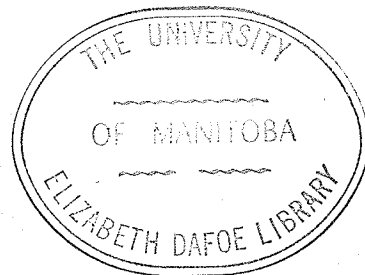


A HISTORICAL STUDY OF PUBLIC EDUCATION
IN WEST KILDONAN
TO 1959

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of Education
The University of Manitoba

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Education

by
Raymond Ronald Bailey
October 1966



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ABSTRACT

The study records the development to 1959 of education in the City of West Kildonan, a northern suburb of Metropolitan Winnipeg. West Kildonan occupies part of the area originally settled by Lord Selkirk's colonists in 1812.

To understand the education that emerged in the area, the story of the colony is traced from its earliest beginnings to its emergence as the Parish of Kildonan, an integral part of the whole Red River Settlement. With the formation of the Province of Manitoba, the history continues, and is confined to the west side of the Red River where the original river lots were laid out, and over whose boundaries West Kildonan now stretches.

The story of the emergence of the Municipality of West Kildonan is sketched until its present City status in 1962. The municipal history is particularly detailed in the year 1907, in the 1914 period when the Municipality was divided into East and West Kildonan, and in the period 1920-27. These periods had particular significance to the history of the educational system.

Some background is given of the relationship of the area to the province as a whole, and to the City of Winnipeg in particular.

The ethnic and religious origins of the district's population are indicated.

Against this background the educational development is recorded. Beginning with the first mention of schooling in the colony, under Francis Swords in 1813, the study continues to 1959. This 146 year period

is divided into five stages of growth. Educational foundations are laid from 1812 to 1870. The Rural School Era continues until 1900. From this time until 1923 an Era of Growth and Division ensues wherein West Kildonan emerges as a Suburb of Winnipeg. From 1924 to 1944 are Years of Economic Depression. The 1945 to 1959 period is characterized as The Booming Years.

In each of these periods the study traces the growth of the public educational institutions of the area, recording the personnel involved, and noting any unique features that evolved. The honours won by schools and individual scholars are recorded in some measure, as well as anecdotes of the time. Details of school operation are given in such areas as attendance, enrollment, inspection and finances. Consideration of teacher-trustee relationships are given, as well as the community's use of schools.

School District boundaries are outlined, and the factors involved with any major changes explored at some length. Maps of the area are included. There are many statistical tables involving finance, enrollment, pupil-teacher ratios, classroom distribution, cost-per-pupil, and other details. Photos are included of schools which were built and since altered, or demolished.

The educational history of Manitoba and of the Manitoba Teachers' Society are included to give clarity to West Kildonan development.

The material for the study came from various sources. Besides the standard histories of the Red River Settlement, the newspapers of the time provided periodic glances of the West Kildonan Schools. The records of the Department of Education were invaluable for teachers' names and enrollment statistics. The Auditors' Reports of the Municipality, and of

the School District supplied financial data. The most useful records for the period 1905 to 1959 were the Minutes of West Kildonan School District Number 8. These contained background information, discussion details, committee reports, letters written, correspondence received, summaries of teachers' salaries and other expenditures. Other School District records which were used included Classroom Registers, Ledgers, and Files. Personal interviews and reminiscences of early teachers and pupils are included.

The study records the development of education in the West Kildonan area until 1959.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people have given unstintingly of their time and assistance with this study. To all of them I would like to acknowledge my sincere appreciation. Especially I would like to give credit for the photographs:

West Kildonan School--Mr. C. Edwards
John Black School--Mrs. M. Margaron
Seven Oaks School--Mrs. G. Stewart
John Gunn School and pupils--Mr. A. Blatta
Governor Semple School and pupils--Mrs. A.E. Derham
Centennial School--Mrs. J.W. Baldock
Victory School--Mrs. N.G. Thomson

A special thank you is extended to Professor K. Wilson for his guidance and constructive criticism, to Mr. Julian Himick for his unselfish gift of time with the cartography, and to Mr. Glen Hansen for his cheerful cooperation in making the School District records accessible.

I would like to pay a special tribute to my wife, Joan, whose patient help and typing assistance have made this work possible.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The settlers brought by Lord Selkirk to Red River in 1811 were the forerunners of a flood of humanity which colonized the Canadian west. With settlement came education, first at Red River, and later throughout the prairie region. Evolving from that first colony, which gave educational beginnings to Western Canada, is the city of West Kildonan.

I. THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

It would seem appropriate that an attempt be made, after more than one hundred and fifty years have elapsed, to record, in part at least, the development of education in this area. Such is the purpose of this thesis: to make a historical study of education in the City of West Kildonan.

Such a study should show the democratic process at work, meeting the educational needs of the community. It should also trace the growth of the educational institutions of the area, recording the personnel involved in this growth and noting any unique features which developed. The honors won by schools and by individual scholars should also be recorded, as well as the anecdotes handed down over the years. Also to be considered is the impact of new educational developments on the West Kildonan schools, including those auxiliary educational organizations which grew alongside the public school system.

II. LOCALE

The locale of the study is that area of the original Red River Settlement known today as the City of West Kildonan, in the Province of Manitoba. Geographically, it may be described as a land area, more or less rectangular in size, and three square miles in area. It is bounded on the north by the Bergen cut-off, on the east by the Red River, on the south by the City of Winnipeg, and on the west by McPhillips Street.¹

The present population of West Kildonan is 20,902.² This is a small segment of the 485,120 people living within the boundary of the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg.³ The Metro area comprises seven cities, one town, and five suburban municipalities, clustered about the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers.⁴ This is the present-day development which has evolved since the thirty-nine members of Lord Selkirk's first party of indentured servants and colonists arrived on August 30, 1812.⁵ They came to attempt an agricultural life beside the mixed population of whites, Indians, and half-breeds which the fur trade had brought together at "The Forks."

¹Infra, map 1, p. 3.

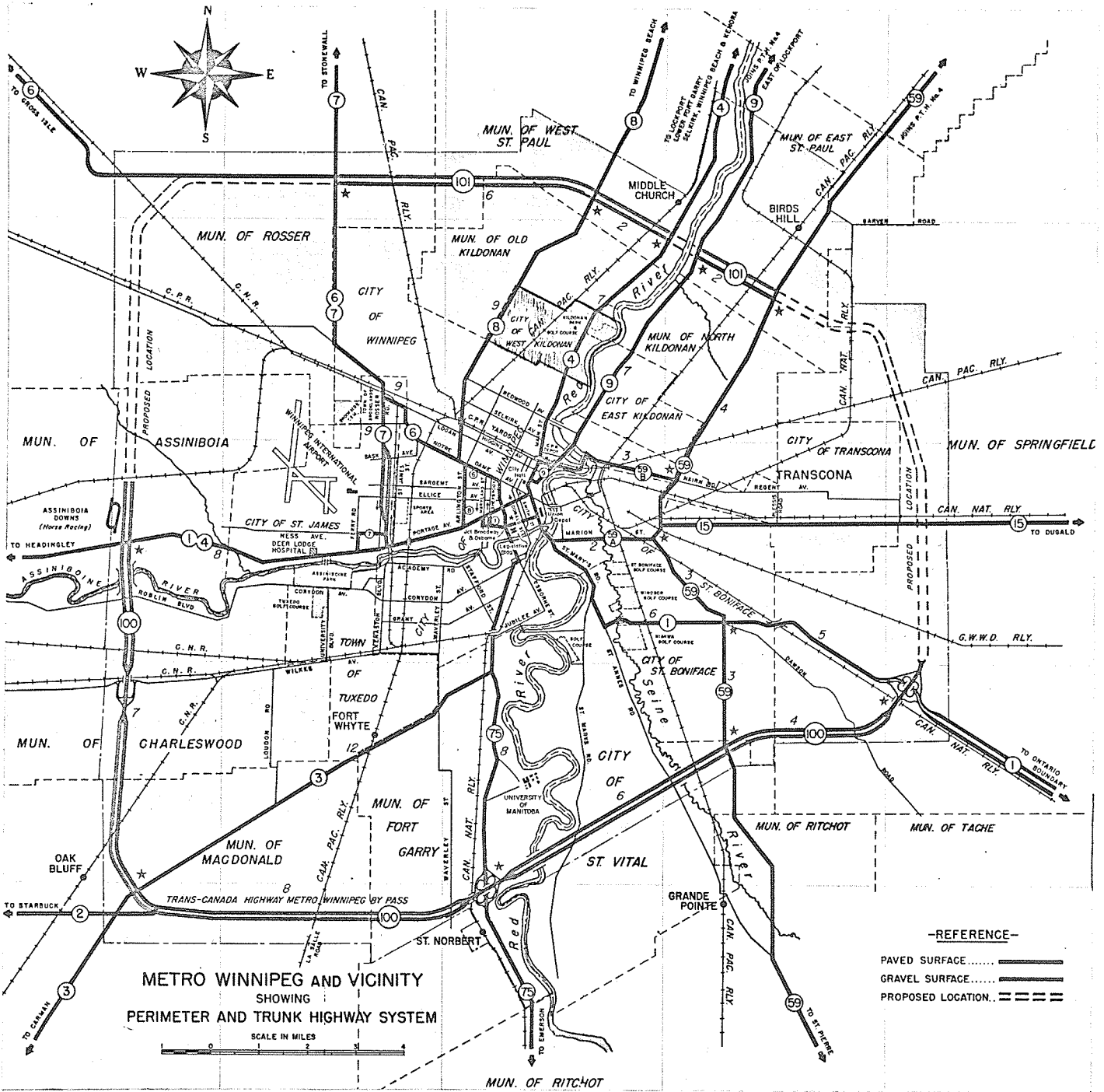
²Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, Census, May 31, 1964.

