

St. Daniel: The Metis Settlement at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois

by

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The Rivière aux Ilets de Bois (RIB) or Boyne River flowed east from the Pembina Hills into the Red River Valley until it lost itself in what was later known as the Boyne Marsh to the northeast of where Carman, Manitoba, is now. The river was known to the inhabitants of Red River from at least 1800; there are several mentions of it in Alexander Henry's journals.¹ The Missouri, or Hunters, Trail on which buffalo hunters travelled to western Manitoba, North Dakota and Montana ran southwest from Headingly and then turned south, skirting the Boyne Marsh. The trail crossed the Rivière aux Ilets de Bois about a mile east of Carman where abundant stands of oak, poplar, basswood, and elm at the crossing provided shelter, fuel and building materials. The Métis used the crossing as a campsite and a place to repair carts. Some came to the woods in the spring to make maple sugar.²

The parish register for St. Francois Xavier records a baptism at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois in 1837 and the oral tradition of the community of St. Daniel (centred about six miles north and west of Carman) suggests that some Métis established permanent or wintering homes along the river as early as the 1830s.³ Abbé Jean-Marie Gagné believed that several Metis had taken up land at RIB or St. Daniel by 1860; tradition holds that the community established a school on Section 16, Township 7, Range 5 about 1866. About 1869-1870 Father F.-X. Kavanagh of the parish of St. François-Xavier began to visit the settlement on a regular basis. He said mass in the home of

¹. Alexander Henry, *New light on the early history of the greater Northwest: the manuscript journals of Alexander Henry, fur trader of the Northwest Company and of David Thompson, official geographer of the same company 1799-1814: exploration and adventure among the Indians on the Red, Saskatchewan, Missouri and Columbia Rivers*, ed. Elliott Coues. (New York: F.P. Harper, 1897), pp. 66, 211, 213.

². R. Louis Gentilcore, ed. *Historical Atlas of Canada. Vol. II, The Land Transformed, 1800-1891*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), Plate 18, "Seasonal Activities of the Red River Métis, 1870"

³. Société Historique de Saint-Boniface (SHSB), Parish Register, Saint Françoise Xavier, Vol.1834-1844. The register refers to an "...enfant anonyme indoyé..." or baptized at the river. A resident of St. Daniel, Fred Conrad, wrote that there was a "good-sized" Métis settlement along the river 45 years before the arrival of the non-Metis; however, his statement conflicts with statement in 1871 that the Métis had claims but not homes along the river. Carman PAM, P2941, F. Conrad, "Short Historical Sketch of the Mission of St. Daniel." Centennial Book Committee, *Up to Now: A Story of Dufferin and Carman*, (1967) p.6; Frederick Conrad was born in Germany and immigrated to Canada in 1901. He was enumerated on Section 27, Township 7, Range 5 in 1911 and lived in the district until his death in 1975.

Joseph Aymont (or Emond) until about 1872 when the inhabitants built a small chapel on 16-7-5.⁴

Whether this was a seasonal or a permanent settlement is unclear. The special census taken in Manitoba in 1870 made no mention of a settlement on the river. If the settlement was on the Rivière aux Ilets de Bois, then the location of the school and chapel, well to the north of the river, is puzzling. Traditionally, Métis settlements had been on river lots which gave easy access to good water as well as providing access to timber, fuel, and shelter and one might have expected the settlement, and the chapel, to have been located on the river. Two accounts by Ontario settlers of the founding of the Boyne Settlement in 1871 acknowledge that the Métis had "...staked out the land along the Boyne in lots of twelve chains frontage in the name of St. Charles parish..." but made no mention of actual occupation.⁵ When the townships along the river, Township 6, Ranges 4 and 5, were surveyed in 1871-72, the surveyors identified only one claim by a Métis, John F. Grant, although there were more than a dozen by recent immigrants from Ontario.⁶ Township 7, Range 5, in which the school was built, reportedly in 1866, was surveyed in 1872 by F. Lynch-Staunton. Staunton thought that the land was too sandy to be good for agriculture and lacked good water but noted that an abundance of game would make it attractive to hunters. He made no mention of settlers, land claims, or of a school or chapel in the township.⁷ The first contemporary written evidence of the RIB settlement is in a letter, dated 3 March 1872 in which Bishop Taché instructed Father Kavanagh to visit Ilets de Bois for Easter.⁸ The settlement was well established by 1880 when Father Kavanagh informed Archbishop Taché that he had found 30 Catholic families at the Rivière aux Ilets de Bois settlement. The chapel at RIB was a mission attached to St. Francois Xavier parish and from about 1880 the St. Francois Xavier parish register began to identify births,

⁴ Public Archives of Manitoba (PAM), P2941, F. Conrad, "Short Historical Sketch of the Mission of St. Daniel;" Antoine Gaboreau, *Ilets-de-Bois (St. Daniel. Une Breve histoire.* Printed by TEC-CRÉATIONS, Collège régional Notre-Dame, 2002, pp.3-5. Gaboreau appears somewhat sceptical about the existence of the school in 1866.

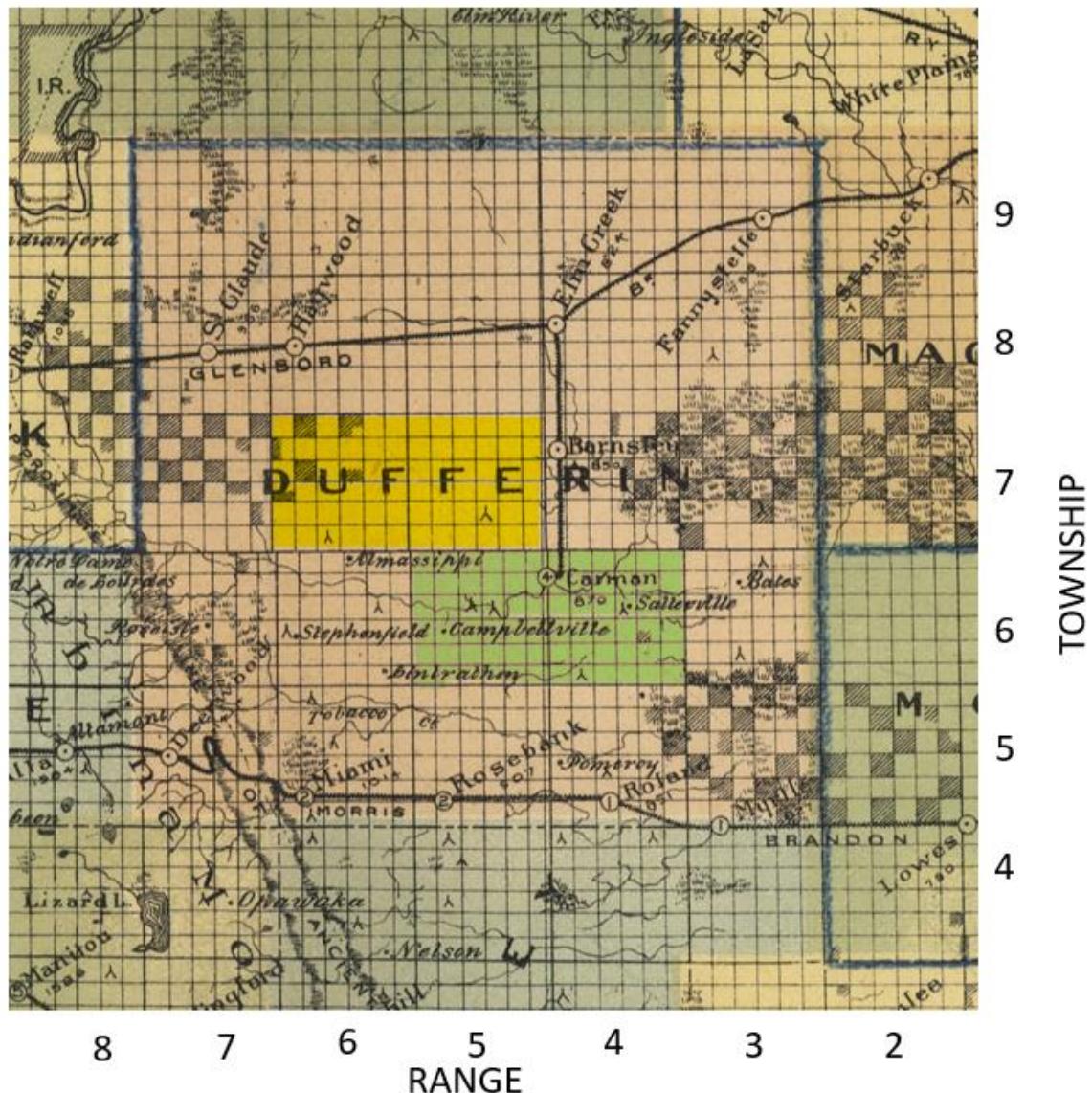
⁵. *The Rural Municipality of Dufferin, 1880-1980*, p.32

⁶. PAM, Surveyor's Notebook, No.157 and No.95. Ri

⁷. PAM, Surveyor's Notebook No.84. It is possible that surveyors overlooked or rejected claims made by Metis. Nicole St. Onge states that William Wagner, who surveyed the Saint-Laurent settlement in 1872, "took no account" of claims marked out by the Metis in the area. Nicole St. Onge. *Saint-Laurent, Manitoba: evolving Metis Identities, 1850-194.* (Regina: University of Regina Press/Canadian Plains Research Centre, 2004), p, 30.

⁸ Antoine Gaboreau, *Ilets-de-Bois (St. Daniel. Une Breve histoire.* Printed by TEC-CRÉATIONS, Collège régional Notre-Dame, 2002, p.3.

marriages and deaths for families living at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois. From 1890 the mission was identified as St. Daniel although St. Daniel was not created as an independent parish until 1899-1900.⁹



Map 1: Dufferin Municipality, 1897. Core of the Boyne Settlement, Township 6, Ranges 4 & 5 (Green); core of the St. Daniel Settlement, Township 7, Ranges 5 & 6 (Yellow). From Bulman's Map of Manitoba, 1897.

John F. Grant, the first identifiable settler on the Rivière aux Ilets de Bois, was born at Edmonton

⁹. SHSB, Tache Series, T-23724-62, Kavangh to Tache, 22 April 1880. I am indebted to G. Enns for the information on the contents of the St. Francois Xavier parish registers.

in 1831, the son of Richard Grant, a non-Métis employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, and Marie-Anne Breland, a Métisse and sister of a prominent Manitoba Métis, Pascal Breland. His mother died in 1833 and he was sent Québec to be raised by his paternal grandmother's family. When he was 15 he joined his father at Fort Hall, Oregon. He traded both furs and cattle in the American Northwest and by 1860 had established a successful ranch at Deer Lodge in Montana. He married a Native woman, Quarra; following her death in 1867, Grant sold his ranch and moved with his family to Manitoba where his mother's relatives lived. He established a home and a store in St. Charles Parish (now included in the western suburbs of Winnipeg) on the Assiniboine River where he was enumerated in the 1870 Manitoba census. He and some of his party also took up land along the RIB just to the east of the Missouri Trail crossing. Over the next decade he broke and cultivated about 60 acres and built a large house and a sawmill on his land on the river; in his memoirs he referred to this property as "the Ranch".¹⁰ In the 1881 census, he, his second wife, Clothilde Bruneau, and 13 children were enumerated in St. Charles; his son Richard and two men who had accompanied him from Montana were enumerated in North Dufferin where they were identified as mill hands, apparently operating Grant's mill. Grant played a minor role in the Red River Resistance, supporting Pascal Breland and Donald Smith in opposition to Riel. After the rising he ranned and speculated in land. In townships 6-4¹¹ and 7-5 he received the patents for 9 quarter-sections; his wife patented 5 quarters. He homesteaded some land, some he bought, and some he acquired by buying Métis land claims. By 1882 he owned 13,000 acres in southern Manitoba; however, in the crash following the Manitoba land boom he lost much of his land.¹² Although he moved to Alberta in 1891, some of his children remained in the St. Daniel area.¹³

¹⁰. John Francis Grant, *A Son of The Fur Trade: The Memoirs of Johnny Grant*, ed. Gerhard J. Ens. (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2008), Introduction, pp.181-82, p.285. June Watson, *The Rural Municipality of Dufferin, 1880-1980*. (Carman, Manitoba: The Rural Municipality of Dufferin, 1982), pp.477-84; LAC, RG15, D-II-2, Vol.143, File M.A.493, C-14906; LAC, MG9, E3, Vol.3, p.300.

¹¹. I will use the shorthand reference 6-4,6-5, 7-5, and 7-6 to refer to Township 6, Range 4, Township 6, Range 5, which together formed the core of the Boyne Settlement, and Township 7, Ranges 5 and 6 which formed the core of the St. Daniel district.

¹². Gerhard J. Ens, *Homeland to Hinterland: The Changing Worlds of the Red River Métis in the Nineteenth Century*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), pp.168-69.

¹³. Watson, *The Rural Municipality of Dufferin*, pp.477-84; Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Microfilm reel C-13282, Canada Census, 1881, Selkirk, Assiniboia, 183A, p.54, lines 9-23.

Grant's interest in land at the Rivière aux Ilets de Bois played a role in the decision of the Métis of St. Charles Parish to claim land along the river as their share of the land reserved for the Métis under the Manitoba Act. The Act had reserved 1,400,000 acres of land for the children of Métis families. In 1871, as settlers from Ontario began to arrive in Manitoba and take up land, the French speaking, Roman Catholic, Metis communities met and laid claim to areas which they hoped to receive as their share of the grant. On 14 May 1871 at a meeting chaired by John Grant the inhabitants of St. Charles claimed to a block 4 miles wide and 18 miles long on either side of the Rivière aux Ilets de Bois. Their claim, as well as the claims of the other parishes, was published in *Le Metis* on 8 June 1871.¹⁴

The St. Charles claim was too late to give the Metis an uncontested claim to the Boyne. On Easter Sunday (9 April) 1871 Samuel Kennedy, an immigrant from Ontario, brought a small party of men linked to the Red River Expeditionary Force to the Rivière aux Ilets de Bois.¹⁵ Kennedy and at least one other man, Ryer Olsen,¹⁶ took up land claims along the river, building houses and clearing land. Kennedy's family joined him later in the summer.¹⁷ By mid-June Kennedy and his little party had been joined by other Ontario immigrants.

The Metis, believing that they had a prior right to choose land in Manitoba, protested the arrival of the Ontario settlers. John F. Grant put up notices at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois stating the Métis claims. The settlers were verbally "warned off"; one Ontario settler, Duncan Campbell, noted in his diary on 18 June "Warned to leave that section of Country by three French Half Breeds to which we paid no attention.". ¹⁸ Although Campbell paid no attention to the warning, many of the

¹⁴. *Le Metis*, 8 June 1871, p.3.

¹⁵. *The Dufferin Leader*, (Carman), 28 April 1898, "The Town of Carman."

¹⁶. Olsen was not a member of the expeditionary force. He was a former employee of the Hudson's Bay Company who had come to Red River from Scandinavia in 1856 He had married Hikiskawacya Jackson, a Native woman.

¹⁷. Kennedy's name is not on the list of members of the Red River Expeditionary Force, 1870-1871 compiled by Fred Shore in *The Canadians and the Métis: Appendix II*. His name does appear on a list of men employed as voyageurs in July of 1870 and family tradition holds that he came to Manitoba with the force as a volunteer and spent the winter of 1870-71 in Manitoba. Watson, *The Rural Municipality of Dufferin*, pp.2, 532-33. LAC, RG9, II, F7, Vol.1.

¹⁸. PAM, MG3, B28, Vol.4, Duncan U. Campbell Diary, 8 to 20 June 1871; Shore, *The Canadians and the Métis*:, p256; Watson, *The Rural Municipality of Dufferin*, p.2. Neil E. Allen Ronaghan, *The Archibald Administration in Manitoba, 1870-1872* (Phd Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1987), p.628, citing Charles Napier Bell's diary entry for 20 June. According to the *Globe*'s correspondent, news of the affairs at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois reached Fort

settlers did leave. The Toronto *Globe* reported that by 24 June only 20 of 80 immigrant families remained at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois. However, the *Globe*'s correspondent wrote, those who remained were "...determined to hold their ground against all such intruders."¹⁹ The situation deteriorated and, after meetings in their parishes the Métis "...determined to march to the settlement and drive off the intruder." Lieutenant Governor Archibald learned of this plan and warned the leading men among the Métis that "... if they lifted a hand or struck a blow it was all over."²⁰ The threat of a violent confrontation passed, the Ontario settlers remained in possession of the land along the Boyne; over the next decade the Metis expanded their settlement in Township 7, Range 5, which, by 1890 was known as St. Daniel.

The "confrontations" at Rivière aux Ilets de Bois soured relations between the Metis and Ontario settlers but it is possible to exaggerate their importance. John F. Grant, the only Metis who can definitely be identified as occupying land on the river prior to the confrontations, remained in possession of his land and was an important figure in both the Boyne Settlement and in St. Daniel for another 20 years. In his memoirs Grant wrote of the settlers "...I knew the most of them were Orangemen for they did not like the Catholics." He went on to say that after initial threats, "... they never attempted to drive me away."²¹

Several short accounts of the St. Daniel parish have been written; they tend to focus on church activities.²² This paper, using the census records of 1881, 1891, 1901, 1906, 1911, 1916, and 1921, land records, parish registers, Metis scrip records, Manitoba vital statistics, and census records will identify and describe the Metis inhabitants of St. Daniel between 1871 and 1931,

Garry on 19 June. *Globe*, 14 July 1871, p.2, "Manitoba Affairs." In June of 1872 the surveyors of 6-5 recorded P. Campbell as having a claim on the southwest quarter of 27-6-5 and D. Campbell as having a claim and a house on the southeast quarter of 28-6-5. PAM, GR2404, Township Plans, #69, Township 6, Range 4.

¹⁹. *Le Metis*, 6 July 1871, p2; *Globe*, 14 July 1871, p.2, "Manitoba Affairs". There is a firsthand account by Peter Campbell of one of these "warnings" in *The Rural Municipality of Dufferin, 1880-1980*, p.2.

²⁰. Canada. *Journals of the House of Commons, 1874*. No. 8, App.6, "Report of the Select Committee on the Causes of the Difficulties in the North-West territory in 1869-70," p.140.

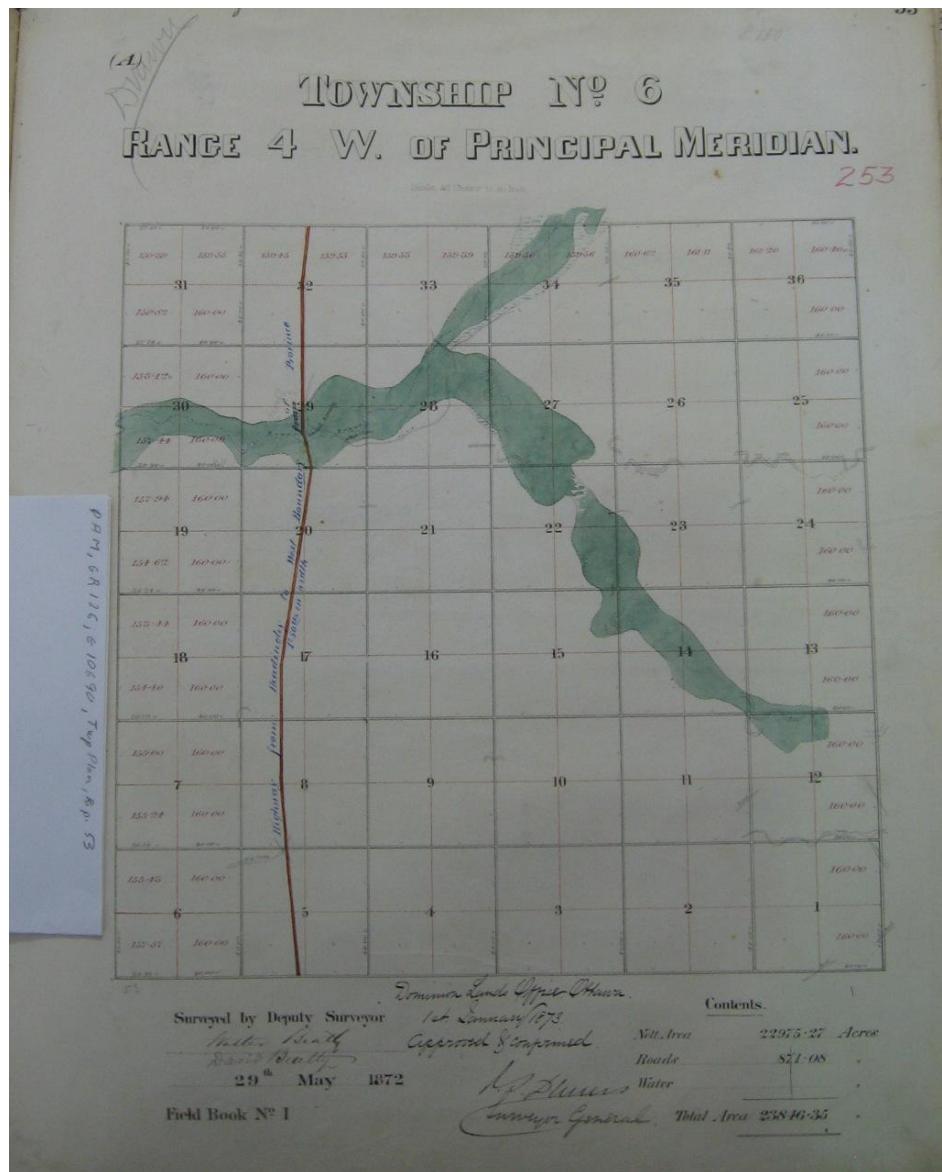
²¹. Grant, *A Son of The Fur Trade*; p.264. Watson, *The Rural Municipality of Dufferin, 1880-1980*, pp.477-84.

²². Archives Société Historique de St. Boniface, l'abbé J.-M. Gagné, "Conferences Données a la Radio D.K.S.B., mars 1947 - La Paroisse de Saint-Daniel de Haywood, Manitoba"; PAM, D2941 F3, F. Conrad, "Short Historical Sketch of the Mission of Saint Daniel Formerly Known as Ilets de Bois;" Antoine Gaborieau, *Ilets-de-Bois (St. Daniel)* (Np: np, Juin 2002).

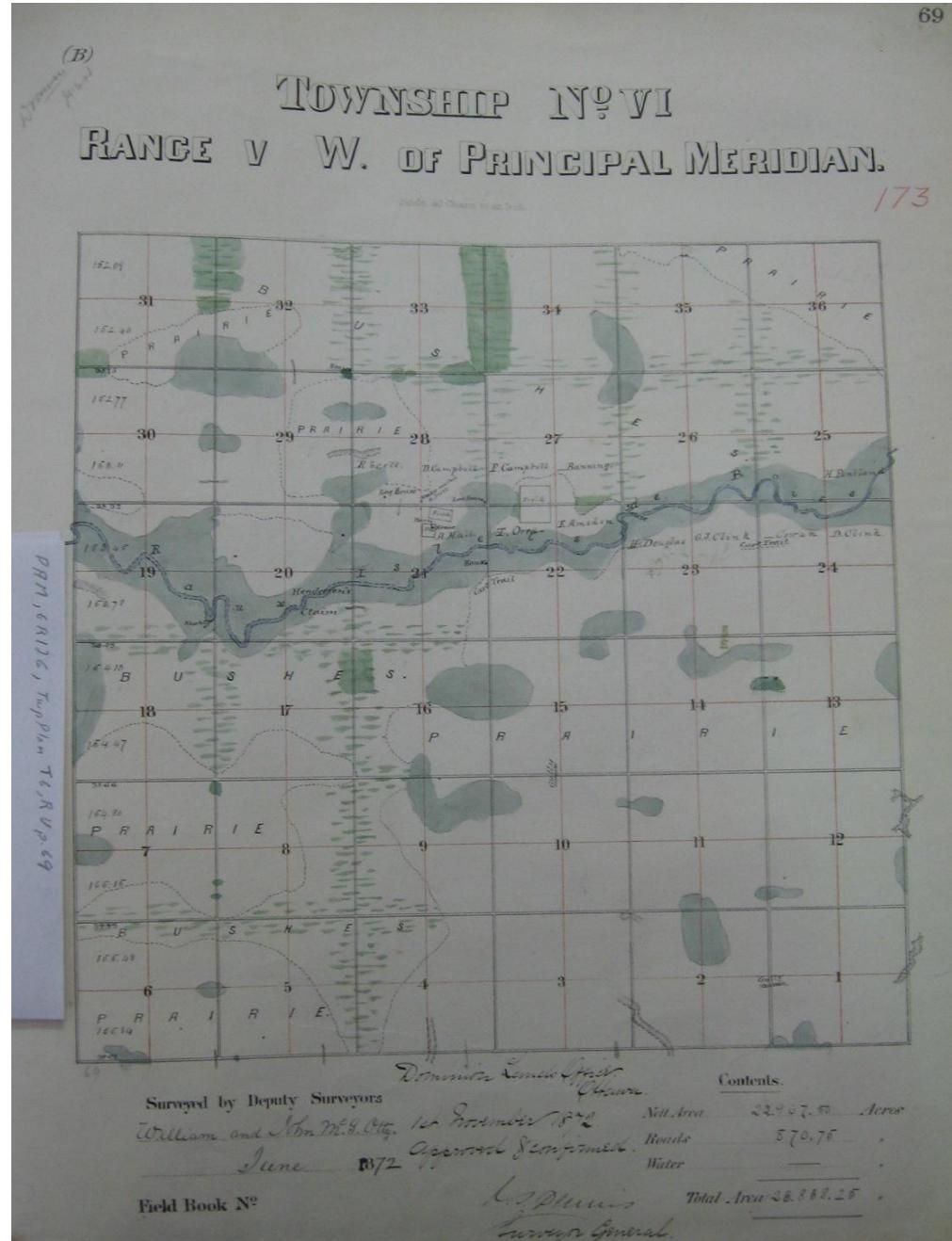
and compare them with the neighbouring inhabitants of the Boyne Settlement.

