

"The Settlers' Grand Difficulty": Haying in the Economy of the Red River Settlement

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ABSTRACT. The sharpness of the distinction between farmers and hunters at Red River should not be overemphasized. Most of the farmers throughout Red River's history exploited many of the freely available "wild" resources. In fact, the wild hay from the plains provided the main support for animal husbandry at Red River. When the winter feed was not available, the settlement was pushed even closer to the edge of starvation.

RESUME. Les limites nettes de la distinction existant entre fermiers et chasseurs de la Rivière rouge ne devraient pas être exagérées. Au cours de toute l'histoire de la Rivière rouge, les fermiers exploitèrent beaucoup de ressources "sauvages" librement accessibles. En fait, le foin sauvage de la plaine fournit l'aliment principal du cheptel de la Rivière rouge. Lorsque le fourrage d'hiver n'était pas disponible, la Colonie se trouvait poussée un pas plus avant vers les limites de la famine.

When Lord Selkirk founded a colony on Red River in 1812, his intention was to establish a commercial farming settlement but, from the onset, the colonial economy was based only partially on crops and domestic animals. Repeated crop failures compelled all settlers at Red River, whatever their origins and agricultural skills, to turn continually to the game resources of the plains and the fisheries of lake and stream for a large part of their food supply. From its commencement, the colony was linked by necessity to the nomadic economy that was the basis of the fur trade, a link that the colony, even at its optimum stage of development, was not able to break. Hunting, fishing, and fowling, in addition to agriculture, were the supports of the colony, just as they were of the fur trade.

It was the continuing uncertainty of both agriculture and the plains buffalo hunt that first created and later sustained this basic dichotomy in the Red River economy prior to 1870. This dichotomy also reflected the disparate peoples and cultures that made up the settlement. Among Red River's population were colonists, primarily Highland Scots, but including also numbers of French Canadians, British mixed-bloods and Orkneymen, whose prime concerns were their crops and animals. By 1830, however, these colonists were outnumbered by peoples who showed little predilection for agriculture, and lived chiefly from hunting, fishing and trading in furs. Predominant among this latter group were the French-speaking mixed-bloods of St. Boniface and St. François-Xavier, but some French Canadian freemen, British mixed-bloods and many of the full-blooded Indians at Red River lived in a similar manner. One distinguishing characteristic of this group was its heavy dependence on "wild" resources, or on what Palliser called the "natural productions" of the land.¹ In the colony's early years, would-be farmers at Red River were also dependent on the same "wild" resources, for not until the late 1820s was anything like a

viable agriculture beginning to emerge. Until then, tillage endured only as a partner of the nomadic economy that underlay the fur trade. The most obvious expression of this partnership was the autumn migration of most of the colonial population to Pembina, sixty miles to the south, where they lived by hunting during the winter months.

Increased agricultural productivity after 1827, and the acquisition of domestic animals from the United States, enabled potential farmers in the Red River population to discontinue their yearly trip to Pembina and, to a great extent, freed them from dependence on the buffalo herds. However, the settlement of large numbers of French-speaking *métis* at the colony after 1823 ensured the perpetuation of the essential dichotomy of the Red River economy. As a result, by 1830, one of the most striking internal divisions within the settlement was that between areas where agriculture was the main support of the economy and areas where hunting and fishing supplied most of the staples of life.

The sharpness of the distinction between the farmers and the hunters at Red River should not be overemphasized, however. It was blurred by the fact that some dominantly hunting peoples, despite their general preference for the free, wandering life of the plains, carried on small-scale agriculture. Another obscuring factor was that most Red River farmers continued to exploit many of the freely available "wild" resources after 1830. The farmer-colonists supplemented the produce of their river-lot farms with sugar from riverside maple groves, with a variety of wild fruits gathered at appropriate seasons, and with fish, especially whitefish, which they caught in Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba. Some of them also took part in the spring and autumn goose hunts at Shoal Lake. The main concern here, however, is with one aspect of the farmers' dependence on the natural environment: their dependence on the plains as a source of winter fodder for their livestock.

