

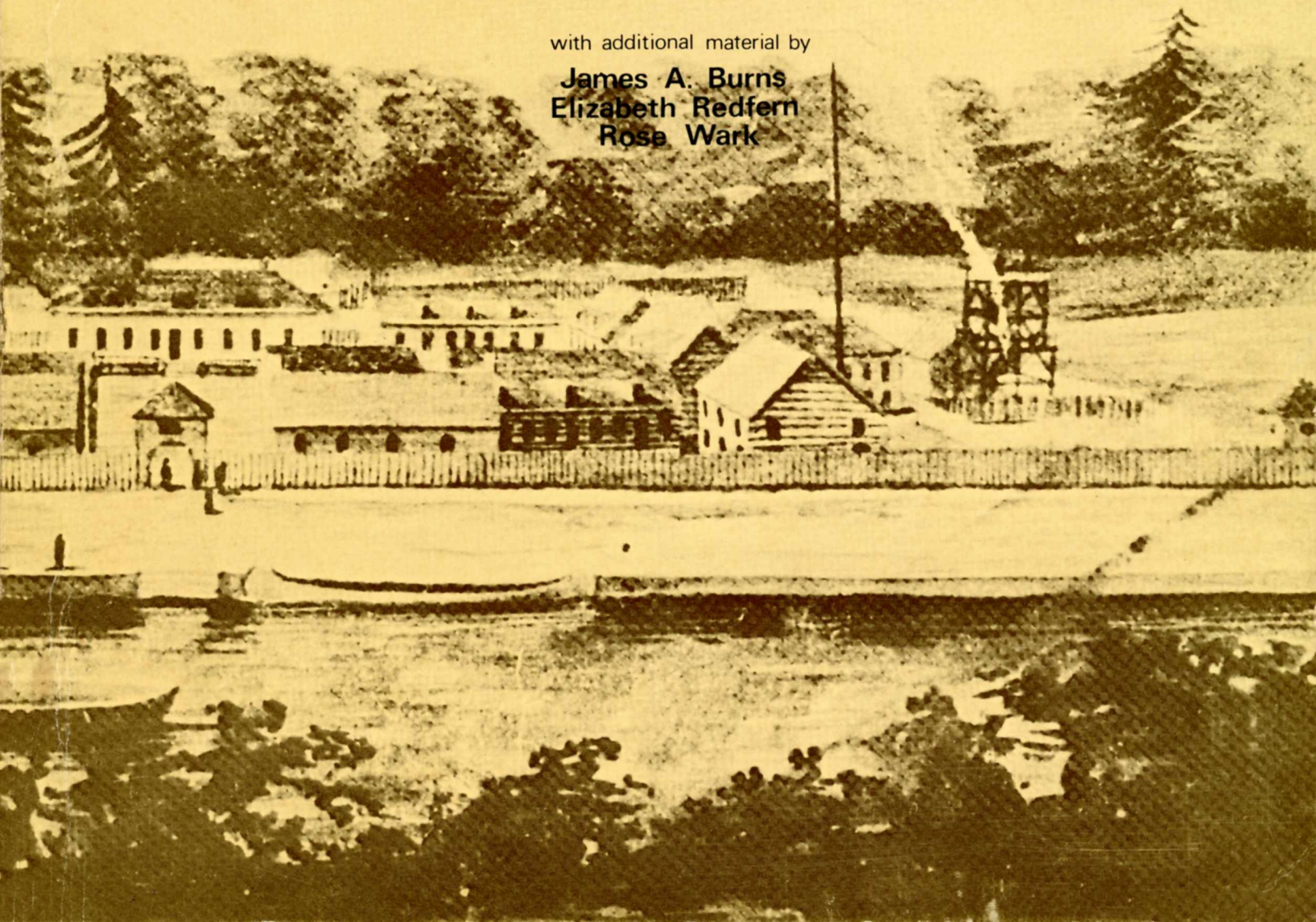
FORT WILLIAM

FOOD-RELATED ARTIFACTS

Jean-Pierre Cloutier

with additional material by

James A. Burns
Elizabeth Redfern
Rose Wark



The Fort William Archaeological Project Series

Fort William: In Pursuit of the Past
Fort William: Structures and Space
Fort William: Living and Working at the Post
Fort William: Food-Related Artifacts

