Articles

Peter Gitts
Of Plans, Secrets, Borrowers, and Mules
Archives in Espionage Fiction

James Morrison
Archives and Native Claims

Ludwig Kisch
Revolts of Brock: An Investigation

Josephine Langham
Hunting in Canadian Radio Resources

John Ball
Searching for a Canadian Pepys
The Canadian Manuscript Diaries Project

Jetta Cook
The Tyranny of the Medium: A Comment on "Total Archives"

Kenneth S. MacKenzie
Canadian Postal History Sources

Douglas Sprague and Ronald Frye
Manitoba's Red River Settlement: Sources for 1811 Economic and Demographic History

Grace Maurice Hyam
The National Manuscript Inventory

Review Article

Richard Hayda
Pictures for People and Pandits

Counterpoint

After the Dust Settles (Peter Bowers, Some Performance: Joan Badler
Postscripts on P A R C (Robert Haywood)

Book Reviews (see following page)

Periodical Annotations

Directory of Advertisers

Notes on Contributors

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Manitoba's Red River Settlement: Manuscript Sources for Economic and Demographic History

by Douglas Sprague and Ronald Frye

It is possible that the history of the Red River Settlement is the most thoroughly documented of all proprietary colonies in English colonial experience. Surviving Hudson's Bay Company papers document individual employments and expenditures, land allotments, land use and the growth of population. Many church registers have also survived as a record of marriages, baptisms and burials. But this is not all. A vast amount of additional information on the same families was generated by the Canadian government after the transfer of Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) to Canada. The government conducted a full-scale census of Manitoba in 1870, and later, the same population was enumerated a second time for genealogical purposes. In all, there are six major groups of manuscript materials which record most of the significant events covering nearly every household in the twenty-four parishes of the settlement. The purpose of this short paper is to describe each group of documents and to outline methods that the authors are currently using to file each item of information by individual household, and to link households across generations.

A. SOURCES

Hudson's Bay Company Engagement Registers

Generally speaking, there were two classes of persons employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. One group consisted of low ranking employees who were hired to perform a specific task to be completed in one season (usually the summer of one fiscal year). Of this group, the 'trapper', very little is known. There are scattered references in correspondence and occasional lists in the account books of particular posts. But no master list or register of such casually employed labourers was maintained. Fortunately, detailed employment records were kept on the second category of Hudson's Bay Company employees, the Officers and Servants working for a period of at least one complete 'Outlet' year, hired under the bond of a contract between themselves and the company. The annual Abstract of Servants recorded the monetary obligations of the firm to such employees. Personal data was entered on another ledger, the Engagement Register. Northern Department.

1 Hudson's Bay Company Archives: PAM 0. Variation of Manuscript; or other similar terms as HBC, PAM, or Archival Office.

2 HBC, PAM, Engagement Register, Northern Department B 390, as of 14.

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There are three volumes of Engagement Registers, each providing an alphabetical list of employees in the colony by date of engagement. The first volume covers the period from 1821 to the 1830s; volume two runs to the 1870s; and volume three contains some entries from as recently as the 1890s. A complete entry gives the employee’s name, his age at the time of engagement, place of birth, occupation or rank, place of employment, term of service, date of discharge, and amounts and annual wages for the period under contract. The relevance of the Engagement Registers to the history of the Red River Colony is that they provide a fairly complete record of the origins of settlers who migrated to Rupert’s Land by way of employment with the Hudson’s Bay Company. Thus, entry number 1045 shows that Samuel Leask, from Sandwich, enlisted as a labourer in the Orkney Islands in 1853. He served in this capacity for five years earning £117 p.a. Two contracts later, he was serving as a carpenter with almost twice his starting salary. Then Leask retired from service in 1861. As the last column suggests, he settled at Red River.

Another use of the Engagement Register is to document the relative importance of the colony as a source of labour for the company. Entry 1049, for example, shows that Baptiste Lepine, born at Red River in 1824, served as a trimmer in a long succession of contracts and was paid high wages, earning more for his services as a guide than as a labourer. Lepine made working as a carpenter in his home town. The labour recruited locally was valued as highly as that imported from abroad.

