 10 et 15 acres: soit 28 familles sur 154 qui paraissent s'adonner à la culture avec plus d'activité. Les autres se contentent de superficies de moins de 3 acres en moyenne; un grand nombre ne cultivent pas ..... (1)

Many of these Roman Catholic Rupertlanders had no land under cultivation at all, many more "were content with acreages of less than three acres on average". This was not so amongst the Protestant Rupertlanders. Here cropped units under 10 acres were generally larger than amongst the Roman Catholics and here a greater percentage of acreages tilled were in excess of 10 acres. Table 4 serves to emphasise the hierarchial nature of participation in arable farming at the Lower Settlement, as well as the division along religious lines. The dominance of the Scots/Orcadians over all others is plainly obvious. In 1838, 51.8% of Scots/Orcadian householders tilled under 10 acres (2). In the same year 63.3% of English, Irish and Other householders had cultivated acreages under 10 acres; 89.2% of Canadians cropped under 10 acres of land as did 89.6% of Rupertlanders.

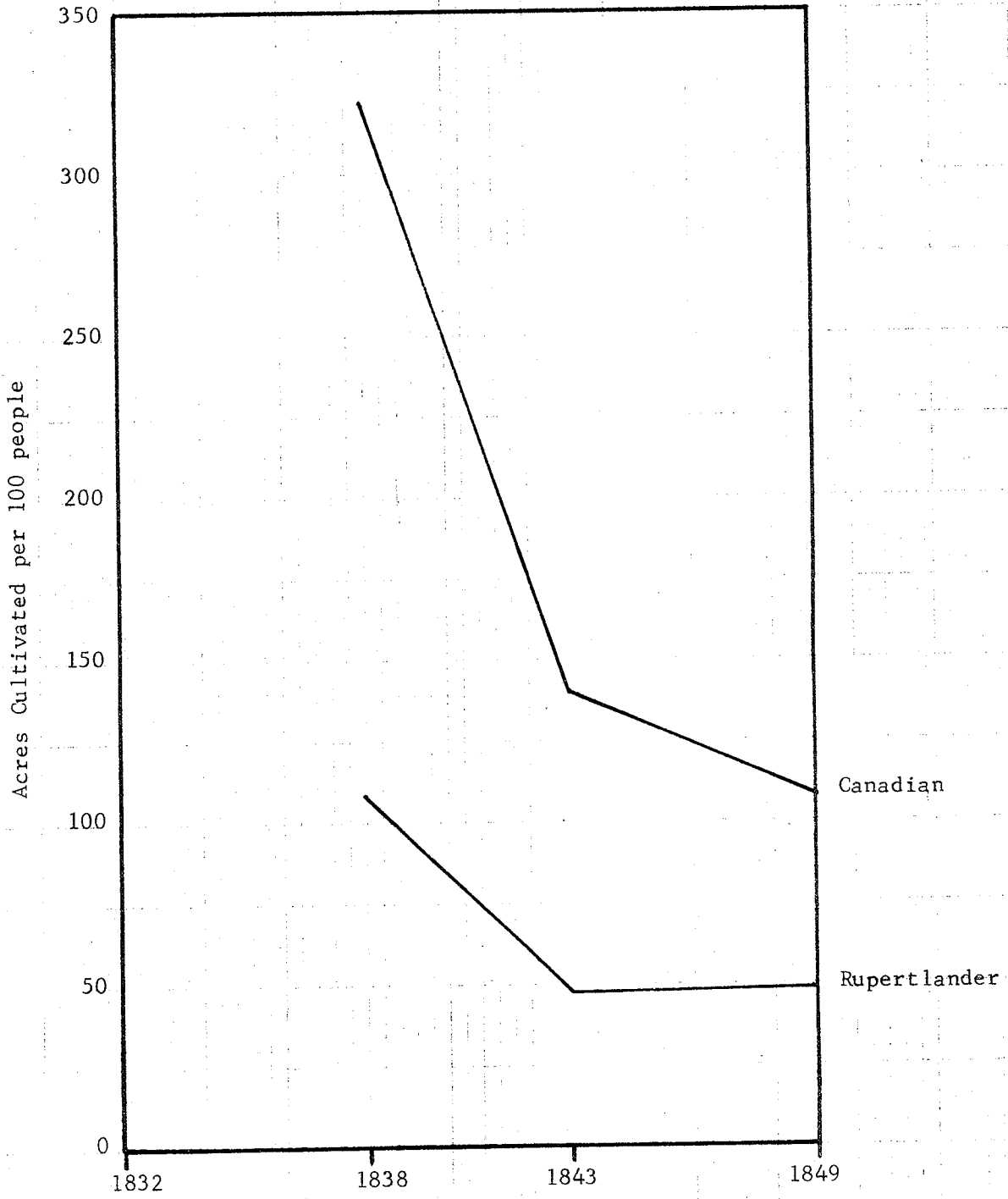
1 Giraud, Marcel, Op. Cit., p. 833.

2 The majority of the larger acreages were sown by either Scots or Orkneymen. The largest holder of cultivated land was the Orkneyman George Flett (32.143 and 38.176) who between 1832 and 1838 expanded his arable acreage from 40 to 70 acres.

Whilst the ratio of cultivated acres per 100 people increased at both the Lower Settlement (appendices 12A - 12F) and at the recently established Swampy Village (where it more than doubled from 27.1 per 100 people in 1840 to 56.1 per 100 people in 1849), that at the Saulteau Village and at Grantown, declined. As has been seen elsewhere, the Saulteau Village had been virtually abandoned by 1849. However, Grantown was at least numerically a flourishing settlement. There is therefore a need to explain the disillusionment with arable farming, shown by the continuous and rapid decline in ratio, most especially amongst the Canadians but also amongst the Rupertlanders of the settlement. The answer lies in the fact that the inhabitants of Grantown had never been convinced of the virtue of the sustained effort necessary to successful farming. Their participation in arable farming was due to the persuasion of the Roman Catholic missionaries, and to the inspiration and example of Cuthbert Grant, Warden of the Plains, and of a few other families who cultivated acreages between 20 and 45 acres (1). The natural predilection of the Grantown "habitant" was not towards the plough but the hunt. In face of the continued uncertainty of agriculture or when, in the natural course of events many of the leaders of the Grantown community died, these Grantown métis reverted to the ways of their Indian forebearers.

1 Cuthbert Grant (38.600) had 50 acres in 1838 as had Hugh Ross - Baptiste Gardipuis (38.597) had 45 acres; Joseph Gilbeau (38.601) had 40 acres; Louis Gardipuis (38.598) had 36 acres and Pierre Falcon (38.592) had 30 acres.

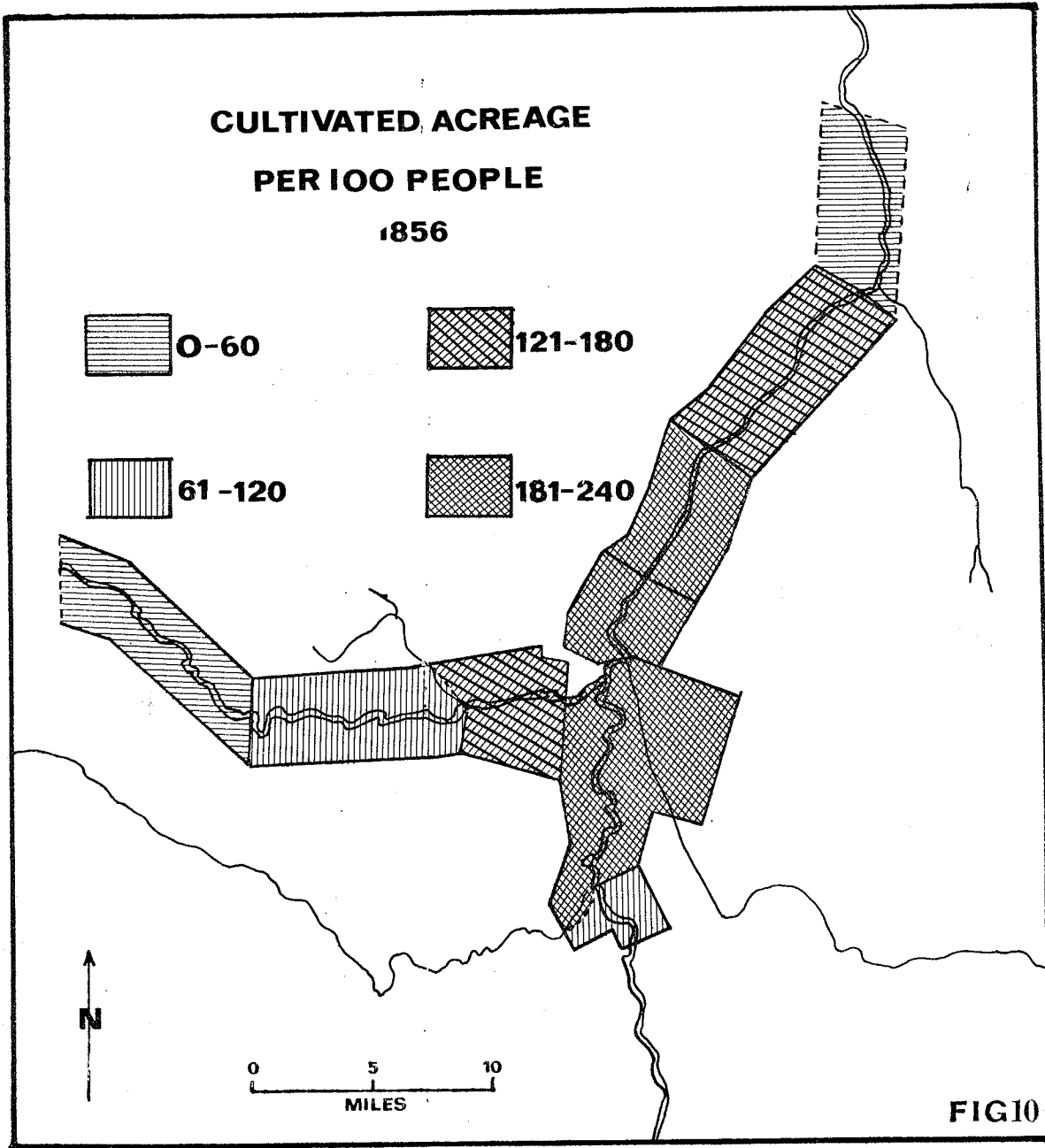
A RATIO OF CULTIVATED LAND PER 100 PEOPLE  
GRANTOWN 1832 - 1849



The death of these "early fathers of agriculture" or the continued subdivision of holdings without increased cultivation would seem to largely account for the sudden drop in ratio at Grantown between 1838 and 1849 (appendix 13A). The decreasing importance of arable cultivation at the settlement at the White Horse Plain can be seen by examination of Table 5.

In 1838, 70.1% of Rupertland holdings at Grantown were under 10 acres; by 1849 this had increased to 89.9%. Amongst the Canadians and Others the surrender to the hunt was even more marked in the same period. In 1838 only 27.2% of these householders tilled under 10 acres; in 1849 there were 79.9% in this category.

Whilst arable cultivation declined at Grantown and at the Saulteau Village the overall trend was to increased arable farming. In the whole of the Red River Colony, 8,806.5 acres were under the plough by 1856. As might be expected arable cultivation was most developed in those areas in which the older, peasant communities lives, i.e. in the parishes of St. Paul, St. John and St. Boniface (figure 10). Of the three, St. Paul's parish, was the most arable orientated. Here, the ratio was as high as 236 and here as in the parish of St. John where the ratio was 209 cultivated acres per 100 people almost every householder without exception cultivated a fairly substantial piece of land. The parish of St. Boniface owed its position as third in importance to the action of a few Canadians who cultivated

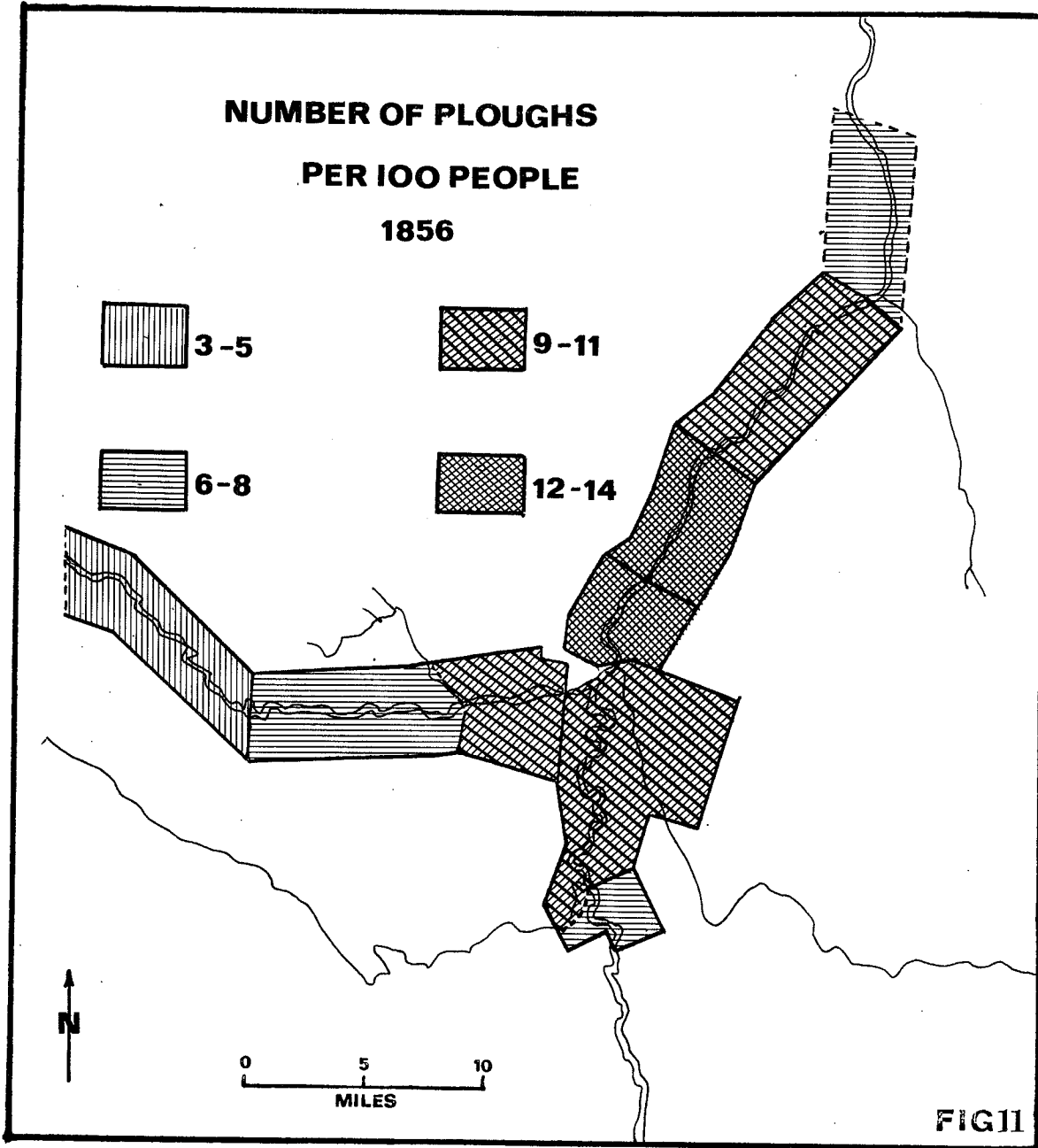


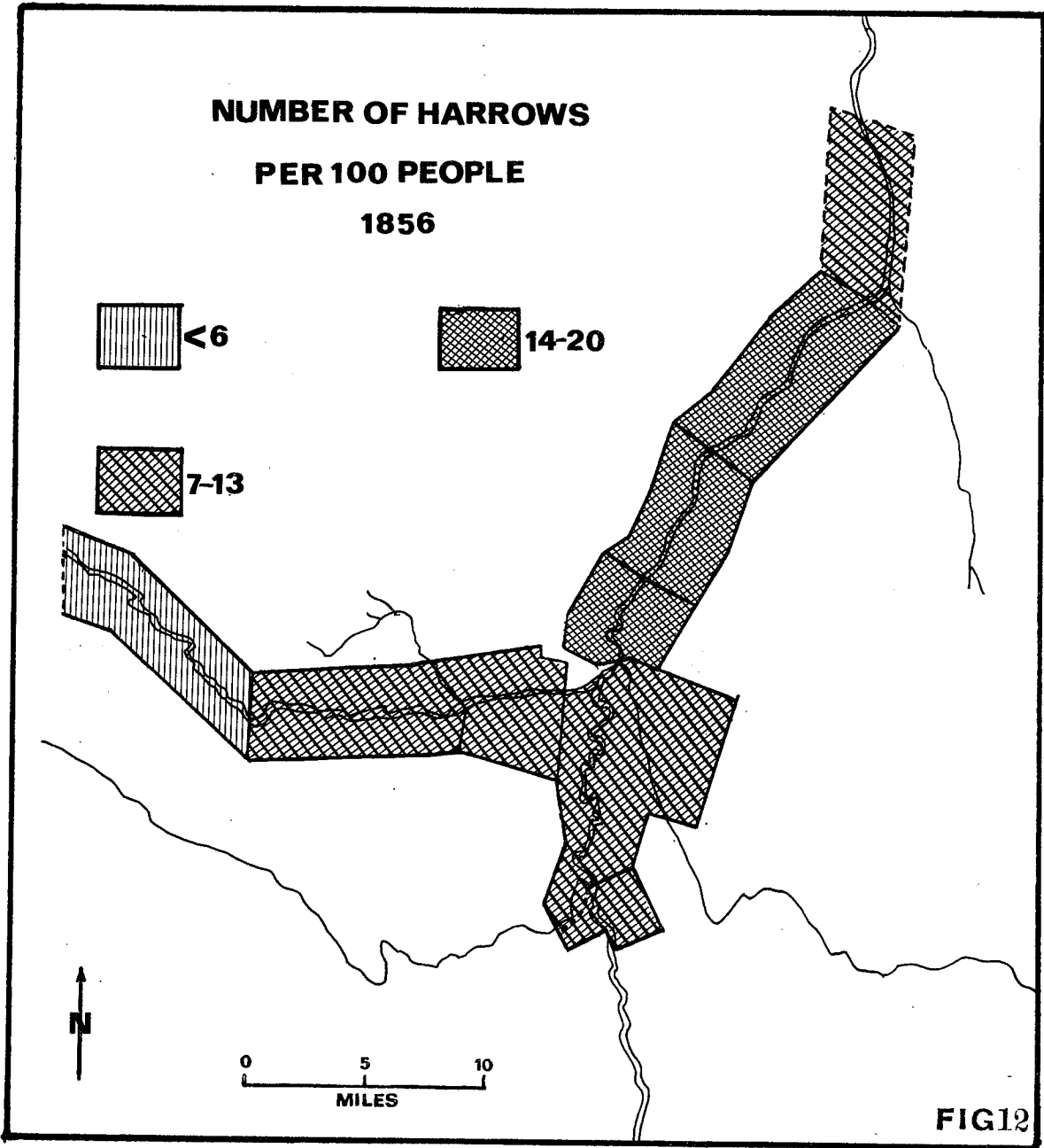
20 acres or more (1). The parishes of St. James and St. Andrew were next in importance, after St. Boniface (appendix 15) St. Charles with a ratio of 108 cultivated acres per 100 people and St. Norbert with a ratio of 80 cultivated acres formed a third group. On the "fringe" of the settlement, in the Indian parish of St. Peter and the predominantly half-breed of St. Francois Xavier, there lived those whose devotion to arable farming was least amongst the varied peoples of the Colony.