J. A. Kleinfelder
A. M. Taylor
S. Campbell
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FORT WILLIAM

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Jean-Pierre Cloutier

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**James A. Burns
Elizabeth Redfern
Rose Wark**

produced by the
FORT WILLIAM ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT

1976

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Foreword

Archaeological work on the site of the North West Company's Fort William depot at the mouth of the Kaministiquia River in Thunder Bay was initiated as part of the preliminary research preceding the Ontario Government's decision to reconstruct the post. Exploratory excavations were conducted in the summers of 1968, 1969 and 1970 by Professor K. C. A. Dawson of Lakehead University.

In the spring of 1971, retiring Premier John Robarts announced the government's plan to reconstruct Fort William at Pointe de Meuron, ten miles upstream from the original site. The archaeological investigation at the mouth of the river then became a full-time project contracted to Lakehead University and carried out in conjunction with the overall reconstruction program.

The Fort William Archaeological Project was directed by Joyce A. Kleinfelder and Marie Taylor, who were assisted by a full-time staff which varied from one to eleven people. The basic staff was augmented by summer crews ranging from two to twelve persons and by fifteen sub-contracted specialists throughout Ontario and Quebec.

The 1971 and 1972 excavation objectives were determined by the reconstruction program: find whether remains still existed of particular North West Company buildings c.1816-17 which were about to be reconstructed; if so, ascertain all possible dimensions and structural details. Had the site been occupied for a

relatively short period of time, then left undisturbed until the present day, the task would have been a straightforward one. Unfortunately, this was not the case.

To begin with, the north half of the North West Company site lay beneath a residential area and the south half was used by the Canadian Pacific Railway as a cleaning yard. This severely limited the area accessible for excavation. Secondly, as information about the site began to accumulate, it became clear that the mouth of the Kaministiquia River and the site of Fort William had seen repeated human use during prehistoric times and continual change since the turn of the 19th century. The archaeologists were confronted with traces of all the users of the site, and the picture that emerged from the excavations was exceedingly complex and confusing. The documentary and pictorial record of the site contained crucial gaps and conflicts, and provided no instant answers to the overwhelming number of archaeological questions. With very rare exceptions, it was virtually impossible to designate, with any degree of certainty, a feature in the ground as belonging to the precise period of reconstruction.

Consequently, the original excavation objectives were abandoned in 1973 and the last field season was spent attempting to answer some of the archaeological questions by means of more detailed excavation of features found in previous years. Although this approach by no means resolved all the problems, it did produce a more comprehensible body of archaeological information.

In the spring of 1974, the Project embarked on the final stage of its program: the preparation of a series of four publications based on the data gathered since 1971 and addressed to the general reader. The ensuing departure from the standard approach to archaeological reporting was based on the following considerations:

- ... those directly responsible for, and those overseeing, the reconstruction of Fort William had been kept informed of the archaeological findings throughout the course of the Project;*
- ... the volume of the data in general, and the fragmented nature of the archaeological data in particular, did not warrant extensive quantitative description; in addition, at the conclusion of the Project, the data will be made available to other researchers through the Ministry of Culture and Recreation;*

- ... *the logical conclusion of research is to reach beyond the tangible remains of the past – features in the ground, artifacts, documents and pictures – and attempt to grasp something of the human context, the living, dynamic whole, which they represent;*
- ... *neither research nor an interest in it is the prerogative of archaeologists and historians – it is part of everyone's cultural heritage.*

The interpretation and understanding of the archaeological and/or historical data set forth in this publication is basically that of the author modified by a critical review of the manuscript by all members of the Project employed at the time of editing. In all cases, the aim was to present the interpretation which best accommodated all the known information available at the time.