Although both the Metis and the Ontario settlers claimed land along the Boyne River in 1871, none of them could obtain a legal title to it until it had been surveyed. Surveys were not completed until 1872. These surveys provide the first detailed look at the Boyne Settlement (Township 6, Ranges 4 and 5) and St. Daniel (Township 7, Ranges 5 and 6). The published surveyors' report for Township 6, Range 4, stated that it was fit for settlement, that the soil was a very deep, black mould overlaying white clay, and that there was good timber - oak, elm, poplar and basswood - along the river. All of the lots containing wood and some of the prairie sections had been taken up and some very fine crops of wheat, barley and oats had been grown in the township in "... the past season.", probably 1871. Although the report states that much of the land had been taken up, the unpublished notebook only notes that Grant, Campbell, and John Kernaghan had made improvements. The township plan prepared in May of 1872 shows only two claims in 6-4, one by Samuel Kennedy and one by Ryer Olson. The plan for Township 7, Range 4, shows "Grant's Cattle Depot" in Sections 2 and 3. The report on Township 6, Range 5, noted that the soil was black loam and that there was good wood along either side of the Boyne River; the township plan shows 14 claims, all of them by Ontario settlers. Township 7, Range 5, was surveyed in 1872 by F. Lynch-Staunton. Staunton thought that the land was too sandy to be good for agriculture but noted that an abundance of game would make it attractive to hunters. He made no mention of settlers, land claims, or of a school or chapel in the township.²³

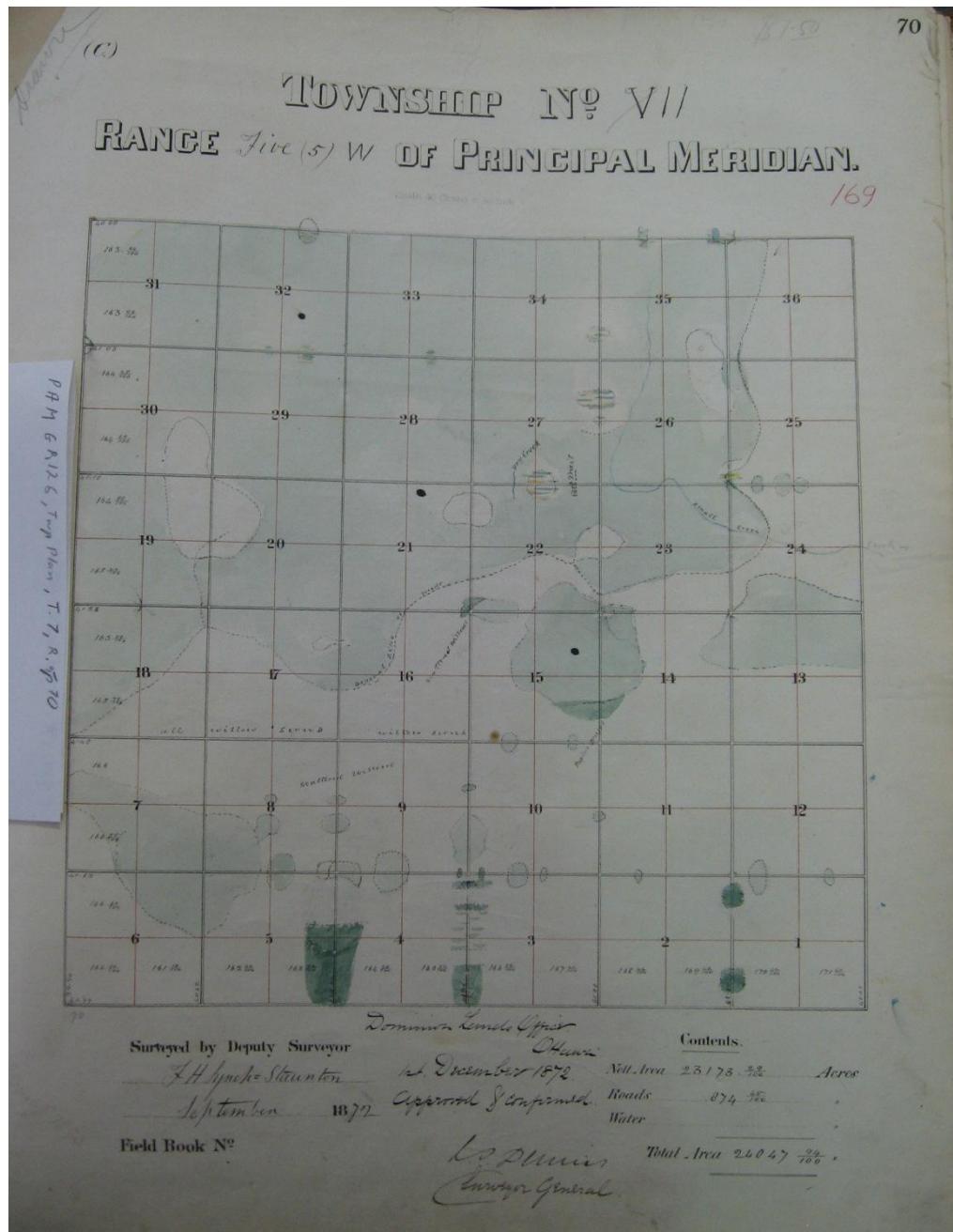
²³. "Reports of the Township Survey of Manitoba, Keewatin and the North West Territories, 1879, pp.35-36; PAM, Surveyor's Notebook, No.84, No.157 and No.95. PAM, GR204, Township Plans, No.53, No.54, No.69, and No.70.



Map 2. Survey of Township 6, Range 4. 1872.

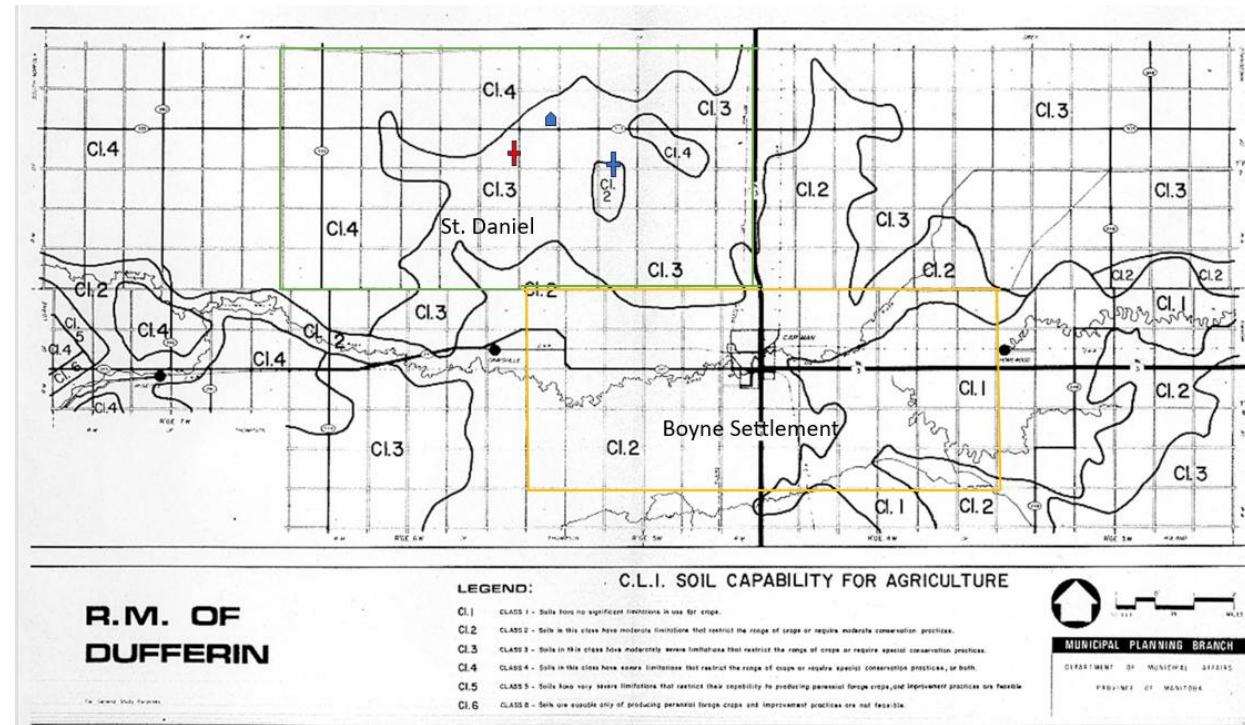


Map 3: Survey of Township 6, Range 5. 1872.



Map 4. Survey of Township 7, Range 5, 1872. The old St. Daniel cemetery is on the north side of Section 16.

Modern assessments of the soil quality in the Boyne Settlement and in St Daniel agree with the surveyors' assessments. The land in the Boyne Settlement is rated as CL 1 and CL 2, the highest categories. Most land in the two St. Daniel townships is rated as CL 3 and CL4, land which placed some limitations on the range of crops which can be grown. Ed Cross



Map 5. Classification of Soil Capability For Agriculture. Blue cross represents the old St. Daniel church and school. The red cross represents the church after 1899-1900; the blue house represents St. Daniel school after 1894.

Beginning in 1872 applications for crown land provide a rough guide to the rate of settlement in both the Boyne Settlement and in St. Daniel.²⁴ The first entries for land were made in 1872 when the three townships were surveyed. By 1882 a total of 106 individuals had entered for land in 6-4, 86 had entered in 6-5, and 68 had entered in 7-5. In the two townships of the Boyne Settlement, 4 individuals made entries for land in 1872 followed by a total of 56 in 1873 and 1874. Most of these entries were within a mile of the river or of a secondary channel known as "The Point". Riverfront land was preferred for the access it provided to water, shelter and wood

²⁴. Statistics on the entries for and patenting of Dominion Lands in Township 6, Ranges 4 and 5, (Boyne Settlement) and Township 7, Range 5 (St. Daniel) have been compiled from three sources: Watson, *The Rural Municipality of Dufferin*, pp.13-15, 19-20; PAM, Township General Registers for Township 6, Ranges 4 and 5, and Township 7, Range 5; and LAC, Western Land Grants, http://www.archives.ca/02/020111_e.html.

for building, fencing and fuel. In 1872 the Winnipeg *Free Press* reported that most of the wooded land on the Boyne had already been taken up and in 1875 it suggested that much of the best land had fallen into the hands of one individual and that this was slowing settlement.²⁵ Activity dropped off dramatically in 1875 and 1876 when a total of only 25 individuals entered for land. It picked up in 1877 and 1878 when 117 individuals made entries for land and then declined again from 1879 to 1881. The entries from 1877 to 1881 filled up the townships away from the river and began the settlement of St. Daniel.²⁶

Table 1: Individuals Who Made an Entry for Land in the Boyne Settlement or in the St. Daniel District before 1882 and Individuals Who Eventually Received a Patent for These Entries.

Year of Entry	Entries					Patents			
	TWP 6	TWP 6	TWP 7	TWP 7		TWP 6	TWP 6	TWP 7	
	RGE 4	RGE 5	RGE 5	RGE 6	Totals	RGE 4	RGE 5	RGE 5	Totals
1872	4				4	1			1
1873	17	15			32	10	11		21
1874	15	9			24	6	3		9
1875	5	1	6		12	3	1	4	8
1876	2	9	2		13	2	7	2	11
1877	15	26	23		64	3	18	20	41
1878	27	14	12		53	12	9	6	27
1879	14	6	10		30	11	2	7	20
1880	4	4	2		10	3	4	2	9
1881	3	2	13	6	24	3	2	9	14
Totals	106	86	68	6	266	54	57	50	161

Entries for land in 7-5, what would become the centre of the St. Daniel district, started later than in the Boyne Settlement and by 1881 substantially fewer entries had been made in 7-5 than in 6-4 or 6-5. On the other hand, 74% of the entries made before 1881 in 7-5 were persisted in until a patent was issued; in the Boyne Settlement only 59% of entries resulted in the issue of a patent.

²⁵. *Manitoba Free Press*, 28 November 1872, pp.5 and 8, “Our New Settlements.” *MFP*, 7 August 1875, p.3, “Boyne River Settlement;” James Morton Richtik, *Manitoba Settlement, 1870 to 1886*. (University of Toronto, PhD. Thesis, 1986), p.216. The individual has not been identified.

²⁶. Homestead entries for Manitoba were as follows: 1872 - 283; 1873 - 878; 1874 - 1376; 1875 - 499; 1876 - 347; 1877 - 832; 1878 - 1753; 1879 - 3876; 1880 - 2074; 1881 - 2730. Chester Martin, “Dominion Lands” Policy, ed. Lewis H. Thomas, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973) p.170.

Six individuals entered for land in the vicinity of St. Daniel Church (on Section 16, Township 7, Range 5) in 1875 but settlement did not really get under way until 1877. Overall, there were substantially fewer entries made in St. Daniel prior to 1881 than were made in either of the Boyne Settlement townships. The first individuals to apply for land in 7-5 were six Metis, most of whom were related to or linked to John F. Grant. John F.'s son, Richard Grant applied for SW quarter of 27-7-5 in 1875. William Grant, who was either John F.'s son or his nephew, applied for the NE quarter of 21-7-5. Norman McIver (or McIvor), who was married to John F.'s daughter, Jane Grant, applied for the SW28-7-5 as a homestead in 1875. Jane Grant also applied for a homestead, the SE28-7-5. All four received the patents to their land in 1881 or 1882. Edward Lavatte,²⁷ an adopted son of John F. Grant applied for the NW22-7-5 as a homestead; in 1878 the application was changed to a scrip acquisition and in 1878 he received the patents for both the NW22-7-5 and the NE22-7-5. Edouard Lavallee applied for the SE20-7-5 in 1875; his application was subsequently cancelled and nothing more is known of him.

Only two individuals applied for land in 7-5 in 1876.²⁸ Lendrum McMeans applied for the SE 27-7-5 as a homestead and received the patent in 1902. Although he applied for the land as a homestead, there is little evidence that he lived in the St. Daniel district.²⁹ The other applicant in 1876 was Ambroise Jobin who applied for the NE27-7-5 in 1876 using scrip and received the patent in 1877. The applicant may have been either Ambroise Jobin Senior or Junior; both men were enumerated in the Assiniboia sub-district in 1881.

Although six individuals had entered for land in St. Daniel in 1875 and two in 1876, *Henderson's Manitoba Directory* only identified three individuals, Richard and William Grant, and Edouard Lavallee, as residents of Township 7, Range 5, in July of 1877.³⁰

²⁷. Lavatte is an Anglicization of LaVatta, a Spanish name. It is possible that Edouard Lavallee is a variant of Lavatte.

²⁸. John F. Grant's sister-in-law, Eulalie Bruneau (Brunault) acquired the SW2-7-4 as a homestead in 1876.

²⁹. Lendrum McMeans, 1859-1941, came to Manitoba in 1882 and was called to the Manitoba bar in 1883. He was elected to the Manitoba legislature in 1910 and was appointed to the Senate in 1917.

³⁰. *Manitoba Directory for 1877-78 Containing the Names of Professional and Business Men and Other Inhabitants of the Province with Advertisers Classified Business Directory and a Miscellaneous Directory. Second Year.* (Winnipeg: The Manitoba Directory Publishing Company. nd.), p.30.

In 1877 23 individuals applied for land in 7-5; eight of them can be identified as Metis. Several of the Metis were linked to John F. Grant. Grant's wife, Clothilde Bruneau, applied for all of 14-7-5 using scrip. John Barnes, an adopted son of John F. Grant, applied to homestead SW21-7-5. John Craft applied for the NE28-7-5; the application was cancelled and the patent was issued to Eugene Dubois in 1886. After abandoning his claim Craft entered for SE35-7-5; when he died in September 1881, he left his claim to Clothilde Grant; she received the title to it in 1892. Michel Gagnon applied for the NE33-7-5 as a homestead; he received the patent in 1899. Gagnon was probably the son of Louison Gagnon, a Metis who, in 1871, lived in Saint Francois Xavier parish. Louis Gagnon applied for the NW33-7-5 at the same time as Michel made his application but the application was abandoned. Pierre Jobin, a son of Ambroise Jobin Sr. of St. Charles, applied for the NE15-7-5 as a homestead; he received the patent in 1892. William Lillie applied for the SE32-7-5 as a homestead. Guillaume Oulette of St. Norbert applied for the SW15-7-5 as a homestead. Gagnon, Jobin, Lillie, and Oulette had no known links to John F. Grant although the first three did come from St. Francois Xavier and St. Charles parish where Grant lived. Fourteen of the entries were made by whites; two of these were French-speaking settlers from Quebec. Most of the whites chose land in the southern part of the township.

In 1878 John Grant, Jr., applied to purchase the NE23-7-5; he received the patent in 1879. Pierre McLeod of St. Francois Xavier applied for the SE31-7-5 as a homestead; he received the patent in 1884.

In 1879 Daniel Frederic (also known as Daniel Paul) applied for the NW16-7-5 as a homestead; he received the patent in 1883. He pre-empted the NE16-7-5 in 1879 and purchased it in 1883. Frederic's land included the site of the original St. Daniel church and cemetery. Frederick sold the north-east quarter to Letitia Murray in 1882; she sold it to Baptiste Ducharme in 1883. In the 1890s Ducharme sold several small plots to individuals. In 1894 the Archdiocese of St. Boniface bought a one-acre plot in the northeast corner of the quarter. Daniel Frederick retained ownership of the NE16-7-5 until about 1899-1900 except for a one acre lot in the northwest corner of the quarter which the Archdiocese of St. Boniface bought in 1894. These two small lots were used as

the old St. Daniel cemetery where the St. Daniel monument was erected in 2002.³¹ The lots sold to private individuals probably formed the basis of the original St. Daniel settlement.³²

Francis Gaudry applied for the NE26-7-5 as a homestead; he received the patent in 1882. Noel Guiboche of St. Charles parish applied for the NE19-7-5 as a homestead. Napoleon McIver, a brother of Norman, applied for the NW28-7-5 as a homestead. Francois Ouellette applied for the NW15-7-5. P. (Pierre?) Ouellette applied for the NE16-7-5; this application was cancelled and in 1881. Pierre Ouellette applied for the NW20-7-5 as a homestead; he received the patent in 1888. Alphonse Ouellette applied to purchase the north half of 36-6-4. How the Ouellette settlers in St. Daniel were related is uncertain. Charles Pruden, who in 1871 had been living in St. James parish, applied for the NW19-7-5 as a homestead; he received the patent in 1883. Napoleon Constant applied to homestead part of NE12-7-5 in 1879 but his application was subsequently cancelled.

In 1880 William McIver, a brother of Norman and Napoleon McIver. applied for the SW16-7-5 as a homestead; he received the patent in 1885.

There were also settlers in 7-4 - Corriveau, the Bernardins and Poirier. The Bernardin family (Louis, Edouard, Joseph, and Dosithe) took up land in 7-4 in 1878 and after. The family were French Canadians who had spent some time in Massachusetts. A daughter, Marie, married William Grant. By 1901 some Bernardins were living in SFX.

³¹ Manitoba Land Titles Office, Morden. Old System Land Abstract Books, entries for the NW and NE quarters of 16-7-5, west of the prime meridian.

³² In the 1950s much of the northern half of the NW16-7-5 remained poplar bush. The bush contained two house foundations and three or four cellar pits.

Table 2: Entries for Land by Metis in 6-4, 7-4, 7-5 to 1880.

Patentee	Wife	Entry	Patent	Twp	Rge	Sec	Qtr	
Grant, Richard	Hogue, Rosalie	1875	1881	7	5	27	SW	H
		1882	1882	7	5	27	NW	P
Grant, William	Bernardin, Marie	1875	1881	7	5	21	NE	H
		1880	1882	7	5	21	NW	W
Lavallee, Edouard		1875	C	7	5	20	NE	
		1875	1878	7	5	22	NE	S
		1875	1878	7	5	22	NW	S
McIvor, Norman	Grant, Jane	1875	1882	7	5	28	SW	H
		1875	1882	7	5	28	SE	H
Jobin, Ambroise, Sr.	Mondeville, Margueritte	1876	1877	7	5	27	NE	S
		1877	1882	7	5	22	SE	H
Barnes, John	Desjardins, Rosalie	1881	1882	7	5	22	SW	S
		1877	C	7	5	28	NE	
Craft, John		1877	C	7	5	33	NE	
		1877	1899	7	5	33	NE	H
Gagnon, Michel	Virginie Ouellet	1881	1906	7	5	33	SE	S
		1877	1892	7	5	15	NE	H
Jobin, Pierre	McMillan, Sarah	1892	1892	7	5	15	SE	P
		1877	1880	7	5	32	SE	H
Lillie, William	Unkown, Maggie	1877	1884	7	5	32	SW	S
		1877	1882	7	5	15	SW	H
Ouelette, Guillaume	Guiboche, Sophie	1877	1878	7	5	14	NW	S
		1878	1883	7	4	18	SW	P
Grant, Clothilde	Pruden, Marie	1878	1879	7	5	23	NE	P
		1878	1884	7	5	31	SE	H
Corriveau, Petre	Delorme, Rose	1878	1884	7	5	31	NE	P
		1879	C	7	5	12	NE	
Grant, John, Jr.		1879	1887	7	5	28	NW	H
		1879	1880	6	4	36	SE	P
McLeod, Pierre	Gagnon, Helene	1879	1880	6	4	36	NE	P
		1879	1884	7	5	19	NE	H
Gaudry, Francois	Sauteuse, Melanie	1879	1882	7	5	26	NE	H
		1879	1884	7	5	19	NE	H
Guiboche, Noel	Smith, Marie	1879	1884	7	5	19	SE	P
		1879	1884	7	5	19	SE	P
McIvor, Napoleon	Ouellette, Alphonse	1879	1887	7	5	28	NW	H
		1879	1880	6	4	36	SE	P
Oulette, Francois	Unknown, Quippi	1879	1880	6	4	36	NE	P
		1879	1883	7	5	15	NW	H
Oulette. Pierre	Malaterre. Elise	1879	1888	7	5	20	NW	H
		1879	1883	7	5	16	NW	H
Paul (Frederic), Daniel	Guiboche, Marguerite	1879	1883	7	5	16	NE	S
		1879	1883	7	5	19	SW	H
Pruden. Charles	Guiboche. Archangel	1883	1883	7	5	19	SW	P

Renaud, Francois	Caniman, Azelda	1880	1881	7	4	7	NE	P
		1880	1881	7	4	7	NW	P
McIvor, William	Emond, Nancy	1880	1885	7	5	16	SW	H

C – Cancelled: H - Homestead: P - Purchase: Pr - Preempt: S - Scrip

By the end of 1880, 27 Metis had applied for land in Township 7, Range 5; 24 of them would eventually receive title to at least one quarter section in the district. Ten of the 27 Metis were relatives or associates of John F. Grant; most of the others came from parishes - SFX, St. Charles, and St. James - on the Assiniboine River where Grant lived. The exceptions, the Ouelettes, were from St. Norbert on the Red River south of Fort Garry. The Metis were not the only settlers in 7-5; 28 non-Metis had applied for 49 quarters. Non-Metis applicants were generally in the south half of the township and the Metis applicants were in the northern half. In the next decade Metis continued to take up land in 7-5 and began to acquire land to the west in 7-6.

Based on the 1872 survey plan, the southern half of the township tended to be more open with scattered willow scrub and wooded areas; the northern half was more heavily wooded.

The evidence from land records indicates that by 1881 the Metis had taken the first steps to acquiring title to land in St. Daniel; what is less clear is how many were actually living there in 1881. Fifty-five individuals had entered for land in 7-5 before 1881. Forty-one would receive patents to land in 7-5; of these 36 would be on the basis of homesteading; 23 of the 36 homesteaders were Metis. However, only six of the 55 who entered for land before 1881 were recorded in the 1881 census of Part 1 of North Dufferin; given that 36 patentees received their patents on the basis of fulfilling homestead requirements which included 18 months residency over a three year period, the small number of patentees who were enumerated is surprising.

The census schedule did not record where the householders were living, but it is probable that about 80% of the households enumerated were in four townships (Township 6, Ranges 3, 4, 5, and 6) along the Boyne River. Six individuals who had entered for land in 7-5 before 1881 were enumerated in North Dufferin but there is some doubt that they were living in the township. Richard and Rosalie Grant were living with John Craft, John Barnes and Baptiste Broconeau

(Branconier) at the time the census was taken. Grant, Craft, and Barnes had applied for land in 7-5; Broconeau would make an application in 1881 but would not receive the patent. The men were all identified as mill hands; John F. Grant had a mill on the Boyne River and it seems likely that they were living near the mill rather than on their land in 7-5 which was 6 or 7 miles from the mill site. Norman McIvor, a farmer who had applied for land in 7-5, was enumerated next to them. Jane Grant, McIvor's wife, also applied for land in 1875. Five of the 27 Metis who had applied for land in 7-5 prior to 1881, Clothilde Grant, John Grant, Jr., Ambroise Jobin, William McIvor, and Pierre Ouellette, were enumerated in Assiniboia, a census subdistrict which probably took in St. Charles parish. Seventeen applicants for land have not been identified in the 1881 census.

