RED RIVER ARCHITECTURE, 1812-1870

by

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Department of Fine Arts.

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver 8, Canada.

September, 1967.
RED RIVER ARCHITECTURE, 1812-1870
ABSTRACT

The thesis is concerned with the architecture of the Red River Settlement between 1812 when the Selkirk settlers first arrived at Red River and 1870 when the province of Manitoba entered Confederation.

Its objectives are (i) to establish the stylistic influences on Red River architecture and (ii) to examine the place of that architecture in the Red River environment.

Research consisted of field work and examination of written and pictorial material. Almost all the extant buildings were visited, photographed, and, in some instances, measured. Primary and secondary source materials relating to the history and the architectural history of the Red River Settlement were used, and original and reproduced pictorial material was examined.

It has been concluded that the common log construction in the Red River Settlement was the Hudson's Bay style, also known as the Red River frame, the "poteaux sur sole", and "pièce sur pièce". The Hudson's Bay style was used in the trade of the North West Company and later the Hudson's Bay Company, and it was adopted by the first settlers at Red River from the fur traders who preceded them in the area. It was used in houses and churches, as well as outbuildings, stores, and schools. It became outmoded after 1870 when different log construction methods, architectural styles, and building materials were introduced by settlers from
Ontario.

It has also been concluded that the large stone and wood houses of the Red River Settlement were built in an architectural style associated with the Hudson’s Bay Company. The style originated in the Anglo-Norman buildings of French Canada and in the laird’s house of eighteenth century Scotland. At Red River, it was adopted for the homes of the natural aristocracy of the settlement from the fur trade buildings which were built at Upper Fort Garry and Lower Fort Garry after 1830.

Church architecture in Red River was influenced by the contemporary architecture of French Canada and England. The Roman Catholic churches were built in the style of Thomas Baillairgé, whereas the Anglican churches integrated Gothic Revival detail with the box-like form common to Red River buildings. The Presbyterian churches tended to follow the style of the Anglican churches with some minor adaptations.

The primary influences on Red River architecture were thus British and French Canadian in origin.

The Red River Settlement was essentially a riverside village. Its buildings stood in a row along the banks of the rivers. The linear arrangement was relieved by the winding rivers and punctuated by the different types of architecture, by the location of important buildings on the bends of the rivers, and by the concentration of buildings.
in the forts, missions and farm-yards.
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1.

PREFACE

The Red River Settlement has frequently been described as an oasis of civilization in the wilderness. It was situated in the grasslands of central North America, remote from Britain, the United States, and the Canadian colonies, and subjected to a rigorous continental climate of long, cold winters and short, hot, and dry summers. It became an outpost of civilization with the arrival of the fur traders of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company and the Selkirk settlers in the early nineteenth century. Later, it was also populated by French Canadian settlers, Swiss colonists, soldiers, clergymen, retired fur traders, and explorers and adventurers, in addition to the native Saulteaux Indians. By 1870, the population was largely métis, or mixed blood, and was about equally French and English speaking. For five decades, the settlement supported the fur trade by the buffalo hunt and the river lot. Very little industry outside the activities connected with the Hudson's Bay Company forts developed. Life was reasonably peaceful between the hostilities of the early years of the settlement and the insurrection of 1869-70 and centred around the parish churches and the forts. The quiet isolation of Red River gradually ended as the American frontier moved westwards. Finally, in 1870, the province of Manitoba was created, and homesteaders from Canada, Europe, and the United States began to flood the West.
A distinctive architecture representative of the initial contact between civilization and the wilderness developed in the settlement. There have been few attempts to describe or explain that architecture. Milton Osborne and John Graham have written a little about it, and others have examined the log construction prevalent at Red River. Some research on Red River architecture was therefore needed. This paper has attempted to begin that research. It has drawn certain conclusions about architectural styles used at Red River and examined to some extent the place of the architecture in the Red River environment. The first three chapters consider log construction, houses, and churches at Red River, and the last chapter places the architecture in the Red River landscape. Appendices include a list of extant buildings, a list of Red River churches between 1812 and 1870, biographies of four Red River masons, and brief biographies of several people whose names are mentioned in the text.
The settlers' houses are generally plain square boxes devoid of the smallest attempt at ornament; without a chimney even, unless a short projecting iron stove-pipe may be called so. Wood is the material invariably employed - placed horizontally in long logs about a foot square. Neither gardens nor surrounding fences are in favour, and the cottages stand all bare-faced, as boulders are strewn by a flood, or meteor stones dropped from the sky.

- Lord Southesk at Grantown, 1860.
CHAPTER I

THE HUDSON'S BAY STYLE

A description of Red River architecture properly begins with the log construction prevalent in the settlement.

The construction was essentially a frame of squared oak logs.¹ It consisted of vertical logs tenoned into a sill and horizontal logs slid into place between the grooved uprights. A wall plate completed the frame. Windows and doors were set in between two minor uprights or beside one of the major uprights. A log construction of this type was frequently placed on a stone foundation and usually given a thatched roof.

This log construction has been given various names. Locally, it is known as the Red River frame and the Hudson's Bay style. Marius Barbeau has called it "poteaux sur sole," or posts in the sill, and Fred Kniffen and Henry Glassie refer to it as "pièce sur pièce."² Perhaps it is simplest to call it the Hudson's Bay style, since it was used most extensively by the fur traders of British North America in the nineteenth century, in particular, the Hudson's Bay Company men.

¹See Pl.I

The Hudson's Bay style of log construction.

(Sketched from Barbeau's article and then Xeroxed)
The style originated as "colombage" in Europe and was brought to North America by the settlers of New France. It is particularly associated with the fur trade which grew up out of Montreal after 1760 and with the North West Company which passed it on to the Hudson's Bay Company after the amalgamation of 1821. The fur traders used it at their posts across the continent from Labrador to Vancouver Island. Regional variations in the style occurred with respect to building materials and to the construction itself. At Fort Langley an extra sill of great breadth was placed below the windows in order that they could be recessed and protected from the rain. Furthermore, red cedar was used at Langley, whereas white oak was used in the Red River Settlement.

The style was taken to Red River by the men of the North West Company. The Selkirk settlers began to arrive there in 1812, two years after the company built Fort Gibraltar. They seem to have adopted the style of the fur trade almost immediately since they used it in the building of their fort, Douglas. On August 6, 1814, Peter Fidler wrote

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3 Barbeau, p.10; Hale, pp.119-20, 124-25.
4 Barbeau, pp.10-13. The style was not prevalent in the old French North West before 1760. Rather a vertical construction, the "poteaux en terre" was used at French Detroit. See Rexford Newcombe, Architecture of the Old North West Territory. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950.
5 Ibid. See Pl. II & III
6 Personal observation, September, 1966.
Original building, Fort Langley.

Courtesy R.A. Andrews.
Restored building, Fort Langley.

Courtesy R.A. Andrews.
that "4 men are constantly employed at the large House - this day they got up all the posts and three logs high along the Front." The settlers also used the style in their houses and churches in the earliest years of the settlement. Contemporary sketches indicate that the cottages and the first Roman Catholic and Anglican churches were constructed in this style.

The style thus passed from the fur traders to the settlers. That it was popularly used in the grasslands of the Red River Valley might seem impractical. However, the rivers were bordered with maple, elm, and oak, and aspen grew in bluffs on the plains. Timber was also cut at "the pines", the wooded ridges east of the Red River, and along the shores of Lake Winnipeg. In general, oak was used for the frame, pine for the floors, and white wood, or basswood, for the furniture. Other building materials were available in the area. Hay for thatched roofs was taken

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8 See Pl. IV, XXII, and XXI. See also the verso of the front cover of The Beaver, Outfit 282. March, 1952, for a reproduction of Peter Rindisbacher's sketch of the Anglican church during the flood of 1826.

Red River Settlement, 1817.

Courtesy Public Archives of Canada.
11.

from the plains, and mud from the river banks was used to fill the cracks of the log walls, to make plaster, and to build fireplaces.\textsuperscript{10}

However, wood became scarce in the settlement by the late 1840's and had to be cut many miles upstream and floated in booms to the construction site. The logs for St. James' Church (1853) were rafted down the Assiniboine River from Baie St. Paul.\textsuperscript{11} In 1859-60, Lord Southesk noted the scarcity of wood at Red River, and, in the 1860's, Samuel Taylor and his son had to go to the pines for wood.\textsuperscript{12}

Once the log construction was adopted by the settlers it remained the common way of building in the settlement until 1870. It was used for the houses, churches, stores, outbuildings, and schools of the settlers, and it continued to be used in the buildings of the fur trade.\textsuperscript{13} There was no progression from a log to a frame construction, and the reason perhaps lies in the technological backwardness of the settlement. In 1870, the pit saw was still used to cut lumber.\textsuperscript{14} A saw mill had been built by 1860, although it was later

\textsuperscript{10}Below, p. 51.


\textsuperscript{13}S.H. Scudder, \textit{The Winnipeg Country}. New York: N.D.C. Hodges, Publisher, 1890, p.119.

\textsuperscript{14}George Young, \textit{Manitoba Memories}. Toronto: William Briggs, 1897, p.198.
Grey Nuns' house (1846) during restoration.
PLATE VI

Detail of a partition,
Grey Nuns' house (1846)
during restoration.
destroyed by fire, but mills were not established with any permanency until the 1870's.\textsuperscript{15} Without saw mills, a widespread use of frame construction at Red River was impossible.

For the most part, houses in the settlement were small. They were partitioned into one, two, or three rooms by walls constructed with poplar trunks, lathwork, and plaster.\textsuperscript{16} However, the Hudson's Bay style facilitated the addition of more rooms.\textsuperscript{17} According to contemporary accounts, the settlers lived comfortably in their small wooden houses:

...we select a fair representative of the common class of houses, and ask for dinner. It is a log cabin, like all of this class (some far better ones have walls of stone) with a thatched roof and a rough stone and mortar chimney planted against one wall. Inside is but a single room, well whitewashed, as is indeed the outside and exceptionally tidy; a bed occupies one corner, a sort of couch another, a rung ladder leads up to loose boards overhead which form an attic, a trap door in the middle of the room opens to a small hole in the ground where milk and butter are kept cool; from the beam is suspended a hammock, used as a cradle for the baby; shelves singularly hung hold a scanty stock of plates, knives and forks; two windows on either side, covered with mosquito netting, admit the light, and a modicum of air; chests and boxes supply the place of seats with here and there a keg by way of easy-chair.


\textsuperscript{16}See Pl. VI.

