

## A RE-EXAMINATION OF RACE, CLASS AND SOCIETY IN RED RIVER

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Due largely to Sylvia Van Kirk's well-known book, "Many Tender Ties",<sup>1</sup> the nineteenth century settlement of Red River is now commonly regarded as a place where increasing racism led to a decline in the rate of marriage between European officers of the Hudson's Bay Company and Metis women in the period before 1870.<sup>2</sup> This conclusion is based on impressionistic narrative historical research coupled with a tendency to disregard the economic factors which shaped fur trade society. A systematic analysis of marriage patterns in the colony does not support Van Kirk's view. Rather, the analysis presented here reveals that the creation of a capitalistic labour market in Red River introduced a rigid class system which confirmed the status of the Metis daughters of the merchant elite even as it reduced the mobility of the great majority of the population.

While Sylvia Van Kirk set out to study the contribution of Indian and Metis women to the society of the fur trade, her support for Frits Pannekoek's analysis of the Foss-Pelly scandal led her to under-estimate the prominence of those Metis women who were members of the merchant elite.<sup>3</sup> Van Kirk suggests that there was a simple progression in the choices made by the commissioned officers of the Hudson's Bay Company from Indian, to Metis, and finally to European wives. This is a profoundly anachronistic view of society in Red River because, in the last two decades before Confederation, nearly all the most powerful men in Red River were married to Metis women. Indeed, the marriages of Hudson's Bay Company officers into the family of Andrew McDermot, the wealthiest of the free-traders in Red River, formed the core of an oligarchy still influential long after Confederation.

Although Frits Pannekoek claims that the Red River elite was split into hostile factions by the Foss-Pelly scandal, an event so divisive that it was "the bomb that would blow Red River society



into its various fragments,"<sup>4</sup> he does not analyze the effects of that scandal in terms of genealogy or demography. Pannekoek explicitly states that his thesis "makes no pretense to statistical demography . . . . its methodology is more that of intuitive, institutional political history," and that the "maze of names defies disentanglement by even the most arduous scholar."<sup>5</sup> If the Foss-Pelly scandal was as divisive as Pannekoek has suggested, surely there would have been a marked decrease in marriages between Metis women and Europeans amongst the officer class of the Company. Sylvia Van Kirk's conception of the nature of society in Red River is based on her agreement with Pannekoek of the significance of the Foss-Pelly scandal. Van Kirk argues that "the case of Foss v. Pelly created a furor in the settlement; it was particularly serious because it threatened to divide Red River irrevocably along racial lines - mixed-blood versus white."<sup>6</sup> Rejecting the reminiscences of a number of Red River women recorded by archivist W.J. Healy<sup>7</sup> as the "most distorted" view of life in Red River because "old timers usually choose to reconstruct their past in its most favourable light," Van Kirk refers to Pannekoek's account of the Ballenden scandal as the "most penetrating analysis of the affair."<sup>8</sup> Van Kirk's acceptance of Pannekoek's conclusions about the significance of the Ballenden scandal led her to insist that the scandal "added to the growing reluctance on the part of Company officers to marry mixed-blood women."<sup>9</sup> Van Kirk therefore concludes that the scandal led to a reduction in the number of Company officers who married Metis women even though she concedes that "mixed-blood women were not entirely excluded from the elite."<sup>10</sup>

Despite her assertion that in its "wider societal context" the scandal had the effect of "intensifying racial prejudice,"<sup>11</sup> Van Kirk gives no evidence of a lessening in the rate of marriage between the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company and Metis daughters of the Red River merchants. Instead she observes that "while incoming Hudson's Bay Company officers and other whites did not cease marrying mixed-blood women, this practice became increasingly selective."<sup>12</sup> Among the officers of the Hudson's Bay



Company marriage partners were "increasingly restricted to highly acculturated daughters of wealthy Hudson's Bay Company families who studiously endeavoured to disassociate themselves from every vestige of their Indian heritage."<sup>13</sup> Yet there is no evidence that Company officers in active service in Red River ever married significant numbers of lower-class Metis women, or, for that matter, lower-class European women. Although many of the Company officers who retired to Red River had married Indian women, this was not the case amongst the officers who were in active service in Red River. Their choices of marriage partners had always been amongst the Metis daughters of senior officers and later amongst the Metis daughters of prominent free traders who had themselves belonged to the clerical ranks of the Company. Van Kirk's conclusion that "even in fur-trade society, with the increasing impact of white cultural values, prejudice gained hold to such an extent that the potential for racial integration was lost,"<sup>14</sup> is also inconsistent with her earlier statement that "in spite of growing racial prejudice, economic and social factors assured mixed-blood women of their place in Red River society at least until 1870, when the transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada signalled the end of the old fur-trade order."<sup>15</sup>

The problem with Van Kirk's argument is that she makes judgments which appear to be based upon an analysis of the number of Metis women who married Company officers but her claims are not supported by the data she has presented. Instead the reader is confronted with a series of biographies of individual women arranged to illustrate Van Kirk's conception of the direction of social change. A comparison of the Hudson's Bay Company officers mentioned by Van Kirk against the total number of officers serving from 1821 to 1870 will give some indication of the validity of her argument in its most general form. E.H. Oliver<sup>16</sup> lists thirty-four men who served as Chief Factors under the Deed Poll of 1821; Van Kirk refers to the wives of twenty-five, or 74 percent of them (see Table 1). She considers the wives of only twenty of thirty-seven, or 54 percent of the Chief Traders listed by Oliver (see Table 2). However,



TABLE 1  
WIVES OF CHIEF FACTORS COMMISSIONED  
UNDER THE DEED POLL OF 1821

Officer	Name of Wife	Race of Wife*	Marriage Date
James Bird	Elizabeth	I	1821
	Mary Lowman	E	1835
Thomas Vincent	Jane Renton	M	
	Jane Sutherland	M	
John Haldane	Josette Latour	M	
James Sutherland		M	
Alexander Kennedy	Aggathas	I	
Colin Robertson	Theresa	M	
John G. McTavish	Nancy McKenzie	M	
	Catherine Turner	E	1830
John Clarke	Marianne Treutter	E	1822
	Francoise Boucher	M	
	Sapphira Spence	M	
George Keith	Nanette Sutherland	M	
John D. Cameron	Mary	I	
John Charles	Jane Auld	M	1835
	Margaret Macallum	E	1841
John Stuart	Catherine La Valle	M	1824
	Francoise Lorraine	M	
	Mary Taylor	M	
John McLaughlin	Marguerite Wadin	M	1842
Joseph Beioley	Isabella McKay	M	
Donald McKenzie	Mary McKay	M	
	Adelgonde Droz	E	1825
Alexander Christie	Anne Thomas	M	
William McIntosh	Sarah Gladue	M	
William Connolly	Suzanne	I	
	Julia Woolrich	E	ca.1832
John Rowand	Louise Humphraville	M	
James McMillan	Kilakotah	I	
	Eleanor McKinley	E	1829
Peter W. Dease	Elizabeth Chouinard	M	
Allan McDonell	Margaret	M	
John Lee Lewes	Jane Ballenden	M	
Roderick McKenzie	Angelique	I	
Duncan Finlayson	Isobel Simpson	E	1838

SOURCE: Listed in Sylvia Van Kirk's "Many Tender Ties".

\*Abbreviations of Racial Terms for Tables 1-5:

M = Metis      E = European   I = Indian

TABLE 2

WIVES OF CHIEF TRADERS COMMISSIONED  
UNDER THE DEED POLL OF 1821

Officer	Name of Wife	Race of Wife	Marriage Date
Daniel Harmon	Lisette Duval	M	
Robert McVicar	Christy McBeath	E	1824
J.F. Laroque		M	
Joseph McGillivray	Francoise Boucher	M	
Jacob Corrigan		M or I?	
Thomas McMurray	? Cardinalle ?	M	
John Peter Pruden	Nancy	M	ca.1800
	Anne Armstrong	E	1839
Alex. R. McLeod		M	
Alexander Fisher	Angelique Savard	M	
Samuel Black	Angelique Cameron	M	
Peter Skene Ogden	Julia Rivet	M	
Cuthbert Cumming	Jane McMurray	M	
Francis Heron	Isabella Chalifoux	M	1835
Robert Miles	Betsey Sinclair	M	
Archibald McDonald	Princess Raven	I	182?
	Jane Klyne	M	1835
John E. Harriott	Elizabeth Pruden	M	
	Nancy Rowand	M	1838
Donald Ross	Mary McBeath	E	1820
John Work	Josette Legace	M	
Nichol Finlayson	Betsey Kennedy	M	
James Hargrave	Letitia Mactavish	E	1840

SOURCE: Listed in Sylvia Van Kirk's "Many Tender Ties".



examination of the comprehensive list of officers compiled by Philip Goldring indicates that Van Kirk mentions the wives of only twenty-four of 111, or 22 percent, of the men first commissioned under the Deed Poll of 1834 (see Table 3).<sup>17</sup> A basic problem with Van Kirk's sample would therefore appear to be that it is skewed toward the early period. Yet even the limited number of marriages examined by Van Kirk do not support her contention that there was a trend away from marriages to Metis women. Since twelve of forty-five officers (27 percent) serving under the Deed Poll of 1821 married European women (see Tables 1 and 2), while in the later period (see Table 3,) only six of twenty-six officers (23 percent) married Europeans, it would appear that Van Kirk's data disproves her own thesis. Although much more work must be done before a complete list of the wives of the entire officer class of the Hudson's Bay Company during the period from 1821 to 1870 can be produced in order to define more precisely the nature of fur trade marriage patterns, a further test of Van Kirk's argument in the context of Red River will be attempted here.

As an introduction to a quantitative analysis of marriage patterns of commissioned officers in Red River it will be useful to consider the validity of Van Kirk's anecdotal approach to marriage patterns amongst the elite and to estimate the degree of exogamy within it. A significant defect in Van Kirk's analysis is her failure to relate the experiences of the first generation of officers in Red River to the behaviour of their relatives in succeeding generations. The remark of James Douglas to his friend James Hargrave on the occasion of Hargrave's marriage to Letitia Mactavish forms the basis of Van Kirk's observations about the nature of the changing patterns of fur-trade marriages. Douglas comments that:

There is a strange revolution in the manners of the country; Indian wives were at one time the vogue, the half-breed supplanted these, and now we have the lovely tender exotic torn from its parent bed to pine and languish in the desert.<sup>18</sup>



TABLE 3  
WIVES OF OFFICERS COMMISSIONED  
UNDER THE DEED POLL OF 1834

Officer	Name of Wife	Race of Wife	Marriage Date
A.C. Anderson	? Birnie	M	
John Ballenden	Sarah McLeod	M	1836
George Barnston	Ellen Matthews	M	1829
John Bell	Nancy Dease	M	1830
John Black	Margaret Christie	M	
Robert Campbell	Ellenora Sterling	E	1853
Robert Clouston	Jessy Ross	E	
William Cowan	Harriet Sinclair	M	1852
Charles Dodd	Grace McTavish	M	
James Douglas	Amelia Connolly	M	
Francis Ermatinger	Catherine Sinclair	M	
George Gladman Jr.	Harriett Vincent	M	
Richard Grant	Helen McDonald	M	
Richrad Hardisty*	Margaret Sutherland	M	
Hector McKenzie	Annie Bannatyne	E	1851
Archibald McKinlay	Sarah Julia Ogden	M	1840
William H. McNeill	? Haida woman	I	
William Mactavish	Mary McDermot	M	1864
William Nourse	Ann Corrigan	M	
Augustus E. Pelly	Anne Clouston	E	1849
Pierre C. Pambrun Sr.	Catherine Humperville	M	
Bernard R. Ross	Christina Ross	E	1860
Charles Ross	Isabella Mainville	M	
Donald A. Smith	Isabella Hardisty	M	1848
John Tod*	Sophia Lolo	M	
	Eliza Waugh	E	
James M. Yale	Tzee-aze	I	

SOURCE: Listed in Sylvia Van Kirk's "Many Tender Ties".

