

THE ROLE OF AGRICULTURE IN AN ENGLISH SPEAKING
HALFBREED ECONOMY: THE CASE
OF ST. ANDREW'S, RED RIVER

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INTRODUCTION

Until recently historians have characterized agriculture in Red River as primitive, essentially subsistence in nature, and incapable of freeing the economy of the colony from the constraints of the fur trade. As far back as Alexander Ross, writers have labelled farming in the settlement before 1870 to be largely subsistence based and for the Metis and English-speaking Halfbreeds¹ to be almost always subservient to the buffalo hunt and such economic pursuits as freighting, hunting and the trade in furs.² In his book The Red River Settlement, first published in 1856, Ross described the Metis and Halfbreed population in the settlement as living a "ragged life which habit has made familiar to them The multiplicity of their pursuits," he argued, "oftener lost the advantage of all than accomplish one."³ According to the explorer Henry Youle Hind, who arrived in Red River in 1857, "no one can fail to be struck with the indifference to the future which seems habitually to characterize the people, especially the French portion of the population, [which shows] itself in their unfinished dwellings [and] neglected farms."⁴ Writing in the 1940s the ethnologist Marcel Giraud described the "natural inclination" which he maintained created a "struggle between two incompatible environments" with the colony.⁵ The notion of tension between the hunt and the farm is a theme later picked up by historian W.L. Morton. He argued that the dominance within Red River of a buffalo-hunting economy served to effectively discourage the development of a purely agricultural community before 1870. The two economies, he contended, acted as a "fatal check" upon each other, depressing returns in a limited local market.⁶ Like Morton, George Stanley believed the economic behaviour of Red River's Native population to be irrational, improvident and largely non-adaptive.⁷ In short, Giraud, Stanley

and Morton considered the settlement's Metis and Halfbreeds to be the nomadic "misfits" of the pre-1870 West.

More recently geographer Barry Kaye and historian Leland Clarke have put forward the notion that the two economies of Red River were more complementary than competitive.⁸ They maintain that in times of agricultural scarcity the returns from the hunt and the fisheries went a long way toward feeding the settlement's population. Likewise, when the buffalo hunt failed or returns were meager, the hunters relied almost exclusively upon agricultural foodstuffs produced in the settlement. While both Kaye and Clarke believe that the distinction drawn between farmers and hunters should not be over-emphasized they generally concede that, compared to the larger Mixedblood population, the Kildonan Scots agriculturalists represented the most "progressive" element within Red River society. In much of Red River historiography the Metis and Halfbreeds are considered part of a primitive and subsistence economy while the Europeans, located at the upper settlement (or the parishes of St. John's and Kildonan) represented the potential for the introduction of staple agriculture in the West. The colony failed, it is often argued, because of its reliance upon a mixed or "hybrid" economy in the decades prior to Manitoba's entry into Confederation.⁹

An analysis of the economy of St. Andrew's parish between 1830 and 1870 suggests an alternative model, however. In a community characterized by scarce resources and a primitive technology, the mixed economy of this predominantly Halfbreed parish appeared well adapted to the limited economic opportunities offered by Red River in the nineteenth century. Combining small scale agriculture with hunting, freighting for the Hudson's Bay Company and other commercial pursuits, the settlers at St. Andrew's demonstrated a flexible economic strategy that was superior to that of their Scottish neighbors at the upper settlement. Faced with few markets for their farm produce, a harsh climate and the limited availability of up-to-date agricultural techniques and technology, the Selkirk settlers were ill-equipped to establish a stable agricultural economy in Red River.¹⁰ St.

Andrew's settlers, on the other hand, maintained a mixed economic base as a deliberate and practical solution to the greatest problem facing the settlement, the problem of scarcity. Hunting wild game, fishing, working as wage laborers for the HBC, milling, gathering wild fruit or participating in the private trade in furs allowed Halfbreed families to overcome the fragility of agriculture in Red River, especially in the early years of the colony. An analysis of census data for 1835 and 1849 suggests that, as traditional economic opportunities declined in Red River, participation in agriculture at St. Andrew's increased significantly over this period. It is proposed that this increased commitment represented a rational adaptive response to the changing circumstances that were occurring in Red River in the 1840s, a decade which saw diminished opportunities with the HBC for the Metis and Halfbreeds, new restrictions on free trade, and the decline of the buffalo hunt.

The commonly held view that a subsistence economy characterized Red River in the half-century before 1870 can also be challenged. Evidence from St. Andrew's suggests that, in fact, a commercial economy existed within the parish and was distinguished by such activities as the acquisition of land, the sale of wage labour, the exchange of goods and services and, through the fur trade, was tied to international commodity capitalism.

Originally called Grand Rapids, St. Andrew's parish was settled after 1823 by retiring Native-born servants and Orkney-born officers of the Hudson's Bay Company.¹¹ Settling their Halfbreed families on the long narrow riverlots which fronted the Red River (on grants ranging from 50 to 100 acres each),¹² the new colonists pursued a variety of commercial activities. The mixed economy that characterized St. Andrew's, as well as that of the other Metis parishes in Red River, helped facilitate Company operations in Rupertsland. With the introduction of larger scale farming to the colony (limited agriculture had formed a part of fur trade post life as far back as the eighteenth century), the HBC hoped to maintain a regular supply of country produce to its interior posts. Additionally, the settlement represented an

accessible labour pool for work on the boat and cart brigades and, through participation in the buffalo hunt, helped guarantee the Company the supply of fresh and dried meat crucial to its expansion north and west into the lucrative Athabasca district.

The Halfbreed families of St. Andrew's and the lower settlement¹³ were the product of what John Foster has called "the Bay tradition."¹⁴ Differing Mixedblood experiences characterized the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies and were based upon varying traditions of language, community and culture. The intermarriage of HBC servants and Native women created a progeny whose world view was shaped to some degree by the traditions of their Indian mothers, but to a greater extent by practices derived from the culture of their European fathers.¹⁵ The Anglo-Christian experience of the Hudson's Bay Company strongly supported the preponderance of British practices within the fur trade. With its imperialist and centralist organizational structure, as well as the presence of British-born officers and servants at its posts, the Company ensured the survival of customs derived from a European example. When those English-speaking Halfbreeds who chose to immigrate to Red River arrived at St. Andrew's they carried with them the cultural baggage of this trading post tradition.