There were also two French-speaking, Roman Catholic, households in North Dufferin who may have identified with the St. Daniel community although they were not Metis. Frank Ely and Hercule Houde had moved to Dufferin from Quebec via the United States. They took up land in 6-6 and 5-7. Olive Houde, Hercule's wife, purchased the SE34-7-5 in 1877. Frank Tetro (Tetreault?) an American born, Roman Catholic, of French origin, was also enumerated in North Dufferin; he may have been Metis although Tetreault was not a common Metis name. He may have lived in Township 6, Range 6.³³

³³ Richard, Samuel and Thomas Salter, and Joseph Pemble Smith were enumerated in North Dufferin. They were Protestant Metis who applied for land in the Boyne Settlement and probably identified with the Boyne settlers and not with the Saint Daniel community.

Table 3: Probable Location and Year of Entry of 182 Households Enumerated in Dufferin North, Part 1, in 1881. By Township and Range.³⁴

Year of Entry	Township 5					Township 6					Township 7			Total
	RGE 4	RGE 5	RGE 6	RGE 7	RGE 8	RGE 3	RGE 4	RGE 5	RGE 6	RGE 7	RGE 4	RGE 5		
Year of Entry Not Known	5		1	1	4	1	10	3	5			2	32	
Found in 1882	3	2	4			1	2	4	1					17
1872							2							2
1873							6	6						12
1874							2	2						4
1875							2	1				2		5
1876						1								1
1877								10				1		11
1878						5	17	10	4					36
1879						10	11	2	4		1			28
1880						1	3	2	2					8
1881	1					3	2	1	2		1			10
1882	1		1			1		2	3	1				9
1883	2													2
1884								2	1					3
1899												1		1
1900								1						1
	12	2	6	1	4	23	57	46	22	1	1	7		182

³⁴ St. Daniel and the Boyne Settlement were included in Part 1 of the North Dufferin sub-district of the Marquette District. The exact boundaries of Division 1 of North Dufferin are not known but, by comparing the names in census returns with locations given in land records, its extent can be estimated. From the south to the north it included Township 5, Ranges 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, Township 6, Ranges 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, and Township 7, Ranges 4 and 5. Division 1 of the North Dufferin census recorded 698 individuals and 182 families or households. Schedule 1 of the census does not provide addresses for families enumerated. However, by combining information from land records and from the 1882 Henderson's Directory of Manitoba and the North-West Territories I have been able to link 159 households to land for which a member of the household made an entry. The remaining 23 households may be assigned locations in the townships based on their proximity to other households in the census schedules. Keeping in mind the limits imposed by this uncertainty, 103 of 182 households (56%) were in the Boyne Settlement. Another 45 households (25% of the total) were living in Township 6, Range 3, and Township 6, Range 6, immediately to the east and west of the Boyne settlement. Only seven of the 155 identified households were living in 7-5, the St. Daniel district, although 50 individuals who had entered for land there before 1882 would eventually receive patents.

The question of whether or not the census was an accurate record of the population of the Boyne Settlement and of St. Daniel is worth considering. There was criticism of the thoroughness of the census in Manitoba at the time it was taken. In a study of the settlement of the Rock Lake district (about 100 kilometres to the southwest of Carman) Donald Loveridge suggested that the enumeration of the district missed almost 50% of the inhabitants.³⁵ Similarly, Nichole St. Onge's study of St. Laurent on Lake Manitoba suggests that Metis were under-enumerated.³⁶

A comparison of records of patented land with the census returns reveals some anomalies which suggest that in St. Daniel the enumeration was less complete than it was in the Boyne Settlement.

Table 4: Patentees in the Boyne Settlement and in St. Daniel who made entry before 1881 and were/were not enumerated in the 1881 Census

TWP	RGE	Patentees	Patentees Enumerated	% of Patentees Enumerated	Homesteaded
6	4	52	34	65	34 (65%)
6	5	56	28	50	30 (54%)
7	5	42	5	12	26 (62%)

Approximately equal numbers of patents (52 in 6-4, 56 in 6-5, and 42 in 7-5) were issued to settlers who entered for land before 1881 in the three townships. In the Boyne Settlement 57% of the patentees were identified by the census enumerator; in St.

Daniel the same enumerator identified only 12% of the patentees.³⁷ Homesteading accounted for about two-thirds of the patents issued in the three townships. Land sales and Manitoba bounty grants, which did not require residence, were the other common means of obtaining patents in 6-4; in 6-5 and 7-5 scrip was the second most common means of obtaining patents. Metis and non-Metis were about equally likely to use scrip to obtain patents. There was a strong positive correlation (about 84%) between being enumerated and homesteading in 6-4 and 6-5 but it was much weaker (only 12%) between homesteading and being enumerate in 7-5.

³⁵. Loveridge, "The Garden of Manitoba". pp. 657-60.

³⁶. Nicole St. Onge, *Saint-Laurent, Manitoba: Evolving Métis Identities, 1850-1914*. (Regina: University of Regina, Canadian Plains Research Center, 2004), pp.51, 53.

³⁷. Twelve per cent may be misleadingly high. As discussed above, it is possible that most of the enumerated individuals who had taken up land in 7-5 were not living on their property but were actually living in the Boyne Settlement when they were enumerated.

Table 5: Nature of Grant for All Patentees in the Boyne Settlement and in St. Daniel who made entry before 1881

TWP	RGE	No. of Patentees	Homeste ad	Sale	Scrip	Other
6	4	52	34	12	6	
6	5	56	30		18	8
7	5	42	26		13	3

The difference is surprising given that homesteading was about equally common in both settlements and that in the Boyne Settlement there was a strong positive correlation between homesteading and enumeration. Given this correlation it seems unlikely that absentee ownership was the explanation for all of the apparent under-

enumeration of patentees in St. Daniel. A more probable explanation hinges on the fact that St. Daniel had a high proportion of Métis settlers; of the 55 individuals who had entered for land before 1882 at least 27 were Métis. Traditionally the Métis left their homes in the spring to hunt and freight and, when the census was taken in April and May of 1881, the inhabitants may have been away. On the other hand, only one of the 21 non-Métis individuals who had entered for land in 7-5 were enumerated. Both Metis and non-Metis entrants for land were missing in St. Daniel. The enumerator for part 1 of North Dufferin was Frank Stewart, an Ontario settler, a son-in-law of Samuel Kennedy, and an active Orangeman.³⁸ Given the antagonism between the new settlers and the Metis, it is conceivable that Stewart overlooked the Metis who had claims in 7-5. This rationale would not explain why so many non-Metis land claimants were missed in 7-5.

The parish registers for St. Francois-Xavier Church provide additional evidence that there were more Metis in the area than were recorded in the 1881 census. In 1880 Father F.X. Kavanagh reported that there were 30 Catholic families at Riviere aux Ilets de Bois.³⁹ The 1881 census recorded only nine Roman Catholic households in North Dufferin; five of these were Metis and two were recent immigrants from Quebec via the United States. Ilets de Bois, subsequently St. Daniel, was a mission of SFX and births, marriages, and deaths in St. Daniel were recorded in the SFX parish registers. The registers do not mention RIB before 1879 but from 1880 entries in the registers note if the parents of children baptized were residents of the RIB. Six couples from

³⁸. Watson, *The Rural Municipality of Dufferin*, p.750.

³⁹. SHSB, Kavanagh to Tache, 22 April 1880, Fonds Tache T23724-25. I wish to thank Gerhard Ens for this reference and for information drawn from the Saint Francois-Xavier Parish Registers. 16 June 2003.

RIB had children baptized at SFX in 1880 and five had children baptized in 1881.⁴⁰ None of the couples were enumerated in the 1881 North Dufferin census although five of them had applied for land in 7-5 by the end of 1880 and two more would apply for land in 1881. From 1880 to 1891 the SFX registers record 58 couples from RIB who had at least one child baptized at SFX.⁴¹ None of these couples has been found in the 1881 North Dufferin census. Finally, 13 individuals with the surnames Bernardin, Brymer, Gaudry, Landry, Leroy, Malaterre, McIvor, Ouellette, and Paul were confirmed at Ilets de Bois in 1881. None of these individuals were enumerated in North Dufferin in 1881.⁴²

Metis continued to take up land in 7-5 in the 1880s and a few made entries in 7-6, the township to the west. In 1881 John F. Grant purchased 25-7-5; in 1891 he was enumerated in Elm River which included St. Daniel. Alexander Aymond, Eugene and Francois Dubois, Pierre Dumas, Daniel Lapointe, Francois McDermott, and Francois Ouellette also entered for land 1881. Alexander Aymond was a brother-in-law of Pierre McLeod who had taken up land in St. Daniel in 1878; Alexander's father, Seraphim, and his brother, Joseph, would both settle in St. Daniel. Eugene and Francois Dubois were brothers born in St. Vital. They may not have been permanent residents of St. Daniel at the time they took up land. Five of the six children born to Eugene and his wife, Elizabeth George between 1873 and 1884 were born at Fort Qu'Appelle.⁴³ Three of Francois Dubois and Elise Desjardins' children were born at Wood Mountain between 1875 and 1881.⁴⁴ Pierre Dumas was married to Josephte Paul; the Paul (or Frederic) family would become prominent in St. Daniel. Daniel Lapointe was enumerated in Assiniboia in 1881 but he settled in St. Daniel in the 1880s and by 1901 owned 320 acres. Francois McDermott became a prominent

⁴⁰. They were: Francois Gaudry and Melanie Sauteuse; Guillaume Ouellette and Sophie Guiboché; Richard Grant and Lorna Lavitey; Francois Ouellette and Marguerite Dupuis; Francois Renaud and Azelda Caniman; Francois Ouellette and Cleophie Dupuis; Napoleon McIvor and Helene Gagnon; James Lillie and Marie Morin; Charles Pruden and Archange Guiboché; Jean Dubois and Marie Larance; Eugene Dubois and Elisabeth George. Only Richard Grant has been located in the 1881 census for Manitoba.

⁴¹. I wish to thank Gehard Enns for providing me with information on the baptismal records in the SFX parish registers. St. Daniel was transferred to Fannystelle Parish in 1892. Antoine Gaborieau, *Ilets-de-Bois (St. Daniel): Une brève histoire*. Juin 2002, p.6.

⁴² SHSB, Picton collection, Notes on St. Daniel, Haywood, St. Claude families, p.53.

⁴³ The Metis Scrip records in RG15 give Qu'Appelle as the birthplace but, according to the St. Francois-Xavier parish register, some of these children were born in St. Francois-Xavier.

⁴⁴ There is disagreement between the Metis Scrip records and the St. Francois-Xavier parish register as to the birthplace of Eliza Dubois.

resident of St. Daniel; he was responsible for organizing the McDermott school district in the 1890s. Francois Ouellette, who applied for land in 7-6, was a member a large family from St. Norbert, several of whom took up land in St. Daniel.

Five Metis, Onesime Falcon, Joseph Frederic, André Guiboche, Jacques Ouilette, and Gadefoi Payette, took up land in 7-5 and 7-6 in 1882. Falcon was from St. Charles and was a brother of Julie Falcon, the wife of David Lily (Lillie), another settler in St. Daniel. Although Falcon appears to have lived in St. Daniel in the 1880s, by 1892 he was living near Starbuck on Section 32, Township 9, Range 2. Joseph Frederic (also known as Joseph Paul) was the son of Daniel Paul who had taken up land in St. Daniel in 1879. Jacques Ouilette was the father of Guillaume Ouelette who had taken up land in 1877. Gadefoi Payette had been born in Quebec and was single in 1882 but in 1885 he married Marie-Rose Malaterre, a daughter of Basile Malaterre of SFX, and a sister of Adelaide, Elize, and Roger Malaterre, all of whom lived in St. Daniel.

Between 1883 and 1886 only two Metis applied for land in St. Daniel. Thomas Pruden (or Prudhomme) took up the NW36-7-5; he was a younger brother of Charles Pruden who had taken up land in 7-5 in 1879. His land was on the same section as that of Francois McDermott who was married to his sister, Nancy Pruden. Another sister, Marie, married John Grant Jr. in 1885. William Hogue, whose older sister, Rosalie, had married Richard Grant, applied for land in 7-5 in 1884; his application was subsequently cancelled.

In 1887 Michel Proulx entered for SW30-7-5 and Raphael Ouellette entered for NW28-7-6. Proulx was from St. Charles; his mother was Angele Guiboche and his wife was Domathilde Ritchot but it is not clear how or if he was related to other families in the St. Daniel area. It is probable that his daughter, Marie, married Edward Payette. Raphael Ouellette was the son of Guillaume Ouellette who had taken up land in 7-5 in 1877. He was married to Marie, a daughter of Eugene Dubois and was a brother of Angele, the wife of Alfred Loiselle; he may have been the brother of Virginie, the second wife of Michel Gagnon.

In 1888 Joseph Lapointe applied for the NE36-7-6 and Alfred Loiselle applied for the NE30-7-5.

How Joseph Lapointe was related to the other Lapointes in St. Daniel is not known. Alfred Loiselle was from Chambly, Quebec; in 1886 he married Angela Ouellette, daughter of Guillaume Ouellette and Sophie Guiboche. From 1899 to 1901 he was the teacher at St. Daniel School.

Three Metis, André Guiboche, Urbain Delorme, and Henry Field, Jr., entered for land in 7-5 and 7-6 in 1889. André Guiboche was the son of André Guiboche and Julie Desjardins of St. Charles. They had taken up land in 7-6 in 1882. The younger André married Melanie Delorme, a daughter of Alexis Delorme and Helene Paul. She was a sister of Joseph and Urbain Delorme; Joseph moved to St. Daniel prior to 1891 and Urbain Delorme took up land about two miles east of that taken up by André Guiboche. Henry Field, Jr., was a Protestant Metis, a son of Henry Field who had taken up land in the Boyne Settlement in 1877. By 1891 Henry Sr., Henry Jr., and Joseph Field were living on the SE4-7-6. They were several miles south of the land taken up by the Roman Catholic Metis and lived among other Protestant, and white, settlers.

Thomas Bremner, a brother of Charles, entered for land in 7-4 in 1890 and Charles Henault, a brother-in-law of Eugene and Francois Dubois, entered for the NW36-7-6.

Table 6: Entries for Land by Metis in 7-5 and 7-6, 1881-1890.

Patentee	Wife.	Entry	Patent	Twp	Rge	Sec	Qtr
Avmond, Alexander	Ducharme, M.	1881	1884	7	5	32	NE H
Delorme, Casimir	Swan, Margueritte	1881	1885	7	5	30	NW H
Dubois, Francois	Desiardins, Elise	1881	1885	7	6	24	SE P
Dubois, Eugene	George, Elisabeth	1881	1886	7	5	28	NE H
Dumas, Pierre	Paul, Josephte	1881	1886	7	5	20	SE H
Grant, John F.	Bruneau, Clothhilde	1881	1882	7	5	25	NE P
		1881	1882	7	5	25	NW P
		1881	1882	7	5	25	SE P
		1881	1882	7	5	25	SW P
Lapointe, Daniel	Ducharme, Josephte	1881	1886	7	5	20	SW H
McDermott, Francois	Pruden, Nancy	1881	1885	7	5	36	SW H
Ouellette, Francois	Dupuis, Margueritte	1881	1885	7	6	24	SE P
Branconier, Baptiste		1881	C	7	5	28	NE
Falcon, Onsesime	Lesperance,	1882	1886	7	5	20	NE H
Frederic, Joseph	Unknown, Adeline	1882	1890	7	6	24	NE P
Guiboche, Andre	Julie Desiardins	1882	1886	7	6	24	NW P
Ouilette, Jacques	Marcelais, Marie	1882	1886	7	5	36	SE H
Payette, Gadefoi	Malaterre, Marie	1882	1889	7	6	36	SE P
Hogue, William	Laliberte, Virginnie	1884	C	7	5	36	NW
Pruden, Thomas	Ackland, Marie	1884	1890	7	5	36	NW H
Proulx, Michel	Ritchot, Domitille	1887	1893	7	5	30	SW H
Ouellette, Raphael	Dubois, Adele	1887	1895	7	6	28	NW S
Lapointe, Joseph	Unknown,	1888	1902	7	6	36	NE S
Loiselle, Alfred	Ouellette, Angela	1888	1895	7	5	30	NE H
Field, Henrv. Jr.	McOueen, Jane	1889	1901	7	6	4	SE H
Guiboche, Andre	Delorme, Melanie	1889	1898	7	6	36	SW P
Delorme, Urbain	Zastre, Emilie	1889	1900	7	5	32	NW H
Bremner, Thomas		1890	1895	7	4	30	NW H
Henault, Charles	Unknown, Alphonsine	1890	1896	7	6	36	NW H
Lambert, John Robert	Unknown, Margaret	1895	1901	7	6	14	SW H
Aymond, Joseph	Gagnon, Elise	1895	1899	7	5	33	SW H
Field, Joseph		1897	1901	7	6	4	SW H
Lambert, Joseph	Unknown, Rosamond	1898	1902	7	6	22	NW H

C – Cancelled: H - Homestead; P - Purchase; Pr - Pre-empt; S - Scrip

In 1881 Metis had occupied much of the northern half of 7-5 and made a strong start at establishing the St. Daniel community. Between 1881 and 1891 Metis took up an additional 18 quarter sections in the northern half of 7-5, filling the gaps left by Metis who had taken up land

in the 1870s. They also took up eight quarter sections in the north-eastern quarter of 7-6. By 1891 most of the land in 7-5 was in private hands; there was still unoccupied land in 7-6 but almost half of the township was set aside as CPR and HBC land. In 1900-02 the CPR received the patents to 15 square miles of land in 7-6. The CPR land sales books do not have any record of this land being sold to individuals after it was patented; it was probably transferred to the Canada North West Land Company which in turn would have sold it to individuals.⁴⁵

A special census was taken of Manitoba in 1886. The manuscript copy of the census is lost but the published report provides an overview of the population in both the St. Daniel and the Boyne areas.⁴⁶ St. Daniel was included in the census subdistrict of Elm River in Marquette and the Boyne Settlement was in the subdistrict of Dufferin North in Selkirk.⁴⁷ In 1886 Elm River had a population of 356 individuals in 86 families. North Dufferin had a population of 1,358 individuals in 333 families. In both districts the average family included 4.1 individuals. In Elm River 55% of the population was male; in North Dufferin 57% of the population was male. Sixty-one percent of the population of Elm River was Roman Catholic, 16% were Anglican, 8% were Canadian Methodists, and 13% were Presbyterians. In North Dufferin the comparable figures were 4%, 17%, 40%, and 33%. According to the census there were no churches of any denomination in Elm River; the St. Daniel church appears to have been overlooked. In North Dufferin there were two Methodist churches and one Presbyterian church. Unlike the 1881 and 1891 censuses, the 1885-86 census identified Metis inhabitants. French Metis constituted 49% of the population in Elm River. English, Irish, Scotch and other Metis made up 10% of the population. Thirty-six percent of the non-Metis population traced their ancestry to the British Isles while 3% were of French origin. The ethnic background of North Dufferin was quite different; 36% of the population was of Irish descent; 28% was of Scottish descent and 26% was of English descent. Less than 1% of the population were French Metis and just over 1% were English and Scottish Metis. The information on birthplace reinforces the image of Elm River as

⁴⁵. University of Calgary Archives, Fonds F0455 - Canadian Pacific Railway Land Sales Registers. The data base does not include large sales of lands to land companies.

⁴⁶. *Census of Manitoba. 1885-86/ recensement de Manitoba* Ottawa: Maclean Roger & Cco., 1887.

⁴⁷. The boundaries of the Elm River and North Dufferin census sub-districts have not been identified; however, it is probable that they covered the same area as the rural municipalities of Elm River (Townships 7, 8, and 9, and Ranges 5, 6, 7, and 8, W1st) and North Dufferin (Townships 4,5, and 6, and Ranges 3, 4, and 5, W1st).

primarily a Metis community with a background sharply different from that of North Dufferin. Sixty-three percent of the population of Elm River had been born in Manitoba; 14% had been born in Ontario and 14% in the British Isles. In North Dufferin 25 % of the population had been born in Manitoba, 53% had been born in Ontario and 15% in the British Isles.

Based on the number of individuals who had entered for land before 1881, the 1881 census of St. Daniel appears to have been very incomplete. Judged on the same basis, the 1885-86 census was more complete. By 1885 about 43 Metis men had entered for land in 7-4, 7-5, and 7-6. The census returns shows 311 Metis individuals in the Elm River sub-district. This would have been equivalent to 51 families; although not perfect, the correlation between Metis families in the Elm River enumeration and the number of Metis applicants for land is much closer than it was in the 1881 census.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ There were two female Metis applicants for land in St. Daniel; they have not been included in the calculation of families as they were both married to men who also applied for land. I have assumed that Metis families were the same size, 4.1 individuals, as all families in Elm River.

Table 7: Comparison of Elm River and North Dufferin Populations as Reported in the 1885-86 Census of Manitoba.

	Elm River	North Dufferin	
Total Population	356	1358	
No. of Families	86	333	
Average No. per Family	4.1	4.1	
Men as % of total population	55%	57%	
Religion - Roman Catholic	61%	4%	
- Church of England	16%	17%	
- Presbyterian	13%	33%	
- Methodist	8%	40%	
Origin - French Metis	49%	<1%	
- Other Metis	10%	1%	
- English	13%	26%	
- Irish	11%	36%	
- Scotch	12%	28%	
- French	3%	2%	
Birth Place – Ontario	14%	53%	
- Manitoba	63%	25%	
- Quebec	4%	3%	
- England	11%	5%	
- Scotland	3%	3%	
- Ireland	less than 1%	7%	
Land and Agriculture			
Total Population	356	1358	
No. of Families	86	333	
Total No. of Occupiers	74	305	
Owners	64	266	
Tenants	9	38	
Employees	1	1	
Occupies 80 acres or less	4 (5%)	9 (3%)	% of occupiers
Occupies 81 to 160 acres	32 (43%)	124 (37%)	% of occupiers
Occupies 161 to 320 acres	38 (51%)	151 (45%)	% of occupiers
Occupies 321 to 640 acres	0	14 (4%)	% of occupiers
Occupies 641 acres and over	0	7 (2%)	% of occupiers
Total acres occupied	17,400	81,542	
Acres occupied per family	202.32	244.87	
Acres per Occupier	235.1	267.4	
Total acres cultivated	1,304	19,064	
% Cultivated	7%	23%	

Acres cultivated per family	15.16	57.25	
Acres cultivated per occupier	17.6	62.5	
Acres broken, 1885-86	442	2,441	
Acres seeded in 1886	1,061	432?	
Field Products			
Wheat – Acres	650 (50%)	12,209 (64%)	% of cultivated land
- Bushels	9,918	191,231	
- Yield	15.3	15.7	
- Bushels per family	115.32	574.26	
- Bushels per occupier	134.0	628.0	
Barley – Acres	88 (8%)	1,916 (10%)	% of cultivated land
- Bushels	1,915	36,826	
- Yield	21.8	19.2	
- Bushels per family	22.86	110.6	
- Bushels per occupier	25.8	120.7	
Oats - Acres	219 (17%)	3,835 (20%)	% of cultivated land
- Bushels	6,975	115,627	
- Yield	31.8	30.1	
- Bushels per family	81.10	347.22	
- Bushels per occupier	94.3	379.1	
Potatoes - Acres	29 (2%)	124 (<1%)	% of cultivated land
- Bushels	4,045	17,570	
- Yield	139.5	141.7	
- Bushels per family	47.03	52.76	
- Bushels per occupier	54.7	57.6	
Turnips - Bushels	0	4,775	
Other Roots - Bushels	220	525	
Turnips and other roots- Bushels per family	2.56	15.91	
Cultivated Hay - Acres	0	919 (5%)	% of cultivated land
- Tons	0	974	
Prairie Hay - Tons cut	1,451	8,579	
- Tons per family	16.9	25.8	
- Tons per occupier	19.6	31.3	
Animal Products			
Horses over 3 years	69	542	
Colts and fillies under 3 years	17	212	
Mules	0	22	
Horses & mules per family	1	2.3	

Horses & mules per occupier	1.2	2.5	
Working Oxen	84	230	
Milch Cows	170	852	
Other Horned Cattle	312	1,791	
All Cattle per family	6.6	8.6	
All Cattle per occupier	7.6	9.4	
Sheep	0	694	
Sheep per family	0	2.1	
Swine	219	2,159	
Swine per family	2.4	6.5	
Home-made butter, lbs.	7,905	77,085	
Lbs. of butter per family	91.9	231.5	
Home-made cheese, lbs.	0	610	
Furs and Pelts			
Beaver	0	200	
Bear	0	106	
Fox	0	174	
Lynx	2	23	
Mink	187	639	
Muskrat	1,219	2,017	
Otter	4	9	
Skunk	61	126	
Wild Cat	0	40	
Wolf	4	55	
Deer	0	15	
Moose	0	54	
Other	0	63	

The published returns for the 1885-86 provide aggregate data on land occupancy and farm production in both Elm River and North Dufferin. Both subdistricts were primarily rural farming communities although North Dufferin included the growing village of Carman. In Elm River 74 individuals were listed as occupiers of land - 64 were owners, nine were tenants and one was an employee. A total of 86 families were enumerated in Elm River so at least 12 families (14%) neither owned nor rented land. In North Dufferin 305 individuals occupied land; 266 were owners, 38 were tenants and one was an employee. At least 28 families (8%) in North Dufferin were landless. Given that North Dufferin included the village of Carman, where one might expect to find individuals who did not own land, the larger percentage of non-occupiers and non-owners in the completely rural Elm River seems significant.