\*Although mentioned by Sylvia Van Kirk, John Tod and Richard Hardisty, who were commissioned as chief traders in 1834 are listed by E.H. Oliver but not by Philip Goldring.



The casual reader might assume that Douglas' judgement applies to the entire period until 1870 under discussion by Van Kirk. Since the remark was made in 1840 it is obvious that Douglas could not have known whether the trend typical of the preceding decades would continue. The irony of the situation is that he could not have predicted that his own Metis daughter would marry Alexander Grant Dallas, who was to be Simpson's successor in Red River,<sup>19</sup> or that William Mactavish, the brother of Hargrave's wife Letitia, would become Governor of Assiniboia and marry a Metis daughter of Andrew McDermot,<sup>20</sup> the most prominent merchant in Red River.<sup>21</sup> That some Metis women would thus eclipse the position of the proud Letitia is a point not revealed by Van Kirk.

A review of Van Kirk's analysis of marriage patterns in Red River will reveal other striking anomalies. For example, the marriage of Hudson's Bay Company clerk Donald Ross to the daughter of one of the Kildonan Scots, Mary McBeath, in 1820, is noted by Van Kirk as the start of a trend away from marriages to Metis women.<sup>22</sup> But Van Kirk appears to overlook that although Ross rose to the rank of Chief Trader, his daughter Annabella, who had no Metis ancestry, married Charles Edward McDermot, a Metis son of Andrew McDermot, in 1857.<sup>23</sup> Nor did marriage to a Metis cause a decline in status. Following Charles McDermot's death, Annabella Ross married Dr. Curtis James Bird, the son of James Bird and his European wife Mary Lowman.<sup>24</sup>

The conclusion Van Kirk draws from Governor George Simpson's behaviour is the result of a similarly selective presentation of evidence. Although Van Kirk contends that Simpson's callous rejection of Betsey Sinclair (1821), and of Margaret Taylor (1827), led to a decline in status for Metis women, she fails to fully discuss the later fortunes of the Sinclair women in Red River.<sup>25</sup> Although the marriage of Catharine Sinclair, the daughter of Metis officer (Chief Factor 1850) William Sinclair Jr. and Mary McKay, to Chief Trader Francis Ermatinger in 1841 is mentioned by Van Kirk, she emphasizes Catherine's infidelity, a fact which has no bearing on the prominent social status indicated by her marriage.<sup>26</sup> Another



of William Sinclair Jr.'s daughters to marry a prominent European visitor to Rupertland, acknowledged but viewed in a negative context by Van Kirk, was the marriage of Margaret Sinclair to Major Darling at Norway House in 1848. Van Kirk emphasizes the allegation that she had once been raped.<sup>27</sup> Van Kirk does admit that Dr. William Cowan, who had come to Red River as a medical officer with the Chelsea Pensioners and who rose to the rank of Chief Trader, married Harriet Sinclair (the daughter of Betsey Sinclair's brother James, the prominent free-trader) in 1852.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, the marriage of James Robert Clare, Chief Factor in charge of Fort Garry from 1864 to 1867, to Margaret, the Metis daughter of another member of the Sinclair clan, Red River merchant Thomas Sinclair, on 23 May 1861,<sup>29</sup> goes entirely unmentioned by Van Kirk. Also unacknowledged is the marriage of Chief Trader Alexander Hunter Murray, who took charge of Lower Fort Garry from 1862 to 1863, to Anne, the Metis daughter of Chief Trader Colin Campbell on 28 August 1846.<sup>30</sup> James Sinclair's marriage to Mary Campbell, making Murray his brother-in-law, is therefore a further indication of the high status of Metis women in the Sinclair family.

The credibility of Van Kirk's view that the Foss-Pelly trial of 1850 caused a decline in the rate of marriage between Company officers and Metis women is undermined by her failure to associate John Ballenden, whose wife Sarah's alleged affair with Captain Christopher Vaughan Foss was the cause of the furor, with the experiences of his nephew, Andrew Graham Ballenden Bannatyne, who became one of the wealthiest merchants in Red River.<sup>31</sup> If anyone felt the effects of the scandal it should have been Bannatyne, yet it does not appear to have influenced his marriage plans. It was Bannatyne's marriage to McDermot's daughter Annie, in 1851, which formed the basis of the fortune he was to make in partnership with McDermot.

Bannatyne was one of a number of the Company's eligible young European clerks in Red River to marry Metis daughters of prominent Hudson's Bay Company officers and free-traders following the Foss-Pelly scandal. The brother of Hudson's Bay



Company clerk Richard Lane, Chief Trader William Douglas Lane, who took charge of Lower Fort Garry as a clerk in 1850-54 and later managed a post on the Assiniboine (Lane's Post), in 1860 married Mary Bird, a Metis daughter of Chief Factor James Bird, and following her death Eliza Lee Lewes, the Metis daughter of Chief Factor John Lee Lewes.<sup>32</sup> Alexander R. Lillie, who managed Lower Fort Garry from 1856 to 1861 and who rose to the rank of Chief Trader, in 1852 married Harriet, another of McDermot's daughters. Also unmentioned by Van Kirk is the marriage of George Simpson's own grandson, John H. McTavish,<sup>33</sup> a clerk in charge of Fort Garry from 1870 to 1872 and Chief Factor in 1874,<sup>34</sup> to Sophia, a Metis daughter of Chief Factor John Rowand, one of Simpson's most trusted friends.<sup>35</sup> Nor does Van Kirk consider that William Flett, a clerk in charge of Fort Garry in 1870, who later became a Chief Factor,<sup>36</sup> married Nancy Clouston, the daughter of Robert Clouston and his Metis wife, Nancy.<sup>37</sup>

Van Kirk's suggestion that "in the post-1870 period, the mixed marriage which had been a central part of the fabric of Red River society was to become an increasingly peripheral phenomenon"<sup>38</sup> is also extremely misleading because it was the lower-class Metis women who were dislocated by the coming of the settlers from Ontario<sup>39</sup> rather than the acculturated Metis women of the elite, as the position of the Metis descendants of Hudson's Bay Company clerk Richard Lane demonstrates.<sup>40</sup> Van Kirk records the marriage of retired Chief Factor Robert Logan, whom she identifies as a community leader in the early days in Red River, to the British governess, Sarah Ingham,<sup>41</sup> but she does not mention that their son, Alexander Logan, born in November 1841, married Maria Lane in 1867.<sup>42</sup> Raised in her grandfather's household after the death of her mother, Maria Lane was the Metis daughter of Hudson's Bay Company clerk Richard Lane and Andrew McDermot's Metis daughter Maria (Mary). Alexander Logan was to serve as alderman during the period from 1874-1878 and as the mayor of Winnipeg (1879, 1880, 1882, and 1884). Logan, who inherited his father's estate on Point Douglas at the



age of twenty-five, is thought to have become a millionaire through land speculation in the decade after annexation. According to A.F.J. Artibise, "one of Logan's family of eight children married Richard D. Waugh, mayor of Winnipeg (1912, 1913, 1916)."<sup>43</sup> Similarly, the Metis family of A.G.B. Bannatyne, who made and lost a fortune as a land speculator in the decade after Confederation, was prominent in Winnipeg after 1870. Ross Mitchell recalls "vivid memories of the easy grace of their son, William, playing cricket at The Winnipeg Cricket Club."<sup>44</sup>

Although Van Kirk claims to be considering fur trade society at large, it often appears that she is merely discussing marriage patterns among the elite in Red River.<sup>45</sup> If her argument does not apply to the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company serving in Red River itself, one might well question its general applicability. Since Van Kirk does not attempt to estimate the size of the officer class in Red River the reader can only assume that the group was large enough that the marriages of several officers to Metis women, acknowledged by Van Kirk as exceptions to the general rule, represented only a small percentage of total marriages within the officer class.

In order to determine whether marriages between Metis women and active Company officers were declining in Red River, two lists of marriages of Company officers in charge of posts in Red River have been compiled.<sup>46</sup> In the period from 1821 to 1845, seven of the eleven officers in charge of posts in Red River married European women or "turned-off" Metis women to marry European women (see Table 4). After 1845 this pattern was completely reversed. None of the thirteen officers in command in Red River between 1845 and 1870, whose marriage partners have been identified, are known to have married European women (see Table 5). Although the wife of Chief Trader Alexander W. Buchanan is unknown, he was in command of Fort Garry for only one year from 1851-1852. The marriage date of Chief Factor John Swanston, who also served a one-year period in charge of Fort Garry, is also unknown and therefore it cannot be said with certainty that his wife accompanied him to Red River. Of English



TABLE 4  
WIVES OF EUROPEAN OFFICERS IN CHARGE IN  
RED RIVER FROM 1821 TO 1844\*

Period	Officer	Rank**	Area**	Name of Wife	Race	Date
1821-22	James Bird	C.F.	F.G.	Elizabeth	I	1822
				Mary Lowman	E	1832
1822-23	John Clarke	C.F.	F.G.	Marianne Treutter	E	1822
1823-32	Donald McKenzie	C.F.	F.G.	Adelgonde Droz	E	1825
1832-33	George Simpson	Governor	L.F.G.	Frances Simpson	E	1830
1833-37	Alexander Christie	C.F.	L.F.G.	Anne Thomas	M	1821
1834-35	Archibald McKinlay	Clerk	F.G.	Sarah Ogden	M	1840
1835-36	Hector McKenzie	Clerk	F.G.	Annie Bannatyne	E	1851
1836-37	George Setter	P.M.	F.G.	Unknown		
1839-44	Duncan Finlayson	C.F.	F.G.	Isobel Simpson	E	1838
1842-43	Robert Clouston	A. Clerk	L.F.G.	Jessy Ross	E	184?
1840-42	John Black	Clerk	L.F.G.	Margaret Christie	M	1845

\*In Tables 4 and 5 the year listed under the heading 'Date' is the date of marriage.

\*\*Abbreviations used in Tables 4 and 5:

Rank: C.F. = Chief Factor, C.T. = Chief Trader, A.Clerk = Apprentice Clerk, P.M. = Post Master

Area: F.G. = Fort Garry, L.F.G. = Lower Fort Garry, L.P. = Lane's Post.