#### Agricultural Implements

It would appear but logical that the number of ploughs and harrows should reflect the extent of land cultivated. This has indeed been found to have been the case, as an examination of Appendices 12A-12F will show. At the Lower Settlement the Scots/Orcadians had a greater ratio of ploughs and harrows per 100 people than either the English, Irish and Others or the Canadians or Rupertlanders. Amongst the Rupertlanders the division along religious lines was marked in farm implements as it has been shown to have been in cultivated acreage. Again as the cultivated acreage ratio expanded at the Lower Settlement and the Swampy Village, and contracted at the Sauteau Village and at Grantown, a corresponding adjustment was made in farm

1 Baptiste Lajimoniere (49,570) cultivated 50 acres in 1849 and Maxim Dauphine cultivated (49,470) 45 acres. The following entry numbers cultivated between twenty and forty five acres in 1849. Entry numbers 491, 508, 535, 547, 553, 571, 578, 582, 592, 602, 605, 628, 639 and 680.





equipment. A comparison of figures 11 & 12 shows that harrows were relatively more common than ploughs, which were costly items whose use was justified only by the most serious farmers. St. Peter's parish and the parishes of St. Charles and St. Norbert, parishes of the second rank in harrows were of the third rank in ploughs (appendix 15). The ratio of ploughs and of harrows per 100 people and the balance between ploughs and harrows may be used as a further means of distinguishing the more farm orientated from the less agriculturally committed parishes and groups. By combining figures 10, 11 & 12 the essential contrasts between the agricultural core of St. John and St. Paul and the hunting and fishing fringe of St. Francois Xavier and St. Peter, may be noted.

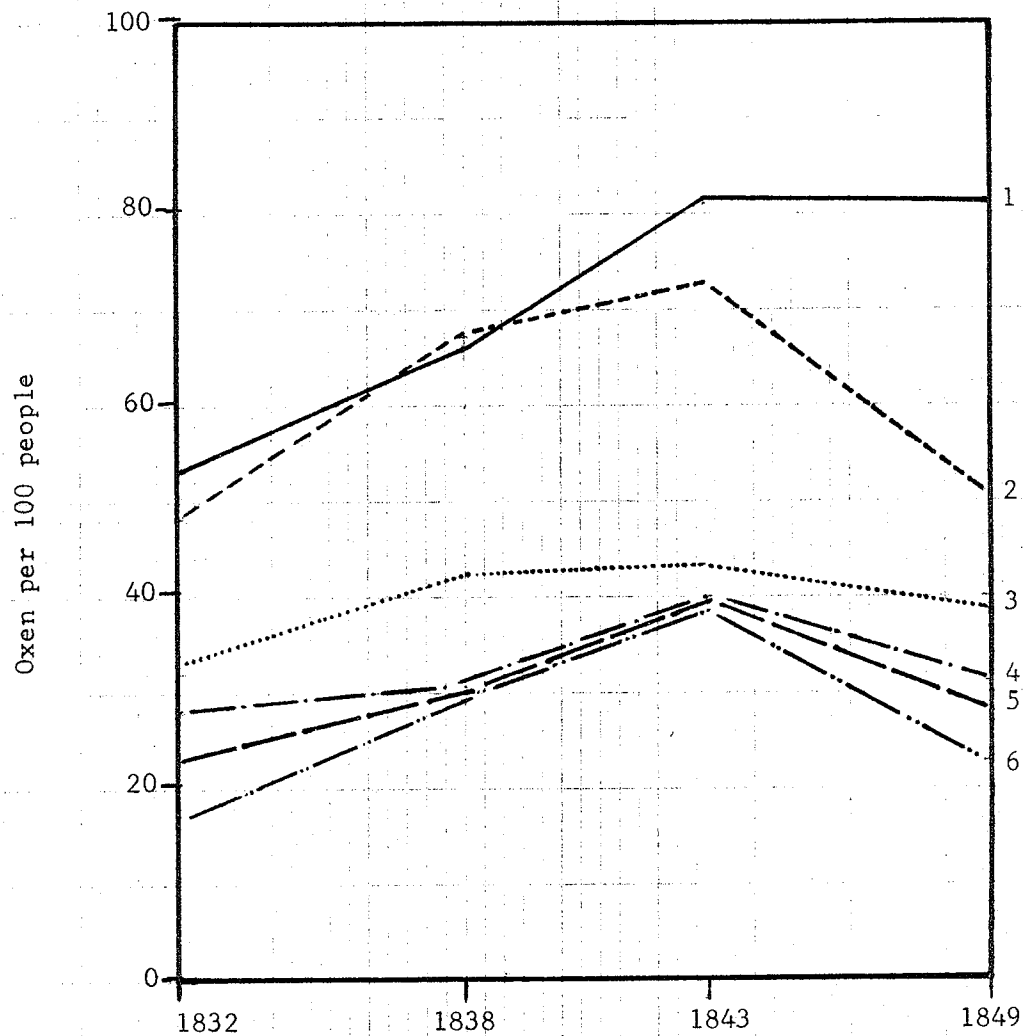
#### Oxen and Horses

Figure 13 shows the distribution of the ratio of oxen per 100 people in 1856. Oxen were the preferred draught animal of the Red River farmer and as might therefore be expected, figure 13 is a mirror of figure 11, representing the ratio of ploughs per 100 people. The ratio of oxen is seen to have been highest amongst those of British extraction and lowest among those of French extraction. The oxen ratio distribution is in fact the spatial expression of a hierarchial structure which has had to be presented in a graphical form for the period before 1856 (diagram 12). As appendix 2 shows the actual number of oxen increased, between 1832 and 1849, at each of the component units

DIAGRAM 12

Ratio of Oxen per 100 people

Lower Settlement 1832 - 1849



- 1 Scots/Orkneymen
- 2 English, Irish and Others
- 3 Canadians
- 4 Protestant Rupertlanders
- 5 Total Rupertlanders
- 6 Roman Catholic Rupertlanders

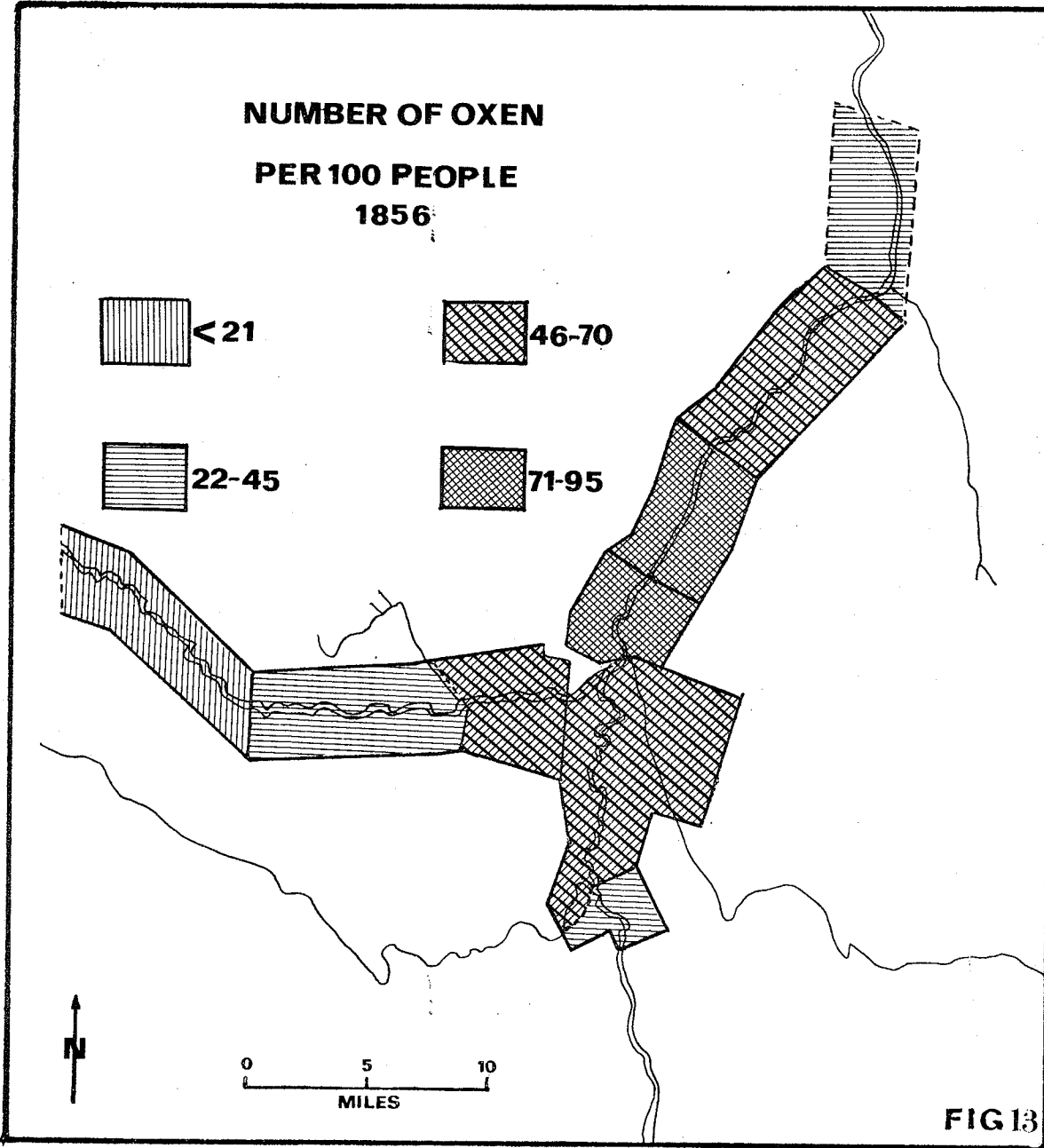
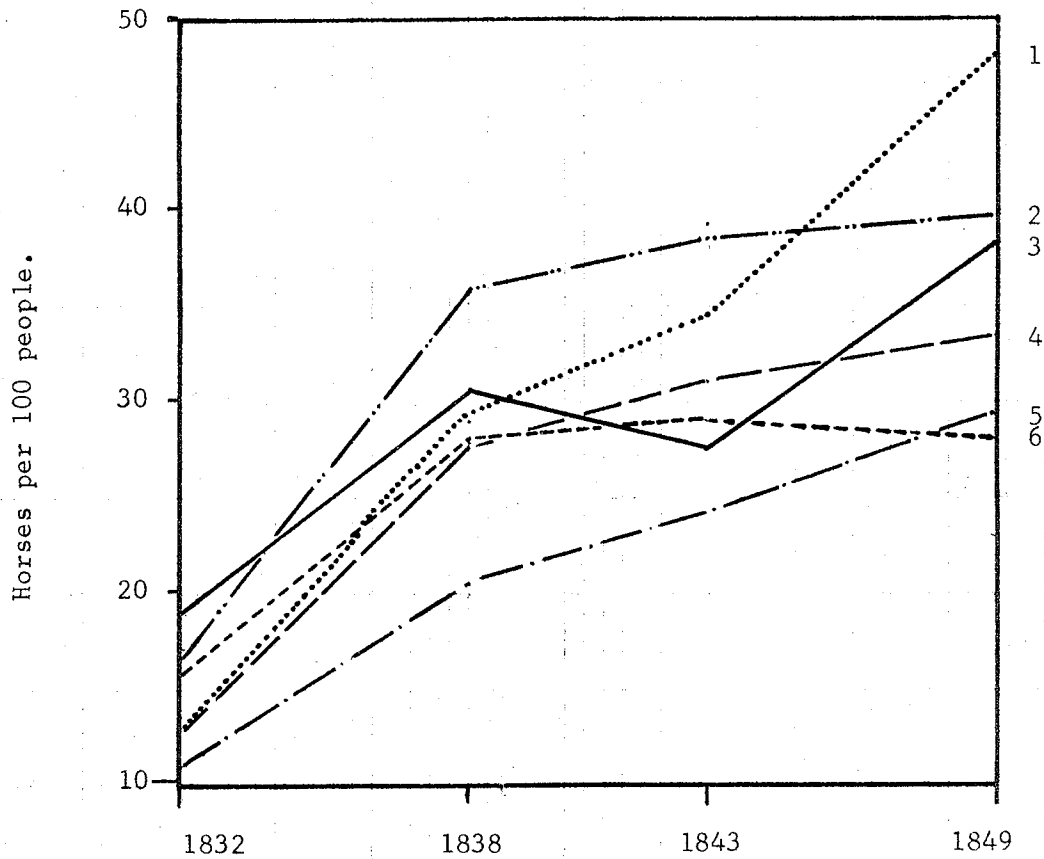


DIAGRAM 13

Ratio of Horses per 100 people

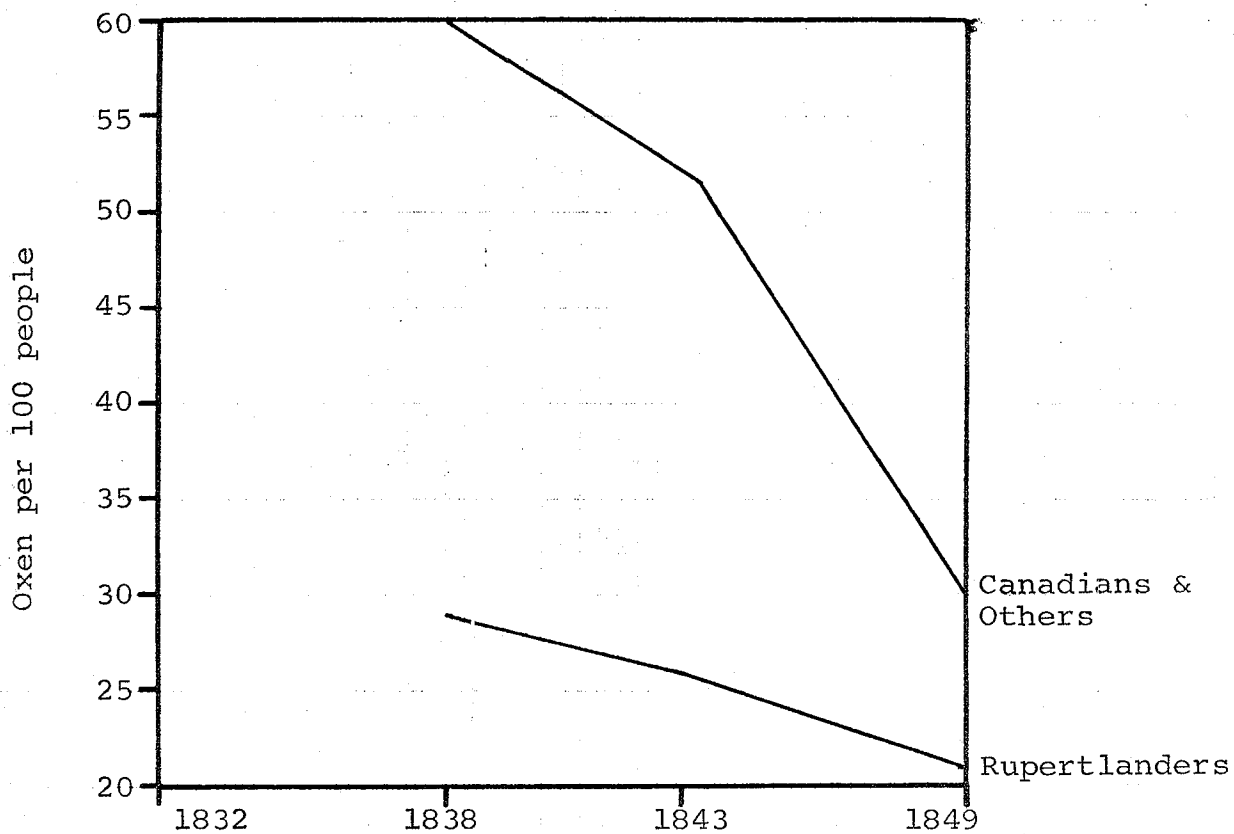
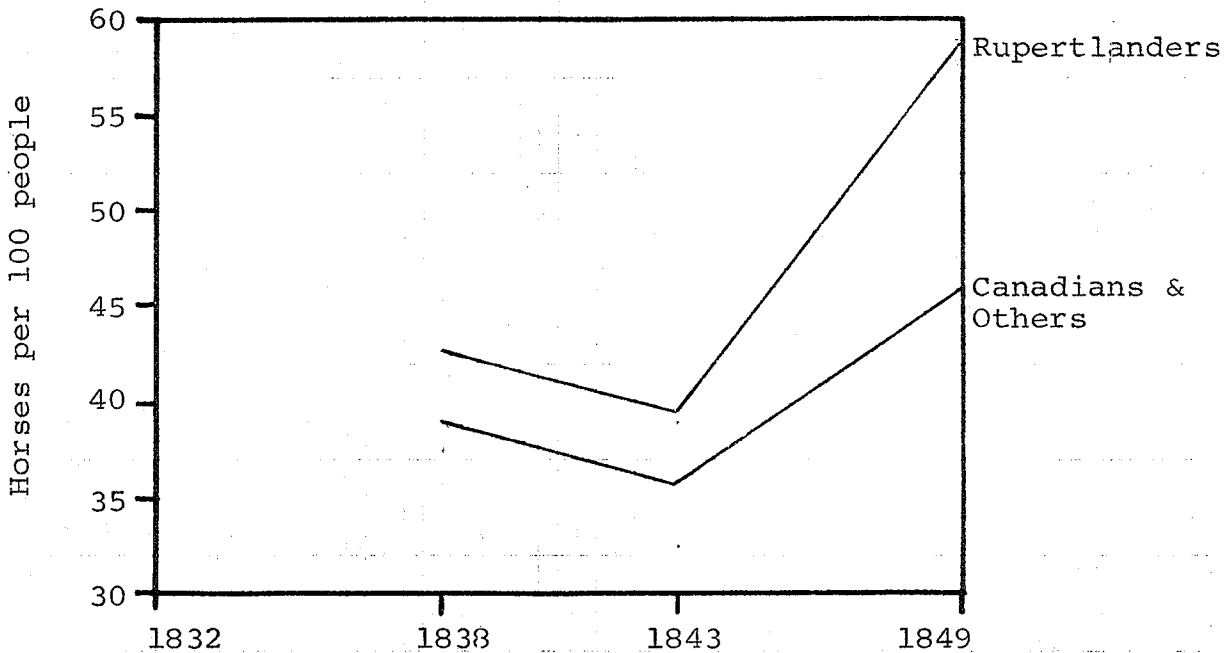
Lower Settlement 1832 - 1849.



