FORT WILLIAM,
Hinge of a Nation
FORT WILLIAM,
Hinge of a Nation
This Work is Dedicated to

THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM McGINLVRAY
"The Lord of the North West"
1764-1825
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fur Trade</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Description of the Western Fur Trade in the Late Eighteenth Century</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The North West Company</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Earlier Forts</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORT WILLIAM : PHYSICAL HISTORY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Introduction</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Archeology of the Site</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Builders and Their Methods</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reconstruction of Principal Features and of Interiors</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLANNING ASSUMPTIONS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master Plan for Development</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Making the Best Use of The Buildings</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Proposed Architectural Style for Each Building of the Fort Based on Evidence Found at the Site and Precedence Established by the Study of Other Forts of the Same Period Throughout Canada</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provision for Utilities</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstration of the Crafts at Fort William</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building Technology of the Eighteenth Century</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrations of Domestic Life</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrations Proper to the Fur Trade</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Supervisory and Maintenance Personnel Required</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information Centre for Visitors</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail Outlets</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FINANCIAL CONSIDERATIONS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimates of Costs</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenue</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

The present study is addressed to the Government of Ontario and, through this body, to the Legislature. However, it is presented specifically to the Honourable J. A. C. Auld, Minister of Tourism and Information.

A concern for the Province's historic past, for Mr. Auld, is an obvious and important part of his ministerial duty. This responsibility becomes pressing when the people of a given region see their own history as significant for the whole country and are trying to do something about it. The Minister then owes them direct support. The commissioning of this study is a typical instance. It is an attempt to respond to the serious intent of the people of the district of Thunder Bay. They know that old Fort William, the great base of the North West Company is, not merely an interesting part of their own heritage, but a key to the history of the entire nation.

Awareness of the essential influence of Fort William in the growth of Canada is of long standing in the community which has grown up around the site. Many persons knew that, by geographical fact, and by the bold enterprise of the men who exploited this fact, the whole district, and the great trading depot at its centre, had functioned as Canada's vital link between East and West. But no formal investigation of historical records or archeological remains was attempted.

Mr. Ronald Way then essayed a study of the subject which contributed the essential initial step towards a report.

A little later, the archeologist, Professor K.C.A. Dawson took up the task. Both his historical introduction to the site and a summary of his admirably careful excavations, carried out at the request of the Department, are included in these pages.

It has been our task to push investigation still further, and to estimate what a really thorough examination of the past would yield, and with what success this historic site could be restored. Our research, as will be seen, brought to light more than enough material for the immediate purpose. It became obvious as well that there exists an immense store of information, both documentary and physical, which is as yet little known.

Those who may examine this Report are therefore urged to bear in mind that it makes no pretense of completeness. We were asked to explore the field and to determine whether it contained material of a kind and quantity to justify more thorough research and a good hope of accurate restoration. We found far more than we could handle and, even in the historical documents and archeological reports which we have had time to examine, plenty of grounds for declaring that an accurate historical reconstruction can be made. The consultants who helped us - scholars, archeologists, archivists, and experts in old building methods - all found that their enthusiasm grew with their knowledge of the project. All are convinced that the enterprise is both unique and of undoubted value.

Inevitably, in our present state of knowledge, we may offer solutions which could be improved upon. Competent persons with specialized knowledge may sometimes reject our interpretation of findings. We shall be only too grateful if they can point out mistakes, or propose better explanations.

May we repeat that much further study is needed. Perhaps we may indicate certain lines along which investigation might proceed. Of first importance is the careful investigation of all that written history can tell us about the Fort and the Company which used it as a base. A single typical source is the detailed inventories of the contents of the post in 1820-21, mentioned in our chapter on
Reconstruction of Principal Features and of Interiors. These lists must be patiently studied and every entry subjected to close scrutiny. The results should be invaluable to the working archeologist.

Next, it ought to be possible to achieve a fairly complete biographical sketch of the important figures who lived at the Fort. In some cases all we know at present is their names.

There exist as well many commercial documents, bills of lading, contracts, and so on, which must be made to deliver up their secrets.

All this sort of research is necessary, as Professor Dawson urges, in order that the archeologist may not be obliged to work in the dark. When history guides his digging, he finds himself in a far better position to determine the accuracy of history. And this is another great project to be carried through. The entire site should be excavated as thoroughly as possible. The finds already made are so illuminating that they simply oblige us to finish this work.

In the practical order, before any actual rebuilding is attempted, more careful examination of the site, or sites, must be made. In our present state of knowledge of water tables, drainage, nature of soil (not to speak of availability, cost, and so on), it would be grossly imprudent to make a start on so huge an undertaking.

* * * * * * *

Where an historic site has become celebrated by reason of an enterprise lasting some time, it is of course the best period which should be revealed by restoration. Fort William, as an active post in the fur trade, enjoyed about thirty years of life, from 1802 to 1832. It is the year 1816 which, in our opinion, offers the greatest promise.

For this choice there are several reasons. First of all, although in 1816 the final ruin of the North West Company was close at hand, with the consequent reduction of Fort William to the humble status of another post of the Hudson's Bay Company, there was as yet no hint of impending disaster. In fact the North Westers were rejoicing at their latest and bloodiest victory over the forces of their great rival, the so-called Seven Oaks Massacre. Trade was good. The vast reaches of the wilderness to the West and North had been explored, and now at last were being exploited. There was more commercial activity at the Fort than ever, and no reason to doubt that this growth would continue.

But in this year, in August, Lord Selkirk carried out his famous raid. With the help of his tiny private army, he was able to take the Fort and put under arrest all partners and chief agents of the North West Company present for the summer Rendezvous. This bold act of seizure, semi-legal, perhaps only pseudo-legal, quite naturally provoked a great deal of angry writing in letters, diaries and reports. It also gave rise to several years of litigation, ruinous to the Company, but producing a new mass of documentation and more excellent source-material for modern research.

Hence, if we re-enter Fort William's history at this point, we are able to look both into past and future with the support of detailed and certain knowledge. We also catch the Fort at a time when it afforded the highest degree of interest and variety as a spectacle.

Of course this headquarters of a great trading company deserves restoration for far better reasons than as a means of recalling the adventurous and picturesque life of the men who got out the furs. These traders, and the tough canoe-men who worked for them, were
actually building our nation. They neither realized nor intended their true achievement. But this achievement was nothing less than to identify and to hold for Canada the whole of our far West and Northwest Territories. As a commercial enterprise, the Company which built the Fort dominated their country's economy for only a short time. As a force shaping our political history their work still goes on.

It is because of their crucial role in the development of Canada that we begin this study with rather lengthy chapters on both the fur trade and the North West Company. These are followed by an exceedingly brief account of the earlier forts on or near this site, which were the work of the French. Then comes an introduction to Fort William itself, first, as supported by historical record, and then by excavation. Next, before the most important chapter of all, which sketches how actual restoration of each structural feature and building might proceed, it seemed indispensable to deal with the builders of the time: how they worked and with what tools. Thus our first section could be summed up as providing the necessary history and explaining how it might be applied. In our second section we make an attempt at practical planning and estimates.
Planc des forts faits par le Régiment Carignan Salieres sur la Rivière de Richelieu dite autrement des Troques en la Nouvelle France.

Fort St. Louis fait par M. de Champlain sur la Rivière des Troques.

Ce fort est haut de 15 pieds avec une double palissade qui a une banquise en dedans et exterieur d'un pied et demy dedans le lit.

Lac Ontario ou des Iroquois.

Cinq Nations Iroquoises.
The History of Fort William in the Development of the Fur Trade and of Canada
It would be an easy error to look upon Fort William, and that part of the Fur Trade which brought it into existence, as an exclusively English enterprise. Indeed, if our record of events began about 1750, as suggested by the outline proposed, it would be difficult to escape this impression. But no conscientious historian will endure such a misrepresentation of things. Nor is it likely that those (who may be) entrusted with the task of reconstructing the buildings of this historic outpost of exploration, commerce and war, could ever recover the past with any degree of authenticity if they worked in ignorance of the exploits and achievement of the French, which explain so much of the Fort's significance.

Let us then allow ourselves to move backwards in time to 1727. It was in this year that La Verendrye took command of one of the earlier forts on the Kaministiquia and immediately began his bold plans to reach that great Western Ocean known only by stories passed from tribe to tribe of Indians. La Verendrye had some knowledge of the country, and was confident he could proceed by Rainy Lake to Lake of the Woods and thence to Lake Winnipeg. There he planned to establish a small post which would serve him as a temporary base for a dash to the Western Ocean. It might be reached in ten or twenty days. Until 1731, La Verendrye busied himself about Kaministiquia and Grand Portage gleaning information, and making plans. In that year, he undertook his first journey to the West.

His party reached no ocean of course. But for the next thirteen years he and his sons, with a courage and enterprise beyond praise, were to open the West to French advantage. In 1731 they built Fort St. Pierre on Rainy Lake, next year Fort St. Charles on Lake of the Woods. In 1734, while La Verendrye was back in Canada, his sons pushed on and found Fort Maurepas at the southern end of Lake Winnipeg. Two years later one of these sons and twenty companions, were ambushed and killed by hostile Indians at Massacre Island in Lake of the Woods. The site was identified in 1909. Even this bitter tragedy did not discourage the father. In 1738 he built Fort La Reine on the Assiniboine River below Lake Manitoba, and Fort Rouge at the junction of the Assiniboine and Red rivers, where Winnipeg now stands. Fort La Reine eventually became the site of Portage La Prairie. In 1742 two of the La Verendrye sons pushed into the Black Hills, where they buried a leaden plate. In 1913, it was found at Fort Pierre, South Dakota. Meanwhile, La Verendrye had penetrated beyond Lake Winnipegosis. Fort Dauphin had been founded on Lake Dauphin, Fort Bourbon I on Cedar Lake, and Fort Bourbon II on the Red Deer River, and Fort Paskoyac on the Saskatchewan at what is now La Pas. 2

If they failed in their supreme objective which was to find the western sea, this extraordinary team of father and sons made an amazing contribution in opening up the West to French enterprise.
They traversed a vast amount of territory which unfortunately, they did not describe with much precision. The trip into the Dakota country is supposed to have made the La Verendrye sons the first white men to see the Rocky Mountains from this direction, though on this matter there is disagreement. In any case, by the time their career of exploration was over, French traders were well to the westward of the Great Lakes, and the French empire in North America had reached more or less definitive limits.

The outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1742, lasting until 1748, only brought the struggle for North America nearer to its close. The period of peace, from the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to the outbreak of the Seven Years' War or French and Indian War, was little more than an armed truce. A Virginian named George Washington was driven out of the Ohio country by the French in 1754, and General Braddock marched into his famous ambush in 1755. War was not officially proclaimed until the following year. For almost the last twenty years, of its existence, therefore, New France was concerned only to survive. Its frontiers could make no great advance during this time of mortal peril. When at last the whole issue was decided, New France had become English. Scots, English, and American colonials would play out the last acts of the drama on the vast stage of the Canadian West.

THE ADVANCE OF THE ENGLISH

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

In the late 18th Century, as the direct result of the conquest of Canada, the English took over the French Fur Trade. However, to understand this event properly, at least as it concerns the region of Fort William, one must know something of English exploratory and commercial efforts before 1760. We are not now thinking of the attempts of the American colonials to break the French control of the Great Lakes and the West. Their achievements after 1760 will be examined shortly.

The other area of English enterprise which cannot be passed over is the long-standing attempt to get hold of the fur trade by way of Canada's northern gate, Hudson's Bay.

This began of course with the fatal voyage of the man from whom the great bay received its name. In 1610 Henry Hudson led the expedition which ended in mutiny and in the death of all but four of the crew of his ship, Discovery.

In the next twenty years a whole series of expeditions followed with the result that English explorers came to know the Bay quite well though with little profit to themselves. Then, after a generation of inactivity, caused by political troubles in the homeland, it was two redoubtable French Canadians, des Groseilliers and Radisson, temporarily in English service, who led a trading voyage to the area and, in 1669, brought back a cargo of furs the profits upon which would satisfy the most avaricious investor.

This minor commercial triumph is of enormous significance because it led directly to the founding of the Hudson's Bay Company. Prince Rupert leading the distinguished list of patrons who had backed des Groseilliers, now begged King Charles, his cousin, for a monopoly. The King's response was all that the merchant adventurers could have wished. They were granted feudal control of a region as large as Europe. The result was the founding of one of the great imperial companies which have had so much to do with the spread of the British Empire. In the first twenty years of the Company's exploitation of
their new market they established six posts. The first was Fort Charles at Rupert River, site of the present Rupert House. Then there were posts at the mouth of the Moose River, of the Albany, and of the Severn, Hayes, and Nelson rivers. The policy of the traders, evident from the location of their posts, was to let the Indians come to them. But so successful were they in attracting the Indians that they also attracted the attention of their traditional rivals, the French.4

Now begins the struggle between French and English for the control of this vast wilderness, for most of the year locked in ice, which would have made no sense were it not for the enormous profits to be gained from the sale of its furs. From 168b to 1697 the contest went on. In raid after raid, the French, with or without the official sanction of war, by a series of incredibly heroic exploits, were able to achieve something like domination of the Bay. However the English navy controlled all approaches to it by sea so that the French victory was a hollow one. Of course the real issues were being decided on battle-fields thousands of miles away, yet the encounters between French and English in this remote and disputed corner of the two

empires make a good enough illustration in miniature of the folly of war. When peace at last was signed, the Hudson's Bay Company was ruined. Yet the French traders fared no better. The incredible bravery and endurance of French soldiers and sailors had gone for nothing. The Treaty of Ryswick was a temporary thing. The Company found itself compelled to share the trade of the region with France. But the war of the Spanish Succession lay ahead and, though the French were able to hold a good deal of the region, it did them little good. As usual the British navy barred the approaches by sea and the French, no matter how valorous they might be, were doomed by lack of supplies. French trade languished, and finally, at the Peace of Utrecht, France renounced forever her claims to the Bay and left it to the English.

In all justice it must be pointed out that the Hudson's Bay Company, although primarily interested in making money, did undertake some exploration, and attempted to discover that north-west passage which was of course the constant dream of a Europe determined to find some way of reaching the Far East. Even as early as 1691, Henry Kelsey, a young man in the Company's service, with a great interest in the Indians, was sent on an expedition to the Assiniboine country. Kelsey made extensive explorations and seems to have rivalled the French in his ability to adapt himself to the Indian mind. Although he kept a journal of his travels, exactly where he went remains a matter of dispute. Some historians assert that he reached Lake Winnipeg, and perhaps even went beyond it. Yet his complaint about the barrenness of the country offer grounds for believing that it was Reindeer Lake which he reached rather than Winnipeg.5

Another Company man, James Stewart, may have gotten as far as the valley of the Slave River. Something was becoming known, however dimly, of the barren lands to the west of Hudson's Bay. Governor James Knight inspired by the glamorous reports of Stewart, concerning the possibilities of discovering gold, decided upon a more serious expedition by water. The Company supplied him with two ships, the Discovery and the Albany. It was in June of 1719 that he set sail from England, touched at Churchill and turned north.6 Two years later an expedition was sent out to find him. In 1722 it returned to Churchill with no news. Not until 1767 was the mystery solved by the discovery of the wrecks in Chesterfield Inlet, where they
lay in about thirty feet of water. If our purpose were not confined to supplying background for the history of Fort William, we might dwell in greater detail over the tragic fate of this expedition. As it is there seems need to mention only one more of these projects of discovery initiated by the Company, since it was the last before the fall of New France, and helps to illustrate the struggle between English and French to control the trade in what is now northern Ontario. The enterprise to which we allude was the trading expedition of Anthony Henay. With a flotilla of canoes and four hundred paddlers he eventually reached the Saskatchewan River and the Red Deer, wintering near present-day Red Deer, Alberta. He returned down the Saskatchewan in 1755 loaded with furs. What may strike the reader as extraordinary is that at Fort a la Corne he was hospitably entertained by the French officer in charge. French and English penetration of the interior were merging. Hudson's Bay Company men and the French were meeting again. Soon the French would be gone. Then, strange to say a rivalry would arise. The men of the Company would be meeting other English and Scots. But these, as heirs of the old French trade, would prove to be fierce competitors rather than allies. A new and less honourable rivalry was to emerge on the western scene.

THE CONNECTION BETWEEN NEW YORK AND MONTREAL

The final English conquest of Canada, inevitably brought about great changes in the trade. There was a general shuffling of personnel, and the new struggle becomes concentrated in the North West, as it was called, meaning the region to the north-west of the Great Lakes. Yet certain elements remained constant. The traders working out of what used to be New France would employ methods very like those of their French predecessors. The same holds true for the men of the Hudson's Bay Company. There is an intensification and a certain localization of the rivalry, but the fundamental issue--control of the fur trade of the Canadian West--remains what it was.

The most obvious change of course is the takeover of the French fur trade by the English, a concomitant of the English takeover of New France. Two aspects of this development need examination.

There were two sides to the fur trade: what Innis has called the interior and the exterior trade. The interior trade consisted of the transport of manufactured goods from Montreal of New France to the fur country, the trading of these for furs, and the return of furs to Montreal. The exterior trade, by contrast, was the bringing of manufactured goods to New France from Europe, the return to Europe of furs in exchange for these goods, and the final manufacturing and marketing of fur products in Europe.

Of these two phases of the commerce, it was the exterior one that underwent the greatest change after the Conquest. Both parties, French and English, possessed a merchant empire. A dogma of trade, as discussed earlier, was that it must be exclusive. One did not go to the trouble of building up an empire for the benefit of political rivals. The concept of free trade was still undreamt of. Obviously, therefore, a revolution had to take place in the external aspect of the fur trade. Furs could no longer go to France, they went to England. Another tenet of mercantilism was that any trade outside one's own imperial system must be conducted through the mother country, and for the benefit of the mother country. Licence to export furs directly from Canada to any other country was unthinkable. One had to take the furs to England, there pay appropriate duties and
BEAVER CLUB. INSTITUTED INDUSTRY & PERSEVERANCE 1785
then, if desired, re-export them to the Continent. These ideas of economics disrupted the entire external fur trade and, in the years after the Conquest, caused it to be reconstructed along different lines. The men able to do this now could not be the French merchants of Montreal, who had lost all links to their market, but rather the English merchants of New York, who had been trying all these years to get into the trade. Their chance had come. It was they who enjoyed at least some knowledge of the western trade, and a quite thorough knowledge of, not to speak of influential connections with, the English trade system.

There was also the fact, significant again, of the superiority of English goods. Because of this, because segments of the British economy were already supplying goods for the trade, the revolution in the external trade caused less dislocation in the internal trade than might have been expected. The following, for example, is a list of items manufactured in England and imported for the fur trade:

Principal articles exported from Great Britain, for the Indian trade by the North West Company are:

- Blankets, manufactured at Witney, Oxfordshire.
- Woolens, ditto in Yorkshire namely: Strouds, Coatings, serges, and Flannel, common Blue and Scarlet cloths.
- Hardware in large quantities.
- Irish linens, Scotch sheetings, Osnaburgs and Linens, Nets, Twine, Birdlime, Threads, Worsted Yarn, large quantities.
- Brass, Copper and Tin Kettles.
- Indian fusils, Pistols, Powder, Ball, Shot, and Flints.
- Painters' colors, Vermillion, etc.
- Stationery, Beads, Drugs and Large parcels of all kinds of Birmingham manufacture, with other articles of British manufacture.

The result of all this was that the external organization of the trade, the part that supplied the capital, was taken over by New York merchants moving up to Montreal. At last the English had succeeded in doing what they had wanted to do ever since they had taken New Holland from the Dutch a century earlier. The story of the internal trade is slightly different.

ENGLISH DOMINATION OF THE OLD FRENCH FUR TRADE

In the external fur trade, everything depended upon New France and the connection with the homeland. This connection was destroyed by the English conquest. In the internal trade, however, the system depended upon the connection between New France and the Indian tribes. The Indians were not affected by the Conquest. Hence, internal trade was not as fundamentally affected as was external trade. There was replacement at the top; there was not much beyond that.

The French had adopted an approach to their trade fundamentally different from that of the English in Hudson's Bay. If one saw value in stereotypes, one might declare that the basic attitudes of the two peoples were reflected by their approach to trading. The English, as we have seen, set up shop, and let the Indians come to them; the French went to the Indians. The French had been what the Hudson's Bay Company men called Pedlars, and the term will serve as a useful distinction between the two approaches, and the two rivals. The years from 1763, or thereabouts, to the end of the century--one can choose one's dates here--saw an increasingly intense competition between Hudson's Bay and the Pedlars. The only real difference was that
the Pedlars were now, not only French, but Montreal English and Scottish as well.

Conditions of geography, economics, and Indian culture elicited a certain response from the French, and then forced the English to conform so that their response to the post-Conquest fur trade was to adopt French methods. It was a striking example of the force of environment upon man's affairs. The New York merchants had not been accustomed to French practices. Their trade had been more confined than the French; they had not gone among the Indians to the degree the French had, and generally operated with more restricted objectives. Yet within a very short time after the Conquest, they were doing exactly what the French had done. For that matter, they were doing it with the help of the French, for most of the voyageurs and coureurs de bois continued at their work with no change save in employers. An example will serve to illustrate this development.

Alexander Henry was an English trader, apparently with some experience in the fur trade. During the Seven Years' War he had been a supplier to the British forces operating from Fort Oswego, and he followed the army down to Montreal. After the surrender, he said, proposing to avail myself of the new market, which was thus thrown open to British adventure, I hastened to Albany, where my commercial connections were, and where I procured a quantity of goods. He went to Fort Levis, where he sold his wares, and he then, in 1761, fell in with M. Leduc who had been a fur trader on the Great Lakes. Through him he got a guide, went back to Albany for more goods, and left Lachine in 1761 with Etienne Campion for Michilimackinac. Travelling up the Ottawa, he was careful to note all he could about the trade, and the methods of transport used by the French. He remarked on the importance of Michilimackinac to the trade, and commented upon the rations of the voyageurs and the way in which they were absolutely fundamental to the whole French fur-trading system:

The village of L'Arbre Croche (twenty miles west of Fort Michilimackinac) supplies, as I have said, the maize, or Indian corn, with which the canoes are victualled. This species of grain is prepared for use, by boiling it in a strong le, after which the husk may be easily removed; and it is next mashed and dried. In this state, it is soft and friable, like rice. The allowance, for each man, on the voyage, is a quart a day; and a bushel, with two pounds of prepared fat, is reckoned to be a month's subsistence. No other allowance is made, of any kind; not even salt; and bread is never thought of. The men, nevertheless, are healthy, and capable of performing their heavy labour. This mode of victualling is essential to the trade, which being pursued at great distances, and in vessels so small as canoes, will not admit of the use of other food. If the men were to be supplied with bread and pork, the canoes would not carry a sufficiency for six months; and the ordinary duration of the voyage is not less than fourteen. The difficulty, which would belong to an attempt to reconcile any other men, than Canadians, to this fare, seems to secure to them, and their employers, the monopoly of the fur-trade... I bought more than a hundred bushels, at forty livres per bushel... I paid at the rate of a dollar per pound for the tallow, or prepared fat, to mix with it.9

Having bought his supplies, he then hired Canadians to take them west and barter them. In this way did the English merchants work their way into at least the periphery of the trade. It was not long before they became the principals. By 1765 Henry had
done well enough to purchase from the Commandant at Fort Michilimackinac the exclusive right to the trade of Lake Superior. He then entered partnership with a M. Cadotte at Sault Ste. Marie. Henry supplied the capital, Cadotte the knowledge. The Indians were eager to obtain manufactured goods after the war, which had interfered with normal distribution. In this way, the trade was soon flourishing again, with the French running it under English capitalists and merchants.

Now that New France had become Canada, the struggle between Hudson's Bay and the St. Lawrence watershed merely entered another round. The Treaty of Paris had fixed the northern boundary of the Canada settlement at the line running roughly from Lake St. John to the south end of Lake Nipissing. The Hudson's Bay Company claimed all territory south to the height of land. This left a no-man's land between Canada and Hudson's Bay territory, and there was some thought of this being reserved for the Indians. Farther west, however, the boundary of neither territory was fixed; and, as a glance at the map will show, the height of land comes amazingly close to the Great Lakes. West of the lakes, in fact, it runs well south of the lakes themselves, to the headwaters of the Red River of the North, which rises in South Dakota, as known today. In 1774 the western boundary of Quebec was moved to the Mississippi, but this was not the case in 1763. Then all was a welter of claims, and if some authority were not established, the possession of the trade would soon go to the quick, not to the dead.

The first aim of the Hudson's Bay Company was to enforce its sovereignty over Rupert's Land. This was done by inducing the Royal government to enact a series of regulations that made it virtually impossible for anyone to trade in Rupert's Land from the St. Lawrence. This rigid control was given up in 1768, at which time the trade was thrown open. Repeated attempts to regulate it were not noticeably successful. The situation was roughly the same as when the French held Canada. The new Pedlars from Montreal were comparable to the independent early French traders, while the Hudson's Bay Company might be considered analogous to the monopolists. It was a situation bound to make trouble. From 1763 to 1768 the Hudson's Bay Company would try, largely through government regulation, to preserve its claims. For the succeeding five years, the Pedlars would ignore these as they pushed farther into the interior. Then, for over a decade, the Hudson's Bay Company would counter by itself moving into the interior, while the Pedlars would feel their way towards some form of organization that would enable them to present a common front to the enemy. This would finally bear fruit in the North West Company of 1787. Before we look at these developments in detail, however, it is time for a general examination of the fur trade at this period.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE WESTERN FUR TRADE IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

ROUTES

It was fortunate for man that he desired the fur of an animal that lived in and around water. Air is the vehicle for the twentieth century, iron rails for the nineteenth, and water for the eighteenth. Your traveller in the eighteenth century went by water if he could, and by land only if he had to.

This was true for any kind of travel, but it was especially true for western travel, and therefore for the fur trade.

Eric W. Morse, in his entertaining studies of the voyageurs' routes, states three criteria for a main trade artery: one end should be in salt water,
or at least tidewater; it should include more than just one river; and finally, it should be more than a transitory or exploratory route. By these standards, he goes on to assert that there were three great Canadian trade routes. One was the Hudson’s Bay Company route from York Factory up the Hayes River, across Lake Winnipeg to the Saskatchewan, and up that to Edmonton. The second was the French route from Lachine that went northwest and ended at Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca. This and the first route ran along a common path on the lower Saskatchewan for over a hundred miles. The third route, or complex of routes, was that of the traders working through the Rocky Mountains to the west coast.

Obviously it is with the second of these that we are most concerned. The greatest of the Canadian fur trade routes, historically, was this route from Lachine and Montreal to the west. Its history goes back long before the last Fort William, and continued after it until the advent of the railways.

The route actually began at the head of the rapids at Lachine, so named because the early explorers thought China must lie just beyond. From Lachine it was a sixteen-mile paddle to Ste. Anne’s where the canoes were taken half-loaded, demi-charge, through the rapids there. Then came the Lake of the Two Mountains, at the end of which was usually the first night’s camp. Next there were three sets of rapids in twelve miles, the Long Sault. Over most of this stretch it was necessary to portage, though, if water-levels permitted, some of it could be gone up half-loaded. After a sixty-mile paddle up the Ottawa to the present site of the capital came another seven-or-eight-mile carry around rapids, with some poling or paddling. Then on through Lac des Chats to another run of fast water, through which the canoes were apparently poled, or sometimes hauled along by means of branches at the edge of the water. Then on to Portage Dufort, named, according to Pere Belcourt, after a voyageur who tried to avoid portage, and was drowned for his pains. There were several more portages here, around Calumet Island, including the Grand Calumet Portage, a mile and a third long. The canoes then proceeded up the section of the river known as the Lac des Alumettes to its end, near Deep River, where they entered the area of the Precambrian Shield, and also held ceremonies at Pointe au Baptême roughly equivalent to those which transform polywogs into shellfish when mariners cross the Equator.

Another portage occurred at the Des Joachims rapids, and then they went on to the mouth of the Mattawa River, leaving the Ottawa there. Many of these rapids have now been drowned by dams of one kind or another.

The Mattawa is a rocky and rugged stream, about forty miles in length. It was filled with rapids, many now drowned, but the voyageurs used to pole or pull their way through as many of them as possible. There were eleven portages, so that it must have been especially hard work all the way. At the head of the river is Trout Lake, the last of this watershed. It is seven miles from here across the height of land to Lake Nipissing. Five of these miles could be made by canoes, the remaining distance calling for three portages.

The route then followed the southern shore of Lake Nipissing as far as French River, which yielded a seventy-mile run downstream to Georgian Bay. Two small portages did not prevent the French river from furnishing a very good route, and it takes little imagination to conceive with what relief it would have been greeted by a man on his first voyage. The French River falls
into Georgian Bay through several mouths. It was that farthest west which was chosen by the traders since it provided the best shelter from open water.

Once in the bay it was a two-hundred mile run along the north shore to Sault Ste. Marie. In bad weather the voyageurs generally passed inside the screen of islands that parallels the shore; in good weather they took a somewhat shorter route, and paddled just offshore of the islands. In the earlier days of the trade the brigades stopped at Michilimackinac, and then came back around to Lake Superior. Later on they went more directly. Eventually, under the North West Company, a small canal was built past the Ste. Marie rapids at the Sault.

From the Sault the canoes made their way along the north shore of Lake Superior to the end of the route, at Grand Portage or, later, at Fort William. The usual course simply hugged the north shore but, to save time, the voyageurs would cut across the mouths of the larger bays. This could be dangerous, because as Paul Fountain wrote in the nineteenth century:

> These lakes (Huron and Superior) ... are subject to sudden squalls....

Unless therefore you have time to reach the land, an upset is inevitable. Consequently it is necessary to creep around the shore; but when a bay...is come to, the crew, naturally, to save time and labour like to strike straight across from headland to headland. As some of the traverses are not less than twenty miles broad, it is necessary to study the weather and to be an accurate judge of...probabilities...

For the waves of Huron and Superior are not inferior in size and power to those of the ocean, if, indeed, they are not more to be dreaded.\(^\text{11}\)

Later on, of course, the North West Company launched sailing vessels on the lake, and these relieved the canots de maitre of about half their load. The canoes also carried a sail, so that when the wind was favourable they were able to make a fair turn of speed. Even so, it was hardly a pleasure-cruise.

The western terminus therefore was Grand Portage, until the United States' assertion of its boundary claims made necessary the move to Fort William. Here the great canots de maitre were exchanged for the smaller canots du nord in which the voyageurs would penetrate the West. The original route ran up the Kaministiquia, but this route was lost--actually forgotten for many years, during the mid-eighteenth century--and then rediscovered, and used extensively, later in this same century and in the early nineteenth century.

Reaching the prairies by water from Lake Superior meant a grim struggle. From Grand Portage to Lac la Croix was a hundred and fifty miles. For fifty miles it was an uphill battle. Then one crossed the height of land between the Great Lakes and Hudson's Bay. This climb was about eighteen feet a mile, and formed the steepest part of the journey. The longest portage was at Grand Portage itself, or Pigeon River, nine miles in length. Altogether, twenty-nine portages were needed to reach Lac la Croix.

But the route with which we are concerned was that which led from Fort William to the same destination. This one, up the Kaministiquia River, was followed in 1688 by the French explorer de Noyon. It was used until La Verendrye discovered the Indian portage at Grand Portage in the 1730's then fell into disuse, until re-discovered by Roderick MacKenzie. It was not generally employed again, however, until after the North West Company moved to Fort William in 1802-3, since it was longer by some eighty miles.
The North West Company used the route for heavy traffic only until the merger with the Hudson's Bay Company. After this it was still used as an express route until the building of the railroad in the 1880's.

Up the Kaministiquia River towards Dog Lake, for thirty miles there were riffles and shallow water, but only one stretch which demanded the partial unloading of the canoes. Then came a long and difficult portage (Mountain Portage) around Kakabeka Falls. The North West Company eventually built a depot above the falls, and took many of their stores there by wagon, to save the canoe work. There followed twenty-three troublesome miles, entailing seven portages and two décharges, before one reached Dog Lake. Across Dog Lake and up the Dog River was a journey of about fifty miles, with several small portages, to Cold Water Lake. Next came three bad portages, Prairie, three miles long; de Milieu, a half-mile long, and Savanne, a mile and a half. But the height of land was crossed on the Prairie portage; from here the water flowed west.

The voyageurs now entered the Savanne River, and from there into Lac des Mille Lacs. The names are picturesque but the rivers and lakes for which they stand meant only hard and dangerous travel for the men who served the trade. By portage to the tiny Pickerel river they reached Pickerel Lake. By portage again to Sturgeon Lake, then down the Maligne River and finally Lac la Croix. The route now followed Loon River to Namakan Lake and then Rainy Lake. Namakan River actually lessened the distance, but was considered more dangerous. It was not until the 1830's that it was more generally used than Loon River.

Since the rest of the route carries us far from Fort William, it may be outlined in rather less detail. From Rainy Lake it went by Rainy River to the south end of Lake of the Woods, thence by Rat Portage, the westernmost of three, into the Winnipeg River, which, with its twenty-six carries, reached the waters of Lake Winnipeg. Alexander Henry lost a canoe and a voyageur on the rapids of Portage de l'Isle:

One of my canoes, to avoid the trouble of making this portage, had not gone many yards when, by some mismanagement of the foreman, the current bore down her bow full upon the shore, against a rock;...the canoe was instantly carried out and lost to view amongst the high waves. At length she appeared and stood perpendicular for a moment, when she sank down again, and I then perceived (a) man riding upon a bale of dry goods in the midst of the waves... But alas! he sank under a heavy swell, and when the bale rose the man appeared no more... The canoe we found flat upon the water, broken in many places

Yet this was but a small rapid, with about a three-foot drop. Death was a constant companion of the voyageurs. A moment's carelessness or over-confidence might be fatal. From far-off Lachine all the way to Fort Chipewyan, portages were dotted with the mouldering wooden crosses of men who risked shooting a rapid without carrying.

Eventually the Winnipeg emptied into the lake bearing its name; this is what Henry wrote about his adventures on it in 1808, with the Saskatchewan brigade of the North West Company:

Aug. 12th. We hoisted sail and kept on till two o'clock, when there was every appearance of a squall from the S.W. We had some difficulty in landing, as the rain fell in torrents and the wind blew a gale.

Aug. 13th. Long before day we were on the water... The wind blew a gale; however, we coasted along in the reeds and rushes. We made a long traverse to the mainland,
where the shore was so steep and rocky that we could find no place to put ashore, and were obliged to push on in the dark. In a short time the wind rose dead ahead from the W., and the swell increased. Our position was decidedly unpleasant; the sea dashed with great violence against the rocks, the night was extremely dark, and the wind seemed to be increasing. Anxious to find any place to land we crept on as near the shore as the surge would permit till, having shipped a great quantity of water, we discovered a small cove...

Aug. 15th. At eleven o'clock [a.m.] everything was dry, and the wind had abated: we hoisted sail...a sudden squall from the N.W. obliged us to put shore at l'Isle d'Encampement where we were detained until three o'clock...We kept on with double-reefed sail until nine o'clock, when we camped on a fine sandy beach. We soon had a terrible squall...my tent was blown down and we passed a wretched night, wet to the skin.

Aug. 16th. At four o'clock we loaded, and with great difficulty we got around the reef. As the wind continued to blow hard, we shipped much water... The swell was so high that, in rounding a point, we nearly filled several times... We all got wet to the skin, and our baggage was completely soaked.

Aug. 17th. The swell occasioned by the late gale still ran high. After much trouble in loading, we embarked and stood out on the traverse for the Tete aux Pichaux... The wind increased to such a degree in rounding this point, and the sea ran so high while we were under sail, that at intervals we lost sight of the masts of the canoes not more than 30 yards distant;...We soon found that our canoe could not stand it much longer, as we shipped great quantities of water; and night coming on, we determined to run ashore, at the risk of breaking our canoe... We ran in close to shore and...put her about, and kept her stern foremost. Almost every swell washed over her, and as soon as we could find bottom all hands jumped overboard, each taking a load ashore... We hauled her up with some difficulty, and camped for the night, during which the wind continued to blow with great violence.13

The entire lake was very important to the fur trade: both the Hudson's Bay Company's routes and the North West Company's routes crossed it, but it was bad water, choppy, squally, very unpopular.

From the northwest end of Lake Winnipeg the canoes crossed to Cedar Lake, and then ascended the Saskatchewan to Cumberland House. More portages and lakes led up the Sturgeon-Weir River to the Churchill, and up that to Lac Isle-a-La-Crosse, five hundred miles from Cumberland House. Finally came the bad Methye River, only navigable by portaging and poling, until one reached the notorious Methye Portage, twelve miles long. This portage was to the Hudson's Bay Company what Grand Portage and Fort William were to the North West Company. Goods were transhipped from one brigade to another, with no attempt to transport the boats and canoes themselves. Pushing onward, north and west, the traders followed the Clearwater River for eighty miles down to the Athabasca, which led them for two hundred more down to Lake Athabasca and Fort Chipewyan. By 1800, this post could perhaps legitimately be called the northwestern depot of the trade.

We have thus traced, though briefly, the main route from Montreal to the west. Scarcely any voyageur, of course, followed this incredibly long and arduous trail from end to end. The standard procedure was for Montreal men to go as far as Fort William, and there meet the western brigades coming out with their furs. The Montrealers would then carry the furs back home,
while the trade goods they had bought would be carried west by the brigades returning to their remote outposts.

MATERIALS, PROBLEMS AND PROFITS

Needless to say, trade on the scale just described demanded a very considerable degree of organization. The popular vision of a stalwart trader putting his pack in his canoe and setting off to make his fortune, attractive though it may be to our complex society, is simply not accurate. The fur trade was an enormous and complicated business, dependent on all sorts of factors: changes in fashion, the price of furs, the hazards of Atlantic crossings, the different dates at which the ice went out of western rivers and lakes, and most of all on the strength, skill, and stamina of men.

Immediately after the Conquest, when the trade was reopening, the organization was simpler than it would later become, but even so it was complicated enough. Here is how it was then described:

The adventurer in the Indian Trade must have his Goods ready at Montreal in the Month of April consequently they must be arrived from England at Quebec in or before the month of November the preceding year, from there during the winter they must be transported to Montreal where they are prepared for the Indian Voyage by being put in Packages, not exceeding One hundred pounds weight each, and every package is, or should be, an assortment of different species of Merchandize. These Packages are then conveyed in carts to a place called La Chine three leagues further up the River than Montreal, to avoid the Falls of St. Lewis situated between these two places; there the Birch canoes with their complement of 6 men each, being ready, the Goods are put on board and so they proceed (the first week in May) on the voyage by the River Ottawaes to the Post of Michillimakinac about 300 Leagues west of Montreal.

As they must unload and Land their Canoes every night and during the course of the Voyage carry them on their backs in 35 different places some of which are a league long it is generally from 35 to 40 days after their departure from La Chine before they arrive at Michillimakinac.

This Indian Post has long been famous for its convenient situation for trade between the Great Lakes and therefore the constant rendezvous of the Canadian Traders in particular. Here they unload their large Canoes and put the Goods into lesser ones which are despatched to different places on and about the Lakes Huron, Superior and Michigan.

It is generally the middle of June before the Earliest Canoes arrives, the remainder of this Month, July, August, and September, is all the time the Traders have to dispose of their Goods and to carry their Furs to Montreal, if in this time they cannot finish their Business, and are obliged to stay all winter, they are sure to make a loseing voyage.14

This is an account of the trade almost immediately after its reopening. The canoes were smaller than they would later become, and of course the trade had not at that point penetrated so far to the west.

The general organization of the trade is described by Innis in a study of the letter books of Lawrence Ermatinger. Originally this merchant dealt directly with manufacturers in England, but later he found it more convenient to employ a purchasing agent in the old country. His orders were sent out on the last ship before freeze-up, so that they could be filled in England during the winter. Before the American Revolution, of course, it was possible through New York to send orders later and, when necessary, this was done even after the revolution. Goods to barter for furs were obtained, not
only in England but also on the continent. For example, Brazil tobacco came from Lisbon.

Goods needed immediately for the spring were sent to New York, or perhaps on the first boat to Quebec, and forwarded by express to Montreal. Thus it was not impossible to dispatch goods from England through Canada to the far west in the space of one season. This procedure was not typical, however, and would work only for small items, flints, beads, needles, and so on.

For bulkier items, the only economical method was to send them from England during the better months for Atlantic shipping, so that they arrived in Quebec during the summer. They were then conveyed to Montreal in bateaux, there packed for canoe travel, and taken up to the depots at Lachine during the winter. In the spring they would be loaded into the canoes and taken up the Ottawa.

The packing of the canoes was of the utmost importance. The account by Henry of conditions on Lake Winnipeg should make this apparent. The more valuable items had to be distributed throughout the entire cargo, so that the loss of a single package could not be a disaster. The packages were made up in approximately ninety-pound and one hundred pound weights, as the best for portaging, and had to be as watertight as possible. Rum was shipped in eight-gallon kegs, and powder and shot were also in kegs. Dry goods were put in bales. Tobacco was put up in carrots of one to two pounds, and packed in bales of about ninety pounds, rolled in linen, well-tied, and then packed in double canvas. Occasionally it was sent in forty-five pound packages, two to a bale.

The contents of one canoe sent from Montreal to Forrest Oakes, on August 19, 1767, were as follows:

6 bales of tobacco with 25 carrots each weighing 90 lbs. each valued with the packing at £28.8 a bale with 25 2 1/2 pt. blankets and 4 lbs. Bohea tea, valued with packing at £11.14.9, 2 bales with 25 2 1/2 pt. blankets each and 5 lbs. vermillion each valued at £25.0.6, a bale of 25 2 1/2 blankets with 2 lbs. vermillion and 1 doz. knives and forks valued at £11.7.3, a bale of 18 3 pt. blankets with 9 lbs. white beads valued at £10.0.9, a bale of 16 3 pt. blankets and 9 lbs. of beads valued at £9.1.9, 3 kegs of spirits, 8 gal. each, valued at £12.2, 2 bales of kettles valued at £25; 10 kegs red port wine valued at £20, 1 barrel of loaf sugar £2.11.6, a barrel of gunpowder valued at £4.2, 2 barrels of shot and ball with 3 1/2 hundred beaver shot, 1/2 hundred pichon, 2 cwt. ball, valued at £11.12.6, and a case with 2 china bowls, 1 doz. china cups and saucers, and 1 blackjack valued at £2.17, a total of 38 pieces valued at £180.15.0.16

Freight charges were figured from Montreal to the west, or goods were sold on a flat rate of Montreal cost, plus fifty percent.

In the 1770's, this was still a trade run by individuals, negotiating with other individuals, and taking enormous risks. There were the normal hazards of the route to the West. Fluctuations in the European market or in fashion were also the subject of anxiety. A report of 1780 describes the kinds of difficulties faced:

The Indian Trade by every communication is carried on at great expense, labour and risk of both men and property, every year furnishes instances of the loss of men and goods by accident or otherwise. It is not therefore to be expected that the traders in general are men of substance; indeed few of them are able to purchase with ready money such goods as they want for their trade. They are consequently indebted from year to year, until a return is made in Furs, to the merchants of Quebec and Montreal who are
importers of goods from England and furnish them on credit. In this manner the Upper Country Trade is chiefly carried on by men of low circumstances, destitute of every means to pay their debts when their trade fails; and if it should be under great restraints, or obstructed a few years, the consequences would prove ruinous to the commercial part of this Province and very hurtful to the merchants of London, shippers of goods to this country, besides the loss of so valuable a branch of trade in Great Britain.17

As the trade moved westward, more efficient organization became increasingly necessary. Such private capital as was interested in the trade was simply insufficient to bear the risks and the long delay before final realization of profit. The chief expense, and one forever rising, was that of transport to the West. The canoe remained the mainstay. A report presented to General Haldimand in 1784 reveals how toilsome, costly and precarious was work of getting out the furs:

The Inland Navigation from Montreal, by which the North-West business is carried on, is perhaps the most extensive of any in the known World, but is only practicable for Canoes on account of the great number of Carrying places. To give your Excellency some Idea of which, there are upwards of ninety from Montreal to Lake du Bois only, and many of them very long ones.

Two sets of men are employed in this business, making together upwards of 500; one half of which are occupied in the transport of Goods from Montreal to the Grand Portage, in Canoes of about Four Tons Burethen, Navigated by 8 to 10 men, and the other half are employed to take such goods forward to every Post in the interior Country to the extent of 1,000 and 2,000 miles and upwards, from Lake Superior, in Canoes of about one and a-half Ton Burethen, made expressly for the inland service, and navigated by 4 to 5 men only, according to the places of their destination.