³Ibid.

⁴Appendix A, p. 502, lists the divisions, sizes and populations.

⁵Chester Martin, Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1916) p. 43.

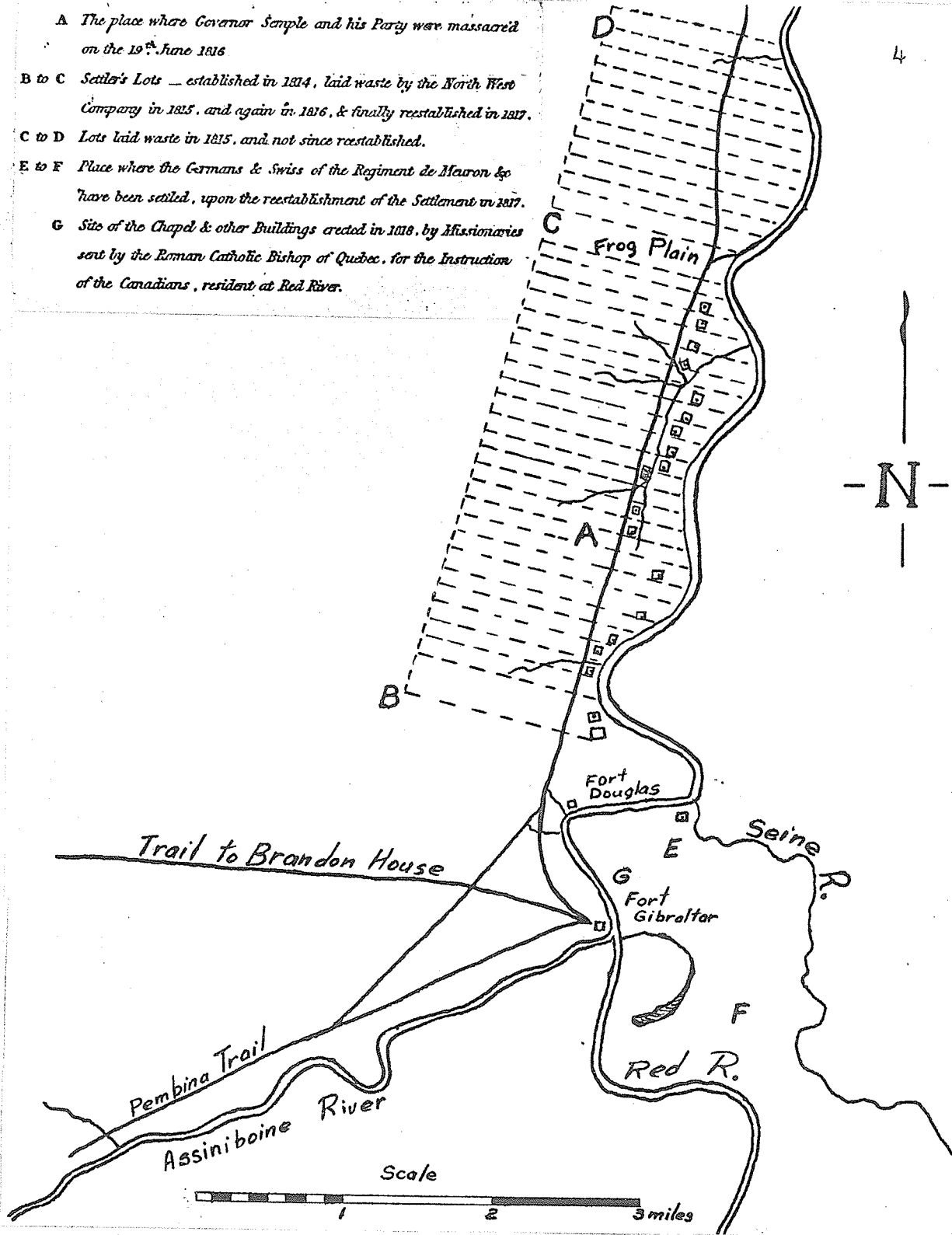
⁶"The Forks" was the popular name given to the area at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. Infra, map 2, p. 4.



MAP 1

PRESENT DAY WEST KILDONAN IN RELATIONSHIP TO METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG
(FROM OFFICIAL HIGHWAY MAP, PROVINCE OF MANITOBA, 1964-65)

- A The place where Governor Semple and his Party were massacred on the 19th June 1816
- B to C Settler's Lots — established in 1814, laid waste by the North West Company in 1815, and again in 1816, & finally reestablished in 1817.
- C to D Lots laid waste in 1815, and not since reestablished.
- E to F Place where the Germans & Swiss of the Regiment de Maaron & have been sciled, upon the reestablishment of the Settlement in 1817.
- G Site of the Chapel & other Buildings erected in 1818, by Missionaries sent by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec, for the Instruction of the Canadians, resident at Red River.



MAP 2

PLAN OF THE SETTLEMENT ON RED RIVER, JUNE, 1816
 (FROM ARCHER MARTIN, THE HUDSON'S BAY
 COMPANY'S LAND TENURES)

The Selkirk Settlers were in the main Scottish. Supported by the traditions of John Calvin, imbued with the ideals of Presbyterianism, and willing to endure untold hardships in the new land, they made excellent settlers. They came from a well established country to a virtual wilderness. In spite of this they prospered, maintaining their own identity in the colony and seeking at the earliest opportunity "to bring out a minister of their own faith and establish a school under their own jurisdiction."⁷ The earliest opportunity proved to be almost fifty years in the future, but such a school eventually was established. This is the school from which evolved education in West Kildonan.

⁷Margaret McWilliams, Manitoba Milestones. (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1928), pp.77-78.

