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The Historical Geography of Swiss Settlers at the Red River Colony 1821-1826

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THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SWISS SETTLERS
AT THE RED RIVER COLONY
1821-1826

by
Harleen J. Young
Bachelor of Science, University of North Dakota, 1990

A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of the
University of North Dakota
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

Grand Forks, North Dakota
July
1992
This thesis submitted by Harleen J. Young in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of master of Arts from the University of North Dakota has been read by the Faculty Advisor Committee under whom the work has been done, and is hereby approved.

Douglas C. Munski
(Chairperson)

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Gretchen Chesley Lang

This thesis meets the standards for appearance and conforms to the style and format requirements of the Graduate School of the University of North Dakota, and is hereby approved.

Dean of the Graduate School

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__________________________ At the Red River Colony 1821-1826

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To Kaye Becker
ABSTRACT

Europeans emigrated to the New World for a variety of reasons. The promise of free land and a better life especially lured many Europeans to North America. When going to a new unsettled area, emigrants have a tendency to go in small, isolated cluster groups which share a primary allegiance to a particular country or province. Such was the case with the Swiss who settled at the Red River Colony on land granted by the Hudson's Bay Company to Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk, in 1811. The grant was given for the establishment of a farming community at present day Winnipeg, Manitoba.

This thesis provides an overview of the migration patterns using the Push Pull Model of Migration and settlement patterns of a group of people who had little or no background in agriculture and were unsuited to the climate and conditions they encountered, and who have left no significant impact on the cultural landscape of the Red River Valley of the North.
I. INTRODUCTION

Problem Statement

If climatic, geomorphic, and cultural geography conditions differ from the point of origin and economic advancement is blocked by unfavorable conditions, will people be pushed out of the community and migrate to areas where conditions more closely resemble their point of origin? If so, will they seek social interaction with like ethnic groups for employment, and economic gains? This is the problem discussed in this thesis. Answers are sought by reconstructing the physical landscape of the District of Assiniboia and Switzerland, the past history of the Hudson's Bay Company, Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk, the Red River Colony, and conditions in Switzerland prior to the emigration of the Swiss to the Red River Colony and conditions the Swiss encountered once they arrived at the Red River Colony.

This is a case study of a small group of immigrants who came to North America from Switzerland in the early nineteenth century and the obstacles they encountered in trying to establish a new home in North America. Previous studies have examined Lord Selkirk's Red River Colony; i.e., today's metropolitan Winnipeg. Those works concentrate on the early settlers and colony as a whole and the hardships the settlers had to endure in establishing a community. Meanwhile, very little work has been done exclusively on individual ethnic groups that comprised the population of the Red River Colony and why they chose to immigrate to North America.
Two Frenchmen, Medarad Chouart Sieur des Groseilliers and Pierre Ecpirt Radisson, who were engaged in the fur trade, were the first non-Native Americans to explore this region. In 1659, they were told by local Indians in the region south of Lake Superior of a great river with two branches, one flowing south and the other flowing north to a great sea. The interests of Groseilliers and Radisson were strictly commercial, colonization was never a consideration when they approached a group of investors in England to form a joint stock company to explore the commercial possibilities of the region. Prince Rupert, cousin to Charles II, along with seventeen other investors financed the expedition. Groseilliers returned to England with a bountiful load of furs making the expedition a commercial success. The joint stock company, under the leadership of Prince Rupert, petitioned the King for a land grant. On May 2, 1670, Charles II awarded Prince Rupert and his fellow adventurers a charter consisting of all the land in the Hudson Bay watershed which became known as Rupert Land.

Prior to 1811, the region's population was comprised of small groups of migrant fur traders as well as a permanent majority population of Native Americans. In this study the latter shall be referred to as Metis, people of Indian-European origin. Metis is a French word for "mixed-blood."

This region known as "Rupert Land" is in the area known as the District of Assiniboia and the Red River Colony was located. See Figure 1. Thomas Douglas, the Fifth Earl of Selkirk, was able to obtain the District of Assiniboia where he established an agricultural colony because of financial troubles faced by the Hudson's Bay Company.
Figure 1.
Indian Territories of the Prairie West ca 1820.

INDIAN TERRITORIES OF THE PRAIRIE WEST ca 1820
With the help of relatives and friends, Selkirk was able to buy enough stock in the Hudson’s Bay Company to force the Board of Directors to grant him 116,000 square miles of land in Rupert Land for the price of only ten shillings. On June 12, 1811, with the transfer of ten shillings from Lord Selkirk to the Governor of the Hudson’s Bay Company, the District of Assiniboia was established. See Figure 2.

Confident that he would be given the land grant, Selkirk had agents in Scotland and the Hebrides recruiting settlers before the ink was dry on the contract. The first group of settlers arrived in the District of Assiniboia in 1811 to establish a colony at the fork of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers.

The first three groups to comprise the population of the Red River Colony consisted of Scottish and Irish emigrants. They faced many hardships in their efforts to establish a colony. Some of these hardships nature inflicted upon them, others man. Lacking proper farm implements, the settlers had to turn the soil by hand with a hoe and spade. With such crude implements, the settlers were not able to cultivate and put into production enough land to feed themselves. The settlers relied on the Native Americans and Metis to supplement their diet with wild game. The settlers not only lived in fear of starvation but also of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s rival in the region, the North-West Fur Trading Company. Opposed to the idea of an agricultural community in the area, the North-West Company did everything in its power to drive the settlers from the area. After Miles Macdonell issued a proclamation forbidding the removal of pemmican from the district, the
Figure 2.

"District of Assiniboia"

Map showing those lands granted to Lord Selkirk by the Hudson's Bay Company along the Red and Assiniboine rivers.

Metis were more than willing to help the North-West Company in their endeavor to remove the settlers from the area.

The Metis lifestyle and livelihood revolved around the buffalo hunt, making and selling pemmican. Having their lifestyle and livelihood threatened, the North-West Company and Metis tried to destroy the colony by trampling down the settlers' crops, destroying their houses, and running them off the land. Their first efforts were short-lived as the settlers returned to rebuild their homes and once again engage in farming. In their second effort to run the settlers off the land, twenty-seven men were killed and the colony was burned to the ground. Determined to make the Red River Colony their home, the settlers returned once again to rebuild their community. This time, they were under the protection of Lord Selkirk and a group of Swiss mercenaries that Selkirk hired to protect the colony and settlers.

It was under these conditions the Swiss found themselves in 1821 when they arrived at the colony. They were the first non-British ethnic group to immigrate to that colony. Faced with political upheaval, overpopulation, underemployment, and natural disasters in Switzerland, one hundred and seventy Swiss chose to emigrate to the Red River Colony. Influenced to believe that the climatic and geomorphic conditions were the same as in Switzerland, the Swiss sailed to North America to make their new homes with the belief that they would have unlimited economic opportunities. Upon their arrival at the colony, the Swiss found conditions much different than what they had been led to believe and expected. Artisans and craftsmen by trade, the Swiss found the colony underdeveloped and the colony did not require their level of expertise
at this stage of development. Not having an agricultural background nor hunting skills, the Swiss faced many hardships at the colony. They did try to farm but were not very successful, nor were they encouraged to succeed because of ethnic prejudices. After a cold winter with a larger than average snowfall, which resulted in widespread flooding in the spring of 1826, the Swiss chose to leave the colony and migrate to the United States.

Bogue's Push-pull model of migration is used to determine what factors influenced the Swiss to emigrate to the Red River Colony and later to migrate to the United States. In this case study, it becomes evident that climatic and economic conditions were major factors in the decision process affecting the Swiss at their point of origin. At their destination, the Swiss were faced with a third factor they had not considered in the initial decision-making process; the social environment. All three factors were involved in the decision process when they chose to migrate to the United States after five years at the colony.

Study Rationale

By using the push-pull model of migration, a geographer can determine what factors influence the decision-making process involved in emigrating or immigrating. By studying case histories that list reasons why people chose to emigrate from or immigrate to, the geographer can determine under what conditions people are likely to move. If such conditions do occur, the geographer in the capacity of a land use planner, will need to be aware of them and cognizant of the economic and non-economic impact that may affect a community due to problems of
adjustment and conflict that can lead to community disorganization. Migration also bring about changes in other spheres, demographic, social, cultural, and political. By understanding problems communities faced in the past, we hope to predict issues arising from emigration and immigration to defuse problems that may arise at present and in the future.
II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview to the Chapter

For this thesis, research was done to establish why a group of Swiss chose to emigrate to the Red River Colony in British North America at the turn of the nineteenth century.

That colony was founded by Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk, and located on land owned by the Hudson Bay Company. Preliminary research was done using secondary sources to obtain information pertaining to the Hudson’s Bay Company, Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk, the colony, and the Swiss. After establishing a general background on these topics, a more detailed search was conducted by using primary sources. Fieldwork was done at the Chester Fritz Library, University of North Dakota, which has a holding of first edition monographs on the Hudson’s Bay Company and Lord Selkirk. Repeated visits were made to the Provincial Archives of Manitoba in Winnipeg, where a microfilm collection of the Selkirk Papers are held. Reel (A27) of the Selkirk Papers are held at the Public Archives of Canada, in Ottawa, and were obtained through inter-library loan along with the Askin Papers. Correspondence, from 1800 to 1820 to and from Lord Selkirk, was reviewed as well as correspondence, journals, and other documents relating to the Red River Colony after Lord Selkirk’s death in 1820. Ships logs, journals from the Hudson’s Bay Company’s trading post, correspondence, and other documents relating to the Red River Colony from the Hudson’s Bay Company perspective were reviewed at the Hudson’s Bay Company Archives and the Provincial Archives of Manitoba.
After leaving the Red River Colony, many of the Swiss emigrated to Fort Snelling, located at St. Paul, Minnesota. Primary research was done at Fort Snelling and the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul to determine what role the Swiss played in establishing the city of St. Paul.

The author acknowledges biases in some chapters, a view established from reading the Selkirk Papers and Hudson’s Bay Company records as recorded by Lord Selkirk, his employees, and the employees of the Hudson’s Bay Company. The North-West Company holds a different view of what happened at the Red River Colony which led to the Massacre of Seven Oaks. The North-West Company does not deny the destruction of the settlement, but its people’s view of liability differs from Lord Selkirk and the Hudson’s Bay Company. It is not the intent of the author to prejudice the reader pertaining to liability but to give a summary of events leading up to the arrival of the Swiss emigrants in 1821. Based upon completing this aspect of the research, the author recommends *Voyager* by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, *The Fur Trade in Canada*, Harold Innis, *Documents Relating to the North-West Company*, Champlain Society, *A History of the Canadian West 1870-71*, Arthur S. Morton, and *The North-West Company*, Marjorie Wilkins Campbell for a history of the North-West Company and its role in the District of Assiniboia and the Red River Colony.

Usage of Jakobson’s Approach

In reading the Selkirk Papers and Hudson’s Bay Company records, R. Jakobson’s communicative structure of language was used. The six factors in Jakobson’s communication model consist of: (1) context, (2)
message, (3) addresser, (4) addressee, (5) contact, and (6) code. Communication consists of a message conceived by the addresser, whose destination is the addressee. Contact may be oral, visual, or electronic. Contact must be formulated in terms of a code, such as speech, numbers, or written. The context must be understood by both the addresser or addressee to make sense, thus giving the message meaning. When reviewing historical documents and papers, the reader must keep in mind who possessed the language (the code) in the past and who could read it. The concept of literacy in this work is applied to addresser or addressee as members of the Scottish aristocracy and upper class. How the language was used, and how it affected individuals between societies and classes was given consideration. Communication between the addresser or addressee reflected the priorities of the society; e.g., the Red River Colony.

As a geographer, the context, message, contact, and code between the addresser and addressee were reviewed to determine what effect they had on the landscape and culture of the District of Assiniboia and its inhabitants.

In this case study, it becomes evident through the language (the code) that members of the Scottish aristocracy and upper class held biases toward the Swiss who emigrated to the colony as seen in many of the sources used in this thesis.

Regional Context of Historical Geography

Haggett’s (1990) The Geographer’s Art was reviewed for putting such an endeavor into the context of new trends on geography; e.g., responding to his practical advice on choosing a region in which to
conduct a study. According to Haggett, "Our regional selection process argued that, for any empirical study of spatial diffusion to yield useful tests of spread models, it must meet four conditions: replicability, stability, observability, and isolatability." As interesting as the monograph was, it was not entirely applicable to this study beyond his chapter, Regional Synthesis, which listed six problems facing the regional geographer: "the logical impossibility of providing a complete regional description in verbal form; the problem of identifying the regions themselves; the problem of handling scale variations in presentations; the growing shortage of subordinate sub-regional materials; the submergence of regional distinctiveness; and the limited amount of innovation possible." Many of these problems were faced in this research.

A verbal description is not difficult when dealing with an established region, but sub-regional materials were harder to obtain. Stanley Murray in *The Valley Comes of Age* gives a detailed description of the formation of the Red River Valley, the region which encompassed the Selkirk Colony. W. A. Mackintosh took such description a step further by dividing the region into five sub-regions: (1) the Red River Valley, (2) the Park Belt, (3) the Prairie Plains, or semi-arid belt, (4) the Forest Belt, and (5) the Peace River Valley. The District of Assiniboia in which the colony was located encompassed four of these sub-regions; i.e., the Red River Valley, Park Belt, Prairie Plains, and Forest Belt. The site of the colony included two of these sub-regions, the Red River Valley and Park Belt.
The rationale for a regional description is that it offers a dramatic contrast as well as context for studying migration. In the case of the Swiss, they were led to believe that the physical landscape of the region of the colony was very similar to the region from which they originated.\(^5\) The description of the area in Switzerland from which the emigrants originated differed considerably according to Christopher Hughes and Kurt Mayer.\(^6\)

Regional geography plays an important part in historical geography; it defines the area in which the study takes place. Historical geography is used to re-create what happened in this region during a specific time period.

The first step in writing historical geography is to define historical geography. Historical equates to history and according to Leonard Guelke, "history is the study of the world humans have made for themselves."\(^7\) Geography comes from the Greek geo, the earth, and gra\(\text{w}\)\(\text{h}\)\(\text{e}\)\(\text{i}\)\(\text{n}\), to describe and write or, according to Richard Hartshorne in *Perspectives on the Nature of Geography*, "Geography is concerned to provide accurate, orderly, rational description and interpretation of the variable characters of the Earth's Surface."\(^8\) Combining the two definitions, then historical geography translate into the study of how humans affect the earth and what affect it has on humans.

Hartshorne's position on historical geography, "In the sense of 'history' as the description of variation through time and of geography as variation through space, the two could not be combined--in this sense, there would be no place for 'historical geography',"\(^9\) never has been widely accepted by historical geographers. Sauer, whose own
concept of history was poorly developed, reflected his central notion that process had more to do with natural science than history. Although his statement about the importance of seeing the land through the eyes of its former occupants and their wants and needs could not be developed into a philosophy of history, it broadens the horizons of historical geography to include not only cultural factors but also physical, climatic, economical, and political factors within the theme of humanity’s impact on nature. The lack of an adequate concept of history did not effect Sauer because he treated man as part of nature. Placing humans in an ecological orientation puts limits on a historical geographer— if Sauer’s teachings are to be followed.

Darby pushed the philosophical limits further, although he shared common elements with Hartshorne and Sauer. Darby, like Sauer, did not reject historical geography nor did he limit it to analyzing a reconstructed time period. Darby's theoretical justification of historical geography compared favorably to Hartshorne’s. Where the two disagreed was that Darby did not see nature as a static arrangement of objects but being in the process of becoming something different. Darby’s approach shared with Sauer methodology; i.e., the investigative process of vertical themes; e.g., clearing of the woods or draining of the marsh to promote changes in the settlement pattern. Darby made no distinction between the natural past and human past other than basically an external change in the form of things.

Clark accepted ideas from both Hartshornian and Sauerian framework. Clark saw historical geography as an interdisciplinary field with emphasis on spatial relations vis-a-vis Darby’s vertical theme
approach. Clark's orientation was history, and the historical geographer was not limited by time; a topic could be traced as far back as chosen by the researcher. According to Clark, the past was a single entity, so he treated people as an integral part of nature. History was synonymous with process and change, and thus it was not concerned with philosophical issues pertaining to historical knowledge.\textsuperscript{11}

Having considered the framework of the historical geography literature, it is appropriate to examine the studies germane to the topic of Swiss settlement in the Selkirk Colony. This exercise must begin with the many historical works that have been done on the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company, the two major fur trading firms in the region of the Selkirk Colony. These works concentrate mainly on the fur companies. Lord Selkirk and the colony are discussed only in relationship to their involvement with the two fur companies.\textsuperscript{12} Little or no work had been done exclusively on the settlers as a group or individual nationalities that comprised the settlement. The Swiss, as a group, who emigrated to the Red River Colony are discussed in passing in some works and not mentioned at all in others.

**Primary Sources**

Primary sources include the Selkirk Papers, Hudson's Bay Company records, journals, and logs. Most important to this study are the Champlain Society publication of Lord Selkirk's Diary. Also useful in this research were reports of these key primary documents: Minutes of Council Northern Department (1821-31) and Minutes of the Council of the Red River Colony and Northern Department of Rupert's Land.
The Selkirk Papers reviewed were from 1801-1821. This time period covers Selkirk's first attempts to interest the Home Office and Colonial Office in London in his emigration plans involving the Irish as well as discussions regarding Selkirk's buying shares in the Hudson's Bay Company. These papers and documents cover every aspect of the development of the colony up to 1820.

Hudson's Bay Company records include daily logs kept at each trading post by the company clerks. These logs revealed daily transactions of goods sold, furs bought, and weather reports. Prior to the Swiss leaving the colony, the area experienced a flood. That flood was recorded in the "Journal of Occurrences, Kept at Fort Garry, in Red River Settlement, form 1st June 1825, until 31st July 1826 - By Francis Heron" and "Governor George Simpson to Governor and Committee, London - Norway House, June 14, 1826." These two entries give a description of the effect this specific natural disaster had on the fort and the settlers who had established farmsteads around the fort. Governor Simpson's entry is revealing in his biased attitude towards the Swiss settlers.

Secondary Sources

Secondary sources on the Hudson's Bay Company used were by Willson Backles (1988), Peter Newman (1985), George Bryce (1910), Douglas MacKay (1948), Arthur J. Ray and Donald Freeman (1978), Archer Martin (1898), Chester Martin (1916), Robert Pinkerton (1913), John Pritchett (1942), Patrick White (1958). The focus of these monographs is the establishment of the company and exploration done by members of the company. In Caesars, Newman gives
description of members of both fur companies, Hudson’s Bay Company and North-West. It becomes evident that the fur trade society was a society of deference. Gilman in *The Grand Portage Story* states "True to the strict class--and race--consciousness of its founders, the company was a hierarchical organization, but it was a hierarchy that men with the right connections--and the right ethnic background--could climb."\(^{15}\)

Entrenched in such a system and seeing an agricultural community detrimental to the fur trade, animosity arose between the settlers and the employees of the fur companies. Following the amalgamation of the Hudson’s Bay Company and the North-West Company, attitudes toward the settlers changed for the better. Employees of the Hudson’s Bay Company had not been as opposed to the settlement because it had the endorsement of the Hudson’s Bay Company Committee in London through the land grant given to Lord Selkirk.

**Ethnicity**

Ethnicity became a factor in successful assimilation once the Swiss arrive. Letters written by Governor Simpson and John Halkett, who are both Scottish, made this very evident in their correspondence to Andrew Colvile and Lady Selkirk.\(^{16}\)

It must be recognized that ethnic boundaries were established before Simpson became Governor of the Northern District. After the de Meuron; i.e., Swiss mercenaries, were hired by Lord Selkirk following the War of 1812 to be bodyguards to protect him as he traveled to Red River plus being a security force at the colony, they settled on the east side of the Red River along the banks of the River Seine.\(^{17}\)
To understand boundaries that involve cultural identity and distinctiveness, physical or symbolic, Anthony Cohen’s *The Symbolic Construction of Community* and Gold’s *Minorities and Mother Country Images* were useful. Symbolic boundaries can be established while having association with the general population. Boundaries can be constructed to retain a culture, language, or lifestyle. The Swiss settlers chose to settle among the de Meurons because of language and nationality.¹⁸

Other primary and secondary sources were reviewed to establish ethnic differences and reasons as to why the Swiss held themselves separate from the general population of the colony. Primary sources include works on the North-west Company, Champlain Society, and Documents Relating to the North-West Company. Marjorie Winkins Campbell’s *The North-West Company* provided an excellent secondary source on the North-West Company. This source was used to gain a more comprehensive view of the Red River Colony and the North-West Company’s attitude towards the settlers and its account of the destruction of the colony.

Other works consulted to obtain an overview of the fur trade and those involved in the Red River Colony fell into two categories: Primary sources were Askin Papers; Alexis Bailly Papers, 1821-1868; Lawrence Tafiaferro Papers, 1813-1869; secondary sources included Harry W. Daniels (1979), Dugast M. L’Abbe (1901), Gilman, Gilman and Stultz (1979), Eric W. Morse (1979), Mark Nagles (1975), Bruce D. Sealy and Antoine S. Lussier (1975), Shepard Krech (1981), Sylvia Van Kleeck (1975), Grace Lee Nute (1941), Carolyn Gilman (1992), Harold A. Inni (1930). This body of work covers the fur trade in Canada and the part played by
the Native Americans and Metis. The attitude of the Metis changed towards the settlers after Miles Macdonell issued the proclamation forbidding the removal of pemmican from the district.¹⁹


Climate played a factor in the decision process used by the Swiss to emigrate. What other factors were used in the decision process were determined by reviewing work done by Ravenstein, Stouffer, Sinha, Lewis, and Lee.

**Migration Studies**

Ravenstein's articles in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* in 1885 and 1889 established recognizable laws of migration. Ravenstein's laws make five explicit and two implicit statements concerning patterns and distance of migration. The five explicit laws are (1) most people migrate only a short distance, (2) for every current of migration there is a countercurrent, (3) those migrating a long distance prefer the centers of commerce and industry, (4) people who live in rural areas are more likely to migrate, and (5) females are more migratory than males. His two implicit statements deal with the process of absorption and dispersion.²⁰ In E. S. Lee's 1966 work, he
returns to many of the Ravenstein themes. Lee discussed volume of migration, stream and counter-stream, and characteristics of migrants. Meanwhile, Lewis was used to review migration in time and space, types of movements, cultural and ethnic selectivity, and causes of migration.

Causes of migration depend on many factors, which may be analyzed within the push and pull concept. Push factors are those which encourage emigration or immigration. They can range from decline in national resources, loss of employment, oppressive or repressive discrimination because of religious or ethnic membership, and alienation because the community no longer subscribes to prevailing beliefs, actions, or behavior. Pull factors are those factors that keep an individual from emigrating or immigrating. They can include better opportunities of employment, any opportunity to earn more money or to receive an education or specialized training, preferable environment and living conditions, or dependency on another person. According to this theory, there are positive and negative factors at both the place of origin and place of destination. In between these positives and negatives are intervening obstacles that could include legal restrictions, family attachments, personal anxiety, and costs of the move. Dr. V. N. P. Sinha and MD. Ataullah look at migration from an interdisciplinary approach. Topics range from economic, social, socio-psychological, medical, biological, and geographical.

The type of persons who emigrated during the 1700 and 1800s according to Isaiah Bowman in his work, *The Pioneer Fringe*, are those who had nothing to lose by emigrating and everything to gain. Free or
cheap land drew them to new areas. The settlers of this time period did not fear the hardships of the wilderness. The conditions they experienced in the wilderness of North America were not that much different from what they were used to in Europe.26

Along with Bowman's study of *The Pioneer Fringe*, articles and monographs on the American West by D. W. Meinig, "Migration To An American Frontier," by John C. Hudson, John G. Rice's article, "The Effect of Land Alienation on Settlement," and comparative studies in settlement by Dietrich Gerhard and Marvin W. Mikesell were reviewed.

These and many other sources were reviewed in an effort to establish why the Swiss chose to go to the Red River Colony and why they left the colony after five years.
ENDNOTES

Throughout these notes, the following abbreviations have been used:
P.A.C. Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa
P.A.M. Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg
H.B.C.A. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg
S.P. Selkirk Papers

The first reference is given its title in full; thereafter, the title is in abbreviated form.

All Selkirk Papers are on microfilm sets; these papers are available in Winnipeg, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, with the exception of Reel (A27), which is available at the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.


3. Ibid., 84-5.


9. Ibid., 134.


13. Selkirk's letters to the Home Office and Colonial office, 1802-3; Selkirk Papers, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, (3) 13839-95, and Selkirk to Colvile, 8 January 1820; Selkirk Papers Public Archives of Canada, (A27) 973A, and Selkirk to Samuel Gale, 24 January 1820; Selkirk Papers, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, (C7) 6659-65.

14. Extracts from "Journal of Occurrences, Kept at Fort Gary, in Red River Settlement, from 1 June 1825 until July 1826, by Francis
26

Heron," Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, B. 235/a/7, fo. 32d.-46d. and Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, D. 4/89, fo. 71d.-73d.