The large Canoes from Montreal always set off early in May, and as the Provisions they take with them are consumed by the time they reach Michilimakinac, they are necessitated to call there, merely to take in an additional Supply, not only for themselves but also for the use of the Canoes intended for the Interior Country and the Consumption of their servants at the Grand Portage, but as these Canoes are not capable of carrying the whole of such Provisions it thence becomes necessary to have a Vessel or Boats upon Lake Superior for that Transport only, and the utmost dispatch is required that everything may be ready in point of time to send off their supplies for the Interior Country, for which purpose the Goods, Provisions, and everything else required for the Outfits of the year, must be at the Grand Portage early in July; for the carrying place being at least Ten Miles in length, Fifteen days are commonly spent in this Service, which is performed by the Canoe-men, who usually leave the west end from the 15th July to the 1st August, according to the distance of the places they are intended for. Their general loading is two-thirds Goods and one-third Provisions, which not being sufficient for their subsistence until they reach winter Quarters, they must and always do, depend on the Natives they occasionally meet on the Road for an Additional Supply; and when this fails which is sometimes the case they are exposed to every misery that it is possible to survive, and equally so in returning from the Interior Country, as in the Spring provisions are generally more scanty. In winter Quarters, however, they are at ease, and commonly in plenty, which only can reconcile them to that manner of life, and make them forget their Sufferings in their Annual Voyage to and from the Grand Portage.18

In 1780 Charles Grant estimated the expenses of canoe transport as follows:
A canoe load of goods is reckoned at Montreal, worth in dry goods to the amount of £300 first sterling cost in England, with £50 per cent. charges thereon makes £450; besides that, every canoe carries 200 gallons of rum and wine, which I suppose worth £50 more, so that every canoe on departure from that place may be said worth £500 currency of this Province. The charges of all sorts included together from Montreal to Michilimackinac £160, and from thence to Grand Portage £90, so it appears that each canoe at Michilimackinac is worth £660 currency; every canoe is navigated by eight men for the purpose of transporting the goods only and when men go up to winter they commonly carry ten.19

The wear on the canoes was tremendous, and it was necessary to replace them nearly every year. Upon the men, too, tremendous strain was imposed and in dreadfully cramped working conditions. Joseph Hadfield, in An Englishman in America, 1785: Being the Diary of Joseph Hadfield, gave an account of a canoe voyage. It took twenty-six days from Montreal to Michilimackinac. The canoe was 35 feet long, 4 1/2 feet beam, and thirty inches deep, carrying eight men and a clerk. This is an itemized list of contents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16 bales containing each pc. stroud and other dry goods</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1600 lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 kegs rum, each 8 gals.</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kegs wine, each 8 gals</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 kegs pork and beef</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kegs grease, 1/3 tallow, 2/3 lard</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 keg butter</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 cases iron work</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 case guns</td>
<td>90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 kegs powder</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 bags shot and ball</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 bags flour</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 rolls Brazil tobacco</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 bales tobacco</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63 packages</td>
<td>5540 lbs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 men</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>1260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 bags</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 keg rum</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 bags bread or pease</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 kegs beef or pork</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 travelling case</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kettles, poles, paddles, oil-cloth, gum, bark, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>8250 lbs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The canoes continued to be indispensable to the western trade, but at the eastern end they were gradually replaced. Cargoes became too bulky, and after the American Revolution demanded increasing use of boats on the Great Lakes. Transport by this new means was longer and slower, but was adopted to reduce costs, especially wages. By the time of the North West Company's heyday we find Alexander MacKenzie writing:

One of these traders was agent for the North-West Company, receiving, storing, and forwarding such articles as come by way of the lakes upon their vessels; for it is to be observed, that a quantity of their goods are sent by that route from Montreal in boats to Kingston, at the entrance to Lake Ontario, and from thence in vessels to Niagara, then overland ten miles to a water communication, by boats, to Lake Erie, where they are again received into vessels, and carried over that lake up the river Detroit, through the lake and river Sinclair to Lake Huron, and from thence to the Falls of St. Mary's, when they are again landed and shipped over Lake Superior to the Grand Portage. This is found to be a less expensive method than by canoes, but attended by more risk, and requiring more time, than one short season of this country will admit; for the goods are always sent from Montreal the preceding fall; and besides, the company get their provisions from Detroit, as flour and Indian corn; as also considerable supplies from
Michilimackinac of maple sugar, tallow, gum, etc. 21

Between 1790 and 1803 the North West Company had launched six vessels on the Great Lakes, the largest of 75 tons, and a little later constructed locks at the Sault, so that the little settlement at the foot of the rapids became a busy centre of both shipbuilding and transport. George Heriot in Travels Through Canada, describes it in these words:

The factory of the Company is situated at the foot of the cascades of Saint Mary on the north side and consists of storehouses, a saw-mill, and a bateau yard. The sawmill supplies with plank, boards, and spars, all the posts on Lake Superior, and particularly Pine Point which is nine miles from thence, has a dockyard for constructing vessels and is the residence of a regular master builder, with several artificers. At the factory there is a good canal, with a lock at its lower entrance and a causeway for dragging up the bateaux and canoes. The vessels of Lake Superior approach close to the head of the canal, where there is a wharf; those of Lake Huron to the lower end of the cascades...The company has lately caused a good road to be made, along which their merchandise is transported on wheeled carriages from the lower part of the cascades to the depots. 22

Gradually the provision of the Northwest by Upper Canada became more and more important, and much of what is now southwestern Ontario became involved in it. By 1794 the northwest trade was buying annually about 80,000 pounds of flour in the Niagara district, and by this time, the superiority of lake transport over canoes for bulk travel was obvious.

There were also changes in the trade to the west of Grand Portage and Fort William. The great and difficult task at these two terminal points was of course to change canoes. For here was the farthest point reached by the great canots de maître, and the trade farther west had to be carried on in the canots du nord. Samuel Hearne described these smaller canoes as being 24 feet long, by 4 feet 8 inches beam, by 1 foot 8 inches deep. This is wider than the canot de maître described by Hadfield, but shorter and shallower. The dimensions given by Hearne are larger than those normally given, though Philip Turnor said in 1779 that they might be up to 27 feet by 5 feet by 2 feet. Each canoe needed four men, a steersman, foreman, and two paddlers. The typical load was 65 or 70 packages, and provisions for about ten weeks. The canoes were usually built by Indians, though the North West Company had some men who knew the art.

Alexander Henry, the man we saw wet and shivering on Lake Winnipeg, stated in 1800 that the canoes carried only about thirty-five packages, and in his diary for Sunday, 20 July, listed the lading of his canoe:

...early this morning gave out to all their respective loading, which consisted of 28 packages per canoe, assorted for the Saulteur trade on Red River, namely:

Merchandise, 90 pounds each 5 bales
Canal tobacco 1 bale
Kettles 1 bale
Guns 1 case
Iron works 1 case
New twist tobacco 2 rolls
Leaden balls 2 bags
Leaden shot 1 bag
Flour 1 bag
Sugar 1 keg
Gunpowder 2 kegs
High wine, 9 gallons each 10 kegs

After the move to Fort William, and the subsequent establishment of the depot above Mountain Portage, goods were stored there for loading on canoes for the west. In time, of course, as the trade reached out farther and farther, it became necessary to
move stocks even beyond Fort William.

The problem is simple in outline, but in detail was immensely complicated. The trade dragged behind it its enormous logistical tail, but since this was business, the tail could never be allowed to wag the dog. No one ever forgot that profits depended on the West, on the pedlar out there having trade goods to barter for furs. Now, the farther west the trade moved, the more distance every man had to cover. The farther north it moved, the less time he had, for the thaw came later and the freeze-up earlier. It did not matter a great deal how long it took goods to reach the west, but once there, they had to be far enough west to be distributable within one season. That was the key to the whole trade.

The Athabasca country, which gradually became the most prosperous area for furs, was especially troublesome. The voyageurs would start for it as soon as the ice was out, yet still be obliged to finish the journey on sleds. So far north, the season was simply not long enough. As early as 1788 an advance depot was set up on Rainy Lake. Goods sent from Grand Portage were exchanged at that point for furs from the Athabasca. But even this would not suffice and eventually, as we saw in the section on trade routes, a depot was set up in the Athabasca country itself, at Fort Chipewyan. This was about as advanced a depot as the trade could well bear. To go farther would be of little use: one would soon be on the Pacific slope. Alexander MacKenzie in his *Voyages from Montreal* wrote:

The laden canoes which leave Lake le Pluie (Rainy Lake) about the first of August, do not arrive here (Fort Chipewyan) till the latter end of September, or the beginning of October, when a necessary proportion of them is despatched up the Peace River to trade with the Beaver and Rocky-Mountain Indians. Others are sent to the Slave River and Lake, or beyond them, and traffic with the inhabitants of that country. A small part of them, if not left at the fork of the Elk River, return thither for the Knisteneaux, while the rest of the people and merchandise remain here, to carry on trade with the Chipewyans. 24

This extreme remoteness of the trade made provision stations indispensable along the route. The various posts west of Grand Portage and Fort William all served this purpose. At Fort Alexander on the Winnipeg, for example, supplies for the Athabasca route were collected from the buffalo country, and brought down the Red and Saskatchewan Rivers to be available for the voyageurs. For the same reasons posts were established on other rivers: Fort Esperance on the Qu'appelle River in the 1780's, Fort Epinette in 1784, are typical examples.

The whole business of maintaining the trade brought about diplomatic relations with the Indians not unlike those of the old French days. The trade to the Athabasca depended upon pemmican, of which the basic ingredient was buffalo meat. But the buffalo were the preserve of the Plains Indians, enemies of the northern fur-hunting Indians, who did not care to see the fur trade develop to the profit of a traditional foe. It became necessary to employ both diplomacy and force, and to maintain a line of posts along the edge of the plains, both to prevent armed clashes, and to trade for buffalo meat. This task became almost more trouble than it was worth, for the fur traders were spread very thin and were not able to form an effective shield. The Plains Indians were so well provided for by the buffalo that they only slowly became dependent upon European goods, and it was hard to keep them under any kind of control.
One thing the buffalo could never give them, however, and this was the white man's explosive elixirs. Duncan McGillivray wrote, *When a nation becomes addicted to drinking, it affords a strong presumption that they will soon become excellent hunters.*

One is astonished at how few men actually did carry on the trade in the west. Mackenzie tells us that in 1798 there were 50 clerks, 70 interpreters and clerks, 35 guides, and 1,102 canoemen, and that of these 5 clerks, 18 guides, and 350 canoemen were used east of Grand Portage, giving but 884 men in the west to handle the entire trade for the North West Company. The number increased after 1800, but not appreciably. At the same time, wages went down, after the amalgamation of the North West Company, "for the benefits of monopoly were clearly understood."

An examination of the marketing end of the fur trade shows the extent to which it was a worldwide operation, notwithstanding the restrictive attitudes of a mercantilist society. In 1784, of the furs sent to England, five-eighths were used in manufacturing hats, one quarter went to Russia, and one-eighth to France and Holland. A letter of the time, points up the dependence of the trade on world political and market conditions:

When you consider the very bad prospect of the sale of Furs from the war between the Russians and Turks which shuts the communication with China--some of the most considerable debts due to me being payable in Furs--and our great dependance being on the demand from Petersburg for the sale of our best Beaver, also the risk of an interruption to our Mississippi Trade from the Americans or Spaniards if either of them should take an active part in the war which by report is likely to break out...

When the Russian route to China was closed, the merchants from England sent furs out via the East India Company. During the French Revolution and the great struggle of the English against Napoleon, the European market fell off and the China trade was exploited proportionately. In 1798, such were conditions on the Continent, the fur merchants took advantage of American trade with China, and in that year over 13,000 beaver skins, and over a thousand each of otter and kit fox were sent to China on American vessels.

The immense scope of the trade, and even more the difficulties of the Northwest, made necessary a great supply of capital. Before the American Revolution, traders could work the south—that is the area around and south of the Great Lakes—in conditions such that small independent outfits could survive. But in the Northwest, after the Revolution, the independents simply did not have the capital to carry them until a return was made on their investment. The time-lag was generally estimated at two years. It was this that made organization and amalgamation necessary, that caused the formation of the North West Company, and eventually led, first, to merger with the rival XY Company, and then with the Hudson's Bay Company—a fulfillment of Machiavelli's dictum that it is safe to join with someone weaker, but suicide to join with someone stronger.

Just how much money the trade brought in is a matter of some dispute, but figures can be offered for certain years. They are given in the table below, which is followed by some explanation of the reasons for fluctuation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Returns</th>
<th>Reasons for Fluctuation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1785</td>
<td>£30,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1786</td>
<td>32,403</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1788</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Value</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1789</td>
<td>53,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790-95</td>
<td>72,000 (average)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796-99</td>
<td>98,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800-04</td>
<td>107,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1805</td>
<td>154,479</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1806</td>
<td>136,133</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1807</td>
<td>127,987</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1808</td>
<td>118,118</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1809</td>
<td>105,237</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>85,420</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1811</td>
<td>84,225</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1812</td>
<td>84,007</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1813</td>
<td>150,918</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1814</td>
<td>143,897</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1815</td>
<td>133,684</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1816</td>
<td>192,220</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1817</td>
<td>153,750</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1818     | 70,658 28   

The figures reflect a variety of conditions. All through the 80's and 90's, for example, the effects of amalgamation in the North West Company were seen in increasing returns, in spite of the opening of the West to general commerce after 1783. After 1800, there was increasing competition from the Hudson's Bay Company, but even so, profits rose until 1805. Then we see not only the effects of competition, but of the international situation as well, especially in the years 1810 and 1811, when the Continental System of Napoleon came nearest to causing financial crisis in Great Britain. These figures, incidentally, do not include the profits accruing to the shareholders of the XY Company after its merger with the North West Company. The 1813 figure gives a dramatic reflection of what is happening in Europe, with Napoleon on the decline now, Russia back in the wars against him, and even more, back in business, as it were. But it becomes impossible to sustain this peak, and there is a falling off again, until 1816, the first year of peace, the best year of the whole trade (though it should be remarked here that some authorities give the figure for 1803 - one of the averaged years in this table - as £197,695). Then again a very notable falling off, and the end of the Company's existence.

What happened, as interpreted by Innis, offers an excellent example of over-compensation. As the trade expanded, it became necessary to obtain more and more capital to sustain it. The result was that the Montreal merchants, in whatever guise, went through a series of mergers designed to extend themselves, halt ruinous competition, and provide the necessary capital. Just as they completed this process, achieving a relatively large company, they ran out of space in the West. So, when the Montreal organization reached a point where it had plenty of men and money for trade over an ever-increasing area, the area ceased to increase. In such serious difficulties that it was unable to adapt, the Company was finally eaten up by a larger, more flexible, organization.

FURS

So far, little has been said about that essential of the trade, the furs themselves. What kinds of fur were sought? How many were taken? In what condition? What were they worth? These are questions to which we must now turn.

At times it seems as if the European demand for furs was insatiable. Actually they came in an amazing variety. One finds reference to all of the following: badger, beaver, bear, buffalo, deer, ermine, fox, blue (silver and white, as well as ordinary), lynx, marten, muskrat, otter, rabbit, raccoon, sable, sea otter, seal, skunk, squirrel, weasel, wolf, and wolverine. This is not an exhaustive list, and the pelt of any fur-bearing animal is likely at one time or another to turn up in lists and inventories.

The Beaver

Of all these the mainstay of the trade was of course the beaver. Indeed, so sought-after, and so abundant was the hide of this
remarkable animal that the whole enterprise might well have been termed the beaver trade, rather than the fur trade.

What was it that made beaver fur so precious that, no matter how many tons of skins were shipped to Europe, the demand never slackened? What made the pelt of this creature a better business commodity than royal ermine or sable? Furs more precious than his there might be, but none to match it in earning a solid profit in a stable market. There is a stranger question still. Why on earth did a second-hand robe of beaver, made by a northern Indian for his own wear, and now dirty and greasy with use, fetch the highest price of all? This was the famous grade, heading the list which we shall set down below, castor gras d'hiver, 'greasy winter beaver.'

The secret was simply this. European men - not the women - wanted fine hats. Fine hats required fine felt. Good felt cannot be made of anything but animal hair or fur. And the best felting material ever discovered is the soft downy undercoat of the beaver. He was wanted, therefore, not for his hide or fur, but for his hair, and only for one of the two types of hair which he grew.

But we had better allow a great authority, Professor E. E. Rich, to explain the singular function of the beaver in providing hats so prized that men pursued him across oceans and continents.

To be of good quality, thick and heavy, the beaver-pelt must come from an animal taken during the winter, and taken in as hard a climate possible. Then the skin carries two kinds of fur; close to the skin is a thick mass of beaver-wool, down or duvet as the French called it; on top is a glossy fur of long guard-hairs. It was the beaver-wool above all which the felters wanted. The mass of barbed fur was admirable for their purpose and was the foundation of the fine fur-felts which were moulded into the magnificent beaver hats which graced the seventeenth century. But it was difficult to get the beaver-wool out from a skin without also tearing out the guard-hairs and thereby completely destroying the skin and partly spoiling the consistency of the felt. English and French felters therefore liked to get their beaver-wool from skins from which the guard-hairs had already been removed. This made them dependent on castor gras, or in English, coat beaver. These were skins which the Indians had worn for a season and which in the process had lost their guard-hairs and had become so thoroughly greasy that they fully earned the title of castor gras. The greasy beaver-wool was easily shaved from the skin by the felters; it was just what they wanted to manufacture the finest felts, and the supple skin which was left was used for making slippers and other soft-leather goods. The custom of wearing beaver, and the art of doing so in such a way as to impart a maximum of grease, was peculiar to the northern Indians of Canada, and the French complained that the Iroquois who traded with them had not the knack. It was castor gras, the greasy coat-beaver, which were promised from Hudson's Bay, and which in fact came home to London in the first cargoes in encouraging quantities; and the great merit of this was that the coat-beaver were a kind which the English felters knew how to use.

If the beaver came, from areas where it would not be worn and greased before it was traded, it would merely be a sun-cured pelt, dry instead of supple and greasy, and carrying both the guard-hairs and the beaver-wool just as when it was taken. This was the castor sec, the dry beaver or parchment which normally came in great quantities from Canada, from the New England colonies, and from the Dutch American colonies both before and after they were captured by the English. But parchment-beaver was in little demand in Europe in its
natural state, and would only be used by the furrier for trimmings, bed-covers, and at times for garments in which it could be treated as a natural fur in the pelt. Before it could be properly used by the felter it had to have the beaver-wool removed, and this was a process known only to the Russians in the seventeenth century.

Russia had, of course, been the main source of fine furs in Europe until the new world began to send home its pelts; and in Russia there was stored a knowledge of fur-techniques which was strenuously guarded. There alone could the parchment-beaver from America be so treated that the beaver-wool was combed out for the felters' use while the guard-hairs were left on the pelt, to make a fine and lustrous fur which was more valued even than the original skin before treatment. Russia, therefore, was a necessary part in the trade routine of felters who could only secure supplies of parchment-beaver; and the Dutch controlled the Russian trade, both in taking the parchment to Archangel and in bringing back the beaver-wood and the prepared furs. The desire for a source of coat-beaver which would make the English felter independent alike of the Russian and of the Dutchman was an important element which led to support for Radisson and Groseilliers.30

(It will be remembered that it was the expedition to Hudson's Bay, led by these two French adventurers, temporarily in English service by reason of grievance at their treatment by the Governor of New France, which led to the founding of the Hudson's Bay Company).

We shall now attempt to set down in somewhat simplified form the traditional classification of beaver pelts, beginning with the lowest grade:

mitaines and rognures: these were small pieces used for making sleeves and mittens.

castor sec d'ete: skins taken in summer, and with the guard-hairs still on, i.e., not worn by the Indians and therefore dry as opposed to gras or greasy.

castor sec d'hiver or bardeau: skins taken in winter, but not made into robes because of imperfections or holes; badly prepared and very coarse.

castor veule: robes which had been scraped thin and treated, but not worn, with skins that were very light and white.

castor gras d'ete: robes made of skins taken in the summer, worn, but with little fur and thick hides.

demi-gras d'hiver: robes made of skins taken in winter, with accordingly thick fur, which the Indians had begun to wear, but which had not as yet had the guard-hairs fully worn off.

castor gras d'hiver: the prime pelt, taken in the winter, without blemishes, made into robes and worn by the Indians to the point where the guard-hairs were worn off (and presumably the whole become appropriately greasy), so that the soft fur was exposed.

The prices of beaver and other pelts varied from time to time, and with the fluctuations in money values it is difficult to give any comparative figures. However, for what help they may be, the prices are given as follows for different periods:

In 1677 the price of the various grades was as follows: castor gras d'hiver, 5 livres 10 sols (Sol being an early form of sou); demi-gras and Muscovie veule, 4 l., 10s; castor sec ordinaire, 3 l., 10s. These prices resulted from an attempt to fix the price and stop ruinous competition. Throughout the French regime there were attempts to stabilize prices, and to set constant schedules.
None of them worked very effectively, and for that matter none of them are very meaningful, since the value of French money through the period tended to fluctuate in response to conditions at home. In 1746, for example, prices were increased because of the War of the Austrian Succession. *Castor gras d'hiver* was sold at up to 4 livres, *castor sec d'hiver* to 3 livres, 15 sols. All other beaver was to be paid for at a rate of 20 to 50 sols per pound (of fur). The increase was probably not what we should call an increase in real money, but rather an increase to offset the depreciation of the French currency due to the expenses of a war economy.  

A more useful idea of what something is worth is provided by showing what it will buy. Alexander Henry tells us that at Fort des Prairies, in 1775, the following prices were in effect:

- A gun, 20 beaver skins
- A stroud blanket, 10
- A white blanket, 8
- An axe, one pound weight, 3
- 1/2 pint gunpowder, 1
- 10 balls, 1
- Bottle of rum, 2 (Henry says it was not very strong rum)

The beaver was so much the staple of the trade that other furs were assessed in terms of it. In 1821, for example, Nicholas Garry described the trade in his *Diary* and noted that an Indian might come in to the post with the following furs:

- 30 whole or full grown beaver = 30 Whole beaver
- 11 half grown or cub beaver = 5 1/2
- 1 large prime otter = 2
- 1 small prime otter = 1
- 1 prime black fox = 2
- 3 prime red fox = 1 1/2
- 4 prime white fox = 2
- 9 martens = 3

The Indian would then be given 47 quills which he might subsequently exchange for trade goods as follows:

- 1 gun = 11 quills
- 3 yards cloth = 9
- 3 pounds powder = 6
- 8 pounds of shot = 4
- 1 large blanket = 8
- 1 hatchet = 2
- 1 file = 1
- 1 three-gallon kettle = 6

Even with some indication of what any given item was worth in terms of trade goods, it is still impossible to reach a definitive price list, for terms varied from station to station and from season to season. The foregoing, however, will provide some idea of what was in practice from time to time.

As to values and numbers, the following will provide some indication of the extent of the trade and the funds involved in it. In the three years ending in 1805 the average export value of furs was $263,088 (this for the trade from Montreal as distinct from the trade for the North West Company quoted previously for that year). The furs sent down from the northwest for 1805 included 51,033 muskrat, 40,440 marten, 4,011 fine marten, 2,132 common otter, 4,328 mink, 2,268 fisher, and 100,031 pounds of beaver. This figure for beaver included 48,757 large skins, 24,840 small skins, and 3,905 unclassified as to size, or 77,500 skins to make up the 100,031 pounds.

This outline, sketchy as it is, will serve to provide some indication of the importance of the furs and the fur trade to the early history of Canada.

Canadians in our own time have spilled much ink in discussion of the problem of Canada's national identity. What is Canada? What does Canada mean to the world? Two hundred years ago the question never arose. Everyone knew that Canada was the fur trade, and the fur trade was Canada.
Until recently the origin and organization of the North West Company remained something of a mystery, half-lost either in the obscurity of history or the vaults of the Hudson's Bay Company archives. It is only in the last generation that enough documentary evidence has come to light to permit an assessment of the place of the Company in its own time, and of its importance to history.

The war which put an end to New France thoroughly disrupted the western fur trade as carried on out of Montreal. However, the year 1763 saw the first signs of revival and, by 1774, eleven years later, an agent of the Hudson's Bay Company was reporting that as many as 60 canoes were penetrating the wilderness beyond Grand Portage. For a time it was a case of every man for himself and down with the great Company which claimed monopoly. Alexander Henry reported that he found the traders in a state of extreme reciprocal hostility, each pursuing his interests in such a manner as might most injure his neighbours.

It was inevitable that the traders would soon make attempts to combine. Only the Indian benefited by the price wars they were waging against one another. Agreements, temporary and local in character, were the first step. One of these must have generated the North West Company, but it is a curious fact that we cannot be sure which one. Documents and letters of the period actually refer to several North West Companies. However, by 1779 the Company whose history concerns us was definitely in existence. It was in this year that a certain number of merchants pooled their resources in such a way as to achieve a powerful and lasting organization. In the winter of 1779-80, they made representation to the Governor who responded by sending Charles Grant of Quebec to investigate the problems of the trade. Grant's report, addressed to Sir Frederick Haldimand dated April 24, 1780, contains the first indisputable statement of the existence of the Company.

A list of the founders, together with the number of shares held by each, survives, revealing that they were principally Scottish and English merchants. Their initial agreement was only for a year. It was then extended for three years, but did not actually reach its term. The principals found it difficult to get along with one another, and it is some indication of the violence of the times, that one of the partners, a Swiss named Waden, was shot to death at a remote post by one Peter Pond who was, if not a partner, at least an important agent of the same Company.

In general, though, business was good. Much new country was opened up. A French attack by sea on the Hudson's Bay Company posts in 1782 helped matters. In the following year it was decided to reorganize for greater strength and efficiency.

At the same time, the Company had to face a difficult decision for it was just at this point in history that the boundary between British North America and the territory of the newly-independent United States was established by treaty. A national boundary in that utter wilderness of lake, swamp and forest, could be of little immediate significance. But what would the future bring? By agreement one group of partners chose to work the country which would later become Illinois and the states further west, while another group gambled on what appeared the more promising future of the remote lands north of the new frontier.

Of the partners who put their hopes in the Canadian North West, the chief names are those of Simon McTavish and two Frobisher brothers. McTavish, tough in his business deals and ready for risk, soon came to the top. His success enabled him to bring over from Scotland several nephews and nieces, among whom was William...
McGillivray, another name to be remembered. After reorganization, the Company tried to get a monopoly from the Government, pointing out the difficulties created by the new boundary settlement and promising to defend the Canadian North West. The difficulties were real, since the old French route up the Kaminisキqua had yet to be rediscovered and it looked as if there was no way to the far West except through American territory. However, Governor Haldimand refused the request, and the partners had to deal with their competitors as best they could.

It was a several-sided struggle. The antagonists were the Hudson's Bay Company; the North West Company; Gregory, McLeod, and Company, and various independents. Of these, the North West Company held the strongest position. In size they were surpassed only by the great establishment to the north; but over this supreme rival they held one advantage. They sold rum, which the Bay Company refused to do. The smaller companies sold rum, too, but in much lesser quantities. In 1784, for example, our Company boasted twenty-five canoes, 260 men, and 60,000 gallons of rum; while Gregory, McLeod and Company possessed eight canoes and a mere 8,000 gallons of the liquid which could make eager trappers of any band of natives.

The struggle continued, sometimes peacefully enough, more often with a violence which made further amalgamations the only hope of prosperity for all. The immediate occasion of a second important merger was the murder of John Ross, a representative of Gregory, McLeod Company in the Athabasca Country. How this new union was seen by the smaller group is reflected in a report by one of their members, Alexander McKenziel:

After the severest struggle ever known in that part of the world, and suffering every oppression that a jealous and rival spirit could instigate; after the murder of one of our partners, the laming of another, and the narrow escape of one of our clerks, who received a bullet through his powder horn, in the execution of his duty, they were compelled to allow us a share of the trade.

McTavish had already taken steps to ensure that he, along with the surviving Frobisher brother (one had died) would hold the controlling interest in the enlarged firm. By later manoeuvres, he brought about a further reorganization in 1792, and in 1795 both strengthened his own dominant position and induced a number of independent traders to join the rapidly growing enterprise, although on terms which would not hold some of them for long.

It was during this period of active growth that Alexander MacKenzie, one of the younger partners made his tremendous journeys of exploration, north to the Arctic on the river which bears his name, and later to the far West, becoming the first white man north of Spanish California to reach the Pacific overland. Although it must not be imagined that his Company ever allowed themselves any aim but that of finding fur and selling it at a profit, nevertheless MacKenzie's achievements were fully recognized and rewarded by his partners. They treated him like a hero. The great reason was that in his person their Company had done what the Hudson's Bay Company had been promising for over a century. Whatever their motives, it is not to be denied that the leaders of the North West Company were far more enterprising in travel and exploration, and did far more to make the Canadian North West a reality in men's minds than was ever attempted by their rival.

After 1795, the rather uneasy coalition formed by McTavish suffered partial disintegration. Certain smaller firms returned to independent status, and a few quite new competitors appeared. We cannot follow the fortunes of all these groups in detail, but the
outcome was what might be expected. Unable to get a decent slice of the trade on their own, they achieved a merger which became known as the XY Company. (This rather odd title seems to have been chosen merely because these letters of the alphabet follow upon the W which was the trade mark of the giant against whom they intended to do battle). The new groups found a leader in none other than Alexander Mackenzie, now Sir Alexander, who had quit the North West Company out of dissatisfaction with the unceasing manoeuvres of McTavish. The latter filled so many important posts with relatives that it looked as if he meant the firm to be an enterprise of his own clan.10

Increased competition meant more violence, more unprincipled price wars and more liquor for the unfortunate Indians. However, it meant more exploration too, because utterly new territory brought fresh sources of income. There was another dream to be pursued. If the Company could push its activities as far as the Pacific coast, it might be possible to begin shipments by water over that new ocean. The one great advantage enjoyed by the Hudson's Bay Company would be matched at last. No longer would the North-westers have to waste huge amounts of time, labour and money to get their freight back through those endless waterways to Montreal. Also the war with Napoleon was doing trade no good in Europe. It might be well to look for alternative markets across the Pacific; and if, by finding them, it became possible to break the ancient monopoly of the East India Company so much the better.

The first expeditions by Alexander Fraser and David Thompson were not successful. Attempts to cut in more directly on the trade of the Hudson's Bay Company by leasing old French trading rights east of the Bay and by invading the home territory of the other firm brought little result. Competition from the XY people was becoming more troublesome. Then in 1804 McTavish died.

By his will William McGillivray was left in charge. With his uncle out of the way, he had no great difficulty in bringing about a merger with the new and smaller company.11 The XY Company now disappeared and the enlarged and invigorated North West Company looked forward to a period of new expansion and growth.

One of McTavish's last acts had been to engineer the great removal from Grand Portage to what was to become Fort William. Jay's Treaty required the British to give up posts on the American side of the boundary by 1796. No one denied Grand Portage was on American soil, but all realized sooner or later trouble would result when the boundaries of Canada and America were enforced. If the North West Company was slow in finding a new base, it was only because they did not know where to go. The route from Grand Portage seemed the only practicable one.

It was in 1798 that Roderick MacKenzie, with Indian help, hit upon the old French trail which left Lake Superior by the Kaministiquia. In 1799 the first steps were taken to move house. Of course it was no small undertaking, and only in 1803 did the partners hold their first meeting on the new site in quarters as yet incomplete. Although these merchants had next to no interest beyond their own business, history must acknowledge them as agents of far mightier events than the development of their commercial enterprise. Had no new road to the North West been discovered, or had these men chosen to retain their depot at Grand Portage, it seems as certain as anything can be that, as a country stretching from sea to sea, Canada would never have become into existence. The new fort became the buckle holding together East and West, the vital link, fixing the future path of the transcontinental railroads.

Under the leadership of William
McGillivray, the Company, now committed to exploitation of the Canadian West, set themselves to enlarge their domains and, if possible, break out to the Pacific. At a meeting in 1805 the decisions were taken and the actual task of exploration was entrusted to two men: David Thompson, who has been called the greatest surveyor and geographer in North American history; and Simon Fraser, whose name has been attached to the torrential stream which gave him, veteran canoe-man though he was, the wildest trip of his life. Both men did in fact reach the Pacific, but Fraser by a route too dangerous for commerce, while Thompson found himself forestalled by the American John Jacob Astor who, only four months earlier, had established a trading post at the mouth of the Columbia. These exploits, of the first importance for the future of our country, deserve sincere admiration. But the Company was also capable of aggressive action more sordid in nature. Although they held no monopoly, they were quite prepared to act as if they did. Any independent trader venturing into the West was lucky if he got out again with a whole skin. It was this conviction that the woods and waters were theirs, this spirit of violence, and of contempt for the rights of others, which was to bring about final open conflict with the Hudson's Bay Company, a conflict which turned out to be suicidal.

Until 1813, and this means despite the inevitable injury to commerce caused by the war of 1812, the campaign against the old monopolists of the Bay went well enough. Agents of the North West Company highjacked loads of pelts in transit to rival posts, halted bands of Indians before they could reach the competitor, and even made an occasional raid on the adversaries' posts themselves. During the war, however, since travel by the Great Lakes system had become hazardous, there was an attempt to strike a bargain for right of passage through the Bay. The older company was ready enough to make a deal -- indeed they needed money badly -- but not on terms which the NorthWesters could afford. So they continued to risk their goods on the old route, via Ottawa. They even took some small part in the war by organizing a kind of private army which, not only defended their own holdings, but seized an American post on the Mississippi and, (this time by amicable arrangement) also Astor's post on the Pacific.

It is one of the curious ironies of fortune that it was adversity for the Hudson's Bay Company, adversity to which the North West Company had made their eager contribution, which brought about their own ruin. How this happened is simple enough. On the London market of 1808, the value of their rival's shares sank lower and lower, principally as a result of the war. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, now living in the mother country, who knew the trade so well, urged a wealthy friend, the Earl of Selkirk, to buy heavily while the price was right. Now, Selkirk actually tested the fur trade, and did not care what happened to it. Why did he seek a controlling interest in the old Hudson's Bay Company? It was because the Company had rights over immense tracts of land and he, Selkirk, was a philanthropist eager to rescue poverty-stricken Scottish crofters. What he dreamed of was a settlement in the New World where families barely able to exist in the bleak Hebrides might find prosperous farms.

Possessed of enough stock to get what he wanted, Selkirk, in 1811, petitioned the shareholders for a grant in the Red River Valley. He would colonize the land at his own expense. A tract of one hundred and ten thousand square miles was handed over to him, in spite of protests from the North West Company that their rival had no legal right to act. Should Selkirk succeed in transforming this immense area into the
colony which he dreamed of, it would mean the end of the fur trade for the North West partners. Their route to the richest sources of furs ran right across the Earl's territory. The deal was all the more exasperating because the whole enterprise was to be in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company. The governor of the new colony would be commissioned by them; retired Company men would settle there; branches of their posts were to be established throughout the region; and even the colonists would enjoy recognition as part of the Company. The furious traders from Montreal could see Selkirk's project only as a deadly scheme on the part of their ancient enemy.13

The difficult progress of this venture we shall not attempt to follow in detail. Settlers proved hard to find. Those who did reach the Red River were too few and too discouraged to accomplish much. However, a governor was in fact appointed, one Miles Macdonell. He was not very effective in any other respect, but he did enact a measure which made collision with the North West Company inevitable.14 By public proclamation he forbade the export of all essential food supplies from the lands under his theoretical control. This measure, in the interest of settlers who had passed a grim winter, meant that the traders' canoe brigades could no longer get the supplies of pemmican without which they could not travel at all.

Early in 1815, men of the North West Company arrested Macdonell and his sheriff John Spencer and offered free transport out of the country to all settlers who wished to leave. A group of seventy took to flight in the direction of a Hudson's Bay Company post on Lake Winnipeg. The rest accepted deportation and finally settled in Ontario near Lake Simcoe. So the colony was destroyed and the men of the fur brigades celebrated by burning abandoned crops and buildings.

By next spring, however, a new governor had appeared, Robert Semple, at the head of a new band of settlers.15 He set about tearing down the buildings of the North West Company throughout the area and also seized a post known as Fort Gibraltar. The North西部ers took retaliatory action and the climax of the struggle soon followed. At a spot called Seven Oaks a band of Metis, Indians and other agents of the fur traders met Governor Semple and thirty of his men. Suddenly gunfire broke out. Semple and about twenty of his Company were shot down.16 Neither the killers nor their masters seem to have realized how fatally they had wrecked their own prospects. The North West Company simply rejoiced at this second destruction of the colony.

During these tragic happenings, Selkirk was in Montreal. All he knew was the fate suffered by his first Governor, Macdonell. Appreciating the need for armed defence of his colony, and unable to secure forces from the Government, he recruited a private troop of Swiss and German mercenaries (brought over for the 1812 War) together with a few Scottish and Canadian veterans. He then hired about a hundred voyageurs and set out for the West. The Earl held a commission as justice of the peace and when, at the Sault, he got first news of the killings at Seven Oaks, he at once descended upon Fort William.17 There he acted as decisively as could be wished. William McGillivray and two other partners Kenneth McKenzie and Dr. John McLoughlin were arrested. The Fort was seized and all its goods and documents impounded. How he succeeded so easily, when there were at least two hundred men behind the stockade of the great base is not clear. But it may be recalled that his little force were trained soldiers, uniformed, and under arms. Perhaps the bold Northwesterners had met their match at last. At any rate, after nothing more than a little scuffle, they
surrendered.18

Selkirk took full possession of Fort William, which was now enjoying its first and only taste of armed conflict. And it was soon apparent how vital was this establishment to all trade between East and West. Traffic to the west was halted with the effect of endangering the very lives of those North West Company men who had to winter on the plains. Shipments to Montreal were also stopped, which meant total paralysis for the company. The noble Earl was exceeding his authority, of course, but he was also dealing a blow to the North-westers from which they would never recover. As a single instance of what possession of Fort William meant in terms of trade, Selkirk had in his hands the whole of one season's pelts to the value of one hundred thousand pounds sterling. Mere delay in their shipment meant grave loss to the owners.

Selkirk could not hold his opponents in Fort William for long.19 McGillivray got back to Montreal, obtained his own release on bail, and then succeeded in getting a warrant for the arrest of the nobleman who had arrested him. The warrant was served by express canoe, and threw the Earl into something like hysterics. There now followed a long period of proceedings at law, in which charges and counter-charges piled up impressively and provided the men of law with a rich harvest of fees. It was not until 1817 that McGillivray could regain Fort William and try to get the affairs of his Company moving again. As for the Earl, he had ignored all legal summons and gone off to the Red River still resolved to found his colony. Only later did he return to Canada by the United States and face prosecution.

We shall make no attempt to follow the tangled legal proceedings which comprised three sets of cases, with twenty-nine charges against Selkirk and his group, and one hundred and fifty against the North West Company.20 Eventually the Earl was fined five hundred pounds for resisting arrest, and fifteen hundred pounds for false arrest of Daniel Mackenzie, one of the partners at Fort William. He was beaten in the courts but he was going to pull down his adversaries with him.

The truth is that, when all was over, the North West Company faced insuperable difficulties. The costs of litigation were ruinous, the best efforts of two or three seasons had been wasted in the attempt to smash the settlement at Red River. But, worst of all, the Hudson's Bay Company itself had become strangely revitalized and was now a more redoubtable competitor than ever. For this new surge of energy in the older Company there were several reasons. Selkirk's stock manipulations had brought about a new directorship, and these men found field agents with the nerve and the skill to beat the bully-boys of the North West Company at their own game. As an example, in 1819, a force from the Bay, armed with several small cannons and swivel guns, ambushed the entire Saskatchewan brigade of their opponents, while they were attempting to run a rapid, and took them prisoner.

It was all too much for a company which had never been anything but a temporary working agreement between partners, which had never issued stock, and never built up any working capital. The partners began to realize that they were going behind. The crisis came in 1820 at the annual meeting at Fort William. McGillivray there had to face the violent objections of the partners known as winterers who were obliged to remain at their posts after freeze-up, and who had borne the brunt of the long unprofitable struggle. They clamoured for a deal with Hudson's Bay. The chief partner thought he had managed to placate them but, after the meeting, as he was later to learn, they
secretly dispatched two partners Dr. John McLoughlin and Angus Bethune to London in order to ask for terms from the Hudson's Bay Company.

This inner division was fatal. It came just in time to ruin McGillivray's plan for buying up the shares of the now dead Earl of Selkirk. The directors of the stronger firm held the initiative. They invited offers from both sides, but actually could pretty well dictate their own terms. The agreement finally signed on March 26, 1821, ignored the dissident winterers, (They were absorbed later) and secured amalgamation with McGillivray and his partners.\textsuperscript{21} The North West Company was gone.\textsuperscript{22}

**HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE**

With the passage of time it has become possible to recognize that it was the Montreal fur traders who blazed the trail to be followed by the Canada of the late 19th and 20th centuries. It should be claimed first of all that they stand as the historic link between the French regime and modern times. They inherited the French in both trade and exploration. Men of the Company, as we have seen, charted a third of the continent. The great map of the West drawn by David Thompson displayed on one wall of the Great Hall at Fort William, was the first accurate map of the area. By their efforts the frontiers of Canada were pushed to the Arctic and to the Pacific.

Time was to prove them right in still another respect. The water route through Hudson's Bay was shown to be the best possible for the fur trade, but for nothing else. When the Canadian West was colonized, it was reached by way of the old route followed by the great trade canoes from Montreal. If geography was unfair to them as exploiting traders, it still made them the true forerunners of their nation's development. It was they who held the West for Canada, simply by their controlling presence in the area. These men, so many of them only a generation removed from Highland risings and clearances in Scotland, built for their mother country a nation with far greater potential than was ever offered by the barren and fog-bound hills from which they came. Of them it may truly be declared that great cities rose from the ashes of their campfires.
It should be clear now that what history calls Fort William was in fact the fourth in a series of frontier trading posts and military establishments out of which grew the present city. Hence, if the last of these forts is to be reconstructed, it seems only appropriate to give some attention to the three which preceded it. As a matter of fact, although our information is arrived at rather indirectly, we do possess sufficient knowledge about them to build miniature scale models. Placed on exhibition in the restored Fort William, such models of its predecessors should attract a great deal of interest.

**FORT KAMINISTIQUIA I**

This modest outpost was erected on the north branch of the Kaministiquia River, near its mouth, by Daniel Greysolon Dulhut in the summer of 1679. This remarkable man was then carrying out a commission from Governor Frontenac to explore the Sioux country. In his *Voyages*, 1705, Lahontan describes both its appearance and its purpose succinctly:

Tis some years since Mr. Dulhut built a fort of Pales or Stakes upon this Lake, where he had large Magazines of all Sorts of Goods. That Fort was call'd Caminitigoyan, and did considerable Disservice to the English settlements in Hudson's Bay; by reason that it sav'd several Nations the trouble of transporting their Skins to that Bay.2

Evidently this was a small stockade, not a true defensive work nor even a serious trading post.3 The French were showing the flag in this desolate region of North America as a symbolic gesture in the grand scheme whereby through Frontenac's policy they had annexed an empire to the colony, had secured it by forts on Lake Superior, Lake Nipigon, and the River St. Clair;...had threaded portages from Lake Superior to the Mississippi, had discovered the headwaters of that stream and the sources of Lake Winnipeg...had turned back the threatened invasion by the English of the North West...4

There is some evidence that this first stockade fell into ruin and was rebuilt on a second visit a few years later. The second visit may have occurred in 16825 or in 1683.6 These details of its history need not concern us here. What lies beyond doubt is that this first Fort William was only a temporary thing. It makes one more appearance in history in 1688 when Pierre-Jacques de Noyan used it as a base for those explorations up the Kaministiquia River which yielded one of the most important routes of the Western fur trade. After this time it went the way of almost all pioneer constructions. Nevertheless, since we possess descriptions of similar stations erected elsewhere, it would be easy enough to achieve a small model almost certainly accurate.

**FORT KAMINISTIQUIA II**

Frontenac's great scheme was too brilliant to be discarded by the men who were in charge of the destinies of New France. His idea was to seize control of the two great river-valleys of the continent, the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, by a chain of strong-points. Simultaneously the English would be hemmed in along the Atlantic seaboard and prevented from joining forces with the Hudson's Bay Company to the north. Not only were these two objectives desirable in themselves, but they complemented each other perfectly: the profits realized by diverting the Hudson's Bay fur trade to Montreal and Quebec, instead of Albany and New York, would be used to finance the needed forts, while these same forts would further increase the profits, and so on indefinitely.7 It is not surprising, therefore, that thirty-seven years later, in 1716, the French Council of the Marine instructed Governor Vaudreuil to push forward vigorously with this great design. The Council specifically directed that the first fort be erected at
The Four Settlements of Fort William

A copy of the drawing by George Burbridge

Key:
1. Old French Establishment (1674)
2. Old French Fort (1717)
3. North West Fort (1802)
4. Des Moines Fort (1816)
Sketch of the Entrance of the River Nemistiquia

Lat. 46° 21' North. Long. 89° 57' West

A copy of the drawing by Mr. Henry May, 1862.
Kaministiquia, with perhaps a second at Rainy Lake, in order to command the portage into the interior of the far North West, where the Indians gathered very rich pelts and carried them to Hudson's Bay.