On average, each family in Elm River occupied 202 acres of land; in North Dufferin the average family occupied 245 acres. Only a fraction of the occupied acreage was cultivated; in Elm River the average family cultivated 15 acres; in North Dufferin the average was 57 acres. The difference in cultivated acreage may reflect the number of years the different areas had been settled; much of North Dufferin had been settled in the 1870s; Elm River was settled in the late 1870s and in the early 1880s. Some of the differences may be related to topography - the St. Daniel district particularly the northern portion where most of the Metis settled - was more heavily wooded than the Boyne District (excepting the land along the Boyne River). Clearing land would have slowed bringing it into production. However, the difference in cultivated acreage may also reflect a cultural difference. Most of the population of North Dufferin had moved from Ontario and had a long farming tradition. Over half of the population of Elm River were Metis and although the Metis had some experience farming, they also relied on hunting, trading and freighting for a living and may not have been as focussed on farming as the Ontario settlers.

Homesteading records provide support for the view that Metis farmed on a smaller scale than the Ontario settlers.⁴⁹ Homestead regulations required that the homesteader cultivate a certain amount of their homestead. The forms used in applying for a patent under the homestead legislation provided space for a report on the number of acres the applicant had under crop, the number of acres broken, and the number of acres fenced at the time the application was made. The applications of 84 individuals who applied for patents in Townships 6-4 and 6-5 (the core of the Boyne settlement) and in 7-5 (the core of the St. Daniel settlement) have been examined. On average the 84 applicants for patents had about 26 acres of their claim in crop at the time they applied for a patent; the 45 applicants who applied for a patent three years after entering on their land had 23 acres in crop. Progress in bringing land into production was not uniform. Looking only at the applications which were made three years after entry, applicants from Township 7-5 had 16 acres in crop at the time they made their application, applicants from 6-5 had 24 acres and applicants from 6-4 had 29 acres.

⁴⁹. PAM, GR2060, Manitoba, Department of Natural Resources, Homestead Files, Reels M2242 and M2257.

Only one or two of the applicants for patents in Townships 6-4 and 6-5 were Metis but in 7-5, the St. Daniel district, 23 out of 33 applicants were Metis and nine were immigrants from Ontario. On average the Metis had 13.1 acres under crop at the time they applied for patents while the Ontario immigrants in St. Daniel had 21.6 acres. The acreage cropped by Ontario immigrants in St. Daniel was almost the same as that cropped by all settlers in Township 6-5 although it was substantially less than that cropped by immigrants in Township 6-4.

Table 8: Average Acres Sown by Years of Occupation at Time of Application for Patent and by Township and Range			
Years Occupied at time of Application	TWP 6	TWP 6	TWP 7
	RGE 4	RGE 5	RGE 5
	Acres	Acres	Acres
2		17.5	12.5
3	29	24	16
4	54	12.5	14
5	48	40	25
6		18	14
7	67	22	17
8		15	
9	n/a		
10	45		
13		17	
14	n/a		
24			1
Average	40.6	22.1	15.

Years Since Entry	Metis		Ontario Origin	
	#	Acres	#	Acres
2	1	12	1	13
3	10	11.4	6	24.5
4	5	12.4	2	17.5
5	2	25		
6	2	14		
7	2	17.5		
24	1	1		
Average	23	13.1	9	21.6

The inhabitants of Elm River and North Dufferin grew wheat, oats, barley, potatoes, and small amounts of turnips and other roots. Fifty percent or more of the cultivated acreage was devoted to wheat and about 20% to oats. The yield per acre was about the same in both districts but, because the farmers of Elm River had much less land in crop than the farmers in North Dufferin, they produced much less per family than did the families in North Dufferin. The ratios were about 1 to 5 for wheat and barley, about 1 to 4 for oats, and almost 1 to 1 for potatoes. Wheat and

barley were generally cash crops, destined for market, while oats and potatoes were more likely to be consumed on the farm; presumably the farmers in North Dufferin were more commercially oriented than those in Elm River. The published census returns do not allow a comparison of production by Metis and non-Metis in Elm River but, given that the non-Metis in Elm River cultivated much more land per family than the Metis, the Metis production of grains per family was less than the average in Elm River.⁵⁰

Elm River residents also had fewer horses, cattle, and pigs per family than residents of North Dufferin. The average family in Elm River had one horse, 6.6 cattle, and 2.4 pigs. In North Dufferin the figures were 2.3, 8.6 and 6.5. North Dufferin families also produced 2.5 times as much butter as families in Elm River. In general, the inhabitants of North Dufferin owned and cultivated more land, produced more grain and owned more livestock than the inhabitants of Elm River.

Land records indicate that Metis who received land from the crown in the St. Daniel and Boyne Settlement areas were more likely to have acquired it by homesteading than their non-Metis neighbours. Eighteen of the 20 Metis individuals who acquired crown land in 7-5 in the 1870s acquired at least one quarter section as a homestead; of the 23 Metis who acquired crown lands in the 1880s, 14 acquired at least one quarter through homesteading. In Township 7-5 37% of all patentees had received their land by homesteading; in Townships 6-4 and 6-5, the Boyne Settlement, only 31% of patentees had received their land by homesteading.

These homesteaded lands were separate from lands which many of the Metis in St. Daniel received as part of the Metis land grants the Manitoba Act. Many St. Daniel residents who had been children at the time of the transfer of Rupertsland to Canada in 1870 received grants of 240 acres under Section 31 of the Manitoba Act. Under Section 32 of the act, their parents were entitled to the lands which they had occupied at the time of the transfer. Under 37 Victoria, Chapter 20, “heads of family” at the time of transfer were also entitled to grants of 160 acres or \$160 in scrip. Many of the first generation of St. Daniel residents were entitled to receive lands

⁵⁰ *Census of Manitoba. 1885-86/ recensement de Manitoba* Ottawa: Maclean Roger & Cco., 1887.

under the terms of the two acts and many Metis who settled in St. Daniel had received patents for the lands under the Manitoba Act. Many Metis sold the rights to these lands even before the patents were granted and it is possible, maybe probable, that the St. Daniel patentees never occupied the lands patented under the Manitoba Act. Most of the patents for land granted to Metis children were issued between 1877 and 1883; most of the land granted was in the “Metis Reserve” to the north and north-east of St. Daniel. For example, Seraphim Emond (or Aymond), his wife, Marie Lapierre, and at least three daughters and one son each received 240 acres of land under the terms of the Manitoba Act. Seraphim, also received, in 1879, the patent to 94.23 acres of land in St. Francois Xavier parish which he had occupied at the time of the transfer. His son, Alexander, homesteaded 160 acres in Township 7, Range 5, in addition to the land he received under the Manitoba Act.⁵¹

The published report of the 1891 census provides another opportunity to look at both Elm River and North Dufferin. It includes information on both Division 1 of North Dufferin, which was centred on Township 6, Ranges 4 and 5, (the Boyne Settlement) and on Division 2 of North Dufferin which was located farther south in Townships 4 and 5. The report also includes information on Elm River. Three hundred families were enumerated in Division 1 of North Dufferin and 230 families in Division 2. The population of Elm River had increased by 59% from 356 to 567 from 1885-86 to 1891; in North Dufferin the population had increased by 77% from 1358 to 2406.⁵² The average family size had increased to 4.7 in Elm River and 4.5 in North Dufferin. Men continued to outnumber women (56% to 44%) in Elm River and in North Dufferin. Both communities continued to focus on farming; in Elm River 85% of heads of families were farmers. In Division No.1 of North Dufferin (which included Carman) 63% of the heads of families were farmers.⁵³ Several indicators - housing, land ownership, and agricultural production - suggest that Elm River remained a poorer community than North Dufferin.

The 1891 published census report provides information on housing. In Elm River 102 dwellings

⁵¹. LAC website, index to Metis Scrip Records and to Western Land Grants.

⁵². It is not known if the areas covered by the census districts were the same in 1891 as in 1885-86.

⁵³. Carman was incorporated as a village in 1899 and a town in 1905.

housed 120 families; on average each dwelling had 5.6 inhabitants. In North Dufferin 529 dwellings housed 530 families for an average of 4.5 persons per dwelling. The houses were built of wood. In general the houses in Elm River were smaller than those in North Dufferin; 26% of the houses in Elm River were one-room; 38% were two-room. In North Dufferin only 7% were one-room and 24% were two-room buildings. Twenty-two of the 102 dwellings in Elm River were classified as shanties; none of the dwellings in North Dufferin were shanties. It is not clear how a shanty was defined; the number of shanties recorded in Elm River suggests a poorer quality of housing but it may simply reflect the views of the enumerator.

The majority of families in both Elm River and North Dufferin owned some agricultural land. Of 107 occupiers of land in Elm River, 104 were owners and only three were tenants; in North Dufferin 51 out of 462 occupiers were tenants. Although it is impossible to make an exact equivalence between families and occupiers of land, at least 8% of Elm River families neither owned nor rented land; in North Dufferin, at least 13% of families neither owned nor rented land. Given that North Dufferin included the growing settlement of Carman and that only 63% of the heads of families in North Dufferin were farmers, the level of land ownership in North Dufferin is higher than one might have expected.

In North Dufferin the average number of acres owned per family had dropped from 244.9 in 1885-86 to 202.3 in 1891; in Elm River it had dropped from 213.2 to 173.5 acres. In considering this it should be remembered that North Dufferin included Carman where many individuals might have owned little more than a town lot. As well only 63% of heads of households in North Dufferin were farmers; in Elm River 85% of heads of households were farmers. The average number of acres cultivated per family had increased in both districts, but it remained much lower in Elm River, 26.5 acres, than in North Dufferin, 74.7 acres. Yields per acre were about the same in both communities but, as a consequence of the greater acreage planted per family in North Dufferin, the production of wheat, oats, barley and potatoes per family was about 2.5 times higher in North Dufferin than in Elm River. The Elm River families fared somewhat better in livestock production. By 1891 the average Elm River family had about 3.6 horses and 10.7 cattle and cut 33.7 tons of hay while the average North Dufferin family had 3.9 horses and 7.5 cattle

and cut 16.2 tons of hay. Interestingly, although families in Elm River apparently owned more cattle per family than those in North Dufferin, the families in North Dufferin had, on average, sold or killed 2.8 cattle compared to only 0.65 in Elm River.

Table 10: Comparison of Elm River and North Dufferin, Population as Reported in the Published 1891 Census Report. (Includes Dufferin sub-districts 1 and 2)

Vol.1, Table 2 Population, Families, and Dwellings

	Elm River	North Dufferin	
<u>Population</u>	567	2406	
<u>Families</u>	120	530	
Average No. per Family	4.7	4.5	
Dwellings Occupied	102	529	
<u>Persons per Dwelling</u>	5.6	4.5	
Houses	80 (78%)	529 (100%)	
Shanties	22 (22%)	0	
Wood	80	529	
Brick	0	0	
Stone	0	0	
1 story	29	149	
2 Stories	51	380	
3 stories	0	0	
4 stories	0	0	
1 room	21 (26%)	37 (7%)	% of houses
2 room	30 (38%)	127 (24%)	% of houses
3 room	13 (16%)	86 (16%)	% of houses
4 room	10 (13%)	119 (22%)	% of houses
5 room	3 (4%)	52 (10%)	% of houses
6 room + up	3 (4%)	108 (20%)	% of houses
Uninhabited	12	11	
In Construction	7	13	

Table 3. Civil Condition

	Elm River	North Dufferin	
Population	567	2406	
Families Number	120	530	
Families Average Size	4.7	4.5	
Males	318 (56%)	1407 (58%)	% of total population
Females	249 (44%)	999 (42%)	% of total population
Married Males	93	394	
Married Females	92	389	
Total Married	185	783	
Widowed Males	6	24	
Widowed Female	9	38	

Total Widows & Widowers	15	62	
Children and unmarried	219	948	
Children and unmarried Females	148	636	
Total Children and unmarried	367	1584	
French Canadians	235	0	
<u>Others</u>	332	2429	

Vol.2, Table 4 Religions

	Elm River	North Dufferin	
Population	567	2406	
Roman Catholic	267 (47%)	113 (5%)	% of population
Church of England	139 (26%)	348 (14%)	% of population
Presbyterian	96 (17%)	695 (29%)	% of population
Methodist	55 (10%)	710 (30%)	% of population
Baptist	5 (1%)	150 (6%)	% of population

Vol. 2, Table 16 Occupiers of Land and Land Occupied

	Elm River	North Dufferin	
Population	567	2406	
Families	120	530	
Total Occupiers of Land	107	462	
Owners	104	411	
Tenants	3	51	
Employees	0	0	
Occupiers of 10 acres and	7 (7%)	8 (2%)	% of occupiers
Occupiers of 11 to 50 acres	2 (2%)	3 (1%)	% of occupiers
Occupiers of 51 to 100 acres	3 (3%)	11 (2%)	% of occupiers
Occupiers of 101 to 200 acres	66 (62%)	230 (50%)	% of occupiers
Occupiers of 201 and over	29 (27%)	210 (45%)	% of occupiers
Total Occupied	20825	112979	
Acres Occupied per Family	173.5	213.2	
Acres per Occupier	194.6	244.5	
Total Improved	3174	39609	
% Improved	15.2%	35.1%	
Acres Improved per Family	26.5	74.7	
Acres Improved per Occupier	29.7	85.7	
Under Crops	3174	39596	
In Pasture	12296	71378	
Wood land and forest	5355	1992	
Gardens and Orchards	0	13	

Vol. 4, Table 2, Field Products

	Elm River	North Dufferin	
Wheat - Acres	2414	29847	
-Bus., Spring	38478	405519	
-Bus.. Fall	0	275	
- Yield	15.9	13.5	
- Bus. per family	320.7	755.6	

	- Bushels per occupier	359.6	877.7	
Barley	-Acres	175	2375	
	-Bushels	3463	63768	
	-Yield	19.8	26.8	
	- Bus. per family	28.9	120.3	
	- Bushels per occupier	32.4	138	
Oats	-Acres	547	6504	
	-Bushels	14816	164180	
	-Yield	27	25.3	
	-Bus. per family	123.5	310	
	- Bushels per occupier	138.5	355.4	
Rye	Bushels	0	0	
Peas	Bushels	20	146	
Buckwheat	Bushels	0	100	
Beans	Bushels	0	3	
Corn	Bus.	0	60	
Potatoes	-Acres	32	139	
	-Bushels.	5172	31341	
	-Yield	161.6	225	
	-Bushels per family	43.1	59.1	
	- Bushels per occupier	48.3	67.8	
Turnips & roots	Acres	4	16	
Turnips & roots	Bus.	1680	4370	
Hay	-Tons	3976	8610	
	-Tons per family	33.1	16.2	
	-Tons per occupier	37.2	18.6	
Vol.4, Table 3, Animals & Products	Elm River	North Dufferin		
Horses over 3 year		277	1417	
Colts & Fillies		151	634	
Horses and mules per family		3.6	3.9	
Working Oxen		109	478	
Milch cows		439	1309	
Other horned cattle		737	2213	
Cattle per family		10.7	7.5	
Sheep		14	801	
Swine		190	1515	
Turkeys		48	502	
Geese		13	199	
Ducks		10	145	
Hens & Chickens		961	10420	
Other Fowl		0	596	
Cattle killed or sold		79	1501	
Sheep killed or sold		16	1240	
Swine killed or sold		25	799	
Butter -pounds		8165	87405	
	-pounds per family	68	164.9	
Pounds of cheese		0	0	

Wool, pounds	0	3836	
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Table 11: Comparison of 1885-86 and 1891 Census for Elm River and North Dufferin

	Elm River	1891	North Dufferin	1891
	1885-86	1891	1885-86	1891
Total Population	356	567	1358	2406
No of Families	86	120	333	530
No. per Family	4.1	4.7	4.1	4.5
No. of occupiers	74	107	305	462
Acres Occupied	17,400	20,258	81,542	112,979
Acres/Occupier	235.1	194.6	267.4	244.5
Acres Improved	1304	3174	19,068	39,609
% cultivated	7%	15.2%	23%	35.1%
Acres in Wheat	650(50%)	2414 (76%)	12,209 (64%)	29,847 (75%)
Bus. Per family	115.32	320.7	574.26	755.6
Acres in Barley	88 (8%)	175 (6%)	1,916 (10%)	2,375 (6%)
Bus. Per Family	22.86	28.9	110.6	120.3
Acres in Oats	219 (17%)	547 (17%)	3,835 (20%)	6,504 (16%)
Bus. Per Family	81.0	123.5	347.22	310
Acres in Potatoes	29 (2%)	32 (1.3%)	124 (<1%)	139 (<1%)
Bus. Per Family	47.03	43.1	52.76	59.1
Hay – ton/family	16.9	33.1	25.8	16.2
Horses & Mules per Family	1	3.6	2.3	3.9
Cattle per family	6.6	10.7	8.6	7.5
Pounds of Butter per Family	91.9	68	231.5	164.9

The published census report is not detailed enough to identify the St. Daniel community but Schedule 1, the “Nominal Return of the Living” of the manuscript census for 1891 has survived. It provides detail on individuals and on households, including names, birthplace and religion, which makes it possible to identify the Roman Catholics and Metis in Elm River and North Dufferin, division 1, who formed the St. Daniel community. It also allows a comparison of some aspects of the community with the neighbouring Boyne Settlement in North Dufferin. The mission of St. Daniel was centred in the subdistrict of Elm River but it potentially included all the Roman Catholic families enumerated in the subdistrict of North Dufferin.⁵⁴ Five hundred and sixty-five individuals in 120 households were living in Elm River in 1891; about two-thirds of them were living in townships 7-5 and 7-6, the core of St. Daniel. Fifty of the 117 households were Roman Catholic. Forty-eight of the 50 Roman Catholic families were Metis.⁵⁵ Four of the 46 families - Hood, Major, and St. George - were from Quebec but the heads of the families had married Metis women. Division 1 of the North Dufferin subdistrict, immediately to south of Elm River was centred on the old Boyne Settlement and included the town of Carman. Although North Dufferin was overwhelmingly Protestant, it included 21 Roman Catholic households. Of these, 14 were Metis and seven were non-Metis. It seems probable that the Metis families in

⁵⁴. Only Schedule 1 of the 1891 census survives. North Dufferin was divided into two divisions for purposes of enumeration. Division 1 included Carman and areas to the east, west and north-east of the settlement; Division 2 included the part of North Dufferin to the south of Division 1. Both Division 1 and 2 are shown in the table based on the published census report but only Division 1 is analyzed on the basis of the manuscript census. Schedule 1 provides information on each individual enumerated; their age, birthplace, birthplace of father and mother, religion, occupation, and position in their household. The schedule does not give the addresses of those enumerated or whether or not they owned land. Moreover, the exact boundaries of the 1891 census districts of North Dufferin, Division 1, and Elm River are not known. However, Henderson’s *Manitoba and Northwest Territories Gazetteer and Directory for 1892...* includes a directory of individuals living in Manitoba rural municipalities. The directory includes about 25,000 names of those living outside of major centres in the province; it gives the post office address for all individuals and the address by section, township and range for most individuals. Fifty-five percent of the heads of families enumerated in North Dufferin, Part 1, in 1891 and 65 percent of the heads of families enumerated in Elm River were found in Henderson’s *Directory*. The core of Schedule 1 of North Dufferin, Division 1, was in Township 6, Ranges 3, 4, 5, and 6 and Township 7, Range 4. This area includes the Boyne Settlement and the town of Carman which had a population of about 800 in 1892. A few families in Township 5, Ranges 4, 5, 6, and 7 and in Township 7, Range 3 were also enumerated in North Dufferin. The core of Elm River was in Township 7, Ranges 5, 6, 7, and 8. Township 7, Range 5 was the original site of St. Daniel. Elm River also included a few families in Township 8, Ranges 5, 6, and 7, and Township 9, Range 8. See Table.

⁵⁵. The census did not distinguish between Metis and non-Metis heads of families; Metis have been identified based on name recognition and birthplace on the assumption that Metis were born in Manitoba, the Northwest Territories or the United States. The census did identify French-Canadians. The enumerator for Elm River appears to have identified all Metis as French-Canadians except for some of the Protestant families. The enumerator for North Dufferin did not identify Metis as French-Canadians and the published census report indicated that there were no French-Canadians living in North Dufferin.

North Dufferin identified with the St. Daniel community; it is less certain that the non-Metis Roman Catholics, who came from Ontario, Quebec and the United Kingdom did. Overall about 60 Metis households and up to 11 non-Metis households could have been St. Daniel parishioners enumerated in Elm River and North Dufferin. (There may have been parishioners enumerated in other census subdistricts.) F. Conrad, in his unpublished history of the St. Daniel mission, states that about 1898 there were 80 families in St. Daniel.⁵⁶

Table 12: Locations, by Township and Range, of Heads of Families enumerated in North Dufferin (ND), Part 1, and Elm River (ER) in 1891 who were identified in *Henderson's Manitoba and Northwest Territories Directory, 1892*.

Township	Range						Total	Census District
	3	4	5	6	7	8		
5		2	4	1	1		8	ND
6	28	56	37	6	1		128	ND
7	3	21	33	18	2	10	87	ND&ER*
8			1		1	7	9	ER
9						3	3	ER
							235	

*7-3 and 7-4 were in North Dufferin

The Metis families were slightly larger than white families; in Elm River the average Metis household had 5.4 members compared to 4.5 for white households.

St. Daniel was a Roman Catholic and Metis mission and community within a larger Protestant, non-Metis, community. Eighty-three percent of the combined population of Elm River and North Dufferin, Division 1, was Protestant (Presbyterian, 26 percent, Church of England, 25 percent, and Methodist, 21 percent); 17 percent was Roman Catholic. Where Roman Catholics had constituted 61% of the population of Elm River in 1885-86, they accounted for 47% of the population in 1891. Ninety percent of the Metis enumerated in both Elm River and North Dufferin, were Roman Catholics and the Metis made up 86 percent of all Roman Catholics in the

⁵⁶. PAM, D2941, f.3, F. Conrad, "St. Daniel Mission," p. ix.

two districts. In Elm River 42 percent of the population was Roman Catholic and Metis; most of the parishioners who can be identified by location lived in the northern half of township 7-5 and in the eastern half of township 7-6.

There was also a small Protestant Metis population in Elm River and in North Dufferin. There were four Protestant Metis households in Elm River. Henry Fields, born in Quebec and married to a Metis woman, was a member of the Church of England and may have identified with the non-Metis community. Ann Morrison and her son Norman were Presbyterian, born in the Northwest Territories. Isaac Cooper, a Protestant, born in England, had married Emma Grant, a daughter of John F. Grant. He was enumerated next to his father-in-law and probably formed a part of the Metis community. Four Protestant Metis households were enumerated in North Dufferin. Richard Salter had been born in England and married a Protestant Metis, Marie Ann Smith. He and his two sons, Thomas and Samuel, lived to the south-east of Carman and probably identified with the non-Metis community. Charles Bremner, a Protestant, Manitoba born Metis lived on the eastern edge (section 30-7-4) of the St. Daniel settlement and may have identified with the Metis community.

The 1891 enumeration appears to have been more thorough than the 1881 enumeration. However, it is worth noting that of 48 Metis individuals who had applied for land in 7-4, 7-5, 7-6 by 1891 and who would eventually receive patents, only 23 were enumerated in the 1891 census. This could indicate that some landowners were missed by the enumeration; it is equally likely that some early patentees had sold their land and moved on.

Of the 62 Roman Catholic Metis families enumerated in North Dufferin and Elm River in 1891, 74 percent of the heads of family had been born in Manitoba, 12 percent in the Northwest Territories, 7 percent in the United States and 6 percent in Quebec.⁵⁷ The western origin of the Metis families contrasted sharply with the eastern origin of the non-Metis heads of family, 79 percent of whom had been born in Ontario, 25 percent in England and 12 percent in Scotland. Those born in England were proportionately more common in Elm River (36 percent of heads of

⁵⁷. The four male heads of family who were born in Quebec had all married Metis women.

families) than in North Dufferin (14 percent of head of families). Many of the English born households were in the Brunton (after 1890, Rathwell) district to the west and north of St. Daniel.

Table 13: Birthplace of Non-Metis and Metis Heads of Families in Elm River and North Dufferin in 1891.				
	Elm River		North Dufferin	
Birth Place	Metis	Non-Metis	Metis	Non-Metis
Australia				1
Denmark		1		3
England		23	1	38
France				1
Germany				1
Ireland		1		18
Manitoba	34	1	16	3
New Brunswick				5
Nova Scotia		3		5
NWT	7		1	
Ontario		25		169
PEI				1
Quebec	4	5		9
Scotland		5		26
United States	5	3		2
Total	50	67	18	282

Both St. Daniel and the Boyne district were farming communities and 69 percent of the Metis gave their occupation as farmers; 16 percent gave their occupation as labourer. A number of Metis (including four female heads of families) had no identifiable occupation. About the same proportion (70 percent) of non-Metis were farmers. Carman, along with several other small settlements such as Rathwell, added occupational diversity with a mix of professional, commercial and service occupations.