TABLE 5

WIVES OF EUROPEAN OFFICERS IN CHARGE IN  
RED RIVER FROM 1845 TO 1870

Period	Officer	Rank	Area	Name of Wife	Race	Date
1844-48	Alexander Christie	C.F.	F.G.	Anne Thomas	M	1821
1845-48	John Black	Clerk	L.F.G.	Margaret Christie	M	1845
1848-49	Alexander Christie	C.F.	L.F.G.	Anne Thomas	M	1821
1848-50	John Ballenden	C.F.	F.G.	Sarah McLeod	M	1836
1849-50	John Black	C.T.	L.F.G.	Margaret Christie	M	1845
1850-51	William D. Lane	P.M.	L.F.G.	Unmarried		
1850-52	John Black	C.T.	F.G.	Margaret Christie	M	1845
1852-53	A.W. Buchanan	C.T.	F.G.	Unknown		
1853-54	John Black	C.T.	F.G.	Margaret Christie	M	1845
1851-54	William D. Lane	P.M.	L.F.G.	Unmarried		
1854-55	John Ballenden	C.F.	L.F.G.	Sarah McLeod	M	1846
1858-62	William D. Lane	C.T.	L.P.	Mary Bird	M	1860
1855-58	William Cowan	Clerk	L.F.G.	Harriet Sinclair	M	1852
1855-56	John Swanston	C.F.	F.G.	Betsey Keith	M	
1856-61	Alexander Lillie	A. Clerk	L.F.G.	Harriet McDermot	M	1860
1856-64	William Mactavish	C.F.	F.G.	Mary S. McDermot	M	1864
1861-62	James A. Grahame	C.F.	L.F.G.	? Work	M	
1862-64	A.H. Murray	C.T.	L.F.G.	Anne Campbell	M	1846
1864-66	James R. Clare	C.F.	F.G.	Margaret Sinclair	M	1861
1862-70	William D. Lane	C.T.	L.P.	Eliza Lee Lewes	M	186?
1865-70	William Cowan	C.T.	F.G.	Harriet Sinclair	M	1852
1868-70	William Flett	Clerk	L.F.G.	Nancy Clouston	M	
1870-72	John H. McTavish	Clerk	F.G.	Sophia Rowand	M	



ancestry,<sup>47</sup> John Swanston married a daughter of Chief Factor George Keith and his wife Nanette Sutherland.<sup>48</sup> James A. Grahame, who took charge of Fort Garry from 1861-62, married Susan Birnie at Fort George (Astoria) in 1845, and following her death, Mary Work,<sup>49</sup> a daughter of Chief Factor John Work and Josette Legace, whose father had married a Spokane woman.<sup>50</sup> In 1874, Grahame succeeded Donald A. Smith as Chief Commissioner of the Company in Canada, with headquarters at Fort Garry. In considering marriage patterns in Red River it should be understood that officers in active service for long periods in Red River had experiences which may have differed from their colleagues in remote areas. Despite this caveat, it is apparent that, contrary to Van Kirk's assertion that marriages to Metis women were declining, all prominent officers in Red River married Metis women in the period from 1845 to 1870.

Social historians of the fur trade have often tended to disregard the effect of economic factors in shaping society. Contrary to the claim that the marriage patterns of European Hudson's Bay Company officers in Red River provide evidence of a society divided by racial and religious conflict, a close examination of such marriages will reveal the formation of a polyglot mercantile oligarchy. Marriages between Company officers and Andrew McDermot's Metis daughters created an oligarchy which included the most influential leaders of government and business. During the critical years from 1860 to 1880 McDermot's extended family included such influential men as William Mactavish, the Governor of Assiniboia and Simpson's successor in Red River; former Company clerk A.G.B. Bannatyne, who succeeded to McDermot's fortune as a private trader; Chief Trader Alexander Lillie, who for a time became a business partner of Bannatyne and McDermot;<sup>51</sup> and Alexander Logan, Mayor of Winnipeg. The insidious effect of these relationships was evident to the editor of the Nor'Wester, who commented on a proposed trading expedition to the Mackenzie River: "the Governor decides to oppose his father-in-law, and of all others who should he choose to conduct the opposition but another member of the

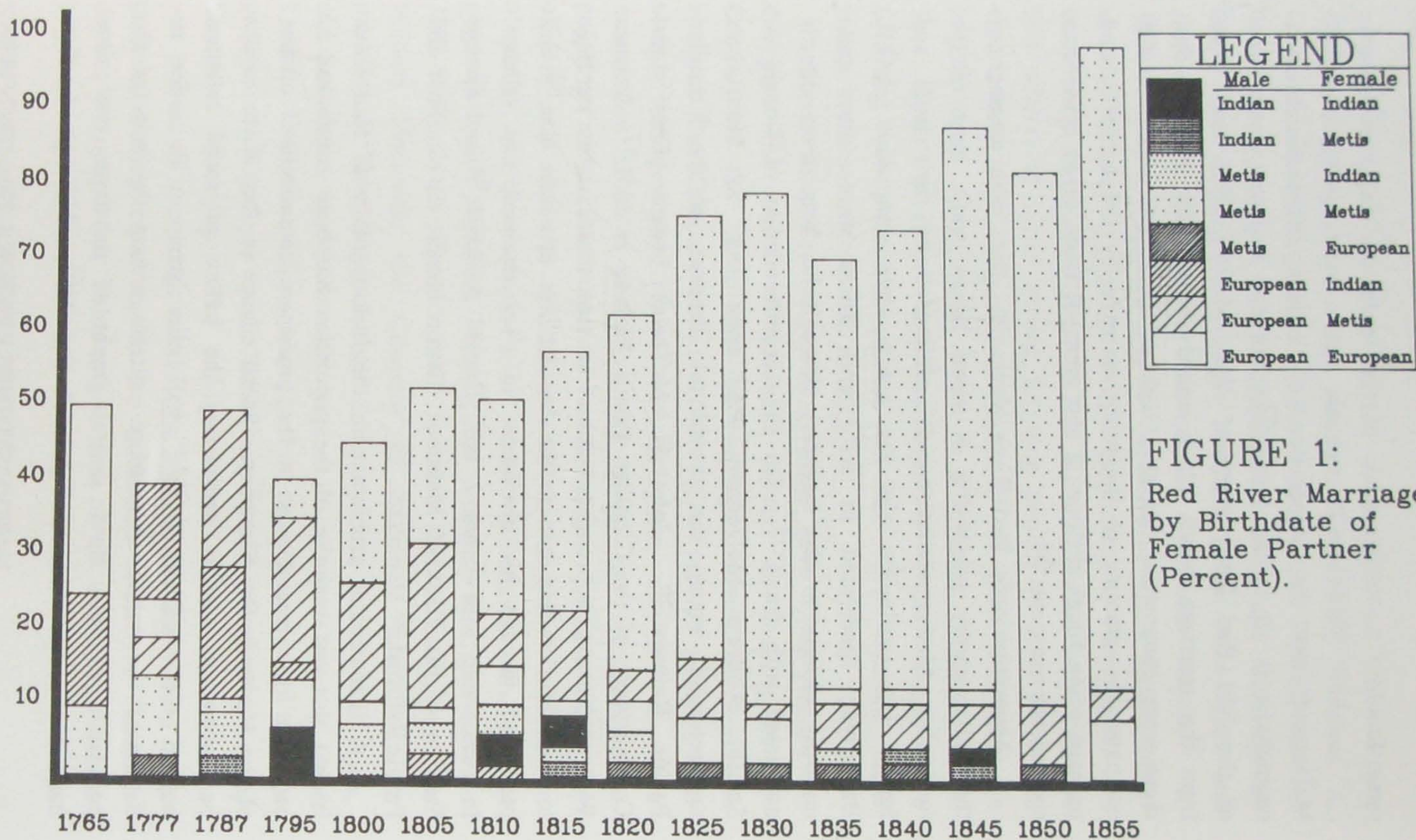


same family - a brother-in-law of the leader of the present party . . . . both parties will probably return next spring, and Mr. McDermot has the satisfaction of knowing that which ever triumphs it is all in the family."<sup>52</sup> On the economic connections of the "old Red River element," W.L. Morton writes that aside from the marriage bonds which united them "it is probable that there were commercial ties also, such as the re-sale of furs to the company, the granting of freighting contracts by the company, and perhaps some rough division of the areas of trade or at least some specialization in trade."<sup>53</sup>

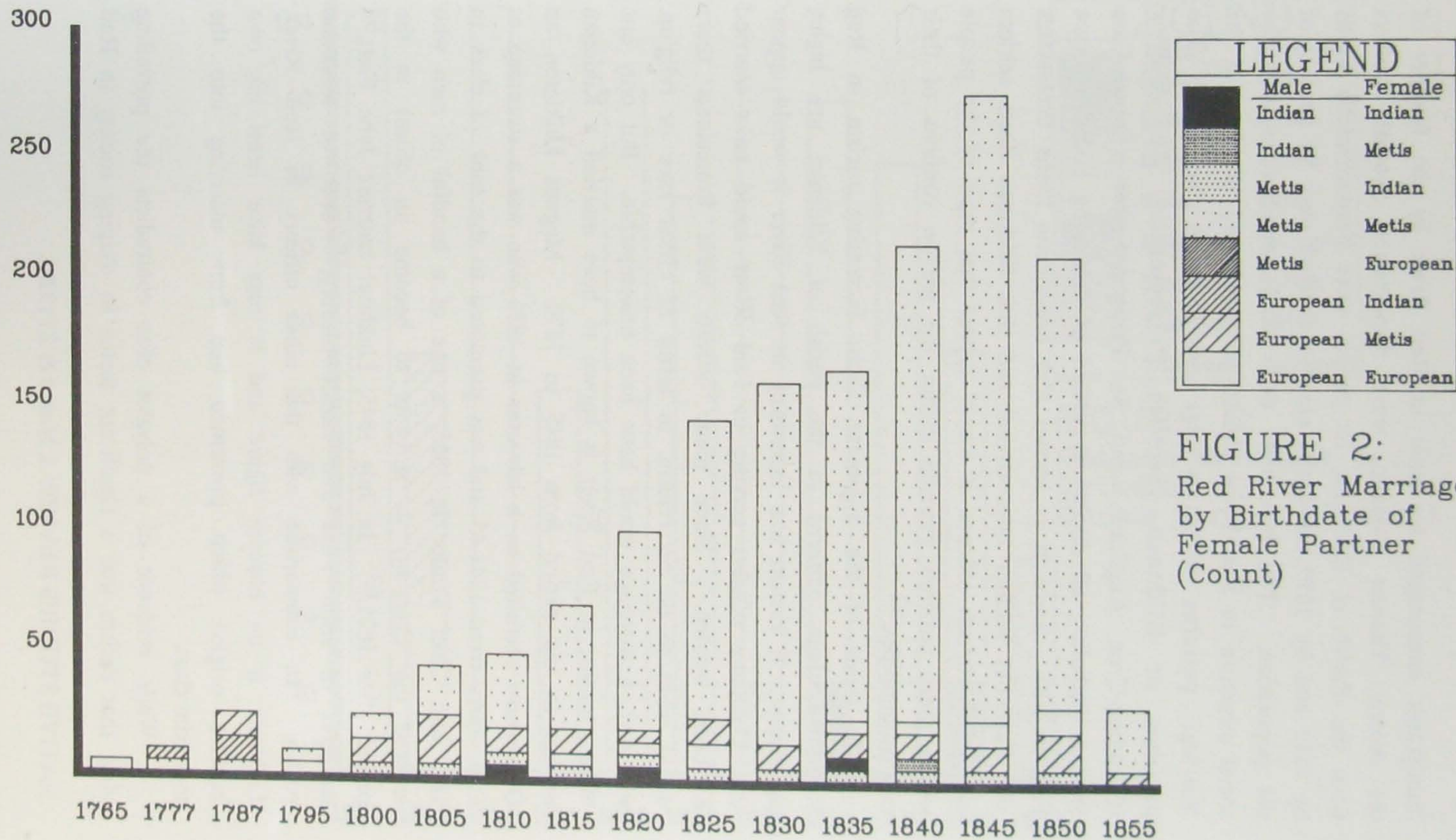
Annexation split Red River along class lines with members of the old oligarchy prospering as never before while most of the lower-class Metis population were defrauded of their lands and forced into exile.<sup>54</sup> In the years after annexation A.G.B. Bannatyne speculated in scrip and "there were some quite unsavory aspects to the business" although he "was never directly associated with fraud."<sup>55</sup> On the recommendation of Donald A. Smith, Andrew McDermot was appointed "as Manitoba's representative among the provisional directors of the Canadian Pacific Railway."<sup>56</sup> John H. McTavish became Chief Land Commissioner of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1881.<sup>57</sup> Norman Wolfred Kittson, a prominent American free trader whose marriage to Elise Marion tied him to the St. Boniface merchant elite,<sup>58</sup> also prospered through his investment in river steamers and railways. In partnership with James J. Hill, Donald A. Smith,<sup>59</sup> and George Stephen of the Bank of Montreal, Kittson bought the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad.<sup>60</sup>