During the colony's difficult early years, the few domesticated animals at Red River suffered from a general lack of adequate husbandry. Harvests were often meagre and provided little or nothing to spare for animal feed. Haymaking was a casual, hit-and-miss affair, not the well-organized and regulated activity it became later. As a result, winter feed was often in short supply, while sheltering stables were inadequate or absent.

The settlers' initial experience with livestock provided plenty of evidence that Red River farmers would have a difficult struggle as they tried to find time and energy to gather, transport and put aside sufficient quantities of winter fodder to feed the increasing livestock population. Prior to 1827, they clearly failed to meet the challenge this problem presented. The journalist at Fort Garry made several references to cattle and horses dying for want of feed in 1826, the year of the great flood.² By late April of that year, winter feed was in such short supply that the settlers had to resort to desperate measures to prevent

their animals from starving. Some farmers fed their cattle from dwindling grain stocks, thus raising apprehensions of seed scarcity at spring planting.³ Others without grain felled trees on their lots to enable cattle to feed on the branches, "an alternative," the journalist noted, "that is only had recourse to, in the last extremity, where wood is scarce."⁴

The same journalist was convinced that these difficulties were due largely to the indolence of settlers in failing to lay in a sufficient supply of hay the previous summer. There may be some truth in this, but inexperience more than indolence was probably the cause. Many of the settlers were rearing livestock for the first time and lacked familiarity with the environment. Only experience could bring knowledge of the best haying spots and of the quantities of winter feed needed to bring the various types of livestock through a Red River winter. Moreover, many settlers came to own livestock before they had erected winter shelters for them. As late as 1830, only 233 stables were listed in the Red River census.

In spite of these early setbacks, livestock were gradually integrated into the Red River economy after 1827. By the 1830s, many Red River farmers had a horse for riding in summer and for sledge-pulling in winter, plus a pair of oxen for ploughing and carting hay and wood. Many also had a small herd of cattle and a number of pigs, sheep and poultry. Yet, of all the cultural groups at Red River, it was the Highland Scots of the Lower Settlement who were most interested in raising livestock. At the other extreme, the numerous métis valued their buffalo runners but most of them had little interest in pastoral activities. Livestock numbers, as recorded in various censuses from 1827 to 1856, are shown in Table I.

TABLE I

NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK REPORTED FOR RED RIVER SETTLEMENT
IN VARIOUS CENSUSES, 1827-1856

Livestock	1827	1833	1840	1846	1849	1856
Cattle	635	2,572	4,166	3,842	3,917	6,609
Sheep	—	—	1,897	4,223	3,096	2,245
Pigs	225	2,033	2,149	3,800	1,565	4,929
Horses	237	492	1,292	2,360	2,085	2,681
Oxen	247	1,219	1,749	2,681	2,097	3,006

Source: Red River censuses, 1827-1856.

The greater productivity of Red River agriculture after 1827 did not result in a reduced dependency on the natural vegetation of the plains for livestock feed. The production of enough winter feed from

the plains to sustain their animals through the long and often severe winters continued to be the greatest problem for livestock farmers. During the open season, livestock were turned out to graze on the unimproved land of the settlers' lots, normally two-thirds or more of the whole or, especially with oxen and horses, out on the open prairies beyond. Pigs were unhusbanded ordinarily and left to live off the country, finding sustenance from the mast and roots of the timbered river fringes or from the prairies beyond. Most of the horses at Red River were of the small Spanish type and these hardy animals normally spent the winter outdoors. The remaining livestock, however, had to be sheltered and fed during five or six months in winter.

