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St. Andrew's Parish 1829-1929, and the
Church Missionary Society in Red River

by Robert Coutts

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Preface

This study has been written to provide the historical background necessary for the interpretive programme at St. Andrew's National Historic Site. During the planning process for St. Andrew's two major historical themes were developed: the role of the Church Missionary Society in Red River and the site's significance as an example of mid-19th century Red River stone architecture. While the Church and the exterior restoration of the Rectory provide a good example of the latter theme, more detailed, contextual information was needed on the role of the CMS in St. Andrew's parish, the history of the Church in the period after 1870, and the nature of the St. Andrew's community as a whole. This study addresses these concerns by placing the evolution of the Anglican Church at St. Andrew's between 1829 and 1929 within a broader social and economic context.

Aside from its use at St. Andrew's, the report will also aid the interpretive programme at Lower Fort Garry. Though there is no lack of information dealing with the fort's role in the Rupert's Land fur trade, there is little regarding the social and economic make-up of the community which surrounded it. This study provides a more detailed examination of lower Red River society in the 19th century and will be useful to guides and animators at that site.

I am indebted to a number of people for their assistance in the preparation of this report, in particular Ron Frye for guidance and assistance in the tabulation and

analysis of the quantitative data in Chapter VII. For permission to use the vast amount of tabular material from the Red River censuses and parish registers, I would like to thank Doug Sprague of the University of Manitoba who, along with Frye, spent a number of years coding and computerizing these records. Thanks are also due Shirlee Smith, Keeper of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives for permission to quote from the documents, and to the staff of the Provincial Archives of Manitoba for allowing access to the Church Missionary Society records, the Ecclesiastical Archives of the Anglican Church in Rupert's Land, and the Red River Settlement Collection. For permission to use material located at the Anglican Diocesan Archives in Winnipeg, I am indebted to Mr. D.A. Thompson, legal custodian of the collection. I would also like to thank my colleague Lyle Dick who read parts of the manuscript and provided advice on style and methodology. Marg Burnip edited the manuscript while typing was performed by Carole Desjardins and Jeannette Morin.

A Note on Terminology

It is important to comment briefly upon some of the terminology used in this study, specifically the use of the term "English-speaking Halfbreed" to describe the mixed-blood residents of Indian and (predominantly) Orkney ancestry who lived in Red River. In 20th century parlance the label "Halfbreed" came to have a negative or pejorative meaning. In recent years such terms as "country-born", "English speaking mixed-bloods", "Rupertlanders", "English

speaking Métis" and "Native English" have been employed when referring to the offspring of Anglo-British Hudson's Bay Company fur 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 referring to 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 Métis, Scottish or French.

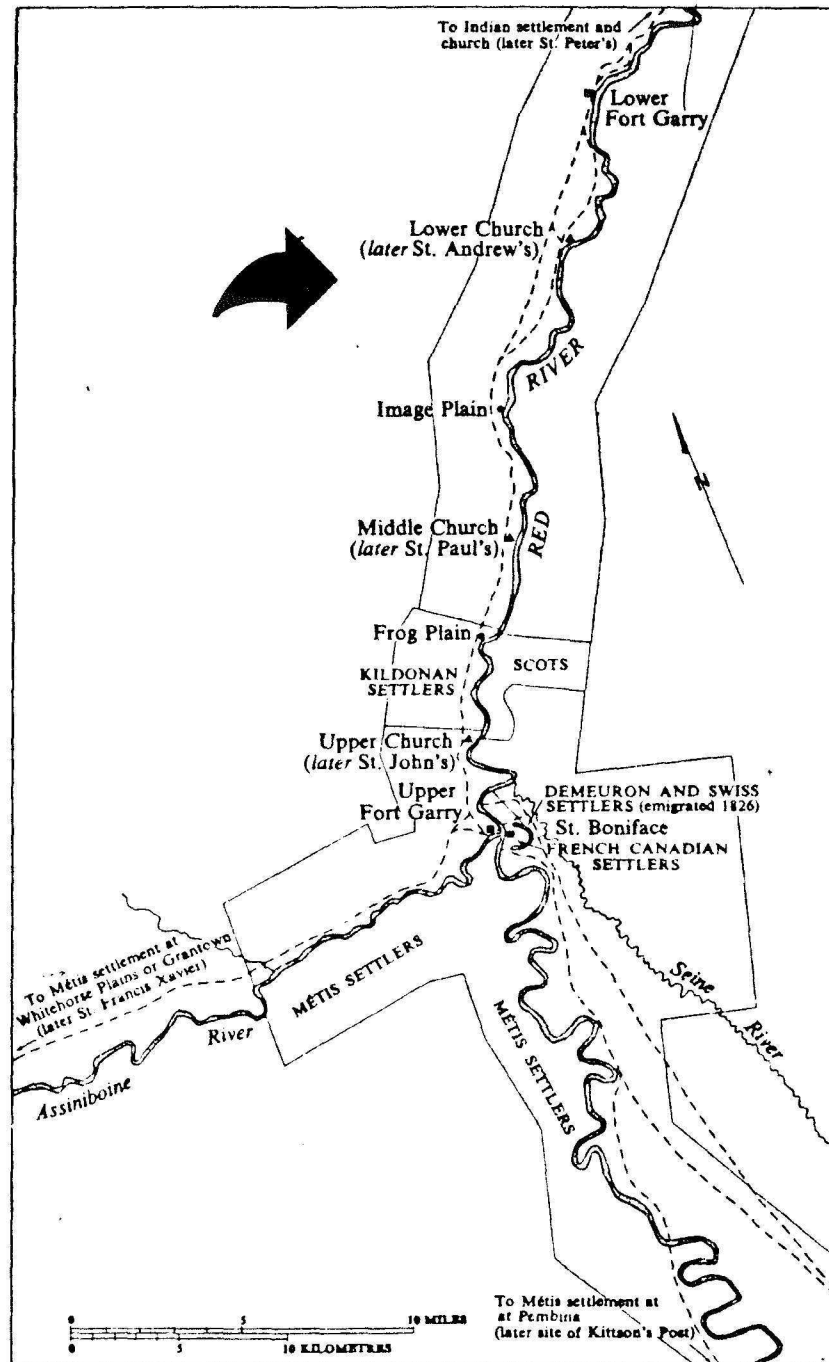


Figure I. The Red River Settlement in 1835.
 From L.G. Thomas (ed.) The Prairie West to 1905.

I. Introduction

The arrival of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Red River in 1820 had a major effect upon the acculturation of native peoples in Rupert's Land. Much has been written about the early missionaries, but until recent years few studies have done little more than chronicle the extension of Christian hegemony in the West. More recently, scholars have examined the socio-cultural role of the missionaries and their attempts to assimilate the native into an Anglo-Christian way of life.¹ In this context it is important to study the individual mission as more than simply an instrument to facilitate the spread of the Christian gospel. To do otherwise, according to historian Cornelius Jaenan, would be to "continue to repeat the narratives of Black Robes or White Collars bringing the blessings of civilization and Christianity to the Savage barbarian of the Canadian wilderness".² The mission served as the organizational mechanism through which the missionary challenged the native's world view. By emphasizing agriculture, education and conformity to the Anglo-Christian ethic, the missionary hoped to bring about a drastic social and cultural change in aboriginal life in the west.

At St. Andrew's the CMS established itself in the new settlement of English-speaking Halfbreed former servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. The missionary's role was to undermine the old fur trade post tradition and purge the

community of its traditional customs and behaviors. In its place he hoped to create a new society of settled agriculturalists, a Christian community divorced from the economic and social traditions of the fur trade. For the missionary the victory of "civilization" over "barbarism" was critical to the survival of the community. The Christian ethic demanded conformity at all levels - if the Halfbreed was not encouraged to till the soil and send his children to mission schools, it was felt he could never become truly Christian. It was this ethic which represented the motivating principle behind the establishment of the mission at St. Andrew's.

For the Church Missionary Society to be successful in Red River it had to establish a viable working relationship with the Hudson's Bay Company. The fur trade had provided the social and political framework in Rupert's Land for almost 150 years. Though disputes between trader and missionary inevitably arose, the CMS realized that it could do little without the Company's tacit approval. At Red River it was the Company and the Society (along with the Catholic Church) which formed the basis of the governing framework within the new colony.

This study analyzes the impact of the Anglican Church upon the English speaking Halfbreed community at St. Andrew's, and deals with the evangelical basis of the CMS philosophy in Rupert's Land, the Society's attitude toward Native and Halfbreed peoples, the relationship between the missionaries and the HBC in Red River, the establishment of the mission at the Rapids, and the parish's development from CMS mission to rural Anglican outpost. As well, the study will examine the community at St. Andrew's and provide an overview of the social and economic make-up of the parish and the role of education and agriculture in its development.

A variety of archival sources were examined for this report. Located, for the most part, at the Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM) they include the papers of the Ecclesiastical Archives Province of Rupert's Land, the St. Andrew's Parish Records, Red River census data, private journals contained in the Red River Settlement Collection and the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company. The most significant source for this study, however, proved to be the Church Missionary Society Archives, also found at the PAM. This vast collection of private journals and correspondence not only provides commentary on daily occurrences within the community, but offers invaluable insights into missionary philosophy and attitudes. The daily journals and lengthy annual letters of such men as William Cockran, Robert James, David Anderson, James Hunter and Joseph Gardiner, among others, provide an almost unbroken account of the mission experience at St. Andrew's in the years between 1829 and 1887. Information on the history of the Church for the period after 1887, when the parish became entirely self-supporting, was found in the St. Andrew's vestry minutes which begin in 1890 and carry through to the present day. These vestry minutes are now in the custody of the Diocesan Archives of the Anglican Church of Canada in Winnipeg.

II. Evangelical Protestantism and the Ideology of the Church Missionary Society in Red River

The extensive territorial holdings of the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land, once the domain of the fur trader, witnessed the introduction of Christian missions in the early decades of the 19th century. This event succeeded in changing the very nature of contact between Natives and Whites in the West. It transformed what had once been a period of "non-directed cultural contact," where the Native adopted only portions of the fur trade culture, a process which did not represent a direct attack on aboriginal society, to one of direct contact where the efforts of missionaries, teachers and politicians were marshalled toward bringing about major social and cultural change among aboriginal groups.¹ The protestant missionary was in the vanguard of this campaign. He was a committed agent of acculturation, the product of worldwide organization concerned with the promotion of an Anglo-Christian social theory. The missionary was trained in dealing with exotic cultures and in the handling of large and small scale adaptations of Protestant Christianity.² Through the framework of the Church Missionary Society, an organization which enjoyed financial and spiritual support from a large cross-section of wealthy and powerful Englishmen, the missionaries received spiritual and emotional motivation, training and financial support in their efforts to carry British values and civilization to the "heathen" of the world.

The Church Missionary Society, like the whole of the Christian missionary movement of the Victorian era, was the product of the evangelical revival which emerged in Great Britain at the close of the 18th century. The roots of this evangelical movement can be traced to the middle decades of that century when a number of Anglican clergymen went through parallel but apparently spontaneous conversion experiences.³ Some of the leading evangelicals of the time, including John Wesley, Howell Harris, George Thomson and George Whitfield, believed this new direction indicated that they were to devote the remainder of their lives to the preaching of the Christian gospel and the saving of souls.

The Evangelical phenomenon was in part a reaction to the intellectual philosophies of deism and rationalism which prevailed in the Anglican Church during the post-Puritan age in Britain. Indeed, it could be argued, it represented a return to the central ideas of the Reformation and the traditions of 17th century Puritanism.⁴ Emotion and "evangelicalism" - the word means literally to be seized with the spirit of the Gospel - were to replace the rational intellectual theology of the established Church. For the evangelical, personal salvation was achieved through essentially external means; the "witnessing" of one's faith by demonstrative acts of compliance. Like a great many popular movements the theme of "conversion" - of giving over one's life to God, played a central role in the whole process.

According to Walter Houghton, the major feature of the Evangelical movement was its anti-intellectualism. He characterized evangelicals as having "no intellectual basis; no internal idea, no principle of unity [and] no theology."⁵

Further, he argued, it was a "reaction against the High-Church 'evidences'; the insurrection of the heart and conscience of man against an arid orthodoxy." It was a

"vital Christianity" which protested the intellectual character of 18th century apologetics as the "Christianity of Books".⁶

While representing a significant change of direction for elements within the Anglican Church, Evangelicalism posed no threat to the established institutions which formed the social, economic, and political structure of the nation. Indeed, they represented a strongly conservative force which attempted to solve the social problems of the world, not by revolution in the French tradition, but by "personal" reformation. The ills of an industrializing British society, theoretically ripe for class warfare and Marxist revolution, were partly diffused by an evangelical philosophy which taught that all social problems were the result of individual or collective shortcomings rather than inadequacies inherent within the country's political or economic institutions. If individuals only lived their lives according to a few simple theological truths, the Evangelicals believed, society would enjoy peaceful coexistence, mutual benefit, and above all, law and order. The Evangelical message, one the Victorians took to heart, was this sense of personal responsibility. It was what historian Ian Bradley has called "a perpetual call to seriousness."⁷

The Clapham Sect was the most important Evangelical group of the period.⁸ Its members helped translate evangelical theory into political and commercial reality. The evangelicals were generally men of wealth and many within the sect held positions of power in parliament or in commerce.⁹ Emphasis was placed on works of charity and philanthropy - combating the slave trade, establishing foreign missions and distributing Bibles. With their concern for values that were both British and Christian, the

Clapham Sect and its missionary representatives helped support the philosophical basis of English imperialism in the 19th century. The conversion of "heathen" and the inculcation of British values of "civilization" and morality were seen by these men and women as the greatest charge God could give to his people.

The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East was formed from the Clapham Sect in April of 1799. Its organizing committee was headed by evangelical John Venn and made up of both clergy and laymen. The Church Missionary Society, as it later came to be known, grew slowly. Its first missionary, Henry Martyn, was sent to India in 1805, a full six years after the founding of the Society. Three more missionaries were sent to West Africa the next year but by 1809 the CMS had enlisted only a total of five missionaries in its cause. Thereafter, the Society experienced increased growth, focusing its evangelical endeavours on missions in Africa, India and China. In 1814 its first bishop, Rev. Dr. Middleton, was consecrated at the Calcutta mission in India.

Originally the Church Missionary Society had been established to compete with the London Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, as neither was felt to reflect the particular views of the Evangelicals within the Anglican Church. The London Missionary Society, the CMS believed, conducted its activities too far outside the control of the Episcopacy, while the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was dominated by the Anglican Church establishment, some of whom looked with disfavour upon the evangelical cause.¹⁰ Although the Church Missionary Society remained strongly allied with the established Church, there was little sympathy within the Society to the high church view that the Episcopacy should direct and control missionary endeavours.

This was not simply an anti-episcopalian bias, but rather a fear that non-evangelical elements would dominate the missionary field. The Society experienced some problems in the first few decades of the 19th century, primarily in getting its ministers ordained for foreign service. Greater co-operation between the CMS and the church Episcopacy occurred, however, after the enactment of the Colonial Service Act in 1819. This act empowered the Archbishops of York and Canterbury and the Bishop of London to ordain missionaries for the colonies.¹¹ While it appeared that control by the episcopate over the affairs of the Society had been strengthened, the actual administration of the organization remained in the hands of the CMS Committee and its Secretaries. In the early years of the Society's missionary enterprise missionaries in the field were subject to very little control from the local Anglican bishops. Frequent communications with the Society's secretarial office helped maintain a high degree of piety and zeal at the expense of established church liturgy and ritual.¹² In its official "Regulations and Instructions to Missionaries" the CMS warned its members; "Beware of the temptation to omit or abridge devotional exercises for the purpose of giving more time to intellectual study. Do not be discouraged", it continued, "by any sense of deficiency in natural ability or mental furniture".¹³

The direct contact between missionaries in the field and their superiors on the CMS Committee was the key to the Society's organizational effectiveness. Aside from correspondence dealing with specific issues, the Committee sent each worker in the field annual letters which contained general directives as well as advice and information on particular problems.¹⁴ More importantly, the letters generally contained emotional support for the missionary stationed in some isolated location, exhorting

him to even greater heights of evangelical zeal. This link with the Committee in London, according to H.A. Cairns, "enhanced the missionary's feelings that he was an emissary with a specific task, a representative of a religious society whose moral and spiritual values it was his function to spread".¹⁵

Another organ of communication within the CMS was its house journal founded in 1849 as the Church Missionary Intelligencer. The magazine published extracts from missionary journals and correspondence (William Cockran at St. Andrew's often complained that his writings were not "exciting" enough for publication), sermons, mission histories and information on CMS policy. The Committee used the Intelligencer to raise money for the missions and to solicit recruits for its ever expanding operations throughout the world. The publication helped support the notion within the mind of the missionary that his work was divinely inspired and that ultimately and inevitably his labours would be rewarded.

CMS Attitudes Toward Aboriginal Peoples

The Church Missionary Society and like minded religious groups helped formulate Victorian society's attitudes toward aboriginal peoples in an age of colonial and imperial expansion. For Victorians, exotic cultures and peoples were increasingly a source of fascination and curiosity, not to mention religious and paternalistic "conversion fever." Curiosity was eventually translated into concern as missionary societies promoted the notion of a world wide community. According to the Intelligencer, this community

formed the basis of their mission. "Christian ethnography," its editor wrote,

"the scattered portions of the great human family; the places of their habitation; the condition to which sin has reduced them; or the benefits they have received from the...Christian Missions - this is our subject".¹⁶

The Church Missionary Society, like all Christian mission groups, attempted to radically manipulate and transform the particular aboriginal culture with which it came into contact. Cornelius Jaenen has identified three aspects of the acculturation process. Firstly, missions were active promoters of European values, moral assumptions, religious culture, as well as some form of nationalism or imperialism. The Church Missionary Society reflected the particular British-Christian values of its homeland and remained attached to its institutions and philosophies. An essentially imperialistic attitude governed most Indian-White interaction throughout the 19th century. Missionaries worked for the most part on the assumption that one set of cultural standards - the one shared by Churchmen and politicians - promoted both spiritual progress and stability.¹⁷ Secondly, missions were the result of social change. The evangelical movement played a key role in the form and direction of 19th century protestant missionary endeavours. Thirdly, according to Jaenan, Native religions when brought into contact with European Christianity were neither static nor passive. They continued to evolve and to adapt new and varied ways of dealing with such elements as the fur trade and settlement.¹⁸ The traditional missionary view of Native people as passive "receivers" of revealed truth is reflected in much of the missionary literature of the period.

The basic attitude of the missionary toward the Indian was formed by the belief that as all men represented a part of the Divine image, they were therefore members of a single

human family.¹⁹ According to the Intelligencer mankind was "one species, derived from one common parentage, yet under the varying influences of climate, habits of life, etc., presenting itself under a variety of modifications."²⁰ This intrinsic notion of the human family fit comfortably into the Victorian world view of culture and progress as forming a continuum which evolved through time in an essentially linear fashion. Cultural evolutionary theory was first accepted and popularized in the early 19th century by anthropological societies throughout Europe.²¹ The Ethnological Society of London, an offshoot of the Aborigines Protection Society, promoted the idea that different levels of civilization, in the words of Victorian anthropologist Edward Tylor, were more "differences of development than of origin, rather of degree than of kind".²² Social evolution for the Victorians was intrinsic to the notion of "progress". Each age, they believed, possessed and profited from a constantly increasing body of positive truth. The control of the environment, faith in the new technology and the accumulation of knowledge meant an end to the superstitions of the past and the victory of civilization and reason over barbarism. For the missionary, theories of social evolution provided a comfortable intellectual resting place, where the need for certainty and the need to accommodate more diverse social facts, and more subtle ways of interpreting them, reached a kind of temporary equilibrium.²³

Cultural evolution provided the intellectual foundation for the missionaries of the CMS. It was, an optimistic theory, enabling the Indians to be seen as potential Europeans, as a culture that simply lagged behind along the path of civilization. By agreeing to the notion that mankind represented different stages in a process called "progress", historian J.W. Burrow argues that the social theory was translated into a moral and political one.²⁴ By

bringing the gospel to the "savage" races they too might eventually achieve the level of civilization found in Great Britain. William Cockran was thus able to excuse the shortcomings of his Indian congregation at Red River by saying that while "the Indian has a good eye and a dexterous hand", if he learned the habits of "sober industry and economy, his character would soon rise in the judgement of the European." For Cockran and his colleagues "the European, having the fixed habits of full 1,800 years of civilization, views with contempt the tardy march of the Indian in the first generation, forgetting that his own ancestors were under similar circumstances".²⁵ Such an opinion provided the missionary with both a feeling of optimism for the future and a certainty in the legitimacy of his own moral duty. British society, the Victorian missionary believed, was morally bound by virtue of its superiority to aid in the development of what were considered more primitive cultures. God gave empires for the good of the governed not of the rulers, and as Christians they were bound to pass on to other societies the benefits and advantages of Anglo-Christian civilization. The missionaries' characterization of native culture as inferior laid the groundwork for the future appropriation of Indian lands. Moreover, the optimistic portrayals of the Indians' future under the guiding hand of the missionary, found throughout mission journals and correspondence, helped justify the treatment of Natives as subordinates. Before the arrival of the church in Rupert's Land, the CMS believed, Indians had been condemned to a life of privation and depravity.²⁶ Even as late as 1920, William Heeney in his book Leaders of the Canadian Church, described Western Canada before the founding of the first missions as undergoing a period of "long neglect...[where] civilization... withheld the touch of its soothing hand and the dynamic of its redemptive force".²⁷

While the Anglican missionary in Red River believed in the evolutionary theory of progress, he held no romantic view of the noble savage. According to the Intelligencer:

Old Books...may describe the simple pastoral life of the North American Indian...But we know that, on more accurate inspection, these pleasant imaginations shift into dark and horrible realities; and cruelty and cannibalism, and human sacrifice tell us too plainly that Heathenism is everywhere and always the same accursed thing.²⁸

Writing to the Secretaries of the CMS William Cockran described Indians in Rupert's Land as "immoral, capricious, intractable, indolent, callous, prideful, wayward, extravagant, ingracious, improvident and careless."²⁹ Such a view by Cockran and the Society was not surprising. To consider the Indian noble and unspoiled would expose the missionaries to criticism for attempting to destroy such an idyllic life.

Victorian missionaries also considered the Indian to be childlike.³⁰ Like children, Natives were regarded as emotional, immature and impulsive. The missionary as parental figure and the Indian as child was an image constantly re-enforced by the Society. In its "Regulations and Instructions to Missionaries" the CMS cautioned its workers that "the missionary cannot love the Native Christians too much, but this love should be rather tender, grave and respectful, than free and familiar."³¹ The paternalism of the missionary-aboriginal contact situation was an almost universal characteristic, helping to justify any enterprise at the Natives' expense. As children could be "moulded" into adults in the Victorian world view, so could the native be educated and trained in the ways of civilization. But just as with children, increased affluence, the missionary believed, posed certain risks for the Native. Worried that the Indians living at the St.

Peter's mission at Red River would be spoiled by their newly-found success, Richard Davis of the CMS Committee cautioned the Rev. John Smithurst that "the dangers... resulting from their increased worldly prosperity must be made the subject of earnest prayer".³²

In the mind of the Victorian, Christianity and civilization were inextricably bound under the concept of Anglo-British superiority. The pre-eminence of the empire, for most, was based on the soundness of its Christian moral values. Any transference of Christian principles necessarily involved the teaching and communication of the basic tenets of 19th century Anglo civilization. Within missionary circles, however, the issue of whether civilization came before Christianity or vice-versa remained contentious. While the Anglican CMS was concerned with a total re-organization of Indian social and political structures, the Methodist Church, on the other hand, claimed only to be interested in the communication of the Gospel. "Christ first to the heart, and then the after blessings of civilization" was the comment of Rev. James Evans, the first Methodist missionary in Rupert's Land.³³ It was a policy that stressed itinerancy over settlement and agriculture, and one that endeared that sect to Sir George Simpson and the Hudson's Bay Company. Simpson mistrusted the CMS, suspicious of its intention to remove the Native from what that Society believed was the destabilizing influence of the fur trade.

The representatives of the CMS, from the very beginning of the mission to Red River in 1820, placed heavy emphasis upon the pursuit of such crucial components of British civilization as education and agriculture.³⁴ William Cockran, stationed at St. Andrew's, and later at the Indian settlement, constantly exhorted his Native and Halfbreed congregations to give up their hunting and gathering tradi-

tions and learn to farm. As well, schools were established in the settlement to teach Red River children, not only scripture, but mathematics, history, geography and domestic skills. For Cockran and his colleagues these elements were absolutely crucial to the communication of the Gospel. "I think", he wrote to the CMS in 1828, "there is no other way of conveying the knowledge of the Gospel to the Indians of Hudson's Bay but through the medium of civilization."³⁵ Even John Smithurst, who was occasionally critical of Cockran's emphasis upon the teaching of practical skills, wrote that "if the Indian cannot be induced...to lay aside his erratic mode of living and attach himself to one place where he can be regularly instructed in the Word of God I do not think there is much prospect of his becoming Christian."³⁶ As with Cockran, and almost all CMS missionaries, agriculture for Smithurst held the key to this process. "A great advantage arising from the farm", he wrote in his journal, "is the employment it gives the Indians, leading them almost insensibly into the habits of civilized life".³⁷

The Church Missionary Society's emphasis upon the dual role of Christianity and civilization played a decidedly crucial function in the non-violent expansion of the British empire. Aboriginal cultures in direct contact with white culture, the CMS believed, were doomed to destruction unless Christianity was introduced to help facilitate the transition. In 1860 the Intelligencer commented:

Is it possible that two distinct portions of the human race in the opposite conditions of civilization and barbarism, can be brought into immediate contact without the destruction of the uncivilized race? We believe it to be quite possible, if only Christianity in its purity and power be on the spot.³⁸

In Rupert's Land the missionaries viewed the contact between Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company as helping to exacer-

bate the problem, "scarring the body afresh and pour[ing] in vials of moral disease".³⁹ Only the introduction of Christianity, they believed, could equip the native to withstand the onslaught of European society. But while the fur trade necessitated acculturation at one level, the Christian missions demanded a complete and unwavering compliance to a new and foreign morality. It proved the basis of their failure.

CMS Attitudes Toward the English-Speaking Halfbreeds

The intermarriage of Hudson's Bay Company fur traders with native women in the 18th and 19th centuries created a new racially mixed community in Rupert's Land. These English-speaking Halfbreeds evolved as culturally distinct from the Métis whose origins could be traced to the posts of the old North West Company.⁴⁰ With the amalgamation of the competing fur companies in 1821, many of these servants were retired to the new colony at Red River. By 1870 the English-speaking Halfbreeds were the second largest group in the settlement. Geographically, Red River was divided amongst a number of different communities. Saulteaux (Ojibwa) and Cree Indians lived at St. Peters and Baie St. Paul (Wabassong), the English-speaking Halfbreeds were located at St. Andrew's and later St. Clements, the Kildonan Scots at St. Johns and Kildonan and the Métis and Canadiens at St. Boniface, St. Vital and St. Norbert.

For the first years after the migration of a number of Halfbreeds to Red River in 1824 the community underwent a period of cultural adjustment. The influence of the missionaries and the HBC were crucial factors in the deter-

mination of the ultimate role of the Halfbreeds in the Red River settlement. For historian John Foster two divergent strains could be identified within the Halfbreed community: one the trading post tradition and the other a population that mirrored British practices.⁴¹ These varying traditions, however, did not pose any real strain within the community, at least not in the early years. Rather than demonstrating a clash between "civilization and barbarism", parishes such as St. Andrew's prior to 1850, reflected the economic and social reality of Red River, where the traditions of separate cultures were adapted and integrated into a way of life peculiar to the colony.

The missionaries' view of this mixed race was in many ways similar to their attitude toward the Native. They exhibited the same paternalism and believed the English-speaking Halfbreed to be lower than whites on the evolutionary scale of civilization. Their British ancestry, however, allowed Abraham Cowley to admit the Halfbreeds "will fare much better [than the Indians]. Being nearer European full descent they have an advantage and many endure if not forever, for a longer space".⁴² In describing the Halfbreed settlers to the Committee Cockran was more critical:

They [the English speaking Halfbreeds] have to be brought exceedingly low before God will condescend to bestow his renewing grace to change their characters. The voyageur's very bones must be broken; wearisome months must be appointed as his portion, to give him time to remember the transgressions of 30 or 40 years.⁴³

Some of his parishoners, Cockran charged, "are still in the possession of all the manners and customs of the Indians, and...live very profane, licentious, intemperate lives".⁴⁴ Robert James found his congregation at the Rapids (St. Andrew's) "frank and simple minded...deceitful...selfish, improvident and unthankful...⁴⁵

The CMS believed that most aspects of the behaviour of the English-speaking Halfbreeds required reformation. The missionaries sought to discourage the involvement of the people in the hunt and other traditions of the fur trade post environment. They viewed these activities as antithetical to their development as Christians and worked tirelessly toward the creation of a new British-style hybrid society in Red River.

The Establishment of the Mission at Red River, 1820-29

The first Protestant missionary in Rupert's Land, the Reverend John West, arrived at York Factory on August 13, 1820. The Hudson's Bay Company was instrumental in his appointment by virtue of the changing attitudes of the London Committee toward missionary work within its territories. Originally the HBC's Royal Charter of 1670 had made no mention of religious obligations to either the Indians within its territories or the servants in its employ. By the early part of the 19th century, however, a number of evangelical and religiously motivated men occupied influential positions on the Committee and lobbied for the introduction of Protestant missions to its territories. The growing colony at Red River, they felt, provided an excellent location for a missionary and Company chaplain to minister to the retiring traders and voyageurs. Benjamin Harrison, a member of the London Committee since 1809 was a member of the evangelical Clapham Sect while Nicholas Garry, another influential Company director, also possessed a keen religious motivation. Moreover, Governor Andrew Colville the "moving spirit of the Committee", was supportive of the

scheme and asked the CMS to supply a minister for Red River in 1819.⁴⁶

A number of factors were involved in the Hudson's Bay Company's support of a Protestant mission in the northwest. During the period of intense rivalry between the HBC and the North West Company the Cree and Ojibway trappers who occupied the zones of greatest competition had begun to suffer privation and food shortages due to over-trapping of the fur bearing population.⁴⁷ The Company, which had now shifted a great deal of its attention to the prime fur areas of the Mackenzie and Athabaska districts, became concerned for these groups who, without the ability to purchase ammunition for hunting, had grown reliant on Company food and resources.⁴⁸ As well, the Company had begun retiring a number of its now redundant servants to Red River and felt that the presence of the Church would provide both a disciplinary and social welfare role for the growing population of mixed-blood settlers. In its directive to George Simpson the London Committee stated: "These people form a burden which cannot be got rid of without experience; and if allowed to remain in their present condition, they will become dangerous to the peace of the Country and the safety of the trading posts."⁴⁹ Consequently the Committee recommended that the Métis and Halfbreeds:

...ought all to be removed to Red River, where the Catholics will naturally fall under the Roman Catholic Mission, which is established there; and protestants and such Orphan children...may be placed under the Protestant Establishment and Schools under the Revr. Mr. West.⁵⁰

A third factor, perhaps the most crucial, helped prod the Company into encouraging settlement and missionary work at Red River. At a time when the evangelical movement in England was helping to turn public opinion against the slave trade, monopolies such as the East India Company which practiced the trade were declining in popularity. That

company's refusal to allow missionaries into its territories had been successfully over-ruled in the House of Commons.⁵¹ The action served as a warning to other British monopolies. The new evangelical spirit which had infused the British population with the desire to see the Christianization and civilization of native peoples, no longer tolerated a monopolistic and strictly secularist exploitation of resources. In 1821 the British Parliament passed "An Act for Regulating the Fur Trade, and Establishing a Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction Within Certain Parts of North America". This act legally bound the Hudson's Bay Company to support both permanent settlement outside the fur trade and missionary work among the inhabitants of the territory.⁵² The Company's "License for Exclusive Trade", granted at the time of coalition in 1821, was subject to renewal every 20 years by Parliament. It instructed the Company to address itself to a program which would promote "the moral and religious improvement" of the native inhabitants of the country. Unwilling to risk public disfavour or even official censure, Andrew Colville wrote to George Simpson:

It is incumbent upon the Company...to have a chaplain in their country and at least to allow missions to be established at proper places for the conversion of the Indians, indeed it would be extremely impolitic in the present temper and disposition of the public in the Country to show any unwillingness to assist in such an object.⁵³

John West was appointed to the dual role of Hudson's Bay Company Chaplain and representative of the Church Missionary Society. Unlike many of the missionaries to follow him, West was a member of the upper class, an Oxford graduate and an experienced parish vicar.⁵⁴ It was perhaps these factors which eventually alienated West from the society and the support of the Company and ultimately doomed his mission to failure. West collected a salary of £350 a

year; £200 from the CMS and £150 from the Hudson's Bay Company. Immediately upon his arrival at York Factory the missionary formulated a plan for the education of a certain number of Native and Halfbreed children so that they could be "maintained, clothed and educated upon a regularly organized system".⁵⁵ Although ambitious, John C West lacked the astuteness and tact necessary for the delicate negotiations that were often needed to bring his plans to fruition.

The Church Missionary Society's first representative in Rupert's Land wasted little time in communicating his view of the Native and Halfbreed population. The paternalism which would characterize the Society for the next 65 years is evident in West's Substance of a Journal in which he described the Indians as being in a "sad condition, so degraded and emaciated, wandering in ignorance".⁵⁶ After departing on the Company boats for Red River on September 7th, 1820, he cited his voyageurs as exhibiting "horrid imprecations...[proving]...a degeneracy of character in the Indian country".⁵⁷ Their "blasphemy" and "barbarous treatment of women" he lamented make them "slaves to their arbitrary inclinations. I had hoped better things of the [partly] Scotch", West concluded.⁵⁸ Arriving at Red River on the 14th of October West pronounced the inhabitants to be in a "wild and hunter like state". He constructed a cabin some three miles below Fort Douglas and with George Harbidge, a schoolmaster who had come out from England, began teaching "from twenty to twenty-five children".⁵⁹

During his tenure in Rupert's Land John West spent a good deal of his time outside the settlement. Early in 1821 West journeyed to the Qu'Appelle region where he preached the evils of drunkenness and licentious living to both Company servants and the local Indians. "I explained to them", he wrote, "the nature and obligations of marriage and baptism; and distributed among them some Bibles and testa-

ments and religious tracts".⁶⁰ In the spring of 1821 West travelled to Pembina where he became "depressed in mind...at the spectacle of human depravity and barbarism I was called to witness".⁶¹ In the next two years he visited York Factory twice, Fort Churchill, as well as posts at Bas de la Rivière. In Red River, West had erected, by the summer of 1822, a small wooden church/schoolhouse near the forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers.

From almost the very beginning John West succeeded in alienating the critical elements of early Red River society; the Hudson's Bay Company, the Catholic Church and the Kildonan Presbyterian settlers. West's exhortations regarding Christian marriage, drinking and working on Sunday ("Sabbatarianism") particularly rankled Company officers who resented his attempts to undermine the fur trade. West viewed the trade as contributing toward the "barbarous culture" of Rupert's Land, and accused it of helping to maintain the Indians and the Company's own voyageurs in a state of "depravity". Moreover, his attempts to extend missionary work outside of Red River disturbed George Simpson who described West as "extremely unpopular".⁶² West was unable to affiliate the aspirations of his mission with those of the fur trade. He viewed himself, according to church historian Arthur Thompson, as the harbinger of civilization in Rupert's Land which would remove the Indians from trapping and ultimately destroy the fur trade.⁶³

Aside from the Company, West also experienced difficulties in his relationship with the Presbyterian community in Red River. When Lord Selkirk established the colony in 1811 he promised the Kildonan settlers a minister of their own denomination. They strongly resented the presence within their community of an Anglican clergyman who expected them to adapt to the English liturgy. For his part, West wrote in his journal that he was "disappointed in my sanguine hopes of their [the Presbyterians'] cheerful and preserving

assistance".⁶⁴ The Presbyterian "question" would long remain a thorn in the side of religious life in Red River.

In his dealings with the Catholic Church in Red River West succeeded in maintaining a civil relationship with the local clergy. He did, nevertheless, deeply resent Catholicism labelling it a "dry system of ecclesiastical statutes". As well, he charged, "they lightly regard the Sabbath; and sanction the practice of spending the evenings of this sacred day at cards, or in the dance".⁶⁵ West generally preferred not to interfere with Catholic affairs in the settlement and at one point even offered to teach English to the local priests if they would return the favour and instruct him in French.

It was John West who, with the assistance of the Hudson's Bay Company, instituted the first Anglican Indian School at Red River. Education for the Church Missionary Society held the key to Christian evangelization. Through education the basic tenets of British civilization could be communicated to the Indian and, according to West, he could be removed from "the influence of those savage-taught habits in which he has been nurtured".⁶⁶ For West the Indian was to be educated so as to comprehend the benefits he received from civilization, a process which would lead him to an understanding and appreciation of Christianity.⁶⁷ Agriculture, West believed, held the key to this undertaking. "As agriculture was an important branch in the system of instruction", he wrote in his journal, "I have given them [his pupils] some small portions of ground to cultivate".⁶⁸ He went on to describe how;

We often dig and hoe with our little charges in the sweat of our brow as an example and encouragement for them to labour; and promising them the produce of their own industry, we find that they take great delight in their gardens.⁶⁹

Unfortunately, the reality of events belied West's romantic portrayal of the Indian school. In the first year of opera-

tion only seven children were actually registered at the school and the schoolmaster, George Harbidge, described by Simpson as "ignorant, self-conceited and without system or authority" proved unfit for the position.⁷⁰ The Hudson's Bay Company had little sympathy with West's schemes. Simpson pronounced the undertaking as simply "filling the pockets and bellies of some hungry missionaries and schoolmasters and rearing the Indians in habits of indolence". The scheme would, he continued, "...do harm instead of good to the Fur Trade".⁷¹ Education even for the Halfbreeds of the country was for Simpson a wasted enterprise. He uncharitably labelled them as "blackguards of the very worst description, they not only pick up the vices of the Whites upon which they improve but retain those of the Indian in their utmost extent".⁷² Aside from the Indian residential school, West also initiated a day school for the Children of the local settlers. As well, a Sunday School was established for the benefit of the Indian wives and older Halfbreed children, although some of the Kildonan Scots attended as well. During his three years in the settlement it was in the area of education where West's contribution to the future of the mission proved most significant. He clearly delineated the goals of the Indian school as well as the nature of the curriculum needed to reach them. His journal reveals the evolution of an educational philosophy which would help guide Anglican missionaries in Red River for many years to come.⁷³

West departed for England in the fall of 1823 to bring his wife and family to the settlement. While there, Simpson moved quickly to have the HBC chaplaincy taken away from the missionary, and the CMS, unwilling to force an open disagreement with the Company so early in the life of the mission, withdrew their support from West as well.

John West's troubles in Red River can be easily traced to his failure to establish a viable working relationship

with the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company and his inability to accurately comprehend the realities of fur trade society in Rupert's Land. His constant preaching against the behaviour of the traders and Indians, particularly the custom of country marriages, as well as his desire to expand mission work and agricultural schools to other Company posts, put West in a most difficult position within the Colony. Disliked by Simpson and most of the other Company gentlemen, West was considered a liability by the Church Missionary Society.⁷⁴ They had hoped he would have been more tactful in his dealings with both fur trade officers and the so-called "principal settlers" in Red River.

West's replacement, David Jones arrived at York Factory in the late summer of 1823. Unlike his predecessor, Jones was originally from a rural parish and had been priested only four months prior to his arrival in Rupert's Land.⁷⁵ While certainly evangelical in spirit, David Jones proved more tactful in his dealings with both the Hudson's Bay Company and the principal settlers. Jones was instructed by Josiah Pratt, the corresponding secretary of the Church Missionary Society, to be flexible and to confer with the Governor of the settlement Andrew Pelly "freely and confidentially". Personality conflicts between Jones and the leaders of the Company, Pratt cautioned, were to be avoided. "Friendly persuasion" was to be employed in all negotiations and dealings.⁷⁶

While Jones did get on better with the leading elements in Red River, privately he grew frustrated with his role as Company chaplain. In his journal for 1824 he complained that:

As a Company Chaplain I occupy a very important and prospectively useful sphere of action, but as I am now, I may be here twenty years and be able to do hardly anything as a Missionary to the

Indians, for I never see any of them, excepting now and then one that is straggling from the Band...⁷⁷

The response of the CMS appeared contradictory. While considering missionary overtures to the Indian still their "sole interest", the Society encouraged Jones to concentrate his efforts on the Halfbreed and European community in Red River. "The ties that bind a missionary to his people", the directors wrote, "are of a nature not to be lightly broken ...his residence at any particular spot...is not needlessly to be relinquished".⁷⁸ Effectively restricting the efforts of the Society to the colony at Red River no doubt pleased Simpson who viewed Jones' role in the settlement as being one of social and political control. Ultimately, the missionaries were able to shift the focus of their attention to the settlement only when the directors of the CMS saw the clergy's efforts there as an integral part of Christianity and civilization in Rupert's Land.⁷⁹

The Hudson's Bay Company reacted favourably to Jones' mission at Red River. Although Jones was often critical of fur trade marriage practices and "illicit connexion[s] with native women", he confined his work to the boundaries of the settlement.⁸⁰ Simpson, for his part, assured Jones of the "high esteem and regard I entertain for you" and even appointed him to the Council of Assiniboia.⁸¹ Jones proved to be politically astute in his relations with the Company. "I am aware of the tender ground", he wrote to Simpson in 1825, "on which a missionary treads, and of the absolute necessity of maintaining a good understanding with the Hon. Company's Agents in the country".⁸²

In the area of education David Jones continued West's initiatives at the Indian school, day school and Sunday school. Although attendance increased at the Indian school by seven children in 1824, Jones elected to place greater emphasis upon the education of English-speaking Halfbreed

children in the community.⁸³ Education of the Halfbreeds was, according to Jones, the key to missionary work in the country. "The Halfbreeds", he remarked in his journal, "are the uniting medium between us and the Indians..."⁸⁴ The increasing interest of the Company's Chief Factors and Traders in having their offspring educated at Red River swelled the number of pupils under the care of Jones, his wife and the new teacher, William Garriock a retired HBC officer.⁸⁵ While a religious education was emphasized, agricultural skills were also taught, though Jones cautioned "moderation must be used".⁸⁶ It is evident from Jones' correspondence, however, that by 1826 the school at Red River was enjoying only limited success. The death of a few students brought into question the school's treatment of both Native and Halfbreed children. As well, the stated intention of using educated Halfbreeds as catechists among the native population proved unrealistic when it became increasingly obvious that these pupils were not ready for the ministry.⁸⁷ Moreover, problems were encountered in finding qualified teachers. School teacher George Harbidge and his wife were considered grossly inadequate and Garriock lacked the education necessary for such a position. Jones' difficulty in collecting donations from the local settlers, including the Presbyterian Scots who made excuses "notoriously distant from the truth", made it difficult to attract educated persons to teach in the settlement. For a number of years the Church Missionary Society's school in Red River operated under severe financial restrictions, unable to attract the widespread support and patronage needed to guarantee success.

While encountering some problems in the establishment of an educational system in Red River, Jones proved more successful than West in establishing the "religious means of persuasion". In the "discourse of conversion" Jones was able to move away from West's over-reliance upon established

rites and sacraments, or what he called the "formulary", that made up the church service.⁸⁹ For Jones the evangelical approach was more appropriate. The Church liturgy, slightly altered to suit the large Presbyterian population, as well as prayer meetings and pastoral visits all contributed to the acceptance of his mission among the local Halfbreed and Scottish populations. By emphasizing sermons and extemporaneous prayer over established rites Jones more easily related church services to the social and cultural reality of the settlement.⁹⁰ Prayer meetings helped circumvent the dry ecclesiasticism of the traditional Anglican approach and appealed to those who were not among the community's social and political elite. Pastoral visits also promoted evangelical values by attempting to establish religion in the settlement as part of the daily lives of the inhabitants. John West had travelled throughout much of Rupert's Land attempting to attract Indian children to his school with very little success. Jones, on the other hand, modelled much of his ministry after the style of the country parish, focusing his energies upon a more or less stable, settled population within the boundaries of the colony. It marked a significant change of direction for the mission. For the next 65 years, according to Frits Pannekoek, the church Missionary Society in Red River "struggled to recreate the English rural parish, a little Britain in the wilderness."⁹¹

In 1825 the Society sent 29 year old William Cockran as an assistant to David Jones. Over the next 40 years Cockran ministered to the population of Rupert's Land; at the Forks, the Rapids (St. Andrew's), the Indian Settlement at St. Peter's and at Portage La Prairie. Cockran was a Scot and according to J.W. Brooks of the CMS, "would not suit a congregation in England - his origin is low - his wife, though a discreet and pious woman, was a servant maid - his manners unpolished and indicate his origin...his dialect

broad and vulgar even as a Scotchman".⁹² Priested less than one week before his departure for Red River, Cockran was appointed assistant chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company at an annual salary of £50.⁹³ This stipend was supplemented with a £200 from the Society, a salary Cockran admitted to be "adequate".⁹⁴

After his arrival in the colony Cockran, who possessed a strong background in farming and animal husbandry, attempted to establish a "school of industry" which would teach the rudiments of farming to the English speaking Halfbreed children. While this scheme met with some opposition from Jones, Cockran was successful in substantially increasing the size and scope of the mission farm. Only 3½ acres when he first arrived, Cockran increased the farm to 10 acres by 1827, 12 acres by 1828 and 24 acres by 1829. As well, he constructed an irrigation system; a drain 800 yards long, 4 feet wide and 3 feet deep.⁹⁵ The energetic missionary instructed both pupils and local farmers in the techniques associated with the handling and care of farm animals and the planting, harvesting and storing of vegetable and grain crops. Cockran was a firm believer in the necessity of communicating practical farming skills to the Halfbreed inhabitants of the settlement. For him agriculture was the cornerstone of the British, Christian world view. It promoted a sedentary lifestyle and enabled its practitioners to achieve a higher level of civilization and spirituality. For Cockran, example provided the greatest teaching tool. "Let it not be thought", he wrote to his friend Rev. Bickersteth in London, "that it detracts from the dignity of a clergyman in Red River to be found holding the Plough - it increases his value. It is our example", he maintained, "that gives weight to our precepts".⁹⁶

In the latter part of 1828 Cockran began making pastoral visits to the growing community of retired Halfbreed

Company servants that had grown up around the rapids north of the settlement at the Forks. This pastoral work, which brought him to the area about once a week, usually involved the holding of services in private homes, visiting the sick, and the conducting of marriages, funerals and baptisms. His apparent conflict with Jones as to the extent and importance of the mission farm at Red River led to a rift between the two missionaries and occasioned Cockran's departure to the Rapids in 1829 where he hoped to establish a Church, school and mission farm.⁹⁷

By 1829 the Anglican mission Red River had become part of the daily life of the community. Through the use of church services, prayer meetings, pastoral visits and other means of conversion Jones and Cockran attempted to inculcate notions of Christian morality, civilization and agriculture into a society that was in the process of evolving its own socio-economic reality. The challenge of the illicit fur trade and the migration of English-speaking Halfbreeds to the settlement in the early part of the decade had been met.⁹⁸ The Anglican church in Red River had begun to emerge as a formidable mechanism for maintaining, with the Company, social and political control within the settlement. With the changing basis of the economy in Red River after 1850 this control would expand dramatically.

III. The Founding of the Mission at Grand Rapids, 1829-50

Though the Church Missionary Society had become increasingly integrated into Red River life by the end of its first decade, the future of the Church in the settlement was by no means assured. While a Church and school had been constructed, the community of retired fur traders remained for the most part ambivalent to the new mission. The next decade would see the mission gain a solid footing in the settlement.

After the severe flood of 1826 the number of English speaking Halfbreeds migrating to Red River increased substantially. Many of these families, some headed by Orkney-born officers, servants and others of mixed-bloods parentage, chose to settle in the lower reaches of the settlement at the Grand Rapids. As settlement expanded northward along the Red, so too did the influence of the Mission. In 1825 David Jones built a church at Image Plain, some six miles lower down the river from St. John's, his church near the Forks. With the establishment of the Grand Rapids parish in 1829, the church at Image Plain became known as the Middle Church, and later St. Paul's.