The community that developed at the Rapids in the 1830s was not a homogeneous one. A social hierarchy evolved in the parish based upon status and class. At the top were the small handful of "principal settlers," composed of the wealthier European, former Company officers and their families. Possessed of considerable capital (as well as management and literacy skills) from their days in the fur trade, settlers such as James Sutherland and Donald Gunn were able to afford the land, livestock and implements needed to run a moderately successful farm at the Rapids. Below this group was the larger population of retired engages, the Halfbreeds who had once served as boatmen, labourers and provisioners at Company posts throughout Rupertsland. Now re-settled in Red River, most did not possess the resources necessary to maintain a large farm. While a small group of principal

settlers were cultivating between 10 and 25 acres and maintaining sizeable herds of livestock by the mid-1830s, most colonists within the parish had less than 7 acres under the plow and stabled only a few head of cattle. Economic standing within this community defined social status and restricted access to political power and a superior education. In turn, education helped to perpetuate, if not enhance, class divisions within the settlement. At least in the early days of the parish, the Halfbreed sons and daughters of the principal settlers enjoyed a status and opportunity in keeping with their fathers' favoured financial position.

An important part of community life in the parish was the Anglican mission founded by the Rev. William Cockran at St. Andrew's in 1829. A key part of Cockran's evangelizing efforts at the Rapids was the mission farm which was designed to "improve the religious, moral and industrious habits" of the Halfbreed settlers.¹⁶ Cockran strongly believed agriculture to be an important catalyst in the introduction of an Anglo-Christian world view in Red River. At lot 77, on the west side of the Red River, the missionary constructed a barn and stable, and kept about 30 head of cattle. Wheat, barley, potatoes and a few vegetables were cultivated. Cockran used the mission farm to teach basic agricultural techniques to the local settlers in order to lead them from what he called the "vagaries of the hunt" so that they might "procure their livelihood in an honorable honest manner." For the Anglican Church at St. Andrew's, knowledge of the gospel and the inculcation of Anglo-Christian values among the Halfbreeds could only be achieved through a repudiation of the hunt and the adoption of an agrarian, pastoral model of self-sufficiency.

Although Cockran's farm expanded quickly, tripling in size from seven to 20 acres between 1830 and 1833, it was ultimately unsuccessful. Heavy rains, insects, early frosts and a destructive prairie fire in 1839, were instrumental in keeping crop yields low throughout the 1830s. By 1847 only 29 acres were being cultivated and eventually half of the farm was leased to a "respectable tenant."¹⁷

But there were reasons other than bad weather to account for the failure of the mission farm at St. Andrew's. As Frits Pannekoek has argued, the lack of success of Protestant mission farms in the west could be traced to the Church's belief in the basic inferiority of the Indian and Halfbreed and the missionaries' inability to change their idyllic concept of agriculture to suit the harsh environment of the prairies.¹⁸ Such was the case at St. Andrew's. Cockran, though well trained as a farmer in Britain, attempted to achieve an agricultural operation that was unsuited to the climate of Red River, the rudimentary techniques of cultivation, and the backwardness of farm technology that existed in the parish prior to 1870. The missionary hoped to use the farm and the teaching of agricultural values to bring about a dramatic social and cultural change in aboriginal life at St. Andrew's. As the great majority of new settlers at the Rapids were former HBC voyageurs and labourers, Cockran attempted to overturn fur trade culture in order to purge the community of "traditional" customs and behaviours. In their place he hoped to create a new society of settled agriculturalists, a Christian community divorced from the economy and social traditions of the fur trade. Cockran's mistake was to fail to realize the colony's fundamental commercial ties with the fur trade and the practicality of a mixed-economy in the parish.

FARMING IN RED RIVER

Before 1870 Red River was essentially a riparian settlement. This development pattern was the result of a variety of factors which effectively served to restrict habitation to the long narrow lots which bordered the Red and Assiniboine. The rivers facilitated transportation and their banks provided the timber necessary for both fuel and shelter. Only near the river's edge was the land considered viable for cultivation. Moreover, the Red and Assiniboine and their tributaries provided the main source of water for the settlement as well as fish to supplement the local diet.

The pattern of land use at St. Andrew's, and throughout the colony, derived from the infield and outfield system found in Scotland and brought to Red River by the Selkirk settlers.¹⁹ The Red River colonist's home, assorted outbuildings and small kitchen garden were located near the river's edge. Behind the farmstead was situated the infield or the small fenced and cultivated "parks" where the farmer grew his cereal and garden crops. Beyond the infield, and occupying the rest of the two mile lot, stretched the larger outfield. While some settlers submitted the outfield to the occasional cropping, most used these unfenced areas to graze their livestock. As well, each settler possessed a "haying privilege" on the two miles of land located adjacent to his particular lot. Beyond the hay privilege, colonists in Red River possessed equal rights to the hay and timber of what became known as "the common."²⁰

The majority of crops grown in Red River were field crops, primarily wheat, barley and potatoes. Wheat accounted for about 65 percent of the total cultivated acreage. Seeding in the colony generally took place between the last week of April and the third week of May.²¹ Depending upon weather conditions, and for many the timing of the fall buffalo hunt, harvesting of the wheat crop could occur anytime between mid-August and mid-September. In the early years of the colony seed wheat was brought from England and the United States.²² The most common variety of wheat in Red River before 1850 was Prairie du Chien, although other strains such as Black Sea became popular in later decades. An early maturing wheat, Prairie du Chien was a soft grain suitable for grinding in the wind and water mills located throughout the colony. Barley was the second most common grain crop in Red River and was used for brewing, bread-making, barley broth (at least among the inhabitants of the English-speaking parishes) and as livestock feed. The most consistent crop in Red River, however, was the potato, grown both as a field crop and in gardens. In the years when the grain crop failed, especially in the early days of the colony, potatoes (along with fish and pemmican) provided much of the basic sustenance for the

inhabitants of Red River. The potato was generally able to survive such common calamities as early frosts, periodic flooding, and insects. Oats were also sown as field crops, although the quantity never rivalled that of wheat, barley and potatoes. Oats did not do well in the hot, dry summers of Red River, preferring a climate that was both cool and wet.

Aside from cereal crops, Red River farmers grew vegetables in the small gardens located adjacent to their riverfront houses. These included carrots, cabbages, cauliflower, celery, onions, turnips, beets and peas. Crops indigenous to North America also played a small role in Red River agriculture, including Indian corn and squash.²³ There were few attempts by local farmers to introduce fruit cultivation into the settlement. Most settlers simply gathered the wild berries of the plains.