SETTLERS ACCOUNTS

Naturally, it would be useful to know how the Lepines and Leasks disposed of their earnings. Unfortunately, this is impossible to determine in all cases, but, approximately one third of the householders in the Red River Settlement spent a large portion of their income through the company. The detailed records of the transactions of these settlers have survived.

Consider, for example, the case of Joseph Bud. Bud’s account for the period from 1 June 1845 to 31 May 1846 (the ‘Outit’ or fiscal year) is reproduced hereafter. Notice, first, that the entries are nothing more than quantities of credit or debt against the person in whose name the account is held. Joseph Bud, in this case. Negative credits appear in the Debt (D) column; positive credits are in the creditor’s favour. Since they tend to clear his account, they appear in the Credit (C) column. In this sense, Debt entries document withdrawals from the account and Credit entries record deposits. Also notice that withdrawals are preceded with the word ‘To’ and the keyword ‘By’ goes with all deposits. Some entries which are dated 31 May or 1 June are special cases. ‘To Cash’ entry in the Debt column dated 1 June can signify a deficit carried over from the preceding fiscal year. Conversely, a ‘By Cash’ entry for the same date in the Credit column can signify a balance of credit, a kind of savings carried over to the next year. By the same logic, a ‘To Cash’ entry in the Debt column on 31 May produces ‘By Cash’ in the same amount in the Credit column on 1 June, and ‘By Cash’ on 1 June in the subsequent year.

1. See wages values from the Engagement Registers as an indication of place. It is impossible to compare a modern salary to what it was possible to earn on the basis of a record of the available salaries. The wages in the Settlement’s Accounts are significantly higher than the salaries of settlers employed in the colonies.

2. BIR, PAM, Settlers’ Accounts, 1825-36.
The Bird account for 1864-65, however, shows a rather different picture. As per the records, the account was balanced in 1864, the year of the next Bird. The cash received that year was recorded as $250. The account was then closed, and the balance was carried over to the next year.

Occasionally, there were many sales transactions involving much larger sums. In one instance, the account covers the period of April and May, 1865. During this time, Bird was credited with a large amount that was later transferred to the bank. This amount was deposited by Joseph Bird, who was credited with the name of the new bank, the Bird & Co.

It is noted that the account of Bird was carried forward into the next year. The balance sheet for 1865 shows a significant increase in the amount of capital. The records also indicate that Bird was involved in the purchase of additional stocks during this period. The transactions were recorded in the account, and the balance was carried over to the next year.
Joseph Bird, for cutting firewood'. On the withdrawal side, Rapine's notes of expenditure are listed. Often, the smaller the amount, the more detailed the accounting of the purchases. Thus, the Settler's Accounts provide a useful indication of the way account holders earned and spent their incomes.

**Hudson's Bay Company Census Returns**

No matter how detailed the Accounts or the Engagement Registers, the information they provide covers a relatively small number of settlers' forebears and the wealthier representatives of later generations. Also, the information from such sources depicts persons as independent individuals. There are references to spouses and sometimes to children, but passively and the people are usually anonymous. To a certain extent, missing family information is obtainable from Red River Census Returns which have survived.

Beginning in 1824, the Hudson's Bay Company counted the households of the colony along with an inventory of the settlers' major possessions and developments. It is possible that the census was conducted on an annual basis, every April, from 1824 through 1856 (sending one copy to London and retaining another copy in the colony). Surprisingly few of these valuable documents have survived; but, for some exceptional years, both copies are available. For others, there are none. The years which are covered by at least one copy of one complete census are 1824, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1835, 1838, 1840, 1843, 1846, 1847, and 1849.5

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5 The 1824 census is not catalogued as a "Census Return". This document is a roll of papers called "Red River Settlement Index to Manuscripts, William Kemp (HBC, PAM, 1861): Other years are available in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, 1825-1841, Public Archives of Manitoba, M 1583, or from the Public Archives of Canada with the Census of the Province which was done in 1850, microfilm C-2170.
Reference to case number 37 shows that Jean Baptiste Legnay, a fifty-one-year-old, married in a family of nine people: four sons, three daughters, his wife and himself. All of his daughters were under the age of fifteen. Two of his sons were over sixteen, and thus, probably, an advantage in looking after the menagerie of livestock and the twenty-two acres under cultivation.