A career officer, Zacharie Robutel de La Noue (1665-1735), who had distinguished himself at Michilimackinac, was chosen to lead the expedition, which left Montreal in July, 1717. As instructed, La Noue built a fort at the mouth of the Kaministiquia. We do not know exactly where, though there seems no good reason for rejecting the statement by Heriot in 1807 that it was half a mile from the mouth of the third branch of the delta. In any event it seems to have been a much more formidable work than its predecessor, though still a stockade. In the history of 18th-century exploration this post played an important part. Not only did it divert large amounts of peltry from the English at Hudson Bay, during the years that it was under the command of La Noue (1717-1721) and his successor Saint-Ours (1721-1729) but, when in 1729 it was taken over by La Verendrye, it became the base for one of the century's greatest voyages of exploration.

The hero of this extraordinary expedition, Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de La Verendrye (1685-1749) was transferred to the Kaministiquia post from the Lake Nipigon fort for this very purpose that the fort on Lake Superior might provide him with a better base for his journeys of discovery. He was also granted a trade monopoly at the northern posts as a means of financing these ventures. The story of his incredible travels need not be retold. But we must notice how this second Fort Kaministiquia thus became the cradle of Western Canada.

Direct and contemporary information regarding its design is unfortunately lacking, but a good deal can be inferred from its subsequent history. Although there exist three distinct traditions concerning its function and its fate, all of them point to a common conclusion. The first is that the fort was garrisoned throughout the French regime, and commanded at various times by very able officers, then finally taken over in 1762 by a detachment of English troops. Another version has it that the post was soon abandoned, and had long been forgotten by the time of the change from the French regime to the English in 1763. Yet another tells us that it appears by vestiges and report that the French establishments were destroyed by fire. These records leave much to be desired, of course, but we shall be safe in concluding that this edifice was of a more permanent nature than the first fort, probably a larger and stronger version of it.

Grand Portage

This of course is the great commercial base erected by the North West Company shortly after the Company was established in 1779. The site, chosen because it led the way to the Pigeon River and the only practical route known at that time for reaching the great North West, lay some forty miles south of the earlier forts. Strange as it may seem, for an establishment so large, complex, and costly, we are again without much direct information concerning the general lay-out of its buildings and defenses. It was given up, as we have seen, because the newly-drawn boundary of the United States placed it outside Canadian sovereignty. The owners transferred all of their equipment and supplies to the fort which is our principal concern, the fourth and last. About this one plenty of reliable information exists, and it is by a close study of all the records concerning our Fort William that it has proved possible to make a quite reliable reconstruction of its immediate predecessor. Indeed, so closely did these two resemble each other stylistically that it would be quite pointless to construct a model of the Grand Portage establishment for exhibition in Fort William.
THE FUR TRADE


2. Ibid., pp. 208, 244.


6. Public Record Office, "Papers Presented to the Committee," House of Commons Report from the Committee appointed to inquire into the state and conditions of the countries adjoining Hudson's Bay, and the trade carried on there (June 4, 1719).


9. Henry, Alexander, Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories, between the years 1760 and 1766 (New York, 1809), passim.


13. Ibid., II, p. 450. ff.


19. Ibid., p. 60.

20. Hadfield, J., An Englishman in America, 1785, Being the Diary of Joseph Hadfield (Toronto,
1933), p. 108.


29. Ibid., p. 105 et passim. Innis cites extensive edicts and advances for fur prices. He does not, however, draw these conclusions as to the reasons, although he implies some of them.


2. Weld, I., Travels through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, During the Years 1795, 1796 and 1797. 2 vols. (London, 1807), I., pp. 317-18:

The fur trade is what is chiefly carried on at Montreal, and it is there that the greater part of the furs are shipped, which are sent from Canada to England. This very lucrative trade is carried on, partly by what is called, the North West Company, and partly by private individuals on their own account. The Company does not possess particular privileges by law, but from its great capital merely, it is enabled to trade to certain remote parts of the continent, to the exclusion of those who do not hold any shares in it. It was formed originally by the merchants of Montreal themselves, who wisely considered that the trade could be carried on to those distant parts of the continent, inhabited solely by Indians, with more security and greater profit, if they joined together in a body, than if they continued to trade separately.


4. A fragment of a narrative of Pond's adventures written by himself may be found in the edition of C.M. Gates, Five Traders of the Northwest. (Minnesota, 1933), and Pond's life has been studied by H. A. Innis, Peter Pond: Fur Trader and Adventurer (Toronto, 1930).


8. Through this sort of expansion, and absorption of some of its rivals, the Company grew from a handful of partners in the late 1770's to more than forty active shareholders in the early 1800's. In contrast to the rigid organisation and correctness of procedure followed by the Hudson's Bay Company, with orders coming down from London through the resident Governor in Rupert's Land, the North West Company was composed of independently-minded partners who worked together under the kind of short-term agreement which we have briefly described. Professor E.E. Rich tells us that it was never a Company in the strict legal sense which would have made it a corporate unit in the eyes of the law; it was a co-partnership...wherein individual partners took action for the common interest. Rich, E.E., Montreal and the Fur Trade (Montreal, 1966), p. 75. Among the more famous names of men who were, or came to be, partners are Simon McTavish, the most astute, ruthless and lordly of the lot; the Frobisher brothers, Benjamin and Joseph, who joined McTavish in forming a company within the Company, and thus its most powerful unit; William McGillivray, nephew and successor of McTavish; Alexander...
Henry Sr., one of the first Britishers to penetrate farther than Grand Portage and one of the original partners in the first combine; James McGill, whose property in Montreal, a stone's throw from the McTavish mansion, would eventually become the site of a great university named after him; Peter Pond, American-born, fearless explorer, a bad man to cross, who had a hand in two violent deaths which influenced the Company's history; Sir Alexander MacKenzie, explorer of the Mackenzie River, first white man to cross the broad northern portion of the continent, and no friend of Simon McTavish; Roderick McKenzie, lover of history, compiler of journals and reminiscences, but whose great service to the Company was his rediscovery of the old French Kaministiquia Route which made possible the shift of the Company's depot to Fort William; David Thompson, scientist, surveyor, and the greatest map-maker in North American history, a map-maker who went and saw for himself what he was putting in his charts. The list could go on, of course; Alexander Norman McLeod, Peter Pangman, John MacDonald of Garth (given this suffix because there were so many MacDonalds roving about in the wilderness), John Macdonell, Simon Fraser, Duncan McGillivray, Dr. John Munro, Dr. John McLoughlin, Alexander Henry, Jr., and many more. Most of them were young, well-educated Scots, endowed with all that spirit of loyalty to clan, or to cause, for which this people is famous. The reader would find it of interest to compare the facts set out in the North West Company Partners' Trust-Deeds and Agreements, 1799-1820, (HBCA), with Masson, L.R. Les bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest; Recits de voyages, lettres, et rapports inedites relatifs au Nord-Ouest canadien, 2 Vols. (Quebec, 1889-90), I, 61.

9. McGill University, Masson Papers, No. 2370, item 3, p. 50.
17. The Canada Jurisdiction Act of 1803 permitted justices of the peace, appointed in Canada, to exercise authority in the Indian Territories and had ordered those arrested upon Canadian warrants to be given trial in the courts of Canada. It was never quite clear whether the Indian Territories included Rupert's Land, or the Red River Colony as deriving from Rupert's Land. At Sault Ste Marie, Selkirk had tried to get John Askin and Charles Ermatinger both justices of the peace to come with him to Fort William, but they refused. Although Selkirk was a magistrate himself, he may have sought safety in numbers for his intended arrests. I cannot doubt that it is my duty to act; tho' I am not without apprehension, that the law may be openly resisted by a set of people, who have been accustomed to consider force as the only true criterion of right. Can. Arch., *Colonial Office Records Series 2*, p. 129.
18. A diarist of the time is quoted as reporting that the first thing his Lordship did was to make for the Great Hall. Selkirk made his appearance with his bodyguard, and immediately entered the Hall in the Mess-house. Mr. (William) McGillivray handed to the Earl...(a) Protest, which he read. An armed force (of the 37th Regiment, of the Neurons, or Swiss mercenaries who had lately fought with the British in the War of 1812) was stationed both within and without doors. Lord Selkirk took up residence in two of the smaller rooms off the Great Hall, remaining at the post until the following Spring. Meanwhile, the diary-keeper noted: The Mess-house being now cleared of all our gentlemen, I went in, and found a person by the name of Lorimier one Chate-lain and the well-known Williamson, all three Agents to his Lordship, regaling themselves in the lader (sic). He also noted that two soldiers, with fixed bayonet are stationed in the Hall when we take our meals. The event was a bitter pill for the men of the Company who regarded the Great Hall as the supreme centre of their social life. McGillivray, S., A Narrative Of Occurences in the Indian Countries of North America (London, 1917), p. 73.


20. When Ross Cox visited Fort William, he numbered among the clerks present a certain Mr. Crebassa, also a North-Wester of 25 years standing, who was now on his way to Canada to abide his trial, on certain charges preferred against him by some of Lord Selkirk's agents. II, p. 288. By this time neutral commissioners seemed to have taken over the legal proceedings and, on a later page, Cox tells us: In addition to the persons whose names I have already mentioned, we also found at Fort William, Captain Miles M'Donnell a gentleman connected with Lord Selkirk's establishment, in the custody of a constable named Fitzpatrick, on certain charges preferred against him by some members of the North West Company, and for which he was about to be conducted to Canada. II, p. 291.

21. William McGillivray wrote the fur trade is forever lost to Canada., Wallace, Documents, p. 328.

THE EARLIER FORTS

FORT KAMINISTIQUIA I


3. It seems likely Radisson and companions built a "post" at Kaministiquia to spend the winter of 1659-1660. Between 1689-1717 the "post" had decayed and business had slowed down.


FORT KAMINISTIQUIA II


10. In George Heriot's 1807 Travels Through the Canadas, it is located "half a mile from the mouth of the third branch of the Kaministiquia delta," but according to Marjorie Wilkins Campbell, The North West Company, (Toronto, 1957), it was on a low rise above the flats at the mouth of the river.


12. Ibid., p. 298.


15. Buch, Solon J. "The Story of the Grand Portage," Minnesota History Bulletin, V., pp. 14-16. For the purpose of our study it may be helpful to notice the description of this fort which states that it "...consisted of an enclosure of palisades twenty four by thirty rods in size. The buildings within the fort were sixteen in number made with cedar and white spruce fir, split with whip saws after being squared, the roofs are covered with shingles of cedar and pine, most of the posts, doors and windows are painted with Spanish Brown. Six of these houses are of stone for the company's merchandise and furs etc.; the rest are dwelling houses, shops counting house and Mess House...."

16. There have been archeological investigations at Grand Portage under the direction of the Minnesota Historical Society, in 1936-37. Alan R. Woolworth, of this Society analyzed the findings and made a report, Archeological Excavations of the Northwest Company's Fur Trade Post, Grand Portage, Minnesota, in 1936-37. The outline of the stockade, traces of one gate, two interior stockade walls and two former structures within the stockade were found. In 1937 the foundations of the Great Hall were discovered and the remains or traces of twelve
other structures as well. In 1951 Grand Portage became a part of the National Park System and further work on excavation was done in 1961 and 62. At this present time (1970) reconstruction is taking place.
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS FOR THE
HISTORY OF FORT WILLIAM IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE FUR TRADE AND
OF CANADA

The artist is not known but this illustration may be the earliest. It may be found in a book by Rev. A. McDonell Dawson Our Strength and Their Strength (C24733). Cover.

Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland, Hostile Indians by Alfred Jacob Miller, to be found illustrated in Marvin Ross's book, The West of Alfred Jacob Miller, which contains reproductions of some 200 water colours of the artist owned by the Walters Gallery. (Inside Front Cover).


Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland, Mountain Man Trapping Beaver, by Alfred Jacob Miller. (Facing Forward)


Baby Collection, Montreal, Medal of the Beaver Club, I. (Facing page 4).

Baby Collection, Montreal, Medal of the Beaver Club, II. (Facing page 5).


Glenbow Foundation, Fur Trade Canoes, Frances Hopkins (Facing Fort William: Physical History).

National Heritage Limited, Bird's Eye View looking South-West on Model of Fort William. (Facing List of Illustrations).
Fort William: Physical History
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

After our rather lengthy account of the fur trade, and of the North West Company, together with some discussion of the three forts which preceded Fort William, the reader has a right to wonder how any further historical introduction can be needed. However, we think it well to reprint here, even though it covers the same ground, the preface composed by K. C. A. Dawson for his archeological survey of the actual site. The reason is that Professor Dawson sometimes employs sources not used before, and at all times handles his material in such a fashion as to give his work a quite unique value. His aim is to help us understand what he found when he actually came to dig. Hence, his preliminary observations on the history of the site, made as they are from an archeologist's point of view, should not be dismissed as repetitive, and help to make the whole subject more real. The accompanying maps, diagrams and photographs are especially valuable, both in communicating a clear understanding of the past, and in revealing the condition of the site as it is now. It may be added that they also expose the very real difficulties encountered by this patient research-worker and his crew as they set about the task of excavating under a modern railroad yard in order to locate and describe structures which had disappeared generations earlier.

Professor Dawson did his work at the request of the Ontario Archeological and Sites Board of the Department of Tourism and Information, and we thank this authority for making these pages available. They have undergone some editing at our hands, but only enough to make things a bit clearer for the general reader and to prevent quite useless repetition.

The archeological investigation of Fort William was carried on for three purposes:

- to establish the exact location of the fort;
- to ascertain its dimensions; and
- to determine if thorough archeological examination of the site would be worthwhile.

The history of the mouth of the Kaministiquia can be divided into four periods: the French Period, 1678 to 1763; the North West Company Period, 1800 to 1821; the Hudson's Bay Company Period, 1821 to 1881, and the Canadian Pacific Railway Period, 1880 to the present. Since traces of all of these periods have been left in the soil along the bank of the river, the interpretation of archeological data requires some knowledge of each.

THE EARLY FRENCH FUR TRADERS 1678-1763

The fur trade, which began during the mid-16th century along the Atlantic coast and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, moved inland during the next hundred years and, by the mid-17th century, brought the first Europeans to the western shores of Lake Superior. In 1678, Daniel Greysolon, Sieur Du Lhut, established the first trading post and fortification. What historical records can tell us of its location, design and function, has been described in the previous chapter.

In 1717 came the second and more serious attempt by the French to establish a strongpoint in the region. This was the fortification erected by Robutel de la Noue. Again we beg the reader to refer to the preceding section of our report for an account of this venture.

A study of early maps will show that the French establishments on the Kaministiquia stood at some distance from the later posts with which we are concerned.

THE NORTH WEST COMPANY 1780-1821

Scarceley had the French withdrawn, when independent Montreal merchants, hoping to compete with the Hudson's Bay Company, pushed their way to trading centers along the
The ground on the left is only 3 or 4 feet above the level of the river.

The ground on the right of the bank is about 10 feet high on the road within 30 feet of the river. The burning ground was the place marked off by lot drawn as a round lot for Government with a road to leading a foot to the ground selected to the river on the opposite side of the river below the little field.

The surveying ground begins immediately above the named field, but above the great fork there is a greater breadth of my ground.
waterways to the interior.

In November, 1761, when a British garrison took possession of Fort Michilimackinac between Lakes Michigan and Huron, traders descended on this post, prepared to take over the abandoned French commerce on the upper Great Lakes.

Finally, in the spring of 1762, the first British and Canadian traders, under military escort, crossed Lake Superior and arrived at Grand Portage. At the formation of the North West Company, this post became the western headquarters of their operations until the beginning of the nineteenth century. But in 1794, the pro-French party in America began demanding war with England, one of their grievances being that the British were violating the treaty of 1783 by hanging on to trading posts in the Northwest Territory. How much longer would the boundary line remain unenforced? The question was an anxious one for the North West Company until 1797, when Roderick Mackenzie (a cousin of Sir Alexander), rediscovered the old French Kaministiquia route to the interior. His Reminiscences tell the story:

After a long absence in the Indian Territory, I paid this year a visit to Canada. Returning the following spring, on my first trip from the Grand Portage to Lac la Pluie, I met a family of Indians at the height of land from whom I accidentally learned the existence of a water communication a little way behind and parallel to this...which is navigable for large canoes and, if adopted, would avoid the Grand Portage. This was excellent information; and of course I immediately engaged one of the Indians to meet me at a certain point in Lac la Croix, to show me this new route, but on my arrival, as appointed, the Indian was not there. However, being acquainted with the entrance of the route, I proceeded without him and reached a post of the Company where I procured a guide who accompanied me to Caministiquia on Lake Superior from whence I soon reached Grand Portage, being the first who reached there from Lac la Pluie direct by water communication.

However, the Company held out at Grand Portage until 1800, when a United States tax collector visited the North West Company's post and gave notice that the United States would, the next year, levy duties on all merchandise and furs passing over the portage. In the face of this ultimatum the Company moved its headquarters to the mouth of the Kaministiquia and a post was built in 1800 on the site of the old French fort of La Nobe and was called New Fort.

William McGillivray directed the construction on ground laid out by Captain Bruyeres of the Royal Engineers. New Fort was not in fact built on the same site as the old French fort. McGillivray gives the following description:

It was situated on low, swampy soil, by dint of great labour and perseverance they succeeded in draining the marshes and in converting to solidity the loose and yielding soil...

The early map shown also notes the following:

...the ground at the fort is only 3 or 4 feet above the level of the river.

The ground rises gradually and the bank is about 15 or 18 feet high at the woodcutters and 9 or 10 feet at the burying ground.

Near the burying ground was the place marked off by Capt. Bruyere as they reserved lot for government with a view to building a fort. The ground allotted to the NW was all below the reserve.

Ground was allotted to the XY on the opposite side of the River, below the little fort.

The swampy ground begins immediately behind the enclosed fields but above the great fork there is a greater breadth of dry ground.
Although work began in 1800, and the new post became official headquarters for the Company in 1801, neither the move from Grand Portage nor the new fort were completed when Alexander Henry the younger visited our new establishment of Kaministiquia in the summer of 1803.

We found great improvements had been made for one winter-fort, store, shop, etc., built, but not enough dwelling houses. Only one range was erected, and that not complete; here were the mess room and apartments for the agents from Montreal, with a temporary kitchen adjoining. We were obliged to erect our tents during our stay, which seldom exceeded 20 days. Building was going on briskly in every corner of the fort; brick kilns had been erected and were turning out many bricks, so that we shall have everything complete and in good order before our arrival next year.6

After completing their transfer in 1804, the North West Company continued to increase the volume of their trade, all of which was now passing through the new base and into the old Kaministiquia route. Their shipping on the Great Lakes kept pace with this progress, schooners being needed not only for the transport of furs and trade goods, but also for the considerable cargoes of provisions. Outside their new base, the North West Company maintained a shipyard for constructing and repairing the vessels employed on Lake Superior. In 1807 New Fort became Fort William apparently in honour of William McGillivray who was now a chief partner of the Company. The buildings depicted in a painting dated 1811, correspond to those described by Franchere in 1814 when the population numbered about 2,500.

Fort William has really the appearance of a fort, with its palisade fifteen feet high, and that of a pretty village, from the number of edifices it encloses. In the middle of a spacious square rises a large building elegantly constructed though of wood, with a long piazza or portico, raised about five feet from the ground, and surmounted by a balcony, extending along the whole front. In the centre is a saloon or hall, sixty feet in length by thirty in width, decorated with several pieces of painting, and some portraits of the leading partners. It is in this hall that the agents, partners, clerks, interpreters and guides, take their meals together, at different tables. At each extremity of the apartment are two rooms; two of these are destined for the two principal agents; the other two to the steward and his department. The kitchen and servants' rooms are in the basement.

On either side of this edifice, is another of the same extent, but of less elevation; they are each divided by a corridor running through its length, and contain each, a dozen pretty bedrooms. One is destined for the wintering partners, the other for the clerks. On the east of the square is another building similar to the last two, and intended for the same use, and a warehouse where the furs are inspected and repacked for shipment. In the rear of these are the lodging-house of the guides, another fur-warehouse, and finally a powder magazine. The last is of stone, and has a roof covered with tin. At the angle is a sort of bastion, or look-out place, commanding a view of the lake. On the west side is seen a range of buildings, some of which serve for stores, and others for workshops; there is one for the equipment of the men, another for the fitting out of the canoes; one for the retail of goods, another where they sell liquors, bread, pork, butter, etc., and where a treat is given out to the travellers who arrive. This consists in a white loaf, half a pound of butter, and a gill of rum. The voyageurs give this tavern the name of Cantine salope. Behind all this is another range, where we find the counting-house, a fine square building, and well-lighted; another...
storehouse of stone, tin-roofed; and a jail, not less necessary than the rest. The voyageurs give it the name of pot au beurre - the butter tub. Beyond these we discover the shops of the carpenter, the cooper, the tinsmith, the blacksmith, etc., and spacious yards and sheds for the shelter, repairation, and construction of canoes. Near the gate of the fort, which is on the south, are the quarters of the physician, and those of the chief clerk. Over the gate is a guard-house. As the river is deep at its entrance, the company has had a wharf constructed, extending the whole length of the fort, for the discharge of the vessels which it keeps on Lake Superior, whether to transport its furs from Fort William to the Sault Ste. Marie, or merchandise and provisions from Sault Ste. Marie to Fort William. The land behind the fort and on both sides of it, is cleared and under tillage. We saw barley, peas, and oats, which had a very fine appearance. At the end of the clearing is the burying-ground. There are also, on the opposite bank of the river, a certain number of log-houses, all inhabited by old Canadian voyageurs, worn out in the service of the company, without having enriched themselves.7

Such was Fort William in 1814. Six years earlier, changes had begun to take place in the rival Hudson's Bay Company which would eventually bring about Fort William's demise.

Thomas Douglas, fifth Earl of Selkirk, began in 1808 to buy up shares of the Hudson's Bay Company. He had no use for the fur trade but saw in the Company, a means of realizing his ambitions for colonies in America of Scottish crofters.

In May, 1811, the Hudson's Bay Company granted Selkirk in fee simple 116,000 square miles in today's Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Minnesota and North Dakota. ...the North West partners then in London met to decide the next play. The colony would strike at the very existence of our trade, they wrote. The man with the plow was to be placed across the vital route by which all North West transportation moved.8

Thus began the series of events that brought about open and bloody conflict between the two great companies, culminating in the massacre of some of Selkirk's settlers at Seven Oaks on June 19, 1816. At that moment, Selkirk was on the way to the Red River settlement with a party of 100 Swiss mercenaries, brought to Canada for the War of 1812, and recently disbanded.


...Before leaving Lower Canada, he had himself appointed a justice of the peace, and he promptly exercised this authority by arresting William McGillivray, Kenneth McKenzie and Dr. John McLoughlin, all of whom submitted at once, though there was a bloodless scuffle between the de Meurons and the voyageurs before the fort was seized. Hudson's Bay Company furs were found as evidence of stolen goods; papers came to light which definitely implicated the North West Company in the Seven Oaks slaughter.9

Selkirk wintered at Fort William and continued west the following May. Accounts of his brief stay provide a few more details about buildings and grounds:

The fort people had succeeded in shutting one half of the gate.....(against the invading Swiss soldiers)10

One of the officers, Lieutenant Friedrich Von Graffenried, also left the following description in his Journal:

In spite of the fact the land around the post is marshy,
agricultural pursuits were begun by the North West Company. Potatoes, grain and vegetables were grown. Seven horses, 32 cows and bulls and a large number of sheep were kept. Fish is plentiful in autumn. More than 100 barrels were caught, to be frozen or salted down and kept that way the winter. Lake trout weighing from 30 to 60 pounds were caught here.

It is interesting to note that, if the records can be trusted, Selkirk did not winter at the North West Company post itself, but rather established a new Hudson's Bay post at Pointes de Meurons, which in 1823 was described as consisting of:

...a large frame house, a blockhouse, and outhouses all of hewn timber, a towering flagstaff and a large cross...

The Earl did us a great service, however, by leaving a plan of the buildings within the stockade of Fort William. It is also reassuring to note that his ground-plan corresponds very well with both the water-colour by Lieutenant Irvine of 1811, and the written description by Franchere of 1814. Most regrettably, Selkirk's plan shows neither Lake Superior nor the Kaministiquia River.

In his Adventures on the Columbia, Ross Cox describes the Fort as it was in 1817:

The buildings at Fort William consist of a large house, in which the dining-hall is situated, and in which the gentlemen in charge resides; the council-house; a range of snug buildings for the accommodation of the people from the interior; a large counting-house; the doctor's residence; extensive stores for the merchandise and furs; a forge; various workshops, with apartments for the mechanics, a number of whom are always stationed here. There is also a prison for refractory voyageurs. The whole is surrounded by wooden fortifications, flanked by bastions, and is sufficiently strong to withstand any attack from the natives. Outside the fort is a shipyard, in which the Company's vessels on the lake are built and repaired.

A certain amount of agriculture was carried on. There was a garden and extensive fields of Indian corn and potatoes. There were some cattle, horses and other domestic animals. The temporary habitations of the voyageurs, Indians, and other non-privileged persons were located outside of the fort. From a somewhat rickety observatory in the courtyard, an extensive view could be had of the level, wooded land and of Lake Superior in the distance.

The dining-hall is a noble apartment, and sufficiently capacious to entertain two hundred. A finely executed bust of the late Simon McTavish is placed in it, with portraits of various proprietors. A full-length likeness of Nelson, together with a splendid painting of the Battle of the Nile, also decorate the walls, and were presented by the Hon. William McGillivray to the Company. At the upper end of the hall there is a very large map of the Indian country, drawn with great accuracy by Mr. David Thompson, astronomer to the Company, and comprising all their trading-posts, from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific Ocean, and from Lake Superior to Athabasca and Great Slave Lake.

David Thompson's map was prepared in 1812, when he retired, and showed 78 posts. After hanging for years in the Great Hall, it survived to become the basis of all subsequent maps of the Canadian West.

According to Cox, Fort William was Metropolitan port of the interior...the aggregate number of persons in and about the establishment was composed of natives of the following countries: viz., England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Switzerland, United States of America, the Gold Coast of Africa, the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii),
Bengal, Canada, with various tribes of Indians, and mixed progeny of Creoles or half breeds. ...immediately around the fort the scene was enlivened by animating groups of women, soldiers, voyageurs, and Indians, dancing, singing, drinking, and gambling....

The three years which followed upon Selkirk's departure were the most bitterly competitive of all; the battle continuing, not only in the fur country, but also in the law-courts where the two antagonists laid endless charges and countercharges. Finally the North West Company had to give way, and entered into amalgamation in 1821:

The final agreement, called a deed of co-partnership, was between the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England as one party, and William and Simon McGillivray and Edward Ellice as the other. The second group acted, though with questionable authority, for the North West Company.

The old Royal Charter, cornerstone of the Adventurers for a century and a half, was the sheet anchor of the amalgamation. The fur trade was to be carried on under a clear-cut monopoly, asserted not only in the Charter of 1670 but endorsed in a statute of the British Parliament of 1821. Where the charter monopoly had been limited to the drainage basin of Hudson Bay, the new license to trade for twenty-one years specifically gave exclusive right to trade with the Indians in all that territory east of the Rocky Mountains.18

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY 1821-1881

From this point on, what happened to the great base on the Kaministiquia is obscure by reason of conflicting historical documentation.

One of the main tasks now was the restoration of the Hudson's Bay Company on an economic footing sounder than was enjoyed previously either by itself or by the group which it had absorbed. In the summer of 1821, Nicholas Garry and Simon McGillivray were sent to hold councils at Fort William, Norway House, and Fort York. The purpose of these meetings was to introduce the new order, sign the Deed Poll, and assign commissions as chief factors or chief traders in the new organization.19

The list of appointments issued by Garry on July 17, of that year, made it clear that Fort William was henceforth to be operated by a Chief Trader, Alexander Stewart, evidence of a policy which would cause Fort William to decline in importance as more and more trade was deflected to York Factory at the mouth of the Hayes River in Hudson's Bay.20

At Fort William itself,

The more commodious quarters of the North-westers were taken over and the poorer buildings at Pointes de Meuron abandoned. The fort, with its massive buildings of hewn timber and its stockade, with storehouses and powder magazines of stone, roofed with copper sheathing, remained in much the same condition as when the Hudson's Bay Company took it over until it was finally swept away by the advancing tide of modern transportation and the fur trade, as it had been, had to make room for a trade greater still, the grain trade.21

An American, Lieutenant Keating, visited Fort William in 1828, and wrote of the past:

We regretted to find that this establishment, which had cost a great deal of money, and had been embellished with many of the luxuries of civilized countries, is about to be suffered to fall to ruin; the change in the direction of the trade having made this a place of but very little importance.22

A few years later, in 1833, a John McLean stopped at Fort William on his way west, and found:

...the grand depot of the North West Company falling rapidly to
decay, presenting in its present ruinous state but a shadow of departed greatness. It is now occupied as a petty post, a few Indians and a few old voyageurs being the sole representatives of the crowded throngs of former times.

In 1843, Sir Henry Lefroy spent three days at Fort William, and recorded in his Autobiography:

Fort William was even then but the shadow of its former self.... Extensive ranges of sheds and warehouses were falling into decay.

J. Elliot Cabot, secretary to Louis Agassiz, described the Fort as follows in 1846:

The old blockhouse is falling to pieces and the banqueting hall has probably been burned up for firewood, at least we saw nothing that looked like it. Even the old flower garden, opening out of the stone-paved courtyard, was overgrown with weeds.

Indian Superintendent T. G. Anderson, visited Fort William in 1847; in his diary he writes:

The Fort is composed of picketed fence enclosing about an acre of ground within which are the various stores (one of stone), dwellings and outhouses, but mostly in a state of decay, except that occupied by Mr. McKenzie which is very comfortable. At the distance of about 600 yards is a well-built blockhouse of wood for defence in the contentions between Lord Selkirk and the North West Company.

The Hudson's Bay Company post at Fort William was still active in 1854. H. J. Moberly, an apprentice clerk travelling with Governor Simpson, writes of the Southern Council which had gathered at Fort William that year:

As we drew near the mouth of the Kaministiquia River, the old flag of the Hudson's Bay Company broke out, guns were fired and a crowd.... gathered on the wharf outside the pickets to welcome the Governor and the officers from Moose Factory, Albany, and posts between that place and Sault Ste. Marie, who had joined us on our way up Lake Superior....

Before the council began, however, we sat down to dinner. Rather, a banquet - one such as, I think, could scarcely be provided today at any price; smoked and salted buffalo tongues and bosses, moose noses and tongues, beaver tails from the wooded country, the choicest venison, wild ducks and geese, fresh trout and whitefish, and a lavish spread of delicacies from the old world, brought by the Governor himself. Sherry and old port wine, with champagne, were all the beverages allowed, discipline being very strict in those days. Each person knew his place at the table. The Governor sat at the head; next, ranging on each side, came the chief factors, then the clerks in order of their standing, the apprentice clerks from above and below the Sault, the post managers and the interpreters.

Moberly's description recalls the Nor'westers' annual rendezvous in the heyday of Fort William, and indicates that the place was still of some importance. How long Fort William had been and continued to be the site of the annual Southern meeting is not clear.

The 1857 expedition to examine the Red River route records the following information about the Fort:

At a distance of about half a mile from the exit of the northern or main channel, Fort William is situated, upon the left or north bank.

The banks of the river here are low and flat, not exceeding 10 feet in altitude. In the rear of the fort, tamarack of small but dense growth prevails. The soil is a light sandy loam reposing on a yellowish clay.

I visited during the day the
In the time of the North West Company, this island (opposite the fort) was denuded of the trees it sustained, which consisted mainly of tamarack, for fuel and other purposes and the greater proportion is now covered by secondary growth. A large area south of the fort still remains denuded of wood and forms the site of an Ojibway village, besides serving as an excellent pasture ground for a herd of cows belonging to Hudson's Bay Company, which swim across the river every morning, a distance of 400 feet, and return at an early hour in the afternoon to the farmyard in the vicinity of the fort.

In the year 1860, a government townsite, known as the Town Plot was surveyed at Fort William. The Company was brought under parliamentary scrutiny, and provision was made for Canada's annexation of such Company lands as public authority was prepared to administer. In 1863, a new committee was set up, whose aim was to have Canada purchase the Company's land holdings. Later that year:

So far was the London Committee from intransigent insistence on its rights, and so anxious to convince government that the situation was untenable without effective force, that in October, 1863, the posts at Fort William, Sault Ste. Marie and Lake St. John, were abandoned.

Perhaps news travelled slowly in those days, for there seems no evidence that Fort William was given up in 1863. In 1864, its population was 250, according to the Thunder Bay Historical Society Cairn and, in 1866, the post seems to have been active still.

When Wolseley's Red River Expedition halted there in 1870, the old post was still very intact and in operation.

In 1874, Lord Dufferin:

the Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, with Lady Dufferin, and their young son, Lord Clavdeboyte, paid a visit to Fort William and were shown the Fort. The old stone store, built by the North West Company, was the most interesting of the buildings. The liquors, for which the Company was famous, were kept on the first floor, the furs on the second, and the powder on the top floor.

Abandoned it may have been, but Governor McIntyre, who was much interested in minerals, his valuable collection having been given the city of Fort William by his daughter, with 2 cannons from the Fort, which stood at the entrance to the City Hall, apparently did not retire from service until 1878, and it was he who closed the post in that year. It would seem that, after Governor McIntyre's retirement, the Company maintained at least a caretaker for, in 1881, the post is closed again - this time for the last time:

Lousia Richards, a slender, dark-eyed girl of 14, followed her father, Thomas Richards, out of the huge building on the bank of the Kaministiquia River one sunny day in 1881, and closed the door. It was the end of the Fort William, Ontario, trading post.

Among the vivid memories of Mrs. Kirkup (Louisa Richards) of her two years at the trading post in Fort William, is of trying to keep warm during a Northern Ontario winter in the building the family first occupied. It consisted of a great dining hall with sleeping rooms opening on it.

'We kept five stoves and a fireplace going yet we could not heat that huge room,' she said. 'It took all members of our family to stoke those stoves and the fireplace, and they wore out the patience of my mother.'

'What's the use?' she asked my father. 'There are smaller buildings that can be heated. Let's move into one of them and close
this building.

'So we moved out of that great dining hall into a smaller and more comfortable house. And there we lived until my father closed the post in 1881.'

...No new merchandise was purchased. Indians still brought furs, and the goods on the shelves were worked off.34

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY
1881-1968

In 1871, British Columbia agreed to join the Dominion on condition that a transcontinental railway was built. Sandford Fleming was put in charge of the project, and in 1872, made a tour of inspection of the area west of Lake Superior. The first sod was turned at Fort William in 1872 (sic), and by 1883 all but one of the buildings of the Fort were levelled to make way for the railway.35

According to Mr. Cousins, who as a boy had played around the remains of the Fort, in 1898, the Canadian Pacific Railway establishment consisted of 3 tracks, a freight shed and a stone building dating from the time of the North West Company. Apparently this building was used for a time by the Railway, but in 1902:

The last of the stone buildings, which was situated close to the monument which the Fort William Historical Society has erected at the intersection of McTavish and McIntyre streets to commemorate the days of the Great Company at Fort William, was demolished to make room for additional tracks and the erection of the steam power house for the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.36
The report of his archeological investigation by Professor Dawson, the introduction to which provided the material for our preceding chapter, is now in the archives of the Province of Ontario. It deserves to be there, because a piece of work more scientifically honest and thorough would be hard to find. But for our purposes it seems better to attempt a summary which will retain only such information as might show how further excavation could guide the reconstruction of the original buildings. We shall therefore, pass over the physical difficulties of the dig, the number of pits which revealed nothing, the extremely detailed lists of materials unearthed, to give our attention only to the successful findings, dearly bought as these sometimes were.

The first and perhaps most precious discovery is that, although the site could hardly be more inaccessible, lying as it does under a busy railroad yard, it has actually been rather well preserved. What digging revealed was that, preliminary to the laying of the railroad tracks, the entire area was filled with a considerable layer of earth and gravel. Beneath this coating, which varies from two inches to three feet, lies the soil upon which the pioneer builders set their foundations. Hence, if the entire site could be cleared, it ought to be possible to trace every last stake of the palisade, and the foundations or sills of every one of the early buildings. Only one exception must be made. There is evidence of a single deep pit, in what is believed to be the southeast corner of the Fort, sunk in recent times, which has caused subsoil and topsoil to be mixed in such a way as to make analysis of this small area impossible.

The first man-made structure to be identified was the palisade. Two stretches of this were found, and it became clear that the section facing the river was composed of vertical planks, roughly three by six inches, instead of posts - a confirmation of the historical records.

By plotting lines from these two sections of the palisade, it was possible to locate the southeast corner of the Fort, but digging here failed to find where the two walls met. It seems probable that this corner lay in a depression and hence will require deeper excavation. From this further point of reference an attempt was now made to calculate the probable site of the Powder Magazine. This seemed a profitable object of search since it was known to be of stone masonry. As it turned out there was little difficulty in reaching its foundations. Sandstone slabs lay only four inches beneath the surface and, at a depth of twelve inches, it was possible to discern a stone wall two feet thick, with clay beneath and between slabs. To all appearances this building was erected on the surface of the ground, with no preparation except levelling to receive the large foundation stones. The location of this stone structure confirms the accuracy of Selkirk's map, if it is assumed that he was calculating the front palisade to be four hundred and fifty feet in length.

The next important find was the remains of a building in the boat-repair area, outside of the palisade and west of it. This ought to be Tait's House. Timbers, poles, and sheets of birchbark (the latter almost certainly part of the roofing), were discovered in quantity sufficient to reveal how this structure was put together.

It should perhaps be noted that, because of the presence of the railway tracks, it was never possible to do more than to sink test pits here and there, and that a further difficulty was the high water table.

Professor Dawson maintains that, despite the use of the site by the railway company, it ought to be possible to establish details of the ground-plan of Fort William. The methods followed in
erecting the stockade, for example, are now perfectly clear. However, with the caution of a good scientist, he points out that the identification of the Powder Magazine is still tentative, and that only thirteen posts of the east palisade wall have been laid bare. Hence considerably more excavation must be undertaken before measurements can be settled with certainty. He calls for the utmost effort in historical research so that the digger may know what to expect.

His final conclusion is that excavation should be continued, and that it promises to make real additions to our knowledge. He warns us again, however, that the archeologist should be guided by preliminary historical research, carried out as thoroughly as possible.

The following summer, (1969) the work was carried forward by Mr. Paul Sweetman of Toronto, with the aid of a small crew. First, the building identified as the Powder Magazine was more thoroughly excavated. Its dimensions proved to be twenty-four by thirty feet, exactly as reported by Selkirk. The findings of Professor Dawson were confirmed: the stone slabs comprising the walls were laid on hard sandy clay subsoil and cemented together with clay.

Excavation of the interior yielded quantities of iron, nails, crockery and unmistakable signs of a wood flooring. Close at hand there was uncovered the remains of a box-like structure, which contained some artifactual material, a dog-skeleton, fish-bones and matted bark and wood. The purpose of this little building remains obscure.

A continuous section of the palisade, 260 feet long, was next uncovered. Large posts were observed to occur in it, at 10'6" intervals, connected by plank (log) stringers. Two unusually large post-moulds, each 21" in diameter, also occurred. These were again 10'6" apart and, in all probability, are gate-posts. Their distance from the Powder Magazine is very nearly what it ought to be according to Selkirk's map.

A great many small artifacts were discovered of the sort that might be expected at an old trading post: trade-beads, gun-flints, hand-wrought nails, fragments of bottles and kegs, a broken trigger-guard, the head of a contemporary sledge-hammer, sections of stiched birch bark, leather, and so on. When it is considered that the results described have been achieved by investigation of so small an area of the site, by means of such test-pits as could be sunk between the numerous lines of railroad track, there seems every reason to believe, as Professor Dawson suggests, that complete and thorough excavation would settle nearly all the discrepancies in historical accounts.
In the enterprise of preserving something of our historic past, we rarely face a task more difficult than that of reconstructing buildings which have totally disappeared. This is especially true when our information about them is drawn from nothing better than notes, sketches and photographs, or casual remarks in early writings. What we hope for, of course, are detailed drawings and specifications, but these are generally not to be expected in Ontario except where structures were military in character. In the difficult conditions just described, authentic reconstruction requires a thorough study of the building methods of the time, as well as a knowledge of the physical needs and amenities which the builders were expected to provide. Fortunately, in the case of Fort William, such information is quite accessible, so that it should be easy enough to rebuild the famous post with reasonable exactness. Indeed, there may even be an advantage in the inescapable neglect of details peculiar to this or that building. The general result, if it better represents the whole territory and its times, will be of higher educational value. Of course, simple honesty requires that, even though our educated guesses may be few, they be fully acknowledged. Serious historical reconstruction has no use for the fake.

Fortunately archeological research on the original site is yielding many reassuring facts which support our information from other sources. Mr. K. A. C. Dawson's diggings have established the size of the posts in the stockade, a certain variation of type in this enclosure, the actual foundation of the magazine, the location of the main gate at the river front, as well as particular types of wall construction. The type of wall construction, laid bare in the digging, is identical with similar buildings in other Hudson's Bay posts. We have also been lucky in obtaining a detailed sketch of the grounds generally attributed to Lord Selkirk, revealing the location of the buildings and their function. The discoveries of Professor Dawson confirm the sketch perfectly. To repeat, then, the total of all information up to the time of writing will permit reconstruction historically correct in a general way and technologically correct in details.

To begin with the French contribution to pioneer building, there is one fact which must be kept in mind, in order to reinforce a conclusion to be arrived at later. A good deal of time went by before developments in Quebec took effect upon Ontario and the rest of Canada. If we take the early settlement of Ontario as occurring in the 1780's, we must realize that by this time the French had spread westward across the continent and south down the Mississippi in their attempt to prevent the English, settled along the Atlantic coast, from penetrating inland to compete in the fur trade. French building skills obviously followed the same routes. The French traders operated out of Montreal, since no other port was available, and hence their labour supply had to be recruited almost exclusively from Quebec. Quebec craftsmanship was the craftsmanship of France, with a few modifications to suit the new continent. Quebec tradesmen, then, would spread their methods westward as far as Vancouver and south to the United States. Existing evidence places this fact beyond dispute. For all forts and trading posts up to at least the mid-1800's, French methods of construction were traditional. Political control had passed to the English, but French hands and French tools still laid the masonry, squared the logs, cut the boards, and designed the buildings of the frontier posts.

Not so much need be said about stone or brick masonry since its methods have remained essentially unchanged for hundreds of years. Walls were generally of rubble, in a few cases of coursed rubble. If any cut stone occurred,
it was only at the corners and perhaps as trim around openings. High cost made it scarce. Skilled artisans had to be brought over from France and generally contracted to stay for three years. Hence their time was valuable.

In 1641, Marie de l'Incarnation, the first superior of the Ursuline order in Quebec, writes:

In answer to what you wish to know about the country I can tell you that there are houses of stone, of wood and of bark. Ours, which is entirely of stone, is ninety-two feet long and twenty-eight broad. It is the finest and the largest in Canada as houses are built here. In this is included the church, which has its length in the breadth of the house, and is seventeen feet broad. You may think that small, but the excessive cold does not permit us to make larger spaces. There are times when the priests are in danger of having their fingers and their ears frozen. The fort is of stone, as are the houses dependent on it. Those of the reverend Fathers, of Madame our foundress, of the hospital nuns and of the settled Indians are also of stone. Those of the settlers, excepting for one or two, are of wood with stone filling. Some of the Indians have portable houses of birch bark which they put up very neatly with poles. We had one of this kind at first for our classroom. When I say that our houses are of stone I do not wish to say that they are of cut stone, no, only the corners, which are of a kind of marble almost black which can be taken out in very well-cut pieces. The corners, being of this kind of stone, are very fine, but they are expensive to cut because of the hardness. A man costs thirty sols a day and in addition we must support him on feast-days, Sundays and during bad weather. We have our artisans sent out to us from France and hire them for three years or more. We have ten who do all our work excepting that the settlers provide us with lime, sand and brick. Our building is in three floors, in the middle one of which we have our cells made like those in France. Our fireplace is at the end to heat the dormitory and the cells, of which the partitions are only of pine wood for otherwise we could not heat them.... Our beds are of wood and shut up like cupboards.... In winter our Indians leave their stone houses and live in cabins in the woods, where it is not so cold. In the four fireplaces which we have we burn a hundred and seventy-five cords of large wood a year.... Our enclosing wall is only of big tree trunks ten feet high and connected together by planks. The coverings of the houses are in two layers of planks or of shingles laid on planks.