The migration of Halfbreeds to the settlement and the establishment of farms along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers was regulated by the Hudson's Bay Company and its policy of land grants for retiring servants. The application of the

policy was based on rank.¹ The size of grants ranged from as little as 25 acres to upwards of 200. As the depths of the river lots remained constant at two miles, river frontage could vary from one and a half chains (33 yards) to 12 chains for retiring Chief Factors. As well, grants of 25 acres were often given to a settler's eldest son. But for many retiring servants the grants of land were too small to farm effectively. William Cockran, writing to the Secretaries of the CMS in 1833, identified the problem. The settler, according to the missionary, "receives gratis a piece of land, 33 yards in breadth, and two miles in length. This is too narrow to fence and to make a farm of".² By the 1830s the price of land had risen to 10 shillings an acre. Coupled with high seed, equipment and livestock costs the problem of acquiring additional lots proved almost insurmountable.³ These factors, combined with a general lack of knowledge of farming techniques served to keep the Halfbreed community impoverished. Cockran outlined the difficulty of the situation:

The people of this Lower part of the Settlement are exceedingly poor, and meet with a great many temporal discouragements: emerging from the nature of the soil and climate and their inexperience in providing for future contingencies. They scarcely ever succeed in raising as much grain as will serve their families throughout the year. Few are so rich as to possess a plough and yoke of oxen; therefore all that they can plant and sow in the Spring has to be done with the hoe.⁴

Consequently, the missionaries viewed the initial disadvantages facing the Halfbreed settlers as severely limiting in the attempt to become successful farmers. Nonetheless, and in accordance with their belief in an individualistic, racially-based Victorian moral ethic, the missionaries also saw a great deal of this inability as stemming from perceived notions of barbarism and the absence of a civilized ethic. They were poor farmers, Cockran argued, because of

both natural and structural disadvantages. Yet it was the evangelical view that individual initiative, both moral and economic, was always preferable to a structural re-evaluation of the social and economic system.

Initially without Church or residence, Cockran began his ministry at the Rapids by visiting the local settlers and holding services in their homes. In attempting to purchase a plot of land from the Hudson's Bay Company on both banks of the Red River Cockran encountered opposition from Simpson. The governor did not approve of his plan to have the Company help defray the cost of constructing a house and church at the Rapids. Cockran believed Andrew Colville, the HBC London governor, to be supportive of the scheme to establish a mission at that spot, but complained to the Society that Simpson was exhibiting "disinterested kindness" toward the success of the endeavour.⁵ It is evident that Simpson paid only lip service to London directives regarding Company assistance to the missionaries. Privately he viewed their expansion as a threat to the Company's economic interests in Rupert's Land. For his part Cockran, though often critical of the fur trade, rarely reproached Simpson himself, faithfully complementing the governor's "unwearied attention...to our welfare".⁶ Cockran was above all a pragmatist and realized early on that Simpson was a better ally than foe. The two men enjoyed a synergistic relationship with each realizing that some form of accommodation was the most expedient and desirable course of action.

In the late summer of 1829 Cockran informed the Secretaries of the CMS that "our new Establishment at the Rapids is now rearing its head in the wilderness".⁷ A stone and mortar foundation was laid and Cockran was hurriedly attempting to complete the wood frame structure before the onset of winter. Evidently Cockran soon found his new residence too small for the number of parishoners who

attended services. He proceeded the next spring to:

...collect as much wood in the Winter as would build a room 42 feet by 20 (intended hereafter to be divided into three apartments: a kitchen, store and Dairy). As soon as the weather grew so mild as to allow the Carpenters to work out in the open air, we commenced building...⁸

Cockran's new structure, along with his previous building, served as a parsonage, church and school. Services were held Sunday mornings and Tuesday evenings while rooms were set aside for the teaching of local Halfbreed children.

In July of 1830 Cockran informed the CMS that plans had been initiated for the construction of a wooden church at the Rapids. Wood was floated down the river sufficient to erect a frame building approximately 50 feet long, 22 feet broad and 11 feet high.⁹ While Cockran admitted that the building would not be finished that year (1830) he did inform the Society that stones were to be collected from the riverbank and a foundation was to be laid that summer. According to the missionary the building effort would be collective:

There is a Mason among us [he wrote] who promises to assist us in laying it: the rest of us can do anything that is requisite to be done...Some will go to the pines and sawboards, others will have got an axe, a saw plane, and chisel will come and assist in putting up the frame, and others who have a spade and hoe will dig mud, and those who have oxen will haul it.¹⁰

The next summer Cockran reported the outside walls of the partially constructed church to be 52' x 23'. The use of oak rafters coupling the walls and thatched roof created a cathedral-like ceiling over top the small wooden structure. Roger Guinn, in his land use and structural history of the parsonage at St. Andrew's (Canadian Parks Service, Manuscript Report Series No. 251) points out that there is some doubt as to the actual completion date of the Church. In his journal for August 3, 1831 Cockran described the

Church as "finished," however there are numerous entries over the next year referring to continued work on the interior of the building.¹¹ On September 7th, 1831 Cockran's workers commenced laying the floor of the Church, finishing two weeks later on the 21st.¹² Over the course of the winter work continued on the interior of the building. A group of parish "directors", comprising the heads of 76 families were appointed by Cockran and were responsible for the provision of materials and labour for the furnishing of the new edifice.¹³ A stove was purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company as were such articles as window glass, sheet iron and lime for plastering. The construction of the 42 pews for the Church was the responsibility of individual heads of families. Although each family would own their own pew they were instructed by Cockran to "welcome strangers and sojourners into their seats, and allow none to stand in the alley".¹⁴ Lots were to be cast for the location of each pew inside the Church and "none to be allowed any preference". The Grand Rapids Church opened May 1, 1832. In his journal Cockran notes that he had hoped to have the building ready for services eight days earlier but the "abyss of sorrow into which the Governor [Simpson] and family had been plunged by the sudden and unexpected death of [their] little boy caused us to defer it".¹⁵ David Jones described the new church as able to accommodate 350 people and possessed of "a degree of elegance never hitherto attempted in the settlement".¹⁶ If the latter part of Jones' claim was true, it is somewhat dubious that a 50' x 22' structure could hold 350 people. Notwithstanding this fact, Cockran's new Church at the Rapids did help to raise the profile of the Red River mission in the lower community. It facilitated the process of cultural adjustment by which former Company servants adapted to a new economy based on both the hunt and on agriculture.

Evidently the greater part of the costs associated with the construction of the church and parsonage at the Grand Rapids were absorbed by William Cockran. The financially troubled Church Missionary Society had refused Cockran a grant, informing the missionary that the Society was contemplating the reduction of funds to Red River so that it might focus attention on its work in Africa and the East. The Society's plan did not sit well with Cockran. In a letter to the Secretaries in July of 1833 the missionary reminded the Society that "it had refused to grant a single shilling" toward the building of the mission in 1830. Lashing out at the Committee he wrote: "You seem not to have the growth of the Church of God so much at heart as your own ease, the growth of your own ease [and] the growth of your own purses and families".¹⁷ Moreover, he charged, if the Society "which has £40,000 a year at its disposal...had had a zeal for God equal to the despised missionary, there can be little doubt...they had the power of saving more for the establishing of the Mission on the bank of Jackfish Creek than he [Cockran] who was upon a salary of £300 a year."¹⁸ Cockran blamed much of his predicament upon David Jones. He accused his colleague of never recommending his projects to the Society and of failing to help solicit funds from the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company.¹⁹ Jones, Cockran believed, was more concerned in maintaining a comfortable life at the Forks than interesting himself in the work of evangelism.

Cockran purchased the mission property at the Rapids for essentially three reasons. First, George Simpson, in a communication with the missionary, had left open the possibility of his eviction from the land at the Rapids.²⁰ Secondly, if the CMS pulled out of Red River, Cockran feared he would be left without a home. Thirdly, he felt there was an immediate need to extend the Red River mission to the English-speaking Halfbreeds of the lower settlement. Early

in 1831 Cockran applied for title to the land surrounding the mission house. The deed of purchase placed the value of the property at £150 for approximately 400 acres on both sides of the River.²¹ A further 150 acres adjacent to the property was reserved for the Church Missionary Society and the new church.

The Mission Farm

Cockran lost little time in establishing a farm at the Grand Rapids. He strongly believed agriculture to be the major catalyst in the introduction of civilization to the Halfbreed community, helping to lead it, he hoped, away from what he called the "vagaries of the hunt". In the spring of 1830 Cockran cleared and ploughed seven acres and sowed 14 bushels of wheat as well as 30 bushels of potatoes. The results proved disappointing. The wheat ended up to be of greatly inferior quality while the potatoes rotted in the ground. The poor harvest led Cockran to lament in his journal: "I have never been so unsuccessful [as a farmer] since I came to Red River".²² By 1833, however, the farm had been expanded to 20 acres. The harvest that year yielded 353 bushels of potatoes, 200 bushels of wheat and 60 bushels of barley.²³ A Grist Mill, built the previous summer (probably near the creek) was used for grinding the grain from both the mission farm and the meagre returns from the farms of the local settlers. The previous method of breaking the grain between two stones had proven time consuming and unproductive and Cockran hoped the new mill would help allow the farmers to "enjoy the fruit of their labour".²⁴ The year 1833 also saw the construction near the

parsonage house of a small fenced enclosure in which 30 head of cattle were grazed the year round.²⁵ The mission farm enjoyed another successful crop the following year. Wheat, which had been planted in May of 1834, was calculated by Cockran to have reached a height of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet by mid-August. The harvest that year resulted in a crop, according to Cockran, "excellent, free from smut and promising to yield great returns".²⁶ While the Grand Rapids mission enjoyed successful harvests between 1833 and 1835, Cockran still accused his reapers of being "the most awkward beings that ever laid hold of a sickle: sometimes they tried to reap sitting, at other times kneeling..."²⁷

Events conspired against the continued success of Cockran's farm during the remainder of the decade. In the late summer of 1837 heavy rains caused much of the wheat and potato crop to rot in the ground. The only potatoes that survived were a few growing on the riverbank. The run-off of rain water along the banks had allowed these potatoes to escape the rot and they provided much of the food for Cockran and his family over the ensuing winter.²⁸ Frost and fire were other elements which hampered the success of the mission farm. Severe frosts in 1839 and 1840 heavily damaged the wheat and barley crops, while a destructive prairie fire in October of 1839 succeeded in wiping out a good deal of the hay used to feed the livestock.²⁹ Prairie fires were greatly feared by the early farmers in Red River. Whole fields of ripening hay and grain were lost while homes could be set ablaze in minutes. Usually fuelled by strong winds, these fires could wreck devastation for miles in every direction, often claiming some unfortunate victim in their path. Frequent mention of prairie fires and their destructive power is made throughout the journals of a number of the Red River missionaries.

Although the farm at the Grand Rapids mission experienced difficulties, Cockran remained indefatigable in his

efforts to expand his agricultural operations in the lower settlement. Working tirelessly, often from morning till nightfall, the missionary succeeded in eking out a living from the mission farm. As well, he used the farm to help teach agricultural values and techniques to the local Halfbreed and Indian population. Heavy rains throughout the late 1830s and early 1840s doomed much of Cockran's wheat, barley and potato crops. Efforts throughout those years to dig drainage furrows proved unsuccessful and much of the grain simply rotted in the soggy fields. Cockran's journal for the period reflected his growing despondency:

When I reflect on the many inconveniences which this mission has been subjected to, and the galling disappointments which providence has permitted to arise, I am lost in wonder at the ways of God - that this should be necessary in laying the foundation of good work.³⁰

It was not until 1845 that Cockran could again report a successful harvest as the dry conditions that year resulted in a "very weighty crop" according to the missionary.³¹

After establishing the farm at the lower church, William Cockran turned his attention to the band of Saulteaux and Swampy Cree Indians who resided at the northern extremity of the settlement. It was the belief of the CMS, at least in this early period, that the conversion of the Indians of Rupert's Land remained an important goal of the organization and its missionaries in Red River. Cockran in particular felt the immediacy of this task. The establishment of an agricultural colony among the Indians, he believed, would act as a vortex and eventually draw natives from all over the region to adopt a sedentary, agricultural and Christian way of life.³² The key to the success of the project was of course the establishment of an agricultural economy. Knowledge of the gospel and the inculcation of Anglo-Christian values among the Indians could only be

achieved, the missionary believed, through a repudiation of the hunt and the adoption of an agrarian model of self-sufficiency. For William Cockran such a pastoral existence was the only way for the natives to "procure their livelihood in an honourable honest manner".³³

With the reluctant approval of the Hudson's Bay Company, Cockran in 1832 convinced a handful of Native families led by Chief Peguis to settle at Sugar Point, a location on the Red River just above the present town of Selkirk. Cockran's plan involved the construction of a small village and the laying out of farmland around a central church, school and mission farm. In 1833 a log school was built and in October of that year the missionary reported in his journal that:

I am happy to say that we have now got nine small houses built at the Indian Settlement for the accommodation of those families who intend to have their children educated. The houses are about 24 feet in length and 15 or 16 in width: they are sufficiently large to admit of a cellar in the centre of the room to deposit the potatoes.³⁴

In 1836 a wooden church (later named St. Peter's) was constructed by Cockran and his small Native congregation at the Indian settlement. Claiming that the new structure could accommodate almost 300 people, the missionary boasted to the Society that the Indians "have been taken from the chains of heathenism and are now brought under the sound of the Gospel".³⁵ This wooden church was eventually replaced by a stone structure in 1854.

It is evident from Cockran's journal and correspondence between 1832 and the arrival of the Rev. John Smithurst in 1839, that the establishment of the Indian mission at St. Peter's remained upper most in the missionary's mind. Numerous entries provide commentary upon the building of houses at the settlement, the expansion of mission farmland and the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Indians resid-

ing there. Cockran's attitude during this period vacillated considerably. At times he wrote in glowing pastoral terms of the "little whitewashed cottages shining through the trees",³⁵ while at others he grew discouraged and described his work as "strewn with thorns and pregnant with sorrows".³⁶ During this time he seemed to pay little attention to the mission at the Rapids for which he was still responsible. For some Anglican missionaries in Red River, the evangelization of the Indians was viewed as having priority over the duties of HBC Chaplain.

In 1835 Cockran's mission farm at the Indian settlement occupied 35 acres while a further 18 acres was under cultivation by the local natives. By 1840 the Indians had 56.5 acres under cultivation, by 1843, 170 acres, 1849, 200 acres and by 1856, 302.5 acres.³⁷ The average acreage per person had also increased in this period from .1 in the early 1830s to .5 in 1843.³⁸ Although the size of farms at St. Peter's averaged between 2.5 and 3 acres after 1843, this statistic does not indicate the wide variation in actual size among the parish's 79 farms. While one farm had eight cultivated acres, most had only one or two acres under the plow. Nineteen of these Indian settlers cultivated no land at all.³⁹ Cereal grains such as wheat and barley, corn and potatoes formed the basis of the crop at St. Peter's.

David Jones and William Cockran continually expressed to the parent committee in London their desire to secure another missionary for Red River. Cockran's work at the Indian settlement, they argued, could not possibly survive unless greater assistance was provided by the CMS. To this end Jones sent a letter to the Secretaries he claimed was dictated to him by Chief Peguis. This note, no doubt written by Jones himself, pleaded with the Society to not forget its recent Indian converts in Rupert's Land:

We now like the word of God [Pequis stated, according to Jones]; and we have left off getting drunk, left off adultery...cast away our rattles, drums, idols and our bad heathen ways...Must we turn to our idols and gods again? or must we turn to the French Praying-Masters for protection and assistance.⁴⁰

In order to promote their endeavours in Red River, Jones and Cockran often portrayed the Indian and Halfbreed as being in a state of childlike dependency, reliant upon the favours of the Church Missionary Society for both their moral and physical salvation. While the mission was often painted in glowing terms, it was always made clear to the Society that their converts in Red River and the Indian settlement could very easily slip back into the abyss of "heathenism", if additional aid was not forthcoming.⁴¹

In 1839 the CMS sent the Rev. John Smithurst to take over the mission at St. Peter's. David Jones had departed Red River the year before (his wife had died in 1837) and Cockran was left with the pastoral care of the Upper, Middle and Lower Churches. Smithurst continued Cockran's agricultural endeavours at the Indian settlement and succeeded in expanding the mission farm while introducing a number of new crops such as cucumbers, melons and kidney beans.⁴² Between 1839 and Smithurst's departure in 1851, the population of the Indian settlement increased, as did the total number of acres under cultivation.

The mission farm at the Grand Rapids, like that at the Indian settlement, continued to play a key role in the communication of agrarian, Christian values to the parish's Halfbreed residents during the 1840s. In 1846 William Cockran decided to leave Red River with his family for a much needed rest. The Rev. Robert James, who had been sent

by the Church Missionary Society to Red River the year previous, took over Cockran's duties at the lower Church. The CMS, acting on the advice of John Smithurst, had purchased the house and property at the Rapids from Cockran and turned it over to the new resident missionary, James.⁴³ In a letter to the Committee in October of 1847 Smithurst described the property at the Grand Rapids (see figure 5) and included a survey by W.D. Moody of the Royal Engineers. The mission property amounted to 13 chains river frontage on both sides of the Red River. This land included the CMS property which contained the church, a school and private woods on the east side of the river. The adjacent land previously owned by Cockran included the farm with approximately 29 acres under cultivation, a large barn and stable, a house and various smaller outbuildings, or "cow-houses".⁴⁴ Initially Robert James was reluctant to continue the farming operation at his new parish. However, in a letter to the Secretary of the CMS in August of 1847 James admitted, that "I have found from experience that here we must provide for ourselves".⁴⁵ While realizing the necessity of the farm in terms of food supply for the mission, James did not completely share Cockran's devotion to an agrarian ethic and its use in communicating Christian principles of civilization. To this end he resolved to farm only half the property and lease the rest "to a respectable tenant".⁴⁶

Although the farm at the Grand Rapids Church was more successful than those of the English-speaking Halfbreeds of the lower settlement, it never reached the level envisioned by Cockran in the period before 1850. Historian Frits Pannekoek has argued that Protestant agricultural missions in the West enjoyed only marginal success. He concluded that they were never able to achieve the ultimate goal of developing self-sufficient and predominantly agricultural Indian and Halfbreed communities. Agriculture was retard-

ed, only in a few cases spontaneous, and always ancillary to the hunt and the trip. The reasons for this failure, according to Pannekoek, lay in the Church's belief in the inferiority of the Indian and Halfbreed, especially as farmers, and in the missionaries' inability to change their idyllic concept of agriculture to suit the harsh environment of the West.⁴⁷ The unfavourable climate, the absence of an up to date agricultural technology, the availability of wild game, at least before 1860, and the lack of any substantial market for produce, combined to keep mission farms small and unproductive. While agriculture played an important part in the communication of the Christian ethic at missions such as Grand Rapids, the existence of the farm itself remained fragile at best.

Early Education in the Lower Settlement

For the Church Missionary Society education played a major role in the conversion of Native people in Rupert's Land. John West's first school was established at the Forks in 1820 with George Harbidge as teacher. Under Jones and Cockran the Indian school, day school and Sunday school were continued. In 1827 a school for the daughters of Company officers was established at Red River under the tutelage of Ann Cockran. Mrs. Cockran, however, was not held in high esteem by the gentlemen of the fur trade. Simpson described her as a "Dollymop...who ever prays and cooks and looks demure. Mrs. Cockran," he later wrote "whose assumed puritanism but ill conceals the vixen, shines only when talking of elbow grease and the scouring of pots and pans."⁴⁸ Company officers wanted their daughters to be

taught the ways and manners of "proper" young ladies, including instructions in deportment, music and dancing. Mrs. Cockran's inability to communicate such "ornamental" skills resulted in only 18 girls enrolled in the school by 1829. Her husband considered the fur traders' desire to have their daughters educated in such refined skills to be pretentious. Red River society, he concluded "not being so highly polished as to meet their approbation, they wish to make the offspring of the Indian Wives accomplished Ladies all at once".⁴⁹ When David Jones' wife arrived in 1830 she took over duties at the school for girls, while Anne Cockran moved with her husband to the Lower settlement.

In the fall of 1831 a day school was established for the Halfbreed children living in the new Grand Rapids parish. A building 54 feet by 19 feet and divided into two rooms was constructed by Cockran, and schoolmaster W.K. Smith reported to the CMS committee that 17 boys and 6 girls were in attendance.⁵⁰ "They are learning very fast", he wrote, "and they have adopted the fashion and customs of Europeans: they have cropt their heads..."⁵¹ Two years later the number of students had risen to 63, 30 of which were female. Subjects taught by Smith included reading, spelling, arithmetic and, of course, Bible studies.

Cockran realized early on that a traditional, British public school style education would serve little purpose in the communication of Anglo-Christian moral values at the Rapids Mission. He therefore devised a plan to establish an industrial school in the parish where Halfbreed children would be taught such "practical" skills as carpentry, farming, animal husbandry, spinning, weaving and knitting. The missionary considered these activities more relevant to Red River than the teaching of academic subjects. Practical skills, Cockran believed, would help lay the critical foundation for religious instruction. He claimed that his plan presented the only legitimate alternative to the fur trade.

If the scheme failed, Cockran wrote to the Society in 1833;

...our present Congregations must return again to their woods, and seek for clothing from the back of the beaver. There is no general market for anything except furs. Therefore, a man must either clothe his family by manufacturing the material raised by his own industry, or hunt furs to clothe them.⁵²

Spinning wheels were introduced into the school but the missionary claimed the children "had no notion about the machine and its movements". As well, Cockran stated, "they are exceedingly wild...[and]...and have given us to understand that they know all that is necessary".⁵³ Cockran's hope was to train a generation at the Rapids in such occupations that would cause it to abandon the hunt and the fur trade and adopt a settled agricultural economy.

While Cockran was establishing his school at the Rapids, David Jones founded the Red River Academy near the Forks in 1832. Jones' intention was to provide a more elitest education to the sons and daughters of Hudson's Bay Company officers. Tuition was set at £35 per student per year to cover the cost of education and board. John Macallum, sent by the Church Missionary Society, was appointed Master and Mary Lowman took the role of governess at the new Academy.⁵⁴ The course of instruction embraced such subjects as "reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, the use of globes, history...catchetrical information...book-keeping, algebra, mathamatics, Latin [and] Greek".⁵⁵ While the Red River Academy was initially successful, a number of Company gentlemen took issue with their children receiving education under the same roof as the Indian students Jones still maintained at the settlement. Consequently, Jones, who was the senior missionary at Red River, decided to have the Indian school re-established at the lower Church. Cockran took exception to Jones' action and ended up sending the Native children on to the school at the Indian settlement.

The Red River Academy declined after 1840. Mary Lowman left the school to marry Chief Factor James Bird, while Macallum was accused of employing overly severe measures in the disciplining of his students. Letitia Hargrave, the wife of Chief Factor James Hargrave at York Factory, described in her correspondence, the nature of the Academy's troubles:

They say that Mr. Macallum's school is going to wreck. Children who have had duck, geese and venison 3 times a day are supposed to suffer from breakfasts of milk and water with dry bread, severe floggings and confinement...the boys and girls are constantly feinting.⁵⁶

As well, Macallum became embroiled in a dispute with the new governess, a Miss Allen, who Letitia described as "really very queer and foolish".⁵⁷ Enrollment dropped considerably during the 1840s and the Red River Academy, after "declining in popularity and usefulness for some time past", according to Sir George Simpson, closed its doors in the summer of 1859.⁵⁸

In their 1835 "Report on the State of Religion" Jones and Cockran described the status of education in Red River. The Grand Rapids school, under schoolmaster Donald Gunn, had 70 Halfbreed and 25 Indian children enrolled. The average attendance, according to Cockran, totalled between 50 and 55 as "at certain seasons the grown up children are required to assist their parents in their farming operations".⁵⁹ Other Protestant schools in Red River included a day school and Sunday school under teacher Peter Garrioch at the Upper parish, a school at Frog Plain under John Pritchard, a school at Image Plain (Middlechurch) under Richard Stevens and the Indian school at St. Peter's under Joseph Cook and John Smith, two Halfbreed catechists. As well, David Jones administered the Red River Academy at the Upper parish.

In 1837 Cockran complained to the CMS that the school house at the lower Church was badly in need of repair. Dur-

ing the winter months, he noted, the cold weather forced the children to wrap their blankets around themselves while "the ink often congeals in the pen".⁶⁰ Cockran superintended a group of 20 men from the parish who completed renovations to the wood structure in the fall of 1837. Their improvements, it was noted, substantially increased the structure's ability to withstand the harsh elements of a Red River winter.⁶¹

The school at the Grand Rapids enjoyed a slow yet steady growth in the period between 1831 and 1840. In the decade that followed, however, attendance declined.⁶² Other Anglican schools in Red River also experienced a drop in enrollment in this period. This decline may be tied in with the serious economic malaise which affected the settlement in the 1840s. In the previous decade the lower settlement, and all of Métis Red River, shared a measure of economic vitality, social homogeneity and an optimistic view of the future. The diversified economic basis of the settlement - agriculture, the hunt, the fisheries, and the Company, seemed to offer a secure future for all. During the 1840s, however, events occurred in the settlement which seriously challenged this outlook. Limited employment with the Hudson's Bay Company contributed to the rise of the free trade movement and helped create tensions within Red River society. Moreover, the decline of the hunt caused many in the settlement to grow frustrated. As Red River endured this period of economic and social change, interest in education, or at least the kind of education offered by the Church Missionary Society, waned. After 1850 and the transition from a society which reflected the environment of the fur trade post to a community which attempted to become "a little Britain in the wilderness", education would once again play a critical role in the evolution of the parish community.

Parish Life

Throughout the 1830s the numbers of retiring Company servants and their families arriving in Red River increased. The parish at the Rapids witnessed a steady rise in the English-speaking Halfbreed population during this period. In his correspondence with the Society Cockran noted that by 1833 his congregation averaged 250 people though many were "erratic" in their attendance at Church. Less than one half of families in the parish were headed by a European male most of whom were characterized by the missionary as having come into the country when they were youths "without any fixed principles."⁶³ This population was scattered along both sides of the Red River for a distance of approximately 12 miles in a "barbarous country without roads, full of swamps and miry creeks".⁶⁴ Cockran spent a good deal of his time travelling by horse in the summer and carriage in winter visiting the homes of his parishoners - baptizing both children and adults, visiting the sick, and generally lecturing on the evils of the fur trade. The missionary fulfilled many roles in the lower settlement, acting in his own words as "priest, clerk, schoolmaster, arbitrator, agricultural director, [and] funeral manager".⁶⁵ Services were scheduled every Sunday and Tuesday evening at the Rapids Church, while prayer meetings were held every Wednesday. Cockran himself maintained a busy schedule, preaching Sunday mornings at the Rapids, Sunday afternoons at the Middle Church and Tuesday evenings back at the Rapids.⁶⁶ In a seven month period in 1841 he claimed to have baptized 122 individuals, married 15 couples, buried 21 parishoners, and admitted 12 people as communicants.⁶⁷

In 1834 Cockran wrote the CMS asking that David Jones take over preaching duties at the Middle Church so that he might devote more attention to the Indian settlement. His efforts there, he claimed, had been confined to weekdays "when mens' minds are full of secular concerns..."⁶⁸ Later, Cockran pointed out to the Secretaries the necessity of acquiring another minister for Red River to take over duties at the Indian settlement. This missionary's plan was to see a resident minister located at each of the upper, lower and Indian parishes. When John Smithurst was sent to replace the departed David Jones in 1839, Cockran took over responsibility for the upper and middle churches. Duties at the lower church were shared between Cockran and Smithurst, with the latter missionary assigned the task of administering the Church, school and mission farm at St. Peter's. In September of 1842, the Rev. Abraham Cowley arrived in Red River and was stationed at the Rapids. Between 1842 and 1846 Cowley shared responsibility with Cockran for the upper, middle and Rapids parishes.⁶⁹ Cowley, a product of the CMS training school at Islington College, eventually became Cockran's assistant at the Indian Settlement in 1854. He remained in Rupert's Land until his death in 1887.

Life was hard for the European missionary in Red River, especially during the long winter months. The intense cold presented a formidable barrier to travel, lodging and construction in the settlement. Even short trips by carriage could produce severe frostbite while wooden buildings were subject to the shifting and heaving of ground frost. Cracks and fissures running below mission buildings at the Rapids often split the walls and floors, allowing in the harsh winter cold. Bread and vegetables stored in the parsonage cellar froze "solid as stones",⁷⁰ according to Cockran, and "silvery particles of ice", caused by the congealed breath of the congregation, coated the interior of the Church,

giving it the appearance of a "temple cut from a rock of ice".⁷¹

Combatting the cold proved an expensive proposition. Aside from the cost of repairing damaged buildings, Cockran outlined to the Society the added expense of food, clothing and firewood during the winter months. Food consumption, he claimed, doubled in winter, while the price of firewood rose to between £9.10 and £14 for one season's supply.⁷² The extra clothing necessary for winter also proved costly. Along with leggings and moccasins the missionary was forced to purchase a "duffle capote which we wear over 3 shirts, viz. one flannel, another of linen and another of leather, [and] a cloth coat and vest".⁷³

Despite the severity of the weather and Cockran's strange belief that "it is the intense cold of winter which produces the peculiar apathy of the Indian character",⁷⁴ the missionary remained optimistic throughout the 1830s regarding the future of the Church's efforts at the lower settlement. By the end of the decade, however, much of his zeal had disappeared. He expressed disappointment that his Halfbreed parishoners had not adopted British practices to the extent he felt was necessary for both temporal success and spiritual salvation. Though the settlement might give the appearance of a rural English village, the people were still engaged in a life of hunting, trapping and tripping for the Company. Agriculture represented a portion of the seasonal economic cycle at the Rapids and was viewed by the Halfbreed community as simply an adjunct to traditional ways of making a living. The missionaries' glowing reports of packed churches and increasing numbers of communicants and baptismal candidates often belied the reality of religious life in the lower settlement. The Rapids Church was considered to be something of a local meeting hall by parishoners. Church services were seen as an occasion for

socializing and in favourable weather could attract large congregations. Comments by Cockran on the state of religion and morality in the settlement, however, often contradicted the enthusiasm of the statistical reports. Disparaging remarks regarding the "immorality" of Halfbreed behaviour were frequent. "Heathenism surrounds us everywhere", Cockran stated, often characterizing his work at the Rapids as "burdensome, tedious and gloomy".⁷⁵ Reflecting on how his admonitions to his parishoners "produced no effect", the missionary admitted in 1838 to being possessed of "an empty head and a shrivelled heart".⁷⁶

Throughout his journals and letters Cockran often complained of ill health. "My health has been sinking for some time past", the missionary wrote in August of 1838. "I cannot at present see anything that will inspire me with courage to perservere".⁷⁷ His complaints ranged from a hernia and nervous exhaustion to headaches, "stoppages in urine" and "flatulence in bowels".⁷⁸ The Church Missionary Society became concerned for the missionary's well-being and offered him a furlough to England. Cockran decided to stay on at the Rapids, however, until a suitable replacement could be found. In 1846 the Rev. Robert James was dispatched to Red River and Cockran, sensing that he would not be happy in England, decided to leave with his family for Toronto. One year later, his health restored and his spirits apparently rejuvenated, Cockran returned to Rupert's Land. He served at St. John's until 1851 whereupon he moved to the Indian Settlement to replace John Smithurst.

In late 1844 had Cockran announced his intention to replace the wooden Church at the Rapids with a new stone structure. The old Church, he argued, was much too small and very often people were excluded from services because of the lack of space. To expand the wooden Church would prove uneconomical, Cockran informed the Society. The relatively

short life-span and constant upkeep of wood structures in Red River ended up "costing...more than houses of the best materials in Europe".⁷⁹ The cost of the project was estimated at £1180. Money and materials raised by the congregation would account for a portion of the budget while it was hoped the balance would be forthcoming from the Society.⁸⁰ A committee was formed to superintend the gathering of materials and the actual construction of the building. Cockran felt buoyed by the response of his parishoners. "Silver and gold they have none; but stones, lime, shingles, boards, timber and labour were cheerfully contributed", he wrote in his journal in 1844.⁸¹ (For a list of contributors see Appendix C.) The new church was to measure 81.5' x 40' and contain a bell tower and a "commodious porch [which would] exclude the cold air from the body of the Church in winter".⁸² The first order of business was the quarrying of stones from the river. This process was superintended by Cockran and ended up costing more than was initially budgeted. In late 1845 the missionary expressed his concern that the existing funds might be inadequate to finish the new structure.⁸³ It was decided, therefore, to continue the work at a more leisurely pace as resources became available, and by June the following year Cockran reported the walls to have reached a height of 10 feet, 6 inches.⁸⁴ Cockran, however, did not remain in the settlement. One month later, in July of 1846, he left Red River for his sabbatical in Toronto.

Cockran's successor, Robert James, seemed to place a low priority on the completion of the new stone Church. Work on the structure progressed slowly over the next year until Cockran assumed superintendency of the project upon his return to the settlement in 1847.⁸⁵ James reported the roof to be finished and promised that the building would be open within a few months.⁸⁶ One year later, however, work

was still continuing on the interior of the Church. "The ceiling is finished", James declared in August of 1849, "and the windows are all in. The flooring is being laid and the pews are all made. John Tait, our active and ingenious carpenter is going on with the pulpit and desk".⁸⁷ A grant of £100 toward the completion of the Church was received in 1849 from the Hudson's Bay Company. As well, £50 was given by David Anderson, the recently appointed Bishop for the new diocese of Rupert's Land.⁸⁸ At a ceremony at the Rapids on December 19th, 1849 Anderson consecrated the new church, naming it St. Andrew's.

When Robert James and his wife had first arrived at the Rapids in July of 1846 they found the parsonage house occupied by the Chief Recorder for the settlement, Adam Thom. Thom had been leased the property by John Smithurst acting on behalf of the departed William Cockran. James moved temporarily to quarters at the Indian Settlement when a dispute with Thom arose over the occupation of the house. In a letter to George Simpson in 1846, Thom stated that he had initially expected to share residence of the parsonage with James. Smithurst, he claimed, had first proposed this scheme and while James initially agreed with the arrangement, he later balked and claimed the right to exclusive residence at the Rapids. Moreover, Thom charged that he and his wife had expected to rely on the produce from Cockran's farm for food and therefore had "omitted to provide for ourselves against the winter".⁸⁹ James, on the other hand, believed Thom's lease of the property to be automatically cancelled upon the arrival of the incumbent missionary at the Rapids.⁹⁰ Animosity developed between the two parties and Thom characterized his relationship with the James' as "painful". In his letter to Simpson the Recorder described how "Mrs. James' manner and conversation are not such as either to sweeten or to dignify the nauseous pill".⁹¹ As Smithurst realized that purchase of Cockran's mission

property (valued at near £400) was well beyond James' means, he recommended to the CMS that they buy the land. This the Society did, eventually turning over the house and farm to the Rev. James.

Aside from his charge over the parish at the lower settlement, Robert James was also given responsibility for the middle church. A total of 1,800 people inhabited the the two parishes, according to the missionary, which he claimed presented a challenge that would "fill the hands of any one individual".⁹² While pleased with the attendance at Sunday services and at his evening lectures on missionary endeavours in China, James noted that "many of my people still leave the Settlement for Hudson's Bay or the hunting grounds".⁹³ Their absence for a number of months from religious instruction and the acculturative influence of the missionaries allowed the English-speaking Halfbreeds to remain at least partially independent from the Church. With the decline of the buffalo hunt after 1850, declining opportunities with the Hudson's Bay Company, and the increasing reliance upon agriculture and animal husbandry as the economic basis of the settlement, the authority of the missionaries was enhanced.

By 1849 St. Andrew's had evolved from a fledgling mission outpost to a rural church which had made inroads into the life of the native community at the Rapids. William Cockran was the man most responsible for this development. Possessed of tremendous energy and zeal, he worked tirelessly toward the establishment of an Anglo-Christian civilization in Rupert's Land. Through the promotion of agriculture, education and Christian morality the missionary attempted to remove the Halfbreeds from their traditional customs and behaviours. His 17 year tenure had a profound influence on the future of this group. The decline of the fur trade post tradition in Red River would play a significant role in the later development of the community at St. Andrew's.

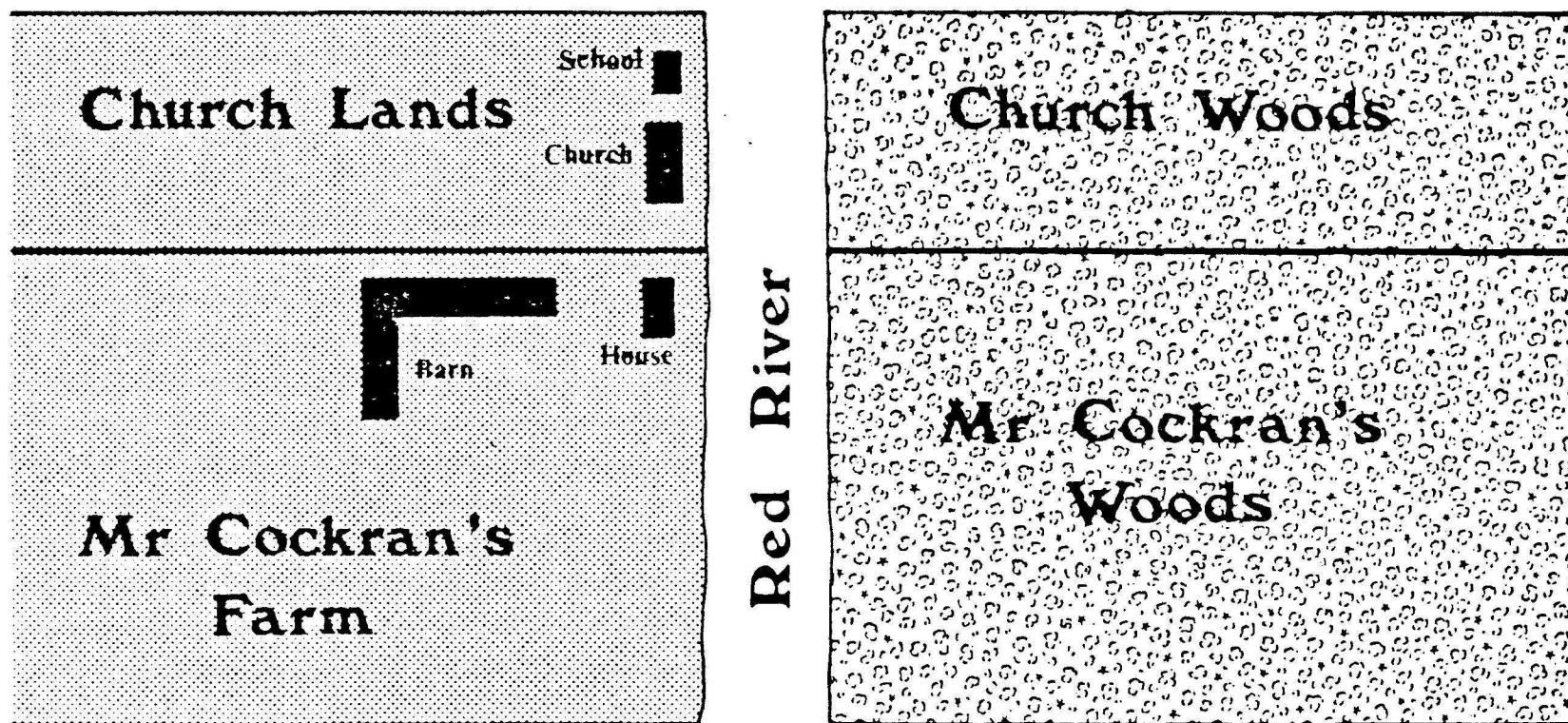


Figure 2. Facsimile of a Sketch by the Rev. John Smithurst of lots owned by William Cockran at the Rapids, 1846. (From R. Guinn, "St. Andrew's Parsonage, Red River: A Structural and Land-use History", Parks Canada, 1978.)

IV. Church and Company in Red River

In a 1970 article entitled "John West: A Study of the Conflict between Civilization and the Fur Trade", Church historian Arthur Thompson described the arrival of the missionaries in Rupert's Land as "the herald of advancing civilization and settlement [spelling] the doom of trapping and hence the fur trade. [They] also represented", he wrote, "the Christian standard of morality which was a rebuke to the free and unfettered life of the voyageur and Indian trader".¹ This view traditionally portrays the history of the Northwest as the clash between civilization and the fur trade. Thompson, like W.L. Morton, Marcel Giraud and George Stanley, views Red River society as a community delicately balanced between civilization and barbarism. The fur trade is characterized as an unsophisticated, primitive economic system unfettered by an elaborate legal or social structure. In contrast, the term "civilization" is used to describe a sedentary community which enjoys a more highly diversified economy as well as a relatively sophisticated legal and social organization for the regulation and protection of a mutually interdependent people.²

Such a traditional view of Red River history does not allow for the complexities of a society engaged in a mixed farming and hunting economy. Moreover, the relationship between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Church Missionary Society in Rupert's Land cannot be characterized as

thoroughly antagonistic. No doubt the business of Christianizing the Indians and ultimately re-locating them in self-sufficient agricultural communities was, on the face of it, opposed to the goals of the fur trade. In fact, an evolutionary relationship existed between the two concerns, a relationship characterized by periods of conflict and co-operation. This was in part due to the structural similarity of the two organizations. Each had a governing body in London, a supervisor in North America (Simpson with the Hudson's Bay Company and, after 1849, Anderson as Bishop of Rupert's Land), and a core of field workers, or fur traders and missionaries. It was at this level, in a community such as Red River or at an isolated fur post, that co-operation was often essential for survival.

The Hudson's Bay Company provided the organization and structure of life in Rupert's Land after 1821 and missionaries entering the region were quickly made aware of the Company's presence and power. The missionary was dependent upon the Hudson's Bay Company for transportation and supplies and prior to the establishment of a particular mission, for hospitality. As well, they were forced to rely on the Company for a multitude of services, as carpenters and other tradesmen were almost all in its employ. Fortunately for the missionaries, the Company often provided free transportation and accommodation. The host usually served the best available food and the quarters provided customarily equaled those of the resident officer. A missionary's considerable freight was often transported gratuitously and accommodations were found for the holding of chapel service for Company employees. A missionary who attempted to alienate the commissioned gentlemen quickly found himself in an uncomfortable position. Gossip, one of the major characteristics of fur trade society, could quickly and irrevocably destroy a missionary's reputation. The case of the Rev.

James Evans, a Methodist missionary at Norway House, is an example. According to historian Frits Pannekoek, Evans' inability to get along with Chief Factor Donald Ross and others in the fur trade hierarchy led to his ultimate expulsion from the post in 1846.³

While the missionary might privately express contempt for the behaviour and morals of the fur trader, he was in fact indebted to the Company for its role as an agent of acculturation. The sustained contact of the fur trade resulted in the partial acculturation of the Native, ultimately making him less hostile to other forms of European culture. Moreover, the missionary in Rupert's Land was faced with a social structure that included the fur trader. "In this context, the relationship between the individual resident postmaster and the Indians frequenting the post became a significant consideration for the incoming missionary and for the observer attempting to understand the relationship between postmaster and missionary".⁴ Historian Jaye Goosen has labelled this process the triangular nature of the Indian - trader - missionary relationship. While on one hand decrying the role of the secular trader in the midst of native society, the missionary was not only aware of previous European contact but in fact enlisted the newly evolved social structure in his attempt to proselytize the Indians of Rupert's Land. Conflict between missionaries and traders was often times muted by this interdependence.

The Company, on the other hand, came to rely on the missionaries for the inculcation of regular work habits and the recognition of the sanctity of contracts.⁵ In Red River this dependence went even further. The Company saw the value of missionaries (both Catholic and Anglican) in exercising social control over a society of retired fur traders and their families. As well, the Hudson's Bay Company relied on the agricultural provisions provided by the Red River

settlement and the presence of the missionaries was considered crucial to the communication of proper agricultural techniques. The CMS demanded stability and order in Red River and came to view the Company's monopoly as the surest guarantee of these. As Company and mission discovered the advantages of this symbiosis, and as each came to recognize that the other was in the country to stay, their relationship gradually improved.⁶

Aside from this realization of permanence, other factors affected the nature of the HBC-CMS relationship in Red River. The character of Red River society was evolving in the 1840s. Changing notions of race and class were being adopted by an increasingly Victorian, bourgeois elite within the settlement. Retired fur trade officers, though often times critical of missionaries, began to adopt the social values and biases of this group. Concepts of sexual purity, church marriage and racial superiority were increasingly evident among the upper classes of Red River society throughout the 1840s. The influence of the Church grew as its values gained greater acceptance within this community.

The Anglican and Catholic Churches, along with the Hudson's Bay Company, shared a common vision of the social structure of Red River society. This view envisioned the clergy as well as the retired and active commissioned gentlemen forming the ruling elite within the community and providing guidance for the lower orders. In their attempt to re-create in Red River the social order of the English rural parish, the missionary as parson, teacher, farmer and law giver, enlisted the aid of the local Company squirearchy.⁷ The disagreements that did occur between Church and Company usually arose over the establishment of Indian missions outside the Red River settlement. Within the community itself, representatives of the Church, Company and principal settlers sat on the council of Assiniboia, the

governing body in the settlement. This elite viewed themselves as the natural secular and religious rulers in a society increasingly fragmented along class lines.

By the 1840s the Anglican missionaries in Red River had become sympathetic to the Company, or at least sympathetic to the kind of social order the Company represented within society. When the free trade issue came to a head in 1849, William Cockran, an outspoken critic of the fur trade, risked the ire of his Halfbreed parishioners by siding with the Company. Cockran's motive was simple. The HBC represented for him the only logical social and political order in Red River. To deny its monopoly would be to open the doors to an unshackled market economy which would lure his parishioners away from their river lot farms and, ultimately, from the control of the Anglican Church. In the absence of a sound agricultural economy with secure and nearby markets, the missionary realized that without the social hierarchy imposed by the Company in Red River, the control of the Church would be diminished. The free trade issue was a complex affair and represented a turning point in Church-Company relations within the settlement. (This issue and its ramifications for the English speaking Halfbreeds of the Lower Settlement are discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.)

Animosity characterized the early years of the relationship between Church and Company in Red River. John West succeeded in alienating the gentlemen of the fur trade, publicly criticizing their morals, marriage practices and treatment of the Indians and Halfbreeds. The personal and business interests of the commissioned gentlemen, which brought them into conflict with West's energetic pursuit of his evangelical goal, were exacerbated by the latter's intellectual rigidity. For West the Company demonstrated a lack of co-operation. His work, he claimed, "had already

excited the fears of some of the chief factors and traders ...They fear that the extension of knowledge among the natives, and locating them in agricultural pursuits...would operate as an injury to the fur trade".⁸ The growing tension between himself and the Company, West argued, was due to the fact that "general practice [in the fur trade] is opposed to that solicitude expressed for the moral and religious interests of the Natives and others".⁹ In continually preaching against sexual promiscuity, lack of sobriety and failure to keep the Sabbath, West grew disgusted with the "degeneracy of character" he found in Rupert's Land. His exhortations won few friends for his cause. By attempting to expand his missionary endeavours beyond the confines of the settlement he went beyond his role as Company Chaplain to the retired fur traders of Red River. Perceived as a threat by Simpson, the governor described West as "a man of no influence of character, extremely unpopular....a bustling money making man of the world".¹⁰

Although Simpson was eventually able to have West recalled, the legacy of the missionary's dispute with the Company was important for the future development of the Church Missionary Society in Red River. It set the mission slightly apart from the Company by claiming an interest divorced from the fur trade. As well, according to John Foster, it reserved for the Church in Rupert's Land the right to comment in an appropriate manner on public and private behaviour.¹¹

In its Minutes of Council of the Northern Department for July 5, 1823, the Company adopted resolutions which seemingly supported missionary activity within its territories. These resolutions instructed Chief Factors and Traders to facilitate and assist the work of the CMS, help encourage industry and morality among the Indians, and promote divine service on Sundays.¹² Privately, however,

Governor Simpson expressed little sympathy with the missionary cause. Historian, E.E. Rich has stated that, "It is difficult, if not impossible, to find in his [Simpson's] vast correspondence any evangelizing impulse, or indeed any genuine religious conviction."¹³ Simpson's reasons for his opposition to the expansion of the Church outside of Red River were essentially economic. The promotion of Indian settlements and mission schools at fur trade posts, he argued, would place tremendous strain upon the Company's food resources.¹⁴ A sedentary population not engaged in trapping and trading would, in the event of crop failures, come to rely on the meagre supplies of isolated Company posts. While a certain level of missionary endeavour could be permitted in Red River, Simpson believed, such practices were to be discouraged elsewhere.

With the arrival of David Jones in Red River in 1823 relations improved between the CMS and the Company. This improvement was due to a number of reasons. Firstly, the CMS realized that to further encourage the policy of extending missions beyond the confines of the settlement would only create tension with the HBC and ultimately impede the progress of its work in Rupert's Land. John West's troubles had been enough to demonstrate to the Society the efficacy of maintaining close ties with the Company officers. Secondly, Jones' personality - his apparent humility and ability for compromise - posed less of a threat to the interests of the fur trade. Thirdly, the gradual change of Company personnel after the union of 1821 proved effective in improving the relationship between the new missionary and the commissioned officers. For instance, the new Governor of Assiniboia, Robert Pelly, possessed definite Evangelical sympathies and was generally supportive of the aims of the church in Rupert's Land. As the bitterness of the rivalry between the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies gradually

receded after the union of 1821, the monopoly took a less suspicious view of missionary activity, at least in Red River. Church and Company reached an accommodation, due primarily to the influence of the new missionaries.