- 1 Canadians
- 2 Roman Catholic Rupertlanders
- 3 Scots/Orkneymen
- 4 Total Rupertlanders
- 5 Protestant Rupertlanders
- 6 English, Irish and Others

Ratio of Horses & Oxen per 100 People

Grantown 1832-1849



of the settlement with the exception of the Saulteau Village. Yet the importance of oxen varied both in time and in place. At the Lower Settlement and at Grantown, the ratio followed the now established pattern of degree of agricultural participation. At Grantown where the Canadian and Other ratio was higher than the Rupertlander ratio, there was a decreasing interest in oxen over the period and an increasing reliance upon horses. Even at the Lower Settlement there was a decline in the ratio of oxen per 100 people, a decline which though it began later was almost as marked as at Grantown. The decline in oxen (diagram 12) is apparent in all but the Scots/Orcadian group which just managed to maintain its interest between 1843 and 1849 when the ratios of oxen per 100 people were 81.8 and 81.6 respectively. In all other groups the ratio of oxen per 100 people declined (appendices 12A-12F). The important factor here was the increased importance of horses. Horses had long been important amongst the Canadians and the Roman Catholic Rupertlanders (diagrams 13 & 14) who had both an economic need for buffalo runners and a natural predilection for horses. As time went on there was an increasing preference for horses on the part of all the groups but most especially amongst the Canadians and the Rupertlanders. The Roman Catholic Rupertlander preference for horses at both the Lower Settlement and at Grantown is evident on diagrams 15 and 16 which also show the increasing propensity towards horses as opposed to oxen, on the part of the Canadians and even the Scots/Orkneymen of the Lower Settlement, and the Indians of the Swampy Village. This increased interest must in fact represent an

Horse/Ox Ratio for Specified Ethnic Groups  
 Lower Settlement 1832-1849  
 (Base of 1)

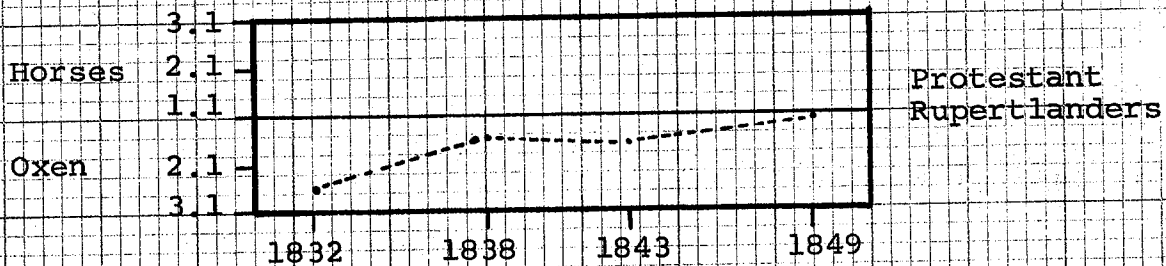
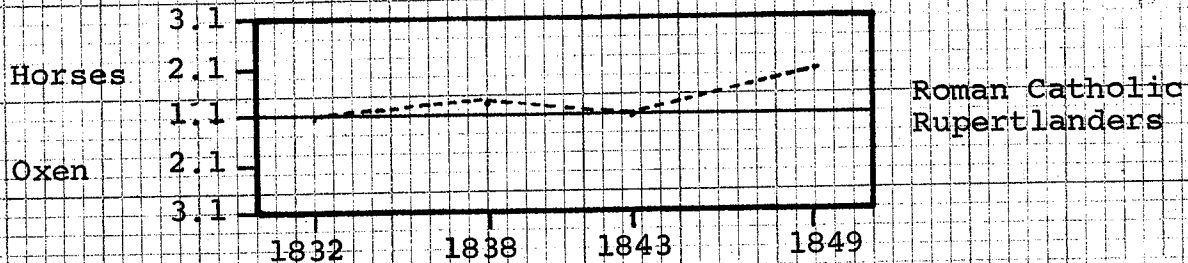
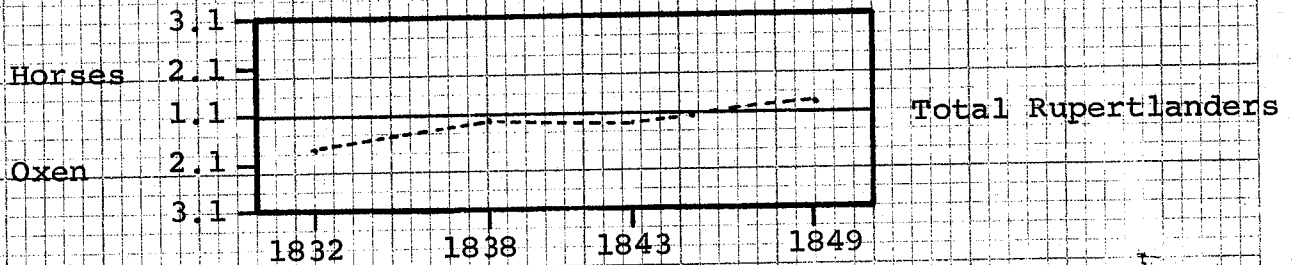
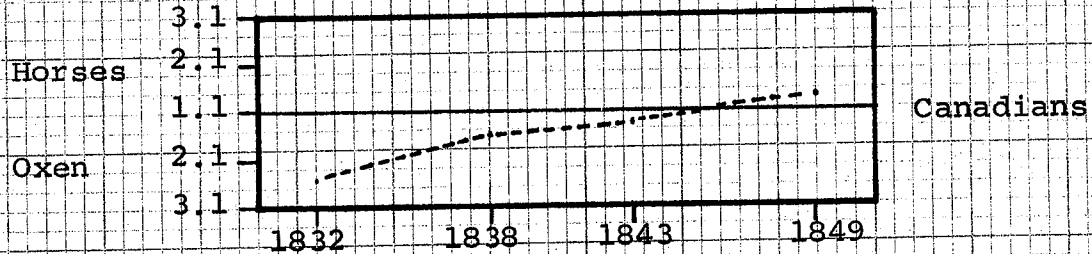
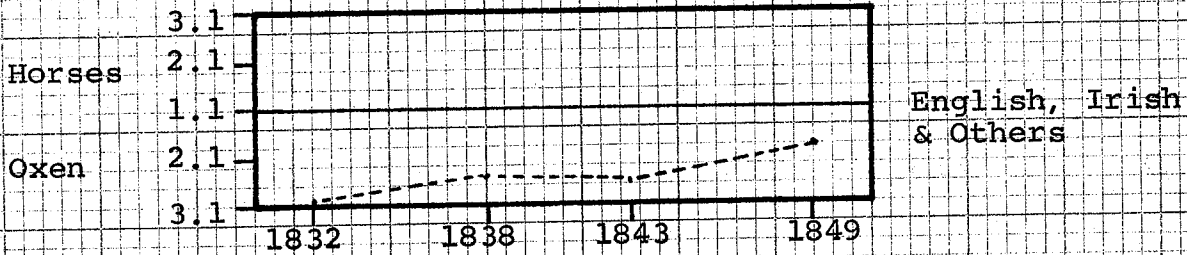
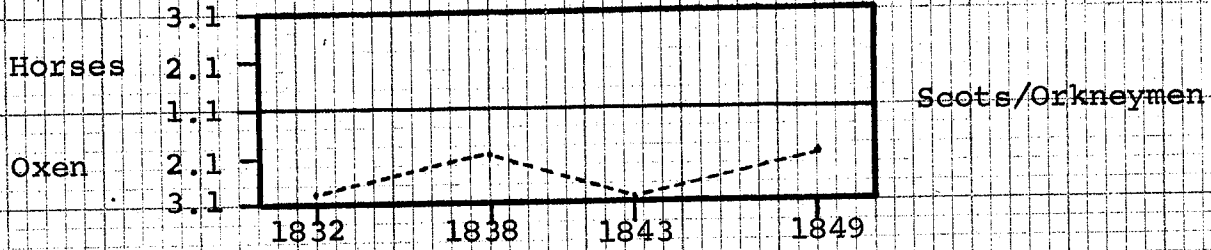
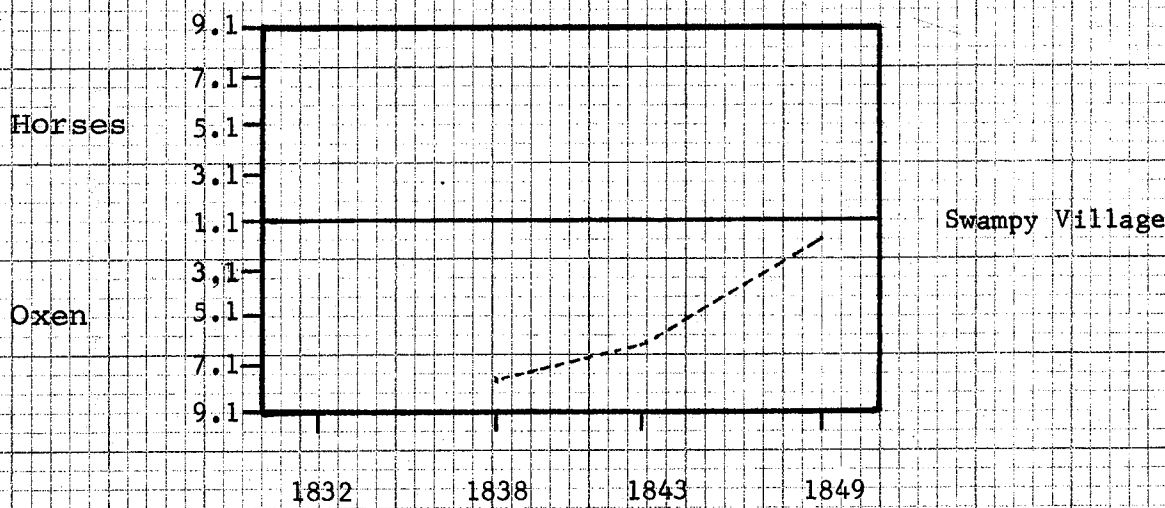
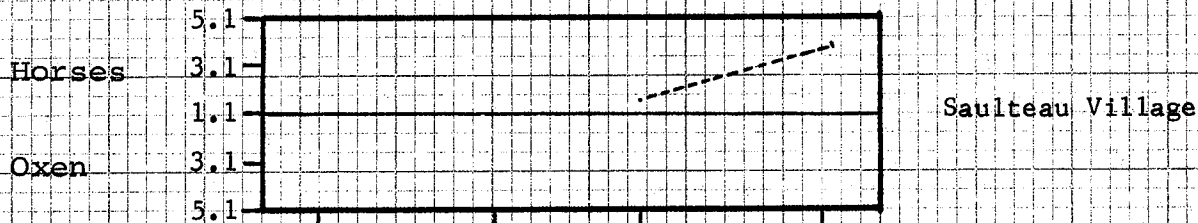
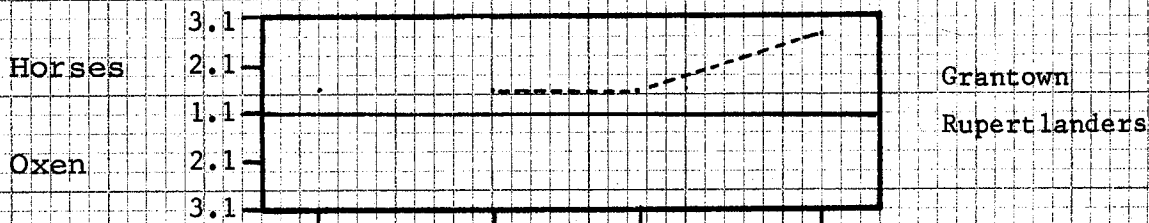
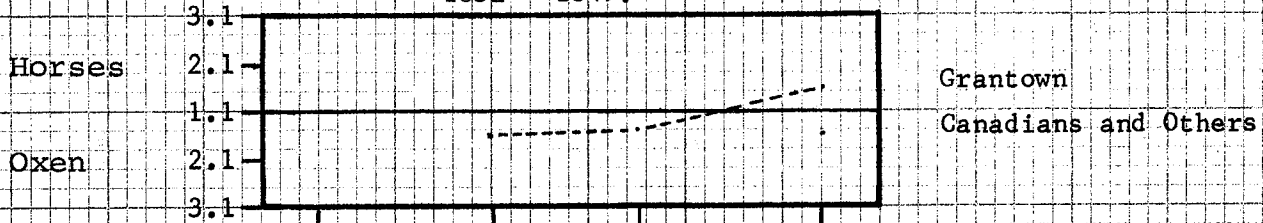


DIAGRAM 16

Horse/ox Ratio for Specified Groups  
(Base of 1)

Grantown, Swampy and Saulteau Villages  
1832 - 1849.



1832      1838      1843      1849

increased economic capacity to keep horses for pleasure, on the part of the Scots/Orcadians, and an increased expediency and capacity to meet that expediency on the part of those whose economy was reverting to an ever increasing reliance upon hunting and fishing. The essential difference in economic practice, at the colony in 1856 is shown in Table 6 and Figure 15, which illustrate the relationship of oxen to horses in the respective parishes of the Red River settlement.

### Cattle

The censuses distinguish between those bovines used as draught animals and those which were kept for their milk and meat. This is the essential difference between the animals shown in appendix 2 as oxen and those termed cattle. In this dissertation cattle is used as the collective name for those animals classified as bulls, cows and calves. There seems no reason to maintain this distinction. The reader interested in the respective numbers of each of these is referred to appendix 2. As the providers of milk, meat and hides, cattle were the most important element in the livestock economy of the Selkirk colony. In 1832 there was a total of 2,497 cattle in the whole settlement and by 1849 there were 3,998. These were the offspring of those animals brought up from the American Mid-West between 1821 and 1825. Though they deteriorated in quality from breeding at too early an age and from lack of attention, "they increased fast in numbers". (1) That constant attention was an essential

1. Ross, Op. Cit. p. 83.

TABLE 6

Ratio of Oxen to Horses  
Red River Settlement - 1856  
(Base of 1)

Name of Parish	Ratio of Oxen to Horses
St. James	1.1
St. John	1.5
St. Paul	1.8
St. Andrew	2.3
St Peter	3.3
St. Francois Xavier	0.3
St. Charles	1.1
St. Norbert	0.8
St. Boniface	1.1

The stress on oxen is seen to have been greatest in the "British" settlements below the "forks" and least in the "hunting fringe" of St. Francois Xavier and St. Norbert.

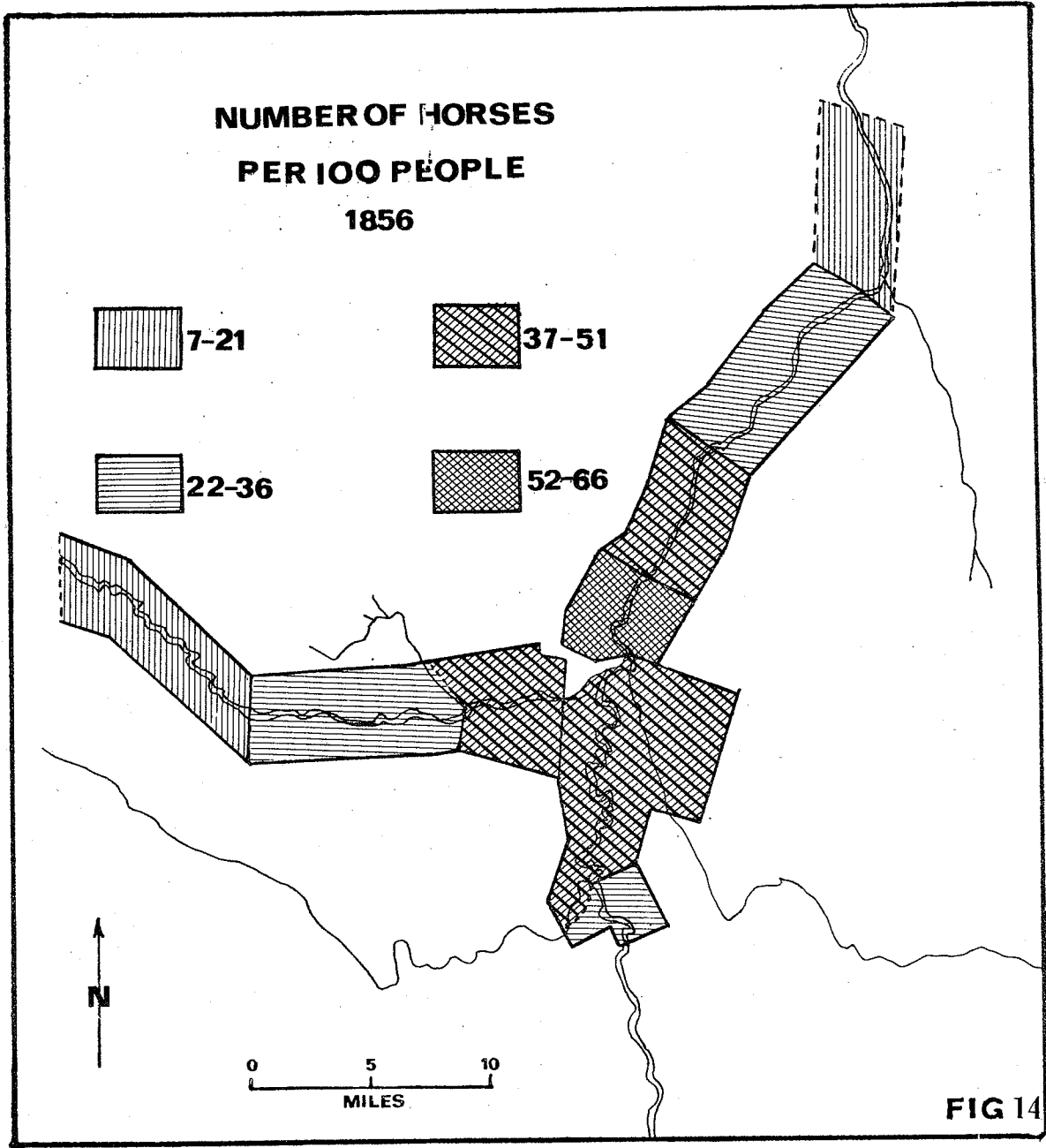
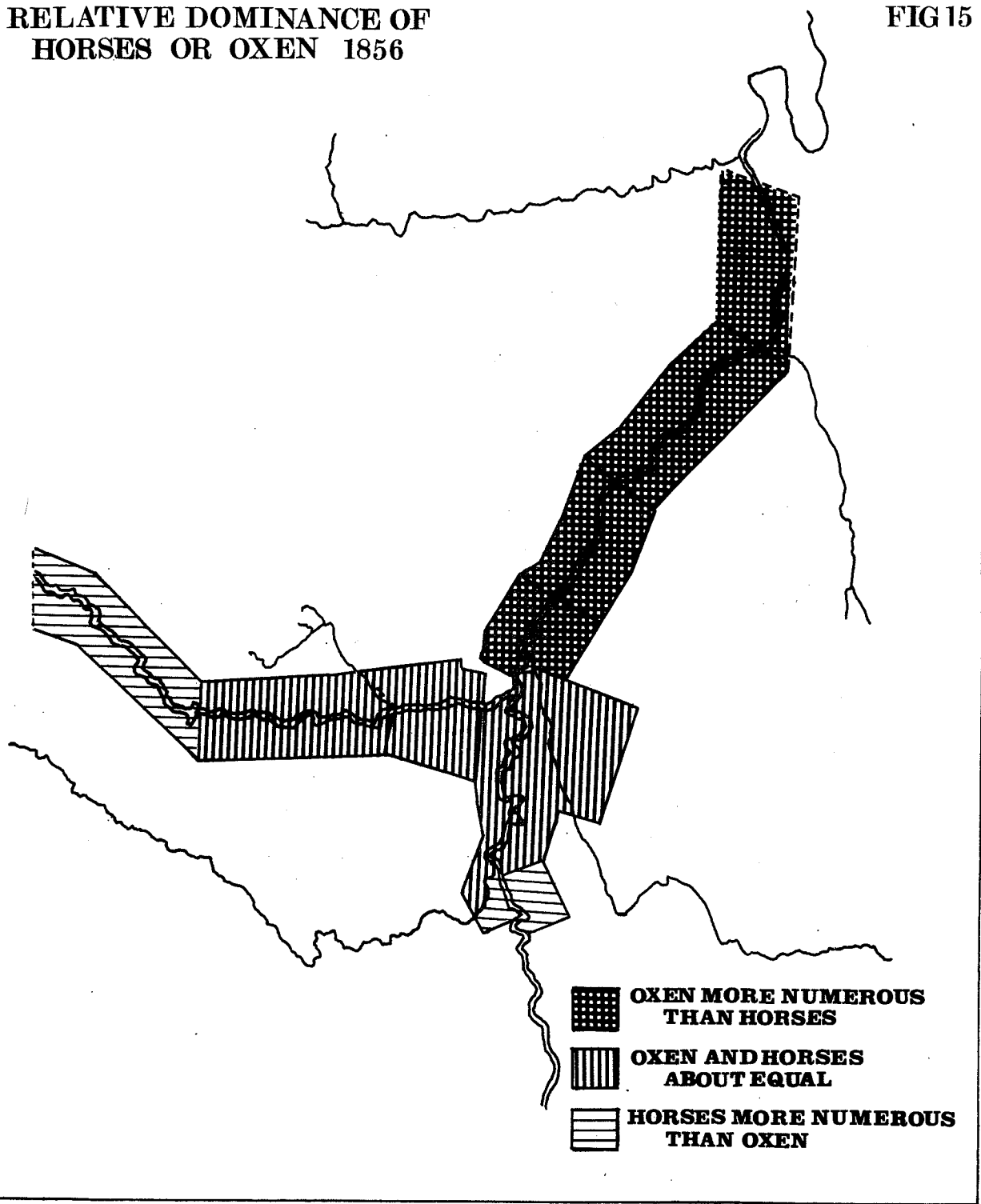


FIG 14

**RELATIVE DOMINANCE OF  
HORSES OR OXEN 1856**

**FIG 15**



prerequisite of successful cattle farming can be illustrated by reference to Andrew McDermot's testimony to the effects of adverse climatic conditions in reducing livestock totals.