Walls of field rubble are composed of water-worn stones bedded deeply in lime mortar. Such walls must be thick for stability, usually very thick at their base and tapering as they rise. We find them from two to four feet thick according to the size of the building. Such walls offer good protection. They are cool in summer and, in winter, once warmed, they retain heat for a long time. However, exposed to the Canadian winter, the mortar will be forced out by freezing and thawing, the interior of the wall will become moist, and eventually the whole structure will disintegrate. To guard against this, it was common practice to shield the outside surface with wood boarding, especially on the north and east sides of the building. The boards kept the stone dry and immune to frost damage. This practical device may still be seen on a large scale, on the Hospital General of Quebec.

For roofs the common material was boards laid vertically, that is, running from ridge to eave in double layers with staggered joints, or shingles on planks. More important buildings, like churches and manor houses, were frequently covered with fer blanc, that is, tin plate. But tin was out of reach of the average settler's purse. In Fort William only two buildings, it may be observed, were
roofed with tin. These were the powder magazine, and probably the main store-house. Both were of stone. That the powder magazine was roofed with metal is beyond doubt since this building had to be fireproof. The other stone building we are identifying as that which held the sorted and baled furs. This was equivalent to a modern company's bank vault and had to be made secure both from fire and thieves. Furs were also stored in other buildings but never in quantity and only temporarily.

Timber framing had reached a very sophisticated form in Europe by the time the English and French landed on the shores of the New World. The element common to both English and French workmen was the frame. This consisted of uprights, like posts and studs and horizontal pieces such as sills, plates, tie-beams, and so on. The frame achieved rigidity through the securing of members to one another by the common mortise-and-tenon joint. This joint was the commonest feature of wood construction throughout Europe. The joints were frequently secured with one pin or two, depending on the severity and character of the stress to be transferred.

The difference between the French and English methods of construction on this continent lay in the method of filling in between the frame members, especially in the exterior wall. At first the English filled their walls with masonry of stone or brick, in mortar or clay, in the manner of English half-timber construction, (which was never shielded with boards). This fill dried out and made for exceedingly drafty walls. Later the surfaces were covered with clapboards. This form of construction required more skill than was possessed by the average settler, so that very soon colonists recognized the merits of Swedish log construction. These were speed of erection, simplicity, economy, and the low degree of skill required for quite tolerable results. The cruder Swedish method became more important as the white man moved inland and every settler had to become a jack-of-all-trades.

The French, on the other hand, sent skilled artisans along with their settlers while, from the outset, wealthy trading companies, Government, and Church Orders contracted with French tradesmen. These more accomplished builders filled spaces in the frame with masonry as usual, except that their material was almost always of stone mortar called colombage pierotte. Further, the walls were almost invariably protected with boarding.

There existed, however, another solution quite popular in Europe, especially in northern France. Planks were slid horizontally into grooves cut into posts spaced at convenient intervals. This scheme was introduced into Quebec except that the planks were replaced by logs bearing a tenon at each extremity. Since the winters were far colder, in Canada the replacing of planks by logs is perhaps a natural development. The French were also introduced to ordinary log construction. For some reason, however, the grooved post method maintained a stronger hold. It demanded greater skill but apparently this did not prevent its being carried by traders across the whole of Canada. So widely does it occur that in the mid-West it has been called Manitoba Frame, or Red River Frame, and, on the West Coast, Hudson's Bay Frame, since the company seems to have adopted it almost everywhere for its major buildings. West of the Rockies, where the origin of this method was perhaps unknown, it is referred to simply as Canadian.

One of the earliest and the simplest forms of wall construction was poteaux en terre. Posts were set in the ground in the form of a palisade with the chinks packed in the usual manner. By the time Fort William was established this method
was superseded by the more sophisticated horizontal log design or, more likely, by the grooved-post with infill. The accepted term at present for this type of construction seems to be *poteaux et pièce coulissante*. Each of these last are at times referred to as *piece-sur-piece* or *en pièce* so that misinterpretation is easy. Timber frame with stone fill was generally referred to as *colombage pierrotte*, while *en pièce* referred to log walls. R. L. Seguin, the Quebec historian, definitely distinguishes between *piece-sur-piece* and *poteaux et pièce coulissante*. The former referred to the normal log construction with dovetailed corners and ends flush with the exterior face, while the latter stands for grooved post construction with log fill. True heavy log construction was generally reserved for military structures such as bastions or block houses because such structures were thus made bullet-proof and fire-resistant.

Since the French were well-acquainted with pure log construction and since, at Fort William, there were also many workmen of English origin, we may assume that at least some of the buildings in a post so large would have been of this type.

We now offer the following conclusions regarding the types of construction:

1) The majority of buildings would be of typical French log-fill.

2) Where safety was the paramount consideration a building would be of masonry roofed with tin.

3) Secondary buildings would be of French log-fill, except that the members would be left in the round with only adjoining surfaces adzed to reasonable flatness.

4) Certain minor structures would be built of logs.

5) The bastions and the guard-house over the main gate would be of solid logs.

6) The palisade would be composed of vertical posts set close together and fastened at the upper ends to horizontal members on the inside. Present excavations on the original site reveal that the enclosure on the river front was not a true palisade, but rather a solid fence of three-inch thick planks standing on end. Why this alteration was made is not clear, but a possible explanation will be suggested later. The archeological evidence cannot be denied.

The woods used in early French building are clearly described by Pierre Boucher. In 1663 he wrote:

I begin with the one which is the most useful of these here and which we call pine, but which does not have any fruit as pines in Europe do. These trees are of various sizes and heights; but they generally grow to fifty or sixty feet without branches. Their wood is used for making planks and boards which are very fine and good.

Cedars also grow here. Their leaves are flat and their wood is soft but almost imperishable, for which reason it is used here for making garden fences and beams in cellars. The American or black larch or tamarac has a harder and heavier wood which is very good to build with...there is still another kind of these trees, which we call hemlock.... their wood does not rot so soon as that of the others for which reason it is used very generally for building purposes.... the tree called cherry birch grows big and high and very straight. Its wood is used for making household furniture.

Two sorts of oak are found here, the one of which is of a more open grain than that of the other, and is therefore more fit for the making of household furniture and for joiners' and carpenters' work, while the other is good for ship-building purposes. These trees grow tall and large and straight, particularly in the neighbourhood of Montreal.
What are the houses built of? Some are built entirely of stone and covered with boards or planks of pine; others are built of wooden framework or uprights, with masonry between; others are built wholly of wood; but all the houses are covered, as I have said, with boards.

TOOLS AND THEIR USE

The tools employed on the frontier were few in number, of course, and look rather crude in the light of modern technology. But they were actually more sophisticated in design than they appear, and were wielded with a dexterity which could produce the finest craftsmanship.

It will make things clearer if we distinguish the tools employed for forming and erecting the heavy members and principal structure of a building, from those adapted to the needs of the carpentry which produced doors, windows, panelling, and every sort of interior furnishing.

In the first group must be listed the pit-saw, hand-saw, broad-axe, adze, augers and chisels in various sizes, the mallet and that very heavy mallet known as the beetle or the commander.

Heavy timbers were given their shape by means of the skilful use of the broad-axe. The edge of this tool was slightly convex in shape, perfectly flat on one side, but carrying a slight swell or bulge on the other. The handle was quite straight like that of a pick-axe but off-set to one side. In the hands of a good workman, this simple tool could transform a log into a squared timber quite quickly and easily. If a smoother surface was required, it was imparted to the wood by use of the adze.

The pit saw was a long blade with teeth designed to cut the wood along the grain. Its purpose was to divide a roughly finished log into planks. The name is explained by the fact that, in the beginning, one of the two men operating this saw stood in a rather deep pit across which the log was laid. He pulled the saw on the downward stroke while his partner, standing above ground, pulled it back up again, as they worked their way along a chalk line drawn on the wood. Planks cut in this fashion were inevitably somewhat rough. They could be made quite smooth enough for flooring by skilful use of the adze.

Augers were usually of two sizes, one-inch and one-half inch. They had two principal uses. The first and most obvious was to make holes for pegs, the pegs being shaped in the same two diameters. But the auger was also employed for pre-drilling a mortise. The timber, penetrated by use of the auger, was then smoothed and squared with a mallet and chisel. Straight chisels could serve this purpose adequately but there also existed the more refined corner chisel to make a neat job of the right angles. This last-mentioned tool possessed two cutting edges coming together at a right angle.

Wood chisels were struck with a wooden mallet just as they are today. But the pioneer builder also had need of a mallet more formidable in proportions, to be employed as a kind of sledge-hammer. This was the beetle or commander. The head of this tool was usually a short length of the entire trunk of some hard-wood tree, about 6 to 8 inches in diameter. To this a long straight handle was fitted. The purpose of this massive hammer was to drive heavy timbers together. In order to prevent the head of the tool from splitting, an iron ring was often shrunk over each end.

The finer detail of a building, as we have suggested above, and its furnishings were the product of a more refined sort of carpentry. The great variety of tools called upon for this sort of
THE LESSON OF DETERIORATION

Fort Vancouver is probably the post which has been the most thoroughly investigated as regards both physical conditions and construction. A rather alarming fact is revealed by the extensive reports on the history of this fort. It is that buildings and palisades built of the materials, and by the methods, then available fell to pieces very quickly. For instance a palisade post, after five or six years, was expected to become useless. In such establishments a team of about five men were usually kept busy making repairs and replacing timbers. As soon as a section of the palisade became weak from rot, it was braced with diagonal supports. Officials in one instance were quite embarrassed when the wind blew down a section over 15 feet long.

Dr. Hussey of the Washington State Historical Society, makes these remarks concerning Fort Vancouver:

The history of the buildings at Fort Vancouver after 1847 (founded in 1824) was largely a continuation of the old struggle against decay, with the forces of Nature gradually getting the upper hand....

An old employee at Fort Vancouver testified that the buildings were 'in very sound condition' in 1846, having been lately rebuilt. But so rapid were the ravages of the elements that by the end of 1847 the post impressed one visitor as being 'a dilapidated, dirty place.' A year or two later conditions were so bad that some of the buildings had to be propped up to keep them from collapsing. Even the manager's residence was 'rather shaky.'

About 1849 one of the periodic reconstruction projects took place, and by November of that year all the buildings were said to have been in first rate repair. A visitor of late 1853, on the other hand, found the structures within the palisade so old and so decayed as to be 'almost wholly valueless.'

Yet, in November 1854, the Portland Weekly Oregonian reported that the fort was 'in good repair.'

But after 1854, decay appears to have gotten the upper hand, with the Company doing only such work as essential to keep the structures habitable. In 1855 and 1856, Philip H. Sheridan, later the famous Union calvary leader, found Fort Vancouver to be composed of six or seven very large, gloomy-looking structures, and his unromantic impression was that it would be a good thing if they would burn down. A civilian visitor of 1855-1856 found the fort to be tenable but 'gone much to ruin.' Many of the blocks supporting the sills had rotted, and some of the buildings had sagged and were out of shape. By 1860 props were again being used to keep several of the structures in an upright position.

Fort Vancouver was abandoned by the Hudson's Bay Company on June 14, 1860. An army board was set up to determine the value and usefulness of the fort. After a brief three-hour survey the board reported that:

none of the buildings within the pickets, are worth repairing for any military purpose, and that in consequence of the age, decayed condition and crowded position of the buildings, the sanitary police of the place demands, that they be destroyed by fire, after removing such of the material, as may be found to be of sufficient value.

Obviously in any reconstruction of such groups of buildings it will be absolutely necessary to use preservatives in all joints, to keep timbers protected from ground moisture and in general, to employ every modern means of weatherproofing (as unobtrusively as possible of course) in order to prevent the high cost of maintenance.
TYPICAL FRENCH CONSTRUCTION WITH POST FOUNDATION
PLATE AND TRUSS SEAT

TYPICAL CORNER ASSEMBLY
LOG CORNER
KEYING
"pièce sur pièce"
TYPICAL FRENCH CONSTRUCTION
"poteaux et pièce coulissante"
DOUBLE WALL PLATE IN MASONRY
FRENCH TYPE
ROOF FRAMING
It must be admitted that none of our written records of Fort William have anything to say about problems of rapid decay. But we cannot afford to draw comfort from this curious omission. Like Fort Vancouver, our great trading-post was located on low ground. Even the recent archeological report of Professor Dawson mentions a high water table. Though nobody speaks of it, deterioration must have been just as swift as on the west coast.

It may also be noted that the rapid rate of decay sometimes led to a misreading of diagrams and plans. At Fort Vancouver it frequently seemed preferable to rebuild rather than to repair, with the result that one plan may show a structure in a given location, while a later plan situates it elsewhere. As regards Fort William we are assuming that Lord Selkirk's map is correct unless proven wrong by actual archeological finds. So far no modifications have been dictated to us for this reason.

We are unusually fortunate in this respect that Fort William had been documented much more thoroughly than its predecessor, Grand Portage. To find further archeological corroboration for our documents and early drawings should be possible if there were access to the whole site. The builders assigned to the reconstruction of the old fort should face no serious problems in achieving an accurate restoration. They are not at all in the precarious position of an anthropologist attempting to reconstruct some prehistoric beast from a fragment of a bone.

Indeed, although this may seem hardly credible, the functions of some trading posts, as well as the purposes of their individual buildings, continued without much change into the twentieth century and certainly as late as the beginning of the first World War. Hence we can draw upon information from other sources far nearer to us in time. For example, we have quite elaborate accounts of the staff, buildings, and activities of the trading posts at Moose Factory, Charlton Island, and Mistassini. The last-named recital is dated 1916. We cannot afford space for these rather lengthy descriptions, but they reveal that, over the course of a century, there was very little change in the general appearance and function of a typical trading post. Again, surprising as it may seem, as late as 1910, workmen were still using the same tools and methods for constructing their buildings as those undoubtedly employed by their forefathers at Fort William in 1816.

VARIATIONS IN BUILDING ELEMENTS

One must be aware of the fact that there were a great many variations in the design of structural elements in buildings of Pioneer Canada. This section of our Report does not pretend to be a technical treatise but serves to offer the reader only a general coverage of the technological aspect of the problems.

We wish to point out, as well, that for the sake of greater permanence, modern reconstruction should use modern building technology below grade, thus ensuring building stability.
INTRODUCTION

What would it be like to make an actual tour of the re-built Fort William? What will the traveller see as he approaches the stockade by land or water? What will meet his eye as he passes under the gatehouse of the principal entrance? What rank of buildings will stand before him? And, when he enters this one or that, what will he find? What activities will be going on in pack-houses, kitchen, workshops, dwellings, and in the Great Hall itself?

At this moment hardly any of these questions can be answered in exact and final detail, while some have not yet been investigated at all. But a surprising wealth of information has come to light and in this chapter we attempt to show, by means of it, how vividly the past may be brought to life. Our intention is to take the principal features and structures, one by one, observing the numbers assigned to them on our master-plan, to set forth briefly what is known about each, and how this knowledge will guide the work of reconstruction.

It must be remembered, however, that excavation is still in progress on the site, with new discoveries every day. Some of these are unexpectedly gratifying because they clarify and enrich our interpretation of historical records. Yet to keep pace with the findings is out of the question. For example, these pages contain photographs of some amazingly fine pieces of china, perhaps from the tables of the Great Hall, miraculously preserved, but upon which no comment is made simply because there has not been time. All we hope to establish is that, with what has already been learned, a reconstruction can be achieved which will be of extraordinary historical and human interest.

Readers already familiar with the preliminary outline of our subject-matter, will notice that we have been obliged to change the order of our presentation. Section III., which deals with the physical history of the site and its buildings, has been expanded to embrace the last section of Part II., so that it now contains four parts instead of three. Part III.D., formerly entitled The Buildings of Fort William, is that with which we are now concerned. Since this section calls for an enumeration of the buildings one by one, there would have been needless duplication had the original scheme been maintained.

Finally, we shall be referring so often to certain inventories of 1820-21 that it will be well to explain what these are. They are extremely detailed lists of all materials, equipment, and furnishings to be found on the premises in the years mentioned. Contained in a manuscript called North West Company Account Book, they are now part of the Hudson's Bay Company Public Archives. What was the occasion of these meticulous inventories? It was approximately at this time that the North Westers at last accepted defeat and sued for terms with Hudson's Bay. Probably a detailed statement of all property and assets was a condition of merger.

At any rate for our purpose there could scarcely be a happier find. All by itself, one of the old inventories will sometimes generate a vivid picture of an interior and of its life and activity. But we hasten to observe that this remarkable historical source is at yet only partially exploited and must be given much more study.

NOT A TRUE FORT

The very name, Fort William, suggests a military strongpoint. Of course, our post was never this. It was merely a trading centre fortified after a fashion, since any isolated habitation needed protection in those days. We must not look, therefore, for the kind of planning and disposition of
buildings which would be proper where there was danger of armed and organized assault. Since the countryside was relatively peaceful, the palisade and its bastions were for general security sufficient only to withstand any attack from the natives. The natives had no cannon so that all that was needed was defence from intruders and, at most, rifle-fire. Hence this post stood in sharp contrast to one like Rocky Mountain House of 1799, of which Paul Kane wrote in 1848:

It is built like most of the other forts of wood, but with more than ordinary regard to strength, which is felt necessary on account of the vicious disposition of the Blackfoot tribe.

And he goes on to describe it as surrounded by the usual twenty-eight-foot pickets with block bastions at each corner and a gallery running all round inside about four-and-a-half feet from the top. Here was a formidable stockade indeed.

The palisade encircling Fort William, on the other hand, was only fifteen feet high and without any firing-gallery at all. Further evidence that there was no real dread of the natives lies in the bastions being only two in number, one in each corner of that section of the palisade which faced the river. The rear of the Fort was protected by nothing but the wall of pickets with no strong points whatever.

**THE PALISADE**

The palisade, a feature common to all posts, invites separate discussion. Originally, of course, its purpose was protection. If a post stood in danger of serious hostilities, as we have just seen, the palisade took on a more military character and was equipped with firing-galleries and bastions of considerable strength. At Fort William the palisade seems to have been little more than a protective fence.

Basically a palisade was a close-set row of tree trunks sharpened to a point at the top, with the lower ends set in a shallow trench, back-filled after completion. Support at the top was provided by horizontal timbers pegged or spiked to the pickets in a fashion described more fully below. Where bastions exist, they are found at the corners. All evidence points to no more than two bastions at forts of the ordinary sort. Generally these projected beyond the palisade to permit enfilading the main gate. In one instance they are placed at diagonally opposite corners.

Perhaps the most detailed account of the structure of any post is that by Dr. John A. Hussey, *The History of Fort Vancouver and its Physical Structure*. We shall therefore describe this typical stockade in detail and then apply our information to the archeological finds of Fort William.

The vertical logs, variously referred to as pickets or pales, were of pine, cedar or fir. Later analysis of some specimens proved them in this case to be interior species fir. The pickets varied in diameter from eight to ten inches. Archeologists testify to a range in size from five to thirteen inches. There is an easy explanation for this sharp difference in diameters. The practice of the North West Company was to set posts alternately, one with the thin end up, the next with the thin end down. Obviously this scheme ensured a tighter fit. This alternating of the butt ends would explain what the diggers unearthed. The heights of the pickets are placed by various sources at 12', 15', 18', 20', and 25 feet. The height most commonly mentioned is fifteen feet. After being cut to uniform length, the posts were sharpened at one end. The bark was then removed from the lower portion and this end charred in an attempt to retard decay. They were then sunk two or three feet in the ground. Horizontal cross-pieces were now attached to the inside of the wall according to North West Company practice. These horizontal bars ran about four feet from the top. If the pickets were of considerable height,
two such cross-pieces were used, one a few feet from the top and the other a corresponding distance above ground.

Heavier posts, known as king posts, occurring at 15-foot intervals, received these cross-pieces by means of a mortise. The remaining pickets were secured to the horizontal members by wooden pegs.

The gates, in the case of Fort Vancouver, were three in number. The main gate was only ten feet wide, but the other two, built to permit the occasional passage of awkward loads, were about five feet wider. The supporting posts at these gates were extremely heavy, at least 13" in diameter and sunk deeply in the ground. The gates themselves were quite massive and frequently contained a small postern.

These details of construction at Fort Vancouver are of great value to us because they are exactly matched by some of the archeological findings at Fort William. These are listed below.

The Fort William palisade was 15 feet high which corresponds to the well-attested height of that at Fort Vancouver.

A notable feature of the Fort William palisade was the occurrence of large posts, every 10'6", connected by plank (log) stringers. At Fort Vancouver these king posts stood about 15 feet apart.

The posts of the main gate were 21" in diameter and 10'6" on centre. Pegs were found in the lower planks of the palisade. Hence we have almost a duplicate of Fort Vancouver. The location of the gate also corresponds roughly with that shown on Selkirk's map. Many wooden pegs were found in the vicinity of these posts. The gates at Fort Vancouver are described as massive and heavily studded with nails. On the other hand, as we shall suggest below, the pegs may have been used for a quite different purpose.

Remains of the south palisade reveal planks instead of posts. These were about 3" thick and varied in width from 6 to 8 inches. Since replacements and repairs to the stockade at Fort Vancouver were so frequent, it is likely that these planks are a later substitution for a section of the earlier stockade. A neat plank wall would look much better than a rickety old stockade.

The posts in the Fort William palisade range in diameter from three to six inches only. This makes them considerably lighter than those employed on the West Coast. Probably the reason was that nothing better lay to hand. The Fort William area could boast no fine stands of Douglas fir. Tamarack was very likely the only tree within easy reach.

The greatest difference between the forts lies in their gates. Fort Vancouver had no guard house over the main gate for the simple reason that the gate was much lower than the stockade so that the posts continued unbroken above the gate opening. Fort William possessed a guard house. This structure carried a peaked roof and even a finial to crown all.
If Allen's Quarters are to be restored as a historic building in Phase II we must assume he is the Chief Clerk and that his house must equal or surpass McLoughlin's in sophistication.

Again this home must reflect a degree of culture unexpected in a wilderness community.

The finest furniture available from Montreal would be found in the parlour and sleeping rooms, and well-turned pieces from the local carpenter's shop in the kitchen.

It was the custom for the Chief Clerk to keep a diary or journal at every post.

Day by day this Clerk wrote down the minutiae of life at his fort and at the numerous wintering posts dependent upon it, which dotted the wilderness toward Lake Superior in one direction and toward Lake of the Woods in the other. It is a very human document, full of Indians who are real beings, not animals, noble savages, or some other figment of a writer's imagination; full of voyageurs of all types, ages, condition and outlook on life; full of merrymakings, tragedies, and humdrum existence; and replete with keen interest in forest life, fishing, hunting and the appearance of the countryside. It refers to gardens, domestic animals, the canoe yard, the cooper making staves for rice and fish barrels, the saw pit and other appurtenances of the fort. From it one can form a clear picture of life at a border post.

Scott Allen could neither have secured nor held his important post unless he were a meticulous man. The great fur-trading companies had to place the utmost reliance upon agents supervising an enterprise exceedingly complex, and requiring attention to every detail. In the Hudson's Bay Company, fourteen years of careful apprenticeship preceded appointment to a post which would be far less demanding than that of Chief Clerk at Fort William. The point is that a man in this assignment had to be capable of taking care of a tremendous rush of business during certain weeks or months of the year, and also of maintaining a well-disciplined daily life during other long intervals when he really had little to do. Steadiness, competence, and utter honesty, along with great regularity of life were the indispensable qualities of a good Chief Clerk.

Allen's home, then, should reflect two great characteristics of the owner. It should be as efficient and tidy as a ship. And it should reveal unshakeable loyalty to his Company. Good taste and good order would prevail in every room. These rooms should also contain furnishings which would reveal how the Fort was linked to headquarters in Montreal. Mementos of the human bonds which held the Company together might also be displayed. For example, there should be signs of membership in the famous Beaver Club founded in 1785 which met on stated occasion during the late autumn and winter when winterers were likely to be in Montreal or when a notable guest visited the colony. We know that the Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria, John Jacob Astor of New York, and Lord Selkirk himself, were entertained there. George Landmann left an account of one dinner which lasted twelve hours.

All members of this distinguished club wore great gold medals, inscribed Fortitude in Distress, given only to those, who had wintered in the pays d'en haut. The finest beaver monogrammed plate and glass were used and famous dishes were served: bear, beaver-tail soup, roast beaver, pemmican and the finest liquors.

Five toasts honoured the fur trade. These were given in the following order: Mary, the mother of all Saints; the King; the fur trade and all its branches; the voyageurs, their wives and children; and absent brethren.
A classic ritual marked the peak of these memorable evenings. Armed with a paddle, everyone sat on the floor in two long rows. Singing lustily, they paddled an imaginary canot de maître across the carpet.

As the Allen building is located close to the main gate, the staff will have an excellent opportunity to set the tone for a guest's visit. A description of the vast trading operation, which shuttled goods from London to Montreal to Fort William to Athabaska and the Pacific and returned furs by relay of canoes, will be the first service to visitors, with emphasis on the magnificent men who made this improbable operation work. Before reconstruction of Fort William they must remain mere names on the map of Canada. The resurrection of their former base will evoke the vast enterprise they developed and which vanished over a century and a half ago.

**McLOUGHLIN'S QUARTERS #2**

Franchere's narrative concludes: *Near the gate of the Fort, which is on the south, are the quarters of the physician....... This was Dr. John McLoughlin, known as The Big Doctor McLoughlin, White Headed Eagle to the Indians (by reason of his great mane of prematurely white hair) and, much later, on the Pacific coast, as the Father of Oregon.*

It was rumoured that young John McLoughlin decided to go west while practising medicine in Lower Canada and that his having pitched a drunken British officer into the muddy street, thus insulting His Majesty's uniform, had some bearing on the decision. He was nineteen at the time. But he could not have practised medicine long in the East, because it was in this same year, 1803, that he both received his licence as a physician, and signed an engagement to McTavish, Frobisher and Company, dated April 23, to serve them in the North West.

For the next twenty years, while it is at times difficult to trace his whereabouts, his work may be described as that of resident physician at the Fort, especially during the summer, when he would need to make himself available to the large numbers of voyageurs and other employees of the Company coming in with their injuries and ailments both from the far North West and from Montreal. Broken bones, knife-wounds, infections, fevers, venereal disease, alcoholism, pneumonia, tuberculosis, frost-bite, he must have known them all. However scant the experience of this youthful medical practitioner before he entered the wilderness, it assuredly became rich and varied in short order.

A rather puzzling aspect of the Doctor's life was his duty to spend the winters, not at the Fort, but at one or other of the Company's posts in the interior. He thus acquired the distinction of being a true hivernant. And it is perhaps such difficult service which earned for him the right of partnership in the Company with possession of two shares. In the hinterlands he was also able to study the native tribes more intimately, and quickly lost his earlier and rather contemptuous opinions of them. High principles were rare enough among the fur traders, and respect for the Indian was rarer still. It is therefore heartening to read a remark like the following from one of his reports:

*The Indians of this District have lost a good deal of that Bold independent Spirit which characterized the Sauteux nation of which they are a tribe. This has been caused by the Competition amongst the Traders who were in the habit of encouraging the Indians to defraud their Creditors. Yet there are many who will not cheat their Traders and spoil, as they term it, their Body.*

His hospitality, and utter devotion to the sick, were also well-known. An example is the entire year of personal attention
under his own roof which he bestowed upon one Tanner, who had been nearly killed while on his way out to civilization. We are told by one diarist of the period (Major Stephen Long) that the Doctor knew very well what would be the consequence of benefaction on such a scale, *the success of his post in the winter's trade, must be injured by the measure.*

His life did not grow less exciting as the years went by. He was numbered among the North West Company men arrested by Selkirk in 1816 and taken under guard to Canada. Later, in 1820, with Angus Bethune he journeyed to London on the secret mission representing the wintering partners who wanted some sort of deal with the Hudson's Bay Company. However, as we have seen, the latter declined to negotiate. After 1821, he became a trader for the reorganised Hudson's Bay Company, and enriched its archives with many fascinating reports and descriptions of life in the wilderness. Finally, in 1824, this remarkable man set off for Oregon and an entirely new career, a career which brought him true fame.

Of interest to us is the fact that, during his early years with the North West Company, (no exact date can be given), he married a native woman who died in childbirth, leaving him a son named Joseph. About 1811 he married again, and this second wife was a woman of considerable ability and charm. She was Margaret Bruce, the half-Ojibway widow of Alexander McKay, who had accompanied MacKenzie on his overland journey to the Pacific. Her father was the Swiss Protestant trader, Wadin, or Waden, who had met death at the hands of the rather notorious Peter Pond or one of his men.

Wives of fur traders generally possessed a natural aptitude for their husband's way of life. They were usually daughters of chief traders, or factors, and native mothers of superior birth and comeliness. As for Margaret, she had also received some education in the convent of the Ursulines in Quebec and was known as *a woman of physical charm and calm temperament.*

McLoughlin's Quarters will give visitors a glimpse of the rather gracious home life possible even in this early period and in a remote area.

Next in elegance and comfort to the Great Hall, this house will contain a commodious kitchen with large cooking-fireplace and bake oven, utensils sufficient for the preparation of meals of several courses, a large pine table and cupboards. A second room of modest dimensions will be presented as a parlour. In earlier years before the construction of the Hospital (#21) it probably served as a consulting and treatment room. For our purpose it will contain a woven rug on the floor, several chairs (slat-back or some variety of Windsor) a desk, a candlestand or two, and on the walls some engravings, prints or wood-cuts framed in pine. The bedrooms will be comfortably furnished - a four-poster canopy bed for the doctor and his wife, and low-post, rope beds for the family. Several chairs should also be provided, of course, a few trunks or chests for the storing of linens and clothing, and pegs on the wall for coats and hats.

In McLoughlin's Quarters daily demonstrations of the housewifely arts of spinning and weaving will be given, as Margaret McLoughlin would have taught her daughters. Fleece shorn from the Fort's sheep will be washed, carded and spun into yarn by means of drop spindles, a great wheel (or walking wheel), and the smaller colonial wheel. Using a four-harness loom the staff will weave textiles typical of the last century, for use in the Fort and for public sale.

In Phase II, after the development of the farm, when flax is available, the demonstration will
also include the spinning and weaving of linen.

In Phase II also, a tripod with dye pot will be set up outdoors near the Herb Garden for demonstrations of dyeing, using natural dyes from plants gathered in the forest and on the farm. These will include: alder, bearberry, northern bedstraw, blueberry, nettles, onion skins, sunflowers, and spruce cones.

STONE STORE #3

We presume that the stone store was used as a storage building for the furs once they had been sorted and packed into bales. Fire, always a hazard in a community whose shelters were of wood, necessitated the storage of the furs in a building of safe construction. Through a grill visitors will observe the bales ready for shipment.

The building will consist of three floors, containing furs, gunpowder and some liquor.

INDIAN SHOP #4

At the conclusion of the hunting season the Indians of the surrounding area travelled to the Fort with the products of their trapping and hunting. Each family used their regular camping ground not far from the Fort for their tents and wigwams. As soon as they were settled, the hunters accompanied by squaws and children visited the Indian Shop, just inside the main gate, between the doctor's house and the stockade guarding the powder magazine. The shop was a general meeting place where new arrivals greeted friends whom they last saw several months before. Indians of both sexes and all sizes crowded in, some standing, some squatting on the floor smoking. Each family was made welcome and given a treat, tobacco, flour and tea, and often a dram of rum generous enough to facilitate the bartering.

An orgy of shopping followed. The hunters produced their furs to be valued. In the fall and spring the Indian could obtain a credit figured in plus (plews) or beaver against the furs he would bring in at the end of the hunt. These debts were now settled and then each member of the family took a turn at trading until all their furs were gone.

The shelves were filled with items of proven attractiveness: twist tobacco, point blankets, buttons, vermilion paint, Spanish beads, butcher knives and scalping knives, bolts of printed cottons, flints and steels. Hanging from the log roof rafters were guns, traps, brass and iron kettles, axes and other tools.

But the supremely effective factor in driving a good bargain, from the trader's point of view, was of course spirits in some form or other. Kegs of rum would line the walls of this establishment. But the native customer would be lucky if he secured a drink as honest as rum. The potion much more commonly offered to him was high wine. This interesting beverage was arrived at by diluting pure alcohol, flavouring it with sugar and a fruit extract, and finally adulterating it with oil of vitriol. This last substance was simply sulphuric acid. A little sulphuric acid in one's drink will of course yield convincing evidence that the drink is suitably strong. Obviously high wine was good business. The alcohol could be conveyed to the extremely remote market more cheaply in an almost pure state. Dilution and flavouring were carried out on the spot. As for the adulteration with acid, it was scarcely beneficial to the consumer, but not quite so outrageous a procedure as we might think. Oil of vitriol had its recognized place as a medicine in those days. It was used, much diluted of course, in the treatment of both cholera and lead poisoning and, externally, as a caustic. As for the savages, they were not entirely helpless victims. They quickly devised a rough-and-ready test for determining...
whether they were getting good stuff or not. The first mouthful was spat into the fire, if it flamed up in satisfactory fashion, they knew they had been sold authentic fire-water and not some corrosive substitute.

It is perhaps a relief to turn our attention to a much more harmless article of barter, although it was hardly honest value for what was obtained in the exchange. We refer to beads. From a study of the inventories of the North West Company it is clear that considerable attention, even ingenuity, was exercised in order to provide the traders on the frontiers with an extensive assortment of cheap beads. There survives a list of the different kinds available from the inventories of 1820-21. The beads listed are as follows:

- round white
- round blue
- round coloured
- bright red
- black pipe
- china, large
- seed
- seed assorted
- enamelled
- smalta
- blue agate
- mock garnet
- barley corn
- mock coral

In this list, it is easy enough to identify each item, with the exception of that entitled smalta. Our best attempt at establishing what was meant by this term is to suppose that the bead was formed from smaltite. This mineral occurs naturally. In colour it ranges from tin-white to steel-gray, with a metallic lustre. Sometimes it bears a streak in grayish-black. It is probable that, of all the goods for barter which the Company provided, beads were the cheapest. They gratified the vanity of the simple Indian, but they fell far short of giving him an adequate return for his arduous and dangerous toil in obtaining the furs which traders wanted.

Each individual Indian was known - his capabilities, his reliability, the size and requirements of his family, and the length of time before he would again return with furs. The bartering over, credit received if necessary, outfitted with food, clothing, traps, and blankets the Indian families bundled tents and dogs into their small canoes and set off once more for their hunting grounds.18

Building #4 may well have been one open room. The size of this building is yet to be established.

POWDER MAGAZINE #5

The powder magazine will contain a selection of the muskets, bayonets, and pistols of the early nineteenth century. A quantity of English muskets and bayonets with cartridge boxes, several American muskets and bayonets, two brass field pieces, at least twenty fine pistols, a large number of powder horns, and several pairs of common pistols will be stored on racks. Containers suitable for storing flints and powder will be arranged along the walls.

A member of the staff dressed in costume will clean the arms and explain their use to visitors, while also providing security in this building.

LIQUOR TAVERNS #6 AND #9

Gabriel Franchere's Narrative tells us that the Cantine Salope was a tavern where a treat was given to travellers who arrived at the Fort - a loaf, a half a pound of butter, and a gill of rum. Liquors, bread, pork and butter were also sold there. The long journey from Montreal behind them, it would be to this building that the voyageur would repair for food and relaxation. Decked out in his best short shirt, deerskin leggings, and the gaudy sash that was his trademark, he (the voyageur) headed for the liveliest, loudest and rowdiest spot within the palesade.19

Benches around the walls, simple tables and chairs of split logs, a counter or bar of modest dimensions, a fire crackling in the
stone fireplace at the end of the room will re-create for the visitor today the convivial spirit of this room. Visitors will be able to buy the food and drink of the voyageurs. Bread baked in the Fort's ovens, butter churned in the kitchens, long-unused recipes for shrubs and punches of over a century ago will refresh visitors today just as they did the voyageurs waiting to carry back East the season's supply of furs.

COMMISSARY BUILDINGS #7 AND #8

As our research to date has not given us a sure definition of the use of these two buildings we must assume that the Commissary served as a store-house for the enormous amounts of food needed by Fort William and the western posts each winter. References to the nature of this food and its quantities are given under Kitchen #20.

The demonstration in this building will be the sewing of bags by Indian women to pack pemmican with an explanation of its history and use.

The building will not be furnished in the usual sense but will contain only the items being stored in barrels, kegs, bags and other wooden and canvas containers. The women will have a low table to work on and simple benches.

One of these two buildings might well be utilized for offices or as a meeting-hall.

DRY GOODS STORES #10

In each of the voyageurs' packs were arranged the blankets, scarlet cloths, strouds, calico, gartering, pins, beads, flour, pork, silver earbobs, and numberless other articles which were to be bartered in the interior for furs. Guns and ammunition were also packed into convenient packages; and intoxicating liquors and shot were packed usually in small kegs. When we read of such things as pigs and cook-stoves being carried beyond Lake Superior in such brigades of canoes, we can but marvel at the ingenuity and perseverance of the fur-traders, and especially of their employees.20

The Dry Goods Store or Storage we assume may have been similar to a crossroads general store with a long counter running the length of the building. Shelves behind held bolts of cloth, items of clothing, etc. There would be a storage attic reached by a stair-case. This will be the building in which visitors may purchase the items made by the Fort craftsmen and women - and described in each building. However, this will not be a Gift Shop and will not contain any modern items except money!

PACK STORES #11

Fort William provided the facilities to sort and prepare the outfits for the western posts.

The Montreal canoes, described in the Ship Yard, transported immense quantities of goods. These were packed in 90 lb. pieces for easier handling in the smaller north canoes. The Pack Store building will illustrate the organisation needed to work out the quantity and kinds of goods despatched to the interior posts.

A fine document has survived from the Company's correspondence for 1794. It is entitled Scheme for the NW Outfit. What it reveals is the elaborate planning necessary to provide the central depot at Grand Portage with all the goods required for a year's trade, and the number of men and canoes needed to haul the goods up and bring the furs down. The long list of commodities and articles which formed the cargoes provides us with a good idea of what would be found, not only in this Pack Store, but also in certain other establishments within the Fort, like the dry goods shops, Indian shop, cantine, and liquor store.

600 bales, dry goods
40 trunks, dry goods
30 bales, Brazil tobacco
10 bales, Soencer tobacco
20 bales, Carrot tobacco (name derived from shape)
22 cases, guns
90 cases, iron
8 cases, hats
20 cases, knives
3 cases, soap
70 Maccaroons
2 bales, traps
10 bales, copper kettles
10 bales, tin kettles
20 bales, (Hams? & Cheeck?)
10 kegs, sugar
8 kegs, salt
32 kegs, butter
100 kegs, powder
80 kegs, pork
230 kegs, grease
40 kegs, beef
400 kegs, high wines
50 kegs, rum
10 kegs, port wine
10 kegs, brandy
20 kegs, shrub
3 kegs, sausages
30 bags, ball
20 bags, shot
17 bags, green peas
2,015 Pieces

Visitors will have an opportunity to watch the sorting and packing and to don the harness of the voyageur which was called a portage collar. This consisted of a strap of leather about three inches wide, to which smaller straps were attached of sufficient length to go round the packages. The straps were first tied around each end of a piece, which was then swung upon the back, the lower part resting on the small of the back. The collar was then brought over the top of the head. The voyageur, taking a load, inclined a little forward, so that the weight rested on the back and drew only gently on the collar. After the first piece was swung on the back, the second was taken up and laid on the top of it, reaching, if it was bulky, nearly to the crown of the porter’s head.

The extensions at the rear of the building will contain the necessities for a winter operation: sleds, snowshoes, dog teams, harness, etc. Trips to distant lands of Indians to collect either furs or food were made with long, toboggan-like sleds, drawn by dogs, sometimes by horses. The dogs were of the well-known Eskimo or husky stock. For forest travel their harness set them in line, one behind the other. On the prairies each animal pulled on his own trace in the fan-shaped formation of the Eskimos. The sleds rested on two flat oak boards securely fastened by cross-pieces and planed thin at one end. By a process of steaming, the thin end was turned up to ensure a better ride over rough surfaces. The paws of sled dogs often became sore on rough ice and crusted snow. For this ailment their masters carried many sets of little leather moccasins, pulled on like gloves, and tied with thongs of deerskin.

COUNTING HOUSE #12

The Counting House or Compting House, or office, during Fort William’s years of importance, was of great significance. It could be compared to the bookkeeping or accounting section of a modern wholesale house.

Here were statistics of outfits, supplies and provisions, and the credits and accounts of the employers. Here too were stored all documents of importance, safely locked in a strong box.

It should be furnished with high desks and stools for the clerks, ledgers and account books, quill pens and pots of ink. Documents of interest will hang on the walls, for example, copies of the early agreements leading to the partnerships known as the North West Company.

Trade licenses and copies of returns from individual traders in
the early years of the industry should also make interesting reading for visitors.

Visitors might be given the opportunity to secure their personal copy of the voyageur's agreement with the North West Company. This will be a printed form, in French, on white unruled foolscap, approximately 9 1/2" by 7 1/2" with appropriate spaces for the guest's (voyageur's) name, date and a witness's signature.22 One of the clerks present will complete each form with quill pen and ink and the guest may carry it away as a memento of his visit.

A translation in English of this document, posted on the wall, will enable visitors to estimate the salary in livres (between 400 and 600 livres). It will be explained that 12 livres = 1 £ together with the issue of one three point blanket, one 2 1/2 point blanket, two pair leggings, 2 shirts, 2 carrots of tobacco, two handkerchiefs, 2 braillets, two large knives and two small knives.23 The canoe-man was now committed to the employment of the North West Company for either 6 or 7 years, depending on the terms of the contract.

We are able to identify the man who held the post of accountant at the Fort at the time of Selkirk's reign in 1816. And although our information concerning him is slight, it is of such a nature as to make us wish for more. He must have been a rather exciting character. His name was Jasper Vandersluys, which seems to indicate Dutch descent.24 The final merger of his firm with the Hudson's Bay Company seems to have aroused in him feelings of some bitterness. In 1821 he is reported to have attacked a certain Mr. Halkett in the street (probably in Montreal) in retaliation for accusations directed against himself. He got much the worst of the encounter, however, since he was shot and seriously wounded by Halkett.25

**DRY GOODS STORE #13**

This building might well be used to demonstrate the technology of building in wood during the late 18th and early 19th century. In other words, all structural members would be exposed, while some parts are deliberately left unfinished.

**QUARTERS #14**

The buildings identified as Quarters, and which bear the numbers 14, 16, and 18 on our general map, were apparently intended to provide living accommodations for wintering partners and employees of some standing. As has been noted already, some of these men were married (more often than not to native wives) and we know for a certainty that the building which bears the number 18 contained four suites of rooms, with front and back entrances, intended for family use.

It is our recommendation that this building be used for administration and maintenance.

**COOPERAGE AND GUIDES' HOUSE #15**

Building #15 presents something of a puzzle. The title Guide's House is intelligible enough. But cooperage presents difficulty since we also have a cooper installed in the shop at the northwest corner of the stockade. Can the craft of cooperage have been carried on in both of these buildings?

At any rate we possess a helpful inventory of certain tools which were found in the cooper's shop in the year 1820. These items are drawn from lists made of materials at the Fort in 1820, and 1821. Here are a few samples: iron smoothing-plane, jointed iron, cooper's axe, etc.

Further, the Cooper's Shop is described as consisting of one open room, with crude shelves and some form of heating.
The question remains whether this fits the building in the northwest corner of the stockade or that with which we are now concerned.

**QUARTERS #16 and #18**

Franchere tells us that there were two buildings one on each side of the Great Hall which provided lodgings for the important members of the Company's staff. On either side of this edifice, is another of the same extent, but of less elevation; they are each divided by a corridor running through its length, and contain each, a dozen pretty bedrooms. One is destined for the wintering partners, the other for the clerks.

The furnishing of these rooms in a fashion suited to the place and period should present no great difficulty.