While it is relatively easy to locate information concerning cultivation patterns and the types of crops grown in Red River as a whole, it is more difficult to ascertain the specific crop preferences of settlers in St. Andrew's parish in the nineteenth century. However, by identifying St. Andrew's households in 1835 and 1849 and then linking this information with Red River census data for the same years, it is possible to calculate the average amount of acreage under cultivation in the parish. Similar data can be obtained in relation to livestock, farm implements, barns, sheds and carts. Initially, the information will allow us to determine whether agricultural activity in St. Andrew's parish increased or decreased over time. Moreover the data can also be used to assess the distinctiveness of agricultural activity at St. Andrew's vis-a-vis the settlement as a whole. When this information is coupled with a variety of other documentary sources, a picture emerges of the evolving economy of St. Andrew's parish in the nineteenth century.

Throughout its history Red River was well documented by census takers. A total of 11 censuses were carried out by the Hudson's Bay Company at irregular intervals between 1824 and 1856.²⁴ Remarkably complete, these documents give a detailed breakdown of demographic elements in Red River during the

settlement's formative years. While enumerators recorded the names of only the heads of households, they documented a large number of variables for each, including sex, religion, birthplace, married and unmarried males and females living in the household, sons over and under the age of 16, daughters over and under the age of 15 as well as male and female servants. Each census also included a breakdown per household of the number of houses, barns, stables, agricultural implements (ploughs and harrows), livestock (horses, cattle, sheep, oxen and swine), boats, carts, and acreage under cultivation. The Red River censuses failed to assign parish affiliation before 1870. Lower Settlement, Cree Settlement, Saulteaux Settlement and Grantown were the only geographical designations made by HBC enumerators prior to 1849 when the designations "Protestant Settlement" and "Catholic Settlement" were added. Therefore, company files respecting land grants, as well as parish records, were used to identify heads of households in St. Andrew's for the year 1835. When George Taylor surveyed Red River parishes in 1835 he prepared memoranda which reflected existing occupancy. The Company entered Taylor's field notes into account books indicating whether individual land grants had been made via purchase from the Company or as a prior grant from Lord Selkirk. For 1849 the list of settlers in St. Andrew's was determined using parish records, Church Missionary Society journals, the 1835 designations, and the parish affiliations of settlers provided in the first provincial census of 1870.²⁵

CULTIVATED ACREAGE

In 1835 there were 559 households in the Red River settlement cultivating a total of 3,237 acres. The mean average acreage under cultivation in the colony that year was 5.7 acres per household. At St. Andrew's in 1835, 97 farmers were cultivating a total of 568 acres, for an average per settler of 5.8 acres under the plough. Of course, many settlers in the parish had little or no land under cultivation. Seventeen householders in St. Andrew's (representing 17.5 percent of the total) recorded no cultivated acreage, while 19 farmers (or 19.5 percent) had over ten

acres of ploughed land in 1835. A few of the wealthier inhabitants such as James Sutherland, James Whitway and Andrew Setter reported in excess of 15 acres of cultivated land at St. Andrew's.

What is of particular interest is that the average amount of cultivated land at St. Andrew's in 1835 is almost identical to the overall average for Red River in the same year. While cultivated acreage was far from evenly distributed throughout the colony (Scottish settlers near the Forks ploughed more land than did the Metis inhabitants of Grantown) it is evident that St. Andrew's settlers could be considered "representative" of the overall level of agricultural activity in Red River in the 1830s, at least in terms of ploughed land. With 17.3 percent of the landowners in the colony, St. Andrew's boasted 17.5 percent of the total of cultivated land, a figure which indicates that St. Andrew's residents were more than likely developing a level of agricultural activity that was typical of the settlement as a whole.

By 1849 the amount of cultivated land in the parish, when compared with the totals of the settlement as a whole, had increased. That year 185 households in St. Andrew's cultivated a total of 1558 acres, for a mean average per settler of 8.4 acres. According to the 1849 census, there was a total of 6,392 cultivated acres in Red River distributed among 1,052 households, an average acreage per household of only 6.0 acres, or 2.4 acres per farmer less than the amount of land being cultivated at St. Andrew's. Although the ratio of population density and cultivated acreage between St. Andrew's and the whole of the Red River settlement was fairly equitable in 1835, the figures had changed by 1849. With less than 18 percent of the total number of households in Red River, the parish possessed 24 percent of the cultivated land in the settlement. Clearly, where St. Andrew's had been relatively typical of cultivation patterns in the early years of the Red River colony, by 1849 the parish was one of the stronger agricultural regions in the settlement.

Again, it is instructive to look at the distribution of cultivated acreage within the parish itself. According to census

data, the percentage of those in St. Andrew's who had no cultivated land remained the same in 1835 and 1849. However, the percentage of farmers who cultivated between ten and 20 acres increased from 19 percent to 36 percent during this same period. Therefore, the amount of agricultural activity in the parish (at least as can be determined by comparing acreage under cultivation) increased on a per capita average in the years between the censuses of 1835 and 1849.

While census records provide data on the extent of cultivation in St. Andrew's before 1849, they contain no information on the distribution of specific crops within the parish. From private journals such as the Samuel Taylor diary, missionary journals and correspondence and from entries found in HBC Red River Settlers' Accounts, however, it is possible to comment generally on the types of crops cultivated at St. Andrew's. Like elsewhere in Red River, wheat formed the largest single cereal crop in the parish. Generally, the wheat grown at the Rapids in this early period was Prairie du Chien which was sown in spring. While a few farmers experimented with winter wheat planted in the fall, the initiative proved a failure.²⁶ Barley amounted to perhaps 25 percent of the total amount of grain grown in the parish and was favoured because it required a relatively short growing season.²⁷ Sown in late May or early June, the barley crop in the parish was generally ready for harvesting sometime in late July or early August. Potatoes also enjoyed a short growing season and were counted on when grain yields were low or failed altogether. In his correspondence with Church Missionary Society officials in London, William Cockran frequently noted the importance of the potato crop in the parish. Though generally planted as field crops in rows, they often grew "wild" close to the riverbanks.²⁸ According to Henry Youle Hind, potatoes grown in the settlement were a "round and white skinned variety like those known in Canada as the 'English White'".²⁹ By the 1860s a yield of 300 bushels per acre was not uncommon among the parish's better farmers.³⁰ Oats enjoyed far less popularity at St. Andrew's. While it is difficult to assess the extent of its

cultivation in the parish, it is instructive that oats are never mentioned in the Taylor diary. A wide variety of garden vegetables were grown at St. Andrew's in the small plots adjacent to the settlers' houses. Again, there is little specific information in regard to the extent of vegetable cultivation in the parish, or which particular vegetables were favoured over others. Each riverlot likely contained a vegetable garden, including those lots which did not support grain farming.