The Census Return for Legnay, therefore, provides a more complete view of the family than might be seen in the Encroachment Register or Settlers' Accounts alone. Regrettably, however, the census of Census Returns runs out in 1849. Also, the family information is aggregative rather than at an individual level. Surnames and children were counted but not named. The only named person is the male head of household. He, too, is the only person whose age is reported. Siblings are anonymous, even as single patients. Furthermore, natural children are not distinguished from adopted dependents. This is a serious flaw because, other sources suggest that in the event of the death of a female head of household, children below the age of puberty customarily left the home of their natural father to be raised by maternal aunts or grandparents. The Census Returns are not particularly helpful in tracing the pattern of these adoptions.

The Census Returns are also quite useless for determining geographical location since the family aggregates are listed alphabetically by religious affiliation rather than by parish or in order of the occupation of the river lots. The standard format for reporting the enumeration called for one long list labeled "Protestant Settlement", another lengthy list called "Catholic Settlement", and two much smaller appendices labeled "Grantown" and "Indian Mission". Since these categories were not exhaustive with 1870 parish boundaries, there is no way of knowing whether some areas were systematically ignored.

Parish Registers

The entries recording marriages, baptisms, and burials in Parish Registers help to identify anonymous spouses and children. In all, there are nineteen such registers dating from various beginnings from the 1830s to the 1860s. Only three St. John's, St. Andrew's, and that of St. Francis Xavier date from the periods of early settlement.

Another problem is uneven reporting. In nearly all of the Protestant parishes, clergymen tended to record family events as milestones in the lives of individuals. Thus, a burial entry is usually no more than the decedent's name, age, and date of interment. Baptisms sometimes were recorded with parents' names, marriage records usually name just the bride and groom. Such sparse reporting...
poses severe linkage problems. But in the Catholic parishes, a family event was recorded in a family context. For the parish of St. Francois Xavier, for instance, the register reports that on 26 November 1839, Jean Baptiste Malaterre (son of Jean Baptiste Malaterre and Angelique Adair) married Therese Counter (daughter of Jean Baptiste Counter and Angelique Baillie). Later, with the baptism of each child, the priest would record the son’s or daughter’s name and also the full name of each parent. When Therese died in “early January 1840” the priest recorded that the funeral on 15 February was for “Therese Counter wife of Jean Baptiste Malaterre” (notice the small change in the spelling of her maiden name). Four years later, Jean Baptiste remarried, and, this marriage entry identified the bride in the usual manner, but since the groom had a family status of husband more recently than son, Jean Baptiste was identified at the time of his second marriage as the “widower of Therese Counter”. In the next year, four months after the birth of the first child by the second marriage, Malaterre himself appeared as a decedent. But since he was one of the fallen in the terrible war with the Sioux in 1851, his burial received a martyr’s embellishment. For 13 July, the priest recorded that Jean Baptiste Malaterre had been “assassinated by the Sioux near the Cheyenne River... hands and feet severed, scalp lifted, skull smashed... 5 bullet holes, 74 arrows and 3 knife wounds.”

Parish Registers such as that of St. Francois Xavier (see photograph) pose no linkage problems. Family reconstitution is simply a task of recording all events and sorting by household. But St. Francois Xavier, one of the largest parishes, was still less than one fourth of the population of the Red River Settlement overall. Also, after surmounting some of the linkage difficulties posed by the records of the Protestant parishes, identification of spouses and children from the registers still leaves the question of geographical location unanswered.