Jones' qualities of patience and tolerance paid dividends. A workable relationship evolved between the officers and the clergy. It was based on a realistic assessment of the limits of co-operation. A delicate balance was achieved in which neither party demanded more nor gave less than was necessary.¹⁵

It was, however, the long ministry of William Cockran, the man whom J.J. Hargrave called the real founder of the Anglican Church in Rupert's Land, which had the most far reaching impact upon the association of Church and Company in Red River.¹⁶ Appointed as assistant chaplain to the HBC in 1825, Cockran was uneasy with his clerical responsibilities to the Company. He considered the fur trade to be the greatest impediment to the Christianization of the Indians in the Northwest and was frequently critical of Company policy and practice. In his early years in the settlement Cockran maintained a low profile in his relations with the commissioned gentlemen. By the early 1830s though, after his move to the Rapids the missionary wrote pious and vehement diatribes to the Society against those "possessed of an aversion to...civilization and christianity".¹⁷ The fur traders, he charged, "worship no God except profit and pleasure, acknowledge no Saviour; [and] know no Sabbath".¹⁸ He accused the HBC of forcing the Native to aid in their moneymaking schemes. "They never converted a single native," he wrote, "or raised on higher in this life, than the hope of one day starving to death for want of food."¹⁹ Cockran believed that the fur trade impoverished and depopulated the country. He charged the Company with deliberately setting out to impede the progress of the settlement through;

the exclusion of European immigrants, the preventing [of] any servant coming to the settlement unless he purchases. The reduction of all country produce in price while they increase the price of land and reduce the lots from 10 chains to 6 in breadth, the exclusion of Indians from coming to the settlement...²⁰

The Company, according to Cockran, tried to thwart his plans for establishing schools and farms among the Indians at Netley Creek. Their opposition was subtle. "They will do nothing tangible against the word," he wrote, "but they proceed by insinuations and sapping our plans."²¹ According to the missionaries, the Company opposed Church goals because they feared the loss of influence over the Indian and the Halfbreed. Cockran wrote to the Society that;

all the discerning among them perceive that sooner or later the evangelizing of the heathen will militate against their trade and prevent them gathering filthy lucre by handfulls as they do at present; therefore they have always considered their principal safety to arise from delays and failures. Benevolent schemes have always been received with coolness, delayed as long as possible, and when set on foot treated with such indifference, scorn and malevolent as to ensure failure.²²

For Cockran the process of civilizing the Halfbreed population - the "progeny of the adulterer and the whore," as he chose to describe them - was a long and difficult undertaking. "The voyageur's very bones must be broken," he cautioned, "wearisome months must be appointed as his portion, to give him time to remember the transgressions of 30 or 40 years."²³ In a long and strident letter to the Secretaries of the Society in July of 1833, Cockran described what he labelled the "pitiful" life of the Red River émigré. He considered the recent English-speaking immigrants from the environment of the Company post, those now comprising the bulk of settlers at St. Andrew's, to be culturally and morally corrupt. The following passage, quoted at length, gives an indication of the missionary's provocative view of fur trade culture in Rupert's Land:

The Hon. Company's servants seldom continue more than 3 years at the same post, and often only one. In the summer the whole of their time is occupied in voyaging upon the rivers, carrying out the furs which they had traded in the winter from the Indians; and returning with a new outfit for the trade of the ensuing year. During the summer there are plenty of opportunities for the young voyageur to give vent to his licentious passions; at every post he will find women who will do anything for hire. He has no principles to contend with; he therefore finds it easy to do what is most pleasant to corrupt nature and most popular with his companions. When the young voyageur came to his winter quarters, he finds he wants many things to fit him for this new existence which he has entered upon. He wants his leather coat, trowsers, mittens, duffle socks and shoes, all then must be made and kept in repair. He has no time to do this himself; he applies to an Indian who has got some daughters, or two or three wives; here he is quickly served, he makes a present to the head of the family, they set to work, and make all ready for him, he comes at a certain time for his clothes, brings a little rum, and makes the principal persons of the family merry. He sleeps there, and out of gratitude and courtesy, the old woman puts her daughter to bed to him, or the Indian may give him one of his three wives, who lays under his displeasure; thus the unfortunate voyager forms his connexion with the natives, and raises an offspring. He may continue here two or three years, and enjoy the benefit of his helpmate. He goes off in the summer, returns in the autumn, and perhaps find the same young woman given to another. This does not distract his mind, he forms another connexion as speedily as possible; by this time he believes that he cannot get on without a woman. The next time he leaves his winter quarters, he perhaps is sent to a post 600 or 1000 miles from all his former wives; he forgets them at once, and serves himself for the time being, with the first that comes to hand; he looks for neither beauty nor virtue; if she is a woman, that is sufficient. The same course is run until old age and grey hairs are upon him; his body emaciated with the fatigues of voyaging, and means too scanty to cast a robe once a year over all his adulterous progeny. His case being, desperate, he thinks of making an effort to remedy the errors of 30 or 40 years, by one mighty strug-

gle. Out of his many connexions he finds someone that ranks above the rest. He selects her to be the companion of his old age; collects his multifarious progeny from the ends of the earth, (for he has been every where through all this Continent) and bends his course to Red River, with a worn-out constitution, with small means, with a woman that knows none of the duties of civilized life, with a dispirited family who know nothing but what the heathen have taught them, who have no interest in each other's welfare, to begin life anew, to learn with his heathen family how to discharge his duty to God, his neighbour, and his own soul.²⁴

Cockran, like West and Jones before him, directed much of his energies toward condemning the fur trade practice of marriage "à la façon du pays". Prior to 1830 almost all fur traders in the Northwest had entered into liaisons of this kind with Halfbreed or Indian women,²⁵ George Simpson, along with the senior officers of the Company, had previously endeavoured to block the introduction of white women into fur trade society.²⁶ They considered European women to be fragile, demanding and, most important, useless in forming trade alliances.

George Simpson's marriage to his cousin Frances in 1830, however, served to reverse marriage trends among some of the fur trade elite in Rupert's Land. Company officers on furloughs to England and Scotland now endeavoured to seek out potential marriage partners as a sign of their high status within the Company hierarchy. The insistence of the clergy in Red River upon Church marriages had caused some of these commissioned gentlemen to reconsider their country liaisons and to seize the opportunity to dispose of an "old concern" and acquire a newer, younger and lighter skinned wife. Indian and Halfbreed wives were "turned off" as it came to be known in fur trade parlance. George Simpson, for example, left one country wife Betsy Sinclair, a daughter of Chief Factor William Sinclair and Nahovway, an Indian woman,

Robert Miles, the clerk at Moose Factory, and his other Halfbreed wife, Margaret Taylor, to Pierre Leblanc, the stonemason responsible for building Lower Fort Garry. Other fur trade officers followed suit. J.G. McTavish, William Connolly, Roderick MacKenzie and John Stewart, among others, all abandoned their Native or Halfbreed/Métis wives. According to Sylvia Van Kirk, "turning off" created much hardship among country wives. Often times these women were no longer accepted into native or white society and ended up leading lonely and sorrowful lives.²⁷

The introduction of white women into fur trade society and the growing popularity of church marriages was partly due to the efforts of missionaries such as William Cockran. They urged Company officers to relinquish country marriages for unions within the Church. When he discovered that Chief Factor James Hargrave was rumoured in 1835 to be thinking of taking up with a Halfbreed woman, Cockran wrote to Hargrave cautioning him to avoid "the snare which has ruined many of our countrymen".²⁸ Missionary exhortations against fur trade marriage practices were most vehement when directed toward officers retired to Red River. Fur traders settling in a civilized society and earning their living by the plow, Cockran believed, were obliged to have their marriage unions sanctioned within the Church of England. "The clergy considered that white wives would have a welcome civilizing influence on society, while Company officers such as Simpson and Hargrave expressed the view that a genteel British bride would be an appropriate enhancement to their status".²⁹

The evolution of marriage practices within the fur trade effected the later development of Red River society. Prior to 1850 the elite of Red River had accepted the settlement's mixed-blood heritage, a heritage which helped develop an economy and culture which reflected the realities of an isolated fur trade colony? But in the 1840s this

elite began to turn in upon itself slavishly adopting the pretenses and practices of "civilized" British society. Halfbreed wives of fur traders no longer reigned at the top of the social pyramid. Now the European wives of both missionaries and a growing number of Company officers who resented the prestige of their Halfbreed counterparts were actively and resolutely seeking their displacement within the social hierarchy. These white women - Margaret Black, Margaret Anderson, Anne Pelly and others - introduced a heightened racial consciousness, into Red River society. They considered themselves the natural aristocracy of the settlement and a force for the introduction of a British style civilization in Red River.

The growing alienation of Halfbreed women within the upper class of Red River Society was demonstrated by the Foss-Pelly scandal of 1850. it was a complex affair based upon growing racial sensibilities, increasingly Victorian attitudes toward women and their "virtue", as well as personal animosities between the leaders of Red River society. It is not important here to go into the details of the story, as it has been recounted at great length elsewhere.³⁰ Suffice to say, however, that the trial helped demonstrate the alliance of Church and Company within the settlement. The notions of racial superiority inherent within the missionaries' view of native society had begun to strike a responsive cord within the leadership of the fur trade community. The attitudes expressed at the trial reinforced the notion that a certain moral weakness was innate to women of even partly Indian extraction. While the Church had always believed this particular notion, it now found concurrence among some of the leaders of fur trade society.

Although William Cockran often expressed his antipathy toward Company officers in Red River, he rarely criticized Governor Simpson. Even privately, in his correspondence

with the CMS, the missionary expressed an almost grudging admiration for the "little emperor". "By economy and prudent management", Cockran wrote, "he has reduced their [the Company's] expenses to a bagatelle, and made their gains princely".³¹ The missionary refused to be overawed by Simpson, or to be co-opted in the same manner that David Jones had been. When Simpson endeavoured to bring in the Wesleyan Methodists into Rupert's Land in the early 1840s Cockran expressed his opposition to the scheme. With the Methodist emphasis upon Christianization of the Indians without the necessity of civilization, Simpson endeavoured to counteract the influence of the CMS. The Company, Cockran charged, was hoping to discourage the work of the Church of England. He wrote, "they have brought the Wesleyans into the country at their own expense and place them down at the principal posts".³² For Cockran, the doctrine of the Methodists only reinforced "barbarism" in the country and played into the hands of the fur trade. After his initial meeting with James Evans he described to the Society how;

...the doctrine of the Wesleyans [is] 'We will not civilize one family. Rupert's Land is destined by God to remain forever in a state of barbarism. We shall only preach the Gospel to the Indian to comfort him when he is travelling the wood'. This is very charitable indeed! They propose that the body of the Indian should be made over as a legacy for the benefit of the Fur Traders, and his soul made an offering to God.³³

Cockran protested the presence of the Methodist missionaries. He accused the Company of granting facilities to "interlopers" while placing impediments in the path of the CMS. "I am certainly at a loss", he wrote, "how to construe the present conduct of the Governor, my principles are perfectly known to him".³⁴ Four Methodist missionaries; James Evans, William Mason, Robert Rundle and George Barnley, were originally invited to Rupert's Land by the Hudson's Bay

Company. By 1848 only Mason remained. Evans left after becoming embroiled in a dispute with Donald Ross and his wife at Norway House, accused of an "unmethodistical and unclerical" intercourse with three Indian women. Barnley departed after quarrelling with Company Factor Robert Miles at Moose Factory and Rundle left the Northwest after having broken his arm. Although Mason remained, he defected to the Church Missionary Society in 1854.³⁵ Cockran feared the Methodists would attempt to establish themselves at Red River, especially at St. Andrew's.³⁶ This threat, however, never materialized.

Company attitudes to specific missionaries and missionary activities varied. The particular role of the Church in Red River, however, was seen by the HBC to be one of effective social and political control. In this way the aspirations of Church and Company, and indeed the very underpinnings of their Anglo-Christian world view, were in reality synonymous. When Simpson wrote to Benjamin Harrison, the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, in 1825 he stated that "few individuals in the country...conceive the civilization is injurious to the fur trade...I can with safety assure you that no exertion on our part would be wanting to forward the views of the Society".³⁷ When overtures were made by the CMS toward establishing agricultural missions outside the colony, though, Simpson grew wary. In attempting to discourage such schemes he noted to Harrison that "the Gentlemen of the Catholic Mission have conducted themselves with great propriety throughout the year, confining their attention entirely to the object thereof in which they are most zealous".³⁸ For Simpson the Roman Catholic mission in Red River under Father Provencher more effectively suited the Company's interests both inside and outside the settlement. Itinerant clerics who did not attempt to establish native agricultural settlements were considered

acceptable to the more obvious economic goals of the fur trade. The Church Missionary Society and William Cockran were opposed to the idea of itinerancy;

I am sure [he wrote] that if I set out to convert the heathen by a journeying expedition, I should meet with more wolves and foxes than Indians, consequently I should become a common trapper, and forget the end for which I came into this country.³⁹

Cockran's assertion, exaggerated though it may be, points out his strong views regarding the necessity for agricultural settlement among the Indians and Halfbreeds as forming the cornerstone of British Christianity.

The shared principles which existed between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Protestant missionaries in Rupert's Land can be explained by their mutual belief in the supremacy of the white man. While disagreements and antagonisms occurred, this basic point was never forgotten. The Rev. James Evans case is a good example. The conflict which occurred in that particular situation (between Evans and Chief Factor Donald Ross) was one of personalities, created by Mrs. Ross and Mrs. Evans vying for leadership of the social hierarchy at Norway House. It had little to do with any notion that the conflict between the fur trade and "civilization" (as represented by the missionary) was inevitable or even predictable.

The Free Trade Issue and the Anglican Clergy

After the union of the two competing fur trade companies in 1821, and the migration of redundant Company servants to Red River, George Simpson attempted to develop a strategy which would provide a market for the colonists and

a livelihood for the new population of resident-free men. Simpson's strategies was two-fold and designed to protect the monopoly of the Company in Red River and throughout Rupert's Land. The first involved an attempt to generate economic opportunities which would occupy the energies of the settlers; the second was to fit the colonists into the pattern of trade, transportation and the supply of provisions that would help support the Company's far flung trade network. The result was the creation of such enterprises as the Buffalo Wool Company, the Assiniboine Wool Company, a tallow company, a local distillery, the cattle trade, a flax and hemp project and a succession of experimental farms within the settlement. Most of these projects, however, were failures. The wool and tallow companies eventually folded, the first experimental farm was a failure, and the distillery constructed near Lower Fort Garry was never operated.⁴⁰

With the lack of economic opportunities available to the entrepreneurs of Red River, a limited private trade in furs developed alongside that of the Hudson's Bay Company. During the 1820s and 1830s relations between the Company and the private traders appeared harmonious as the former often found the private trade useful for the conduct and servicing of its own business.

In the 1840s this harmonious relationship ended. The growing population at Red River, the development of overland American markets, and the inability of the new generation of Métis and Halfbreeds to find economic opportunities within the settlement, served to increase the number of free traders operating outside the Company's monopoly.⁴¹ Simpson took prompt measures against these entrepreneurs (most notable of whom were Norman Kittson and Andrew McDermot). Licenses were revoked and trade goods destined for the free trade were no longer freighted to Rupert's Land aboard

Company ships. As well, goods were seized and mail was censored. Resentment and open defiance increased among the populace as the Company invoked measures designed to enforce its outdated monopoly. In 1846 the HBC brought the Sixth Regiment of Foot to Red River. Ostensibly brought to Red River to provide a British military presence in the colony so as to thwart any designs by the American government during the Oregon crisis, the HBC hoped their occupation of the settlement would help discourage the continuation of the free trade around Red River. Their two-year stay in the colony brought tranquility and, more importantly, economic prosperity to the settlement. The settlers had a ready market for their grain, produce and meat, and men like McDermot did exceedingly well as a result of the soldier's purchasing power.⁴²

This period of prosperity was short lived, however. The Sixth Regiment departed Red River in 1848 and the economic situation worsened once again. In 1849 Chief Factor John Ballenden arrested Guillaume Sayer, a Métis free trader, on a charge of illegally trafficking in furs. Sayer was tried by the General Quarterly Court of Assiniboia and found guilty. The jury, however, recommended mercy, and Sayer was set free. To the cry of "La commerce est libre" from the armed Métis stationed outside the courtroom, the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land was effectively broken. Red River was no longer subordinate to the Company's larger fur trade strategy; the settlement had now acquired an economic life of it's own.⁴³

The Anglican Church in Red River played a significant role in the free trade issue. The alliance between Church and Company was solidified during this period with the missionaries demonstrating their unwillingness to support the economic aspirations of their Halfbreed parishoners. Although critical of the Company, they could not counsel open rebellion against their rule, afraid that chaos and a loss

of control by the Church would result. If the fur trade was thrown open, they believed, the Halfbreed settlers would be reluctant to remain on their small, generally unproductive farms in the lower settlement, preferring to share in the more lucrative opportunities of the private trade.

Frits Pannekoek has argued that among the CMS missionaries in Red River only William Cockran was supportive of the aims of the half-breed community, but that he chose to stop short of counselling armed revolt.⁴⁴ While it was true that Cockran was in disfavour with Company offices at Red River and was to an extent ostracized by his clerical peers in the settlement, he could not support the kind of challenge to authority implicit in the free trade cause. Cockran was held in high esteem by the English speaking Halfbreed community. His antipathy toward high church principles and the social elite of Red River society, his style of delivering extemporaneous sermons and his abilities behind the plow brought the missionary a good deal of popularity with his congregation at Grand Rapids and later at Portage La Prairie. But like the other Church of England clerics in Red River, including Cowley, James and Smithurst, he considered the free trade crisis a "popish plot". The violent opposition of the Métis and some of the Halfbreed community was, Cockran believed, tantamount to rebellion against the crown.⁴⁵ In a letter to Simpson in November of 1849 he commented, "the excitement which was got up by interested persons to answer their own ends is perfectly subsided. All that cunning and malice could do was tried to urge the populace to acts of violence".⁴⁶

Threats of violence at the Grand Rapids were diffused by Cockran who still visited the parish regularly, and by the resident minister, Robert James. Despite the popularity of Cockran at the Rapids, certain members of the parish threatened to burn his house after the missionary made

speeches in support of Adam Thom, the Chief Recorder in the settlement and the arch-enemy of the Halfbreed community. But because the movement was described by the clergy as more a plot by the Church of Rome than an expression of anti-Company sentiment, the Halfbreed community were reluctant to force a confrontation. Cockran, along with the rest of the Anglican clergy in Red River, endeavoured to convince their congregation that a Protestant's soul was in mortal danger if he allied himself for any reason with the Métis, Catholic faction within the settlement.⁴⁷

Also embroiled in the controversy was the Rev. John Smithurst at the Indian Settlement. Originally asked by the Company to fulfill the role of Chaplain, he refused, preferring instead to continue Cockran's efforts with the new Native mission. During the free trade crisis Smithurst steadfastly counselled his parishoners not to join with the cause of the Métis and English Halfbreeds. As a member of the Council of Assiniboia Smithurst sided with the Company. In the summer of 1849 he wrote to George Simpson charging that the Indians at his settlement are "threatened with fire and sword if they do not aid the Halfbreed party".⁴⁸ While the Indians chose not to openly join the free trade movement, they nonetheless resented Smithurst and his apparent alliance with the Company. His position in the colony quickly became untenable. At first he remained firm in his intention to wait out the storm of protest. To Simpson he wrote; "I fear that were I to go now it might be regarded by the rebel party as a triumph, and perhaps encourage them in their attempts to get rid of others whom they dislike".⁴⁹ Two years later, however, Smithurst left Red River, unable to win back the confidence and respect of the settlement.

The missionaries interest in effective social control, and their belief that the Hudson's Bay Company represented the only viable economic and political regulating body with-

in the settlement, was demonstrated by the Church's behaviour during the free trade crisis. Earlier in that same decade, however, a dispute had arisen between the Company and the Anglican Church in Red River which severely strained relations between the two.

Known as the "ordination crisis" it involved an attempt by Simpson to weaken the power of the CMS in the settlement. When in 1842 Cockran first expressed his desire to leave the colony for an extended sabbatical, George Simpson suggested that Abraham Cowley and John Roberts, two unordained and newly arrived CMS catechists, accompany the Rapids minister to Montreal to receive holy orders.⁵⁰ It was Simpson's plan to then have James Evans from the Methodists replace Cockran in the settlement, leaving Smithurst as the lone CMS representative in Red River. Simpson felt that he could more effectively control Evans who demonstrated a greater willingness to go along with Company policies and practices. Adam Thom, the Chief Recorder for Rupert's Land, argued Simpson's case and expressed his concern that the Bishop of Montreal, George Jehosaphat Mountain, was not empowered to ordain Cowley and Roberts as ministers. This duty, he argued, could only be done by either the Bishop of London or the Archbishop of Canterbury. After heated exchanges between Smithurst and Thom, and extensive deliberations between Company lawyers and CMS representatives in London that lasted over two years, a decision was made to have the Bishop of Montreal travel to Red River and perform the ordination himself.⁵¹ This the Bishop did in 1844, spending a total of 17 days in the settlement. In the end Cockran chose not to leave the colony until 1846 and a good deal of animosity resulted not only between Smithurst and Thom, but between a number of the commissioned gentlemen and the Anglican missionaries in Red River.⁵²

In 1850 the Hudson's Bay Company sent Eden Colville to Red River as the Associate Governor of Rupert's Land. The

victory of the free traders the year before had served to tarnish the image of Company power. The appointment of Colville, it was hoped, would help restore lost prestige.

Colville's immediate problems in the settlement concerned the inept government of Major Caldwell (the head of the Chelsea Pensioners, a regiment of retired soldiers which had replaced the Sixth Regiment of Foot in 1848), racial and religious divisions involving the M tis and Scottish settlers, and the restoration of Company power within the colony. He turned out to possess a naturally conciliatory disposition and helped bring a degree of order to the settlement. Colville's congenial attitude, however, belied a strong distrust of the Anglican missionaries. He was particularly adamant against the expansion of missions outside the settlement. In a letter to the Governor and Committee in London in July of 1852 Colville characterized the missions as a "very heavy drain on the limited resources of the country, and under the present circumstances therefore we are not anxious that the number should be increased".⁵³ He particularly mistrusted William Cockran. The missionary was the most vocal of the Red River clergy in support of the expansion of missions, in particular the establishment of a settlement at Portage La Prairie. In a letter to Simpson Colville described Cockran as "almost a lunatic, and inclined to be mischievous".⁵⁴ When Smithurst decided to leave the country Colville wrote Simpson to inform him that Cockran would take over the Indian Settlement. "I should be exceedingly glad", he commented, "if we were to lose this latter gentleman also, as he is very troublesome".⁵⁵

Colville was called upon during his short tenure in Red River to mediate the dispute between the Anglican Church and local Presbyterian settlers. Since the creation of the original Selkirk grant, the Scottish Presbyterians in Red River had been promised a minister of their own

denomination. In the face of CMS control they were forced to make due with Anglican clerics and their high Church liturgy for a good number of years, a point of some friction within the community. Led by Alexander Ross the Presbyterians waged a long campaign to secure their own minister, church and burial ground in Red River. Colville dealt extensively with Ross and Bishop David Anderson in attempting to find a solution to the problem, a problem which will be dealt with more extensively in Chapter VI.

The correspondence of a number of other officers gives an indication of Company attitudes toward Anglican missionaries in this period. Donald Ross, for many years the Chief Factor at Norway House and later a resident of St. Andrew's, had very little respect for those who wore the clerical collar. Ross questioned whether the clergy were "loyal subjects of the Company".⁵⁶ The HBC, he asserted, was forced to contribute to the welfare of the missions. "Experience has taught us", he wrote to Colville in 1851, "that to make the Company establishments missionary stations is very detrimental to the interests of the Missions as well as those of the Service".⁵⁷ John Black, a Chief Trader at Upper Fort Garry and before that the clerk at the Lower Fort, resented the superior attitudes of the clergy and their wives. According to Black, Mrs. Robert James, the wife of the incumbent at St. Andrew's, "turns up her nose and talks of the low depraved state of morality in the country generally and among the officers of the Fur Trade in particular".⁵⁸ For Simpson the solution was to publicly concur with the aims of the Church while privately and quietly attempting to discourage and impede their various schemes. He described to Ross how:

The missionaries are troublesome people to deal with, though it may not be to let it be known generally. I think we should endeavour to neutralize the evil by encouraging all sects indifferently. Then such is the characteristic humility and charity of missionaries at the present

day, as such as one sect breaks with us, all others will stick by us, and turning upon the occupant, will fight out battle.⁵⁹

In the period after 1850 Red River began to develop an economy and culture removed from the pervasive influence of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Anglican missionaries who arrived in the settlement after 1840 helped influence the changing social and economic structure within the settlement. Missionaries such as James, Cowley, Smithurst, Anderson and Hunter did not have the agricultural background and skills of William Cockran, or for that matter David Jones. Schooled in such subjects as theology, mathematics, philosophy and literature, these recruits preferred the attitudes and affectations of the European elite within Red River society to these of the Halfbreed farmer/hunter class of the lower settlement. By the middle of the century the Church Missionary Society had established itself as a relatively powerful evangelical society with missions located all over the world. The best of the Society's students who trained at Islington College were sent to India. Rupert's Land was considered of marginal interest and was spared only those missionaries generally felt to be unqualified for duty elsewhere.⁶⁰ Smithurst and Cowley, for example, were described by their superiors as demonstrating great piety but little else.⁶¹ Bishop Anderson was another unfortunate choice for the settlement. Cultured and punctillious, he "displayed the conservatism and pedantry of the lower English gentry".⁶² Anderson proved intransigent on a number of ecclesiastical issues and fought a vicious and protracted battle with the Presbyterian Scots in the settlement. Only James Hunter rose above the mediocre. Although from humble origins Hunter possessed a decidedly superior intellect, and succeeded in eventually translating much of the gospels into Cree.

It is evident that the character of the Anglican mission in Red River was undergoing change. In the 1830s William Cockran shaped his mission around the culture and practice of a society only recently removed from the environment of the trading post. By the 1850s he was considered by his peers, the Company gentlemen, and even his congregation, to be intractable. This change foreshadowed the evolution of the Church away from a traditional, agriculturally-based frontier style mission to an institution increasingly concerned with ecclesiastical form, political and social control, and the establishment of a monolithic social hierarchy.

The Anglican Church in Red River played a key role in the Canadian annexationist movement of the 1850s and 60s. The clergy realized that their interests in the community and throughout the West would be enhanced by either Crown Colony status or annexation by Canada. While Church and Company by 1850 had arrived at some sort of rapprochement, the clergy realized that with the opening of the West to settlement, their power and influence would accelerate. More importantly, these new settlers would be protestant and white. New immigrants would quickly outnumber the Métis and aid the Anglican Church in its battle to defeat the Catholic Church's influence within settlement. The decline of the fur trade, they believed, would mean the end of the traditional economy of Red River. The mixed economy of farming, freighting and trading would give way to a purely agricultural community which would see the protestant residents of Red River more securely tied to the Church.

The agitation for a change in Red River began in earnest in 1856.⁶³ The following year the British government, as a result of mounting public criticism, convened a committee to look into the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land. The committee heard testimony from numerous representatives from the Company, Church and settlement.

Among those questioned were George Simpson, Bishop David Anderson, Edward Ellice, Dr. John Rae and Lieutenant-Colonel W. Caldwell, the former Governor of Assiniboia. The committee was critical of the Company's record in preventing settlement in Rupert's Land and its treatment of the Indians. Although the British government wanted to see a change in the Northwest, it was reluctant to aid in the process:

Committed to free trade, colonial self government, and protection of native peoples, the British Administration pursued a policy that seemed to contradict its principles in every respect. It attempted to postpone decisions in these mid-century decades, placing its confidence instead in the Hudson's Bay Company and in the hope that Canada would eventually take the problem off its hands.⁶⁴

The Hudson's Bay Company's exclusive right to trade, a right originally granted to the Company in 1670 and re-affirmed in 1821, was allowed to lapse in 1859. In a sense then it was only the sovereignty of the Crown and some vague appeal to the charter of 1670 which allowed the HBC to effectively govern in Rupert's Land after this date. The 1860s would see the development of interest groups determined to bring about some change of order in the West.

The Corbett case of 1863 is illustrative of the changes occurring within Red River society in this period. The Reverend Giffiths Owen Corbett, a member of the Anglican Colonial and Church Society and the incumbent at the Halfbreed parish of Headingly, was accused by the Company of having tried to induce an abortion in a member of his congregation whom he had allegedly made pregnant. According to Frits Pannekoek, this scandal effectively alienated the English-speaking Halfbreed community from the Hudson's Bay Company.⁶⁵ Corbett was a vociferous critic of Company rule in the Northwest. He campaigned vigorously for Crown colony status for Red River and attempted to have the

Halfbreed community come to view itself as English rather than mixed-blood.⁶⁶ His arrest was viewed with suspicion by the Halfbreeds who effectively organized a jailbreak for the accused minister. In Pannekoek's view the case implied that the Halfbreeds of Red River openly announced their opposition to the rule of the HBC in favour of the newly-arrived Canadian and protestant annexationists. His theory proposes that the turmoil which followed; the resistance of 1869-70, was in fact a civil war. The racial and religious tensions between the Whites, the M tis and the English-speaking Halfbreeds in Red River, Pannekoek argues, were precipitated by a sectarian and racial conflict which had its roots deep in Red River's past. Further, he maintains, this conflict was exacerbated by the Protestant missionaries who used the Halfbreeds to help defeat M tis and Catholic power in the settlement.⁶⁷

But as has been pointed out more recently, such an analysis does not allow for the more subtle social and political dynamics operating within the community. Historian Gerald Friesen maintains that the problems that beset Red River were not unique. "As life in any village will reveal", he argues, "the Red River settlement was not alone in being united and divided by neighbourhood loyalties, kinship networks, and other social obligations."⁶⁸ By the 1860s the settlement was opening up to the markets and influences of the United States and Canada. Red River was no longer an isolated enclave of Halfbreed settlers and fur traders removed from the aspirations and intentions of Canadian politicians and entrepreneurs. Moreover, though the Anglican Church helped shape the development of Protestant Red River, it cannot be held responsible for the promotion of a racial "war" within that society. Such a view would suggest a degree of influence the Church did not have. The scandals of the 1850s and 60s illustrate the social tensions within the

elite of Red River but do not necessarily shed light upon the evolution of that society as an organic whole. The Métis and English-speaking Halfbreeds, separated by language and religion, were nevertheless united by a common tradition based on the hunt and the fur trade. While the Protestant clergy were no doubt interested in defeating the power of the Catholic Church in Red River, it does not necessarily follow that their Halfbreed parishoners were willing to become engaged with their Métis brothers in a do-or-die struggle for ascendancy.

By 1869 the Anglican Church had adjusted to the coming order in Red River. Realizing that the Hudson's Bay Company could no longer effectively rule both the settlement and the vast hinterland of the Northwest, the Church since the mid-1850s, had pursued its subtle campaign in favour of Canadian rule for Rupert's Land. The Company as sole representative of constitutional authority in the territory had long represented a mechanism for the social and political control the Church considered necessary for the inculcation of Christian values. The clergy realized, however, that the economy of the fur trade could never go far enough in creating a truly sedentary population of farmers and entrepreneurs. In their view, only settlement and market agriculture in the Anglo-British tradition could create the kind of pastoral village society they had initially conceived for Red River.

V. Community and Society at St. Andrew's

The settlement of the lower community was the result of the consolidation which occurred within the fur trade after 1821. Company servants, considered redundant by George Simpson's streamlining of operations after union with the North West Company, were retired to the settlement at Red River.¹ Here, it was hoped, these new settlers would engage in agriculture and provide a source of country produce to help provision Company operations throughout Rupert's Land. As well, the colony could provide a labour pool for seasonal work on the boat and cart brigades, and through participation in the buffalo hunt, guaranteed the HBC the supply of fresh and dried meat crucial to its expansion north and west into the lucrative Athabaska district. The resulting mixed economy of Red River was in direct response to the market realities of the fur trade in the Northwest. The lack of external markets tied the settlement to the particular economic demands of the Company and helped shape its destiny for decades to come.²

The English speaking Halfbreeds in Red River were the product of what John Foster has labelled "the Bay tradition."³ Differing mixed-blood experiences inherent within the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies, were grounded within the varying traditions of language, community and culture. The intermarriage of Company servants and Native women created a people whose world view was shaped by both the traditions of their Native mothers as well as by

practices derived from the culture of their Canadian and European fathers.⁴ The Anglo-Christian experience of the Hudson's Bay Company strongly supported the preponderance of British practices within the fur trade. With its solidly imperialist and centralist organizational structure, as well as the presence of British born officers and servants at its post, the Company insured the survival of customs derived from the European example. When they arrived in Red River the English speaking Halfbreeds carried with them the cultural baggage of this trading post tradition.

In the very early years after their migration to Red River the Halfbreeds were confronted with the fundamental problem of defining the colony's relationship with the fur trade and later with the missionaries. The Selkirk period had left a record of uncertainty and confusion. The Battle of Seven Oaks, the emergence of the Métis as the "New Nation," and the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company after 1821, all contributed to this ambiguity. Andrew Bulger, representing the Selkirk estate as Governor of the colony, had clashed with Chief Factor John Clarke, the Company's senior resident officer in Red River.⁵ With Selkirk's death and the appointment of Chief Factor Donald MacKenzie as Governor, in 1824, the colony was more clearly linked to the fortunes of the fur trade. Finally, in 1834 the Selkirk estate - the hugh Assiniboia land grant - reverted to the Company, completing the domination by the HBC over the organization and future of the settlement.⁶

The uncertainty of the situation in Red River resulted in a lack of confidence in the governing structure. Governor Simpson, writing to Andrew Colvile, described the circumstances in the nascent colony:

Take the Colony all in all, and it is certainly an extraordinary place, the Great folks would cut each other's throats if they could with safety; there is nothing like a social feeling among them and the best friends today are the bitterest

enemies tomorrow. Among the lower orders it is much the same, they have a certain feeling of pride, independence and equality among them which is subvertive [sic] of good order in Society: they are opposed to each other in little factions and every man in the Colony looks to his arms along for safety and protection...7

It was the Halfbreeds' challenge in Red River to help establish the social institutions that would resolve the uncertainties facing the population. While the traditions of the trading post were still strong, they had to fit comfortably into a new set of customs and norms which were to be partly determined by the Company and the Church.

The financial means of the Halfbreed families who migrated to the lower settlement after 1826 varied. The retired Company officers who were British-born, along with their Halfbreed families, usually possessed sufficient savings to establish a credible farming operation upon their Company land grant. Others were not so fortunate. Many Halfbreed heads of families lacked the capital necessary to begin farming and ended up living off the charity of relatives and the Church. As well, an Orkney-born male possessed other natural advantageous - greater familiarity with the English language, with the structure and workings of local government, and with at least the rudimentary techniques of agriculture.⁸ Those former Company servants who had spent their natural life in the trading post environment knew little of farming. The kind of agriculture which did exist in the fur trade, especially in the early period, functioned at a minimum level and was intended only to augment the English provisions.

Statistics from Cockran's school roll of 1830 provide the racial breakdown of settlers at the Rapids. Ninety-six children, both male and female, were registered at the Grand Rapids school that year. Forty per cent of the fathers were listed as Orkney, while 39% were listed as Halfbreed. There were also eight "English" fathers (retired Company

officers), four Indian fathers, two Canadians, one American and one Norwegian in the parish.⁹ Of the mothers listed by Cockran, 62% were Indian while 35% were Halfbreed.¹⁰ For Cockran the Halfbreed heads of families and their offspring were too easily pulled by the "immorality" of their native heritage. For those whites who had long toiled in the fur trade and had now settled at the Rapids, the missionary believed them to have led licentious and intemperate lives.¹¹ The transgressions of 30 or 40 years, he remarked, could not be overcome overnight.¹² The traders "conscience must be quickened" through long years of patient prayer and devotion.¹³

While the missionary promoted agriculture as the means to salvation, the Halfbreed families at the Rapids engaged in a mixed economy of farming, hunting, fishing and trapping for the Company. It was a regimen necessary for survival. Settlers were reluctant to expand their farms in the absence of significant external markets. Although the Company purchased grain from the colonists, it was not enough to create a healthy agricultural economy. Without cash the settler was unable to purchase the European goods necessary for life in the settlement. Red River had no small scale manufacturing and was dependent upon the yearly Company shipments from England for such of its clothing, manufactured goods, certain foodstuffs, seed and tools. Consequently, the settler at the Rapids was forced to diversify his interests in order to earn a living, usually adjusting his activities on a seasonal basis. In this way the tradition of the fur trade post survived. The realities of the country dictated that, for many, participation in a variety of activities was essential. Rather than indicating some inherent strain within the Halfbreed community, as has often been stated, the mixed economy of the settlement was an accepted and natural economic response. It was only the

Church and those settlers not part of the fur trade tradition, who felt that this particular lifestyle posed a threat to the survival of the community.

In their attempts to establish an anglo-Christian agricultural settlement in the lower parishes, Cockran and Jones grew frustrated with what they felt was a lack of response to the teachings of the Church. Cockran referred to his parishoners as "principally composed of the seed of the adulterer and the whore,"¹⁴ while Jones judged the people at the Rapids to be "excessively ignorant."¹⁵ The English speaking Halfbreed families, according to the Church, lacked an evangelical zeal. The expectation by the missionaries that their message would create a "quickenened" religious response throughout the community proved erroneous. The Halfbreeds at the Rapids were for the most part apathetic toward Christian admonitions, at least in the period before 1850. "The people seem...drowsy at the time of service, apparently unacquainted with the prize that was now put into their heads," wrote Cockran in his journal in 1829.¹⁶ Half-empty Churches greeted the missionaries during the season between May and October when the young men were working the Company boat brigades that operated between Red River, Norway House, York Factory and the English River district. While the retired British born heads of families in the community were regulated to a degree by Church control, the response of their mixed-blood families was varied and uneven.¹⁷ Economic factors, the tradition of the fur trade post, the pattern of kinship networks, and the new experiences in the settlement all contributed to shaping the attitudes of the new community at the Rapids.

The nature of Halfbreed family life in the settlement evolved after the initial period of consolidation. Kinship ties originating in the trading post environment continued to play an important role within the community. Those who had established their small riverlot farms at the Rapids in

the early years were quick to assist the families that came later. John Foster argues that this practice derived from the lack of economic opportunity in Red River. Unable to establish themselves as British gentlemen farmers, the English speaking Halfbreeds used traditional kinship methods to provide a mechanism for mutual community support.¹⁸ William Cockran commented upon this behaviour in a letter to the Secretaries:

If I find any in want, the first time I meet anyone who has been successful, I tell the tale of pity, and then will say, we must not let this or that man starve...He or she will say I will give so and so, and...thus by a union of effort we effect a great deal.¹⁹

Although the missionaries in Red River were critical of much of the behaviour of their half-breed parishoners, they nevertheless documented changes in personal habits and family life within the community. To a limited degree social custom did change in the direction encouraged by the missionary. Cockran, though of course a much biased observer, noted the decline of "unrestrained sensuality," "whoring" and "seducing [of] each other's women."²⁰ By 1838 the cleric could boast to the Society that his congregation was "regular and attentive and generally speaking endeavour to lead a Christian life."²¹ Cockran's success at the Rapids was not simply the result of the influence of the gospel. The missionary's personal style had much to do with this process. Stubbornly aggressive, anti-Company, and at odds with his elitest colleagues at the Forks, he gained a reputation as being unpretentious and straight-forward. By promoting and practicing a kind of agrarian, muscular Christianity, Cockran enjoyed a good deal of popularity with his congregation at the Rapids. His physical abilities and stature were respected by many. One non-believer admitted to Cockran that "I am afraid of you, but not of God. You have a strong arm if you grow properly angry you could break

my bones."²² The missionary's homespun style helped endear him to the community. It did little, however, to gain him respect among the increasingly affected elite at Red River. Arriving at one of Mrs. Simpson's dinner parties at the Lower Fort perched atop a cow, Cockran was viewed by this class with a degree of bemused contempt. The missionary's low social background was ridiculed by the gentlemen of the fur trade. Describing one of Cockran's sermons at the Rapids, Donald Ross commented to James Hargrave that the missionary spun "out his long yarns as usual murdering the King's English most unmercifully in the flights of pulpit eloquence."²³ Cockran's unpopularity with the nabobs of Red River only increased his acceptance at the Rapids and in no small way helped promote the C.M.S. at that settlement.

The rearing of children in the Rapids community was one area of family life that came under scrutiny by the missionaries. These practices reflected the influences of both the trading post tradition and the settlement. Anglican missionaries often condemned Indian and Halfbreed males for treating their Native wives as little more than beasts of burden, while at the same time allowing their children a virtual free reign. Family practices in Rupert's Land represented the antithesis of Victorian custom. In 19th century England women were considered virtuous and delicate creatures while children were viewed as simply "brattish" and unbehaved little people much in need of discipline. In his journal Cockran moralized upon the state of family life in the settlement:

The greatist part of the children here; seem to be altogether their own masters - do every day what is most agreeable; eat when they please, waste what they please, sleep when, where and how they please...from their infancy they go astray, and because their parents neglect to use the rod... they are never brought back. It is viewed as cruel and tyrannical to chastise children...I am sorry to say, that many of the parents of my con-

gregation follow this method with their families
 ...there are only a few, a very few, who will
 command their children.²⁴

The extent to which Halfbreed children of British-born fathers at the Rapids were taken from the old environment of the trading post and exposed to "civilizing" influences depended upon the initiative of individual fathers.²⁵ Many of their sons, especially when they grow older, aspired to assimilate into their father's world. The case of James Ross, the son of Red River patriarch Alexander Ross serves as an example.²⁶ Alexander Ross was one of the leading principal settlers within the Red River community. Married to an Indian woman, he was determined that his mixed-blood offspring be exposed to all the civilizing benefits the settlement had to offer. James Ross was such an outstanding pupil of Bishop Anderson's at the Academy he was sent to further his education at the University of Toronto in 1853 where he won a number of scholarships and prizes. In the resistance of 1869-70, while a supporter of the Canadian cause, Ross participated in Riel's provisional government in the hopes of avoiding the bloodshed of a war between "brothers and kindred."²⁷ Criticized by both sides, he suffered the ignobility of being passed over for a position in the administration of Governor Archibald in favour of the newly arriving Canadians. While Ross' dual racial heritage did not preclude his membership in the social and political elite of old Red River in the years before 1870, after this date he was excluded from participation in the new anglo-protestant order that had begun to transform the West.

In their move from the fur trade post to the settlement at the Rapids, Halfbreed families were ultimately selective in their adaptation to new customs and practices. Behaviour which had earlier proven disruptive was for the most part dispensed with, while functional and enjoyable practices were maintained, even in the face of heavy censure from the

Church. This, in part, explains the often times contradictory nature of Cockran's observations of the English speaking Halfbreed community. The missionary alternately criticized and praised the behaviour of his parishoners who adopted some customs from the British example but maintained others derived from their native heritage. Such an accommodation was not without purpose. Family life, marriage practices, child rearing and, most importantly, economic activity, reflected the particular adaptation of mixed-blood society to the physical, economic and social realities of Red River society.

A strong and vibrant community life developed in the early years at the Rapids. Kinship bonds established in the days of the fur trade post were strengthened, helping to facilitate social and community interaction. Cooperative activities in farming, hunting and building were common, and families increasingly sought each other's company for such social events as weddings and baptisms.²⁸ Cockran disapproved of much of this behaviour. He cautioned his Halfbreed parishoners against the giving of dances at weddings, and noted in his journal that these celebrations, lasting two or three days, might involve upwards of 100 people.²⁹ What particularly disturbed the missionary was that the guests were often away from their farms for an extended period of time. Cockran viewed this absence as reflective of a general indifference to agriculture in the community.³⁰ Notwithstanding the missionary's opinion, social and communal ties played a major role in the regular performance of daily duties within the parish.

Traditional kinship networks notwithstanding, a served to obfuscate a hierarchical social structure developed in Red River and was based upon social standing and material wealth. At the top of the hierarchy were the "principal settlers."³¹ Made up primarily of Scottish-born Company officers who had retired with their mixed-blood families to

Red River, these former traders possessed considerable material wealth (as well as management experience and literacy skills) from their days in the fur trade. This gave them the capital to invest in the land and implements needed to run a moderately successful farm at the Rapids. It also placed them on a par with the highest class in Red River, the Company squirearchy. If widowed or single, the principle settlers became eligible to marry the few available white women in the settlement, a union which unquestionably raised the status of a retired fur trader. These former officers, including Andrew Linklater, James Sutherland and Donald Gunn, settled with their mixed-blood families near the Rapids in the first decade after the union of the two competing fur companies. In Red River's developing social structure the principal settlers aspired to be British "gentlemen." To accomplish this goal, however, their families' native heritage had to be downplayed. Education was considered the key in gaining their children's entry into Red River's upper class. To have their mixed-blood offspring achieve a station in life comparable with themselves was considered by these former traders to be of paramount importance.³²

Who were the principal settlers and former Company engagés who settled at the Rapids? James Sutherland, for example, was a principal settler who claimed lots 96 and 97 on the west side of the river in the lower part of the parish.³³ Sutherland was originally from Ronaldshay in the Orkeny Islands and joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1797. He served for many years at Cumberland House and in 1821 he was made Chief Factor in charge of the Swan River district.³⁴ Sutherland retired to the settlement in 1827. His long-time country marriage to Jane Flett, a Native woman, was "sanctioned" by the Anglican clergy in 1828. She eventually bore a total of seven children.³⁵ By 1835 Sutherland could boast 25 acres under cultivation, making

him one of the most successful farmers in the district.³⁶ According to the 1835 Red River census, Sutherland owned 18 head of cattle, five horses and three carts which ranked him high among landowners at the Rapids.³⁷ Characteristically, he placed considerable emphasis upon the education of his Halfbreed children.³⁸ His daughter Sally was once described by John West as "one of the best informed and most improved half-caste" women he had seen.³⁹ While Sutherland shared many of the attitudes of his race and class, it seems he remained faithful to his Native wife Jane. Writing to his brother in 1838, he commented on the changing nature of marriage practices in the settlement:

We have now here some rich old fellows that have acquired large fortunes in the service, have got married to European females and cut a dash, have introduced a system of extravagance into the place that is followed by all that can afford it.⁴⁰

Sutherland, like Alexander Ross, was considered one of Red River's original "patriarchs." He died in 1844 at the age of 67.

William Spence, an English speaking Halfbreed "labourer" with the HBC, moved to Red River in 1823 at the age of 17.⁴¹ Later, with his wife Anne and five children he settled on a portion of lot 94 at the Rapids.⁴² According to the 1838 census, Spence did not appear to engage in any type of farming.⁴³ He had no land under cultivation, except for perhaps a small garden plot, and did not own any farm implements. The two head of cattle Spence possessed suggests that he might have freighted or participated in the annual buffalo hunt. As well, he could have tripped with the Company, working on the Red River-York Factory boat brigades. Spence's children attended Cockran's school at the Rapids.

In 1835 James Sutherland had the greatest number of acres under cultivation at the Rapids. William Spence, on the other hand, was one of about five or six landowners in

the settlement who chose not to till the soil at all. Five years later Spence, while increasing his livestock, had cultivated only a little over one acre.⁴⁴ This varying commitment to agriculture is indicative of the social stratification that existed within the community. An economic gulf between the principal settlers and the rest of the population helped polarize society in the lower settlement.

Historian Irene Spry argues that there were two fundamental divisions within Red River society, both of them economic. The first was between the former officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, their mixed-blood families and those residents who at one time worked as Company tripmen and labourers. This division in many instances paralleled the second; the gulf between those in Red River who were primarily farmers and those who were primarily hunters.⁴⁵ Economic standing within the community dictated social status, one's role in the political process as well as access to superior education. In turn, education helped perpetuate, if not enhance, tightening class divisions with the settlement. The acculturated sons and daughters of former Company officers who shared a racial heritage with the larger Halfbreed community nonetheless enjoyed a level of status and opportunity in keeping with their superior financial position.

A class model effectively explains the nature of this social hierarchy at St. Andrew's. After studying various models sociologist Stanislaw Ossowski described the common properties which must exist within a specific group in order for it to be considered a class.⁴⁶ Firstly, his model presumes the vertical ordering of classes and the existence of superior and inferior social and economic statuses. Secondly, class interests remain, for the most part, permanent. Thirdly, there must be a degree of consciousness within each class, though this consciousness may fluctuate between benign awareness and militant solidarity and,

fourthly, a class-based society is marked by the social isolation of particular classes and the lack of closer contacts between individuals at different levels. This presumes little or no cross-over between groups and forms the "behavioural criterion of class divisions."⁴⁷

In traditional Marxist theory classes are defined by their relationship to the means of production (the purchase or sale of labour), as well as their role in the social organization of labour. While a class analysis has traditionally been applied to the forces of production operating within a mature capitalist society, Rodolfo Stavenhagen argues that a comparable model can also be applied to pre-industrial agrarian societies.⁴⁸ Although "primitive" (for lack of a better word) societies exhibit elements of stratification based upon individual functions and skills, more developed agrarian communities begin to demonstrate the economic relations endemic to a class model. According to Stavenhagen under-development theory best explains the relationship between a community's social organization and colonial mercantalist expansion. He writes:

Colonialism and imperialism...stimulated a certain kind of capitalist growth in the 'periphery' which we may call underdeveloped or dependent capitalism. The main characteristic of this system is that it tends increasingly to polarize into two principal sectors: a 'modern' agricultural, mining, manufacturing, commercial and services sector...and a 'traditional' sector of backward agriculture, handicrafts, low-productivity services, local trade, and small-scale production for domestic consumption.⁴⁹

It is the latter part of Stavenhagen's model which more aptly applies to 19th century Red River. The resources of the settlement, including agricultural produce and the results of the hunt, were exploited by the London-based Hudson's Bay Company so as to effectively create a dependent hinterland economy in Red River. As a "traditional" sector for underdevelopment, the settlement readily demonstrated a

"backward" agriculture, limited local trade and low-productivity services.