It is not possible, using the manuscript census, to say how much land St. Daniel families owned or how successful they were as farmers. However, the homestead records,

discussed earlier, do suggest that they cultivated less land than their neighbours. This is supported by the published census returns which show that, on average, each “occupier” in Elm River had improved 29.7 acres in 1891 while each “occupier” in North Dufferin had improved 85.7 acres

Fifty Metis families were enumerated in Elm River in 1891 and 16 in Division 1 of North Dufferin. Some 38 surnames were represented among families. Several extended families - the Grants, Ouellettes, Delormes, Ducharmes, Gagnons, Pauls (or Frederics), Aymonds (or Emond), and Guiboches - dominated the community numerically.⁵⁸ The Grants and those linked to them by

⁵⁸. The family names were: Aymond (3 families), Barnes (1), Baudry (1), Bremner (1), Cooper (1), Delorme (4), Desjardins (1), Dubois (1), Ducharme (4), Dusen (1), Emeault (1), Falcon (1), Field (1), Gagnon (4), Gauthier (2), Grant (5), Guiboches (2), Gurno (1), Hood (1), Jobin (1), Kipling (1), Lapointe (2), Laroche (1), Larose

marriage were the largest family group in the community. John F. Grant, several of his unmarried children and three of his married sons, Richard, John Jr., and James were enumerated in Elm River; they were probably living in township 7-5. So were John Barnes, an adopted son, and John F. Grant's two sons-in-law, Isaac Cooper and Norman McIvor. Two of Norman McIvor's brothers, William and Napoleon McIvor, were also living in Township 7-5. John Grant Jr. was married to Marie Pruden (Prudhomme) and three of her married siblings were enumerated in 7-5: Charles and Thomas Prudhomme and Nancy Pruden, married to Frank McDermott. The Prudhomme's widowed mother, Archange, lived with Frank McDermott. John F. Grant's nephew, Richard Grant, who had come with him from Montana, was enumerated in North Dufferin. John F. Grant and some of his family would leave the settlement in 1891 and move to St. Albert north of Edmonton but others remained in the settlement.

Three Ouellette families were enumerated next to one another in North Dufferin. Pierre Ouellette, age 57, and his wife, Marguerite Dupuis, formerly of St. Norbert, were living with three young adult sons. A son, Francois (Frank) Ouellette, age 30, and married to Cleophie Dupuis, was living nearby. A nephew, Pierre Ouellette, 35, and married to Elise Malaterre, was also living next to the older Pierre Ouellette. Elize (Lillie) Malaterre, the daughter of Basil Malaterre and Marie Bedard, had three siblings in the settlement. Roger Malaterre was living in Michel Proulx's household as a farm labourer. An older sister, Adeline or Adelaide Malaterre, was married to Joseph Paul, a son of Daniel Paul. A younger sister, Marie-Rose Malaterre was married to Godefroi Payette who had been born in Quebec. The elder Pierre Ouellette's nephew, Raphael Ouellette, the son of his brother Guillaume and Sophie Guiboche, was enumerated in Elm River. Raphael had married Marie Adele Dubois, a daughter of Eugene Dubois, in 1890 and was living on 29-7-6. Finally, Margaret Ouellette (nee Dupuis), a 56 year old widow, was enumerated in North Dufferin with six children. She was probably the widow of Francois Ouellette, a brother of Pierre Ouellette, and a former resident of St. Norbert.

Four Delorme families were enumerated in Elm River in 1891. Joseph and Urbain, the sons of

(1), Lily (1), Loiselle (1), Major (3), McDermott (1), McIvor (3), Morrison (1), Ouellette (5), Paul (4), Payette (2), Proulx (1), Prudhomme (2), Richot (1), Rogers (1), Vivian (1).

Alexis Delorme, were from St. Norbert; they lived on 24-7-6 and 32-7-5, to the west of the lands occupied by the Grants. Their mother, Helene Paul, was a sister of Daniel Paul, Sr. Melanie Delorme, a younger sister of Joseph and Urbain, was married to André Guiboche who lived nearby. Margaret Delorme (nee Hernand), the widow of William Delorme, lived with her son, William. How Hubert Delorme was related to the others is not known. James Grant, a son of John F. Grant, was married to Marie Sara Delorme, a daughter of Joseph Delorme and Genevieve Emond; how she was related to the other Delormes is not known.

Baptiste Ducharme and his three sons, Toussaint, Pierre, and Jean-Baptiste, were enumerated in Elm River and, according to Henderson's Directory, were all living on 16-7-5. Baptiste had bought the north-east quarter of 16-7-5 from Letitia Murray about 1882. He sold several small lots in the quarter section to three of his sons and to Daniel Lapointe. In the 1870s the Ducharmes had lived in St. James parish; in 1881 they were enumerated in Assiniboia. Two of the brothers married into the St. Daniel community: Pierre married Marie Caroline, a daughter of Joseph Emond. Jean Baptiste, Junior, married Marguerite Dumas, a sister of Pierre Dumas in 1874. After her death he married Marie-Elmira, a daughter of David Gagnon. One of Baptiste's daughters, Josette, or Josephte, married to Daniel Lapointe, was also living in Elm River. Another daughter, Marguerite, married to Alexander Aimond, and was living in North Dufferin in 1891.

Four Gagnon families, headed by David, Napoleon, Patrice, and Octave, were enumerated in Elm River in 1891. David had moved from SFX after 1881 with his two sons, Napoleon and Patrice. In 1892 they were living on section 20-7-5, close to the St. Daniel chapel. David either owned or would acquire, 160 acres in 20-7-5. Three of David's daughters had married in the St. Daniel community: Angele (or Ellen) to Napoleon McIvor in 1885; Marie-Elmira to John Ducharme in February of 1891, and Marie-Claire to Jean-Baptiste Paul (Frederic) in April of 1891. One of David's sisters, Elise, was married to Joseph Aymond, and a brother, Michel was in the process of acquiring land in 33-7-5 although he was not enumerated in 1891. An older couple, Octave (aged 76) and Susan (aged 84) Gagnon were enumerated nearby next to Patrick Gagnon; how Octave was related to David, Napoleon, and Patrice is not known.

Daniel Paul and three of his sons, Joseph, Daniel, Jr., and William, were enumerated in Elm River in 1891. Daniel was the son of Frederic Paul and Josephte Brunet; he, and his children were often identified with the surname Frederic. He was married to Margueritte Guiboche, a daughter of Edward Guiboche and Marie Larocque; the marriage was recorded in St. Norbert in 1859 but by the 1870s the Pauls were living in St. Charles. Daniel's oldest son, Joseph, was married to Adelaide Malaterre. Daniel Paul, Jr., had married Isabel Ouellette, a daughter of Pierre Ouellette and Margueritte Grandbois in 1883; after her death, he married Margueritte Gagne, daughter of Daniel Gagne and Hermine Morin. William Paul was married to Louise Henault. Daniel Senior and Junior were living on section 16-7-5 in 1891; William was living on section 12-7-6. Daniel Paul's nephews, Urbain and Joseph Delorme, were also enumerated in Elm River.

Three members of the Aymond family were enumerated in Elm River and North Dufferin in 1891. Seraphim Aymond was born in Quebec in 1822 and married Marie Lapierre, a Red River Metisse. In 1870 they were enumerated in St. Francois Xavier parish with 7 children. In 1891 both were enumerated in Elm River. Their son, Joseph, was also enumerated in Elm River; he was married to Elise Gagnon, a sister of David Gagnon. Another son, Alexander, married to Margueritte Ducharme, was enumerated in North Dufferin.

André Guiboche, a widower, and his brother, Noel, were enumerated in Elm River in 1891. André's son, André, Jr., was enumerated next to him. André Jr. was married to Melanie Delorme, daughter of Alexis Delorme and Helene Paul. Margueritte Paul, the wife of Daniel Paul, Sr., was probably a sister or half-sister of André and Noel Guiboche. Another sister, or half-sister, Sophie, was married to Guillaume Ouellette; they were the parents of Raphael Ouellette who was enumerated in Elm River in 1891.

The 1891 census also recorded two Lapointe families (Daniel and Peter), two Payette families (Godefroi and Edouard), and two Prudhomme (or Pruden) families (brothers Charles and Thomas). There were two Gauthier families, one headed by Francis Gauthier was Metis, the other, headed by Felix Gauthier, had immigrated from Quebec. Finally there were three Major families, French Canadian, Roman Catholic settlers from Quebec who joined the St. Daniel

community.

The most numerous families - the Grants, Ouellettes, Delormes, Ducharmes, Gagnons, Pauls, Aymonds and Guiboches - came from several parishes along the Red and Assiniboine River. Although the mission at Riviere aux Ilets du Bois came under the supervision of the Parish of St. Francois-Xavier, only the Gagnon and Aymond families were from St. Francois-Xavier. The Ouellettes were from St. Norbert on the Red River. John F. Grant and his older children had moved from Montana to Red River in 1867 and settled in St. Charles although Grant also took up land on the Riviere aux Ilets du Bois in 1868. The Guiboch and Paul families were also from St. Charles. Daniel Paul, Senior, made his application for scrip, about 1875, in St. Charles but he was allied to the Ouellettes of St. Norbert on the Red River by marriage; some of his children were baptized in St. Norbert and some in St. Charles. Two of his children were born in Cumberland House in 1871 and 1874. The Ducharme family was living in St. James Parish at the time of the 1870 census but by the time they made their application for Metis lands some of them gave their address as St. Charles.

St. Daniel was a thriving Roman Catholic community - in 1891 there were 45 confirmations at the mission chapel and in 1896 152 individuals took communion at Easter.⁵⁹ From the 1860s or 1870s the chapel operated as a mission attached to St. Francois-Xavier but in 1899-1900 it was made an independent parish with the abbé Régis Gimbert as its first resident priest. At about the same time, the log chapel was moved 2.5 miles west from Section 16 in Township 7-5 to Section 24 in Township 7-6. By one account the mission served about 80 families in 1902; of these of 64 were Metis. Its existence as an independent parish with a resident priest was short lived and about 1909 the church reverted to the status of a mission attached to the church at Haywood. At the time only 33 families attended St. Daniel; seven of these families were recent German immigrants.⁶⁰

While Ilets de Bois and St. Daniel were missions under St. Francois Xavier parish, birth, deaths

⁵⁹. Gaborieau, *Ilets -de-Bois*, p.6.

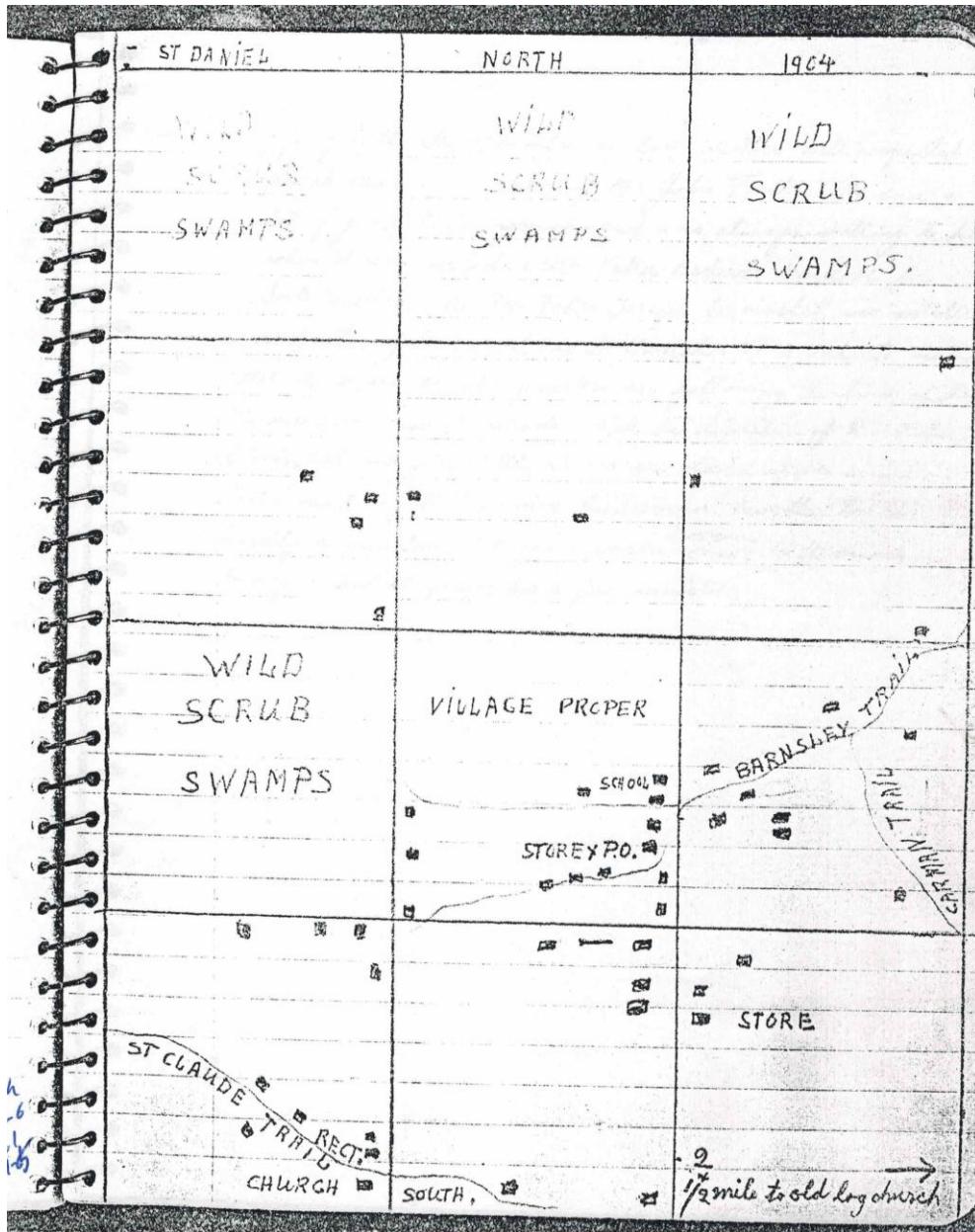
⁶⁰. Watson, *The Rural Municipality of Dufferin, 1880-1980*, p.198; Gaborieau, *Ilets-de-Bois*, pp.6-8. There are varying accounts of the creation and existence of St. Daniel as an independent parish.

and marriages were recorded in the St. Francois Xavier parish register. From 1880 the entry in the register noted if the event (birth, baptism, marriage, death, or burial) had taken place at Ilets de Bois or St. Daniel. Between 1879 and 1898 about 223 births and 85 deaths were recorded at Ilets de Bois or St. Daniel. Carman or the Boyne were given as the birthplace in 46 cases. Beginning in 1899 the St. Daniel parish kept a register; between 1899 and 1909 it recorded more than 182 baptisms, 40 marriages and 110 deaths.⁶¹

F. Conrad drew a plan of the settlement about 1904. It showed about 47 buildings including the school, the church and rectory, and two stores. Joseph M. Aymont kept a store at St. Daniel from about 1900 and from 1904 until 1912 he was the St. Daniel postmaster. The post office was on Section 30, Township 7, Range 5. Aymont moved to Haywood about 1911-12 and Frederick Conrad was postmaster until the post office was closed in 1916.⁶²

⁶¹ SHSB, “Répertoire de naissances, mariages et décès de Saint-François-Xavier et Saint-Eustache, Manitoba” and St. Daniel parish register.

⁶² <https://www.canada.ca/en/library-archives/collection/research-help/postal-heritage/post-offices-postmasters.html>; *R.M. of Dufferin*,



Map 6. St. Daniel settlement, 1904. Drawn by Fred Conrad. The church was on Section 24 in Township 7, Range 6. The school was on Section 30, Township 7, Range 5.

Originally the St. Daniel school had been a French language school but by 1895 it had been “disbanded” as a French language school and about 1894 it was re-organized as a bilingual school. It remained bilingual until about 1910.

By 1894 the St. Daniel community was large enough that it was divided into two school districts.

Nine sections of land on the east side of the district were taken from St. Daniel and joined with 11 sections in 8-4 and 8-5 to form McDermott School District. The school was on 36-7-5 and initially most students came from the McDermott and Grant families.⁶³ Six sections of land from 8-5, two from 7-6 and two from 8-6 were added to nine sections in 7-5 to re-form St. Daniel School District. This change left the original St. Daniel school on 16-7-5 outside of its district and in 1894 it was moved two miles west and three miles north to 30-7-5.⁶⁴ The church remained on 16-7-5 until about 1900 when it was moved two miles west to 24-7-5.

The movement of the school and church reflects the shift in the geographic centre of the community. The growth of the community may have plateaued in the 1890s as some Metis settlers began to move on. In September of 1891 John F. Grant and several of his adult family members left St. Daniel, and Manitoba, and moved to the Metis settlements north of Edmonton where Grant had been born. Grant had become increasingly disenchanted with Manitoba. His extensive real estate holdings were lost in the collapse of the Manitoba market after 1881 and he also lost both land and money through what he considered the unethical practices of bankers and lawyers who had come to Manitoba after the transfer. After Manitoba introduced herd laws he was no longer able to practice the free-range style of stock raising which he preferred and in 1891 he sold his remaining cattle and moved to Bittern Lake, Alberta.⁶⁵ Several families – John Desmarais, Napoleon McIver, Edouard Pinnette, Octave Pinette, and Baptiste Richot - with links to St. Daniel were enumerated in Ochre River, south of Lake Dauphin in 1901.

⁶³. *R.M. of Dufferin*, pp.180-181.

⁶⁴. *St. Daniel, 1992*, p.1; Historic Sites of Manitoba, St. Daniel School, <http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/sites/stdanielschool.shtml> Canada. “Papers in Reference to the Manitoba School Case: Presented to Parliament During the Session of 1895,” page 176

⁶⁵. Gerhard J. Ens, “Metis Ethnicity, Personal Identity, and the Development of Capitalism in the Western Interior: The Case of Johnny Grant,” in Theodore Binnema, Gerhard J. Ens, and R.C. Macleod, eds., *From Rupert’s Land to Canada*. (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2001) pp.171-172.

Although both the Boyne Settlement and St. Daniel community had assumed identifiable characters by 1881, the land was not fully occupied and both settlements continued to grow. The 1901 census provides an opportunity to follow this growth into the second generation of the

Table 14: Extracts from the published <i>Fourth Census of Canada, 1901</i>				
	Dufferin	% of total	Carman	% of total
Acres	597085		640	
Houses	1106		295	
Families	1124		296	
People	5527		1439	
Religion				
RC	830	15	145	10
Anglican	583	10.5	156	11
Presbyterian	1834	33	492	34
Methodist	1758	32	479	33
Baptist	272	5	68	5
Other	251	4.5	99	7
Origins				
English	1391	25	409	28.5
Irish	1694	30.5	431	30
Scotch	1300	23.5	348	24
Other	8	0	3	0
French	566	10	109	7.5
German	136	2.5	72	5
Dutch	86	1.5	7	0.5
Scandinavian	105	2	6	0.5
Other	22	0.3	11	0.5
Metis	219	4	43	3

community, to identify both continuity and change, and to comment on the long term success of those who settled in the community and remained there. In 1881 at least 49 families were enumerated in 6-4, 37 in 6-5 and 8 in 7-5. Township 7-6 was apparently uninhabited. When the 1901 census was taken, 90 households were enumerated in 6-4, 56 in 6-5, 61 in 7-5, and 31 in 7-6. The village of Carman, which straddled the boundary between 6-4 and 6-5, included 297 households.⁶⁶ The Boyne community had increased in size but in many respects its character had not changed. Thanks to continuing immigration from Ontario its roots were even more solidly planted in Ontario; 63% of the heads of family in 1901 had been born in Ontario

compared with 47% in 1881. England, Scotland and Ireland had declined slightly as birthplaces for heads of family while Manitoba had increased from 4% in 1881 to 10% in 1901. Eighty-seven percent of the heads of family gave English as their mother tongue and 10% spoke French. Nine Gaelic speakers, three Chinese, one Dutch, one Norwegian and one Swedish speaker made up the rest. Outside of Carman, the Boyne Settlement was still a farming community. It remained Protestant although Protestant dominance had slipped slightly and splintered. Of the major

⁶⁶. 1901 Census of Canada, Manitoba, Lisgar, 7, Carman Village, Parts B1, B 2 and B3, T-6437; *ibid.*, Dufferin, Parts B2, B3, B12, B 13, Reels, T-6432, T-6437.

Protestant denominations, only the Methodists had increased their presence in the community, rising from 32% of the North Dufferin population in 1881 to 33% of the heads of families in 1901. The Church of England had slipped from 18% of the population to 13% while Presbyterians had declined from 39% to 30%. In part the decline can be traced to the growth of other Protestant groups, Baptists, Church of Christ, Disciples, and the Salvation Army, but the Roman Catholic Church had also made significant gains, increasing from 6% of the population in 1881 to 15% in 1901.

When the 1901 census was taken Manitoba was divided into seven districts – Brandon, Lisgar, Macdonald, Marquette, Provencher, Selkirk, and Winnipeg. The Lisgar district covered southern Manitoba from Dufferin and Rhineland as far west as Turtle Mountain. Dufferin was a sub-district of Lisgar; it covered about 934 square miles and extended from Miami and Myrtle in the south to St. Claude, Elm Creek and Fannystelle in the north. Dufferin was enumerated in 14 sub-districts plus three subdistricts for the town of Carman.

Two schedules of the 1901 manuscript census for Dufferin and Carman survive – Schedule 1 “Population” and Schedule 2 “Buildings, Lands, Churches and Schools.” Schedule 1, “Population”, contains the usual information on individuals - sex, marital status, birthplace, ethnicity (identified as race or tribe), nationality (generally Canadian), occupation, some details on income, and language. It also includes a column headed “Colour;” enumerators were instructed to identify individuals as “White”, “Red” (American Indians), “Black”, or “Yellow”. Only those identified as “pure whites” were to be classified as white; children of mixed marriages were to be identified as Red, Yellow, or Black. From a comparison of the names of those enumerated and the “Colour” assigned it is clear that the enumerators identified Metis as “Red.” Schedule 1 also contained a column headed “Racial or Tribal Origin.” The census directions provided that, among whites, origin was traced through the father. Origin for whites was generally given as a European country or region – for example, England, Ireland, Scotland, France, or Scandinavia. Those identified as Red or Indians were to be identified by tribal name, for example, Cree or Chippewa. Persons of mixed Red and White blood were to be identified as “breeds” with an indication of the

father's origin – for example “f.b.” for French Breed and “e.b.” for English Breed.⁶⁷

These instructions were not applied consistently. Most of the individuals described as “Red” in the manuscript census for Dufferin were enumerated in Carman, in the core of the St. Daniel settlement (townships 7-5 and 7-6), and in a census subdivision centred on St. Claude to the north and west of St. Daniel. In the core of the Boyne Settlement (including Carman), and the core of the St. Daniel settlement, census enumerators identified 56 heads of family as “Red;” of these, only 14 were identified in the manuscript census as Metis by origin; 34 were identified as French, 5 as Scottish, 1 as Belgian, 1 as Irish, and one was unidentified. The “Red” individuals in the town of Carman were identified as French. These 56 heads of family represented about 292 individuals, 30 more than the total number of Metis reported by the published census for all of Dufferin and Carman.⁶⁸ In the enumeration sub-division B7 centred on St. Claude all individuals identified as “red” were identified as Metis. Most of those identified as “Red” have names which were common in the Metis community.

Schedule 2 of the census “Buildings and Lands, Churches and Schools” gives the address (section, township, and range) of rural residents, the amount of land owned or rented and some information on the structures on the property. By combining the information on schedules 1 and 2 it is possible to identify the residence of most families with more precision than was possible in the 1891 and 1881 censuses.

⁶⁷ The “Instructions to Officers” stated that only pure whites will be classed as whites; the children begotten of marriages between whites and any one of the other races will be classed as red, black or yellow, as the case may be, irrespective of the degree of colour.” (Paragraph 47) Metis were also to be identified “Persons of mixed white and red blood—commonly known as “breeds”—will be described by addition of the initial letters “f.b.” for French breed, “e.b.” for English breed, “s.b.” for Scotch breed and “i.b.” for Irish breed.” (Paragraph 54).

⁶⁸ In most cases I have identified these 56 heads of families as Metis.

Table 15: Households in Carman, Boyne Settlement and St. Daniel by Colour 1901. Based on manuscript census reports.

Area	Red		White		Chinese		Total	
	Families	Population	Families	Population	Families	Population	Families	Population
Carman	18	98	276	1327	3	4	297	1429
Twp 6, Rge 4	1	3	89	484	0	0	90	487
Twp 6, Rge 5	0	0	56	284	0	0	56	284
Twp 7, Rge 5	24	122	37	204	0	0	61	326
Twp 7, Rge 6	13	69	18	102	0	0	31	171
	56	292	476	2401	3	4	535	2697

Most of the land in townships 6-4 and 6-5 had been patented by 1901 and in 7-5 134 out of 144 quarter sections had been patented. Only one Metis family lived in townships 6-4 and 6-5. In townships 7-5 and 7-6 49% of the settlers were Metis. In 7-5 white settlers tended to live in the south half of the township; 18 to 20 of the Metis families were in the north half of the settlement with clusters in section 30 where the

school and St. Daniel post office were located and in section 36 in the northeast corner of the township. In township 7-6 only 74 out of 144 quarter sections had been patented and of these, 28 quarters had been assigned to the CPR. These CPR lands were probably vacant although they may have been used by squatters and neighbouring settlers.