\textsuperscript{17}See Pl. XL.
I start again went up to Mr. McDermot and came back to Mr. John Inkster's place and bought one bag of pemican from him (Weighing 107 lbs, price $1.25 per lb,) - I slept there that Night, and every mark of kindness shown to me by everyone in the house, I left there about 9 o'clock a.m. upon Saturday 24th...

- Samuel Taylor, 1860.
Plate VII

John Inkster's store, Seven Oaks house.
An open fireplace of whitewashed clay gives sign of cheer and warmth in the long winter, and a half-dozen books for library complete the scene.

This is a larger house.... We have each a chamber to ourselves in the garret, reached in the same primitive method as before mentioned - and are shown with a dip of buffalo tallow to our rooms. The furniture of these consists of a sort of couch, with buffalo skins for mattress and wolf skins for sheets and coverlet, a chest for a seat, a punch-bowl of water on a broken chair for a wash-stand, and a torn bit of rag for a towel; while a barrel covered with a white cloth serves as a centre-table, and is besprinkled with antique books.18

However, the transient métis who followed the buffalo hunt or the fur trade, "generally speaking, exhibited more of the discomforts that attend a mere encampment in their dwellings,"19 and the houses at the Indian Settlement as described by William Cochran in 1845 were neither neat nor elegant:

The seams of the log walls were plastered with mud; the chimneys were of the same material; the roofs were thatched with reeds and covered with earth; the boards of the floors, and doors, and beds, were planed with the saw and the windows were formed of parchment made of the skins of fishes.20

In contrast to these cottages were the large wooden houses built when the settlement became more permanently established:

In Red River, as in Canada, and most other new countries, the people, for a long time, contented themselves with what are called wooden houses, of such humble appearance

18 Scudder, pp. 109-10, 111-12.
19 Ross, p. 195.
as might be expected where means are low, workmen scarce, and wages at a high rate. The cost of such houses depends on a variety of circumstances; but the average may be taken at £60 sterling. These frame buildings, simple, yet commodious and comfortable, differ in size as in cost, but are seldom more than thirty feet in length, or less than twenty; the other dimensions being of corresponding proportion. A superior class of dwellings have shingled roofs, stone foundations, windows, doors and partitions paneled and painted, and the walls roughcast with lime. One of this description, forty or fifty feet long, and well finished, will cost £300. Such was the cost of one built for the writer; but it was the best in the settlement of its size. Of late, a decided improvement in the character of our wooden buildings has become manifest. Several are of two stories high, some with galleries, and two ornamented with verandas. Taste, as well as convenience, begins to receive its due share of consideration; the luxury of glass windows, and a lock on the outer door, things hitherto scarcely known in Red River, have become fashionable, indeed, almost general. Such houses, white as snow, look well, and have a very gay appearance.

Possibly the largest wooden house was the two-storied Grey Nun's house (1846), the dimensions of which were 100 x 40 feet. It was covered with vertical weatherboards in the French tradition. Other houses were the William Ross (1854) and the Andrew McDermot house, Emerald Grove or Emerald Lodge. The latter was "a very large

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21 Ross, p.140. According to T.C.B. Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962, p.26, glass was used in the early churches in the settlement since the Middle Church lost its glass windows in the flood of 1826.

two-story house, and Ross house was smaller, being only one story in height. Originally, they, too, were covered with weatherboard.

The first churches in the settlement were constructed in the Hudson's Bay style. Many were later replaced by stone or frame buildings, the Middle Church or St. Paul's (1824), the Lower Church or St. Andrew's (1831), the church at the Indian Settlement or St. Peter's (1836), St. Mary's at Portage la Prairie (1855), St. Margaret's at High Bluff (1861), and St. François-Xavier (ca. 1829), in addition to St. Boniface and the Upper Church. Only one log church in the Hudson's Bay style remains today, St. Anne's, Poplar Point (1862). It is disguised with weatherboards, and more or less resembles St. Mary's as it was described by A.C. Garrioch:

The church was seventy feet long by thirty feet wide, and in height under the eaves about thirteen or fourteen feet. At the north end was a tower ten feet square and sixty feet high, finished with a spire surmounted by a cross. The walls of both church and tower were of

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25 See Pl. XXX.
PLATE VIII

Stone warehouse, Lower Fort Garry,
built 1832-33.

From the Finlay Collection (1847),
Glenbow Foundation.
oak logs hewn on two sides, those of the frame, i.e. the logs were tenoned into posts that stood ten or twelve feet apart, and those of the tower in the style called dovetail, i.e. the logs were fitted into each other at the four corners. The church and the tower were clapboard and whitewashed, and the roof of the church covered with unpainted oak shingles. Within, the church walls were not lathed but simply axe-scored and plastered with a mixture of clay and finely chopped hay, and finished off with whitewash. The ceiling was of basswood and panel work, and unpainted.

Of all the other types of buildings constructed in the Hudson's Bay style only John Inkster's store at Seven Oaks has been preserved. It is clear, however, that these buildings were simple and unpretentious, not unlike the wooden houses and churches in the settlement.

Not all the log buildings at Red River were constructed in the style. The log cabin was used; one was sketched by Col. Finlay at Lower Fort Garry in 1847. The Nor'Wester office was half-timber or "colombage" in structure. An even tier construction was used at Seven Oaks, John Inkster's house (1851); square logs were placed

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27 See Pl. VII.
28 See Pl. IV, XXII.
29 See Pl. VIII.
30 Scudder, pp.118-19. See Pl. IX.
In this vicinity are a few other houses, which, like this, do not stand upon the river-bank; among others, the office of "The Nor'Wester, a weekly newspaper started the preceding Christmas - a low, one-storied structure, with a thatched roof, and rough, plastered concrete walls, built in a wooden frame. Two young men are at once editors and compositors. It even boasts a sign-board over the door.

- S.H. Scudder, 1860.
The Nor'Wester Office.

one on top of each other and pegged together. And as Garriochn remarked, dovetailing was used in the tower of St. Mary's Church.

Nevertheless, the Hudson's Bay style was the common type of log construction at Red River until about 1870 when homesteaders from Ontario began arriving in great numbers, bringing with them their own corner-timbering methods.

The log building itself soon became outmoded in the Red River area after 1870. New tastes in architectural style emerged, and other building materials like brick became available. As early as 1873, Alexander Begg and Walter Nursey considered a new Court House of oak logs built at the cost of $40,000 to be no ornament to Winnipeg.

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31 Frank Hall, "Seven Oaks House Opened as a Museum," Manitoba Pageant, Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 12; Kniffen and Glassie, p. 49. The recent restoration of St. James' Church for the Canadian Centennial has revealed that the church was built in an even tier log construction. According to a contemporary photograph in the vestry of St. James' Church the manse also had the same type of construction.


33 Below, p.99. Brick-yards had been introduced unsuccessfully before 1870, and the few bricks that were produced were used for chimneys; see The Nor'Wester, August 14, 1860, and Begg and Nursey, p.56.

34 Begg and Nursey, pp.90-91.
SUMMARY

The common log construction in the Red River Settlement was the Hudson's Bay Style. It was a construction used in the trade of the North West Company and later the Hudson's Bay Company, but it was adopted by the settlers at Red River from the fur traders who preceded them in the area. It was used in houses and churches, as well as outbuildings, stores, and schools. It became outmoded after 1870 when different log construction methods, architectural styles, and building materials were introduced by settlers from Ontario.
Map showing extant Red River houses.
CHAPTER II
RED RIVER HOUSES

Most of the houses at Red River were small and simple buildings constructed in the Hudson's Bay style. They were "generally plain square boxes devoid of the smallest attempt at ornament; without a chimney even, unless a short projecting iron stove-pipe may be called so."¹ However, as Alexander Ross noted, several large houses were built as the settlement was permanently established.² These large houses were also box-like structures. They were one or two stories in height and had pitched or hipped roofs and regular fenestration. They might be constructed with wood or stone, and they often had porches. Ornament was frequently applied to the front door, the porch, and the staircase, but it was always simple in nature and limited in extent.

The oldest building of this type which has survived to the present is the big house at Lower Fort Garry.³ It was built for Governor George Simpson and his wife.

The construction of the fort was prompted by the flood of 1826 which had caused much damage to the old Fort Garry. A more permanent structure on a higher site was desirable. The location was selected by Simpson and his wife in 1830 when they passed through Red River on their way to

¹ Carnegie, pp. 348-349.
² Above pp. 17-18.
³ See Pl. XI.
The residence of the officials, being a stately old mansion with wide verandas, lofty ceilings, heavy old-fashioned furniture, with plenty of brass, even to swinging knobs on the doors, plastered walls painted green, floors bare of everything but skins, and open fireplaces in every room.

- S.H. Scudder, 1860.
The big house, Lower Fort Garry,
begun 1830.

From the Hime Collection, 1857-58,
Public Archives of Manitoba.
the annual meeting of council at York Factory. They chose an elevated site in the lower settlement where stone and lime for building the new fort were available.

The planning and the digging of cellars for the big house seems to have begun in the fall and winter of 1830. Robert Campbell noted that on about the 20th of October that year he was "sent to survey from the rapids down to near what is now the Stone Fort (the cellars of which were being dug at that time preparatory to the buildings being erected in the spring)."

The mason responsible for the fort and the big house was a Hudson's Bay Company builder, Pierre LeBlanc, whom Simpson had sent from York Factory to Fort Garry. LeBlanc prepared a house for the Simpsons to occupy while their house at the new fort was being built. Probably, he and Simpson together planned the buildings and the layout of the fort.

The Simpsons moved into the big house in 1832, but they spent only a year in it. It was subsequently decided to

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7 MacLeod, *Lower Fort Garry*, pp.5-6. See Appendix III.

8 Ibid., pp.6-7.
A Typical plan of large one storey Red River house.
The Scott house, near St. Andrew's Church.
rebuild Fort Garry at the forks.

The big house is a box-like building with regular fenestration. It has a hipped roof, although the impression of a pavilion roof is created by the verandah. There is a centre-doorway with a staircase to one side of it, and the front rooms are larger than the ones at the rear. A kitchen was later added to the southwest corner of the house.

The house seems to have been the prototype for smaller houses in wood and stone. Three of these houses still stand, the William Ross house, the Scott house, and the Thomas Bunn house or Victoria Cottage (1862). They are all one-story box houses with regular fenestration, attics, and centre-hall plans. Ross house has larger front rooms than back rooms on either side of its small entrance hall, and the Scott house has a centre hall running through it with two large rooms on either side. The Bunn house originally had a plan like the Scott house. Both houses have finished attics partitioned into bedrooms.

Many two storey houses in wood and stone were built in the settlement, for example, the Inkster house or Seven Oaks, Miss Davis' school or Twin Oaks (1866), St. Andrew's

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9 The big house is being restored to 1857-58 according to the Hime photograph of that year.