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

In 1835, the Hudson’s Bay Company employed George Taylor to resurvey old lots and extend the limits of vacant surveyed land north and south along the Red River, and westward along the Assiniboine. The limits of these newly numbered lots fell between parishes 6 and 7 to the west, 14 to 15 to the south, and 23 and 24 at the northern limit (see map). At the same time that the survey proceeded, Taylor prepared memoranda which reflected existing occupancy. The company then entered these field notes into account books indicating whether the occupant had received a prior grant from Lord Selkirk, and how much land had been granted gratuitously or for a fee payable to the Hudson’s Bay Company. There are approximately 500 entries in the Memoranda Respecting Grants of Land. Since the two volumes are arranged alphabetically by grantee, it is relatively simple to correlate the names of persons listed in the Census Return for 1835. There are few nominal duplicates and the orthography of names is the same in both records.

Tracing the shifting pattern of land ownership from 1835 to 1870 is a much more difficult problem. Sometime between 1835 and 1840, the company copied the alphabetical memoranda into a register organized by lot number. The sample on the next page shows some typical entries. Like the memorandum, Land Register...
"B" indicated whether the grant was from Lord Selkirk or the company and whether it was gratuitous or payable. Space was also provided to record successive owners. In this respect, Land Register "B" resembled an Abstract Book for a Land Titles Office more than a copy of the memoranda books by lot number.

Using Land Register "B" as an Abstract Book poses two problems, however. The first is a matter of validity. It was company policy for clerks to maintain duplicate copies of all records. The copy available to the general public today in the Hudson’s Bay Company Archives appears to have been the duplicate record, periodically updated. Unfortunately, the entries in this copy are suspiciously sparse, suggesting that maintenance of the duplicate record did not receive particularly high priority. Another copy (one which was delivered to the Winnipeg Land Titles Office in 1871) has more complete entries. During the resistance of 1869-70, however, this copy of the Land Register disappeared and did not reappear until the spring of 1871. It was suggested that fraudulent entries had been made in the interim. Governor Archibald was convinced that these allegations were false, ordered the wayward version copied, and sent this new duplicate to Ottawa. This was the copy which the bureaucracy used in its administration of Manitoba parish land in the 1870s, and the version which is reproduced here.

The other problem is linking the several different kinds of entries in the Land Register to the demographic material on households. One kind of entry is a grant from the company after 1835. A second type is a transfer by inheritance to a family relation, and, the last is a gift or sale of the land to a friend or stranger. Assuming ideal information on Red River family history, the second type of

10 HBC, PAM, Land Register "B", E.6/2.
11 The perambulations of the Land Register were described in detail in a long dispatch from Governor Archibald to Joseph Howe, 9 April 1871 (Public Archives of Canada, RG 15, Vol. 226).
12 Available from the Public Archives of Canada on aperture cards, book number 185.
entries is relatively easy to match with households; an 1835 occupant dies and leaves his lot to identifiable heirs. But the other types of transactions are more difficult to link to households because of the increasing number of nominal duplicates.

Thus, the intricate network of ownership documented by Land Register 'B' is probably impossible to unravel completely. For the year 1870, however, one may reconstruct the pattern of landholding with fair certainty and considerable simplicity. The reason is that the government of Canada enumerated the population of Manitoba for two purposes: first, to identify the residents of the province at the time of the transfer; and, secondly, to list these persons by parish in the order of their appearance on river lots thus establishing a list of householders for the first elections in the province.13

The sample portion of the 1870 census shows the format of the reporting which was used. Each entry enrolls an individual as a person with a unique case number within a particular parish. There is other vital information (such as age, and father's name, and marital status) and these data enable one to draw boundaries between nuclear families within the series of cases for a whole parish (observe the relations between case numbers 995 to 996 or 999 to 1002). Having identified the boundaries between one set of relatives and another such family, household

13 The reasons for the 1870 census are found in two dispatches from Governor Archibald to Joseph Howe, one dated 21 December 1870 and the other 9 April 1871 (Public Archives of Canada, RG 15, Vol. 229). The Census itself is available with the Red River Census materials, on microfilm from the Public Archives of Canada, reel number C-2170.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Address</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1001</td>
<td>John Smith</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>Main St.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1002</td>
<td>Mary Brown</td>
<td>John</td>
<td>Maple Ave.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
numbers can be assigned to this group while recording the other information on
individual persons. Then, once the census is in machine-readable form, the popu-
lization of a parish can be listed by household number and name, and this sequence
can be compared with other evidence specifying land ownership.