Some animal feed resulted from the settlement's arable farming; in good crop years a little barley and oats were used as feed, potato surpluses were sometimes used to fatten pigs and sheep, and the straw of the threshed grain was occasionally fed to oxen. But the colonists were almost entirely dependent on the wild hay that they could bring in from the plains to feed their livestock in winter. The prairie grasses found in abundance throughout the Red River Valley offered an excellent opportunity for hay making and provided the main support for livestock farming at Red River. As a result, there was little incentive to introduce tame hay. Occasional experiments were conducted with the cultivation of red clover, white clover and timothy but none met with any great success and, prior to 1870, no kinds of tame grasses were grown for hay making. It was wild hay from the plains that provided the main support for animal husbandry at Red River. The *Nor'Wester* could report in 1869 that "our prairies are covered with nutritious grasses which are the only food for our stock both summer and winter."⁵

The growth of the colony's population brought forth a number of regulations and restrictions affecting hay gathering and animal grazing. These were intended to reduce squabbling by giving each settler an equal and fair chance to mow sufficient hay to carry him over the winter. Within the "settlement belt," or inner two miles, each colonist was able to mow the hay and graze his animals on his own two-mile-long lot as and when he wished. Beyond the two-mile limit, settlers had the exclusive right to cut hay on the outer two miles immediately at the rear of their holding. This important right was recognized by the Hudson's Bay Company and was known as the "hay-privilege." Some light timber was cut in the outer two miles and by 1870 the outer two miles of several parishes contained considerable ploughed land, but it was valued chiefly for the hay it provided.⁶

Not all settlers at Red River had a "hay-privilege" behind their farm, however. In the parishes of St. James, St. Boniface and St. Vital, many did not enjoy this privilege. In these parishes, part of the outer two miles was cut off by the junction of the Red and Assiniboine

Rivers, and by the junction of the River Seine with the Red. In St. James, the lots of some settlers abutted on the "hay-privilege" of St. John's parish and partly on the Hudson's Bay Company's reserve land at Upper Fort Garry.⁷ As a result, in 1860 the residents of St. James petitioned the Council of Assiniboia to give them the same haying privileges enjoyed by other colonists.⁸ On the east side of the Red, where the river lots were squeezed between the main river and the River Seine, much of the land beyond was the property of the Roman Catholic church. Nor was the "hay-privilege" a feature of the new settlements established after the early 1850s along the Assiniboine west of St. François-Xavier.

Beyond the "hay-privilege," all colonists had equal rights to the hay and timber of what was called "the common."⁹ Access to this "common ground for hay-cutting," however, was regulated by the Council of Assiniboia. The usual date on which the plains beyond the "hay-privilege" were thrown open to farmers was July 20.¹⁰ One settler recalled that "before the day fixed for the beginning of hay-cutting each year, the best hay meadows were spied out, and each man had planned where he was to cut hay."¹¹ On the designated day, the farmer took his scythe, hand rakes and carts, and set off for the lower stretches of the plains where the slowly evaporating water produced an especially rich growth of grass. Sloughs, marshes and other wet spots within easy reach of the colony were the favoured places. With experience, the colonists eventually became familiar with those sections of the plains which would best reward their hard labours. The "Big Swamp" to the west of the Lower Settlement, Long Lake beyond Baie St. Paul on the Assiniboine, the Grosse Isle, northwest of Upper Fort Garry, and the "Weedy Hills" (location unknown) are mentioned in the records as favoured haying areas. The marshy Netley Creek area, on the edge of the Red River delta, was another important haying location. The Hind Expedition observed large numbers of haystacks there in September 1857.¹² In dry years, not all settlers could make sufficient hay in the vicinity of the colony, so some haymakers were forced to travel farther afield. At such times, the wet margins of lakes, such as the marshy Long Lake area and the marshlands along the southern edge of Lake Manitoba, attracted more settlers.

At these and other unnamed locations, the farmers set up their tents and commenced to cut down the grasses on or soon after July 20. To preempt his chosen hay land, the mower cut a circle around it with his scythe, and "each man's ownership of the area he had marked out was always respected."¹³ Once the grass was cut, it was cocked and made into large haystacks. The stacks were frequently fenced and covered with tree branches in an attempt to protect them from fire, wind and wandering animals.