A fundamental problem with the historiography of Red River is that the vast majority of the population has been overlooked in order to focus attention on a few prominent commissioned officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. Social change in Red River cannot be understood without considering the nature of social relations beyond the confines of this small elite group. In order to determine the nature of marriage patterns among the mass of the population of Red River several graphs of marriages over time have been produced (see Figures 1 and 2).<sup>61</sup> Although the first









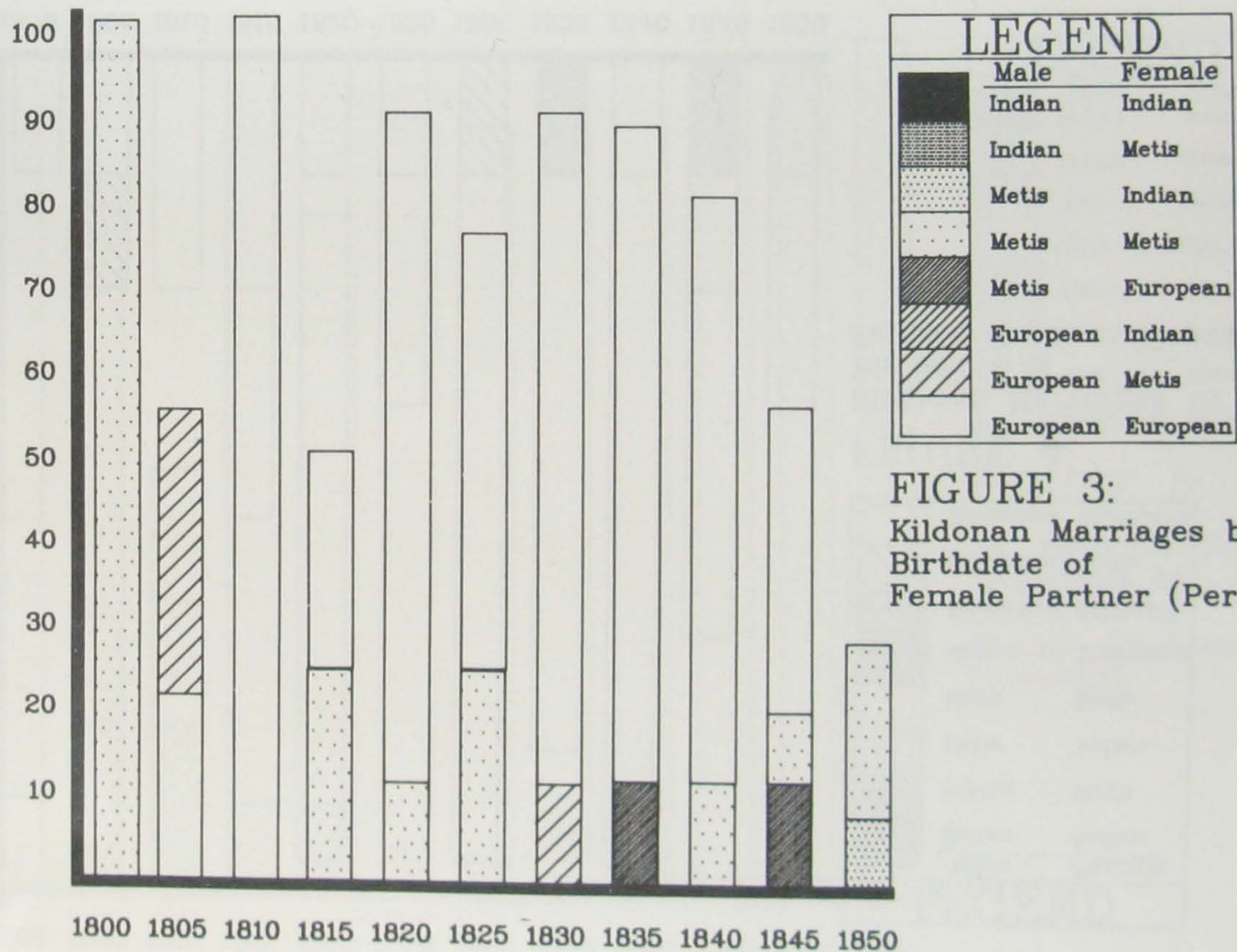


immigrants encouraged to settle in Red River by the founder of the colony, Thomas Douglas, were dispossessed Scottish crofters from the Parish of Kildonan, its people were predominantly Metis by 1830 and by 1870 the Metis element formed over 80 percent of the population. The hypothesis that racial prejudice explains the social structure in Red River should be considered in terms of the marriage patterns within several representative parishes. The parishes of Kildonan (Scottish Presbyterian), St. Andrew (Orcadian-Cree Anglican), and St. Francois-Xavier (French-Cree Roman Catholic), all display a pattern of increasing endogamy (see Figures 3-8). Since it is known that lower-class Metis Protestants and Catholics seldom intermarried and that Kildonan Scots seldom married European officers, it would appear that most of the people within these parishes married within the narrow confines of their own communities.<sup>62</sup>

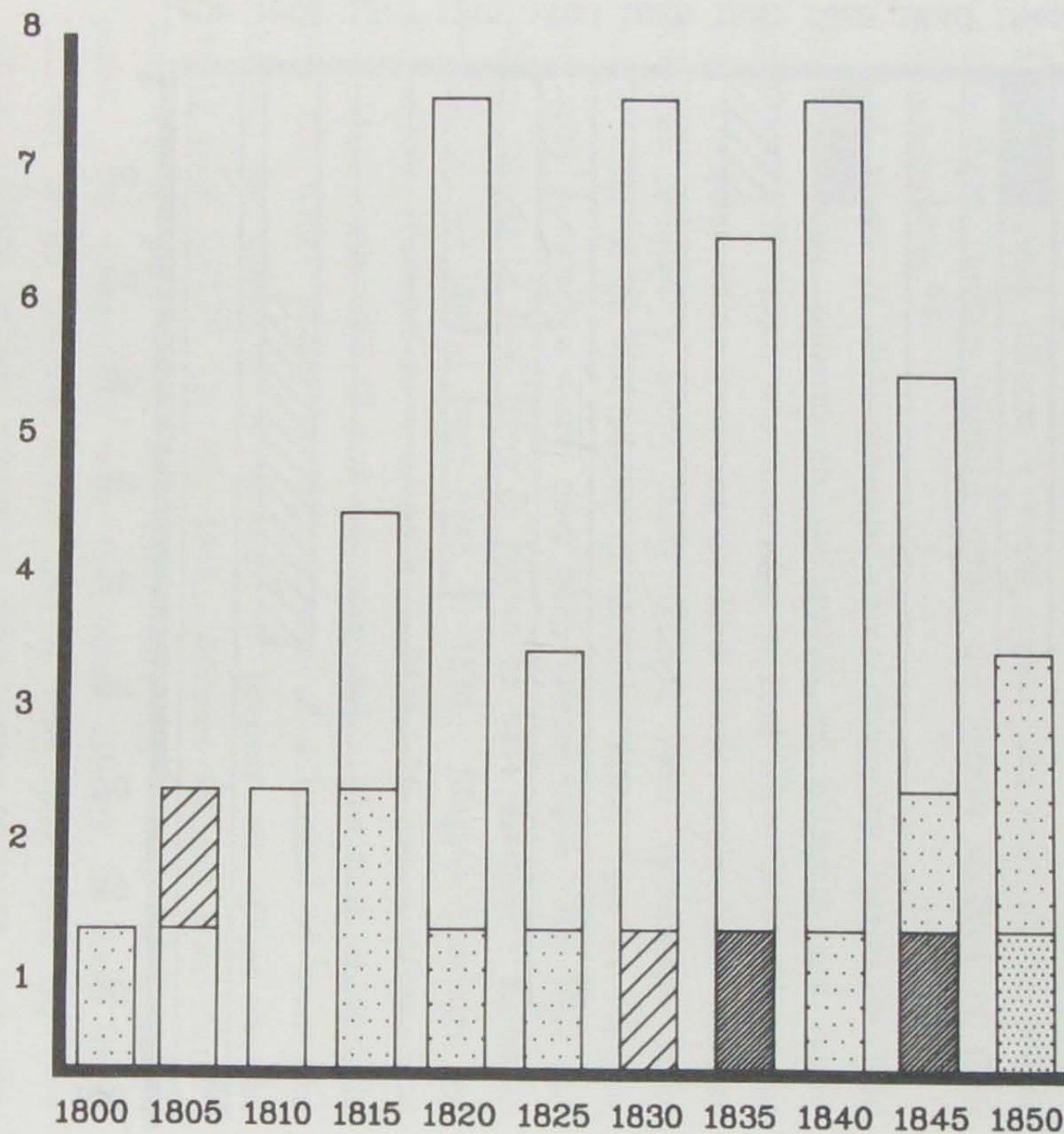
In terms of the argument about increasing racism in Red River, marriage patterns in the parish of Kildonan are highly significant. If racism was increasing in Red River it would appear that Company officers serving in Red River could have married Kildonan women. Since many officers were Protestants there would seem to be no reason, in terms of either race or religion, why such a marriage would have been unacceptable. But only one officer serving in Red River is known to have married a Kildonan woman in the period from 1845 to 1870. Magnus Linklater, an Orkneyman recruited as a labourer in 1836 who was a storeman at Fort Garry from 1841-45 and was promoted to the rank of clerk in 1855 and Chief Trader in 1865, is one of a handful of men who entered the Company as servants to become an officer in the period after 1821.<sup>63</sup> In July 1845, Linklater married Jane Flett,<sup>64</sup> daughter of John Flett and Isabel Murray,<sup>65</sup> both of Kildonan parish. In comparison with the other officers in Red River, Linklater is an obscure figure and it may have been his own humble origins which prevented him from marrying into the merchant class.