Of the 56 Metis heads of family, 50 were Roman Catholic and 49 had been born in Manitoba.

Most, 50 out of 56, of the Métis gave French as their mother tongue.

Table 16: Average Acres Owned by All 238 Heads of Families. Based on manuscript census reports, 1901

	All	Whites	Reds
Twp 6, Rge 4	279.5	282.5	0
Twp 6, Rge 5	306.8	306.8	0
Twp 7, Rge 5	173.8	257.4	44.9
Twp 7 Rge 6	159.3	200.7	105.2

Eighty percent of the heads of family living outside of Carman in 1901 were farmers and most farmers were landowners, renters or both. The 238 heads of households in Townships 6-4, 6-5, 7-5 and 7-6 owned and/or rented an average of 284 acres of land. The average

figure conceals substantial inequalities. In the four townships 192 individuals were described as farmers; of these 170 owned some land – an average of 303 acres each. Fourteen farmers rented on average 290 acres of land each. Forty-five heads of families in the four townships owned no

land at all. After farmers, labourers were the largest occupational grouping followed by farm labourer. In addition, 23 landless heads of families who were farm labourers were enumerated in Carman; they might be counted as part of the landless rural population. As was the case in 1891, the Metis owned less land than the white inhabitants of the area. This was especially the case in 7-5 where 15 out of 24 families were landless.

Almost a third of Carman residents, 98 out of 227 individuals, owned land outside of the village - a total of 59,276 acres or 92 square miles. Most of the landowners in Carman were businessmen but 21 were farmers and 12 were retired farmers. About a third of all owners had 160 acre lots and the majority of holdings were under 640 acres. Nine individuals owned 1000 acres or more with the largest landowner being C. Lundy, a photographer, who owned 8000 acres. There is no evidence of large-scale commercial farming in the Carman area and it is probable that these large landowners held land as an investment, either for resale or for rental and did not farm it themselves.

Three Metis living in the vicinity of St. Claude were listed as woodcutters; for a number of years firewood cut in the St. Claude and St. Daniel areas was shipped by rail to Winnipeg and was drawn to Carman.⁶⁹

Table 17: Average Size of Households in Carman, Boyne Settlement and St. Daniel by Race, 1901.				
Area	Metis	White	Chinese	Total
Carman	5.4	4.8	1.3	4.8
Twp 6, Rge 4	3	5.4	0	5.4
Twp 6, Rge 5	0	5.1	0	5.1
Twp 7, Rge 5	5.1	5.5	0	5.3
Twp 7, Rge 6	5.3	5.7	0	5.5
Totals	5.2	5.1	1.3	5.0

Table 18: Average Number of Rooms per House as Reported in 1901 Census		
	White	Metis
Twp 6, Rge 4	5	1
Twp 6, Rge 5	4.6	
Twp 7, Rge 5	3.5	2
Twp 7, Rge 6	2.9	2.5

⁶⁹ *Dufferin Leader*, 4 August 1898, St. Claude; *Dufferin Leader*, 9 March 1899. Joseph and Moise Dubois in the St. Claude area were enumerated as woodcutters in the 1901 census. Firewood from St. Daniel and farther north was sold in Carman (and presumably other settlements) as a part of their economy. Cutting firewood probably continued into the 1920s; my father who was born in 1914 told of loads of firewood being hauled by our farm on 16-7-5.

The average household enumerated in 1901 included about 5 individuals, slightly more than had been recorded in 1891. The census also reported on the number of rooms in each house occupied by each family. In 7-5 houses occupied by Metis families had, on average, 2 rooms compared to 3.5 rooms in houses occupied by whites. In 7-6 the ratio was 2.9 rooms to 2.5. Smaller house size and smaller land holdings may indicate that the Metis were less well off than their white neighbours. It is also possible the smaller house size combined with families which were the same size as neighbouring white families contributed to health problems.

Vital statistics, the registration of marriages, births and deaths, provide another view of the development of St. Daniel and of the Boyne Settlement. Manitoba began registering marriages, births, and deaths in 1882 but registration was sporadic until the 1920s. As well idiosyncratic spelling of names makes searching the records difficult. The online finding aid for births gives the name of the individual, the name of their mother, and the date, and place of birth.⁷⁰ From 1881 Carman and the municipalities of North Dufferin and South Dufferin were given as birthplaces. The municipality of Elm River appears as a birthplace from 1884 to 1890. From 1891 Dufferin was given as a birthplace. Occasionally St. Daniel, Haywood, Barnsley, and Bradburn are shown as birthplaces.

Between 1882 and 1905, 3297 births and 886 deaths were registered in Dufferin (excluding South Dufferin to 1890), Carman, and Elm River. Of the births 2684 (81%) were white, 502 (15%) were Metis and 103 (3%) cannot be identified with any certainty.⁷¹ From 1882 until 1891 Metis families accounted for about 19% of the births registered in the area. This is more than one might expect given that, based on the 1885-86 census of Manitoba, Metis constituted about 13.8% of the population of North Dufferin and Elm River. In the decade 1892-1901 Metis accounted for 13% of all births registered Dufferin and Carman.⁷²

⁷⁰ In some cases, this may be place of the registration rather than the place of birth. For example, Paul Gaudry's birth, 12 April 1873, was registered in Elm River in 1884 but Metis scrip records indicate that he was born a Qu'Appelle on 3 May 1874.

⁷¹. The attribution of Metis and white is based on name recognition; the uncertain include, among others, the Rossett, McNabb, Major, Lacroix, Doutaz, and Houde families. The Majors and Houdes were Roman Catholic families from Quebec, New England and Ontario. The Hood, Major, and McNabb families are named on the monument commemorating the Ilets de Bois cemetery.

⁷² These calculations are based on the assumption that enumeration districts and census districts were roughly coterminous.

Between 1882 and 1905 some 885 deaths were registered in Dufferin (excluding South Dufferin to 1890), Carman, and Elm River: of these 247 (28%) were Metis, 622 (70%) were white, and 17 (2%) have not been identified. The death rate for Metis was proportionately much higher than it was for whites. From 1881 to 1891 32% of all deaths registered in the area were Metis while the 1885-86 census indicated that only 13.8% of the population were Metis; the 1891 census suggests that about 16% of the population was Metis. From 1892 to 1901 Metis names made up 29% of all deaths registered although the census report showed that Metis made up only 4% of the population of Dufferin and Carman.⁷³

Of the 885 deaths recorded, 255 (29%) were of children of less than one year of age and 60 (7%) were of children between 1 and 2 years of age; rates for Manitoba as whole in 1901 were 28.6% and 8.5%. Of the 315 children who died before their second birthday, 107 (34%) were Metis. In a demographic study of St. Claude, Michael Rowan noted that between 1892 and 1930 20 Metis babies died of tuberculosis.⁷⁴ His study did not include St. Daniel but tuberculosis may have been a factor in the high death rates among Metis in Dufferin and Carman.

Numerically the Metis population of the St. Daniel remained relatively stable between 1891 and 1901 although it shifted slightly north and west. In 1891 50 Metis families were enumerated in Elm River (which included St. Daniel) and 16 were living in Division 1 of North Dufferin. Ten years later 37 Métis families lived in Township 7, Ranges 5 and 6, the core of St. Daniel. They constituted 39% of all families in the St. Daniel parish. Another 18 Metis families lived in the village of Carman (6% of all families) and one Metis family lived in Township 6, Range 4. In addition, about 10 Metis families lived to the north-west of St. Daniel, in and about the new settlement of St. Claude.

Although the Metis population totals remained relatively stable numerically between 1891 and 1901 individuals moved into and out of St. Daniel and the Boyne Settlement. In the Boyne Settlement almost all of the land had been patented by 1901 and half of it had been patented by

⁷³ As noted earlier some Metis were probably identified as being of French origin. Based on data in the manuscript census for 1901, Metis made up about 10% of the total population in the four townships which comprised the core Boyne Settlement and St. Daniel and Carman.

⁷⁴ Michael Lucien Rowan, "Saint-Claude (Manitoba) a Demographic Analysis," (University of Manitoba, Department of Economics, MA Thesis, 1973), p.141.

the early 1880s. Of the 120 individuals who received patents in townships 6-4 and 6-5 before 1902, only 25 (20.8%) were enumerated in the townships in 1901. Of 107 individuals who received patents in Townships 7-5 and 7-6, only 21 (19.6%) were enumerated in 1901.

Table 19 - Individuals Who Received a Patent before 1902 and Who Were Enumerated in the 1901 Census.						
Township/Range	6-4	6-4	6-4	6-5	6-5	6-5
	All	Metis	White	All	Metis	White
Individuals to whom Patents were issued before 1902	58	2	56	62	2	60
Individual patentees found in 1901 census	12(21%)	1(50%)	11(20%)	13(21%)	0	13(22%)
Township/Range	7-5	7-5	7-5	7-6	7-6	7-6
	All	Metis	Whites	All	Metis	Whites
Individuals to whom Patents were issued before 1902	73	48	35	34	11	23
Individual patentees found in 1901 census	12(16%)	8(17%)	5(14%)	9(26%)	6(55%)	3(13%)

In the case of St. Daniel, half of the patents in 7-5 had been issued by about 1884; 7-6 was a more recent settlement with most of the patents to individuals (as opposed to the CPR) issued in the early 1890s. Part of the turnover in land ownership in both settlements can be attributed to the passage of time; owners may have died, sold or transferred their land to their children. It is interesting that, for white landowners, the Boyne Settlement showed a lower level of change in ownership than the St. Daniel Settlement although the Boyne had been settled five to ten years longer than St. Daniel.

A comparison of patents issued in St. Daniel with the population of St. Daniel in 1901 also shows that the Metis population was shrinking proportionately. Out of 107 patents issued to individuals in 7-5 and 7-6 before 1902, 59 (55%) were issued to Metis but in 1901 only 29% of the families enumerated in the two townships were Metis and not all of them were landowners.

During the 1890s there was substantial immigration to Manitoba of French speaking Roman Catholics from France and Belgium. These immigrants established settlements at Fannystelle, Notre Dame de Lourdes, and St. Claude. St. Claude, on Section 15, Township 8, Range 7, was established in 1892 on the new Southwestern Colonization Railway (subsequently the CPR). It was about 18 kilometres north and west of St. Daniel and attracted some of the Catholic Metis. The village of St. Claude and several surrounding townships were enumerated in sub-division B7

of Dufferin in 1901. Of the 72 white heads of family in the sub-division, 57 had been born in France and had come to Canada between 1890 and 1900. Ten heads of family were Metis. At least three Metis families in B7, those headed by Joseph Delorme, Thomas Pruden, and Eugene Dubois, had been enumerated in St. Daniel in 1891.

In 1904 Savoyard settlers from France established a new settlement at Haywood on Section 22, Township 8, Range 6. Haywood was on the railway between Elm Creek and St. Claude. In 1907 a post office was opened and in 1909 the community built a church, Saint-Denis de Haywood. Of the 20 laymen associated with the foundation of the church three, Thomas Pruden, Jos. Lapointe, and Jos. Brazeau, were Metis.⁷⁵

Both St. Claude and Haywood drew off some of the members of the St. Daniel parish. St. Daniel reached its greatest extent as a Metis community in the first decade of the twentieth century. It was raised to the level of an independent parish in 1899-1900. By one account the mission served about 80 families in 1902; of these of 64 were Metis. Its existence as an independent parish with a resident priest was short lived and about 1909 the church reverted to the status of a mission attached to the church at Haywood. In 1910 only 33 families attended St. Daniel; seven of these families were recent German immigrants. In spite of the decline of the congregation, a new frame church was built at St. Daniel in 1910. The last mass was said at St. Daniel in 1983 and the church was demolished in 1995.⁷⁶

The decline in the Metis and Roman Catholic population of St. Daniel (specifically Township 7, Ranges 5 and 6) is confirmed by the census. In 1901 out of 91 households enumerated in 7-5 and 7-6, 41% were Roman Catholic. Of these, 33 households were Metis. In 1906 only 13 households were Metis and in subsequent censuses (1911, 1916, and 1921) the Metis population remained stable at about 15 households with about the same number of families in Carman. In 1921 28 Roman Catholic households were enumerated in Township 7, Ranges 5 and 6. Of these 13 were Metis; there were also two Protestant Metis families in the St. Daniel District.⁷⁷ Overall

⁷⁵ Haywood History Committee, *Haywood History, 1907-2007*, (Printed by Friesens Corporation, Altona, Manitoba, 2007), pp.1-2

⁷⁶ Watson, *The Rural Municipality of Dufferin, 1880-1980*, p.198; Gaborieau, *Ilets-de-Bois*, pp.6-8.

⁷⁷ The Metis family names were Grant (1), Aymond (2), Ducharme (1), Dumas (3), Paul (1), Lambert (1), McIvor (2), Ritchot (1), and Larocque (1) The Henri Larocque household, the only Metis, Roman Catholic, household living in Township 6, Range 4, has been included with the St. Daniel count.

140 households were enumerated in the two townships in 1921; the Roman Catholics formed 20% of the population.

Table 20: Metis Roman Catholic Households Enumerated in Carman, St. Daniel, St. Claude, and Haywood, 1891-1921						
	1891	1901	1906	1911	1916	1921
Metis in						
Carman		18	15	13	15	15
St. Daniel		33	13	16	15	13
St. Claude		10	19	15	?	?
Haywood		0	0	12	?	9
	61*	61	47	56	?	?

* North Dufferin and Elm River

Schedule 1 of the 1921 census recorded the Section, Township, and Range on which those enumerated lived as well as whether the heads of households owned or rented their houses. Most of those enumerated in St. Daniel owned their homes but 19 (13.5%) were renters; 4 (21%) of the 19 renters were Metis. There was still a clustering of families around St. Daniel school on Section 30-7-5. Four families on section 30 rented their homes; five were owners. Four of those enumerated on the section were Metis.

The surviving Schedule 1 of the 1921 census identifies home owners and renters but does not indicate how much land the home owner owned. The Cummins' Rural Directory Maps, published in 1923, shows the owners of each quarter section in Manitoba. In Township 7, Ranges 5 and 6, 147 individuals owned the 288 quarter sections in the two townships.⁷⁸ On average each individual owned 308 acres. Not all landowners were residents; the largest landowner in the district was W.D. Staples who owned 2080 acres in 7-6. In 1901 he was enumerated in South Norfolk to the west of St. Claude. A son, Grendell, was enumerated in Township 7, Range 6, in 1921. Seventy-three out of 147 individuals owned 160 acres each, the basic homestead allotment.

⁷⁸. Although I had assumed that individuals who owned their house (as reported in the 1921 census) were landowners, 32 individuals whom the 1921 census reported as owning their house were not listed as landowners in Cummins Rural Maps.

ADM 3 100'N 3	100' +	50' +	50' -	50' - 3	100' - 3	100' -	Co.
H. Lowery 1 L. 3/1	J. B. McCulloch 1 H. McGinn 3/2 Hubbard 3/2 Auld 3	J. B. McCulloch 1 H. McGinn 3/2 Hubbard 3/2 Auld 3	J. B. McCulloch 1 H. McGinn 3/2 Hubbard 3/2 Auld 3	J. B. McCulloch 1 H. McGinn 3/2 Hubbard 3/2 Auld 3	J. B. McCulloch 1 H. McGinn 3/2 Hubbard 3/2 Auld 3	J. B. McCulloch 1 H. McGinn 3/2 Hubbard 3/2 Auld 3	R. H. Robinson 1 R. H. Robinson 1
J. McInnes 3 J. M. Gordon 3/3	J. M. Gordon 3/3	J. M. Gordon 3/3	J. M. Gordon 3/3	J. M. Gordon 3/3	J. M. Gordon 3/3	J. M. Gordon 3/3	J. M. Gordon 3/3
P. Duthie 1 F. Moffat 3 McG 3/3	A. Colvin 1 H. Colvin 3/3 Somm 3/3	A. Colvin 1 H. Colvin 3/3 Somm 3/3	A. Colvin 1 H. Colvin 3/3 Somm 3/3	A. Colvin 1 H. Colvin 3/3 Somm 3/3	A. Colvin 1 H. Colvin 3/3 Somm 3/3	A. Colvin 1 H. Colvin 3/3 Somm 3/3	J. C. Overton 1 H. H. Hinch 3/3
R. Strutt 1 Strutt 3/3	A. J. Walker 3/3	A. J. Walker 3/3	A. J. Walker 3/3	A. J. Walker 3/3	A. J. Walker 3/3	A. J. Walker 3/3	A. J. Harvie 3/3
ST. DANIEL	ST. DANIEL	ST. DANIEL	ST. DANIEL	ST. DANIEL	ST. DANIEL	ST. DANIEL	ST. DANIEL
J. Funke 1 J. Forster 3/3 Forster 3/3	R. McGeat 1 McGeat 3/3	R. McGeat 1 McGeat 3/3	R. McGeat 1 McGeat 3/3	R. McGeat 1 McGeat 3/3	R. McGeat 1 McGeat 3/3	R. McGeat 1 McGeat 3/3	G. W. Finch 3/3
L. Johnstone 3/3	20 1	20 1	20 1	20 1	20 1	20 1	J. Mitchell 3/3
A. J. Forster 3/3 Forster 3/3	F. Armstrong 1 Armstrong 3/3	J. H. Dunn 3/3					
Mrs. Burt 1 A. J. Wheatley 3/3 H.ton 3/3 H. and 3/3	W. H. Roth 1 J. Keys 3/3 Roth 3/3	W. H. Roth 1 J. Keys 3/3 Roth 3/3	W. H. Roth 1 J. Keys 3/3 Roth 3/3	W. H. Roth 1 J. Keys 3/3 Roth 3/3	W. H. Roth 1 J. Keys 3/3 Roth 3/3	W. H. Roth 1 J. Keys 3/3 Roth 3/3	S. McLean 1 J. H. McLean 3/3 McLean 3/3
AG Colvin 1 Colvin 3/3	R. H. North 1 R. Gault 3/3 North 3/3 Gault 3/3	R. H. North 1 R. Gault 3/3 North 3/3 Gault 3/3	R. H. North 1 R. Gault 3/3 North 3/3 Gault 3/3	R. H. North 1 R. Gault 3/3 North 3/3 Gault 3/3	R. H. North 1 R. Gault 3/3 North 3/3 Gault 3/3	R. H. North 1 R. Gault 3/3 North 3/3 Gault 3/3	G. Mood 3/3
	P. McCrimmon 1 H. M. McCrimmon 3/3 McCrimmon 3/3	P. McCrimmon 1 H. M. McCrimmon 3/3 McCrimmon 3/3	P. McCrimmon 1 H. M. McCrimmon 3/3 McCrimmon 3/3	P. McCrimmon 1 H. M. McCrimmon 3/3 McCrimmon 3/3	P. McCrimmon 1 H. M. McCrimmon 3/3 McCrimmon 3/3	P. McCrimmon 1 H. M. McCrimmon 3/3 McCrimmon 3/3	B. F. Richards 3/3
	A. King 1 King 3/3	A. King 1 King 3/3					
	D. Thomas 1 Thomas 3/3	D. Thomas 1 Thomas 3/3					
	F. Somers 1 Somers 3/3	F. Somers 1 Somers 3/3					
ISPERLING 3. CARMAN	—	—	—	5 KAWENDE	—	—	G.N.R. 7 ELM CREE

Map 7: Landowners from Cummins Rural Maps, 1923, No.31. Township 7, Range 5

Map 8: Landowners from Cummins Rural Maps, 1923, No.31, Township 7, Range 6

Eight of the landowners were Roman Catholic Metis; seven of them owned 160 acres; one owned 320 acres.⁷⁹

The 1931 census gives a last opportunity to look at the makeup of the St. Daniel community and compare it to the community in 1901. The total population of 7-5 and 7-6 had increased from 497 to 523. The growth was in 7-6 where 17.5 sections of CPR land did not come on the market

⁷⁹ They were: P. Ducharme (320 acres), J. Grant, W. Grant, Mrs. M. Lambert, A. McIvor, W. J McIvor, A. Ritchot, W. Paul,

until after 1900-01. Manitoba and Ontario remained the most common birthplace for heads of households but the percentage of foreign-born heads of households rose from 12% to 26.5%. There was an increase in immigrants from Scotland and the beginning of immigration from eastern Europe (Austria, Poland, and Russia). The “Racial Origin” of the population remained heavily British. The number of French origin had declined while those of German origin had increased. Most of those of German origin were Lutherans who had immigrated from Russia and Poland.

The two townships were predominantly Protestant with the United Church as the largest denomination. Roman Catholic heads of households had fallen from 41(45%) to 20 (17%). Of the 20 Roman Catholics, 8 were of French origin, 5 were German, 2 were Irish, 2 were Scottish, 1 was Polish, and 1 Belgian, and 1 may have been Aboriginal.⁸⁰ Only 3 of the Roman Catholic heads of households were Metis. All of the heads of households spoke English; 7 spoke both English and French. In 1901 38 out of 91 households had given French as their Mother Tongue.

⁸⁰ James Jere was born in Manitoba and spoke English and Cree; his racial origin is illegible in the manuscript census.

Table 21: Township 7, Ranges 5 and 6 from the 1901 and 1931 Census.

	1901			1931		
	Twp 7 Rge 5	Twp 7 Rge 6	Total	Twp 7 Rge 5	Twp 7 Rge6	Total
No. of Individuals	326	171	497	285	238	523
No. of Households	61	30	91	64	53	117
Average Household Size	5.3	5.5		4.4	5	9.4
Owns Land	42	26		n/a	n/a	n/a
Owns House	n/a	n/a	n/a	49	39	88
Rents House	n/a	n/a	n/a	15	14	29
Birthplace						0
Austria	0	0	0	0	1	1
Belgium	0	1	1	0	0	0
England	3	2	5	4	4	8
France	1	0	1	1	1	2
Germany	0	0	0	1	1	2
Ireland	0	0	0	0	2	2
Manitoba	22	11	33	19	21	40
Northwest Territories	0	2	2	0	0	0
Ontario	30	6	36	26	12	38
Poland	0	0	0	1	3	4
Quebec	3	3	6	0	0	0
Russia	0	0	0	2	3	5
Scotland	0	3	3	5	5	10
Saskatchewan	0	0	0	1	0	1
United States	0	1	1	4	0	4
Unknown	2	1	3	0	0	0
Racial Origin						
Uncertain (Cree spoken)	0	0	0	0	1	1
Austria	0	0	0	0	1	1
Belgium	0	1	1	1	0	1
Dutch	0	1	1	0	0	0
English	9	4	13	15	14	29
French	9	13	22	2	7	9
German	3	0	3	8	3	11
"Half Breed"	14	0	14	n/a	n/a	n/a
Irish	18	2	20	22	12	34
Polish	0	0	0	1	2	3
Russian	0	0	0	0	2	2
Scottish	8	7	15	15	11	26
Unknown	0	2	2	0	0	0

Faith						
Baptist	3	0	3	2	1	3
Church of Christ	0	0	0	2	1	3
Church of England	10	4	14	6	10	16
Congregational	1	0	1	0	0	0
Disciples	1	1	2	0	1	1
Greek Church	0	0	0	0	2	2
Methodist	8	2	10	0	0	0
Lutheran	0	0	0	2	5	7
Pentecostal	0	0	0	0	1	1
Presbyterian	7	9	16	10	10	20
Roman Catholic	29	12	41	12	8	20
United Church	0	0	0	30	14	44
Unitarian	1	0	1	0	0	0
Unknown	1	2	3	0	0	0
Language Spoken						
English	35	18	53	63	47	110
English & French	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	6	7
French	26	12	38	n/a	n/a	n/a
Occupation						
Farmer	44	25	69	63	48	111
Gardener	1	0	1	0	0	0
Homemaker	0	0	0	0	1	1
Labourer	10	2	12	0	2	2
Merchant	1	0	1	0	0	0
Priest	0	1	1			
Squatter	1	0	1	0	0	0
Teacher	1	0	1	0	1	1
Teamster	1	0	1	0	0	0
Trapper	0	0	0	0	1	1
Unknown	2	2	4	0	0	0
	61	30	91	63	53	116
Colour						
Red	24	13	37	n/a	n/a	n/a
White	37	17	54	n/a	n/a	n/a
Metis households identified by me	22	11	33	2	1	3

In 1931 St. Daniel was still a Roman Catholic community but it was no longer a Metis Community although a Metis community continued to exist in Carman.⁸¹ St. Daniel continued as

⁸¹ James Giffen *Rural Life: Portraits of the Prairie Town, 1946* ed. Gerald Friesen, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2004) p.130.

a Roman Catholic parish but it was composed of relatively recent immigrants of French origin from Ontario, Quebec and France and of Catholic immigrants of German origin.

One can speculate as to why the St. Daniel Metis left the area but, beyond John F. Grant's memoir, there is little direct testimony. In general, the Metis were not as successful in their farming as many of the Ontario settlers, and they may have moved to increase their economic prospects. Equally, they may have felt excluded by the Protestant, English speaking, community which dominated Dufferin and Carman.