In consequence of the most dreadful winter that there was ever known in Red River at least one sixth part of all the cattle was starved to death . (1)

Though the cattle belonging to the Tallow Trade (2) were undoubtedly more exposed to the elements and to the attacks of wild animals than those of individual families, their history serves nonetheless as an indicator of the devastating effects of both predator and climate. This herd of 473 animals was not apparently included in the census of 1832. Before that year was over 58 head had died from cold and malnutrition and wolves claimed an additional 53 animals (3). Such rapid changes in livestock totals illustrates once again the need for care in the interpretation of statistics.

The pre-eminence of the Scots/Orkneymen in cattle as in arable farming may be seen by reference to figure 16, and diagram 17, and Table 7. Not only had this group the highest ratio of cattle per 100 people but as Table 7 reveals the vast majority of Scot/Orcadian householders had some cattle! Only 10.8% of

- 1 P.A.M. G. M. Cary Papers, Andrew McDermot to G. M. Cary, July 24, 1848.
- 2 In 1832 the Governor of the colony, Sir George Simpson persuaded the settlers to organise a joint stock company to export tallow. Ross, A. Red River Settlement, Pg. 150.
- 3 Ross, Ibid. . p. 151.

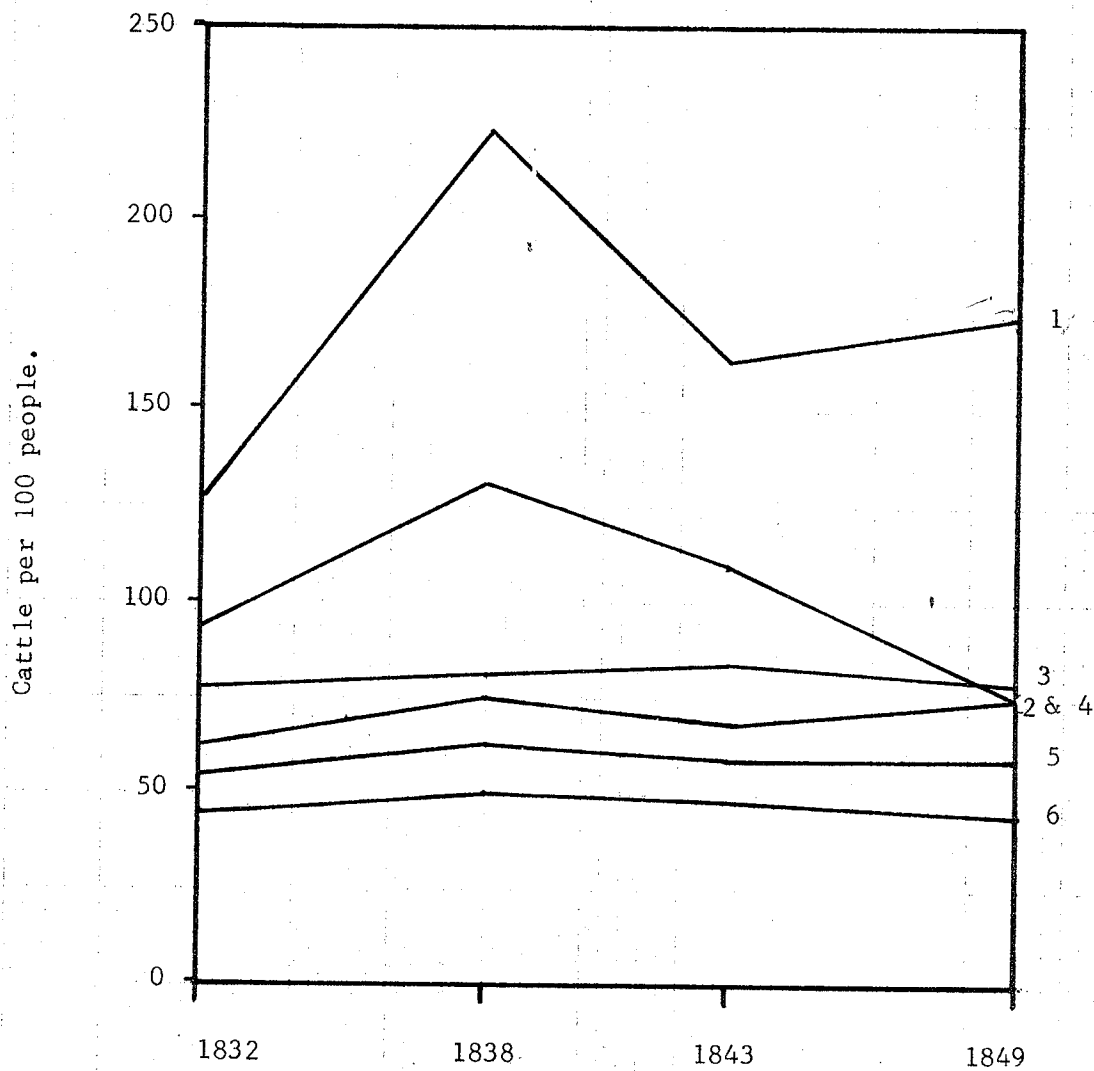
TABLE 7

Percentage of Householders with Herds  
of Cattle in the Following Categories  
1849

Location	Percentage of Householders					Group
	Without Cattle	With Under Five Cattle	With Five to Ten Cattle	With Ten to Twenty Cattle	With Twenty Cattle & Over	
Lower Settlement	10.8	18.3	20.8	40.8	9.1	Scots/Orcadians
	25.9	43.3	15.7	13.3	1.6	Canadians
	64.2	23.4	7.4	1.2	3.7	English, Irish & Others
	51.9	32.5	11.3	3.8	0.2	Rupertlanders
Grantown	48.6	44.2	6.1	0.9	-	Rupertlanders
	46.7	26.7	16.7	10.0	-	Canadians & Others

DIAGRAM 17

Ratio of Cattle per 100 people  
Lower Settlement 1832 - 1849.



- 1 Scots/Orkneymen
- 2 English, Irish and Others
- 3 Canadians
- 4 Protestant Rupertlanders
- 5 Total Rupertlanders
- 6 Roman Catholic Rupertlanders

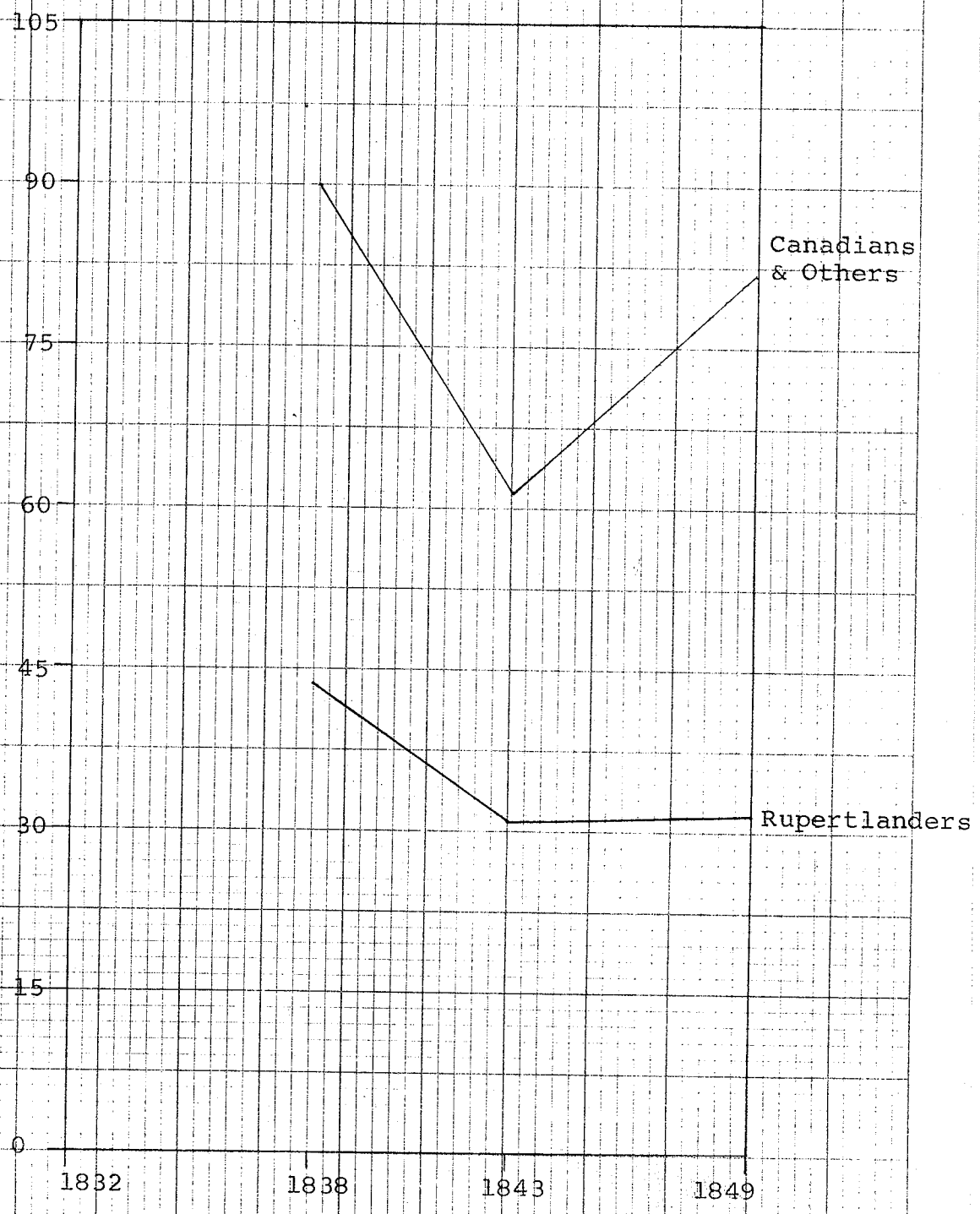
Scots/Orcadian householders were without cattle in 1849. In contrast 51.9% of the Rupertlander householders did not keep any cattle in that year. Among the English, Irish and Others 64.2% of householders kept no cattle but the majority of these families had only arrived in 1848 and had not had sufficient time to build up their herds. The Canadians showed the second greatest interest in cattle but their comparative lack of interest as opposed to the Scots/Orkneymen can be seen by examination of the fifth column of Table 7. There was little difference in interest between the Rupertlanders of Grantown and those of the Lower Settlement, though herds were generally somewhat smaller among the former. However there was a considerable difference in the returns of the Lower Settlement Canadians and the Grantown Canadians and Others, a difference which cannot be wholly attributed to the necessary addition of one Scots family to the Canadian group at Grantown, in 1849. As Table 7 shows the Canadian cattle totals were dependent upon the interest of a minority whom Giraud has described as the "bourgeoisie" (1). At Grantown in 1849 approximately 27% of the householders had over five cattle, 73% of householders kept under five cattle or no cattle at all.

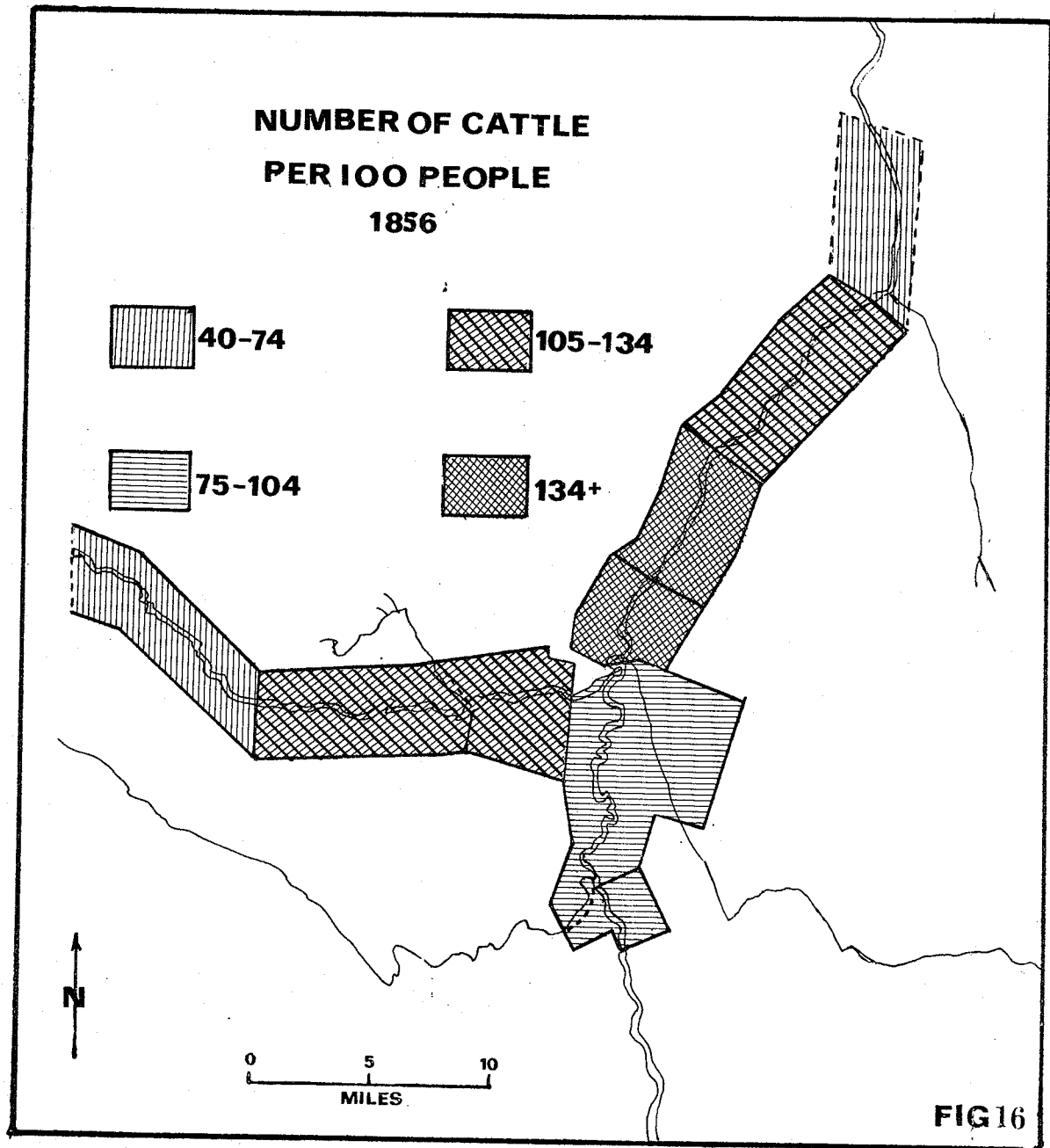
In 1856, interest in cattle decreased outward from the "Scots/Orkney" parishes of St. John and St. Paul, to the fringe areas of St. Peter and St. François Xavier (figure 16). The

1 Giraud, Marcel, Op. Cit. P882.

DIAGRAM 18

Ratio of Cattle per 100 poeple  
Grantown 1832 - 1849





position of the parish of St. Boniface in the hierarchy of cattle is indeed puzzling especially when compared with its importance as an area of arable cultivation. St. Boniface with a ratio of 78 cattle per 100 people was seventh in the parish hierarchy of cattle farming; it was third in arable cultivation. (appendix 7 and figures 10 and 16.)