References, Style and Terminology

All historical references and pictures have been reproduced with the written permission of the repositories or individuals concerned, and may not be further reproduced without their permission.

In quotations, the spelling and punctuation of the original document has been presented and authors' interpretive insertions kept to an absolute minimum. In the text, earlier spellings of words such as 'Kaministiquia' and 'Pointe de Meuron' have been used instead of present day anglicized versions in order to retain a flavour of the times.

Although Ojibwa peoples occupied the area around Lake Superior in the time of the North West Company, it is known that representatives of other cultural groups also came to Fort William at one time or another. Unless it is known which group is being referred to, the term 'Indian' has been used to denote those of indigenous North American cultural background in order to be consistent with the historical quotations and in order to avoid the confusion that sometimes arises with use of the word 'native' and to avoid the unfamiliarity of such terms as 'Amerindian'.

The term 'half-breed' is often used in the documents to refer to those of mixed North American and European background. However, the term has come to have so many derogatory connotations that the word 'Métis' has been used in the text instead.

The abbreviations 'NWC', 'HBC' and 'CPR' have been used throughout the publications when referring to the North West Company, Hudson's Bay Company and Canadian Pacific Railway. This has been done for the sake of brevity and we trust the companies concerned will not be offended.

About the Author

Jean-Pierre Cloutier was responsible for identifying and analyzing the ceramic material from the 1971 to 1973 excavations. He was then employed as an Associate Archaeologist to correlate the artifact data with the major features uncovered on the site and with the documentary information concerning material culture. In this volume he speaks of the largest group of artifacts recovered: those related to the storage, preparation and consumption of food.