25. Dr. V. N.P. Sinha and Dr. M. D. Ataullah, Migration an Interdisciplinary Approach (Rana Protap Bagh, Delhi: Seema Publications, 1987).
III. PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE DISTRICT OF ASSINIBOIA

Lord Selkirk’s land grant from the Hudson’s Bay Company awarded on June 12, 1811, for the sum of ten shillings, comprised a region estimated at 116,000 square miles. (See Appendix A) This territory consisted of land identified as the Red River Valley and the Park Belt.¹

In the region that once was called the District of Assiniboia, the physical geography was formed initially by thousands of years of glacier action. As series of ice masses moved southward, their mass and weight created a uniform land contour. The enormous ice sheets produced a partial wearing away of the extent surface projections which also filled in valleys and other depressions. As successive continental glaciers moved over the area, they pushed ahead of them or carried beneath them large quantities of silt, clay, sand, gravel, rock, and boulders. This mass of materials, called glacial drift, was spread over the northern United States and southern Canada and was integral to creating the basic soil cover for the Red River Valley, which was a sub-region of the District of Assiniboia.²

The retreat and melting of the final glacier covered the valley with water extending from the present day southeastern border of North Dakota to the area of the Nelson and Saskatchewan Rivers in Canada. This body of water, known as Lake Agassiz, covered the glacial drift deposited by the glaciers. The movement of the water smoothed the glacial drift and created a smooth surface in comparison to the surrounding areas. Streams were formed on either side of Lake Agassiz by the melting glacier and became the tributaries to the lake. These
tributaries carried a large amount of sand, gravel, and clay which were broken down into fine particles; i.e., lacustrine sediments, and deposited in thick layers in the center of the lake bed producing fertile soil.³

With the disappearance of the last glacier and the draining of Lake Agassiz northward into Hudson’s Bay, all that remained of this extensive body of water was a "el area containing a series of large lakes with a broad river running through the lower section of the original lake bed of Lake Agassiz. Over the centuries, the river decreased in size depositing layers of fine silt or alluvium. This alluvium, comprised of a clay-like material, covers an area of five to ten miles wide on both sides creating a flood plain that is perceived as the Red River Valley.⁴

The Red River Valley forms one sub-region in the landscape of the District of Assiniboia and the interior plain of North America. The Canadian portion of the District of Assiniboia is subdivided into five sub-regions based on differences in climate, topography, vegetation, and soil. These sub-regions consist of: (1) the Red River Valley, (2) the Park Belt, (3) the Prairie Plains, (4) the Forest Belt, and (5) the Peace River Valley.⁵ Two of these sub-regions, the Red River Valley and the Park Belt, are of concern to this thesis.

Red River Valley

The Red River Valley extends from Lake Traverse in Minnesota to Lake Winnipeg in Manitoba, Canada. The valley is geographically a unit, bounded by the Pre-Cambrian Shield on the east and the Manitoba Escarpment on the west. The Red River Valley consists of a single drainage basin flowing north into Hudson Bay. The plain was formed by
deposits of glacial Lake Agassiz as it retreated. As the water retreated, it left the Red River meandering northward through a level grassland plain, with the remnants of Lake Agassiz forming lakes Winnipeg and Winnipegosis in Manitoba, Canada.6

The surface can be characterized as flat, broken only by shallow channelled tributary, stress ravines. The annual rainfall for this sub-region is between 46 cm to 53 cm with 28 cm to 30 cm of the rain falling between April and September. The mean summer temperature ranges between 16°C to 18°C with a growing season of 160 to 170 days.7

Park Belt

The topography of the Park Belt is of level or a gently rolling surface which is interrupted only by rivers and breaks along the river banks. Small patches of woodland bluffs dot the surface of the Park Belt with the forest growing more dense and frequent along the outer margins of the Belt. The forest encroached less on the grassland as the prairie margin is approached.8

Climate

The climate of the Park Belt and the Red River Valley show many of the same characteristics of the whole plains region with the only difference being the Park Belt is a sub-humid region. The Park Belt is bounded on one side by the humid forest belt and on the other side by the semi-arid prairie zone. This area receives an annual rainfall of 36 cm to 50 cm with 23 cm to 36 cm falling during the growing season. The growing season runs from 130 to 160 days with frost being a major risk in the northern parts of the Park Belt.9
The area of the Red River Colony, centered on 49° 54' N longitude, 97° 15' W latitude, elevation 254 m, has an annual mean daily temperature of 2.5°C; it has annual mean daily range 10.8°C, but there are extremes: maximum 42.3°C; minimum -47.5°C. There is an annual mean of precipitation in snowfall of 516.9 mm, maximum in 24 hours, 74.4 mm. There are 125 days of precipitation, 23.3 days of thunderstorms, 21.6 days of heavy fog, and 90.7 days of sunshine annually. The annual prevailing winds are from the south with a mean speed of 5.5 m/sec. This information is presented to compare how the physical geography and climate in the area of the Red River Colony differs from that of Switzerland.
ENDNOTES


3. Ibid., 4.

4. Ibid., 4.


6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., 86-9.

8. Ibid., 90.

9. Ibid., 92-4.
IV. PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SWITZERLAND

Switzerland is a landlocked country situated in Central Europe, comprising 25,659 square kilometers. It extends between 45° 48' N latitude and from 5° 57' to 10° 29' E longitude. It presently is bordered on the west by France, the north by Germany, the east by Austria and Italy, and the south by Italy. On a map, Switzerland appears as an oval-shaped mass with the greatest length (WSW to ENE) of 364 km, with the greatest width (N to S) of 220 km.¹

Switzerland consists of two major mountain ranges separated by a midland plateau. The Swiss Alps cover about sixty-one percent of the total area across the southern and eastern regions of the country. The Jura, a lower mountain range along the northwestern border, covers twelve percent of the area. Between the Alps and Jura lies a narrow stretch of rolling midlands, extending from Geneva in the southwest to Lake Constance on the northeastern border. This region comprises twenty-seven percent of the country and traditionally is the most fertile and densely settled area of Switzerland.² This area is a rich, pastoral country with woodlands of beech trees at lower levels and dark spruce at higher altitudes.³ This area of rich fertile grasslands maintains its productivity through a series of climatic phenomena.

Climate of Switzerland

Areas of cultivation reflect the areas of rainfall. As the west winds blow across the flat and low lands of France, they meet the Jura Mountains and release rain. At the base of the inner range, a rain
shadow develops with rainfall increasing to the east as the hilly country between the Jura and Alps give way to the fore-Alps.\textsuperscript{4}

Switzerland is a mountainous landlocked country with a variety of climates and temperatures. The mountain valleys and midland regions are essentially moderate climatic zones due to the large lakes in the area which influence the temperature and prevents extreme heat or cold conditions.\textsuperscript{5} The Fohn (Favonius), the great wind of Switzerland, blows from the south. It is a hot, draught wind blowing up the valley of the Alps. Often strong hot winds of the Fohn brings a southern climate to the region. It can also sweep pastures clear of snow weeks earlier than the sun, scorching the buds of young plants and causing devastating fires. When the wind from the south strikes the wall of the main Alps, it cools quickly and sheds rain. Then, the dry air intrudes down the northern slopes of the Alps, and when it reaches the valley bottom, it becomes very hot.\textsuperscript{6}

The Bise is the opposite of the hot, dry Fohn winds. Blowing from the northeast and Jura hills, the Bise gives a touch of cruelty to the moderate climate. This cold wind can be a killer as it destroys blossoms and sends a damp shiver down the backbone of the inhabitants of the region.\textsuperscript{7}

The daily mean temperature of this region is 10.3°C, and a minimum of daily range 9.3°C; extremes, maximum 38.3°C, and a minimum of -18.3°C annually. It has a mean precipitation of 852 mm, with a maximum of 80 mm in 24 hours. There are 103.3 days with precipitation, 28.6 days of thunderstorms, 19.2 days of fog, with a mean of 85 days of sunshine
annually. The prevailing winds are from the northeast with a mean speed of 2.9 m/sec.⁸

This geographical setting and climatic conditions were what the Swiss settlers experienced in their homeland of Switzerland compared to the geographical setting and climatic conditions they experienced at the Red River Colony in the District of Assiniboia. These conditions also were faced by Groseilliers and Radisson one hundred and forty some years earlier as they ventured into the region later called Rupert Land where the District of Assiniboia was located.
ENDNOTES


2. Ibid., 4.


4. Ibid.


V. HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

The Hudson’s Bay Company came into being with a stroke of a pen. All that was required was the signature of Charles II, King of England, at the bottom of five huge sheets of parchment, which gave control of a third of the North American continent to eighteen men. No political debates over the land grant occurred; it was through the theory of divine right that Charles II was able to give a third of the North American continent to his friends who restored him to the throne ten years earlier.¹

Long before Charles II was restored to the throne, however, forces were drawing trading companies to the shores of Hudson Bay. One such force was the profit to be made from the fur trade. The other and most compelling force was to find the Northwest Passage; i.e., the passage to the South Seas, to bring back gold and other commodities. The dream of wealth was presented to the Company of Adventurers and Charles II by two French fur traders, Groseilliers and Radisson.²

Medarad Chouart Sieur des Groseilliers and Pierre Espirt Radisson were in the region south of Lake Superior in 1659, when they were told by local Indians of a great river with two branches not far to the southwest. Upon arrival at the great river (later called the Mississippi), Radisson and Groseilliers were told by the Indians, who Radisson called the Crees, of a great sea to the north and how it could be reached. Seeing commercial possibilities of the unexplored region, Groseilliers and Radisson gave little information about the region when they returned to Montreal in 1660 with a carquois of furs.³
Groseilliers and Radisson with a party of ten men and supplies set out in the spring of 1662 for the region lying west and north of Lake Superior, looking for the great sea of the north and to gather beaver pelts. Because of vague accounts, it is not known if Groseilliers and Radisson had found a route to James Bay or elsewhere along Hudson Bay or if they merely were on either Lake of the Woods or Lake Winnipeg. Whatever their destination, the region was rich in furs which they brought back to Trois-Rivieres; having violated an order against independent fur trading. In accordance with the governor’s order, the two gentlemen were fined for having furs in their possession.

According to Schofield, Groseilliers and Radisson appealed their case to the representatives of the French government at Quebec and were not granted relief but instead were barred from further trade in the upper country. Unable to trade as independents, Groseilliers and Radisson tried to interest investors in New France to form a charter company for trade on the shores of Hudson Bay. They failed in their attempt to solicit local backers for a venture in New France because of the uncertainty of ownership of the Hudson Bay region. Also, competition with other established charter companies in the area seemed too much of a risk for the prospective investors. Unable to find supporters in New France, Radisson and Groseilliers sailed to France to seek capital for their venture. France already had a monopoly on the fur trade in New France and was supporting several charter companies. It was not in France’s best interest to invest in another rival fur company, and the French Court declined Groseilliers and Radisson’s offer to open up a new region in North America for the fur trade. While in
Paris, according to Schofield, Groseilliers and Radisson were introduced to members of the British legation who showed an interest in their scheme to develop a chartered fur trading company in the northern and western regions of New France. The British ambassador sent a letter of introduction home on behalf of Groseilliers and Radisson to Prince Rupert, King Charles II’s cousin, to discuss the matter.⁵

Bryce (1910) and Pinkerton (1931) in their works on the Hudson’s Bay Company state that Groseilliers and Radisson went to France to protest the injustice of the fine placed upon them by the governor of Quebec. Both Groseilliers and Radisson emphasized the importance of an expedition being sent to explore the region surrounding Hudson Bay to the French government. Failing to obtain restitution for their fine or to generate interest in an expedition to explore Hudson Bay, they journeyed to Boston where they met two British Royal Commissioners who were in America to settle a number of disputes on behalf of Charles II. Enlisting the help of those commissioners, Groseilliers and Radisson set sail for England to sell their plan of trading into Hudson Bay to Charles II.⁶

Upon their arrival in England, the Groseilliers and Radisson plan was presented to the Treasurer of the Navy, Sir George Carteret, who had close ties to the king. Charles II gave his approval for an expedition into Hudson Bay, appointing Sir Peter Colleton to plan the expedition. England was at war with Holland at the time, so it was not until 1668 Groseilliers and Radisson sailed for Hudson Bay.⁷

Two ships were provided to Groseilliers and Radisson by Prince Rupert and his syndicate of adventurers were persuaded by Sir Peter
Colleton to finance the expedition. Groseilliers sailed on the "Nonsuch" under Captain Zachariah Gillam and Radisson voyaged on the "Eaglet" under the command of Captain Stannard. The two ships sailed on June 1, 1668, headed for Hudson Bay. The ships encountered bad weather and the Eaglet was forced to return Radisson to England; meanwhile, the Nonsuch sailed on towards the bay. The Nonsuch reached the southern tip of Hudson Bay on September 29, 1668, and anchored at the mouth of a stream, which Groseilliers named Rupert's River after his sponsor. The ship's crew, under the guidance of Groseilliers, set about building a fort. The fort was not only to shield them from the elements, but it also served as a base camp from which to transact trade with the natives. Groseilliers and his men were able to secure enough furs to warrant a return trip to England. In June of 1669, Captain Gillam set sail for England to sell the furs collected and return with supplies for the fort and goods to be used for trade with the natives.

Prince Rupert and his fellow investors were so satisfied with the voyage and cargo on the Nonsuch that they formed a trading company and applied to Charles II for a royal charter to engage in trade throughout the drainage basin of Hudson Bay. The charter as drawn up in 1669, but it was not until May 2, 1670, that Charles II, King of England, granted and signed the charter granting right to "The governor and adventurers of England trading to Hudson's Bay," establishing the Hudson's Bay Company.

Following the stroke of a pen by the King of England, Prince Rupert, the Duke of Albemarle, Earl of Carven, Lord Arlington, Lord Ashley, Sir John Robinson, Sir Robert Vyner, Sir Peter Colleton, Sir
Paul Neele, Sir John Griffith, Sir Phillip Carteret, James Hayes, John Kirke, Francis Millington, William Pretyman, John Fenn, and John Postman not only gained control of one-third of North America but also a trading corporation endowed with such powers that it became a veritable imperium in Canada. For such power, the Hudson Bay Company had to pay "the king, our heir and successors, for the same, two elks and two black beavers, whenever and as often as we, our heirs and successors, shall happen to enter into the said countries, regions and territories hereby granted."11

The imperium of Rupert's Land, administered by the governor of the Hudson Bay Company, was able to flourish through "salutary neglect" by the Colonial Office in London. The Hudson Bay Company policy became the official policy in Canada. Four-fifths of Western Canada's history is not Canadian history but the Hudson Bay Company's history. From 1670 until 1870, when the charter rights of the Company were surrendered finally to the Crown, the legality of the charter was never tested in the courts. The French tried to drive the British from "the Bay" by rights established in the Treaty of Ryswich in 1697 but did not succeed. With the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the land in question was returned to Great Britain. When Governor Kelsey gave the news to Queen Anne's Commission to retake the land not only "for Us and In Our Name," but "for the use of benfitt [sic] of the Govr. & Compy of adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay," the Hudson's Bay Company became a force to reckon with for many years in Canada, as Thomas Douglas, the Fifth Earl of Selkirk, was to discover.12
ENDNOTES


10. Ibid., 41.

12. Ibid., 201-3.
VI. THOMAS DOUGLAS, FIFTH EARL OF SELKIRK

The Hudson’s Bay Company had been in existence for 101 years at the time of Thomas Douglas’ birth at St. Mary’s Isle, Scotland. Thomas was the seventh son born to Dunbar Hamilton (Douglas) of Baldoon and Helen Hamilton. See Figure 3. Dunbar and Helen’s first son, Shalto Basil, died at age two and their sixth son, David, died in infancy, leaving five sons to carry on the family name. Thomas was the youngest, and as the seventh son, he was not initially entitled to any family inheritance or title. Thomas, a frail, studious youngster was sent to the University of Edinburgh at age fourteen where he received a liberal arts education followed by two years of study of Scottish law under David Hume.¹

After graduating from the University of Edinburgh, Thomas started on a series of travels that would have a profound influence on his life and later play an important part in the settlement of the Red River Colony in the District of Assiniboia. His travels took him to the Highlands of Scotland where small landholders were being forced off the land due to changes in the agricultural policies of Scotland. Clan ownership of land was not economical, so after the Rebellion of 1745, small allotments of land were being enclosed for large-scale cultivation and sheep-farming. That land, once rent-free to those who lived on it, was being sold to the highest bidder. People with small holdings were being forced from the land their forebears had farmed for years without being offered alternative housing or employment. These changes in the agricultural policy were well known in Scotland, and Thomas was able to
Figure 3.

Douglas Earl of Selkirk a Genealogical Sketch

DOUGLAS Earl of Selkirk
A GENEALOGICAL SKETCH

Source: Gray, 1964

Information on female members of the family is quite incomplete, and in some cases has been inferred.
witness the reality of such policies in terms of human shock and suffering firsthand, which had a lasting effect on him. After his tour of the Highland, Thomas took the "Grand Tour of the Continent," finding conditions in some parts of Europe no better than in the Highlands of Scotland. Unable to do anything to relieve the distress of the people he encountered, Thomas returned to Scotland and his family home at St. Mary's Isle.²

Starting in the early summer of 1794, there was little sign of change at St. Mary's Isle, where Thomas set about learning how to farm. Then disaster struck: Thomas' oldest brother, Basil, i.e., Lord Daer, whose health had never been robust, grew worse. As summer progressed, family members decided Lord Daer should be moved to a warmer climate to see if his health would improve. While preparations were being made to move Lord Daer to the island of Madeira, the Douglas family received word of their fifth son's, i.e., Alexander's death from yellow fever in Guadeloupe, where he was stationed with his regiment. That November Basil, Lord Daer, died at the age of thirty-one before he could be moved to Madeira, passing the title of Lord Daer to Thomas's twenty-nine-year-old brother, the third son, i.e., John. Death struck again in 1796, with the death of Thomas' brother, the fourth son, i.e., Dunbar of yellow fever, while on naval duty at St. Kitts. One year later, John, Lord Daer, would also die thereby making Thomas the youngest and last surviving son, at the age of twenty-six, the soul heir to the Fourth Earl of Selkirk. Two years later, in 1799, Dunbar Hamilton Douglas, the Fourth Earl of Selkirk, died changing Thomas' circumstances dramatically. Within a five-year period Thomas, who had no expectations
of fortune or responsibility at age twenty-eight, became the Fifth Earl of Selkirk and inherited a fortune consisting not only of hard currency, but also land in Scotland and North America, plus the responsibility that went along with the title and inheritance.

With his inheritance, Thomas Douglas was in a position to do something to help his fellow countrymen. Remembering the plight of the Highlanders, Lord Selkirk approached the British Colonial Office with the first of his colonization plans to stem the flow of Scottish emigrants to other countries; instead, he promoted immigration to areas under British control, thereby having people retain their British citizenship status. While Selkirk was formulating his plan for colonies in North America under British rule, rebellion broke out in Ireland. After the rebellion was crushed by British forces, Lord Selkirk shifted his emigration plans from the Scottish Highlanders to the Irish. He wanted the Colonial Office in London to test his emigration plan by using Irish citizens. The Colonial Office refused to approve his plan because its administrators felt that the Irish were unsuitable emigrants, and they did not want to spend government money on such a venture.

While Selkirk was negotiating with the Colonial Office to send Irish emigrants to North America, he came across a description of the Red River Country. This triggered his imagination for a settlement there or at Sault St. Marie for Scottish Highlanders. Selkirk's intent was not only to find homes for the Highlanders, but also to keep the Northwest from falling into the hands of the Americans. Selkirk's empire building plan did not interest the Colonial Office. Rupert's
Land was already in the hands of English adventurers, and that was enough for them. They knew nothing of the Northwest and were reluctant to approve any plan involving the emigration of Highlanders at this time. Because of its high unemployment, the Highlands of Scotland was a source of recruits for the army which the Colonial Office did not want to lose to an emigration plan. In 1803, the Colonial Office did approve one of Lord Selkirk's emigration plans and granted him land on Prince Edward Island and in Upper Canada to establish a colony populated by Scottish Highlanders. This was a land grant given by the Colonial Office, but the financial liability was to be sustained by Selkirk.

During the ocean crossing, Selkirk drew up a diagram of the village where the settlers would live. The village was to be located miles from the shore so to be close to a ready supply of wood and good soil, with houses erected in a circle surrounded by fields within walking distance of the village. The settlers had other ideas once they reached the shores of Prince Edward Island. Fearful in a strange land, the settlers clung to the shore, which was the only thing they could relate to in this strange and hostile land. Failing to persuade the settlers to move inland to establish a village, Selkirk acquiesced so that there was a long continuous row of narrow farms with a log house at the front of the lot facing the sea.

While the settlers were building their houses and getting established, Lord Selkirk traveled to Upper Canada to look for a site for another colony. During his travels, Selkirk would meet Captain Miles Macdonell and other Highlanders who were connected with the fur trade. Many of those who Selkirk met would later play an important part
in his life as he tried to establish an agricultural colony in the District of Assiniboia. Some would be friends while some would be foes, but for now they would all be friends as noted in the notebook Selkirk carried throughout his travels.

Selkirk also used his notebook to write down information on farming methods, grist-mills, sawmills, roads, or any other information that might be helpful for the colony he planned to build on the edge of Lake St. Clair. Selkirk's agent in Scotland already had recruited eleven families of settlers, and they were on their way from Scotland and Ireland to settle in the new community he would name Baldoon after his father's estate in Scotland. This was to be Selkirk's ideal community, with a sawmill, grist-mill, brewery, distillery, school, and church with a road that ran through the settlement to the River Thames. Alexander Macdonell, Miles Macdonell's brother-in-law, was left in charge of the settlement once it was established. Lord Selkirk made his way back to Prince Edward Island before sailing home to Scotland.  

Upon Selkirk's return to Scotland, he wrote and published a book on emigration to encourage more emigration to British North America by Scottish Highlanders. Selkirk applied for a grant of 300,000 acres of land to start a colony in New Brunswick. The grant application contained conditions that were to prevent Selkirk from having to finance the settlement from his own private funds. The government found these conditions unacceptable, so the grant was denied.  

Failing to secure this land grant, Selkirk turned his attention to politics by standing for election as a Scottish peer. There had been one general election after he inherited his title; but he neither
participated nor voted in it. In order to advance and put into practice his ideas on emigration in 1806, Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk, entered the political arena. There was no guarantee Selkirk would be elected a Representative Peer for Scotland even with his connections and the strong backing of his friends. The election turned into a five-hour ordeal with thirty-six peers present, the largest assembly present in history. When the final roll was taken, Selkirk had been elected by his peers to represent Scotland in the House of Lords at Westminster in London.9

Working through the House of Lords, Selkirk pressed forward for reforms and the abolition of the slave trade. It appeared that he had sat aside his emigration plans as he reviewed the balance-sheet of his colonization ventures at Prince Edward Island and Baldoon in Upper Canada. Selkirk's landholdings were worth £10,000 at the most in Canada with expenditures totaling over £30,000. One thousand British citizens settled in the colony to the advantage of the British government but not to Selkirk. Under the terms of the land grant, Selkirk had no claim for compensation from the government even if these colonies drained his finances. Although Selkirk was wealthy, he could not continue to sustain such losses for long. To keep his colony afloat in Baldoon, Selkirk sold his father's Baldoon estate in Scotland to Lord Grenville.10

By 1807, Selkirk's colonization venture at Prince Edward Island was able to prosper without financial intervention from Selkirk; Baldoon was not as successful. With the settlement at Prince Edward Island prospering, Selkirk no longer had the large financial outlay required to
support two settlements and became more financially secure than previously. Selkirk, a bachelor, turned his attention to Miss Jean Wedderburn, the daughter of James Wedderburn Colville. He married her at Inveresk late in November of 1807. Selkirk was thirty-six and Jean twenty-one. This union not only provided Selkirk with a loving wife who shared his interests in public affairs, but also a family with large holdings in the Hudson’s Bay Company.11

Marriage brought an end to Selkirk’s bachelorhood, but not to his plans for a colony in the region of the Red River which was in the control of the Hudson Bay Company. The rights of the Hudson Bay Company’s charter seemed impregnable, but events and circumstances once again were about to change in Selkirk’s favor, thereby making it possible for him to secure his much-wanted land grant in Rupert’s Land.