### Sheep

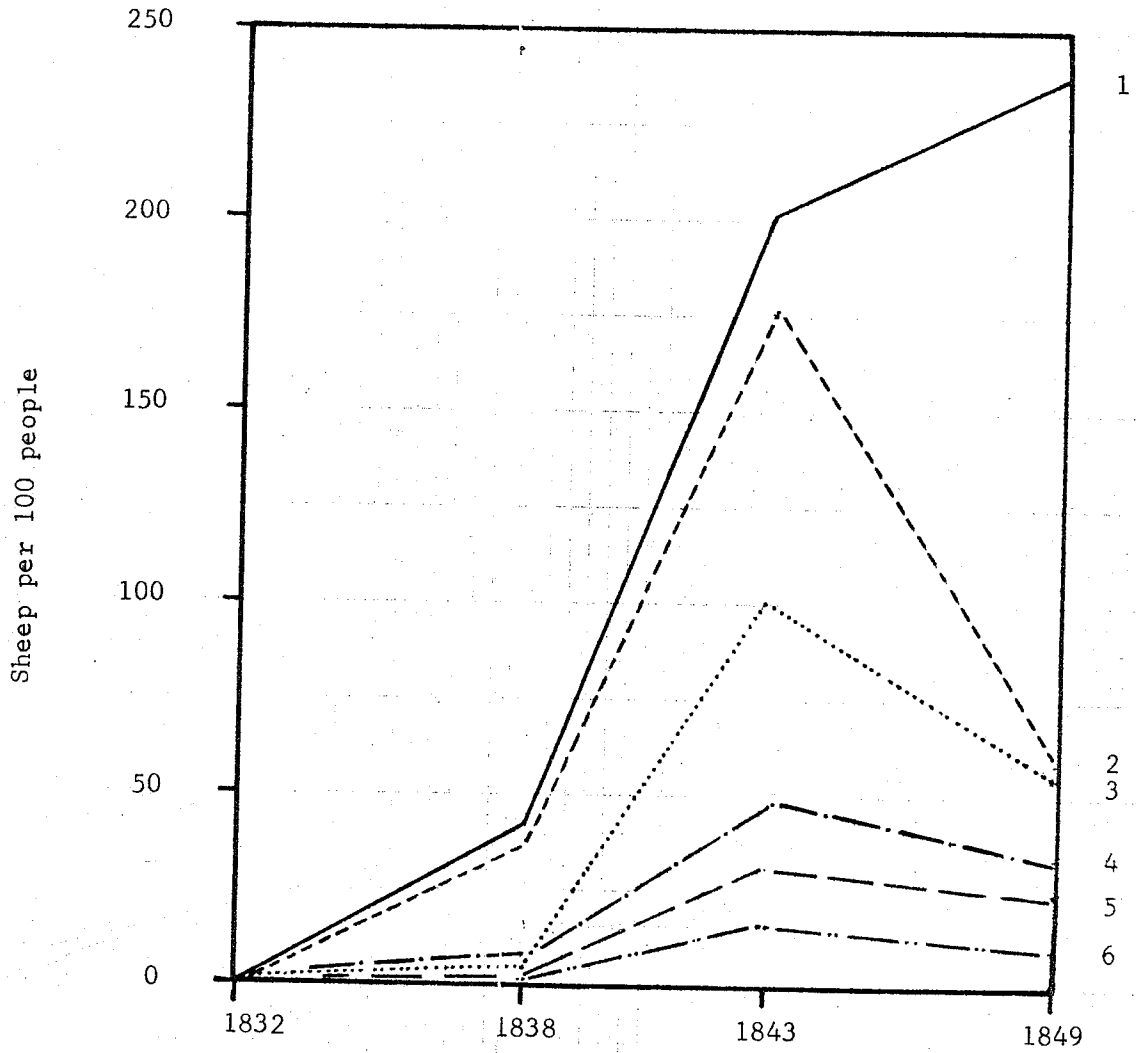
Sheep are first recorded in the Census of 1838 when there were 457 head at the Lower Settlement. These were the offspring of the 250 which had been imported from Kentucky in 1833, in an attempt to establish a thriving woollen export industry (1). They multiplied rapidly, In 1840 all but nine of the settlement's 1,897 sheep were at the Lower Settlement. By 1843 there were 3,569 sheep in the colony, the majority at the Lower Settlement but at Grantown there were 159, at the Swampy Village there were 68 and at the Saulteau Village there were 24 (appendix 2). Sheep continued to increase in numbers until 1845 but thereafter their numbers declined. The drought of that year undoubtedly reduced the number of sheep but a number of other reasons can be cited for the decline in sheep totals. Mutton was never popular on the tables of the settlers. There was neither a sufficient market for wool nor the means, within the settlement of manufacturing it on any scale other

1 also conceived of by Sir George Simpson. Ross, A. Op.Cit. pp. 146-148.

DIAGRAM 19

Ratio of Sheep per 100 people

Lower Settlement 1832 - 1849



- 1 Scots/Orkneymen
- 2 English, Irish and Others
- 3 Canadians
- 4 Protestant Rupertlanders
- 5 Total Rupertlanders
- 6 Roman Catholic Rupertlanders

than the purely domestic (1). Moreover sheep required constant care, a quality more lacking in the Rupertlanders of Grantown and the Lower Settlement than in the Scots/Orkneymen. Without it the number of sheep could be quickly reduced "from the ravages of dogs and wolves" (2). In 1849 the number of sheep was reduced by 1,000 (3) as a result of natural calamity and lack of continued interest on the part of all save the Scots/Orkneymen, the only group amongst whom the number of sheep actually increased in the years 1843 to 1849 (appendix 2).

In 1849 at least 80% of English, Irish and Others, of Canadians and of Rupertlander householders at both the Lower Settlement and at Grantown were without sheep (Table 8 ). In contrast only 38.9% of Scots/Orkney householders were without sheep; 15.4% of this group had between 10 and 20 sheep, another 15.4% had between 20 and 30% and 16.9% had over thirty sheep. The importance, in 1856, of sheep among the Scots/Orkneymen is apparent on figure 17. In that year St. Boniface was, after the parishes of St. John and St. Paul, the second most important parish for sheep but the position of this parish as third in the hierarchy was undoubtedly due to the interest of a few individuals. This was certainly so in 1849 when only seven Canadian householders had twenty or more sheep. In 1849

1 Report on the Exploration of the country between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement, 21. Victoria, Appendix No. 3, Toronto, 1858.

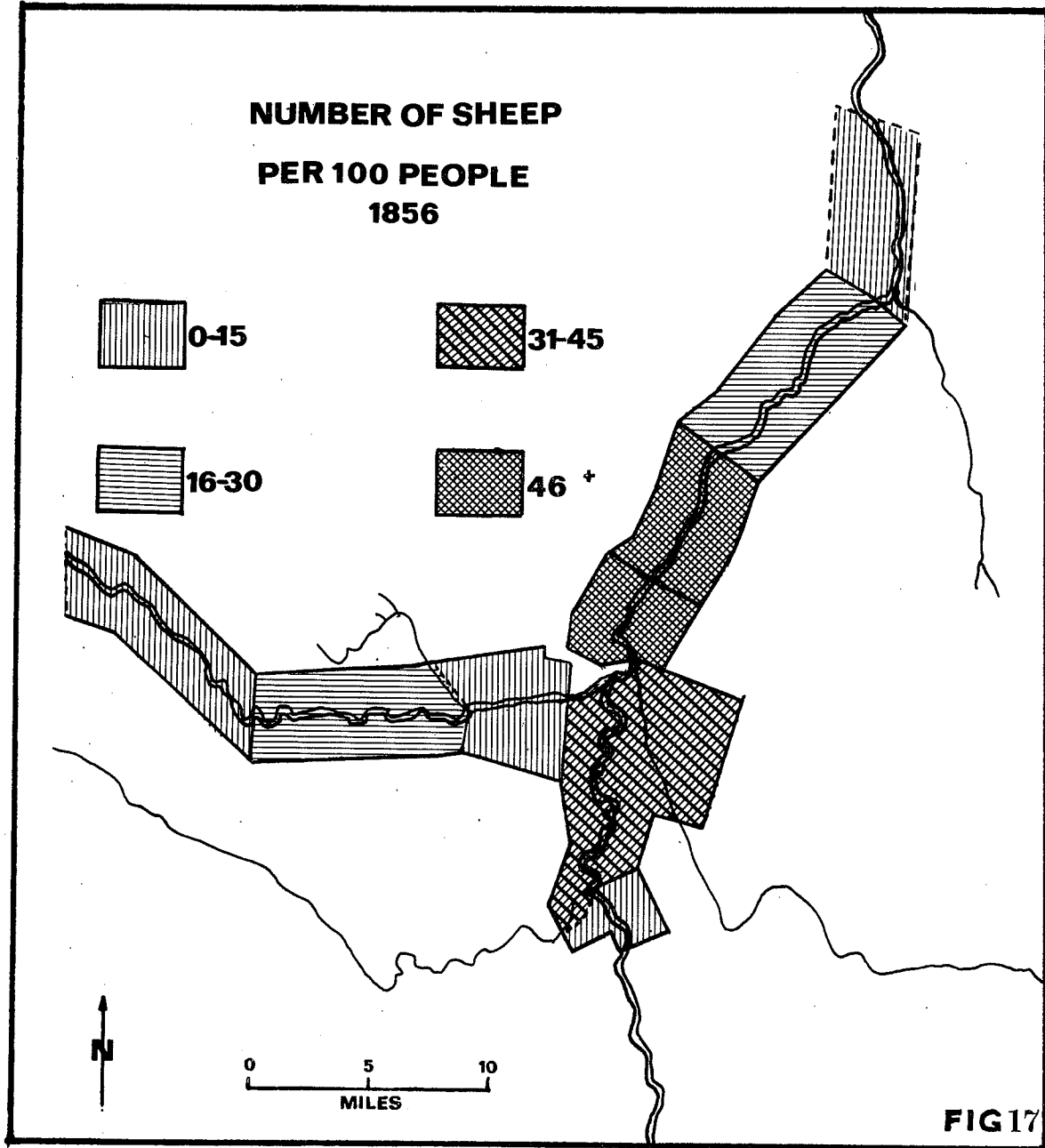
2 Ross, Op. Cit. p. 391.

3 Ross, ibid. p. 391.

TABLE 8

Percentage of Householders with Flocks  
of Sheep in the following Categories  
1849

Location	Percentage of Householders							Group
	Without Sheep	With Under 10 Sheep	With 10-20 Sheep	With 20-30 Sheep	With 30-40 Sheep	With 40-50 Sheep	With 50 Sheep	
Lower Settlement	38.9	13.0	15.4	15.4	7.3	4.8	4.8	Scots/Orkneymen
	83.6	12.4	2.8	1.0	-	-	-	Rupertlanders
	80.3	5.3	8.3	2.2	2.2	0.7	-	Canadians
Grantown	93.9	4.3	1.7	-	-	-	-	Rupertlanders
	90.0	6.6	3.3	-	-	-	-	Canadians and Others



the Canadians of the Lower Settlement owned 420 sheep; 78 of them belonged to the Roman Catholic Church. At Grantown the position was little different. Of the 129 sheep kept at the settlement at the White Horse Plain, 61 belonged to three men, namely Alexander Berland (1), Urbin de L'Orm (2) and Pierre Falcon (3). In 1849 there were 25 sheep at the Swampy Village. None were kept at the Saulteau Village.

### Pigs

The number of pigs in the colony fluctuated throughout the period 1832 to 1856. There were 2,483 pigs in 1832, 1,698 in 1838, 3,800 in 1846, in 1849 there were 1,565 and in 1856 there were 4,929 pigs. Fluctuations of this order may be partly explained in terms of the essential fertility (compared to other livestock species) of pigs, a species of livestock whose numbers can be rapidly expanded. They may also be attributed to the severity of winters; and to the availability of pemmican which was always preferred to pork by the inhabitants of the colony and of the outposts of the North-West.

Pigs were not nearly as much the monopoly of one ethnic group as for example were sheep (Tables 8 and 9). The apparent lack of interest among the English, Irish and Other group may again

1 P.A.M. R.R.C. 49. 704

2 P.A.M. R.R.C. 49. 719

3 P.A.M. R.R.C. 49. 737

TABLE 9

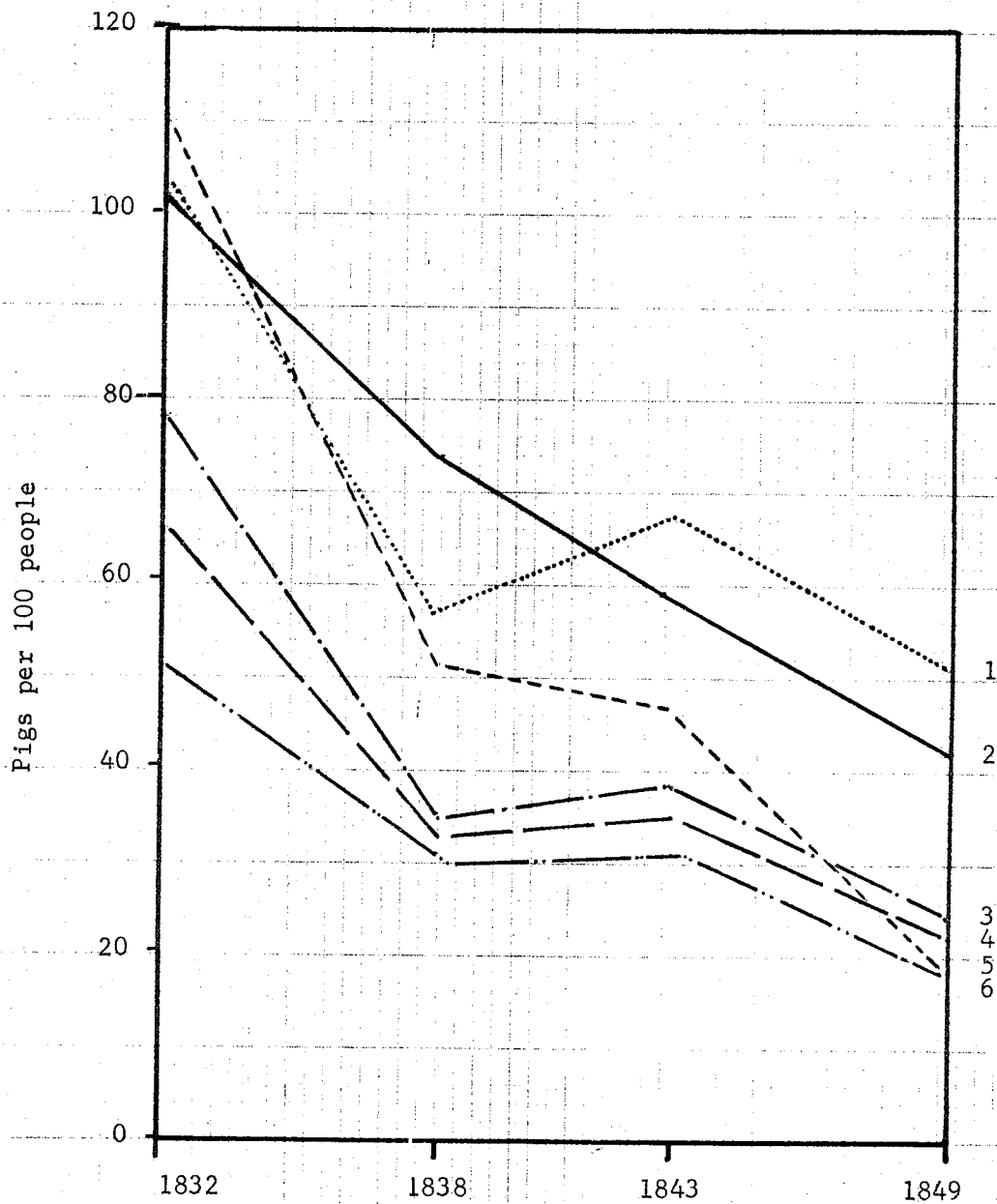
Percentage of Householders with Herds  
of Pigs in the Following Categories

1849

Location	Percentage of Householders					Group
	Without Pigs	With Under Five Pigs	With Five to Ten Pigs	With Ten to Twenty Pigs	With Twenty to Thirty Pigs	
Lower Settlement	32.2	53.7	12.4	1.6	-	Scots/Orcadian
	41.3	34.5	15.7	7.5	-	Canadians
	80.0	17.6	2.3	-	-	English, Irish and Others
	65.3	29.7	4.1	0.7	-	Rupertlanders
Grantown	87.9	8.6	3.4	-	-	Rupertlanders
	66.6	23.3	10.0	-	-	Canadians and Others

DIAGRAM 20

Ratio of Pigs per 100 people  
Lower Settlement 1832 - 1849.

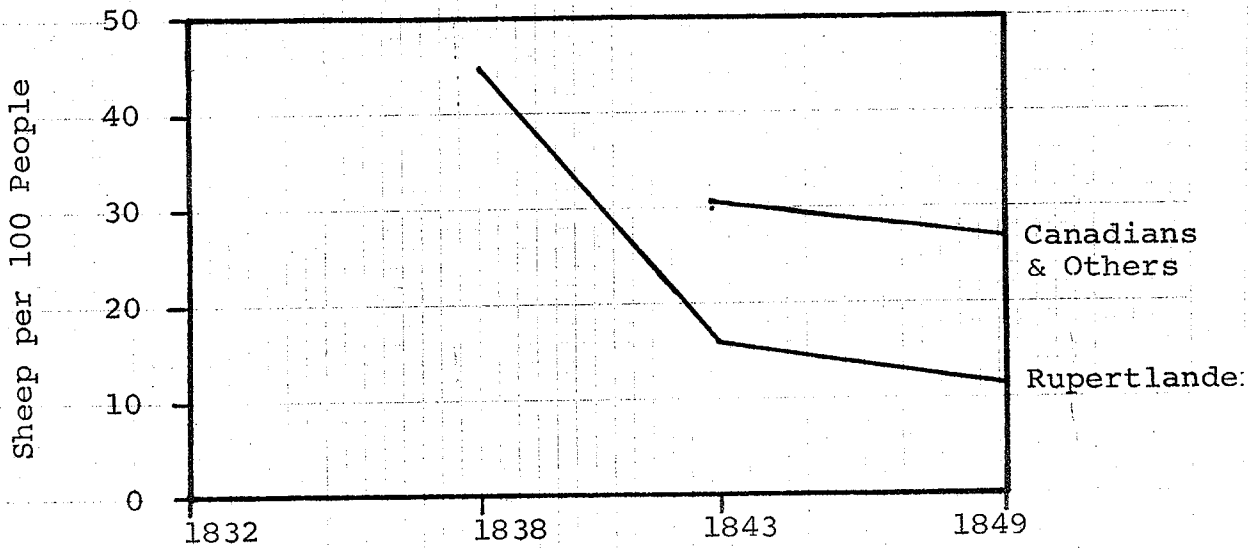
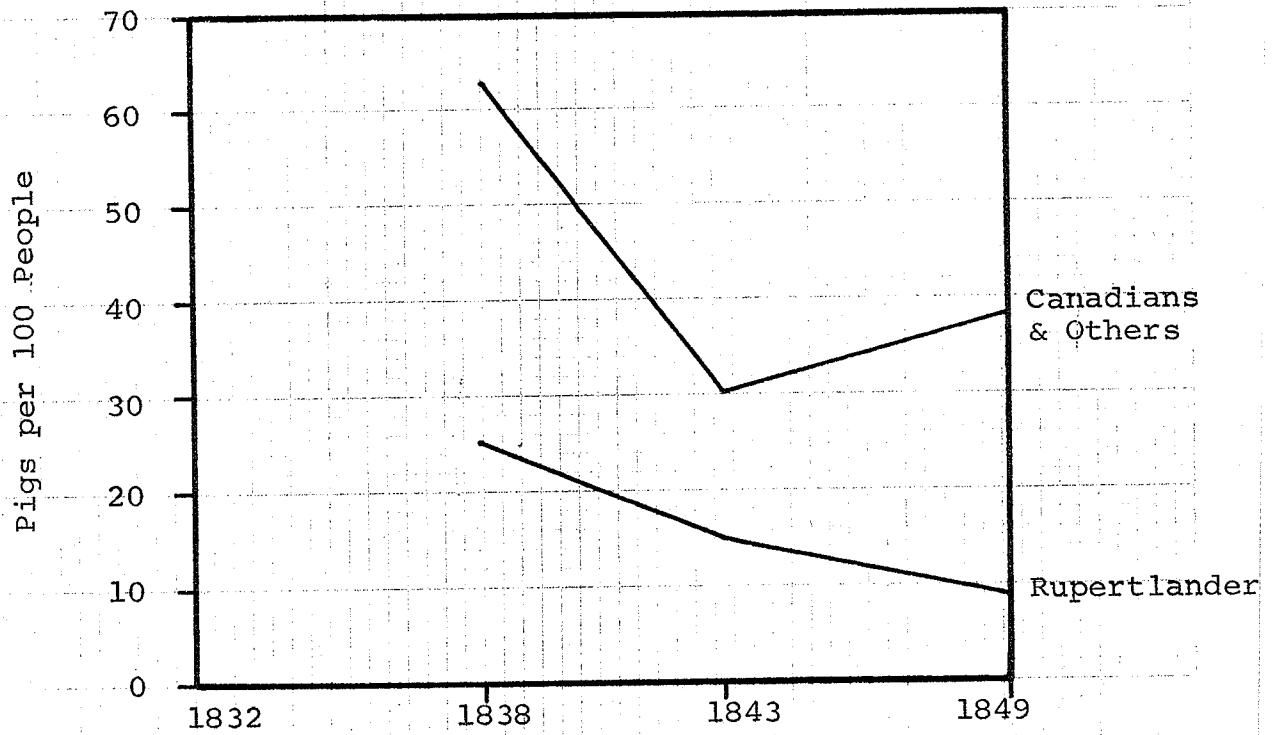