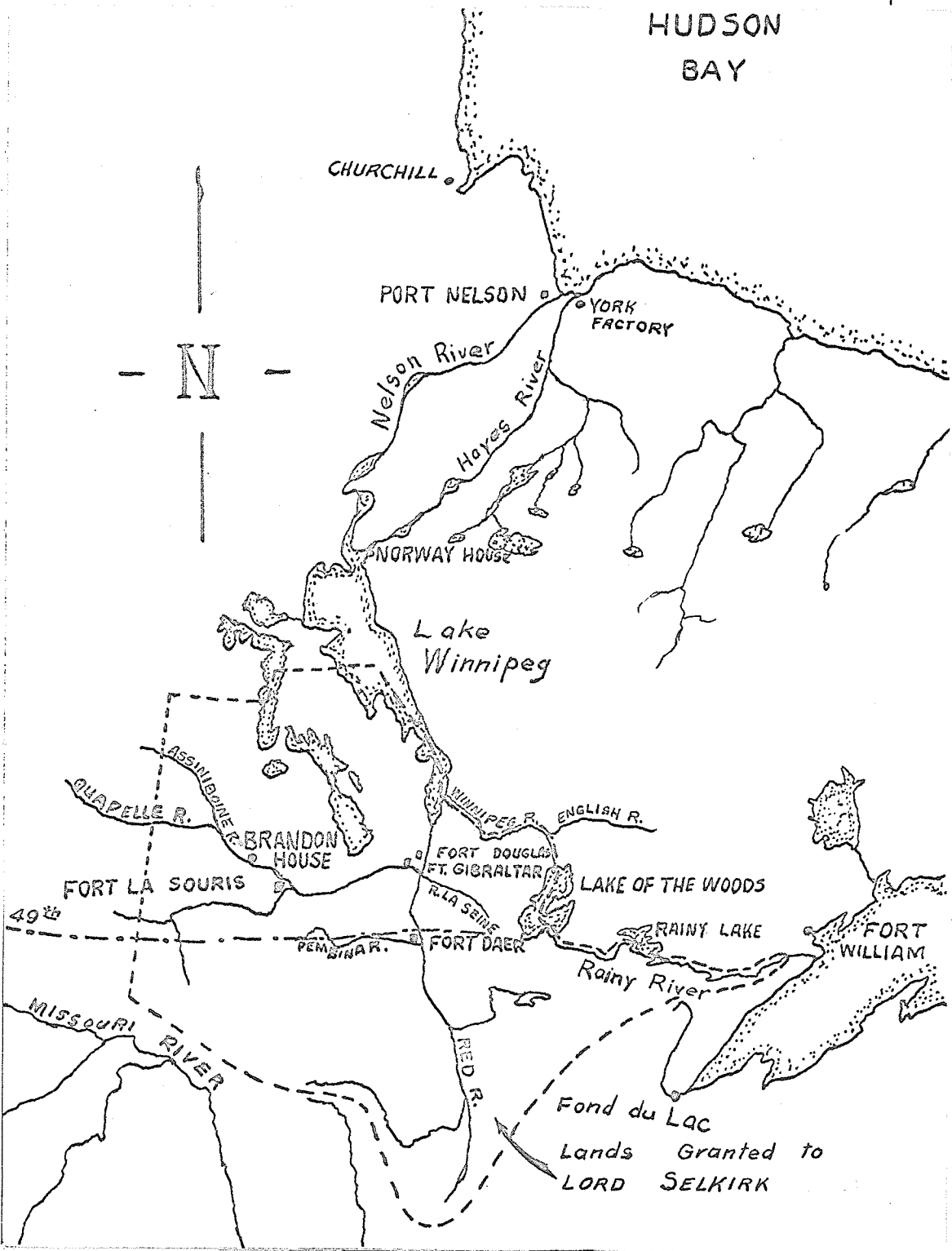
CHAPTER II

THE SELKIRK SETTLER HERITAGE

On June 13, 1811, the Hudson's Bay Company granted to Thomas Douglas, the fifth Earl of Selkirk, a tract of one hundred and sixteen thousand square miles of land located in what is now Manitoba, North Dakota and Minnesota. It was to be known as Assiniboia.¹ Lord Selkirk intended to use this land grant for colonization.²

¹"The northern boundary of the grant began at the height of land west of Superior, followed the canoe route by Rainy River and the Winnipeg River to Lake Winnipeg, swung up the lake to latitude fifty-two degrees and thirty minutes, ran west to the middle of Lake Winnipegosis and down to latitude fifty-two degrees and then west again to the head of the Assiniboine River. From that point, the western boundary followed longitude one hundred and two degrees and thirty minutes south to the height of land between the Souris and Missouri rivers. The southern boundary followed the height of land around the headwaters of the Red River and so back to the height of land west of Superior." W.L.Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 45. Infra, map 3, p. 7.

²The Hudson's Bay Company explained the origin of the colony to the Colonial Minister in England. Morton quotes the correspondence, "...the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, employed in the fur trade, have hitherto been fed with provisions exported from England. Of late years this expense has been so enormous, that it becomes very desirous of trying the practicability of raising provisions within the territory itself....It did not appear that agriculture would be carried on with sufficient care and attention by the servants in the immediate employ of the Company, but by establishing independent settlers, and giving them freehold tenures of land, the Company expected that they would obtain a certain supply of provisions at a moderate price. The Company also entertained the expectations of considerable eventual benefit from the improvement of their landed property by means of agricultural settlements.... With these views, the Company was induced in the year 1811 to dispose of a large tract of land to the Earl of Selkirk, in whose hands they trusted the experiment would be prosecuted with due attention, as the grant was made subject to adequate conditions of settlement." A.S.Morton, A History of the Canadian West (Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1939), p. 534.



MAP 3

ASSINIBOIA

The first settlers left Stornoway on July 16, 1811, under the leadership of Captain Miles Macdonell, as Governor.³ The lateness of the season forced them to winter near York Factory. On August 30, 1812, they reached their destination, landing just upstream from the large bend on the Red River, known today as Point Douglas. It was two miles downstream from the mouth of the Assiniboine River, where Fort Gibraltar, the North-West Company's fur trading post, was located.⁴ Other settlers arrived later that autumn.⁵ A third contingent of eighty-three, recruited mainly from among the evicted crofters of the Parish of Kildonan, in Sutherlandshire, arrived June 21, 1814.⁶ A later party of fifteen completed the 1814 migration.⁷ The last band of colonists came in October, 1815, with the new Governor, Robert Semple.⁸ These too were mainly settlers from Kildonan.⁹

The story of these colonists has been recorded by many Red River historians.¹⁰ The writer's interest lies with the Kildonan Scots from whom emerged the educational beginnings of this study.

³Selkirk sent Macdonell out with an advance party of servants, who were potential but not actual settlers, to prepare for the colonists of 1812. A.S.Morton, op. cit., p. 538.

⁴Supra, map 2, p. 4.

⁵W.L.Morton, op. cit., p. 45.

⁶Ibid., p. 50.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., p. 52.

⁹Louis Aubrey Wood, The Red River Colony (Vol. XXI of The Chronicles of Canada Series. Glasgow: Brook & Company, 1915), p.83.

¹⁰See Bibliography.

I. THE KILDONAN SCOTS

The Bannermans, Gunns, MacBeths, Mathesons, McKays, McLeods, McPhersons, Polsons, Sutherlands and others from Kildonan Parish became the backbone of the colony.¹¹ They had emigrated from Scotland after much hardship and then only through necessity.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century they were engaged in agriculture on small holdings in the Parish of Kildonan, Sutherlandshire. They were clansmen, Gaelic speaking and Presbyterian by faith. " It may well have been that their living was precarious and they were at times in want but they were satisfied to remain on their holdings and had shown no desire to emigrate in any considerable number."¹²

The impact of the industrial revolution, however, made land more valuable for sheep raising than for renting. The landlords began a series of evictions, or clearances, which drove the crofters from their holdings, and made the cleared lands available for sheep farms. The policy of wholesale clearances adopted by the first Duke of Sutherland became known as "The Sutherland Clearances", and was carried out according to

¹¹The name Kildonan seems to have its sources in the missionary work of the Irish or Celtic Church. Tradition has it that St. Donnan, Bishop and Abbot of the old Celtic Church, came over to Scotland about the end of the sixth century. He sent out missionaries from his cell on the Ulligh or Helmsdale River in Sutherlandshire. The name Kildonan apparently was derived from the name of this great Bishop known as St. Donnan or St. Donnan the Great. John C. Walker, "The Early History of the Presbyterian Church in Western Canada from the Earliest Times to the year 1881." (unpublished Doctoral thesis, The University of Edinburgh, 1928) , p. 1.

¹²Ibid., p. 3

the testimony of contemporary witnesses with unnecessary cruelty.¹³ McBeth, the son of one of the settlers, recalled, "I have often heard my father speak of the cruel evictions he witnessed as a boy, when whole families were turned out on the strath with their poor 'gear' to witness the burning of their dearly beloved, if humble, cabin."¹⁴

Evictions became so widespread in 1812 and the spring of 1813 that there was unrest and rioting in Sutherlandshire. A deputation representing the tenantry was sent to London "to seek from the Government some alleviation from unemployment and destitution."¹⁵ The Earl of Selkirk came in contact with this deputation, took up their cause and came to terms with them regarding settlement in Assiniboia. Selkirk found them " a fine race of men...determined on emigrating all in a body."¹⁶ Applications came from some seven hundred people.¹⁷ It was this group of hard pressed and distressed Highlanders who made up the third and fourth contingents, and became subsequently the mainstay of the Selkirk Settlement.

¹³Walker, op. cit., p. 4.

¹⁴R.G.McBeth, The Selkirk Settlers in Real Life (Toronto: William Briggs 1897) , p. 18.

¹⁵Martin, op. cit., p. 57.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 57, Martin citing Selkirk Papers, pp. 652-653.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 57, Martin citing Selkirk Papers, p. 661.

II. EARLY TURMOIL

The first Kildonan settlers who arrived at Red River were part of the 1814 contingent. After wintering at Churchill they proceeded in two groups, one party of eighty-three arriving on June 21, 1814, and a second of fourteen on September 2nd.¹⁸ The 1814 contingent brought the settlement's population to almost two hundred, most of whom had already taken up land.¹⁹ Their arrival coincided with the increasing hostility of the North-West Company.

The North-West Company had been irked by Macdonell's proclamation of January 4, 1814, forbidding the removal of any provisions raised or procured in Assiniboia. In it "the North-Westerners...saw...only an unscrupulous attempt to inflict a mortal blow upon the fur trade of their company."²⁰ The hostility of the buffalo hunters, on whom the settlers relied for winter provisions, was aroused by Macdonell's second proclamation of July 14, 1814, prohibiting the running of buffalo with horses. A lack of provisions at the Forks forced the settlers to spend the winter

¹⁸ During the voyage, the boat The Prince of Wales, was stricken with fever, and the Captain landed it at Fort Churchill rather than at York Factory. This delayed the party and necessitated their wintering at Churchill. A.S.Morton, op. cit., p. 554.

¹⁹ The hardiness of the settlers is indicated in Martin's description of their journey from Churchill. "By the end of March a party of settlers was ready with sledges, mocassins and snowshoes for the overland journey to York Factory....The strongest of the party went ahead with the sledges to beat the trail for the women. Midway through the long procession marched the highland piper." Martin, op. cit., p. 62.