10 See Pl. XIII.

11 See Pl. XII.
Seven Oaks, John Inkster's house, built 1851.

From the Hime Collection, 1857-58, Public Archives of Manitoba.
rectory (1853), the Cowley house or Dynevor (1862), and the Grey Nuns' house. They had centre hall plans on both floors, and usually the front rooms were larger than the back ones.  

Some houses had full basements, in which case their first floors and porches were high above the ground. Such was the case at the big house, Mgr. Provencher's évêché, and the Harriott house or Hawthorne Lodge. Other houses like Miss Davis' school and St. Andrew's rectory had partial basements, and their porches and main floors were almost at ground level.

It appears that many houses which have disappeared over the years were similar to these large, regular, and box-like houses. Andrew McDermot's house was a large wooden two story with a centre hall and two rooms on either side. Dr. Gunn's house had a centre hall with a dining room on one side and a parlor on the other. Photographs of the Bird house and the Harriott house indicate that they resembled

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12 See Pl. VII, XVI, XV, V.
13 See Pl. XVII.
14 See Pl. XI, XVIII, XIX. According to an article in The Nor'Wester, December 17, 1860, which reported the fire in St. Boniface, Hawthorne Lodge also had an underground story.
15 Healy, p.137.
16 Ibid., p.158.
The parsonage house, also recently completed, is in every respect fitted for the severities of the winter climate of the country. The size is fifty feet by thirty, and two stories high; the walls, of limestone, are two feet eight inches thick, the rooms lofty and capacious, and in its internal arrangements it leaves nothing to be desired.

PLATE XV

St. Andrew's rectory,
as photographed by Hime, 1857-58.
Miss Davis' school and St. Andrew's rectory. 17

All these houses shared the same easily recognizable characteristics, and these characteristics were also common to the fur trade warehouses and quarters at the forts. The stone warehouses built at Lower Fort Garry in 1832 and 1833 were great rectangular buildings with hipped roofs and regularly spaced windows. The warehouses and quarters at Fort Garry were later constructed in the same style. 19 Indeed, these buildings at both the forts were probably the prototypes for all the larger stone and wooden houses in the settlement.

The Hudson's Bay Company used this style of building in their posts and forts across the continent. It was a simple style, economical to build and adaptable to many geographical regions. The origins of the style lay in the Anglo-Norman house of French Canada and in the laird’s house of eighteenth century Scotland. The Anglo-Norman house was the old Quebecois type of house given the solid proportions and


18 MacLeod, Lower Fort Garry, p.6. See Pl. VIII.

19 For photographs of Upper Fort Garry, see Anna M. Cowan, "Memories of Upper Fort Garry," The Beaver, Outfit 266. September, 1935, pp.25-30.
I went up to build at Miss Davis stone house upon Thursday 4th....Duncan Macrae, and myself left of Building at Miss Davis house the above 24th every thing frozen. Our wages was five Shillings per day and well fed.

- Samuel Taylor, October, 1866.
Miss Davis' school, or Twin Oaks.
formal symmetry of British classicism. Its influence extended to the North West through the French Canadian voyageurs of the fur trade, and it was the prototype for the buildings at Fort William and for the big house at Lower Fort Garry and Mgr. Provencher's house in St. Boniface.

The Scottish laird's house has been described as a plain, rectangular, gable-roofed block of two main storeys and an attic having a symmetrical plan in which a single large room is placed on either side of a central staircase on each floor. More accommodation is sometimes obtained by the addition of a basement, and by increasing the width of the building so that two rooms instead of one, can be placed on each side of the stair. The symmetry of the plan is clearly reflected in the elevations, particularly in the main front, where the windows are almost always regularly disposed about a central entrance - doorway at principal-floor level. In smaller houses kitchen and parlour usually occupy the ground floor, with perhaps one other living-room and bedrooms above, but where there is a service basement as many as three or four principal rooms may be grouped on the two main floors.

The large houses and stores of the fur trade were influenced by this type of house. However, the roofs were generally hipped, not pitched, and porches were frequently added. The influence reached the North West through the Scottish factors

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A typical plan
of a large two storey Red River house.
and traders of the fur trade.

It is significant that the Hudson's Bay Company had a definite architectural style which it employed across the continent. Many of the companies which have played an important role in the economic development of Canada have had distinct styles. In particular one thinks of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Canadian National Railway and their great "chateaux". 23

It is also significant that a basic style was used across the continent with minor local adaptations to the geography and culture. Variations often occurred depending on whether the builders were French Canadian or British in background. The French Canadians tended to use a pavilion roof, vertical weatherboards, and casement windows, whereas the British preferred a hipped or gable roof, horizontal weatherboards, and sash windows. 24 Geographical location influenced building materials and log construction and produced stylistic variations. 25 For example, on the Pacific coast where rainfall is heavy, roofs were commonly bell-cast in shape and deep-eaved to direct the water away from the walls, but, at Red River where the snowfall is heavy, hipped


24 Compare the vertical boarding and casement windows of the Grey Nuns' house with the horizontal boarding and sash windows of Seven Oaks.

25 Above, p. 6.
Je me propose de loger ces bonnes sœurs dans ma maison de pierre que j'ai quittée le Ier du mois pour habit enfin celle que j'ai bâtie au pignon de l'Église dont je parle depuis longtemps et qui a été bâtie lentement faute d'ouvriers; elle a 70 pieds sur 46 et deux étages; elle me donne un bon et ample logement, une très belle sacristie et une école qui a été commencée le Ier de ce mois; 25 écoliers.

- Mgr. Provencher, 1843.
Evêché, St. Boniface, begun 1839.

From *Vie de Mgr. Taché* by

J.P.A. Benoit (Montreal, 1904).
or gable roofs were preferred to pavilion roofs which would tend to catch and hold the snow.\textsuperscript{26} A continent-wide architectural style with regional adaptations was thus achieved before the Canadian Confederation of 1867.\textsuperscript{27} But it was not found in all parts of Canada, and its importance died with that of the fur trade. It cannot be considered a national style. Rather it was the style of a fur trade empire.

The houses built in this style at Red River were owned by the natural aristocracy of the settlement, the retired officers of the fur trade, the merchants, and the clergymen.\textsuperscript{28} Probably, the retired fur traders helped carry the style into the domestic architecture of the colony. The association of the style with the lairds' houses of Scotland perhaps appealed to them. The atmosphere of rude gentility which pervaded the homes of this aristocracy is epitomized in the description of the Harriott house which appeared in Harper's Illustrated News:

A few well-selected books, house-plants in the windows, choice engravings on the wall, riding whips and guns in the hall, tobacco jars and pipes on the side-table, a melodeon and accordion and music-box in the room which New Englanders call a parlor, tell the story of how the pleasant summer days and long winter nights are whiled

\textsuperscript{26} Compare the buildings at Fort Langley, PIs. II and III, with the Red River buildings.

\textsuperscript{27} See Alan Gowans on the question of a national style in Looking at Architecture in Canada, pp.221-22.

Derrière et à l'ombre de la Cathédrale aux tours jumelles, se trouvaient immédiatement adossée la Résidence épiscopale, grande construction à deux étages de 70 pieds sur 40. Le premier étage, à demi-souterrain, était construit en pierre, le second ainsi que le grand galetas qui le surmontait étaient en bois. Voici sa dimension: à l'étage inférieur se trouvaient une dépense ou cave, du côté sud la cuisine, un passage qui servait de refectoire aux domestiques et enfin le réfectoire épiscopal, qui servait en même temps aux 36 élèves pensionnaires au Collège.

L'étage supérieur était à proprement parler la résidence de l'Évêque et de son clergé, voici sa division: au nord, la bibliothèque et la chambre épiscopale, une salle de réception, une chambre obscure, un passage correspondant à l'entrée sud et à l'escalier du galetas et enfin la sacristie; au sud, deux chambres donnant dans un grand salon, une chambre obscure, un passage pour la porte sud, une salle de dépôt et une petite sacristie où s'habillaient les enfants de chœur.

- Sister Curran, in the Chronique des Soeurs Grises, 1860.
Plan, Évêché, St. Boniface, begun 1839.

From Vie de Mgr. Taché

by J.P.A. Benoit (Montreal, 1904).
away, and how a life of exposure and adventure and toil is rounded with rest and calm and domestic peace. \(^{29}\)

\(^{29}\)Marble, pp. 311-12.
Red River Houses in Wintertime

The rigorous winters at Red River presented serious problems for the settlers. However, the problems seem to have been overcome in the construction of their homes.

The walls of their houses were stone or wood. Log walls were chinked with a mixture of mud and straw or buffalo hair, and, in some buildings like Seven Oaks or the Grey Nuns' house, they were sided with weatherboard which gave them protection against the cold and the frost. In some instances, rough-cast was applied to wood surfaces; Colony Gardens, Alexander Ross' wooden house, was stuccoed. However, stone walls were usually not covered with rough-cast or weatherboard. Inner wall surfaces were panelled or plastered, although at Seven Oaks both panelling and plaster were used.

According to Alexander Ross, "the generality of the people use straw thatch roofs, which are light, watertight, and durable". They were probably warm, too. In fact, prairie farmers still often bank their houses with straw to protect them from the cold in wintertime. Oak and cedar shingles were sometimes used for roofs. However, cedar was

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31 Above, p. 18.
32 Ross, p. 388. See Pls. IX and XL.
33 Ibid.
considered to be a luxury, and oak warped in the summer heat and had to be replaced every twelve to fifteen years.

The houses were given full basements in some cases, although partial basements were more common. An underground story provided greater protection against the cold.

The total area of windows and doors was small in comparison to the entire wall surface. Probably the small window openings were as effective in keeping heat out in summertime as they were in keeping it in in the wintertime.

Fireplaces and stoves were used to heat the houses. Fireplaces were constructed with stone or with a frame of branches and a mixture of clay, water, and straw kneaded into a paste and baked hard by the hearth fire. Stoves were popular and had to be imported from Britain or, later, the United States. The Carron stoves of Scotland were taken to York Factory in pieces, assembled, and fired, and then they were sent to Red River and sold once the cracks had been repaired. The stoves and fireplaces tended to be centrally located in the houses. At Seven Oaks, for example, a Carron stove stood in the front hall, and, at the Bunn house, the original fireplace was set against an interior wall.