The underdevelopment/hinterland model also holds true for the community at St. Andrew's, suggesting some form of class distinction within the parish. Returning to the conditions outlined by Ossowski, St. Andrew's demonstrated a vertical ordering of classes, or the existence of superior and inferior economic statuses (gentlemen farmers, poor farmers and buffalo hunters). Secondly, census records for the parish indicate a strong degree of permanence within each class. Quantitative data from these records (explored in greater detail in Chapter VII) demonstrate that between 1832 and 1849 there appeared to be very little change in the wealth of individual settlers. In terms of agricultural holdings those farmers who were "poor" in 1832 tended to remain so throughout the historic period. Thirdly, there did exist a degree of separation between groups in St. Andrew's, though these differences were mitigated to an extent by racial and kinship ties. Lastly, though one might not go so far as to claim the existence of a class consciousness within the parish, there was certainly a degree of class awareness. The hierarchical tradition of the fur trade; the separation of officers and servants, helped to maintain a sense of group identity among those who later retired to the parish. As tripmen and hunters rarely rose in the Company's service, there were little of the real or perceived forces of democracy which often serve to moderate an awareness of one's position in the economic hierarchy. In the history of the community at St. Andrew's it was the free trade crisis of the 1840s which best illustrates this awareness. The expressed opposition of Halfbreeds to the HBC monopoly during this period demonstrated shared concerns based upon mutual economic interests.

The presence of the Church at St. Andrew's, however, served to promote the bonds of community within the parish.

The performance of marriages, baptisms, funerals and other liturgical duties, helped regulate the community and strengthen existing kinship ties. The Church provided a mechanism for community action, such as the raising of money and materials for the construction of the Church building itself, or the management of parish affairs. As well, it served as a focal point for social life within the community. As a gathering place within the settlement, the Sunday and Tuesday services or Wednesday evening prayer meetings provided an opportunity for social interaction.⁵⁰ This interaction helped blur social and economic divisions within the parish through the promotion of a wider sense of community.

By the 1840s conditions in the lower community had begun to change. Years of relative prosperity following the flood of 1826 gave way to a period of drought, frost and insects. Moreover, diseases such as scarlet fever ravaged the settlement at various times during the decade.⁵¹ Their impact in the community is evident in the parish burial records. The records for 1846, one of the worst years in Red River, show that at St. Andrew's most deaths occurred in children under two years of age.⁵² While infant deaths were quite common for the whole of the historic period, random sampling from later decades (1864, 1870 and 1884) show a significantly higher range for average age of death in the lower community.⁵³

The economic basis of Red River had begun to change by the 1840s. During the previous decade the English speaking Halfbreeds at the Rapids had enjoyed a mixed economy which more or less satisfied their material and community needs while effectively meeting the economic demands of the settlement. But after 1840 activities such as buffalo hunting and freighting became increasingly restrictive and the community was forced to rely more heavily upon agriculture. The great buffalo herds that had once been in close proximi-

mity to the settlement had now moved further west. As well, the HBC attempted to restrict the number of Halfbreeds working on a seasonal basis with the Company, especially those who were also engaged in free trade. Turning to agriculture, the population at St. Andrew's soon discovered that the continuing practice of sub-dividing riverlots among offspring had resulted in overcrowding and unprofitable farmsteads. In 1854, William Cockran recognized the problem and led a group of settlers to new lots at Portage La Prairie on the Assiniboine River.⁵⁴ Not all, however, were willing to abandon their friends, families, and Churches along the Red River and opportunities diminished for the younger generation of St. Andrew's settlers.⁵⁵

Changing racial sensibilities, particularly among the Anglican Clergy, further threatened the Halfbreed community. Cockran's successors never shared the Archdeacon's preoccupation with the establishment of a viable agricultural settlement at the Rapids.⁵⁶ Increasingly concerned with high church ritual, missionaries such as Robert James exhibited little sympathy toward his new half-breed parishoners. On his journey from York Factory to Red River, James commented:

The men who brought us to Red River were nearly all members of my own future congregation at the Rapids...Only one or two showed any regard for us, others robbed our scanty provisions and generally they acted without affection. The first two days they were all intoxicated and this with their subsequent conduct induced us to regard them as nearly all "heathens."⁵⁷

The departure of Bishop Anderson, the death of William Cockran, and the arrival of Bishop Machray in 1865 signalled the end of the old Anglican mission in Red River. The new Church, preoccupied with making Red River "British" awaited the imminent arrival of Ontarian farmers and entrepreneurs to the West. The new affluence these groups were bound to bring to the country would increase the wealth and power of

the Anglican Church while removing the community from the traditional influence of the fur trade.

The economic deterioration of old Red River was further aggravated by the severe drought which occurred throughout the 1860s.⁵⁸ As well, Grasshoppers infested the settlement and a scarlet fever outbreak in 1864 carried off a large number of the population.⁵⁹ The settlement's crops were destroyed each year between 1862 and 1865 and again in 1868.⁶⁰ The latter year also witnessed the absence of small game near the settlement, the failure of the buffalo hunt (an almost regular occurrence by this date), and the collapse of the fisheries. The settlement sought relief in the form of food and clothing from Canada. At St. Andrew's the Rev. J.P. Gardiner organized relief committees to gather and distribute badly needed seed wheat, foodstuffs and clothing.⁶¹

With the economic troubles in Red River came an increase in the calls for annexation to Canada. Earlier, in 1857, Captain William Kennedy, a resident of St. Andrew's and an embittered ex-employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, organized meetings throughout the parish to agitate for political change. He succeeded in interesting not only a number of leading Kildonan and St. Andrew's settlers, but also James Hunter, the incumbent at St. Andrew's Church.⁶² In a letter dated April 8, 1857, Hunter described to the Church Missionary Society the general discontent which existed with the Company's administration. "The fact is," he wrote, "the people are tired of the present government and are anxious for any change that will open up the country to colonization...[The] people have suffered so long from the company that they are now determined to make a great struggle for emancipation."⁶³ By 1869 a land rush was imminent. Settlers and surveyors arrived from Ontario and proceeded to stake out claims that implicitly challenged the traditions, assumptions and geography of the old colony.

The Anglican clergy preached the benefits of the coming Protestant-Canadian order in Red River to the English speaking Halfbreeds in the lower parishes. Disaffected and disenchanted after years of unpopular Company rule, the Halfbreeds had endured bad harvests, a depletion of wild game in the region, as well as disease. Some now expressed cautious optimism regarding their future in a Canadian Red River. However, like James Sinclair, the St. Andrew's half-breeds were willing to participate with Riel in a provisional government to help avoid bloodshed in the transition from Hudson's Bay Company rule. The Anglican clergy, who believed the resistance to be the result of a "popish plot," had lost some of its influence within the Halfbreed community.⁶⁴ The antipathy was mutual. Robert Machray, the new Anglican Bishop, had little confidence that the "new" West could be built upon a group whom he considered poor and ignorant. For Machray the energies of the Church were to be devoted toward preparations for its new parishoners; the white, anglo-protestant Canadian farmers and entrepreneurs from Ontario.⁶⁵

The Anglican Church opposed Riel's Provisional Government.⁶⁶ Bishop Machray, however, counselled moderation, and Rev. J.P. Gardiner of St. Andrew's, though initially vociferous in his criticism of the Métis, later urged caution after receiving a threat on his life. Gardiner refused to organize his parishoners at the Rapids or to collect arms to re-capture the Upper Fort which was controlled by Riel.⁶⁷ Initially, at least, support for the Provisional Government existed among the people in the lower Settlement. In a letter to Thomas Bunn, Donald Gunn suggested that it was "advisable to respond to the call made by our French fellow colonists."⁶⁸ A meeting held at the Church on February 12, 1870 elected Thomas Sinclair and Edward Hay as delegates to Riel's Provisional Government.⁶⁹

It is evident that the population at St. Andrew's vacillated over the course of the 10 month protest. On the one hand they hoped to fulfill an important role in the settlement after its annexation to Canada. To an extent they listened to the counsel of their clergy and mistrusted Riel, uncomfortable with the Métis' refusal to admit constitutional authority into the territory. On the other, they possessed an underlying sympathy with the aims and traditions of the Métis in Red River, a common heritage forged in the days of the hunt and the fur trade. It remains to be ascertained whether differences of attitude toward Canadian annexation among Halfbreeds families paralleled economic inequalities within the parish. Historian D.N. Sprague maintains that because the Resistance represented a quest for property rights on behalf of the unofficial owners of riverlot properties, the land-secure English-speaking Halfbreeds and Métis were the ones most likely to support the Canadian party in Red River.⁷⁰ "Conversely," he argues, "the persons who took up arms on the side of the insurgents were likely to be hunters and tripmen without title."⁷¹ Those who supported annexation and the mixed-bloods' loss of "corporate" rights in 1869-70, namely the principal settlers, unwittingly believed they could maintain their status in the face of Protestant, Ontarian immigration that was to come after 1877.⁷²

In the years following the troubles of 1869-70 the Manitoba land question became the single most contentious issue to face the new Canadian administration. Section 31 of the Manitoba Act promised "one million four hundred thousand acres...for the benefit of the families of half-breed residents," (including both the Métis and the English speaking half-breeds). This acreage (given in the form of \$160 worth of scrip that could be used to purchase Dominion land) was to be initially divided amongst the children of

Halfbreed heads of families. The legislation, however, was changed in 1874 to also include the parents of these Halfbreed children. As well, the descendents of the original Selkirk settlers were offered approximately 140 acres of land per head. But through mismanagement, a lack of knowledge of Red River or, as some have argued, a deliberate attempt by the federal government to allow speculators to disenfranchise Manitoba's Halfbreeds in favour of incoming Canadian settlement, only a portion of the grant, estimated at less than 600,000 acres in 1882, was ever allotted.⁷³ The rest ended up in the hands of speculators and Eastern Canadian squatters who were effectively attempting to turn Red River into an Anglo-Ontarian settlement.

Early in 1871 the new Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, Adams G. Archibald, proposed to the Dominion government that local legislation be framed in order to administer Section 32 of the Act, that part of the law which insured that land already occupied would not be jeopardized by the transfer. The federal government rejected Archibald's proposal. Instead, Ottawa considered the whole of the province to be Dominion land and in effect made no distinction between parish land and the open territory outside the settlement belt.⁷⁴ This interpretation had serious ramifications for the Métis and Halfbreed parishes along the Red and Assiniboine. New legislation was used to bar anyone who had not made sufficient "improvements" to their land which might include a minimum number of cultivated acres, or the existence of an acceptable dwelling.⁷⁵ The result of the legislation was to drive from the colony those settlers the government felt were second class farmers. According to D.N. Sprague, approximately 1,200 families in Manitoba lost all chance of obtaining patent on their land because they could not meet the government's stipulation for ownership.⁷⁶

Thus began the displacement of the Manitoba Métis. Over the next decade many left Red River and moved permanently to their traditional wintering quarters at Batoche, St. Laurent and the Qu'Appelle valley. Many of the English speaking Halfbreeds at St. Andrew's according to Sprague, sold their land and left the settlement.⁷⁷ Those who left St. Andrew's ended up at new settlements at Grand Rapids (on Lake Winnipeg), Prince Albert and Fort Edmonton.⁷⁸

In anticipation of the railway's arrival in Manitoba lots in St. Andrew's and the other parishes in Red River were bought up by speculators hoping to turn a quick profit when land hungry immigrants began arriving in the new province. As early as 1871 it was decided to extend a rail line from Fort William through the village of Selkirk and northwest to the Lake Manitoba Narrows. Geological and engineering considerations dictated that the line cross the Red River at Selkirk. The banks were more stable at this point and the area was less prone to the flooding which frequently occurred at Winnipeg. In 1883 a Selkirk spur to the Pembina Branch connected the town with Winnipeg and the American border. A line had also been constructed eastward from Selkirk to meet up with a section of the main CPR line out of the Lakehead. While Selkirk had long lobbied with the Federal government to become the railway depot in Red River, it was decided in 1881 to build the main line south, closer to the 49th parallel. Accordingly, the CPR chose to cross the Red River at Winnipeg and proceeded to construct its railway enginehouses, roundhouses and, most importantly, a bridge at that location. Eventually in 1907 the line running west from the Manitoba-Ontario border was straightened and Selkirk and the former east side of St. Andrew's parish was left off the main line altogether.

In the years following the Resistance, the St. Andrew's half-breeds hoped to play a major role in the opening of the settlement to Canada. In 1870 the population of the pro-

vince was about 12,000, of whom approximately half were Métis, one-third English-speaking half-breeds, and less than one-sixth European or Canadian by origin.⁷⁹ During the next decade British-Ontarian immigration continued at a moderate enough level that the influence of the half-breeds remained somewhat stable. In the latter part of the 1870s, however, immigration took a dramatic upswing. Although John Norquay, a half-breed representing St. Andrew's became premier in 1878, his administration was powerless to stop an assault on the Métis and half-breed power base. The traditional mixed-blood alliance in Red River was crumbling. In the electoral re-organization of 1879 the English speaking half-breeds were left in control of only one seat in the 24 seat legislature - Norquay's riding at St. Andrew's. They were soon swamped by the flood of immigration to the province after 1883. By 1886 the population of Manitoba had increased dramatically to 109,000.⁸⁰ According to census reports, the Métis and English speaking Halfbreeds now only accounted for approximately 7% of this population.

Where the Métis had traditionally viewed themselves as a separate "New Nation," those English-speaking Halfbreeds that remained at St. Andrew's after 1870 increasingly reflected an Anglo-Protestant world view. The influence in the community before 1850 of the old mixed-blood families and the white patriarchs such as Alexander Ross and James Sutherland, led the Halfbreeds to believe that they could exercise some power and influence in the new province. Ultimately, they were mistaken. And while the Métis took pride in their native roots, the Halfbreeds sought to purge themselves of their heritage, choosing instead to be viewed as Anglo-Protestants on the frontier. This view has tended to permeate the community and today often influences the way they view their own history.⁸¹ "Triumph over adversity" in

the old Whig tradition, seems as much the credo of the inhabitants of the lower community as it was for the early Ontarian settlers in the West.

VI. CMS Mission to Rural Parish; St. Andrew's, 1850-87

The 1850s were a pivotal decade for the Anglican Church in St. Andrew's and, indeed, all of Protestant Red River. The appointment of David Anderson as first Bishop of Rupert's Land in 1849 and the departure of William Cockran from the Rapids signalled a new episcopalian influence within the settlement. Whereas early missionaries such as Cockran had to an extent remain independent from the old "blues," or the members of Red River's social and economic hierarchy, more recent curates and their wives now sought entry into this privileged class. The decline of the buffalo hunt and the changing economic structure within the settlement was reflected in the move away from the earlier traditions of the fur trade.

At the opening of the decade the future of the CMS in Red River looked bright. The new stone Church at St. Andrew's had just been consecrated and plans were being made for the construction of a stone rectory. The Society was contemplating the expansion of its operations outside the settlement and the Rev. David Anderson, a graduate of St. Bee's College in Cumberland and the former vicar of All Saints Church in Derby, had recently arrived in the colony with his children and spinster sister.

Though the creation of an Anglican Bishopric in Rupert's Land was welcomed by the local clergy, David Anderson was perhaps a poor choice for the position. Short

of stature, with balding head and deep sunken eyes, he was described by one author as possessed of "affectations of dress and habit...weak-willed...[and]...unable to discipline his contentious and divided clergy."¹ Anderson, who was heavily influenced by his sister, found himself unable to deal with the large community of Halfbreeds in the settlement. He preferred to operate almost exclusively within the political and social elite at the Forks.² The shift in emphasis by the Church in Red River away from its Halfbreed constituents helped create a greater wedge between that community and the Anglican Church in the settlement.

Parish Life

Robert James, who had first arrived in Red River in 1846, continued as the local curate at St. Andrew's until 1851. It is evident by this date that James' role in the community appeared to have involved very little missionary work and more the administrative duties of a large rural parish. Writing to the Society in 1851 he stated, "The Society know the nature of my work so well that they will not expect to hear of heathenism being overturned where it does not exist."³ He added that, "I have not been privileged to baptize a single Heathen this year, though I have had many close conversations with them."⁴ In the summer of 1851 Robert James, his wife in poor health, decided to return to England.

With James' departure, the Rev. James Hunter was appointed on a temporary basis to the posting at St. Andrew's. Hunter and his wife were more highly educated than previous missionaries in Rupert's Land. Arriving at

York Factory in 1844, Hunter was first sent to Cumberland House where he served for seven years. His wife died in 1847 and some eight months later he married Jean Ross, the daughter of Norway House Chief Factor, Donald Ross. While stationed at Cumberland, Hunter worked extensively upon the translation into Cree of a number of religious texts including the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and John, and the Book of Common Prayer. Jean Ross had lived her whole life in the country except for a few years of schooling in Scotland. She was fluent in Cree and helped her husband in his translations. It has been stated in a few publications that Jean Ross was Halfbreed and that Hunter's marriage to her demonstrated that he was without the "racialist predilections of many of his colleagues."⁵ In fact Jean Ross was white. Her mother Mary McBeath, who married Chief Factor Donald Ross in 1820 was the daughter of an original Selkirk settler.⁶ The perception of Jean Ross as Halfbreed has come from a misinterpretation of a letter from Letitia Hargrave to her mother in which she remarks that because of Hunter's marriage "everyone was appalled and his brethren in this country were much annoyed...There must be something far, far wrong with him."⁷ Letitia was "appalled," it has been assumed, because Hunter did not marry a white woman. In reality a furor was created over the fact that the minister waited only eight months between the death of his first wife and his marriage to Jean Ross. Such an indiscretion, according to fur trade gossips, showed little respect on Hunter's part for proper mourning practices. No doubt, James Hunter himself decided to remarry because he felt it would help further his missionary endeavours in the Northwest. He commented to the Society that:

Situated as I am in the midst of the wilderness surrounded only by Indians, and having no one to superintend my household, or to take charge of the Establishment when called to make missionary Tours, it at once became necessary to take the step which I have adopted [i.e. marriage] or return to England with my little boy who is only 3 years of age.

Hunter remained at St. Andrew's for a period of eight months, returning to Cumberland House on June 6, 1852.

In October of 1852 William West Kirkby, newly arrived from England to take over what T.C.B. Boon calls the "Model" school at St. Andrew's, found himself the minister in charge in the parish after Hunter's departure.⁸ Kirkby was not yet priested and waited until January of 1856 before receiving Holy Orders from Bishop Anderson. In fact, Kirkby's tenure as senior curate at St. Andrew's lasted only one month. For the next three years the parish was administered by a succession of Anglican ministers including the Rev. Thomas Cochrane, the son of William Cockran (the change in spelling was a family arrangement), the Rev. G.O. Corbett from the Colonial and Continental Church Society (CCCS), and William Cockran himself, who had been superintending the Indian mission at St. Peter's since the departure of John Smithurst in 1851. Kirkby served as schoolmaster at St. Andrew's between 1852 and 1859.

With the completion of the new stone Church at the Rapids in 1849 attention was focused upon the need for a new dwelling house for the resident minister. In the summer of 1849 James wrote to the CMS complaining about the delapidated condition of the old wooden parsonage at the Rapids. Removing some interior plastering, he noted the "rotten state of the logs of which the walls are built."⁹ James' proposal for a new stone structure was not acted upon by the Society until 1851. James left shortly thereafter and his interim replacement, James Hunter, attempted to initiate construction by having mason Duncan McRae begin the quarrying of limestone for the house. The great flood of 1852, which inundated almost all of the Upper Settlement, further delayed the project and Bishop David Anderson was forced to live in the old wood parsonage at the Rapids until the flood waters had retreated at his residence at Bishop's Court near

the Forks. With his appointment to St. Andrew's in October of 1853, William Cockran took over superintendency of the building project at the Rapids. The house was finally completed in December of 1854.¹⁰

During Cockran's short second tenure at St. Andrew's (he was also responsible for the Indian mission during this period) the elder missionary constructed the "Orphan Asylum" or "Indian House" as it came to be known. Cockran commented upon the need for such a building in a letter to the CMS dated December 6, 1853. He wrote:

It has been thought by men of Christian sympathy and benevolence that in the present state of the Country and Orphan Asylum would be of considerable benefit to relieve and preserve certain unfortunate children who may have lost the protection and support of their natural parents - which is of frequent occurrence among the Indians owing to their particular habits.¹¹

Work on the home began in the spring of 1854 and, according to Cockran's plan, he hoped to admit 10 male and 10 female orphans by September or October of that year. Later that summer Cockran noted in his correspondence the desire by the Bishop in Red River to have the home admit not only orphans but the children of those natives who wished to turn over their children to the care of the Church. Cockran wrote to the Society that:

Our Bishop has thought it advisable to change the name [Orphan Asylum] to the Indian House, for the following reasons. Several Indians give up their children to baptism and to be trained...when children are thus given up we have no proper place to receive them [and] we are obliged to lodge them with some Christian family or permit them to continue with their parents. Should the latter be permitted they are sure to follow their example and remain heathen.¹²

By the end of 1854 the house remained unfinished, though five Native boys were already in residence there.¹³ William Cockran moved into the newly completed stone parsonage in December of 1854, while Kirkby moved his quarters to the

Indian House when it was finally opened in the late winter of 1854-55.¹⁴

During the 1850s, as the St. Andrew's mission expanded, the Anglican Church in Red River became embroiled in a heated dispute with the settlement's Presbyterian population. The Red River Presbyterians were for the most part the children of the original Selkirk settlers, or the offspring of retiring Scottish fur traders who had arrived in the colony after 1821. The dispute with the Presbyterian population went as far back as the Selkirk period and the Earl's failure to send a minister of that faith to the inhabitants of Red River. For the next 40 years the Presbyterians lobbied strenuously with the HBC for their own minister. Under the leadership of Alexander Ross numerous petitions were sent to Governor George Simpson in an attempt to obtain redress for their claims. One such petition, organized by Ross, Robert Logan and James Sinclair in the 1840s, contained 30 signatures and though it complimented William Cockran on his "Christian charity" and desire to accommodate the particular liturgical desires of the Presbyterians, the petition also charged that some of Cockran's "fellow labourers in this vineyard have not shown the same spirit of charity and forbearance towards us."¹⁵

Finally, in 1851 a Presbyterian minister from Scotland, John Black, was secured for the congregation in Red River. Eden Colville, offered land at Frog Plain as well as the sum of £150 toward the building of their own Church. The withdrawal of the Presbyterians from the Upper, Middle and Lower Anglican Churches substantially decreased the number of communicants within these parishes.¹⁶ While these defections reduced the ability of parishes such as St. Andrew's to raise money within the community, it did allow the CMS Anglicans to return to a more episcopalian style of service within their respective Churches.

A new dispute between the two groups arose in 1852, however. That year Bishop Anderson decided to consecrate St. John's Church in the Upper Settlement, as well as the graveyard where some 400 Presbyterians were buried. That meant that the Presbyterians who wished to bury their dead in the St. John's churchyard (a concession they had been given in lieu of their contributions to the Church prior to 1851) would be forced to submit to an episcopalian burial rite, a rite to which they strongly objected.

The Hudson's Bay Company was quickly brought into the debate with both sides petitioning Colvile to provide a solution to the problem. Colvile asked Anderson if he would be willing to consecrate the cemetery at St. Andrew's, where there were no Presbyterian claims, rather than the one at St. John's. He also suggested that the Anglican Church might build a new cathedral, unencumbered by previous Presbyterian claims.¹⁷ Anderson stubbornly refused to back down and pressed on with his intention to consecrate the churchyard at St. John's. A heated exchange of letters between Colvile and Anderson throughout November of 1851 outline the problem in great detail. Colvile, like the other local Company gentlemen, grew exasperated with Anderson's behaviour during the dispute. Donald Ross, who by this time was inhabiting the cottage outside the walls of Lower Fort Garry, wrote to Simpson that the Bishop was as "obstinate as a mule and for all his meekness and learning is very deficient in charity and common sense."¹⁸ In the same letter the retired Chief Factor noted that James Hunter (stationed that year at St. Andrew's) had refused to sign Anderson's petition against the Presbyterian claims, the only Anglican clergyman to do so.¹⁹ Hunter claimed that having only recently arrived in the settlement from Cumberland he was "unqualified" to make an informed judgement in such a case. Relations were noticeably cool between

Hunter and Anderson after this particular incident. Colville eventually referred the matter to the London Committee who placed the burial yard under Company control. This solution was viewed by the community as a very clear put down of the Bishop and ultimately helped lower his prestige in Red River.²⁰

Within a few years of the dispute relations between the two Protestant Churches in Red River gradually improved. By the early 1860s ecumenical prayer meetings were being held throughout the community and the Presbyterian minister John Black had established courteous relationship with local Anglican curates such as James Hunter.²¹ By the 1870s, the Presbyterian population of St. Andrew's Parish was on the increase. According to the Rev. J.P. Gardiner, who was stationed at St. Andrew's between 1865 and 1872, these people lived mainly in the northern, or lower end, of the parish. They "have long taken a strong objection to the Bishop's plans," he wrote to the Society in London, "and will not contribute anything to the Church funds."²² With Bishop Machray's decision to return to the more traditional Anglican high Church liturgy after 1865, and his termination of ecumenical prayer meetings in the settlement, relations between the Presbyterian and Anglican Churches deteriorated.

An event which occurred at St. Andrew's Church in 1850 had important ramifications for the whole Anglican missionary movement in the Northwest. That year the Lower Church witnessed the ordination of Henry Budd, a Halfbreed from Rupert's Land, and the first Native catechist in Rupert's Land under the Church Missionary Society's "Native Church Policy."²³ First drafted by Henry Venn, the Secretary to the Church Missionary Society between 1842 and 1872, the Native Church Policy provided the guiding principal of the CMS during the second half of the 19th century.²⁴ Every European missionary sent to the field was instructed to

create an indigenous Native clergy supported by a self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating Native Church. It was hoped by the Society that this system would allow the white missionary to then move on to some new outpost leaving behind an established and well regulated missionary station in the hands of a Native pastor. Henry Budd had originally been a pupil of John West's at Red River, and had been singled out by West as the best student enrolled in that first school at St. John's. Budd's ordination was quickly followed by that of James Settee, J.A. MacKay, Henry Cockrane, as well as four other mixed-blood clergymen.

In 1840 Budd was sent as a schoolteacher to Cumberland House and helped found the mission at The Pas. James Settee was first sent to the Churchill River district in northern Saskatchewan and after his ordination in 1854 he travelled for many years in the country between the Saskatchewan and Qu'Appelle Rivers. John Alexander MacKay was ordained in 1862 and worked at York Factory, The Pas, and at the Stanley Mission in northern Saskatchewan. Henry Cochrane, originally from St. Peter's mission on the lower Red River, was ordained in 1858 and worked at CMS missions ranging from northwestern Ontario to northern Manitoba.²⁵

Venn's Native Church Policy enjoyed some success in the Northwest in the years prior to 1870. Native catechists proved competent in bridging the gap between the kind of European, Christian culture as represented by the CMS and the traditional culture of Indian society, especially societies as they existed in the north. Ultimately, however, the policy failed. The inherent racial intolerance of many of the CMS missionaries never allowed the Halfbreed catechists the kind of freedom and influence necessary to establish a viable Native ministry in the Northwest. More often than not missionaries such as Budd, Settee and the

others who followed were rarely given work above the level of schoolteacher or assistant chaplain. With the economic decline of Native bands in the Northwest after 1870, the conditions disappeared which might have allowed the blossoming of a Native Church community in the west. While Venn's policy proved more successful in India and West Africa, in Canada it could not overcome the Church Missionary Society's inability to understand or respect Native culture.²⁶

In the fall of 1855 James Hunter returned as the resident missionary at St. Andrew's. His appointment to one of the more established parishes in the Northwest indicates that Hunter was rewarded for his long work at Cumberland House and his success in translating religious tracts into Cree. William West Kirkby fulfilled the role of schoolteacher in the parish and assisted Hunter in his ministerial duties.

During Hunter's tenure in the parish the mission at St. Andrew's took on an air of permanence and a look of almost solid Victorian respectability. The photographs left behind by H.L. Hime, who travelled with explorer Henry Youle Hind in 1858, are the very first of the mission and depict solid stone structures situated on a virtually treeless and cheerless plain. Describing the Church, Hind wrote:

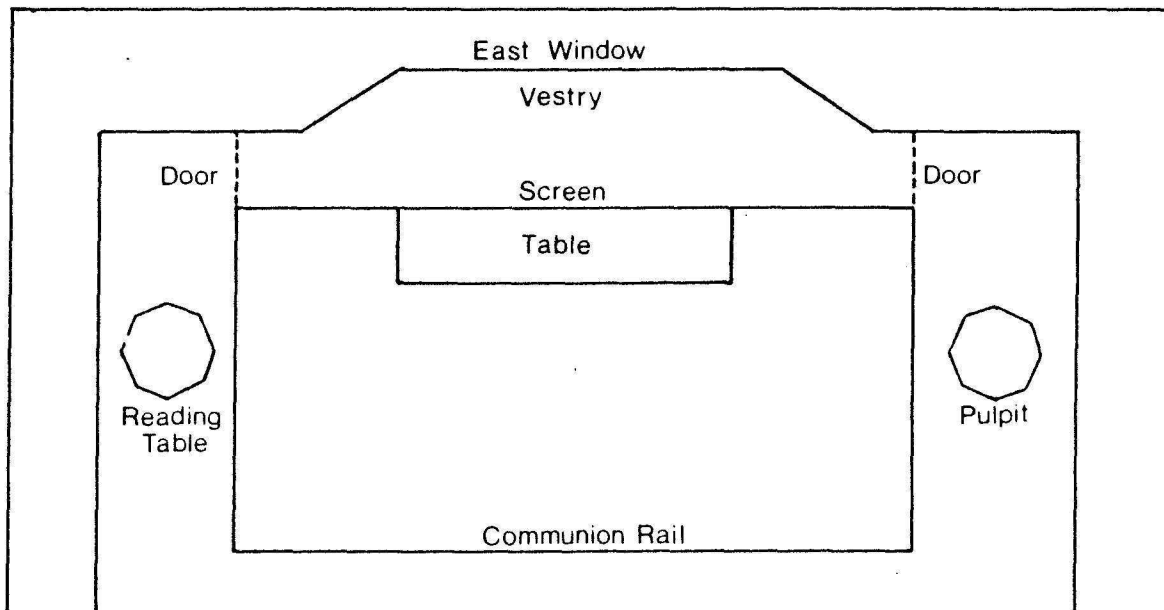
[It is] a new and very substantial structure of stone well buttressed and very conveniently and neatly furnished: all its interior arrangements are attractive and substantial.²⁷

Since his arrival at St. Andrew's Hunter actively undertook improvements to both the furnishing and layout of the Church's interior. One of his first improvements was to secure a pipe organ that he had viewed while in London the year before.²⁸ The CMS parent committee was successful in obtaining the organ for Hunter the following year. The missionary wrote back that, "it is up in the gallery of the Rapids Church, and is a great assistance in conducting the singing."²⁹

In 1857 Hunter undertook a number of renovations to the interior of the Church. Writing to John Smithurst who had departed Red River for Upper Canada some six years previous, he stated:

[At] St. Andrew's Church I have had the red screen removed and the Pulpit and Reading Desk put in the corners, I am making a private vestry behind the Communion table by putting up a handsome screen before the window, thus we shall have ample place for the Communion rails, and a convenient vestry without going up and down stairs as in the old arrangement...Last year I improved the tower which is now almost completed.³⁰

As well as the above description, Hunter also included a rough sketch of the alterations in his letter to Smithurst. It is reproduced below:



Source: PAC, MG 19, E6, Correspondence of John Smithurst, James Hunter to John Smithurst, July 2, 1857.

Hunter also mentioned that he had brought out a "time piece" for the Church and remarked to his former colleague, "You can therefore imagine that Saint Andrew's is improving."³¹

H.Y. Hind in his journal also described the Parsonage at St. Andrew's. This structure, he says, is 50 feet by 30 feet and two stories high. The walls are of limestone, 2 feet, 8 inches thick, and the rooms are lofty and "capacious." "In its internal arrangements," the explorer noted, "it leaves nothing to be desired."³² When he first moved into the house in 1855 Hunter did not share Hind's enthusiasm. "Our new house is very cold this winter," he wrote to the Rev. Chapman that same year. "The House is very roughly furnished," he continued, "especially the plastering and the carpenters' work, and I am very sorry that I was not here to superintend the work when it was building [sic]."³³

The Indian Home at St. Andrew's, in which the Rev. Kirkby resided, was also described by Hind:

The Rev. W.W. Kirkby's house [he wrote] is roomy and comfortable, but its architectural points are far from being attractive.³⁴

The schoolhouse, built in 1853, was "constructed of wood [and] admirably arranged."³⁵ Like many authors of mid-19th century travel and exploration literature, Hind attempts to describe frontier societies as closely resembling rural English villages. Writing about the school, he says, "I saw 60 children pursuing their studies, under the instruction of Mr. Meyhew, [hired as a second school-teacher by Kirkby and hunter] lately from Dublin, with a decorum and attention not often to be surpassed in the primary schools of this or the European continent."³⁶

In his Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 Hind has also left us with some general comments about the parish at St. Andrew's. "The parish," he wrote, "is the most populous on the Red River, and the Church of England element is very largely in excess of the Roman Catholic, there being two hundred and sic Protestant and eight Roman Catholic families."³⁷ According to Hind,

the parish boasted a congregation of approximately 1,200 people, over double the size of St. John's at 500 and four times the size of St. Paul's (Middlechurch) which had roughly 300 members. The average attendance at worship, he states, is "about 500," and the number of communicants he claimed to be 207.³⁸ Hind, in his Narrative, also gives the respective salaries of the various CMS missionaries stationed in Red River. Bishop Anderson received a yearly income of £700, made-up of £300 from the HBC and £400 which came from "funded property." Hunter at St. Andrew's is next on the salary scale at £250 a year, all of which was contributed by the Church Missionary Society. The rest of the CMS clergy in Red River, including at that time, Cockran, Cowley, Chapman and Kirkby, all received £200 yearly. Other Anglican missionaries in the settlement, such as Thomas Cockrane and W.H. Taylor who represented the SPG, were paid £100 and £200 respectively. The Presbyterian minister, John Black, while receiving a yearly grant of £50 from the HBC, was the only Protestant minister in Red River who at that time lived off the contributions of his congregation, a stipend of about £100 per year.³⁹

James Hunter served at St. Andrew's for 10 years between 1855 and 1865. During that period both the parish and the settlement of Red River underwent major changes. In the Lower settlement Hunter presided over and encouraged the slow transition away from Native traditions by promoting Anglo-Christian values in an agricultural context. Well respected in Red River by both the people and the other Protestant clergy, Hunter also had the support of the Hudson's Bay Company.⁴⁰ His duties at St. Andrew's were extensive, as the parish was one of the largest and most populous in the settlement. "It gives us much occupation," he wrote to Venn in 1856, "to visit the continuous Houses along the banks of the River." Hunter considered Kirkby a

valuable helper in this task and described him as "useful in assisting me with the duties of this large parish."⁴¹

Part of Hunter's success at St. Andrew's was a result of his considerable abilities behind the pulpit, as well as his apparent flexibility in liturgical matters. During the dispute between Anderson and the Red River Presbyterians, Adam Thom remarked to George Simpson that, "Mr. Hunter cant be made to wear the episcopal collar on any terms...[He feels] that the essentials of christianity are more important than its trappings." Moreover, Thom adds, "Mr. Hunter commits the inevitable enormity [sic] of preaching better than his neighbours."⁴²

Hunter was also a strong advocate of temperance at St. Andrew's. The movement to ban alcohol was in full swing in England by the middle of the 19th century, and the Red River missionaries felt that drinking was a major reason why the Halfbreeds had moved slowly "along the path to Christian civilization."⁴³ The St. Andrew's Temperance Society was formed by Hunter on March 25, 1857. Although never a major movement within the parish, Hunter in 1861 remarked that:

A marked change for the better is coming over the Parish, nothing like the usual quantity of licquor [sic] has been sold and drank at this season; and many were in Church today who usually spent the day in dissipation and drunkenness. The introduction of the temperance cause has done much good in this parish.⁴⁴

A year later he noted to the Society that at temperance meetings held in the school house, "We never had larger gatherings with more attentive audiences...although we taxed their patience I fear." He commended his parishoners when he remarked that, "However...dull and uninteresting we may be, they never allow any sign of impatience or weariness to escape them."⁴⁵ He concluded by stating that he felt temperance would become "a permanent institution in the land."⁴⁶ Others in Red River were not so sure. Rev. John

Black commented to his brother in 1862 that the St. Andrew's Society experienced a good deal of apathy and "backsliding" among parish tipplers.⁴⁷ Sir George Simpson told Hunter that while he sympathized with the missionary's campaign, he believed it unrealistic to expect that liquor could be kept out of the country. In a letter to David Anderson Simpson wrote:

The Company's officers will most willingly support you as far as precept...In the present state of the country, however, when spirits are so largely induced from the United States for the purpose of opposing the Company in their trade, it is hopeless to attempt the establishment of rules and regulations for the protection of the use of spiritous liquors.⁴⁸

In 1857 Hunter and Kirkby became peripherally involved in the Canadian annexationist movement. As discussed in Chapter IV Hunter, like most of the Protestant clergy in Red River, maintained a cordial relationship with Company officers in the settlement. Nonetheless, he and his colleagues gave William Kennedy, who was actively circulating a petition throughout the settlement in support of Canadian annexation, their warm if indirect support. Hunter believed that "our missionaries will never prosper under the Company's rule," and he looked toward Canada to provide an influx of Anglo-Protestant settlers into the colony.⁴⁹

That same year Hunter proposed to the Society that he undertake a journey to the Mackenzie District to explore the possibility of establishing a mission in that region. "If we delay another year," he wrote, "the Mackenzie River will be in the hands of the [Catholic] Priests, and we shall have lost the golden opportunity."⁵⁰ The HBC remained cool to the idea of setting up an Anglican mission in the north. Eden Colville, writing to George Simpson, felt that "however well fitted Church of England Clergymen may be for Red River, they would never, with our limited means of transport

answer for McKenzie River or Athabaska."⁵¹ Eventually Hunter, travelling on the HBC brigades from Norway House, made it as far as Fort Simpson. He remained in that district until the summer of 1859 when he returned to St. Andrew's. In his report to the Society and to the bishop Hunter recommended the establishment of missions at Forts Simpson, Good Hope, Laird and Rae. In 1859, William West Kirkby, recently ordained, was dispatched from St. Andrew's to the Mackenzie district and ordered to establish CMS missions in that region. Kirkby remained for almost 20 years in the north and was eventually made an Archdeacon in 1876.

With his return to Red River, Hunter settled once again into the day-to-day duties of the parish. These included twice weekly services, prayer meetings, meetings of the St. Andrew's Temperance Society, visiting the sick, and officiating at marriages, baptisms and funerals. A description of the St. Andrew's mission in the Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society states, "The ministerial duties of [this] station are altogether of a pastoral characters."⁵² The Nor'Wester, Red River's first newspaper, published an account of the parish in June of 1860:

The parish contains a population of about 1200 under the sole charge of the Ven. Archdeacon Hunter, M.A....The Church...is about 90 feet long and 46 feet broad, having a tower containing a peal of three bells...communicants number about 200. There are two Scripture-readers in this parish - Mr. Andrew Setter and Mr. Peter Corrigan. Every Saturday evening a large class meets in St. Andrew's schoolroom for the practice of vocal music under the direction of Mr. John Hudson.⁵³

In 1858, with the opening of the Hudson's Bay Company's southern supply route through St. Paul, Hunter inquired about the possibility of bringing in his yearly indent of supplies from England via this new route rather than through York Factory. At the time, however, the Company was merely

experimenting with the southern supply route and the bulk of its yearly indent still came through York for a number of years after 1858. With the loss of the HBC supply ship the Kitty in Hudson Strait in 1860, Hunter redoubled his efforts to have the Company send the mission supplies through New York. In June of 1860 he wrote to the Secretaries of the CMS:

The Steamboats are running regularly on the Red River...could not all of my mission supplies be sent this way early in Spring...I think you will find on inquiring that the freight to St. Paul will be less than to York Factory.⁵⁴

The Society began employing the new route in the early 1860s. For a few brief years it was shut down because of the Sioux wars in the United States which made the journey from St. Paul to Red River far too dangerous. In 1864 Hunter informed London that with the end of hostilities, he would "advise that the Mission Supplies be again sent that way."⁵⁵

A few years after the departure of Rev. Kirkby for the Mackenzie district, Hunter was joined at St. Andrew's by Rev. John Mackay, a recently ordained minister sent to Red River by the Society.⁵⁶ Mackay assisted Hunter in the carrying out of his ministerial duties as well as serving as the local schoolmaster. Hunter and Mackay actively conducted baptisms among the English speaking half-breeds in the parish. In 1855 Hunter, along with Kirkby and Hillyer, baptized a total of 69 people, most of them children. Nine years later in 1864 Hunter had raised that figure to 84. While the increase does not seem to be overly dramatic, it does show one of the largest increases for any parish in Protestant Red River for the same period.⁵⁷ Moreover, St. Andrew's had experienced an overall decline in attendance with the creation of St. Clement's Mapleton in 1857. The new parish was carved from the lower part of St. Andrew's

when it was felt the growing population at the Rapids made it difficult for the incumbent missionary to meet the spiritual needs of the lower settlement. It was decided to build a new Church at Mapleton north of Lower Fort Garry and David Anderson donated £100 toward its construction. Stonemason Samuel Taylor, formerly from Moose Factory, was hired to supervise the building project. On December 1st, 1861 the new Church was consecrated by Bishop Anderson and James Hunter. While St. Clement's could never claim a congregation as large as St. Andrew's, it was regularly attended by Company personnel at Lower Fort Garry and in 1870 by the men of the Quebec Rifles who had been sent to Red River to help quell the Resistance.

In 1863 James Hunter was appointed by David Anderson to investigate the charges against the Rev. G.O. Corbett of the Colonial and Continental Church Society and the resident pastor at Headingly parish. (The Corbett case is discussed in greater detail in Chapter IV of this report.) Hunter concluded that Corbett was in fact guilty of helping a young Halfbreed girl to procure an abortion. As Corbett, who was strongly anti-Company, had a large and loyal following throughout the settlement, feelings ran high against James Hunter. A great deal of gossip and innuendo circulated throughout the community during 1863 and 1864. Hunter was upset by the talk and described to Secretary Venn in December of 1864 how he had been "wounded in the house of my friends."⁵⁸ In a libel suit against one John Tait, who was particularly vocal in his criticism of the St. Andrew's missionary, Hunter was awarded £100 in damages. After the trial he observed that Tait was now considered "a despised man and an outcast in the settlement."⁵⁹ While Hunter believed that "not the slightest stain remains on my character," he was left embittered by the whole experience.

"All who know Red River and have lived in it," he wrote to Venn, "know how addicted it is to gossip and scandal.⁶⁰ Let a man of the finest character," he wrote on another occasion, "come to this country and he has no guarantee that he will escape the venom of slanderous tongues."⁶¹

At St. Andrew's, some of the parishoners rallied around the embattled missionary. In a letter to Hunter they expressed "their sincere and heartfelt sympathy" over the whole affair. It read in part:

It is with feelings of deep regret that we have ...learnt that certain malicious reports have been...circulating which no person in his right mind could believe to be true: reports calculated to weaken and destroy your usefulness...and to injure your private and public character...⁶²

Unfortunately for Hunter the scandal all but destroyed his chances at being named to succeed David Anderson as Bishop of Rupert's Land. Hunter felt that he possessed sufficient education for the position, and with his over 20 years of work in the North American missions, thought he deserved the appointment. In lobbying for the job with the Society, Hunter wrote, "Now I will not be so modest as to pretend that both the Clergy and the Laity here did not fully expect that I should succeed the Bishop"⁶³ (Anderson was scheduled to leave in May of 1865). He then went on to include "testimonials" from many of the local clergy including Kirkby, J.P. Gardiner, and Abraham Cowley. By this time, however, word had reached London regarding Hunter's troubles in the settlement. The missionary realized that he had little chance to succeed Anderson for in a letter to Venn in early 1865 he posed the question:

Is Archdeacon Hunter to be the Bishop of Rupert's Land? The answer is an emphatic 'No, there is something against it,' mentioned with 'bated breath' 'as being private'. Now if this is circulated from mouth to mouth [in London]...I leave you to draw your own conclusion what must be the damaging effect against my character of such remarks made in this mysterious way.⁶⁴

Hunter accused Anderson of spreading gossip about him in his letters to the Society. "Not for a moment," he states, "will I permit the Bishop to cast the slightest stain on my character."⁶⁵ Two months later he wrote:

It would have been [for Anderson]...a wiser and more judicious course...to have allowed the tittle tattle and scandal of Red River, for which it is alas! too famous, to have remained in its grave, rather than have given it the slightest shadow of any weight by resuscitating and transferring it across the Atlantic.⁶⁶

Considering that Anderson was the one who appointed Hunter to the Corbett investigation, and that he agreed with Hunter's conclusions regarding the Headingly minister's guilt, it is not surprising that Hunter expressed anger at Anderson's subsequent inveighing. No doubt the animosity between the two Red River clergymen had its origin in the Presbyterian problem and Hunter's refusal to sign Anderson's petition some 14 years earlier.

In late 1864 Hunter, tired of the gossip and scandal and disappointed over not receiving the position as bishop, decided to leave Red River. Pleading that his wife's health was in a "precarious state," he left for England in the spring of 1865.⁶⁷ Despite the last year of Hunter's ministry at St. Andrew's, he had enjoyed a successful tenure at the mission, leaving the Church upon a relatively solid footing within the lower community.

Bishop David Anderson, who had left Red River shortly before Hunter, was succeeded by the Rev. Robert Machray. Machray proved to be unlike Anderson and some of the other clergy in Red River. An academic, Machray was far more episcopalian than his predecessor and was determined to eradicate the Presbyterian influence within the Anglican Church. Although Anderson had fought a long battle with the Presbyterians, he had allowed joint prayer meetings and other Presbyterian traditions to become a part of the Church

in the settlement. Machray immediately ordered an end to prayer meetings and the holding of baptisms and marriages in private homes. (In the period from 1830 to 1850 William Cockran had rarely baptized anyone actually inside the Church). Moreover, Machray attempted to re-institute weekly communion, rather than the four or five times a year as it was then being offered. The latter tradition had remained a holdover from the days before the Kildonan Scots had received their own minister.

The Rev. Joseph Phelps Gardiner, Hunter's successor at St. Andrew's, opposed the Bishop's plan to move the settlement away from its evangelical traditions. Gardiner was the product of a strongly evangelical background and had instituted a program of popular lectures and prayer meetings in the parish. Machray's demand for his resignation was refused by the minister and the two remained on less than friendly terms until the latter's departure in 1872.

In his report to the CMS Committee in 1867 Gardiner described his work in the lower parish. He reported 163 Church of England families at St. Andrew's and a total of 230 communicants. Services were held Sundays and Wednesday evenings and at Christmas, New Years, Good Friday, Ascension day and a special celebration at Harvest time. Services were also held at Parks Creek and Little Britain, Gardiner stated, as well as in the "open air."⁶⁸ Sunday schools operated in the parish with Gardiner superintending a total of 11 part time teachers. Gardiner's evangelical style is evident in the program of "select readings," "secular lectures," and "missionary prayer meetings," held at St. Andrew's, as well as the fact that communion was given only 12 times in the year.⁶⁹ Evidently, Gardiner had resisted Machray's plan to bring back weekly communions.