While most of the occupied land within the "settlement belt" was

held in severalty, two areas within the colony, both close to the Forks, were held in common and to these a number of settlers had equal right. The two areas were the Point Douglas and St. Boniface Commons or Reserves. This right, probably first granted by Lord Selkirk in 1817 and later confirmed by the Council of Assiniboia, was given to the residents with small holdings on Point Douglas and in St. Boniface, on the narrow neck of land at the junction of the Seine and the Red. Access to grazing and haying land was difficult for settlers in both these areas, so they were allowed to graze their animals and cut hay on the common, which evidently represented the pastoral centre for the grazing of the commonable animals. In 1864, Point Douglas residents protested to the Council of Assiniboia about encroachments that settlers on the Assiniboine River had made on what they called their "special reserve." They claimed that they alone had the right to graze animals and make hay on the reserve.¹⁴ The commons also may have functioned to some extent as market and social centres. In many ways, they resembled the village greens characteristic of Western European villages or, in Canada, the commons that were established during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by French settlers along the lower St. Lawrence River.

Despite the labour expended on haying, the regulations of the Council of Assiniboia, and the seemingly endless unenclosed plains beyond the colony, the acquisition of sufficient winter fodder was the farmers' "grand difficulty."¹⁵ Red River farmers found it far from easy to gather enough hay to keep their animals fed and in good condition until spring, by which time it was invariably in short supply. As a result, by the end of winter Red River cattle often looked "more like death than life."¹⁶ According to Palliser, many cattle and horses were "lost every winter from the people not laying in a sufficient stock of hay."¹⁷ But losses were especially severe when a long, very cold winter, following a dry summer, had rendered hay scarce. Livestock mortality rates were very high during the drought years 1846–48. As George Simpson observed in 1847, "the blight that destroyed the grain and potato crops of last year greatly injured the hay, which is found to be of unsound quality; and that, together with the length and severity of the winter, occasioned a great mortality among the cattle and sheep. . . ."¹⁸ Writing in the following year, Andrew McDermot noted that "in consequence of the most dreadful winter that was ever known in Red River at least one-sixth part of all the cattle was starved to death."¹⁹ The unusually severe winter of 1856–57, which was followed by a very backward spring, caused the deaths of nearly one-seventh of all the colony's cattle.²⁰ The census of 1856 had reported 6,609 cattle, which would suggest that more than 900 cattle perished during that particular winter. The colony's sheep also fared badly during winter. Hind, for example, noted that 184 sheep were lost during the winter of 1855–56.²¹

The dry years of the 1860s also reduced the pastures and the numbers and condition of Red River livestock. The droughts of 1863, 1864 and 1865 caused extreme shortages of winter fodder, resulted in an acute scarcity of hay by springtime, and had the usual effect of reducing the weight and condition of the stock. In spring 1864, Samuel Taylor, a farmer from the lower part of St. Andrew's parish, recorded in his journal, "a great many cattle dying for want of something to eat," and later added that "hay is scarce all over this year some had not one straw long ago."²² The following March, the same writer noted that "there is people down from up amongst the French and Scotch, in great need of hay."²³ The situation was just as bad in the late winter and spring of 1866; "there is a general complaint all over for hay, and none to get to buy anywhere," wrote Taylor.²⁴ Hay continued to be scarce in 1867; Taylor noted in March and April that "bad times begining [sic] for hay . . . no warm weather yet and hay little . . . a great many people out of hay."²⁵ These conditions of scarcity inevitably raised mortality rates amongst all kinds of livestock, as they had in the dry years of the 1840s.

The not infrequent heavy winter livestock losses suggest that some Red River farmers were keeping too many animals for the amounts of winter feed they could reasonably expect to gather, especially in a dry year. Yet livestock raising at Red River was on a small scale. Even among those settlers most concerned with livestock, the herds and flocks were not large. However, despite the modest livestock numbers, the amount of prairie hay that had to be cut, hauled and put up for the winter months was considerable. Hay, an extremely bulky product, was normally measured by the cart load. There are no precise figures on the number of loads required to winter cattle or sheep at Red River but, if Palliser is correct, then it took five loads to winter an ox and ten loads to winter a horse.²⁶ We get some indication of total hay requirements from *Nor'Wester* reports on prairie fire losses. In October 1860 the paper reported that:

We are sorry to say, that the fires on the east bank of the Red River have done a great deal of injury to the people of the middle district. Mr. William Bunn, we are told, has lost all his hay — say 140 loads, Mr. Angus Matheson, part — say 45 loads; Mr. John Gunn about the same quantity; and Mr. George Munroe 30 loads.²⁷

It is clear that one of the hardest and most time-consuming jobs facing many Red River farmers each year was the harvest of well over one hundred cart loads of hay on "the common" during the haying season.