The most useful indication for land ownership is the field information of sur-
evors who recorded the names of occupants as they worked through all twenty-
four parishes confirming boundaries of Hudson's Bay Company lots or running
completely new lines in parishes which had never been surveyed before. In every
case of an occupied lot, they recorded the name of the reputed owner at the time
of the survey (1871-73). Assigning lot numbers to households in the 1870 census
is thus no more complicated than correlating the surveyors' lists of occupants by
lot number with the order of households in the census roll. At the minimum,
good profiles of land ownership are thus possible for 1870 and 1875. Land
Register 'B' provides some information for the years in between, assuming ideal
information on households. But from the descriptions of the company Census
Returns and church Parish Registers already given, it should be evident that the
demographic material is far from perfect.

14 The surveyor's field notes are uncatalogued and in extremely poor condition but available to users
of the Public Archives of Manitoba on application.
RED RIVER SETTLEMENT

LINEAGE AFFIDAVITS, 1878

One final major source of information tends to correct many of the imperfections of the Parish Registers and pre-1870 Census Returns. This last record group is the affidavits collected in 1875 by the Department of the Interior to determine eligibility for bonus lands under the Manitoba Act and its amendments. Officials were commissioned to sort the entire population of Manitoba into four categories: partly Indian heads of families in 1870, partly Indian children in 1870, Canadian or Selkirk settlers entering the vicinity of the "Red River Country" between 1815 and 1835; and last, all others. Canoe settlements histories were collected from persons in the first three groups. Nearly all the affidavits have survived and are available to users of the Public Archives of Canada. Recently, the information on the affidavits was abstracted in typescript for use as a finding aid to the originals.

Reference to a sample of the typescript version of the affidavits (Fig. 1) illustrates the importance of these documents. Unlike any of the other sources discussed in this paper (including even the Parish Registers of St. Francois Xavier), the affidavits tend to provide complete information on parentage, age, spouse and ethnicity all in one place. This means that once each case is coded for machine processing, each head of family in 1875 can be counted twice: once as a child, secondly as a parent, and in addition, as a subject. The method is to code father's name, mother's name, subject's date of birth and subject's name, subject's date of birth, mother's name, mother's date of birth, mother's date of death, and subject's date of death; in adjoining fields and define this string of alphabetical and numeric characters as one variable 'MAIES'. Subject's name, spouse's name, and subject's date of birth are coded along with other variables, and the computer is programmed to sort 'MAIES' by 'KIDS'. The output is approximately four thousand groupings illustrated by those listed in Figure 2. The first example lists six Manitoba householders as siblings, the children of William Smith and Mary Swan. Notice that the computer puts them in three sets because the first four children identify their mother as Mary Swan (717 equals partly Indian); another reported that her mother was simply Mary 7; and the last listed her parents as William Smith and Mary Swan, ethnicity unknown. The second illustration shows one of the siblings as a parent. The John Smith bracketed in the first list in son born in 1820 appears on the second page as the mate of Elizabeth Moore. In this way, two brief lines trace three generations of surviving Smiths along the paternal line of descent, and the same method is equally useful for tracing maternal lines.

B. LINKAGE METHODS

The six record groups described in the preceding pages all pertain to one population divided into approximately five thousand different households. The challenge of record linkage is to develop sorting methods to link each element of information with the family to which it pertains. The task is analogous to fitting together pieces in a vast jigsaw puzzle because all of the record groups are nominal rather than numerical: cases are identified by names rather than by unique numbers. Since different people have the same name and since all names are subject to variation in spelling, the sorting operations must take this into account.