One event which favored Selkirk was the war being fought on the European Continent. In 1806, Napoleon began to enforce his Berlin Decree; i.e., the "continental system" policy closing continental ports to British vessels. France, Germany, and Russia were the Hudson Bay Company’s major fur buyers. Fur agents from these countries could no longer buy or ship furs from England to Europe. By 1808, the Hudson’s Bay Company’s warehouses were filled with three seasons supply of pelts without a market outlet. The shrinking fur market and aggressive trading by the North-West Fur Company undermined the value of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s stock. Unable to sell its furs, the Company found itself in financial troubles and was unable to pay dividends to its stockholders. The Company petitioned the Chancellor of the Exchequer for temporary assistance. The Exchequer and Board of Trade to whom the
Company later appealed refused to loan the Board of Governors the £60,000 that they requested. The only relief the Company was given by the government was permission to store their furs for twelve months duty free.¹²

Unable to pay dividends to its stockholders, stock in the Hudson Bay Company dropped from £250 a share to less than £60 a share. Taking advantage of the situation, Selkirk, along with Sir Alexander Mackenzie of the North-West Company, set up a joint account and began purchasing stock in the Hudson's Bay Company. Mackenzie was seeking transit rights through Hudson Bay for the North-West Company while Selkirk was looking to establish an agricultural settlement at Red River. Even though Selkirk was providing most of the capital for the venture, Mackenzie withdrew from the scheme when it became apparent that Selkirk's only interest was colonization.¹³

Unsure if the charter granted to the Company of Adventurers allowed for colonization, Selkirk had the charter reviewed by Sir Samuel Romilly, Justice Holroyd, W. M. Cruise, J. Scarlett, and John Bell of the King's Bench for their legal opinions on the charter. Their opinions were that only the Governor and Company were empowered to grant the authority to establish colonies, fortifications, or plantations and to decide who would govern, command, or preside over such establishments.¹⁴

In the next few months, Andrew Wedderburn-Colvile and John Halkett, Selkirk's brothers-in-law, joined Selkirk in buying Hudson's Bay Company stock. In 1809 Andrew Colvile was given a position on the Board of Directors of the Hudson's Bay Company; i.e., "the Committee." This
appointment worked to Selkirk's advantage, because now there was a member of "the Committee," who shared his views on starting a settlement at Red River. Selkirk and Colvile suggested to the Committee that a colony at Red River would be a benefit to the Company. A colony located at the center of the Hudson's Bay Company operation could provide a cheap food supply for the Company's employees. This idea appealed to the Committee because of its financial problems, and food was one of their major expenses. Early in 1810, Colvile drew up a reorganizational plan and submitted it to the Committee. This reorganization plan included plans for Selkirk's agricultural colony at Red River to provide food for the Company. The North-West Company applied pressure on the Hudson's Bay Company for access to Hudson Bay, so the Hudson's Bay Company felt a colony would strengthen its title to the land while providing labor and food, further enabling them to keep their hold on all of Rupert Land as set forth in the charter.15

By 1811, Selkirk, his family, and friends had acquired a holding of £6,752 worth of shares in the Company. A general court of proprietors was called for on May 30, 1811 and £30,000 worth of shares voted in favor of accepting Selkirk's proposal. Those voting in favor were the Earl's brother-in-law, Andrew Wedderburn Colvile, the Governor of the Company; William Mainwaring, the Deputy Governor; Joseph Barnes, and others. Those voting against the proposal were William Thwaytes, a major stockholder who controlled £10,000 worth of stock, and Robert Whitehead with £3,000 worth of stock. The most violent opposition came from the North-West Company agents, who were in England at the time. Representatives of the North-West Company bought £2,000 shares of
Hudson’s Bay Company stock forty-eight hours before the May 30th meeting in an effort to block the sale of the land grant to Lord Selkirk.\textsuperscript{16}

Not being in possession of the stock long enough to be entitled to vote at the meeting, the North-West stockholders, along with Thwaytes, condemned the measures taken by the Committee and the general court of the Hudson’s Bay Company. When the vote was taken, £29,937 worth of stock voted for the land grant while stock valued at £14,823 voted against, with the majority of stockholders refraining from casting a vote.\textsuperscript{17}

Thwaytes opposed the sale, because the grant took too much land from the Company’s holdings. Furthermore, if the Company was going to colonize, land should be put up for public sale, not sold under private contract to a member of the Company. Thwaytes also felt there should be a penalty if Selkirk failed to find settlers for the colony. He feared that the settlers would interfere with the fur trade, and that they would try to engage in the fur traffic with the United States.\textsuperscript{18}

For his part of the contract, Selkirk proposed not only to recruit settlers for the colony, but also two hundred men to work for the Hudson’s Bay Company every year for ten years. In exchange for their service to the Company, these men were to receive a wage not to exceed £20 a year (to be paid by the Company) and a grant of one hundred acres of land after ten years of service to the Company. The settler’s allotment was every male head of a household and every single male over the age of eighteen received one hundred acres. If Selkirk failed to get two hundred men per year for service to the Company, he would have
to pay £10 per every man he was short. The Hudson's Bay Company retained full rights to access to the District of Assiniboia.¹⁹

On the 12th of June 1811, for the price of ten shillings, Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk, received 116,000 square miles of land in British North America called the District of Assiniboia. See Figure 4. The land grant was as large as Britain and Ireland together and five time the size of Selkirk's beloved Scotland.²⁰

Confident that he would receive the land grant, Selkirk already had recruiting agents at work. He sent Colin Robertson to the Herbides off the west coast of Scotland, Roderick McDonald to Glasgow, Scotland, and Miles Macdonell was recruiting in Ireland. Selkirk's plan for an agricultural colony at Red River in the District of Assiniboia was well under way before the ink was dry on the contract.²¹
Figure 4.
Lord Selkirk’s Grant.

ENDNOTES


2. Ibid., 11-3.


5. Ibid.


8. Ibid., 43.

9. Ibid., 44-6.


13. Ibid., 38.

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18. Ibid., 145-6.

19. Ibid., 146.


21. Ibid., 63.
Selkirk prepared a brochure called 'Advertisement and Prospectus' which he gave to his recruiting agents, the trio of Robertson, McDonald, and Macdonell to distribute in Scotland and Ireland while seeking settlers for the colony at Red River. This brochure not only defined Selkirk's plans for colonization but also was intended to attract investors to form a joint stock company to help finance the establishment of a colony at Red River. See Appendix B for "Advertisement and Prospectus."

This document defined Selkirk's plan for colonization; however, as far as being successful in attracting investors, it was a failure. The only people Selkirk was able to convince to invest in his colonization plan were his relatives and close friends, leaving him to shoulder most of the financial burden of the colony. Unable to block the land grant, the North-West Company planned to put as many obstacles in Selkirk's way as possible. The first blow came two weeks after the grant was signed. The North-West Company published an article in the Inverness Journal that described the hardships the journey would entail and the terrors to be faced in the unknown land. This was the first of many articles that would be published in the paper to deter Selkirk's recruiting efforts.¹

Recruiting under these circumstances became a slow and laborious process, and it was getting late in the shipping season. If the ships did not sail soon, the trip would be too dangerous to make and would have to be postponed until the following year. Three ships were made ready for the voyage. The Eddystone and Prince of Wales were to carry...
freight and the new recruits for the Hudson's Bay Company while the Edward and Anne were to carry the settlers. On July 17, 1811, Miles Macdonell, the man who Selkirk had met in Upper Canada during his earlier travels, was put in charge of the expedition. Macdonell, along with the settlers, gathered with employees of the Hudson's Bay Company at Stornoway to leave for the future District of Assiniboia colony. It would be two weeks before the group would sail for Hudson Bay. Hostile interference by the North-West Company was once again at work. The point of intervention was the Collector of Customs. A Mr. Reid was the collection agent and his wife was related to Alexander Mackenzie of the North-West Company. For two days, the settlers and employees of the Hudson's Bay Company were subjected to every official formality that Mr. Reid could employ. While Mr. Reid was using his official capacity to hold up the proceedings, his son-in-law, Captain MacKenzie, boarded the Edward and Anne. He was offering the settlers money to abandon their plans to emigrate to the Red River Colony. Prompt measures were needed to keep the settlers from deserting. The H. M. S. Conway, a British man-of-war came to Miles Macdonell's aid by escorting seventy-six settlers and fifty-nine employees of the Hudson's Bay Company aboard ship and escorting the ships farther out into the harbor. This action did not deter some of the passengers who decided they did not want to go to the Red River region after all. One party stole a boat and tried to make it to shore only to be overcome by Macdonell's men and returned to ship. Five men did escape including one who had jumped overboard and swam for shore. On July 26, 1811, the three ships were finally underway.
By September 6th, 1811, the three ships had reached Hudson Straits sailing towards the bay and their destination of York Factory, the Hudson’s Bay Company’s fort lying between the Hays and Nelson rivers. When the ships set anchor on September 24th, snow was falling and the temperature was -22°C. Preparations had not been made for their arrival, and it was too late in the season to start the seven hundred mile journey to the region of the Red River. Finding the fort cold and poorly constructed for the climate, Miles Macdonell and the settlers set out across a strip of land between the two rivers, trekking twenty-three miles up the Nelson River to seek shelter. There was plenty of wood in the area to build crude huts in which to spend the winter.3

If it had not been for the food supply Selkirk sent along on the voyage, the settlers would have starved to death. They were not only inexperienced hunters, but game was scarce in the area. The comfortable homes they looked forward to was something to dream about as they huddled in their crude huts under buffalo robes and slept on twigs. Captain Macdonell tried to keep order among the settlers and employees of the Hudson’s Bay Company during the long winter. Like the North-West Company, many of the employees of the Hudson’s Bay Company were opposed to the idea of an agricultural colony in the region. With the help of strong drink, fights broke out between the settlers and Hudson’s Bay Company employees as well as between the Irishmen and the men from Glasgow.4

Many of the settlers felt they were under no obligation to obey Captain Macdonell who was in charge. To retain some type of control, Captain Macdonell would arrest and confine to a hut the person or
persons causing trouble. On one occasion, Macdonell detained a man in the hut for refusing to do the work assigned to him. Fourteen of his friends took exception to the lockup and broke into the hut to release the man, then burned the hut. Not knowing how far his legal authority extended, Captain Macdonell turned to W. H. Cook, Chief Factor at York Factory for guidance. Having been 'in country' for some years, Cook knew how to deal with tempestuous people. Enacting the law of the land, Chief Factor Cook expelled the fourteen men from the encampment and stopped their supply of food. This forced the men to go to the fort to purchase provisions at their own expense. This punishment had the desired effect Captain Macdonell sought. By the time the party was ready to leave for the Red River in the spring, the fourteen men were more than ready to follow Captain Macdonell's orders.⁵

A milder than usual winter turned into a long, cold spring with ice still in the rivers at mid-June. It was not until the first week in July before the settlers were able to start their seven hundred mile journey to Red River. The first 440 miles of the journey were to be the hardest. Using their poorly constructed boats that they built during the winter, the settlers had to fight heavy currents, plunging through narrow gorges, often waist-deep in icy water pulling the boats. Portaging became back-breaking work as they labored with their carbo along rocky paths gaining only a few hundred yards in a day's effort. The worst of the journey was over once they reached Holy Lake and the Hudson's Bay Company's Oxford House. At Oxford House, Captain Macdonell was able to recruit four men and an Indian to guide them the rest of the
way to the Red River. The settlers were able to acquire a bull and a
cow, the first livestock for the colony, which they named Adam and Eve.⁶

Led by the Indian guide, Macdonell and his party of settlers along
with the two head of cattle headed down the Jack River to Lake Winnipeg.
They still had 260 miles to go once they reached Lake Winnipeg. It was
not until the end of August 1812 that Captain Macdonell and the settlers
stepped ashore at Red River. The journey had taken a year, but at last
they were able to view the endless miles of prairie grass and
wildflowers comprising the District of Assiniboia. From their vantage
point on the east bank of the Red River, they were able to see a group
of log buildings surrounded by a stockade. What they were looking at
was fort Gibraltar, built and controlled by the North-West Company
standing at 'The Forks', where the Red and Assiniboine Rivers meet. Two
days later, on September 4, 1812, Captain Miles Macdonell accompanied by
the settlers stood on the east shore of the Red River and read a
document claiming the land in the name of Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of
Selkirk, from the Hudson's Bay Company. The announcement was read in
English and French while a group of Metis, Indians, and representatives
from the North-West Company looked on. Representing the North-West
Company was John Wills, commander of Fort Gibraltar and Alexander
Macdonell, Miles Macdonell's cousin and brother-in-law.⁷

After claiming the land and appointing himself governor of the
District of Assiniboia, as instructed by Lord Selkirk, Captain Macdonell
began to explore the area for a site on which to build the settlement.
Lord Selkirk left the decision up to Macdonell as to where the
settlement would be located. The only specifications Selkirk asked
Macdonell to keep in mind was to make sure that the settlement be placed in an area that was dry and some distance from the woods--yet close enough to have a supply of wood for fuel and building. These specifications stemmed from Selkirk’s experience in Baldoon in Upper Canada. The settlement in Baldoon was built in a low-lying, swampy area surrounded by trees, subjecting the settlers to swamp fever which Selkirk wanted to prevent from happening at Red River. Macdonell found what he considered an ideal location on the banks of the Red River where the river made one of its many loops creating a point. The site he chose was two miles north of Fort Gibraltar. Captain Macdonell began negotiations with the Indians to gain title to the land. In time Macdonell planned to build a fort in this location to make it the heart of the settlement. In the interim, he started the settlers on clearing the land in hopes of getting some type of crop planted for a winter food supply.

Macdonell had hoped to find supplies at the local Hudson’s Bay Company’s factory to tide the settlers over until a crop was planted and harvested. Due to the bad winter, there as a general shortage of food and the Company had nothing to spare. Captain Macdonell blamed the Hudson’s Bay Company for the lack of supplies when in reality the blame should have been placed on Lord Selkirk’s lack of oversight. To survive the first winter at Red River, Miles Macdonell moved the settlers to Pembina, sixty miles to the south. The North-West Company and Hudson’s Bay Company had posts at Pembina where normally there was an abundant supply of fresh meat and fish.
Upon arrival at Pembina, Captain Macdonell chose a post and began construction of winter quarters for the colonists. Sheltered in tents or in existing huts with other residents in Pembina, the settlers awaited the completion of the cabins in which they would spend the winter. It was well into the new year before they could occupy a smattering of crude huts Captain Macdonell named Fort Daer. The settlers' new accommodations were far from comfortable with floors of dirt and windows that had to be stuffed with hay to keep the wind out. Lacking hunting skills, the settlers had to rely on the Metis for their food supply. The Metis were noted for their hunting skills and without their help the settlers would not have been able to make it through the winter.9

Before the first group of settlers had reached Red River, Lord Selkirk's second party of seventy-one settlers had started already on their way to Red River under the leadership of Owen Keveny. Unlike the first group of settlers which was all men, this group consisted of men, women, and children. The voyage was much shorter than the first, but it was not without its problems. Fever broke out aboard ship, and the crew planned a mutiny. No one died of the fever, and the mutiny was foiled when its plans were overheard by a passenger and reported to the captain. Before the voyage was completed, one young man and woman decided life at the new settlement would be much better if they were married. Upon arrival at York Factory, Father Bourke, who was about to return to England after his service in the region, agreed to marry the couple. Although the couple were Presbyterians, they had no objections to being married by a Roman Catholic priest.10
Although the ship arrived early in the season, some of the settlers spent the winter at York Factory. Several men decided to head for the Red River Colony; arriving in late October, they started building homes for their families. When the second group of settlers reached the Red River Colony in 1813, food was in short supply, and it was late in the year. Captain Macdonell moved the colonists up the Red River to Pembina, with the help of a band of Indians, as he had done the previous year. The Indians, who had horses, carried the smaller children while the rest of the party made the sixty mile journey on foot. The Indians, who were fond of practical jokes, gave many a Scottish mother a scare as they pretended to gallop off across the plains with the children in tow. On arrival in Pembina, the hospitality that had been extended the year before by the Metis was not extended this year. Word had come from Montreal, the North-West Company's headquarters, not to assist the settlers in any way. This information was passed on to the Metis who sympathized with the North-West Company and withheld their help in obtaining a food supply for the settlers. The Indians did what they could to provide food for the settlers, but with game being in short supply, there was little food they could share with the settlers. After a long, hard winter, spring came and when the settlers departed from Fort Daer and Pembina, they vowed never to return.

The settlers made their way to Point Douglas and the settlement Captain Macdonell had named Colony Gardens and began planting their crops and building houses. They soon discovered they lacked proper implements needed to plant a crop. The agricultural implements had been left at York Factory to make room for the Merino sheep Selkirk sent
along. The sheep did not survive the journey: half died of disease, the rest killed by dogs. This left the settlers with only hoes to turn the soil, so only small patches of land were farmed, yielding only enough seed to be used the following year for planting.\textsuperscript{12}

While the settlers struggled to plant a crop, Selkirk waited in Scotland for news of the colony at Red River. Miles Macdonell, who tended to put the colony in the best of light, reported on the good soil while brushing over the hardships the colony faced. It became clear to Selkirk that the settlers had a hard winter but managed to survive. Also in the mail pouch there were other letters from Macdonell, Dr. Edwards, plus a letter to Andrew Colvile from William Auld, the Hudson's Bay Company superintendent. Dr. Edwards' letter to Selkirk was full of accusations against Miles Macdonell. He accused Captain Macdonell of high-handedness and felt that he was much too friendly with members of the North-West Company. Andrew Colvile's letter from Auld also criticized Macdonell's handling of the colony. Auld was having grave doubts about the Hudson's Bay Company's support of the colony under the leadership of Miles Macdonell. Auld's concern stemmed from a conversation Miles Macdonell had with the Chief Factor at York Factory. Macdonell discussed with Hudson's Bay Company officials the safeguarding of supplies for the settlers at the colony. For years the North-West Company had been buying pemmican from the Indians and Metis in large quantities to feed their traders in the Athabasca region. Pemmican, a mixture of dried buffalo meat and fat or tallow, mixed in a 90-pound sack, once hardened provided a portable source of high protein. If no other food source was available, a 90-pound sack of pemmican would last
a fur trapper or trader five days in the field. Most of the pemmican came from the territory to which Lord Selkirk held the title. Macdonell felt it was wrong for the North-West Company to remove this food supply from the territory when the settlers living on the land grant were close to starvation.\textsuperscript{13} See Figure 5.

As governor of the colony, Miles Macdonell issued a proclamation in January of 1814 forbidding the removal of pemmican or any other food supply for the region. See Appendix C for Governor Macdonell’s proclamation. This proclamation was not directly aimed at the North-West Company, Macdonell was merely trying his best to make the most of a difficult situation. The steps he took eventually would lead to disaster, but if he had done nothing, it also would lead to disaster. If anything was going to happen, it would not be until early summer when the brigades moved out. Macdonell’s hopes rose when he received word from Auld that John Pritchard, who was in charge of the North-West fort at La Souris believed that Macdonell was within his legal rights to issue the proclamation. John Wills, at Fort Gibraltar, privately agreed but was reluctant to state it publicly. Others, including John MacDonald, an old fur trader, vowed to resist the embargo by force if necessary.\textsuperscript{14}

As the weeks passed, it became evident that a confrontation could not be avoided on their way to Fort William as the brigades from Swan Lake, Turtle River, River La Souris, and Qu-Appelle came down the Assiniboine River heading for the Red. There was no other way to get to Lake Winnipeg nor to make the 400-500 mile journey to their headquarters
Figure 5.
"A map of the Red River District"
Scale not given but computed to be 1 inch to approximately 22 miles.
Manuscript map, ink on paper. The original map is in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba. It is the frontispiece in "General Report of Red River District by Peter Fidler 1819 May" H.B.C.A., P.A.M., (B.22/e/1).
at Fort William except to pass by their own fort, and head north passing in front of the Red River settlement and the guns of Fort Douglas.

Pemmican was required by all the brigades coming in from the west. Most of the traders were short of rations and some were starving. To withhold the pemmican they needed, and felt they had a right to, to the voyagers it seemed inhumane and dangerous.\textsuperscript{15} The withholding of pemmican not only angered the North-West Company, but also the Metis and Indians who made their living by hunting the buffalo, making pemmican, and selling it to the fur companies. Unable to understand why a man they had never seen and who lived across the ocean, was telling them that they could not sell pemmican to the North-West Company was interpreted as being against their best interest. The Metis were rootless and easily aroused, when the North-West Company was threatened, it in turn threatened the Metis so they closed ranks together. The Metis could become unmanageable, dangerous, and deadly with their fast ponies and rifles, the type of allies the North-West Company prized.\textsuperscript{16}

Unlike the North-West Company, the Hudson's Bay Company brought their surplus pemmican to Fort Douglas. Knowing the North-West Company had a large supply stored at La Souris, Governor Macdonell sent a party of men under the supervision of Sheriff John Spencer to La Souris to commander the fort's supply of pemmican. The commander of the post, John Pritchard, refused to let Sheriff Spencer and his men enter the fort. Spencer and his men cut out a section of the stockade to gain entry. They then proceeded to force open the door of the storeroom and haul away 400 ninety-pound bags of pemmican without resistance. Unable to transport all of the pemmican back to Fort Douglas and the
settlement, Spencer stored what they could not carry at Hudson's Bay's Brandon House. This reinforced the North-West Company's belief that the Hudson's Bay Company was behind the embargo. Governor Macdonell sent Sheriff Spencer and his men out once again. The North-West Company was able to foil his plan. When Sheriff Spencer reached his destination, all that he found was an abandoned boat. After searching the area, Sheriff Spencer finally found the stock of pemmican hidden under a boat and returned to Fort Douglas. In retaliation, the North-West Company employees arrested Howse, the Chief Factor of Brandon House, for burglary at La Souris. This action set Macdonell into action. He mounted the fort's cannons to cover the river, stopping boats from entering or leaving the Red River. After weeks of uneasiness, the two sides tried to work out a compromise. At times, it seemed as though the situation would erupt in violence, but both parties slowly were able to reach an agreement. Governor Macdonell would return 200 bags of pemmican to the North-West Company in return for oatmeal and 175 bags of pemmican for the settlers when the Nor'Westerners returned in the fall. The North-West officials at Fort William were furious when they heard of the agreement. They felt that they should not have given up any of the pemmican. The settlers also disapproved because they felt the embargo might succeed and to give in was foolish. The big loser was the Hudson's Bay Company because, even though it had complied with the embargo, it received nothing in return.17

As the North-West brigades headed out to Lake Winnipeg on their way to Fort William, Archie McDonald arrived at the Red River Settlement with fifty settlers who had spent the winter at Churchill. Leaving the
settlement under the command of Archie McDonald and Peter Fidler, Miles Macdonell set out for York Factory--leaving the settlement for good. The strain was too much for him; Macdonell had written to Lord Selkirk asking to be relieved of his command. While Miles Macdonell waited at York Factory for a ship to take him back to Scotland, the North-West Company was conspiring to destroy the colony at Red River.\(^{18}\)

Duncan Cameron, along with Alexander Macdonell, was to lead the conspiracy. Cameron was given the command of the Red River region by the North-West Company, and Alexander Macdonell was to be in charge of the Metis. Macdonell, the feisty, older, wintering partner, was the most dangerous of the two, vain, with an explosive temper who could easily arouse the Metis, was more than ready to lead the Metis or anyone else who would follow him in an effort to remove the settlers from the region. Cameron was amiable but pompous which was very evident when he arrived at Red River dressed in a captain’s scarlet tunic and declaring himself ‘Captain, Voyageurs Corps, Commanding Officer, Red River’.\(^{19}\) Cameron not only arrived with pomp but also with arrest warrants for Miles Macdonell and John Spencer signed by officials of the North-West Company. Even though he spoke to the settlers in their native language, Gaelic, they still viewed his speech with skepticism when he offered assistance to any settler who wished to migrate to Upper Canada. Cameron’s intent was to divide the settlers. With the arrest of Sheriff John Spencer, the settlers rallied together. Lacking strong support from either Peter Fidler or Archie McDonald to stop the incident, Spencer was sent down river to Fort William to stand trial as the settlers looked on.\(^{20}\)
The lack of leadership displayed by Fidler and Archie McDonald unsettled many of the settlers who were lured by free food and drink to Captain Cameron and Fort Gibraltar. Hearing of the state of the colony at York Factory, Miles Macdonell decided to return to see if he could be of any help. Instead of helping the colony, Macdonell aggravated the situation through angering the Metis by forbidding them to hunt the buffalo on horseback. Macdonell felt that by using horses, the Metis were driving the buffalo further out onto the plains, depriving the settlement of a close food supply. Many supported Macdonell’s action, especially the Indians and settlers who did not have horses; however, it only added to the hostility the Metis already felt towards Macdonell and the colony.