While evidence of a polyglot elite contradicts the prevailing view that racism was a significant factor in shaping society in Red





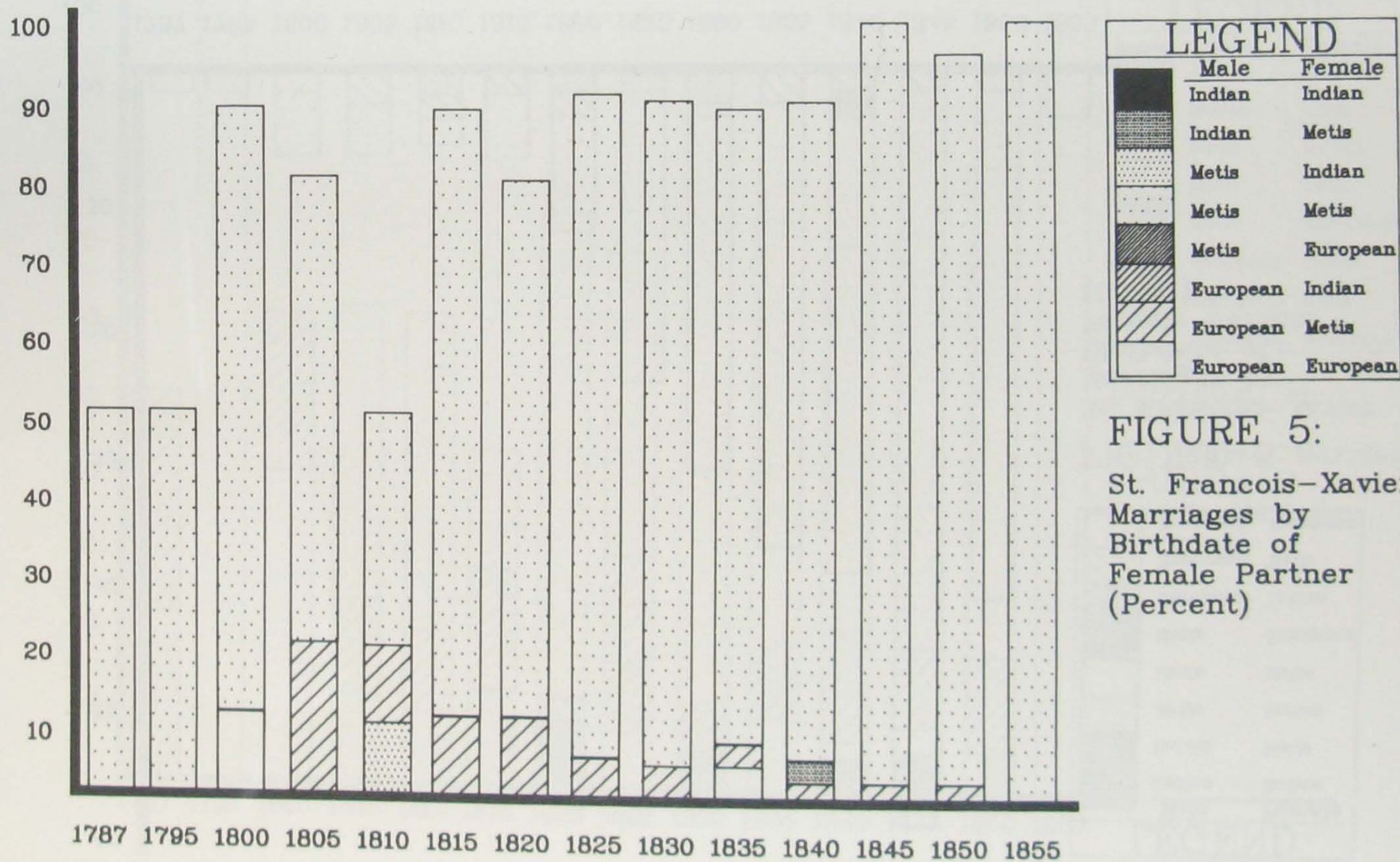




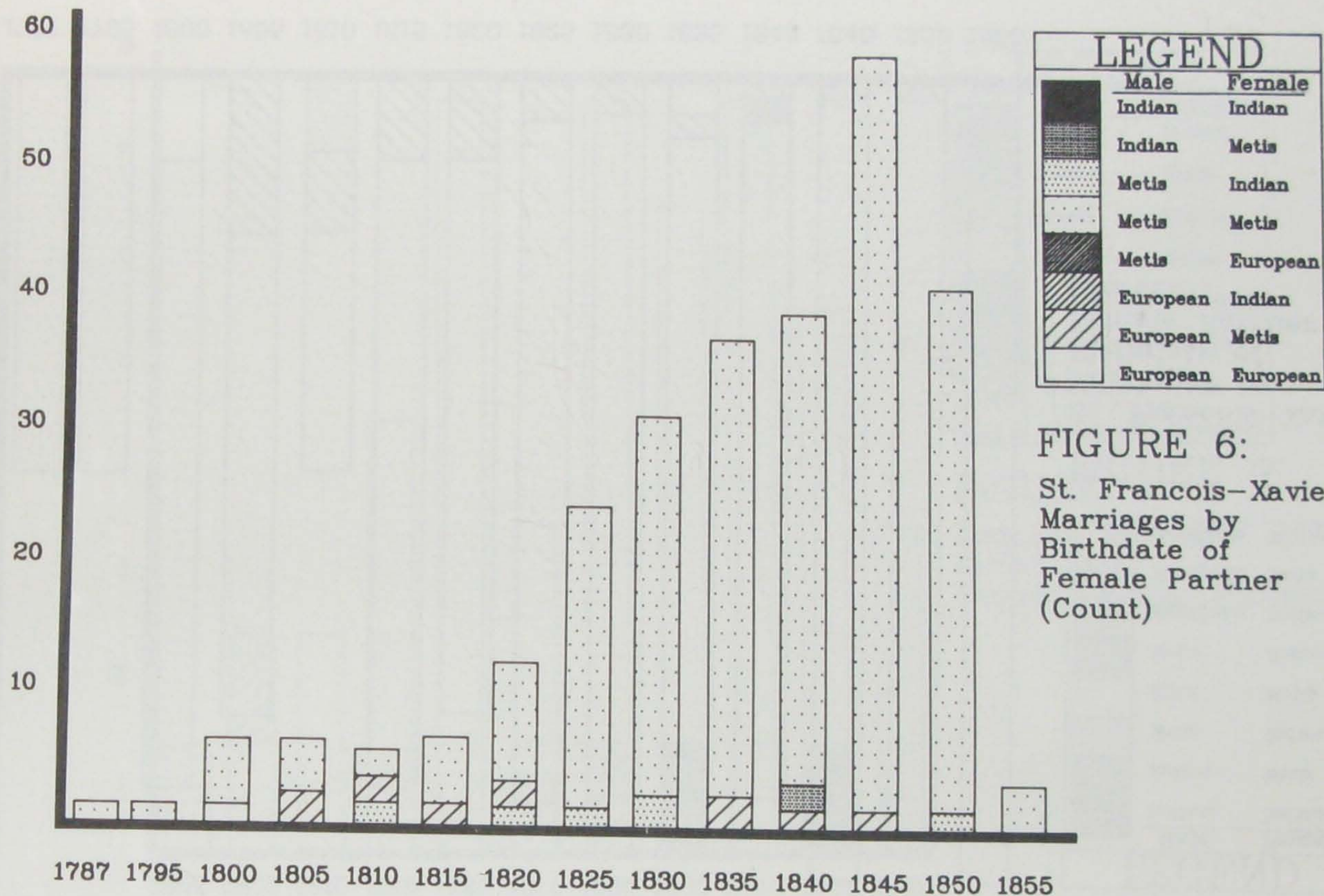
LEGEND	
Male	Female
Indian	Indian
Indian	Metis
Metis	Indian
Metis	Metis
Metis	European
European	Indian
European	Metis
European	European

FIGURE 4:  
Kildonan Marriages by  
Birthdate of  
Female Partner (Count)