²⁰ Martin, op. cit., p. 70.

at Fort Daer.²¹ There they found hostile buffalo hunters, and a lack of provisions. "A spirit of discontent was fomented among them by the agents of the North-West's leaders. They were told that Lord Selkirk had evil designs in sending them from Scotland."²² Each family was offered a free passage to Canada and two hundred acres of land there. "Three - fourths of the emigrants, thus influenced, abandoned the settlement and were conveyed to Upper Canada."²³ Thirteen families alone remained, and fled up Lake Winnipeg to Jack River.²⁴ At the Forks, the North-Westerners trampled the crops, burned the homes, and took Macdonnell to Montreal, a prisoner.

²¹ An establishment south of the Forks at the junction of the Red and Pembina Rivers where buffalo were usually plentiful.

²² Morton spells out these "evil designs" which were not of Lord Selkirk's making. "The sufferings of the new settlers throughout the winter were very great and brought disillusionment in their train. Cameron, the North-West leader, strutted...among the immigrants as an officer of the King...He impressed them as one having authority. He insinuated abroad doubts of the legality of the Hudson's Bay Company's Charter and Lord Selkirk's Grant, and consequently doubts of the value of titles to the lots taken up by the settlers. Worst of all, he created fears of merciless attacks from the Indians. Settlers came to him to make inquiries, and were told of the happy lot of immigrants in Upper Canada. They were offered a free passage in the North-West Company's canoes to that land of prosperity and ease. Many settlers accepted. Of course, Selkirk had no lien on them, save for such indebtedness as had been incurred for the passage and for goods supplied. That indebtedness, however, could be thrown off by flight to Canada. Then too, the contracts with the workmen who came out in 1812 were about to lapse. Here again Selkirk had no lien on the men save for indebtedness. His lordship places all the blame on Cameron. Legally the onus for default would lie on the colonists and servants. At most Cameron was but implicated in a conspiracy to defraud." A.S.Morton, op. cit., p. 569.

²³ William Gregg, Short History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada. Printed for the author, 1892. p. 26.

²⁴ Martin, op. cit., p. 87. The thirteen families comprised sixty people.

The dispersal of the settlers would have been disastrous for the colony had not two events occurred to counteract failure. One concerned a change in the Hudson's Bay Company's trading policy which had centred in London, and had been carried out, in the main, by English employees. Under the proposed changes the trade of the Hudson's Bay Company was re-centred to Montreal. From the new headquarters Canadian fur traders and French-Canadian voyageurs would compete with the North-West Company. Thus it was that Colin Robertson arrived at the Forks from Montreal with the newly organized spring brigades to Athabaska. He found the settlement abandoned and the settlers dispersed to Jack River.²⁵ "He brought the colonists back to their 'Land of Promise' lying waste: 19th August."²⁶ Also, he captured Duncan Cameron, the North-West leader, and Fort Gibraltar, their trading post.²⁷

The other event aiding the colony's restoration was the arrival of more settlers accompanied by a Governor of Rupert's Land, who was also to supervise the colony. Governor Semple and his party arrived in the autumn of 1815. "The settlers, chiefly from Sutherlandshire, were of the race that had attracted Selkirk by their thrift."²⁸ Prospects looked more

²⁵Abandoned except for John McLeod, a settler, and three Hudson's Bay men, who remained to guard the stores and to tend the crops which had not been destroyed.

²⁶A.S.Morton, op.cit., p. 572.

²⁷Duncan Cameron was subsequently released and the Fort returned upon the solemn promise of the North-Westerns to cease attacking or inducing the settlers.

²⁸Martin, op.cit., p. 96.

encouraging the day Semple and his party arrived.

Despite the misfortune of three winters and the 'expulsion of 1815' the settlement had probably never known such a day of rejoicing. A prolific harvest of wheat dispelled all danger of privation for the ensuing winter.²⁹ Buffaloes were never so plentiful.³⁰

"The colors were hoisted", wrote Semple, "the guns were fired, at night we laughed and drank and danced, and now the serious calculations of the Colony commence."³¹

The bright prospects of the autumn soon took on a sombre hue. Though the winter of 1816 was mild, groups of settlers were sent to Fort Daer to assist in obtaining provisions.³² The Hudson's Bay Company's servants were occupied with rebuilding Fort Douglas. The employees of the North-West Company were not idle. Plans were made to arouse the half-breeds to attack the colony,³³ and these efforts culminated on June 19. A mounted party of sixty half-breeds led by Cuthbert Grant, a North-West clerk, passed close to the settlement en route from the Assiniboine

²⁹Fifteen hundred bushels were harvested due to Hugh McLean's efforts. Wood, op. cit., p. 82.

³⁰Martin, op.cit., p. 98.

³¹Ibid. Martin citing Selkirk Papers, Semple to Selkirk, December 20, 1815, p. 2721.

³²A.S.Morton, op. cit., p. 573.

³³The North-Westerners were planning action against the Hudson's Bay Company not only at Red River, but throughout the Western territory. To prevent the North-Westerners from fortifying themselves at Fort Gibraltar, in full command of the river, Semple ordered the Fort demolished. Martin, op. cit., pp. 107-108.

River to Frog Plain. Governor Semple with twenty men set out to investigate Cuthbert's party, and encountered it three-quarters of a mile down the Settlement Road at a spot known as Seven Oaks.³⁴ History records the episode as the massacre of Seven Oaks.³⁵ Governor Semple, four officers and fourteen men were killed.³⁶ Only one of Grant's men fell in the engagement.³⁷ Subsequently the North-Westerns took possession of Fort Douglas, and by June 22, 1816, the settlers in despair and bereavement were en route again to Lake Winnipeg.

During this same summer Lord Selkirk was in Eastern Canada preparing to visit the colony, and devising a plan which would afford protection and reinforcement to it.³⁹ To effect this, he induced officers and men of

³⁴A.S.Morton, op. cit., p. 576. ³⁵Ibid., p. 577. ³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Martin, op. cit., p. 112. ³⁸Ibid., p. 113.

³⁹"While the Battle of Seven Oaks was taking place Lord Selkirk was proceeding westward to their assistance...from Montreal. He had arrived in Canada in the autumn of 1815 to organize the forces of the Hudson's Bay Company and to try to safeguard the Colony. He learned of the Nor'Westers through the letters brought by Lagimoniere. He sent this hardy voyageur back with word that he would come out to Red River himself in the spring of 1816 with enough strength to protect the Colony. This message did not reach the Settlement....Selkirk asked the Canadian Governor, Sir Gordon Drummond, for a troop of soldiers to be stationed in the Colony. This was refused, but he was permitted to recruit a body of soldiers at his own expense. Eighty De Meurons with four of their officers, twenty of the De Wattville Regiment and a few Glengarry Fencibles entered his service. They were to be paid for their trip to Red River and given land on their arrival. If they did not wish to remain they were to have free passage back to Europe. Before Selkirk set out, the Governor granted him a personal bodyguard of seven regular soldiers of the 37th Regiment." A.E.Brown (comp.) "A Brief Chronology of Events Relative to Lord Selkirk's Settlement at Red River - 1811 to 1834", Manitoba Pageant, Vol. 9. No. 1, (Sept. 1963) p. 13f.

the disbanded De Meurons Regiment to accompany him to Red River. Events were to delay his arrival for a full year.⁴⁰

III. STABILITY

In January 1817 an advance party of Selkirk's veterans recaptured Fort Daer and Fort Douglas from the North-Westerns.⁴¹ The authority of Selkirk and the Hudson's Bay Company in Assiniboia was again established.⁴² The expelled settlers, heartened by the news of Selkirk's impending visit, returned from Jack River and began to re-establish themselves at the Forks.

Lord Selkirk arrived at Red River on June 21, and at once gave direction and supervision to the twice-disrupted settlement.⁴³ His attention to the affairs of the colony was marked by a wisdom and a generosity which survived in narrative and tradition for over a century.⁴⁴

⁴⁰On learning of the Seven Oaks massacre, Lord Selkirk proceeded to Fort William, the North-West Company's headquarters. He seized the Fort, released some Hudson's Bay men, and discovered incriminating documents relating to the actions of the North-West Company against the colony. The Fort William diversion had led to a shortage of provisions for his large force of De Meurons, so they wintered at Fort William. Martin, op. cit., pp. 113-132.

⁴¹This was accomplished by Miles Macdonell and Captain D'Orsonnes of the De Meurons. Macdonell, who had been a prisoner of the North-Westerns, was released at Lord Selkirk's instigation.

⁴²Martin, op. cit., p. 127.

⁴³John Perry Pritchett, The Red River Valley 1811-1849 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942) p. 196.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 196. See also Martin, op. cit., p. 133.

He first allotted land to those soldier-settlers who wished to remain at Red River. Their lots, at Point Douglas and along the Seine River, were conveniently located from Fort Douglas for attack or defence.⁴⁵ A road was surveyed from the farms at Point Douglas to the outer prairie where common rights to pasture and hay were enjoyed.

The De Meurons established, Selkirk next turned his attention to the other colonists. These were the settlers from the various parties who had remained despite the trials and tribulations of nature and the North-West company.⁴⁶ These Kildonan Scots were reinstated on their river

⁴⁵Pritchett, op. cit., p. 196.