In the spring of 1815, Macdonell did not win any friends at the North-West Company or Fort Gibraltar when he tacked a notice on the door of Fort Gibraltar informing the employees of the North-West Company to vacate the fort because it was on Lord Selkirk’s land grant. Although acting under instruction from Selkirk, Miles Macdonell could have handled the situation better. Instead of explaining Selkirk’s order to the North-West Company and then giving them time to remove their fort, he gave the North-West Company what was perceived as an eviction notice.21

The winter of 1814-15 was to be the first winter the settlers stayed at the colony. Members of the colony went up to Pembina for buffalo meat which was in good supply. This would be the first winter that the settlers had enough food to carry them through the winter. Many of the settlers shuttled back and forth between their homes and
Fort Gibraltar for parties and other social gatherings. Innuendos about the settlement and Miles Macdonell made by employees of the North-West Company also passed back and forth. Macdonell heard the innuendo but did not take it seriously. Thinking that the Sioux Indians were the problem and Pembina was about to be attacked, Macdonell went to take command of the settlement. While Macdonell was in Pembina, Cameron with the help of one of the settlers from Kildonan, George Campbell, started the rumor that none of the settlers would be allowed to leave the settlement. Macdonell was ready to use force to keep them from leaving by blasting the North-West Company's boats with the cannon from Fort Douglas. If any of the settlers wanted to leave, it was in their best interest if they handed the cannon over to Duncan Cameron at Fort Gibraltar for safekeeping. On April 3, 1815, Cameron, with the support of Campbell and a group of his friends, approached Fort Douglas with a horse-drawn sledge to haul the cannon to Fort Gibraltar. Little attempt was made to stop him when it became evident he was backed by armed guards.23

An uneasy April and May followed as pressure began to mount. Alexander Macdonell arrived with a group of Metis and camped north of the Selkirk settlement at Frog Plain. During the night, the Metis would gallop through the settlement shouting and firing their guns into the air, trying to scare the settlers into leaving the settlement. The majority of the settlers held firm. After five years of adversity, they were not about to give up. The Metis raiding parties every now and then would capture isolated settlers as they went back and forth from their fields and hold them prisoner. The Metis became more daring and opened
fire on the settlement wounding four men, one seriously enough to cause his death. Fearful of massacre, the settlers refused to surrender their guns to Duncan Cameron as he had requested. Determined to drive the settlers out, Cameron had Miles Macdonell arrested. Cameron also stated that if any of the settlers helped Macdonell, they too would be arrested as accomplices. Fearing for the settlers, Macdonell gave himself up in hopes that the settlement would be safe. As he headed for Fort Gibraltar from Pembina, Macdonell was met by Cameron, dressed in his military finery, with an armed escort to accompany him back to Fort Gibraltar. One hundred and forty of the settlers had had enough and boarded the North-West Company's canoes to follow the brigade headed by Duncan Cameron that was taking Miles Macdonell to Fort William. There he was to be put on trial for confiscating pemmican from the North-West Company. Sixty of the hard core settlers remained behind in hopes of being left alone to farm.23

Alexander Macdonell and the Metis under his command had other plans for the settlers. Alexander Macdonell served notice to the settlers to move on and never return to try and establish a colony at Red River again. The Metis helped hasten the move by riding down their crops and burning their houses. The settlers looked back from the safety of their canoes; they saw years of hard work going up in flames as they headed for Jack River with only the few possessions they were able to save.24

As the settlers were fleeing the colony, Selkirk received word for the first time about the possibility of trouble in the colony from Colin Robertson. Selkirk went ahead with his plans to send eighty more colonists to Red River. Accompanying the settlers was Robert Semple,
who was to replace Miles Macdonell as governor. Semple was not only going to serve as governor—he would also be responsible for Hudson’s Bay Company concerns and act as chief magistrate for Rupert Land.25

Fearing the colonists would be attacked by Indians, Lord Selkirk appealed to Lord Bathurst of the Colonial Office in London to send troops to Red River to protect the settlers as they were British subjects. Lord Bathurst did not and would not believe the settlers were in any danger, but Selkirk persisted. Reluctantly, in March 1815, Lord Bathurst wrote a letter to the acting governor of Lower Canada, Sir Gordon Drummond, instructing him to send to Red River any soldiers he could spare. The War of 1812 had just ended, and Drummond had a limited number of troops to meet his commitments, so he was reluctant to send a detachment to Red River. Coupled with the rumors he had heard in Lower Canada, Drummond felt the settlers were in no danger of an Indian attack. Not sure if the rumors were true or not, Drummond asked the advice of William McGillivray, who had just been made a member of the Legislative Council. As head of the North-West Company, McGillivray would know if the colonists were in any danger. Drummond was not only finding out about the state of the colonists, but he also was putting McGillivray on notice that if anything did happen, McGillivray would be responsible.26

A week before the settlement went up in flames, William McGillivray and his brother, Simon, were busy writing letters of assurance that the settlement was in no danger. Simon McGillivray wrote to Lord Bathurst on the 19th of June stating that the rumor was unfounded that implicated that the North-West Company was encouraging the Indians to attack the
settlement. William McGillivray, who was insulted by the accusations made by Governor Drummond, sent the Governor a letter saying if there was trouble between the Indians and the settlers, it was because of Selkirk and Miles Macdonell occupying the Indians' hunting grounds.\textsuperscript{27}

While the McGillivray brothers were trying to explain away the rumors going around Upper Canada and London, the settlers who left the colony under the command of Duncan Cameron arrived at Fort Douglas. Wined, dined, and listened to with a sympathetic ear by Cameron at Fort Gibraltar, the settlers were about to see Cameron's true colors. The celebration staged by the Nor-Westerners revealed the part they played in driving the settlers from the colony. When George Campbell, the ringleader of the Metis, received £100 for his part in the destruction of the colony, the settlers realized how badly they had been duped and became angry.\textsuperscript{28} As Campbell and other high ranking officials of the North-West Company sailed eastward towards Montreal, William McGillivray was reporting on the arrival of the settler at Fort William. McGillivray once again placed the blame on Miles Macdonell's poor leadership and the settlers' fear of the Indians and Metis as the cause of the troubles at the colony. According to McGillivray, the only part the North-West Company played in the unfolding disaster was to offer transportation for the settlers. McGillivray hoped the government would help the settlers obtain land as all the North-West Company promised was food and transportation to Upper Canada, and it had fulfilled that promise. McGillivray and other officials thought they had seen the last of the settlers and destroyed the colony once and for all.\textsuperscript{29}
However, Colin Robertson was on his way to Red River to investigate. Upon his arrival at Red River, he was surprised to see that the crops that the Metis had trampled had sprung up again and were flourishing. Three settlers had weathered the storm. Under the leadership of John McLeod, the men had been able to save the blacksmith shop and some supplies. By the time Robertson arrived, the men already had started to rebuild many of the houses. Robertson then traveled to the Jack River region and brought the surviving settlers back to the colony. Governor Robert Semple's group reached the settlement in November, bringing the number of settlers to its former population. This group of settlers were better prepared for the hardships and more determined than those who had preceded them.30

In September of 1815, Selkirk knew nothing of the fate of the colonists or the colony when he set sail for New York. Arriving in October, as Selkirk and his wife, Jean, were making plans to go to Montreal, Selkirk heard news of the colony. Lacking details, Selkirk could only surmise what had happened. Upon arrival at Montreal, Selkirk hoped to hear more about the colony's fate from members of the North-West Company, but no one came forward to explain what had happened. An uneasiness fell over Montreal as Lord Selkirk and his wife made their presence known. When Selkirk challenged McGillivray's charges that Miles Macdonell and the embargo were the cause of the destruction of the colony, McGillivray's reply was that the legality of the embargo should have been brought before the Privy Council. Supporters of the North-West Company felt McGillivray gave a smart reply. Enemies of the North-
West Company, knowing that the Company only used the legal system when it was to their advantage, were outraged by McGillivray’s remarks.\textsuperscript{31}

The North-West Company was shaken by Selkirk’s confidence, strength, and resources because they previously never had been challenged, so they were not sure how to react. The Company was uneasy over the events that had taken place at Red River and fearful that Selkirk had the power to hold them accountable. The North-West Company began to posture themselves as being manipulated by Lord Selkirk, whom they believed to be an agent of the Hudson’s Bay Company disguised as an altruistic colonizer.\textsuperscript{32}

For the first time in its history, the North-West Company was in fiscal trouble and saw the Hudson’s Bay Company as a rival. It was no secret that the North-West Company was having financial problems. It was a well-known fact among the wintering partners and servants bringing furs in from the interior that the North-West Company was having cash flow problems. The North-West Company was not as strong as it looked, so if the North-West Company was going to survive, it would have to work out some type of agreement with the Hudson’s Bay Company over the fur-rich Athabasca region. Selkirk had been authorized by the Hudson’s Bay Company Committee to negotiate some type of settlement while he was in Montreal. The Hudson’s Bay Company preferred amalgamation of the two companies rather than division of the region. Selkirk felt any type of an agreement by the two companies would benefit the colony. The North-West Company wanted a monopoly on the Athabasca. They felt it was theirs by right of discovery even though it was land claimed in the Hudson’s Bay Company charter. The North-West Company pressed for a
division as they could not afford to make any concessions. The beaver had been hunted out of other regions and the only region worth dividing was the Athabasca, and both companies wanted total control of this territory. Negotiations broke down, and two days later the North-West Company delivered a warning that if the livelihood of their employees was threatened, they would do everything in their power to protect their interests. Rumors were circulated that the Hudson's Bay Company and Selkirk would not settle for anything else but complete ruin of the North-West Company. Selkirk and the Hudson's Bay Company were not out to ruin the North-West Company, they were only interested in protecting their legal right as set forth in the charter.33

With negotiations at a standstill, Selkirk traveled to York, in Upper Canada, to visit with the settlers who had relocated there after being driven out of Red River the previous summer. Selkirk found out not only how the settlers were persecuted by the North-West Company but also the hardships they had endured in trying to establish a colony. This knowledge only made Selkirk more determined to travel to Red River in the spring. While his friends were trying to talk Selkirk out of going to Red River, Thomas Clark was overseeing the arrangements for the trip. Clark felt a compromise could be worked out between Selkirk and the North-West Company and urged him to reopen negotiations before traveling to Red River. Other friends of Selkirk were not as optimistic and felt that if Selkirk insisted on going to Red River, his life would be in danger. Selkirk acknowledged their advice but would not be swayed.34
Upon his return to Montreal, Selkirk received news of the colony. Jean-Baptiste Lagimoniere had carried a message from Colin Robertson to Selkirk—traveling the 1,800 miles from Red River to Montreal in the dead of winter. Robertson reported that the colony had been reestablished, and Semple had arrived with the settlers and supplies. Lagimoniere, after a rest, was to return to the colony with a message from Selkirk. Selkirk’s letters to Robertson stated that employees of the North-West Company were to be allowed to pass through the District of Assiniboia unmolested while at the same time asking Robertson to arrest Duncan Cameron and Alex MacDonald, both officials of the North-West Company, plus Seraphin LaMar and Cuthbert Grant, both leaders of the Metis.

Lagimoniere left Montreal mid-April to travel to York then onto Red River. Seen as a hero by the locals for traveling such a distance in the middle of winter, Lagimoniere was detained by strong drink. The drink not only detained him, it loosened his tongue, so by the time he left York, his mission and the contents of the letter to Robertson and from Robertson were known to members of the North-West Company. The letter from Robertson held good news for Selkirk, but not for the North-West Company. Thinking they destroyed the colony once and for all, the North-West Company once more had to deal with what they thought was interference in the fur trade. While they schemed, Selkirk attempted to secure a military force to maintain order in the interior. Acting governor Drummond refused to send a military force to Red River, but he did agree to let Selkirk have his own bodyguard. Drummond had to withdraw his offer almost at once because the regiment of de Meurons
promised Selkirk were ordered to disband. There was little time to look elsewhere, as it was getting close to the time of departure. Many of the de Meuron, Swiss and German mercenaries, were interested in staying in the country and acquiring land. Along with Selkirk, four of the de Meuron officers worked out a plan to hire ninety men to go to Red River. For their duty at Red River, the de Meuron were to receive payment for the journey and their choice of land at Red River or free passage back to Europe. Captain Matthey and D'Orsonnens were to be in charge of the men and set about making arrangements for the supplies needed for the trip to Red River. The first week in June, 1816, found Selkirk and the de Meurons on their way to Red River.36

The winter was quiet at Red River after re-establishing the colony. Governor Robert Semple was confident that the North-West Company would not cause trouble. The cannons the settlers had surrendered to Duncan Cameron had been recovered, and Cameron promised no more plotting or aggression by the North-West Company. This made Governor Semple wonder if he had misjudged the North-West Company. In some ways, Semple was right, many of the wintering partners and servants of the North-West Company harbored resentment against the Montreal agents who lived off their hard labor and encouraged them to wage war against their fellow countrymen even though they did not want a settlement at Red River. It did not make any difference to the men in Montreal how the wintering partners or servants felt. Hints of renewed aggression began to circulate before the spring thaw. The Indians, hearing of the plans, passed a warning on to Colin Robertson, confirming his worst fears. Lacking factual information, there was not much Robertson could do.
Robertson knew where to get more information, Fort Gibraltar. The North-West Company winter mail delivery was due in March, and if Robertson was to find anything out, he had to act quickly. Going to Fort Gibraltar, Robertson found Duncan Cameron writing a letter to Montreal asking for support against the colony. Intercepting the dog-team and driver as he entered the stockade, the courier had no choice but to hand the mail over to Colin Robertson. Employees of the North-West Company were outraged and protested Robertson's actions. Robertson promised that the mail would go forward—if he found no evidence against the colony. Among the letters was a letter from Alexander Macdonell stating, "We will see some sport in Red River before the month of June is over." The letter also said William Shaw, Metis leader and son of a North-West partner, was preparing the Metis for the field and they would be more than one hundred strong by spring.

The gravity of the situation forced Robertson to hold the mail and take possession of the fort, keeping Cameron in custody in an attempt to prevent more plotting. During May and June, officials in Montreal knew a conflict was forthcoming and had no interest in stopping the action that was about to take place. Having intercepted and arrested Lagimoniere and his Indian guide, William McGillivray and his North-West Company threw caution to the wind as they departed Fort William for Red River. Recklessly, Robert Henry, an employee of the North-West Company, sent a letter to his uncle in Montreal telling him the plan to use the Indians to attack the settlement.

Selkirk was unaware of the events about to unfold because he left Montreal with his regiment of de Meurons before Robert Henry's letter
arrived. News was not forthcoming as Selkirk and his party stopped at Kingston in Upper Canada. Still feeling the sting of the injustice of events at Red River the year before, Selkirk wrote a letter to the new governor in Quebec, Sir John Sherbrooke, informing him of his request for criminal proceedings involving members of the North-West Company.40

As Selkirk and his party pressed westward, the colony’s settlers apprehensively viewed the eastbound passage of the North-West Company’s brigades. They could not help but remember last year’s events when the brigades passed the settlement. Fort Douglas had been rebuilt, but it was not strong enough to withstand an attack. Fort Gibraltar, which they had captured, sat two miles away and filled with danger. Semple was hesitant to follow Colin Robertson’s recommendation and destroy Fort Gibraltar. John Bourke, and others at Fort Daer, decided to take matters into their own hands and captured the North-West’s post in Pembina. It was an easy victory but without justification, making the settlers appear as aggressors at a later date. Until the attack on the trading-post at Pembina, Colin Robertson had been able to keep the Metis neutral. Seeing the injustice of the attack, the Metis rallied around the North-West Company. The friction between Robertson and Semple over what was best for the colony was increasing. Semple, who once relied on Robertson’s judgment, slowly was excluding Robertson from the decision-making process. The struggle for control and leadership of the colony made the settlers apprehensive. The last straw came when Bourke, using a pistol, threatened Robertson over the takeover of the North-West’s trading post in Pembina. Consequently, Robertson decided to leave the colony. This act was seen as a sign of weakness by the colonist,
especially the Scottish Highlanders. Throughout their culture, Scots viewed boldness as synonymous with honor and backing down was the ultimate weakness. Because this logic propelled both sides of the conflict, it could produce dishonorable acts to bring down honorable men in the process. Many of the colonists may have seen Robertson as a failure, but Robertson did not because he sailed for York Factory with Duncan Cameron as a prisoner to be tried in England. Adding insult to injury, Colin Robertson flew a pemmican sack from the masthead of his boat. Many of the colonists cheered as he sailed down the river, but others saw the gesture as absurd and vain on Robertson's part.

While Robertson sailed away, the colonists set about making preparations for their survival. Unfortunately, Governor Semple refused to believe the settlement was in any danger. As far as he was concerned, Selkirk held title to the land. Thus, if there was any dispute, then the court system would settle them. Having complete faith in the government and the Colonial Office, he was offended by the actions of the settlers as they prepared to protect themselves. Sir Robert Semple viewed himself as an honorable man, and above all a gentleman, and gentlemen honored contracts and obeyed the law. As chief magistrate of Rupert's Land, he represented the law and knew what was due him. While he could administer the law with ease, he found it hard to talk to the Indians, Metis, or freemen working and living in the area. Neither could he establish a social relationship with them. Thus, he created a social boundary which few were able to cross. By mid-May, Semple could no longer ignore the cracks in the civil world that he tried to construct. A group of Metis led by Cuthbert Grant
ambushed the Hudson's Bay Company's brigade from Fort Qu’Appelle and 
plundered Brandon House. The Metis took prisoners and carried away furs 
and pemmican while just out of sight Alexander Macdonell of the North-
West Company spurred them on.42

By early June, Semple realized Robertson had been right and ordered 
that Fort Gibraltar be destroyed. What could be used to strengthen Fort 
Douglas was saved while the remnant items were burned along with Fort 
Gibraltar. After taking this action, there was nothing for the settlers 
and Governor Semple to do but wait anxiously. North of the fort along 
Settlement Road all the way to Frog Plain were a scattering of crude 
huts that the settlers had erected for shelter after the disaster of the 
year before. These little farms stretched out over the landscape for 
three miles. Unprotected, the settlers sought refuge within the walls 
of Fort Douglas at night. The wait would not be long for on June 17th, 
two Indians approached the fort from the west requesting to speak to 
Governor Semple. They were from the Sauteaux tribe and had encountered 
Macdonell of the North-West Company with a force of Metis. Thus, the 
Indians had come to the fort to warn Governor Semple. The settlement 
was to be attacked in two days by the Metis who were intent on driving 
the settlers from the region. The Indians offered their help, but 
Semple refused, believing still that reason and the law would prevail. 
The days moved slowly, the settlers waited. Semple rode through the 
settlement reassuring the settlers on the afternoon of the nineteenth. 
Returning to the fort late in the day, everything seemed peaceful. A 
few minutes later, a boy called out from the watchtower that riders were 
going west of the fort. A line of men on horseback could be seen moving
towards Settlement Road near Frog Plain. See Figure 6. Governor Semple decided to go out and meet with them to see what they wanted. Over twenty men volunteered to ride out with him. It was suggested that they take a small cannon with them, but Semple said no. After all, they were going out to talk—not fight. Semple left Alexander MacDonell, the sheriff, in charge of the fort. On the way to Settlement Road, Semple and his men encountered settlers running towards the fort in panic. As Semple’s group advanced, a gun went off, and Semple became angry and warned the men to be more careful. Within minutes, they came in sight of a group of Metis sitting on their horses at the edge of the small grove called Seven Oaks. The Metis were dressed like Indians, carrying guns, lances, tomahawks, and knives. It soon became evident to Semple and his group there were more Metis present than could be seen from the fort. Being outnumbered three to one, Semple ordered John Bourke to return to the fort to get the cannon. As Semple slowly advanced, the Metis broke into two groups, one moving east towards the river with the other heading west towards the open prairie. Semple’s group had spread too far before they realized that it was too late to regroup into line and head for the fort. As they were trying to make a retreat, the Metis turned toward Semple’s men, forcing them to head for the river. A lone rider, Francois Boucher, moved out of the pack and, racing towards Governor Semple, shouted, "What do you want?" To which Semple replied, "What do you want?" The exchange turned into a shouting match with both sides engaging in name-calling. As Semple reached for Boucher’s bridle and gun, a shot was fired and Boucher slid off his horse. It is
Figure 6.
Red River Settlement. (facsimile)

RED RIVER SETTLEMENT

A - Seven Oakes, where Semple fell
B - Creek where Metis left Assiniboine
C - Frog Plain, since Kindonan Church
D to E - De Meuron Settlers on Seine
F - Fort Douglas
G - Colony Gardens
H - Fort Gibraltar
I - Road followed by Metis
not known who fired the first shot, Semple's men or the Metis. Yet, with that shot the Metis sprang into action. Lieutenant Holte was the first casualty. Semple was shot in the hip and fell to the ground while his nearby men were being shot down without much resistance. Bourke, coming with the cannon, realized there was not much he could do so he turned back toward the fort in an effort to save the gun. The Metis were now off their horses finishing their work. No mercy was shown and the Metis killed their adversaries, scalping some, ripping open others, and bashing in their skulls. John Pritchard, the one survivor, watched as the Metis stripped the mutilated bodies. Pritchard was able to survive with the help of a Metis he had befriended. Cuthbert Grant, the leader of the Metis, was determined to take the fort. He sent Pritchard to the fort with the terms of surrender to Sheriff MacDonell while the Metis sat and waited. The terms presented to Sheriff MacDonell were surrender and leave the colony under the protection of the Metis or be killed. MacDonell's first reaction was to refuse, but pressed by Pritchard and wishing to avoid a second massacre, MacDonell surrendered the fort to the Metis.44

The news of the massacre traveled fast. The following evening, a Metis rider brought the news to Alexander Macdonell, who was camped at Portage la Prairie. Upon hearing the news, Macdonell prepared to leave to take over the Red River Settlement. Robert Henry wrote to his uncle in Montreal telling him of the victory, and John Rowand of the North-West Company wrote to his father describing the Seven Oaks Massacre, stating the North-West Company acted only in self-defense adding, "What
do you think of Robertson seizing the N. W. Co. Winter Express and reading and opening all private and general letters... no Law."

After hearing of the massacre that he helped to organize and the surrender of Fort Douglas, Archibald McLeon returned to the settlement and declared himself magistrate. His first action was to transport the remaining settlers to Netley Creek where he interrogated the settlers. Failing in his attempt to get the settlers to take an oath never to return to the settlement or Red River, McLeon loaded Bourke, who was wounded, and a few of the other settlers on boats and sent them to Fort William as prisoners.

Miles Macdonell with Selkirk's advance party, was but a day's travel from Fort Douglas when told by passing Indians of the destruction of the settlement. Realizing there was nothing they could do, they turned around to warn Selkirk and his party. Meeting up with the de Meurons, Macdonell was to learn Selkirk was still at the Falls of St. Mary. Macdonell, along with Matthey and D'Orsonnens, who were two of the de Meurons, headed for the Falls of St. Mary to tell Selkirk about the massacre that had taken place at the settlement. The news was a blow to Selkirk, but he refused to return to Montreal. Instead, Selkirk went to Fort William to confront the North-West Company. Before departing, Lord Selkirk sent a letter to Sir John Sherbrooke in Montreal telling him of the massacre and his certainty of Semple not being the aggressor. Selkirk also stated as a magistrate he was going to Fort William to investigate and call for information.