Census data reveals that the period of greatest increase in the per capita rate of cultivated acreage at St. Andrew's occurred between 1843 and 1849. Prior to this date increases were marginal, no doubt the result of poor weather, grasshoppers, substandard seed and tools as well the attractiveness of other commercially viable activities in the settlement. Declining commercial opportunities after 1840, combined with an increase in the market for agricultural produce in the lower settlement, helped to expand farming activity in the parish after 1843. At first glance, the increase in cultivated acreage during this period seems puzzling in light of the considerable documentation which indicates that the 1840s was a decade of drought, early frosts, and partial or complete crop failures. In 1846 Alexander Christie, the Governor of Red River, reported that the year's grain crop was a complete failure,³¹ while Marcel Giraud, in his study *Le Metis Canadien*, noted a similar result for 1847.³² Apparently, some farmers in the parish attempted to offset low yields by increasing cultivation, hoping to salvage at least enough grain to survive the winter. As well, the presence at Lower Fort Garry between 1846 and 1848 of the Sixth Regiment of Foot, sent to Red River to help suppress the free trade movement, served to stimulate local agricultural activity. A rise in demand for flour, fresh meat and vegetables helped increase cultivation by providing farmers with a ready market for their produce. (Expanding agricultural markets are discussed in more detail later.)

LIVESTOCK

Animal husbandry was an important part of Red River agriculture in the nineteenth century. Domestic livestock provided much of the fresh meat, dairy products and transportation necessary for day-to-day life in the colony. Farmers in Red River raised cattle, pigs, horses, sheep, oxen and poultry, albeit with indifferent success as much of the livestock was of a generally inferior quality and little effort was expended to improve the stock. Cattle formed the largest part of the livestock population, accounting for approximately one-third of all domesticated animals in the settlement.³³ Cattle were first introduced to Red River in 1822 with little initial success.³⁴ Later, superior breeds were brought in with hopes of improving the herd, but because of poor breeding techniques and periodic hay shortages the quality of Red River cattle remained low. In 1849 there were nevertheless, almost 4,000 head in the settlement.³⁵

Sheep were first brought to Red River in 1833 in hopes of creating a wool industry that would provide an export trade for the colony. Despite numerous setbacks, a flock of 250 arrived in Red River that year and over the next decade the colony enjoyed a modest sheep boom. By 1849, however, numbers were on the decline as severe winter temperatures, indifferent breeding, and wolves took their toll of the colony's sheep population.³⁶

Pigs and poultry, although comprising a significant portion of the total livestock in Red River, were seldom mentioned in the English records and were generally taken for granted by local farmers.³⁷ Very little bacon or ham was cured by the English-speaking farmers in Red River and pork never achieved the popularity of beef or pemmican. Oxen were used in the settlement as draught animals, pulling the farmers' ploughs, sleds and carts or the carts of freighters. Many settlers kept a pair of oxen and by 1849 there were over 2,000 of these animals in Red River.³⁸ While horses were used as draught animals as well, most were kept by local inhabitants for riding or driving.

The first horses in Red River came from the American southwest, but later the HBC brought in a few English stallions

and mares to help upgrade the local stock. The better bred horses in the settlement were reserved for such activities as the drive to Church by sleigh or carriage, visiting, hunting, or running races on the plains or on the river ice in winter time. Not surprisingly, the Metis parishes in Red River maintained a greater number of horses than did the English-speaking areas of the settlement.

While the quality of Red River livestock before 1870 was generally poor, a small but significant trade in cattle, oxen and sheep operated between Red River and the frontier regions of the American mid-west.³⁹ Initially, livestock herds were brought into the colony from the south, but as the size of herds increased in Red River, farmers began supplying a limited number of livestock to new farm settlements, mission stations, and developing urban centres in Minnesota.⁴⁰

At St. Andrew's, the raising of domestic animals was a significant part of the local economy as farmers maintained cattle, sheep, horses, pigs and oxen. During the summer months cattle were put out to graze on the unfenced riverlots. In winter the small herds were stabled and fed on the hay collected between July and October. The severe winters took their toll on livestock in the parish. Frequent shortages of hay severely depleted the local cattle population and the animals that did make it through the long cold winters were often weak, emaciated and susceptible to disease. In the spring of 1859 Samuel Taylor of St. Andrew's reported that "a great many cattle [are] dying for want of something to eat."⁴¹ Shortages often forced settlers in St. Andrew's to travel great distances to secure wild hay and some chose to winter their cattle at these distant locations. One such favoured location was Netley Creek near Lake Winnipeg where lower settlement farmers could usually find an abundance of hay during the late summer and early fall.

The total number of cattle at St. Andrew's between 1835 and 1849 is the sum of cows, calves, bulls and oxen recorded by census takers. Their figures show that the per capita cattle population in the parish actually decreased over this period, from

an average of 8.4 per household in 1835 to 7.1 per household in 1849. At the same time the per capita cattle population for the whole of the Red River settlement also declined from 4.6 to 3.7 per settler. In 1835 St. Andrew's residents could claim 32 percent of the total cattle population in the settlement. This percentage remained unchanged 14 years later in 1849. In 1835 almost all parish landowners had cattle (only two residents were listed as having none). Approximately 10 percent of the respondents claimed larger herds, of over 20 head. James Whitway, for example, had 24 head of cattle, John Slater 20 head and Andrew Setter, 37. By 1849 the percentage of those in the parish owning 20 or more cattle had decreased to seven percent. This might explain at least part of the per capita decline in cattle ownership in the parish between 1835 and 1849. In the early period, the high percentage of large cattle owners distorted the average. Thus the figure for 1849 might be more representative of the average farmer in the parish. Cows and calves made up the greater part of the cattle herds at St. Andrew's in 1835 and 1849. Few farmers had bulls and most relied on the services of the Hudson's Bay Company which periodically brought bulls into the parish from Lower and Upper Fort Garry.