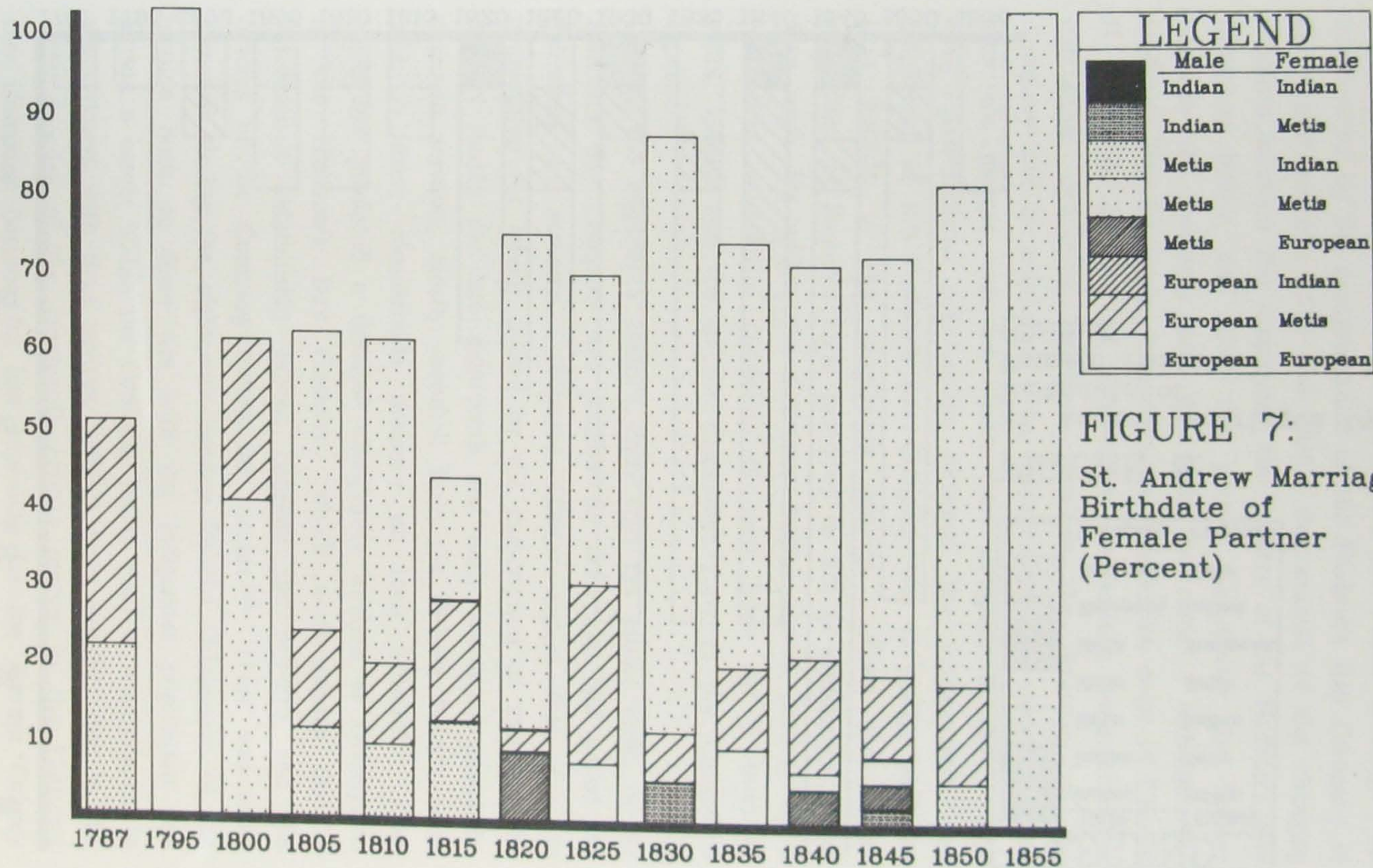




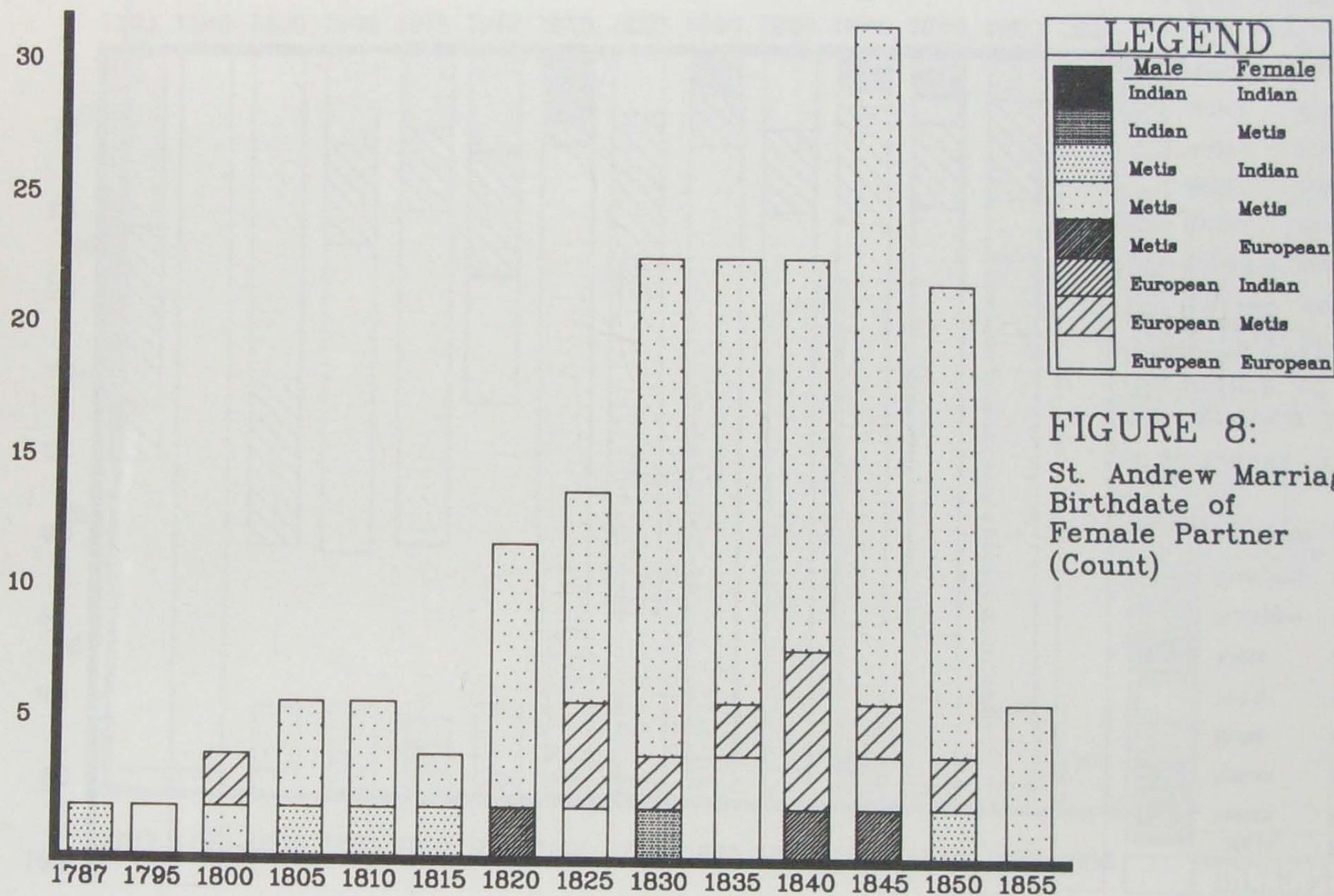














River, such evidence does suggest that the social structure was transformed by the reorganization of the Hudson's Bay Company in the period between 1810 and 1826. An analysis of the changing relations between the employees and owners of the Hudson's Bay Company before and after this period will clarify the linkage between the economy and the social structure. Although the Hudson's Bay Company, formed in the Restoration court of Charles II in 1670, is one of the oldest capitalistic enterprises in continuous operation, relations between the directors of the Company and its employees were characterized by paternalism until after the merger with the North West Company in 1821. This early paternalistic relationship between the management and employees of the Hudson's Bay Company was to persist until the first decade of the nineteenth century. Since the Indian population of Rupert's Land preferred to act as middlemen rather than work for wages, the Company "relied almost entirely on a permanent work-force, consisting of men hired for a term of years, lodged and fed at the Company's forts at the Company's expense."<sup>66</sup>

In the eighteenth century, entry into the officer ranks of the Hudson's Bay Company was possible for men who had joined the Company as servants. Richard Glover argues that, due to competition for labour caused by the conscription of men for the military during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, common servants, mostly recruited from the Orkney Islands, were able to exert considerable pressure on their officers.<sup>67</sup> John Nicks has produced a detailed quantitative analysis of Orkneymen in the Hudson's Bay Company which demonstrates that a paternalistic relationship existed between the servants and the officers of the Company before the merger.<sup>68</sup> There was some incentive during the eighteenth century for the Orkneymen of the bayside posts to form ties with the indigenous population and pursue a career within the Company rather than to return home to the Orkneys with their savings. Nicks' study suggests that in the early decades of the nineteenth century service in the Hudson's Bay Company became far less appealing for the average Orkney



servant because there was less chance for advancement. Nicks argues that "at the end of the eighteenth century almost eighty percent of the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company were being recruited in the Orkneys" but by "1812 they accounted for about two-thirds of the total, and by the time of union less than forty percent."<sup>69</sup>

The character of the Hudson's Bay Company was to change radically under the direction of Thomas Douglas, Lord Selkirk, whose role in reorganizing the Company demonstrates how capitalists in key positions created market conditions which favoured their interests, thereby transforming the entire social order.<sup>70</sup> Thomas Douglas was the son of Dunbar Hamilton Douglas, the 4th Earl of Selkirk, whose ancestral estate was situated in Galloway, in southwestern Scotland. Although his father had supported the Stuart cause in 1715, Dunbar Douglas "declared allegiance to the Hanoverian monarchy and even helped raise volunteer soldiers . . . to fight the Pretender's army."<sup>71</sup> A noted "agricultural improver," Dunbar Douglas was also a "true whig."<sup>72</sup> Dunbar Douglas' philosophy was to be reflected in the works of his son Thomas, a political economist whose first publication was an untitled pamphlet which opposed taxation for relief of the poor because, he wrote, they would feel no gratitude if "the only aid they receive is extorted from the rich without their consent."<sup>73</sup> Such relief, he argued, would lead the poor to "believe that the assistance given them is their right" and any hardships suffered would be "considered as an injustice."<sup>74</sup>

In 1809, during a period when Hudson's Bay Company stock was trading at low prices due to competition with the North West Company, Selkirk and his sister's husband, John Halkett, began to make major investments in the Company.<sup>75</sup> In 1810, Andrew Wedderburn (later Colvile), who had married another of Selkirk's sisters in 1807, also invested in the Company, became a member of the London Committee and "interested himself greatly in improving the Company's organization and fortunes."<sup>76</sup> In 1811, soon after Selkirk and his relations became major shareholders, Selkirk was granted 116,000 square miles of land "astride the north-south and



east-west communications systems" of the North West Company.<sup>77</sup> The establishment of the Red River Settlement in this territory, called Assiniboia, was part of a deliberate strategy to cut the supply lines of the North West Company to the vital source of plains provisions in the Red River area. Although often represented as an act of benevolent concern for the plight of the Kildonan Scots, Selkirk gave little thought to the best interests of his future colonists, even depriving them, by his reckless promotion of his colonization scheme, of a chance to relocate on other lands.<sup>78</sup>

Litigation in the Canadian courts proved costly to Selkirk, yet his aim in creating the Red River Settlement was achieved only one year after his death with the merger of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821.<sup>79</sup> Despite the reorganization which took place in 1810, it was after the merger that the new directors of the Hudson's Bay Company, the most powerful of whom were relations of Selkirk, were able to implement their most radical reforms. George Simpson, a nephew of Geddes Mackenzie Simpson, was introduced into the fur trade by Andrew Wedderburn while employed as clerk in his uncle's firm of Graham, Simpson, and Wedderburn, West Indian merchants. Simpson reshaped the management structure and dismissed more than half the labour force of the Company. There is considerable evidence that the Company's new managers fostered a rigid class division between servants and officers which had begun with Wedderburn's introduction of profit sharing in 1810.<sup>80</sup> The Deed Poll of 1821, signed by all the Chief Traders and Chief Factors to be commissioned between 1821 and 1834, entitled them to receive a share of the profits. Unlike their salaried predecessors in the period before 1810, the commissioned officers now received a share of the 40 percent of the profits of the concern allotted to them. By this act they continued as shareholders in a capitalistic enterprise which made their interest in the concern fundamentally different from the lower-ranking servants of the Company. Seldom did a man hired as a servant achieve even the lowest clerical rank in the period after 1821.



Almost two-thirds of the commissioned officers of 1821 had been partners in the North West Company. Since it had been a common practice for bourgeois in the North West Company to marry daughters of the engages, the fur trade elite of the merged concern was from the beginning polyglot in origin.<sup>81</sup> The marriage pattern most prevalent among the officers of the Company after the merger was that between clerks or Chief Traders and the daughters of senior commissioned officers, with the result that many Chief Traders and Chief Factors in the period between 1821 and 1870 had wives who were Cree, French, and Catholic. In the period between 1845 and 1870 there are no confirmed cases of commissioned officers in Red River marrying outside the merchant class.

In the absence of solid evidence of any serious religious and racial tension between the various communities in Red River,<sup>82</sup> it seems logical to assume that the characteristic endogamy of the majority of the population in Red River was caused by a lack of social mobility rather than by racism. To understand this endogamous marriage pattern we must consider that the creation of a capitalistic labour market involved a reduction in opportunity for the great majority of men employed in the fur trade. According to Philip Goldring, the number of employees dismissed by the Company from 1821 to 1826 "amounted to 1233 or a reduction to 36 percent of the level at the time of amalgamation."<sup>83</sup> The only practical solution for many of the employees of the Company dismissed after the merger was to accept the offer of land in Red River as an alternative source of subsistence to the fur trade. The strategy of the Company in establishing Red River did not derive from a desire to encourage settlement of the lands under Company control. From 1821 until the death of Simpson in 1860, the Company pursued what has been aptly described as a "closed door policy" in its chartered territories.<sup>84</sup> This policy led to a period of economic stagnation in Red River accompanied by unusually high profits for the Hudson's Bay Company. For over forty years wage rates were kept below those existing in 1821. Within the Red River District



the Company preferred to engage servants by the hour, day, or job rather than permanently; thus in the period between 1830 and 1880 the number of permanent servants it employed varied between fifteen and twenty-two men.<sup>85</sup> The Company also hired many tripmen but these men were only employed during the brief period of open water and were forced to rely upon subsistence pursuits for the remainder of the year. The structure of society in Red River was a result of the desire of the capitalists who gained control of the Hudson's Bay Company in the first decade of the nineteenth century to create conditions which would enable them to reap higher profits. The rapid growth of population in Red River occurred after the achievement in 1821 of monopoly conditions that accompanied the reorganization of the Company in which the commissioned officers of the Company were confirmed as shareholders while more than half the work-force was dismissed from the service. Red River reflected this reorganization in that it evolved into a society composed of a tiny merchant class enriched by the profits of the trade and a majority of hunters and farmers existing at a subsistence level whose ranks also afforded the Company with an abundant reserve of casual labour. The demographic effect of the creation of a capitalistic labour market in Red River is that the majority of the population exhibited an endogamous marriage pattern in sharp contrast to the characteristic exogamy of the merchant class.<sup>86</sup>

As one of the few historians to attempt an explanation of social effects of the transition from mercantile to industrial capitalism in Canada, H. C. Pentland's work has been extremely influential. Since Marxist theory dictates that a change in the mode of production was the key to the historical transition to a class society, most Marxist historians have looked for evidence of class formation in response to industrialization.<sup>87</sup> This theoretical focus on industrialization among the Marxists in part explains Pentland's insistence that a capitalistic labour market did not emerge in Canada until the 1850s when early industrialization fostered the growth of wage labour.<sup>88</sup> The importance of understanding the development of a capitalistic labour market, "in



which the actions of workers and employers are governed and linked by impersonal considerations of immediate pecuniary advantage,"<sup>89</sup> is Pentland's most creative contribution to Canadian labour history.<sup>90</sup> Pentland believed the labour organization of the fur trade to be essentially pre-capitalist. He explains that "the system of labour organization that held sway in Canada until about 1850, neither slave nor capitalistic"<sup>91</sup> should be understood in terms of feudal labour relations. Pentland argues that the fur trade of the interior "provided classical conditions" for feudalism because "the companies, without a whisper of a labour market or labour reserve inland, were heavily dependent on the loyalty and permanence of their labour forces."<sup>92</sup> Yet this examination of the labour system of the Hudson's Bay Company suggests that, contrary to Pentland's interpretation, the formation of a monopoly in 1821 created a capitalistic labour market in Red River. Labour became a commodity and the social cost of maintaining the labour force was shifted from the Company to the people of Red River.