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34 Above, p. 35.
35 Healy, p. 72.
37 The Ross House, p. 6.
SUMMARY

The large stone and wood houses of the Red River Settlement were built in an architectural style associated with the Hudson's Bay Company. The style originated in the Anglo-Norman buildings of French Canada and the laird's house of eighteenth century Scotland. At Red River, it was adopted for the houses of the leaders of the settlement from the fur trade buildings which were built at Upper and Lower Fort Garry after 1830.
Map showing Red River churches.
CHAPTER III
RED RIVER CHURCHES

The first Roman Catholic and Church of England missionaries arrived at Red River in 1818 and 1820. A Roman Catholic mission, which came to be known as St. Boniface, was established on land granted by Lord Selkirk on the east side of the Red River, opposite the forks of the Red and Assiniboine. The Anglican mission was established on land set aside by Selkirk for a kirk and school-house in 1817 and was later called the Upper Church or St. John's. It was located about two miles below St. Boniface on the west side of the Red River.

Rude wooden churches were subsequently built at the missions. In appearance, they could be distinguished from the other log buildings of the settlement only by their bell towers.

Mgr. Provencher's first chapel was part of his 50 x 30' poplar house. However, by July, 1819, he had had materials prepared for an oak church measuring 80 x 35'. The church was built between 1820 and 1825. It was one of the

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1 Letter from Mgr. Provencher to Mgr. J.O. Plessis, August 30, 1818, Provencher, pp.31-32. According to Douglas, pp.33-34, the first services were held in the big house at Fort Douglas.


3 Georges Dugas, Monseigneur Provencher et les Missions de la Rivière-Rouge. Montreal: C.O. Beauchemin et Fils, Librairies-Imprimeurs, 1889, p.121. See Pl. XXI.
La chapelle de Saint-Boniface, de 80 sur 35, est équarrie, je la ferai lever aussitôt que les ouvriers auront mis le presbytère de M. Dumoulin logeable;.....

..... J'en ai reçu une en même temps de Mylord Selkirk par la Baie d'Hudson par laquelle sa Seigneurie m'envoie quelques articles à mon adresse, surtout une cloche d'une centaine de livres qui a été consacrée à Londres; ........

- Mgr. Provencher, 1819.
PLATE XXI

The first St. Boniface Church.

Courtesy Public Archives of Manitoba.
I consider it as no small point gained, to have a public building dedicated to religious purposes, whose spire should catch the eye, both of the wandering natives, and the stationary colonists.

- John West, 1824.
John West's church, opened 1822.

Courtesy Public Archives of Manitoba.
few buildings in the settlement which survived the flood of 1826.  

John West's church-schoolhouse was opened for divine service on July 21, 1822. By the next year, it had a spire and a bell. It was capable of holding 150 people, and its dimensions were 60 x 21'.  

These early churches were replaced by stone buildings in the 1830's. Other parishes were gradually established along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, and other churches were built. The Roman Catholic churches used styles which were prevalent in contemporary Quebec, and the Protestant churches, both Church of England and Presbyterian, were influenced by the Gothic Revival in England.  

The Cathedrals of St. Boniface.  

Two Roman Catholic churches dominated the Red River skyline between 1830 and 1870. The first one, the "turrets twain" of Whittier's poem, was Mgr. Provencher's church. The good bishop was encouraged to build it by Governor George Simpson when he was engaged in building his first stone church.

5Boon, Anglican Church, p.15. See Pl. XXII.  
6Ibid.  
By far the most imposing ecclesiastical building in the settlement is the Roman Catholic Church of St. Boniface, near Fort Garry. The external appearance is neither pleasing nor tasteful, although at a distance the two tinned spires glittering in the sunlight give an imposing appearance to the building... Two or three very sweet toned bells ring at matins and vespers, and to a stranger just arrived from a long journey through unpeopled wastes, no sight or sound in Red River creates such surprise and melancholy pleasure as the sweet tones of the bells of St. Boniface, breaking the stillness of the morning or evening air.

St. Boniface Cathedral, begun 1833.

From the Finlay Collection (1847),
Glenbow Foundation.
eveche in 1829. He had materials prepared for the church by 1831, but his building plans were frustrated by a scarcity of masons. By 1833, however, five masons were at work. The roof of boards and shingles was complete in 1837, but the masonry about the portal and the woodwork were still unfinished. In 1839, Provencher added a sacristy and an évêché, in which he was living by 1843. The church still lacked a vault and steeple in 1843. Three years later, however, one steeple was finished, and another was built between 1846 and 1860 when both stood complete and covered with tin. Then, on December 14, 1860, after thirty years of construction, a fire destroyed both the cathedral and the évêché.

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13 Letter from Mgr. Provencher to Mgr. Signay, January 2, 1843, Provencher, p.212. According to Margaret Arnett MacLeod, Bells of Red River, p.21, W.J. Bond found only one tower completed when he was in the settlement in 1851.
14 See Pl. XXIII. Below, p. 120.
The cathedral was 100 feet long and 45 feet wide.\textsuperscript{15}

The walls were 40 feet in height, and the steeples rose 100 feet above the ground. The évêché was 70 X 46'.\textsuperscript{16}

According to Harper's New Monthly Magazine, the church was

...perhaps, the finest, certainly the most imposing building in the settlement. ...In its two tinned and airy towers is a fine and well-matched peal of three bells, weighing upward of 1600 pounds. In the rear of the cathedral, with a lower roof, is the dwelling of the bishop. He escorted us, by a rear entrance, through his house into the cathedral, on the occasion of our first visit to him, and a more striking surprise could not have been prepared for us. We came out by a door at the side of the altar, and there suddenly beheld pillared aisles, frescoed roof, and all the gorgeous paraphernalia with which the Mother Church solicits and attracts her communicants. To a nice taste the effect might seem a little gaudy, but when we learned that the Sisters of Charity and some of the Brothers had accomplished these decorations without aid or pattern, the offense passed; for piety takes rank above taste, or else what excuse have we for the bare walls, the stingy paint, to say nothing of the beggarly pinched ceremonial in some abodes of our enlightened Protestant worship? Indeed, of a Sunday or a fête day, when the church is thronged; when, after a successful hunt and safe return, the half-breeds gather to the cathedral in all their fanciful variety of dress, their brilliant sashes, and blue or white capotes; the dress of the women, too, not less brilliantly catching the eye, there is a sense of harmony gratified by this likeness and general prevalence of striking colors, which would never be elicited by the same throngs in a country meeting-house in New England.\textsuperscript{17}


\textsuperscript{16}Letter from Mgr. Provencher to Mgr. Signay, January 2, 1843, Provencher, p.211.

\textsuperscript{17}Marble, p.314.
The church had a great altar, two side altars and side galleries supported by pillars, as well as an organ, pulpit, benches, and pews.\textsuperscript{18}

The church was derived in style from contemporary French Canadian churches designed by Thomas Baillairgé, who combined the old Quebeçois architecture and the classicism of Louis XV.\textsuperscript{19} St. Boniface resembles Charlesbourg (1828), in particular.\textsuperscript{20} Both had great west fronts with twin towers, three entrances, and a large centre window. The influence from French Canada seems to have been direct. Provencher, who was once a student at the Nicolet Seminary, asked Jérôme Demers, the collaborator of Thomas Baillairgé and director of the Nicolet Seminary, to design plans for his church. Writing to Mgr. Panet, the Bishop of Quebec, on June 6, 1829, he said, "Je desirerais que M. Demers dressât le plan pour être envoyé le printemps prochain, car si les moyens viennent j'en jeterai les fondations l'été prochain."\textsuperscript{21} Later, in 1834, he wrote the next Bishop of Quebec, Mgr. Signay, and asked for a window design "à la gothique":

\textsuperscript{18}The Nor'Wester, December 17, 1860.

\textsuperscript{19}See Alan Gowans, "Thomas Baillairgé and the Quebeçois Tradition of Church Architecture," \textit{Art Bulletin}, XXXIV. March, 1952, pp.117-37

\textsuperscript{20}R.H. Hubbard, \textit{The Development of Canadian Art}. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1963, p.25, Pl.15.

si M. Demers ou autres avait la bonté de me faire un petit plan pour partager l'éventail des châssis de mon église qui sont à la gothique, il me rendrait service. J'ai adopté ce mode le croyant plus solide, mais le partage de cet éventail est difficile pour n'avoir pas des carreaux trop grands; peut-être pourrait-on donner un plan élégant sans cet inconvénient qui est grand ici parce que les grands vitres sont difficiles à faire venir les fenêtres ont cinq pieds trois pouces de large. 22

Since M. Demers denounced the Gothic Revival, one wonders about his reaction to this request and whether he did, in fact, design the windows of St. Boniface.

The second cathedral at St. Boniface was built by Mgr. Tache following the fire of 1860. 23 Its sacristy was begun in 1862 and served as a chapel for some time. 24 During the winter of 1862-63, wood was cut at Pointe des Chênes (Ste. Anne) by M. Thibeault and some métis, and masonry work on the body of the cathedral began in the spring of 1863. By the autumn, four walls, a roof and a vault had been erected. However, the rest of the cathedral was not finished for many years afterwards. A storm in 1868 destroyed the first tower and the rose window. 25 The gallery was still incomplete in 1875, and the second tower and cross were not finished until 1883. 26 The cathedral was finally

23 See Pl. XXIV.
24 Benoit, I, pp.473-76.
25 MacLeod, Bells Of Red River, p.22.
26 Benoit, II, pp. 288-89; MacLeod, Bells of Red River, p.22.
St. Boniface Cathedral, begun 1862.

Courtesy Public Archives of Manitoba.
consecrated on September 18, 1887. It was used until the present cathedral was built behind it and opened in 1908.

Mgr. Tache's cathedral was also derived in style from Thomas Baillairgé's churches. However, in this case, the churches which Baillairgé did after 1830 like Saint-Joseph Lauzon or Les Becquets, Saint-Pierre, were the prototypes. Whether or not the influence was direct as it was with the first cathedral has not been ascertainable.

The new eveche was also influenced by Baillairgé's classicism. Its foundations were put down early in 1864, work continued during the summer and winter, and the house was finally habitable in the spring of 1865. At that time the roof was pitched, not gambrel, and a cupola and a few dormers sat upon the roof. Classicism was marked in the details of the pilasters and pillars of the cupola and verandah, the pediments of the dormers, the rounded windows of the porch, and the regularity of fenestration. Subsequent

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27 Benoit, II, p.563.


30 Benoit, I, pp.476-77.

31 The alterations to the eveche are apparent in the photographs presented by Maurice Baudoux, Presbytère, évêchés et archevêché de St.-Boniface, 1818-1964, Reprint from Les Cloches de Saint Boniface, LXIV. January, 1965, p.13.
alterations to the roof and porch destroyed the original classicism.32

Anglican Churches in the Red River Settlement

The stylistic influence which was exercised on most of the Anglican churches built at Red River after 1830 was the Gothic Revival. It reached the settlement through the Anglican missionaries sent from England to serve there. However, the churches were Gothic Revival in terms of their details. Pointed windows and doorways were imposed on a simple, box-like form that did not substantially differ from the earliest wooden churches erected by Mgr. Provencher and John West. It would seem that the influence of the Gothic Revival on Anglican church architecture was present but slight in extent and that it was integrated over a number of years with the box-like form characteristic of the buildings of the settlement.