Oxen served as draught animals for the farmers and freighters at St. Andrew's and were used for ploughing, harrowing and pulling Red River carts. They were also raised for sale to the HBC, which after 1858 began to use oxen in their development of an overland transportation system between Red River and St. Paul. Oxen steadily increased in number in Red River, multiplying more than threefold between 1835 and 1856. At St. Andrew's few settlers kept more than five of these animals, with most having one or two. Samuel Taylor notes that oxen were loaned from farmer to farmer and were often used by parish residents to haul the large amounts of firewood that came from as far away as the shore of Lake Winnipeg.⁴²

In 1835 St. Andrew's settlers had an average of less than one horse per landowner. Few in the parish had more than two horses while half had none at all. The number of horses per

owner in Red River in 1835 was almost identical, with St. Andrew's accounting for 17 percent of the total number in the whole of settlement. Fourteen years later the average in Red River had increased to almost two horses per household, while the St. Andrew's figure rose to only 1.5. St. Andrew's could claim only 13 percent of the total number of horses in Red River in 1849, indicating, perhaps, a shift in the parish away from buffalo running to sedentary agriculture in the period before 1850.

The number of pigs in the Red River settlement fluctuated widely between 1835 and 1849. From over 3,000 in 1835, the numbers had declined to just over 1,500. At St. Andrew's the per capita average declined as well from almost five in 1835 to just under two in 1849. This reduction was due primarily to the harsh Red River climate as severe winters took their toll on the local swine population. In 1856 Alexander Ross noted that the number of pigs had declined by one third in a single season. Left to scavenge on their own for the better part of the year, swine were fed during the winter months with surplus potatoes. In 1835 most farmers in the parish owned a few pigs with some having as many as 12 or 13. By 1849, however, roughly half of the households are listed as having no pigs and only a very small handful had more than 10. The decline could also have been due to the fact that pork was not a preferred meat among the inhabitants of St. Andrew's and the English Settlement. Consequently, little interest was shown in increasing the parish's swine population after 1840.

The number of sheep owned by farmers in St. Andrew's rose from 81 in 1835 (or 18 percent of the total in Red River) to 444 in 1843 (or 23 percent of the total in the community). By 1849, however, the number of sheep in the parish had declined to 201, from an average of about seven to just over one per farmer. Ownership of sheep in St. Andrew's tended to be concentrated amongst a small handful of successful farmers. Most settlers in the parish kept no sheep at all by 1849 while eight landowners had thirty or more that same year. As has been indicated by W.L. Morton and Barry Kaye, the vast majority of sheep in Red River were to be found in the parishes of St. John's, St. Paul's

and St. Andrew's.⁴³ Although sheep were quite numerous in Red River in the early years of the colony, wolves, cold winters and summer prairie fires helped deplete the flocks after 1843.⁴⁴ With the demise of the Assiniboine Wool Company and the colony's failure to export locally spun woolen goods, sheep declined as an important domestic animal in Red River.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS AND OUTBUILDINGS

Farm implements in St. Andrew's tended to be simple, limited in number and made largely within the settlement from local timber. For the limited cultivation that was carried out a plough, harrow, spade, scythe or sickle, hand rake and cart were the essential tools of the St. Andrew's farmer who did most things by hand. The difficulty in procuring more technologically advanced agricultural equipment from Britain or the U.S. helped restrict the amount of cultivation, especially in the early years of the settlement. Red River farmers used wooden ploughs shod with iron until steel ploughs were eventually brought into the settlement from St. Peter's on the American frontier. Seeding of St. Andrew's was done by hand (potatoes were planted with the use of a spade) and a horse or ox drawn harrow was used to work down the soil and cover the seed.⁴⁵

In the fall, grain was reaped with a sickle, though the scythe was in use by the 1840s and 1850s. Threshing the harvested grain took place during all seasons of the year and was accomplished with the use of a flail, usually on the ice floor of a barn.⁴⁶ The threshed grain was then taken to one of the seven wind or water mills that operated in the parish between 1825 and 1870. In the early years of the colony, before mills were constructed, settlers were forced to grind much of their grain in simple handmills called "querns." This device consisted of two flat stones, the upper stone attached to a handle which was used to turn the stone over the wheat. Handmills produced a coarse and not entirely white flour.⁴⁷ Those settlers who owned and operated mills in the parish ground their neighbors' wheat and barley in

exchange for cash or barter, thus representing one aspect of the commercial economy that operated in St. Andrew's before 1870.

The number of farm implements in St. Andrew's increased in total from 157 ploughs and harrows in 1835 to 260 in 1849. The per capita average, however, remained relatively fixed in this period. While in 1849 a few settlers such as George Setter had two ploughs and two harrows, and Phillip Kennedy had two ploughs and three harrows, most farmers had only one of each. Even though the amount of cultivated acreage in the parish had increased from 1835 to 1849, only one of each implement was actually needed to break the ground and plant the seed.

The number of farm buildings (barns and stables) is also a useful indicator of agricultural activity in the parish. The 1835 census records showed that St. Andrew's farmers owned approximately the same number of outbuildings on their riverlots as did other Red River landowners (.6 and .5 respectively). By 1849 these figures had changed with householders in St. Andrew's having an average of one barn or stable on their property. For this same year, other settlement households maintained an average of only .7 outbuildings.

Red River census data reflect a number of trends in agricultural activity at St. Andrew's between 1835 and 1849. By 1849 the parish had surpassed the rest of the settlement as a whole in cultivated acreage, farm implements, outbuildings and some livestock. The amount of cultivated acreage in the parish increased during this period, as well. As noted earlier, the parish went from claiming 17.5 percent of Red River's cultivated land in 1835 to 24 percent just fourteen years later. Once representative of the mixed, largely non-agricultural economy that characterized Red River, the economy of St. Andrew's was changing by 1849. Farming had become more important by this date and complemented the involvement by local settlers in many of the other economic activities that traditionally prevailed in Red River before 1870.