The Boyne Settlement began with the confrontations between Metis and Ontario settlers in 1871 and relations between the communities remained difficult. John F. Grant commented in his memoirs "...I knew that most of them were Orangemen for they did not like the Catholics." He went on to say that after initial threats "... they never attempted to drive me away." Grant also felt that, for the settlers from Ontario, "Nothing was right unless it was the same as Ontario." and by 1891 he had "...tired of their bylaws." and left the settlement.⁸² Others may have felt the same way. In 1885 the Metis of St. Daniel showed enough sympathy for the Metis of Saskatchewan that, when Archbishop Taché visited the mission he felt the need to speak to them in the "...language de la moderation et de la paix...". Ambroise Jobin, Jr., who died of wounds suffered at the Battle of Batoche, was either the individual, or the son of the individual, who received a patent to land in St. Daniel in 1877.⁸³ The Orange Lodge was active in the Boyne Settlement; Orange membership was sufficiently large that a second lodge was organized in the western part of the settlement in 1883.⁸⁴ In 1885 the Boyne lodge was one of the many Canadian lodges that expressed its satisfaction with the execution of Louis Riel.⁸⁵

The friction continued. In 1943 the French language paper *La Liberté et Le Patriote* published "Notes on the history of the parish of Haywood, Man." The author included an account of the

⁸² Grant, *A Son of The Fur Trade*, pp.264, 301

⁸³ SHSB, J.M. Gagné, "Conférences données à la Radio C.R.S.B, La Paroisse de Saint-Denis de Haywood, Manitoba," mars 1947. First part, p.4. "Metis Killed During the 1885 Resistance."

http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/sgc-cms/expositions-exhibitions/batoche/docs/proof_en_those_who_died.pdf
Accessed 30 April 2018.

⁸⁴ Carman Centennial Book Committee, *Up to Now*, p.93.

⁸⁵ *Le mot de la fin, voici le vote!: conspiration armée contre les Métis français: le chef Métis sacrifié aux Orangistes!: sa prétendue vénalité: légitimité du provisoire: ce meurtre de Scott!: l'opinion de quelques évêques sur le débat, celle des missionnaires: évêques et missionnaires: nouvelles indignités!: nouveaux griefs!: la folie de Riel.* [1887.], p.8. <http://peel.library.ualberta.ca/bibliography/1317/8.html>

arrival of the Ontario settlers, “les orangistes”, in the area and their initial confrontations with the Metis at Ilets de Bois. The author continued:

The old people of the country say that there were often quarrels between the two groups, but our Metis made themselves respected. They tell that at the beginning of the century the curé of St. Daniel organized a bazar for his parish. The inhabitants to the southwest, who were the descendants of the usurpers mentioned earlier, wanted to do their own thing and stop the famous bazar. When the evening arrived, the curé and his parishioners opened the bazar. About ten o’clock a group of these rascals made their way into the room. They immediately began to upset the tables and tried to take control of the room. But the Metis got together and began to force the intruders towards the exit. Once outside, the Metis closed the door and put big Paul against it and the bazar continued. At one point one of the group outside managed to get his hand through the doorway and tried to get the door ajar. Then our Paul stepped back a little and then with his knee he closed it again; in looking on the floor he found four fingers of the fellow on the outside. The battle was won and the rascals returned the next day to apologize to the curé. (My translation)⁸⁶

The antagonism continued well into the twentieth century. In 1945-46 a sociologist, James P. Giffen, conducted a survey of the social structure in three rural communities – Elgin, Rossburn, and Carman – for the Manitoba Royal Commission of Adult Education.⁸⁷ Giffen described the “French Canadian Metis” as “the most clearly demarcated lower status group in the community.” They performed the “most menial and least conservative jobs.” The “less sympathetic of their neighbours” described them as “shiftless,” “rowdy,” “drunken,” and “no-good.” Even the parish priest in Carman, a French Canadian graduate of the University of Montreal, was “highly critical of his parishioners” and referred to the parish as “rather a hopeless case.”⁸⁸

There was some interaction between the Metis and the settlers on the Boyne; Frank McDermott served on the Dufferin council from 1891 to 1900; John Grant, Jr., served as a trustee for McDermott School and as a pathmaster in Ward 6 of Dufferin Municipality. That both men were English speaking may have been a factor in their integration into the larger society. Nevertheless, given the tension and the religious divide, between the two groups, it is not surprising that of 503 marriages recorded in Carman, Dufferin, and Elm River before 1902 at

⁸⁶ *La Liberté et le Patriote*, January 6, 1943, p. 2, “Notes historiques sur la paroisse de Haywood, Man. Les Ilets de Bois ou Saint-Daniel.”

⁸⁷ The study was to include a French-Canadian community, St. Pierre Jolys, but the fieldwork in St. Pierre Jolys was cancelled after the parish priest forbade his parishioners to speak to Giffen. The priest believed Giffen to be an agent of the Orange Lodge. James P. Giffen, *Rural Life: Portraits of the Prairie Town, 1946* Gerald Friesen, ed. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2004), p.4.

⁸⁸ Giffen, *Rural Life*, pp.138-140.

most 35 and perhaps as few as 10 were between Metis and whites; even fewer of these marriages crossed the lines of religion.⁸⁹

It is beyond the scope of this paper to determine where the Metis moved after they left St. Daniel. However, I have uncovered information as to where some of the St. Daniel Metis moved. As already noted, John F. Grant returned to his birthplace near Edmonton and some Metis moved to the north and west near St. Claude and Haywood. Others moved farther afield. At the time of his death in 1898 Seraphim Emond had two sons living in St. Daniel and four married daughters living in Carman, Dauphin, Prince Albert, and Grand Forks. Some members of the Ducharme, Godon, Lillie, and Olsen families moved to the Pembina Valley in Manitoba. Several former St. Daniel families were enumerated in Ochre River, south of Lake Dauphin, in 1901. Other families moved, or would move, to the Quill Lake area in Saskatchewan. Frances 'Frank' McDermott was buried in Quill Lake in 1919. Archange Guiboche, wife of Arthur Pruden, was buried in Quill Lake in 1921. Charles Pruden, Thomas Pruden and their families were enumerated in Humboldt, Saskatchewan, in 1916., Napoleon and Ellen McIvor were enumerated in Humboldt in 1911. Some members of the Dubois, Lecuyer, Lillie, and Mcleod, families moved to the Metis community south of the Turtle Hills in Rolette County, North Dakota. This type of mobility was common in non-Metis groups as well. The columns of Carman's two newspapers mentioned new settlers arriving and old settlers moving on. In 1907 the Dufferin Leader reported 8 or 10 carloads of settlers' effects leaving for Hanley, Quill Lake, Edmonton, and Saskatoon. The departures included second generation of families, the Sexsmiths, McLennans, Ardingtons, and Durants, who had been in the Boyne Settlement since the 1870s. In 1905 Joseph Wells Johnston, who had arrived in Manitoba in 1870, settled on the Boyne and married a daughter of Samuel Kennedy, moved with his children and grandchildren to Vulcan, Alberta. Albert Clarke, an Ontario settler for whom Albert School was named, moved to Quill Lake about 1907.

⁸⁹ Derived from Manitoba Vital Statistics. <http://vitalstats.gov.mb.ca/Query.php>

Appendix A - St. Daniel Residents (Parishioners) in the 1891, 1901, 1906, 1911, 1916 and 1921 Canada Census.

The Canada census is an important source for residents of the Ilets de Bois/St. Daniel area. All census returns gave the names of individuals enumerated, their gender, civil status, age, birthplace, religion, and occupation. The general residence of those enumerated can be deduced from the census district and subdistrict in which they were enumerated; in some census years (1901 and 1906) a more detailed location is given. Most returns gave racial/ethnic origin – for example French, English, Scottish or Irish. Some returns identified individuals as Metis or Indigenous.

In 1891 most of the residents of Ilets de Bois/ St. Daniel lived in the census sub-districts of Elm River and North Dufferin 1. The 1891 census does not identify Metis but I have identified 63 Roman Catholic Metis heads of family in North Dufferin 1 and Elm River. I have also identified 12 non-Metis Roman Catholics who may have been part of the parish. Finally, 7 Protestant Metis were enumerated in North Dufferin 1 and Elm River.

Many of the individuals enumerated in North Dufferin 1 and Elm River sub-districts can be found in Henderson's Manitoba and Northwest Territories Directory, 1892.

A sub-district, North Dufferin 2, exists; it covers the southern portion of North Dufferin and does not include any Metis.

1891 Census. Protestant Metis Enumerated in North Dufferin 1 and Elm River. Location found in Henderson's 1892 Directory

Census District	Name	Spouse	Metis	Sec Twp Rge	Post Office	Age	No. in Household	Birth Place	Faith	Trade
ND1	Bremner, Charles	Sarah	M	30-7-4	Barnsley	45	8	MB	Pre	Farmer
ER	Fields, Henry	Caroline	M	4-7-6	Almassipi	55	5	QC	CE	Farmer
ER	Morrison, Ann	Widow	M			62	4	NWT	Pre	None
ER	Morrison, Norman	Charlotte	M	2-7-6	Almassipi	44	9	MB	PC	Farmer
ND1	Salter, Richard	None	M	22-6-4	Salterville	72	1	EN	?	?
ND1	Salter, Samuel	Enlova	M	22-9-4	Salterville	29	4	MB	?	?
ND1	Salter, Thomas	Susanna	M	21-6-4	Salterville	36	6	MB	Pre	Farmer

1891 Census. Roman Catholic Metis in North Dufferin 1 and Elm River

Census District	Name	Spouse	Metis	Sec Twp Rge	Post Office	Age	No. in Household	Birth Place	Faith	Trade
ER	Cooper, Isaac	Emma	M			23	2	ENG	RC	Farmer
ND1	Aimond, Alexander	Margaret	M		Carman	36	5	MB	RC	Teamster
ER	Aymond, Joseph	Louisa	M	33-7-5	Carman	47	10	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	Aymond, Seraphim	Mary	M	16-7-5	Carman	72	2	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	Barnes, John	Widower	M	36-7-5	Barnsley	31	2	US	RC	Labourer

ER	Delorme, Hubert	Amelia	M			33	5	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	Delorme, Joseph	Madeleine	M	24-7-6	Carman	38	4	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	Delorme, Margaret	Widow	M			37	6	MB	RC	None
ER	Delorme, Urbain	Melanie	M	32-7-5	Carman	28	5	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	Desjardins, Arthur	Jane, Mother	M			18	2	MB	RC	Labourer
ND1	Dubois, Frederic	Natalie	M			25	2	MB	RC	Labourer
ER	Dubois, Frederick	Mary	M			24	3	MB	RC	None
ND1	Dubois, Patrice	Marie	M			51	5	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	Ducharme, Baptiste	Angelie	M	16-7-5	Carman	81	2	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	Ducharme, John	Mary	M	16-7-5	Carman	19	2	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	Ducharme, Pierre	Caroline	M	16-7-5	Carman	23	3	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	Ducharme, Tussaint	Norah	M	16-7-5	Carman	30	5	NWT	RC	Farmer
ND1	Dusen Doduit	Catherine	M			24	4	MB	RC	Labourer
ER	Emealt, Charles	Eleanor	M			38	11	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	Gagnon, David	Ermine	M	20-7-5	Carman	49	5	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	Gagnon, Napoleon	Margaret	M	20-7-5	Carman	26	4	USA	RC	Farmer
ER	Gagnon, Patrick	Virginia	M			23	3	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	Gaudry, Francis	Milan	M	36-7-5	Barnsley	50	6	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	Grant, James	Jane	M			22	3	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	Grant, John	None	M	36-7-3	Barnsley	59	8	NWT	RC	Farmer
ER	Grant, John	Mary	M	15-7-5	Carman	28	5	USA	RC	Farmer
ER	Grant, Richard	Rosalie	M	36-7-5	Barnsley	33	7	USA	RC	Farmer
ND1	Grant, Richard	Widower	M			42	8	NWT	RC	Labourer
ER	Guiboche, Andrew	Eliza	M	36-7-5	Carman	46	6	NWT	RC	Farmer
ER	Guiboche, Andrew	Melanie	M	24-7-5	Carman	22	5	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	Gurno, David	Juliete	M			29	6	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	Jobin, Pierre	Sarah	M	15-7-5	Carman	35	8	MB	RC	Farmer
ND1	Kipling, John	Mary	M			40	3	MB	RC	Labourer
ER	Lapointe, Daniel	Josette	M			38	8	MB	RC	Farmer
ND1	Lapointe, Peter	Margarite	M			46	5	MB	RC	Labourer
ND1	Laroche, Pierre	Philomene	M			30	5	MB	RC	Labourer
ND1	Larose, Joseph	Madeleine	M		Carman	50	10	MB	RC	Labourer
ER	Lily, David	Julie	M			29	7	MB	RC	Labourer
ER	Louiselle, Alfred	Angele	M	30-3-5	Carman	26	5	QC	RC	School Teacher
ER	Malaterre, Roger	None								
ER	McDermott, Frank	Nancy	M	36-7-5	Barnsley	35	7	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	McIvor, Napoleon	Ellen	M	29-7-5	Carman	29	5	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	McIvor, Norman	Jane	M	26-7-5	Carman	33	10	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	McIvor, William	Nancy	M	16-7-5	Carman	36	9	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	Ouellette, Rapheal	Adele	M	28-7-6	Carman	22	2	MB	RC	Farmer
ND1	Ouilette, Frank	Quipi	M			30	5	MB	RC	Farmer
ND1	Ouilette, Pierre	Margarite	M			57	5	MB	RC	Farmer
ND1	Ouilette, Pierre	Lilie	M			35	6	MB	RC	Farmer

ND1	Ouillette, Margaret	Widow	M			56	7	MB	RC	
ER	Paul, Daniel	Margaret	M	19-7-5	Carman	29	4	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	Paul, Daniel	Margaret	M	16-7-5	Carman	49	7	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	Paul, Joseph	Adelaide	M			25	5	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	Paul, William	Louisa	M	12-7-6	Carman	22	3	NWT	RC	Farmer
ER	Payette, Edward	Mary	M	19-7-5	Carman	35	5	QC	RC	Labourer
ER	Payette, Godfroi	Mary	M	36-7-6	Carman	34	4	QC	RC	Farmer
ER	Proulx, Michael	Dumichel	M	30-7-5	Carman	40	10	NWT	RC	Farmer
ER	Prudhomme, Charles	Mary	M	19-7-5	Carman	37	9	NWT	RC	Farmer
ER	Prudhomme, Thomas	Mary	M	30-7-5	Carman	26	4	MB	RC	Farmer
ER	Richot, Baptiste	Eliza	M			45	5	MB	RC	Farmer
ND1	Rogers, Majier	Louisa	M			28	4	MB	RC	Lumber
ER	Vivian, Maggie	Widow	M			60	8	MB	RC	None

1891 Census. Roman Catholic Whites in North Dufferin and Elm River

Census District	Name	Spouse	White	Sec Twp Rge	Post Office	Age	No. in Household	Birth Place	Faith	Trade
ER	Beaudry, Joseph	Mary	W	16-7-6	Almasippi	27	6	ON	RC	Farmer
ND1	Black, Duncan	Margaret	W	32-6-3	Carman	49	10	SC	RC	Farmer
ND1	Gauvin, Joseph	Adele	W	24-6-5	Carman	25	4	QC	RC	Printer
ND1	Honan, Thomas	Margaret	W	17-8-4	Barnsley	43	9	IR	RC	Railroad
ER	Hood, Archie	Phoebe	W	35-7-5	Barnsley	37	12	USA	RC	Farmer
ER	Major, Joseph	None	W	21-7-5	Carman	28	1	QC	RC	Farmer
ND1	Major, Josse	None	W	5-7-4	Carman	28	1	ON	RC	Farmer
ER	Major, Malcolm	None	W			65	2	QC	RC	Farmer
ND1	Major, Peter	Eveline	W	5-7-4	Carman	35	8	ON	RC	Farmer
ND1	Speare, John	Annie	W	12-6-4	Carman	33	3	EN	RC	Farmer
ER	St. George, Louis	Angele	W	30-7-5	Carman	33	3	QC	RC	Farmer
ND1	Tracy, William	Margaret	W	13-6-4	Salterville	29	4	ON	RC	Farmer

The 1901 census is unusual in that under the heading “Colour” it contains information on race. Individuals are identified as “B” for Black or people of African descent, “R” for Red or people of Native Canadian or Aboriginal descent, “W” for White or people of European descent, and “Y” for Yellow or people of Chinese or Japanese descent. The enumerators generally identified Metis as “R”. Children of mixed White and non-European parentage were to be described as “B”, “R” or “Y”. Schedule 1 of the census also had a heading “Racial or Tribal Origin.” This was generally traced through their father although for Aboriginal People, “Origin” was to be traced through the mother. In the Dufferin returns “Origin” usually given as French, English, Scottish, or Irish although sometimes the term “HB” (Metis) was used.

Schedule 2, “Buildings, Lands, Churches, and Schools” of the 1901 census includes locations for those enumerated. In the case of rural residents this is given as Section, Township, and Range. Schedule 2 also includes information on how much land the head of each household owned.

1901 Census. Roman Catholic Metis Households in St. Daniel, Carman, and St. Claude.

Census Sheet	Page	Name	Spouse	Colour	Sec Twp Rge	No. in Household	Age	Birth Place	Origin	Faith	Occupation	Language
B12	9	Dubois, Moses	Mary	R	30-6-4	3	26	MB	FRENCH	RC	Labourer	F
B3	2	Cislen, John	Mary	R	36-7-5	6	49	MB	SCOT	RC	Labourer	E
B3	4	Delorme, William	Mary	R	29-7-5	3	28	MB	METIS	RC	Squatter	F
B3	6	Deshard, Antoine	Mary	R	?-7-5	4	28	MB	METIS	RC	?	F
B3	4	Desharme, Petter	Mary	R	3-7-5	6	33	MB	METIS	RC	Farmer	F
B3	4	Dumas, Alfred	Mary	R	30-7-5	6	36	MB	METIS	RC	Farmer	F
B3	3	Emoynnd, Donald	Mary	R	30-7-5	3	24	MB	FRENCH	RC	Farm L	F
B3	3	Emoynnd, Joseph	Linda	R	33-7-5	5	56	MB	FRENCH	RC	Farmer	F
B3	6	Engman, Joseph	Mary	R	22-7-5	3	22	MB	METIS	RC	Labourer	F
B8	1	Fields, Henry Sr.	Caroline	R	4-7-6	5	62	QC	FRENCH	RC	Farmer	F
B3	2	Grant, John	Mary	R	36-7-5	6	38	MB	SCOT	RC	Farmer	E
B3	5	Lapoint, Daniel	Lasset	R	19-7-5	9	46	MB	METIS	RC	Farmer	F
B3	4	Lillie, Michael	Maggie	R	30-7-5	3	22	MB	METIS	RC	Labourer	F
B3	4	Lillie, William	Maggie	R	30-7-5	9	28	MB	METIS	RC	Labourer	F
B3	3	McDermot, Frank	Nancy	R	36-7-5	8	49	MB	IRISH	RC	Farmer	E
B3	4	McIver, William	Maggie	R	30-7-5	10	44	MB	METIS	RC	Farmer	F
B3	2	Olet, Wisador	Lara	R	36-7-5	3	32	MB	SCOT	RC	Labourer	F
B3	7	Ouellette, Alfred	Margaret	R	10-7-5	2	31	MB	FRENCH	RC	Labourer	F
B3	5	Pall, John	Flora?	R	?-7-5	5	23	MB	METIS	RC	Labourer	F
B3	6	Pall, Margaret	Widow	R	?-7-5	6	40	?	METIS	RC	?	F
B3	6	Pall, William	Louise	R	21-7-5	5	33	MB	METIS	RC	Farmer	F
B3	4	Proult, McLeod	Domithel	R	30-7-5	7	42	MB	FRENCH	RC	Labourer	F

B3	2	Stonge, Hartet	None	R	36-7-5	1	23	FRA	FRENCH	RC	Teacher	F
B3	2	Vivier, Joseph	None	R	36-7-5	1	37	MB	SCOT	RC	Labourer	
B3	4	Eyomt, Joseph	Jose??	R	30-7-5	5	28	MB	METIS	RC	Merchant	F
B3	5	Grow, David	Amman?	R	20-7-5	6	60	MB	METIS	RC	Farmer	F
B8	2	Guiboche, Andre	Millaury	R	16-7-6	6	34	MB	FRENCH	RC	Farmer	F
B8	3	Guiboche, Noel	Angelie	R	24-7-6	3	67	NWT	FRENCH	RC	Farmer	F
B8	3	Lambert, Joseph	Rosamond	R	22-7-6	8	52	MB	FRENCH	RC	Farmer	F
B8	4	Lapointe, Joseph	Susan	R	36-7-6	6	49	MB	FRENCH	RC	Farmer	F
B8	3	Ouellette, Norman	Margaret	R	24-7-6	4	25	MB	FRENCH	RC	Farmer	F
B8	3	Ouellette, William	Widower	R	24-7-6	4	59	MB	FRENCH	RC	Farmer	F
B8	3	Richot, Antoine	?ramise	R	36-7-6	3	32	MB	FRENCH	RC	?	F
B7	3	Dubois, Eugene	Elizabeth	R	6-7-9	6	53	MB	METIS	RC	Labourer	F
B7	4	Dubois, Joseph	Celina	R	6-7-9	4	29	MB	METIS	RC	Woodcutter	F
B7	3	Dubois, Moise	Mary	R	6-7-9	5	27	MB	METIS	RC	Woodcutter	F
B7	6	Pruden, Thomas	Mary	R	?-8-6	9	36	MB	METIS	RC	Farmer	E
B7	1	Lawrence, Joseph	Madeleine	R	30-8-7	9	61	NWT	METIS	RC	Farmer	F
B7	7	Moreau, Octave	Clemence	R	24-8-7	4	39	MB	METIS	RC	Farm L	F
B7	5	Sutherland, Maurice	Eugenie	R	6-8-7	3	26	MB	METIS	RC	Carter	F
B7	5	Delorme, Joseph	Madeleine	R	?-9-6	4	51	MB	METIS	RC	Woodcutter	F
C1	7	Amont, Alexander	Mary	R	Carman	9	43	MB	FRENCH	RC	?	F
C2	10	Bellvaux, Joe	Mary	R	Carman	4	35	BELG	BELGIAN	RC	Labourer	F
C2	7	Dubois, Joe	Letina	R	Carman	4	30	MB	FRENCH	RC	Labourer	F
C2	8	Duseume, Roger	Louise	R	Carman	4	40	MB	FRENCH	RC	Labourer	F
C2	9	Kennedy, Peter	Lenora	R	Carman	8	38	MB	FRENCH	RC	Labourer	F
C3	16	Larocque, Joseph	Mary	R	Carman	4	35	MB	FRENCH	RC	Labourer	F
C1	8	Laroque, John B.	Sarah	R	Carman	4	24	MB	FRENCH	RC	Farm L	F
C1	7	Laroque, William	Carrie	R	Carman	5	31	MB	FRENCH	RC	Farm L	F
C1	7	McDugald, Octave	Mary	R	Carman	3	28	MB	FRENCH	RC	Farm L	F
C1	8	McIvor, Albert	Liza	R	Carman	5	32	MB	FRENCH	RC	Farm L	F
C1	7	Millitere, Rodger	Celama	R	Carman	3	29	MB	FRENCH	RC	Farm L	F
C2	11	Ouellett, Frederic	Isabelle	R	Carman	4	27	MB	FRENCH	RC	Labourer	F
C1	10	Richott, John B	Isabelle	R	Carman	6	42	MB	FRENCH	RC	Farm L	F
C1	7	Wallette, Frank	Margaret	R	Carman	5	23	MB	FRENCH	RC	Farm L	F
C1	7	Wallette, Frank	Eofor	R	Carman	10	48	MB	FRENCH	RC	Farm L	F
C1	7	Wallette, Peter	Liza	R	Carman	9	49	MB	FRENCH	RC	Farm L	F
C1	7	Wallette, Peter, Sr	Margaret	R	Carman	5	65	MB	FRENCH	RC	Farm L	F
C1	10	Wollett, Joseph	Madeleine	R	Carman	5	28	MB	FRENCH	RC	Farm L	F
B7	2	Heinault, William	Alphonsine	R	StC	7	33	MB	METIS	RC	Labourer	F
B7	7	White, Ezear	Tauline	R	StC	5	25	USA	METIS	RC	Farmer	E

1901 Census. White Roman Catholics in the St. Daniel and Carman Area

Census Sheet	Page	Name	Spouse	Colour	Sec Twp Rge	No. in Household	Age	Birth Place	Origin	Faith	Occupation	Language
B12	6	Black, Duncan	Margaret	W	20-6-4	7	59	SC	SCOT	RC	Farmer	G
B12	3	Johnson, James	None	W	11-6-4	9	36	ON	SCOT	RC	Farmer	E
B12	9	Major, Louie	Lizzie	W	33-6-4	5	35	ON	FRENCH	RC	Farmer	E
B3	2	Allan, Edward	Elan	W	35-7-5	7	46	ON	IRISH	RC	Farmer	E
B3	3	Clark, James	Mary Metis	W	36-7-5	3	26	ON	IRISH	RC	Farmer	E
B3	7	Gauthier, Felick	Emma	W	21-7-5	9	34	ON	FRENCH	RC	Farmer	F
B3	5	Laisell, Alfred	Margaret	W	8-7-5	5	39	ON	FRENCH	RC	Farmer	F
B3	6	Majer, Joseph	None	W	21-7-5	6	38	ON	FRENCH	RC	Farmer	F
B2	7	Trottishaw, Joseph	Louise	W	?-7-5	3	33	QC	GERMAN	RC	Farm L	F
B8	4	Boudreau, Joseph	Catherine	W	36-7-6	2	31	MB	FRENCH	RC	Farmer	F
B8	3	Hella, J. L	Widower	W	24-7-6	1	56	BELG	BELGIAN	RC	Priest	F
B8	3	Payette, Godfroi	Mary	W	36-7-6	7	42	QC	FRENCH	RC	Farmer	F
B8	1	Provo, Joseph	Hannah	W	2-7-6	11	45	ON	FRENCH	RC	Farmer	E
B8	4	Aubin, Frank	Mary L.	W	10-7-7	5	35	QC	FRENCH	RC	Farmer	F
B7	6	Major, Pierre	Evelina	W	16-8-6	11	55	QC	FRENCH	RC	Farmer	F
C1	1	Cantin, John	Margaret	W	Carman	5	43	QC	FRENCH	RC	Barber	F
C1	9	Frederick, Joseph	Adeline	W	Carman	8	40	MB	FRENCH	RC	Farm L	F
C1	6	Lapointe, Daniel	Virginia	W	Carman	4	27	MB	FRENCH	RC	Teamster	F
C1	8	Miller, Fay T.	Widow	W	Carman	2	47	MB	ENGLISH	RC	Mason	E
C1	6	Payette, Edward	Mary Philomene	W	Carman	8	44	QC	FRENCH	RC	Farm L	F
C2	8	Spence, John	Metis	W	Carman	7	39	ON	IRISH	RC	Labourer	E
C1	8	Stewart, Alexander	Rosa Metis	W	Carman	3	24	MB	SCOT	RC	Farm L	E
C2	7	Therier, Fredric	Mary	W	Carman	4	40	NBr	FRENCH	RC	Labourer	F
B7	8	Baudry, Alexander	Rosalie Metis	W	Carman	3	24	QC	FRENCH	RC	Farmer	F

1901 Census. Protestant Metis in the St. Daniel Area

Census Sheet	Page	Name	Spouse	Colour	Sec Twp Rge	No. in Household	Age	Birth Place	Origin	Faith	Occupation	Language
B3	6	[Engman], Peter	None	R	?-7-5	1	40	?	FRENCH	?	Farmer	F
B8	3	Morrison, P??	None	R	12-7-6	1	43	MB	SCOT	?	Farmer	F
B8	3	Lambert, John R.	Margaret	R	14-7-6	8	41	MB	FRENCH	CofE	Farmer	E
B8	3	Edinburgh, George	Georgina Metis	W	20-7-6	6	30	Eng	ENGLISH	CofE	Farmer	E

B8	1	Fields, Henry Jr.	Jane	R	9-7-6	11	35	MB	FRENCH	Pres	Farmer	E
B8	2	Morrison, Benjamin	None	R	2-7-6	1	?	MB	?	Pres	Farmer	E
B8	1	Morrison, Norman	Charlotte	R	2-7-6	9	54	NWT	SCOT	Pres	Farmer	E

1906 Census of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

The 1906 census reported name, age, birthplace, post office and (for rural residents) section township and range of residents. It also included some information of livestock owned. Because it did not include religion, this table only includes those I have identified as Metis.