**GREAT HALL #17**

In the middle of a gracious square rises a large building elegantly constructed, though of wood, with a long piazza or portico, raised about five feet from the ground, and surmounted by a balcony, extending along the whole front. In the centre is a saloon or hall, sixty feet in length by thirty in width, decorated with several pieces of painting, and some portraits of the leading partners. It is in this hall that the agents, partners, clerks, interpreters, and guides, take their meals together, at different tables. At each extremity of the apartment are two rooms, two of these are destined for the two principal agents, the other two for the steward and his department. The kitchen and servants' rooms are in the basement.26

In 1817 Ross Cox describes in greater detail the appearance of the Great Hall at Fort William:

The dining hall is a noble apartment, and sufficiently capacious to entertain two hundred. A finely executed bust of the late Simon McTavish is placed in it, with portraits of various proprietors. A full-length likeness of Nelson, together with a splendid painting of the Battle of the Nile also decorate the walls and were presented by Hon. William McGillivray to the Company. At the upper end of the Hall there is a very large map of the Indian country, drawn with great accuracy by Mr. David Thompson, astronomer to the Company, and comprising all their trading posts from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific Ocean and from Lake Superior to Athabaska and Great Slave Lake.27

Ross Cox came from the privations of wilderness travel to a sumptuous breakfast of coffee, fresh eggs, excellent hot cakes and prime cold venison prepared in the kitchens below.

The terms Common Hall, Big House and Ty-ee house (after an Indian word for chief) were names applied to this structure in other locations. Wherever these halls existed, they seem to have contained the residence of the superintendent and also to have met the need for civilized and even palatial surroundings as a relief from the crudities of life on the trail, or in wilderness outposts.

From Sir Edward Belcher's report of a meal in the hall of Fort Vancouver we can derive some notion of the banquets offered in Fort William's magnificent saloon:

At the end of a table twenty feet in length stands Governor McLoughlin directing guests and gentlemen from neighbouring posts to their places, and chief traders, traders, the physician, clerks and the farmer slide respectfully to their places, at distances from the governor corresponding to the dignity of their rank in service. Thanks are given to God, and all are seated. Roast beef and pork, boiled mutton, baked salmon, boiled ham, beets, carrots, turnips, cabbage and potatoes, and wheaten bread, are tastefully distributed
over the table among a dinner set of elegant Queen's Ware, furnished with glittering glasses and decanters of various coloured Italian wines...28

The Governor McLoughlin here mentioned is our own Dr. John, but he is presiding over an establishment, let it be noted, which is trifling in size and pretensions when compared with that which he had known in Canada. Our vague mental images of rough life at a post deep in the wilderness may prevent us from realizing how imposing was the structure which functioned as the social centre of Fort William. Of the fifty thousand pounds which the entire Fort cost to build (a sum to be multiplied many times over to reach the modern equivalent) a formidable portion must have gone into this single edifice. The Hall, be it remembered, was 60 by 30 feet, without the four generous rooms also found under this roof. It could easily accommodate two hundred persons at table. With great logs blazing on a chilly evening at the fireplaces at each end and tables, lighted with silver candlesticks, and set with handsome china, glassware and cutlery; with the fine paintings on its walls, this interior quite deserved to be called a noble apartment. It would impress visitors even yet and must have exerted a dazzling effect on the unprepared traveller in the old days.

Why should a fur-trading company fling money into the erection of so palatial a structure as part of their central depot? We have already suggested how it met a great need. Most of the partners were wealthy men. In Montreal, and in their home land, they were accustomed to comfortable homes, well-served dinners, and the attentions of numerous servants. But in order to maintain the business enterprise upon which their fortunes rested, they were obliged each year to make a long, hard and dangerous journey through the Canadian wilderness. Whether travelling from East or West, these men could not escape privation as they made their way to the annual meetings on the banks of the Kaministiquia. And there, at the central meeting-place, they had to spend some weeks. Is it to be expected that they would be content with campfire cooking and a bed of spruce branches under an upturned canoe? Body and mind would be clamouring for something of the culture and comfort which they had left. Fort William was bound to become for them a summer residence as satisfying as they could make it.

Meals in a trading post were eaten twice a day, as was the Indian custom. Social behaviour, again after a native pattern, was predominately masculine in tone. The men, at least those above the rank of engage, seem never to have allowed women and children at table. So rarely did a wife take a meal with her husband, that John Henry Le Froy at Fort Simpson as late as 1844, took special note of such an instance as the first time in which I have seen a woman at table.29

The canoemen were routed out at daybreak to perform their assigned tasks, and at mid-morning were given breakfast by the bourgeois at a common mess. But where rations were issued to an entire family, as at Fort Vancouver, the wife probably prepared the evening meal for husband and children in the family living quarters.

At Fort William, for example, where a great many transient voyageurs congregated each summer, the high-ranking traders, from agents down to guides, dined very well indeed. They feasted in the great dining-hall on bread, salt pork, beef, smoked ham, whitefish, venison, butter, peas, Indian corn puddings, potatoes, tea, brandy and wine - and even milk supplied by the post's two cows. In their tent encampment outside the palisades, the ordinary canoeman had to be content with a mess of boiled Indian corn and tallow.30

So there was no democracy at table. The important people dined
in a fashion which would be termed sumptuous even yet. The men who endured the hardship and danger of woods and rapids seem to have received a little feast of bread and pork upon arrival at the Fort and then to have gone back to their usual crude and monotonous fare.

Each year in July the Great Hall witnessed the annual summer Rendezvous when the wintering partners met the chief executives from Montreal. Days were spent in the Committee House (24) at meetings where business was discussed in great secrecy. The nights were spent roistering in the Great Hall. Highland pipers and fiddlers skirled marches, reels and laments, and the most agile swirled into the Highland fling, the whole company roaring the old sentimental songs of heather and brae. They had dined off buffalo tongue and hump, smoked and salted, thirty-pound lake trout, and whitefish, netted at the gate of the Fort, venison, wild duck and geese, beaver tails and confectioners' delicacies packed all the way from Montreal.

The elegance of the furniture and furnishings in the Great Hall should be illustrated with well-turned pieces from the foot-treadle lathe in the Carpenter's Shop (26), and the finest of imported articles from Montreal. There should be several long tables, seating about 20, surrounded by armchairs. The tables should be set with gleaming pewter and a service of Wedgwood's printed Queen's Ware. Oil paintings of the partners will hang on the walls. These should include Alexander Henry Sr., James McGill, Peter Pond, Sir Alexander MacKenzie, Roderick McKenzie, David Thompson, Peter Pangman, and John Macdonald of Garth. David Thompson's map should hang in its old place, along with the paintings of Nelson and of the Battle of Trafalgar. On the mantels should stand the bust of Nelson and that of Simon McTavish. Also displayed will be those collections of curios of both civilized and wilderness life in which men at that time took so much pride: pistols, beautifully-executed powder horns, snuff-boxes, military gear. Huge dishdressers with decanters, flip glasses, gill measures, rinsers, flanked by candelabra holding dipped tallow candles, will stand in sharp contrast to the humble furnishings of the kitchen and servants' rooms below.

As noted in our first paragraph, which was a citation from the narrative of Gabriel Franchere, at each end of the large central hall, there were two rooms intended as living quarters for important personages. It seems probable that each of these would serve as a bed sitting-room. We may be certain that they were well-appointed. Four-poster, canopy beds draped with homespun linen and furnished with elegant quilts should certainly be present. Also visible should be copper warming-pans, and a wash table with basin and jug.

However articles like these will be quite insufficient. In the general reconstruction of the Fort, it is the year 1816 that we have in mind. Selkirk's floor-plan of this building, in ink so faded as to be almost illegible, bears the actual names of the men using these rooms at the time, and every effort must be made to evoke the character of each.

The manuscript drawing lists them as follows: McGillivray, Alex MacKenzie, McLeod, and McDonell.

It seems appropriate to begin with the first of these, William McGillivray, who was in charge of the Fort at the time of Selkirk's surprise attack. This gentleman was of course the nephew of Simon McTavish, the redoubtable personage who was the moving spirit in the first and boldest undertakings of the Company. To his now dead uncle he owed everything, since
it was McTavish who brought him to Canada in 1784, when he was just 20 years old. Within two years he had been placed in charge of a post at Lac des Serpents. With Roderick McKenzie he was mainly responsible for bringing about the union of the North West Company with Gregory, McLeod and Company, and soon after was admitted to the rank of partner. Eventually, in 1795, he became a partner of McTavish, Frobisher, and Company, that smaller group which exercised so much influence over the policies of the main Company. At some time during his sojourn in the wilderness, he had taken an Indian girl to wife and by her had two half-breed sons, born at Ile a la Crosse, Joseph and Simon, and a daughter, Elizabeth. Like so many of his colleagues, however, he seems to have looked upon this union as a temporary expediency. An Indian wife did in fact make the difficulties of travel much lighter, and often ensured good relationships with the tribe from which she came.

At any rate, in 1800, one year after becoming chief superintendent of the Company, he married Magdaleine McDonald in London, and by her had two daughters. Magdaleine lived only ten years so that, at the age of 46, McGillivray found himself a widower.

In 1804 on the death of his uncle, he had become chief director of the Company and head of the smaller unit, McTavish, Frobisher and Company. A steady, energetic businessman, he later formed, in 1806, McTavish, McGillivray and Company. In 1807 the great base on Lake Superior was named in his honour.

During the war of 1812, he served as colonel of the Voyageurs Corps, commanding with Brock at Detroit. In recognition of his services he was made a member of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada in the following year. The summer of 1816 found him at Fort William, and it was there that he was arrested by Lord Selkirk and sent to Canada for trial. A few months later he filed suit against Selkirk for conspiracy but, as we have seen, the protracted litigations which followed, although they brought a kind of legal victory to the members of the North West Company, only hastened its inevitable collapse. With the help of his brother Simon, he negotiated the merger with the Hudson's Bay Company, and took a seat on the joint board of management. Eventually his role was that of a mere shareholder. In 1825, he died in London, aged 61.

Obviously it will never be possible to learn with accuracy what was to be found in William McGillivray's room in the south-east corner of the Great Hall. However, besides ordinary articles like a writing-table, a couple of easy chairs, and a shelf or two of books, we can easily imagine certain personal items which would convey to a modern visitor something of this man's life and character. Surely he would have kept a portrait of his uncle, Simon McTavish. There also survives a rather fashionable painting of himself with his Scottish wife and their two daughters. This might perhaps be reproduced in miniature. Memories of his life in the wilderness, of his close relationships with the Indians, even of his native wife and her children must have been vivid in his mind. After all he was twenty-six when he married her. Here was a man who had lived and loved in two startlingly different worlds. A few trophies of the hunt, a few Indian weapons and artifacts, side by side with elegant nineteenth-century toilet articles and gift-pieces from his wife and friends would help to evoke these contrasting aspects of his career.

At the same end of the Great Hall, in the room next to McGillivray, according to Selkirk's information, there lived Alexander Mackenzie. This was a nephew of Sir Alexander, the great explorer. He was first a wintering partner of the XY Company and continued in this function after the merger with the larger concern, having charge of the Athabaska department from 1804 to 1808. On the Athabaska he was known by the nickname
The Emperor and this is our only hint of the temper of his personality. At any rate he was one of the partners arrested in 1816. At the assizes in York, in 1818, he was acquitted.

For the present there is little more that we can say about this personage. We do know the name of his wife, however, Isabella Latour. Possibly she may have been a half-breed. At any rate she was with him at both Long Lake, and Grand Portage, where two of their children were born. But his last Will is known to be on file at the Court House in Montreal and through this and other sources it should be possible to round out our portrait of this veteran trader.

At the west end of the Hall, to be exact in the southwest corner, we find a McLeod. Heaven knows there were plenty of McLeods in the trade but, fortunately, we have no difficulty in identifying this one. He is Archibald Norman McLeod, a half-breed by a Rapid River woman. At a surprisingly early date, 1799, he was made a partner. For six years he served in the Athabaska country. In 1808 he received the two final badges of success, membership in McTavish, McGillivray and Company, and membership in the Beaver Club. Shortly after this time he retired from the harsh duty of a wintering partner, but took a prominent part in the Selkirk troubles of 1815-18. That he was at Fort William in 1821, we know from other sources. Selkirk's record places him there also in 1816. After the final merger with the Hudson's Bay Company, he foresook the fur trade altogether and, apparently looking upon himself as more Scots than Indian, went to live in the old country.

Again, we are in possession of enough information to identify our man, but not enough to determine with what objects he might surround himself in his room. An important source yet to be consulted is his own journal for the year 1800-01 which was published in 1933.

The last and most surprising of the four tenants to be mentioned by Lord Selkirk is someone who did not belong there at all. This was Miles MacDonell whom Lord Selkirk had chosen to act as his agent in the establishment of the Red River colony. This was the man, it will be remembered, who gave the fatal order that no essential foods were to be exported from his territories. The North Westers, thus cut off from their indispensable supplies of pemmican, arrested him and his "sheriff" and carried them off to Montreal in 1815. He joined Selkirk to return to the Red River and it is undoubtedly this journey which brought him to Fort William in 1816. It seems also beyond a doubt that his noble employer simply evicted somebody from this room in the northwest corner in order to quarter his own man there. If we are able to learn who the permanent resident was, it should be possible to furnish the room in such a fashion as to reveal who habitually occupied it, as well as the temporary presence of a thoroughly unwanted guest.

We may now turn our attention to the servants' quarters. It will be recalled that the Great Hall was built high by reason of the swampy nature of the soil. Consequently, the basement would be only slightly underground. It was in this section of the building that the domestic staff resided. It should contain six rooms so small as to deserve the term sleeping cubicles. The stark furnishings: a single rope-bed or bunk attached to the wall and covered with a fur throw, a chair, and a chest or box for clothing and other possessions, will stand in sharp contrast with the quite comfortable and elegant accommodations above one's head. This lower portion of the building should also find place for a roomy larder (the kitchen already referred to) together with storage bins. We make this proposal because of Franchere's remark cited above. To augment the
facilities of the basement kitchen during the summer months, particularly at the July Rendezvous, a second kitchen #20 was constructed at the back of the Great Hall.

GUIDES' HOUSE #19

The uses to which this building were put are still the object of research.

KITCHEN #20

The kitchen which served the Great Hall, stood immediately behind it. At one stage in the Fort's history, it was a temporary lean-to against the more important building, but then a quite distinct structure seems to have been erected. How the dishes were conveyed from kitchen to banquet table is quite clear. There was a covered passageway between the two buildings.

So far as we can tell at present, the kitchen was a single, large, open room, with a few tiny cells adjoining it for the convenience of the servants. Its apparatus for cooking must have been fairly elaborate and, by 1816, comprised a large, well-equipped cooking fireplace with a commodious bake-oven. A couple of tables, a meat-block, and the inevitable shelves and bins around the walls may also be taken for granted. It is more than probable that the kitchen staff would have access to a supply of ice, even in the hottest months of the year. The Company's post at Leech Lake, in 1806, rejoiced in a large store 25 feet by 20, under which is an ice-house well-filled. Surely the great central base would enjoy a similar facility. Perhaps the archeologist will enable us to locate it.

Dominated by the cooking fireplace and bake-oven, the Kitchen will be completely outfitted as it was in 1816. Large pine work-tables, sturdy cupboards with closed doors below and open shelves above, wrought-iron tongs, shovel and poker, pot-hooks, trammel and spit for the fireplace, are among the main items. Hanging about the fire-place, we should find long-handled frying pans, cooking pots, tea-kettle, a bake pot to supplement the baking done in the oven, a wooden peel to remove the loaves and other dishes from the oven, and small items - waffle iron, forks, ladles, spoons. There must be shelves and bins to hold supplies like flour, raw sugar, oatmeal, Indian-meal, dried peas, pearlash, catsup (mushroom juice for flavouring), salt, hops (in tight containers to retain their flavour and strength for making yeast) and a host of other commodities available to the cooks of the period.

It was in this kitchen that the elaborate and numerous dishes were prepared for the sumptuous meals served to the Fort's aristocracy. Doubtless the members of these upper echelons would have been obliged to spend some days or weeks on pemmican, jerky or that notorious mixture of cornmeal mush and tallow, the rations which sustained the voyageurs. But at the tables in the Great Hall no such humble fare was ever served.

It might be possible, in this building, or in the area in which it stands, to provide visitors with an opportunity to taste, not merely the staple travel rations to be described below, but also some of the more luxurious dishes prepared for the great Rendezvous. These could be Indian puddings, hot cakes, haggis, bubble and squeak, sweetmeats, and other recipes from Scottish cook books of the era. Again, daily bread-baking could take place here. The yeast, as suggested elsewhere, would be derived from hops grown upon the palisades. This is the bread which will be served in the Cantine Salope described under Liquor #6.
Nevertheless, the best use to which the kitchen might be put, with due explanation to the public, would be to demonstrate how the old iron rations were made.

Pemmican was used on voyages in the far interior. This was a kind of pressed buffalo meat, pounded fine, to which hot grease was added, and the whole left to form a mold in a bag of buffalo skin. When properly made, pemmican would remain edible for more than one season. Its small bulk and great nutritional value made it highly esteemed by all voyageurs. From it they made a dish called rubbaboo. "Rubbaboo," says Kennicott, "is a favorite dish with the northern voyageurs, when they can get it. It consists simply of pemmican made into a kind of soup by boiling in water. Flour is added when it can be obtained, and it is generally considered more palatable with a little sugar.

In the buffalo country the traders' chief reliance was on the cows, as the female buffaloes were almost invariably called. These were hunted in the fall and spring. A part of the meat was preserved by drying or jerking in summer and by freezing in winter. Much of the remainder was made into pemmican.

In the aggregate, the amount of flesh or fish required to provision even a small trading post was staggering. In one winter at Alexander Henry the Younger's Pembina post, seventeen men, ten women, and fourteen children "destroyed," to use Henry's own phrase, 63,000 pounds of buffalo meat, 1,150 fish of different kinds, some miscellaneous game, and 325 bushels of vegetables from the garden. It added up to about a ton of meat and fish for every man, woman, and child at Pembina.

So that visitors may realize the kind and amounts of food necessary to provision Fort William and the forts inland, daily demonstrations by the staff will include the making of jerky and pemmican. At all seasons of the year, beef may be substituted for the original buffalo, bear or venison. The staff will also make galettes - flour and water kneaded flat and baked before the fire in a frying pan, or cooked in grease.

The public will have an opportunity to taste these foods and to appreciate the important role they played in the early fur trading empires.

THE HOSPITAL #21

Young Doctor McLoughlin must have been delighted with the hospital provided for him at the Fort. Although by our standards the building and its facilities must appear rather primitive, they made it possible for him to care for the sick or injured far more effectively than was possible at remote outposts on the plains and in the northern forests. As we have seen, the Doctor spent a good deal of time at various stations in the wilderness and it would be with great relief that he would return to the much better facilities available to him at headquarters.

The Hospital is known to have contained four rooms. In the centre was a large open ward, and at each end were two other rooms, smaller in dimensions. All of these rooms are known to have been finished with interior ceilings, doubtless to ensure greater warmth during the cold season. One of the four served as the Doctor's office. It was equipped with a fireplace, good shelves, and finished floor and walls. We also possess evidence to show that the ward was fitted with a stove connected to the same flue as the main fireplace.

There remain the three smaller rooms, the function of which is doubtful. It seems likely that the Doctor's office would serve, not merely as a consulting room, but very probably for treatment and observation. But it is possible that he employed one of the other small rooms as a kind of surgery, where he extracted teeth, let blood, set broken bones, amputated infected...
limbs, and so on.

Again, the inventory made in 1820 and 1821, provides us with a list of the books which stood upon the Doctor's shelves and also with a still more interesting list of his medical and surgical instruments. Each of these inventories is so revealing that we judge it well to include them here:

Books (1820)

James Dispensary
Allston's Lectures
Holmes Experiments
Johnson's Essays
Beddois & Watt
Wallon's Essays
Dickson's Essays
Nisbit's Medicines
Bells Surgery
Munro on Health
Collins (Practice?)
Duncan Lectures
Chymical Nomenclator
(Chemical Nomenclature, 1821)
Ferdinand Lebes
Rush on Fevers
Anatomical Dialogues
Skinner on Poisons
Allan's Medicines (Allen's Synopsis Medicines, 1821)
Bell's (Treatise?)
Twelfers Pharmacopia
Douglass on Muscels
Pharmac, London
Wotherby's Dictionary

Instruments (1821)

1 case amputating
1 case cupping
1 case teeth
1 case trepanning
2 silver catheters
2 silver trocars, silver canulas
2 silver lancet cases
1 set pocket instruments
8 fine lancets
24 new bougies (?)
4 doz. old "
7 ivory syringes
10 pewter syringes
1 electrifying machine

If possible we should replace on the Doctor's shelves the volumes which he so often consulted, or at least volumes bearing the same titles. As for his instruments, they will of course make a most interesting display.

Turning to the ward in which the patients were put to bed for convalescence, its furnishings will of course be quite austere. We may imagine bunks along the walls, furnished with sheets of lindsey-woolsey, and woollen blankets. Pewter bedpans, a pail of clean water with a dipper, and a slop pail should be in evidence. There should also be a table centrally located and carrying a basin.

A few medicinal herbs should be planted quite near the hospital; tansy, which warded off flies; and various plants of the peppermint family. But the true herb garden will be located, not here, but beside the Doctor's House. This arrangement respects historical fact because we may safely assume that he treated patients in his home before the hospital was constructed.

THE SHED #22

This small building, which stood behind the prison, and quite near the west gate, is tentatively identified as serving merely for storage. What did it contain? This is a matter for conjecture, but there did exist within the stockade something called the Gum Store. The inventories of 1820 tell us what materials were to be found in the Gum Store, and the result is somewhat mystifying. Here is the list, exactly as set down:

20 barrels Gum, 4,356
4 1/2 barrels Pitch
3 barrels Tar
288 lbs. Shot Lead
1 large grindstone

The gum was very probably spruce gum, the standard material employed for caulking bark canoes. One would expect to find this commodity over in the Canoe Sheds in the northeast corner of the Fort.
However, two tons is a lot of gum and it may be that the danger of fire, so very real in all pioneer settlements built almost entirely of wood, inclined those in charge to isolate this dangerous substance along with the smaller quantity of tar and pitch. As to why the same building should house 288 lbs. of lead for making shot, and a large grindstone, we shall not risk a guess.

**THE PRISON #23**

Although this is not what we would expect, there seems to have been much less need of a prison at Fort William in the old days than in one of our modern towns. Alexander McKenzie pays a considerable tribute to the good behaviour of the voyageurs:

_It is, indeed, very creditable to them as servants, that though they are sometimes assembled to the number of twelve hundred men; indulging themselves in the free use of liquor, quarreling with each other, they always show the greatest respect to their employers._

However, just as on board ship there is sometimes need for a brig, so at Fort William there was sometimes need for the butter tub. Doubtless brawls became so violent at times that one or more of the participants simply had to be locked up until tempers cooled. We must bear in mind that this prison had no standing in law. It was simply a means employed by the proprietors of the Fort for imposing punishment when there seemed no other way of achieving decent discipline.

Hence there is no reason to think of this building as so strongly constructed that a determined man could not break out of it. It was simply a place in which one could sober up and hearken, in a more subdued frame of mind, to the admonitions and warnings of one's employers.

The prison will be quite bare. The furnishings amount to no more than bunks built against the walls, with one woollen blanket for each bunk, and a slop container in the corner.

**COMMITTEE HOUSE #24**

Each year in July, as already mentioned, the annual Rendezvous was held at Fort William. For a few weeks the great base sprang to life. Hundreds of men were busy unloading, sorting, packing and re-packing trade goods and furs, repairing canoes and equipment, and spending their meagre wages in all night carousals in canteen or tavern. But behind all this noise and bustle the real business of the Company was going on, as the wintering partners met their business associates from Montreal to decide on the plan of campaign for the coming year. The Committee House was the board-room, as it were, where these vital negotiations took place.

The business sanctuary of the Company, to which only partners were ever admitted, possessed the most elegant interior of all. The principal room was dominated by a huge table around which were grouped armchairs for the partners and chief agents. These chairs were probably of the English Windsor type. A short distance away there would be two small round tables covered in green baize, and furnished with inkwells and quills for the secretaries. This large room was remarkable for being more brightly lighted than any other in the Fort.

The inventories which deal with this building are entitled *N.W.Office*. Strangely enough, they contain no mention of furniture. But the list of articles is of the greatest interest and it will be a great pity if we cannot find or fabricate some of the quaint and picturesque objects which it mentions. Here are a few: 2 ivory pounce boxes, 5 pr. tin candlesticks, 5 pewter ink stands, 6 tin ink stands, 3 glass ink stands, 2 watering pans. Then there are 5 pr. snuffers, and we can imagine how these were passed from hand to hand as the candle at each man's
elbow came to need attention. Even the supplies of paper carried names which excite our curiosity: there is folio poit paper, ruled; fool-scap paper, ruled and plain; quarto paper, plain; folio paper, plain; royal paper, plain; imperial paper, plain. An oil stone is listed, probably used by the clerks to sharpen a pen-knife. Then there are things like rulers, quills, paper holders, and finally 3 hair trunks.

SHELTER OR BARN #25

The uses of this building are as yet unknown.

ARTISAN WORKSHOPS #26, #27, #30

The three workshops, 26 Carpenter, 27 Blacksmith and Tin-smith, and 30 Cooper, will be completely equipped so that work may go on in them exactly as it did at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In the Carpenter's establishment we should find the inevitable work-benches and all the tools needed to fashion the articles required at the Fort. These tools should include a foot-treadle lathe, hammers, chisels, gouges, augers, gimlets, and braces of various sizes, many types of saws, planes, drawing-knives, and so on. On display in finished and half-finished condition, should be simple chairs, stools, benches, tool-handles, wheel-spokes, and every sort of simple utensil, to meet the needs of daily life inside the palisade. This shop might also fashion items for sale, such as drop spindles, rolling-pins, and so on. The Carpenter and his staff would demonstrate the old tools and comment on their uses.

There was also a Painter's Loft at the Fort, the contents of which were noted at the great inventory. Among the many items are not only quantities of linseed oil and other materials for making paint, but also a considerable stock of planks and boards together with doors, window-sashes, and panes of glass. It therefore seems quite likely that this loft was the attic, as it were, of the Carpenter's Shop.

The Cooper's Shop will resemble that of the Carpenter. Along with typical work-benches there should be a cooper's bench, provided with wooden containers of all shapes and sizes so that visitors may appreciate the versatility of this craftsman. His characteristic tools will be at hand and their master will explain how he fashioned the various types of containers at the Fort; sap-buckets, pails, piggins, firkins and barrels. Smaller items might be available for purchase.

The Blacksmith's Shop will differ from the others in that it would be floored with earth or gravel. The single large room should be equipped with a forge, bellows, anvil, vice, swedge block, drenching trough, and work-bench. The metal objects upon which the blacksmith would exercise his skill would be nails, hinges, latches, heavy cooking utensils for fireplace use, hasps, and so on. In addition he might fabricate such saleable items as fireplace equipment, decorative candle holders, wall sconces, and flint and tinder boxes.

As usual, the inventory of 1820 provides us with detailed information concerning the contents of this room. The list is too long for quotation. But it is interesting to note that here were kept two or three sets of large scales for weighing heavy objects, a cart which may have served to convey heavy loads to and from the shop, and various agricultural implements. It must be added that certain items mentioned in this list cannot as yet be identified. The reason for this obscurity lies in the use of French terms which are either misspelled or given in archaic form.

Finally, it is a matter of interest that we know who the Fort's blacksmith was - a half-breed named Alexander Fraser.
The gunsmith of the Fort and its tailor seem to have kept shop together. Although under one roof, it is very probable that the two establishments were separated by a dividing wall and have nothing to do with each other. One cannot imagine a tailor, with the duty of protecting his stocks of wool and linen, working contentedly in the same room with a craftsman whose task required a small forge with a bellows, a grindstone, and supplies of oil and grease.

Our knowledge of the numbers and types of weapons to be found within the stockade (again we are depending upon the inventories of 1820) makes it reasonable to suppose that the work of the gunsmith would be mostly maintenance and repair. It does not seem that he would ever be required actually to fabricate a musket or pistol. But he would need the forge and bellows already mentioned, and certain specialized tools and equipment which would be set in racks above his work-bench. He could show us how bullets were poured and moulded. Also, with the help of a dismantled musket he could explain the workings of the typical flint-lock, and the difference in quality between the best firearms of the period and the rather crude trade musket which was used in barter with the Indians.

Fort William possessed plenty of weapons. We shall now set down the list, and it will become apparent that not all of these pieces could have been stored with the armourer. But a selection from them might appropriately be used to fill stands and wall-racks in this shop.

**Armoury (1820)**

48 English muskets and bayonets, with cartridge boxes and betts  
59 American muskets and bayonets  
13 iron guns  
4 brass field pieces  
3 blunder bushes (sic)  
2 wall pieces  
20 cutlasses  
4 swords  
60 haversacks  
19 pr. fine pistols  
17 1/2 pr. common pistols  
3 1/2 pr. brass barrelled pistols  
8 cannisters ea. 1/2 battle powder  
400 pistol flints  
5 lbs. battle powder  
57 fusils  
130 powder horns  
1000 gun flints  
1 parcel fine lint  
24 fine sabres  
2 pr. gold epaulets

So, if the North Westers offered such insignificant resistance to Lord Selkirk's raid, it was not for lack of military hardware.

The Shed (29) located in the Canoe Yard will house the materials necessary for the building and repairing of the North Canoes. The North Canoe or *canot du nord*, about twenty-five feet in length and taking a load of no more than 3000 pounds, together with the crew, was used on smaller streams and lakes, particularly on those beyond Lake Superior. They were usually manned by eight men. The builders were Indians, although some of the voyageurs also mastered the art.

The North Canoes were built of the same materials as the Montreal canoes (described under Boatyard, 34) and the Shed will contain similar materials - bark, wattape, sponges, oilcloth, etc.

The staff will build canoes for sale, and will discuss with visitors the size of the outfits loaded in these canoes to be moved to the posts further inland.

Once more the inventories of 1821 supply wonderful help in recapturing the appearance of the canoe yard, the contents of the neighbouring sheds, and the activity which must have gone on inside them. The lengthy list must receive much closer study than we have as yet been able to give it. Some of the terms employed baffle the modern reader,
but should of course be quite intelligible to those who have made these matters an object of special research. But, even to the uninitiated, the inventory reveals that the canoe-makers possessed one cast-iron boiler for softening bark, and no fewer than 986 rolls of bottom bark and 1730 rolls of side bark. They were also amply supplied with ribs (canoe bars), bundles of wattape (wattays), the lashings made from spruce root which were used to bind the bark to the frame; and all the tools of their difficult trade. There is no mention of gum, or pitch, these quite indispensable items, but it will be recalled that several thousand pounds of these materials were kept in the shed near the western gate. The list also mentions 67 new North canoes, this year and 16 new North canoes, last year, which gives us some idea of production capacity.49

It must never be forgotten that the canoe, and the ability to handle it, meant everything to the North West Company. Without this little miracle of native craftsmanship, so buoyant that it could be loaded heavily yet negotiate quite shallow water, so light that it could be transported over the most difficult portages, there would simply have been no hope of competing with the great Hudson's Bay Company. Over the salt water seas of the North, the Hudson Bay men had a relatively cheap and easy route to Europe. Their trading methods were based on this advantage. They simply built posts on the main rivers running into the Bay and allowed the Indians to come to them. There was little else they could do. Neither the birch nor the cedar essential to canoe-building grew far enough north to be available. Their people, therefore, could neither build nor manage these remarkable little vessels. Only the fierce competition of rivals equipped with the native canoe finally drove the Hudson's Bay agents to adopt similar means and methods.

**BOATTARD #32 AND BUILDING #34**

Even before the Company launched schooners on Lake Superior, they were well able to transport large cargoes to Fort William. A Montreal canoe could carry 4 tons, including crew and provisions. How were these remarkable craft, at once so frail and so formidable in capacity, constructed?

The rind of one birch tree was often sufficient to construct a canoe.

Wattape, the fine root of some coniferous tree, usually the red spruce, was used in lieu of rope or thread to sew together the strips of bark. When a covering of sufficient size had thus been manufactured, it was placed over a framework of thin white-cedar boards shaped to form a structure twenty to forty feet long, four to six feet wide at the centre, and narrowed to a point, or pince, at either end. The canoe was now ready for gumming. This substitute for calking was achieved by applying melted gum from pine trees with the aid of a torch; the process must be repeated daily or oftener throughout the voyage to keep the craft watertight.

Not all canoes were painted, but it was usual to depict a flag, a horse, an Indian head, or some similar object on the high prow and stern. One traveler describes his Lake Superior canoe thus: 'The canoe would be an object of interest anywhere, even without paint; but now, ornamented as it is, it is really striking....Around the sides, and upon a white ground, is a festoon of green and red paint. The rim is alternate green, red, and white. On each side of the bow, on a white ground, is the bust of an Indian chief, smoking even larger than life.....In the bow is an enormous wooden pipe....'50

About 1785 schooners began sailing the lakes and their role in increasing the size of the cargoes and lowering the costs has been described in an earlier section of this report. Our Boatyard will be equipped for repair of either Montreal canoes or schooners. One
The Shed will contain shipbuilding tools. Of much greater interest, though, will be a complete set of the gear needed by the crew of a Montreal canoe. This will include oilcloth, large sponges, ropes (60 yards long) for towing, poles to be laid on the floor boards in order to distribute the load, a flag, setting poles, rolls of birch-bark for patching, lumps of spruce-gum, and so on. The sight of these grimly practical articles should bring vividly back to mind the hardship and dangers of the long journey from Montreal.

TAIT'S HOUSE #33

The employees of the North West Company (like those of the rival firms) spent almost their entire lives in Indian country so that it became quite common for them to take an Indian wife.

Our research has not disclosed Mr. Tait's history, but to illustrate to visitors the common mariage a la façon du pays (marriage in the fashion of the country) it will be assumed that he is the shipbuilder at Fort William with a wife from a neighbouring tribe, a family, and several apprentices learning the art of shipbuilding from him. So much for assumption. What is known for certain is that he was superintendent of all construction in wood at the Fort, and held the keys to the principal buildings.

The house will be divided into living and sleeping quarters with a loft for the apprentices. Indoors there will be a demonstration of dipping tallow candles and outdoors a leach containing hardwood ashes and a soap kettle where soap can be boiled and poured out into moulds each day during good weather. Indoors or outdoors (depending on the weather) Indian crafts and skills will be demonstrated - snowshoe netting, quillwork, and moccasin-making.

The furnishings of the house will be simple - cooking fireplace equipment of the simplest type, pine table, and chairs or benches, a cupboard to hold wooden trenchers and utensils. There should be a bed for the married pair, and bunks for the children and apprentices.

Given half a chance, the Indian girl probably made a good home for her white husband. From earliest childhood, she was schooled in the household tasks she would be called on to perform as a woman. She was also trained, as Francis Densmore charmingly puts it, in 'the accomplishments of a feminine life.' From her mother she learned how to be a good housekeeper, whether in a lodge or a trader's cabin, and how to make her husband comfortable and happy. Jeanny, the Cree wife of the Hudson's Bay trader John Sutherland, was one such example.

OUTDOOR BAKE OVEN: The vicinity of Tait's House would be a likely place for one of these early ovens which were built to supplement the cooking possible at a fire-place. They were a common sight in early French Canada and a moment's reflection will teach us how difficult it would have been to bake bread in any considerable quantity without their aid. Without stoves, any sort of oven other than this would be difficult to construct.

The base was sometimes a stump, upon which was laid a large flat stone or bed of masonry. The upper portion could be of stone, clay or brick with an outer roof of bark logs or slabs to protect the masonry from the weather.

Such an oven is heated by kindling a hardwood fire inside it. After several hours of burning the coals are raked out and the loaves or rolls are pushed into the hot interior by means of a long flat utensil of wood called a peel. The door (in this case a piece of hand-wrought iron from the Fort's smithy) is then closed and the heat of the surrounding masonry does the baking.
Visitors, accustomed to oven-indicators, thermometers, and timers, will find this a particularly interesting demonstration and should be curious to taste the productions of so simple a cooking device.

**AGRICULTURE AND PLANTINGS**

After the Fort was built, some of the area surrounding it would be got ready for gardening and farming. This simply meant pulling the stumps and cultivating those grains, vegetables and herbs necessary to keep the settlement going until the following season. By modern standards the land in and about the Fort would be cruelly bare. No trees would be allowed to stand within the stockade or near it. Open space and sunlight were a novel and welcome sight to travellers who could only penetrate the all-pervading forest by following long and devious waterways. As for shrubs and undergrowth, they offered too advantageous a screen for prowlers both human and animal.

**WITHIN THE FORT: HERB GARDEN #48, AND KITCHEN GARDEN #49**

A kitchen garden was a necessity both to provide fresh vegetables during the growing season and the more long-lasting kind to be stored for winter food. At Fort William the vegetable plot was beside the palisade between the Prison (23) and the Counting House (12). In size it should be approximately 60 by 120 feet. Typical plantings would be beets, carrots, onions, cabbages, turnips, potatoes, beans, pumpkins, squash and pie-plant (rhubarb).

Herbs were far more highly valued in those early days because they were of course taking the place of so many substances now provided by our chemical industry. From them the pioneers derived their preservatives, dyes, yeast, and many popular medicines. Some should be planted in clumps (not formal beds) near the temporary kitchen and round about the back door of the Great Hall. These should include chives, dill, leek, parsley, sage and tansy.

Hops, as a climbing vine of pleasing appearance, might be planted almost anywhere and encouraged to climb the palisade. The produce of this vine would be harvested by the staff for making the yeast ultimately used for baking bread.

A true herb garden for supplying medicines existed at the Fort and must be carefully reproduced. It was located appropriately beside the Doctor's House and measured about 20 by 30 feet. We have thought it well to make a detailed chart which should be found in the vicinity of this page. Our chart shows how the herb beds would be laid out and an accompanying list names the typical plants and their uses.

It is perhaps worth adding that a few shrubs, like prickly yellow Scotch briar or lilacs, may have been taken to Fort William packed in moss in metal map cases by some Northwester returning after a furlough in the old country.

Some Medicinal Herbs used at Fort William:

- Archangel - warded off plague, drew splinters
- Boneset - Increased perspiration, reduced fever, tonic
- Burnet - Healed wounds
- Chervil - Dissolved congealed or clotted blood or swelling, expelled kidney stones
- Comfrey - Cured ruptures, broken bones, used as a salve for wounds and bruises
- Cost Mary - Used as a flavouring in medicines
- Curly Mint - Warmed and strengthened stomach and improved digestion
- Feverfew - Cured headaches and neuralgia, reduced fevers, the tincture was used for
insect bites

Hops - Cleansed blood of impurities

Geranium Root - Styptic for wounds and gargle for sore throat

Lady's Maid - Healed wounds and cured old sores

Lavender - Cured convulsions, dropsey, paintings and as a carmanative

Lemon Balm - Tea cured headaches and fevers

Peppermint - Cured heat prostration and stomach disorders

Wormwood - Improved appetite, cured jaundice

Rue - Improved sight, sharpened the wit, cured madness, guarded against plague, drove out devils!

Summer Savoury - Cured colds and fevers

Sweet Basil - Poultice applied to bites of wild beasts, wasps, or hornets to draw out poisons

Thyme - Antiseptic and to flavour medicines

Wild Marjoram - Strengthened stomach and head, restored appetite, acted as an antidote for poisons

The farm buildings, all located outside the stockade and to the West, should house the implements and animals typical of early nineteenth century agriculture. The stable and barns would be constructed so as to enclose a central midden or barnyard. In them should be found pigs, horses, milk cows, draught oxen, and sheep. Surrounding this group of buildings we should find fields of barley, peas, oats, Indian corn, flax, wheat and pasture.

At least once a week during the summer the sheep should be driven inside the stockade in order to graze. They were Fort William's lawn-mowers. Each Spring they will be sheared and the fleeces used for demonstration of spinning and weaving as already suggested.

In the actual work of cultivation, the staff should use the typical early implements pulled by horses or oxen. The plows for example were of wood. The harrow was a cumbersome thing made from the crotch of a tree into which heavy iron spikes were driven to act as teeth. Sowing would be carried out by means of a broadcast seeder, a device which is of course still in use.

All harvesting would be done with grain cradles and sickles. The sheaves should be tied by hand with wisps of straw. Flails and winnowing baskets, or blankets, would be used for threshing the grain.

Straw was stored for winter bedding. The first year's grain would be saved for seed. In the following year there should be a supply for feed, and for grinding into flour in a hand-operated quern.

The Fort grew its own flax. Visitors should be able to observe the complete process by which flax became linen or rope. The plants were pulled so as to lose no fraction of the full length of the fibre. They were then tied in sheaves and set out to dry for a few days. Next came the process of rippling to remove the seeds. Then the straw was soaked in water to rot the outer portion of the stem. After thorough drying it was broken and scutched. Finally the finer fibres were spun into linen thread (see above under McLoughlin's Quarters, 2) and the coarsest fibres were fashioned into rope (see the Barn, 39).

LIVESTOCK:

We can make something very
much better than an educated guess as to which animals were to be found on the Farm. There survives in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company an account book of the North West Company which gives a precise list for the years 1820-21:

3 horses
4 mares
2 colts, 3 years old
2 colts, 2 years old
31 cows
16 steers and heifers, 2 years
4 calves, 1 year old
2 bulls
51 sheep
(7?) young calves
28 lambs

It is a little puzzling that this inventory makes no mention of pigs although these animals were almost certainly present. Chickens were also kept, even though wild fowl were so abundant. The domestic poultry were valued of course for their eggs.53 But the really valuable animal was of course the horse, and a fine one could fetch almost any price. We must understand that, in the early days of the Fort, before there was any shipping on the Great Lakes, horses could only be secured from the Far West. They were probably purchased from the Plains Indians, and were descendants of those first brought to America by the Spaniards.

BOUCHE'S HOUSE #42

A glance at the map of the Fort reveals how Bouche's House stands quite outside the palisade and some distance off to the West. Our curiosity is inevitably aroused. Who was the owner of this establishment and what did he do? It is probable that no utterly certain answer will ever be given. There were altogether too many Bouche's, Bouchers, Buche's. bearing all sorts of initials, scattered through the personnel of the entire fur trade. However, we can be reasonably sure that our man is a J. M. Bouche, who was, that extraordinary and not very welcome phenomenon in the trade, a solitary, independent dealer. In his diary, Alexander Henry, refers to him as follows:

Met at Prairie Portage J. M. Bouche, who has built a hut and an oven to bake bread to sell to the winterers en passant for dressed leather, buffalo robes, etc. He had a great stock of provisions and other articles for sale. He dunned us with news from Canada, all of which we knew better than himself, having met our dispatches from Montreal, etc., at Lac Lapaluie. Those petty traders are really a nuisance on the route.54

Gabriel Franchere seems also to have encountered this personage and to have entertained no better opinion of him than Henry:

We took to the water before daybreak and arrived at Portage des Chiens which is long and steep. At the bottom of this Portage, we found a kind of restaurant maintained by a certain Boucher. We treated our men to a little brandy and ate some sausages that were extraordinarily bad by reason of their being so salty.55

What was this insignificant individual doing in such close proximity to the great base of the North West Company? Like a jackal following a larger and more formidable beast of prey, he was probably there for any little pickings that might be available. In every sense his establishment would be off limits. The things he bought and sold were doubtless of inferior quality; the petty deals he made always a little shady. But the Indian who had lost all credit at the big post, the voyageur who would pawn anything for a drink, could probably still do some sort of business with our Bouche. He was a nuisance, he was despised, but never a serious enough competitor to be got rid of entirely.

Designing and furnishing this curious establishment will require some imagination since it will be nothing more or less than the
recreating of a little dive managed by a man who could be termed a parasite on the great commercial enterprise of the fur trade. However, if the thing were done properly, and the character of this unsavoury little place of business, part pawn-shop, part tavern, were duly explained, a visit to Bouche's and a chat with him and his native wife, might be of more human interest than a tour of the Great Hall.

BUILDING OF THE PALISADE: BASTION I, #43, BASTION II, #44 AND GATEHOUSE #45

The bastions were used as lookouts and rarely for military defense. They are a source of constant interest to younger visitors to any fort.

The main gate of old Fort William was impressive both because of its structural strength and rather monumental appearance.

SERVICES BUILDING #46

FLAGPOLE #47

Will be constructed of wood and supported by braces of the same material.

The North West Company flag will fly from it, hand-embroidered on wool.