The St. Andrew's minister maintained a low profile during the turbulent events of 1869-70. A Committee for

Public Safety was formed in the parish and it recommended that a company of volunteers be organized. Those in the parish who opposed Riel were supporters of John Shultz's Canadian party.⁷⁰ Gardiner counselled moderation to this group, especially after receiving a threat on his life from the insurgents. Bishop Mackray, on the other hand, while appearing to remain publicly neutral, was privately urging the Red River clergy to incite their congregations against Riel. Gardiner and Cowley were reluctant to involve the Church in the struggle, arguing that Church Missionary Society regulations cautioned against a missionary's involvement in political matters.⁷¹ Machray dismissed their arguments, stating that in this particular case CMS rules did not apply. However, if the Anglican clergy in Red River disagreed among themselves over tactics, they all agreed that the Resistance represented a threat to their dominant position in Red River society. "There is little doubt," Gardiner wrote in his annual letter to the Society in November of 1870, "that the instigation of the rebellion was intended to make this a Roman Catholic colony."⁷² The St. Andrew's minister, like his colleagues, knew that the power and influence of the Church of England in Rupert's Land could only be enhanced with the influx of Anglo-Protestant settlement that would soon follow annexation by Canada.⁷³

Following the Resistance Gardiner continued his opposition to Machray's plan to make the Red River missions self-supporting. The missionary argued that the lower parish should remain the "representative" station of the Church Missionary Society in Rupert's Land.⁷⁴ He reasoned that the eventual arrival of the railroad in the West, and the CPR's initial plan to cross the Red River at Selkirk, meant that a land rush would result in the parish. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had made overtures to the CMS to assume control of St. Andrew's. Gardiner, felt that the

parish's strategic location in Red River increased its value to the Society. Moreover, he felt that it should serve as the headquarters for a general superintendent to oversee missions throughout the territory.⁷⁵ Gardiner refrained from recommending himself for the position, however, and in 1872, citing poor health, he left Red River.

Gardiner's successor at St. Andrew's was Abraham Cowley who remained at the parish for approximately one year. Cowley was a veteran CMS missionary in Rupert's Land and had founded the mission at Partridge Crop (Fairford) in 1842.⁷⁶ Since 1854 he had been in charge of the Indian settlement and eight years later was given the temporary responsibility for both St. Andrew's and St. Peter's. The elderly missionary found his new task onerous. His wife, Arabella, took the unprecedented step of writing directly to the Society to complain about the "crushing weight that has been placed upon the Archdeacon's shoulders."⁷⁷ She chided the Secretaries for their "want of thought and consideration... and your unaccountable dilatoriness to fill the vacancy [at the Rapids]."⁷⁸

In late May of 1873 his replacement, the Rev. John Grisdale, arrived in the settlement. Grisdale was considerably more episcopalian in orientation than Gardiner and supported Bishop Machray's plan for self-support in Red River.⁷⁹ The young missionary became a favourite of Machray's and in 1874 he was offered the "Chair of Systematic Theology" at St. John's Collegiate school in Winnipeg.⁸⁰

Cowley reluctantly took over duties once more at the parish until the appointment of the Rev. Richard Young in May of 1875. While Young admits that his first impressions of the parish were "most pleasing" he was forced to modify his opinion after "nearer acquaintance."⁸¹ Young provides an interesting description of his Halfbreed congregation at St. Andrew's. In a letter to the CMS Secretary he wrote:

For almost half an hour before services the outside of the Church presents a very animated and interesting scene. Groups of men and women gather at the approaches of the Church and in the Churchyard, their dark countenances and long raven black hair speaking strongly of their Indian origin. The men with gay coloured sashes round their waists and often tastefully decorated moccasins. The women are soberly dressed, usually in black and their black shawls covering the head and shoulders.⁸²

As well as campaigning for self-support for the Red River missions, Young was also actively involved in the "Church of England Temperance Society" at St. Andrew's. He considered drinking the greatest evil in the community and criticized the behaviour of his congregation at weddings and other social events. Young was particularly critical of political life at St. Andrew's. "The parish," he wrote to the Society in 1878, "has only just emerged from the... demoralizing influence of the elections to the local legislature. The drinking...and bribery which has characterized politics here; the absence of great party principles, all tend to lower the political tone in this country."⁸³ Though critical of politics in Red River, Young felt proud that the newly elected premier, John Norquay, was a parishoner at St. Andrew's. Norquay's education at the hands of the CMS, Young believed, had laid the "ground work for his prosperity."⁸⁴

A strong Victorian episcopalian, Young formed the Church Missionary Juvenile Association and attempted to raise money for "liberated African children."⁸⁵ As well, he fitted up an old store in the parish as a Christian reading room and circulated such Victorian periodicals as The British Work Man and Cottage and Artisan. Young felt his attempts to "civilize" the inhabitants of the parish were successful. In 1881 he reported "quiet steady progress" in his work at the lower settlement.

In 1883 William Bompas, the Bishop of Athabaska, invited Richard Young to visit the Peace River district and report upon the possibility of splitting the huge Athabaska diocese. Young returned to Red River in the fall of 1884 and on October 18th was consecrated as the new Bishop of the new smaller diocese of Athabaska. Bompas became the Bishop of the newly created MacKenzie River diocese.⁸⁷

Throughout the 1880s the Church Missionary Society slowly disengaged itself from support of the Anglican parishes in Red River. The Rev. A.L. Fortin, who replaced Young in 1884, was serving as minister at St. Andrew's when the Church Missionary Society formally ended its 60 year association with the mission in 1887.

Education at St. Andrew's, 1850-87

During William Cockran's long tenure at the Rapids education had been a conerstone of the Church Missionary Society's program of evangelization in the parish. In those early years the missionary established a school of industry which taught such activities as spinning, weaving and farming. When Robert James replaced Cockran in 1847 he deplored the lack of formal education at the mission. In a letter to the CMS James wrote:

The Schools are in a disheartening state...the settlers are indifferent toward Education. Instead of hailing their educational privileges as a boon, they need plying with reasons why their children should be instructed rather than ignorant. I think the schools were the worst feature amongst the mission operations. The children were not only ignorant but rude and little removed from those I have seen in the Wigwam.⁸⁸

James, determined to reverse this decline at the Rapids, introduced an educational program that placed greater

emphasis upon academics, including a heavy dose of catechism and religious instruction. Kirkby and Hunter continued this program after 1852. The curriculum included bible studies, arithmetic, geometry, spelling, music, grammar, history and geography.⁸⁹

In 1853 the original log schoolroom at the Rapids was replaced with a new and larger wood building.⁹⁰ (This building actually stood until 1946). In an attempt to relieve the financial burden for the school from the CMS, parents were charged a tuition of 15 shillings per annum with every third child admitted free. Those parents who wanted their children to be taught Euclid Algebra were charged an extra £1 (presumably to cover the cost of the textbook). In addition, each family was asked to provide a cord of wood to heat the school in the wintertime.

William West Kirkby served as the superintendent of schools in the parish between 1852 and 1858. There were four Church schools in the district including buildings at St. Andrew's, Parks Creek, Mapleton and Little Britain. As well, Miss Davis' school, built in 1858 about a mile above the Church, served as a private school for the daughters of Hudson's Bay Company officers in Rupert's Land. Kirkby's four schools were attended by a total of 186 pupils. Approximately 64 students attended at St. Andrew's and ranged in age from 6 to 18.⁹¹ Caleb Mayhew taught at the Rapids along with Kirkby, while John Norquay, James Corrigan and Charles Hillyer served as teachers at the other normal schools in the parish. In 1854 Kirkby pronounced the state of education in the parish to be decidedly superior to that of previous years:

My earnest desire [he wrote] is to impart to every child in both the Day and Sunday school a full and saving knowledge of the gospel plan of salvation, an intelligent acquaintance with the word of God, and to foster in their minds an enlightened attachment to the services of our beloved Church.

As a correct knowledge of Scripture, Geography (Physical and Historical), Jewish Sects, Manners and customs of eastern nations, and the government and public worship of the Jews, is indispensable to a proper understanding of the sacred volume.⁹²

After Kirkby's departure from the parish George Kennedy took over the school at St. Andrew's. According to the Nor'Wester it was an "excellent school, and is furnished with all the recent fittings and apparatus adopted in the training schools in England."⁹³

The plagues of grasshoppers which infested the settlement throughout the 1860s caused a decline in school attendance. Crop failure created a great deal of poverty throughout Red River, and many families could no longer afford the price of tuition. Though fees were waived in many cases, attendance did not pick up again until after the 1870 Resistance.⁹⁴ Beginning in 1867 the CMS gradually cut their funding to parish schools in Red River and in 1871 they withdrew completely their support for education in the settlement. That same year the first legislature of the new province of Manitoba passed an Act to Establish a system of Public Education in Manitoba.⁹⁵ Organized along the lines of the separate school system in Quebec, half of the electoral divisions became Protestant school districts while the other half became Catholic.⁹⁶ The Act, in fact, helped perpetuate the educational scheme of Red River. Schools, either Protestant or Catholic, could be established by local initiative and be administered by local trustees under the control of the Department of Education.⁹⁷ With the influx of settlers to the lower parishes after 1873, the school at St. Andrew's flourished.⁹⁸ That same year Matilda Davis, the tutor at the parish's private girls' school, died and was replaced for a time by Abraham Cowley's wife Arabella. In June of 1877 the school was moved to the parsonage at St. Andrew's and Young and his family were forced to live

for a time in the home of a parishoner. A year later the school's 11 girls were transferred to a new building in Winnipeg.⁹⁹

For over 40 years the Church Missionary Society controlled education at the Rapids. The close association between Church and school had long been a feature of education in Red River where the missionary was usually the only educated man whose efforts were not devoted to the fur trade. The public school system, no longer tied to the finances and administration of the parish Church after 1871, catered to the needs and demands of Manitoba's burgeoning white population.

Self Support

In the early 1860s the Church Missionary Society sought new ways to increase its funds for the development of missions in the north. The Society suggested that it begin to decrease funding to the old Protestant parishes in Red River and that the congregations be asked to provide increased contributions toward the maintenance of their own Churches.

When Bishop Machray arrived in the settlement in 1865 one of his chief goals was to make Red River a self-supporting diocese. His creation of parish vestries, the diocesan synod and the offertory were aimed at raising the necessary funds among the various Anglican Churches to help place them in a financially independent position.¹⁰⁰ His scheme, however, met with little support among some of the Red River clergy. Gardiner, in particular, opposed the Bishop's plan. He felt it unfair to ask the poor farmers at the Rapids to offset the expenses of the Church in the settlement. The plagues of grasshoppers and crop failures which

occurred in the 1860 had resulted in increasing poverty and, in some cases, starvation at the Lower settlement. In 1868 Gardiner described how many of the families who resided on the east side of the river (or what he referred to as the "Indian part of my parish") "have scarcely an article of furniture in their houses - some of which are not more than 12 ft. by 10 ft. [in which] 6 or 7 persons...are living, an old robe or blanket being all the bedding some of them have."¹⁰¹ Gardiner's refusal to turn over the offertory from St. Andrew's widened the rift between the minister and his bishop.

At the first Conference of the Diocese of Rupert's Land in 1866 Machray emphasized the need for a self-supporting independent Church in Red River. Three years later, at the first Diocesan Synod, Machray reiterated his plea, stating that "nothing is wanting to make this a great and prosperous country but a sufficient population and easy access to the outer world."¹⁰²

With Gardiner's departure from St. Andrew's in 1872, Machray found his successors, Cowley, Grisdale and Young, to be sympathetic to the cause of self-support. Richard Young, in particular, proved tireless in his efforts to raise sufficient funds to support the Clergy Endowment Fund, the Widow and Orphan Fund and other parish activities.¹⁰³ Young hoped that a salary of \$1000 could be raised by the parish vestry. The sale of subscriptions throughout the parish, the rental of some Church property and the sale of timber rights, he argued, could help the parish meet this goal. In 1877 Young organized the parish into a number of districts. Resident vestrymen canvassed these areas selling subscriptions toward the "Maintenance Fund." Though £700 was initially promised by the parishoners of St. Andrew's, only a fraction of this amount was ever collected.¹⁰⁴ In 1878 Young explained to the Society that "there is a willingness

on their part but more from want of economy and managing than from want of ability they don't fulfill their promises."105 In 1881, in an open letter to his parishoners, Young chided the congregation for its failure to raise the necessary monies. Between 1878 and 1881 contributions toward the parish fund actually dropped from \$316.94 to \$225.38. "Surely so large and important a Parish as this," he wrote, "can raise £100, or say \$500 a year for their pastor. There are at least 120 families, members of the Church of England, in this parish who are able to pay five dollars a year."106

By 1881 Bishop Machray was frustrated with the failure of the Red River Churches to become self-supporting. According to Machray, the character of the Lower parishes had remained for the most part Halfbreed. Grain liens and speculation, however, were resulting in the gradual departure of the former residents of the Halfbreed parishes. While the Bishop was no doubt pleased with this development, he cautioned that "the purchasers of these lots are simply keeping them unoccupied [hoping] to obtain a sufficient accumulation of neighbouring lots to form a proper farm."107

Beginning in 1882, the amount of CMS funding for the Red River parishes was decreased by one-fifth each year over a five year period. At St. Andrew's this amounted to a decrease of £60 a year from a high of £300 in 1882.108 (Bishop Machray's "Guidelines for the Withdrawal of CMS Support in Red River," formulated in 1881, are reproduced in Appendix D). On December 31st, 1887 the Church Missionary Society terminated its connection with the Church in Red River. St. Andrew's, like the other protestant parishes, was now forced to rely upon local contributions, though it remained at least partly subsidized by diocesan endowments and monies from the Home Mission Fund.

The years between 1850 and 1887 were critical ones for the Anglican Church in Red River. It had evolved from a

remote mission outpost to an institution well entrenched in an increasingly Anglo-Saxon urban community. The mission at St. Andrew's, at one time critical to the Anglican presence in Red River, was by 1887 a rural parish removed from the mainstream of economic and political development in the West.

VII The Role of Agriculture and the Economy at St. Andrew's Parish

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 Métis and English-speaking Halfbreeds to be almost always subservient to the hunt and such economic pursuits as freighting, hunting and the trade in furs.¹ In his book The Red River Settlement, first published in 1856, Ross described the Métis 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".² 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".³ Writing in the 1940s the ethnologist Marcel Giraud described the "natural inclination" of the Métis toward buffalo hunting, an "inclination" which Giraud maintained created a "struggle between two incompatible environments" within the colony.⁴ 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.⁵ Like Morton, George Stanley believed the economic behaviour of Red River's native population to be irrational, improvident and largely non-adaptive.⁶ In short, Giraud, Stanley and Morton considered the settlement's Métis 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.⁷ 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 meagre, 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 mixed-blood population, the Kildonan Scots agriculturalists represented the most "progressive" element within Red River society. In much of Red River historiography the Métis 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.⁸

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 19th 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 neighbours 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.⁹ 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 labourers 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 Métis 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.

Before 1870 Red River was essentially a riparian settlement. This developmental 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.¹⁰ 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".¹¹

The majority of crops grown in Red River were field crops, primarily wheat, barley and potatoes. Wheat accounted for about 65% of the total cultivated acreage. Seeding in the colony generally took place between the last week of April and the third week of May.¹² 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.¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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 19th 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-à-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 19th 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 1856.¹⁵ 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 Settlement¹⁶, 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, CMS journals, the 1835 designations, and the parish affiliations of settlers provided in the first provincial census of 1870.¹⁷

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% of the total) recorded no cultivated acreage, while 19 farmers (or 19.5%) had over 10 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 Métis 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% the landowners in the colony, St. Andrew's boasted 17.5% of the total of cultivated land, a figure which indicates that St. Andrew's residents were more than likely developing a level of agriculture 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 acreage 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 have changed by 1849. With less than 18% of the total number of households in Red River, the parish possessed 24% 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 10 and 20 acres increased from 19% to 36% 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 de Chien which was sown in spring. While a few farmers experimented with winter wheat planted in the fall, the initiative proved a failure.¹⁸ Barley amounted to perhaps 25% of the total amount of grain grown in the parish and was favoured because it required a relatively short growing season.¹⁹ 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.²⁰ 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'".²¹ By the 1860s a yield of 300 bushels per acre was not uncommon among the parish's better farmers.²² 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, even those lots which did not support grain farming.

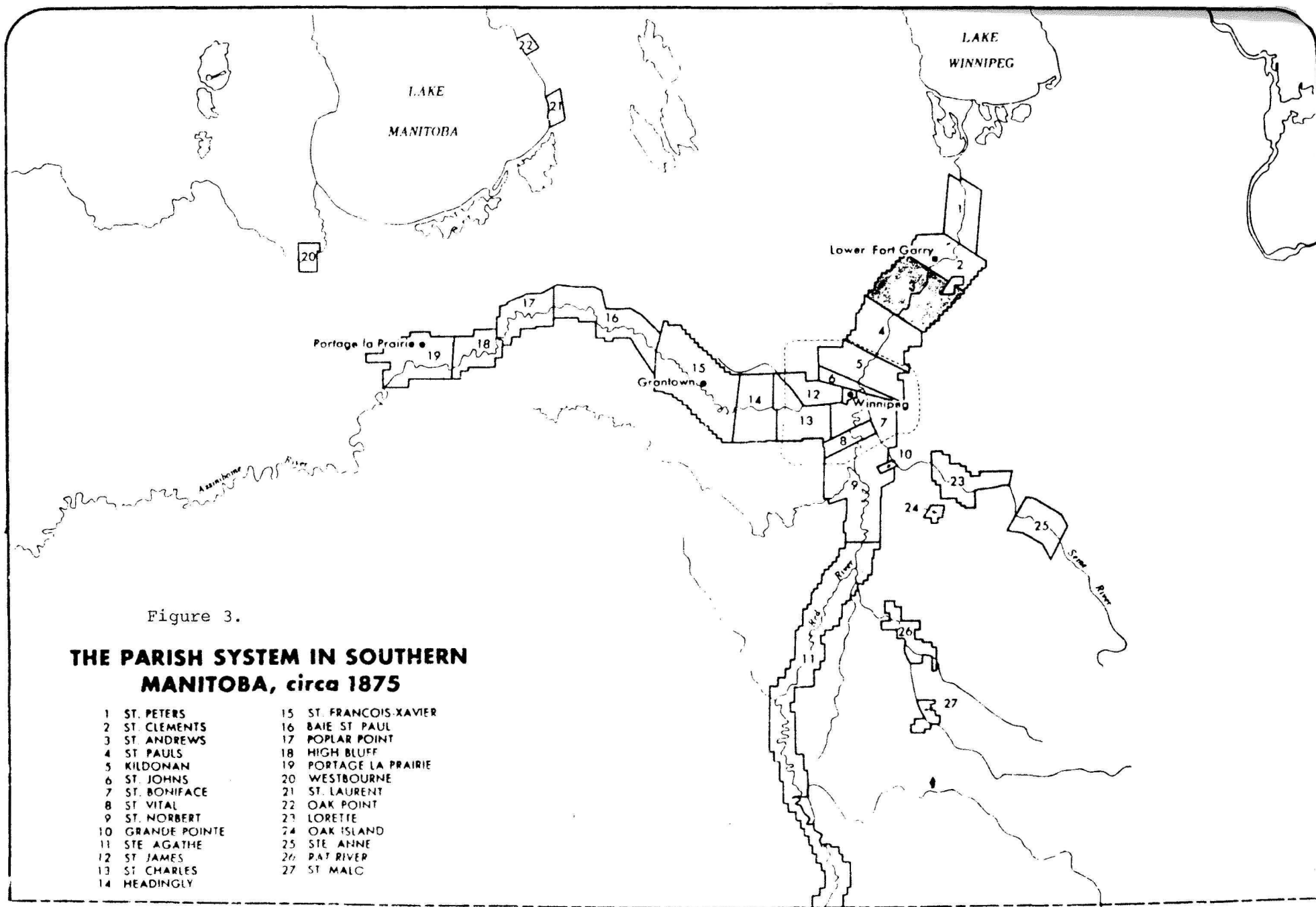
Census data reveals that the period of greatest increase in the per capita rate of cultivated acreage at St. Andrew's occurred between 1843 and 1849. Prior to this date increases were marginal, no doubt the result of poor weather, grasshoppers, substandard seed and tools as well the attractiveness of 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,²³ while Marcel Giraud, in his study Le M tis Canadien, noted a similar result for 1847.²⁴ 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 in this chapter.)

Livestock

Animal husbandry was an important part of Red River agriculture in the 19th 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.²⁵ Cattle were first introduced to Red River in 1822 with little initial success.²⁶ 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.²⁷

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.²⁸

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.²⁹ 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.³⁰ 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 Métis 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.³¹ 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.³²

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] dieing for want of something to eat".³³ 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% of the total cattle population in the settlement. This percentage remained unchanged fourteen years later in 1849. In 1835 almost all parish landowners had cattle (only two residents were listed as having none). Approximately 10% 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 7%. 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.³⁴

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% 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% 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 twelve or thirteen. By 1849, however, roughly half of the households are listed as having no pigs and only a very small handful had more than ten. 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% of the total in Red River) to 444 in 1843 (or 23% 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.³⁵ 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 1843.³⁶ 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.³⁷

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.³⁸ 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.³⁹ Those settlers who owned and operated mills in the parish ground their neighbours' 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 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% of Red River's cultivated land in 1835 to 24% 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.⁴⁰ Grasshoppers visited the settlement in 1857 necessitating the importation of grain by the HBC from the United States and Canada.⁴¹

According to Samuel Taylor, 1860 was a bountiful year for crops in St. Andrew's, perhaps the best that most residents could remember.⁴² 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".⁴³ The drought caused crop yields to decline in the parish and h resulted in the closing of a number of water powered grist mills.⁴⁴ 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!⁴⁵

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".⁴⁶ A few years later, however, Samuel Taylor described how he helped his neighbour John Flett "to spread dung on his land".⁴⁷ 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".⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹ With the crumbling of the old mixed-blood 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.

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 a 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 Rupert's Land 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.⁵⁰ An equal amount of the yeastless bread was also distributed by the Company throughout the Red River district.⁵¹

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 lbs. of bread each day, along with an equal quantity of meat.⁵² 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.⁵³ In his diary Samuel Taylor frequently noted purchases of pickerel, sturgeon, goldeye and catfish, either for cash or in exchange for products or services.⁵⁴

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.⁵⁵ In 1840 Duncan Finlayson, the governor of the Red River, promised the St. Peter's cattle market three to four hundred head annually.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷

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 mixed-bloods 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 a parcel of upstart Scotchmen, who now hold the power and Control in the concern.⁵⁸

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.

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.

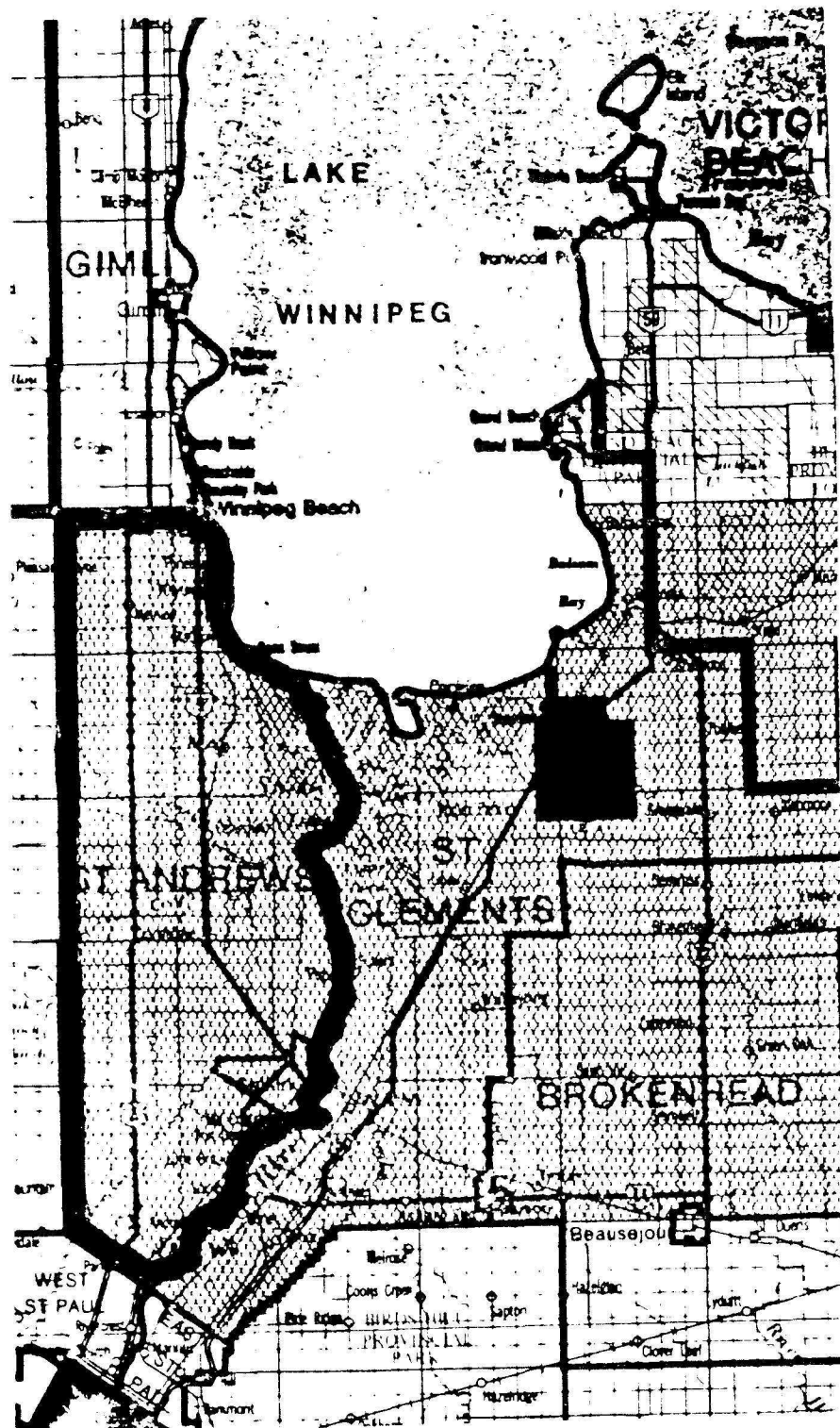
An analysis of the economy of Red River reveals that the Halfbreeds at St. Andrew's were neither "improvident" nor "irrational" in their economic behaviour. In fact, these labels might better describe the activities of the Kildonan Scots community who pursued an exclusively agricultural economy in Red River, even in the face of the recurrent crop failures which characterized the early years of the colony. In this respect, settlers at St. Andrew's represented the most "progressive" element in 19th century Red River.

VIII. Declining Years, 1887-1929

St. Andrew's parish, no longer a CMS mission after 1887, was now removed from the mainstream of Anglican activity in Rupert's Land. Responsibility for the day to day organization and maintenance of the Church in the lower community fell to the Diocese and the local parish vestry. The vestry consisted of five or six laymen and two Church wardens and was chaired by the incumbent Rector. It was responsible for the financial and administrative operation of the Church. After 1887 this duty consisted primarily of raising money within the community for the salary of the minister and the maintenance of the Church and Rectory.

With the Provincial Municipalities Act of 1880 and the re-organization of 1883 a municipal council was established in St. Andrew's. The new district encompassed the area west of the Red River and extended from the southern boundary of the old parish to Winnipeg Beach on Lake Winnipeg (see Figure 32).¹ The municipality of St. Clement's now included the old riverlots on the east bank of the Red. Though the council was founded in 1881, the council minutes do not appear until 1884.² The elected body consisted of a Reeve along with six elected councillors nominated from three wards within the parish. John James Bird served as the first Reeve while Charles Johnstone, E.B. Kett, George Ross, Andrew Truthwaite, George Kingsbury and John McLeod were elected as councillors.³ Samuel Smalley was appointed

Figure 4.. Municipality of St. Andrew's, 1880. (Province of Manitoba, Surveys and Mapping Branch, 1880.)



municipal treasurer at an annual salary of \$250. John Norquay, who served as premier, represented the parish in the Provincial Assembly.

Municipal councils in the province were given responsibility for many of the functions formerly carried out by the Church, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Council of Assiniboia. These included the allotment of school monies, the administration of script and Halfbreed land claims, road allowances, wood cutting privileges, and the letting of contracts for ferry operations. At St. Andrew's expenditures for 1884 totalled almost \$3000. Six hundred and twelve dollars of that sum was used for bridge construction and \$150 went toward ferry maintenance. A large percentage of the budget was used to pay the salaries of council members, the municipal clerk and the treasurer.⁴ The balance went towards council overhead and the parish schools. There were five schools in the district by this time - Parks Creek, Central St. Andrew's, North St. Andrew's, Mapleton and Clandeboye. The former CMS school at St. Andrew's received the largest grant, about \$280.⁵

Elections for council were held in January of every year. As few people were nominated for the seven available positions, the composition of the group changed little over the years. E.B. Kett still served on the board in 1890 as did four of the original six councillors.⁶

The history of the Church in the period after 1887 comes mainly from information contained in the minutes of the St. Andrew's parish vestry. Although a vestry was first established around 1877, a record of its activities exists only after 1890.⁷

In 1884 Richard Young departed St. Andrew's to take up his new position as Bishop of Athabaska. His successor, the Rev. A.L. Fortin, oversaw St. Andrew's transition from a CMS sponsored mission to a self-supporting parish. Fortin's

three year tenure was uneventful. Unlike his predecessors, no correspondence exists between Fortin and the Church Missionary Society. No doubt a good deal of his efforts in the parish went toward fund raising, being without the contribution from the Society in London. Fortin left in 1890 and was replaced by the Rev. W.D. Barber from Ontario. In October of 1890, less than a year after his arrival, Barber also left. "On account of the severity of the Winters in Manitoba," the minister informed his congregation, "I am compelled to resign in order to benefit my health."⁸ After interviewing a number of candidates, Bishop Machray appointed the Rev. B. McKenzie to take temporary charge of the parish over the winter of 1890-91. McKenzie was paid a small stipend of only \$5.00 per week.

In April of 1891 Rev. John William Matheson was appointed to St. Andrew's. He stayed four years at the parish, later becoming a lecturer in Exegetical Theology at St. Johns and in 1922 the Dean of the College.⁹ Matheson taught at St. John's until 1944. One of the new minister's first actions was to criticize his parishoners for the "conduct of the young people after evening services."¹⁰ He delivered a series of evening lectures on the proper behaviour of the congregation in Church and their conduct while travelling to and from service. Moreover, at a special meeting of the vestry the straight-laced minister asked that "every officer [vestryman] of the Parish...take for the year of office a pledge against either drinking or treating over the bar, or drinking or treating by the roadside."¹¹ Though the motion was carried it was never made clear whether the vestrymen held to their pledge.

The lack of operating capital was the greatest problem faced by the parish in this period. Without the contribution from the CMS the Church at St. Andrew's experienced difficulties in raising needed funds from a less than

wealthy rural population. In July of 1892 a finance committee, comprised of vestrymen from St. Andrew's, St. Stephen's and the Church at Little Britain (the latter two were referred to as "chapels of ease"), was formed to explore new methods of fund raising for the parish.¹² Money was needed for repairs to the Church and Rectory, as well as for the salary of the incumbent minister.¹³ Matheson introduced a scheme whereby money was to be raised by voluntary subscription. Under this new system money collected toward the minister's salary was to be separate from those funds raised for repairs to buildings or for parish activities. Evidently the Committee's efforts were less than successful as in 1894 Matheson noted that this group had "failed in the fulfillment of [its] duties."¹⁴ Matheson left St. Andrew's in 1895 and was succeeded by the Rev. Walter Johnson who remained in the parish until the turn of the century. Although Johnson continued his predecessor's fund raising schemes, money remained a problem throughout his five year tenure.

When the Rev. Howard King came to the parish in 1900 the vestry was exploring the possibility of selling off "excess" Church property from what was referred to as the "missionary lot," or most of lots 62 and 214 of the original CMS grant.¹⁵ An offer of \$6 an acre for the land on both sides of the river was made by a Mr. Cowie, however, the decision to sell was left with the Church Diocesan office. Nothing was done about Cowie's offer at that time and it eventually lapsed.

Financial problems continued. In 1908 the chapels at Lockport and Parkdale were temporarily closed because the Church could not afford to keep them maintained.¹⁶ Expenses were mounting, including the cost of repairs, salaries, supplies and general maintenance. In 1909 the parish was unable to meet the salary of the Rev. George Brownlee, the

incumbent minister, falling short by approximately \$200.¹⁷ In 1910 Brownlee left the parish and the diocese after becoming involved in a dispute with the Archbishop, Samuel P. Matheson.¹⁸ He was followed by the Rev. Arthur Warwick who was able to negotiate a salary of \$1000 per annum (about double Brownlee's stipend) from the parish vestry.

Warwick re-opened the possibility of selling off Church property at St. Andrew's to help alleviate the parish debt. In 1912 it was recommended that the Church put up for sale (now at \$100 an acre) that portion of their lot which lay west of the highway.¹⁹ Approval was finally given by the Diocese for the sale of "land lying west of the main highway and being the north 10 chains of lot 62, inner and outer two miles."²⁰ Apparently, finding a buyer for the property proved difficult as the Provincial Synod was still collecting rent as late as 1924 from farmers who were leasing part of the land. After becoming the rector at St. Andrew's in 1921, the Rev. Charles Saunders, though anxious to sell the 600 acres held in trust for the parish, was afraid the land might end up in the hands of speculators. While the Church's financial plight would be alleviated, he argued to the vestry, it might bring an "unsuitable population" into the parish.²¹ Six hundred acres, Saunders believed, could afford land for a large number of families who would attend and support the Church. Absentee land owners would not provide the financial contributions necessary for the Church's survival in the parish. Eventually the land was sold on a piecemeal basis to local farmers. Disbursement of the monies, which was controlled by the Provincial Synod, went initially to pay off back taxes on the property. In 1924 the Synod passed a motion whereby income from the property was not to be applied against tax arrears for a period of two years, and was instead to be handed over to the rector at St. Andrew's.²²

By the beginning of the World War I the population at St. Andrew's had declined. Over the years, riverlots in the parish had been continually redivided resulting in narrow strips of farmland that were unsuitable for large scale agriculture. As land became available elsewhere in the West many left St. Andrew's for other communities or for work in the new manufacturing industries in Winnipeg. A large number of adult males in the parish were killed in Europe between 1914 and 1918.²³ As well, the polio epidemic of 1918-19 took its toll in St. Andrew's. The Rev. Harry Hodspith remarked that the number of funerals (34) held at the Church that year was up dramatically from previous years.²⁴

In early 1920 Hodspith characterized the financial situation at St. Andrew's as "very serious." Declining attendance was cited as the primary reason behind the fall in income. For the year 1919 the Church was forced to run a deficit of \$328.56. Figures from the rector's yearly report show that attendance that year was down significantly at St. Andrew's.²⁵ Meanwhile, attendance was increasing at St. Thomas' in Lockport and St. Matthew's in Cloverdale. The number of people attending services at St. Andrew's for 1919 totalled 2,044, with an average congregation of 39. While St. Andrew's still ranked ahead of the Church at Cloverdale, St. Thomas' in Lockport was attracting almost double the number of people as the old stone Church²⁶. The growth of these two rural communities attracted an increasing proportion of the Anglican parishoners. To help alleviate the financial burden, the St. Andrew's vestry undertook another campaign to canvas the district in order to "obtain a financial guarantee from every household," calling their plan the "Forward Movement."²⁷ The new initiative proved successful for at a vestry meeting early in 1921 the finances of the Church were now described as being in "good shape."²⁸

In August of that year Hodspith left St. Andrew's and the vestry offered the position to a Rev. Swalwell at \$1700 a year. Swalwell refused and the Rev. Charles Wesley Saunders from Unity Saskatchewan, described as "being a very capable clergyman as well as of robust physique," was given the position as rector.²⁹ The new minister was awarded a stipend of \$1500 a year along with \$200 in travel funds. Saunders proved to be an active minister in the parish. In his first sermon to the assembled congregation he criticized their farming techniques and declared that "this district, 14 miles from Winnipeg, is more backward from a standpoint of agriculture than the Saskatchewan prairies."³⁰ It was not the kind of beginning which would endear Saunders to his flock. He told his parishoners that "we cannot rest upon tradition," and that extensive repairs to the Church, Rectory and cemetery were needed.³¹ The Rectory, in particular, was in a bad state of repair and Saunders described the building as resembling Goldsmith's The Deserted Village.³² Many of the repairs to Church buildings were eventually carried out. The Rectory verandah was repaired, steel rods were installed to re-enforce the slumping end wall of the Church, the interior of the Church was painted, and the headstones in the cemetery were cleaned and repaired.³³ In 1922 the vestry approved the erection of a memorial arch at the Church to commemorate parishoners who had died in the war. The raising of funds for the project (estimated to cost about \$1300) was undertaken by the recently formed St. Andrew's Old Timers Association. By the fall of 1922 the Association had raised \$850. The balance was collected over the winter and the arch was constructed the next year.³⁴ It still stands today near the entrance to the Church.

In 1928 Saunders left the parish. Archbishop Matheson decided to replace him with a Deacon, Mr. Rupert Taylor who

was given a salary of \$1200 a year.³⁵ Taylor was ordained as a minister in June of 1929 and remained at St. Andrew's until the fall of 1930.

By the end of the decade St. Andrew's had become a small rural parish with an aging congregation. The coming of the railway and the growth of Winnipeg as a major urban transportation centre drained off some of the population from the parish. Within the lower district itself, the development of communities such as Lockport, Clandeboye, Little Britain and Selkirk helped to deplete the population that had once inhabited the riverlot farms surrounding the old Church.

IX. Conclusion

Since its beginnings in the 1820s as a struggling settlement of retired fur traders, St. Andrew's had undergone considerable transition by the end of the century. The nature of the community in this period was influenced by such factors as the particular character of the Anglican mission and the impact of evangelical protestantism, the nature of the parish's relationship to the fur trade, the character and structure of its mixed economy, the pattern of kinship networks, and the formation of an economic class structure. The traditions of the fur trade played a key role in the development of St. Andrew's. A "Bay tradition," as it has been termed by John Foster, helped shape the response of the English speaking Halfbreeds to the new community at the Rapids and, ultimately, influenced social, economic and religious life there. The hierarchical tradition of the fur trade, the ranking of officers and men, was brought to this new community by retiring Company servants. The stratification that had once separated tripman from Chief Factor became evident in the parish with the division between buffalo hunters and farmers, though these divisions were often blunted by an extensive kinship network that had its roots in the fur trade.

The Anglican Church played a major role in the development of the Halfbreed community in Red River. The Hudson's Bay Company, through the skillful negotiations of George

Simpson, effectively confined CMS activity within the borders of the settlement. With the union of the two competing fur companies in 1821 the Church was forced to restrict its proselytizing efforts to a growing population of Halfbreed emigrés. William Cockran, who in 1829 established his mission among these new settlers at the Rapids, sought the eradication of the trading post tradition among the English-speaking Halfbreeds. In its place he attempted to establish an agricultural community divorced from the social and economic influence of the fur trade. The communication of agricultural techniques and practical farming skills to a population familiar only with the life of the hunt and the trading post formed the cornerstone of the CMS message at the Rapids. Moreover, the evangelical basis of this message better suited a congregation unconcerned with high church principles and formal ritual. In order for "civilization" to triumph over "barbarism" at St. Andrew's the Church sought to create a society and culture patterned on an Anglo-British model, in essence a "little Britain in the wilderness."

In many respects the success of the CMS mission was dependent upon an alliance of Church and Company in Red River. Although the Company frequently attempted to undermine the aspirations of the Church, and Simpson employed his influence to restrict CMS efforts to within the confines of the settlement, the two concerns shared a common view of Red River. For the HBC the Church represented an instrument for social order through a zealous promotion of agriculture, education and religious culture. The growing population of mixed-bloods who retired to Red River posed a threat to the Company's monopoly in Rupert's Land. The Church, however, came to be viewed as an agent of acculturation, as a means by which potential competitors could be effectively controlled and channelled into such supportive pursuits as agricul-

ture and the provision of contract labour. Though critical of the fur trade, CMS missionaries realized that not only could the Company facilitate their work in the settlement, in fact its monopoly guaranteed a more or less stable population of parishoners. While the two concerns clashed over the establishment of new missions outside Red River, they shared a common vision of how that particular community was to be structured and regulated. Both Church and Company viewed themselves as the colony's natural elite, providing direction for a larger mixed-blood population. Through representation on the Council of Assiniboia, the Church was able to exercise social and political control and help the Company and the "principal settlers" regulate the community's lower classes.

The alliance of Church and Company in Red River was most evident in the context of the free trade dispute. Rather than siding with their Halfbreed parishoners, the Anglican missionaries viewed the dispute as a challenge to authority in Red River; a challenge that might ultimately undermine their own influence within the community. The Church's determination to move away from its traditional basis of support effectively demonstrated a willingness to downplay the evangelical cause in favour of a more formal and more traditional Anglican Church in Red River.

When by 1860 it had become evident to the Anglican clergy that the Hudson's Bay Company could no longer effectively govern Red River, the Church threw its support behind the Canadian Party and the annexationist cause. Anderson, Machray, Hunter and Gardiner all realized that an influx of Anglo-Ontarian settlers would facilitate the extension of the Church's hegemony both in Red River and throughout the West. The Anglican Church actively sought the displacement of the old order in Red River and helped promote the myth among the English-speaking Halfbreeds that their interests

would be best served by the incoming constitutional authority. The ultimate dispossession and dispersal of the Halfbreeds after 1870 ultimately demonstrated the tragedy of this advice.

The peculiar character of the community at St. Andrew's was in large part based upon the nature of its economy. Along with agriculture, many settlers pursued such activities as buffalo hunting, tripping, fishing and for some the private trade in furs. It was a complementary rather than exclusive economy and provided a practical solution to the problem of scarcity. The inherent problems of Red River agriculture: a harsh climate, limited markets and primitive technology, meant that for many survival depended upon a varied exploitation of available resources.

St. Andrew's was not a monolithic community. European heads of mixed-blood families such as James Sutherland and William Pruden possessed an economic advantage over many of their mixed-blood fellow parishoners. Census records indicate that these "principal settlers" owned more livestock, implements and cultivated acreage than the large portion of St. Andrew's settlers who maintained only a few farm animals and engaged in a limited cultivation of what were, for the most part, only garden plots. The wealthier farmers enjoyed access to superior education and, most importantly, a political power in keeping with their favoured status within the community. They viewed themselves as the natural elite in Red River and along with the Church and the Company a force for the establishment of an Anglo-Christian civilization on the frontier.

With the transition to a new political order after 1870, and the influx of Ontarian settlers to Red River, the character of the community at St. Andrew's underwent considerable change. Many were forced to leave the parish, dispossessed of traditional riverlots on the Red. Those who

remained found their power and influence usurped by incoming Canadian immigrants who, under the direction of the National Policy, actively pursued the creation of a hinterland agricultural economy in the West. The development of a metropolitan centre at Winnipeg facilitated this process and relegated St. Andrew's to a peripheral role in the transition to a large scale commercial agricultural economy in Western Canada.

Endnotes

I. Introduction

- 1 See for example, R.F. Berkhofer Jr. Salvation and the Savage (University of Kentucky Press) 1965. Berkhofer studied American missionary activity in the 18th and 19th centuries and viewed the Indian-missionary contact situation in light of the "directed" and "non-directed" models of acculturation.
- 2 Cornelius Jaenan, "Missionary Approaches to Native Peoples" in Approaches to Native History in Canada, (Ottawa, National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, 1977), p. 5.

II. Evangelical Protestantism and the Church Missionary Society in Red River

- 1 Jean Usher, "Apostles and Aborigines: the Social Theory of the Church Missionary Society," Social History vol. 7, 1971, p. 28. According to R.F. Berkhofer and his model of directed and non-directed cultural contact, the culture of the society in the subordinate position is drastically modified to conform to that of the dominant society. R.F. Berkhofer, Salvation and the Savage, p. xi.
- 2 Ibid., p. 29.

- 3 Ian Bradley, The Call to Seriousness (London, Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1976), p. 15.
- 4 Ibid., p. 16.
- 5 Walter F. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870 (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1957), p. 125.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ian Bradley, The Call to Seriousness, p. 18.
- 8 The Clapham Sect took its name from a village near London where a number of its members lived. Although not the first pietist Evangelical group to be formed, it soon became the largest and most influential within the movement.
- 9 Walter Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870, p. 131.
- 10 Frits Pannekoek, "Protestant Agricultural Missions in the Canadian West to 1870," M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1970, p. 7. For more information on the CMS see Eugene Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, 4 volumes, (London: The Church Missionary Society, 1899).
- 11 Eugene Stock, Ibid., p. 245.
- 12 Hal Guest, The Historic Landscape of the Parsonage at St. Andrew's, (Parks Canada, Manuscript Report Series No. 443, 1981), p. 60.
- 13 Provincial Archives of Manitoba (hereafter PAM), Ecclesiastical Archives of the Province of Rupert's Land, MG7, A1, Church Missionary Society Regulations and Instructions to Missionaries.
- 14 Jean Usher, "Apostles and Aborigines," p. 29.
- 15 H.A. Cairns, The Clash of Culture. Early Race Relations in Central Africa (New York, F.A. Praeger, 1965), p. 54.
- 16 PAM, MG7, A1, Ecclesiastical Archives of the Province of Rupert's Land, Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1863, p. 3.

- 17 Henry Bowden, American Indians and Christian Missions (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 164.
- 18 Cornelius Jaenen, "Missionary Approaches to Native People," pp. 6-7.
- 19 Jean Usher, "Apostles and Aborigines," p. 32.
- 20 Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1855, p. 243, as quoted in Ibid., p. 32.
- 21 Christine Bolt, Victorian Attitudes to Race (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 208.
- 22 E.B. Tylor, Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization (Chicago, university of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 232.
- 23 J.W. Burrow, Evolution and Society. A Study in Victorian Social Theory (London, Cambridge University Press, 1966), p. 263.
- 24 Ibid., p. 281.
- 25 PAM, Archives of the Church Missionary Society (hereafter CMSA), A78, Journal of William Cockran, April 28, 1840.
- 26 Sarah Carter, "Mans' Mission of Subjugation," M.A. Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1981, p. 8.
- 27 W.B. Heeney, Leaders of the Canadian Church (Toronto, The Mission Book Company, 1920), p. 21.
- 28 Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1849, p. 76, as cited in Jean Usher, "Apostles and Aborigines," p. 33.
- 29 PAM, CMSA, A77, William Cockran to Secretaries, n.d.
- 30 Jean Usher, "Apostles and Aborigines," p. 33.
- 31 PAM, MG7, A1, "Regulations and Instructions to Missionaries," p. 22.
- 32 Public Archives of Canada (hereafter PAC), MG19, E6, Richard Davies to John Smithurst, March 31, 1846.
- 33 Egerton Young, The Apostle of the North (Toronto, 1900), pp. 233-35, as cited in Frits Pannekoek, "The Reverend James Evans and the Social Antagonisms of Fur

Trade Society, 1840-1846," Prairie Forum No. 3, 1974, p. 4.

- 34 A recent thesis by Vera Fast entitled The Protestant Missionary and Fur Trade Society, Initial Contact in the Hudson's Bay Territory, 1820-1850 (PhD, University of Manitoba), 1984, makes the claim that "these early missionaries generally differed in background, outlook and expectation from their successors in the second half of the 19th century," (p. i). She argues that little stress was placed by the CMS before 1850 upon communicating the basic tenets of "civilization" to the Indian and half-breed populations of Rupert's Land. It is quite evident, however, when one reads the journals and correspondence of missionaries such as Cockran, Jones, Cowley and James that indeed their view of Christianity was closely allied with the notion of the establishment in Red River of a self-sufficient and predominantly agricultural community. While in some respects an argument can be made for the assertion that these early missionaries might have been "less doctrinaire [than their successors] insofar as cultural compliance was concerned," their intention was to certainly do more than build what Fast calls a community of "faith, saving grace [and] good works," (p. 300).
- 35 PAM, CMSA, A77, William Cockran to Secretaires, August 7, 1828.
- 36 PAC, MG19, E6, Journal of John Smithurst, June 6, 1840.
- 37 Ibid., May 11, 1840.
- 38 Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1860, p. 2 as cited in Jean Usher, "Apostles and Aborigines," p. 40.
- 39 W.B. Heeney, Leaders of the Canadian Church, p. 21.
- 40 For more information on the Hudson's Bay and North West Company traditions see Sylvia Van Kirk, Many Tender

- Ties (Winnipeg, Watson and Dwyer Publishing, 1980) and Jennifer Brown, Strangers in Blood (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1980).
- 41 John Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement, 1820-1850," PhD Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1973, p. iv.
- 42 PAM, CMSA, A101, Cowley to Secretaries, December 14, 1874.
- 43 PAM, CMSA, A77, Cockran to Secretaries, July 25, 1833.
- 44 Ibid., July 29, 1830.
- 45 PAM, CMSA, A78, Robert James to Rev. Davies, August 6, 1847.
- 46 A.S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1871 (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 631.
- 47 N. Jaye Goossen, "The Relationship of the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land, 1821-1860, with a case study of Stanley Mission under the Direction of Rev. Robert Hunt," M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1975, pp. 34-35.
- 48 David Thompson in the narrative of his explorations between 1784 and 1812 had warned of this problem at the end of the 18th century. In the midst of a struggle for control of the trade, however, neither company was willing to address the growing problem. J.B. Tyrell, (ed.), David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western America, 1784-1812 (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1916), pp. 205-06.
- 49 Governor and Committee to Simpson, February 27, 1822, in E.E. Rich and R.H. Fleming, (eds.), Minutes of Council, Northern Department of Rupert's Land, 1821-1831 (London, the Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1940), volume III, p. 311.
- 50 Ibid., March 8, 1822.
- 51 Goossen, "The Relationship of the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land, 1821-1860," p. 37.