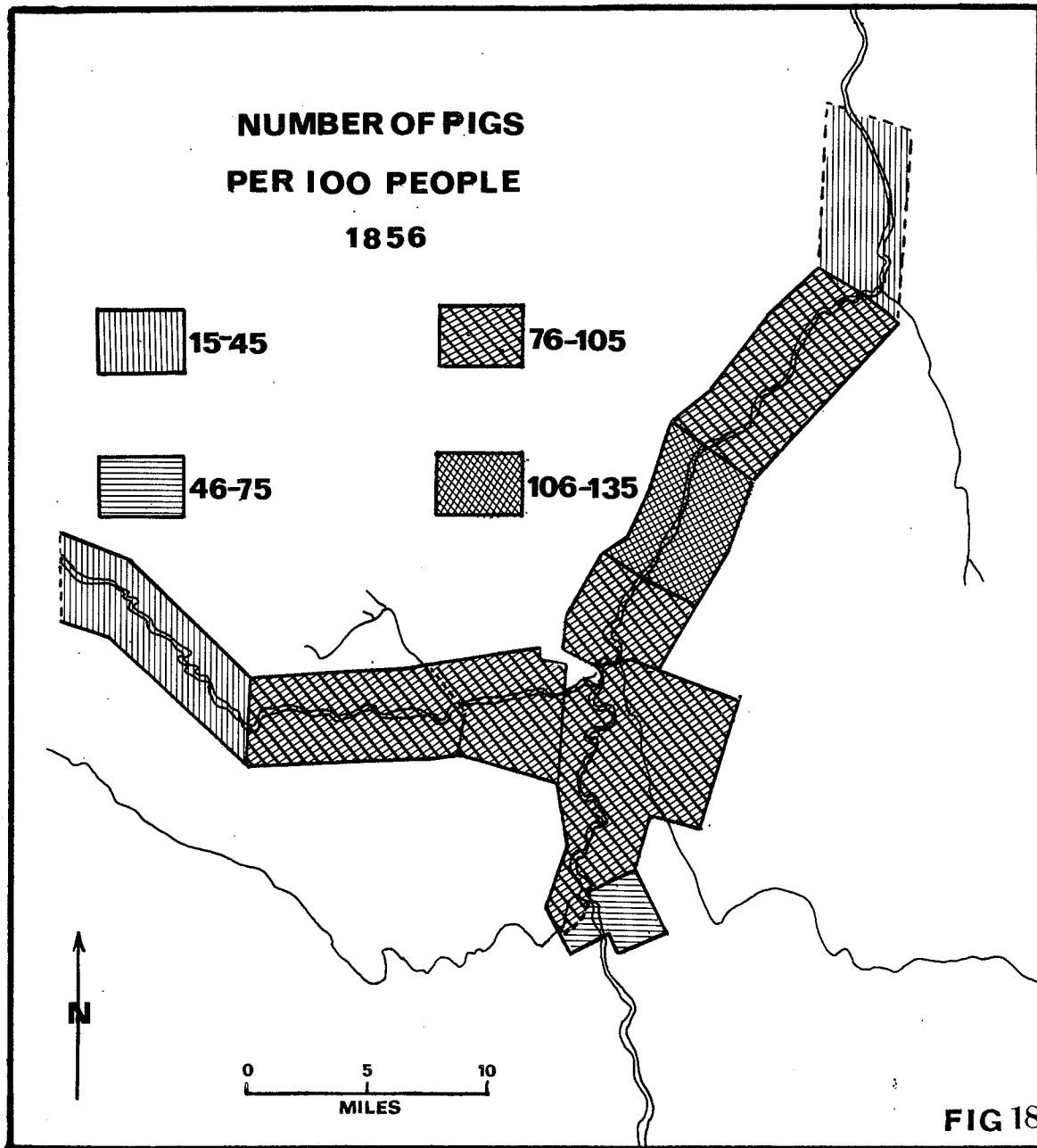
- 1 Canadians
- 2 Scots/Orkneymen
- 3 Protestant Rupertlanders
- 4 Total Rupertlanders
- 5 English, Irish and Others
- 6 Roman Catholic Rupertlanders

DIAGRAM 21

A Ratio of Pigs and Sheep per 100 People

Grantown





be attributed to insufficient time to build up their number of animals. At the Lower Settlement Canadians demonstrated a greater interest in pigs than did the Scots/Orkneymen. The comparative lack of interest in pigs on the part of the latter can perhaps be attributed to a pig-prejudice which has been observed elsewhere in North America (1). At Grantown though the interest in pigs was somewhat greater than that in sheep, which required more care, it was still slight (Table 9). In 1849 there were only 125 pigs at the White Horse Plain. The distribution of pigs in 1856 is shown on figure 18. Pigs are seen to have enjoyed a general popularity with most groups though this declined rather dramatically in the 'fringe areas' of the settlement.

### Conclusion

The graphs and choropleths presented in the preceding pages have demonstrated the superiority in agriculture of the Scots/Orcadians to all other groups, a superiority which does not reflect a difference in soil fertility between the areas they occupied and those settled by any of the other groups. Yet these people had higher ratios of tilled land, cattle, sheep and oxen than did any of the others. More important, almost every householder had some amount of each of these elements. Horses were more common among the Canadians and Rupertlanders (as

1 A. H. Clark. "The Sheep/Swine Ratio in the Livestock Geography of Nova Scotia", Economic Geography, Vol. 38. January 1962.

draught animals and as buffalo runners) than among the Scots/Orcadians. However, as time went on even this group displayed an increased interest in them. The pre-eminence of the Scots/Orkneymen in farming was due to their inherited traditions and techniques rather than to superior environmental conditions. It was also due to the absence of any real competition. As has been shown elsewhere (1) the agriculture of the Orkneymen and of the Highland Scots in North America was as backward as was that of their relations in the homeland. The agricultural dominance of the Scots/Orcadians is therefore a relative matter. Elsewhere their agricultural role was subordinate to that of other groups; in the context of the Red River Settlement they played the most important role in agriculture. The English, Irish and Others showed the second greatest interest in agriculture. The Canadians, the old voyageurs came third in all elements with the exception of pigs, in which they demonstrated a particular interest. The Rupertlanders, the half-breed sons of the Scots/Orcadians and French-Canadians showed the least interest in farming. The character of the half-breeds has been described by F. R. Lacombe, himself a half-breed

The half-breed has to a higher degree the qualities as well as the faults of the Indian. They are fickle and unstable. From their mothers they have inherited the want of foresight for the necessity of life which is so characteristic of the Indian, who lives from day to day (2).

- 1 A. H. Clark, Three Centuries and The Island, Toronto, 1959.
- 2 Lacombe, F., Memoirs of, Translated copy of Manuscript P. 230 Archebiscopal Archives of St. Boniface. P. 134. Quoted in Moodie, D. W. St. Albert Settlement, University of Alberta, M.A. Thesis, 1965.

This description could be more accurately applied to the French Catholic Rupertlander than to his British Protestant counterpart.

The latter

"possessed many of the characteristics of their fathers; they generally prefer the more certain pursuit of husbandry to the chase and follow more closely on the heels of the Scotch ..... Very few resort to the plains, unless for the purpose of trafficking the produce of their farms for the produce of the chase" (1).

At the Lower Settlement, Protestant Rupertlanders were generally more devoted to agriculture than were those who were Catholic in religion and invariably French in extraction. Both Protestant and Roman Catholic Rupertlanders at the Lower Settlement showed a sustained interest in agriculture between 1832 and 1856. This was not so at Grantown where there was a general decline in agriculture in the same period, which was one of increasing devotion to the hunt for the Canadians and Rupertlanders of this settlement.

It might at first seem that those householders who cultivated but a few acres might concentrate their attention on livestock. Apparently this was not so. Farming in the colony was of the mixed variety with and as equal a concentration upon livestock as upon grain farming. The largest numbers of livestock were found among those householders who tilled the largest acreages, as can be seen by reference to Table 10. This table which gives the agricultural returns of some 14 householders at

1 Maclean, John, Notes on a Twenty Five Years Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory, A Publication of the Champlain Society, P. 378.

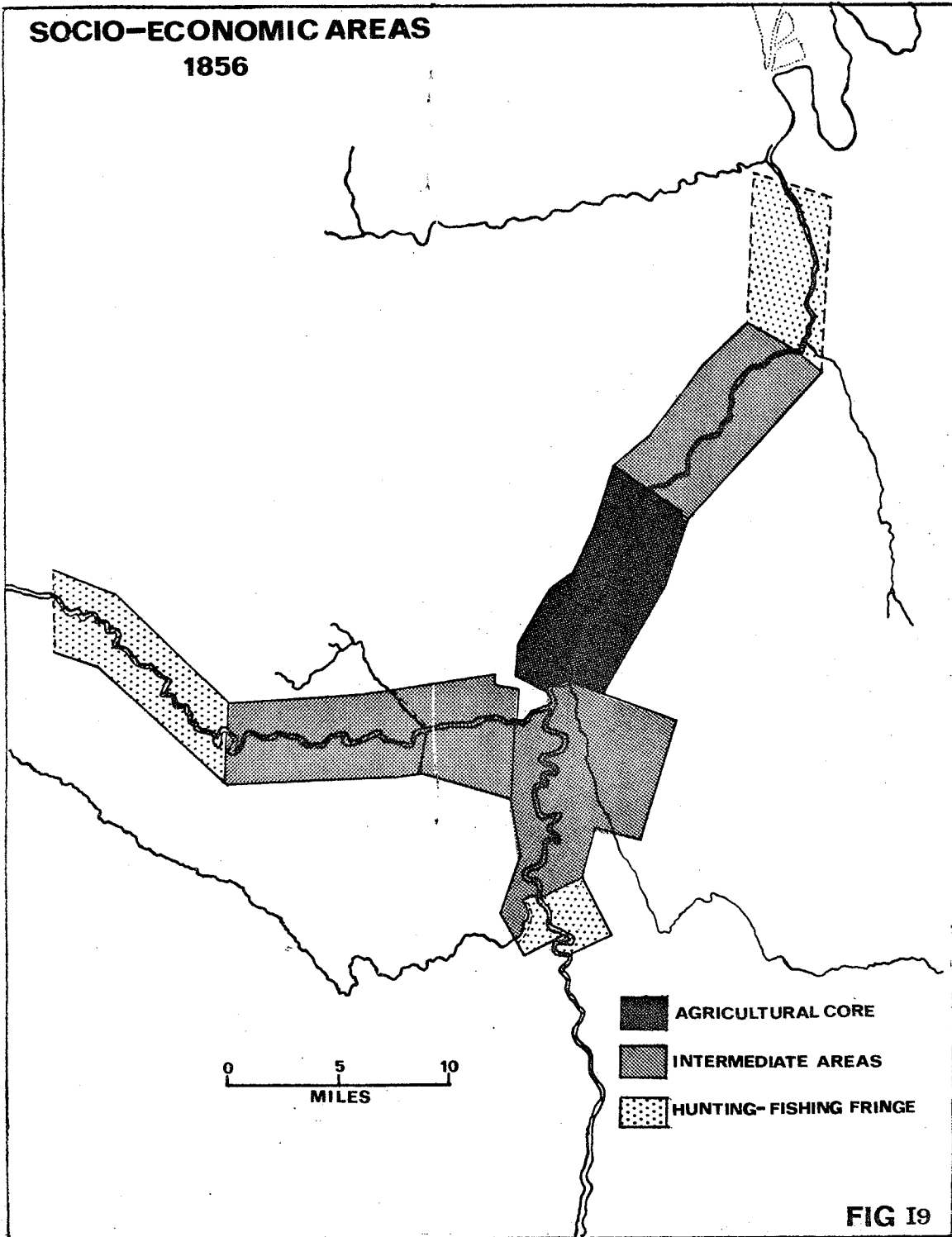
TABLE 10

Entry No.	Name	Country of Origin	Houses	Stables	Barns	Horses	Oxen	Cattle	Pigs	Sheep	Ploughs	Harrows	Carts	Boats	Canoes	Cultivated Land
104	Flett, G.	Scot.	1	10	2	12	15	25	17	-	3	3	14	1	-	38
117	Fraser, J.	Scot.	1	3	1	5	15	16	13	41	2	2	6	-	-	30
141	Gunn, J.	Scot.	1	3	1	3	8	24	4	82	1	1	6	1	-	20
173	Inkster, J.	Scot.	1	5	2	5	17	20	8	44	2	3	7	1	2	45
225	McBeath, J.	Scot.	1	5	2	5	13	27	3	80	1	2	6	-	-	25
229	McDermott, A.	Ireland	4	5	2	35	40	50	10	-	3	3	20	1	4	40
320	Sinclair, J.	R/L	1	3	1	7	12	11	12	-	1	1	14	-	3	20
470	Dauphine, M.	Can.	2	3	2	11	10	15	10	13	2	2	11	1	-	45
526	Gladeau, P.	Can.	1	3	1	3	6	6	6	-	1	1	3	1	-	20
570	Lajimonier, B.	Can.	1	4	1	9	6	28	14	41	2	2	8	-	-	50
658	Lavotard, J.	Can.	1	2	1	4	5	8	2	-	1	1	3	2	-	35
704	Berland, A.	R/L	2	2	1	11	7	11	6	26	1	1	13	1	-	15
717	D'Lorm, U.	R/L	1	1	1	9	7	9	9	20	1	1	10	1	-	25
738	Falcon, P.	R/L	1	2	1	4	6	7	7	15	-	1	5	1	-	15

both the Lower Settlement and at Grantown in 1849, indicates the extent to which the "Scots" monopolised sheep raising. The size of the flocks of sheep, which were surely larger than the purely local market for wool justified, would seem to indicate that the Scots/Orcadians were holding on to sheep long after the economic justification for so doing had disappeared.

The degree of participation in agriculture in 1856 by the various groups composing the population of the Red River Settlement is summarised on figure 19. The three areas recognised have been delimited on an entirely subjective basis. In creating these socio economic-units the author considered the distribution of each element described in the preceding pages. However particular stress was of necessity laid upon the distribution of the ratios of cattle and arable which were regarded as the prime indicators of agricultural activity.

The Scots, the Orkneymen and the half-breed offspring of the Orkneymen were the champions of agriculture in 1856. The ratios of cultivated land, farm implements and livestock per 100 people were especially high amongst this group and it is for this reason that the parishes of St. John and St. Paul in which they lived have been designated the "agricultural core". The "agricultural core" was in 1856 separated from that area termed the "hunting and fishing fringe" by an "intermediate area" which included the parishes of St. Andrew, St. Boniface, St. James and St. Charles. As is implied in the name, the economy of this area was intermediate in character between the two extremes of



the 'core' and the 'fringe'. It was settled by people of both British and of French extraction. The parishes of St. Andrew and of St. Boniface were undoubtedly more farm oriented than either the parishes of St. James or of St. Charles but neither of the two were in toto the equal of the 'core' parishes of St. John and St. Paul. In the "fringe" areas of St. François Xavier, St. Norbert de la Riviere Sale and St. Peter, hunting and fishing were the mainstay of the economy. The lowest ratios per 100 people were recorded here. The inhabitants of these parishes showed an interest in agriculture only in those years in which the hunt was particularly poor. They belonged to what can be described as Indian and French-Indian cultural traditions.

SUMMARY CONCLUSION

In 1856 there were 6,691 people living within the boundaries of the Red River Settlement. The majority were Rupertlanders, the youngest group and the least devoted of all to agriculture. Their numbers had increased rapidly from 1832 by natural reproduction, immigration and as a result of ethnic transfer. Ethnic transfer was mainly responsible for the marked growth of this group in the years following 1840, a period in which immigration would seem to have declined in volume and finally ceased. The Rupertlanders were divided in their language, religion and their evaluation of the virtues of the agricultural life. The English and Gaelic speaking Rupertlanders, born mostly of Orkney but occasionally of Sutherland Scots fathers, followed more closely the traditions of their fathers than they did those of their Indian mothers. They had higher ratios of cultivated acreage, farm implements and livestock than did those Rupertlanders born of Canadian fathers. French speaking and Catholic, these people lived within the boundaries of the parishes of St. Boniface, St. Charles, St. Norbert and St. Francois Xavier. With the exception of the inhabitants of what was now known as the parish of St. Francois Xavier but what had hitherto been known as Grantown, both French and English Rupertlanders showed a continued interest in agriculture. Among the Metis of Grantown interest in agriculture declined throughout the period. Agriculture was still too uncertain for them and it required long tedious hours spent

behind the plough. The Metis relied for sustenance upon the hunt which also provided the excitement they needed in their lives. In 1856 the Métis parishes of St. Francois Xavier and St. Norbert were part of a "hunting and fishing fringe" which also included the Indian parish of St. Peter. The attempts by the missionaries to make European farmers of the Cree and Saulteau had not been markedly successful. Representatives of both Cree and Saulteau had indeed become sedentary. However, the Roman Catholic mission station at Baie Saint Paul had been altogether abandoned by 1856 and the Indians of Cockran's Swampy Village possessed ratios more characteristic of the "hunting and fishing fringe" than of the "agricultural core".

Within what has designated as an area of intermediate participation in agriculture there lived the less farm-orientated Orkneymen, the English, the Irish, the Others and the Canadians. As a result of the lack of renewal from outside the settlement and because of the operation of the process of ethnic transfer, the number of Canadians had decreased between 1832 and 1856. The oldest group in the colony, the Canadians remained more interested in farming than did their children. The high ratios recorded in St. Boniface can be partly attributed to the interest in farming of the Canadians as a group but most especially to the particular interest of a few wealthy individuals. In 1856 the majority of the English, Irish and Other group lived in the parish of St. James. Their numbers had been considerably augmented by the arrival of the soldier-pensioners in 1848. These

ex-servicemen had neither experience of, nor any liking for farming and forming a sizeable minority of the population of St. James they served only to reduce the ratios of agricultural elements per 100 people in that parish.