As Selkirk and his party headed for Fort William, William McGillivray, a partner in the North-West Company at Fort William, sent a
letter to John Johnson at Sault St. Marie stating that Semple and a
group of men from Fort Douglas attacked a group of Indians and Metis
without provocation on June 19, leaving Semple and twenty of his men
dead along with one Metis. The reason McGillivray was writing to
Johnson was to clarify the record because he was sure the North-West
Company was going to be blamed for the massacre.48

Two days later, Selkirk, Macdonell, and the de Meurons passed in
front of Fort William looking formidable with the de Meurons in scarlet
coats, rowing to the beat of drums. Landing on the opposite shore, a
camp hurriedly was constructed. Selkirk then had a letter delivered to
William McGillivray stating as a magistrate, Selkirk had come to inquire
why colonists and employees of the Hudson’s Bay Company were being held
at Fort William as prisoners. Pritchard, Pamburn, Nolin, Macpherson,
Bourke, and Haden had been taken prisoner; Bourke and Haden had been
moved already to Montreal. McGillivray sent Pritchard, Pamburn, Nolin,
and McPherson to Selkirk’s camp stating that these men had not been and
were not prisoners. When Selkirk finished his interrogation, he was to
find out that Pritchard had been on the scene at the time of the
massacre; Pamburn had been held prisoner at Portage la Prairie by
Alexander Macdonell prior to the massacre and had seen the Metis set out
for Fort Douglas under orders of Macdonell and Cuthbert Grant. Selkirk
had the evidence he needed and issued a warrant for the arrest of
William McGillivray. Appearing before Selkirk, McGillivray was charged
with treason, conspiracy, and an accessory to murder. McGillivray
requested bail, but Selkirk refused to give it saying the crimes were
too serious. Kenneth McKenzie and Dr. John McLoughlin, who had
accompanied McGillivray to Selkirk's camp, also were placed under arrest without bail. McNab returned to Fort William with arrest warrants for the remaining partners at the fort and orders to search and seal all the North-West Company's paper at the fort. Anticipating trouble, McNab was accompanied by a group of de Meurons and their officers. The first two warrants were issued without trouble, but a McNab tried to enter the fort to issue the other warrants, John McDonald called for the gates to be closed. McNab and Captain D'Orsonnens called to the de Meurons waiting in the boats for support and were able to enter the fort before both gates were closed. After seals were placed on boxes, papers, and desks, the party returned to Selkirk's encampment on the other side of the river. Captain D'Orsonnens posted de Meurons in front of the powder magazine, gun house, and by the cannons at the gates. While Captain O'Orsonnen was placing his sentries, the employees of the North-West Company gathered around in disbelief. Until now, the North-West Company had been a law unto itself in the wilderness; if the company had been challenged, those who challenged it were soon subdued. The sting of having the fort taken over by someone else was lessened when the employees of the North-West Company were not confined on the condition that on their word as gentlemen they would not obstruct the execution of the law and return to their quarters. Selkirk, like Semple, believed in the code of honor, so if a gentleman gave his word, it was to be believed. The partners of the North-West Company may have been considered gentlemen in Montreal, but in the wilderness survival was more important than honor. Knowing their part in the destruction of the
settlement at Red River and the massacre, they broke the seal on desks and boxes and destroyed any evidence that might incriminate them.\textsuperscript{50}

As papers were being burned, guns were being smuggled out of Fort William with the intent of attacking Lord Selkirk's camp. Warned of the impending attack, Selkirk ordered search warrants which uncovered eighty-three loaded guns and a barrel of gunpowder. Selkirk seized the guns and powder for which he would later be charged with theft. Tighter security was enforced at the fort by the de Meurons to prevent any confrontation a the date for the court of inquiry was set. When the hearings were underway, Selkirk was to learn little from McGillivray, a master of sidestepping an issue. As the evidence against the North-West Company began to mount, McGillivray held firm to his denial of any involvement of what happened at Red River. The North-West Company never kept very good records of transactions in the field regarding goods exchanged or sold for furs, but for some reason or another it kept a record of goods given as gifts to the Metis after the massacre at Sever Oaks. A list was made of those who had received payment and those who still had a reward coming. Much to Selkirk's surprise, many of the names included settlers from the colony. Selkirk was stunned to discover that many of settlers whom he had helped pick and pay their way to Red River had plotted with the North-West Company to destroy the colony.\textsuperscript{50}

Due to the lateness of the season, Selkirk decided to winter at Fort William and wait until spring to deal with the settlers who had betrayed him. Lord Selkirk was well aware that his intention of not only going to Fort William but spending the winter there would be
misinterpreted by the government in Montreal. Provisions needed by Selkirk and the de Meurons were issued on a voucher to Lord Selkirk in hopes of avoiding misunderstanding at a later date. On one hand, Selkirk did not want to be seen as looting the fort; on the other hand, Selkirk controlled the running of the fort. When the Nor'west Company employees requested permission to send canoes to Lac la Pluie and Red River with supplies, provisions, and trade goods, Selkirk refused. Selkirk saw the employees of the North-West Company at Red River as outlaws and would not supply them with food or munitions to be used against him. As the two parties grappled over who should get supplies, Governor General Sir John Sherbrooke sent a proclamation to Fort William to cease all hostile activity.51

Letters went back and forth from Fort William and Montreal while Miles Macdonell, D'Orsonnens, and a party of de Meuron headed for the Red River Colony. Leaving late in October, the party reached the colony in January. On the 10th of January under the command of D'Orsonnens, the de Meurons scaled the walls of Fort Douglas and retook the fort in the name of Lord Selkirk and the Hudson's Bay Company.52

When spring arrived, Captain D'Orsonnens set about reestablishing the colony. One hundred and fifty settlers returned from near Norway House with their possessions and livestock to reclaim their farms. By the time Lord Selkirk arrived in June, the colony had been reestablished with crops of peas, potatoes, wheat, Indian corn, and barley flourishing. Selkirk had at last reached his 'Kingdom on the Red River'. After making a treaty with the Indians for the land, Lord Selkirk gathered the settlers at the site of the present-day St. John's
Church in Winnipeg, Manitoba, and assigned numbered lots to the settlers, setting aside lots for a church and school. See Figure 7. Selkirk presented the settler with a document giving free title to lots to those who had made improvements on their land before being driven off by the Metis and North-West Company. At the request of the colonists, Selkirk named the colony. The name he gave it was Kildonan, after their former home in Scotland. The parish of Kildonan was to be surveyed so to establish roads; also, bridges were to be erected along with a mill.53

While Selkirk was setting out his plans for the parish, Sir John Sherbrooke, Governor General of the Canadas, appointed a commission to investigate the massacre at Red River and Selkirk's takeover of Fort William. The commission was headed by William Coltman, a member of the Executive Council of Lower Canada. Coltman arrived at Red River with a party from the North-West Company led by Simon McGillivray, William's brother. Coltman did acknowledge Selkirk upon arrival, but then returned to dine with the North-West partners. It became clear Coltman was prejudiced. Yet, Coltman did agree Selkirk had good reason for his actions but refused to give weight to the evidence. Coltman's view on the validity of the Hudson's Bay Company's charter was well-known, and the case against the North-West Company was based on the charter. Coltman and other commission members shared the same view, and it was their goal to set aside the charter even though the charter had been deemed legal and binding by the best legal opinions in England.54

Coltman saw both parties as equally guilty to some extent as to what happened at Red River. Having indisputable evidence to the part
Figure 7.
"A Map Showing Lands at Red River Conveyed by Indians to the Earl of Selkirk 1817"

Plan of land bought by the Earl of Selkirk from Peguis and other Indians, 18 July 1817. Scale not given but computed to be 1 inch to approximately 22 miles. The map was probably drafted by Peter Fidler. A drawn copy of the original is in the Public Archives of Canada.

that Alexander Macdonell and Archibald McLeod played in the massacre of Governor Semple and his men, Coltman issued a warrant for their arrest. Macdonell had left the area that spring and was a thousand mile to the west out of the reach of Coltman’s warrant. McLeod had gone east to Fort William. Coltman sent the warrant with John Fletcher, the Police Magistrate of Quebec, who was appointed with Coltman to investigate the massacre at Red River. He went to Fort William to arrest McLeod, but for some reason or another, the warrant never was served against McLeod. Lord Selkirk, Captains Matthey and D’Orsonnens, and Dr. John Allan also were served with arrest warrants, with bail set at £10,000 to assure their appearance at Montreal for trial. Coltman’s bias was evident with the setting of bail. Selkirk and his men were charged with a misdemeanor with bail exceeding the amount levied against all the North-West partners combined who were charged with murder or accessories to murder.55

Even with the disparity in the bail, Selkirk refused to allow any protest and promised that bail would be met. Campbell Smith, a Metis employed by the North-West Company who was appointed deputy sheriff, attempted to arrest Selkirk and return him to Fort William, but Coltman intervened and stopped Smith’s attempt to arrest Selkirk. Fearing further action by the North-West Company, Selkirk decided to return to Montreal through the United States.56 Upon his arrival in Montreal, Selkirk would be entangled in a legal battle that would last until 1820, costing him his health and life. In December of 1818, Lord Selkirk and his family returned to St. May’s Isle in Scotland due to Selkirk’s poor health. Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk, died on May 8, 1820 at
the age of forty-nine at Pau, France with his family at his side. Selkirk did not live to see his struggles with the North-West Company come to an end with the amalgamation of the North-West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821.\textsuperscript{57}

It was during this time period that Captain Rodolphe de May, a de Meuron, acting as an agent for Lord Selkirk, approached a number of Swiss families with the idea of emigrating to the Red River Colony in North America.
ENDNOTES


5. Ibid., 108.


7. Ibid.


11. Ibid., 110-111.

16. Ibid., 94.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
25. Ibid.


32. Ibid., 118-119.

33. Memorandum and Correspondence; S.P., P.A.M., (C1) 188-255, and Memorandum from North-West Company, 27 December 1815; S.P., P.A.M., (C1) 254.

34. Thomas Clark to Selkirk, 28 March 1816; S.P., P.A.M., (C3) 2111.


37. Alexander Macdonell to Duncan Cameron, 13 March 1816; S.P., P.A.M., (C2) 9063.

38. Ibid.


44. Ibid.

45. John Rowand to Dr. John Rjowand, 4 July 1816; S.P., P.A.M., (C8) 8566-70.

46. Alexander Macdonell to Selkirk, 13 September 1816; S.P., P.A.C., (A27) 320A.


52. Miles Macdonell to Selkirk, 6 March 1817; S.P., P.A.M., (C4) 3233051.


56. Samuel Gale, Selkirk’s solicitor in Montreal to Lady Jean Selkirk, September 1817; S.P., P.A.M., (C4) 4097, 4103-5.

VIII. SWITZERLAND: 1811-1820

Mountainous Switzerland traditionally represented a deterrent to economic growth for most of its population. Almost completely barren of mineral resources and containing no coal, oil, or iron, raw materials must be imported to most Swiss industries with the finished products exported at great cost over difficult trans-Alpine routes. Although the soil is fertile in the midland plateau, more than a fifth of the country has been classified as entirely unproductive.¹

In spite of the industriousness of its population, Switzerland, from the Middle Ages until late in the nineteenth century, never has been able to support a large population. Lack of employment opportunities was a problem before the nineteenth century for many people in Switzerland. Two methods of relief used by the Swiss were permanent emigration and temporary mercenary service.

Before the early fifteenth to the early nineteenth century, mercenary service was the most characteristic form of Swiss emigration. Until the fifteenth century, mercenary services operated on a freelance system with individual voluntary enlistments for a period of several months; i.e., creating a seasonal emigration until a change was brought about through Confederation. When the Upper Burgundian kingdom was dissolved in the eleventh century, Switzerland came under the control of the Holy Roman Empire. Switzerland, under the feudal system, consisted of a number of fiefdoms based upon large landholdings. However, the peasants tried to free themselves of their feudal obligations to the local lords by becoming answerable only to the emperor himself. The
opportunity for a more democratic society presented itself during the
insurrection of Emperor Frederick II against the pope. The Habsburgs
who had large holdings in Switzerland sided with the pope. In 1273 when
Rudolf of Labsburg became king of Germany, the Swiss, fearing
encroachment by the House of Habsburg, banded together and formed the
Everlasting League, by which the men of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden
pledged assistance to each other against any encroachment.\(^2\) As more and
more cities joined the league, they established a confederation of
cities and large landholding which developed into cantons; i.e., states
controlled by a central government which took over the control of the
mercenary services. Individuals could no longer freelance from all over
the country. The Swiss Confederation controlled aspects of the
mercenary services; e.g., it stipulated payments for a specified number
of troops who served in a permanent regiment. Cantons with high
populations would be singled out for recruitment to relieve population
pressure.\(^3\)

According to Mayer, the losses through mercenary service were
projected using "The most conservative figures are those calculated by
Bickel, who estimated that from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century
between 900,000 and 1,000,000,000 Swiss lost their live in foreign
military service."\(^4\) Although crude and morally questionable, the system
of mercenaries for hire solved the population problem as well as
creating a large flow of capital from foreign powers who paid the Swiss
government for military service.

By the eighteenth century, the mercenary system began to decline.
Swiss youth no longer volunteered to become cannon fodder and volunteers
had to be rounded up. To fill the ranks, the government turned to criminals, vagrants, and other undesirables. The French Revolution also helped to bring an end to the mercenary system. It was abolished in France in 1792 after a regiment of Swiss Guards were massacred as they attempted to defend Louis XVI against the citizens of France. After 1815, fewer mercenary troops were needed with the rise of national armies in Europe bringing an end to the mercenary system of population control in Switzerland.

Switzerland not only lost its means of population control, but it then was faced with a large number of soldiers returning to their homeland as their services were no longer needed in other countries. Many of the soldiers who were lucky enough to return home alive lacked skills for other types of employment or were disabled; the latter became public charges putting a strain on the government.

Unemployment became a major problem in Switzerland. The returning mercenaries were only one factor, another factor was the climate. In 1783, during the months of May through August, two volcanoes, one in Iceland and the other in Japan, erupted sending an exceptional amount of volcanic dust into the atmosphere. These eruptions created a decade of abnormal climate and wind circulation patterns. England and continental Europe experienced some of the warmest summers and four very cold winters followed by a drought.

March of 1785 was the coldest month on record across Europe. Along with the drought, it resulted in a foliage crisis that forced many farmers to slaughter their cattle in order to survive. In 1788, the French Revolution started; while weather cannot be attributed to the
revolution, it may have played a part in intensifying the pressures that led up to the political explosion.

In the early 1800s, the weather created another anomaly. In 1812, there were major volcanic eruptions on St. Vincent Island in the West Indies and similar disturbances on Awu in the Celebes in 1814. Dust veils in the stratosphere had not cleared entirely when Tamboro erupted in the East Indies in 1815. The dust in the stratosphere spread into a worldwide veil, reducing the sun’s rays, cooling the earth and distorting the global wind patterns. The climate effects were most noticeable in 1816, which became known in much of Europe and eastern North America as 'the year without a summer'.

In North America during that 'year without a summer,' snow fell over a wide area of eastern North America as far south as present day North Carolina that June. Quebec, Canada, had days when the temperature remained near or below freezing all day. In Europe and parts of the British Isles, low temperatures and rain caused the grain crop to fail. In Asia, the monsoons had a distorted pattern causing heavy rains in Korea, the Far East, but in India the rains were concentrated in the south. These strange weather patterns have been blamed for the severity of the typhus epidemic of 1816-1819 while plague raged through southeast Europe and the eastern Mediterranean, and cholera in India. Famines were widespread, making this one of the world's greatest disasters associated with climate.

Because of the widespread famine across Europe in 1816 and 1819, many nations experienced mass emigration. Switzerland was no exception
with the failure of the cotton industry there was a mass emigration with people going to the United States and Russia.\textsuperscript{11}
ENDNOTES


4. Ibid., 114.


7. Ibid., 195.


9. Ibid., 236.


IX. CASE STUDY: THE SWISS AT RED RIVER

This is a case study of a small group of immigrants who came to North America from Switzerland in the early nineteenth century; it focuses upon the obstacles they encountered in trying to establish a new home in North America. This case study will demonstrate how and what effects geography had in their decision to immigrate to the Red River Colony and later migrate to the United States. The environmental background of the Red River Colony and Switzerland have been presented to establish a comparison and contrast between the two regions. The historical background on the Hudson's Bay Company, Lord Selkirk, and the colony set the stage for the environment the Swiss encountered when they arrived at Red River and the affect it had on their decision to migrate to the United States.

Captain de May, Selkirk's agent in Switzerland, was the ideal recruiter; he spoke French, German, Italian, and English fluently. Believing in the art of advertisement, his efforts to recruit settlers from the cantons of Neufchatel, Valud, Geneva, and Berne (see Figure 8) included publishing a pamphlet embellishing the quality of life at the Red River Colony (Appendix D). Nothing was mentioned of the conflict with the North-West Company nor the destruction of the colony by the Metis in the pamphlet. Instead of informing the Swiss of the hardships they would have to endure, he painted a rosy description of the state of the settlement and the opportunities that awaited them at Red River.
Figure 8.

Switzerland

SWITZERLAND'S CANTONS

Source: Mayer, 1952
By the spring of 1821, de May had recruited fifty-seven adults and their families who were willing to go to Red River. Of these emigrants, seventy-five percent were French-speaking while twenty-five percent spoke German. This group of settlers had two things in common: one, they faced unemployment, underemployment, or famine if they stayed in Switzerland; and two, they were not farmers. The group was comprised of watch and clock makers, pastry cooks, and musicians.²

If they emigrated to the Red River Colony, there was the promise to each family head, or unmarried man over the age of twenty-one, of one hundred acres of land, seed, and farm implements to plant their crops plus a few head of cattle. To pay for the land, seed, cattle, and farm implements, the colonists were to pay Lord Selkirk's agent at Red River five hundred bushels of wheat over a five-year period.³

Why would a group of artisans from Switzerland with no farming skills choose to immigrate to an agricultural community in British North America?

This question can be answered by reviewing D. J. Bogue's "Origin and Destination Factors and Intervening Obstacles in Migration," set forth in his Causal Model of Push Pull Factors Influencing Migration, in Principles of Demography.⁴ The push-pull model of migration can be used to examine the movement of the Swiss to Assiniboia.

Push Factors at the Origin

1. Decline in a national resource or in the prices paid for it; decreased demand for a particular product or the services of a particular industry; exhaustion of mines, timber, or agricultural resources. During this time period, Switzerland considered its young
men a national resource, and it sold their services in the form of mercenaries. The coffers of the Swiss Confederation depended on that resource for income. After the French Revolution and the rise of national armies in European countries, the sale of mercenary services became obsolete.\(^5\) Agricultural resources were limited by the geography and geology of the country. Of productive areas, two-thirds are 'grasslands,' mostly pasture. The soil of the midland plateau in the western part of the country, while in the rain shadow of the Jura mountains, is fertile, but more than a fifth of the country's surface is unproductive.\(^6\)

2. Loss of employment resulting from being discharged for incompetence, for a decline in need for a particular activity, or from mechanization or automation of tasks previously performed by more labor-intensive procedures. The mercenaries lost their positions because of a decline for a particular activity. With this decline, they returned home to Switzerland lacking employable skills forcing some of them to become charges of the community. There was also a shift from agriculture to other types of employment. Manufacturing industries developed early in Switzerland in the form of home industries. By 1800, Switzerland was in the process of becoming mechanized and factory production began to replace cottage work.\(^7\)

3. Oppressive or repressive discriminatory treatment because of political, religious, or ethnic origins or membership.

4. Alienation from a community because one no longer subscribes to prevailing beliefs, actions, or mode of behavior either within one's family or within the community. Mercenary service also had an effect on
widening the gulf between the social classes. Service abroad enlarged the perspective of the peasants. Gaining an individualistic persona abroad, created resentment against the arrogant demeanor of their masters and growing aristocracies in urban areas.⁸

5. Retreat from a community because it offers few or no opportunities for personal development, employment, or marriage. Because of mechanization, a large portion of unskilled workers were unemployed; those fortunate enough to find employment were engaged in menial jobs blocking personal development and at such low wages that marriage was unaffordable.⁹

6. Retreat from a community because of catastrophe, floods, fire, drought, earthquake, or epidemic. World-wide volcanic eruptions from 1812 to 1814 caused catastrophic weather conditions in Switzerland as well as in other parts of Europe and the British Isles, followed by typhus, plague, and cholera epidemics caused many people to look for regions that had not been effected by these catastrophe conditions to migrate or immigrate.¹⁰

Pull Factors at the Destination

1. Superior opportunities for employment in one’s occupation or opportunities to enter a preferred occupation. Not knowing the true state of the colony, the Swiss were led to believe that their services could be useful in the development of the community at Red River.

2. Opportunities to earn a larger income. Faced with underemployment or unemployment, the idea of owning a hundred acres of land in five years plus practicing their trade would increase their income.
3. Opportunities to obtain desired specialized education or training such as a college education. This factor did not influence the decision process used by the Swiss to determine if they would immigrate to the Red River Colony.

4. Preferable environment and living conditions—climate, housing, schools, other community facilities. Climate would have lured the Swiss during this time period. After the Swiss experienced colder than normal winters and were led to believe that the area to which they were immigrating was compatible for growing bananas and other tropical fruits, the Swiss believed the Red River Valley’s environment preferable to Switzerland.11

5. Dependency—movement of other persons to whom one is related or betrothed, such as the movement of dependents with a bread-winner or migration of a bride to join her husband. Women and children in many cases had little or no say in the matter of emigration during this time period. Dependent on the bread-winner, they were forced to move because of lack of employment opportunities. Due to the unbalance of the sexes in Switzerland, i.e., a surplus of female due to war losses in foreign military service, the proportion of women who could never marry was high and caused social problems.12 If they were to improve their chances of marriage, emigration was a solution.

6. Line of new or different activities, environment or people, such as the cultural, intellectual, or recreational activities of a large metropolis for rural and small-town residence. According to Bouvier and Gardner, "People responding to pull factors are likely to be more innovative than those who stay behind. They are probably better
educated, though perhaps less so than their new neighbors at place of
destination.\textsuperscript{13}

The Journey to Assiniboia

The state of the economy, social, and climatic conditions were all
factors that influenced the Swiss. One of the main goals of emigration
or migration has always been to improve one's lot in life. The
economics of immigration and pioneering was simple, 'cheap land'. To
the pioneer, according to Isaiah Bowman, "Just beyond, at a distance not
too great, there beckons an opportunity that is understood, that can be
realized through a familiar technique."\textsuperscript{14} To the Swiss, this
opportunity meant the ability to practice their art or trade in a well-
established community. It was the 'invitation of the land' that called
to them. Bowman further said, "The 'invitation of the land' is made up
of elements that are in part elusive. It cannot possibly be true that
the settler had seen the ultimate possibilities of the land. He has
faith in certain things he has heard. His imagination plays with both
fact and rumor."\textsuperscript{15}

Faith was provided by Captain de May in his pamphlet when he
stated, "easy to cultivate; the settler has nothing to do but to throw
up the turf with the plough or spade, after which he may immediately sow
or plant. The soil is remarkably fertile, the first crop produces from
thirty-five to forty-five times the quantity of seed."\textsuperscript{16} How could they
fail with ground so fertile requiring such little work that even a non-
farmer could succeed? They had nothing to lose, so they, like other
emigrants and settlers at the time, left comparatively little behind
them; quality of life was not a factor.\textsuperscript{17}
On May 3, 1821, passports were issued in Berne for 165 people who assembled at Kaiser-Augst, a small village on the Rhine near Basel under the direction of Captain de May with only possessions deemed necessary for their new life at the Red River Colony. Seven days later, they were on their way down the Rhine aboard two barges heading for the Dutch port of Dordrecht, near Rotterdam, and on May 30, 1821, they boarded the "Lord Wellington," which would take them to North America.18

The "Lord Wellington," commanded by Captain James Falbister, headed out to sea with its passengers. Their destination was York Factor, the Hudson's Bay Company's trading post on the western shore of Hudson Bay, from where the colonists would proceed inland along the waterways that would lead them to Lake Winnipeg and the Red River Colony. As the ship headed for the North Sea, past the Orkney Islands north of the British Isles, and onward towards Hudson Bay, the settlers got their first taste of the reality of being a pioneer. One of the major complaints was the quality of the food and water issued to them. It was greatly inferior to what they had been promised by Captain de May before leaving Switzerland.19 Complaints were taken to Captain Falbister who acknowledged the wrong, claiming he was not responsible for it, nor was there much he could do about it.

By June 26, the "Lord Wellington" had reached the coast of Greenland, and the settlers got their first glimpse of an iceberg. As the icebergs floated around the ship and grew more numerous while the ship headed toward Resolution Island at the mouth of Hudson Strait, the settlers realized how far north they were and began to doubt de May's description of the area. After all, Captain de May assured them that
the climate at Red River was "perfect, maturing all kinds of grains and fruits."  

On July 14, the ship was forced to temporarily set anchor in an ice pack while it waited for the "Prince of Wales" and "Eddystone," two Hudson's Bay Company ships carrying trade goods to York Factory, to guide the "Lord Wellington" into Hudson Bay. While the three ships were anchored, the H.M.S. "Hecla" and H.M.S. "Fury," two British naval ships, under the command of Captain William Edward Parry, on his search for the Northwest Passage, passed into view. As the "Hecla" drew near, Captain George Lyon, an officer aboard Perry's ship, reported that, "We observed the settlers waltzing on deck for about two hour," and went on to describe the scene of, "the men in old-fashioned gray jackets and the women wearing long-eared mobcaps, like those used by the Swiss peasants." After finding out the "Wellington" had been among the icebergs for nineteen days, he recorded in this journal:

The Dutchmen [sic] had however, behaved very philosophically during this period, and seemed determined to be merry, in spite of the weather. Several marriages had taken place (the surgeon, who was accompanying them to their colony, acting as parson) and many more were in agitation; each happy couple always deferring the ceremony until a fine day allowed of an evening's ball, which was only terminated by a fresh breeze or a fall of snow.  

The parties came to an end on July 16 as the ships moved slowly forward toward Resolution Island. On July 21 as the ships maneuvered among the icebergs, the "Wellington" and "Eddystone" collided braking the spar (wooden pole used to support the sail rigging) on both ships. Three days later, disaster hit again when during the night, the "Prince of Wales" ran into an iceberg. As the ship leaned against the iceberg it had rammed, crew members from the "Prince of Wales" scrambled across
the ice to the "Eddystone" transferring cargo so the damaged ship could be repaired. What the "Eddystone" was unable to hold was transferred to the "Wellington" for safekeeping. The next day, it was the "Wellington" which was in trouble as it also smashed against an iceberg in the fog; temporarily, it was in danger of being crushed by floating ice. Repairs were made to both ships, and eventually all three ships were under way and in the less dangerous water of Hudson Bay. By August 17, they were able to sight the flagpole of York Factory. The voyage took seventy-nine days, and the settlers were still far from their ultimate destination, the Red River Colony--some seven hundred miles away.23

The Swiss were the first large group of non-British settlers to arrive at York Factor heading for Red River and the final recruits obtained by any of Lord Selkirk's agents for the settlement. As the Swiss settlers were to find out, Lord Selkirk had died in the spring of 1820, bringing to an end his recruitment plans for the colony.24 Concern was voiced once again over Captain de May's truthfulness as the settlers prepared to leave York Factory.