And at last the flag was placed on the high prow of the bourgeois' canoe, in the spring of 1779 for the first time a flag bearing the letters of the new North West Company.56

OBSERVATION TOWER #54

This structure seems to have been little more than a scaffold supporting a platform, with a ladder running up the side. It made no great impression upon Ross Cox, the traveller whose record we have already used. An observatory (rather a crazy structure) stands in the court-yard of the fort. From it the eye takes in an extensive view of flat country, thickly wooded, with the bold shores of Thunder Island at a distance, rising abruptly out of Lake Superior;....57

CAMPS OUTSIDE THE FORT #52

Nothing could more vividly recall the exciting life of the Fort during the crowded summer months than to recreate the temporary encampments which would then spring up outside the palisade. These were so large, and held so many men (six to eight hundred, according to John MacDonald of Garth) that it will never be possible to represent them exactly as they were. However, we shall summarize what is known of them from contemporary records and the reader will surely agree that, at the very least, there should be a film program shown somewhere on the premises in order to reveal to visitors how much these camps contributed to the Fort's annual great season.58

At least three quite different groups of human beings would be found in temporary quarters outside the palisade during the short months of the summer. Down from the vast North West came the agents and employees who had spent the winter on the snow-covered plains or in the frozen forest as far away as Chipewyan on the Athabaska. These were the proud, tough, front-line troops so to speak, who bore the title of hivernants, ('winterers') like a badge of their conquest of the wilderness. In leather tents, made of buffalo or moose hide, they camped on the side of the stockade facing the direction from which they had come.

And it was with no little contempt that they looked upon the men who brought them their year's supplies in the Montreal canoes, the men whom they termed mangeur de lards ('pork-caters'), perhaps because of the free meal of bread and pork which they were issued upon arrival at the great depot, (and a treat it was after weeks of monotonous boiled cornmeal and grease). Yet another name for these mere visitors from Montreal,
which makes clear the low opinion in which they were held by their more hard-bitten colleagues, was the va-et-vient, which might be translated 'over-nighters,' in reference to their short stay in the wild country. After loading up with furs, they would simply turn their canoes around and return for the winter to the comforts of the East. It was quite appropriately at the eastern side of the enclosure that they took up residence, using no shelter but their own immense canoes turned upside down.

The camp of the Montreal men was notoriously dirty and squalid. The camp of the hivernants was as disciplined and neat as if subject to military inspection. The contrast seems to have reflected what each band thought of themselves.

Besides these men, who would be nearly all French ('Canadians' to themselves and to everyone else), there would also be camps of true Indians, come to the Fort from the surrounding districts to barter their furs directly. It seems probable that these would be Ojibways and Crees, but much more research will be needed before any attempt can be made to produce an authentic version of their camps. We cannot as yet be sure whether both of these tribes were indeed represented, nor in what month they would come, how long they would stay, under what sort of shelter they would live, and what accoutrements they might possess. We are not even able to state, in the present condition of our knowledge, precisely where the Indian camps were located, nor what sort of relations would exist between them and the two more important groups already mentioned.

Some assistance in replying to these questions is provided by an author from whom we have already quoted, namely, Ross Cox, who visited the Fort at a somewhat late period in its existence. The date is about 1827.

Most part of the voyageur, soldiers, Indians, half-breeds, etc., were encamped outside the Fort in tents, leathern lodges, mat-covered huts or wigwams. On enquiry, I ascertained that the aggregate number of persons in and about the establishment was composed of natives of the following countries: Viz. England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Switzerland, United States of America, the Gold Coast of Africa, the Sandwich Islands, Bangol, Canada, with various tribes of Indians, and a mixed progeny of Creoles, or half-breeds. What a strange medley! - Here were assembled on the shores of this inland sea, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Sun-worshippers, men from all parts of the world, and whose creeds were 'wide as the poles assunder,' united in one common object, and bowing down before the same idol.

Cox, as suggested already, is a little too late for us. But we should be able to find out to what extent his general description would hold good for the Fort as it was ten years earlier.

**Costumes**

The correct costuming of all members of the staff will of course be vital to the true interpretation of the reconstructed Fort.

We must not forget that this community was extremely varied in character, composed of persons of different language, race, level of employment, and social rank. It will therefore be a matter of some difficulty, requiring much research, to determine exactly what each personage should wear. Obviously, all anachronisms in the form of modern items like wrist watches, eyeglasses, and so forth, must be avoided. It should be possible at a glance to distinguish a winterer from a mere pork-eater, a bourgeois from a clerk, a half-breed from an Indian, and perhaps even to identify by name one of the gentleman partners.
FORT WILLIAM: PHYSICAL HISTORY

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION


7. Ibid., pp. 16-17.


19. Ibid., p. 165.

20. Ibid., p. 169.


23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.


34. Champney, Stella, "Late Mrs. Kirkup Recalling the Closing of Historic Old Fort" *Detroit News*, 1932, p. 34.


THE ARCHEOLOGY OF THE SITE

1. Prov. Arch., "Misc. Package", *Fort William*, Sketch of Fort William attributed to Lord Selkirk. The date of this sketch may safely be estimated to be the Fall of 1816 or Spring of 1817 when Selkirk may have lived in the room formerly occupied by McGillivray and later used as a Mess Room.


3. Ibid., p. 2.

4. Ibid., p. 3.

5. Ibid.
BUILDERS AND THEIR METHODS


3. In interior woodwork and finish English influence in Quebec was strongly established by 1800. Traquair, R. Old Archives of Quebec - p. 119. There was, of course, a transition period of from forty to fifty years, but the English (probably American would be more appropriate) finally won out. Since most of the management personnel was English or Scottish, we will be quite correct historically in assuming that, in general, the buildings in Fort William were French in construction and character while the interior appointments and finish were English.


5. Shingles (bardeaux) were frequently used in Canada because straight-grained wood from which to make them was easily acquired. For an excellent account of the use of shingles in both France and Quebec where tile is scarce and wood is common refer to La Nouvelle Rustique (annon.) (Paris, 1786), I, p. 37; Charlevoix, P.F. X., Letters to the Duchess of Lesdiquieres (London, 1763) p. 23 and Roy, Pierre-Georges, La Ville de Quebec sous la regime francais (Quebec, 1950), II, p. 242.

6. For an account of the use of fer-blanc in 17th century Canada refer to Peterson, C.E., "Iron in Early American Roofs," The Smithsonian Journal of History, III, no. 3 (Fall 1968), pp. 41-76. Other references of interest are Mercer, Henry C., Ancient Carpenters' Tools (Daylestown, Pa., 1929), pp. 11-14 and Missouri Historical Society, Deeds, no. xxix.


TOOLS AND THEIR USE


11. The following lists will indicate the kinds of tools, equipment and supplies which
Tools:
- Adzes: Carpenter's adze, common cooper, scooping auger
- Augers: Screw, shell
- Axes: Adze, carpenter's American, Land, small broad, English broad, half, small, large felling, square headed shingling
- Bell
- Bellows
- Blacksmith tools, complete sets
- Brace and 23 bits
- Chalk lines
- Chisels: Flat, assorted, socket, paring, mortice, hollow
- Compasses: Wooden, iron
- Drawing knives
- Drill and brace, complete sets
- Files and rasps
- Fire engine
- Foot rule with slide
- Gimlets, spike
- Grindstones
- Hammers: 8 lbs, 14 1/4 lbs, 25 3/4 lbs, anvil bench, claw, Kent, sledge
- Iron squares, large and small
- Irons for sawmill
- Jack screws
- Lathe, turning
- Marble and knife (Painter's Loft)
- Nippers, forge
- Picks
- Pincers: Assorted, square, round
- Planes: Rabbet, O.G. reversed O.G., hollow and round, matching, figured, panel, round, folding, iron smoothing, architraves, double iron rabbet, grooving, single jack, double jack, single hand, double hand, trying, jointers.
- Rules: 2-foot
- Saws: Basket, crosscut, garden, hand, dovetail, keyhole, mill, iron frame, tenon, mounted webb, pit, sash
- Screw drivers
- Screw plates: Polished, large, mid. g.
- Shears, spoke
- Vices: 35 lbs, bench, large and small, wooden
- Wooden squares

Nails:
- 4 M nails, 4 d
- 71 1/2 M " , 30 d
- 14 M " , 12 d
- 8 lbs. nails, 2 d
- 12 lbs. " 4 d
- 55 lbs. " 20 d
- 80 lbs. " shingle tacks
- 166 lbs. " 28 d

Hardware:
- 2 large hinges (also butt hinges)
- 22 lbs. iron wire (also, 3 coils of iron wire)

Paint:
- 2 1/2 lbs white paint
- 3 lbs green paint
- 4 1/2 lbs black paint
- 10 lbs Spanish brown paint
- 16 lbs blue paint
- 24 lbs yellow paint
- 1 keg patent paint
- 1 keg black paint
- 2 kegs green paint
- 3 kegs Venitian red paint
- 5 kegs yellow paint

Locks: Desk, stock assorted, pad, basket

Stoves: Large and small, with pipes

Supplies:
- 3 cherry planks
- 9 walnut planks
- 10 walnut boards
- 24 maple planks
- 13 lbs sheet iron
- 45 lbs solder
- 116 lbs bleste steel
- 236 lbs German steel
- 253 lbs bolt iron
- 14,013 lbs bar iron
- 1/2 bbl tar
- 138 lbs putty
- 7 large windows (apparently in storage)
- 11 room doors
- Oil cloths
- Pig lead
- Painted oil cloths
- Sheet of tin
- Window glass, 50 feet of 8 1/2 x 9 1/2"
- 100 feet of 7 1/2 x 8 1/2"

Paint:
- 2 1/2 lbs white paint
- 3 lbs green paint
- 4 1/2 lbs black paint
- 10 lbs Spanish brown paint
- 16 lbs blue paint
- 24 lbs yellow paint
- 1 keg patent paint
- 1 keg black paint
- 2 kegs green paint
- 3 kegs Venitian red paint
- 5 kegs yellow paint
7 kegs white paint
5 1/2 gals linseed oil
boiled linseed oil
raw linseed oil
4 brushes, painting
16 brushes, whitewash


13. Ibid., p. 158.
RECONSTRUCTION OF PRINCIPAL FEATURES
AND OF INTERIOR


2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. On our ground plan the Palisade bears the nos. 50 & 51.


8. Ibid., p. 146.


10. Ibid., p. 38.

11. McKay (MacKay) was murdered when Indians massacred the crew of John Jacob Aston's supply ship, Tonquin on its way to Astoria in 1811. McKay was the first to fall under the war clubs of the attackers, when the ship was captured in Clayoquot Sound.


16. O'Meara, W., Daughters.


We do not mix our liquor so strong as we do for tribes who are more accustomed to use it. To make a nine-gallon keg of liquor we generally put in four or five quarts of high wine and then fill up with water. For the Crees and Assiniboines we put in six quarts of high wine, and for the Saulters eight or nine quarts. Coues, E. (ed.), New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest, 3 vols. (New York, 1897), I, p. 542.

18. Goudsell, P.H., "Ojibway Indian."


23. Ibid.


It should be noted that Ross Cox mistakenly identified a painting as The Battle of the Nile when in fact the presence
of the Spanish flag on one of the ships and the full Union Jack (not used until 1801) on others show that this actually portrays the Battle of Trafalgar. It is possible that William McGillivray had this painting and that of Nelson, painted by Dulongpre of Montreal, an artist who painted a head and shoulders of McGillivray and a painting of himself and his family. A portrait of Lord Nelson, in the uniform of the blue may have been copied from W. Barnard's engraving dated 1798 of L. F. Abbott's portrait of Nelson. The Map of the North West Territory of the Province of Canada from actual survey during the years 1792 to 1812 by David Thompson, Astronomer and Surveyor, hangs in the Map Room, Department of Public Records and Archives, Province of Ontario, Queens Park, Toronto.


30. O'Meara, W., Daughters, p. 218.


32. Josiah Wedgewood created for Queen Charlotte, the wife of George III, a new tea set in 1765. She was sufficiently pleased to name him Potter to the Queen and the cream-coloured earthenware he later conceived became known as Queen's Ware.

33. McGillivray relatives Archibald and John were at the Fort on Aug. 20, 1816.

34. William McGillivray (1764?-1825): Wallace, W.S. (ed.), Documents relating to the North West Company (Toronto, 1934); Campbell, R., A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel Street, Montreal (Montreal, 1887); Le Jeune, Dict. gen.; Campbell, M.W., McGillivray, Lord of the Northwest (Toronto, 1962).


37. Nute, Voyageurs, pp. 54 and 80.


40. Ibid.

41. MacKenzie, A., Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Lawrence (Ann Arbor, microfilm, 1966), XL-XLVI.


43. In the XY Company Register Inventories, in the Baby Collection, University of Montreal, Carpenter's tools are listed as follows:

- 4 gouges
- 6 chisels
- 6 hammers
2 adzes
11 augers
3 spike gimlets
1/2 dozen gimlets
5 handsaws
2 small cooper's saws
2 saw sets
2 crosscut saws
4 pit saws
16 planes
6 drawing knives
2 compasses
6 pr. nippers
15 rasps & files
1 iron square
1 two-foot rule

COOPER (1820)

Iron smoothing plane
Jointed irons
Cooper's axe, etc.

PAINTER'S LOFT (1820)
oil cloths
painted oil cloths
boiled linseed oil
raw linseed oil
24 maple planks
9 walnut "$"
10 "$ boards
3 cherry planks
1 marble and knife
4 paint brushes
24 lbs. patent yellow paint
4 lbs. com. white paint
window glasses, large & small
16 lbs. blue paint
11 room doors
7 large windows

BLACKSMITH'S TOOLS

1 bellows
1 vice
1 anvil
1 vilebrequin
1 pr. shears
5 hammers
5 pr. nippers (tenailles)
1 pr. small nippers
11 chisels
2 pr. train irons
1 pr. large scales, beams, weights
1 pr. large cooper scales
4 guns
4 1/2 doz. files
2 cloutures (?)

PAINTER'S LOFT (1820)

120 bu. charcoal
1 grindstone
1 cart and wheels
2 pishons (?)
2 coutres (Colters?)
1 pr. lg. stillyards
4 pr. small "$"
1 pr. smaller scales
3 bodettes (?)
14 oil cloths

COOPER (1820)

Iron smoothing plane
Jointed irons
Cooper's axe, etc.

PAINTER'S LOFT (1820)

120 bu. charcoal
1 grindstone
1 cart and wheels
2 pishons (?)
2 coutres (Colters?)
1 pr. lg. stillyards
4 pr. small "$"
1 pr. smaller scales
3 bodettes (?)
14 oil cloths

45. Ibid.

COOPER (1820)

Iron smoothing plane
Jointed irons
Cooper's axe, etc.

PAINTER'S LOFT (1820)

120 bu. charcoal
1 grindstone
1 cart and wheels
2 pishons (?)
2 coutres (Colters?)
1 pr. lg. stillyards
4 pr. small "$"
1 pr. smaller scales
3 bodettes (?)
14 oil cloths

46. Ibid.

BLACKSMITH'S TOOLS

1 bellows
1 vice
1 anvil
1 vilebrequin
1 pr. shears
5 hammers
5 pr. nippers (tenailles)
1 pr. small nippers
11 chisels
2 pr. train irons
1 pr. large scales, beams, weights
1 pr. large cooper scales
4 guns
4 1/2 doz. files
2 cloutures (?)

PAINTER'S LOFT (1820)

120 bu. charcoal
1 grindstone
1 cart and wheels
2 pishons (?)
2 coutres (Colters?)
1 pr. lg. stillyards
4 pr. small "$"
1 pr. smaller scales
3 bodettes (?)
14 oil cloths

47. Ibid.

45. Ibid.

COOPER (1820)

Iron smoothing plane
Jointed irons
Cooper's axe, etc.

PAINTER'S LOFT (1820)

120 bu. charcoal
1 grindstone
1 cart and wheels
2 pishons (?)
2 coutres (Colters?)
1 pr. lg. stillyards
4 pr. small "$"
1 pr. smaller scales
3 bodettes (?)
14 oil cloths

COOPER (1820)

Iron smoothing plane
Jointed irons
Cooper's axe, etc.

PAINTER'S LOFT (1820)

120 bu. charcoal
1 grindstone
1 cart and wheels
2 pishons (?)
2 coutres (Colters?)
1 pr. lg. stillyards
4 pr. small "$"
1 pr. smaller scales
3 bodettes (?)
14 oil cloths


CANOE YARD (1821)

1 squ. headed half axe
12 canoe awls
986 rolls bottom bark
1,730 rolls side bark
1 cast iron boiler
840 bourages
1,025 canoe bars
1 brace and bitt
2 old Montreal canoes
67 new North canoes, this year
16 new North canoes, last year
25 2d hand North canoes
5 old North canoes
1 new fishing canoe
2 good canoes
1 good small voyage canoe
3 old wooden canoes
36 Etraves (stems)
4 bundles of narangues for Montreal canoes
20 bundles of narangues for small canoes
1 gabaret for Mont. canoes (outline?)
1 gabaret for East.d canoes
1 "$ North "
1 "$ Bast.d 16 ps. canoes
1 "$ fish canoes
2 claw hammers
3 crooked knives
5 old tin kettles
126 bundles (scies?-saws
1,173 faux maîtres, p. sett of 6 (?)  
13 pr. canoe maîtres  
346 planchets (Planes?)  
1 hand saw  
2 troughs  
142 bundles of narangues for North canoes (?)  
372 bundles of wattais (?)


SHIP CARPENTER (1820)

Cast steel handsaw  
Foot rule with slide  
Caulking irons  
Augers  
Chalk lines  
Compasses  
American ax  
American Adaze  
Iron squares  
Chisel, socket  
Spoke shears  
Hammers  
Gimlets  
Drawing knife  
Files

Planes  
Square, etc.


54. Ibid., p. 219.


56. O'Meara, W., Daughters, p. 217.

57. Cox, R., Adventures, p. 293.


60. Cox, R., Adventures, p. 292.

Grand Portage, the gateway to this vast country until shortly after 1800 (when Fort William was substituted), was reached via the rocky northern shore of Lake Superior, where the winds were so violent that canoes were often lost. It was a post of the first importance, being the meeting point every June and July of hundreds of traders and voyageurs from interior posts. This was the destination of the Montreal canoes. Here the mangeurs de lard turned back, having unloaded the cargo of manufactured goods from France or England and reloaded with packs of furs and skins from the utmost parts of the wilderness. Here novices who wished to become experienced hands left the ranks of the pork-eaters and became hivernants. Here, too, the smaller canoes were procured for the shallower waters beyond Lake Superior. And here life was so picturesque and unusual that Irving found a place for a description of it in his Astoria.
ILLUSTRATIONS FOR FORT WILLIAM:
PHYSICAL HISTORY


Arch. of Ont., Sketch by Lord Thomas Selkirk of the Ground Plan of Fort William I (Facing page 32). This map is the best record we have of the situation of the buildings of Fort William. We can deduce that this map was drawn in 1816. Archeological information proves the accuracy of the map. This document may be found under Fort William, Misc. package No. 21.

Arch. of Ont., Sketch by Lord Thomas Selkirk of the Area of Fort William II (Facing page 33). This side of the Selkirk drawing gives a good idea of the actual crops grown on the Fort William farm.

Arch. of Ont., Fort William, 1873. (C20871) (Facing page 34). This photo gives us some record of the last days of the old Fort area.

Arch. of Ont., Fort William, Stone Warehouse, (S4990) (Facing page 35). This photo shows the Stone Warehouse. Two such buildings existed: a powder storehouse and a fur storage.

National Heritage Limited, Suggested Ground Plan for Fort William.

This plan is intended to clarify the Selkirk plan. It is based on this manuscript. See major buildings have been identified as to their use.

National Heritage Limited, Municipality of Thunder Bay. The Boundary shown includes the former municipalities of Port Arthur and Fort William, McIntyre and Neebing.

National Heritage Limited, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Flow Chart of Technology of Building, J. I. Rempel, F.R.A.I.C. (Facing page 42). French building techniques were brought by Canadian carpenters across Canada and well into the present-day area of Illinois. The Spanish Regime in Missouri (Chicago, 1909), I, 184-189, establishes that of the seven carpenters in the St. Louis militia of 1780, four were natives of Canada, two of France and one of the Illinois Country. Of the six masons, five were of Canadian origin and one was local. A study of the actual buildings still standing across Canada and down the great river system of the Mississippi will bear this out.

Can. Arch., Portage la Prairie, 1890, (1324 G.S.C.) (Facing page 43). This building shows the strong and durable construction of the French builders. The post of Portage la Prairie dates from the 1760's. It is mentioned frequently by travelling writers such as Daniel Harmon and Alexander Henry. It became a Hudson Bay post after the union of the two great companies.

Can. Arch., Shepard's House on Fort Pelly Trail, Manitoba, (954-C4 G.S.C.) (Facing page 44). The reader will notice the good example of corner keying and a sod roof.

Can. Arch., Fort Nascauppee, Labrador, 1838, (2096 G.S.C.) (Facing page 45). This building shows the typical French corner assembly. This small dwelling gives the impression of sturdiness and strength.


Can. Arch., Fort McLeod, McLeod Lake, 1879, (Facing page 47). This British Columbia building shows the post on sill construction methods. Simple roofing techniques are followed. Windows are of parchment.

J. Rempel, Carpenter's Workbench, (Facing page 48).

J. Rempel, Cooper's Bench.
National Heritage Limited, Typical French Construction with Post Foundation.

National Heritage Limited, Typical Corner Assembly.

National Heritage Limited, Log Corner Keying.

National Heritage Limited, Typical French Construction.

National Heritage Limited, Double Wall Plate in Masonry.

National Heritage Limited, French Type Roof Framing.

Arch. of Ont., Thomas Selkirk's Sketch of a View from the Mess Room Window, 1816 (McGillivray's Quarters) (Selkirk Papers, Pkg. 21, #126) (Facing page 50). When Selkirk occupied a room in the Great Hall, he made this sketch. Notice the cannons under the Commissary buildings. These are presently situated in front of the Fort William City Hall. Near the gate, Scott Allen's residence may be seen. The commissary buildings were entered from the court side of the Fort and were raised to avoid dampness.

Arch. of Ont., Small Room (McGillivray's Quarters) in the Great Hall 1816, (Selkirk's Papers, Pkg. 21, #126) (Facing page 51). Here, we get a hint of the comfort possible for the noble merchants of Fort William. Although the architecture of the buildings may have been utilitarian never aiming at what we think of as architecture as a fine art, these dwellings were equipped with every conceivable luxury for a gentleman which could be transported. We should expect to see silver, books, china and even good furniture in these exteriors. This sketch gives a good idea of interior finishes.

Can. Arch., Heartman's Trading Store I, Manitoba, (1166-C5, G.S.C.) (Facing page 52) Located at Waterhen River in 1889, we can see an historical progression of building techniques: log, post-on-sill, and square timber walls.


Can. Arch., Fort William, 1866, (C11743) (Facing page 61) Watercolor by William Armstrong. We can see how the Fort has changed in the 50 years following the seizure of 1816. The Fort has taken on the image of a city.


National Heritage Limited, Shard No. 43 (Facing page 69) Excavated from the Site of the Powder Magazine at Fort William in 1968 and a complete example of an English Pottery Platter of the heeds type, Early 19th Century.

Can. Arch., Lord Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk (Facing page 72). Although Lord Selkirk is not a hero in the story of Fort William, in the history of Canada, he is a truly monumental figure and deserves a careful study in his own right. Selkirk always had the interests of the immigrant at heart and sought only to assist them to find the promise of the new land of Canada.

National Heritage Limited Various Views of a Model of Fort William (Facing page 73, List of Illustrations, and Planning Assumptions).
Planning Assumptions
PHASES IN THE PROGRAM OF RECONSTRUCTION

Obviously, in a project as big as this, which supposes the rebuilding of a group of buildings equivalent to a small village, totally enclosed within a stockade, and including various work-areas, camps, a farm, and so on, some within the enclosure, and some outside it, it will be impossible to do everything at once. By what stages, then, should we proceed? What is it important to build first? It is our opinion that the enterprise should be divided into two phases. The decision as to what should be constructed in each will be governed by the following principles:

i. The fort must draw tourists as soon as possible. A lengthy period of construction which, though it may be accomplishing something needful, produces nothing of value as a spectacle is financially disastrous. This sort of blunder has been made elsewhere, but blunder it is, because it can be avoided by proper planning.

Almost at once we should achieve an historical monument which is worth a visit. It should attract Canadians for its own sake, and at least all the American travellers who have already visited the reconstructed Grand Portage. We think it may safely be taken for granted that everybody who sees Grand Portage, and learns how that great base came to be deserted, will find it hard to resist the impulse to have a look at the Fort which took its place.

ii. Enough by way of spectacle and entertainment must be provided to hold a typical family for at least two full days, and even for two full nights. Anything less will not pay. Restoration must go on at such a pace, and to such effect, that travellers will be obliged to stay as long as this. The aim, of course, is revenue for local motels, hotels and restaurants. Reconstruction so partial that the result could be inspected and fully understood in an hour or two will be a self-defeating project and a waste of funds. When fully and finally completed, the great base, as it was in the old days, will offer as much in educational spectacle and human interest as an exposition or fair of considerable size. We must approach as near to this goal as we can, as soon as we can.

iii. Since it is unlikely that mere summer operation can be financially sound, our plans should call for heating the more interesting sections, and also for displays and demonstrations characteristic of wintertime activity in the old days.

iv. It is for the winter season also that plans should be made to employ the Fort as a contribution to the educational program of all secondary schools within reach. The possibility of some mutually beneficial arrangement with Lakehead University deserves special consideration.

v. The present rapid increase in cost of all types of construction is reason enough by itself for a swift building program. Costs will rise unpredictably if the enterprise is spread over several years.

vi. The general ignorance of Fort William's history throughout Canada is a fact which must be faced. A good publicity program before and during restoration should be thought of as a necessary investment.

We now present two lists of buildings for Phase I and Phase II of the program. It will be noted that first place is assigned to those structures which explain and illustrate the fur trade. In our view these arouse the greater historical interest. It goes without saying that the stockade itself must
be constructed at the same time. This protective barricade will reveal at a glance the astonishing size of the old Fort, while, inside it, at any stage of the work, means should be easily found to indicate how many buildings remain to be erected, together with their dimensions, function and location.

PHASES IN THE PROGRAM OF RECONSTRUCTION

PHASE I

Allen's Quarters #1
McLoughlin's Quarters #2
Indian Shop #4
Powder Magazine #5
Liquor Cabin I #6
Commissary I #7
Commissary II #8
Liquor Tavern II #9
Dry Goods Storage I #10
Pack Stores #11
Dry Goods Storage II #13
Quarters III #14
Coopers and Guides' House #15

PHASE II

Stone Store #3
Counting House #12
Equipment Barn #39
Guides' House #19
Bastion I #43
Shed #22
Bastion II #44
Committee House #24
Gatehouse #45
Barn #25
Services Building #46
Armourer and Tailor #28
Flag Pole #47
Canoe Yard #31
Herb Garden #48
Boat Yard #32
Kitchen Garden #49
Palisade I #50
Palisade II #51
Camps Outside Fort #52
Wharf I #53A
Wharf II #53B
Observation Tower #54
Visitor Information Centre #1C
Gatehouse Park Entrance #2C
Fort William Park Store #3C
Cattle Barn #35
Sheep Shed #36
Hay Barn #37
Cow Barn #38
Cottage for Farmer #40
Small Cottage #41
Bouche's House #42
TRANSPORT AND ACCOMMODATION

Parking areas, camping and picnic grounds, trailer sites, inviting paths, are all features which need to be planned carefully beforehand. After a lengthy journey to visit some famous spectacle, it is wearisome and exasperating for the traveller to struggle with crowded conditions, unable to park his car, or to find a quiet corner for a family lunch. Something like an extensive park should surround Fort William containing all the expected facilities. The site-plan shown reveals how such facilities might be provided with a high degree of convenience and without injury to historic appearance.

A marina might also be a good idea. The knowledge that it is possible to visit the Fort by water, and that every facility is available for families wishing to moor their craft for a day or two, should attract many yachts and launches cruising the Lakes in summer.
The restored Fort William must of course be complete. Every single one of the old buildings must be present. However, it will be pointless and extravagant to finish each one of them inside and out exactly as it used to be. Where two structures discharged the same function, or where the whole of an interior is not required for adequate display, it is only sensible to put such space to profitable use.

For this reason we are dividing the buildings into three main groups. The first, indicated on our charts by the letter A, comprises all authentic historical reconstructions within the palisade and is sub-divided as follows:

**GROUP A. i**

The first type will be historically authentic reconstructions where interiors as well as exteriors are fully completed and furnished so as to make possible demonstration of what went on in the past.

1. Allen's House
2. McLoughlin's House
3. Stone Store House
4. Indian Shop
5. Powder Magazine
6. Liquor Tavern I
7. Commissary I
10. Dry Goods Storage I
11. Pack Store
12. Counting House
13. Dry Goods Storage II
16. Quarters I
17. Great Hall
18. Quarters II
20. Kitchen
21. Hospital
23. Prison
24. Committee House
25. Shed
26. Carpenter
27. Blacksmith
28. Armourer
29. Canoe Yard
30. Cooper
31. Shed
32. Shed
33. Tait's House
34. Shed
43. Bastion I
44. Bastion II
45. Gatehouse
46. Observation Tower
47. Flag Pole
48. Herb Garden
49. Kitchen Garden
50. Palisade I
51. Palisade II
53A. Wharf I
53B. Wharf II

**GROUP A. ii**

In this same group we include authentic and complete reconstructions, inside and out, but where the interior may be employed for some modern function.

8. Commissary II
This building is to be used for the purpose of demonstration and lecture.

9. Liquor Tavern II

This building is to be used for the purpose of demonstration and lecture.

14. Quarters III

This building will be used for administration and maintenance.

19. Unspecified.

22. Unspecified.

**GROUP A. iii**

There will be examples where only the outside is rebuilt in the old way. The interior of these structures will be employed for administration, utility or mere storage.

15. Coopers' and Guides' House

39. Equipment Barn

54. Services Building

**GROUP A. iv**

In this second principal category fall the historic buildings, like Bouche's House, the Barns, and the Stables which stood outside the palisade.

5. Cattle Barn

36. Sheep Shed

37. Hay Barn

38. Cow Barn

40. Cottages for Farmer

41. Small Cottage

42. Bouche's House

52. Three Camps Outside the Fort

**GROUP B.**

These are modern buildings on the site needed for the guidance and service of visitors, and for administrative functions. The most important will be the Information Centre with its circular film-theatre described below.

1B. Visitor Information Centre

2B. Gatehouse Park Entrance

3B. Fort William Park Store
ILLUSTRATION FOR PLANNING ASSUMPTIONS

A Plan For Reconstruction and Development
A PROPOSED ARCHITECTURAL STYLE FOR EACH BUILDING OF THE FORT BASED ON EVIDENCE FOUND AT THE SITE AND PRECEDENCE ESTABLISHED BY THE STUDY OF OTHER FORTS OF THE SAME PERIOD THROUGHOUT CANADA.

**PHASE I**

**ALLEN'S QUARTERS, 1**
- Number of Stories: 1 only.
- Overall Size: 25' x 60'.
- Roof: Gable and Shingles.
- Foundation: Continuous.
- Exterior Wall: Post and Fill.
- Dormer: None.
- Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: None.
- Ceilings: Lined Tongue and Groove.
- Floors: Plank Planed.

**MCLoughlin's Quarters, 2**
- Number of Stories: 1 only.
- Overall Size: 25' x 75'.
- Roof: Gable and Shingles.
- Foundation: Continuous.
- Exterior Wall: Post and Fill.
- Dormer: None.
- Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: None.
- Ceilings: Lined Tongue and Groove.
- Floors: Plank Planed.

**INDIAN SHOP, 4**
- Number of Stories: 1 only.
- Overall Size: 25' x 45'.
- Roof: Gable and Boards.
- Foundation: Continuous.
- Exterior Wall: Post and Fill.

**POWDER MAGAZINE, 5**
- Number of Stories: 2 only.
- Overall Size: 23' x 53'.
- Roof: Hip Tin.
- Foundation: Continuous.
- Exterior Wall: Stone.
- Dormer: One.
- Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: None.
- Ceilings: Planked Attic.
- Floors: Plank Sawn.

**LIQUOR TAVERN I, 6**
- Number of Stories: 1 only.
- Overall Size: 32' x 75'.
- Roof: Gable and Shingles.
- Foundation: Post and Boulder.
- Exterior Wall: Post and Fill.
- Dormer: Three only.
- Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: None.
- Ceilings: Planked Attic.
- Floors: Plank Sawn.

**COMMISSARY I, 7**
- Number of Stories: 1 only.
- Overall Size: 33' x 40'.
- Roof: Gable and Shingles.
- Foundation: A Raised Building on Treated Posts.
- Exterior Wall: Post and Fill.
- Dormer: None.
- Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: None.
- Ceilings: Open.
- Floors: Plank Sawn.

**COMMISSARY II, 8**
- Number of Stories: 1 only.
- Overall Size: 30' x 42'.
- Roof: Gable and Shingles.
- Foundation: Continuous.
- Exterior Wall: Post and Fill.
- Dormer: None.
- Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: None.
- Ceilings: Planked Attic.
- Floors: Plank Planed.

**LIQUOR TAVERN II, 9**
- Number of Stories: 1 only.
- Overall Size: 32' x 75'.
- Roof: Gable and Shingles.
- Foundation: Post and Boulder.
- Exterior Wall: Post and Fill.
- Dormer: Three only.
- Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: None.
- Ceilings: Planked Attic.
- Floors: Plank Planed.

**DRY GOODS STORAGE I, 10, and ANNEX**
- Number of Stories: 1 only.
- Overall Size: Storage, 35' x 92'; Annex, 19' x 40'.
- Roof: Gable and Shingles.
- Foundation: Post and Boulder.
- Exterior Wall: Post and Fill.
- Dormer: Three only.
- Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: None.
- Ceilings: Open.
- Floors: Plank Planed.
Ceilings: Planked Attic.
Floors: Plank Sawn.

PACK STORES, II, and ANNEX I, II.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: Pack Store, 35' x 95'; Annex I and II, 29' x 32'.
Roof: Gable and Shingles.
Foundation: Post and Boulder.
Exterior Wall: Post and Fill.
Dormer: Three only.
Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: None.
Ceilings: Planked Attic.
Floors: Plank Sawn.

DRY GOODS STORAGE II, 13.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 35' x 72'.
Roof: Gable and Shingles.
Foundation: Post and Boulder.
Exterior Wall: Post and Fill.
Dormer: Two only.
Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: None.
Ceilings: Planked Attic.
Floors: Plank Sawn.

QUARTERS III, 14.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 36' x 73'.
Roof: Gable and Shingles
Foundation: Continuous
Exterior Wall: Post and Fill
Dormer: Two only
Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: 250 Studs.

Ceilings: Planked Attic.
Floors: Plank Planed.

COOPER'S and GUIDES' HOUSE, and ANNEX, 15.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: Cooper's and Guides' House, 15' x 46'; Annex, 9' x 13'.
Roof: Gable and Shingles.
Foundation: Continuous
Exterior Wall: Post and Fill.
Dormer: None.
Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: None.
Ceilings: None.
Floors: None.

QUARTERS I, 16.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 37' x 71 1/2'.
Roof: Hip and Shingled.
Foundation: Continuous
Exterior Wall: Post and Fill.
Dormer: Three only.
Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: 340' Plank.
Ceilings: Planked Attic.
Floors: Plank Adzed.

GREAT HALL, and ANNEX, 17.

Number of Stories: 2 only.
Overall Size: Great Hall, 38 1/2' x 80'; Annex, 13 1/2' x 14 1/2' and Connecting Passage, 6' x 19'.
Roof: Great Hall, Hip and Shingles and Annex and Passage, Gable and Shingles.

Foundation: Continuous.
Exterior Wall: Post and Fill.
Dormer: Three only.
Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: 110' Plank.
Ceilings: Lined Tongue and Groove.
Floors: Plank Planed.

QUARTERS II, 18.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 38 1/2' x 82'.
Roof: Gable and Shingles.
Foundation: Continuous.
Exterior Wall: Post and Fill.
Dormer: Three only.
Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: 215 Plank.
Ceilings: Planked Attic.
Floors: Plank Planed.

KITCHEN, 20.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 20' x 60'.
Roof: Gable and Boards.
Foundation: Continuous.
Exterior Wall: Post and Fill.
Dormer: None.
Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: 20' Plank.
Ceilings: Open.
Floors: Dirt.

HOSPITAL, 21.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 21' x 54'.
Roof: Gable and Boards.
Foundation: Post and Boulder
Exterior Wall: Post and Fill.
Dormer: None.
Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: 40' Plank.
Ceilings: Planked Attic (Office); Plank and Open (General).
Floors: Plank Planed (Office); Plank Adzed (General).

**PRISON, 23.**
Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 22' x 30'.
Roof: Hip Board.
Foundation: Post and Boulder.
Exterior Wall: Log.
Dormer: None.
Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: 50' Plank.
Ceilings: Open.
Floors: Plank Sawn.

**CARPENTER'S SHOP, 26.**
Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 17 1/2' x 44'.
Roof: Gable and Boards.
Foundation: Post and Boulder.
Exterior Wall: Post and Fill (Log)
Dormer: None.
Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: None.
Ceilings: Planked Attic.
Floors: Plank Sawn.

**BLACKSMITH and TINSMITH, 27.**
Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 15' x 44'.
Roof: Gable and Boards.

**SHED FOR CANOES I, 29.**
Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 34' x 77'.
Roof: Gable and Boards.
Foundation: Treated Posts.
Exterior Wall: Plank Siding.
Dormer: None.
Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: None.
Ceilings: Open.
Floors: Dirt.

**COOPER, 30.**
Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 25' x 45'.
Roof: Gable and Boards.
Foundation: Post and Boulder.
Exterior Wall: Post and Fill (Log).
Dormer: None.
Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: None.
Ceilings: Planked Attic.
Floors: Plank Sawn.

**TAIT'S HOUSE, 33.**
Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 36' x 68'.
Roof: Hip and Shingles.
Foundation: Planked Attic.

**SHED, 34.**
Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 32' x 72'.
Roof: Gable and Boards.
Foundation: Treated Posts.
Exterior Wall: Plank Siding.
Dormer: None.
Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: None.
Ceilings: Open.
Floors: Dirt.

**EQUIPMENT BARN, 39.**
Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 37' x 115'.
Roof: Gable and Boards.
Foundation: Post and Boulder.
Exterior Wall: Post and Fill (Logs).
Dormer: None.
Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: None.
Ceilings: Open.
Floors: Plank Sawn.

**BASTION I, 43.**
Overall Size: 15' x 15'.
Roof: Hip Peak Shingled.
Foundation: Continuous.
Exterior Wall: Log.
88 MASTER PLAN FOR DEVELOPMENT

Dormer: None.
Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: None.
Ceilings: Planked Attic.
Floors: Dirt.

BASTION II, 44.
Overall Size: 13' x 15'.
Overall Size: 12' x 12'.
Roof: Hip Peak Shingled.
Foundation: Continuous.
Exterior Wall: Log.
Dormer: None.
Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: None.
Ceilings: Planked Attic.
Floors: Dirt.

MAIN GATEHOUSE, 45.
Overall Size: 13' x 13'.
Roof: Hip Peak Shingled.
Foundation: Treated Posts.
Exterior Wall: Log.
Dormer: None.
Linear Feet of 8 Foot Partitions: None.
Ceilings: Open.
Floors: Plank Adzed.

SERVICES BUILDING, 46.
Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 20' x 25'.
Roof: Gable and Shingles.
Foundation: Continuous.
Exterior: Post and Fill (Log).
Services building will have a concrete Slab Floor, block walls, and fire resistant sub Roof with veneer of old style construction.

FLAG POLE, 47.
Total height: 40'.

PALISADE I, 50.
Total Linear Feet: 2294', Log.

PALISADE II, 51.
Total Linear Feet: 484', Log.

WHARF I, 53A.
Overall Size: 210' x 15'.

WHARF II, 53B.
Overall Size: 200' x 15'.

OBSERVATION TOWER, 54.
Overall Size: 13' x 13', Treated Posts, Open Frame.

VISITOR INFORMATION CENTER 1B.
Number of Stories: 3.
Overall Size: 82' x 106'.
Roof: Hip Peak Shingled and Flat.
Foundation: Continuous.

For other Details please consult Description Contained in this Study.

GATEHOUSE ENTRANCE, 2B.

FORT WILLIAM PARK STORE, 3B.
Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 32' x 32'.
Roof: Gable and Shingles.
Foundation: Continuous.
Exterior Walls: Post and Fill.
Ceilings: Open.
Floors: Plank and Planed.

TRAVELLERS' COMFORT STATION.
Number of Stories: 3.
Overall Size: 40' x 60'.
Roof: Gable and Shingles.
Foundation: Continuous.
Exterior Walls: Post and Fill.
Floors: Unspecified.

PHASE II

STONE STORE, 3.
Number of Stories: 3 only.
Overall Size: 47' x 38'.
Dormers: 1 only.
Roof: Hip Tin.
Foundations: Continuous.
Exterior Walls: Stone.
COUNTING HOUSE, 12.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 36' x 48'.
Dormers: 1 only.
Roof: Hip and Shingles.
Foundation: Continuous.
Exterior Walls: Post and Fill.

GUIDES' HOUSE, 19.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 22' x 60'.
Dormers: None.
Roof: Gable and Shingles.
Foundation: Post and Boulder.
Exterior Walls: Post and Fill.

UNSPECIFIED BUILDING, 22.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 12' x 20'.
Dormers: None.
Roof: Gable and Shingles.
Foundation: Post and Boulder.
Exterior Walls: Log.

COMMITTEE HOUSE, 24.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 20' x 34'.
Dormers: None.
Roof: Gable and Boards.
Foundation: Post and Boulder.
Exterior Walls: Post and Fill (Log).

SHED, 25.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 23' x 72'.
Dormers: None.
Roof: Gable and Boards.
Foundation: Treated Posts.
Exterior Walls: Plank Siding.

ARMOURER, 28.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 18' x 50'.
Dormers: None.
Roof: Gable and Boards.
Foundation: Continuous.
Exterior Walls: Post and Fill (Log).

SHED, 31.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 30' x 34'.
Dormers: None.
Roof: Gable and Boards.
Foundation: Post and Boulder.
Exterior Walls: Post and Fill (Log).

SHED, 32.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 35' x 78'.
Dormers: None.
Roof: Gable and Boards.
Foundation: Treated Posts.
Exterior Walls: Plank Siding.

CATTLE BARN, 35.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 35' x 85'.
Dormers: 2 only.
Roof: Gable and Boards.
Foundation: Continuous.
Exterior Walls: Post and Fill.

CATTLE and SHEEP HOUSE, 36.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 35' x 85'.
Dormers: None.
Roof: Gable and Boards.
Foundation: Continuous.
Exterior Walls: Post and Fill (Logs)

BARN, 37.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 30' x 80'.
Dormers: None.
Roof: Gable and Boards.
Foundation: Continuous.
Exterior Walls: Post and Fill (Logs)

STABLE and COW HOUSE, 38.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 34' x 83'.
Dormers: None.
Roof: Gable and Boards.
Foundation: Continuous.
Exterior Walls: Post and Fill (Logs)

COTTAGES, 40.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 18' x 60'.
Dormers: None.
Roof: Gable and Boards.
Foundation: Continuous.
Exterior Walls: Post and Fill.
UNSPECIFIED BUILDING, 41.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 20' x 30'.
Dormers: None.
Roof: Gable and Boards.
Foundation: Continuous.
Exterior Walls: Log.

BOUCHE'S HOUSE, 42.

Number of Stories: 1 only.
Overall Size: 30' x 92'.
Dormers: 2 only.
Roof: Gable and Boards.
Foundation: Continuous.
Exterior Walls: Post and Fill (log).

NOTE:

The reader will notice no remarks have been made concerning ceilings, windows and floors for some buildings. Further study will be necessary before a statement could be made.
Because the exact site for the proposed reconstruction of Fort William has not been chosen, it is not possible to give exact details concerning the availability of hydro, water and sewage disposal. Nevertheless, it is possible to offer a tentative proposal for the uses of utilities within the Fort complex itself.

Our outline below presumes that the Fort will be open for the use of both tourists and citizens during summer and winter.

PRINCIPAL BUILDINGS TO BE SUPPLIED WITH UTILITIES:

HEATING

Because of the great need for safety from fire, electric heating is here recommended.