- 52 Hudson's Bay Company, Charters, Statutes, Orders in Council Relating to the Hudson's Bay Company (London, Hudson's Bay Company, 1931), p. 95.
- 53 Andrew Colville to George Simpson, March 11, 1824, in Frederick Merk, (ed.), Fur Trade and Empire (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 205.
- 54 Hal Guest, The Historic Landscape of the Parsonage at St. Andrew's, p. 66.
- 55 John West, The Substance of a Journal During a Residence at the Red River Colony (New York, Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1966), p. 12.
- 56 Ibid., p. 13.
- 57 Ibid., p. 15.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 Ibid., pp. 21-22.
- 60 Ibid., p. 37.
- 61 Ibid., p. 44.
- 62 Simpson to Colville, May 20, 1822 in Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, p. 181.
- 63 Arthur N. Thompson, "John West: A Study of the Conflict Between Civilization and the Fur Trade," The Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, vol. XII, no. 3, September 1970, p. 47.
- 64 West, Substance of a Journal, p. 51.
- 65 Ibid., p. 122.
- 66 Ibid., p. 152.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Ibid., p. 91.
- 69 Ibid., p. 151.
- 70 PAM, HBCA, D.4/3, p. 75, Simpson to Benjamin Harrison, August 1, 1824.
- 71 Simpson to Colville, August 2, 1824, in Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, p. 181.
- 72 Ibid.

- 73 John Foster, "The Anglican Clergy in the Red River Settlement, 1820-1826," M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1966, p. 126.
- 74 Hal Guest has suggested that part of the antipathy Simpson felt for West stemmed from the former's feelings of insecurity as a result of his humble birth. (Simpson was born out of wedlock.) Simpson perhaps resented West, Guest surmises, because of his higher station. See H. Guest, The Historic Landscape of the Parsonage at St. Andrew's, p. 71.
- 75 T.C.B. Boon, The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1962), p. 23.
- 76 PAM, CMSA, A77, J. Pratt to David Jones, March 10, 1824.
- 77 Ibid., Journal of David Jones, January 14, 1824.
- 78 Ibid., Dandison Coates to Jones, February 24, 1826.
- 79 John Foster, "The Anglican Clergy in the Red River Settlement, " p. 38.
- 80 PAM, CMSA, A77, Journal of David Jones, November 17, 1823.
- 81 Ibid., George Simpson to David Jones, July 24, 1824.
- 82 Ibid., David Jones to George Simpson, June 4, 1825.
- 83 Ibid., Journal of David Jones, August 19, 1824.
- 84 Ibid., August 19, 1824.
- 85 As well, a self-supporting school was established at a point some six miles down the river from St. John's at what later became St. Paul's Middlechurch. Joseph Bunn, a half-breed educated in England was engaged in the summer of 1825 as the new teacher. See PAM, CMSA, A77, Journal of David Jones, July 2, 1825.
- 86 Ibid., David Jones to D. Coates, July 10, 1824.
- 87 See John Foster, "Program for the Red River Mission."
- 88 PAM, CMSA, A77, D. Jones to Secretaries, July (n.d.), 1827.

- 89 John Foster, "Program for the Red River Mission."
- 90 Ibid.
- 91 Frits Pannekoek, "The Anglican Church and the Disintegration of Red River Society, 1818-1870," in The West and the Nation, ed. by Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1976), p. 74.
- 92 As quoted in John Foster, "William Cockran," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. IX (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1976), p. 134.
- 93 Hal Guest, The Historic Landscape of the Parsonage at St. Andrew's, p. 74.
- 94 PAM, CMSA, A77, William Cockran to the Secretaries, July 29, 1826.
- 95 Ibid., William Cockran to Rev. Bickersteth, August 3, 1829.
- 96 Ibid.
- 97 Aside from their dispute over the farm, Cockran also accused his colleague of not involving himself enough in the spiritual welfare of his people and of being overly concerned with the goings on at the Fort Garry dinner tables. See, Ibid., William Cockran to Secretary, August 7, 1828.
- 98 John Foster, "Program For the Red River Mission."

III. The Founding of the Mission at Grand Rapids, 1829-50

- 1 George Simpson to Andrew Colvile, May 15, 1833, in Frederick Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, p. 190.
- 2 PAM, CMSA, A77, William Cockran to Secretaries, July 25, 1833.

- 3 John Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement, 1820-1850," p.p. 157-58.
- 4 PAM, CMSA, A77, July 29, 1830.
- 5 Ibid., August 5, 1829.
- 6 Ibid.,
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Ibid., July 29, 1830.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 The journal citations regarding this question are quoted in Rodger Guinn, St. Andrew's Parsonage, Red River: A Structural and Land Use History (Parks Canada, Manuscript Report Series # 251, 1978), p. 13.
- 12 PAM, CMSA, A77, Journal of William Cockran, September 7, 1831.
- 13 Ibid., William Cockran to Secretaries, July 20, 1831.
- 14 Ibid., Journal of William Cockran, December 23, 1831.
- 15 Ibid., May 1, 1832.
- 16 Ibid., David Jones to C.M.S., August, 1835.
- 17 Ibid., William Cockran to the Secretaries, July 25, 1833.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Ibid., August 5, 1833.
- 20 Ibid., August 15, 1829.
- 21 Hal Guest, in The Historic Landscape of the Parsonage at St. Andrew's, p. 5, points out that "Register B," the HBC land registry book, records that the Company demanded payment for only 250 of the 400 acres. At 7 shillings, 6 pence an acre, that would amount to approximately £93 for Cockran's property. Cockran's land was sold to the CMS in 1846. See also Rodger Guinn, St. Andrew's Parsonage, pp. 52-55.
- 22 PAM, CMSA, A77, Journal of William Cockran, July 29, 1830.

- 23 Ibid., November 12, 1833.
- 24 Ibid., October 17, 1831.
- 25 Ibid., July 30, 1833.
- 26 Ibid., September 8, 1834.
- 27 Ibid., September 2, 1833.
- 28 Ibid., A78, Journal of William Cockran, September 28, 1837.
- 29 Ibid., October 4, 1839.
- 30 Ibid., September 14, 1837.
- 31 Ibid., September 3, 1845.
- 32 Ibid., A77, William Cockran to Edward Bickersteth, August 7, 1828.
- 33 Ibid., William Cockran to Secretaries, August 11, 1828.
- 34 Ibid., Journal of William Cockran, October 16, 1833.
- 35 Ibid., William Cockran to Secretaries, August 20, 1835.
- 36 Ibid., William Cockran to Lay Secretary, August, n.d., 1832.
- 37 As cited in Frits Pannekoek, "Protestant Agricultural Missions in the Canadian West to 1870," p. 92.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Ibid., pp. 92-93.
- 40 PAM, CMSA, A78, Journal of David Jones, n.d.
- 41 Ibid. According to David Jones, Peguis asked that the Society never allow Cockran to leave the Indian settlement as "he is now well-customed with our oily and fishy smell, and all our bad habits."
- 42 Hal Guest, The Historic Landscape of the Parsonage at St. Andrew's, p. 125.
- 43 For a more detailed discussion of the sale of Cockran's land at the Grand Rapids see Ibid., pp. 14-17.
- 44 PAM, CMSA, A85, John Smithurst to the Secretaries, October 27, 1847.
- 45 Ibid., A78, Robert James to Rev. Davies, August 6, 1847.

- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Frits Pannekoek, "Protestant Agricultural Missions in the Canadian West to 1870," p. 97.
- 48 HBCA, B.135/c/2, fol. 65, George Simpson to J.G. McTavish, April 10, 1831.
- 49 PAM, CMSA, A77, William Cockran to Secretaries, July 20, 1831.
- 50 Ibid., William Cockran to Rev. Woodriff, August 3, 1831.
- 51 PAM, Ecclesiastical Archives of the Province of Rupert's Land, Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1832-33. W.K. Smith to Secretaries, p. 64.
- 52 PAM, CMSA, A77, William Cockran to Secretaries, July 30, 1833.
- 53 Ibid., December 16, 1833.
- 54 Thomas Bredin, "The Red River Academy," The Beaver, Winter, 1974, p. 12.
- 55 PAM, CMSA, A77, William Cockran to Secretaries, August, 1835.
- 56 Letitia Hargrave, The Letters of Letitia Hargrave, edited by M. McLeod, (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1947), p. 177, Letitia Hargrave to Mrs. Dugald McTavish, September 16, 1843.
- 57 Ibid., p. 206. Letitia Hargrave to Mrs. Dugald McTavish, September 1, 1845.
- 58 Thomas Bredin, "The Red River Academy," p. 17.
- 59 PAM, CMSA, A77, William Cockran and David Jones to Secretaries, "Report on the State of Religion," August, 1835.
- 60 Ibid., A78, Journal of William Cockran, October 19, 1837.
- 61 Ibid., October 31, 1837.
- 62 Ibid., A86, Donald Gunn, "Report on Grand Rapids School Year ending July 6, 1840" and "Report on Grand Rapids School Year ending July 6, 1845," as well as, A78, Robert James to Secretaries, August 6, 1847.

- 63 Ibid., A77, William Cockran to Secretaries, July 25, 1833.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Ibid., A78, August 4, 1841.
- 67 Ibid
- 68 Ibid., A77, Journal of William Cockran, December 17, 1834.
- 69 Ibid., A78, Abraham Cowley to Secretaries, January 4, 1842.
- 70 Ibid., Journal of William Cockran, September 19, 1839.
- 71 Ibid., December 4, 1838.
- 72 Ibid., William Cockran to Lay Secretary, August 7, 1843.
- 73 Ibid.
- 74 Ibid., Journal of William Cockran, September 19, 1839.
- 75 Ibid., William Cockran to Secretaries, August 2, 1838.
- 76 Ibid., August, 1832.
- 77 Ibid., Journal of William Cockran, September 16, 1838.
- 78 Ibid., William Cockran to Secretaries, August 4, 1838.
- 79 Ibid., Journal of William Cockran, August 27, 1845.
- 80 Ibid., December 31, 1844.
- 81 Ibid.
- 82 Ibid., William Cockran to Secretaries, July 30, 1845.
- 83 Ibid., December 29, 1845.
- 84 Ibid., Journal of William Cockran, June 10, 1846.
- 85 Ibid., A92, Robert James to Secretaries, August 2, 1848. "The new stone Church is not completed," he wrote, "but [is] proceeding fast under the superintendence of Mr. Cockran."
- 86 Ibid.
- 87 Ibid., August 6, 1849.
- 88 Ibid., November 28, 1849.
- 89 HBCA, D.5/18, folios 327-28, Adam Thom to George Simpson, November 11, 1846.

- 90 PAM, CMSA, A78, Robert James to Benjamin Davies, November 12, 1846.
- 91 HBCA, D.5/18, folios 327-28, Adam Thom to George Simpson, November 11, 1846.
- 92 PAM, CMSA, A78, Robert James to Benjamin Davies, August 6, 1847.
- 93 Ibid., Journal of Robert James, May 30, 1847.

IV. Church and Company in Red River

- 1 Arthur Thompson, "John West: A Study of the Conflict Between Civilization and the Fur Trade," The Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, Volume XII, No. 3, September 1970, p. 47.
- 2 Jaye Goossen, "The Relationship of the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land, 1821-1861," p. 1.
- 3 Frits Pannekoek, "The Rev. James Evans and the Social Antagonisms of Fur Trade Society," pp. 1-15.
- 4 Jaye Goossen, "The Relationship of the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land, 1821-1861," p. 13.
- 5 John Grant, Moon of Wintertime, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1984) p. 108.
- 6 Ibid., p. 109.
- 7 Frits Pannekoek, "The Churches and the Social Structure in the Red River Area, 1818-1870," PhD Thesis, Queen's University, 1973, p. 154.
- 8 John West, Substance of a Journal, p. 92.
- 9 PAM, CMSA, Journal of John West, September 16, 1823.
- 10 PAM, HBCA, D.4/3, folio 141, Simpson to Benjamin Harrison, n.d.
- 11 John Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement, 1820-1850," pp. 115-16.

- 12 R.H. Fleming, (ed.), Minutes of Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land, 1821-1831 (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1940), pp. 90-95.
- 13 E.E. Rich, The History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870, Volume III, (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1970), p. 528.
- 14 Jaye Goossen, "The Relationship of the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land, 1821-1861," p. 60.
- 15 John Foster, "The Anglican Clergy in the Red River Settlement, 1820-1826," p. 82.
- 16 J.J. Hargrave, Red River (Altona, Manitoba, Friesen Printers, 1977), p. 104.
- 17 PAM, CMSA, A78, William Cockran to Secretary, August 4, 1838.
- 18 Ibid., A77, William Cockran to Secretaries, July 30, 1831.
- 19 Ibid., July 25, 1833.
- 20 Ibid., A78, August 4, 1838.
- 21 Ibid., A77, July 24, 1834.
- 22 Ibid., August n.d., 1832.
- 23 Ibid., July 25, 1833.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 "Marriage a la façon du pays" and the role of women in fur trade society has been researched extensively by Sylvia Van Kirk in her book Many Tender Ties (Winnipeg, Watson and Doyer, 1980). Van Kirk discusses the evolution of fur trade marriage practices from the establishment of liaisons with Native women to introduction of white women into Rupert's Land after 1831. The role of the missionaries and the promotion of church marriages is also analyzed.
- 26 Before 1830 Simpson actually encouraged country marriages. In contemplation of the move into New Calendonia in the early 1820s, Simpson recommended that

- the officers form alliances with the principal families immediately upon their arrival as "the best security we can have of the goodwill of the Natives," as quoted in E.E. Rich, (ed.), Simpson's Athabaska Journal, 1820-1821 (London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1938), p. 392.
- 27 Sylvia Van Kirk writes: "For a woman to be left without a male protector was deemed undesirable and accounts for the incessant pressure that mixed-blood women felt to remarry. Those who were recently widowed, unless too old, were expected to marry again, while the custom of "turning off" may have remained a means of, at least, ensuring that mixed blood wives, whose husbands were leaving them in the Indian Country, would continue to be maintained at fur-trade posts. The exigencies of fur trade life were such that it was not uncommon for a mixed blood woman to have two or three husbands in her lifetime." Many Tender Ties, p. 120.
- 28 PAC, Hargrave Correspondence, Volume 5:1078, as quoted in Van Kirk, Many Tender Ties, p. 172.
- 29 Van Kirk, Many Tender Ties, p. 172.
- 30 See Ibid., pp. 220-30.
- 31 PAM, CMSA, A77, William Cockran to Secretaries, August 1832.
- 32 Ibid., A78, August 7, 1840.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Ibid., William Cockran to Lay Secretary, August 4, 1841.
- 35 Pannekoek, "The Reverend James Evans and the Social Antagonisms of Fur Trade Society," p. 1.
- 36 In December of 1845 Cockran wrote; "The Wesleyans have been into the colony three times during the past summer to endeavour to proselyze from our Church and Establish themselves amongst us." PAM, CMSA, A78, William Cockran to Secretaries, December 29, 1845.

- 37 HBCA, D.4/5, folio 27, George Simpson to Benjamin Harrison, March 10, 1825.
- 38 Ibid., D.4/3, p. 76, George Simpson to Benjamin Harrison, August 1, 1824.
- 39 PAM, CMSA, A77, William Cockran to Secretaries, July 25, 1833.
- 40 E.E. Rich, Hudson's Bay Company, pp. 508-14.
- 41 See W.L. Morton, Manitoba, A History (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1957), pp. 73-75.
- 42 Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement (Hurtig Publishers, Edmonton, 1972), p. 402.
- 43 Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies: A History (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 101.
- 44 Frits Pannekoek, "The Churches and the Social Structure in the Red River Area, 1818-1870," p. 86.
- 45 Ibid., p. 98.
- 46 HBCA, D.5/26, folio 553, William Cockran to George Simpson, November 21, 1849.
- 47 Frits Pannekoek, "The Churches and the Social Structure in the Red River Area, 1818-1870," p. 99.
- 48 HBCA, D.5/25, folios 327-28, John Smithurst to George Simpson, June 29, 1849.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Frits Pannekoek, "The Churches and the Social Structure in the Red River Area, 1818-1870," p. 90.
- 51 The ordination dispute created a great flurry of letters between Thom, Smithurst, Simpson, Cockran, the CMS Secretaries and the Governor and Committee of the HBC in London between the spring of 1842 and the arrival of Bishop Mountain in Red River on June 23, 1844. During his 17 day stay in the settlement, Mountain ordained Cowley and McCallum (Roberts had departed), preached 13 times to large congregations and claimed to have confirmed a total of 846 people. In his journal Mountain stated that at Rapids mission

- he confirmed 192 girls and women and 150 men and boys. Bishop G.J. Mountain, The Journal of the Bishop of Montreal During a Visit to the Church Missionary Society,s North-West America Mission (London, Seeley, Burnside and Company, 1846), p. 51.
- 52 More than likely the difficulties between Thom, Smithurst and James in 1847 over possession of Cockran's property at the Rapids were a result of the earlier ordination dispute.
- 53 Eden Colville, The Letters of Eden Colville, 1849-1852 (London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1956), p. 194; Eden Colville to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, July 21, 1852.
- 54 Ibid., p. 205, Eden Colville to George Simpson, February 7, 1851.
- 55 Ibid., p. 214, May 22, 1851.
- 56 HBCA, D.5/34, folio 21, Donald Ross to George Simpson, July 2, 1852.
- 57 Ibid., D.5/32, folio 324, Donald Ross to Eden Colville, February 27, 1851.
- 58 PAC, H.P. 4873, John Black to James Hargrave, November 25, 1851.
- 59 PAM, MGl, D.20, Donald Ross Papers, George Simpson to Donald Ross, December 15, 1851.
- 60 For evidence of this fact one has only to scan the official history of the CMS (Eugene Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, 3 volumes, London, Church Missionary Society, 1899) to see that of the three lengthy volumes of the history only a handful of pages are devoted to Rupert's land. Frits Pannekoek,
- 61 "The Churches and the Social Structure in the Red River Area, 1818-1870," p. 88.
- 62 Hal Guest, "The Historic Landscape of the Parsonage at St. Andrew's," p. 86.

- 63 Frits Pannekoek, "The Anglican Church and the Disintegration of Red River Society, 1818-1870," C. Berger and R. Cook, (eds.), The West and the Nation, p. 83.
- 64 Gerald Friesen, The Candian Prairies, A History, p. 110.
- 65 Frits Pannekoek, "The Anglican Church and the Disintegration of Red River Society, 1818-1870," pp. 83-84.
- 66 Ibid., p. 83.
- 67 Ibid., pp. 86-87.
- 68 Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies, p. 115.

V. Community and Society at St. Andrew's

- 1 After the merger of 1821 almost 1,300 employees lost their jobs. No longer in a competitive situation, the Hudson's Bay Company could dispense with about two-thirds of its workforce, "retiring" most of the voyageurs and many of its old English speaking staff. Philip Goldring has shown that the HBC labour force fell from 1,927 in 1821 to 694 by 1826. See "Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson's Bay Company," (Parks Canada, Manuscript Report Series #362, 1979), pp. 32-33.
- 2 W.L. Morton, "The Red River Parish: Its Place in the Development of Manitoba," Manitoba Essays (Toronto, Macmilland Co. of Canada, 1937), pp. 89-105.
- 3 See John Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement," pp. 19-30.
- 4 Jennifer Brown argues that the differing traditions of the two fur trade companies had far reaching effects upon the lives of their descendants. The country marriages of the North Westers were, because of their

mobility, more tenuous than those of HBC men who at least before 1774 were residing in permanent posts on Hudson Bay. Later, Hudson's Bay traders sought vocational and social advancement for their children, while loyalties and patronage links among the men of the NW Co. 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.

- 5 John Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement," p. 91.
- 6 Archer Martin, The Hudson's Bay Company's Land Tenures (London, William Clowes Ltd., 1898), p. 223.
- 7 PAM, HBCA, D.4, George Simpson to Andrew Colville, May 20, 1822.
- 8 John Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement," p. 131.
- 9 PAM, CMSA, A77, William Cockran to Secretaries, July 29, 1830.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid., July 25, 1833.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Ibid., A78, Journal of William Cockran, November 15, 1938.
- 15 Ibid., A77, Journal of David Jones, January 28, 1828.
- 16 Ibid, Journal of William Cockran, May 15, 1829.
- 17 John Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement," p. 153.
- 18 Ibid., p. 161.
- 19 PAM, CMSA, A77, William Cockran to Secretaires July 30, 1833. While Cockran's comment would seem to indicate that the Church served as a broker in the provision of

- community assistance, no doubt the practice was carried on privately between Halfbreed families at the Rapids.
- 20 Ibid., July 25, 1833.
 - 21 Ibid., August 3, 1838.
 - 22 Ibid., A78, August 7, 1840.
 - 23 PAM, MGI, D.20, Donald Ross Papers, Ross to James Hargrave, March 12, 1835
 - 24 PAM, CMSA, A77, Journal of William Cockran, August 2, 1832. According to the 1835 census families at the Rapids had a mean average of 4.5 children. The average number of children per household in Red River increased until 1843. Due to such factors as disease and occasional food shortages this average declined between 1843 and 1849. See Frits Pannekoek, "A Probe Into the Demographic Structure of Nineteenth Century Red River" in L.H. Thomas, (ed.), Essays on Western History (Edmonton, The University of Alberta Press, 1976), p. 92.
 - 25 Sylvia Van Kirk, Many Tender Ties, p. 106.
 - 26 Sylvia Van Kirk, "What if Mama was an Indian, The Cultural Ambivalence of the Alexander Ross Family" in J. Foster, (ed.), The Developing West (Edmonton, University of Alberta Press, 1983), pp. 125-35.
 - 27 Ibid.
 - 28 John Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement," p. 184.
 - 29 PAM, CMSA, A77, Journal of Wililam Cockran, April 5, 1833.
 - 30 Ibid.
 - 31 John Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement," p. 184.
 - 32 See James Sutherland to John Sutherland, August 10, 1842, as quoted in John Foster, "The Country-Born in the Red River Settlement," p. 185.

- 33 D.N. Sprague and R.P. Frye, The Geneology of the First Métis Nation (Winnipeg, Pemmican Publications, 1983).
See Table 2 "Family Size, Personal Property, and Geographical Location and Land Owners, 1835," n.p.
- 34 E.E. Rich, The Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870, Volume II, p. 315.
- 35 PAM, MG7, B4-1, M274, St. Andrew's Parish Records, Register of Marriages, 1835-1910.
- 36 PAM, MG2, B2, Red River Census, 1835.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Sylvia Van Kirk, Many Tender Ties, p. 106.
- 39 John West, The Substance of a Journal, p. 136.
- 40 James Sutherland to John Sutherland August 7, 1838 as quoted in Sylvia Van Kirk, Many Tender Ties, p. 200.
- 41 D.N. Sprague and R.P. Frye, The Geneology of the First Métis Nation, Table 3, "Contract Employees of the HBC Recruited From or Retired to the Red River Colony, 1821-1870," n.p.
- 42 PAM, MG2, B2, Red River Census, 1835.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Ibid., 1843.
- 45 Irene M. Spry, "The Métis and Mixed-Bloods of Rupert's Land before 1870," in Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer Brown, (eds.), The New Peoples. Being and Becoming Métis in North America (Winnipeg, University of Manitoba Press, 1985), p. 112.
- 46 Stanislaw Ossowski, Class Structure in the Social Consciousness (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), pp. 134-35.
- 47 Ibid., pp. 135-36.
- 48 Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Social Classes in Agrarian Societies (New York, Anchor Press, 1975), pp. 40-52.
- 49 Ibid., p. 11.
- 50 PAM, CMSA, A78, William Cockran to the Secretaries, October 25, 1836.

- 51 Ibid., Journal of William Cockran, September 2, 1842.
- 52 Ibid., MG7, B4-1, M274, St. Andrew's Parish Records, Register of Burials, 1846-87. This fact corresponds to the decline in the number of children per household in Red River in the 1840s. See Frits Pannekoek, "A Probe into the Demographic Structure of Nineteenth Century Red River," p. 82.
- 53 Ibid., while the age of death has been recorded for registered burials in the parish, a simple statistical average of these ages well not shed light on trends occurring within the community. Moreover, the limited number of yearly entries (47 in 1846) will not allow any conclusive computation. A quick scan of the data, however, reveals that 22 of the 47 deaths recorded in 1846 occurred in infants two years of age and under.
- 54 Frits Pannekoek, "The Churches and the Social Structure in the Red River Area, 1818-1870," p. 192.
- 55 Ibid., pp. 193-94.
- 56 PAM, CMSA, A78, Robert James to Rev. Davies, August 7, 1847.
- 57 Ibid.
- 58 Ibid., A92, Journal of James Hunter, March 29, 1864.
- 59 In his journal for October 1864, Samuel Taylor writes: "the Scarlet Fever is all through the Settlement now this while back." PAM, MG2, C13, Journal of Samuel Taylor, October, 1864.
- 60 Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies, p. 116.
- 61 PAM, CMSA, A98, Journal of J.P. Gardiner, n.d.
- 62 F.A. Peake, "The Achievements and Frustrations of James Hunter," Journal of The Canadian Church Historical Society, Volume 19, 1977, p. 158.
- 63 Ibid., A91, James Hunter to the Secretaries, April 8, 1857.
- 64 Rev. Gardiner at St. Andrew's wrote the CMS that "there is little doubt now that the instigation of the

Rebellion was intended to make this a Roman Catholic colony." PAM, CMSA, A99, J.P. Gardiner to the Secretaries, November 30, 1870.

- 65 Ibid. See for example, Bishop Machray's contention in a letter to Sir John Young that the "1,400,000 acres [to be given] to the half-breed part of the community is a most dangerous provision," in W.L. Morton, (ed.), Alexander Begg's Red River Journal (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1956), p. 559.
- 66 In his letter to Young, Machray described the Provisional Government as "a perfect abomination." Ibid., p. 558.
- 67 Ibid., p. 108. It should also be noted that the Christian Indians at St. Peter's and the handful living at St. Andrew's opposed Riel's government, primarily due to the influence of John Shultz and Colonel John Dennis. See *ibid.*, p. 101.
- 68 PAM, MG3, B1-2, Thomas Bunn Papers, Donald Gunn to Thomas Bunn, February 11, 1870.
- 69 Ibid., "List of Delegates to the 1870 Provisional Government."
- 70 D.N. Sprague and P.R. Mailhot, "Persistent Settlers: The Dispersal and Resettlement of the Red River Métis, 1870-1885," Canadian Ethnic Studies, Vol. XVII, No. 2, 1985, pp. 2-3.
- 71 Ibid., p. 3.
- 72 The term "corporate rights" has been used to describe rights other than those expressed by simply "land" or "religion." The concerns of the Métis in 1869-70 went beyond these individual rights. They demanded the right to a kind of "collectivity of culture" as defined by language, faith, kinship networks, education and the socialization of parish and neighbourhood.
- 73 D.N. Sprague, "The Manitoba Land Question, 1870-1882," The Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. 15, No. 3, Autumn, 1980, p. 83.

- 74 Ibid., pp. 75-76.
- 75 Section 32 of the Manitoba Act was amended to make the qualification for patent more stringent. The new amendment defined "occupancy" as more than "peaceful possession," in effect demanding that "improvements" were necessary before patent could be secured.
- 76 D.N. Sprague, "The Manitoba Land Question," p. 81.
- 77 The following table illustrates settlement persistence rates (according to calculations made by Doug Sprague) for original families in Red River and Manitoba after 1870. These rates were calculated by Sprague using i. the per parish total of families named in the 1870 Census, ii. the number of these families named by surveyors, iii. the total number of occupants named by surveyors, and iv. the number of patents issued to occupants. The mean rate of persistence for the province was calculated at 17 per cent.

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Persistence Rate (%)</u>
St. Laurent	19
St. Paul	10
St. Francois Xavier	11
St. Charles	16
St. Boniface	5
St. Vital	8
St. Norbert	19
St. Agathe	7
St. Anne	24
Portage La Prairie	13
High Bluff	45
Poplar Point	23
Headingly	46
St. James	26
St. John	less than 1
Kildonan	27
St. Paul	25
*St. Andrew	7
St. Clement	9
St. Peter	less than 1

Source: D.N. Sprague, "Government Lawlessness in the Administration of Manitoba Land Claims, 1870-1887," The Manitoba Law Journal, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1980, p. 439.

- 78 See D.N. Sprague and R.P. Frye, The Geneology of the First Métis Nation, Table 6, "Disbursement and Relocation of the Manitoba Métis," n.p.
- 79 PAM, MG2, B3, District of Assiniboia, Census of Manitoba, 1870.
- 80 Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies, p. 202.
- 81 See for example, Beyond the Gates of Lower Fort Garry (Municipality of St. Andrew's, 1982) a local history of the parish and municipality.

- VI. CMS Mission to Rural Parish; St. Andrew's, 1850-87
 - 1 Frits Pannekoek, "The Churches and the Social Structure in Red River," p. 157.
 - 2 See M.P. Wilkinson, "The Episcopate of the Right Rev. David Anderson, 1849-1864," M.A. Thesis, university of Manitoba, 1950.
 - 3 PAM, EAPR, Church Missionary Society Record, Report for the Year 1851, Vol. XXII, p. 13.
 - 4 Ibid.
 - 5 See Hal Guest, "The Historic Landscape of the Parsonage at St. Andrew's," p. 88, as well as F.A. Peake, "The Achievements and Frustrations of James Hunter," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, Vol. 19, No. 2, 1977, p. 143.
 - 6 Sylvia Van Kirk, Many Tender Ties, p. 179.
 - 7 Letitia Hargrave, The Letters of Letitia Hargrave M. McLeod, (ed.), p. 185.
 - 8 T.C.B. Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies, p. 82.
 - 9 PAM, CMSA, A78, Robert James to Secretaries, August 6, 1849.
 - 10 For more information regarding the construction of the stone parsonage at St. Andrew's see Rodger Guinn's,

- "St. Andrew's Parsonage, Red River, A Structural and Land-Use History," p. 251.
- 11 PAM, CMSA, A92, William Cockran to Secretaries, December 6, 1853.
 - 12 Ibid., August 4, 1854.
 - 13 Ibid., December 29, 1854.
 - 14 Ibid., A92, William Kirkby to Rev. Venn, July 13, 1854.
 - 15 PAM, HBCA, D.5/11, folios 294-95, "The Petition of the Presbyterian Inhabitants of Red River Settlement, Rupert's Land," n.d.
 - 16 A total of about 300 people left the Anglican parishes in Red River and joined the new Presbyterian Church at Kildonan. Approximately 100-120 people quit services at St. Andrew's in 1851.
 - 17 Frits Pannekoek, "The Churches and the Social Structure in the Red River Area," p. 181.
 - 18 PAM, HBCA, D.5/32, folio 384, Donald Ross to George Simpson, December 18, 1851.
 - 19 Ibid.
 - 20 Frits Pannekoek, "The Churches and the Social Structure in the Red River Area," pp. 181-82.
 - 21 PAM, CMSA, A91, Journal of James Hunter, n.d., 1861.
 - 22 Ibid., A99, Rev. J.P. Gardiner to Secretaries, November 18, 1871. Since 1852 a number of Presbyterians in St. Andrew's had held services in the home of Donald Gunn. Eventually 14 families built a log "meeting house" at a site north of the locks. In 1863 the Presbyterians received a grant of land from the HBC one-half mile south of the Lower Fort. The Little Britain Presbyterian Church was started that year and completed in 1873. The Rev. John McNabb served as the first minister.
 - 23 T.C.B. Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies, p. 83.

- 24 Ian A.L. Getty, "The Failure of the Native Church Policy of the CMS in the Northwest," Canadian Plains Studies, Vol. 2, 1974, p. 21.
- 25 T.C.B. Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies, pp. 85-87.
- 26 Ian A.L. Getty, "The Failure of the Native Church Policy of the CMS in the Northwest," pp. 19-20.
- 27 Henry Youle Hind, Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 (M.L. Hurtig Publishers, Edmonton, 1971), p. 197.
- 28 PAM, CMSA, A92, James Hunter to Rev. Chapman, December 19, 1855.
- 29 Ibid., November 7, 1856.
- 30 PAC, MG19, E6, James Hunter to John Smithurst, July 2, 1857.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 H.Y. Hind, Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857, p. 197.
- 33 PAM, CMSA, A92, James Hunter to Rev. Chapman, December 19, 1855.
- 34 H.Y. Hind, Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857, p. 197.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Ibid., p. 199. In a letter written in 1854 William Lane, the postmaster at Lower Fort Garry, comments that the average congregation "cannot much exceed 400 individuals," PAM, MG19, A40, William Lane Correspondence, Lane to Mrs. G. Lane, August 22, 1854.
- 39 Ibid., pp. 195-96.
- 40 PAM, CMSA, A91, James Hunter to Henry Venn, August 11, 1856.
- 41 Ibid.

- 42 PAM, HBCA. D.5/32, folio 761, Adam Thom to George Simpson, November 8, 1851.
- 43 PAM, CMSA, A91, James Hunter to the Secretaries, January 1, 1861.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Ibid., February 14, 1862.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 PAM, Rev. John Black Papers, John Black to James Black, April 3, 1862.
- 48 HBCA, D.4/50, folio 119, George Simpson to David Anderson, June 28, 1855.
- 49 PAM, CMSA, A91, James Hunter to Secretaries, April 8, 1857.
- 50 F.A. Peake, "The Achievements and Frustrations of James Hunter," pp. 154-55.
- 51 As quoted in Eden Colville, Letters of Eden Colville, (ed.) E.E. Rich, Eden Colville to George Simpson, August 3, 1848, p. 225.
- 52 PAM, EAPR, Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1859-60, p. 207.
- 53 PAM, CMSA, A92, copy of the Nor'Wester, June 14, 1860. In his journal for March 29, 1864, Hunter makes reference to the selling of subscriptions in order to raise money for the parish. He wrote: "Attended our yearly meeting for the election of Church wardens and Vestry men...subscriptions amounting in all to £28.10.6 which with £9.16.5 Meeting and Sermons, makes the total £38.6.11. This is very far short of the amount collected last year, but the harvest was a partial failure [due to drought and locusts], causing much want and distress in our midst." PAM, CMSA, A92, Journal of James Hunter, March 29, 1864. Hunter used much of the money raised to provide assistance in the form of food and clothing to those parishoners who suffered the heaviest from crop failures throughout the settlement.

- 54 Ibid., James Hunter to Secretaries, June 19, 1860.
- 55 Ibid., James Hunter to Richard Davies, January 18, 1864.
- 56 Ibid., James Hunter to Secretaries, March 7, 1863.
- 57 PAM, MG7, Register of Births, Marriages and Deaths, St. Andrew's parish, 1864.
- 58 PAM, CMSA, A92, James Hunter to Secretary Venn, December 1, 1864.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Ibid., January 28, 1865.
- 61 Ibid., December 1, 1864.
- 62 Ibid., December 1, 1864.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Ibid., January 28, 1865.
- 65 Ibid., December 1, 1864.
- 66 Ibid., January 28, 1865.
- 67 Ibid., December 1, 1864.
- 68 PAM, EAPR, MG7, A1, Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1867, p. 33.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 CMSA, A98, Journal of J.P. Gardiner, November 27, 1869. "The Committee for Public Safety reported 302 men in the Parish and 203 Guns...A Company of Vollunteers are to be enrolled and the men are to drill every day."
- 71 Ibid., December 4, 1869.
- 72 Ibid., A99, J.P. Gardiner to Secretaries, November 30, 1870.
- 73 In the aftermath of the Resistance a curious incident involving Gardiner and the wife of Captain William Kennedy occurred at the Rapids. In a letter to Bishop Machray dated October 10, 1870, Mrs. Kennedy accused Gardiner of spreading rumours that she was attempting to get up a petition in the parish to spare the life of

Louis Riel should he be apprehended. Mrs. Kennedy refused to attend St. Andrew's until the minister apologized. Eventually, after being urged by Machray, Gardiner did apologize but insisted he could not remember making the remark. The episode could indicate that if there was not some support for Riel in the settlement, the Anglican clergy at least suspected that there was. Soon after, according to Mrs. Kennedy, an Eastern newspaper got wind of the story and wrote an editorial describing how she "counselled and insisted on the murder of poor young Scott." PAM, MG2, C2, Kennedy Correspondence, October 10 and 26, 1870.

74 Ibid., August 1, 1871.

75 Ibid.

76 While most of the Anglican clergy in Rupert's Land were staunchly anti-Catholic, Cowley was particularly vociferous in his opposition to the Church of Rome. In praising a certain anti-Catholic tract to a friend in England, Cowley wrote: "What a marvellous refutation of Roman Catholic doctrines! What an awful exposure of popish practices...could you send further tracts, especially the one called: The Priest, the Woman and the Confessional." Cowley continued, "I hear the priest goes among our people in the night seeking to turn them from the practice of Bible Christianity to the idolotry of Mary and saint worship...The Romish priest distributes pictures for adoration in the way of Maryolotry." Ibid., A100, Abraham Cowley to Rev. Smith, June 1, 1887.

77 Ibid., Arabella Cowley to Secretaries, March 10, 1873.

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid., John Grisdale to Secretary Hutchinson, December 26, 1873.

80 Ibid., John Grisdale to Secretary Wright, February 20, 1874.

- 81 Ibid., A101, Richard young to Secretary Wright, July 5, 1875.
- 82 Ibid.
- 83 Ibid., A103, Richard Young to Secretaries, December 17, 1878.
- 84 Ibid.
- 85 Ibid.
- 86 Ibid., A109, January 3, 1881.
- 87 T.C.B. Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies, pp. 215-16.
- 88 PAM, CMSA, A78, Robert James to Secretaires, August 6, 1847.
- 89 In 1853 Kirkby ordered the following books for the school at St. Andrew's:
Rev. W.B. McKenzie's Sermons
The Bible and the Working Classes
Reeds' Conversions
Martin's Illustrated Natural Philosophy
Cornwall's Young Composer
Tate's Euclid's Elements
Tate's Principles of Geometry
Tate's Elements of Mechanism
Heley's Grammar Exercises
Hughes Explanatory Arithmetic
Source: Ibid., A92, William West Kirkby to Major Straith, October 17, 1853.
- 90 According to Kirkby, construction began in 1851 and was not completed until the fall of 1853. Ibid., Journal of W.W. Kirkby, November 8, 1853.
- 91 Ibid., W.W. Kirkby to Secretaries, December 9, 1852.
- 92 Ibid., W.W. Kirby to Secretaries, August 4, 1854.
- 93 The Nor'Wester, June 14, 1860.
- 94 PAM, CMSA, A101, R. Young to Secretary Wright, July 5, 1875.
- 95 Mary Perfect, "One Hundred Years of History of the Rural Schools of Manitoba: Their Formation, Reorganization and Dissolution, 1871-1971," M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978, p. 8.

- 96 See Alexander Gregor and Keith Wilson The Development of Education in Manitoba, (Dubuque, Iowa, Kendall and Hunt Publishing), 1984.
- 97 W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 186. Morton argues that the Schools Act and the establishment of other local institutions indicated that "intimate and inner modes of community life were taking shape in the late 1870s." His view reinforces the notion that Métis and Halfbreed Red River was a one dimensional, unsophisticated society balanced between the hunt and the farm. In fact the parish system, the interrelationship between kinship groups, the economic diversity in the settlement and its relation to the HBC, demonstrated a complex and mature society uniquely adapted to the environment in the Northwest.
- 98 PAM, CMSA, A101, Richard Young to Secretary Wright, July 5, 1875.
- 99 Ibid.
- 100 Frits Pannekoek, "The Churches and the Social Structure in the Red River Area," p. 216.
- 101 CMSA, A98, Journal of John P. Gardiner, December 7, 1868.
- 102 T.C.B. Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies, p. 99.
- 103 CMSA, A102, Richard young to Secretary Wright, June 18, 1877.
- 104 Ibid., A103, December 2, 1878.
- 105 Ibid., Young argued that the fund raising drive had met with little success because of poor economic conditions within the parish. "the [crop] yield has been very poor," he stated, "...and there is literally no market for produce."
- 106 Ibid., A110, Richard Young to the Parishoners of St. Andrew's, n.d., 1881.

- 107 Ibid., "Draft Report by the Bishop of Rupert's land
with regard to relieving the cost of Expenses of the
Pastoral Stations," October, 1881.
- 108 Ibid.

VII The Role of Agriculture and Economy of St. Andrew's Parish

- 1 See Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement: Its Rise, Progress and Present State (Edmonton , Hurtig Publishing, 1972), especially Chap. 10, pp. 108-18.
- 2 Ibid., p. 195.
- 3 H.Y. Hind, Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 (Edmonton, Hurtig Publishing, 1971), p. 222.
- 4 Marcel Giraud, The Métis in the Canadian West, vol. II, translated by George Woodcock (Edmonton, the University of Alberta Press, 1936) pp. 123-125.
- 5 W.L. Morton, "Agriculture in the Red River Colony", Canadian Historical Review, vol. 30, no. 4 (December, 1949) p. 316.
- 6 Stanley believed the mixed-bloods 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.
- 7 Barry 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. Clarke, "The Place of the Métis 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.

- 8 See for example, W.L. Morton, "Agriculture in the Red River Colony", p. 315.
- 9 Anthropologist 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 Métis Society 1810-1870" (MA Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972) pp. 56-86.
- 10 W.L. Morton, "Introduction" in Eden Colvile's Letters, 1849-1852 (London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1956) p. xxv.
- 11 Barry Kaye, "'The Settlers' Grand Difficulty': Haying in the Economy of the Red River Settlement", p. 5.
- 12 W.L. Morton, "Agriculture in the Red River Colony", pp. 309-311. Morton uses a number of sources to support his argument that wheat grown in Red River matured in 110 to 120 days. He also cites Donald Gunn who wrote in 1856: "wheat sown in the beginning of May was above the ear on the 13th of July, and ripe on the 20th of August",
- 13 Barry Kaye, "Some Aspects of the Cultural Geography of the Red River Settlement, 1827-1850" (MA Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1967), p. 165.
- 14 Ibid., p. 174.
- 15 Census 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.
- 16 In 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 study uses the more common meaning of the term.
- 17 Unfortunately, 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.
 - 18 Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement, pp. 112-113.
 - 19 PAM, MG2, C13, Samuel Taylor Diary, May, 1866.
 - 20 PAM, CMSA, A77, William Cockran to Secretaries, July 25, 1833.
 - 21 H.Y. Hind, Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857, p. 150.
 - 22 Barry Kaye, "Some Aspects of the Cultural Geography of the Red River Settlement", p. 172.
 - 23 Archives 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.
 - 24 Marcel Giraud, Le M tis Canadien; Son R le dans l'Histoire des Provinces de l'Ouest (Paris, Institut d'Ethnologie, 1945), p. 836.
 - 25 See livestock totals as contained in the Red River census, primarily the censuses of 1835, 1838, 1843, 1847 and 1849. PAM, MG2, B3, Red River Census.
 - 26 Alexander 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".
 - 27 PAM, MG2, B3, Red River Census, 1849.
 - 28 Ibid.
 - 29 W.L. Morton, "Introduction" in Eden Colville's Letters 1849-1852, p. xxxi.

- 30 PAM, MG2, B3, Red River Census, 1849.
- 31 Barry 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.
- 32 Ibid.
PAM, MG2, C13, Samuel Taylor Diary, March, 1859.
- 34 Ibid., See entries for November, December and January, 1860.
- 35 Barry Kaye, "Some Aspects of the Cultural Geography of the Red River Settlement, 1827-1870", p. 193.
- 36 Writing 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.
- 37 W.L. Morton, "Introduction", in Eden Colville, The Correspondence of Eden Colville, 1849-1852, p. xxvi.
- 38 Barry Kaye "Some Aspects of the Cultural Geography of the Red River Settlement, 1827-1870".
- 39 Barry Kaye, "Flour Milling at Red River: Wind, Water and Steam", Manitoba History, no. 2 (1981), p. 12.
- 40 Marcel Giraud, Le M tis Canadien, p. 779.
- 41 John Bunn to Thomas Bunn, August 10, 1857, cited in G.H. Sprenger, "An Analysis of Selective Aspects of M tis Society, 1810-1870", p. 84.
- 42 PAM, MG2, C13, Samuel Taylor Diary, September, 1860.
- 43 Ibid., July 1863.
- 44 The 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.

- 45 Legislative Library of Manitoba, The Nor'Wester, August 18, 1864.
- 46 H.Y. Hind, Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857, p. 223.
- 47 PAM, MG2, C13, Samuel Taylor Diary, July, 1859.
- 48 The Nor'Wester, May 14, 1860.
- 49 The Anglican Bishop in Rupert's Land, Robert Machray, believed that the protection and extention 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. Moron (ed.) Alexander Begg's Red River Journal (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1956), p. 559.
- 50 HBCA, B.239/K/2-3, Minutes of Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land, 1832-1870.
- 51 Provincial Archives of Manitoba, William Lane Papers, A. Buchanan to William Lane, September 2, 1852.
- 52 Greg Thomas, "The North West Bastion Bakehouse, Lower Fort Garry: A Structural and Furnishing Study", Manuscript Report Series no. 297, Environment Canada, Parks, 1979.
- 53 PAM, CMSA, A77, William Cockran to Rev. Bickersteth, August 3, 1829.
- 54 See for example Taylor's entry for April of 1859, PAM, MG2, C13, Samuel Taylor Diary.
- 55 Barry Kaye "The Trade in Livestock between the Red River Settlement and the American Frontier, 1812-1870", p. 173.
- 56 Duncan Finlayson to H.H. Sibley, October 31, 1840 as quoted in Ibid., p. 173.
- 57 Ibid., p. 174.
- 58 Glenbow Alberta Archives, Sutherland Correspondence, James Sutherland to John Sutherland, August 10, 1840.

VIII. Declining Years, 1887-1929

- 1 St. Andrew's was part of the federal county of Lisgar and represented by John Christian Shultz until 1883.
- 2 PAM, MG15, Minute Book of Council, Municipal Records of St. Andrew's Parish, January 8, 1884-June 13, 1887.
- 3 Ibid., January 8, 1884.
- 4 Ibid., January 5, 1885.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Ibid., January, n.d., 1890.
- 7 Diocese of Rupert's Land Archives (hereafter DRA), Vestry Minutes of the Parish of St. Andrew's, April 4, 1890.
- 8 Ibid., July 21, 1890.
- 9 T.C.B. Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies, p. 270.
- 10 DRA, Vestry Minutes, November 25, 1891.
- 11 ibid.
- 12 Ibid., July 21, 1892.
- 13 For a detailed discussion of repairs to the Rectory in this period see Rodger Guinn, St. Andrew's Parsonage, Red River: A Structural and Land-Use History, pp. 30-37.
- 14 DRA, Vestry Minutes, March 12, 1894.
- 15 Ibid., December, n.d., 1901.
- 16 Ibid., April 20, 1908.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Ibid., April 4, 1910. The vestry minutes do not elaborate upon the nature of the dispute.

- 19 Ibid., April 2, 1912.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 DRA, Vestry Minutes, n.d., 1921.
- 22 Rev. Canon Jeffrey to Mr. Lyall, Warden of St. Andrew,s Vestry, October 24, 1924, DRA, Vestry Minutes of St. Andrew's Parish, 1919-1930.
- 23 According to Rev. Harry Hodspith, the Rector at St. Andrew's between 1917 and 1921, almost 90 percent of the adult males in the parish were killed in the war. This figure, however, does seem exaggerated. Vestry Minutes of St. Andrew,s parish, October, n.d., 1920.
- 24 Ibid., February 4, 1919.
- 25 Ibid., February 22, 1920.
- 26 Ibid., 27 children attended Sunday School at St. Andrew's that year. Seventy-eight attended at St. Thomas'.
- 27 Ibid., February 9, 1920.
- 28 ibid., February 17, 1921.
- 29 Ibid., October 4, 1921.
- 30 Copy of Address by the Rev. C.W. Saunders to the Congregation of St. Andrew's, n.d., ibid., 1921.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Ibid., a detailed outline of rennovations to the Rectory after 1900 is contained in Rodger Guinn's "St. Andrew's Parsonage, Red River: A Structural and Land-Use History," pp. 35-45.
- 33 Ibid., February 3, 1926.
- 34 Ibid., September 8, 1922.
- 35 Ibid., May 15, 1929.

Appendix A. Indent List for Rev. William Cockran and Mrs.
Cockran, 1833. PAM, CMSA, A77.