Of all the settlers to pass through York Factory, the least time was spent by the Swiss. They remained long enough for the Hudson's Bay Company authorities to organize the boats and supplies needed to take them to Red River. While they were at York Factory, they made good use of their time. John West, a clergyman with the Church of England who had arrived the year before, was sent from the colony to escort them back to Red River. As preparations were being made for their departure, Reverend West married several Swiss couples and baptized six children who were born during the voyage.25
The time of celebration was over as the colonists formed two groups to start their journey to Red River. Traveling by York boats, the Swiss soon found out that they could not take all of their possessions with them. The greater part of their baggage had to be left behind causing a great hardship for the settlers their first winter at the settlement. Among the things they left behind were extra clothing because they had been told by Captain de May that the climate was warm enough to grow citrus fruit; consequently, the settlers did not feel that they needed the extra clothing.26

The first group of settlers left on August 23, with the second group leaving two weeks later. The York boats traveled up the Hayes River into its tributary, the Hill River, to Lake Winnipeg. The journey to Lake Winnipeg was not an easy one. The Swiss not only had to contend with the wilds, but also difficult portage due to shallow water, rocky bottoms, waterfalls, and rushing rapids. Still miles from their destination, the second group of immigrants reached Lake Winnipeg the second week in October. The weather had turned cold and stormy; driving rain and headwinds slowed their progress as they traveled along the western shore of Lake Winnipeg. One of the York boats crashed into the rocks and was wrecked, delaying the group for a week. The immigrants were forced to huddle around fires in an effort to keep warm and dry while the rain poured down upon them. The group was running low of food for all they had to eat was grain and the few fish they were able to catch which was barely sufficient to keep them from starving.27

By November 1, 1821, both groups of immigrants reached the Red River; one man had drowned and six children had died. According to
Reverend John West in his dairy, "in view of the many hardships of the trip, it was truly amazing." At the mouth of the Red River, the immigrants were met by Peguis, a Chippewa Indian. Having befriended the previous settlers, Peguis extended a warm welcome to the Swiss by providing "a good supply of fresh and dried sturgeon" to the settlers.

After being feed, the Swiss proceeded the thirty-five miles up the Red River to Fort Douglas and the colony. Upon their arrival at Fort Douglas, Governor Alexander Macdonell welcomed them. The governor did not have much to be cheerful about in his greeting. Many of the homes and farmsteads of the earlier colonists had not been rebuilt after the Seven Oaks Massacre of 1816, and timbers from these buildings were still strewn across the landscape around Fort Douglas. To add to the unpleasant landscape, the Swiss were told of the grasshopper infestation the preceding summer that had destroyed most of the crop. Cold weather already had begun, and the Swiss were facing a winter of starvation as they sought shelter in the tents erected for them around Fort Douglas. Meanwhile, emergency plans for the winter were being made. Governor Macdonell decided to send seventy-five of the hardiest settlers to Fort Daer at Pembina, while the remainder of the settlers moved into various homes of the de Meurons along the banks of the Seine River east of Fort Douglas.

Those who were lucky went to Pembina, found shelter with traders, hunters, or other residents who lived in the area, while the rest of the group hastily constructed cabins for themselves. The colonists were disheartened by the conditions and their circumstances, blaming Captain de May for misleading them. Some of the settlers were under the
impression that their destination was the Red River of Louisiana, where there was a French-speaking community and a climate similar to Captain de May's description. A group of five Swiss families were so disheartened by the conditions at the colony that when Joseph Rolette and Alexis Bailly arrived at the colony with a herd of cattle they had driven from Missouri were ready to return home to their families in the area of Fort St. Anthony, the five Swiss families accompanied them. After spending the winter in the abandoned barracks at the American military post, the Swiss decided to stay and built cabins at the confluence of the St. Peter's (Minnesota) and Mississippi rivers near present-day St. Paul, Minnesota. This group of Swiss became the first permanent white settlers in the present state of Minnesota.31

Those who stayed at the colony and Pembina faced a cold, desperate winter with short supplies. The region around Pembina was a major hunting area for the Indians, Metis, and fur traders. Generally, the region supported a large number of buffalo, deer, and elk but due to the grasshopper infestation of 1819-20, the major food supply, prairie grass, had been destroyed--forcing the wild game farther out onto the plain. Even if wild game had been abundant in the region, it would not have helped the Swiss. Ignorant of the country and hunting skills, the Swiss were dependent on the generosity of the Indians. According to Alexander Ross:

One of the Swiss gave a silver watch, valued five guineas, for eight gallons of wheat not to sow but to eat. Another for six small gold-eyes, a fish but little bigger than a spat, gave five shillings sterling. And one poor man having nothing else, gave the very snuff out of his box for the head of a cat-fish! The sympathizing fisherman, on seeing the box emptied, expressed a strong desire to possess it, and when he found that it was highly valued as the gift of a friend, he
offered a whole cat-fish for it. The man was in great
distress, but still loath to part with his keepsake; he told
the fellow the box was a costly one. 'It was never
purchased,' said he, 'for less than a guinea.' 'That may be
very true,' said the other, 'but I would not see my family
starve for the satisfaction of carrying an empty box in my
pocket, were it worth twenty guineas.' After much bickering
and tardy hesitation, a bargain was struck for the cat-fish
and four gold-eyes along with it! In ordinary times the price
of a cat-fish is threepence; sixpence is a very high rate; a
shilling exorbitant.  

The Swiss who stayed at the colony were not doing much better.
Supplied with roots and wheat by the Hudson’s Bay Company, meat brought
in by the Indians, and fish that they caught through holes cut in the
river ice, such conditions made for a long, hungry winter at Red River.
By spring, many of the settlers had to resort to eating dog and horse
meat to stay alive. When warmer weather arrived and the snow melted,
they added to their diet acorns and the seed-balls of wild roses, mixed
with buffalo fat.  

By the first week in May 1822, the Swiss were united once again at
Fort Douglas after surviving a winter of severe hardships. Despite the
difficulties they faced, the Swiss were able to keep their spirits up
and were pleased to meet Governor George Simpson, of the Hudson’s Bay
Company, when he paid a visit to the colony. Governor Simpson was not
pleased to meet them and was appalled by what he saw and heard from the
Swiss. Simpson described them as "most injudiciously selected, men of
no character, some taken out of jails, others out of Work & Mad houses."
Simpson went on to say, "instead of useful hardy agriculturists, they
are of all ages, and unaccustomed to laborious work, being chiefly
watchmakers, jewelers, peddlers, etc. Your Agent Captn. de May has
certainly not done his duty conscientiously; I do not know how he is
paid but conceive from the rabble he has sent out that it must be by head money without looking to their abilities or morals."  

Opinions differ as to the quality of the Swiss settlers; according to Ann Adams, "all were Protestants, and generally intelligent and well-to-do persons, some of them possessed of considerable means."  

While Governor Simpson was not pleased with the Swiss settlers, the de Meuron were. One of their major complaints had been the lack of marriageable women in the colony. None of the de Meurons who accompanied Selkirk to Red River brought a wife with him and were particularly pleased by the number of marriageable women among the Swiss settlers. A number of weddings occurred, followed by parties and dances with wedding cakes made of coarse flour ground from wheat.

With the warm weather, the Swiss began to erect homes along the banks of the Seine River among the de Meurons. The cattle brought from Missouri by Rolette and Bailly the fall before were distributed among the Swiss, but the seeds and farming implements promised by de May did not arrive. The Swiss had to make due with spades and hoes for implements and what seed they could get from the established colonists. In spite of the lack of proper implements, the crops of 1822 were very productive. Even the Swiss managed to raise enough food to last them through the winter.

It was a busy spring and summer at the colony. Fort Douglas was beyond repair, so the Hudson's Bay Company decided it was much simpler to rehabilitate Fort Gibraltar than reconstruct Fort Douglas. The Hudson's Bay Company renamed Fort Gibraltar as Fort Garry, and commenced to move the colony's stores from Fort Douglas to Fort Garry. The new
fort had more room to store goods and supplies, which the settlers could purchase. The fort had the room but lacked the supplies and goods needed by the settlers. Because of the lack of supplies and food that the Swiss were led to believe would be available to them and the other settlers, a group of Swiss presented a petition to Captain Bulger in the name of Walter de Huser for assistance to return to Switzerland. The petition reads:

(Translation)

My Lord and Gentlemen

Gentlemen!

The Swiss settlers respectfully take the liberty of stating that while in Switzerland, their native land, a prospectus was presented to them and to the Swiss Government, by Mr. de May, captain in the British service and agent p españitoriary of the Earl of Selkirk, to attract Swiss settlers to Red River, territory belonging to the said Earl; from its contents and from the letter of Mr. Colvile attached to the said prospectus and from his close connextion [sic] with the Swiss Government, it was believed that this prospectus conformed with the truth. Therefore as a result of these worthy documents the Swiss Government granted permission and authority to Mr. de May to procure settlers in the name of the said Earl. But to our surprise we now find ourselves in a country where no person could ever settle and enjoy a comfortable living. Consider, Gentlemen, how very painful it is for the fathers of families who have spent their small earnings believing that their families would be safe from hardship and in a position to secure bread for themselves and their own. Contrary to our expectations we see only a miserable future for our descendants in this country. That is the reason, Gentlemen, we implore your protection and pray you kindly to consider our petition and to grant us all the assistance necessary to leave so poor a country as this.

My Lord and Gentlemen! We, your humble petitioners rely upon your kindness and venture to hope for your gracious consideration of our request, praying divine protection to preserve you in a state of lasting prosperity.
Read and signed by me.

Walter De Huser

Red River

8 July 1822.

acting in the name of all the Swiss settlers

Andrew Colvile and John Halkett, Selkirk's brothers-in-law, who took over the affairs of the colony after his death, replied to the petition by making a vague assurance that "everything will be done ... that can in reason be expected." Nothing was ever done by Colvile or Halkett to assist the discontented Swiss. According to John West, 171 Swiss left from Rotterdam with six children being born on the voyage for a total of 177 Swiss arriving at York Factor in 1821. By July 15, 1822, there were 155 Swiss at the colony. The decline was due to fourteen deaths and eight people leaving for the United States in 1822. On July 27, 1823, Stephen H. Long, on his northern expedition to establish the 49th Parallel, the boundary between the United States and Canada, reported seeing a party of Swiss from Pembina on their way to St. Peters near Big Stone Lake.

Long made contact again with the Swiss in August of 1823 when he visited the Red River region. After surveying the area, Long was to find out that all but one house in Pembina lay south of the 49th Parallel. While he was there, a group of settlers, mainly Swiss, asked a member of Long's party to draw up a petition to the Congress of the United States requesting that their property rights be assured and that "such privileges as are enjoyed by the Citizens of the United States be extended to them." Despite Governor Simpson and the British concerns, nothing became of the petition.
The Swiss’ attitude regarding the colony did not go unnoticed by Governor Simpson. In a letter to Andrew Colvile on May 31, 1824, he had this to say about the de Meurons and Swiss. (See Appendix E for a detailed description he had on the Swiss settlers.)

The Meurons and Swiss generally speaking are wretched settlers; being neither industrious nor provident, they are continually begging and talking of leaving the settlement if their wants are not supplied. We conceive it would be highly advantageous if they did withdraw, therefore no steps are taken to prevent them; on the contrary we are inclined to render them every facility to that end. Clearly no one was disappointed at their decision to leave. They were never fitted for Red River life.42

His feelings toward the emigrants from Scotland were just the opposite. In the same letter to Andrew Colvile, Simpson had this to say about the Scottish:

They are steady and well disposed, and consider Red River as much their home as the land of their nativity formerly was; they never will think of leaving the colony, unless some evil which is not to be anticipated should arise; they live in great comfort, but grumbling is the characteristic of Highlanders, and neither a change of country nor circumstances will alter their nature; they talk nothing but Gaelic, and do not mix with the other settlers; they are honest in their dealings with all except the Company and executors, and debts are contracted with them they have no idea of paying; they complain bitterly that we do not give superfine cloth, and Hyson tea, on credit although they did not know such articles even by name in their own country.43

For a former servant of the Company now living at Red River, Simpson spoke more highly of the Scottish because he found them less troublesome and better colonists; they followed orders better and were not dependent on the Hudson’s Bay Company for their survival. Having lived in the wilderness for many years, all they needed, according to Simpson, was "a hatchet and hoe, and little ammunition and a few hooks and lines, they can shift for themselves . . ."44 Not surprisingly,
Simpson disliked the freemen (independent fur traders and hunters) and Metis even more than the Swiss and de Meurons. Their numbers were growing, and he saw them as a threat to law and order in the colony. The freemen and Metis' lifestyle depended on the buffalo hunt and buffalo were becoming scarce in the region. Meanwhile, domestic cattle at the settlement meant that the settlers were less dependent on the buffalo for meat. Because many of the freemen and Metis did not want to settle down and become farmers, Simpson felt they could become a problem. No matter how Governor Simpson viewed the inhabitants of the Red River Settlement, it had become a permanent, established colony, extending for a distance of about one hundred miles from Nettley Creek to Pembina, with a population exceeding two thousand people.\(^45\)

Fort Daer had been dismantled, and the settlers no longer needed to spend their winters in Pembina in order to survive. Seventeen Swiss families had remained at Red River making it their permanent home. The winter of 1825 started early with an unusually heavy snowstorm which began on the 20th of December and lasted for several days. The storm drove the buffalo farther out onto the plains beyond the hunters' reach. No one was prepared for the famine that followed as a consequence of the inability of hunters to provide buffalo and other game. In the colony, families huddled together for warmth in their crude huts as the snow blew in between the cracks and window and door casings. In some instances, families who were without food and fuel froze to death—their bodies found in solid ice.\(^46\) Many of the settlers who were caught in the storm on their way to Pembina were able to find shelter and stayed alive by eating their horses and dogs, chewing on raw hides and the
leather of their shoes. Many of those rescued died on the way back to the colony after being relieved at Pembina. Despite the circumstances of the severity of the weather and the distance between Fort Garry and Pembina, only thirty-three lives were lost.47

The winter raged on lasting longer than usual. Snow was from 1.2 meters to 2.5 meters deep in the open with temperatures often -43°C. A cold spring added to the settlers’ miseries. On May 3, 1826, the ice in the Red River began to break up and overflowed its banks, flooding many houses. The next day, the river rose five feet and the ice was level with the highest banks. The ice was too thick and strong and could not continue to break up and float down river. To make matters worse rain, sleet, and snow began to fall. The next day, the 5th of May, the ice on the Red River gave way carrying downstream cattle, houses, trees, and everything else that it came into contact. Forty-seven houses were swept away in the space of half an hour, the inhabitants barely escaped with their lives before fleeing to Fort Garry for safety.

Fort Garry also was flooded. Fortunately, all perishable goods and property in the fort had been moved the day before to higher ground within the fort. Ice rubbed against the bastion, but the fort held. When the water continued to rise, the settlers had to be moved out of the fort to higher ground.

While the employees of the Hudson’s Bay Company moved settlers and cattle to higher ground, the ice broke up on the Assiniboine River washing away the buildings that had been left standing after the ice broke up on the Red River. During the moving of the settlers, a thunderstorm developed. Before long, thunder and lightning were
replaced by cold weather consisting of sleet and rain. Thus, the waters still rose.

The whole country appeared as a lake according to Francis Heron, a clerk for the Hudson's Bay Company. Employees of the Hudson's Bay Company kept moving the settlers further up the Assiniboine trying to reach higher and dry ground. By the 14th of May, the fort had to be abandoned when the new Block House, which was built the summer before, fell victim to the flood and the walls of the fort began to give way. The Hudson's Bay Company's goods were loaded on boats and sent up the Assiniboine to the vicinity of Sturgeon Creek, where a temporary post was set up. Unable to protect their property, the Hudson's Bay Company began to distribute seed grain to the starving settlers with the hopes of preventing a riot. The water continued to rise, but the Hudson's Bay Company carried on business as usual, trading furs and fish brought in by traders beyond Pembina.

During the night, the wind came up along with thunder, lightning, and rain. Tents were ripped out of the ground, and everyone was drenched. It was not until the 22nd of May when the river reached its crest and then slowly began to recede. On the 25th of May, some of the employees of the Company ventured back to the settlement by boat. From a high bank at the bottom of the settlement to the Forks (where the Red and Assiniboine Rivers meet), all they could see was water and driftwood.

By May 27th, the water began to fall at the rate of ten inches in twenty-four hours. By the 31st of May, the rivers were falling at a rate of twelve inches in twenty-four hours. It was getting late in the
season and the settlers were seeing the improbability of their cultivated land drying sufficiently to plant a crop that year. Unable to cultivate what they had, many of the settlers began to break up new ground where it was dry enough to seed small quantities of wheat. Employees of the Hudson Bay Company headed toward Fort Garry on the 25th of June, but because of the force of the current, they did not arrive until the next day, only to find the fort in ruins. By the 3rd of July, the land that could be planted had been sowed with wheat, barley, and potatoes. The settlers were busy trying to rebuild their houses and fences destroyed by the flood.

Yet, by the 6th of July, the Swiss and de Meurons had had enough. Lied to by Selkirk's agent, Captain de May, and expecting to find a well-developed community in a climate warm enough to grow citrus fruit, they found hardship, starvation, and cold weather. Instead of being accepted, they were looked down upon by the Governor and other colony members. Coupled with losing what little they had during the flood and fearing similar occurrences in the future, they decided to leave the colony.48

On July 6, 1826, the first group of Swiss left the colony with the rest of the Swiss and de Meurons to follow in a few weeks. On the 12th of June, after a night of heavy rains and high wind, the last of the Swiss and de Meurons and other Canadians wishing to leave the colony headed for the United States. The Hudson's Bay Company furnished them with a guide, ammunition, and provisions for their journey.49
The Swiss were making ready to immigrate to the United States. Using Bouge's Push Pull Model, their decision was based on these push factors pushing them out of the Red River Settlement.

**Push Factors Affecting the Swiss**

Oppressive or repressive discriminatory treatment because of political, religious, or ethnic origins or memberships. Ethnic differences were a factor once the Swiss arrived at the colony. The Swiss found the Scots only spoke Gaelic, and did not mix with the other settlers so they moved to the east side of the Red River among the de Meurons.

Alienation beliefs, from a community because one no longer subscribes to prevailing beliefs, actions, or mode of behavior—either within one's family or within the community. Governor Simpson thought that the Swiss had no character and came from jails, work or mad houses, and were unfit for an agricultural colony. Simpson went as far as having one of the Swiss give him a confidential report on the Swiss settlers' characters. See Appendix E.

6. Retreat from a community because of catastrophe—floods, fire, drought, earthquake, or epidemic. The Swiss had arrived at the colony after an infestation of grasshoppers had destroyed the crops forcing them to suffer near starvation the first winter. Shortage of food was a major problem most of the time while the settlers were at the colony. The hard winter of 1825 followed by the flood of 1826 was the last straw for the Swiss.
Pull Factors Affecting the Swiss

Pull factors drawing the Swiss to the United States were:

Superior opportunities for employment in one's occupation or opportunities to enter a preferred occupation. In the United States, there were developed communities where the Swiss could practice their crafts and trades.

Preferable environment and living conditions--climate, housing, schools, other community facilities. The Swiss were drawn by established communities where other Swiss families lived who shared the same cultural values, in a warmer climate with established schools for their children. There were schools at the Red River Colony, but they were in the early stages of development. What schools were there were mission schools aimed at converting the Indians and Metis to Christianity.50

One of the main concerns of the Swiss was that conditions at the colony would not improve immediately. This proved to be true because before all the Swiss and de Meurons had left the colony, disaster struck once again. This time it was in the form of grub-worms, destroying what little crops the settlers were able to grow. If they had stayed, it would have meant another winter of near starvation.51

By the time the group leaving the settlement reached the Canadian-United State border, its numbers reached close to 300 people. They traveled the Red River Trail to the St. Peter's River and down to Fort St. Anthony, which had been renamed Fort Snelling at present-day St. Paul, Minnesota. While at Fort Snelling, many of the Swiss learned about a settlement their predecessors had made with the Graiots (Franco-
Swiss origin) in the Fever River country, in Illinois, and decided to join them. Traveling by steamboat down the Mississippi from Fort Snelling, they reached the mouth of the Fever River in November. Upon their arrival at La Pointe (present-day Galena, Illinois), they were welcomed by their fellow countrymen who helped them establish farms or find employment in the lead mines in the area.\textsuperscript{52}
ENDNOTES

2. Ibid.
6. Ibid., 1-9.
7. Ibid., 195.


15. Ibid.


20. Ibid., 29.


38. Ibid.


41. Ibid., 17.


43. Ibid., 232-3.

44. Ibid., 233.

45. Ibid., 236.


47. Ibid., 101.

49. Ibid.


X. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This case study would not be complete without reference to other comparative studies of settlement patterns during the same time period. Dietrich Gerhand in "The Frontier in Comparative View,"¹ compared expanding societies which were eventually to form the British Commonwealth. Like Australia and South America climate was a factor in settlement but unlike Australia and South America settlers in northeast and central present-day Canada settlement was blocked by a physical barrier.²

When this region was under French control, two distinct types of settlement patterns evolved, one being along the St. Lawrence River from Quebec to Montreal on the east side of the Shield. This society was comprised of farmers and merchants with strong ties to the Catholic Church. The other society west of the Shield was comprised of those engaged in the fur trade. This society was also influenced by the Catholic Church. As the fur traders pushed farther west opening new territories missionaries followed in their footsteps in their aim to convert the Native Americans to Christianity.

Settlement in Australia was not stopped by physical barriers but by climatic conditions. That region’s staple crop was wool, and to maintain a large flock of sheep, the settlers needed to be near reliable sources of water. The early settlers of Australia could not depend on an ample rainfall to keep rivers and streams full of water, thereby limiting emigration and immigration to areas of where there was abundant rainfall to meet their needs. Unlike the Swiss who emigrated to the Red
River Colony voluntarily, Australia was populated initially by ex-convicts (primarily single men) through forced emigration.

The South African frontier was more like the situation in New France, a rather closed society of country people. New France was a society of farmers; in South Africa it was ranchers, who neither attracted nor absorbed a number of newcomers. Both were trading communities. In New France trading communities were located around the periphery of Montreal, in South Africa they were located along coastal towns. One of the basic differences between the colony on the Red River and the South African frontier was the role of the missionary and religion. With the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the region came under British control eliminating the French influence in the fur trade. The British saw the fur trade as a commercial venture with the interest in making a profit not bringing religion to the Native Americans. The Boer, who populated the frontier in South Africa, had strong ties to the Dutch Reformed Church. Like the fur traders, they were not interested in converting the natives, but what made them different from the settlers at Red River was the first thing the Boers did was to erect churches and schools.

In Marvin W. Mikesell’s article in the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Mikesell compares the drift of Russian immigrants into Siberia to the American experience which can be applied to the Red River Colony. The demographic patterns were different because Russians experienced no substantial immigration from abroad. The Russians also were faced with a frontier that ran up against the Chinese frontier which they defended. Although the settlers at Red River experienced
hostilities at the hands of the Metis, the Metis were not defending a border but a lifestyle. The Canadian frontiers were formed during a period of economic and social evolution whereas the Russian migration was influenced by feudalism.\(^5\)

More work needs to be done in the area of comparative studies to determine if other small groups like the Swiss established permanent homes at their first point of destination. If not, under what conditions did they leave their destination for a new destination and what impression did they leave on the landscape? Were they like the Swiss who once they left the Red River Colony either for present-day St. Paul, Minnesota, or Galena, Illinois, had a major impact on these landscapes and cultures? It is hoped that this thesis will lead to research to determine why they succeeded at St. Paul and Galena but not at the Red River Colony. Interestingly, considering these three locations, the Red River Colony had progressed the farthest in its efforts to establish a community. Indeed, in 1826, St. Anthony was just a frontier military post at the time when the Swiss and Canadians arrived. After squatting on the post’s lands for a few years, they were forced to move again, after being driven off the land by the government. This group of Swiss and Canadian refugees from the Red River Colony moved farther down the river and started a new community, St. Paul, Minnesota. Before the community of Galena, Illinois, was established all that was in the area were lead mines. The Swiss had employment opportunities in the region, but many were engaged in farming. The factors that contributed to their success in St. Paul and Galena need to be explored. “Counter-stream,” those who return to their point of
origin, plays a major role in works pertaining to emigration but were not discussed in this thesis because of lack of information. This research has primarily relied on sources written in English or translated into English; because of language constraints areas were left unexplored to determine if documentation existed in the form of letters and other correspondence which could establish if or if not a "counter-stream" did exist. The constraints of language also inhibited the author from establishing how the Swiss viewed life and conditions at the Red River Colony. Such information would have made a major contribution to this work. Through a variety of sources, it has been established how officials of the Hudson’s Bay Company and those employed by Lord Selkirk felt about the Swiss but the voice of the Swiss is not being heard on how they felt about officials of the Hudson’s Bay Company, Lord Selkirk’s representatives and other members of the colony.