1. Allen's Quarters
2. McLoughlin's House
8. Commissary II
18. Quarters III
15. Coopers' and Guides' House
17. Great Hall
45. Gatehouse
46. Services Building
1B. Visitor Information Centre
2B. Gatehouse Park Entrance
3B. Fort William Park Store
4B. Campers' Services Building

ELECTRIC LIGHT

All buildings of the Fort William complex will have electric service to make for easy maintenance, but the following buildings will be completely equipped with lighting as well:

8. Commissary II
14. Quarters III
15. Coopers' and Guides' House
46. Services Building
1B. Visitor Information Centre
3B. Fort William Park Store
4B. Campers' Services Building

PLUMBING

The following buildings will be provided with water and toilet facilities:

6. Liquor Tavern I
14. Quarters III
15. Coopers' and Guides' House
17. Great Hall
46. Services Building
1B. Visitor Information Centre
2B. Gatehouse Park Entrance
3B. Fort William Park Store
4B. Campers' Services Building

TELEPHONE

8. Commissary II
14. Quarters III

THE LIGHTING OF THE PARK AREA

Concealed and exposed light sources may be advantageously used throughout the area of the Fort:

1. Building Illumination
2. The Park Driveway
3. Minor Roads
4. Parking Areas
5. Entrances to Park
6. Pedestrian routes
7. Landscape areas such as tree lighting
DEMONSTRATION OF THE CRAFTS OF FORT WILLIAM

One of the most rewarding sights in Fort William will be to see visitors crowded about a craftsman, marvelling at the sight of skill. The attraction may be a flaxbreaker, a weaver, a cabinetmaker, candlemaker, cooper, but in every such moment, the onlookers are close to understanding the life and times of the Fort William of 1816.

Perhaps the first most necessary skill will be that of the blacksmithy, without whom the building of the Fort will be next to impossible. Indeed, our craftsmen must be true artisans and not mere actors playing a role because the products of their hands are vital to the job of reconstruction.

Even after completion of the building of the Fort, our craftsmen should produce their wares the year round. We will recreate the entire surroundings for each craft: tools, equipment, buildings and authentic methods. Surely, we will preserve some crafts which would be lost otherwise. Here are some of the trades found at Fort William during the years surrounding 1816:

Baking, basket-making, blacksmithing, cabinetmaking, coopering, gunsmithing, leatherworking, shinglemaking, spinning, weaving and dyeing, fifes and drum making, tailoring etc.

Boatyard and Canoeyards: The construction of forty-foot Montreal canoes, framed in cedar, covered with birch bark, caulked with spruce gum, sewn with wattage, could take place on the actual locations where it was once done. Smaller North canoes, twenty-five feet long, would be offered for sale when completed.

Cooper: The craftsmen operating with both tight and loose tools will work to produce such items as buckets, pails, piggins, firkins which will be offered to the public.

Blacksmith: The smith will produce at his forge items needed at the Fort in its restored condition such as hinges, hasps, and other iron work. He may also turn out articles for sale like hand-forged tongs, pokers, shovels and so on, for fireplaces.

Carpenter: In addition to furniture needed at the Fort, the Carpenter might make objects for sale to the public such as chairs and tables. Carpenters should also be retained to demonstrate building methods and to explain basic construction technique.

BUILDING TECHNOLOGY OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

We recommend that the public be permitted to enter Fort William Park during any rebuilding of the Fort. Areas close to construction areas may be set aside and restricted to the use of visitors who are interested in learning early building techniques or simply in watching construction take place.

DEMONSTRATIONS OF DOMESTIC LIFE

It will be recalled that we have presumed the existence of an Indian wife and a considerable family living at Tait's House. Outdoors, there could be demonstration of soapmaking, baking in the oven; indoors, dipping tallow candles, moccasin making, quill-work, and perhaps the netting of snowshoes.

At Dr. McLoughlin's Quarters, we would be able to see the effects of the young Doctor and his second wife, Margaret. It will be remembered that she was half Ojibway, educated in an Ursuline convent. This family presents the best occasion for a display of the handcrafts of ladies of the early Nineteenth Century: spinning, weaving, crewel embroidery and so on.
The Doctor's herb garden is also close to this house and something must be done to show how these plants were used.

To modern tourists, the baking of bread, the churning of butter, baking fish, Indian puddings, soups, stews in preparation, are of interest and even fascinating. Food of the Fort could be offered to the public for tasting. Some would be displayed for sale.

The Indian camps would provide an opportunity for the manufacture and demonstration of both jerky and pemmican.

DEMONSTRATIONS PROPER TO THE FUR TRADE

Pack Stores: Visitors will be shown how pack covers were made, and filled with a load of ninety pounds. Those who wish to try it will be given the opportunity to lift such a pack, using the leather straps of the voyageurs. In the annex to the rear of this building might be demonstrated the making of sleds for winter use and perhaps even the dog teams could there be housed.

Indian Shop; Dry Goods Store; Liquor Store: All three of these served as retail outlets, each responding to a different need. There is no great difficulty in imagining how each should be outfitted and what sort of spectacle, entertainment, or shopping might be available in each.

Finally we should not forget the peculiar character, both amusing and realistic, which could be imparted to the establishment of that raffish personage, Bouche. He might do a very good business in dubious beverages, unidentifiable snacks, and articles quite obviously junk.

After the completion of Phase II, it would be possible to demonstrate the farm life of the period.

LIST OF SUPERVISORY AND MAINTENANCE PERSONNEL REQUIRED

One Supervisor of Craftsmen and Demonstrations.

PHASE I
14 Male Indian Demonstrators
15 Male Demonstrators
14 Female Indian Demonstrators
6 Female Demonstrators

PHASE II
8 Male Indian Demonstrators
6 Male Demonstrators
6 Female Indian Demonstrators

MASTER PLAN FOR DEVELOPMENT 93

One Supervisor of Buildings and Grounds
One Assistant Supervisor of Buildings and Grounds

PHASE I
2 Gatehouse Attendants
2 Security
4 Grounds Keepers
4 Cleaners

PHASE II
2 Grounds Keepers
2 Cleaners

One Supervisor of Educational Programs
Vital to the success of the project in its entirety, and most important of the modern structures near the site, will be this Information Centre. It will contain a small but unusual cinema, offices and bureaus designed to acquaint the visitor with the Fort as it once was, and as now restored. Such a source of information, both audio-visual and printed, is indispensable. Many of our visitors, unless fresh from a well-guided tour of Grand Portage, will know hardly anything about Old Fort William, while all will need explanations of each building, and of the living demonstrations in progress here and there.

The architectural design of the Centre should be completely modern and functional. It forms no part of the restored Fort and should not look as if it did. Good taste may require that it be unobtrusive, and skilfully sited, but cannot require a false appearance of pioneer style. The theatre, it should be noted, will be found on the second floor. The ground floor will hold a good restaurant, and many displays of artifacts, books, pamphlets, and so on. The Provincial Printing Office should be represented by a shop. All other displays of articles for sale should be of the highest quality. At all costs we must avoid a commerce in cheap souvenirs which can only exercise a debasing effect on the entire project. The management of the Fort should be maintaining a program of careful authentic reproduction of the antiques and artifacts proper to Fort William. Everything the visitor carries away from the site should enhance its reputation as a genuine historical reconstruction. The range of articles which it would be possible to reproduce is very large: candlesticks, hardware, fireplace accessories, furniture, glass, locks, leather, mirrors, pewter, pottery, silver, wooden accessories, hand-weaving, window and bed hangings, leather, and of course a considerable stock of hand-made Indian productions. If thought desirable, all such objects might be sold only with the approval of the Fort authorities, who would issue a certificate that the original (antique) has been faithfully reproduced.

The whole interior of the building on the ground floor level will be designed to lead to a gentle, curving ramp, carpeted to ensure silence, and conducting the visitor upwards to the theatre. The lighting of this broad ascending corridor will be controlled so as to dim gradually as one proceeds, thus enhancing the displays on its walls. These might consist of old weapons, models of the Company's remote outposts, paintings, Indian beaver robes, magnificent hats, and so on. The intention is to get the visitor ready for the great spectacle in the theatre itself.

The chief task of the Centre, a quick and vivid introduction to the Fort, past and present, will be achieved by means of a film of the kind which has proved so effective at recent world expositions.

Guides will meet the visitors at the cinema entrance. On busy days they may be especially needed to control the number entering, since the interior will be planned to hold no more than one hundred. There will be no seats. The audience will remain standing as the lights go down. They will then find themselves completely surrounded by a screen, an apparently continuous circular band. In actual fact this screen will divide into nine parts, each served by its own projector, located invisibly in the ceiling. The screen itself will be sixteen feet high, its lower edge beginning seven feet from the floor. (The equipment required is described technically as follows: "Circlevision 360 Cinema. Equipment, Film and Film Creation by WED Enterprises Inc. 9-part screen with 9 projectors, 16mm. size synchronized. Film Screen 16 feet
High. Bottom of screen 7 feet above floor. Screen 45' diameter. Cinema area 1590. Projection Mezzanine diameter 55' to 65' (10' wide) 12' above second floor.)" Fixed handrails will hold the members of the audience in the central area at the right distance from the images. As the film begins, they will have the impression of finding themselves in the very midst of the picturesque and adventurous life of the old fur-trading days. We make no attempt here to describe the possible effects. Anyone who had witnessed this sort of cinema will understand how easily the scenes, shifting here and there on the walls, could picture the solitary Indian on his trap-line in the winter forest, the trade canoes from the North making their way down along the waterways towards the Fort, while the large canots de maitre set forth from Montreal with the same destination, the great summer Rendezvous, work and play inside and outside the stockade, banquets in the Great Hall, business meetings of the partners, primitive campfires, and so on.

The final view on the total screen in the darkened theatre will be a panorama of the entire Fort. Even as it is being shown, the heavy curtain on the western side of the circle will slowly open, causing the artificial image to fade as the visitors turn to gaze, through a wall of glass, at the very spectacle which they have just beheld on the screen. Sliding doors in this transparent wall will lead the audience to a wide balcony from which they can study the entire reconstructed Fort. From this balcony they will then descend to the exit lobby. Here they may examine still more detailed displays and, led by guides (perhaps in appropriate costume) may leave for tours on foot of the principal buildings, farm, Bouche's House, the encampments and so on.

Also in this lobby, by means of animated signs, visitors will be told of the living demonstrations to be seen at that moment in the various historic buildings or work areas. A tentative list of these is given below.

The Information Centre possesses a third level, as will be seen by the plan, served by both staircase and an elevator. Its purpose is purely functional. Here will be found the projection machinery, administration and staff offices, and utility rooms.
RETAIL OUTLETS

We have already mentioned the items which will be offered for sale within the palisade. It is our recommendation that the products of the Fort craftsmen be presented to the public in the retail store located in the Visitor Information Centre as well. The list below will give the reader some idea of the potential extent of the items offered in the retail store.

Weaving

China

Pottery

Pewter

Silver

Toys

Paints

Wrought Iron and Tin Items

Wood Accessories

Books

Stationery

Games

Prints

Maps

Leather Work

Dried Flowers

Soap

Foodstuffs

Large and Small Canoes

Snow Shoes

Sleighs

Indian Artifacts

Furniture Reproduction

Baskets

Clocks, etc.
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS FOR A PLAN FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT.

National Heritage Limited, Suggested Plan for a Fort William Park (Facing page 94).


National Heritage Limited, General Ground Plan for Fort William (Facing Financial Considerations).
Financial Considerations
ESTIMATES OF COSTS

The foregoing pages illustrate in some detail the society and times of Fort William. The importance of this installation as an historic, political and economic power cannot be doubted, yet, historical prestige such as that professed by Fort William cannot alone justify its reconstruction.

Other factors are to be considered.

There follows information as to estimated costs and probable operating expenditures necessary if reconstruction were to take place. Such facts as these are vital to an intelligent practical decision.

In considering these estimates, the reader is asked to be mindful of the fact that exact precise calculations as to cost are hardly possible in a society whose economy is affected by so many financial forces. It must be remembered that there are no precedents in the history of construction for a project such as the reconstruction of our Fort. Many of its characteristics make it unique. Because of the need for further planning before rebuilding can be undertaken, our costs assume a 1971 pricing. Considering the amount of handwork, the cost of labour is calculated at 70% of the total expenditure on historical buildings. This percentage is taken from a knowledge of labour costs in other historical restorations and reconstructions in both Canada and the United States. An absolute minimum of a two-week training period for thoroughly qualified craftsmen has been allowed, and slightly longer for apprentices.

Joseph Howe has pointed out that a wise nation preserves its monuments, because they are the true link with our past -- our heritage. Nevertheless, a responsible government will weigh every possibility before proceeding with a project which could be fraught with unexpected costs and difficulties. It is in reply to the desire of the Government of Ontario that no stone be left unturned in order to find the facts necessary to make a proper decision with regard to the rebuilding of Fort William, that the following information and estimates are offered.

AREA OF THE SITE

Recommendation or selection of the site has been excluded as a subject in this study. Whatever area is chosen, it should be a minimum of fifty acres in size and ideally, an area of seventy to one hundred acres to offer camping facilities and to provide a proper setting. Our Master Plan will show this fifty acre site in order to illustrate our concept of a Fort William Park, with a large camping area.

The exact land area for the Palisade enclosure and a small surrounding area would be thirty to thirty-five acres.

The potential for the reconstructed Fort to become a focal point of community activity grows in direct proportion with the expansion of acreage and the inventiveness of and interest in its utilization. Costs of services and drainage are studied in the paragraphs devoted to site services engineering.

RESEARCH

There exists a great volume of source material relating to Fort William which ought to be studied. At present, puzzling contradictions exist due to the disagreement of different sources. Although these discrepancies are minor when compared to the body of information which can be verified, it is better to leave no stone unturned to preserve the integrity of the research. A listing follows of further required studies:
A. ARCHAEOLOGY:

Additional work at the original site might confirm both the location and measurements of the buildings. While reconstruction is going on, two summers' work would give added information.

The personnel required are as follows:

3 groups of 10 workers (students or junior archaeologists).

Each group would report their findings to a laboratory staff of 15 technicians.

Miscellaneous equipment would be required for both the site workers and the laboratory technicians.

Estimated Cost of a Two Year Program of Archaeology carried on at the site of the original Fort $310,000

LABORATORY:

15 staff @ $600 per month for 10 months $90,000

CHIEF ARCHAEOLOGIST:

$1,000 per month for 10 months $10,000

Sub total of Salary & Wages $304,000

Miscellaneous Equipment $6,000

B. HISTORICAL RESEARCH:

A large volume of primary source material proper to Fort William exists in Canada, United States and Europe. These manuscripts and documents should be carefully studied. It is recommended that an archivist be retained for one year for additional research. Further knowledge would be useful in fields of economic history, architectural history, and biography.

1 Archivist @ $1,200 per month for 12 months $14,400

Travel Expenses $5,600

C. COMPARATIVE STUDY OF BUILDING TYPES USED IN FORT AND FUR TRADING POSTS IN CANADA

It would be valuable to architectural historians and building technicians to have at their disposal a complete survey and analysis of the building technology used throughout Canada for the construction of Trading Posts during the period of Canada's early growth.

Such a study should confirm, beyond all doubt, the facts concerning similarities which are suspected to exist between the structures which served Canada's first major industry, the Fur Trade.

1 Archivist @ $200 per week for 40 weeks $8,000

Travel Expenses $4,000

D. A RESTUDY OF THE MANNER OF HISTORICAL PRESENTATIONS AND DEMONSTRATIONS

With the advent of television and the increase of travel, the average citizen is becoming sophisticated, with more assured demands and expectations. Certainly, it would be unwise to suppose that present methods of the presentation of our history are ideally suited for the population of the decades of the Seventies. Constant re-thinking and re-evaluation would assure a more inventive and original program to be followed for visitor instruction and the offering of information.

In recent years, the museum
industry has achieved some success in providing exhibits which have broken away from Nineteenth Century customs and which have offered the public a fresh and vital approach.

Historical sites need not be exempt from the need to meet the challenges of contemporary society with regards to its services:

Study: $15,000

PROFESSIONAL FEES

Given the specialized nature of the buildings of the Fort, and the need to use older building technology, fees are higher than is normally paid for new construction. Based on the experience of the members of National Heritage Limited and its consultants in Canada and the United States, fees are set at twenty-five percent of the construction costs. This percentage would cover the services of the following professions:

- Restoration Architect
- Landscape Architect
- Site services engineer
- Mechanical engineer
- Electrical engineer
- Structural engineer
- Hydraulic engineer
- Quantity surveyor
- Management consultant
- Project manager

The costs of the services of the master planners are listed under Research.

SITE SERVICES ENGINEERING

The development plans by National Heritage Limited, being considered in connection with an abstract site, contain certain assumptions.

The site has been acquired, and

A complete site services study has been carried out and the site found suitable, especially with regard to hydraulic requirements.

French drains would be used throughout.

Hydro, water, sewage lines and roads are available at some point on the site perimeter.

All walks are gravelled.

Electrical service will be carried to each building (minimum, one receptacle).

The campgrounds will be lighted.

The staff parking-lot will have block heaters.

Road building, earth-moving, tree removal, or moving, and landscaping are included.

The Fort and farm are considered separately from the campground.

DEVELOPMENT OF FORT SITE AND FARM ACREAGE PREPARATION

Road access (internal), tree removal, earth moving, water, sewage disposal, drainage, topographical features, landscaping, parking lots $250,000

Provision of electrical services and facilities $265,000

Provision of mechanical services and facilities $300,000

DEVELOPMENT OF CAMP GROUNDS AND GENERAL PREPARATION

Road Access, tree removal, campsites, earthmoving, water, sewage disposal, drainage, topographical features, landscaping and lighting $110,000

CONSTRUCTION COSTS

Based on the master specifications for re-construction prepared by National Heritage Limited, the
following are the cost estimates for the buildings of Fort William and associated areas. These costs are for the building shells only. Mechanical and electrical requirements are set forth in Site Service Engineering. Furnishings and equipment are dealt with later.

Several assumptions have been made and problems encountered which should preface discussion of Construction Costs.

LUMBER

It has been determined that adequate supplies of lumber, of the variety required, are available in Ontario. Of all the wooden buildings and structures considered, only the wharf and palisade are to be pressure treated. A surcharge of $500,000 obtains if pressure treating is performed on all wooden members. To whatever extent pressure treatment is carried out, it can be done locally. It has been determined that hand-split shingles are still available for our roofing requirements.

HEATING

Contributing to a somewhat higher than usual electrical input is the use of electrical heating. It is chosen in lieu of other methods to facilitate an installation easily concealed. Further difficulties arise from the building construction which includes raised floors with no basements and several buildings with open lofts. The heated buildings will be insulated where possible. Overall wall thickness will be generally six inches.

BRICK

In calculating brick requirements, some problem was encountered due to gaps in knowledge. The exact number of fireplaces is not known. Further archaeological study will clear up this uncertainty. Our calculations have incorporated our best guess as to the correct number of fireplaces. Hand made brick can be had locally, at reasonable prices.

HARDWARE

The original hardware was mainly brass and was an import from England. Hardware can be produced for the reconstruction in local production or, if this proves impossible, a source of supply is available in the U.S.A. and Britain. An average set of door hardware (hinges, bolts, lock-mechanism etc.) cost approximately $300.

LABOUR RATES

In addition to the comments on manpower made elsewhere in this report, it should be noted that cost of labour is based upon prevailing union rates (as much as they could be applied or adapted). Savings might be achieved by the use of prisoners in the labour force. An exact figure as to possible saving is not possible at this moment because 1) the number of prisoners available is not known; 2) there is no way of estimating prisoner skills hence required training time; 3) experience, at other installations, has shown wide fluctuations in skill and effort based only on various prisoner attitudes.

It should be stressed that these estimates are based on probable 1971 prices.

PHASE I

Group A Buildings $2,500,000
Miscellaneous structures $ 500,000
Group B Buildings $1,000,000

PHASE II

Buildings of Phase II $ 985,000

FURNISHINGS AND FARM AND CRAFT EQUIPMENT

Furnishings and equipment costs relate to three distinct categories. The first category concerns the furnishings and equipment for the historical buildings
and areas, including demonstration and farm needs. The second costs arise from the furnishing of the Information Centre but excluding the proposed cinema in the round. The cost of equipping the theatre and providing the necessary films comprise the final division.

HISTORIC BUILDINGS

The cost of furnishings and equipment for the historical buildings and areas is divided between Phase I and Phase II.

FURNISHINGS AND EQUIPMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF BUILDING</th>
<th>PHASE I</th>
<th>PHASE II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public Buildings of the</td>
<td>57,000</td>
<td>16,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Dwellings</td>
<td>65,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fur Trading Buildings</td>
<td>38,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boat Building &amp; Wharf</td>
<td>37,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisans' Workshops</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Buildings</td>
<td>9,300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costumes</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FURNISHING OF INFORMATION CENTRE, BUILDING #14 AND GROUNDS EQUIPMENT

The furnishing of these two buildings has been done on a basis consistent with their administrative and associated staff uses. While we have looked in some detail at the specific equipment needed, it is our intention to use an allowance figure rather than a comprehensive list. Further detail is not appropriate at this time. The allowance to be carried is $20,000. The estimate for maintenance equipment, shovels, rakes, snow removal, trash receptacles etc. is $10,000.

EQUIPPING OF THE CINEMA AND PROVISION OF THE FILM

In our study of the requirements for a Theatre in the Round, similar to the Bell Pavilion at Expo 67, we have consulted leading American firms. This was done in order to establish, from a technical point of view, the best approach to take. We present the estimates received and a typical North American fee for the film and equipment. Recommendations follow the outline of equipment and film cost.

Film writing, casting, filming, editing, production and completion $500,000

Installation of projection equipment $250,000

Annual fee for film and equipment $50,000

Production of a film is estimated to take 2 years to allow for appropriate winter and spring takes. The film remains the property of the production company. The annual fee set out above is negotiable depending on the length of the season it is run.

The equipment includes nine cameras and a synchronizing device made specifically for this Information Centre. The film size is 16 mm. and 9 to 15 speakers are integrated into the system (binaural sound has been found to be too overpowering). The projection equipment utilizes a loop cabinet which permits in excess of 15,000 runs per film print. The most recent equipment does not require a projection technician but is controlled by a single button which is activated by an attendant at the beginning of each performance. The loop cabinet stops the film automa-
tically. Servicing would be regularly carried out by the production company.

National Heritage Limited submits that these costs are high. Although the film costs and installation fee are one time charges, it is difficult to justify such an outlay. We would recommend that, while considering the costs for such a theatre installation, consideration be given to the use of Canadian production equipment. It is hoped that within the resources and capabilities of the Department of Tourism and Information, a way of more economically producing the same can be found in Canada. As the alternative, we would suggest a less elaborate projection facility telling the same Fort William story.

OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE

ESTIMATED WAGES & SALARY

PERMANENT STAFF Phase I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Annual Salary</th>
<th>SUPERVISORY</th>
<th>CRAFTSMEN &amp; DEMONSTRATORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Supt. Grounds &amp; Maintenance</td>
<td>10,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asst. Supt. Grounds &amp; Maintenance</td>
<td>7,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Supt. Crafts &amp; Demonstration</td>
<td>9,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>4,680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ACCOUNTANT</td>
<td>6,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EDUCATIONAL STAFF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Man and 2 Women</td>
<td>19,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CRAFTSMEN &amp; DEMONSTRATORS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ten men of which 5 would be Indian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Six women of which 4 would be Indian</td>
<td>78,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>6,140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GROUNDS, SECURITY &amp; INFORMATION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Three Men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One Woman</td>
<td>20,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EXECUTIVE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrator</td>
<td>11,700</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>4,680</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SEASONAL STAFF Phase I

| EDUCATIONAL STAFF | 3 Men and 4 Women | 10,440 |

Note: Annual Salary above covers period May 15 - Sept. 15.
A FIVE YEAR FORECAST OF ATTENDANCE
AT OLD FORT WILLIAM

INTRODUCTION

The objective of the following report is to forecast probable attendance figures for Fort William. While the financial success of the project may well depend upon the extent of the attractions on the site and the skill with which these attractions are promoted, it is possible to predict a probable minimum number of visitors which may be expected.

METHOD OF PREDICTION

The five year forecast assumes that the buildings of Phase I will be erected and that an appropriate amount of promotion will be conducted to make tourists aware of the site. Five years is the longest period for which any meaningful attendance estimates can be made. The precision of the forecast depends on three key parameters: the accuracy of the traffic counts; the accuracy of the estimates concerning growth in traffic over the five years; and the accuracy of the estimates concerning the proportion of visitors who will stop in Thunder Bay to see an historic fort. Major reliance has been placed upon travelling tourists as opposed to cottage-owning tourists who return to the area year after year. An historic fort would be visited once by cottage-owning tourists and local residents. The attendance of cottage owners and permanent residents has been counted in the first and second year of operation.

The five year forecast uses a set of optimistic, pessimistic and most likely estimates of tourism growth and the rate of draw. Draw is defined as the proportion of people in the area who are attracted to Old Fort William. The actual parameters are shown below. The optimistic, pessimistic, and most likely of both parameters have been combined to give three summary estimates, which are presented in graph. The optimistic and pessimistic figures provide the range which widens over the five year span.

THREE ESTIMATES OF TOURISM GROWTH AND DRAW

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tourism Growth</th>
<th>Draw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percent per Annum</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optimistic</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most likely</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pessimistic</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The explanation and documentation of parameter selection follows. The estimates of tourist growth are treated first. The North American population expands at approximately three percent per annum. With no tourist development in the region, the minimum tourist expansion would roughly correspond to the growth in population. The most likely growth rate is given as five percent because of increasing time and expenditures for travel. The growth rate of eight percent assumes extra promotional effort and facility development in Region 29.

The draw rate of three percent is a pessimistic figure which is tied to the most likely figure of seven percent. The experience of tourism officials has indicated that historic sites tend to draw about 10 percent of the available traffic. The optimistic figure is derived from a parallel situation where 15 percent of the available traffic was drawn to historic sites. In all cases, the draw rates are estimated below those of other areas using a conservative approach.

Major reliance for estimates has been placed on the Kates, Peat, Marwick & Company study of the Norwestern Ontario Tourist Industry (1968), the Sudbury Tourist Region...
SUMMARY EXPLANATION OF PROJECTED ATTENDANCE

This forecast anticipates that attendance will be buoyed initially by the visits of local residents. In the fourth and fifth year of the Fort's operation, this advantage will decline in importance. After this temporary lull, attendance should climb at the forecast rates barring any unforeseen events. This five year forecast should be updated on an annual basis.

SUBSTANTIATING RATIONALE -- METHOD 1

The following analysis is provided as a common sense check on the previous estimates. While the available data is very limited, the best estimates for the future attendance at Old Fort William come from the recent past in similar communities such as Sudbury and Rainy River-Kenora. Thunder Bay would appear to be similar to Sudbury where 33 percent of the tourists were just passing through and an additional 17 percent listed themselves as sightseeing. Of any interest groups, these two groups of people combined with vacationers in the area (ten percent) have the best potential for visiting an historic site. The same report goes on to say,

*It is interesting that Canadian Government Travel Bureau, in their publication 'Travel Survey for the year 1965' stated that historic sites were in third place (in attractions visited by American tourists) showing that historic sites are very definitely important to tourism and should be duly promoted in the province.*

The best estimate of visitors to Thunder Bay in 1970 is 780,000. This is based on a five percent growth from figures supplied for 1968. Of those visitors, experienced estimates suggest that 14% or 141,000 are vacationing.

Of the 110,000 vacationers who do visit Thunder Bay in 1970, 17 percent or 19,000 are sightseeing and there would be a good probability of attracting them to an historic fort. Of the 33 percent (250,000) who are just passing through, there is a much smaller probability of drawing them to such a development. Conservative estimates and the resultant expected values are shown under the title Probabilities of Tourists with Specific Interests Visiting Old Fort William Weighted by Their Forecast Numbers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interest Group</th>
<th>Probability of Visiting Old Fort William</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sightseeing</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just Passing Through</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SELECTED STUDIES -- METHOD 2

A second approach to the problem was to take the tourist profile in the Upper Lake Superior Region 29 as of 1967 as a model. These figures from 1967 were projected to 1971.

ONTARIO RESIDENTS

Ontario residents made 22,700 trips into Region 29 which were of a vacation nature. With an average of 3.5 persons, this brought in 118,000 vacationers. Of these vacationers, previous experience showed that as many as 18% were interested in visiting historical sites for a total potential of 27,000 people.

Of the 145,200 trips of a personal nature, there was an average of 2.0 persons or 290,000 visitors. Of this group, about 4.6% had visited historical sites. The total potential from this group is 13,000 people.

PROBABILITIES OF TOURISTS WITH SPECIFIC INTERESTS VISITING OLD FORT WILLIAM WEIGHTED BY THEIR FORECAST NUMBERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interest Group</th>
<th>Probability of Visiting Old Fort William</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sightseeing</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just Passing Through</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Number Expected Value

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number Expected (000)</th>
<th>Expected Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sightseeing</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just Passing Through</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Subjective estimates*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>** Interpretation:**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The best estimate of this method is that 56,000 of the 780,000 visitors to the city would visit Old Fort William (about 8%).

### U.S. Residents

Of the 246,000 U.S. visitors to Region 29, 57,000 entered at Pigeon River and stayed at least overnight. From the study of U.S. tourists, 18% had been engaged in sightseeing. If only the tourists who entered at Pigeon River are counted, the potential is 10,000 U.S. visitors to Old Fort William.

Of the 1,022,000 visitors to Thunder Bay in 1967, 64% were from Ontario, 24% were from the U.S. and the remaining 12% were from other provinces. The vacationers from other provinces were treated the same as Ontario residents. This method accounted for a total potential of 58,000 people.

### Sudbury Study -- Method 3

Of the Americans who stopped at a government travel information office in the Sudbury area, over 40 percent said they were interested in sightseeing. However, only 4.8 percent visited an historic site which may have resulted from the non-existence of any important developments in that immediate region. And there is apparently no lack of interest by Sudbury residents because they were amongst the most numerous visitors to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, in Midland. This hypothesis is further substantiated by the low ratings which Sudbury visitors gave to the recreational facilities (which presumably covers historic sites). There is some evidence that visitors to northern parts of Ontario come prepared to sightsee but go away unsatisfied because of the limited worthwhile attractions.

Other cross checks on tourism in that area come from the Kates, Peat, Marwick & Company report. This study predicts a total of 715,000 visitors will spend one or more nights in the region to the immediate west of Thunder Bay during the summer season of 1971. Some figure close to that estimate would be a reasonable prediction for visitors to the city of Thunder Bay.

There are other supporting pieces of evidence. For example, Old Fort Erie was visited by 55,634 people in 1967 while there were only 4,592 visitors to the Ontario government reception centres. By contrast, there were 30,687 visitors to the reception centre in Pigeon River. However, there is difficulty in forecasting the
attendance at an historic location when the site, the promotional budget, and the entrance fee have not been established.

**PROMOTION AND MARKET SEGMENTS**

Three important points in the Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons study should be re-iterated. A new historic site must be promoted in order to attract tourists who otherwise would pass through. Since word-of-mouth advertising may have influenced almost half the visits to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, any historical restoration must be interesting and satisfying. Finally, students and school trips were an important and reachable market which was cultivated.

**CALCULATIONS FOR FORECAST**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ESTIMATED</th>
<th>FORECAST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>71 72 73 74 75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*\(D_{10} \times TG^{***}\) 84 93 99 107 116

**\(D_{7} \times TG_{5}\) 57 60 63 66 70

***\(D_{3} \times TG_{3}\) 24 25 26 26 27

\* Estimated from 1968 figure of 700,000 visitors with an assumed growth rate of five percent.

** Interpreted as Tourist Growth of eight percent.

*** Interpreted as Draw of 10 percent multiplied by Tourist Growth of eight percent.

**** Assumes 10 percent of the local population will visit the site in each of the first three years.
TOURIST ATTENDANCE:

We have estimated the number of tourists who would attend Fort William Park between 1971 and 1975 to be that specified in the "most likely estimate," stated in the foregoing report, Five Year Forecast of Attendance.

ADMISSION FEES:

An average entry charge, for purposes of revenue calculation, is estimated to be approximately $1.85. This sum is derived from a charge of $2.50 for each adult, and $1.25 for each child. (It is calculated that an average party visiting the Fort would consist of a mathematical average of two adults and one and one-half children.) It would be our recommendation that these charges for admission be increased, at the conclusion of the second full year of operation, to $3.50 for adults and $1.50 per child. Due to the fact that added exhibits and facilities will be offered the visitor by this time, the increased entry fee recommended is justified.

Campground fees will vary in direct proportion to tourist attendance. The gate fee for camping is calculated to be $1.50 per vehicle. Forty percent of all cars entering the Fort William Park Area are said to be campers. Each vehicle is estimated to carry our mathematical average of three and one-half persons.

PROFIT FROM RETAIL OUTLETS ON THE SITE:

Revenue from retail outlets on the site and from goods and services offered at the Information Centre was calculated from our estimated admission numbers.
LEASE AND LICENCE FEES:

An appropriate area in the Visitor Information Centre could be leased to provide business concerns with space for a restaurant, bookstore, etc.

Income from lease and licence fees would most likely be fixed for a five-year period. An escalation clause may be added to provide further revenue, if gross sales of goods restricted under these agreements exceed prescribed levels.

PROMOTION OF FORT WILLIAM AS A TOURIST SITE:

In the ESTIMATES OF REVENUE we have assumed no promotion of the Fort William Development by the Province of Ontario. Our figures are based on present tourist volume and are not adjusted to allow for the presence of a significant visitor attraction such as Fort William. A concerted promotional effort is strongly recommended.

INSURANCE:

Insurance of staff and visitors includes personal injury and property damage up to $500,000 per incident.

Insurance of the buildings and contents includes fire, water and smoke damage. Flood, vandalism and theft have not been included.

The premium carried is a pro rated annual figure.

Any significant change in visitor numbers or building or contents value will alter premium costs.
EDUCATION FACILITIES:

Various departments of Lakehead University will utilize the facilities of the Fort for Seminars and for Meetings of learned Societies.

This program would provide facilities for the upkeep of the Fort as well. Perhaps such a course could be affiliated with the Community College program of the Province of Ontario.

A program is to be undertaken to integrate the facilities of Fort William into the secondary schools' curricula of Thunder Bay.

A plan of continuing education in history and the manual arts will be undertaken. Dyeing and cloth-making, snowshoe-making, fur ranching and fur curing are but a few of the skills which may be taught.

One of the great shortage in the present labour market is that of skilled carpenters and cabinet makers. Good builders in wood are fast disappearing, with no noticeable recruitment taking place. A special training school could be set up, the primary purpose of which is the training of skilled workers.
# Projected Cash Flow from Operations

## Cash Income (Phases I and II):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First Year</th>
<th>Second Year</th>
<th>Third Year</th>
<th>Fourth Year</th>
<th>Fifth Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Admission fees</td>
<td>$137,650</td>
<td>$143,200</td>
<td>$208,750</td>
<td>$184,900</td>
<td>$195,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail outlets on site</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>31,000</td>
<td>32,000</td>
<td>29,000</td>
<td>30,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information centre</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>15,500</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td>14,500</td>
<td>13,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leases and licences</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>35,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational functions</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camp ground fees</td>
<td>13,200</td>
<td>13,800</td>
<td>14,250</td>
<td>12,900</td>
<td>13,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royalties</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>35,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total cash income (phases I and II)</strong></td>
<td><strong>250,850</strong></td>
<td><strong>258,500</strong></td>
<td><strong>341,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>321,300</strong></td>
<td><strong>346,500</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Cash Outgo (Phase I):

### Salaries and wages - permanent staff:
- Executive: $16,380
- Supervisory: $42,380
- Educational: $19,760
- Craftsmen and demonstrators: $84,160
- Grounds, security and information: $20,800

### Salaries and wages - seasonal staff:
- Educational: $10,440
- Craftsmen and demonstrators: $54,000
- Grounds, security and information: $13,950

### Other operating costs:
- Bank charges: $1,500
- Building upkeep (materials only): $10,000
- Employee benefits: $13,420
- Insurance: $20,000
- Legal and audit: $3,000
- Supplies:
  - Office: $5,000
  - Crafts and demonstrations: $7,500
  - Grounds: $10,000
  - Telephone: $5,000
  - Travel: $5,000

### Total cash outgo (phase I):
- $348,770

## Cash Outgo (Phase II):

### Salaries and wages - seasonal staff:
- Craftsmen and demonstrators: $38,420
- Grounds, security and information: $5,560
- Employee benefits: $2,200

### Total cash outgo (phase II):
- $46,180

### Total cash outgo (phases I and II):
- $394,950

## Excess of Cash Outgo over Cash Income Representing Operating Subsidy

Required from the Province of Ontario:
- $97,920
- $107,170
- $88,670
- $130,170
- $130,030
A FIVE YEAR FORECAST OF ATTENDANCE
AT OLD PORT WILLIAM

1. Travel Research Branch, Ontario
Department of Tourism and
Information, Analysis of the
Study of the Sudbury Tourist
Region -- The Opinions of its
Visitors -- The Performance of
its Tourist Plant; 1966, p. 21.

2. Ibid., p. 13.

3. Ibid., p. 21.

ILLUSTRATION FOR FINANCIAL
CONSIDERATIONS

Can. Arch., Indian House, Angling
Lake, Duck Mountain, Manitoba.
(Facing Appendix).
Alexander Henry gives an account of wood used during the building of the fort at Park River, Autumn 1800:

Oct. 23s. Men employed cutting wood. We perceive a thick smoke to the S.W. at no great distance. Desmarais says it is the Sioux, who have killed the Indians that are gone to the hills, and on their way homeward set fire to the meadows. This is the custom with both Sioux and Saulteurs when they are out to war, and a party turns homeward. Should it be in winter, they seek high reeds or rubbish, and if there is none to be found, they collect a great quantity of dry wood and brush and set fire to the pile. In course of the day I took a memorandum of our buildings. In my opinion the men have worked hard.

WOOD USED IN OUR ESTABLISHMENT AT PARK RIVER, AUTUMN OF 1800

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stockades, 15 ft. long, oak</td>
<td>564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockades, 8 ft., oak, for rembrits (?)</td>
<td>564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockades, 6 ft. for 3d lining to bastions</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockades, 5 ft. over the two gates</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockades, 7 to 15 ft., oak for laths</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockades, 8 ft. for plank for gates</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockades, 7 ft. for plank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pegs, 1 1/2 ft. for stockades etc.</td>
<td>770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FOR DWELLING-HOUSE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 10 ft. for the square</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 18 ft. for the pinions</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 15 ft. for the cloisons</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 9 ft. for the covering</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 11 ft. for the covering</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 20 ft. for the faîtes</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 12 ft. for the faîtes</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 24 ft. for the faîtes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FOR SHOP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 15 ft. for the square</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 13 ft. for the pinions</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 9 ft. for the covering</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 15 ft. for the faîtes</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 11 ft. for the faîtes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 24 ft. for the faîtes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 13 ft. for the pinions</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 9 ft. for covering</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 24 ft. for faîtes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 22 ft. for covering</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 11 ft. for aiguilles</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 5 ft. for doors</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 7 ft. for plank</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 8 ft. for plank</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 7 ft. for plank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 10 ft. for the square</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 18 ft. for the pinions</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 9 ft. for the covering</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 11 ft. for the faîtes</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 20 ft. for the faîtes</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 12 ft. for the flooring</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FOR STOREHOUSE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 24 ft. for square</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pine logs of 13 ft. for pinions</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 9 ft. for covering</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 24 ft. for faîtes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 22 ft. for covering</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 11 ft. for aiguilles</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 5 ft. for doors</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 7 ft. for plank</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 8 ft. for plank</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 7 ft. for plank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 10 ft. for the square</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 18 ft. for the pinions</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 9 ft. for the covering</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 11 ft. for the faîtes</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 20 ft. for the faîtes</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak logs of 12 ft. for the flooring</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>630</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pieces of timber and wood, ... 3,113

Oak stick of 55 ft. for a flag-staff, ... 1

Total, ................................ 3,114

**APPENDIX B**

**CENSUS OF 1805 - RETURNS OF 1806**

July 3. At midnight we arrived at Banbian river.

**NORTHWEST RETURNS OF OUTFIT OF 1805, RECEIPTED AT KAMINISTIQUIA, 1806.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northwest Country</th>
<th>Packs.</th>
<th>Total Returns (packs of 90 pounds each)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athabasca and Salt (sic-qu: Slave?) Lake</td>
<td>297</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athabasca River</td>
<td>96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English River</td>
<td>116</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rat River</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort des Prairies</td>
<td>303</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Dauphin</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Red River</td>
<td>156</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Red River</td>
<td>126</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake Winipic</td>
<td>127</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lac la Pluie</td>
<td>102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lac Mille Lacs</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lac des Chiens</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaministiquia</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NORTHWEST LAKE SUPERIOR:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake Nepigon</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Beaver Coating, 3,565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lac des Isles</td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monontagua</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>73,597 Beaver Skins, 94,827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Pic</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>3,903 &quot; &quot; &quot; 5,204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michipicotton and Batchewoian Bay</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>77,500 &quot; &quot; &quot; 100,031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOUTH LAKE SUPERIOR:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fond du Lac</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>4,011 Fine Otters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folle Avoine</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>2,132 Common Otters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Pointe</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>4,328 Minks.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**McKenzie River Outfit of 1804 (Returns received at Kaministiquia in 1806, 79 packs).**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fine Beavers</td>
<td>25,319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large Skins</td>
<td>23,438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Skins</td>
<td>11,402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pounds</td>
<td>41,830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common Beavers</td>
<td>48,757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Skins</td>
<td>24,840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Skins</td>
<td>91,262</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Contents of the above 2,253 packs (returns from McKenzie River not being included, as they belong to 1804), viz.:**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fine Beavers</td>
<td>25,319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large Skins</td>
<td>23,438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Skins</td>
<td>11,402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pounds</td>
<td>41,830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common Beavers</td>
<td>48,757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Skins</td>
<td>24,840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Skins</td>
<td>91,262</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TRADE BY MAILLOUX (Milieux?) at KAMINISTIQUIA, 1806:**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beavers</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Bears</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Bear Cubs</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown Bear</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martens</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loup-cerviers</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foxes</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishers</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minks</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolves</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raccoons</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muskrats</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6 Parchments.
2 Doe Parchments.
38 Does and Cariboux, dressed.
218 Originals, dressed.
248 Buffalo Robes.
4 Leather Capots.
68 Feathers (pounds of).

MICHIPICOTTON TRADE, 1806:

2,766 Beaver Skins, weighing 3,288 pounds.
3,893 Muskrats.
4,058 Martens.
36 Otters.
8 Minks.
369 Loup-cerviers.
75 Large Black Bears.
2 Cubs, " "
2 Large Brown Bears.
2 Cubs, " "
67 Bears, damaged or staged (?)
1 Wolf.
114 Raccoons.
48 Foxes, Red, Cross, and Silver.

KAMANISTQUIA, Aug. 19th, 1806.

APPENDIX C

HISTORICAL DESCRIPTIONS OF BUILDINGS IN TYPICAL FRONTIER POSTS

1) TYPES OF WOOD USED IN FORT KAMINISTIQUIA III.

The buildings within the fort were sixteen in number made with cedar and white spruce fir, split with whip saws after being squared, the roofs are covered with shingles of cedar and pine, most of the posts, doors and windows are painted with Spanish Brown. Six of these houses are of stone for the company's merchandise and furs etc.; the rest are dwelling houses, shops, counting house and Mess house...


2) IN 1809, DAVID THOMPSON BUILT SALEESH HOUSE IN WHAT IS NOW MONTANA. CONSTRUCTION WAS AS FOLLOWS:

Our first care was a strong Log building for the Goods and Furr; and for trading with the Natives... On the 23rd (of September) we had finished the Store House. To make the roof as tight as possible, which was covered with small logs, we cut long grass and worked it up with mud, and filled up the intervals of the small logs which answered tolerable well for Rain, but the Snow in melting found many a passage; in this manner we also builded our dwelling House; and roofed it, the floors were of split Logs, with the round side downwards, notched so as to lie firm on the Sleepers, and made smooth with the Adze; our Chimneys were made of stone and mud rudely worked for about six feet in height and eighteen inches thick, the rest of layers of grass and mud worked round strong poles inserted in the stone work, with cross pieces, and thus carried up to about four feet above the roof; the fire place is raised a little, and three to four feet in width by about fifteen inches in depth.


3) IN 1833, CAPTAIN BACK RECORDS THE BUILDING OF FORT RELIANCE ON THE SHORES OF GREAT SLAVE LAKE:

On the 5th of November, we had the pleasure of changing our cold tents for the comparative comfort of the house, which, like most of those in this country, was constructed of a framework, filled up with logs let into grooves, and closely plastered with a cement composed of common clay and sand. The roof was formed of a number of single slabs, extending slantingly from the ridge pole to the eaves, and the whole was rendered tolerably tight by a mixture of dry slabs, and subsequently coated over with a thin layer of mud. The house was fifty feet long and thirty broad; having four separate rooms, with a spacious hall in the centre for the reception and accommodation of the Indians. Each room had a fire place and a rude chimney ....

Ibid., p. 13.