⁴⁶After the troubles of 1816 a petition had been sent by the colonists to the Prince Regent asking for troops and protection. The signatures were:

Donald Livingston	John McBeath	William Bannerman, jun.
George McBeath	John Sutherland	Roderick MacKay
Angus Matheson	Alex. McBeath	Christia Gunn (widow)
Alex. Sutherland	John Bannerman	Alex. McKay
George Ross	George MacKay	William Sutherland
Alex. Murray	Alexander Polson	Alex. Sutherland, sen.
James Murray	Hugh Polson	Ebenezer Sutherland
John Farquharson	Robert McBeath	Donald Bannerman
John McLean	James Sutherland	Hugh McLean
Alex. McLean	James Sutherland	George Bannerman
George Adams	William Bannerman	Donald Sutherland
Martin Jordan	Donald MacKay	Beth Beathon
Robert McKay	John Flett	John Matheson
William McKay	John Bruce	George Sutherland
Alex. Matheson	Robert MacKay	Margaret McLean (widow)

These were the Kildonan settlers whom Lord Selkirk saw on his visit in 1817. The petition is found in Archer Martin's The Hudson's Bay Company's Land Tenures (London: William Clowes and Sons Limited, 1898), Appendix F, p. 189.

lots.⁴⁷ To those who had lost everything in the recent upheavals, Lord Selkirk granted the land free " on condition they paid their indebtedness for goods and provisions as soon as they should be able."⁴⁸ The others could have one hundred acre tracts for five shillings per acre

⁴⁷The first formal land survey in the colony was made in 1813 by Peter Fidler, a Hudson's Bay Company trader and surveyor, on the west bank of the Red River. A.S.Morton, op. cit., p. 553.

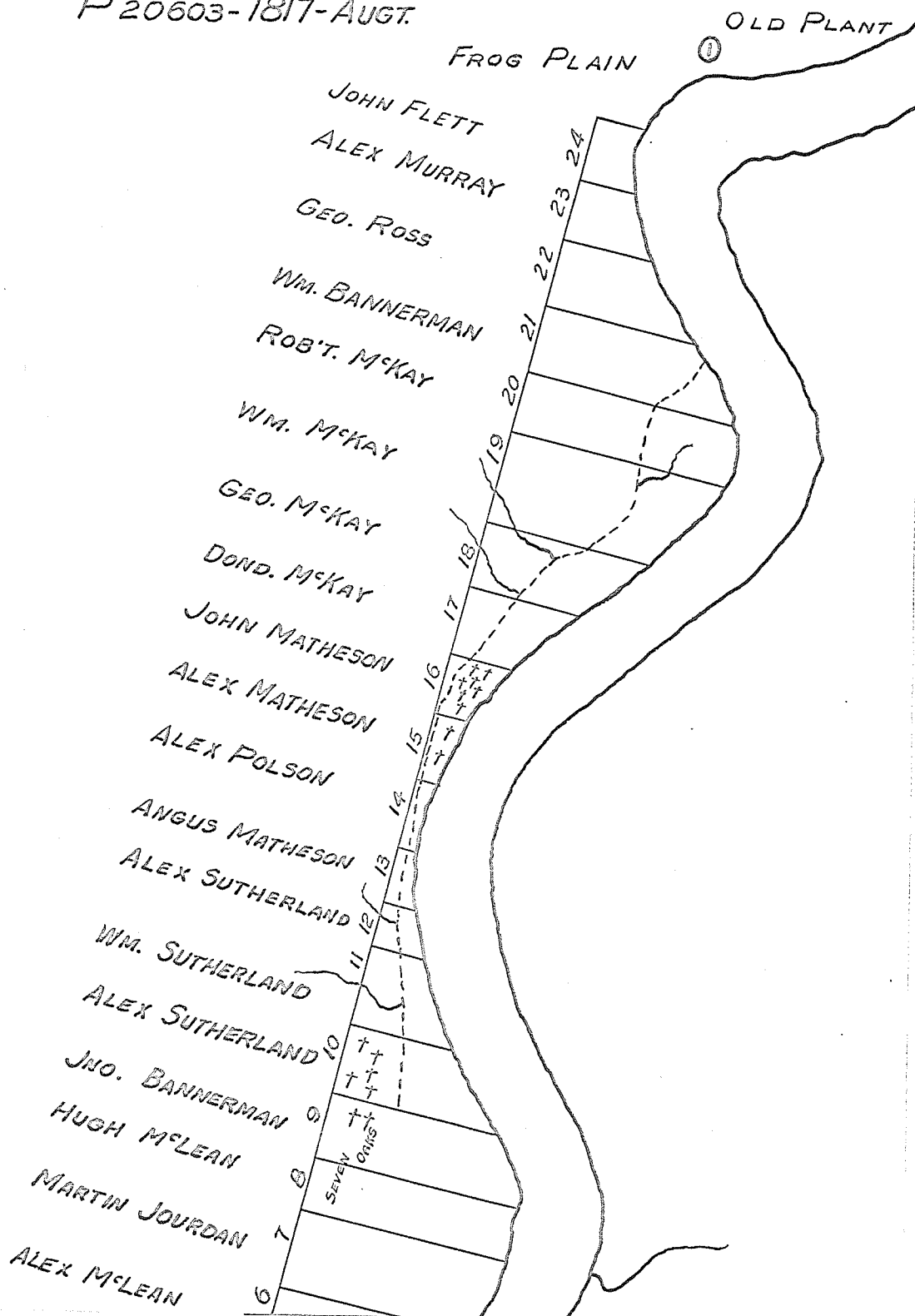
The site of the colony lent itself to the river front pattern and the two rivers became the bases for the land division. The river lot system in Lower Canada was familiar to Miles Macdonell, the first governor, and it became a model for the survey made by Fidler. Lord Selkirk, concerned about the defense of the colony, had recommended a nucleated type of settlement in his initial instructions to Macdonell in 1811. (P.A. M. Selkirk Papers, microfilm copy. Instructions to Miles Macdonell, 1811: 180) This type of settlement pattern was never established and the river lot pattern prevailed. Generally speaking the lots had a 660 feet (ten chains) frontage on the river, and extended westward a mile and a quarter. John Warkentin, "Manitoba Settlement Patterns" (paper read before the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society, Series III, No. 16) pp. 16f.

Fidler's survey is described in a document written by Lord Selkirk at the time of his distribution of these lots. (August, 1817)

"The lots ...'are laid out along a line run by Mr. Fidler in the direction North 12° East, or thereby, from Fort Douglas:' which fort was, at the time, situate on the south side or head of the point; and lot No. 24 ending at Frog Plain. Each lot has a front of 10 chains, or 220 yards, a little more or less, along the said main line, except lot No. 12, which has only five chains. The division lines between the lots are at right angles to the main line, and are marked off towards the river by lines of stakes. Each lot is to extend to the distance of 90 chains, or 1980 yards back from the river, so as to contain 90 English statute acres, besides which, each lot is to have a separate piece of wood-land, containing 10 statute acres, to be laid off on the east side of the river, at any place which the Earl of Selkirk or his agent shall consider as most suitable for the purpose. These 10 acres are to be preserved by the occupier as wood-land, and not to be used for any other purpose." Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, Inc., 1957) p. 43. Infra, map 4, p. 19.

⁴⁸A.S.Morton, op. cit., p. 592. In all twenty-four of these free grants were made.

PLAN SETTLERS LOTS SCOTS
P 20603-1817-AUGT.



MAP 4

PLAN OF SETTLERS' LOTS, AUGUST, 1817 (REDUCED FROM AN ORIGINAL IN SELKIRK PAPERS P. 20603 P.A.M.)

payable in produce. Lots number three and four of Fidler's survey were selected as sites for a future school and church. During a meeting in August, when he gave away the twenty-four farms, Selkirk stated,

This lot on which we are met today, shall be for your church and manse; the next lot on the south side of the creek [Parsonage Creek] shall be for your school and for a help to support your teacher, and in commemoration of your native parish it shall be called Kildonan.⁴⁹

The same name he had already given to the colony.

A variety of matters pertaining to the settlement were disposed of by Lord Selkirk that summer. "Public roads, byroads, bridges, mill-seats and other important points were settled."⁵⁰ An experimental farm was planned. A treaty with the Indians was concluded to avoid the possibility of future quarrels over land ownership.⁵¹ "Having thus restored order, infused confidence in the people and given a certain aim to their activity, Lord Selkirk took his final leave of the colony."⁵²

Never again were the settlers uprooted from their land. Although the years of 1818, 1819, 1826 and 1852 brought grasshopper plagues and floods, the colonists became permanently entrenched on their river lots, raising their families, and establishing their churches and schools. The Kildonan Scots had achieved stability in their new homeland.

⁴⁹Pritchett, op. cit., p. 197. The Church lot is where St. John's Cathedral now stands; the School lot is St. John's Park to the south.

⁵⁰Alexander Begg, History of the North West (Toronto: Hunter Rose and Co., 1894) Vol. I, p. 189. See also Ross, op. cit., p. 45.