From the foregoing analysis, it is clear that, contrary to the assertion that racism is the "central theme of Red River's history rather than geography or economics,"<sup>93</sup> there is a direct linkage between economic innovation and the transformation of fur trade society. By employing a quantitative methodology which allows a systematic analysis of marriage patterns, it can be seen that the formation of capitalistic classes was more directly accomplished in Red River than in England where the Speenhamland Law moderated the pace of change.<sup>94</sup>

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to thank Prof. Arthur J. Ray for commenting on earlier drafts of this paper. I would also like to thank Prof. Douglas N. Sprague and Philip Goldring (Historian, Canadian Parks Service) for allowing me to examine data invaluable to the preparation of this essay. The author, of course, is responsible for the interpretations presented here.



## EDITOR'S NOTE

NSR does not have the ability to produce diacritical marks, and this should not indicate the author's intent to anglicize terms such as Metis.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Sylvia Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870 (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1980).

<sup>2</sup>Throughout this essay the term "Metis" is applied to all people of mixed Indian and European ancestry in Red River. As employed here the word "Metis" is not restricted to people of French and Catholic ancestry; to individuals who subscribe to particular political views; nor to people of lower socio-economic status.

<sup>3</sup>The Foss-Pelly scandal, which occurred in the summer and fall of 1850 in Red River, involved a suit of defamatory conspiracy instigated by Captain Christopher Vaughan Foss against Company clerk Augustus E. Pelly and several others who had accused Foss of adultery with Mrs. Sarah Ballenden, the Metis wife of Chief Factor John Ballenden.

<sup>4</sup>Frits Pannekoek, "The Churches and the Social Structure in the Red River Area, 1818-1850" (PhD Dissertation, Queen's University, 1973), p. 153.

<sup>5</sup>Pannekoek, p. 16.

<sup>6</sup>Sylvia Van Kirk, "'Destined to Raise Her Caste': Sarah Ballenden and the Foss-Pelly Scandal," Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Transactions, Series III, 31 (1974-5), p. 41.

<sup>7</sup>W.J. Healy, Women of Red River (Winnipeg: The Women's Canadian Club, 1923).

<sup>8</sup>Van Kirk, "Destined" notes 1 and 2, p. 50.

<sup>9</sup>Sylvia Van Kirk, "The Role of Women in the Fur Trade Society of the Canadian West, 1700-1850" (PhD Dissertation, University of London, 1975), p. 21.

<sup>10</sup>Van Kirk, "The Role of Women" p. 21.

<sup>11</sup>Van Kirk, "Destined" p. 49.



<sup>12</sup>Van Kirk, "Destined" pp. 49-50.

<sup>13</sup>Van Kirk, "Destined" p. 50.

<sup>14</sup>Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties" p. 242.

<sup>15</sup>Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties" p. 231.

<sup>16</sup>E.H. Oliver, ed., The Canadian North-West: Its Early Development and Legislative Records, vol.1 (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1914), p. 624.

<sup>17</sup>Philip Goldring, "Governor Simpson's Officers: Elite Recruitment in a British Overseas Enterprise, 1834-1870," Prairie Forum, 10 (Autumn, 1985), pp. 276-278.

<sup>18</sup>G.P. de T. Glazebrook, ed., The Hargrave Correspondence 1821-1843 (Toronto: Champlain Society, XXIV), pp. 310-311.

<sup>19</sup>See W. Kaye Lamb, "Dallas, Alexander Grant," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 10, pp.230-1, and B.A. McKelvie, "Successor to Simpson," The Beaver (September, 1951), pp. 41-45.

<sup>20</sup>N. Jaye Goossen, "Mactavish, William," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 9, p. 530.

<sup>21</sup>Van Kirk explains that Simpson's close friend, Chief Factor John George McTavish, abandoned several Metis women and later married Catherine Turner, of Aberdeenshire, in 1830. However, she fails to consider that William Mactavish and his brother Dugald, nephews of McTavish who benefitted from his patronage, did not follow his example in later years. On the kinship relationships of the McTavish clan see, Jennifer S.H. Brown, 'Strangers in Blood': Fur Trade Families in Indian Country (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), pp. 39-41. Another example of the continuing tendency of Company officers to marry Metis women is the marriage of one of McTavish's own illegitimate daughters, Grace, to Charles Dodd on 22 Nov. 1842, following which Dodd was placed in charge of Fort Stikine; Van Kirk consigns this marriage to a footnote. Dodd was to become Chief Trader in 1852 and Chief Factor in 1860. For details of Dodd's career see, Shirlee Anne Smith, "Dodd, Charles," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 7, pp. 226-227.

<sup>22</sup>Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties," p. 179.



<sup>23</sup>The family connections of Andrew McDermot, a Roman Catholic born in Castlereagh, Ireland, in 1790, reveal the religious and ethnic diversity of the merchant class. While many of his 17 Metis children were baptized in the Anglican Church and he converted to that faith in 1866, his daughter Mary remained a Roman Catholic despite her marriage to the Protestant Chief Trader (later Governor of Assiniboia) William Mactavish, while several other family members married French Catholic Metis. Much of the detailed information on the McDermot family in this essay is based on the research of Manitoba archivist, Barry Hyman. I would like to thank him for sending me the unpublished notes to his article "McDermot, Andrew," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 9, pp. 545-546. A detailed list of the marriages of McDermot's children is given in Hyman, "Notes," pp. 6-7.

<sup>24</sup>Before he married Annabella Ross, Curtis Bird had married her sister, Frances Ross, in 1862. He served as coroner of the District of Assiniboia following the death of Dr. John Bunn in 1861; as a member of the Council of Assiniboia; on Louis Riel's provisional government; and as a member of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba in 1870 and 1874. See, W.D. Smith, "Bird, Curtis James," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 10, pp. 67-68.

<sup>25</sup>Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties," pp. 204-205. Simpson married his own cousin, Frances in February 1830.

<sup>26</sup>The marriage may have taken place on 10 August 1842. See Lois Halliday McDonald, ed., Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1980), p. 247.

<sup>27</sup>Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties," p. 164 and p. 275, note 62.

<sup>28</sup>Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties," p. 233.

<sup>29</sup>Joan Craig, "Clare, James Robert," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 9, pp. 130-131.

<sup>30</sup>Kenneth L. Holmes, "Murray, Alexander Hunter," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 10, p. 541.

<sup>31</sup>Although she does not mention this relationship in "Many Tender Ties", Van Kirk was aware that A.G.B. Bannatyne was John Ballenden's nephew as she reveals in her article "McLeod, Sarah," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 7, p. 574.



<sup>32</sup>University of British Columbia, Special Collections Division, Lane Papers, Box 4, Folder 4-9, W.D. Lane to his mother, White Horse Plains, Red River Settlement, 25 June 1862 and Box 3, Folder 3-35, Eliza Lee Lane to W.D. Lane, 20 April 1872.

<sup>33</sup>Born at Grafton, Ontario, on 11 June 1837, McTavish was the son of George Simpson's illegitimate daughter Maria, who was born in Scotland, and of Donald McTavish. See, John S. Galbraith, The Little Emperor: Governor Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1976), p. 129.

<sup>34</sup>Information about McTavish, who was later to become a member of the Council of the North West Territories, is given in E.H. Oliver, The Canadian North West, p. 127.

<sup>35</sup>The date of McTavish's marriage is unknown but Sophia died before December 1864. See Hudson's Bay Company Archives (Hereafter HBCA), A.36/11, N to R, cited by J.G. MacGregor, John Rowand: Czar of the Prairies (Saskatoon: Western Prairie Producer Books, 1978), p. 175, and p. 184, Epilogue, notes 2 and 3.

<sup>36</sup>The reminiscences of Flett's daughter, Mrs. A.T. Cowley, reveal nothing about the racial origins of her parents. See, A.T. Cowley, "Lower Fort Garry in 1868," The Beaver (September, 1938), pp. 39-41.

<sup>37</sup>The name and racial origin of William Flett's wife was found by Hudson's Bay Company Archivist, Michael G. Moosberger, who cites, in a letter to the author, Provincial Archives of Manitoba (Hereafter PAM), Red River Census 1870, 707, p. 199. See also, D.N. Sprague, The Genealogy of the First Metis Nation, Table 1, William Flett, no. 1606, which lists William Flett as a European.

<sup>38</sup>Sylvia Van Kirk, "Destined" p. 50.

<sup>39</sup>On the exodus of the Metis population after 1870, see, D.N. Sprague and P.R. Mailhot, "Persistent Settlers: The Dispersal and Resettlement of the Red River Metis, 1870-85," Canadian Ethnic Studies, 17 (1985), pp. 1-30.

<sup>40</sup>The post-confederation status of the Metis descendants of Hudson's Bay Company officers who served in Red River has received little consideration to date. To judge by the children of Roderick McKenzie and his Nipigon wife Angelique, however, many maintained their position within the elite. For a detailed account of the McKenzie family, see Elizabeth M. Arthur, "Angelique and Her Children," Thunder Bay Museum, Papers and Records, 6 (1978), pp. 30-40. Philip Goldring, a historian for the Canadian Parks Service, provided this reference.



<sup>41</sup>Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties," pp. 142, 151.

<sup>42</sup>A.F.J. Artibise, "Mayor Alexander Logan of Winnipeg," The Beaver (Spring, 1974), p. 5.

<sup>43</sup>Artibise, p. 5.

<sup>44</sup>"Andrew Graham Ballenden Bannatyne, 1829-1889: First Citizen of Winnipeg," Manitoba Pageant, 11 (1), p. 13.

<sup>45</sup>For a case study which shows that marriages between Hudson's Bay Company officers and Indian women were accepted practice in Fort Langley long after they had become uncommon in Red River, see Janet McNeill, "Fort Langley: A Case Study of the Relations Between the Fur Traders and Native Women" (BA Honors Essay, University of British Columbia, 1982).

<sup>46</sup>The list of officers in charge of Fort Garry and Lower Fort Garry was taken from two lists compiled by archivists at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives and obtained by University of British Columbia history instructor H. Keith Ralston. See, HBCA, Search File, "Men in Charge of Fort Garry at the Forks," L.C. 27255, 9 December 1963 and HBCA, Search File, "Men in Charge of Lower Fort Garry," L.C. 27255, 9 December 1963. Lane's Post, located on the Assiniboine near St. Francois-Xavier parish, where William D. Lane spent most of his career, was within the boundaries of Red River and has been included also. The names of the wives of these officers have been compiled from numerous sources.

<sup>47</sup>Glyndwr Williams, ed., "The 'Character Book' of George Simpson," in Williams, ed., Hudson's Bay Miscellany, 1670-1870 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1975), p. 226.

<sup>48</sup>Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Keith, George," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 8, p. 454.

<sup>49</sup>Clifford Wilson, "Private Letters from the Fur Trade," Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Transactions, Series III, 5 (1950), p. 33.