4) DESCRIPTION OF FORT VANCOUVER IN 1844:

The fort itself is an oblong square, 250 yards in length, by 150 in breadth, enclosed by pickets 20 feet in height. The area within is divided into two courts, around which are arranged 35 wooden buildings, used as officers' dwellings, lodging apartments for clerks, storehouses for furs, goods, and grains; and as workshops for carpenters, blacksmiths, coopers, tinniers, wheelwrights, etc. One building, near the rear gate, is occupied as a schoolhouse, and a brick structure as a powder magazine. The wooden buildings are constructed in the following grooves in the facing sides. In these grooves planks are inserted horizontally, and the walls are complete. Rafters raised upon plates, in the usual way, and covered with boards, form the roofs. (The Builder, Vol. 2, 1844).

5) The ten-foot modulus suggested for all grooved post and fill
construction is mentioned by John McDougall in 1863. In building of
an old fashioned Hudson's Bay style
house at Smoking Lake in Saskatche-
wan:

A frame of timber, with grooved
posts in which tenoned logs fitted
into ten-foot spans - and as all
the work of sawing and planning had
to be done by hand, the progress
was slow. My idea was to face long
timber presumably in the log-cabin
style and put up a solid block
house, which could be done so much
more easily and quickly . . .; but
I was overruled, so we went on more
slowly with the big house, and
were smoked and sweltered in the
tents all summer. (Barbeau, M.,
The House....., p. 13).
APPENDIX D

INVENTORY OF GOODS KNOWN TO BE AT
FORT WILLIAM BETWEEN 1816 and 1823.

flat chisels
hollow chisels
paring chisels
mortice chisels
socket chisels
assorted lathe chisels
turning chisels
common adzes
carpenter adzes
cooper adzes
scooping adzes
anvils
rules, 2-foot
bench vices
large and small vices
wooden vices
35 lbs. vices
38 lbs. vices
square pincers
round pincers
assorted pincers
forge nippers
large screw plates
midd screw plates
polished screw plates
files and rasps
drawing knives
drill and brace, complete
brace and 25 bits

carpenter's English broad axes
hand axes
small broad axes
American axes
sledge hammers
bank hammers
Kent hammers
iron frame saws
hand saws
tenon saws
dovetail saws
keyhole saws
basket saws
mounted webb saws
garden saws

large felling axes
half axes
small axes
square headed axes
carpenter's English broad axes
hand axes
small broad axes
American axes

4 M nails, 4 d
7 1/2 M " 30d
14 M " 12d
55 lbs " 20d
166 lbs " 28d
12 lbs " 2d
8 lbs " 4d
80 lbs " shingle tacks

7 kegs white paint
10 lbs Spanish Brown paint
3 kegs Venetian red paint
5 kegs yellow paint
24 lbs patent yellow paint
1 keg patent paint
1 keg black paint
16 lbs. blue
5 1/2 gals linseed oil
boiled linseed oil
raw linseed oil
16 brushes, whitewash
4 brushes, painting

irons for sawmill
mill saws
irons for sawmill
mill saws
iron compasses
wooden compasses
screw drivers
large and small iron squares
wooden squares
rabbit planes
o.G. planes
reversed o.G. planes
hollow and round planes
matchins planes
architraves planes
double iron rabbit planes
grooving planes
single jack planes
double jack planes
trying planes
jointers planes
figured planes
panel planes
round planes
folding planes
iron smoothing planes
spike gimlets
awls
bells
bellows
grindstones
foot rule with slide
chalk lines
spoke shears
marble and knife
fire engine
bell
jack screw
picks

14,013 lbs bar iron
322 lbs square iron
253 lbs bolt iron
13 lbs sheet iron
236 lbs German steel
116 lbs blister steel
1/2 bbl. tar
138 lbs putty
window glass, 50 feet of 8 1/2 x 9 1/2", 100 feet of 7 1/2 x 8 1/2"
(spellings as given for books, below)

A 20-volume encyclopedia
James Dispensary
Allston's Lectures
Holmes Experiments
Johnson Essays
Wallons Essays
Beddois & Watt

Twelfers Pharmacopia
Douglas on Muscles
Pharmoca, London
Collins Fracture
Chemical Nomenclature
Rush on Fevers
Dickens Essays
Nisbitts Medicines
Munro on Health
Duncan Lectures
Ferdinand Lebes
Anatomical Dialogues
Allen's Synopsis Medicine

black memo books
notebooks
abstract books
ruled and plain folio paper
ruled foolscap paper
plain quarto paper
plain blotting paper
plain Royal paper
plain Imperial paper
drawing paper
red and black ink powder
tin ink stands
glass ink stands
pewter ink stands
fine quills
pencils
ivory pounce boxes
cassettes
ivory paper folders
rulers
one silver seal, NWCco.
one wafer seal
one box of wafers
sticks of red sealing wax
sticks of black sealing wax

large oval gilt looking glasses
leather trunks
hair trunks
locks for trunks
table bell
snuff boxes
fort flags (both NWCco and HBCo)
tin lanthorns
artificial flour
snowshoes

Bell's Surgery
Bell's Treatise
Bell's on Ulcers, Etc.
Bell's on Hydraulicks, Etc.
Skinner on Poisons
Wotherby's Dictionary
tooth brushes
clothes brushes

2 large hinges (also butt hinges)
22 lbs iron wire (also, 3 coils of iron wire)
large and small stoves, with pipes
desk locks
stock assorted locks
padlocks
basket locks

oil cloths
painted oil cloths
24 maple planks
9 walnut planks
10 walnut boards
3 cherry planks
11 room doors) apparently in 7 large windows) storage 20

sheets of tin
pig lead
45 lbs solder

45 lbs solder

14,013 lbs bar iron
322 lbs square iron
253 lbs bolt iron
13 lbs sheet iron
236 lbs German steel
116 lbs blister steel
1/2 bbl. tar
138 lbs putty
window glass, 50 feet of 8 1/2 x 9 1/2", 100 feet of 7 1/2 x 8 1/2"
(spellings as given for books, below)

A 20-volume encyclopedia
James Dispensary
Allston's Lectures
Holmes Experiments
Johnson Essays
Wallons Essays
Beddois & Watt

Twelfers Pharmacopia
Douglas on Muscles
Pharmoca, London
Collins Fracture
Chemical Nomenclature
Rush on Fevers
Dickens Essays
Nisbitts Medicines
Munro on Health
Duncan Lectures
Ferdinand Lebes
Anatomical Dialogues
Allen's Synopsis Medicine

black memo books
notebooks
abstract books
ruled and plain folio paper
ruled foolscap paper
plain quarto paper
plain blotting paper
plain Royal paper
plain Imperial paper
drawing paper
red and black ink powder
tin ink stands
glass ink stands
pewter ink stands
fine quills
pencils
ivory pounce boxes
cassettes
ivory paper folders
rulers
one silver seal, NWCco.
one wafer seal
one box of wafers
sticks of red sealing wax
sticks of black sealing wax

large oval gilt looking glasses
leather trunks
hair trunks
locks for trunks
table bell
snuff boxes
fort flags (both NWCco and HBCo)
tin lanthorns
artificial flour
snowshoes

Bell's Surgery
Bell's Treatise
Bell's on Ulcers, Etc.
Bell's on Hydraulicks, Etc.
Skinner on Poisons
Wotherby's Dictionary
tooth brushes
clothes brushes
shoe brushes
horn combs
ivory combs
yellow soap
iron soap
Windsor soap
playing cards
clay pipes
flints
plug tobacco
snuff
American rifles
American muskets
English muskets
Northwest guns
fine pistols
common pistols
brass barrelled pistols
pistol flints
American bayonets
English bayonets
cutlasses
swords
fine sabres
English cartridge boxes
English belts
haversacks
cannisters - each 1/2 lb. battle powder
white powder horns
military drums
black handkerchiefs
blue handkerchiefs
red handkerchiefs
bandana handkerchiefs
gilt buttons
beef shoes
fine English shoes
yellow waistcoats
beaver hats
blanket capotes
blue capotes
gray capotes
cloth trousers
duck trousers
ratine trousers
fustian trousers
nankeen trousers
cloth jacket
cotton shirts
calico shirts
woollen netting shirts
woollen stockings
cotton stockings
black stockings
white stockings
tin kettles
copper kettles
covered kettles
tea kettles
pint pewter basins
wooden trays
water buckets
pair carvers
large forks
large knife
knives and forks
tablespoons
soup spoons
earthenware plates
Queensware plates
Queensware bowls
japanned mugs
quart mugs
pint mugs
half-pint mugs
gill mugs
corn mills
tablecloths
breadbasket
glass salt-cellars
pepper box
vinegar cruet
tin wine coolers
wine decanters
wine glasses
blue teacups
glass tumblers
japanned tumblers
flour
sugar
loaf sugar
moist sugar
maple sugar
salt beef
fresh beef
hams
pork
pemmican
brown sugar
Indian corn
white peas
barley
French beans
Indian rice
bread (loaves)
brown biscuits
fresh butter
salt butter
Mocco coffee
Hyson tea
green tea
double Gloster cheese
American cheese
raisins
chocolate
port
French brandy
sausages
veal mutton
fresh fish
salad oil
ketchup
anchovies
mustard
nutmeg
minot salt
black pepper
cinnamon
cloves
dried lemon peel
vinegar
spirits
Madeira wine
Tiner wine
shrub

Can. Arch., Selkirk Papers,
Inventory of Goods, 18 September
Hudson's Bay Company Records, North
West Company Account Books,
Inventory of Goods, Fort William,
1820; and Inventory of Goods, Fort
William, 1821; Inventory of Goods
proper to the Red River Settlement

Can. Arch., Selkirk Papers,
Inventory of Goods, 18 September
Hudson's Bay Company Records, North
West Company Account Books,
Inventory of Goods, Fort William,
1820; and Inventory of Goods, Fort
William, 1821; Inventory of Goods
proper to the Red River Settlement

Can. Arch., Selkirk Papers,
Inventory of Goods, 18 September
Hudson's Bay Company Records, North
West Company Account Books,
Inventory of Goods, Fort William,
1820; and Inventory of Goods, Fort
William, 1821; Inventory of Goods
proper to the Red River Settlement

Can. Arch., Selkirk Papers,
Inventory of Goods, 18 September
Hudson's Bay Company Records, North
West Company Account Books,
Inventory of Goods, Fort William,
1820; and Inventory of Goods, Fort
William, 1821; Inventory of Goods
proper to the Red River Settlement

Can. Arch., Selkirk Papers,
Inventory of Goods, 18 September
Hudson's Bay Company Records, North
West Company Account Books,
Inventory of Goods, Fort William,
1820; and Inventory of Goods, Fort
William, 1821; Inventory of Goods
proper to the Red River Settlement

Can. Arch., Selkirk Papers,
Inventory of Goods, 18 September
Hudson's Bay Company Records, North
West Company Account Books,
Inventory of Goods, Fort William,
1820; and Inventory of Goods, Fort
William, 1821; Inventory of Goods
proper to the Red River Settlement

Can. Arch., Selkirk Papers,
Inventory of Goods, 18 September
Hudson's Bay Company Records, North
West Company Account Books,
Inventory of Goods, Fort William,
1820; and Inventory of Goods, Fort
William, 1821; Inventory of Goods
proper to the Red River Settlement

Can. Arch., Selkirk Papers,
Inventory of Goods, 18 September
Hudson's Bay Company Records, North
West Company Account Books,
Inventory of Goods, Fort William,
1820; and Inventory of Goods, Fort
William, 1821; Inventory of Goods
proper to the Red River Settlement

Can. Arch., Selkirk Papers,
Inventory of Goods, 18 September
Hudson's Bay Company Records, North
West Company Account Books,
Inventory of Goods, Fort William,
1820; and Inventory of Goods, Fort
William, 1821; Inventory of Goods
proper to the Red River Settlement

Can. Arch., Selkirk Papers,
Inventory of Goods, 18 September
Hudson's Bay Company Records, North
West Company Account Books,
Inventory of Goods, Fort William,
1820; and Inventory of Goods, Fort
William, 1821; Inventory of Goods
proper to the Red River Settlement

Can. Arch., Selkirk Papers,
Inventory of Goods, 18 September
Hudson's Bay Company Records, North
West Company Account Books,
Inventory of Goods, Fort William,
1820; and Inventory of Goods, Fort
William, 1821; Inventory of Goods
proper to the Red River Settlement

Can. Arch., Selkirk Papers,
Inventory of Goods, 18 September
Hudson's Bay Company Records, North
West Company Account Books,
Inventory of Goods, Fort William,
1820; and Inventory of Goods, Fort
William, 1821; Inventory of Goods
proper to the Red River Settlement

Can. Arch., Selkirk Papers,
Inventory of Goods, 18 September
Hudson's Bay Company Records, North
West Company Account Books,
Inventory of Goods, Fort William,
1820; and Inventory of Goods, Fort
William, 1821; Inventory of Goods
proper to the Red River Settlement

Can. Arch., Selkirk Papers,
Inventory of Goods, 18 September
Hudson's Bay Company Records, North
West Company Account Books,
Inventory of Goods, Fort William,
1820; and Inventory of Goods, Fort
William, 1821; Inventory of Goods
proper to the Red River Settlement

Can. Arch., Selkirk Papers,
Inventory of Goods, 18 September
Hudson's Bay Company Records, North
West Company Account Books,
Inventory of Goods, Fort William,
1820; and Inventory of Goods, Fort
William, 1821; Inventory of Goods
proper to the Red River Settlement

Can. Arch., Selkirk Papers,
Inventory of Goods, 18 September
Hudson's Bay Company Records, North
West Company Account Books,
Inventory of Goods, Fort William,
1820; and Inventory of Goods, Fort
William, 1821; Inventory of Goods
proper to the Red River Settlement

Can. Arch., Selkirk Papers,
Inventory of Goods, 18 September
Hudson's Bay Company Records, North
West Company Account Books,
A. ON JOB TRAINING FOR UNSKILLED WORKERS

There is a shortage of skilled wood craftsmen in modern times. Modern methods of wood construction have left few who are capable and willing to use early builders methods and tools. It will be necessary to establish a training program for men who wish to learn the builders’ trades.

Even though considerable savings may be secured by means of modern off-site, prefabrication, greater savings can be effected if willing members of the community are permitted to apply for this necessary training program. Those who have wit and strength but who cannot obtain work because of a lack of formal trade training, could be offered the opportunities of social change a new skill would give. This is particularly true of well behaved prisons and especially Indians of the Ojibwa tribe who were most likely the Indians most frequent at the old fort.

If the candidates had a rudimentary education they could be taught the reading of architectural plans and taught the use of the pioneers’ builders tools. If and when these candidates showed special aptitude, they could be encouraged to apply for a permanent appointment to the general carpenter’s maintenance program of the fort.

B. CRAFTSMEN, SELECTION AND TRAINING

The work of the reconstruction of the Fort must be accomplished by specially trained, experienced craftsmen. They are essential to the team which will make an authentic reconstruction possible. Manual skills are learned basically by doing and from others already skilled in the trade. Interested student craftsmen should be encouraged to study the handbooks and the work of earlier periods as well as to seek the advice of older master craftsmen. They must be interested in achieving a quality of workmanship identical to that of times gone by.

In the old days, carpenters erected the frame of a building. Their craft might be compared with the rough carpenter of today, except that the work they did was far from rough. Practically all framing was mortised, tenoned and pegged and was often decorated in exposed places with moldings executed by hand.
## APPENDIX F

### MASTER BUILDING SCHEDULE Pl. - 1

**GROUP A BUILDINGS:** HISTORIC RECONSTRUCTION ON NEW SITE WITH INTERIORS DEVELOPED FOR DEMONSTRATION OF ORIGINAL USE OR FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BLDG. NO.</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>NO. OF STOREYS</th>
<th>OVERALL SIZE</th>
<th>ROOF</th>
<th>FOUNDATIONS</th>
<th>EXTERIOR WALL</th>
<th>DORMEL</th>
<th>LIN.FT. OF 8' PART'NS</th>
<th>CEILINGS</th>
<th>FLOORS</th>
<th>SERVICES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ALLEN'S QUARTERS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25' x 60'</td>
<td>GS</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>TG</td>
<td>P-P</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>MCLoughlin's QUARTERS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25' x 75'</td>
<td>GS</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>TG</td>
<td>P-P</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>INDIAN SHOP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25' x 45'</td>
<td>GS</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>P-S</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>POWDER MAGAZINE</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23' x 33'</td>
<td>HT</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>P-S</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>LIQUOR TAVERN I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>32' x 72'</td>
<td>GS</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P-S</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>COMMISSARY I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30' x 42'</td>
<td>GS</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P-S</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>LIQUOR TAVERN II</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>32' x 75'</td>
<td>GS</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P-S</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>DRY GOODS STORAGE I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35' x 92'</td>
<td>GS</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P-S</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>PACK STORES</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35' x 95'</td>
<td>GS</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P-S</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>DRY GOODS STORAGE II</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35' x 72'</td>
<td>GS</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>P-S</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>QUARTERS III</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>36' x 73'</td>
<td>GS</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>P-P</td>
<td>XXX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>COOPER'S &amp; GUIDES' HOUSE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15' x 46'</td>
<td>GS</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>XXX</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>QUARTERS I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>37' x 71'</td>
<td>HS</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>P-A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>GREAT HALL</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>38' x 80'</td>
<td>HS</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>TG-P-P</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>CONNECTING PASSAGE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6' x 19'</td>
<td>GS</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>P-P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>KITCHEN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20' x 60'</td>
<td>GB</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>HOSPITAL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21' x 57'</td>
<td>GB</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>P &amp; L</td>
<td>PA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>PRISON</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22' x 30'</td>
<td>HB</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>PS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>CARPENTERS' SHOP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17' x 44'</td>
<td>GB</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PF(L)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>SHED FOR CANOE I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>34' x 77</td>
<td>TB</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PS</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>COOPER</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25' x 45'</td>
<td>GB</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PF(L)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>TAUT'S HOUSE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>36' x 68'</td>
<td>HS</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>SHED</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>32' x 72'</td>
<td>GB</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>EQUIPMENT BARN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>37' x 11'5</td>
<td>GB</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PF(L)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>BASTION I</td>
<td>15' x 15' &amp; 10' x 12'</td>
<td>HPS</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>BASTION II</td>
<td>13' x 15' 7' 12' x 12'</td>
<td>HPS</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>MAIN GATEHOUSE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13' x 13'</td>
<td>HPS</td>
<td>TP</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PA</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>SERVICES BUILDING</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20' x 25'</td>
<td>GB</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF(L)</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>P-P</td>
<td>XXX</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See Note 9
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BLDG. NO.</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>NO. OF STOREYS</th>
<th>OVERALL SIZE</th>
<th>ROOF</th>
<th>FOUNDATIONS</th>
<th>EXTERIOR</th>
<th>WALL</th>
<th>DORMER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>STONE STORE</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>47' x 38'</td>
<td>HT</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>COUNTING HOUSE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>36' x 48'</td>
<td>HS</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>GUIDES HOUSE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22' x 60'</td>
<td>GS</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>UNDECIDED</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12' x 20'</td>
<td>GB</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>COMMITTEE HOUSE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20' x 34'</td>
<td>GB</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PF(L)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>SHED</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23' x 72'</td>
<td>GB</td>
<td>TF</td>
<td>PS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>ARMOURER</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18' x 50'</td>
<td>GB</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF(L)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>SHED</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30' x 34'</td>
<td>GB</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>PF(L)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>SHED</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35' x 78'</td>
<td>GB</td>
<td>TP</td>
<td>PS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>CATTLE BARN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35' x 85'</td>
<td>GB</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF(L)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>CATTLE AND SHEEP HOUSE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35' x 85'</td>
<td>GB</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF(L)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>BARN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30' x 80'</td>
<td>GB</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF(L)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>STABLE AND COW HOUSE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>34' x 83'</td>
<td>GB</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF(L)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>COTTAGES</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18' x 60'</td>
<td>GS</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>UNDECIDED</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20' x 30'</td>
<td>GB</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>BOUCHE'S HOUSE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30' x 92'</td>
<td>GB</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF(L)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GROUP B BUILDINGS: MODERN CONSTRUCTION WITH EXTERIORS HARMONIZING WITH EXISTING ARCHITECTURE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BLDG. NO.</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>STOREYS.</th>
<th>OVERALL SIZE</th>
<th>ROOF:</th>
<th>FOUNDATIONS</th>
<th>EXTERIOR WALL</th>
<th>DORMER</th>
<th>PLANK</th>
<th>STUD</th>
<th>LIMS</th>
<th>FLOORS</th>
<th>SERVICES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1A</td>
<td>ORIENTATION CENTRE</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>82' x 106'</td>
<td>HPS &amp; FLAT</td>
<td>CONC.</td>
<td>See Plans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>XXXX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2B</td>
<td>GATE HOUSE-PARK ENTRANCE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9' x 12'</td>
<td>GS</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>P-P</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>XXXX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3B</td>
<td>FORT WILLIAM PARK STORE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>32' x 32'</td>
<td>GS</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>P-P</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>XXXX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4B</td>
<td>COMFORT STATION</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>40' x 60'</td>
<td>CS</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>XXXX</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MISCELLANEOUS STRUCTURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>STRUCTURE</th>
<th>OVERALL SIZE</th>
<th>ROOF</th>
<th>EXTERIOR WALL</th>
<th>FLOORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>OBSERVATION TOWER</td>
<td>13' x 13'</td>
<td>TP</td>
<td>OPEN FRAME</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>FLAGPOLE</td>
<td>40' HIGH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>PALISADE I</td>
<td>2294 LIN. FT.</td>
<td></td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>PALISADE II</td>
<td>484 LIN. FT.</td>
<td></td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>WHARF</td>
<td>210' x 15'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53B</td>
<td>WHARF</td>
<td>200' x 15'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES

1. A RAISED BUILDING (ON TREATED POSTS)
2. DEMONSTRATION AND INSTRUCTION
3. THIS BUILDING WILL DEMONSTRATE CONSTRUCTION TECHNOLOGY
4. ADMINISTRATION & MAINTENANCE - SEE SECTION IVc
5. PUBLIC WASHROOMS
6. DR. McLoughlin's Office will have ceiling type P (500 sq. ft.) and floor type P-P
7. CELLS WILL HAVE CEILING TYPE P
8. STORAGE OF FURNISHINGS AND ARTIFACTS
9. SERVICES BUILDING WILL HAVE CONCRETE SLAB FLOOR, BLOCK WALLS AND FIRE RESISTANT SUB ROOF WITH VENEER OF OLD STYLE CONSTRUCTION AS LISTED ABOVE
10. PARK STORE WILL HAVE GAS PUMPS FOR BOATS AND CARS, GROCERIES - GENERAL AND HARDWARE, MINOR BOAT AND SNOWMOBILE REPAIR

LEGEND

- GS - GABLE & SHINGLES
- GB - GABLE & BOARDS
- HT - HIP TIN
- HB - HIP BOARD
- HPS - HIP PEAK SHINGLED
- PS - PLANK SIDING
- TO - LINED TONGUE & GROOVE
- F - PLANKED ATTIC
- P - POST AND BOULDER
- TP - TREATED POSTS
- TP & BOULDER
- C - CONTINUOUS
- TG - LINED TONGUE & GROOVE
- L - ELECTRIC LIGHTING
- T - TELEPHONE
- D - DIRT
- P-A - PLANK ADZED
- P-P - PLANK PLANE
- P-S - PLANK SAWN
- S - STONE
- H - ELECTRIC HEATING
- L - ELECTRIC LIGHTING
- P - PLUMBING

SERVICES

- PARK STORE WILL HAVE GAS PUMPS FOR BOATS AND CARS, GROCERIES - GENERAL AND HARDWARE, MINOR BOAT AND SNOWMOBILE REPAIR
GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON SELECTING THE SITE

The problem of choosing the best site for the reconstructed Fort William is tantalisingly difficult. It is not that the original foundations cannot be identified of course. As has been made clear above, the original location has been fully established, the lines of the stockade recovered, and it would be quite possible to set each building exactly where it was. How then can there be any hesitation over what to do? For two reasons. First, the original site now lies beneath an active railroad yard and in the surroundings of a modern city. To use it would cost a great deal of money, with results which may be quite disappointing. Secondly, another site is available, only three miles off, on the banks of the same river, with all the advantages of spaciousness, isolation and an ideal nature setting.

Which should be chosen?

We make no attempt to settle this question, but shall merely present what seems to be valid arguments for each. In any case it is too soon for a final decision.

In favour of the original site, the supreme argument is historical authenticity. Surely the visitor to a genuine historical reconstruction of Fort William must be able to tell himself that he is standing on the very spot where stood the old traders and voyageurs; that here, at this wharf, the great Montreal canoes ended their unbelievable journeys from the East; that here the lean, hard crews of the North, slid silently out of the wilderness in their smaller canoes, swung on to their backs for the last time those heavy bales of precious furs, dropped them on the floor of this stone Storehouse, and then in their Indian buckskins went off to the tavern where, by song and tale, they made it clear how much better men they were than the rowdy pork-eaters from Montreal. In this place, the visitor must be able to think, men like Sir Alexander McKenzie and David Thompson got ready for their mighty journeys of exploration. Through this gate Selkirk made his famous raid. Here in this Hall, McGillivray handed him the written protest. Here, finally, the old flag of the North West Company was hauled down and that of the Hudson's Bay Company run up to mark the end of a dramatic chapter in our early history.

If we are not on the old site, what difference can it make where we are? Whether the new stockade and new buildings stand three miles away or three hundred? The whole thing will be as unreal as a stage-set. We shall be doing no more than Hollywood producers when they reconstruct a palace of the Caesars on the outskirts of Los Angeles. We shall not be achieving as much as those absurd American millionaires who bought an old medieval Spanish abbey or castle, dismantled it stone by stone, and put it all together again somewhere in the U.S.A. to serve them as a romantic mansion. They at least retained the very same stones, the same carvings, panelling, and decorations. If we abandon the original site we retain nothing of the past, nothing at all. All our structures must be new, except in design, and they will stand on a site which is also new.

What is the very purpose of our enterprise? It is primarily a service to Canada, a support to our country's need for a sense of the past, for a consciousness of historical identity. Hence the supreme obligation is to avoid any hint of falsehood or sham. Now, no matter what pains we may spend to obtain genuineness in materials and design, what will be the effect if we are obliged to advise all visitors that this is not really Fort William? That the true Fort stood a few miles off, where some vestiges of the foundations have been exposed by archaeologists? It is a practical certainty, that, after surveying our reconstructions, serious visitors will
experience the urge to go to look at what is left of the true Fort, the real one.

Hence, if our second aim is to attract tourists in large numbers, we may well find that all our laborious and costly re-building has no effect but to leave them vaguely dissatisfied. And the minority who know and respect history may well place a greater value on a visit to the railroad yards and an examination of the excavations there, than upon our elaborate piece of make-believe.

Of course it may be protested that to erect the old palisade, and the group of buildings protected by it, on the very spot where they once stood is to accept a hopeless incongruity between spectacle and setting. But is not this very incongruity desirable? Anyone who has visited old London, knows how startling it is to step from a busy modern street, with its noisy, ceaseless rush of traffic, into the silent and remote antiquity of the Tower. Here is a fortress whose stones have stood firm for nine centuries. He looks about us at massive gray walls and squat buildings and, by a sudden wrench of the mind are, forced to behold them with the eye of medieval man. We recognize that this was a stronghold impregnable in old times, and unchanged to this day.

In somewhat similar fashion, will it not be all the more arresting and dramatic, all the more evocative of Canada's beginnings, if the visitor is translated in a few paces, from the downtown area of a busy modern city to the interior of a pioneer stockade, and to that group of log and plank cabins, dwellings, storage houses, and hall, primitive enough by modern standards, but so impressive an achievement in that remote wilderness in which they were built? If the past is to be appreciated, it must stand side by side with the present.

There is also greater and more lasting esteem for a piece of historical reconstruction, when it is recognized as a difficult feat. To restore the old Fort on some ideal site, chosen for the very purpose, will be nothing to boast of. But to alter the face of a city in order to bring this about, to excavate the entire site so that Fort William may stand on its old foundations, to recover the old wharf, to open up the old water routes, all this is to accept a great and complex task and to carry it through as it ought to be done.

But now we must consider with equal honesty the advantages of the other site at Pointe de Meuron, so short a distance away.

Is it not possible to argue that this new site will yield even greater authenticity than the original one? How is historical authenticity to be defined, after all? If the old voyageurs, and the Scots traders who employed them, could return from the grave and be taken to inspect both settings, which would they consider more authentic?

Would they recognize their old depot in a setting of railroad yards and modern streets? Would they identify the stretch of water beside it as their old Kaministiquia, gateway to the northern wilderness? Would they not dismiss as absurd our attempt to revive the past because, no matter how painstakingly we may have restored their work, we have lost the natural surroundings which gave meaning to their work?

Nor is it true to assert that three miles away is the same as three hundred. The new site, like the old, is on the Kaministiquia. It might just as easily have been chosen by the original builders. In fact Selkirk did choose it for a small rival post. And then its immense advantages must be considered, it enjoys nearness to the city along with complete isolation. It is beautifully wooded. So splendid a backdrop of forest and thicket cannot be secured by any artificial means nor at any expense. Even the same orientation
is present, by which we mean that the Fort can there be rebuilt respecting the identical compass readings. If the old voyageurs could indeed come back from the dead, they themselves would not be able to tell the difference between the Fort as it might stand here, and the Fort which they knew.

We must beg our readers to notice also that, whereas in nearly every case where a change of site is dictated, some further change is entailed in the arrangement of buildings upon that site, this is not at all the case at Pointe de Neuron. It will be easily possible to erect the palisade exactly as it was, and to situate every last building within the palisade in the precise relationship to the other buildings which it obtained in 1816.

Furthermore, it must be remembered that our task is not, and cannot be, restoration, in any true sense of the word. Whether we like it or not, there is nothing to restore. No single fragment of the old structures has survived. If what is required is the rebuilding of a ruin, then we are beaten from the outset. There is no ruin to rebuild. It is not going to be possible to raise a single post of the stockade in such a fashion that it can be pointed to as part of the old Fort. Our entire construction program will produce utterly new buildings, structures which never existed before. If we insist on full historical integrity, we oblige ourselves to do nothing at all.

Hence it seems to be straining at the gnat after swallowing the camel, to protest a new site, chosen for the reason that it so closely resembles the old, while admitting, as must be admitted by all, that no matter where the work is done, it can only produce, not the old Fort William, but a new replica. It is a curious metaphysics which attaches importance to reality of site in these circumstances. Again, if we rebuild the old base exactly as it was, it will decay and fall to pieces within fifteen or twenty years. (See in our earlier chapter, Builders and Their Methods, the pages on the lesson of deterioration). Does anyone want historical accuracy at such a price?

We must notice as well, that on the new site, it is going to be possible to achieve a higher measure of historical accuracy than would be possible on the old. This is so, simply because we have far more room; in fact all the room we need. In the downtown section of the city, it is not reasonable to hope to restore the old farm with its barn and sheds, to restore Bouche's House, so far from the main enclosure. And the camps of winterers, pork-eaters and visiting Indians. All these pictures are authentic and the fort is a curiosity. But the price?

Nor must we forget that a considerable proportion of our visitors will be taxpayers. They may admire feats of engineering, radical demolitions and removals. But they are also capable of estimating cost, and of condemning extravagance.

What will be the cost of using the old site?

The truth is that the price is beyond estimate because it must be paid in part by human suffering and deprivation.

This statement may seem extreme, but we beg attention to the following facts. It is not merely that we must expropriate a busy railroad yard of 20 acres at an approximate figure of $8,000 an acre (assessment value only); and 150 homes adjoining this yard at a cost of $2,700,000. The fact is that these 150 families are now holding their modest homes at very low interest rates, under mortgages negotiated in more favourable times. To offer these people on some other location housing as good as that which they now enjoy at rates within their reach is simply impossible. No matter how
generous the price they may get through expropriation, it will not buy them lodging as good, and it will condemn them to crippling debt.

Again, do we want historical authenticity, only partially attainable anyway, at this kind of cost?

Finally, we think it well to call attention once more to the spaciousness and natural beauty of the new site. A park-like environment can there be secured with ease. There will be ample room for picnicking, for parking, and even for camp-sites. And all this without leaving the city limits.

Two maps accompany this report. One of these shows the old site with the railroad tracks and modern buildings which now encumber it. The other enables us to see what could be accomplished on the somewhat isolated peninsula of Pointe de Meuron. We call attention particularly to the splendid verdure and the large areas available for camp ground and trailers.
ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Our investigations could not have proceeded at all without the assistance and co-operation of certain institutions and persons whose generous and efficient support it is now our duty to acknowledge.

First among these must be mentioned the Government of Canada Archives and its devoted staff. Many days of their time were quite literally taken up by our requirements. Similarly we must thank the corresponding office of the Province of Ontario, where the excellent research facilities are under the competent direction of Mr. D. F. Mc Ouat.

Among private firms who gladly gave us their help, first place is held by the ancient Hudson's Bay Company, which has not only survived the history which it helped to make, but is still very much a living influence in Canadian life. The authorities of this Company allowed us to search their archives, both in London and in Ottawa (where they form part of the archives of the nation). Especially must we thank the secretary, Mr. R. A. Reynolds. Various persons in the service on the American Government also came to our rescue. Mr. Henry Judd of Fairfax, Virginia assisted us in planning our work. Mr. Charles E. Peterson of Philadelphia located sources of material outside Canada which might never have been found without him.

Finally, turning back to our own country, we owe a special word of thanks to Mr. A. J. H. Richardson, of the Research Section for National Historic Sites, who gave us the benefit of his wide experience and knowledge.
National Heritage Limited, Toronto, Canada
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIRECTORS</th>
<th>ARCHIVISTS AND SCHOLARS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W. McC. Pigott*</td>
<td>J. M. S. Careless, Ph.D.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. A. McCance*</td>
<td>J. R. Martin, Ph.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. J. Hill</td>
<td>J. E. Boucher, A.R.P.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. H. McMurrich*</td>
<td>A. V. Tucker, Ph.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. P. O'Connor*</td>
<td>A. M. Walmer, M.S.(ARCH.)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. G. Atkey</td>
<td>M. Zaslow, Ph.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>J. Stokesbury, Ph.D.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>J. I. Rempel, M.R.A.I.C.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D. Duncan*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A. Gowans, Ph.D.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>K. G. Hardy, Ph.D.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D. Wright, Ph.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F. H. Armstrong, Ph.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>K. C. A. Dawson, M.A.*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates participation in producing this Report.
P. Buache, "Carte Physique des Terreins
les plus Eleves de la Partie
Occidentale du Canada,"
Considerations geographiques et
physiques sur les nouvelles
decouvertes (Paris, 1753-4).
Drawn by Auchigah on a piece of
Birchbark in 1728.
(Facing this List of Illustrations)

(1811 or 1812) owned by Mr.
Stephen A. Howard of Toronto,
painted in watercolour by Robert
Irvine (C 1464).
Notice the Great Hall is painted
white. This painting shows the
fine setting which the Fort
enjoyed.
(Facing Bibliography).
tracée par le Sauvage Ochagach 1754
Bibliography
BIBLIOGRAPHY

UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS

ENGLAND

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE,

Hudson Bay Company Papers, C.O.134; C.O.135.
Papers, First Earl of Shaftesbury, 30/24.
Colonial Entries, C.O.389; C.O.6; C.O.42; C.O.47; C.O.135.
Foreign Office Papers, F.O.5; F.O. 353.
Canadian Governors Reports, C.O.42.
The King's Posts, C.O.42/303.
Miscellaneous Collection, C.O.325.
Board of Trade Papers, B.T.1; B.T.5.
Petition Against the Charter, C.O./ 42/614.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Haldimand, M.SS. 21661-21982.
Additional, M.S. 17677.
Additional, M.S. 15332D.
Sloan, Add. M.S. 2902.
Sloan, Add. M.S. 2716.
Stowe, Add. M.S. 480.

COLONIAL OFFICE LIBRARY

America, Map no. 54. List of Trading Stations of N.W.Co. 1817.

FRANCE

ARCHIVES NATIONAL, PARIS,

Archivis des Colonies, Col. Series B;
Series C; particularly Col. C/11A,
Col. C/11E, Col. C/11G; Series F/2,
Col. F/2/A/13, F/2/B/1, Col. F/2/B/8.

ARCHIVES DU MINISTERE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERS,

Series H/1/89/F.

COLLECTION DE MOREAU DE SAINT-MERY,

Series F/3.

ARCHIVES DE LA MARINE,

Series Marine B/2, Marine B/2/235,

BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE,

Manuscrits du Fonds Francais,
Nouvelles Additions, Melanges de Colbert,
Colbert Collection des Cinq Cents,
Collection de Clairambault

CANADA

CANADIAN ARCHIVES

Hudson Bay Co. Papers, F. 1/1 through F 7/2.
Askin Papers, PAC, MG, 19, (A3).
Bulger Papers, PAC, MG, 19,(E5).
Coltman Paper, PAC, MG, 19, (E2).
Assiniboia Minutes, PAC, MG, 9, (E1).
J. McGillivray Papers, PAC, MG, 24, (13).
W. McGillivray Paper, PAC, MG, 19, (B4).
Miles MacDonnell, PAC, MG, 19 (E4).
John MacLeod, PAC, MG, 19 (A23).
Trials N.W.Co. & H.B.C., PAC, MG, 19, (E2).
Ermatinger Family Papers, PAC, MG, 19, (A2).
Francois de Beaulainois Papers, PAC, MG, 18, (G6).
Selkirk Papers, PAC, MG, 19, (E1, vols. 79).
MacIntosh Papers, PAC, MG, 19, (A31).
Keith Papers, PAC, MG, 19, (A41).
American Fur Co. Papers, PAC, MG, 19, (A2,1).
Alexander Henry Papers, PAC, MG, 19, (A13).
Peter Pond, PAC, MG, A5, (D) & PAC, MG, 21, (A17).
Louis Masson, PAC, MG, 19 (c).
Powell Papers, PAC, MG, 23, (W14).
Strathcona & Mt. Royal, PAC, MG, 19, (A33).

ONTARIO PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES

Roderick McKenzie, "An Account of the Athabasca Indians."
Agreement concerning a reorganization of the North West Company, 1804.
Joseph Bouchette, "Map of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada with the Adjacent Parts of the United States of America." (This map has a sketch of Fort William, Ontario, mistakenly entitled Grand Portage. Map Number, SV 1100-1815 and comes in four sections.
Duncan Cameron, N.W.Co., "The Nepigon Country, "A sketch of the Customs, manners, and way of living of the natives in the barren country around Nepigon, with extracts from his Journal in 1804 and 1805." (Photostats and typescript only).
Irving Papers, Boundary Question, Ontario.
Charles McKenzie, An Account of the North West Co., 1806, typescript.
George Henry Monk, "Some Account of the Department of Pond du Lac or Mississippi," 1807, typescript.

North West Company Trials (Perhaps same as 12 Public Archives, Canada).
A Partner of the North West Company, "An Account of the Athabasca Indians."
Russell Papers. (Containing an agreement whereby Indians at Sault Ste. Marie gave land to North West Company, 1798.
Five Selkirk Documents, H.B.C. including Lord Selkirk's maps and drawings of Fort William.
Strachan Papers, North West Co.
David Thompson, Journals and Maps, (Volumes 1, 2, 3, and 4).
Edward Umfreville, "Journal of a Passage in a Canoe from Pais Plat in Lake Superior to Portage de l'Isle in Riviere Quinipique," June 16 - July 31, 1784.
Peter Pond Map as copied by Ezra Stiles, 1790.

TORONTO RESERVE LIBRARY

Dummer Powell Papers, Quaiffe Papers
Edgar Letters
Release of Claims by the wintering partners of the N.W.Co.

MCGILL UNIVERSITY

Masson MSS (Redpath Library).
N.W.C. Papers, McCord Museum.
Alexander Henry's Travels in the Red River Department of the North West Company 1806.
J. Macdonald, "Lake Athabasca et les Chipweans."
A.N. McLeod Diary, Nov. 15, 1800 - June 4, 1801.
Blackwood Papers.

UNIVERSITE DE MONTREAL

Baby MSS, N.W.C. Minutes, 1801-8; Register, XY Company at Grand Portage.

SEMINAIRE DE QUEBEC

A. MacKenzie and Co., Ledger, Dr. to Outfits 1802-05.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY

Burton Collection, John Askin, Memorandum Book, 1785-1786; Ledgers, 1795-97; Account Book, 1780-1790.
F. Baraga Papers, 1828-1933.
MacKintosh Letterbook, 1801-1802.
MacKintosh Papers, 1798-1800.
U.S. War Department, letter Aug.
1, 1812 to Brig. General Hull,
Detroit.
Little Wiley, letter, Michilimackinac, Aug. 4, 1816 to Mrs. Suzan
Allen.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Bancroft Papers, P-C1-32, 34-47.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Thomas Connor, "Journal of Daily
Occurances," 1804-1804, photostats.
Original is at the Canadian Public
Archives, Ottawa.
Douglas Dunham, "The French Element
in the American Fur Trade 1760-
1816," Ph.D. dissertation, U. of
Michigan, 1950, 272 pp., microfilm.
Ruth Helgesm, "The XY Company,
Archibald Norman McLeod, Diary
Nov. 15, 1800-June 4, 1801, photostats and typescripts. Original is
at McGill University, Montreal.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

PUBLISHED WORKS


Atcheson, N., On the Origin and Progress of the North West Company of Canada, with a History of the Fur Trade, as Connected with That Concern (London, 1811).

Bain, J. (éd.), Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories between the Years 1760 and 1766 by Alexander Henry, Fur Trader (Toronto, 1901).


Biggar, H.P., The Early Trading Companies of New France (Toronto, 1901).


Bryce, G., The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company, including that of the French Traders of North-western Canada and of the North-West, XY and Astor Fur Companies (London, 1900).

Callahan, J.M., American Foreign Policy in Canadian Relations (New York, 1937).

Campbell, M.W., McGillivray, Lord of the Northwest (Toronto, 1962).

Campbell, M.W., The Nor'Westers (New York, 1956).


Campbell, R., A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel Street, Montreal (Montreal, 1887).


Coues, E. (éd.), The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike, to the Headwaters of the Mississippi River, through Louisiana Territory and in New Spain, during the years 1805, 1806 and 1807, 3 vols. (New York, 1895).


Cox, Ross, Adventures on the Columbia River (London, 1831).

Creighton, D.G., The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850 (Toronto, 1937).


Dye, E.E., McLoughlin and Old Oregon (Chicago, 1901).


Franchere, G., Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America in the Years 1811, 1812,
1813 and 1814 (New York, 1854).

Gates, C.M. (ed.), Five Fur-traders of the Northwest (Minneapolis, 1933).


Guillet, E.C., Pioneer Arts and Crafts (Toronto, 1940).

Hadfield, J., An Englishman in America, 1785, Being the Diary of Joseph Hadfield (Toronto, 1933).

Haight, Canniff, Country Life in Canada, Fifty Years Ago (Toronto, 1885).


Heriot, G., Travels through the Canadas (London, 1807).


McKenney, T.L., Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes of the Character and Customs of the Chippeway Indians, and Incidents connected with the Treaty of Fond du Lac (Baltimore, 1827).


Vandiver, C.A., *The Fur Trade and Early Western Explorations* (Cleveland, 1929).


Wallace, W.S. (ed.), *Documents Relating to the North West Company*


Thompson, David, *Narrative of Explo-
(Toronto, Champlain Society, 1934).


BIBLIOGRAPHY

PERIODICAL ARTICLES


Bradley Smith, H.R., Blacksmiths and Ferriers' Tools at Shelburne Museum (Shelburne, Vermont, 1966).


Burpee, L.J. (ed.), "Journal of a Journey of Anthony Hendry, to explore the country inland, and to endeavor to increase the Hudson's Bay Company's trade, A.D. 1754-1755," Royal Society of Canada, Proceedings and Transactions, 1907.


Champney, Stella, "Late Mrs. Kirkup Recalling the Closing of Historic Old Fort" Detroit News, 1932.

Cruikshank, E.A., "Early Traders and Trade-routes in Ontario and the West, 1760-1783," Royal Canadian Institute, Transactions, 1893.


Munro, W.B., "The Coureurs de Bois," Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1923-34.


Quimby, G., "Hawaiians and De Meurons In the Upper Great Lakes," Michigan Archeology, XXIV.


LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS FOR BIBLIOGRAPHY

Illinois Division of Parks and Memorials, Cahokia County Courthouse, Cahokia, Illinois C.1737. Restored 1939. This building is one of many establishing the spread of French Building Technology.
(Last page)

National Heritage Limited, Fort William, showing its relation to present day Thunder Bay.
(Facing back cover).