1	Piece of Irish Linen
1	do White Cotton
8	yards Printed Muslin
6	do Jaconet do
4	do Blue Gingham
4	do Buff do
4	do Lilic do
6	do Nett
6	do Thread lace
6	do Quilting nett, broad
6	do do do, narrow
4	lace caps, trimmed
2	evening caps, trimmed
4	pair kid gloves, large size
2	Plain Silk handkerchiefs
6	Packet handkerchiefs
4	Sheets Paste Board
6	Yards Black watch Ribbon
	A small assortment of coloured Ribbon
2	pair white silk stockings
2	pair husting shoes
1	cloth dress
1	Gros de naples Dress, colour lilac
1	do do do do, do black
1	silk shawl
1	cloak
20	yards flannel
1	work box furnished
1	doz. Reels white cotton
$\frac{1}{2}$	do do coloured do
1	do Bobbin tape
3	pair shoes for little girl, 3 years
2	Common Prayer Books

For Mr. Cockran and boys

1 suit Black Cloth
 1 Great Coat
 6 Silk Pocket handkerchiefs
 2 Black do do
 3 Pair Black kid gloves
 3 yards black cloth
 6 yards blue do for boys
 3 pairs shoes for a boy 9 years old
 2 pairs shoes for a boy 6 years old

Books

Dr. Chalmers' discourse on Modern Astronomy.
 Guy's New British Expositor.
 Enlarged edition of Guy's Pocket Encyclopedia.
 Guy's School Geography, 11th edition.
 Guy's English school grammar, syntax and key.
 Guy's Outlines to Walher's Themes and Essays.

Appendix B. Indent List for Rev. James Hunter and Mrs.
Hunter, 1858. PAM, CMSA, A91.

1	Piece Welsh Flannel
1	do do do binding
3	doz. cotton handkerchiefs
2	do Madras do
2	pieces white Calico
4	pieces printed cotton
1	of assorted garden seeds, vegetables, also sage, thyme and parsely
1	lb. white thread
1	lb. black do
20	yards Black Gambroon
6	yards thick black cloth for winter trousers
2	doz. white reels of thread
2	doz. black do do
2	doz. white tape different widths
1	do black do do do
$\frac{1}{2}$	do worsted shawls, large size
$\frac{1}{2}$	do summer do do do
1	Lady's workbox, about £1
1	cloth Mantle, about 3s
10	yards pink ribbon $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide
10	do blue do --- do ---
10	do green do --- do ---
10	do red do --- do ---
2	do fine black cloth
1	gross men's shirt buttons
10	yards Coburg cloth

Medicines

20	lbs. Epsom salts
10	oz. Turkey Rhubarb
20	doz. apenent pills
5	oz. Tarter emetic
10	oz. carbonate of ammonia
10	oz. tincture of opium

4 bottles of cold drawn castor oil
6 oz. essence of peppermint
4 oz. powdered opium
4 lbs. spermacetic ointment
2 lbs. blister plaster
2 lbs. Pitch plaster
6 yds. adhesive plaster
1 quart soap liniment
4 lbs. Linseed meal
20 oz. Dover's powder
4 oz. Spirits of wine
2 lbs. genna leaves
8 oz. Magnesia
4 oz. calomel
6 oz. Grey powder
8 oz. Paregoric Elixir
8 oz. syrup of Squills
6 oz. tincture Gentian
12 oz. carbonate of soda
12 oz. tartonic acid
4 oz. chloroform

Appendix C. List of Subscribers and Amounts Subscribed for
the building of the Stone Church at St. Andrew's, 1849,
Archives of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, Winnipeg

		Amount					
		<u>Subscribed</u>			<u>Total</u>		
		£	S	P	£	S	P
1849							
February 28	By Saint Andrew's Church. For the following Materials furnished by Subscribers towards payment of their Subscriptions						
	Charles Anderson						
	60 planks 2 in	1	13	-			
	20 day's labor	2	-	-			
	2 Toises Stone	-	16	-	4	9	-
	James Anderson						
	Labor	1	3	4			
	50 planks, 1½ in	1	2	-	2	5	4
	John Anderson						
	Labor	-	13	-			
	21 Sleepers	1	10	6			
	4 Short	-	4	-			
	1 Toise Stone	-	8	-			
	6 feet Plating	-	12	-			
	½ Post	-	1	6			
	125 Shingles	-	2	6			
	Cedar, 500 Shingles	-	6	-	3	18	6
	Thomas Anderson						
	22 Sleepers	1	13	-			
	2 Toises Stone	-	16	-			
	4 short Sleepers	-	4	-			
	6 feet Plating	-	12	-			
	½ Post	-	2	6			
	8 Couples, 32 feet	-	14	4			
		4	4	10			
	Less 28 lbs. dried meat	-	5	10	3	19	-

David Arens						
120 Planks 2 inch	3	6	-			
N.B. 11 of these Planks are not yet delivered						
1 days Labour	-	3	-	3	9	-
George Atkinson						
Labor	-	7	6		7	6
John Beads Senior & Junior						
1 day's labor	-	2	-			
40 Couple Logs	4	-	-	4	2	-
Henry Bind						
Making 1 hand Barrow	-	3	-			
1 Toise Stone	-	8	-	-	11	-
Alexander Birston						
14 day's labor				1	15	-
Magnus Birston						
Wood				2	13	4
William Birston						
Wood	2	13	4			
Labor	-	11	-			
2 Barrows	-	6	-			
Attendance at Kiln	-	5	-	3	15	4
1 day + 1 night						
John Brown						
1 Toise Stone				-	8	-
William Calder						
1 Toise Stone	-	8	-			
8 day's labor	-	16	-	1	4	-
The Rev. Wm. Cockrane						
200 bushels Lime	5	-	-			
56 day's Rtions	1	8	-			
2 bushels Wheat	-	6	-			
Labor of 1 Man 3 days	-	6	-			
6 Toises Stone	2	8	-			
5 day's Rations	-	2	6			
2 Men - oxen haul						
Stone 2 days	-	12	-	10	2	6
William Cockran						
				-	-	-
Henry Cook						
50 lbs. Nails	2	1	8			
50 - Shingling Nails	3	15	-	5	16	8

James Corrigan @									
5 toises Stone	2	-	-						
180 Planks 6x1 in	3	3	-						
10 loads dry Wood	-	15	-						
1 toise Stone	-	8	-		6	6	-		
James Corrigan HB									
2½ toises Stone	1	-	-						
Hauling Stones	-	6	-						
5 day's labor									
squashing timber	-	15	-						
9 Couple Logs, 32 feet	-	18	-		2	19	-		
James Corrigan NH									
50 bushels Lime	1	5	-						
Labor	2	9	-						
1 toise Stone	-	8	-						
100 bushels Lime	2	14	2		6	16	2		
Peter Corrigan									
					-	-	-		
Charles Cummings									
Labor	3	-	9						
Hauling Stones	-	9	-						
100 poplar Logs	-	10	-						
Sawing do	1	-	-		4	19	9		
Malcolm Cummings									
Wood					3	6	-		
Griffith Daniel									
12 days labor	1	4	-						
3 - do	-	4	6						
Making 1100 Shingles	-	9	4		2	-	10		
Jacob Daniel									
18 day's labor	1	16	-						
1 toise Stone	-	8	-						
Making Mortar	1	3	-		3	4	-		
Miss Anne (Nancy) Davis									
					-	-	-		
George Davies									
3 toises Stone	1	4	-						
100 Boards 1 in:	2	-	-						
20 loads dry Wood	1	10	-		4	14	-		
Charles Donald									
Labor	-	14	-						
Slabs	-	10	-		1	4	-		

George Donald						
Labor	-	4	6			
80 Planks 1½ in	1	15	9			
60 do 2 in	1	13	8			
Making & repairing						
Sundries	<u>1</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>3</u>	5	8	1
William Donald						
Hauling Sand	3	4	-			
2 Oxen ea: 4=8 days	-	8	-			
4 days labor	-	8	-			
1-1/3 toise Stone	-	11	-			
12 Stones hauled						
from D.M. Raes	-	10	-			
Taking up 1 large Stone	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>			
Peter Erasmus						
26 days labor	<u></u>			2	12	-
Joseph Favel						
6 days labor	<u></u>			-	12	-
John Fielding						
Labor	<u></u>			-	8	-
Thomas Firth						
400 bushels Lime	10	-	-			
2 Oxen ea: 1=2 days	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	10	2	-
William Flett						
5/2 toises STone	2	4	-			
Wood	3	6	-			
Labor	-	11	-			
1 toise Stone	<u>-</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>-</u>	6	9	-
Peter Garriock (Sch. teacher at Middle Church)						
6 days labor	-	12	-			
½ toise Stone	-	12	-			
Hauling Stone	-	15	-			
6 Oxen + 2 Men 1½ days	<u>-</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>-</u>	2	14	-
Donald Gunn						
Sundries	-	9	3			
3½ days labor	-	7	-			
Hauling Stone	<u>-</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>-</u>	1	10	3
Hugh Gibson						
14 days Labor	1	8	-			
1 toise Stone	<u>-</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>-</u>	1	16	-

James Gunn						
Wood	3	8	-			
Labor	<u>1</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>3</u>	5	1	3
John Gunn						
1 lot Boards 8x1 in.	3	8	-			
2 gres Paper to						
Philip Kennedy	<u>-</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>-</u>	3	13	-
Joseph Halcro						
1 toise Stone	<u>-</u>			-	8	-
Thomas Halcro						
2 toises Stone	<u>-</u>			-	16	-
Thomas Hay						
9-3/4 days Labor	<u>-</u>			-	19	6
Peter henderson Senior						
10 Shingles	<u>-</u>			10	-	-
John Hodson Senior						
1 Wheel barrow	-	8	-			
3 day's labor	-	10	6			
3 - do	<u>-</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	1	6	-
John Hourie						
2 toises Stone	<u>-</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>-</u>	-	16	-
Mrs. Mary Isbister						
Lodgings to Men	<u>-</u>			1	-	-
George Johnstone						
Wood	3	3	-			
1 toise Stone	<u>-</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>-</u>	3	11	-
James Johnstone						
1 toise Stone	<u>-</u>			-	8	-
Philip Kennedy						
Mending Sundries	-	6	-			
Making do	-	19	-			
Hauling Stone	-	2	6			
1 Ox - 4 days	-	4	-			
Labor of Sundries	1	9	-			
8 days Labor	-	16	-			
1/2 Cord Stone						
(say toise)	-	4	-			
60 Planks 2 inc.	<u>1</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>-</u>	5	13	6

Michel Lambert						
Labor	-	10	-			
2 toises Stone	-	16	-	1	6	-
Thomas Lambert						
1 toise Stone	-	8	-			
3 days labor	-	6	-	-	14	-
Hugh Linklater Junior						
Wood	1	15	-			
1 toise Stone	-	8	-	2	3	-
Andrew McChorister						
3 days labor	-	6	-	-	6	-
Henry McChorister						
6½ days labor				-	15	3
James & John McChrositer						
23 days labor	2	6	-			
5 - do of oxen	-	5	-	2	11	-
Donald McDonald (a)						
6 days labor	-	12	-			
1 toise Stone	-	8	-			
5-33/100 Shingles	5	6	8			
1 - do	1	-	-	4	6	8
Donald McDonald (b)						
334 bushels Lime	8	8	6			
14 days labor	1	8	-			
1 days labor of 1 Man & 1 Ox	-	5	-			
36 lbs dried meat	-	6	-			
1 box for Mortar	-	3	-	10	10	6
Kenneth McDonald						
Labor	1	4	-			
Do	-	12	6			
1 toise Stone	-	8	-			
Hauling Stone	1	2	-	3	6	6
John McDonald						
1 Ox	4	5	-			
1 toise Stone	-	8	-			
2 Men & 2 Oxen, 2 days	-	10	-	5	3	-
William McDonald						
150 Planks 1½ in	3	6	-			
1 toise Stone	-	8	-			
1 days labor	-	2	-			
Labor 1 day & night	-	5	-	4	1	-

John Monkman								
1 Drag						-	5	-
James Morwick								
Wood	3	6	-					
6 toises Stone	2	8	-					
12 days labor	1	4	-					
2 Men & 2 Oxen- 1 day	-	6	-	7	4	-		
Andrew Mowat								
Wood	3	3	-					
6 toises Stone	2	8	-	5	11	-		
Edward Mowat								
3 Cases Window Glass	15	-	-					
12 lb. Nails	-	12	-					
143 - dried Meat	1	3	10					
2 - Gunpowder	-	4	-					
1 large tin Kettle	-	13	-					
1 toise Stone	-	8	-	18	-	10		
Thomas Mowat								
1 toise Stone	-	8	-					
2 days hauling Stone	-	10	-					
Labor	-	18	6	1	16	6		
John Mowat								
Wood				3	8	-		
John Norquay-Wood				3	10	-		
James Omand								
Labor	1	16	-					
660 bushels Sand 100	1	19	6					
140 Ceiling Boards	2	9	-	6	4	6		
James & Wm. Peebles								
100 Planks 1½ in.	2	4	-					
1 toise Stone	-	8	-					
40 Boards 1 in.	-	16	-	3	8	-		
Peter Pruden								
Labor	-	15	-					
1 toise Stone	-	8	-	1	3	-		
Francis Richards								
Labor	-	10	-					
½ toises Stone	-	12	-	1	2	-		
James Richards								
½ toises Stone				-	12	-		

George Ross								
Wood	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>-</u>	3	6	-		
William Ross								
1 toise Stone	<u> </u>			-	8	-		
William Saunders								
1 Water Drag	1	-	-					
2 wheel Barrows	-	16	-					
2 toises Stone	-	16	-					
1 Wheel Barrow	-	3	-					
4 days labor	-	10	-					
55 Planks 1½ inc.	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	4	9	2		
Alexander Sabistan								
1 toise Stone	<u> </u>			-	8	-		
David Sanderson								
1 toise Stone	-	8	-					
5 days labor	-	10	-					
60 Planks 2 in	<u>1</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>-</u>	2	11	-		
William Scott								
30 loads Wood	2	5	-					
1 toise Stone	<u>-</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>-</u>	2	13	-		
George Setter Senior								
100 Boards 1 in	<u> </u>			2	-	-		
George Setter Junior								
2 toises Stone	<u> </u>			-	16	-		
James Setter								
Wood	3	6	-					
5 toises Stone	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	5	6	-		
Bakie Sinclair								
Blacksmith's Work	<u> </u>			4	16	3		
Thomas Sinclair								
2 toises Stone	-	16	-					
1 hand Barrow	-	3	-					
1 large Square	-	5	-					
Marking Foundation of Church	-	2	6					
2 lbs. Nails	-	2	-					
1 Plank, 16 feet	-	-	8					
1 Skein Twine #9	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>8</u>	1	11	10		
William Sinclair								
13½ loads dry Wood	1	-	-					
Stone hauling	2	3	-					
4 toises Stone	2	16	-					
13½ days labor	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>-</u>	4	6	-		

John Plater Senior						
1 day's labor				-	2	-
I. Lee L. Smith						
3 days labor				-	4	6
John James Smith						
15 days labor	1	10	-			
4½ toises Stone	1	16	-			
150 Planks	3	6	-	6	12	-
Richard Smith						
Labor	1	19	9			
50 Planks 1½ in	1	2	-			
1 toise Stone	-	8	-	3	9	9
William Smith Senior						
Labor	1	19	-			
6 Cords Fire Wood	-	12	-	2	11	-
Donald Spence						
3½ day's labor				-	4	-
George Spence						
1 toise Stone				-	8	-
George Spence						
2 days labor				-	4	-
John Spence Senior						
Wood	2	18	-			
2 long Sleepers	1	13	-			
4 short Do	-	4	-			
8 pieces Plating	-	16	-			
1 Post	-	5	-	5	16	-
Richard Stevens						
134 Planks	3	6	-			
13 Do	-	5	10			
18 days labor	1	19	6			
2 toises Stone	-	16	-	6	4	4
James Swain						
Labor for 1 day & night	-	5	-			
200 bushels Lime	5	-	-	5	5	-
John Tait						
3 toises Stone	1	4	-			
15½ days labor at sundries	2	6	9			
2 hand Barrows	-	6	-			

John Tait cont'd						
8 Traces	-	10	-			
Mending 1 hand Barrow	-	2	-			
Making & painting						
1 Level	-	2	6			
1 Bevel	-	2	6			
1 Ladder	-	4	-			
Models for Doors	-	1	-			
2 loads Stone	-	2	6			
9 lbs. Iron	-	4	6			
2 Boxes of Mortar	-	4	6			
Taking down scaffolding	-	10	-			
Carting Shingles	-	3	6			
Putting up Plating						
in Tower	-	7	6			
Lime carrying	-	8	-			
20 lbs. Flour	-	2	6	4	2	-
James Tait						
2½ toises Stone	1	-	-			
7 day's labor	-	14	-	1	14	-
Richard Thomas						
Wood	3	2	-			
6 days Labor	-	13	-	3	15	-
Simon Thomas						
Labor	-	4	-			
1 Ox - 1 day	-	1	-	-	5	-
Andrew Thompson						
3 toises Stone	1	4	-			
18 days labor	1	16	-			
1 Ox - 1 day	-	1	-			
Mixing Lime	1	2	4½			
1 Toise Stone	-	8	-	4	11	4½
Jacob Truthwaite						
3 days Labor				-	10	6
Thomas Truthwaite						
1 Wheelford Wheel						
barrow	-	3	-			
2½ days labor	-	8	9	-	11	9
James Valler						
400 bushels Lime				10	-	-
James Whitford						
10 Shingles				10	-	-

Peter Whitford
 $\frac{1}{2}$ toise Stone

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To Saint Andrew's Church Subscription
 List For Materials, Labor & furnished
 by Subscribers p. Book A, Folio 78

355 3 11 $\frac{1}{2}$

£ 355	3	11 $\frac{1}{2}$		355	3	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
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Appendix D. Guidelines for the Withdrawal of C.M.S. Support in Red River, PAM, CMSA, All0, Bishop Machray to Secretaries, CMS, September 15, 1881.

"At a Finance Committee held today there were present the Right Reverend Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land; Ven. Archdeacon Cowley, Rev. Canons Grisdale and O'Meara and Rev. R. Young.

1. After prayer, the minutes of the preceding Meeting were read and approved.
2. The Draft Report of scheme for relieving the Society of the Pastoral charges in the Diocese was read as follows:

Draft Report:

- (1) "The supplying of the Means of Grace by the C.M.S. to their Missions or Parishes within the original Province of Manitoba being the Missions of St. Andrew's, St. Clements, St. Peter's and St. Mary's which have had for years established Christian congregations should as soon as possible cease."
- (2) "In the missions of St. Andrew's, St. Clement's and St. Peter's there has been no material change in the character of the population since the arrival of the present Bishop of Rupert's Land in 1865. The Population as far at least as the church is concerned remains almost entirely Half-breed or Indian."
- (3) "The large emigration into the Province of Manitoba has not directly affected these Missions. The indirect effect has been temporarily injurious. The taxes and expenses

of the new condition of things, following immediately on the disastrous years when the crops were destroyed by locusts, are proving too much for our people. The small narrow Holdings running back generally four miles are of a form entirely un-suited for profitable farming. The result is that there is a gradual process going on of the departure of Half-breed families and the selling off of their lots. The purchasers of these lots are simply keeping them unoccupied. They are waiting to obtain a sufficient accumulation of neighbouring lots to form a proper Farm or to take advantage of some new turn in the ever changing circumstances of this young country. The practical outcome of the situation is that the 3 missions of St. Andrew's, St. Clement's and St. Peter's are probably less equal to self support from contributions of the people than they were in 1865."

- (4) "The Church of the Diocese cannot take the place of the Society and indeed is all able to render assistance as its Missions for the new Settlers are busy with their own necessities, most of them needing and receiving the same outside assistance as the C.M.S. missions in the Province have already latterly been receiving. There are also huge Districts of new and very promising settlements entirely without the means of grace from our Church."
- (5) "There are various lots of land connected with these Missions, held by the Finance Committee in trust for the C.M.S. These lands have come into the possession of the Society partly by occupation rights through the presence of the Missions and partly through purchase. In 1870 when the Country came under proper legal conditions the Society's title was not so distinct and satisfactory as was desirable. The Bishop of Rupert's Land, however, with the knowledge of the C.M.S. authorities here claimed the land on the part of the Church of England by occupation along with the other church lands and the Crown gave him a Crown Patent. An act of the Legislature of Manitoba enabled the Bishop to transfer them to the Finance Committee to be held in trust for the C.M.S. The title of the C.M.S. to these lands, is therefore, now in law perfect. But at the same time any alienation

of these lands to the General Purposes of the Society without consideration of the needs of the Missions would be considered not only unkind but unusual and would create a strong feeling not only in the Missions affected but outside of them."

- (6) "But these lands are at present with the exception of the lot at the Portage of no appreciable value - that is - if sold - they probably would not bring in more on an average than from 12s to £1 an acre. We do not think that the land should if possible be parted with under £2 an acre. At any rate if the land was sold for less the proceeds would not afford any material endowment. But it is likely that within five years the value of the land will reach £2 an acre and small endowments thus be formed."
- (7) "The C.M.S. after a communication from the Bishop of Rupert's Land entered into an arrangement for the Missions already referred to that was to last three years - This arrangement came into force with the Financial year commencing September 25, 1879. It will therefore terminate September 24, 1882, or say December 31, 1882 according to the new Financial management."
- (8) "The following propositions are made as providing a practicable way of gradually releasing the C.M.S. from its charges in these missions.
 - (a) The C.M.S. shall adopt in the case of St. Andrew's, St. Clement's and St. Peter's the same gradual method of withdrawal as in the case of the Schools and then of the Native Pastors in Sierra Leoni and as in the case of its schools in Manitoba, that is to say, it shall pay in the first year to the Home Mission Fund of the Diocese of Rupert's Land the present payment to the clergy of these Missions and thus reduce payment by one-fifths yearly. These payments will be as follows:

£300 from December 31, 1882 to December 31
1883
£240 from December 31, 1883 to December
31, 1884

£180 from December 31, 1884 to December 31, 1885
 £120 from December 31, 1885 to December 31, 1886
 £60 from December 31, 1886 to December 31, 1887.

- (b) The C.M.S. shall after December 31, 1882 make no other payments on account of the three Missions except those above named.
- (c) The Home Mission fund of the Diocese of Rupert,s Land shall make up to the end of December 31, 1887 any deficiency in the sum of £300 a year for these three Missions above the payment of the C.M.S. and any proceeds from the lands of these Missions.
- (d) All the property of the C.M.S. in lands and buildings connected with these three Missions shall be conveyed to the Bishop of Rupert's land to be held in trust for the Incumbents of these Missions or Parishes or for other purposes to be here-in after defined.
- (e) In the case of St. Mary,s, Portage la Prairie "The Society" shall continue its present grant of £100 for the years 1883, 1884, but after that make no further grant to that mission. The lands held by the C.M.S. Finance Committee in connection with the Mission of St. Mary's, La Prairie shall be transferred to the Bishop of Rupert's land in trust for the Incumbent of the said Mission.
- (f) The land held by the C.M.S.F. Committee for the C.M.S. in connection with the Mission of Westbourne shall be transferred to the Bishop of Rupert's Land in trust for the incumbent of the said mission.
- (g) Any sum obtained from the sale of such lands in these five Missions including Westbourne shall be invested and all proceeds from such investment as well as from any entals of the lands shall first be aplyed as an endowment for the special Mission with which they are connected, but

if in any case £100 has been thus secured for any Mission then any surplus over this shall be applied, if necessary to make up any deficiency in the £300 for the three Missions of St. Andrew's, St. Clement's and St. Peter's.

- (h) If there shall be any surplus above what is needed to make up the said £300 per annum, then such further surplus shall go to the increase of the salary of the Incumbent of the Mission or Parish with which the land is connected.
- (i) The Incumbents of these Missions shall be entitled to the same advantages from the Home Mission Fund of the Dioceses as other Incumbents having their Grants from the S.P.G. or other source instead of the Home Mission Fund.
- (j) The Bishop may with the approval of the Executive Committee invest part of the proceeds of the lands in a grant towards a brick or stone parsonage provided that such grant shall not exceed one half of the cost of such parsonage and that with such Grant it be free of debt.
- (k) The house in St. Peter's Parish occupied by Archdeacon Cowley and the adjacent lot of land shall be for his use as long as he required them and shall remain at the disposal of the society.
- (l) To provide for any unforeseen rise in the value of any of the land, the Bishop may draw up a scheme for the employment of any proceeds of these lands in any Parish or Mission beyond \$1200 a year and such scheme shall determine the same provided it shall receive the sanction of the Finance Committee of the C.M.S. But such scheme shall not take effect except so far as it has the consent of the Incumbent of the Mission, till the first vacancy in the Incumbency of the mission. In any such disposition of the surplus over \$1200 provision shall first be made if necessary for the spiritual needs of the Parish or Mission by sub-division or otherwise but

after that the proceeds shall be employed in combining to render any Mission or Missions of the C.M.S. within the Diocese of Rupert's Land self-supporting.

- (m) In the case of people in any Mission in the opinion of the Mission Board of the Diocese of Rupert's Land not doing their part or being unable adequately to assist in the supply of them to the means of grace, it shall be lawful for the Bishop on the recommendation of the Mission Board to add to such Mission an additional District, so as that, however, the said Mission shall have Divine Service at least on the alternate Sunday.
- (n) In view of the special circumstances of St. Peter's requiring the presence of the Reverend B. McKenzie and of his being unable with his large family to live on a less sum than £150 per annum - the C.M.S. and the Home Missions of the Diocese shall contribute in equal whatever may be wanting above the £100 from any deficiency in the contribution of the people."

Moved by Reverend Cannon O'Meara and carried "That the Report as read be adopted and forwarded to the Parent Committee."

Appendix E. Excerpts from the Diary of Samuel Taylor, 1st April, 1860 - 31st, March, 1861. PAM, MG2, C13.

The following is an edited excerpt from the diary of Samuel Taylor, a resident of the lower part of St. Andrew's parish. The full diary contained in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba begins in 1849, when Taylor worked for the Hudson's Bay Company at Moose Factory and includes his move to the Red River settlement in 1858. The journal ends in 1867. Taylor was originally from Scotland where he had been trained as a stonemason. After moving to Red River he actively pursued his trade in and around the settlement and helped build St. Clement's Church. As the diary indicates, Taylor was also a farmer and grew wheat, oats, barley and potatoes as well as maintaining livestock. He had four children; William, James, Mary and Elizebeth, and according to parish records was 44 years of age in 1860. Taylor died in 1894 and was buried at St. Clement's, Mapleton.

I have edited the diary for a one year period between April 1860 and March, 1861 in order to show the seasonal activities of a settler in St. Andrew's parish. While 1860 might not have been a truly representative year for Red River agriculture (according to Taylor, "it has been an extra good crop through the whole settlement"), it was chosen over later years when the settlement's crop was decimated by drought and locusts. It should also be noted that Taylor was likely considered one of the "better"

farmers in St. Andrew's so his activities might not always parallel those of other parish residents.

April, 1860

Monday 2nd I were down at our ground, 3rd I were down at our ground...Saturday 7th chopping logs down on our ground...I were working at our logs on Thursday 12th and the 13th and the 14th...Wheat sown at the Stone Fort [Lower Fort Garry] on Wednesday 11th...I went down to my ground but could not work owing to it being so much snow fallen on the day before...We launched our Bateau in the river, Thursday 19th a.m. to attend our nets...I went up to Mr. McKays, place Monday a.m. 30th and put down some wheat for him...

May, 1860

We put down the last of Mr. McKay's wheat on Friday the 4th...on 10th May we put up T. Moar's fencing...Mr. McKay planted 10 bushels more of potatoes on 14th...I had some wheat sown again on the 15th, T. Moar had some wheat sown on the 16th. Mr. McKay's barley 7 bushels, was sown on the 17th, 18th, 19th, 21st and 22nd...the last of my wheat was sown at Mr. McKay's upon Wednesday 23rd May say nearly 4 bushels in all...I brought down 12 bushels of potatoes from John Folster, price 1/6 per bushel...we planted 6 bushels of potatoes...upon Monday 28th and Tuesday 29th...I were threshing barley on the 31st and my wife and William planted potatoes.

June, 1860

Finished planting our potatoes upon the 1st, say 8 bushels...I were threshing wheat upon the 7th...I were harrowing barley all day the 8th for Wm. Pruden on Monday 11th, I were three days altogether, then I got the loan of oxen and plough, and I put down 1 bushel nearly of barley on the 12th...after dinnertime my wife and children went up to her father's house to weed wheat...I were threshing wheat on Monday 25th, finished threshing and winnowing the 26th...I went to John Gunn's Mill with $2\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of wheat and one bushel of barley on Thursday 28th and just got it in ground, I came home and hoed potatoes...

July, 1860

I went down to my land on Friday a.m. with William Pruden's oxen and ploughed nearly 2 rigs, 130 yards long, 10 yards wide each rig...the 14th was a very sunny day, some people had to drop ploughing owing to hot and flies...Sunday 15th ...helping T. Moar to winnow wheat at W. Pruden's place... myself and T. Moar went up on the 18th to Mr. McKay's Place to cut hay for 2 days for him...Then I went off on Tuesday 24th to cut hay for myself at Nettley Creek...I made two stacks of hay, we came home on the 2nd August; I hear many people say that they never remember such a summer for rain, it is indeed been wonderful all through.

August, 1860

James Irwin began to reap barley on Thursday 16th but plenty was reaping about the first of this month...George Kippling began to reap wheat behind his house on Wednesday 22nd.

Myself and William went up and assisted John Flett upon 27th. George Gunn was there that day with the reaper...I went up from there the 28th and reaped along with Mr. McKay's people that day, we went and stacked hay the 29th across the river, then I began to reap my own wheat on Thursday 30th and John McKay helped me, I reaped for myself also on the 31st all day.

September, 1860

Saturday 1st I reaped for myself; I helped Mr. McKay reaping until my own wheat got ripe and then I reaped for myself. I built Mr. McKay's wheat for him, it was really a very rainy harvest, it has been an extra good crop through the whole settlement, perhaps the best that was ever in it. I did not reap the last of my wheat until the 19th as it was rather green...I came from harvest upon Monday p.m. 24th...I got the loan of 10 bushels of wheat from Mr. Marriet. I went up to John Tait's water mill with it that same day and it was ground that night and I came home nearly daylight on Saturday a.m., 29th then I hauled in my barley that day.

October, 1860

Monday the 1st a fine day we commenced to take up potatoes - and although we took some up all week still the rain some days prevented us so much that one day we only got up two bushels...the last of Thomas Moar's potatoes was all got up upon the 12th, 10½ bushels good measure, our potatoes was all got upon the as said on 12th...I went up to Mr. McKay's place upon Monday 15th to thresh wheat, I came home on Friday 19th p.m.

November, 1860

My wife and William were collecting firewood on our land the 1st...killed a fine pig on the 6th...Thomas Moar hauled home his beams and some logs from the woods on Thursday 8th...Our William hauled 2 loads of firewood home on Friday upon John Fidler's ox...hauled 1 load of dry wood on Wm. Purden's ox, 22nd, and 2 loads of wood on young T. Kipling's ox, 29th...

December, 1860

T. Moar and myself went up to Mr. McKay's place upon Sunday the 2nd and came home upon the 3rd and brought home T. Moar's ox with us, he bought it from James Peebles. I went up and piled my logs on my land upon the 4th, I have 15 planks and 16 boards there...Joseph A. bought a pig 4 months old from us on the 5th. I were helping Wm. Pruden to thresh upon the 7th...I got the loan of an ox from Mr. Peter Pruden upon the 15th and I start off for the Lake about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 o'clock a.m. on Monday the 17th we slept our first night at Poplar Point...I went home with Peter Pruden's ox on Saturday 22nd...we all got home with our fish on the 21st, our 5th day...now this 30th and clear - 1860 is at an end so goodbye to it.

January, 1861

On the 2nd I went up to Mr. McKay's place and cleaned some wheat for the mill...I brought 10 bushels of wheat down to Mr. Gunn's mill upon Saturday the 5th...We brought home 3 loads of hay on John Pruden's oxen, upon Thursday the 10th January...Thomas Moar was hauling home his hay at this time,

he hauled about five days...I were collecting firewood three or four days afterwards, we brought home 3 loads of hay again upon John Purden's oxen upon Friday 18th...we brought home a load of wood on the 19th...Thomas Moar, John A. McKay and myself left here for the Pines [a wooding spot near Lake Winnipeg] upon the 22nd and we got there about dinnertime ...the next day we cut down some logs.

February, 1861

The 1st I were in the Pines chopping logs and I came home upon Saturday the second p.m. Sunday the 3rd Monday the 4th I were collecting wood...I were collecting and hauling wood the 8th and 9th...I helped Thomas Moar to cut some logs for the build a Byre with, upon the 15th I went up thinking to get my flour from the mill - but got none...T. Moar and myself went off to the Pines with 5 oxen for logs upon the 18th a.m. and came home the 19th after dinner, then we went up on the 20th to Mr. Harriet's house with hay and got a good dinner there. We went out to the Pines again on Thursday 21st for more logs and came home upon the 22nd...we both went off to the Pines again upon Thursday 28th...we loaded John McKay's logs that evening...

March, 1861

We got our flour from Mr. Donald Gunn's mill today, after our wheat being 8 weeks in the mill...I were gathering firewood on the 7th, I hauled 3 loads of wood on Saturday the 9th on John Pruden's ox, John Pruden brought home 3 loads of hay for us on the 6th...we went to the Pines after sunrise 15th and came home about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 o'clock a.m....our young cow

had a calf upon the morning of the 19th, I went up to John Flett's house to help them thresh wheat upon the 20th, 21st and 22nd...7 men and 1 boy at the work, threshed 200 bushels...Thomas Moar and myself began to saw some of our logs on Saturday the 30th...I brought home the last of our hay 2 loads on 3 oxen of John Pruden's.

Appendix F. Annual Report of St. Andrew's Church, 1919. (Source: Archives of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, Winnipeg)

RECTOR'S REPORT
JANUARY 1st, 1919 to DECEMBER 31st 1919

	St. Andrew's	St. Thomas	St. Matthews	Total
Regular Sunday Services.....	52	51	43	146
Aggregate Attendance.....	2044	3785	1221	7030
Average Attendance.....	39	74	29	142
Week Day Services.....	1	11	--	12
Average Attendance.....	40	31	--	71
Celebration Holy Communion..	9	7	4	20
Communicants Average.....	18	28	15	61
Communion private.....	--	--	--	21
Baptisms.....	--	--	--	25
Confirmed.....	--	--	--	--
Weddings.....	--	--	--	4
Funerals.....	--	--	--	18
Sunday Schools.....	1	1	--	2
Sunday School Teacher.....	2	5	--	7
Sunday School Scholars.....	15	58	--	67
Sunday School Collections...	20.00	45.72	--	55.72
Women's Auxiliary and Guilds	372.03	232.52	340.00	--
General Collections.....	434.46	1074.05	311.03	1819.54
Synod Collections.....	71.23	119.70	37.10	228.03

OFFICERS FOR 1920

St. Andrew's: Peoples' Warden: F. Larter, Rector's Warden, H.B. Lyall.
and

St. Thomas Vestrymen: Wm. Scott, George Camplin, E.C. McDonald, G. Park, J. McGougan, Wm. Hay, Thos. Saunders, Chas. Forrest, W. Hart, W. McDonald, G.B. Corke, John Miller.

St. Matthew's: Peoples' Warden: James Anderson
 Rectors' Warden: J.R. Sutherland
 Vestrymen : W.C. Sutherland, Arthur Land, Andrew
 Truthwaite, Alec. Sanders, John E. Harriott Jr.,
 Alec. Harriott, L.T. Norquay, John Norquay, Alec.
 Birston, Andrew's Truthwaite Jr., Alfred Truthwaite.

H. HOODSPITH,
 Rector

SUNDAY SCHOOLS

	St. Andrew's	St. Thomas
Scholars enrolled.....	15	58
Average attendance.....	9	38
Sessions held.....	26	49
Number Teachers.....	1	5
Expenditures:		
Supplies.....	11.30	18.34
Support of Child in India...		25.00
Receipts.....	11.30	45.72
Balance on hand.....		2.38

WARDENS' FINANCIAL REPORT

Receipts

	St. Andrew's	St. Thomas	St. Matthew's	
Balance In Bank.....	\$ 4.69	\$		
Envelope Collection.....	98.20	379.55		
Open Collection.....	184.70	230.85	\$ 311.03	
Synod Collection.....	71.23	119.70	37.10	
Christmas Collection.....	13.55	25.65		
From Women's Auxiliary.....	268.00			
Special Subscriptions.....	123.01	438.00		
Cemetery.....	15.00			
Dominion Bank Loan.....	60.00			
	<u>\$ 838.38</u>	<u>\$ 1193.75</u>	<u>\$ 348.13</u>	2380.26

Expenditures

Stipend.....	\$ 396.13	\$ 396.14	\$ 311.03
Sexton.....	127.50	50.00	
Organist.....		25.00	
Christmas Offering to			
Rector.....	13.55	25.65	
Synod, Missions, etc.....	71.23	119.70	37.10
Insurance.....		4.90	

Fuel and Light.....	35.55	16.80		
Repairs.....	34.25			
Rectory Building Debt.....	468.00			
Interest on same.....	20.07			
Tower, St. Thomas.....		227.00		
Balance in Bank.....	.66			
	<u>\$ 1166.94</u>	<u>\$ 865.19</u>	<u>\$ 348.13</u>	\$ 2380.26

F. LARTER
H.B. LYALL Wardens

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Figure 5. Rev. John West (Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

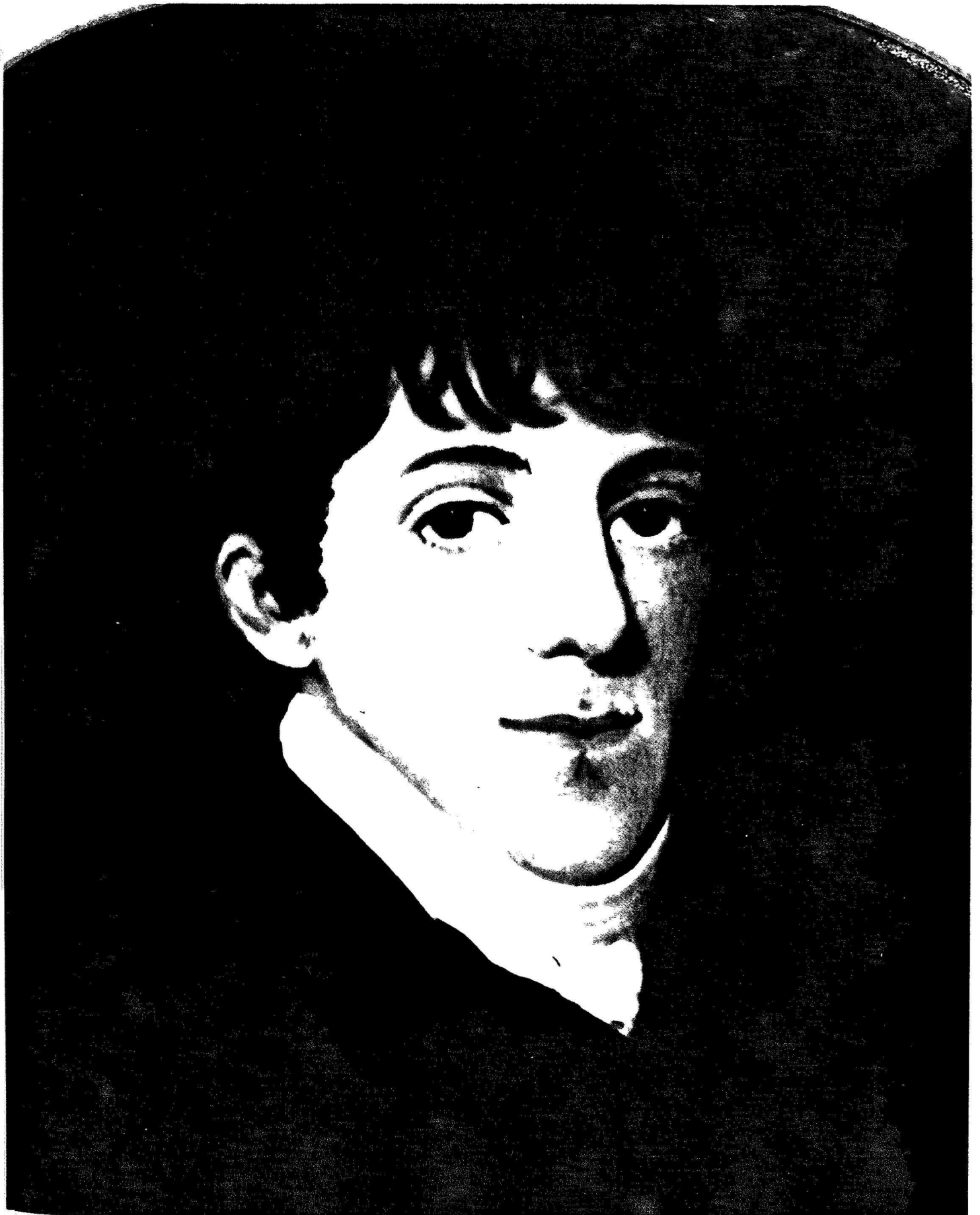
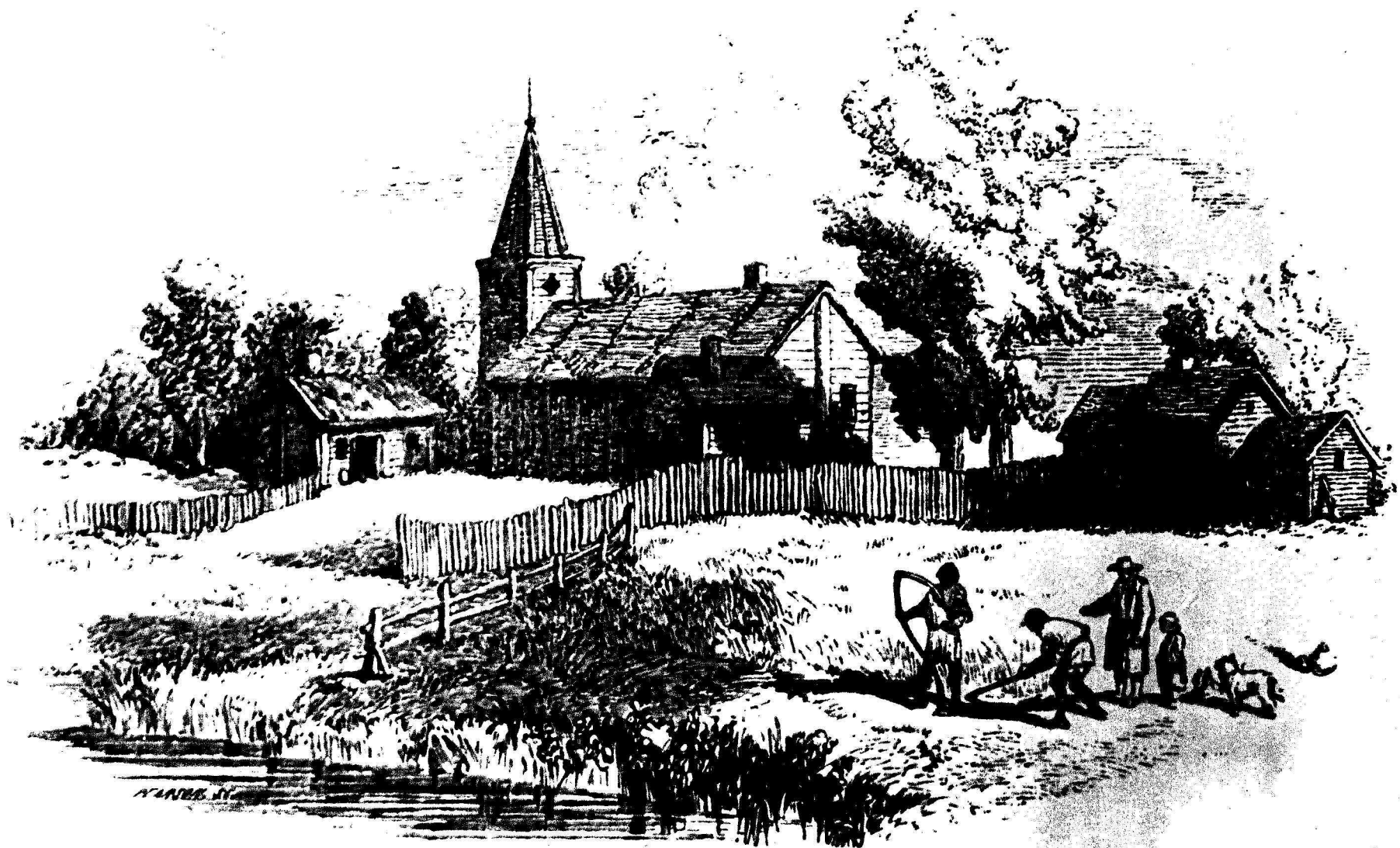


Figure 6. Church and Mission School at the Upper Settlement, later St. John's. Provincial Archives of Manitoba.



Church and Mission School at the Upper Settlement, built by the Rev. J. West.

Figure 7. Rev. William Cockran. (Provincial Archives of Manitoba).

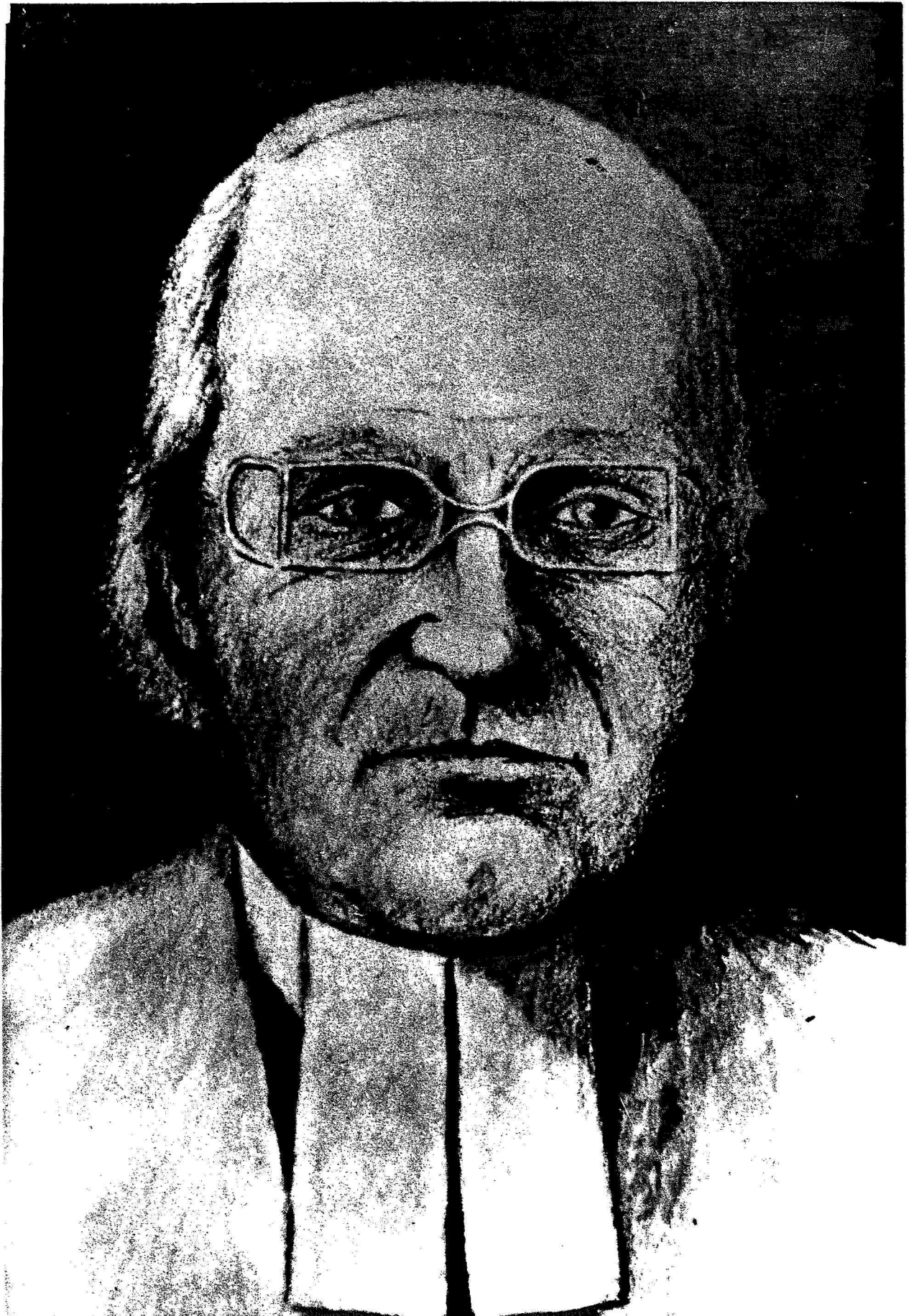


Figure 8. St. Peters, 1884. (Provincial Archives of Manitoba).