The decrease in the number of Canadians throughout the period was paralleled by a similar decrease in the numerical strength of the Orcadians. They like the Canadians functioned as a "holding" group for the Rupertlanders. As their children matured and acquired property of their own, the Orkney component of the Scots/Orkney group diminished. In contrast the Sutherland Scots remained an ethnically homogenous group. Yet because of the operation of "ethnic transfer" among the Orcadians and because their numbers were further depleted by "emigrations of conscience" the Scots/Orcadian group showed little change in size throughout the period. In 1856 the Scots/Orcadians like the Canadians formed a small group in a settlement which was becoming increasingly half-breed. The Scots/Orcadian minority were however the true farmers of the settlement. This was more than simply a reflection of the fact that they were among the oldest settlers in the colony and might therefore be expected to have the largest herds and to till the larger acreages. As a group the Canadians were older and yet they showed little interest in farming. The Rupertlanders had undoubtedly had less time to build up their herds of animals but they might be expected to have made some efforts in this direction. As had been demonstrated many of the Rupertlanders lacked livestock altogether and tilled only

the smallest amounts of land! In contrast the Scots/Orkneymen had not only the highest ratios of cultivated land, farm implements and livestock of any group but almost every householder had some of these elements. It is for this reason that the area inhabited by the greater number of this group had been designated the "agricultural core" of the colony. At this time these Scots/Orcadian householders were the true custodians of the agricultural way of life in Western Canada.

A GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED

- CANADIAN This term includes not only the adult male householder born of Canadian parents but also the wife and children of the male adult householder, irrespective of their ethnic origin.
- ENGLISH The term includes not only the adult male householder born of English parents, or at least English father and a European mother, but also the wife and children of the male adult householder, irrespective of their ethnic origin.
- ETHNIC GROUP A collection of people possessed of similar cultural traits. The country of origin of the householder was in every case taken as the criterion of ethnics affiliation, even among those whose children were of mixed parentage.
- FAMILY A householder with or without dependents.
- HALF-BREED A householder of Indian and European parentage.
- IRISH The term includes not only the adult male householder, born of Irish parents, or at least an Irish father and a European mother but also the wife and children of the male adult householder, irrespective of their ethnic origins.
- MÉTIS A householder of Indian and European parentage.  
The term suggests a reluctance to till.
- OTHER A householder belonging to none of the major groups.  
The term includes the wife and children of the householder.

- RUPERTLANDER The term includes the wife and children of a householder with any degree of Indian blood.
- SCOT The term includes not only the adult male householder born of Scots parents but also his wife and children, irrespective of their ethnic origin.
- ORKNEYMAN The term includes not only the adult male householder born of Orkney parents but also the wife and children of the householder, irrespective of their ethnic origins.

## Appendix 1

### Summary Tabulation of Census Data

#### Red River Settlement, District of Assiniboia

Year	No. of Families	POPULATION										BUILDINGS			LIVESTOCK							EQUIPMENT					Cultivated Acreage			
		Men		Women		Sons		Daughters		Servants		Total	Houses	Shed	Barns	Horses	Cows	Cattle	Pigs	Birds	Wagons	Ploughs	Harrows	Carts	Trails	Trucks				
		Married	Un-married	Married	Un-married	Above 16	Under 16	Above 15	Under 15	M	F																			
1831	460	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,417	375	265	134	241	169	897	71	1,194	891	2,362	2,362	-	127	2-3	302	15	239	2,152
1832	502	418	108	452	91	120	753	74	765	-	-	2,751	445	365	168	279	198	1,141	81	1,538	676	2,483	2,483	-	212	284	372	17	352	2,631
1833	559	462	94	480	74	147	638	110	751	-	-	2,982	456	391	170	268	224	1,215	83	1,672	817	2,033	2,033	-	238	314	486	13	273	3,237½
1838	720	630	53	630	52	165	1,177	155	1,021	43	46	3,972	641	650	230	559	534	1,592	115	1,683	1,950	1,698	1,698	457	382	476	1,199	17	373	3,662½
1840	806	710	49	710	48	203	1,326	193	1,141	147	161	4,688	679	678	255	661	631	1,749	121	1,934	2,111	2,149	2,149	1,697	403	473	1,381	28	421	4,012
1843	870	780	44	780	47	403	1,324	452	1,253	-	-	5,143	730	924	295	821	749	2,307	107	2,207	1,580	1,976	1,976	3,569	429	550	1,077	23	410	5,003
1846	947	763	102	763	88	367	1,221	342	1,181	-	-	4,827	746	1,137	351	1,231	1,129	2,376	108	2,567	1,167	3,800	3,800	4,423	464	563	1,471	16	412	5,360½
1849	1,052	873	145	877	135	382	1,314	373	1,292	-	-	5,391	724	1,065	340	1,095	990	2,097	155	2,147	1,615	1,565	1,366	3,076	492	570	1,928	40	428	6,392½

The above table is the summation of data recorded for the following sub-areas:

- (a) Lower Settlement
- (b) Grantown
- (c) Saulteau Village
- (d) Indian Settlement
- (e) Swampy Village

Appendix 2

Sub-Area Census Data

Red River Settlement, District of Assinibolia

Year	No. of Families	POPULATION										INTELLIGENCE			LIVESTOCK							EQUIPMENT					Cultivated Acres		
		Men		Women		Sons		Daughters		Servants		Total	Horses	Stables	Ewms	Hogs	Cows	Calves	Pigs	Sheep	Ploughs	Harrows	Carts	Wheats	Cens				
		Married	Un-married	Married	Un-married	Above 16	Under 16	Above 15	Under 15	M	F																		
<b>(a) Lower Settlement</b>																													
1832	445	401	100	405	87	102	678	69	613	-	-	2,457	402	354	175	215	164	1,071	75	1,436	805	2,293	-	194	259	317	15	279	2,333
1833	492	405	81	433	66	122	723	102	652	-	-	2,561	393	350	164	222	131	1,170	77	1,520	726	1,770	-	219	287	413	13	243	2,647
1834	560	492	41	492	34	123	924	120	835	40	40	3,156	501	503	209	463	434	1,562	89	1,477	1,792	1,547	457	245	429	967	17	365	3,016
1840	589	522	37	522	32	158	1,005	151	860	123	123	3,579	519	534	241	471	493	1,421	101	1,660	1,876	1,942	1,888	365	426	1,078	26	517	3,521
1843	589	534	30	534	21	292	1,026	339	902	-	-	3,691	523	769	270	579	503	1,450	76	1,801	1,371	1,776	3,318	370	469	1,255	26	295	4,196
1846	651	524	73	524	65	273	893	260	653	-	-	3,465	543	893	312	629	822	2,016	78	2,221	983	3,490	4,065	401	491	1,007	14	233	4,820
1849	747	626	112	630	99	310	957	224	522	-	-	3,940	530	857	308	696	791	1,683	113	1,819	1,391	1,232	2,942	425	503	1,469	39	336	5,679
<b>(b) Brandon</b>																													
1832	57	47	8	47	4	16	75	5	92	-	-	294	41	31	13	64	34	70	6	102	73	150	-	18	25	55	2	33	298
1833	61	77	13	77	8	25	110	12	99	-	-	421	63	45	6	46	43	109	6	143	91	213	-	19	27	73	-	50	590
1834	89	83	5	83	6	36	150	25	135	3	1	527	85	87	20	155	86	192	26	168	109	143	9	31	42	227	-	43	841
1840	120	116	3	116	2	29	211	24	173	11	7	692	95	87	13	168	110	192	19	167	144	142	9	31	31	273	-	40	432
1843	146	138	4	138	6	55	226	60	214	-	-	841	111	111	18	264	132	203	20	186	125	141	159	36	47	339	-	49	555
1846	168	148	11	148	10	69	230	57	226	-	-	899	119	134	24	324	205	159	25	184	129	243	118	35	48	331	1	66	568
1849	169	147	13	147	12	50	243	60	242	-	-	914	117	122	21	343	176	211	33	194	131	125	129	36	40	394	-	42	526
<b>(c) Saulteau Village</b>																													
1840	25	16	4	16	5	5	23	3	19	4	3	58	13	11	-	17	15	24	1	24	17	8	-	2	4	20	-	11	2
1843	33	31	1	31	1	23	42	19	39	-	-	187	22	23	-	26	43	38	4	43	28	6	24	4	-	54	1	20	52
1846	27	19	2	19	4	6	16	8	21	-	-	95	12	13	-	65	38	25	3	17	8	5	5	2	2	48	-	14	114
1849	18	14	1	14	3	1	23	4	17	-	-	77	8	7	-	37	24	13	-	15	8	-	-	2	2	34	-	9	81
<b>(d) Indian Settlement</b>																													
1838	71	55	7	55	12	6	83	10	61	-	-	289	55	35	1	1	4	38	-	38	49	8	-	6	5	5	-	24	51
<b>(e) Smead Village</b>																													
1840	72	56	5	56	9	11	86	15	69	4	8	319	52	46	1	5	4	52	-	83	74	57	-	10	12	10	-	53	661
1843	102	77	9	77	16	33	90	34	93	-	-	424	69	21	7	12	11	146	9	176	56	73	63	19	20	29	1	46	207
1846	101	72	16	72	9	19	77	17	66	-	-	368	72	92	14	13	31	136	1	145	42	62	39	26	22	35	1	39	187
1849	118	86	19	86	21	21	91	25	111	-	-	460	79	79	13	16	35	19	9	117	85	7	25	29	26	31	1	41	279

APPENDIX 3

A Census of Red River taken on 20th May 1856 According to Parishes  
 Extracted from "Notes on the Routes from Lake Superior to the Red River, and on the  
 Settlement itself. Compiled from Reports by Captain Palliser, Professor Hind, and  
 Messrs. Dawson and Napier; with notes relating to the transport of troops etc. by  
 Colonel Crofton and Captain (now General Lefroy, R.A.) London, War Office 1870. Short Ref. WO33/21

1856 Name of Parish	Total No. of Families	Average Size of Family	18 - 20	20 - 30	30 - 40	A G E						Protestant	R. Catholics
						40 - 50	50 - 60	60 - 70	70 - 80	80 - 90	90 - 100		
St. James	68	6.2	-	8	10	23	23	4	-	-	-	39	29
St. John	81	7	-	7	19	20	15	11	9	-	-	77	4
St. Pauls	90	6.5	-	14	25	20	14	9	5	3	-	87	3
St. Andrews Upper	93	6.0	-	14	27	17	20	11	3	1	-	86	7
St. Andrew's Lower	121	5.4	-	26	37	24	17	11	4	2	-	120	1
St. Peter's	118	5.0	-	44	25	17	17	6	6	1	2	116	2
St. Francois Xavier	178	6.1	3	42	50	42	16	10	12	2	1	3	175
St. Charles	62	5.6	-	25	16	10	5	3	2	1	-	20	42
St. Norbert de la Riviere Salle	101	6.2	1	23	28	19	11	12	7	-	-	-	101
St. Boniface	183	5.8	1	45	48	29	25	19	10	5	1	5	178
Total 1856	1095		5	248	285	221	163	96	58	65	4	553	542

APPENDIX 3 CONTINUED

1856 Name of Parish	England	Ireland	Scotland	Canada	Norway	Rupert'sland	Switzerland	Men		Women		Sons		Daughters		Total
								M	S	M	S	+16	-16	+15	-15	
								St. James	16	10	6	7	-	29	-	
St. John	3	2	39	5	-	31	1	77	45	76	43	51	106	52	117	567
St. Pauls	9	1	29	-	1	50	-	76	26	77	23	50	146	39	148	585
St. Andrews Upper	2	-	23	4	-	64	-	87	17	88	20	50	114	36	142	554
St. Andrews Lower	7	-	16	-	-	98	-	106	29	106	36	57	143	41	135	653
St. Peter's	1	-	-	-	-	117	-	111	18	111	31	23	133	23	146	596
St. François- Xavier	-	-	1	25	-	152	-	161	32	161	41	101	283	84	283	1101
St. Charles	2	-	4	2	-	54	-	58	8	58	11	23	85	30	75	348
St. Norbert de la Riviere Salle	-	-	-	16	-	84	1	92	5	92	13	63	148	40	170	625
St. Boniface	-	-	1	33	-	149	-	167	31	175	49	95	274	183	274	1248
Total 1856	40	13	119	92	1	828	2	999	230	1010	285	536	1486	562	1583	6691

APPENDIX 3 CONTINUED

1856 Name of Parish	Houses	Stables	Barns	Horses	Oxen	Cattle	Pigs	Sheep	Ploughs	Harrows	Carts	Canoes	Boats	Cultivated Land in Acres	Windmills	Water Mills	Threshing Mills	Reaping Mills	Winnowing Mills	Carding Mills	Churches	Schools	Convents	Hospitals
St. James	70	92	31	172	192	495	360	16	37	35	175	22	10	574	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
St. John	93	149	57	337	504	1236	482	832	73	98	306	47	16	1183	7	1	2	1	5	-	2	3	-	-
St. Paul's	93	181	71	244	453	958	651	579	80	93	222	47	13	1381.5	3	2	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-
St. Andrews Upper	162	128	59	109	272	669	502	189	57	77	116	46	10	928	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-
St. Andrews Lower	104	151	63	161	349	675	694	65	67	99	145	50	1	717.25	2	1	2	-	1	-	-	2	-	-
St. Peter's	117	87	37	48	160	239	155	9	44	39	24	73	3	302.75	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-
St. Francois- Xavier	97	99	25	769	209	462	368	9	47	49	483	63	-	582	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	-	-
St. Charles	40	60	14	112	121	382	265	56	28	30	102	26	-	375	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-
St. Norbert de la Riviere Salle	83	96	9	213	169	518	443	6	49	55	186	62	-	502	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St. Boniface	134	148	43	516	577	975	1009	484	109	97	349	106	2	2261	1	2	3	-	-	1	1	4	1	1
Total 1856	933	1191	409	2681	3006	6609	4929	2245	590	672	2108	542	57	8806.5	17	9	8	2	6	1	11	18	1	1

## APPENDIX 4A

The numerical size of the component groups,  
Lower Settlement 1832-1849

Ethnic Group	1832	1838	1843	1849
Rupertlander	460			
Natives	343 914	1,446	1,886	2,032
Church Missions	111			
Canadians	703	846	831	768
Scots	240 545	258 670	721	744
Orkneyemen	305	412		
English	98	121	146	161
Irish	37	24	42	17
Miscellaneous	49	51	55	218
TOTAL	2,346	3,158	3,681	3,940

## APPENDIX 4B

The numerical size of the component groups,  
Grantown 1832-1849

Ethnic Group	1832	1838	1843	1849
Natives/Rupt.	194*	402	676	771
Canadians	88*	117	150	133
Miscellaneous	12*	8	15	10
TOTAL	294	527	841	914

N.B. \* Whilst the 1832 Census gave a return for the total population of Grantown and an indication of its ethnic composition it was not possible to determine the actual size of the group. The figures shown in the first column must therefore be treated cautiously. They are based on the assumption that the size of family was constant in each case.

## APPENDIX 5A

Contribution by Ethnic Group to the Population  
of the Lower Settlement 1832-1849

Ethnic Group	1832		1838		1843		1849		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
Rupertlanders	19.6	} 38.9	} 45.8	} 51.5	} 51.5				
Natives	14.6								
Roman Catholic and Protestant Missions	4.7								
Canadian		30.0	26.8		22.6	19.5			
Scots	10.2	} 23.2	8.2	} 21.2	8.2	} 18.9	18.9		
Orkney	13.0		13.0		10.7				
English		4.2	3.8		4.0	4.0			
Irish		1.6	0.8		1.1	0.4			
Miscellaneous		2.0	1.6		1.5	5.8*			

\* In 1849 the Miscellaneous group includes the soldier-pensioners who arrived in 1848.

## APPENDIX 5B

Contribution by Ethnic Group to the Population  
of Grantown 1832-1849

Ethnic Group	1832	1838	1843	1849
	%	%	%	%
Natives	65.9*	76.3	80.4	84.3
Canadians	29.8*	22.2	17.8	14.6
Miscellaneous	4.3*	1.5	1.8	1.0

\* N.B. The 1832 figures are speculative

## APPENDIX 6A

## Intercensal Change in Population

## Lower Settlement 1832-1849

Group	Percentage Change 1832-1838	Percentage Change 1838-1843	Percentage Change 1843-1849	Percentage Change 1832-1849
	%	%	%	%
Natives and Rupertlanders	58.2 inc.	27.6 inc.	7.7 inc.	122.3 inc.
Canadians	20.3 inc.	1.8 dec.	7.6 dec.	9.2 inc.
Scots/Orkneymen	22.9 inc.	7.6 inc.	3.2 inc.	36.5 inc.
English	23.5 inc.	20.7 inc.	10.2 inc.	64.3 inc.
Irish	35.1 inc.	75.0 inc.	59.5 dec.	5.4 dec.
Miscellaneous	4.1 inc.	7.8 inc.	16.7 inc.	34.7 inc.

## APPENDIX 6B

## Intercensal Change in Population

## Grantown 1832-1849

Group	Percentage Change 1832-1838	Percentage Change 1838-1843	Percentage Change 1843-1849	Percentage Change 1832-1849
	%	%	%	%
Natives and Rupertlanders	107.2 inc.*	68.2 inc.	14.0 inc.	297.4 inc.
Canadians	32.9 inc.*	28.2 inc.	11.3 dec.	51.1 inc.
Miscellaneous	33.3 dec.*	87.5 inc.	33.3 dec.	16.6 dec.

\* N.B. Figures are speculative

APPENDIX 7A

Religious Adherence by Ethnic Group at the Lower Settlement in 1832

Ethnic Group	No. Families Religion Reported	No. Roman Catholic Families Reported	No. Of Roman Catholics	No. Protestant Families Reported	No. of Protestants	Protestants as a Percentage of Total Group	Protestant Families as a Percentage of Total Families	Roman Catholics as a Percentage of Total Group	Roman Catholic Families as a Percentage of Total Families
Rupertlanders	96	15	53	81	407	88.4	85.5	11.6	15.6
Natives	65	54	285	11	58	16.9	16.9	83.1	83.1
Missions	2	1	55	1	56	51.5	50.0	49.5	50.0
Canadians	132	130	694	2	9	1.3	1.5	98.7	98.5
Scots	46	-	-	46	240	100	100	-	-
Orkney	51	-	-	51	305	100	100	-	-
English	15	-	-	15	98	100	-	-	-
Irish	6	6	37	-	-	-	-	100	100
Others	12	4	16	8	33	51.5	66.6	48.5	33.3

APPENDIX 7B

Religious Adherence by Ethnic Group at the Lower Settlement in 1838

Ethnic Group	No. Families Religion Reported	No. Roman Catholic Families Reported	No. of Roman Catholics	No. Protestant Families Reported	No. of Protestants	Protestants as a Percentage of Total Group	Protestant Families as a Percentage of Total Families	Roman Catholics as a Percentage of Total Group	Roman Catholic Families as a Percentage of Total Families
Rupertlanders	272	141	706	131	738	51.5	48.2	48.5	51.8
Canadians	148	146	837	2	9	1.1	1.4	98.9	98.6
Scots	44	-	-	44	258	100	100	-	-
Orkney	66	-	-	66	412	100	100	-	-
English	19	-	-	19	121	100	100	-	-
Irish	3	2	22	1	2	8.3	33.3	91.7	66.6
Others	8	5	30	3	21	41.2	37.5	58.8	62.5

N.B. After the Census of 1832 the term Rupertlander is used to describe half-breeds of both French and British heritages.