As it has been established, the Swiss were pushed out of Switzerland by high unemployment, underemployment and catastrophic natural disasters. Lured to the Red River Colony by the misrepresentation on the part of Captain de May, the Swiss found conditions lacking. They were told the colony was a flourishing community, where artisans and craftsmen would be able to make a major contribution while engaging in farming. The Swiss found poorly constructed buildings, built from the remnants the earlier colonists had been able to salvage after the destruction of the colony in 1816. Thus, housing was nonexistent when the Swiss arrived at the colony. For lack of better shelter, many were forced to live in tents until housing could be found or built.
Having been assured by Captain de May that they would have access to one hundred acres of land, cheap, and that the ground was very fertile, easy to till, and farm implements, seed, and cattle would be provided by Lord Selkirk, the Swiss were willing to try their hand at farming, believing they could not fail. The land was cheap—a man could procure one hundred acres of land with no cash investment on his part. The Swiss had five years in which to pay off their debt in the form of grain to Lord Selkirk’s agent at the colony. Problems arose when the promised implements and seeds were not forthcoming. Lacking adequate farm implements, the Swiss were unable to cultivate a sufficient amount of land to feed their families. Lacking the hunting and gathering skills needed to supplement their diet, the Swiss faced starvation their first year at the colony.

Climatic conditions were also pushing the Swiss out of the colony. Cold climatic conditions were similar to those the emigrants were accustomed to in Switzerland. The Swiss found a difference of 7.8°C in the daily mean temperature in the region where the colony was located. Furthermore, the physical landscape was completely foreign to them. A flat, gently rolling surface interrupted only by rivers and breaks along the river banks was a sharp contrast to the mountainous landscape of Switzerland with its two major mountain ranges, the Alps and Jura.

Although Switzerland is a country of multiple languages and cultures, the Swiss were unprepared for the ethnic boundaries established prior to their arrival. Ethnic lines were drawn between the settlers and the non-British de Meurons, ex-mercenaries hired by Lord Selkirk to protect the colony. Upon their arrival, they were separated
from the colony by settling on the east side of the Red River. The west side of the river was settled by the Scottish and Irish emigrants who arrived in 1811, 1812, and 1813. When the Swiss arrived at the colony, they were encouraged to find shelter with the de Meurons on the east side of the river and construct their homes in that area.

In the winter of 1825-6 the settlers had to contend with a colder than usual winter with a higher than average snowfall that led to a catastrophic flood in the spring of 1826, which drove them from their homes, destroying their houses and flooded their fields. Unable to recover from their losses, the Swiss emigrated to the United States.

As evident in Chapter IX, using Bogue's Push-Pull Model the Swiss were pushed out of the Red River Colony because of:
1. Lack of demand for their services.
2. Incompetency at farming.
3. Oppression because of ethnic origins.
4. Few or no opportunities for personal development.
5. Lack of other meaningful employment.
6. Catastrophic climatic events.

If the colony had been what the Swiss were led to believe, a flourishing community, then artisans and craftsmen would have been able to make a major contribution to the cultural mosaic of the landscape and assimilation could have been achieved. But climatic, geomorphic, and cultural conditions were so different from the point of origin and employment and economic advancement were blocked by underdevelopment, the Swiss were pushed out to emigrate to an area where conditions more
closely resembled their point of origin, with like ethnic and cultural
groups to seek employment and economic gains.

The Swiss left no lasting impression on the landscape in the area
of present-day Winnipeg, Manitoba. Their stay of five years in the Red
River Colony goes all but unnoticed, unless one is willing to probe
through miles of micro-film records on the Hudson’s Bay Company and
Selkirk Papers. The Swiss like many other small ethic groups failed at
their first point of destination and succeeded in other areas and
regions. By researching these groups the value of using the Push-Pull
Model in historical geography will be made more valid, and we will
understand better the role of ethnicity in historical settlement
patterns beyond the experiences of the Swiss at the Red River Colony.
ENDNOTES


2. Ibid., 209.

3. Ibid., 217.

4. Ibid., 216-7.

A Tract of Land, consisting of some millions of acres, and in point of soil and climate inferior to none of equal extent in British America, is now to be disposed of, and will be sold extremely cheap, on account of its situation, which is remote from the present establishments. If a tract of the same extent and fertility were offered for sale in Lower Canada or Nova Scotia, purchasers would be eager to obtain it at one hundred, or perhaps two hundred thousand guineas, and at that price would make an ample fortune in the course of some years, but retailing it in small lots at an advanced price to actual settlers. The land in question no ways different in advantage, may be purchased for about £10,000 Stg. The title has been submitted to Lawyers of the first eminence in London, and is declared to be unexceptionable; but the situation is such that the population of the older settlements cannot be expected, in the natural course of things, to be spread into it for a long period of time, and till that takes place, the disadvantage of its remote situation must be an insuperable objection in the eyes of any unconnected individual who is looking out for lands to establish his family. Hence the prospect of finding Settlers to purchase the Land in small lots is remote, and on this account the Proprietors are willing to part with it for so inconsiderable a price. But the obstacles which, to an unconnected Adventurer, may be justly deemed insurmountable, may be overcome with ease by the combined efforts of many; and an adequate sum of money judiciously expended in removing the first difficulties of an infant settlement, may place this Track of Land in circumstances as advantageous to the Proprietors as if it were in the immediate vicinity of populous Colonies. The expenses, [sic] however, would be too great for an individual: it is therefore proposed to form an Joint Stock Company, in 200 shares of £100 each, so as to rise a sum of £20,000 of which a moiety to be employed in the purchase of the Land in Question; the remainder, in those expenses which are necessary for bringing Settlers, and thereby rendering the Land Valuable. To those Settlers, Lands will be disposed of, either in the way of Sale, or Lease in perpetuity, at the option of the Settlers, on terms very encouraging to him, and abundantly advantageous to the Proprietors.

As there are serious objections against receiving into proposed Settlements any Americans of the description of those who are likely to offer themselves, the Settlers must be emigrants from Europe; and the most feasible plan seems to be, that they should be selected from those parts of the United Kingdom which are most overburdened with Inhabitants, vizt: the Highlands of Scotland, and some parts of Ireland; a small proportion of the Emigrants who now go from these Districts to the United state of America, would be more than sufficient for the object in view. Such a change of their destination would injure no part of the Kingdom, and would save to the Empire, subjects who would otherwise be entirely lost to their country. To facilitate an object thus equally advantageous to the Public, and to the Parties concerned,
it is proposed that a preference should be with these Districts of the Kingdom, and whose local influence may be of service in promoting the desired change in the destination of those who are determined to emigrate. The Settlement is to be formed in a Territory where religion is not the ground of any disqualification, an unreserved participation in every privilege will therefore be enjoyed by Protestant and Catholic without distinction; and it is proposed that in every parochial division an allotment of Land shall be made for the perpetual support of a clergyman of the persuasion which the majority of the Inhabitants adhere to.

As the Lands in question possess important natural advantages over any which now remain unoccupied in Nova Scotia, and the adjacent Colonies, it cannot be deemed unreasonable if the Settlers in general are charged for their Lands at the lowest rate which they would pay in the Provinces. On the other hand, they will naturally expect to be conveyed to their land without incurring more expence [sic] than if they were to settle in these Maritime Colonies. The Managers of the Concern must therefore undertake to provide conveyance at moderate rates, for the Emigrants who go out under their Patronage. The rate of passage money paid on board of other ships bound to America may be taken as the criterion. These rates being always proportioned to the prices of freight and shipping at the time, no material loss can be apprehended upon the Sea Voyage. But as the place of Settlement is at a considerable distance from the sea, an extra expence [sic] must be incurred for the inland conveyance, which the Emigrants cannot be expected to pay, if they are to be charged for Land at the rate of the Maritime Colonies; the expence [sic] which may thus fall upon the Proprietors, may be estimated at about £10 for every family of Settlers at an average. This, however, will be amply reimbursed in the price of land. The lowest prices of land in the Maritime Colonies, when sold to actual Settlers, and possessing an tolerable advantage of Situation, is at the rate of 10 s. per acre, of sold; or if leased for a perpetuity, 1 s. per annum. Every Family of Settlers may be expected to take up at least 100 acres. They are allowed some accommodation of time for the payment, the 100 acres at the above rate, will amount to £50, leaving a nett [sic] advantage of £40, after reimbursing the charge of bringing in the Settler. If he should prefer leasing, his rent will be in two years, repay the charges, and will remain afterwards as a clear income to the Proprietor. As the inland situation of the Settlement will preclude the Settler from some of the sources of profit which are enjoyed in maritime situations, it becomes necessary to provide substitutes. The cultivation of Hemp is peculiarly calculated for Inland Situations, as that Article is so valuable in proportion to its weight, that it can bear the expence [sic] of a considerable inland Navigation. This cultivation is also a favorite national object, and the Settlement will derive benefit from the public encouragement which is held out for promoting it. A still more beneficial object of attention is the growth of fine wool, an article so valuable, that it would bear any expence [sic] of Inland conveyance, and one for which the country is peculiarly adapted. In the vicinity of the proposed Settlement, there are immense open plains without wood, fine dry grass land, much of it capable of immediate cultivation, and all well fitted
for pasturage, particularly sheep. This is an advantage that no other part of British America possesses by nature, and to which the Colonies of the Maritime Provinces cannot attain without the laborious and expensive operation of clearing. It to this advantage, the Proprietors add that of a good breed of Spanish Merino Sheep, the Settlers can never meet with any difficulty in paying the price or rent of their land. The fleeces of ten or twelve sheep will pay the Rent of 100 Acres, and with the produce of a very small flock the price of a Lot of Land may be paid off in three or four years. With such advantages, the Settlers must thrive rapidly; and it will soon become apparent to them, that the Land is worth much higher price. At first, however, it cannot be supposed that the common Emigrants will understand, or become capable of appreciating these advantages. On the contrary, it is to be expected that they will be diffident and afraid of venturing to a new and (to them) an unknown country; it will therefore be necessary to give some extraordinary encouragement to a few of the first who enter into the plan. From this, and other causes, the commencement of the undertaking must be subject to expences, [sic] which will not continue permanently when the Settlement i well established; but, it is only by means of this first outlay, that we can expect to attain the ultimate advantage which are to accrue to the Proprietors. There is room to believe, that these expences [sic] will exceed the sum which is proposed to be raised; but it must be sometime before the Settlers can be numerous enough to pay much either of rent or purchase money. Ten or twelve years must therefore elapse before the profit of the undertaking can be sufficient to afford a dividend to the Proprietors. After that period, the returns may be expected to increase rapidly, and will soon form an ample indemnification to the Subscribers, for the loss of interest on the money in the meantime. The amount to which the profits may ultimately arise, seems almost to baffle imagination upon any principle of calculation which can reasonably be adopted; that is might appear like exaggeration to state it. But the difference between buying land at 1 d. or 2 d. per acre, selling at 8 s. or 10 s. is very palpable, and does not seem to require much comment. The speculation may not suit those who require an immediate income; but for any one who is desirous to provide before hand for a young Family, such an opportunity seldom occurs.

This Indenture made the twelfth day of June in the fifty-first year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King Defender of the Faith, and in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eleven.

Between the Governor and Company of Adventures of England trading into Hudson’s Bay of the one part and the Right Honorable Thomas Earl of Selkirk of the other part.

Whereas the said Governor and Company are sized to them and their successors in fee simple and absolute Lords and Proprietors of all the Lands and Territories situate upon the Coasts and confines of the Seas, Streights, [sic] Bays, Lakes, Rivers, Creeks and Sounds within the entrance of the Streights [sic] commonly called Hudson’s Streights [sic] in the North West parts of America and which Lands and Territories are reputed as one of the Plantations or Colonies belonging or annexed to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and are called Rupert’s Land.

And whereas the said Governor and Company have for divers good and valuable cause and considerations them thereunto moving agreed to convey and assure a certain Tract or Parcel of the said Lands and Territories hereinafter described unto and to the use of the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns under and subject to certain conditions hereinafter expressed and contained.

Now therefore this Indenture witnesseth that in pursuance of such agreement and in consideration of the sum of ten shillings of lawful money of Great Britain to the said Governor and Company execution of these presents (the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged) and for divers good and other valuable causes and considerations them the said Governor and Company have given, granted, aliened, enfeoffed and confirmed and by these present, do give, grant, alien, enfeoff and confirm unto the Said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns, all that Tract of Land or Territory being within and forming part of the aforesaid Lands and Territories of the said Governor and Company bounded by an imaginary line running as follows (that is to say) beginning on the western shore of Lake Winnipie, otherwise Winnipeg at a point in fifty-two degrees and thirty minutes north latitude and thence running due west to lake Winnipigoos, otherwise called Little Winnipeg, then in a southerly direction through the said Lake so as to strike its western shore in latitude fifty-two degrees, then due west to the place where the parallel of fifty-two degrees north latitude intersects the western branch of Red River, otherwise called Assiniboine River, then due south from that point of intersection to the Height of Land which separates the waters running into Hudson’s Bay from those of the Missouri and Mississippi, then in an easterly direction along the said Height of Land.
to the source of the River Winnie or Winnipeg (meaning by such last
name River, the Principal Branch of the waters which unite in Lake
Saginagas), then along the main stream of the waters and the middle of
the several Lakes through which they flow to the mouth of the Winnie
River and thence in the northerly direction through the middle of Lake
Winnipeg to the place of beginning.

As the said Tract or Parcel of Land hereby granted or intended so
to be in more particularly described and distinguished, and the boundary
thereof marked out in the map or plan annexed to these presents, in
which plan the lands hereby intended to be granted are coloured [sic]
red.

Together with all mines, minerals and metals and delfs [sic] and
quarries of stone and lime already discovered or hereafter to be
discovered within the limits of the land hereby granted and enfeoffed or
otherwise assured or expressed and intended so to be.

And also all and singular, houses, edifices, buildings, forests,
woods, springs, woodlands, and underwoods and the ground and soil
thereof respectively. Trees, timber and timber like trees, quarries,
wharfs, landings and landing places, lakes, ponds, rivers, pools, dams
and streams of water, fisheries and fishing places and rights of fishery,
moats, moors, marshes, wastes, waste grounds, commons, common of pasture
and common of turbary, furzes, heaths, sources, hedges, fences, roads,
feus, feugrounds, ways, paths, easements, waters, water-courses and all and singular other the right, franchises,
liberties, customs, profits, commodities, emoluments, benefits,
advantages, members, hereditaments and appurtenances whatsoever to all
and singular the aid lands and premises hereby granted and enfeoffed or
otherwise assured or expressed and intended so to be, or any part or
parcel thereof belonging or in anywise appertaining to or with the same
held used possessed or enjoyed or accepted, reputed, adjudged, esteemed,
deemed, taken or known as part parcel of member thereof, or of any part
thereof or as appurtenant thereunto and reversion and reversions,
remainder and remainders yearly and other profits of the said land
hereditaments and premises hereby granted and enfeoffed or otherwise
assured or expressed and intended so to be, or any part or parcel
thereof and all the estate, right, title, interest, use, trust,
inheritance, property, possession, benefit, claim, and demand whatsoever
at law and in equity or otherwise howsoever of them the said Governor
and Company of in to or out of the land, hereditaments, and premises
hereby granted and enfeoffed or otherwise assured or expressed and
intended so to be and every part and parcel of the same. Saving the
reserving nevertheless to the said Governor and Company and their
successors all right of jurisdiction whatsoever granted to said Company
by their Charter.

To have and to hold the land and hereditaments and all and singular
other the premises hereby granted and enfeoffed or otherwise assured or
expressed and intended so to be, and every part and parcel of the same
unto the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns for ever.

As to for and concerning such and extent or quantity of such
separate extents or quantities of the Tract or Territory of Land hereby
granted and enfeoffed shall in the whole amount be equal to one tenth
part of the said Tract or Territory and which ne tenth shall be set out
by the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs or assigns before or within the
space of three years after the said Governor and Company or their
successors shall by some writing under the hand of the Governor of the
said Company for the time being require the said Earl of Selkirk, his
heirs or assigns to make such division or setting out to the use of such
person or persons being or having been in the service or employ of the
said Governor and Company for a term not less than three years
immediately preceding the date and execution of any direction or
appointment to be made by the said Governor and Company and their
successors under this present power, in such parts, shares, and portions
and for such estates and interests as the said Governor and Company and
their successors shall from time to time by any writing to be sealed
with the common seal of the said Company direct or appoint.

Nevertheless, so that no person taking under any such direction or
appointment and being under Rank or Degree of Master of a Trading Post,
shall be or become entitled to any greater part share or proportion than
two hundred acres, nor any person of the Rank or Degree of Master of a
Trading Post any greater part, share or proportion than one thousand
acres.

And also, so that every use estate or interest which shall be
created under or by virtue of any direction or appointment to be made by
the aid Governor and Company and their successors in pursuance of the
aforesaid power be made and rendered subject to a condition to be void
if the person or persons or his, her or their assigns shall not be or
become a settler or settlers upon the land hereby directed or appointed
or if he, she or they or his, her or their assigns shall neglect or fail
to cultivate and continue the cultivation of the same land and in the
mean time and until such direction or appointment shall be made and so
far as any such direction or appointment shall not extend.

To the use of the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns for
ever and to and for no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever.

And as to all the remaining part or parts, portion or portions of
the said Tract or Territory. To the use of the said Earl of Selkirk,
his heirs and assigns for ever.

Nevertheless, upon under and subject to the conditions hereinafter
mentioned expressed and declared of and concerning the same.

And to the intent that these presents may be rendered a complete
and effectual assurance. The said Governor and Company have made,
ordained, constituted and appointed and by this present Deed or
Instrument under their common seal--Do Make, ordain, constitute and
appoint William Auld, Thomas Thomas, William Sinclair, William Hillier,
James Swain, Donald Sutherland, Hugh Heney, John Stitt, John McKay, and
Archibald Mason, all Servants of the said Governor and Company jointly
and each and every one of them separately their true and lawful
attorneys [sic] and attorney, for them the said Governor and Company and
in their name, place and stead to enter into upon the land,
hereditaments and premises hereby granted and enfeoffed or otherwise
assured or expressed and intended so to be, or into or upon any part or
parcel of the same in the name of the whole, wholly, and quiet and
peaceable possession and seizin of the said land, hereditaments and
premises and of every or part thereof, in the name of the whole, for and
in the name of the said Governor and Company, to have and take and after
such entry made and possession and seizin so had and taken as aforesaid to deliver quiet and peaceable possession and seizin thereof and of every part thereof unto Miles McDonald, Esquire, Kelly Clerk, Abel Edwards, Surgeon, Denneth MacRae and William Tomison, Gentlemen, whom the said Earl of Selkirk hat made, ordained, constituted and appointed, jointly and separately his true and lawful attornies [sic] and attorney for and in his name place and stead to take and receive the same, to be had and held according to the tenor form and effect of these present.

And the said Governor and Compa'., and the said Earl of Selkirk do hereby respectively ratify, confirm and allow to be sufficiently available all and whatsoever their said attorneys respectively shall lawfully do in the premises by virtue of these presents. Provided always, and it is hereby agreed and declared between and by the parties hereto, and the presents are upon this express condition. That if the said Thomas Earl of Selkirk his heirs or assigns shall not with in the space of ten years to be computed from the date of these presents settle or establish upon the tract of ground hereby expressed to be granted--One thousand families, each of them consisting of one married couple at the last, according to the true intent and meaning of these presents.

And if the said Governor and Company shall be notice in writing to be given to the said Thomas Earl of Selkirk, his heirs or assigns or left at his or their dwelling our usual place of abode require him or them to establish and settle such a number of families on the premises as will make up one thousand families on the same.

And the said Thomas Earl of Selkirk, his heirs or assigns shall during the space of three years next after such notice shall be given or left as aforesaid neglect to settle or make up the said number of families--then and in that case it shall be lawful for the said Governor and Company by Deed under their common seal to revoke and grant hereinbefore expressed and contained, and to enter upon the premises hereby granted of his or their former estate--but subject and without prejudice to such grant as shall have been previously made by said Earl, his heirs or assigns to or in favor of any person or persons, so as upon the land comprized [sic] in any such grant there be actual settlers to the amount of one family for every five thousand acres.

And also upon this further express condition that the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs or assigns or any other person or persons deriving title by from through or under him, them or any of them shall not nor will at any time or times hereafter, in or by any direct or indirect mediate or immediate manner, ways or means, infringe or violate, or set about, or attempt to infringe, or violate, or aid assist or abet, or set about or attempt to aid assist or abet or supply with spirituous [sic] liquors--trading goods--provisions or other necessaries any person or persons whomsoever corporate or incorporate, or any Prince, Power, Potentate, or State whatsoever, who shall infringe or violate, or who shall set bout, or attempt to infringe or violate the exclusive rights, power, privileges, and immunities of commerce, trade and traffick [sic] or all or any other of the exclusive right, powers, privileges and immunities of or belonging or in any wise appertaining to or held, use or enjoyed by the said Governor and Company and their successors and particularly such right, powers, privileges and immunities as they are entitled to under or by virtue of or which were given and granted or
intended to be given granted to them and their successors by the Charter of His late Majesty King Charles the Second, bearing date on or about the second day of May, in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-nine--save and except such rights, powers, privileges, immunities and franchises as are incident to the land hereditaments and premises hereby granted and enfeoffed or otherwise assured or expressed and intended so to be, or any part or parcel of the same without the license or consent in writing of the Governor of the said Company and their successors for the time being for that purpose first had and obtained.

And also, that he, the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs or assigns or any person deriving title by, from, through, or under him, them, or any of them--shall not in any manner without such license or consent aforesaid carry on or establish or attempt to carry on or establish in any posts of North America, any trade or traffic, [sic] in or relating to any kind of furs or peltry or in any manner directly or indirectly aid or abet any person or persons in carrying on such trade or traffic or in any manner otherwisethan as hereinafter mentioned, navigate or traffic or assist in navigating or trafficking upon or within any of the seas or waters within Hudson’s Streights [sic] aforesaid, or unlawfully enter into or trespass upon any part of the land or territories belonging to the said Governor and Company and their successor in or at Rupert’s Land aforesaid, not hereby granted and enfeoffed, not hereby granted and enfeoffed or otherwise assure or expressed and intended so to be.

Nevertheless it is agreed that no act of entry shall be deemed construed or taken to be an act of trespass within the meaning of this condition unless committed after some special notice or prohibition in writing, shall be or have been given by the said Governor and Company or their successors or some person or persons duly authorized by them unto the person or persons who from time to time shall be, or be alleged to be guilty of such trespass.

Provided also, and it is hereby further declared and agreed by and between the parties hereto, and the presents are upon this further condition that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Governor and Company and their successors at any time or times except in respect to such of the land hereby granted and enfeoffed or otherwise assured or expressed and intended to be, as shall have been put by the said Earl, his heirs of assigns into a state or actual cultivation or settlement to form or make within the said tract of land hereby granted any post or place, posts or places of establishment or communication for traffic [sic] trade or commerce with the native Indians and for such purpose to and for the said Governor and Company and their successors to use, occupy and enjoy such post or place, posts or places, and in like manner to use, occupy and enjoy all and every post and place or place or posts and places already formed or made with free liberty of ingress, egress and regress to and from the said Governor and Company and their successors and their servants or agents with or without horses, carts, carriages, boats, vessels and other usual or customary vehicles or conveyances to go to and from the said post and places in over or upon all and every or any of the roads, ways, rivers and canals which now do or which shall or from time to time lead to or from the said post or places doing as little damage as may be to the other part of the land
hereby granted and enfeoffed and allowing reasonable compensation for
the damage which shall be so done.

Provided also, and it is hereby further declared and agreed between
and by the parties to these presents that the several conditions herein
before contained shall not be construed and taken to be entire
conditions, so that a dispensation or waver of any part branch or member
either pro-tempore or otherwise shall operate as a waver or dispensation
of every part of such parties to these presents that the same conditions
may be dispensed with, in part either pro-tempore otherwise and yet
continue in force and being as to every other part branch or member
thereof, not within the express letter of such dispensation any rule of
law to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And it is also declared and agreed between and by the parties to
these presents, and the said Governor and Company for themselves and
their successors hereby grant, that in case the said Earl of Selkirk,
his heirs or assigns shall alien or otherwise dispose of the land,
hereditaments and premises hereby granted and enfeoffed or otherwise
assured or expressed and intended so to be, in separate parcels or
divisions, such division or parcel shall so far as concerns any
condition herein contained, be and shall be deemed, construed and taken
to be held distinct, separate and apart from the other or others of the
said divisions or parcels, and the estate and interest of the owner and
proprietor, owners and proprietors on any one or more division or
parcel, divisions or parcels shall not be or be liable to be defeated or
destroyed by any act of forfeiture or breach of condition which shall be
made, done or committed by the owner or proprietor, owners or
proprietors of any other division or parcel, divisions or parcels, but
shall and notwithstanding such act of forfeiture or breach of condition
continue and be in full force and effect, in like manner, as though the
several conditions herein contained had been annexed to the estate and
interest of such last mentioned owner, proprietor or proprietors only
and not to the estate or interest of any other owner or proprietor,
owners or proprietors.