15 PAC R35, Volume 149, 154.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Claimant</th>
<th>Surname</th>
<th>Given Names</th>
<th>Born</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>Claim No</th>
<th>Scrup No</th>
<th>Date of Issue</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ruel, Francis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aug 18, 1833</td>
<td>Baptiste Ruel</td>
<td>Marguerite Boucher</td>
<td>St Boniface</td>
<td>2559</td>
<td>12137</td>
<td>Apr 17, 1877</td>
<td>$160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruel, Julie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>July 23, 1822</td>
<td>Jean Baptiste Legumais</td>
<td></td>
<td>St Vitals</td>
<td>360</td>
<td></td>
<td>D 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritchot, Alexandre</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pleasure Magdelene Ritchot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5404 to 5408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritchot, Andre</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Oct 1, 1828</td>
<td>Joseph Ritchot</td>
<td>Josephine Maillot</td>
<td>St Boniface</td>
<td>857</td>
<td></td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritchot,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jean Baptiste Ritchot</td>
<td></td>
<td>St Vitals</td>
<td>5403</td>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritchot, Baptiste</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jan 1, 1823</td>
<td>Joseph Ritchot</td>
<td>Josephine Guimont</td>
<td>St Vitals</td>
<td>2722</td>
<td></td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Parentage Notes:**
- Ruel, Francis: French Can (Halibred)
- Ruel, Julie: French Can (Halibred)
- Ritchot, Alexandre: French Can (Halibred)
- Ritchot, Andre: French Can (Halibred)
- Ritchot: French Can (Halibred)
- Ritchot, Baptiste: French Can (Halibred)

**Additional Details:**
- Original white settlers from Miskimang, Quebec, entered Red River Country between 1813 & 1835.
- Husband: Louis Ruel (Deceased)

**Affidavit:**
- AFFIDAVIT MISPRINTED
Sometimes spelling becomes more phonetic. Thus, Gardeyns became Gareps and orkens became Hartness. At other times, a prefix to a name is dropped. Delaronde, for example, was shortened to Laronde. Still other dramatic changes occurred without any predictability. LaRoeque is not part of Rockbrone, nor are the two names phonetically similar; but, by the set of other characteristics such as age, spouse's name and parentage, it is discovered that a man is identified with two names—sometimes simultaneously. LaRoeque du Rockbrone. In this way, a set of a number of variables together establish a person's identity regardless of the variation in the spelling of his given name or family name and regardless of the number of other people who might be named 'John Smith.' Since the elements in the set of other identifiers (age, parent's name, etc.) exhibit a unique pattern that since each element exhibits small variations in its own time, there is only a theoretical possibility that a computer programme could be devised to find what is visible to a human eye but invisible to a machine because string elements are not all precisely the same. To avoid losing time in potentially fruitless programme development, the authors of this paper decided to use a combination of machine and manual methods in their attempt to sort out the evidence by household.

**John Smith (1820) as a Sibling**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBS</th>
<th>KID</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>SPouse</th>
<th>BIRTH</th>
<th>PARISH</th>
<th>ID</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>SMITH</td>
<td>JOHN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>SMITH</td>
<td>MARY</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>SMITH</td>
<td>CHARLO</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>N MRRISON</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>SMITH</td>
<td>EDWARD</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>A SABISTON</td>
<td>1843</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
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**MATES SMITH WILLIA MARY7**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>OBS</th>
<th>KID</th>
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<th>SPouse</th>
<th>BIRTH</th>
<th>PARISH</th>
<th>ID</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>SMITH</td>
<td>SARAH</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>R MASSEY</td>
<td>1827</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MATES SMITH WILLIA SWAIN MARY**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>OBS</th>
<th>KID</th>
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<th>SPouse</th>
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<th>PARISH</th>
<th>ID</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>SMITH</td>
<td>ELIZAB</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>S BALLENDINE</td>
<td>1829</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**John Smith (1820) as a Mate**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBS</th>
<th>KID</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>SPouse</th>
<th>BIRTH</th>
<th>PARISH</th>
<th>ID</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>SMITH</td>
<td>JOHN7</td>
<td>MOORE ELIZAB</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MATES SMITH JOHN7 ELIZAB7**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBS</th>
<th>KID</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>SPouse</th>
<th>BIRTH</th>
<th>PARISH</th>
<th>ID</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>SMITH</td>
<td>ELIZA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>W THOMAS</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2044</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Page 2
Such a decision would not be appropriate for most populations, but the Red River case lends itself to this treatment rather tolerably. First, the ratio of family names to total population is favourable. This means that the problem of personal duplicates is manageable for all but a few exceptional families. The exceptionally large family sets were serve Bird, Cook, Flett, McEwan, McKay, Sinclair, Smith, Spencer, Sutherland, and Thomas. Each of these clans contained forty to seventy individual households, likely to be headed by a male named John or James. Consequently, the potential unreliability of links within these groups is large. But altogether, these nine clans included less than nine percent of the total population, the bulk of which fell under about 500 other family names.