The major disadvantage of almost total dependence on the plains' wild hay resources was fluctuation in grassland growth from year to year. One settler estimated that three or four tons of hay could be made from an acre of prairie.²⁸ The actual yield in any one year was determined largely by rainfall conditions, and the colony's graziers were

particularly vulnerable to the effects of drought. In dry years, not only was the growth of prairie grasses less rank, but the annual prairie fires ran farthest and most often, thus further reducing already scanty hay supplies. The *Nor'Wester's* description of the fire situation in August 1864 is equally applicable to many other years:

Destructive fires have raged over the plains this month. Along the Assiniboine and Red River they caused considerable loss, burning much of the hay belonging to settlers on both sides of these rivers, and in some instances, we believe, part of the crops. The loss of a winter's hay is a very serious one at any time, but is particularly so this year, when it was with the greatest difficulty that farmers succeeded in getting enough to keep their stock alive till spring.²⁹

Haymakers tried to protect their precious stocks from destructive fires by surrounding them "with a ploughed or burned ring at least eight feet wide situated about twenty yards from the stacks."³⁰ Such precautions undoubtedly reduced losses but it was a rare year when disastrous fires failed to claim all or most of some settler's hay. Settlers unfortunate enough to lose their supplies had to rely on the generosity of neighbours to see them through the winter.³¹

The quantity of hay each settler could harvest was severely limited by the shortage of hired labour. A few Indians from the Indian Settlement of St. Peter's sometimes hired themselves out at this busy time³² but haying was essentially a family affair in which both women and youngsters regularly took part.³³ The amount of hay that could be put away for winter was also limited by the slow hard methods employed in making it. A few mowing machines were introduced into the Red River Settlement from the United States during the late 1850s and 1860s, but throughout most of the colony prior to 1870 hand labour continued to dominate harvesting.

Cutting the prairie grasses beyond the limits of the "hay-privilege" was carried out usually during late July and early August, though a little inferior hay was made later once the crops were harvested.³⁴ However, annual climatic variations frequently caused modifications in the haying routine. In dry years, when hay seemed likely to be scarce, anxious farmers commenced mowing before the official date laid down by the Council of Assiniboia, even though they ran the risk of sacrificing their haying rights.³⁵ In late July 1863, the *Nor'Wester* learned that some settlers had begun "to put hay before the legal date, and that Mr. Mactavish [Governor of Assiniboia] gave orders to have the hay seized and sold for the benefit of the public."³⁶ And when a wet spring and early summer made movement on the plains difficult, the commencement of haying was put off for a few weeks to give the prairies more time to dry out.³⁷

No matter when haying commenced, the farmers' problems were further complicated by the fact that barley, the first crop to come to maturity at Red River, invariably ripened at about the same time as the prairie grasses were ready for cutting, thereby forcing them to do two

arduous tasks within a short monthly period.³⁸ Haymaking, therefore, was a time of strenuous activity for the Red River farmer, an activity "which every year half breaks both his back and his heart."³⁹ The hay harvest also coincided with the mosquito season and, despite the obvious risk of prairie fires, bonfires were often lit in the hope that the smoke would keep spiteful insects at bay.