⁵¹Pritchett, op. cit., p. 198.

⁵²Ross, loc. cit.

IV. SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The 1818 census of the Red River Settlement showed "151 Scotch in 20 houses, 45 De Meurons in 31 houses, 26 French-Canadians in 6 houses, making a total of 222 souls in 57 houses."⁵³ Not included was a number of former Hudson's Bay men who settled with their native wives among the half-breeds some sixteen miles up the Assiniboine at the White Horse Plains.⁵⁴ These figures do not include the French-Canadian settlers who arrived that year. They took up land on the east side of the Red near its junction with the Seine River.⁵⁵ Selkirk granted them twenty square miles. With their arrival the Forks began to assume the settlement pattern it was to have in later years.⁵⁶

The union of the two rival fur companies in 1821 furthered this development. As a result of the amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company, a number of traders and employees were discharged or pensioned. Some of these took up land north of the Kildonan lots beyond Frog Plain. With the continued retirement of Hudson's Bay men, and the arrival of unsponsored immigrants, land was occupied above and below the original lots, and also along the Assiniboine River.

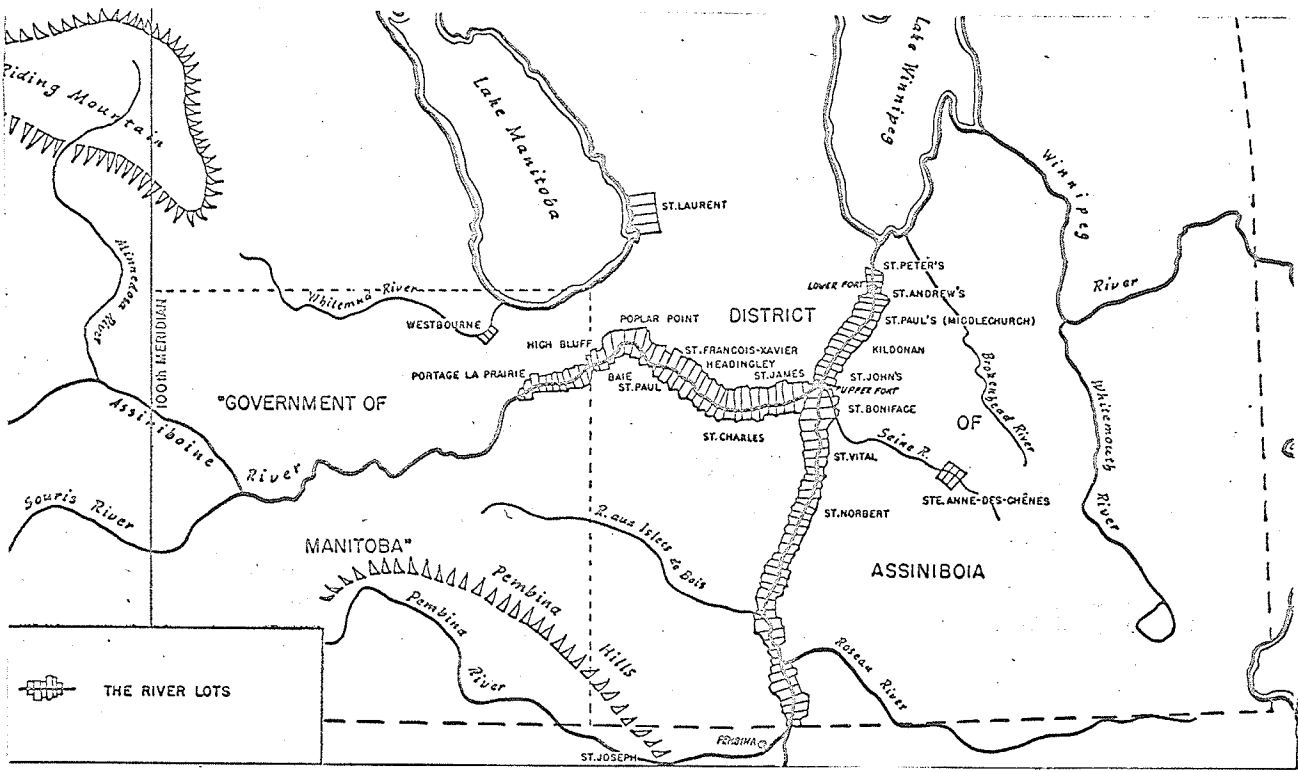
There had been some anticipation of this likely settlement. In 1836, soon after the Hudson's Bay Company re-purchased Assiniboia from

⁵³A.S.Morton, op. cit., p. 645.

⁵⁴First known as Grantown, later as St. Francois Xavier.

⁵⁵The settlement took the name of the Parish of St. Boniface. Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission: Report and Recommendations. (Hereafter cited as G.W.I.C.) (Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1959) Volume I, p. 85.

⁵⁶Infra, map 5, p. 22



MAP 5

THE EXTENT OF SETTLEMENT, 1811-1869

Lord Selkirk's estate,⁵⁷ a systematic survey was made of the settled districts, and those districts most likely to be occupied in the near future.⁵⁸ The river lots laid out by this survey resembled the infield-outfield system of Scotland.⁵⁹ Ownership of these lots was verified in a later survey.⁶⁰ This was the Federal Government's Survey ordered in 1869.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Lord Selkirk died in 1820 in France. His battles with the North-West Company in the courts of Canada had been a financial and physical drain. His heirs continued their interest in the settlement until it was sold to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1836.

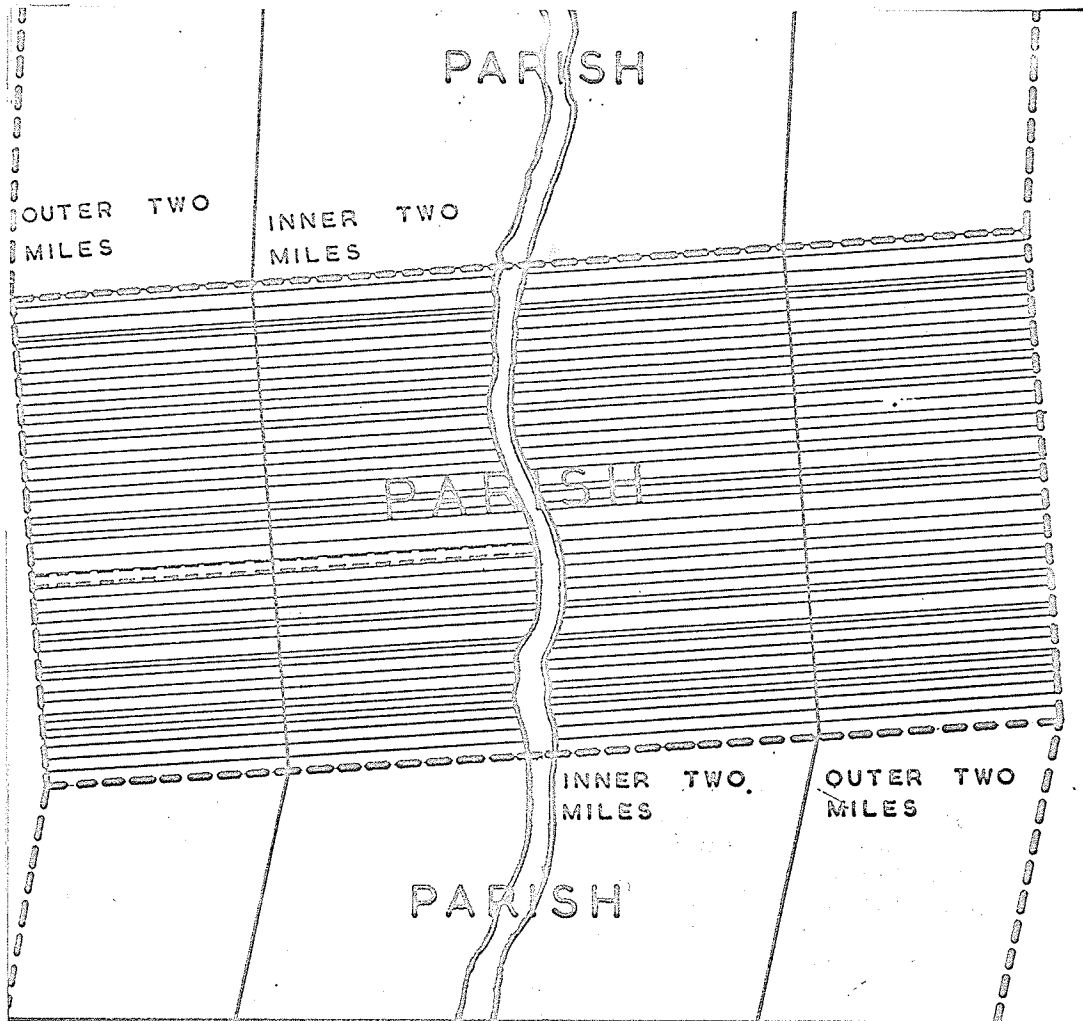
⁵⁸ This survey, later referred to as the Old Settlement Belt Survey, conformed to local practice and the pattern of settlement already in existence. Base lines were set up parallel to the general direction of the river, approximately two miles from each bank; the width of each individual lot was marked off on the base line and the side boundary lines were established by running lines perpendicular from the base line to the river. Lots were generally twelve chains in width and approximately two miles in length, the exact length being dependant in each case on whether the river curved inward or outward. Infra, map 6, p. 24. The original base lines lay out along the Red River and survive today as roads; that on the west side of the river is now McPhillips Street, or Highway # 8; that on the east side is Bird's Hill Road, or Highway # 59. Infra, map 7, p. 25.