The first stone Anglican church at Red River was not influenced by the Gothic Revival. This church was known as the Upper Church or St. John's.33 By 1831, John West's little church was too small and decayed to be used very much longer. In 1832, plans for a new church were being made under David Jones, and subscriptions were being collected.34 On May 15,

32 Ibid., p.12.
33 See Pl. XXV.
34 Boon, Anglican Church, pp.31-33.
St. John's church is in a very unstable condition, the walls being supported with wooden props. A large quantity of stone is now lying near it for the construction of a cathedral, which is estimated to cost £5,000 sterling.

PLATE XXV

St. John’s Church, built 1832.

From the Hime Collection, 1857-58,
Public Archives of Manitoba.
1832, the foundation stone was laid. Finally, between 1832 and 1834, the new church was actually erected north and west of the old wooden church. The mason was Pierre LeBlanc, the builder of Lower Fort Garry. The first services were held in November of 1834. However, the church was never very secure, and foundation problems made wooden buttresses necessary. Moreover, it was badly flooded in 1852.\textsuperscript{35} It was finally consecrated as St. John's Cathedral on October 28, 1853. Bishop David Anderson, but, only eight years later, on May 19, 1861, he preached his last service in the church before it was demolished.

The basic church form established by the earlier wooden buildings of both Mgr. Provencher and John West, that is, the rectangular box and attached tower, was continued in the Upper Church. It was a long building with high gables front and back and a belfry placed behind the front gable. The detail was not Gothic Revival. Rather, the five windows which were ranged along each side wall were rounded, a fan window was set in above the door, and an oculus was placed directly above the door and fan window.

Gothic Revival detail arrived in the settlement with the pointed windows of the first stone St. Boniface. However, it was firmly established there with the erection of a second stone Anglican church, the Middle Church, or St. Paul's, finished in the 1850's, and a third, the Lower

\textsuperscript{35}See David Anderson, Notes of the Flood at the Red River, 1852. London: Hatchard, 1852.
The Middle Church, which is not quite completed, and which has been built by the unaided exertions of the Congregation, is an edifice of stone, sixty feet long.

- Bishop of Montreal, 1845
St. Paul's Church, or Middle Church, built ca. 1844.

From the Hime Collection, 1857-58,
Public Archives of Manitoba.
Church, or St. Andrew's, completed a few years after the first.

The first Middle Church, built in 1824-25 by David Jones, who worked upon it himself, was wooden and had to be replaced in the 1840's by a stone church. According to Mountain's Journal, this new church was about sixty feet in length and was nearly finished in 1844. It was consecrated St. Paul's by Anderson on January 6, 1853. It was demolished about 1868 and subsequently replaced by the present wooden church.

Like St. John's, it was a long rectangular building. Attached to it was a high tower surmounted by a belfry. The pointed windows and door and the crenellated tower indicate the influence of Gothic Revival. However, the integration of the basic Red River church form with the Gothic Revival detail was none too successful.

The third stone church, the Lower Church or St. Andrew's, replaced an earlier 50 X 22' wooden building begun under William Cochran in 1831, dedicated on May 7, 1832, and used until 1849 when the stone church was completed. The new church was planned in 1844, the timber for it was cut in 1846.

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36 Boon, Anglican Church, p.24; Mountain, p.81.
37 Mountain, p.81. See Pl. XXVI.
38 Boon, Anglican Church, p.71.
40 Ibid., p.37. See Pl. XXVII, XXVIII.
St. Andrew's Church, begun 1845,
as photographed by Hime, 1857-58.
the winter of 1845, and on July 4, 1845, John Smithurst from
the church at the Indian Settlement laid the cornerstone.\textsuperscript{41}
It was finished in 1849, and on December 19th of that year
it was consecrated St. Andrew's by Bishop Anderson.\textsuperscript{42} It
still stands, the only one of the first four stone churches
built in the settlement to have survived. It had deteriorated
badly by the 1930's, but fortunately it was restored.\textsuperscript{43}

Apparently, the church was originally intended to be
the centre of Bishop Anderson's activities after he arrived
in 1849, which may explain the attention paid to its design.\textsuperscript{44}
The proportions of void to mass and the integration of the
various parts of the tower and of the tower and church body
were more successful than they had been at the Middle Church.

The church was built under Archdeacon William Cochran,
the great church-builder at Red River, and the Hebridean
mason, Duncan McRae.\textsuperscript{45} Together, they integrated the basic
church form of rectangular body and attached tower with Gothic
Revival detail.

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., pp.37-38.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., pp.38, 67, 70.
\textsuperscript{43} "St. Andrew's Church," The Beaver, Outfit 262.
March, 1931, pp.190-91; M.L. Kennedy, "The Mission at the
Rapids," The Beaver, Outfit 264. September, 1933, pp.52-54.
\textsuperscript{44} Boon, Anglican Church, pp.68-69, 70.
\textsuperscript{45} Robert B. Hill, Manitoba; History of Its Early
Settlement, Development and Resources. Toronto: William
Briggs, 1890, pp.177-78.
Plan, St. Andrew's Church (1845).
Only a few years after St. Andrew's was finished, Cochran started another stone church at the Indian Settlement. In 1836, he had begun the first Indian church, a wooden one accommodating about 300 and measuring about 50 feet in length. But, in 1853, with the help of the congregation of St. Andrew's, he started a stone church. Its foundation stone was laid on May 23rd of that year. Cochran, who at that time was starting the settlement at Portage la Prairie, did not stay to complete the church. Rather, Archdeacon Cowley took the Indian Settlement in 1854 and saw the church finished.

The church lacked the careful integration of elements found in St. Andrew's. It had no tower, and the belfry was awkwardly placed above a monotonous facade. Later alterations to the facade have nevertheless improved its appearance. A sanctuary and vestry were added to the church in later years. Unfortunately, the vestry windows lack the proportions of the windows in the original part of the church.

The design of the windows at St. Peter's is the same as that of the windows at St. Andrew's and Kildonan. Furthermore, it appears that the windows of St. Paul's were

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46 Mountain, p.79; Boon, Anglican Church, pp.39-40, citing a letter written by William Cochran, August 2, 1837.
47 Boon, Anglican Church, p.42.
48 Ibid.
49 See Pl. XXIX.
Window, St. Peter's Church, begun 1853.

Courtesy Public Archives of Manitoba.
also the same as the ones at St. Peter's.\textsuperscript{50} The dimensions of the windows at St. Andrew's, Kildonan, and St. Peter's are all five feet four inches in width, almost the same width as the windows of the first stone St. Boniface.\textsuperscript{51} It may be that the Anglican church builders at Red River copied the window design used at St. Boniface. It is also possible that the window design was made by Jérôme Demers.

Two years after he started St. Peter's, Cochran was building a wooden church at Portage la Prairie (1855).\textsuperscript{52} This church, St. Mary's, resembled the earliest wooden churches in the settlement although it was more decidedly Gothic Revival in detail: "there were four Gothic windows on each side of the church, and a larger one at the south end".\textsuperscript{53} Inside there was no chancel, a feature of all the churches built in the country in Archdeacon Cochrane's time. The substitute in the case under consideration was the apportioning of about ten feet of the south end for this purpose. This was shut off by means of a white painted rail, and enclosed what the worshippers reverently regarded as a most holy place, not to be trodden upon needlessly by any, in that it was set apart to minister holy things. Within this enclosure were two white painted pulpits eight feet in height, standing one at each corner of the building. A communion table stood in the usual place, beneath the window in the centre, and on each side of it stood a high chair made of birch and painted black.

\textsuperscript{50}Examination of the Hime Photograph of St. Paul's, Pl. XXVI.
\textsuperscript{51}Above, p. 65.
\textsuperscript{52}Boon, Anglican Church, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{53}Garrioich, First Furrows, p. 90.
The pews were made and provided entirely by the people, and it is noteworthy as showing the mechanical skill of the Portage pioneers, that there were not many families that did not make as well as furnish their own pew. A common model was first decided on, and then passed from one to the other. A pew had two heavy oak ends, the top of each being finished off in seven curves which must have taxed not only the skill but the patience of the workman. The bodies of the pews were made of poplar and basswood, and included a book and kneeling board. The pews were unpainted and could not have looked more alike had they been the work of the same carpenter. 54

The pulpits and the communion rail came from the old wooden church at the Indian Settlement. 55

The churches of St. Margaret's, High Bluff, built 1861-62, and St. Anne's, Poplar Point, built during the winters of 1862, 1863, and 1864, were the same as St. Mary's, although St. Anne's was ten feet shorter in length than the others. 56

St. James was not unlike the churches at Portage la Prairie, High Bluff or Poplar Point in appearance, although it was built in 1853. 57 It had, however, an even tier log construction like the manse. Originally, it had a three-storied tower, which was removed in the early 1870's and replaced by a belfry. 58 A vestry was later added. The interior of St. James was decorated with texts and other ornamental

54 Ibid., pp.90-91.
55 Boon, Anglican Church, p.43.
56 Garrioch, First Furrows, p.124. See Pl. XXX.
57 Boon, Anglican Church, p.87.
St. Anne's Church, Poplar Point, begun 1862.
June 1860: I began to build at the Church on Wednesday the 13th. I wrought 3 days at building stones and one day carpenter work the first week.....

November 1860: John Hudson put in the Mapleton Church windows on 9th..... I was building and plastering at the Church on Saturday 9th, 11th and 12th..... Tuesday, 19th, was a soft snowy day. I was plastering above the Church door a little while.

December 1861: Sunday 1st. The Church of St. Clement's was opened for Divine Worship by the Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land and Mr. Hunter - the Church was full of people from up above and from down below, indeed many had to go home as it was rather cold that evening.

November 1862: There was a fine bell put up at St. Clement's on Saturday 15th after dark at night with fire and lantern light.

- Samuel Taylor.
St. Clement's Church, Mapleton, begun 1860.
design painted by the first incumbent, Mr. Taylor. 59

The last two stone Anglican churches built in the Red River period were St. Clement's and St. John's of 1861. St. Clement's was planned as early as October, 1857, but it was not started until 1860. 60 The mason was Samuel Taylor, who described work on the little church in his journal. The first service was held on December 1, 1861, and the consecration took place on January 11, 1864. 61 The tower was finished and consecrated in 1928. 62 Until then, the bell which had originally hung in John West's church and afterwards the first stone St. John's, was kept in a scaffold where it had been placed "at night with fire and lantern light" in November, 1862. 63

St. Clement's is a little rectangular building, with four pointed windows down the sidewalls, a small pointed window over the door, and, like all the Anglican churches, a large east window.