A second reality which permitted a certain amount of manual sorting was the manageable number of households, only about 5,000 in round numbers. The output of the sorting and coding operations is a machine readable record which the computer can link by numbers to each case and household. Thus, Athanase Lepine, case number 5899, is the head of household number 2925. If this Athanase Lepine does not appear in the Engagement Register, there is no record 5899 in the Engagement Register subfile. If there is a 5899, it is possible to link observations from this subfile to all others. In other words, case numbers and household numbers are unique and unambiguous, making it possible to merge any two or all seven subfiles in Figure 3. This facilitates analysis with a broad spectrum of control variables in any test of a relationship between one specific pair of independent and dependent variables. Thus, it will be possible to test a broad range of explanations of the economic and social development of the Red River Settlement in particular and the development of new sources in general.

The coding scheme also permits genealogical mapping in many cases since the household numbers of mates' parents are coded whenever such links become evident in the sorting operation. This means that if one wished to trace the lineage of Jean Baptiste Lepine, born in the Red River Settlement about 1840, the first step is to scan computer output for the household number of a Jean Baptiste Lepine with this birth date. He is discovered under household number 2913. The household number of his parents is 2914, and the household number of the paternal grandfather is 2912. Jean Baptiste Lepine born about 1792. Here the line stops because he is the last Lepine recorded as a settler in Red River. Referral to the documents in the dossier on this case shows a marriage record copied from the Parish Register of St. Francois Xavier indicating that the Jean Baptiste of household 2912 was born in Berthier Parish, Lower Canada, the son of Jean Baptiste and Angeline Delorme. He settled in the Red River Colony sometime before 1834, the year he married an Indian woman called Charlotte Santeuse.

Hundreds of such cases link forebears of other Manitoba families to Berthier, St. Jacques, and other places in Quebec or the St. Lawrence Islands. It is hoped that population historians in these other regions will find these data useful in studies of outmigration. With the permission of the Hudson’s Bay Company Archives (from whose holdings so many of the data in the subfiles have been transcribed) computer tapes will be made available to all interested researchers after September 1981. It is also hoped that the historians of more recent
SUBJECT STRUCTURE OF DATA ON DISK STORAGE FOR THE HISTORICAL DEMOGRAPHY OF THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT

Hudson's Bay Company
Engagement Register

Children
Individuals

Children
Aggregates

Households

Real Property

Personal Property

All subtitles have one variable in common: household or use number. Thus, each may be processed alone, or in pairs or as one set. The data cover approximately five thousand families. The disk space required to store the seven subtitles is 100 tracks. Instead, the data would fill 18, two thousand card boxes.

Canadian history will find these data relevant once they are linked to survey material from the more recent past. This task is already well underway with the near completion of twelve additional subtitles pertaining to the land claims of Metis people between 1870 and 1885. A more ambitious study will cover the characteristics of persons who succeeded the Metis on their river lots and section land from 1876 to 1896. But these, the white pioneers, were succeeded in their turn, by the expansion of commercial agriculture and urban development between 1883 and 1914. Here, then, are successive populations whose convergence is open to study from the perspective of mass collective biography. The sources and research methods appropriate to these other sequel projects will be described in later articles.

Résumé

La collecte de la Rivière Rouge devrait être pour de futurs chercheurs en démographie de l'histoire du Manitoba un important champ de recherche conjointement économique et démographie. Les auteurs consacrent certains documents (pré-1870) pourtant après traitement pour intégration homogène des données statistiques. Ils décrivent dans cet article le genre de documents utilisés et la méthodologie qu'ils ont suivie pour les relier entre eux.