<sup>50</sup>William R. Sampson, "Work, John," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 9, p. 853.

<sup>51</sup>Roderick Campbell, "Reminiscences of Hudson's Bay Pioneers: Alexander Lillie," The Beaver (October, 1923), p. 17.



<sup>52</sup>Nor'Wester, "Opposition in the North," 1 August 1861.

<sup>53</sup>W.L. Morton, ed., Alexander Begg's Red River Journal and other papers relative to the Red River Resistance of 1869-70 (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1956), pp. 10-11.

<sup>54</sup>Nicole J.M. St. Onge presents a convincing empirical analysis of the social structure of Pointe a Grouette, a small Metis community located 70 kilometres south of Red River. See, St. Onge, "Metis and Merchant Capital in Red River: The Decline of Pointe a Grouette, 1860 - 1885," (MA Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1983); St. Onge, "The Dissolution of a Metis Community: Pointe a Grouette, 1860 - 1885," Studies in Political Economy, 18 (Fall, 1985), pp. 149-172. St. Onge argues that the population of Pointe a Grouette was sharply divided along class lines between the merchant farmers and the hunters with the result that the former proved far more successful in obtaining title to their river lots. Despite the clarity of her analysis, the definition of class adopted by St. Onge is highly idiosyncratic. In defining the Metis as a "people-class," St. Onge appears to perpetuate the idea that Metis ethnicity was limited to French-Catholic buffalo hunters.

<sup>55</sup>J.E. Rea, "Bannatyne, Andrew Graham Ballenden," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 11, p. 47.

<sup>56</sup>Hyman, "McDermot," p. 546.

<sup>57</sup>See, Oliver, p. 127.

<sup>58</sup>Kittson's marriage crossed both racial and religious lines. His partner J.J. Hill, a Protestant from Rockwood, Canada West, married Mary Mehegan, a Roman Catholic. Nearly all the men connected with the merchant class in Red River married outside their own religious or racial group. For details about Hill see, Albro Martin, James J. Hill and the Opening of the Northwest (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

<sup>59</sup>Donald A. Smith was a relative of Cuthbert Grant who had married Isabella, the daughter of Chief Factor Richard Hardisty and his Metis wife Margaret Sutherland. Smith was introduced into the fur trade by John Stuart, who was himself introduced by Cuthbert Grant Sr. of the North West Company. Smith was a native of Strathspey, the ancestral home of the Grants in Scotland, and he was "descended from Grants on both his father's and his mother's side." See, W.S. Wallace, "Strathspey in the Canadian Fur-Trade," in R. Flenley, ed., Essays in Canadian History Presented to George Mackinnon Wrong (Toronto: Macmillan, 1939), pp. 278-279.



<sup>60</sup>Henry C. Klassen, "Kittson, Norman Wolfred," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 11, p. 477.

<sup>61</sup>Figures 1-8 are graphs created from a data base which was originally used to test hypotheses about land tenure in Red River. For the printed version of this data base see, D.N. Sprague and R.P. Frye, comps., The Genealogy of the First Metis Nation, intro. by D. N. Sprague (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1983). I would like to thank Douglas Sprague for providing me with a machine readable form of this data base. Since the actual marriage dates were not included in the data base, the marriages have been sorted on the basis of the date of birth of the female partner (each bar represents marriages over a number of years). Figures 1, 3, 5 and 7 represent the number of marriages in each category in percentage terms while Figures 2, 4, 6 and 8 show the actual number of observations in each category. I also would like to thank Virginia Green of Arts Computing at the University of British Columbia for her help in producing these graphs.

<sup>62</sup>Since these graphs are based on the birth-dates of the female partners it is obvious that women with multiple marriages form a potential source of error. In spite of this problem, these graphs appear to be a fair representation of the degree of exogamy in the population at large because the results confirm the impression formed by reconstructing the genealogies of individual families. Sprague and Frye have used a sophisticated form of record linkage by paternal ID number to facilitate such research.

<sup>63</sup>Goldring, "Governor Simpson's Officers," p. 261. I would like to thank Philip Goldring for sending me a copy of an earlier version of this paper.

<sup>64</sup>Wilson, "Private Letters," p. 24.

<sup>65</sup>Sprague and Frye, The Genealogy.

<sup>66</sup>Philip Goldring, "Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821-1900: Volume I," Manuscript Report Series, no. 362 (Environment Canada, National Historic Sites, 1979), p. 28.

<sup>67</sup>R. Glover, "The Difficulties of the Hudson's Bay Company's Penetration of the West," Canadian Historical Review, 29 (1948), pp. 240-254.

<sup>68</sup>John Nicks, "Orkneymen in the HBC 1780-1821," in Carol M. Judd and Arthur J. Ray, eds., Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. 102-126.



<sup>69</sup>Nicks, p. 102.

<sup>70</sup>A perceptive early attempt to explain the intentions of the owners of the Hudson's Bay Company in creating the Red River settlement, which neglects the effects of Company policies on fur trade society, is A.S. Morton, "The Place of the Red River Settlement in the Plans of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1812-1825," Canadian Historical Association, Report (1929), pp. 103-109. The social implications of the reorganization of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 are more fully considered by Carol Judd whose approach differs with the interpretation given here in that she focuses upon social stratification by employment rather than capitalistic class divisions. This approach causes Judd to emphasize the importance of racism in shaping society while ignoring economic forces, a characteristic she shares with Sylvia Van Kirk. See Carol Judd, "Native Labour and Social Stratification in the Hudson's Bay Company's Northern Department, 1770-1870," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 17 (1980), pp. 305-314.

<sup>71</sup>J.M. Bumsted, "Introduction," in Bumsted, ed., The Collected Writings of Lord Selkirk, 1799-1809, vol. VII, The Manitoba Record Society Publications (Winnipeg: The Manitoba Record Society, 1984), p. 2.

<sup>72</sup>Bumsted, p. 2.

<sup>73</sup>Bumsted, p. 23.

<sup>74</sup>Bumsted, p. 23.

<sup>75</sup>Brown, Strangers in Blood, p. 116.

<sup>76</sup>Brown, Strangers in Blood, p. 116.

<sup>77</sup>Galbraith, p. 20.

<sup>78</sup>J.M. Bumsted, "Lord Selkirk's Highland Regiment and the Kildonan Settlers," The Beaver (Autumn, 1978), p. 19.

<sup>79</sup>F.L. Barron, "Victimizing His Lordship: Lord Selkirk and the Upper Canadian Courts," Manitoba History (Spring, 1982), pp. 14-22.

<sup>80</sup>HBCA, "H.B.C. Fur Trade Commissions," Unclass., D.D., G13, Fur Trade 1931-34. This internal memorandum of the Hudson's Bay Company was drawn to my attention by Arthur J.



Ray as evidence of the earliest introduction of profit-sharing by the Company.

<sup>81</sup>Sylvia Van Kirk states that "the most significant feature of the emerging pattern among the Nor'Westers was the extent to which the bourgeois married daughters of the French Canadian engages or freemen - unions which cut across both class and racial lines." See Van Kirk, "The Role of Women," p. 15.

<sup>82</sup>Frits Pannekoek's argument that the events of 1869-70 should be understood as a civil war between the Protestant and Catholic Metis communities based on persistent religious and racial animosities is refuted by Irene Spry, "The Metis and Mixed-Bloods of Rupert's Land Before 1870," in Jennifer S.H. Brown and Jacqueline Peterson, eds., The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985). I am grateful to Prof. Spry for sending me an earlier version of this paper. For further discussion of the idea that, regardless of the diverse European nations and religions of which it was composed, the majority of the Metis population of Red River shared a common Cree culture and depended for its subsistence on trade involving an extended Cree kinship system see, "Cree Affinities in Red River," and "The Invasion of Red River," Chapters 2 and 3 of my thesis, "The Whig Interpretation of the History of Red River" (MA Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1986).

<sup>83</sup>Goldring, "Papers," p. 32.

<sup>84</sup>Goldring, "Papers," p. 30.

<sup>85</sup>Goldring, "Papers," Table 3.2.1, Size of Workforce Deployed in Each District and Zone, p. 71.

<sup>86</sup>While the introduction of a capitalistic labour market in Red River fundamentally changed the nature of fur trade society, the system of personal labour relations which had prevailed before 1821 was to continue in the more remote areas until at least 1890. The retention of permanent employees of the Company in the period after 1821 allowed the Company to counter the growing demands of employees hired in Red River; these permanent employees tended to be sojourners who were not as interested as their predecessors in remaining with the Company for long periods. For a comprehensive analysis of the nature of the permanent workforce after 1821 see Philip Goldring, "Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821 - 1900: Volume III," Microfiche Report Series, No. 299 (Environment Canada, National Historic Sites, 1982).



<sup>87</sup>A number of Marxist interpretations of the position of the Metis in the fur trade have appeared which offer an alternative to Pentland's ideas including: Russell G. Rothney, "Mercantile Capital and the Livelihood of Residents of the Hudson's Bay Basin: A Marxist Interpretation" (MA Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1975); Ron Bourgeault, "The Indian, the Metis and the Fur Trade: Class, Sexism and Racism in the Transition from 'Communism' to Capitalism," Studies in Political Economy, 12 (Autumn, 1984), pp. 45-80; Ron Bourgeault, "Class, Race and Gender: Political Economy and the Canadian Fur Trade 1670s to 1820s" (MA Thesis, University of Regina, 1986). While these studies discuss the development of fur trade society from a Marxist perspective they do not provide empirical evidence of class formation despite the availability of a large body of genealogical and demographic data. An example of the continuing tendency of Marxists to ignore empirical data for ideological reasons is Ron Bourgeault's endorsement of Sylvia Van Kirk's findings about fur trade marriage patterns because of his belief that capitalism fosters racism and sexism. Bourgeault concurs with Van Kirk's findings in his statement that "during the 1830s and onward Half-breed women within the elite ranks of the European colonial/Company administrators (officer class) were being displaced by European women." See Bourgeault, "The Indian, the Metis and the Fur Trade," p. 68.

<sup>88</sup>A somewhat atypical Marxist interpretation of fur trade history, in which it is claimed that Chipewyan and Cree society in the Fort Chipewyan region were transformed from an aboriginal to a capitalist mode of production after 1821, is presented in Patricia A. McCormack, "Becoming Trappers: The Transformation to a Fur Trade Mode of Production at Fort Chipewyan," in Thomas C. Buckley, ed., Rendezvous: Selected Papers of the Fourth North American Fur Trade Conference, 1981 (St. Paul, Minnesota: North American Fur Trade Conference, 1983), pp. 155-173.

<sup>89</sup>H. Clare Pentland, "The Development of a Capitalistic Labour Market in Canada," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 25 (1959), p. 450.

<sup>90</sup>For a critique of Pentland's views on the role of Irish immigration in creating a capitalistic labour market in Canada see, Donald Harmon Akenson, "H. Clare Pentland, the Irish, and the New Canadian Social History," in Akenson, Being Had: Historians, Evidence, and the Irish in North America (Don Mills, Ontario: P.D. Meany Publishers, 1985), pp. 109-142.

<sup>91</sup>Pentland, p. 451.

<sup>92</sup>Pentland, p. 454.



<sup>93</sup>Frits Pannekoek, "The Historiography of the Red River Settlement 1830-1868," Prairie Forum, 6 (Spring, 1981), p. 84.

<sup>94</sup>For an explanation of how the Speenhamland Law prevented the creation of a capitalistic labour market in England during the most active period of the Industrial Revolution from 1795-1834, see Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation (New York: Octagon Books, 1975, Original 1944), pp. 77-85.