FARMING AFTER 1850

The year 1850 saw the end of a decade of hot dry summers which had plagued St. Andrew's and Red River farmers throughout the 1840s. In 1852 a major flood inundated the upper settlement and overflowing creeks threatened crops in St. Andrew's and the lower parishes. According to Marcel Giraud, the years 1855, 1856 and 1857 were also excessively damp, restricting crop yields and affecting the nourishment of livestock.⁴⁸ Grasshoppers visited the settlement in 1857 necessitating the importation of grain by the HBC from the United States and Canada.⁴⁹

According to Samuel Taylor, 1860 was a bountiful year for crops in St. Andrew's, perhaps the best that most residents could remember.⁵⁰ The following year, however, the heavy spring rains returned, delaying the sowing of wheat until late in May. The HBC was forced to advance quantities of seed grain to destitute farmers in the settlement. The summer of 1862 marked the beginning of a decade of drought and locusts. "Dry, dry," wrote Taylor in 1863, "the weather was never seen, people say, so long without rain, it thunders often and yet no rain."⁵¹ The drought caused crop yields to decline in the parish and that resulted in the closing of a number of water powered grist mills.⁵² The next year, 1864, was even worse. The Nor'Wester commented that:

The oldest inhabitant does not remember a summer of such extraordinary, long continued heat as we have experienced this year One day of sultry, scorching, hot weather follows another The case will readily be believed when we say that the thermometers have indicated 87 to 90, 97 and even 100 degrees in the shade! ⁵³

By the 1860s land use patterns at St. Andrew's had begun to change. On the lands traditionally reserved for the "hay privilege" many farmers were cultivating "park lots," which were small plots of land ranging in size from two to eight acres. While some were used for pasturing livestock, other fenced plots were used to cultivate wheat, oats, barley, potatoes and other vegetables. The creation of park lots after 1860 helped reduce the growing congestion caused by the sub-division of the old river lot farms in St. Andrew's.

Farming techniques also changed after 1860. Crop rotation was tried and some farmers began to use manure as fertilizer. Earlier, travellers such as H.Y. Hind had remarked on how Red River farmers simply piled their manure near their barn or stable. "Sometimes," he wrote, "it is thrown into the river, or heaped in such a position that it may be swept away by spring freshets."⁵⁴ A few years later, however, Samuel Taylor described how he helped his neighbor John Flett "to spread dung on his land."⁵⁵ The practice became increasingly more common in the parish throughout the 1860s.

According to the Nor'Wester the major change in livestock rearing in the settlement after 1860 was the rapid decline of sheep raising, an activity which the paper described as having "nearly gone out of fashion altogether."⁵⁶ As well, drought conditions resulted in the deterioration of other livestock in the settlement due primarily to the inadequate supply of hay for feed. The continuation of inferior breeding techniques and the report of disease among cattle in 1868 further weakened the stock at St. Andrew's.

The creation of the province of Manitoba in 1870 had an important effect upon agricultural development and settlement patterns in Red River. In 1877 the federal government added a two-mile extension to the boundaries of the old parish riverlots. These new lots were roughly "squared" by surveyors and the ends of the long narrow lots were made to fit with the new rectangular land survey. The continuing re-division of riverlots among extended families after 1870 created a situation where farms in the settlement were no longer productive in the market oriented, wheat economy taking shape under the National Policy. Hoping to attract Euro-Canadian settlement into the community at St. Andrew's, the Anglican Church expressed its desire to see a reform of traditional settlement patterns.⁵⁷ With the crumbling of the old Mixedblood alliance in Red River as a result of the machinations of the Church and the new provincial government, many of the old Halfbreed families who did not assimilate into the new community (some of whom could trace their residency in the

parish as far back as the 1820s) left St. Andrew's displaced by the new group of Anglo-Ontarian farmers and entrepreneurs who descended upon Manitoba after 1880.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A COMMERCIAL ECONOMY

By the 1840s agriculture had become an increasingly important part of the mixed-economy of St. Andrew's parish. It is important here to underscore the commercial character of this economy, or the degree to which there existed an exchange of goods and services within the community. To conclude that farmers in the parish practised purely subsistence agriculture is misleading. Though outside markets were limited, the Hudson's Bay Company purchased settlers' produce to help provision its fur brigades and posts throughout the Northwest. Before 1841 the Company operated two farms in Red River; the first lasted from 1831 to 1836, the second, located at the Forks, from 1836 to 1841. For a variety of reasons both farming operations failed. From 1841 until 1857, when it established a third farm at Lower Fort Garry, the HBC relied on the country produce it was able to secure from local settlers. This included meat, dairy products, vegetables and, most importantly, wheat. Lower Fort Garry, located in St. Andrew's, served as one of the Company's principal transshipment posts as well as the supply depot for the York boat brigades, the Red River freighters, and later the schooners which sailed between Red River and Norway House. One commodity shipped from the lower fort to posts throughout Rupertsland was hard-tack biscuit. After 1847 the major source of biscuit was the bakehouse facility located within the North West Bastion at Lower Fort Garry. The flour used to produce the sizeable quantity of biscuit required each year by the Company was purchased from local farmers. Between 1847 and 1857 the amount of biscuit shipped from Red River to the interior averaged approximately 33 hundredweight a year.⁵⁸ An equal amount of the yeastless bread was also distributed by the Company throughout the Red River district.⁵⁹

As well as biscuit, the bakehouse at Lower Fort Garry produced bread for consumption by local Company officers and servants. It has been estimated that the Sixth Regiment of Foot, stationed at the lower fort between 1846 and 1848, consumed approximately 150 pounds of bread each day, along with an equal quantity of meat.⁶⁰ Obviously with this rate of consumption the Hudson's Bay Company at Lower Fort Garry represented a significant commercial market for farmers in St. Andrew's parish, at least after 1847.

Within the settlement itself, items such as grain, potatoes, vegetables and livestock were bartered or sold, as was farm labour. Non-agricultural foodstuffs such as pemmican, wild game and fish were also exchanged by farmers. Whitefish from the fishery at Grand Marais on the east shore of Lake Winnipeg were sold by local settlers and represented an important marketable commodity in St. Andrew's.⁶¹ In his diary Samuel Taylor frequently noted purchases of pickerel, sturgeon, goldeye and catfish, either for cash or in exchange for products or services.⁶²

The limited trade in livestock between Red River and American settlements south of the border represented another commercial market for settlers in St. Andrew's. As Barry Kaye has noted, the export of cattle and sheep that began in the late 1830s developed quickly into a thriving livestock trade.⁶³ In 1840 Duncan Finlayson, the governor of the Red River, promised the St. Peter's cattle market three to four hundred head annually.⁶⁴ By 1854 George Simpson of the HBC described the livestock trade as "considerable," as local settlers exported cattle and imported horses from the American mid-west. While the number of cattle involved in the trade probably never exceeded a few hundred a year, the American livestock market represented, no doubt, a viable commercial outlet for the owners of domestic livestock in St. Andrew's.⁶⁵

The development of various crafts represented another commercial aspect of the parish economy. A limited service sector existed in the community with some settlers finding seasonal employment as woodcutters, sawyers, carpenters, coopers,

blacksmiths and as part-time labourers for the HBC at Lower Fort Garry. (Samuel Taylor, for instance, was a stonemason and helped construct many of the stone buildings in Red River.) The milling of grain was an important activity in the parish and millers such as John Tait, John Gunn, Donald Gunn and Thomas Sinclair contracted with local farmers and the HBC to grind their grain in privately owned wind and water mills.