Each lot owner was granted hay and wood cutting rights in the "outer two miles", i.e. in a rectangular area two miles long adjoining his inner lot. Each lot thus had a total length of four miles. The half closer to the river was to be used for agricultural purposes, and the other half as a source of wood and hay. G.W.I.C., p. 70.

⁵⁹ W.L.Morton, op. cit., p. 48.

⁶⁰ The inhabitants of the Red River Settlement who were occupying lands granted them by Lord Selkirk or the Hudson's Bay Company had their ownership confirmed by grant of the crown. G.W.I.C., p. 74.

⁶¹ The extent of the area which had been settled in 1869, the year prior to the creation of the Province of Manitoba, may be seen infra, map 8. p. 26.

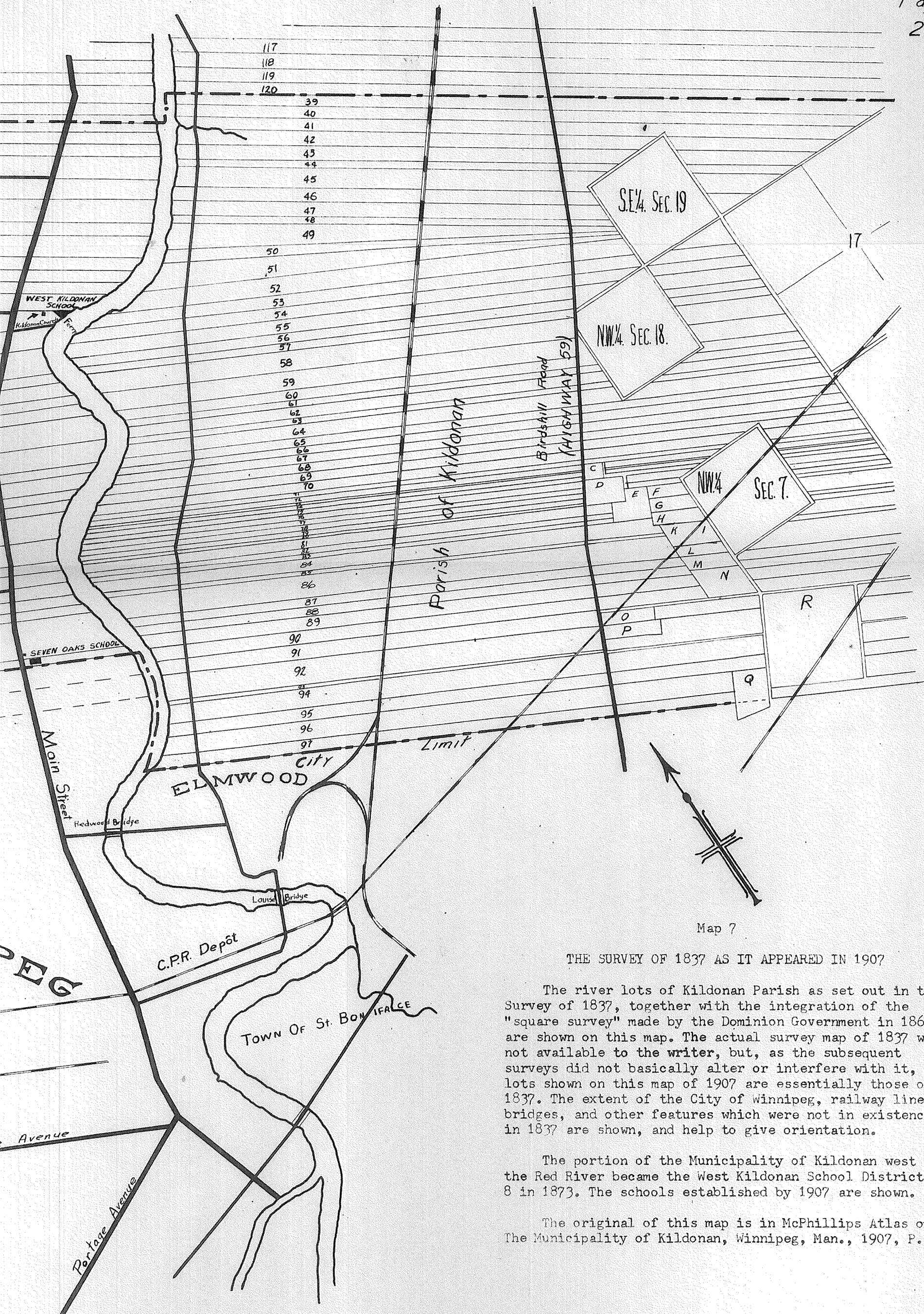


A SKETCH SHOWING
PARISHES AND RIVER LOTS

==== TYPICAL LOT · 12 CHAINS (792 FEET) WIDE · 4 MILES LONG
--- BOUNDARIES OF PARISHES

MAP 6

FROM G.W.I.C. p. 71.



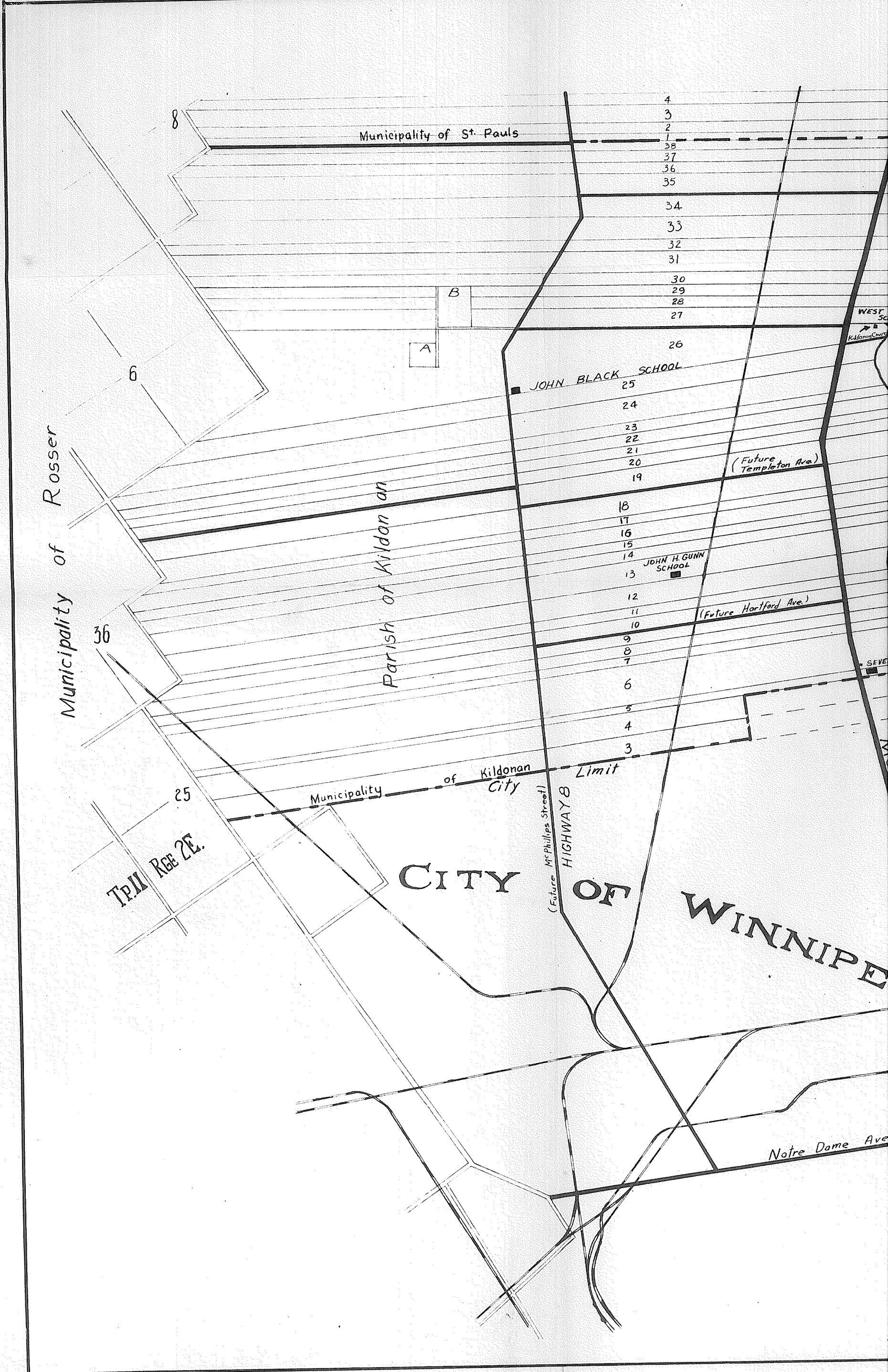
Map 7

THE SURVEY OF 1837 AS IT APPEARED IN 1907

The river lots of Kildonan Parish as set out in the Survey of 1837, together with the integration of the "square survey" made by the Dominion Government in 1869, are shown on this map. The actual survey map of 1837 was not available to the writer, but, as the subsequent surveys did not basically alter or interfere with it, the lots shown on this map of 1907 are essentially those of 1837. The extent of the City of Winnipeg, railway lines, bridges, and other features which were not in existence in 1837 are shown, and help to give orientation.