Old St. John's was last used in 1861, the same year

59Carnegie, p.34.


62Boon, "Background and Early History of St. Clement's, Mapleton,"p. 11.

63Taylor, Journal, I, November, 1862, p.77; See MacLeod, Bells of Red River, pp. 10-13, for the story of John West's bell.
St. John's Cathedral, built 1861,
as it appeared in 1900.

Courtesy Public Archives of Manitoba.
that a new stone church was begun. However, Bishop David Anderson had been thinking about a new church for some time. In 1856, when he was in England arranging for financial help, he obtained plans for a church from an architect friend in Derby. These plans afterwards had to be adapted to the resources of the settlement. The cornerstone was laid on June 4, 1862. A tower, part of the original structure, later proved unstable and had to be taken down in 1875, at which time the west wall was rebuilt. The church itself was used until 1913, and, finally, in 1926 the present cathedral was started. The foundations and north wall of the latter were built with the stones of the old cathedral.

St. John's of 1861 was the most elaborate of the Anglican churches at Red River. The Gothic Revival influence was greater upon it than the other churches. According to an enthusiastic description in The Nor'Wester, its ceiling was "lofty" and painted, "Gothic pannelling" lined the walls about the altar, and wings or side porches were attached to the main body. Moreover, it had a pulpit that was "a model

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64 Boon, Anglican Church, p.72. See Pl. XXXII.
66 Boon, Anglican Church, p.72.
67 Ibid., p.73.
68 Ibid.
69 The Nor'Wester, November 4, 1862.
The Upper Presbyterian Church is a neat building of stone, situated in the middle of the settlement. The cost of its erection exceeded £1,000 sterling, and it has sittings for 500. The manse is delightfully placed on the river bank, which here slopes uniformly to the water's edge from the great prairie level, some thirty feet above the river at the time of my visit.

Kildonan, built 1852.

From the Hime Collection, 1857-58,
Public Archives of Manitoba.
of taste and good workmanship" and "a genuine, orthodox reading desk".

The Kirk of Kildonan

Although by 1820 both Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries had arrived in the settlement, a Presbyterian minister to administer to the needs of the Selkirk settlers and their descendents did not arrive until 1851. Once it was certain that a minister was coming, three hundred Presbyterians seceded from the Anglican congregation and started work on a church and manse located in the lower part of St. John's parish. A manse, 35 x 20', was ready for the minister, John Black, on his arrival, and it was used for services until a stone church was completed.\textsuperscript{70} In the fall and winter of 1851, timber was prepared, stone was brought from Stony Mountain, fourteen miles distant over the plains, and lime for mortar was burned at the quarry and taken to the construction site.\textsuperscript{71} The flood of 1852 interrupted building activity, and the church was not ready for use until January 5, 1854.\textsuperscript{72} Some alterations have since been made in the arrangement of pews and in the facade. A vestibule has been added, and the walls have been rough-cast.\textsuperscript{73}

\textsuperscript{70}Margaret McBeth, \textit{The Story of Kildonan Church, 1851-1951}. Winnipeg: Wallingford Press, Ltd., 1951, p.7. See Pl. XXXIII, XXXIV.

\textsuperscript{71}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{72}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{73}Ibid., p.8.
Plan, Kildonan Church (1852).
Kildonan was not a traditional Scottish Kirk. Rather, like the Anglican churches, it integrated the box-like form with Gothic Revival detail. However, it was definitely a Presbyterian, not an Anglican church. It had no large east window, its vestry was placed with a certain thriftiness under the stairs going up to the gallery, and the pulpit was centrally placed in order that everyone in the congregation could see and hear. And, as George Bryce commented, it was "plain, even to severity".

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SUMMARY

Church architecture in Red River was influenced by the contemporary architecture of French Canada and England. The Roman Catholic churches were built in the style of Thomas Baillairgé, whereas the Anglican churches integrated Gothic Revival detail with the box-like form common to Red River buildings. The Presbyterian churches tended to follow the style of the Anglican churches with some minor adaptations.
The majority of buildings in the Red River Settlement were "plain square boxes". Ornament was either not used, or it was applied to a few areas, that is, staircases, doors, porches, steeples, and windows, and characterized by simplicity and sameness. Railing posts in the Bunn house, Kildonan church, and St. Andrew's Church were all alike, and at Seven Oaks they were enlarged to verandah posts. Georgian fanlights were placed above the doors of large houses, and porches were often edged with latticework or accented with pinnacles. Steeples and belfries, the focal points of the Red River skyline, received considerable attention. The only buildings which were given an excess of decoration were the interiors of the cathedrals of St. Boniface.

The transition from the plain, square Red River architecture to the elaborate Victorian styles of early Winnipeg architecture occurred in the first two decades after 1870. However, the transition was anticipated in the Gothic Revival influences upon Protestant church architecture and, to a lesser extent, upon the ornament of domestic architecture. Furthermore, in the 1860's, influences from the

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76 See Pl. XXXV.

77 See Pl. XVI. The Bird house, according to the photograph in the Hime Collection, Public Archives of Manitoba, had a small pinnacled porch.

78 Below, p.120. See also Pl. XXIV and XXVII.

79 Above, p.63.
PLATE XXXV

Verandah Posts, Seven Oaks.
Hexagonal privy, Archeveché, St. Boniface.
House in the Hudson’s Bay style,
Selkirk, Manitoba.
Canadian colonies were beginning to infiltrate Red River architecture. Taché's évêché was flanked by two hexagonal privies reminiscent of the polygonal buildings fad in Ontario and the eastern United States. But, for the most part, the change came after 1870, not before. Only in the 1880's were great brick buildings like the Bawlf Block, the Empire Hotel, Government House, and the old Winnipeg City Hall finally built.

Once the Victorian styles arrived in Winnipeg, the old styles of the Red River Settlement gradually lost their prominence. Some of the Roman Catholic churches in the French settlements of the province continued in the style of Taché's cathedral, and, of course, the Protestant church styles of the Ontario settlers were not very much different from the old Anglican and Presbyterian churches of the settlement. The Hudson's Bay style of log construction was not used by the new settlers, and today only a few examples remain along the Assiniboine and Red Rivers.

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82 Benoit, II, Pl. facing pp.312, 390, 466.
83 See Pl. XXXVII.
CHAPTER IV

THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT

The Red River Settlement in 1870 was shaped like a distorted cross.\(^1\) It extended north and south along the Red River from Netley Creek to St. Agathe, westwards along the Assiniboine River from Fort Garry to Portage la Prairie, and eastwards for a short distance along the Seine River, or German Creek.\(^2\) The pivotal point of the settlement was the forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers.

Although the settlement stretched for miles in four directions, it only extended two miles on each side of the rivers. The river lot system of French Canada had been adopted by the Selkirk settlers under Miles Macdonell who had become familiar with it there.\(^3\) The first formal land survey was made in 1813 by the Hudson's Bay Company trader and surveyor from Brandon House, Peter Fidler.\(^4\) He laid out lots of one hundred acres with a frontage of four acres on the west bank of the Red River, and, although the size of the lots varied thereafter, the river lot system remained

\(^1\)See Pl. XXXVIII.

\(^2\)For the extent of the settlement in 1871, see Morton, *Manitoba*, pp.151-53.


\(^4\)Ibid.
Copy of a Map of a Portion of Rupert's Land, Surveyed and Examined by the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition in the Year 1858; under Instructions from the Provincial Secretary, Canada.

Scale of Original Map: $\frac{1}{50000} = 5$ miles.
firmly imprinted on the area. Indeed, the city plan of Winnipeg has been influenced by the system. Many streets like McDermot, Bannatyne, Ross, and Logan mark the boundaries of lots once owned by settlers of that name.  

A riparian plan of settlement had certain advantages for Red River builders as well as the settlers. First, the river banks provided essential building materials like wood and stone. Timber was cut along the rivers until it became scarce, and limestone could be quarried or picked up along the banks, particularly, around Lower Fort Garry and the Grand Rapids near St. Andrew's Church. Secondly, the rivers provided for the transportation of materials. When timber finally had to be cut at a distance, it was floated in booms to the construction site. Moreover, the stone for Upper Fort Garry was probably taken upstream on sledges over the frozen rivers from the lower settlement. The rivers also provided the link with civilization and facilitated the importing of building materials like paint, tin, nails, and glass to Red River.

The disadvantage of the riparian location, of course, was spring flooding. Severe floods occurred in 1826 and 1852.

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5 Healy, pp.139-40.


7 Hind, pp.294-95. Above, p. 9, 11.

8 Watson, Lower Fort Garry, p.10.
Many buildings were destroyed or damaged, and, in some instances, new construction was delayed. Buildings were usually located on the prairie level for protection, but, even then, only the lower settlement was high enough to escape the floods.

The use of the river lot system created a solid line of buildings along the rivers. All the buildings faced the rivers, and essentially the settlement was a roadside or, rather, riverside, village. This linear arrangement was relieved by the sinuosity of the rivers and punctuated by the different types of architecture - forts, churches, and large and small houses, and by concentrations of buildings - Fort Garry flanked by embryonic Winnipeg and the St. Boniface mission, Lower Fort Garry, missions, and farm-yards.

The forks was the geographical, economic, and political centre of the settlement. It had been an important site since LaVerendrye had had Fort Rouge erected there about three quarters of a century before the first Selkirk settlers arrived in the Red River Valley. Later, in 1810, the North West Company built Fort Gibralter at the forks. It was pulled down during the hostilities of 1816

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9See Anderson's Notes of the Flood at the Red River, 1852, and Chap. IX of Ross' The Red River Settlement. Also, see above, p. 91.

10Douglas, p. 3.
Fort Garry itself, which fronts on the Assiniboine, close to its mouth, stands a little apart, the ground about it being held open by the company; and it contains some buildings of more significance, built of stone or axe-hewn logs, and two and a half stories high, - storehouses for the produce and provisions of the colony, and offices for the company. Their roofs and even their upper stories can be seen rising above the high stone walls, seamed with cracks of age, which enclose the whole, loopholed for musketry, and guarded at the four corners by rounded, bastion-like towers, which are pierced for small artillery.

- S.H. Scudder, 1860.
Upper Fort Garry.