Aside from farming, many of the Halfbreeds in St. Andrew's traditionally participated in the spring and fall buffalo hunts, voyaged to York Factory, manned the cart brigades, or traded in furs outside the Company's monopoly. By the mid-1840s, however, the buffalo herds had ranged further away from the settlement and returns from the hunt diminished. Freight contracts with the Company also declined in this period. Moreover, the lack of opportunities for some Mixedbloods to rise above the level of Apprentice Postmaster with the Company's permanent service meant that alternative sources of income had to be found. As James Sutherland of St. Andrew's commented to his brother in Scotland:

I could get him [Sutherland's son] in the Cos. service, but halfbreeds as they are called [have] no chance there nor are they respected whatever their abilities may be, by the parcel of upstart Scotchmen, who now hold the power and Control in the concern. 66

For the second generation of St. Andrew's settlers one alternative was the independent trade in furs. In the 1830s the Company licensed a number of free traders to help it compete with American traders who operated at Pembina. By the mid-1840s, however, the HBC had decided that these independents posed a threat to its monopoly and the Company moved to curtail their activities. The arrival of troops in Red River helped the HBC re-assert control in the settlement, albeit for only a brief period.

CONCLUSION

Faced with these growing restrictions on the traditional economies of Red River, the Halfbreed residents at St. Andrew's

turned increasingly toward agriculture and wage labour between 1843 and 1849 in order to earn a living. Many in the parish developed an appropriate and adaptive economic strategy to deal with the peculiarities of climate, geography, technology and commercial markets that existed in the Red River colony. This strategy--a mixed-economy in which agriculture had a prominent role--helped families exploit the available resources of the rivers and plains and was an expedient, if not profitable, tactic for life in a restrictive economy. No tension existed between the hunt and the farm at St. Andrew's, except in the minds of the clergy and the Anglo-historians who wrote about Red River. Nor did non-agricultural activities present a "fatal check" on the colony's transition to a large-scale farming economy before 1870.

An analysis of the economy of Red River reveals that the Halfbreeds at St. Andrew's were neither "improvident" nor "irrational" in their economic behaviour. In fact, these labels might better describe the activities of the Kildonan Scots community who pursued an exclusively agricultural economy in Red River, even in the face of the recurrent crop failure which characterized the early years of the colony. In this respect, settlers at St. Andrew's represented the most "progressive" element in nineteenth century Red River.

NOTES

¹The use of the term "Halfbreed" has been deliberately chosen here to describe those Mixedblood residents of Red River who were of Indian and (predominantly) Orkney ancestry. In twentieth century parlance the word "Halfbreed" came to have a negative or pejorative connotation. In recent years such terms as "country-born," "English-speaking Mixedbloods," "Rupertlanders," "English Metis" and "Native English" have been employed by historians when referring to the offspring of Anglo-British Hudson's Bay Company traders and their Native wives. These new terms, however, are often misleading or confusing and I have chosen to use the traditional term "Halfbreed" when describing these English speaking inhabitants of Red River. Historically, this name was used by Halfbreeds and non-Halfbreeds alike and has recently returned to common usage by those groups of partly Native ancestry who wish to identify their unique and independent tradition in the West. I have also used the upper case 'H' in

order to place Halfbreed at the same level ethnically as such designations as Metis, Scottish or French.

²See Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement: Its Rise, Progress and Present State (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishing, 1972), especially Ch. 10, pp. 108-118.

³Ibid., p. 195.

⁴H.Y. Hind, Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857, (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishing, 1971), p. 222.

⁵Marcel Giraud, The Metis in the Canadian West, Vol. II, translated by George Woodcock, (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1986), pp. 123-125.

⁶W.L. Morton, "Agriculture in the Red River Colony," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 30, No. 4 (December, 1949), p. 316.

⁷Stanley believed the Mixedbloods of Red River to be "Indolent, thoughtless and improvident, unrestrained in their desires, restless, clannish and vain." G.F.G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 8.

⁸Barry Kaye, "The Settlers 'Grand Difficulty': Haying in the Economy of the Red River Settlement," Prairie Forum, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Spring, 1984) pp. 1-11, and W.L. Clark, "The Place of the Metis Within the Agricultural Economy of Red River During the 1840s and 1850s," The Canadian Journal of Native Studies, Vol. III, No. 1 (1983), pp. 69-84.

⁹See for example, W.L. Morton, "Agriculture in the Red River Colony," p. 315.

¹⁰Anthropologist G.H. Sprenger has argued that the Selkirk settlers in Red River were slavishly wedded to agricultural practices that more often than not resulted in poor crop yields or complete failures. G.H. Sprenger, "An Analysis of Selective Aspects of Metis Society, 1810-1870" (MA Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1872), pp. 56-86.

¹¹Census data from the 1830s, along with parish records, indicate that approximately 54 percent of households in St. Andrew's were headed by Native-born settlers in 1835. By 1849 this figure had increased to 67 percent.

¹²Hudson's Bay Company Archives' E.6/7 (Hereafter HBCA), Memoranda Respecting Grants of Land.

¹³In most histories of Red River the term "lower settlement" refers to the parishes of St. Paul's, St. Andrew's and St. Peter's at the "lower" end of the colony. However, in the Red River censuses, (excluding that of 1849) "Lower Settlement" had a broader designation and referred to all of Red River except for Grantown and the Indian Settlements. This paper uses the more common meaning of the term.

¹⁴John Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement," (PhD Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1973), pp. 19-30.

¹⁵Jennifer Brown argues that the differing traditions of the two fur trade companies had significant effects upon the lives of their offspring. The country marriages of the Nor'Westers were, because of their mobility, more tenuous than those of the Bay men who before 1774 were residing in large permanent posts on Hudson Bay. Later, HBC officers sought vocational and social advancement for their children, while patronage links among the men of the NWCo. tended to be with their kinsmen in Canada and Britain. See Jennifer Brown, Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Families in Indian Country (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), pp. 51-110.