Once their hay was stacked, the settlers had to make numerous journeys hauling it by cart or sledge to the riverside farms. The amount of travelling increased during drought years, for lack of water on the plains forced haymakers to get their drinking water from the Red or the Assiniboine. Taylor, in August 1863, recorded that "people had to cart out water to hay making and reaping."⁴⁰ The *Nor'Wester*, one year later, wrote that

Despite some smart showers in June and July there is barely enough herbage on the plains to feed the cattle, and owing to the entire absence of water there they cannot go far enough to pick the best of it. They have all to march back once or twice a day to drink at the river.⁴¹

Haying activities were curtailed as the harvesting of wheat, the colony's main crop, got underway but were taken up again in the fall and continued throughout the winter, for the hay was rarely put away before the onset of cold weather. Despite the threat from annual fall fires, hay was left out on the plains, from whence it was hauled home when needed. The *Nor'Wester* informed its readers that during the last three weeks of September 1861, "strings of carts, sometimes a quarter of a mile in length, might be seen traversing over bleak and level prairies with their loads."⁴² Agricola, a correspondent on agricultural matters in the *Nor'Wester*, indicated that the winter hauling of hay was

a business which of itself occupies the greater part of the time of the sturdiest members of the family for most of the winter, and sometimes compels a weak-handed family to send out little boys to work for which none but hardy men are really quite fitted. Twenty four and thirty hours are nothing unusual for a single trip over bleak and sometimes trackless plains.⁴³

The Taylor journal confirms that the hauling of hay (and timber) was an almost daily activity of Red River livestock farmers during the winter. The sledge was the usual mode of winter hay transport but the cart continued in use when snow was scarce or absent.

Prairie hay was a "free" resource available to all and the vast majority of settlers with livestock took advantage of this to meet their own requirements. Yet hay did have some commercial value at Red River. Farmers who had failed to put up sufficient hay to last the winter, or had lost hay through fire, created most of the demand and tried to make up their deficiencies through purchase as hay ran out.⁴⁴ The Hudson's Bay Company also occasionally bought hay to feed its livestock at Lower Fort Garry.⁴⁵ Information on hay prices is slight but, during the 1860s, the market price in normal times seems to have ranged from two shillings and sixpence to six shillings per cart load. As

fodder supplies decreased towards spring the price of hay invariably rose sharply and, at that season, sometimes brought as high as twenty shillings for a cart load weighing 800 pounds.⁴⁶

There were years when severe drought and the consequent insufficiency of hay caused the normal annual haying routine at Red River to be modified. This occurred in 1847 and 1864 when, in response to the drought hazard, farmers made hay at distances of sixty miles or more from the colony. Rather than hauling home their hay, farmers with substantial herds wintered their cattle at the source of supply. At such distant locations rough sheds were hastily constructed to shelter cattle and they were kept there until the spring thaw. This practice was known as "out-wintering" and favoured locations for it were the Long Lake area and the southern margins of Lake Manitoba.⁴⁷

The Red River Settlement's haying economy did not long survive the creation of the Province of Manitoba in 1870 and the disintegration of the old order that followed the commencement of permanent agricultural colonization on the prairies beyond the Red and the Assiniboine river-front settlements. The commons of Point Douglas and St. Boniface were destroyed by the expansion of the new urban centre of Winnipeg. The ploughing up of the "hay-privilege," which had been underway since about 1860, gathered pace in the years after 1870. During the same decade, the common land beyond the "hay-privilege" was divided up into quarter-section farms by Dominion land surveyors. However, the many poorly-drained areas in the Red River lowland, some of which had formed the favoured hay grounds of the Selkirk colonists for forty years were avoided by the incoming settlers and, no doubt, continued to contribute to feeding the livestock of old settlers and new.

NOTES

The author thanks the Hudson's Bay Company for granting him permission to consult and quote from the Company's archives.

¹ John Palliser, *Further Papers Relative to the Exploration by the Expedition under Captain Palliser* (London: G. E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1860), 38.

² Fort Garry post journal, 30 January, 4 and 19 April 1826, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg (hereafter H.B.C.), B235: a 7, fos. 20, 28 and 31.

³ Journal of Reverend D. T. Jones, 29 April, 1826, Church Missionary Society Archives, Microfilm copies, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, (hereafter C.M.S.), Reel A77, p. 197.

⁴ Fort Garry post journal, 31 April 1826, H.B.C., B235: a 7, fo. 31.