From the Hime Collection, 1857-58,
Public Archives of Manitoba.
and was partly re-erected the following year. After the amalgamation of the rival fur trade companies in 1821, some additions and palisades were built, and it became the Hudson's Bay Company's fort at the suggestion of Nicholas Garry, whose name it later was given. The damage which it suffered in the flood of 1826 prompted the building of a new fort, the Stone Fort or Lower Fort Garry.

The Selkirk settlers located about a mile from the forks. Their fort, Douglas, was erected on Point Douglas in 1813, but in 1816 it was destroyed and had to be rebuilt.

The last fort to be constructed at the forks was Upper Fort Garry. It was planned during the winter of 1834-35 and begun in the spring of 1835. Alexander Christie, renowned as a fort builder in Hudson's Bay Company history, is usually credited with the building of the fort. He was at Red River as governor from June 1833 to June 1839 and resided at the Stone Fort until Fort Garry was habitable.

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11 Ibid., pp.21-22, 31.
13 Above, p. 127.
15 See Pl. XXXIX.
16 Margaret Arnett MacLeod, "Winnipeg and the HBC," The Beaver, Outfit 279. June, 1949, p.5.
17 Ross, p.410; Campbell, Journals, p.26.
The mason was Pierre LeBlanc, who worked on the fort until he made his fateful trip to Columbia District in 1838. Duncan McRae and John Clouston worked at Fort Garry after they arrived at Red River in 1837. By 1837, however, the fort was sufficiently advanced for Christie to move from the Stone Fort to Fort Garry.

Fort Garry was completed for the most part by 1838 when James Hargrave reported to Governor George Simpson that the new fort is completely and securely walled in, with two excellent Bastions which completely sweep every side and render it the securest as well as the best finished fort the Company has in Rupert's Land.

However, between 1838 and 1845, two additional bastions were built. Simpson described it in 1845 as "a quadrangle of 240 X 250 feet, with stone walls 15 feet high and four corner bastions". They were probably constructed under Alexander Christie who returned to serve at Red River from June 1844 to June 1846. Alexander Ross described the fort

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18 See Appendix III.
19 Watson, p.9.
20 Margaret Arnett MacLeod, "The City That Never Was," The Beaver, Outfit 280. September, 1950, p.15.
21 MacLeod, "Winnipeg and the HBC," p.6, citing James Hargrave.
22 Ibid.
23 Ross, p.410.
not long afterwards:

Its form is nearly square, being about 280 feet from east to west, and 240 feet from north to south. It is surrounded by a stone wall of 15 feet high, and of considerable thickness; having two large gates on the north and south sides, and four rounded towers or blockhouses at each corner, with port and loopholes for cannon and musketry. In the inside of the wall is a gallery which runs around the fort, and which affords a pleasant walk, and an extensive view of the surrounding country. The principal dwelling-house - a large and commodious building - occupies the centre of the square, behind which and near the northern gate, stand the flag staff and belfry. There are also houses within the walls, for the accommodation of the officers and men attached to the fort; together with stores and granaries, and - would it were not necessary to add - a jail and courthouse for the colony. It is a neat and compact establishment, and reflects great credit on Mr. Governor Christie, under whose eye the work was accomplished.24

In the 1850's the fort was enlarged northwards.25 The northern stone wall was removed and square oak walls were added. The gate which still stands today was built into the new north wall. It is said that Alexander Hunter Murray, a chief factor and founder and builder of Fort Yukon, designed the gate.26 The fort itself stood until the 1880's when it was destroyed because it inconveniently crossed the southern extension of Main Street. By 1882, it was partly gone, and in 1888 the governor's house and the remaining buildings were sold.27

24 Ibid., p.142.
25 MacLeod, "Winnipeg and the HBC," p.6.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid., p.7
The fort was the political centre of the settlement. It was the seat of the Governor of Assiniboia, and the Council of Assiniboia always met at the fort. A courthouse and gaol were built near the fort in 1843. But the fort was also the economic centre of a settlement which provisioned the fur trade with flour from its crops and pemmican from the buffalo hunt. It contained flour and pemmican warehouses and depots, warehouses, and stores where imported goods were sold, where the buffalo hunt was outfitted, and where goods used in the fur trade were stored before being distributed. The function of the fort as a distributing centre greatly expanded in the 1850's when goods were routed through St. Paul instead of York Factory; it was this expansion which probably necessitated the addition to the fort at that time.

According to George Bryce, the Fort's store was a colourful and lively place:

In the southeast corner of Fort Garry was the Hudson's Bay store. Originally it was reached by way of River Gate, and was approached from the west side, or else by the postern gate. In the last ten years of its existence it was not so. The eastern stone wall of the fort gave way, and on its fall was replaced partially by a palisade of oak logs. The portion near the southeast bastion was not rebuilt, and at this opening the front of the store was made. To forget the Hudson's Bay store for one who saw it was impossible. To enter it on any day in the morning was interesting. The stalwart Métis dressed up in blue capotes and bright red scarfs about the middle, were there in dozens. The atmosphere had

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28 Morton, Manitoba, p.69.
a pungent odor as one entered. It was the famous "kimui-kinik", or dried red-willow bark that was being used. The store was thick with smoke. The goods were suited to the times. Many expensive cloths were there - high-colored - red, blue and green. But the day to see the store was in June. Then hundreds of hunters were encamped on the plain about the fort. They were preparing for the buffalo hunt. Some twelve or fifteen hundred carts were there to be fitted out. One cried in the store for "an axe", another for "leather", a third for a "musket", and others for scores of other articles. All clamored at once. The articles of purchase were obtained on credit, to be paid for on return from the hunt, in a few months. The clerks were in despair, and often berated their noisy customers, or threatened to have it out with them on their return. 

Later, the free trade, which went unchallenged by the Company after the Sayer Trial, resulted in the growth of a small village around the fort. In 1873 the village was incorporated as Winnipeg, but in 1868 it presented "a sorry scene" to George Young:

What a mass of soft, black slippery and sticky Red River mud was everywhere spread out before us! Streets were neither sidewalks nor crossings, with now and again a good sized pit of mire for the traveller to avoid or flounder through as best he could; a few small stores with poor goods and high prices; one little tavern where "Dutch George" was "monarch of all his survey"; a few passable dwellings with "no rooms to let", no space for boarders; neither church nor school in sight or in prospect; population about one hundred instead of one thousand as we expected - such was Winnipeg on July 4th, 1868.30

The village stores, which were owned by men like McDermot and Bannatyne, were located at a respectful distance from the fort,


30Young, pp.63-64.
Arrived there we confront a lot of old buildings without any windows, and a rough looking door with a strong padlock, the whole bearing the air of a dilapidated barn, used to store odds and ends.

- G.B. Elliot, 1860.
From the Hime Collection, 1857-58,
Public Archives of Manitoba.
and some were situated elsewhere in the colony.\(^{31}\) Kittson's store was on the St. Boniface side of the Red River, and John Inkster's store was beside his house, Seven Oaks.\(^{32}\) After 1859, the village also had hotels like Emmerling's Hotel and the Royal Hotel, which was carpeted with sawdust.\(^{33}\) The office of the first newspaper, the Nor'Wester, was located in the village.\(^{34}\)

Since Fort Garry was the economic and political centre of the Red River Settlement and later the great distributing centre of the fur trade, trails converged upon it from many directions.\(^{35}\) The King's Road, "a mere cart-track in the deep loam", ran from the lower settlement to the fort.\(^{36}\) A road which ran to the fishing settlement on Lake Manitoba, by way of Stony Mountain, where limestone was quarried, met the King's Road at Middle Church.\(^{37}\) Another trail ran westwards from Fort Garry to Portage la Prairie and on to Fort Edmonton. Three roads went south to St. Paul, one on the

\(^{31}\) See Pl. XL.

\(^{32}\) Manton, p.309. See Pl. VII.


\(^{34}\) Scudder, pp.118-19. See Pl. IX.

\(^{35}\) See Pl. XXXVIII.

\(^{36}\) Scudder, p.109.

\(^{37}\) Above, p. 91.
west side of the Red, one on the east, and one branching from the east trail over across the river to the west trail. Now, of course, the King's Road is Main Street, the Saskatchewan trail is Portage Avenue, the south road on the west bank is Lord Selkirk, or Pembina, Highway, the road on the east bank is St. Anne's Road, and the road cutting from one to the other is St. Mary's Road.

The King's Road ran from Fort Garry to Lower Fort Garry, a secondary economic centre in the settlement. As noted in Chapter II, the big house and warehouses of the Lower Fort had been constructed in the 1830's, only to be replaced by the Upper Port as the main fur trade centre. The walls and bastions were finally constructed when British regiments were sent to Red River during the Oregon boundary dispute. The walls and bastions were finally constructed when British regiments were sent to Red River during the Oregon boundary dispute. About a decade later, the fort was described by S.J. Dawson:

The Stone Port, or Lower Fort Garry, on the Red River, is by far the finest establishment in the territory. A square area of some six acres in extent is enclosed with walls and bastions of stone. Within this enclosure are the Company's buildings, all of them most substantial edifices of stone. The stores are situated on either side, and in the centre stands the residence of the officers, a very imposing building, with verandahs running completely round it, and grounds in front laid off and planted with great taste.

38 MacLeod, Lower Fort Garry, p.6.

This establishment, called "Lower Fort Garry", covers about as much ground as St. Paul's Cathedral, in London. The fort is square, and built on a rock or limestone quarry, surrounded by a stone wall, and protected by four round towers or bastions.....

Lower Fort Garry is more secluded than the Upper Fort, although picturesque and full of rural beauty. Here the Governor of Rupert's Land resides, when he passes any time in the colony. To those of studious and retired habits, it is preferred to the upper fort.

- Alexander Ross, 1856.
PLATE XLI

Lower Fort Garry, the Stone Fort.

From the Finlay Collection (1847).
Glenbow Foundation.
The functions of the fort have been described as "farming, retail dealing, and boat-freighting. At this post, during summer months, boat-brigades are outfitted for the trip to York Factory and other posts inland." Various Arctic and scientific expeditions were outfitted at the fort.

Retail business was carried on in the store and fur loft:

A large stone structure of three stories, it has within its walls nearly every article used in that climate. The sales-room is a square apartment, no plaster, the ceiling merely the joists and flooring of the second flat, thickly studded with nails and hooks, from which are suspended various articles of trade. Along the side walls are box shelves, nearly two feet deep. On the floor within the counter are piled bales of goods, bundles of prints, hardware, etc., and this space within the counter comprises almost the entire room. A small area is railed off near the door, sufficiently large to hold twenty standing customers.

Farming and industry went on outside the fort, where there were fields, farm buildings, a grist mill, distillery, boat-building sheds, root house, ice house and beer cellar, tradesmen's shops, homes and boat landings.