Sub-District									Post Office	SEC	TWP	RGE
	Page	Line	Family No.	Name	Spouse	Age.	BP					
9	2	13	12	Lambert John R	Maggie	47	MB	Almississippi	14	7	6	
10	22	26	185	Grant John	Mary	42	MB	Barnsley	23	7	5	
10	21	23	178	McIvor Antoine	Rose	40	MB	Barnsley				
9	5	4	34	Field Henry	Jane	40	MB	Graysville	4	7	6	
9	3	1	17	Morrisson Normand	Charlotte	60	AB	Graysville	2	7	6	
9	32	33	247	Beaudry Alexandre	Rosalie	30	QC	STC				
9	38	7	301	Brazeau Joseph	Cecile	38	MB	STC	15	8	6	
9	31	27	237	Delorme Joseph	Magdeline	5?	MB	STC	15	8	7	
9	33	33	257	Dubois Joseph	Celina	34	MB	STC	15	8	7	
9	33	27	256	Dubois Moise	Mary	32	MB	STC	15	8	7	
9	33	23	255	Dussiaulme Radge	Louise	?0	MB	STC	15	8	7	
9	31	19	236	Henault William	Alphonsine	39	MB	STC	15	8	7	
9	24	29	179	Lawrence Francois	Marie	53	MB	STC	5	9	7	
9	32	4	242	Lawrence Francois	Lucie	23	MB	STC	15	8	7	
9	25	1	182	Lily Alex	Louise	30	MB	STC	24	8	7	
9	40	37	323	Morisseau Roger	Albertine	32	MB	STC	29	8	6	
9	33	5	250	Ouellette Alfred	Isabelle	35	MB	STC	15	8	7	
9	31	31	238	Ouellette Francis	Cleophile	53	MB	STC	15	8	7	
9	31	37	239	Ouellette Pierre	Marie	25	MB	STC	15	8	7	
9	39	15	309	Poirier Louis	Delphine	30	USA	STC	0	0	0	
9	39	1	305	Pruden Charles	None	45	MB	STC	22	8	6	
9	38	38	304	Pruden John	Ermezina	30	MB	STC	22	8	6	
9	38	17	302	Pruden Thomas	Mary Jane	42	MB	STC	16	8	6	
9	37	20	296	Sutherland Maurice	Sarah Louise	31	MB	STC	19	8	6	
9	33	18	254	Trottichaud Joseph (Metis)		QC		STC				
9	1	39	7	Guiboche Noël	Angelique	68	MB	STD	24	7	6	
10	23	4	188	LaPoint Dan'l	Virginia	36	MB	STD	9	7	5	
9	1	6	2	Lapointe Joseph	Alphonsine	56	MB	STD	36	7	6	

9	2	2	8	Ouellette Francois	Nancy	28	MB	STD	24	7	6
9	1	30	5	Ouellette Guillaume	None	75	MB	STD	24	7	6
9	1	33	6	Ouellette Normand	Marguerite	32	MB	STD	24	7	6
9	1	1	1	Ritchot Antoine	Veronique	38	MB	STD	36	7	6
20	19	23	166	Badger Arron W.	Agesss	36	ON	CAR			
20	4	27	29	Fields William	Mary	39	ENG	CAR			
20	37	1	311	Guibahe? Andrew	Malinda	37	MB	CAR			
20	30	18	254	La Rocque, Joseph L.	Mary K.	39	MB	CAR			
20	34	1	286	Lacroque William	Carrie	36	MB	CAR			
20	35	12	295	LaRoque Baptiste	Sarah	26	MB	CAR			
20	37	18	313	Mil?t? Frederick	Marie P.	35	MB	CAR			
20	37	36	316	Mitatiau Roger	Calina	36	MB	CAR			
20	37	22	314	Oellette Pire	Eliza	53	MB	CAR			
20	28	3	233	Oelliete? Joseph	Madaline	35	MB	CAR			
20	34	26	291	Paul Joseph	Adaline	40	MB	CAR			
20	35	28	299	Payette Edward	Marie	49	QC	CAR			
20	38	32	325	Richott J. B.	Marie	60	MB	CAR			
20	36	13	305	Salter Samuel	Eno Lovel	46	MB	CAR			
20	31	8	260	Salter Thomas	Susan	49	MB	CAR			

1911 Census. Metis and Roman Catholic Whites in Township 7, Ranges 5 and 6. (St.Daniel)

Sub-District	Name	Spouse	M/W	T/R	Age	Birth Place	Origin	Religion	Occupation
23	Aymont Joseph	Josephine	M	75	38	MB	FR	RC	Labourer
23	Aymont Joseph	None	M	75	63	MB	FR	RC	Labourer
23	Barnes John	Bella	M	75	44	USA	Negro	RC	Labourer
23	Delorme William	None	M	75	38	MB	FR	RC	Labourer
15	Ducharme Bte.	Carolina	M	76	45	MB	FR	RC	Farmer
23	Dumas Joseph	Mary Jane	M	75	34	MB	FR	RC	Farmer
23	Dumas Peter	Rosetta	M	75	56	MB	FR	RC	Farmer
15	Fields Henry	Jane	M	76	45	MB	FR	PR	Farmer
15	Field Joseph	Caroline	M	76	41	MB	FR	PR	Farmer
23	Gagnon David	Airmine	M	75	66	MB	FR	RC	Farmer
23	Grant John	Mary	M	75	47	USA	S	RC	Farmer
15	Lambert, John	Margaret	M	76	51	MB	FR	CoE	Farmer
23	Lasprannce Arthur	Elizabeth	M	75	37	MB	FR	RC	Labourer
23	Paul John	Flora	M	75	37	NWT	FR	RC	Farmer
23	Proulx Charles	None	M	75	34	MB	FR	RC	Farmer
15	Richot Antoine	Vermuite	M	76	43	MB	FR	RC	Farmer

23	Allen Edward	Ellen	W	75	54	ON	Ir	RC	Farmer
23	Barrard John	None	W	75	30	FR	FR	RC	Railroad
15	Carrol Lewies	None	W	76	25	FR	FR	RC	Farmer
23	Forster Alois	Francis	W	75	42	GE	GE	RC	Farmer
15	Gotch Felix	Emma	W	76	50	QC	FR	RC	Farmer
23	Hunke John J	Anne	W	75	33	USA	GE	RC	Farmer
15	Magar Henry	Marie Louise	W	76	36	ON	FR	RC	Farmer
15	Mager Arthur	Helf	W	76	29	ON	FR	RC	Farmer
15	Mager Peter	Havaline	W	76	58	ON	FR	RC	Farmer
23	Magor Dawson	Elizabeth	W	75	45	ON	FR	RC	Farmer
23	McNab Charles	Elizabeth	W	75	40	MB	SC	RC	Labourer
15	Pierg??s Ma?	None	W	76	31	FR	FR	RC	Priest

1911 Census. Metis in Carman.

Sub-District	Name	Spouse	M/W	T/R	Age	Birth Place	Origin	Religon	Occupatio n
24	Henault Peter	Elenore	M	Car	54	MB	Cree	RC	Labourer
24	Henault William	Hellen	M	Car	23	MB	cree	RC	Labourer
24	Laroc William	Carolina L.	M	Car	40	MB	Cree	RC	Labourer
24	McKinie Albert	Eliza	M	Car	45	MB	cree	RC	None
24	Millitaire Roger	Mary	M	Car	40	MB	Cree	RC	Labourer
24	Ouellete Joseph	Margeline	M	Car	42	MB	Cree	RC	Labourer
24	Ouellette Peter	Mary	M	Car	48	MB	Cree	RC	Labourer
24	Paul Joseph	Marie	M	Car	24	MB	Cree	RC	Labourer
24	Paul William	Louisina	M	Car	44	MB	Cree	RC	Labourer
24	Payette Edward	Marje	M	Car	51	MB	FR	RC	Labourer
24	Payette Joseph	Mary R	M	Car	55	MB	FR	RC	Labourer
24	Richot Baptiste	Susan	M	Car	70	MB	Cree	RC	Labourer
24	Salter Thomas	Susan	M	Car	56	MB	Eng	CoE	Farmer

1911. Metis in Township 8, Ranges 5 and 6. (Haywood)

Sub-District	Name	Spouse	M/W	T/R	Age	Birth Place	Origin	Religon	Occupatio n
18	??evier Zedor	Orzeala	M	86	37	SK	FR	RC	None
18	Archlange(?) Antoine	None	M	86	37	MB	FR	RC	Farmer
18	Chatrand Zack	Rose	M	86	37	SK	FR	RC	Farmer
18	Gautrie Francis	None	M	86	65	SK	FR	RC	None
18	Morrisoe Roger	Rose	M	86	31	MB	FR	RC	Farmer
18	Morro Willian	Mary	M	85	21	USA	FR	RC	Railroad

18	Moroso Peter	Catharine	M	86	29	SK	FR	RC	Farmer
18	Paul Jean Batiste	Illegible	M	86	36	SK	FR	RC	Farmer
18	Paul Joseph	?deide?	M	86	50	SK	FR	RC	Labourer
18	Poirier Emile	Delvina	M	86	36	USA	FR	RC	Farmer
18	Pruden E??rley(?)	Florra	M	86	27	MB	SC	RC	None
18	Pruden Thomas	Mary Jane	M	86	47	SK	SC	RC	Farmer

1911. Metis in Townships 8 and 9, Range 7 (St. Claude)

Sub-District	Name	Spouse	M/W	T/R	Age	Birth Place	Origin	Religion	Occupation
14	Beaudry Alexandre	Rosalie	M	87	36	QC	FR	RC	Carpenter
14	Dubois Moïse	Mary	M	97	36	MB	FR	RC	Farmer
14	Dumas(?) Alfred	Marie	M	97	46	MB	FR	RC	Farmer
14	Dussaume(?) George	Christine	M	StC	27	MB	FR	RC	Labourer
14	Dussiaume Roger	Louisa	M	87	60	MB	FR	RC	Labourer
14	Lapointe Daniel	Virginia	M	97	39	MB	FR	RC	Farmer
14	Laurence Joseph	Madelin	M	StC	80	SK	FR	RC	Labourer
14	McDougall Octave	Marie	M	87	38	MB	SC	RC	Labourer
14	McIvor William	Sarah	M	87	54	MB	SC	RC	Labourer
14	Ouellette Alfred	Isabella	M	87	39	MB	FR	RC	Labourer
14	Ouellette Frnçois	Cleophie	M	87	57	MB	FR	RC	Labourer
14	Ouellette Norman	Margueritte	M	87	33	MB	FR	RC	Farmer
14	Ouellette Pierre	Marie Rose	M	87	28	MB	FR	RC	Labourer
14	Sutherland Maurice	Sarah	M	87	36	MB	SC	RC	Farmer
14	Trottechaud(?) Joseph	?Beaux?	M	87	43	QC	FR	RC	Labourer

1916 Census, Manitoba, Macdonald, Sub-districts 3 (Townships 7, Ranges 5 and 6), Sub-district 5, (Carman), and Sub-district 7, (Townships 8 and 9, Range 7), Roman Catholics and Metis. Generally Roman Catholics born in Europe who were not in Sub-district 3 have not been included in this list.

Sub-district	Page	Name	Spouse	Metis/White	Twp/Rge	Age	Birth Place	Religion	Origin	Language	Occupation
3	1	Allen, Edward	Ellen	W	75	59	ON	RC	IR	E	Farmer
3	2	Allen, William	Frances	W	75	26	ON	RC	IR	E	Farmer
3	4	Amoe, John A	Mary	?	75	31	MB	RC	FR	EF	RR Engineer
3	6	Constantin, Murice	Dinah	W	75	34	Fra	RC	FR	EF	Clerk
3	5	Delorme, William	Alice	M	75	40	MB	RC	Scot	EF	Labourer
3	6	Ducharme, Pier	Caroline	M	75	49	MB	RC	FR	EF	Farmer
3	5	Dumas, Mary J	None	M	75	40	MB	RC	Scot	EF	None
3	5	Dumas, Peter	Josephine	M	75	61	MB	RC	Scot	EF	Farmer
3	2	Ferrie, Caroline	None	W	75	38	MB	RC	Scot	E	None
3	6	Forester, Alois	Frances	W	75	46	Ger	RC	Ger	EF	Farmer
3	6	Funke, John J	Annie	W	75	39	USA	RC	Ger	E	Farmer
3	5	Gagnon, David	Jeminer	M	75	70	MB	RC	Scot	EF	Farmer
3	2	Grant, John	Mary	M	75	52	USA	RC	Scot	EF	Farmer
3	6	Lapointe, Alex	Mary	M	75	49	MB	RC	FR	EF	Labourer
3	6	Maguir, Dawson	Elizabeth	W	75	50	ON	RC	FR	EF	Farmer
3	5	McKever, Norman	Florence	M	75	23	MB	RC	Scot	EF	Farm Lab
3	5	McKever, William	Sarah	M	75	60	MB	RC	Scot	EF	Farmer
3	5	McNabb, Charles	Elizabeth	M	75	46	MB	RC	Scot	E	Labourer
3	2	Neusch, Joseph	Mary	W	75	51	Switz	RC	Ger	E	Farmer
3	6	Proulx, Domathilde	None	M	75	62	MB	RC	FR	F	None
3	5	Wirl, Paul	Annie	W	75	56	Ger	RC	Germ	E	Farmer
3	11	Bergeron, Joseph	Mary Ann	W	76	25	QC	RC	FR	EF	Farm Lab
3	9	Fields, Henry	None	M	76	50	MB	PRES	ENG	E	Farmer
3	10	Lambert, John R.	Margaret	M	76	55	MB	CoE	FR	E	Farmer
3	12	Major, Alf	Christine	W	76	24	MB	RC	FR	EF	Farmer
3	11	Major, henry	Margaret	W	76	44	QC	RC	FR	EF	Farmer
3	12	Major, Peter	Evelline	W	76	70	ON	RC	FR	EF	Farmer
3	12	Morrow, Solomon	Mary Mary	M	76	54	MB	RC	Scot	EF	Farmer
7	10	Aubin, Frank	Louiise	W	87	47	QC	RC	FR	EF	Farmer
7	16	Beaudry, Alex	Rosalie	W	87	40	QC	RC	FR	EF	Carpenter

7	11	Gauthier, Felix	Emma	W	87	48	ON	RC	FR	EF	Farmer
7	11	Lapointe, Daniel	Virginnie	M	87	47	MB	RC	FR	EF	Farmer
7	6	Lennie, William	Josephine	M	87	31	AB	RC	Scot	EF	Labourer
7	6	Sutherland, Maruice	Sarah	M	87	41	MB	RC	Scot	EF	Farmer
7	5	Kippling, John	Mary	M	97	65	MB	RC	Scot	EF	Labourer
5	3	Almond, Alex	Margaret	M	Car	44	MB	RC	FR	EF	Soldier
5	3	Delorme, Frank	Elizabeth	M	Car	40	MB	RC	FR	EF	Labourer
5	3	Gagnon, Joseph	None	M	Car	26	MB	RC	FR	EF	Soldier
5	2	Lalonde, Isac	Mary		Car	30	QC	RC	FR	EF	Soldier
5	2	Larocque, Battise	Sarah	M	Car	44	MB	RC	FR	EF	Soldier
5	28	Larocque, William	Carolina	M	Car	53	MB	RC	FR	EF	Labourer
5	1	Militaire, Rober	Mary	M	Car	46	MB	RC	FR	EF	Labourer
5	2	Ouellette, Joseph	Madeline	M	Car	42	MB	RC	FR	EF	Odd Jobs
5	2	Ouellette, Pier	None	M	Car	68	MB	RC	FR	EF	Labourer
5	2	Paul, Fred	Rosie	M	Car	25	MB	RC	FR	EF	Soldier
5	23	Paul, John	Flora	M	Car	44	MB	RC	FR	EF	Labourer
5	3	Paul, Joseph	Liddie	M	Car	55	MB	RC	FR	EF	Labourer
5	3	Paul, Joseph, Jr	Mary E	M	Car	34	MB	RC	FR	EF	Teamster
5	1	Paul, Wm. JR	Louise	M	Car	44	MB	RC	FR	EF	Soldier
5	2	Payette, Edward	Mary	M	Car	58	MB	RC	FR	EF	Labourer

1921 Census, Macdonald. Roman Catholics living in Township 7, Ranges 5 and 6 (St. Daniel) and Carman. Also some from Township 8, Range 6 (Haywood) Roman Catholics who appear to have been part of the European settlement around Haywood and St. Claude have not been included.

Sub District	Page 1	Section	Township	Range	Head	Spouse	Metis/White	Age	Birth Place	Faith	Origin	Language	Occupation
5	9	13	6	5	Larocque, Henri	Alice	M	29	MB	RC	French	EF	Labourer
5	2	18	7	5	Forrester, Alyo	Fra???	W	52	GER	RC	German	EF	Farmer
5	2	19	7	5	Funke, John	Annie	W	43	USA	RC	German	EF	Farmer
5	3	18	7	5	Forrester, Alex	Mary	W	27	SASK	RC	German	EF	Farmer
5	4	23	7	5	Grant, John	Mary	M	57	MB	RC	Scotch	EF	Labourer
5	4	26	7	5	Allen, Wm.	Frances	W	31	ON	RC	Irish	EF	Farmer
5	5	27	7	5	Godon, Eli	Rosie	W	40	MB	RC	French	EF	Labourer
5	5	27	7	5	Tissot, Ed Aymond, John	Mary	W	40	FRA	RC	French	EF	Retail Store
5	5	34	7	5	Alex	Lena K	M	35	MB	RC	French	EF	Section Man
5	5	35	7	5	Collomb, Joseph	Mary	W	51	FRA	RC	Belgian	EF	Farmer
5	6	22	7	5	Conrad, Francis	None	W	34	GER	RC	German	E	Farmer
5	6	30	7	5	Ducharme, Pierre	Carrie Catherine	M	55	MB	RC	French	EF	Farmer
5	6	30	7	5	Major, Dawson?	E	W	59	ON	RC	French	EF	Farmer
5	7	30	7	5	Dumas, Mary	Widow	M	44	MB	RC	French	E	??
5	7	30	7	5	Dumas, Pierre	Josephine	M	21	MB	RC	French	EF	Farmer
5	7	30	7	5	Dumas, Thos	Mary L	M	25	MB	RC	French	EF	Farmer
5	7	34	7	5	Paul, William	Louisa	M	54	MB	RC	French	EF	Farmer
5	7	35	7	5	Allen, Edward	Ellen	W	64	ON	RC	Irish	E	Farmer
5	5		7	5	Aymond, Joseph	None	M	76	MB	RC	French	EF	??
4	12	4	7	6	Fields, Henry Bonnechere,	Ellen	M	54	MB	Pres	Eng	E	??
4	12	16	7	6	Victor	None	W	63	FRA	RC	French	EF	Farmer
4	13	16	7	6	Bergeron, Joseph	None	W	30	QC	RC	French	EF	Labourer
4	14	14	7	6	Lambert, Margaret	None	M	52	MB	Pres	Scotch	EF	Farmer
4	14	36	7	6	McIvor, William	Eva	M	31	MB	RC	Eng	EF	Farmer
4	15	26	7	6	Major, Octave??	Alice	W	36	ON	RC	??	EF	Farmer
4	15	36	7	6	McIvor, Alex	Alice	M	29	MB	RC	??	EE	??
4	15	36	7	6	McIvor, William	None	M	61	MB	RC	Scotch	EF	Odd Jobs
4	15	36	7	6	Rtchot, *ona	Mary	M	51	MB	RC	Emg??	EF	Farmer
4	16	24	7	6	Mouly, Antoine	Catherine	W	49	FRA	RC	French	EF	Farmer
4	16	24	7	6	Major, Arthur	None	W	39	ON	RC	French	EF	Farmer
4	16	24	7	6	Major, Peter	Avilima	W	68	ON	RC	French	EF	??
10	13	10	8	6	Poirier, Philias	Palmiria	W	25	MB	RC	French	EF	Farmer
10	13	14	8	6	Moran, Joseph	Yvonne	W	32	USA	RC	French	EF	Farmer

10	15	10	8	6	Morrisseau, Roger	Rosie	M	41	MB	RC	French	EF	Farmer
10	18	3	8	6	Poirier, Alfred	Angelina	M	55	QC	RC	French	EF	Farmer
10	19	22	8	6	Lilley, David	Julia	M	58	MB	RC	English	EF	Farmer
10	19	22	8	6	Aymont, Adelard Bourgeois,	Kate	M	23	MB	RC	French	EF	Farmer
10	19	22	8	6	Philibert	Camilla	W	30	MB	RC	French	EF	Labourer
10	19	22	8	6	Boulett, Andrew				MB	RC			
10	19	22	8	6	Aymont, Daniel	Marie Louise	M	45	MB	RC	French	EF	Repair Work
10	20	22	8	6	Aymont, Joseph Ouellette,	Marie	M	47	MB	RC	French	EF	??
10	19	22	8	6	Margueritte Lapointe,	Widow	M	43	MB	RC	French	EF	??
10	19	22	8	6	Alexandre	Caroline	M	54	USA	RC	French	EF	Labourer
10	20	14	8	6	Morrisseau, Pierre	Catherine	M	43	MB	RC	French	EF	Farmer
28	2	Car			Ouellett, Joseph	Madeliene	M	58	MB	RC	French	EF	Labourer
28	2	Car			Paul, Joseph, SR	Layd	M	59	MB	RC	French	EF	Labourer
28	2	Car			Paul, Daniel	Agnes	M	30	MB	RC	French	EF	Labourer
28	2	Car			Ouellette, Pierre Aimond,	Widow	M	69	MB	RC	French	EF	Labourer
28	2	Car			Alexandre	Margaret	M	56	MB	RC	French	EF	Labourer
28	2	Car			Ouellette, John	Lillian	M	29	MB	RC	French	EF	Labourer
28	3	Car			Aimond, Frank	Mary	M	28	MB	RC	French	EF	Labourer
28	3	Car			Gagnon, Joseph	Maggie	M	32	MB	RC	French	EF	Labourer
28	7	Car			Richott, Elizabeth McDermott,	Widow	M	68	MB	RC	French	EF	??
28	8	Car			Charles	Ellen	M	60	USA	RC	Irish	EF	??
28	12	Car			Larocque, Baptiste	Sarah	M	48	MB	RC	French	EF	Labourer
28	15	Car			Larocque, William	Caroline	M	51	MB	RC	French	EF	Labourer
28	15	Car			St. Jean, Philip	Georgiana	W	27	QC	RC	French	EF	Pump Man
28	27	Car			Payette, Joseph	Amanda	M	34	MB	RC	French	EF	??
28	32	Car			Payette, Marie	Widow	M	51	MB	RC	French	EF	??