⁵ *Nor'Wester* (Red River Settlement), 3 April 1869.

⁶ The extension of cultivation into the "hay-privilege" is discussed in Barry Kaye, "Some Aspects of the Historical Geography of the Red River Settlement from 1812 to 1870" (Master's Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1967), 255-261.

⁷ *New Nation*, 6 May 1870; Archer Martin, *The Hudson's Bay Company's Land Tenures* (London: W. Clowes and Sons Ltd., 1898), 213.

⁸ E. H. Oliver (ed.), *The Canadian North West: Its Early Development and Legislative Records*, 2 vols. (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1914) 1:456-457.

⁹ *Nor'Wester*, 28 July 1860.

¹⁰ Until the early 1860s, the date of the commencement of haymaking on "the common" was fixed at July 20. However, beginning in 1862, the Council of Assiniboine started to vary the opening date in order to take into account haying prospects and conditions on the plains.

- Initially, at least, the change aroused considerable opposition among Red River farmers. See *Nor'Wester*, 14 May and 23 July 1862.
- 11 W.J. Healy, *Women of Red River* (Winnipeg: Women's Canadian Club, 1923), 150.
 - 12 Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine Exploring Expedition of 1858*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860), 1:123.
 - 13 Healy, *Women of Red River*, 150.
 - 14 Oliver, *Canadian North West*, 1:541.
 - 15 *Nor'Wester*, 10 May 1864.
 - 16 *Ibid.*
 - 17 Palliser, *Further Papers*, 55.
 - 18 George Simpson to Governor and Committee, 1 July 1847, H.B.C., A12/3, fo. 424.
 - 19 Andrew McDermot to G.M. Cary, 24 July 1848, G.M. Cary papers, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg.
 - 20 Simpson to Governor and Committee, 30 June 1857, H.B.C.; A12/8, fo. 497.
 - 21 Hind, *Narrative*, 1:229.
 - 22 Samuel Taylor journal, March and April 1864, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg.
 - 23 *Ibid.*, March 1865.
 - 24 *Ibid.*, March 1866.
 - 25 *Ibid.*, March and April 1867.
 - 26 Palliser, *Further Papers*, 55. A cart load of hay probably weighed about 800 pounds.
 - 27 *Nor'Wester*, 29 October 1860.
 - 28 Canada, Journal of the House of Commons, Vol. X, 1876, Appendix, Evidence of J. Sutherland.
 - 29 *Nor'Wester*, 18 August 1864.
 - 30 J.J. Hargrave, *Red River* (Altona, Manitoba: Friesen Printers, 1977, first published 1871), 178.
 - 31 Healy, *Women of Red River*, 150; R.G. MacBeth, *The Selkirk Settlers in Real Life* (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1897), 47.
 - 32 Journal of Reverend John Smithurst, 5 July 1841, C.M.S., Reel A96.
 - 33 In its issue of 14 May 1862, the *Nor'Wester* claimed that only ten percent of the farmers at Red River, consisting of men of "large means," were able to hire labour for haymaking and harvesting. The rest had to rely wholly on family labour.
 - 34 *Nor'Wester*, 14 May 1862.
 - 35 Taylor journal, July 1864.
 - 36 *Nor'Wester*, 22 July 1863.
 - 37 *Ibid.*, 28 July and 14 September 1861; Alexander Ross to James Ross, 8 September 1856, Alexander Ross family papers, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg.
 - 38 *Nor'Wester*, 14 May 1862; Oliver, *Canadian North West*, 1:510.
 - 39 *Nor'Wester*, 10 May 1864.
 - 40 Taylor journal, 23 August 1863.
 - 41 *Nor'Wester* 18 August 1864.
 - 42 *Ibid.*, 1 October 1861.
 - 43 *Ibid.*, 10 May 1864.
 - 44 Taylor journal, February 1866.
 - 45 Journal of Reverend J. Smithurst, 10 December 1846, C.M.S., Reel A96.
 - 46 Hargrave, *Red River*, 178.
 - 47 *Nor'Wester*, 18 August, 2 November and 6 December 1864.