Provided also, and it is hereby further declared and agreed between
and by the parties to these presents that in all and every or any case
of forfeiture or breach of the conditions herein contained the said
Governor and Company and their successors shall take advantage and avail
themselves of the same by entry, within five years from the day or time
on or upon which any act of forfeiture or breach of condition shall be
or have been made, done or committed or be for ever barred and
foreclosed from taking advantage of the same; it being intended and
hereby agreed that such omission on the part of the said Governor and
Company and their successors, whether arising from want of knowledge or
from any other cause, shall be construed to be and shall operate as a
dispensation or waver of such forfeiture.

Provided also, and it is hereby further agreed and declared between
and by the parties to these presents and the said Governor and Company
do hereby for themselves and their successors, give and grant unto the
said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns and all and every the person
and persons whomsoever claiming or deriving title by, from, through, or
under him them or any of them, as lessee or lessees, or otherwise, free
liberty and license to convey and produce of Rupert's Land aforesaid,
save and except the furs, skins of beavers and other animals of a wild and untamed nature, to Port Nelson, in Hudson’s Bay, and to commit, send and consign the same to the Port of London, to be there deposited and lodged in the warehouses belonging to or to be from time to time appointed by the said Governor and Company and their successors.

And in like manner to import, bring and convey into the said land and territories called Rupert’s Land any goods, wares, merchandizes [sic] or commodities of any kind, nature or description whatsoever as well, manufactured for the use, convenience and consumption of the persons being or residing within the limits of the land hereby granted and enfeoffed, or otherwise assured or expressed and intended so to be, and to sell, barter and exchange, or otherwise dispose of the same at his and their will and pleasure.

Nevertheless, it is further agreed that the said produce, goods, wares, merchandizes [sic] and commodities shall be conveyed to and from Port Nelson in ships or vessels, to be from time to time provided by the said Governor and Company and their successors, in pursuance of the covenant or agreement in that behalf hereinafter contained.

And also that the said Governor and Company and their successors shall and may claim and shall be paid and allowed by the owner or proprietor, owners or proprietors of the said produce, goods, wares, merchandizes [sic] and commodities, all charges as and for and in the nature of guayage, wharfage, warehouse room and commission for sale which shall be or constitute the average or ordinary price or prices in similar cases.

Together with such charge for freightage as shall at the time or respective times be paid or payable for vessels navigating between the Posts of London and Quebec, or at or for such rates of freight as vessels can or may be chartered between London and Hudson’s Bay.

And the said Governor and Company shall and may also charge and shall be paid and allowed for the license hereby given and granted to and for the purposes hereinafter mentioned, as and in the nature of a custom or duty any sum not exceeding five pound, for and upon every one hundred pounds in value, or amount of the produce, goods, wares, merchandizes [sic] and commodities, which shall or may be conveyed to or from Port Nelson aforesaid, and so in proportion for a less quantity in value or amount than one hundred pounds unless the same kind of produce, goods, wares, merchandizes [sic] and commodities shall be subject to a higher rate of duty or importation at Quebec, and then in case of importation the said Governor and Company and their successors shall and may charge, and shall be paid and allowed at and after the same rate as shall be paid or payable at Quebec, such value or amount to be from time to time fixed and ascertained [sic] in all cases of imports by and upon the actual and bona fide invoice prices, and in all cases exports by the net proceeds of sales at London.

And the said Governor and Company do hereby for themselves in their corporate, and not individual capacity and for their successors, covenant promise and agree to and with the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns in manner following that is to say:

That notwithstanding any act, deed, matter or thing whatsoever made, done, committed, permitted or suffered to the contrary by them the said Governor and Company, or by any person or persons claiming or to
claim by, from, through, under or in trust for them, they, the said Governor and Company, now have in themselves, good right, full power and lawful absolute authority by these presents to convey and assure the land, hereditaments and premises hereby granted and enfeoffed, or otherwise assured or expressed and intended so to be, and every part and parcel of the same unto and to the use of the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns, according to the true interest and meaning of these presents, and also that notwithstanding any such act, deed, matter or thing as aforesaid it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns, immediately after livery of seizin [sic] made and executed in pursuance of these presents, and quietly have, hold, use, occupy, possess and enjoy the land, hereditaments and premises hereby granted and enfeoffed, or otherwise assured or expressed and intended so to be, and every part and parcel of the same unto and to their own use and benefit without any let, suit, trouble, eviction, molestation, ejection, expulsion, interruption, hindrance or denial of from or by the said Governor and Company or their successors or any other person or persons lawfully or equitably claiming or to claim any estate, right, title, trust or interest at law or in equity of, in, to, out of or upon the said land, hereditaments and premises or any part or parts of the same by, through, under, or in trust for them, and that free and clear, and freely and clearly and absolutely, acquitted, exonerated, released and discharged or otherwise by the said Governor and Company and their successors at their own costs and charges, will and sufficiently protected, defended, saved harmless and kept indemnified of, from and against all former and other gifts, grants, bargains, sales, leases, mortgages, jointures, uses, trust, wills, intails, annuities, legacies, rent charge, rent seek, rent service, and all arrears of rent, and also of from and against all and all manner of fines, issues, seizures, amerciaments, statues, recognizances, judgments, executions, extents, suits, decrees, debts of record, debts to the King’s Majesty, or any one of his predecessors, sequestrations, debts, titles, troubles, liens, charges, and incumbrances, at any time or times heretofore, and to be at any time or time and from time to time hereafter made, done or committed, occasioned, permitted or suffered by the said Governor and Company or their successors or any other person or persons rightfully claiming or to claim by, from, through, under, or in trust for them, or by their acts, means, default, consent, privity or procurements.

And moreover, that they the said Governor and Company and their successors, and all persons whatsoever lawfully or equitably claiming or to claim by, from, through, under, or in trust for them any estate, right, title, trust, charge or interest of, in, to, or out of the land, hereditaments and premises hereby enfeoffed or otherwise assured or expressed will from time to time and at all time hereafter upon every reasonable request, and at the costs and charges in all things of the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns make, do, acknowledge, suffer, execute, and perfect, or cause, or procure to be made, done, acknowledge, suffered, executed or procure all such further and other lawful and reasonable acts, deeds, devices, conveyance and assurances in the law whatsoever, either by common recovery or recoveries, deed or
deeds enrolled or not further, better, more perfectly and absolutely and satisfactorily conveying or assuring the said land, hereditament and premises and every part and parcel thereof, unto and to the use of the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns, subject to the power of appointment on the part of the said Company, and to the conditions and provisions hereinbefore contained, according to the true intent and meaning of these present, as by the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs or assigns, or his or their counsel in the law shall be reasonable devised or advised and required, so as further assurance or any of them shall not contain or imply any other or more general covenants or warranty on the part of the said Governor and Company than as for or against them and their successors in their corporate and not individual capacity, and on the part of any other person or persons who shall be required to make and execute the same than for the acts, deeds, and defaults of himself or themselves respectively and his, her and their executors and administrators, and so as the person or persons who shall be required to make or execute such further assurances be not compelled or compellable for the making or doing thereof to go or travel above ten miles from his, her or their dwellings or place of abode.

And further that the said Governor and Company and their successors shall and will from time to time and all times hereafter find and provide the said Earl of Selkirk, his heirs and assigns and all and every other person or persons whomsoever deriving title, by form, through, or under him, them, or any of them, either as lessee or lessees or otherwise, and who shall be or become a settler or settlers upon or at Rupert’s Land aforesaid, with good suitable and convenient ships or vessels, in order and to the intent that he, she or they, may in pursuance and under or by virtue of the license hereinbefore given and granted, convey such produce, goods, wares, merchandise [sic] and commodities aforesaid to and from Port Nelson aforesaid, and also, shall and will find the provide proper and suitable warehouses, wharfs, quay, and other places for housing and landing the same before landing or after unlanding thereof on being paid and allowed such price or rate of freightage and duty as such guayage, wharfage, and warehouserooms aforesaid.

And in case the said Governor and Company and their successors shall neglect or fail to provide such ships or vessels, warehouses, wharfs, quays, and other places as aforesaid contrary to the true intent spirit and meaning of the covenant or agreement last aforesaid--then, and in such case it shall and may be lawful to and for such settler or settlers to convey such produce, goods, wares, merchandizes [sic] and commodities to and from Port Nelson aforesaid in ships or vessels belonging to them and said settler or settlers or any person or persons whomsoever (subject nevertheless to the payment of such customs or duties as aforesaid), and after and not before such settler or settlers shall have bound himself, herself, or themselves, and his, her, and their Heirs, executors and administrators in a sufficient penalty, not to break bulk between the port of landing and the port of discharge, and he, she, or they shall not hereby be, or be deemed or taken to have infringed or violated any right, power, privilege, immunity, or franchise whatsoever belonging or appertaining to the said Governor and
Company or their successors within the intent and meaning of any condition herein contained.

And also that the said Governor and Company and their successors shall and will stand possessed of and interested in all and singular the monie to be collected and raised for or in the nature of customs or duties under or by virtue of these present, upon the trusts and to and for the intents and purposes hereinafter mentioned, that is to say: In trust, that they the said Governor and Company and their successors do and shall from time to time and at all times hereafter pay and apply the same for and towards improving the communication by land or water from Port Nelson to Lake Winnipeg, regulating and sustaining the police and civil government of the settlements or plantations within their own territories, making and erecting public courts, offices, places and buildings, and for and towards all or any such other purposes as they the said Governor and Company and their successors shall or may think meet and proper and conducive to the well-being of their said settlements and establishments in or at Rupert's Land aforesaid, or of the person being settling and residing in or within the same.

And they the said Governor and Company and their successors shall and will from time to time account for such monies accordingly, it being the true intent and meaning of the said parties hereto that the said Company shall have the absolute control and expenditure of all and singular the monies arising as aforesaid, but that the same shall be considered as a fund to be employed for purposes of general benefit and improvement to their establishments and possessions in America, and not to be divided as an account of profit to the general proprietors of their stock.

In witness whereof the said parties to these presents have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

(Signed) SELKIRK, [L.S.]

ALEXANDER LEAN, [L.S.]

Secretary of the Hudson's bay Company.

Indorsed.--Sealed under the common seal of the within mentioned Governor and Company, and signed and delivered by Alexander Lean, their Secretary, pursuant to their order and appointment, and signed, and delivered by the within mentioned Thomas, Earl of Selkirk (being first duly stamped), in the presence of

ALEXANDER MUNDELL,
Parliament Street,
Westminster.

Edward Roberts,
Hudson's Bay House.

MACDONELL’S PROCLAMATION OF 1814

Whereas the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Selkirk is anxious to provide for the families at present forming settlements on his lands at Red River, with those on the way to it, passing the winter at York and Churchill forts, in Hudson’s Bay, as also those who are expected to arrive next autumn, renders it a necessary and indispensable part of my duty to provide for their support. In the yet uncultivated state of the country, the ordinary resources derived from the buffalo and other wild animals hunted within the territory, are not deemed more than adequate for the requisite supply. Whereas it is hereby ordered that no person trading furs or provisions within the territory of the Honorable Hudson’s Bay Company or the North-West Company, or any individual or unconnected traders, or persons whatever, shall take any provisions, either or flesh, fish, grain, or vegetable, procured or raised within the said territory, by water or land carriage, for one twelvemonth from the date hereof; save and except what may be judged necessary for the trading parties at this present time within the territory, to carry them to their respective destination; and who may, on due application to me, obtain a license for the same.

The provisions procured and raised as above shall be taken for the use of the colony; and that no loss may accrue to the parties concerned, they will be paid for by British bills at the customary rates. And it is hereby further made known, that whatsoever shall be detected in attempting to convey out, or shall aid and assist in carrying out, or attempting to carry out, any provisions prohibited as above, either by water or land, shall be taken into custody, and prosecuted as the laws in such cases direct, and the provisions so taken, as well as any goods and chattels, of what nature soever, which may be taken along with them, and also the craft, carriages and cattle, instrumental in conveying away the same to any part but to the settlement on Red River, shall be forfeited.

Given under my hand at Fort Daer (Pembina) the 8th day of January, 1814.

(Signed) MILES MACDONELL, Governor.

By order of the Governor.

(Signed) JOHN SPENCER, Secretary

ADVERTISEMENT TO ATTRACT SWISS SETTLERS

TO THE RED RIVER COLONY

The climate is mild and healthy. The winter is not colder nor longer than in our mountainous districts and the summer is much hotter. The country consists of extensive plains interspersed with mountains, which are not high, by no means rugged, and generally covered with beautiful forests. These immense plains are clothed with the most luxuriant herbage, thus forming fine natural meadows, easy to cultivate; the settlers has nothing to do but to throw up the turf with the plough or space, after which he may immediately sow or plant. The soil is remarkably fertile, the first crop produces from thirty-five to forty-five times the quantity of seed. Every species of corn, potatoes, plus, vegetables, hemp, flax, tobacco, and all kinds of fruit trees, even the most delicate, grow and thrive there in perfection. Wood either for fuel or building in short for all the purposes of life, is in the greatest plenty. These immense meadows maintain a quantity of game of every description, and particularly innumerable herds of wild oxen, which every person is at liberty to kill, or to take alive and tame, thus providing himself with as much meat and leather as he may want. Numerous salt pits afford to the settlers an easy and abundant supply of this essential article of life and rural economy. In short, whatever is necessary to life may be obtained in great plenty, with much facility and little labor. European cattle, pigs and sheep of the Merino breed have been conveyed thither and thrive well. Excellent native horses may be purchased of the Indians, in any number, at eight or ten crowns each.

Holcombe, Return I. Minnesota in Three Centuries. The Publishing Society of Minnesota, 1908, 74.
APPENDIX E
STATE OF THE SWISS COLONISTS AT RED RIVER
31 JULY 1822

Aberti, Marianne, 13, Henriette, 12, Lisette, 10, daughters of the widow Aberti; born Saciour, Canton of Berne; religion, Reformed Church.

Aebersold, Chretien 28, born Septosswyt, Canton of Berne, farmer, character no good; wife, Elisabeth, 31, character bad; daughter, Anne, 8; religion, Reformed Church.

Chatelain, Jean Louis, 26, born Tramelan, Canton of Berne, vine grower, character fair; wife, Julie, 22, character fair; religion, Reformed Church.

Decamp, David Louis, 41, born Lignieres, Canton of Neufchatel, farmer, character worthless; wife, Rose, 41, character worthless; sons, Charles, 15, character bad, Frederick August, 9, daughter, Louise, 10; religion, Reformed Church.

Diacon, Fred Henri, 22, born Val de Rue, Canton of Neufchatel, clock-maker, character bad; religion, Reformed Church.

Droz, Alphonse, 55, born Renand, Canton of Berne, wholesale merchant, character fair; wife, Louise, 43, character fair; son, Louis, 24, character fair; daughter, Adele, 14; religion, Reformed Church.

Dubach, Aaron, 57, born Niederstocken, Canton of Berne, farmer, character bad; wife, Catherine, 50, character no good; son, Jean, 28, character no good; daughter-in-law, Catherine, 22, character fair; grandson, Jean, 2; religion, Reformed Church.

Dubois, Theodore, 53, born Locles, Canton of Neufchatel, clock-maker, character crazy; religion, Reformed Church.

Engel, Louis, 58, born Troan, Canton of Berne, boatmen, character fair; religion, Reformed Church.

Flotron, Sigismond, 41, born St. Imier, Canton of Berne, clock-maker, character good; wife, Madeleine, 36, character no good; sons, Louis Ferdinand, 14, Francois, 7, Louis, 2; daughters, Sophie, 16, character good, Eugenie, 10, Olympie, 8; religion, Reformed Church.

Fournier, Sophie Adele, 15, Eugene, 14, Dyonise, 13, Francoise Emilie, 8, children of the widow Fournier, born Villeret, Canton of Berne; religion, Reformed Church.
Gabut, Charles, 23, born Des Brenets, Canton of Neufchatel, joiner, character simple-minded; religion, Reformed Church.

Guilbert, August, 25, born La Chaux de Fond, Canton of Neufchatel, clock-maker, character good; religion, Reformed Church.

Guinand, Jean Louis, 20, born La Chaux de Fond, Canton of Neufchatel, locksmith, character fair; religion, Reformed Church.

Guinand, Justin, 4, Philippine, 2, children of the widow Guinand, born La Chaux de Fond, Canton of Neufchatel; religion, Reformed Church.

Hofman, Nicolaus, 36, born Gross Affottern, Canton of Berne, farmer, character bad; wife, Madeleine, 29, character fair; sons, Chretien, 7, Jean, 3; daughter, Catherine, 10; religion, Reformed Church.

Hoerner, David, 53, born Sindringern, Wurttemberg in Germany, apothecary, character good; religion, Lutheran; wife, Marianne, 40, midwife, character good; sons, Louis, 22, baker, character good, Frederic, 6; daughters, Louis, 19, character good, Henriette, 17, character good, Olympie, 12, Caroline, 8; religion, Reformed Church.

Houriet, David, 48, born Tramelan, Canton of Berne, farmer, character good; religion, Reformed Church.

Junot, Charles, 22, born Neufchatel, vine grower, character bad; wife, Sophie, 21, character fair; religion, Reformed Church.

Kocher, Jean, 29, born Aegetten, Canton of Berne, distiller, character fair; religion, Reformed Church.

Lenget, Jacques Francois, 26, born Cressier, Canton of Neufchatel, farmer, character bad; religion, Reformed Church.

Lienne, Louis Florian, 17, born Cormorat, Canton of Berne, nail-maker, character fair; religion, Reformed Church.

Marchand, Abram, 48, born Sonvillier, Canton of Berne, clock-maker, character worthless; wife, Emilie, 49, character worthless; son, Louis Constant, 15, character fair; daughters, Meline, 14, Louis Elzire, 8, deaf since birth; religion, Reformed Church.

Meroz, Henri Louis, 46, born Sonvillier, Canton of Berne, merchant, character no good; son, Louis Gustav, 8; religion, Reformed Church.

Monnier, David, 50, born Vallengin, Canton of Neufchatel, farmer and vine grower, character bad; wife, Elisabeth, 43, character bad; sons, David Louis, 17, character no good, Charles, 15, character no good; daughters, Eugenie, 13, Adele, 11, Henriette, 9, Julie, 5; religion, Reformed Church.
Mundwyer, Joseph, 31, outlaw, wire-drawer and basket maker, character condemned at Berne to hard labour in irons; religion, Catholic.

Ostertag, Louis, 30, born Loewenstein, Wurtemberg in Germany, physician, character honest; religion, Lutheran.

Perret, Abram, 43, born Sague, Canton of Neufchatel, clock-maker, character no good; wife, Marianne, 35, character bad; son, Charles, 5; daughters, Sophie 4, Marianne, 3, Lydie, 2.

Quinche, Alfred, 21, born Dompresson, Canton of Neufchatel, saddler, character bad; wife, Marianne, 16, character no good; religion, Reformed Church.

Racine, Charles Edouward, 23, born La Chaux de Found, Canton of Neufchatel, turner, character fair; religion, Reformed Church.

Reber, Jean, 52, born Kurzenberg, Canton of Berne, farmer, character bad; wife, Anne, 31, character fair; son, Jean, 2; illegitimate daughter, Anne Stoeckl, 4; religion, Reformed Church.

Rindisbacher, Pierre, 41, born Lauperswyl, Canton of Berne, veterinary-surgeon, character good but not steady; wife, Barbe, 37, character fair; sons, Chretien, 18, character fair, Pierre, 15, draughtsman, character good, Gauthier, 2, adopted; daughters, Anne Barbe, 13, Chretienne, 10, Madeleine, 6, Verene, 4; religion, Reformed Church.

Richner, Chretien, 51, born Signau, Canton of Berne, tanner, character very honest; wife, Anne, 52, character honest; sons, Samuel, 24, weaver, character honest, Jacques, 10; religion, Reformed Church.

Rothenbuhler, Chretien, 35, born Lauperswyl, Canton of Berne, tailor, character no good; wife, Catherine, 38, character fair; religion, Reformed Church.

Schaub, Benoit, 27, outlaw, basket-maker, character condemned at Berne to hard labour in irons; religion, Catholic.

Scheidegger, Samuel, 40, born Lutzelflue, Canton of Berne, weaver, character fair; wife, Anne, 46, character worthless; sons, Jean, 18, weaver, character bad, Chretien, 8; daughter, Marie, 10; religion, Reformed Church.

Schirmer, Philippe, 24, born Geneva, mechanic, character honest; religion, Reformed Church.

Stramm, Frederic Louis, 62, born Sonvillier, Canton of Berne, clock-maker, character fair; wife, Henriette, 39, character no good; sons, Fred Louis, 12, Constant, 10, Henri, 5; daughters, Lucie, 7, Julie, 2; religion, Reformed Church.
Siom, Jean Jacques, 41, born Lignieres, Canton of Neufchatel, schoolmaster, character no good; wife, Henriette, 42, character worthless; daughter, Zelie, 10; religion, Reformed Church.

Sunier, Julien, 22, born Nos, Canton of Berne, farmer, character good; wife, Marguerite, 26, character honest; religion, Reformed Church.

Tissot, Jean Daniel, 22, born Cornon, Canton of Neufchatel, farmer, character no good; wife, Salome, 25, character fair; step-daughter, Salome, 5; religion, Reformed Church.

Truette, Pierre, 51, born Kirnbach, Baden in Germany, character fair; wife, Catherine, 43, character bad; sons, Jonas, 19, character fair, Pierre, 13; daughters, Marianna, 17, character no good, Adele, 6; religion, Reformed Church.

Weiss, Jean, 28, born Kittersberg, Baden in Germany, master carpenter, character very honest; common law wife, Madeline Lustenberge, 37, born Kayseraugst, Canton of Aargovie, character fair; step-daughter, Therese, 3; son, Jean, 1, illegitimate; religion, Catholic.

Wyss, Rodolphe 33, born city of Berne, saddler, character good but dissolute; religion, Reformed Church.

This report bears no signature, but probably was the work of Walter de Huser, one of the Swiss who held the confidence of the Governor of Assiniboia.
MARRIAGES CELEBRATED IN RED RIVER
FALL AND WINTER OF 1821 AND SPRING OF 1822

November 4, 1821: Philippine Droz, 39, widow of Tramelean, Canton of Berne, Reformed Church, to Charles Bouche, Meuron of Villers Cotterets, Picardy in France, Catholic.

Elisabeth Rindisbacher, 21, of Lauperswyl, Canton of Berne. Reformed Church to, Antoine Bruchler, Meuron of Strasbourg in France, Catholic.

Catherine Buntzli, 33, widow of the town of Zurich in Switzerland, Reformed Church, to Jacques Bender, Meuron of Strasbourg in France, Reformed Church.

November 7, 1821: Rosette Monnier, 20, of Vallengin, canton of Neuchâtel, Reformed Church, to Jacques Bender, Meuron of Strasbourg in France, Reformed Church.

November 11, 1821: Justien Guinand, 32, widow of Brenets, Canton of Neuchâtel, Reformed Church, to Jean Wassilopzky, Poland, Catholic.

Lydie Fournier, 31, widow of Villeret, Canton of Berne, Reformed Church, to Jean Werina, Meuron of Alsace in France, Catholic.

Catherine Treutte, 22, of St. Imier, Canton of Berne, Reformed Church, to Martin Nord, Meuron of Strasbourg in France, Reformed Church.

November 25, 1821: Marie Jul. Pelletier, 27, St. Imier, Canton of Berne, Reformed Church, to Simon Dazio, Meuron, Catholic.

January 5, 1822: Augustine Marchand, 19, of Sonvillier, Canton of Berne. Reformed Church, to Antoine Pacquet, Canadian carpenter, Catholic.

Justine Marchand, 24, Sonvillier, Canton of Berne, Reformed Church, to Antoine Bayne, Meuron of Artois, Bas Calais, France, Catholic.

January 18, 1822: Sophie Aberti, 15, of Saciour, Canton of Berne, Reformed Church, to Jean Morell, Meuron, Catholic.

Chretienne Aberti, 16, of Saciour, Canton of Berne, Reformed Church, to Joseph Bollender, Meuron, Catholic.

May 2, 1822: Marguerite Aberti, 17, of Saciour, Canton of Berne, Reformed Church, to Jean Meyer, Meuron of Regensberg, Canton of Zurich in Switzerland, Reformed Church.
Susanne Aberti, 49, widow of Saciour, Canton of Berne, Reformed Church, to Bernard Schmid, Meuron of Strasbourg in France, Catholic.

June 10, 1822: Marianne Scheidegger, 15, of Lutzelflue, Canton of Berne, Reformed Church, to Mathias Schmid, Meuron of Kestenholz, Canton of Soleure, Catholic.

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