¹⁶Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Church Missionary Society Archives, Microfilm reel A.77, Journal of William Cockran, July 29, 1830 (Hereafter CMS).

¹⁷CMS., A.78, Rev. Robert James to Rev. Davies, August 6, 1847.

¹⁸Frits Pannekoek, "Protestant Agricultural Zions for the Western Indian," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, Vol. 14, No. 3 (1972), p. 97.

¹⁹W.L. Morton, "Introduction" in Eden Colville's Letters, 1849-1852, (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1956), p. xxv.

²⁰Barry Kaye, "'The Settlers' Grand Difficulty': Haying in the Economy of the Red River Settlement," p. 5.

²¹W.L. Morton, "Agriculture in the Red River Colony," pp. 309-311. Morton uses a number of sources to support his arguments that wheat grown in Red River matured in 110 to 120 days. He also cited Donald Gunn who wrote in 1956: "wheat sown in the beginning of May was above the ear on the 13th of July, and ripe on the 20th of August."

²²Barry Kaye, "Some Aspects of the Cultural Geography of the Red River Settlement, 1827-1850," (MA Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1967), p. 165.

²³Ibid., p. 174.

²⁴Census returns cover the years 1824, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1835, 1838, 1840, 1843, 1847, 1849 and 1856. Only a small fragment of the 1856 census exists on microfilm at the Provincial Archives of Manitoba (Hereafter PAM).

²⁵Unfortunately, while the 1870 census provided the parish affiliation of individuals in Red River, it did not record information as to land under cultivation, livestock or other agricultural possessions.

²⁶Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement, pp. 112-113.

²⁷PAM, MG2, C13, Samuel Taylor Diary, May, 1866.

²⁸CMS, A.77, William Cockran to Secretaries, July 25, 1833.

²⁹H.Y. Hind, Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857, p. 150.

³⁰Barry Kaye, "Some Aspects of the Cultural Geography of the Red River Settlement," p. 172.

³¹Archives of the Archdiocese of St. Boniface, File No. 269, Alexander Christie to Henry Fisher, March 2, 1847, as quoted in W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957) p. 513.

³²Marcel Giraud, Le Metis Canadien: Son Role dans l'Histoire des Provinces de l'Ouest (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1945), p. 836.

³³See livestock totals as contained in the Red River census, primarily the censuses of 1835, 1838, 1843, 1847 and 1849. PAM, MG 2, B3, Red River Census.

³⁴Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement, pp. 150-151. Ross discusses the Company's attempts to bring cattle into the settlement as part of Simpson's scheme to create a "Tallow Company."

³⁵PAM, MG 2, B3, Red River Census, 1849.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷W.L. Morton, "Introduction" in Eden Colvile's Letters 1849-1852, p. xxxi.

³⁸PAM, MG 2, B3, Red River Census, 1849.

³⁹Barry Kaye, "The Trade in Livestock Between the Red River Settlement and the American Frontier, 1812-1870," Prairie Forum, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1981), p. 163.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹PAM, MG 2, C13, Samuel Taylor Diary, March, 1859.

⁴²Ibid., See entries for November, December and January, 1860.

⁴³Barry Kaye, "Some Aspects of the Cultural Geography of the Red River Settlement, 1827-1870," p. 193.

⁴⁴Writing in 1856 Alexander Ross commented: "Sheep are declining fast in number from the ravages of dogs and wolves...[and] were fewer by 1,000 than the year before." Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement, p. 391.

⁴⁵W.L. Morton, "Introduction," in Eden Colvile, The Correspondence of Eden Colvile, 1849-1852, p. xxvi.

⁴⁶Barry Kaye, "Some Aspects of the Cultural Geography of the Red River Settlement, 1827-1870."

⁴⁷Barry Kaye, "Flour Milling at Red River: Wind, Water and Steam," Manitoba History, No. 2 (1981), p. 12.

⁴⁸Marcel Giraud, Le Metis Canadien, p. 779.

⁴⁹John Bunn to Thomas Bunn, August 10, 1857, cited in G.H. Sprenger, "An Analysis of Selective Aspects of Metis Society, 1810-1870," p. 84.

⁵⁰PAM, MG 2, C13, Samuel Taylor Diary, September, 1860.

⁵¹PAM, MG 2, C13, Samuel Taylor Diary, July 1863.

⁵²The first water-powered mill in St. Andrew's was constructed by John Tait at Parks Creek near the southern boundary of the parish. In 1854 John Gunn built a water mill on the east side of the Red at Gunn's Creek. Windmills in the parish were owned by Donald Gunn on lot 109, Thomas Sinclair on lot 59, Edward Mowat on lot 90, William Taylor on lot 28 and Richard Thomas on lot 54.

⁵³The Nor'Wester, August 18, 1864.

⁵⁴H.Y. Hind, Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857, p. 223.

⁵⁵PAM, MG 2, C13, Samuel Taylor Diary, July 1859.

⁵⁶The Nor'Wester, May 14, 1860.

⁵⁷The Anglican Bishop in Rupertsland, Robert Machray, believed that the protection and extension of the traditional system of land tenure in Red River would not facilitate the re-settlement of the colony by Anglo-protestant farmers from Ontario. In a letter to Sir John Young, Machray maintained that the "1,400,000 acres [to be reserved] for the half-breed part of the community is a most dangerous provision." Quoted in W.L. Morton (ed.) Alexander Begg's Red River Journal, (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1956), p. 559.

⁵⁸HBCA, B.239/k/2-3, Minutes of Council of the Northern Department, 1832-1870.

⁵⁹PAM, William Lane Papers, A. Buchanan to William Lane, September 2, 1852.

⁶⁰Greg Thomas, "The North West Bastion Bakehouse, Lower Fort Garry: A Structural and Furnishing Study," Manuscript Report Series No. 297, Canadian Parks Service, 1979.

⁶¹CMS, A.77, William Cockran to Rev. Bickersteth, August 3, 1829.

⁶²See for example Taylor's entry for April of 1859, PAM, MG 2, C13, Samuel Taylor Diary.

⁶³Barry Kaye "The Trade in Livestock Between the Red River Settlement and the American Frontier, 1812-1870," p. 173.

⁶⁴Ibid., Duncan Finlayson to H.H. Sibley, October 31, 1840.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 174.

⁶⁶Glenbow Alberta Archives, Sutherland Correspondence, James Sutherland to John Sutherland, August 10, 1840.