APPENDIX 7C

Religious Adherence by Ethnic Group, at the Lower Settlement in 1843

Ethnic Group	No. Families Religion Reported	No. Roman Catholic Families Reported	No. of Roman Catholics	No. Protestant Families Reported	No. of Protestants	Protestants as a Percentage of Total Group	Protestant Families as a Percentage of Total Families	Roman Catholics as a Percentage of Total Group	Roman Catholic Families as a Percentage of Total Families
Rupertlanders	322	161	904	161	983	52.1	50.0	47.9	50.0
Canadians	125	122	818	3	13	1.6	2.4	98.4	97.6
Scots	48	-	-	48	327	100	100	-	-
Orkney	61	-	-	61	394	100	100	-	-
English	21	-	-	21	146	100	100	-	-
Irish	5	3	29	2	13	31.0	40.0	69.0	60.0
Others	7	2	18	5	37	67.3	71.4	32.7	28.7

APPENDIX 7D

Religious Adherence by Ethnic Group, Lower Settlement in 1849

Ethnic Group	No. Families Religion Reported	No. Roman Catholic Families Reported	No. of Roman Catholics	No. Protestant Families Reported	No. of Protestants	Protestants as a Percentage of Total Group	Protestant Families as a Percentage of Total Families	Roman Catholics as a Percentage of Total Group	Roman Catholic Families as a Percentage of Total Families
Rupertlanders	398	159	808	239	1224	% 60.2	% 60.0	% 39.8	% 40.0
Canadians	134	134	768	-	-	-	-	100	100
Scots*	125			125	744	100	100	-	-
English	27	1	9	26	152	94.4	96.3	5.6	3.7
Irish	5	3	13	2	4	23.5	40.0	76.5	60.0
Others	58	20	69	38	149	68.4	65.5	31.6	35.5

\* N.B. In 1849 the term Scot included both Orkney men and Sutherland Scots.

## APPENDIX 8A

## Size of Family by Ethnic Group

Lower Settlement 1832-1849

Ethnic Group	Number of Families				Average Size of Family				
	1832	1833	1843	1849	1832	1838	1843	1849	
Rupertlanders	96								
Natives	65	163	272	322	398	5.6	5.3	5.8	5.0
Church Missions	2								
Canadians	132	148	125	134	5.3	5.7	6.6	5.7	
Scots	46	44	48	109	125	5.2	5.9	6.3	5.9
Orkney men	51	66	61			6.0	6.2	6.5	6.4
English	15		21	27	6.5	6.4	7.0	6.0	
Irish	6		5	5	6.2	8	8.4	3.0	
Miscellaneous	12		7	58	4.1	6.4	7.9	3.0	

## APPENDIX 8B

## Size of Family by Ethnic Group

Grantown 1832-1849

Ethnic Group	Number of Families				Average Size of Family			
	1832	1838	1843	1849	1832	1838	1843	1849
Rupertlanders and Natives	31	67	116	136	6.3	6.0	5.8	5.7
Canadians and Others	16	22	30	31	6.1	5.7	5.5	4.6

APPENDIX 9

Completeness of the Age Reporting of Male Adult Householders by Ethnic Group

Place	Ethnic Group	Year	No. of Heads of Family	No. of Heads of Family whose Age was Reported	Percentage Reported
Lower Settlement	Scots/Orkneymen	1832	97	97	100
		1838	110	110	100
		1843	109	109	100
		1849	125	119	95.2
	Canadians	1832	132	132	100
		1838	148	120	81
		1843	125	105	84
		1849	134	130	97
	Rupertlanders and Natives	1832	163	150	92
		1838	272	272	100
		1843	322	222	68.9
		1849	398	355	89.2
	English, Irish and Others	1832	33	33	100
		1838	30	29	96.6
		1843	33	28	84.8
		1849	90	86	95.6
Grant-Own	Total Population	1832	47	45	95.7
		1838	89	88	98.9
		1843	146	72	49.3
		1849	169	150	88.8
Swampy Village	Total Population	1832	nil	nil	nil
		1838	nil	nil	nil
		1843	102	nil	nil
		1849	117	71	60.7
Saulteau Village	Total Population	1832	nil	nil	nil
		1838	nil	nil	nil
		1843	33	32	97
		1849	18	10	55.6

SUMMARY TABULATION OF RETURNS ON DWELLINGS,  
LIVESTOCK, IMPLEMENTS AND CULTIVATED ACREAGE,  
BY SPECIFIED GROUPINGS

LOWER SETTLEMENT 1832 - 1849

Date	Houses	Stables	Barns	Horses	Oxen	Cattle	Pigs	Sheep	Ploughs	Harrows	Carts	Boats	Canoes	Cultivated Acreage
------	--------	---------	-------	--------	------	--------	------	-------	---------	---------	-------	-------	--------	--------------------

1. Scots/Orkneymen

1832	95	94	71	104	292	696	555	-	67	100	88	1	63	714.5
1838	132	172	94	205	442	1499	495	280	112	164	220	3	67	1234.0
1843	110	223	97	199	590	1168	425	1453	103	155	305	9	45	1319.0
1849	112	293	111	285	607	1307	313	1775	121	165	401	22	66	1647.0

2. English, Irish & Others

1832	29	23	15	29	89	173	202	-	21	19	39	4	25	270
1838	35	53	22	55	131	258	101	75	30	35	71	7	21	303
1843	35	68	26	71	178	267	115	327	32	42	102	10	20	444
1849	48	76	29	114	208	306	74	237	39	41	157	10	14	515

3. Canadians

* 1832	122	91	54	91	230	544	727	-	44	54	84	2	103	722.0
1838	132	121	40	244	359	688	-	41	88	102	296	1	101	676.5
1843	115	154	44	288	358	704	556	826	86	100	279	-	87	1001
1849	111	155	45	369	289	606	396	420	89	95	301	-	108	1293.5

4. Total Rupertlanders

* 1832	125	90	36	124	213	504	606	-	41	57	60	15	78	489
1838	200	162	53	403	430	913	483	61	115	122	379	6	117	802.5
1843	268	324	103	584	734	1107	660	612	149	172	569	7	143	1432.0
1849	259	333	115	679	580	1186	449	510	176	207	610	7	148	2174.5

5. Protestant Rupertlanders

* 1832	79	58	29	65	150	339	415	-	34	44	35	4	48	333.5
1838	94	82	41	151	226	555	262	59	64	77	143	6	54	493.0
1843	136	170	77	238	387	669	377	464	81	109	221	7	54	791.0
1849	158	217	92	359	388	828	303	427	112	137	327	7	73	1372.5

6. Roman Catholic Rupertlanders

* 1832	46	32	7	59	63	165	191	-	7	13	25	11	30	156.5
1838	106	80	12	252	204	358	221	2	51	45	236	-	63	309.5
1843	132	154	26	346	347	438	283	148	68	63	348	-	89	641.0
1849	101	116	23	320	192	358	146	83	64	70	283	-	75	802.0

\* Returns incomplete

## APPENDIX 11

Summary Tabulation of Returns on Dwellings, Livestock,  
Implements and Cultivated Acreage by Specified Groupings

Grantown 1832-1849

## 1. Canadians and Others

Date	Houses	Stables	Barns	Horses	Oxen	Cattle	Pigs	Sheep	Ploughs	Harrows	Carts	Canoes	Boats	Cultivated Land	
1832					Data Unavailable										
1838	22	28	13	49	75	132	79	-	13	19	64	-	15	403	
1843	26	30	17	59	85	102	50	51	15	22	73	-	20	232	
1849	24	33	6	66	43	117	55	38	2	13	66	-	16	156	

## 2. Rupertlanders

Date	Houses	Stables	Barns	Horses	Oxen	Cattle	Pigs	Sheep	Ploughs	Harrows	Carts	Canoes	Boats	Cultivated Land
1832					Data Unavailable									
1838	63	59	7	172	117	171	103	-	18	23	163	-	28	438
1843	83	80	10	267	177	208	84	108	21	25	261	1	29	323
1849	93	89	15	455	168	241	70	91	24	27	328	-	26	370

## APPENDIX 12A

AN ANALYSIS OF THE RATIO BETWEEN CENSUSELEMENTS AND SPECIFIED ETHNIC GROUPSLOWER SETTLEMENT 1832-1849

<u>Element</u>	<u>Ratio Per 100 Scots/Orkney Men</u>			
	<u>1832</u>	<u>1838</u>	<u>1843</u>	<u>1849</u>
Houses	17.4	19.7	15.2	15.0
Stables	17.2	25.6	30.9	39.3
Barns	13.0	14.0	13.4	14.9
Horses	19.0	30.6	27.6	38.3
Oxen	53.6	66.0	81.8	81.6
Cattle	127.7	223.7	162.0	175.7
Pigs	101.8	73.9	58.9	42.0
Sheep	-	41.8	201.5	238.6
Ploughs	12.29	16.7	14.3	16.3
Harrows	18.34	24.4	21.5	22.2
Carts	16.1	32.8	42.3	53.9
Boats	-	0.04	0.24	2.9
Canoes	11.5	10.0	6.2	8.9
Cultivated Land	131.1	184.1	183.9	221.4

## APPENDIX 12B

AN ANALYSIS OF THE RATIO BETWEEN SELECTED  
CENSUS ELEMENTS AND SPECIFIED ETHNIC GROUPS  
LOWER SETTLEMENT 1832-1849

Ratio Per 100 Canadians

<u>Element</u>	<u>1832</u>	<u>1838</u>	<u>1843</u>	<u>1849</u>
Houses	17.3	15.8	13.8	14.4
Stables	12.9	14.3	18.5	20.2
Barns	7.7	4.7	5.29	5.8
Horses	12.9	28.8	34.65	48.0
Oxen	32.7	42.4	43.08	37.6
Cattle	77.4	81.3	84.71	78.9
Pigs	103.4	57.6	66.9	51.6
Sheep	-	4.8	99.4	54.7
Ploughs	6.2	10.4	10.3	11.6
Harrowes	7.7	12.0	12.0	12.4
Carts	11.9	34.9	33.6	39.2
Boats	-	-	-	-
Canoes	14.6	11.9	10.5	14.0
Cultivated Land	102.7	179.9	120.4	168.4

## APPENDIX 12C

AN ANALYSIS OF THE RATIO BETWEEN SELECTED  
CENSUS ELEMENTS AND SPECIFIED ETHNIC GROUPS  
LOWER SETTLEMENT 1832-1849

<u>Element</u>	Ratio Per 100 Ruperlanders			
	<u>1832</u>	<u>1838</u>	<u>1843</u>	<u>1849</u>
Houses	13.7	13.8	14.2	12.7
Stables	9.8	11.2	17.2	16.4
Barns	3.9	3.7	5.4	5.6
Horses	13.5	27.9	31.0	33.4
Oxen	23.3	29.7	38.9	28.5
Cattle	55.1	63.1	58.7	58.4
Pigs	66.3	33.4	35.0	22.0
Sheep	-	4.2	32.4	25.0
Ploughs	4.48	7.9	7.9	8.7
Harrowes	6.23	8.4	9.1	10.2
Carts	6.6	26.2	30.1	30.0
Boats	1.6	-	-	-
Canoes	8.5	8.0	7.5	7.3
Cultivated Land	53.5	55.4	75.9	107.0

## APPENDIX 12D

AN ANALYSIS OF THE RATIO BETWEEN SELECTED  
CENSUS ELEMENTS AND SPECIFIED ETHNIC GROUPS  
LOWER SETTLEMENT 1832-1849

<u>Element</u>	<u>Ratio Per 100 Roman Catholic Rupertlanders</u>			
	<u>1832</u>	<u>1838</u>	<u>1843</u>	<u>1849</u>
Houses	13.0	15.0	14.6	12.5
Stables	8.6	11.3	17.0	14.3
Barns	2.0	1.7	2.9	2.8
Horses	16.8	35.7	38.3	39.6
Oxen	17.0	28.9	38.3	23.8
Cattle	45.0	50.7	48.4	44.3
Pigs	50.9	31.3	31.3	18.0
Sheep	-	.28	16.4	10.3
Ploughs	2.5	7.2	7.5	7.9
Harrows	3.8	6.4	7.0	8.7
Carts	7.1	33.4	38.5	35.0
Boats	2.79	-	-	-
Canoes	8.4	8.92	9.8	9.3
Cultivated Land	43.2	43.8	70.9	99.2

## APPENDIX 12E

AN ANALYSIS OF THE RATIO BETWEEN SELECTED  
CENSUS ELEMENTS AND SPECIFIED ETHNIC GROUPS  
LOWER SETTLEMENT 1832-1849

<u>Element</u>	Ratio Per 100 Protestant Rupertlanders			
	<u>1832</u>	<u>1838</u>	<u>1843</u>	<u>1849</u>
Houses	14.2	12.7	13.8	12.9
Stables	10.7	11.1	17.3	17.7
Barns	5.4	5.5	7.8	7.5
Horses	11.1	20.5	24.2	29.3
Oxen	28.0	30.3	39.4	31.7
Cattle	62.7	75.2	68.0	76.5
Pigs	77.9	35.5	38.3	24.7
Sheep	-	8.0	47.2	34.8
Ploughs	5.9	8.7	8.2	9.1
Harrows	8.0	10.4	11.0	11.2
Carts	6.1	18.57	22.5	26.7
Boats	-	.8	-	-
Canoes	8.6	7.3	5.5	6.0
Cultivated Land	61.3	66.8	80.5	112.0

## APPENDIX 12F

AN ANALYSIS OF THE RATIO BETWEEN SELECTED  
CENSUS ELEMENTS AND SPECIFIED ETHNIC GROUPS  
LOWER SETTLEMENT 1832-1849

Ratio Per 100 English, Irish and Others

<u>Element</u>	<u>1832</u>	<u>1838</u>	<u>1843</u>	<u>1849</u>
Houses	15.7	17.8	14.6	11.79
Stables	12.5	27.0	28.0	18.6
Barns	8.1	11.2	10.7	7.1
Horses	15.7	28.0	29.2	28.0
Oxen	48.4	66.8	73.2	51.1
Cattle	94.0	131.6	109.9	75.2
Pigs	109.8	51.5	47.3	18.2
Sheep	-	38.3	175.7	58.2
Ploughs	11.4	15.3	13.2	9.6
Harrows	10.3	17.8	17.3	10.0
Carts	21.2	35.7	42.0	38.6
Boats	2.2	4.0	4.1	2.4
Canoes	13.5	10.7	8.2	3.4
Cultivated Land	146.73	154.6	182.7	126.5

## APPENDIX 13A

AN ANALYSIS OF THE RATIO BETWEEN SELECTED  
CENSUS ELEMENTS AND SPECIFIED ETHNIC GROUPS  
GRANTOWN 1838-1849

<u>Element</u>	<u>Canadians and Others</u>			
	<u>1832</u>	<u>1838</u>	<u>1843</u>	<u>1849</u>
Houses	-	17.6	15.7	16.8
Stables	-	22.4	18.2	23.0
Barns	-	10.4	10.3	4.2
Horses	-	39.2	35.7	46.1
Oxen	-	60.0	51.5	30.0
Cattle	-	105.6	61.8	81.8
Pigs	-	63.2	30.3	38.5
Sheep	-	-	30.9	26.6
Ploughs	-	14.4	9.0	8.4
Harrows	-	15.2	13.3	9.0
Carts	-	51.2	50.3	46.1
Boats	-	-	-	-
Canoes	-	12.0	12.1	11.2
Cultivated Land	-	322.4	140.6	109.1

## APPENDIX 13B

AN ANALYSIS OF THE RATIO BETWEEN SELECTED  
CENSUS ELEMENTS AND SPECIFIED ETHNIC GROUPS  
GRANTOWN 1838-1849

<u>Element</u>	<u>Ratio Per 100 Rupertlanders</u>			
	<u>1832</u>	<u>1838</u>	<u>1843</u>	<u>1849</u>
Houses	-	15.7	12.3	12.0
Stables	-	14.7	11.8	11.5
Barns	-	1.7	1.5	1.9
Horses	-	42.8	39.5	59.0
Oxen	-	29.1	26.2	21.8
Cattle	-	42.5	30.8	31.2
Pigs	-	25.6	12.5	9.0
Sheep	-	44.8	16.0	11.8
Ploughs	-	5.7	3.1	3.1
Harrows	-	5.7	3.7	3.5
Carts	-	40.5	38.6	42.5
Boats	-	-	-	-
Canoes	-	7.0	4.2	3.4
Cultivated Land	-	108.9	47.8	48.0

## APPENDIX 14

RATIO OF CENSUS ELEMENTS PER ONE HUNDRED PEOPLESWAMPY AND SAULTEAU VILLAGES1838-1849

<u>Element</u>	<u>Swampy Village</u>			<u>Saulteau Village</u>	
	<u>1838</u>	<u>1843</u>	<u>1849</u>	<u>1843</u>	<u>1849</u>
Houses	19.0	15.9	17.2	11.7	10.4
Stables	12.1	4.8	17.2	12.3	9.1
Barns	-	1.6	3.9	-	1.3
Horses	1.7	5.3	11.0	36.18	66.2
Oxen	13.1	33.6	16.9	20.3	16.8
Cattle	30.1	55.5	45.9	40.1	29.9
Pigs	2.7	16.8	1.5	3.2	-
Sheep	-	15.7	5.4	12.8	-
Ploughs	2.0	4.4	6.3	2.1	2.6
Harrows	1.7	4.6	5.6	-	2.6
Carts	1.7	6.7	6.7	18.1	44.1
Boats	-	-	-	-	-
Canoes	8.3	10.6	8.9	10.7	11.7
Cultivated Land	1.9	46.0	49.8	27.8	11.0

## APPENDIX 15

A Ratio of Census Elements per 100 People

Red River Settlement - 1856

Parish	Houses	Stables	Barns	Horses	Oxen	Cattle	Pigs	Sheep	Ploughs	Harrows	Carts	Canoes	Boats	Cultivated Land
St. James	17	22	7	41	46	119	87	4	9	9	42	5	2	139
St. John	16	26	10	59	89	218	85	147	13	17	54	8	3	209
St. Paul	16	31	12	42	77	164	111	99	14	16	38	8	2	236
St. Andrew	22	23	10	22	51	111	99	21	10	15	22	8	1	136
St. Peter	20	15	6	8	27	40	26	1	7	7	4	12	1	51
St. Francois Xavier	9	9	2	15	19	42	33	1	4	4	44	6	-	53
St. Charles	14	17	4	32	35	110	76	16	8	9	29	7	-	108
St. Norbert	13	15	1	34	27	83	71	1	8	9	30	10	-	80
St. Boniface	11	12	3	41	46	78	81	39	9	8	28	8	-	181

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