The portion of the Municipality of Kildonan west of the Red River became the West Kildonan School District No. 8 in 1873. The schools established by 1907 are shown.

The original of this map is in McPhillips Atlas of The Municipality of Kildonan, Winnipeg, Man., 1907, P.A.M.



Municipality of St. Pauls

Municipality of Rosser

Parish of Kildonan

Municipality of Kildonan City Limit

CITY OF WINNIPE

HIGHWAY 8
(Future McPhillips Street)

JOHN BLACK SCHOOL

JOHN H. GUNN SCHOOL

(Future Templeton Ave.)

(Future Hartford Ave.)

Notre Dame Ave

TR. II RGE 2E.

8

6

36

25

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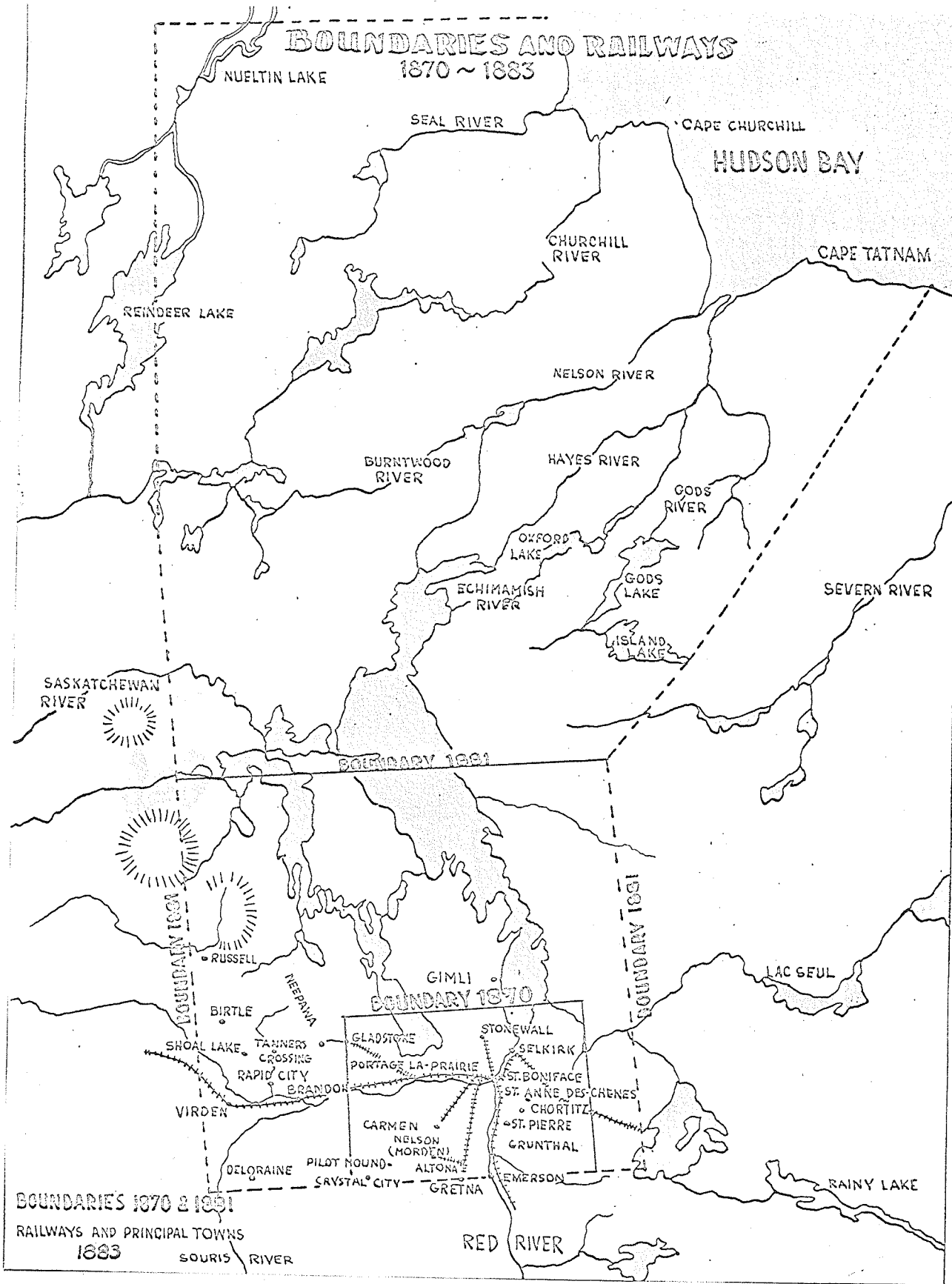
B

WEST

Sc

Kildonan Court

SEVE



MAP 8

SUCCESSIVE BOUNDARIES OF MANITOBA

V. KILDONAN PARISH

Lord Selkirk's visit began a period of stability for the Kildonan Scots. His designation of church and school sites re-kindled their desire for their own minister. He had promised them a minister before they left their homeland.⁶² Although the Reverend Donald Sage of Kildonan, Scotland, had been appointed to Red River, he never reached the colony.⁶³

In 1816, Mr. James Sutherland arrived at Red River. He was an elder of the Established Church, and was licensed to marry, to baptize, and to perform the duties of spiritual guide and teacher to his fellow colonists. He remained in the colony less than three years.⁶⁴

Lord Selkirk's renewed promise of a minister stirred the settlers into erecting a temporary building to accommodate school classes and prayer meetings until the expected minister would arrive, when a regular church would be built.⁶⁵ Such a church was eventually erected on the lot, but it was never to become a Presbyterian Church. In 1820 an Anglican

⁶²Gunn and Tuttle, *History of Manitoba* (Ottawa: Maclean, Rogers and Company, 1880), p. 66. Lord Selkirk's advertisement and prospectus of the new colony stated: "It is proposed that in every parochial division an allotment of land shall be made for the perpetual support of a clergyman of that persuasion that the majority of the inhabitants adhere to."

⁶³No reason was given for the non-appearance of the Reverend Sage. Ross suggests that a year's delay was granted for the study of Gaelic. Selkirk and the colonists had agreed to this delay.

⁶⁴Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-47. Mr. Sutherland was forcibly carried off to Canada by the Northwesters.

⁶⁵Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

clergyman, the Reverend John West, arrived at Red River.⁶⁶ The Scottish settlers, though not enthused with the arrival of an Anglican minister, cooperated in the building of a church-cum-school.⁶⁷ Sheriff Ross maintained that they alone built it; "their money and their labor began it and finished it with no assistance from the colonial authorities."⁶⁸ The latter felt that the Scottish settlers should contribute to the support of the Protestant clergy. Governor Bulger's proclamation emphasized this attitude.⁶⁹

⁶⁶The Reverend John West had been appointed chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company "to afford religious instruction and consolation to the servants in the active employ of the Hudson's Bay Company as well as to the Company's retired servants and other inhabitants of the settlement upon such occasions as ... circumstances would permit." His "instructions were to reside at the Red River Settlement and under the encouragement and aid of the Church Missionary Society ... to seek the instruction and endeavour to meliorate the condition of the native Indians." John West, The Substance of a Journal (London: 1824) pp. 1, 30.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 26, 27, 150. The drawing opposite page 155 in Mr. West's Journal indicates the building was of considerable size.

⁶⁸Ross, op. cit., p. 54 - 55.

⁶⁹Governor Bulger on March 1st, 1823, circulated the following,

Memorandum to be communicated to the Scotch Settlers.

All the settlers in the Red River being bound to contribute to the support of a Clergyman, I am of the opinion that such of the Scotch Settlers as do not belong to the Roman Catholic Communion should, while unprovided with a Gaelic Minister, give their assistance to the Protestant Minister, the Reverend Mr. West. He intends commencing on Monday, 10th March, to build a parsonage house, for the use and accommodation of the Protestant Clergyman for the time being; and it will afford me great satisfaction, should I hear that the Scotch Settlers above alluded to contribute towards that undertaking, by giving three days labour, in such manner as may be directed by Mr. West.

Signed: A. Bulger

T.C.B.Boon, The Anglican Church From The Bay To The Rockies (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1962) , p. 23.