Both Upper and Lower Forts Garry at various times housed military expeditions, whether the British regiments sent during the Oregon boundary dispute, the Wolseley expedition, or the North West Mounted Police, but neither ever actually protected the settlers. Indeed, Louis Riel and his

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41 Ibid., pp.74-76.
42 Watson, pp.50-51.
118.

men casually walked through the open gates of the Upper Fort in 1869.43

If the two forts represented the largest concentration of buildings in the settlement, the missions, as centres of community life in the parishes, were the next largest. The churchyards of the missions were the equivalent of the Athenian market-place with respect to the exchange of news.44

The missions usually included a church, rectory, and school-house which were informally situated in contrast to the arrangement of buildings around a square at the forts.45

The church was always removed from its surroundings by a wooden fence or a stone wall.

The parish was "a settlement, which had either grown up around a mission, or in which a mission had been established."46 The original parishes were St. Boniface, St. John's, St. Paul's (Middle Church), St. Andrew's (Lower Church), St. Peter's (Indian Settlement), and St. François-Xavier (Grantown), the métis settlement on the Assiniboine River.47

Later, there were offshoots of these parishes, St. James,


45 See Pl. XXVI.


47 Ibid., pp.90-93.
St. Charles, Holy Trinity (Headingley), St. Mary's, St. Margaret's, St. Anne's, St. Norbert, St. Vital, St. Clement's and Kildonan.

Farm-yards also represented a concentration of buildings. At Seven Oaks, the house was flanked by farm buildings and John Inkster's store. Here, some attempt was apparently made to order the buildings around a square, but it seems unlikely that a formal arrangement of farm buildings was ever achieved in the settlement.

The forts, churches, and large houses of the settlement were usually given impressive locations on the bends of the rivers, as if to underline their importance. Fort Garry commanded two rivers, Fort Douglas was situated on the south bend of the Red around Point Douglas, near the mouth of the Seine River, and the Stone Fort was located on a "beautiful spot on a gentle elevation, surrounded by wood, and commanding a fine view of the river." Houses like Dynevor and Twin Oaks and churches like St. Boniface, St. Andrew's, and St. Peter's dominated sweeps of the Red River.

The site of St. Andrew's is a very fine one. Standing upon its porch one may look up or down the river and see the neat homes and farms of the settlers, while its tasty outlines form

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\(^{48}\) See Pl. VII.

\(^{49}\) Nute, p.15. See Pl. XLI.

\(^{50}\) See Pl. XXIII.
a prominent object in the landscape to those gazing upon it from either direction.\footnote{Marble, p.312.}

The towers and spires of the Red River churches acted as pivotal points about which the rivers wound, and the spires of St. Peter's, St. James, and St. Boniface were landmarks to travellers who approached the settlement from the north, west and south. Probably the most imposing of all the Red River towers were the "turrets twain" of St. Boniface:

...we did not come in sight of the spires of the Cathédrale de Saint Boniface till near sunset. At last they appeared - two bright lines rising above the last grove of poplar trees through which we had to pass, standing out clear and glistening against the deep blue of the sky, and surmounted by the cross.\footnote{Ibid., p.307.}

The church towers also accented the "flat, featureless, and fertile" plains of the Red River Valley. One traveller observed that

Spires of churches, and the long arms of windmills, broke the level lines of the pictures that greeted our eyes as the road led us on from open place to open place, through the poplars that surrounded it for a portion of the way.\footnote{Ibid., p.310}

As Ramsay Traquair has remarked, "a flat country seems to grow slender spires."\footnote{Ramsay Traquair, The Old Architecture of Quebec. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, Ltd., 1947, p.135.}
A rhythm in the line of buildings along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers was thus created by the varying density, types, and location of buildings.
Conclusions

I

The primary influences on Red River architecture were the log construction and architectural style of the Hudson's Bay Company, the church architecture of Thomas Baillairge, and the Gothic Revival in England. French Canadian architecture exercised the greatest influence through the fur trade and the Roman Catholic missionaries sent to Red River. But French Canadian architecture itself was influenced by British classicism at that time, and thus the influences on Red River architecture were both British and French Canadian in origin.

II

Although it was influenced by styles in Britain and French Canada, Red River architecture was adapted to its geographical surroundings. In particular, the Hudson's Bay log construction and architectural style were the outgrowth of the initial contact of wilderness and civilization. Such a confrontation is central to Canadian history.

III

The Red River Settlement was essentially a riverside village; its buildings stood in a row along the banks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. The linear arrangement was relieved by the winding rivers and punctuated by the different types of architecture, by the location of important buildings on the bends of the rivers, and by the concentration of buildings in the forts, missions, and farm-yards.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>BUILDING</th>
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<td>McRae</td>
</tr>
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<td>Little Britain a</td>
<td>1873</td>
<td>Limestone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>St. Andrew's</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Limestone</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Men's house</td>
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\^Little Britain was planned by James Nisbet in 1865 but was not built until 1873.

\_St. Paul's of 1844 was torn down about 1868 and not re-opened until 1875.
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*Little Britain was planned by James Nisbet in 1865 but was not built until 1873.*

*St. Paul's of 1844 was torn down about 1868 and not re-opened until 1875.*
APPENDIX II

LIST OF RED RIVER CHURCHES, 1812-1870

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<td>St. James' 1</td>
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<td>St. John's 1</td>
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## APPENDIX II - Continued

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<td>Knox</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ca.1840</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Norbert</td>
<td>1</td>
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</table>
Pierre LeBlanc, a "French-Canadian of good character," was in the Hudson's Bay Company service first at York Factory and later at Fort Garry. He was sent to Fort Garry in 1829 by Governor George Simpson for whom he prepared a temporary house and later began a new stone fort below the Grand Rapids. He built the big house and two stone warehouses at the Lower Fort in the early 1830's. Afterwards, between 1835 and 1838, he did the stonework of the walls and two bastions at the Upper Fort.

LeBlanc was the first stone mason in the settlement. He worked on the first two stone buildings at Red River, the powder magazine at old Fort Garry (1830) and Mgr. Provencher's house (1829). He also built the first stone Anglican church in the settlement, St. John's (1832).

He married Nancy McTavish, the former country wife of a chief factor, and was travelling with her and his family to the Columbia District in 1838 when he was accidentally drowned.

APPENDIX III - Continued.

Duncan MaRae, the Hebridean mason, arrived in the Red River settlement early in the spring of 1838. He came in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. He worked upon the bastions at the Upper Fort between 1838 and 1845 and later, in the 1840's, on the walls and bastions of the Lower Fort.

When his contract with the Company ended, McRae settled with his family at St. Andrew's and did the stonework of several Red River churches and houses thereafter. According to Samuel Taylor's journal, he worked on Archdeacon Cowley's house (1862-63), St. John's Cathedral (1863), and Miss Davis' school (1866). He also built St. Andrew's Church (1845-49), where he was injured in a fall, Kildonan Church (1852), and St. Peter's Church (1853). He became an invalid in 1883 and died in 1898 in his 85th year.

John Clouston accompanied Duncan McRae from the Hebrides to the Red River Settlement in 1837-38. He also came in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Probably he and McRae both worked on the walls and bastions of Upper Fort Garry and Lower Fort Garry between 1838 and the late 1840's. Later, according to Samuel Taylor, Clouston and McRae built Archdeacon Cowley's house (1862-63) and St John's Cathedral (1863).

APPENDIX III - Continued.

Samuel Taylor was born in 1812 at Firth in the Orkney Islands. As a young man he joined the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and was sent to Moose Factory, where he arrived September 3, 1836. He spent twenty-one years in the Southern Department. However, during the summer of 1857, he moved to the Red River Settlement with his family. He settled at Mapleton, where between 1860 and 1862 he built St. Clement's Church. He also built the Bunn house (1862-64) across the Red River from St. Clement's and worked on Miss Davis' school (1866) with Duncan McRae. He died in 1896 in Selkirk.

APPENDIX IV

BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES
OF PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

Abel, Captain E.
Hudson’s Bay Company engineer at Lower Fort Garry.

Anderson, David (1814-1885)
Anglican Bishop of Rupert’s Land.

Ballantyne, Robert M. (1825-1894)
Author who did service in the HBC.

Bannatyne, A.G.B.
Winnipeg merchant.

Begg, Alexander (1839-1897)
Winnipeg merchant and author.

Black, Rev. John (1818-1882)
First Presbyterian minister at Kildonan.

Bryce, Rev. George (1844-1931)
Presbyterian minister and historian.

Christie, Alexander (fl.1809-1849)
Governor of Assiniboia.

Cochran, Rev. William (1798-1865)
Anglican clergyman, builder of several Red River churches, and founder of the Portage la Prairie settlement.

Cowley, Rev. Abraham
Anglican clergyman at St. Peter’s.

Davis, Matilda
Mistress of a boarding school for girls at St. Andrew’s.

Dawson, Simon James (1820-1902)
Civil engineer and explorer.

Finlay, Lieutenant George
Officer in the Sixth Regiment of Foot sent to Red River, 1846-48.

Fraser, John
Red River farmer.
APPENDIX IV - Continued.

Garrioch, Rev. Alfred Campbell (1848-1934)
Anglican clergyman and historian.

Gunn, Donald (1797-1878)
Historian and scientist.

Harriott, John Edward
Chief factor of HBC retired at Red River.

Hind, Henry Youle (1823-1908)
Geologist and explorer.

Inkster, John
Retired fur trader and merchant near St. John's.

Jones, Rev. David
Anglican clergyman at St. John's and St. Paul's.

Kennedy, Captain William (1814-1890)
Arctic explorer.

Murray, Alexander Hunter (1818-1874)
HBC fur trader and explorer.

Nisbet, James (1823-1874)
Presbyterian missionary at Kildonan.

Provencher, Joseph-Norbert (1787-1853)
First Roman Catholic Bishop at St. Boniface.

Rindisbacher, Peter (1806-1834)
Artist son of a Swiss colonist.

Ross, Alexander (1773-1856)
Historian and fur trader retired to Red River.

Ross, William
Postmaster at Red River.

Scott, William
Farmer at St. Andrew's.

Simpson, Sir George (ca.1787-1860)
Governor-in-Chief of Rupert's Land.

Smithurst, Rev. John (1807-1867)
Anglican clergyman at St. Peter's.

Southesk, James Carnegie, Earl of (1827-1905)
Scottish author and adventurer who made an expedition to the North-West, 1859-60.
Tache, A.-A. (1823-1894)
First Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Boniface.

Taylor, Rev. W.H.
First Anglican clergyman at St. James'.

West, Rev. John (ca.1775-1845)
First Anglican missionary at Red River.

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First Methodist clergyman at Red River.
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