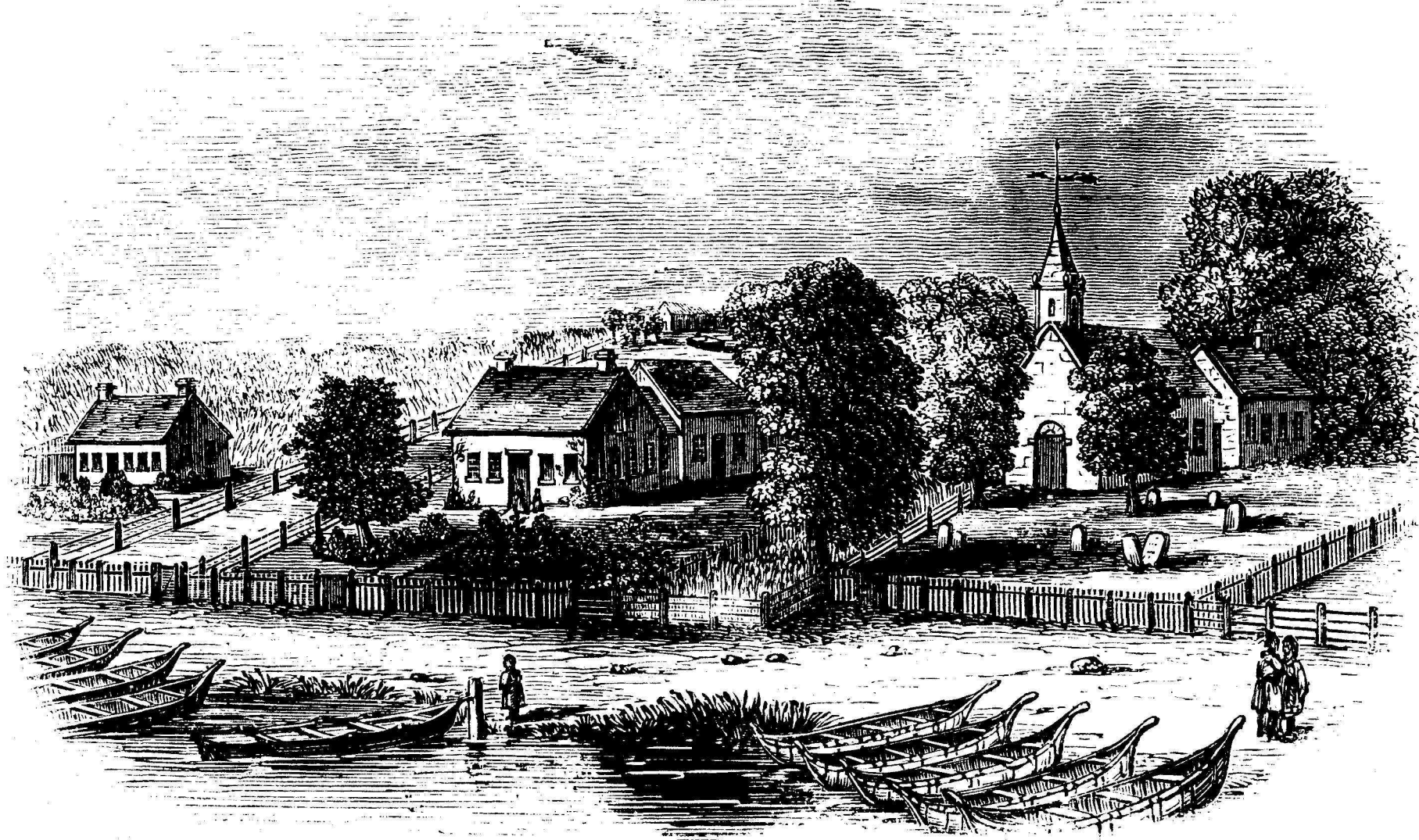


Figure 9. Rev. David Anderson, Bishop of Rupert's Land, 1849-1865. (Provincial Archives of Manitoba.)

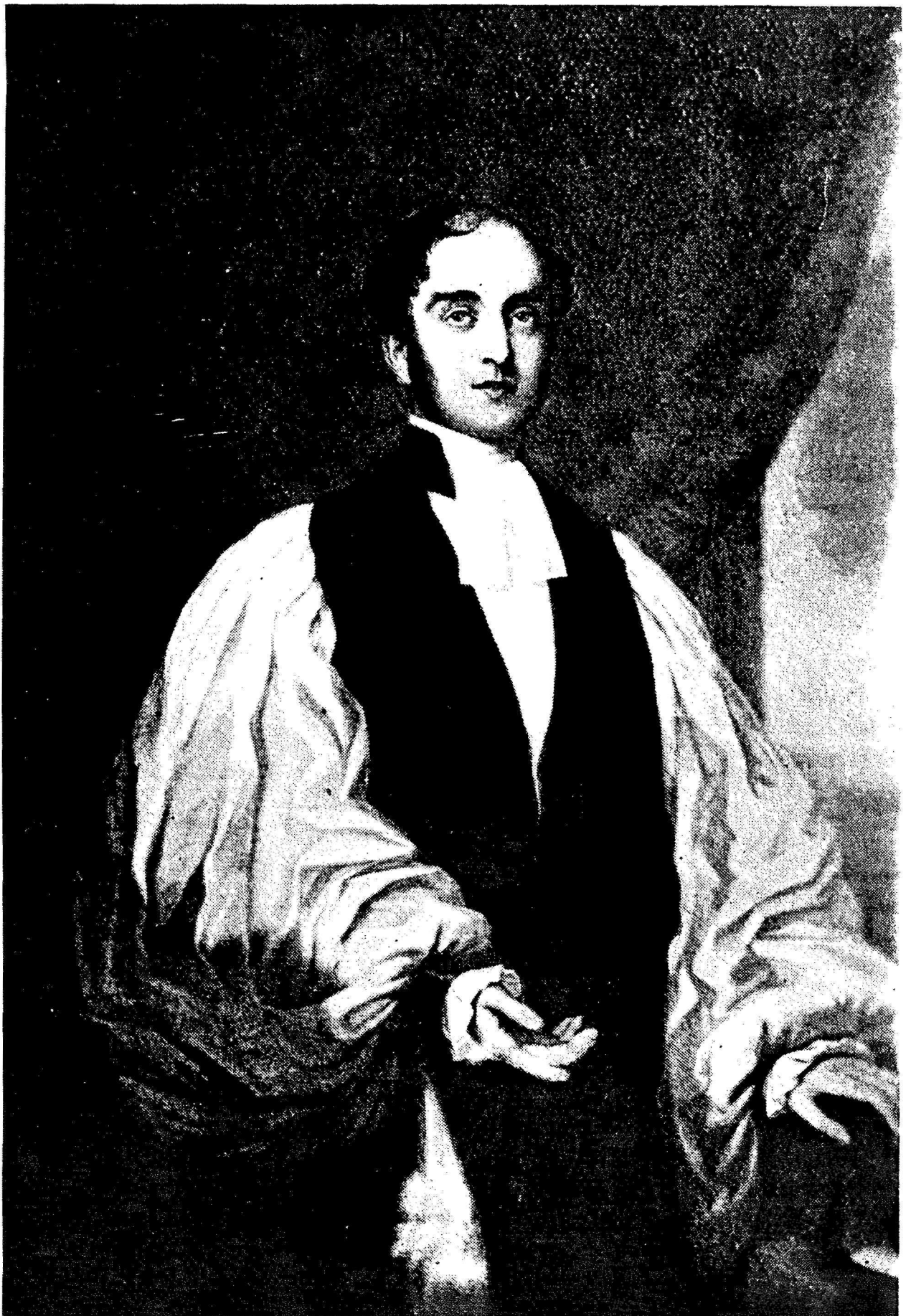


Figure 10. John McKay, Cree Halfbreed. 1858. (Provincial Archives of Manitoba.)

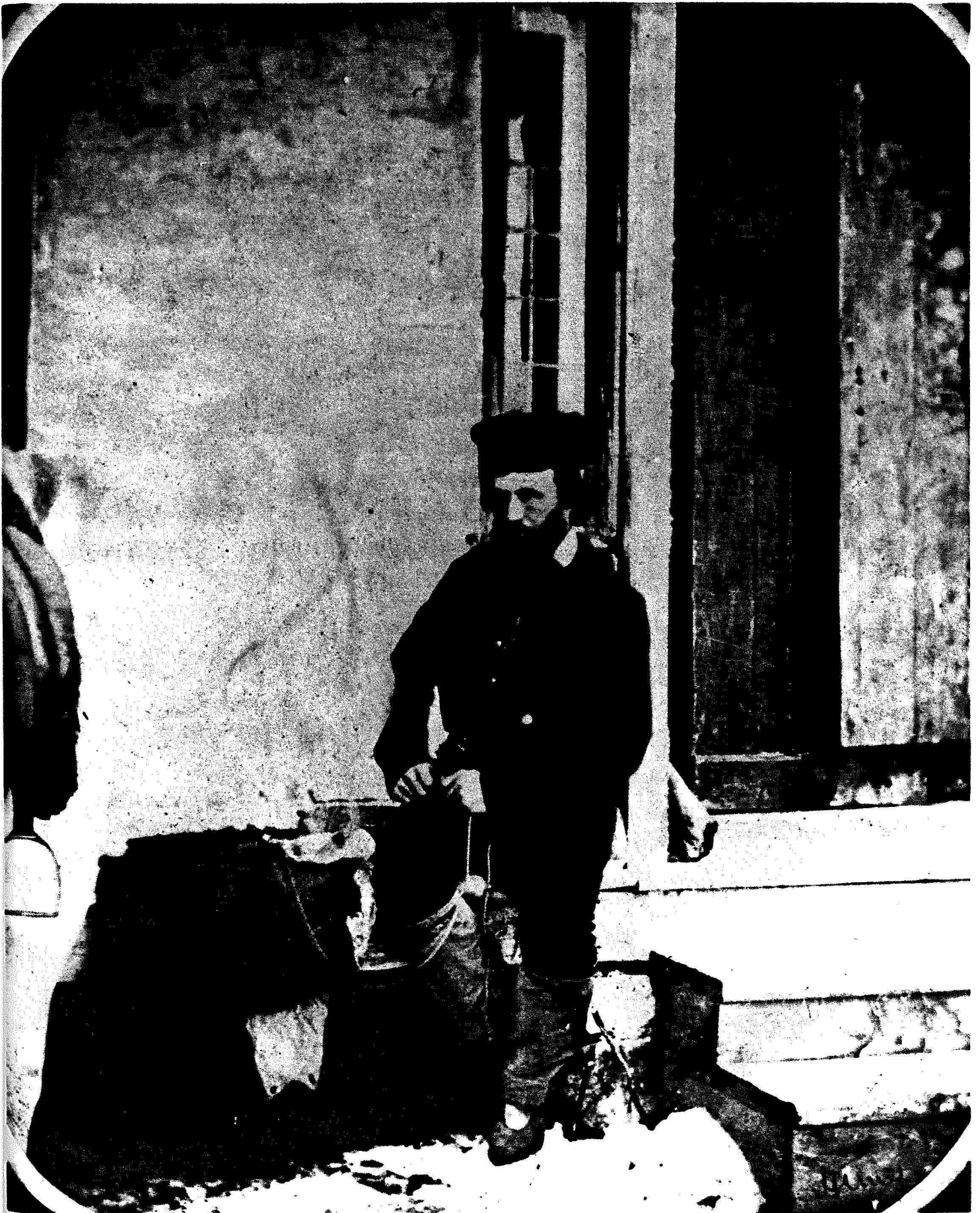


Figure 11. James Ross, 1860s. (Provincial Archives of
Manitoba.)



Figure 12. St. Andrew's Church, 1858. (Provincial Archives of Manitoba.)



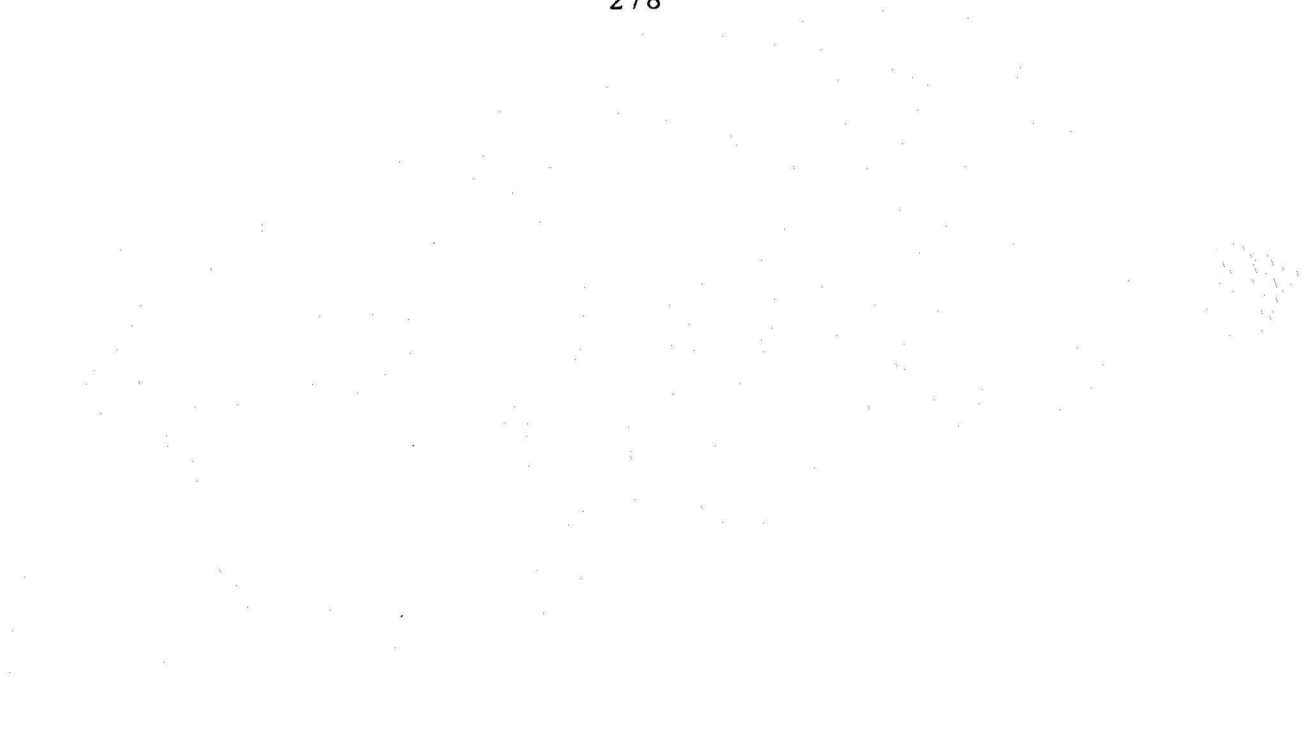


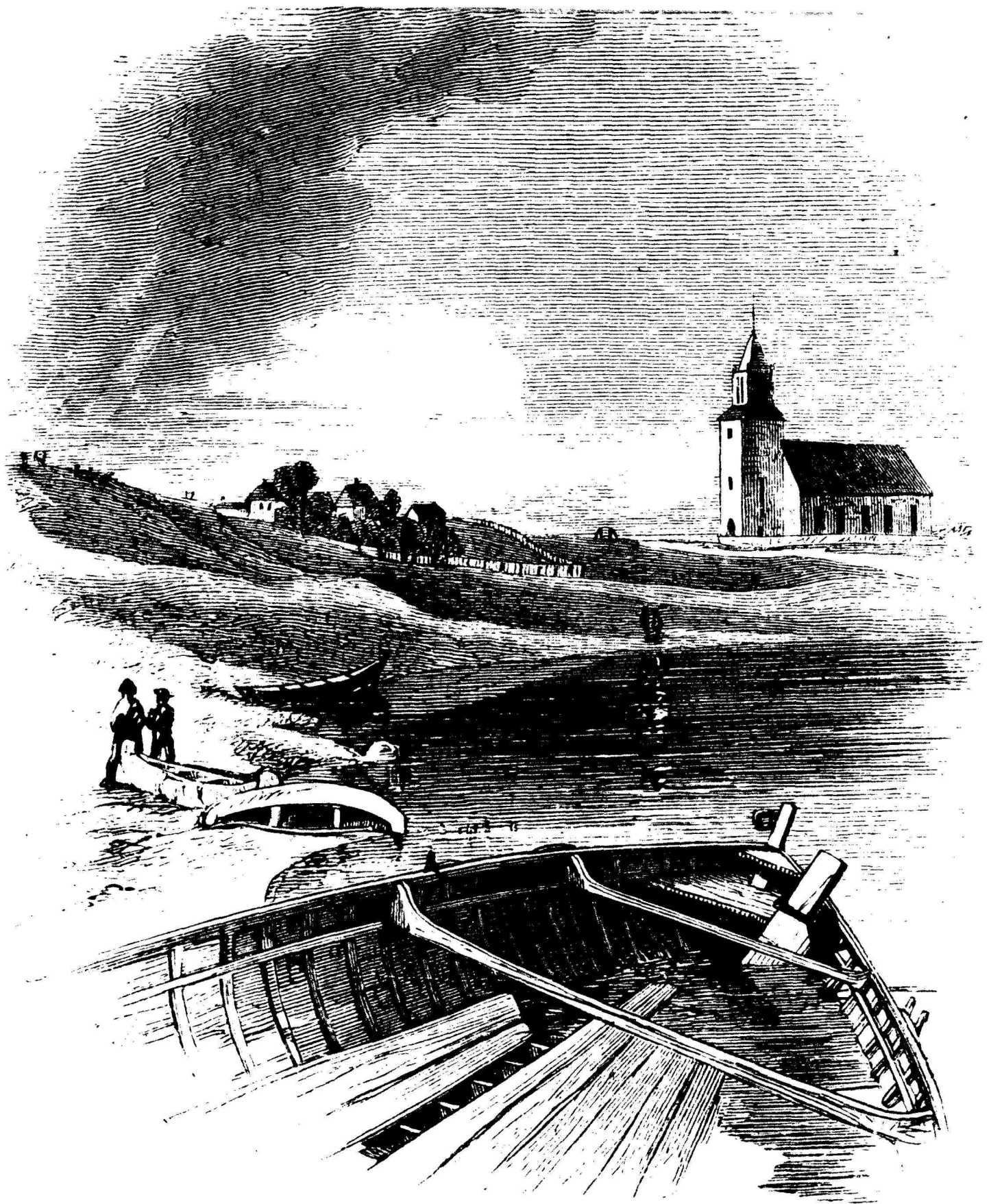
Figure 13. St. Andrew's Rectory, 1858. (Provincial Archives of Manitoba.)



Figure 14. Rev. James Hunter and Wife (Provincial Archives of Manitoba.)



Figure 15. A sketch of St. Andrew's by Nanton Marble,
1860. (Provincial Archives of Manitoba.)



ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH.

Figure 16. William West Kirkby, 1875. (Provincial Archives of Manitoba.)



Figure 17. Farm House and Windmill, Middle Settlement,
1858. (Provincial Archives of Manitoba.)



Figure 18. Agricultural Implements, Red River, c. 1825.
(Provincial Archives of Manitoba.)

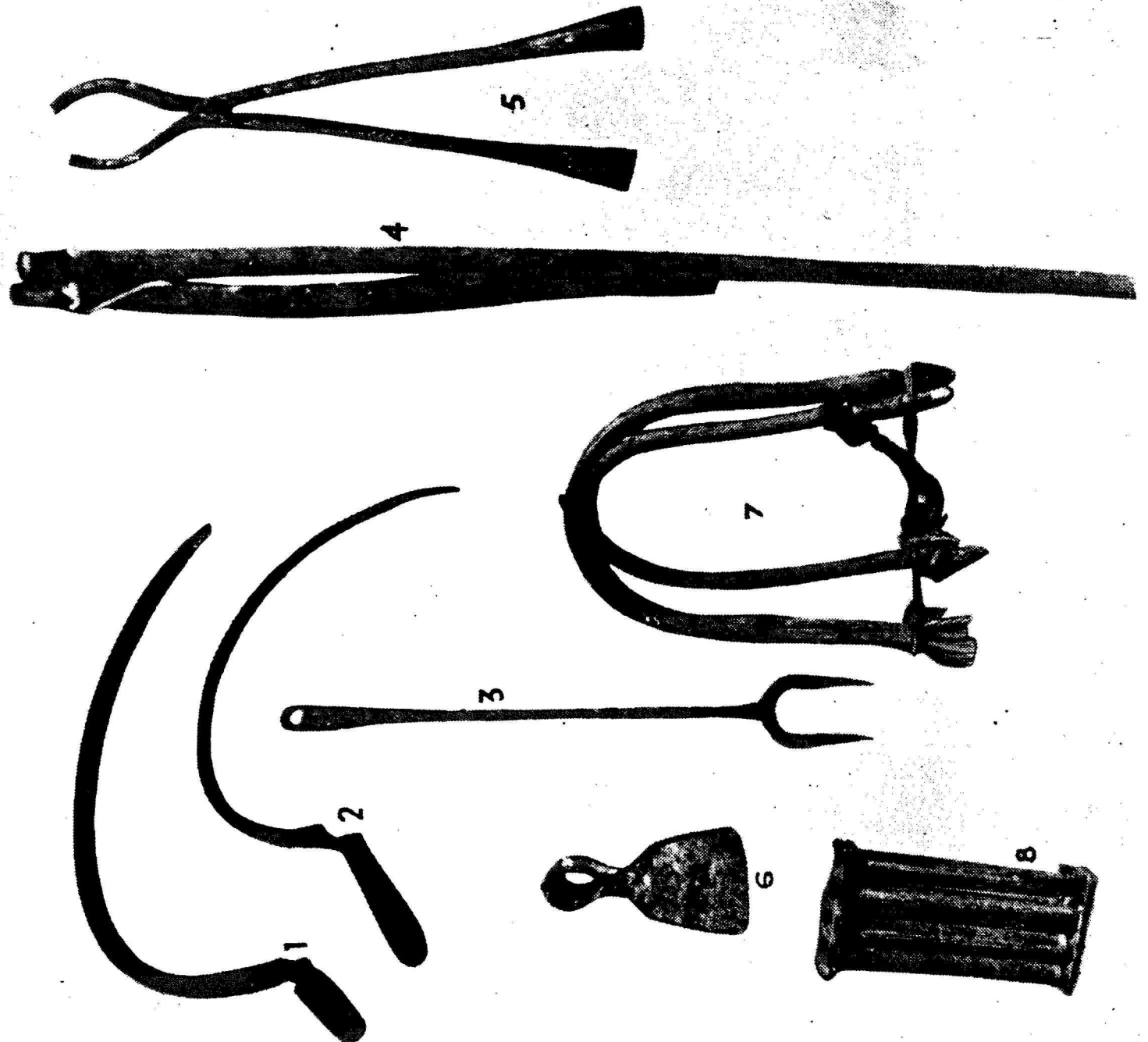
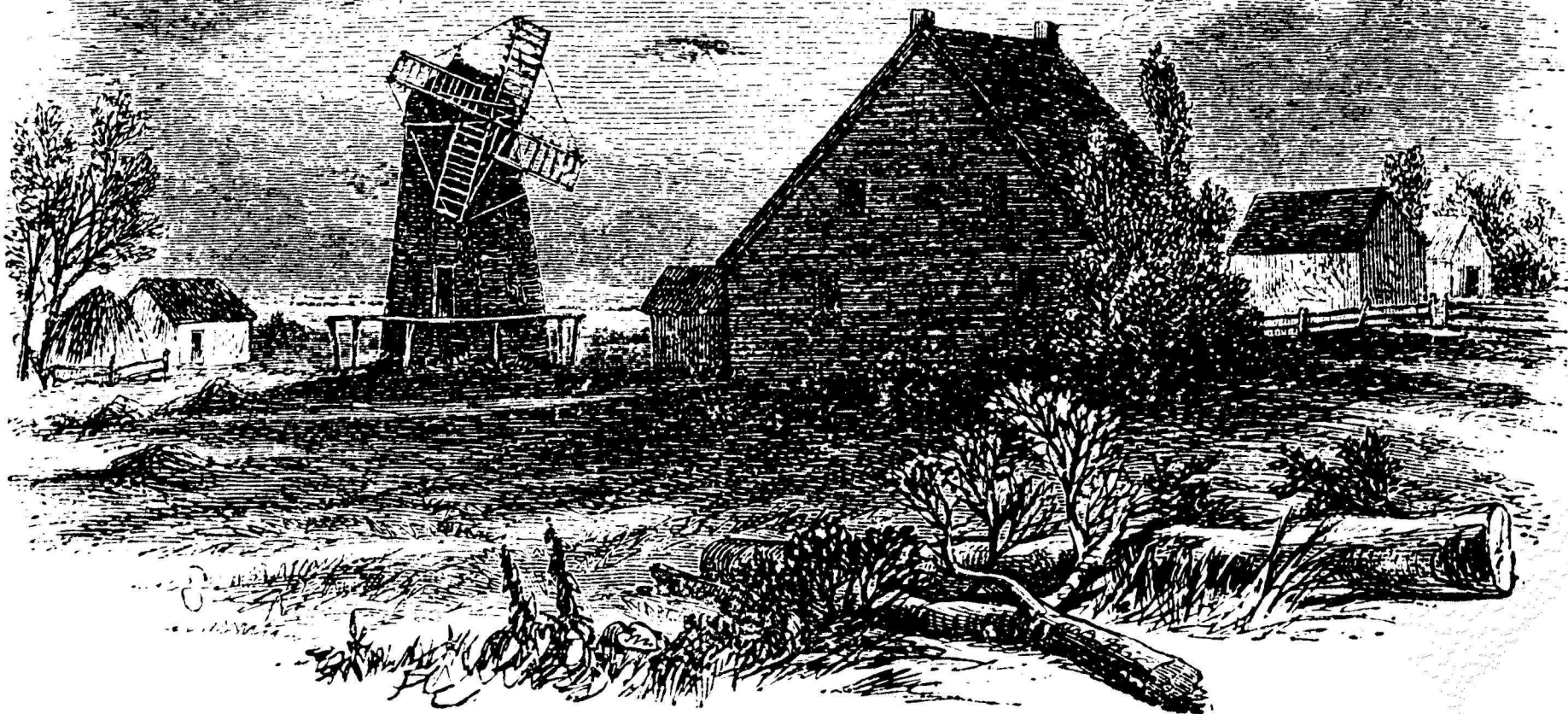


Figure 19. Robert Logan's House and Mill, 1860.
(Provincial Archives of Manitoba.)



MR. ROBERT LOGAN'S HOUSE AND MILL AT FORT DOUGLAS IN 1860.

Figure 20. St. Andrew's Church and Rectory, c. 1899.
(Provincial Archives of Manitoba.)

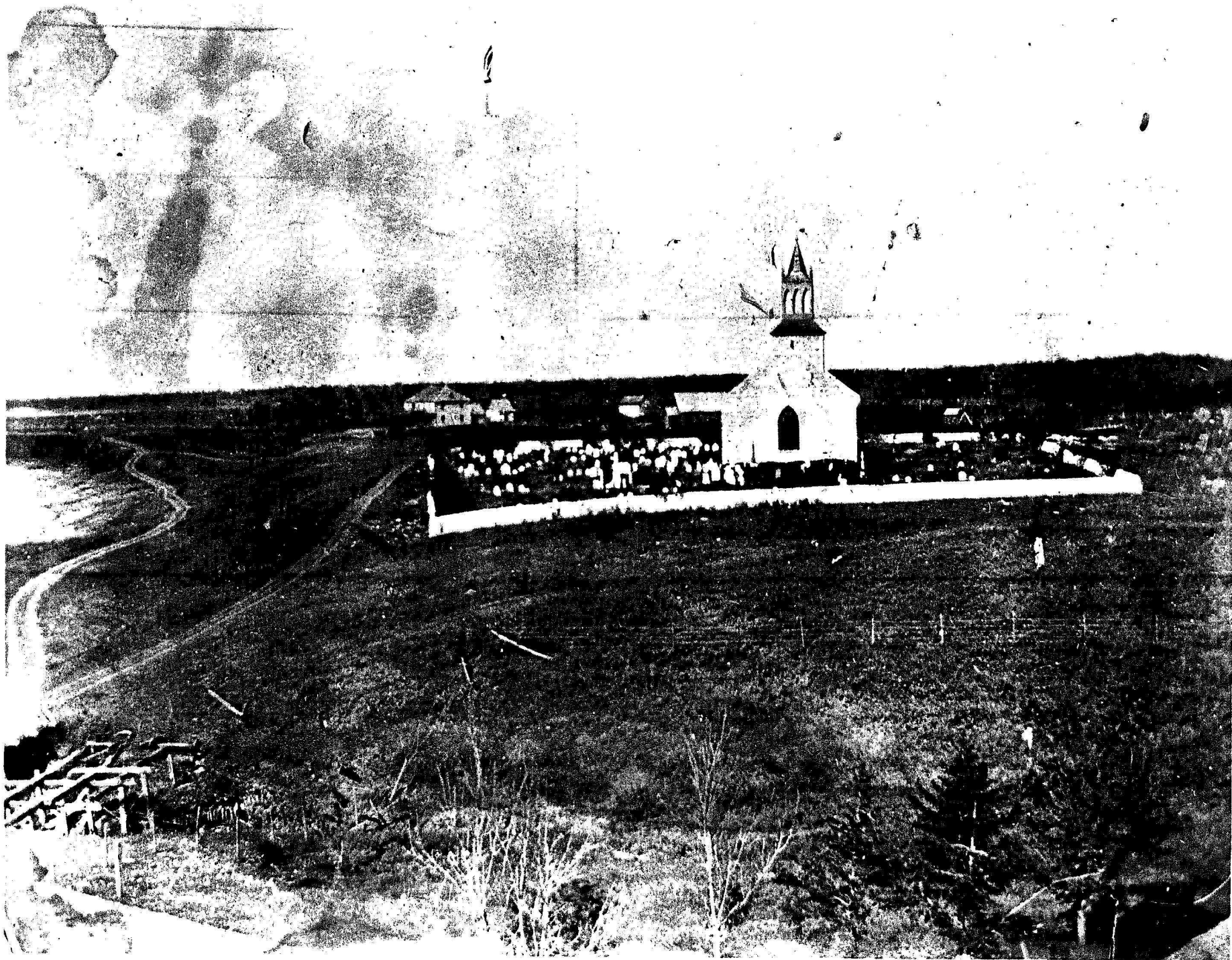
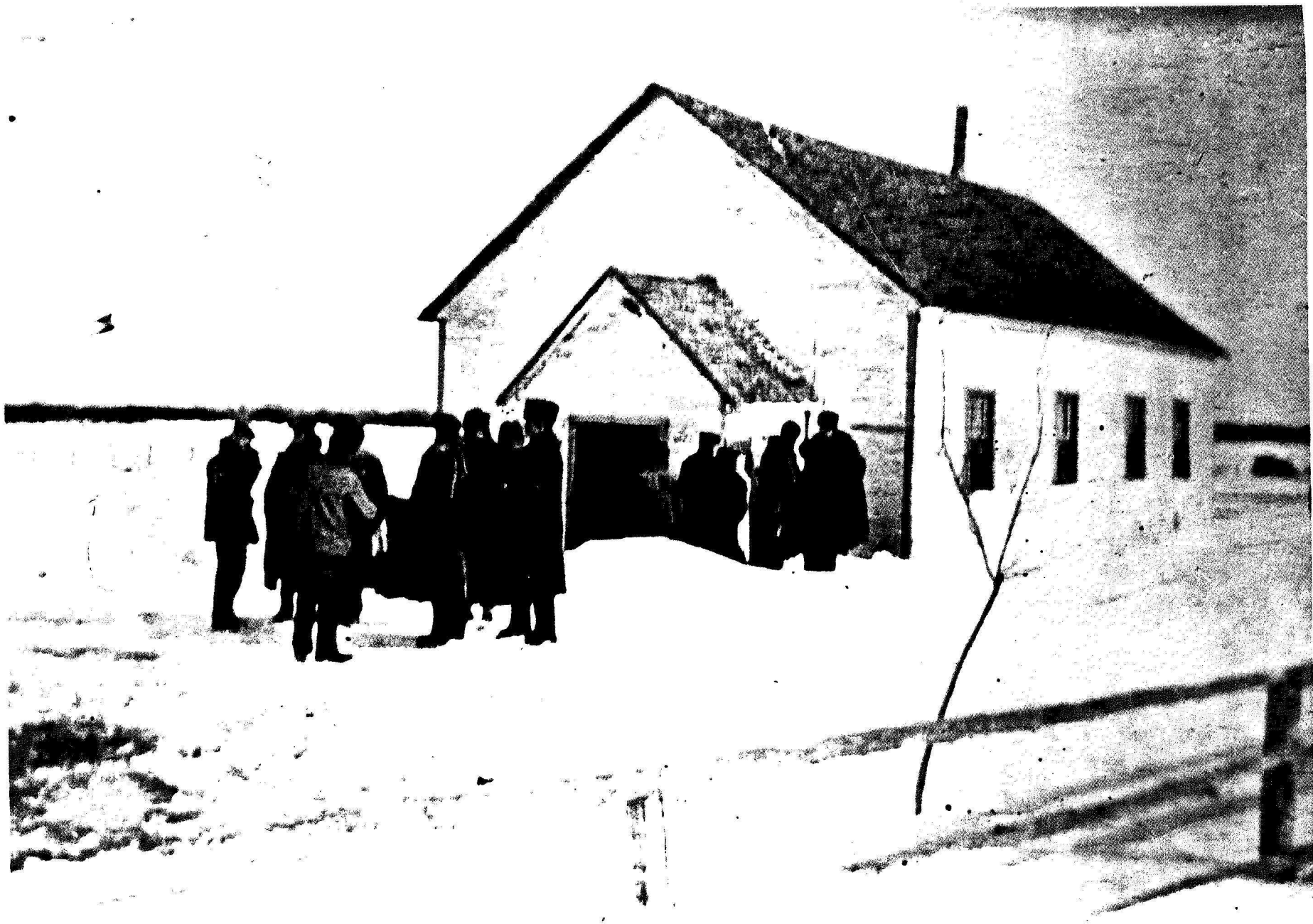


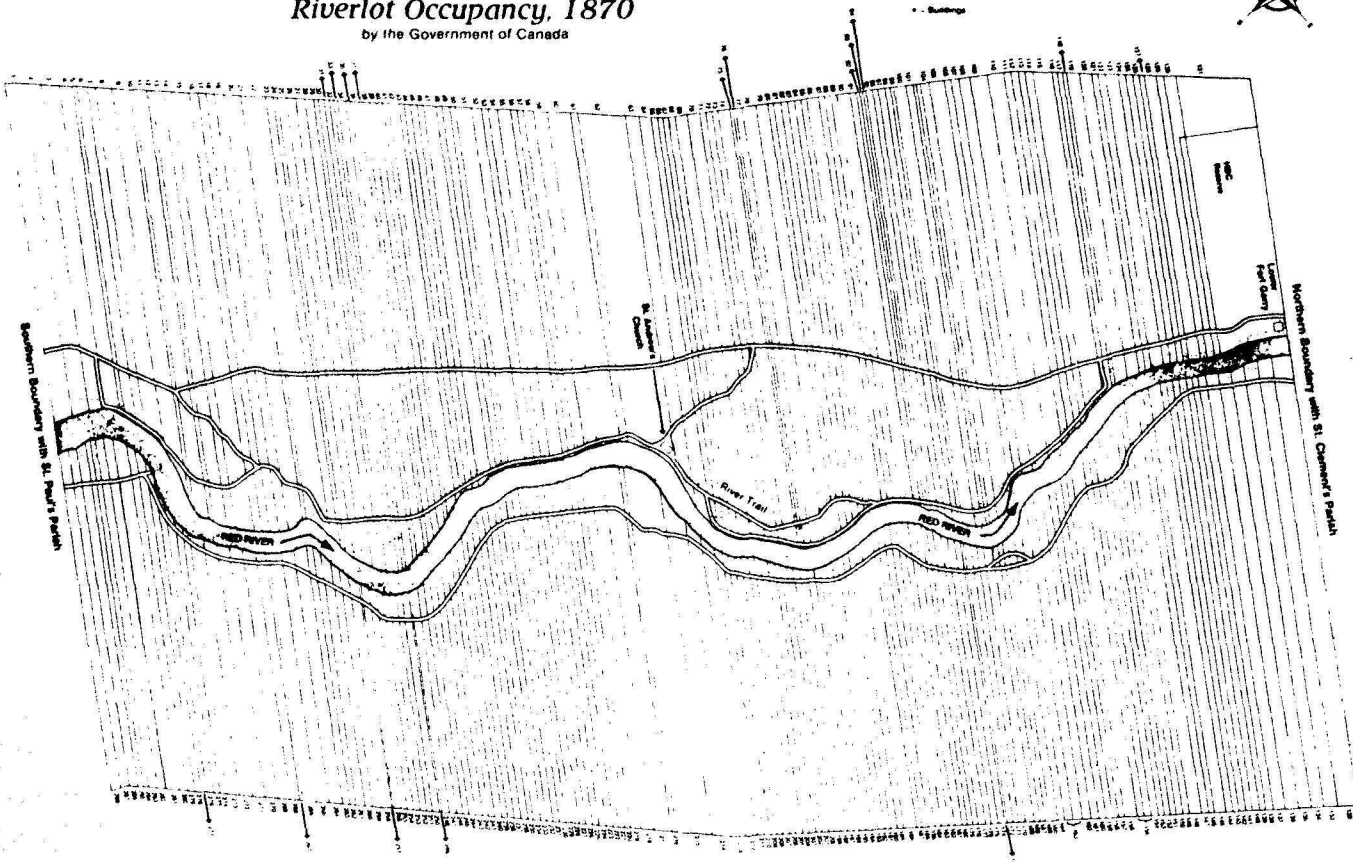
Figure 21. St. Andrew's Rectory, 1906. (Provincial Archives of Manitoba.)



Figure 22. Election Day, St. Andrew's School, March, 1907.
(Provincial Archives of Manitoba.)



Scale of Chans
10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60 65 70 75 80 85 90 95 100
1 chan = 66 feet
• = Buildings



LEGEND

LEGEND							
Name	Lat No.	John Thompson	76	James Ramsey	80	Andrew Smith	210
John Tait	1	John Thompson	77	James Ramsey	101	Thomas Smith	211
Joseph Tait	2	John Thompson	78	James Ramsey	102	Thomas Smith	212
Servant of Jesus	3	Correll James	79	James Ramsey	103	George Jackson	213
Thomas Parke	4	John Thomas	80	John Goss	104	John Goss	214
John Jones	5	James Platt	81	Robert Cox	105	James Taylor	215
Robert Tait	6	James Platt	82	Robert Cox	106	James Taylor	216
George Haines	7	Harriet Parsons	77	William McDonald	107	Thomas Levis	217
Robert Black	8	Daniel McDonald	78	Robert Cox	108	Robert Thomas	218
John Bello	9	Daniel McDonald	79	Robert Cox	109	Robert Thomas	219
James Barnes	10	Daniel McDonald	80	Robert Cox	110	James Campbell	220
Daniel Barnes	11	William McDonald	81	Robert Cox	111	James Campbell	221
John Barnes	12	James Parsons	82	Robert Cox	112	James Campbell	222
James Cornely	13	James Parsons	83	Robert Cox	113	James Campbell	223
Peter Smith	14	Thomas Farn	84	Robert Cox	114	James Campbell	224
John Bello	15	William Benton	85	Robert Cox	115	James Campbell	225
Charles Henderson	16	James Vail	86	Robert Cox	116	James Campbell	226
Henry George	17	Charles Moore	87	Robert Cox	117	James Campbell	227
William McKay	18	Edward Moore	88	Robert Cox	118	James Campbell	228
Frederick Farnham	19	John Moore	89	Robert Cox	119	James Campbell	229
Frederick Gibson	20	George Carter	90	Robert Cox	120	James Campbell	230
James Campbell	21	Benjamin Carter	91	Robert Cox	121	James Campbell	231
Daniel McDonald	22	James Carter	92	Robert Cox	122	James Campbell	232
William Carter	23	Benjamin Carter	93	Robert Cox	123	James Campbell	233
John Auld	24	Daniel Haines	94	Robert Cox	124	James Campbell	234
John Auld	25	William Parsons	95	Robert Cox	125	James Campbell	235
John McDonald	26	James Henderson	96	Robert Cox	126	James Campbell	236
George Campbell	27	Henry Thomas	97	Robert Cox	127	James Campbell	237
James Campbell	28	Henry Thomas	98	Robert Cox	128	James Campbell	238
Humphrey Ford	29	William Smith	99	Robert Cox	129	James Campbell	239
William Ford	30	James Smith	100	Robert Cox	130	James Campbell	240
Thomas Smith	31	James Smith	101	Robert Cox	131	James Campbell	241
John Leppert	32	Thomas Tinsdale	102	Robert Cox	132	James Campbell	242
Michael Lambert	33	John Lewis	103	Robert Cox	133	James Campbell	243
James Tait	34	John Lewis	104	Robert Cox	134	James Campbell	244
Alexander McDonald	35	Neil McKay	105	Robert Cox	135	James Campbell	245
William McDonald	36	Daniel Goss	106	Robert Cox	136	James Campbell	246
William McDonald	37	James Goss	107	Robert Cox	137	James Campbell	247
William Butherford	38	James Harper	108	Robert Cox	138	James Campbell	248
Cuthbert Cummings	39	Duncan Moffat	109	Robert Cox	139	James Campbell	249
John Davidson	40	George Buchanan	110	Robert Cox	140	James Campbell	250
James Davidson	41	John Smith	111	Robert Cox	141	James Campbell	251
James Campbell	42	John Miller	112	Robert Cox	142	James Campbell	252
John Heppell	43	John Miller	113	Robert Cox	143	James Campbell	253
William	44	A. B. Boyd	114	Robert Cox	144	James Campbell	254
John Moore	45	E. Taylor	115	Robert Cox	145	James Campbell	255
William Bello	46	Thomas Platt	116	Robert Cox	146	James Campbell	256
John Bello	47	John Cox	117	Robert Cox	147	James Campbell	257
John Kells	48	Daniel Platt	118	Robert Cox	148	James Campbell	258
Hugh Leslie	49	Daniel Platt	119	Robert Cox	149	James Campbell	259
Duncan Leslie	50	James Leslie	120	Robert Cox	150	James Campbell	260
George Davis	51	John Miller	121	Robert Cox	151	James Campbell	261
James Campbell	52	Alexander Moffat	122	Robert Cox	152	James Campbell	262
William Bello	53	James Moffat	123	Robert Cox	153	James Campbell	263
Richard Thomas	54	Alexander Gurn	124	Robert Cox	154	James Campbell	264
Servant of Jesus	55	John McDonald	125	Robert Cox	155	James Campbell	265
John Taylor	56	Harriet Moore	126	Robert Cox	156	James Campbell	266
John Anderson	57	Robert Campbell	127	Robert Cox	157	James Campbell	267
Thomas	58	HBC	128	Robert Cox	158	James Campbell	268
J. Johnson	59	Daniel Smith	129	Robert Cox	159	James Campbell	269
John	60	Charles Smith	130	Robert Cox	160	James Campbell	270
George Davis	61	William Haines	131	Robert Cox	161	James Campbell	271
St. Andrew's Church	62	Michael Watson	132	Robert Cox	162	James Campbell	272
Phap Kennedy	63	George Platt	133	Robert Cox	163	James Campbell	273
Alexander Bello	64	John McLeod	134	Robert Cox	164	James Campbell	274
John Bello	65	Michael Watson	135	Robert Cox	165	James Campbell	275
James Butherford	66	George Platt	136	Robert Cox	166	James Campbell	276
William Pruden	67	Robert Platt	137	Robert Cox	167	James Campbell	277
Peter Pruden	68	Charles Platt	138	Robert Cox	168	James Campbell	278
John Bello	69	Robert Smith	139	Robert Cox	169	James Campbell	279
James Bello	70	James Bello	140	Robert Cox	170	James Campbell	280
James Bello	71	James Bello	141	Robert Cox	171	James Campbell	281
James Bello	72	James Bello	142	Robert Cox	172	James Campbell	282
James Bello	73	James Bello	143	Robert Cox	173	James Campbell	283
James Bello	74	James Bello	144	Robert Cox	174	James Campbell	284
James Bello	75	James Bello	145	Robert Cox	175	James Campbell	285
James Bello	76	James Bello	146	Robert Cox	176	James Campbell	286
James Bello	77	James Bello	147	Robert Cox	177	James Campbell	287
James Bello	78	James Bello	148	Robert Cox	178	James Campbell	288
James Bello	79	James Bello	149	Robert Cox	179	James Campbell	289
James Bello	80	James Bello	150	Robert Cox	180	James Campbell	290
James Bello	81	James Bello	151	Robert Cox	181	James Campbell	291
James Bello	82	James Bello	152	Robert Cox	182	James Campbell	292
James Bello	83	James Bello	153	Robert Cox	183	James Campbell	293
James Bello	84	James Bello	154	Robert Cox	184	James Campbell	294
James Bello	85	James Bello	155	Robert Cox	185	James Campbell	295
James Bello	86	James Bello	156	Robert Cox	186	James Campbell	296
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James Bello	88	James Bello	158	Robert Cox	188	James Campbell	298
James Bello	89	James Bello	159	Robert Cox	189	James Campbell	299
James Bello	90	James Bello	160	Robert Cox	190	James Campbell	300
James Bello	91	James Bello	161	Robert Cox	191	James Campbell	301
James Bello	92	James Bello	162	Robert Cox	192	James Campbell	302
James Bello	93	James Bello	163	Robert Cox	193	James Campbell	303
James Bello	94	James Bello	164	Robert Cox	194	James Campbell	304
James Bello	95	James Bello	165	Robert Cox	195	James Campbell	305
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James Bello	99	James Bello	169	Robert Cox	199	James Campbell	309
James Bello	100	James Bello	170	Robert Cox	200	James Campbell	310
James Bello	101	James Bello	171	Robert Cox	201	James Campbell	311
James Bello	102	James Bello	172	Robert Cox	202	James Campbell	312
James Bello	103	James Bello	173	Robert Cox	203	James Campbell	313
James Bello	104	James Bello	174	Robert Cox	204	James Campbell	314
James Bello	105	James Bello	175	Robert Cox	205	James Campbell	315
James Bello	106	James Bello	176	Robert Cox	206	James Campbell	316
James Bello	107	James Bello	177	Robert Cox	207	James Campbell	317
James Bello	108	James Bello	178	Robert Cox	208	James Campbell	318
James Bello	109	James Bello	179	Robert Cox	209	James Campbell	319
James Bello	110	James Bello	180	Robert Cox	210	James Campbell	320
James Bello	111	James Bello	181	Robert Cox	211	James Campbell	321
James Bello	112	James Bello	182	Robert Cox	212	James Campbell	322
James Bello	113	James Bello	183	Robert Cox	213	James Campbell	323
James Bello	114	James Bello	184	Robert Cox	214	James Campbell	324
James Bello	115	James Bello	185	Robert Cox	215	James Campbell	325
James Bello	116	James Bello	186	Robert Cox	216	James Campbell	326
James Bello	117	James Bello	187	Robert Cox	217	James Campbell	327
James Bello	118	James Bello	188	Robert Cox	218	James Campbell	328
James Bello	119	James Bello	189	Robert Cox	219	James Campbell	329
James Bello	120	James Bello	190	Robert Cox	220	James Campbell	330
James Bello	121	James Bello	191	Robert Cox	221	James Campbell	331
James Bello	122	James Bello	192	Robert Cox	222	James Campbell	332
James Bello	123	James Bello	193	Robert Cox	223	James Campbell	333
James Bello	124	James Bello	194	Robert Cox	224	James Campbell	334
James Bello	125	James Bello	195	Robert Cox	225	James Campbell	335
James Bello	126	James Bello	196	Robert Cox	226	James Campbell	336
James Bello	127	James Bello	197	Robert Cox	227	James Campbell	337
James Bello	128	James Bello	198	Robert Cox	228	James Campbell	338
James Bello	129	James Bello	199	Robert Cox	229	James Campbell	339
James Bello	130	James Bello	200	Robert Cox	230	James Campbell	340
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James Bello	132	James Bello	202	Robert Cox	232	James Campbell	342
James Bello	133	James Bello	203	Robert Cox	233	James Campbell	343
James Bello	134	James Bello	204	Robert Cox	234	James Campbell	344
James Bello	135	James Bello	205	Robert Cox	235	James Campbell	345
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James Bello	138	James Bello	208	Robert Cox	238	James Campbell	348
James Bello	139	James Bello	209	Robert Cox	239	James Campbell	349
James Bello	140	James Bello	210	Robert Cox	240	James Campbell	350

SOURCE: "Plan of Riverlots in the Parishes of St. Andrew's and St. Clement's, Province of Manitoba, 1873," by A.M. Vaughan (PMB 184 11). The names of occupants for each lot at the parish are contained in the field notes of the Dominion Surveyors located at the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Division of Land Management, 100 Rupert Street, 3rd Fl. 5. "Regional Office of Rural Credit" by the Government of Canada 1970, in D. Semple and R. Frye. *The Genealogy of the First Black Nation*, p. 5. With the entry of Manitoba into Confederation, the new Dominion lot numbering system replaced the designations previously employed by the HBC.