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*The people of the "East End", Thunder Bay,
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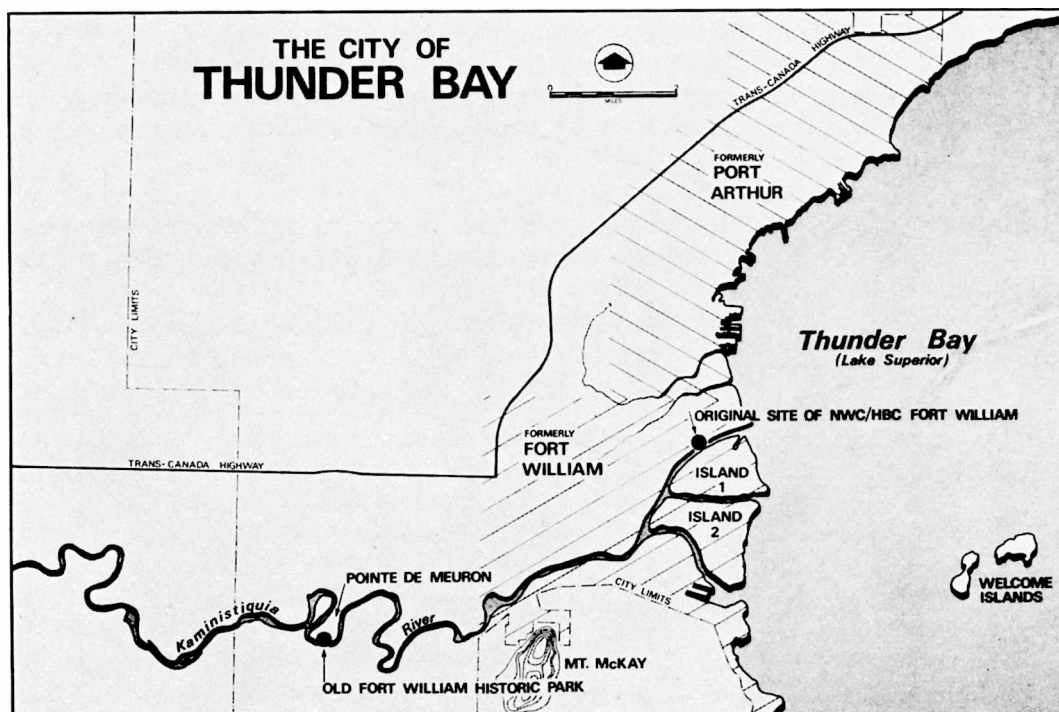
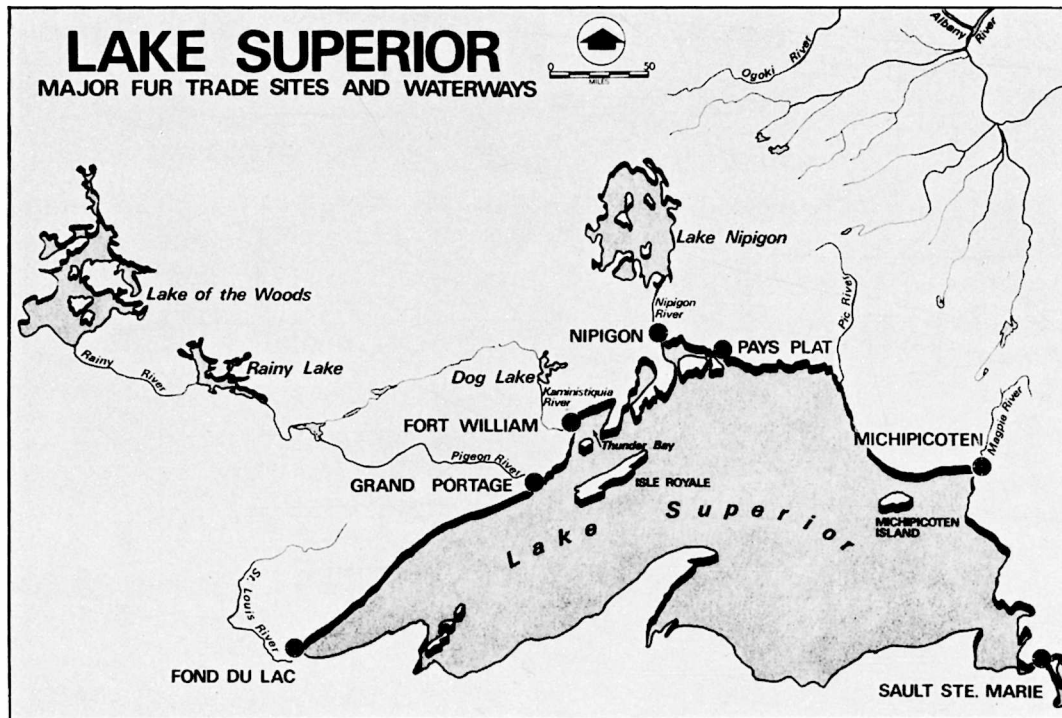
Author's Acknowledgements

The numerous difficulties imposed by very limiting time requirements and the very fragmentary nature of the archaeological data would have been impossible to surmount without the exceptional collaboration of my fellow researchers at the Project, Susan Campbell and A. M. Taylor, and especially its director, Joyce A. Kleinfelder, who was a constant source of encouragement and constructive criticism.

I am also greatly indebted to a friend-researcher, Paul McNally, whose ideas and knowledge of glass, and particularly of table glass, constituted a major contribution to the present study.

My gratitude goes to Lynne Sussman also, for some important references to HBC period ceramics, and to Jane Beecroft who had the unenviable task of editing my manuscript.

J-P. Cloutier



INTRODUCTION

Historical Background

Fort William was located near the mouth of the Kaministiquia River on the northwest shore of Lake Superior, where present-day Thunder Bay now stands.

Long before the arrival of Europeans, the Indians had made use of the Kaministiquia water-route and of the shoreline of Lake Superior. Pierre-Esprit Radisson (ca.1640-1710) is the first white man known to have travelled in the area, wintering somewhere in the Fort William region in 1659-1660. As the area was then rich in furs and within reach of other good fur territory, it was later used for trading posts, the first of which was built by Greysolon Du Luth. Subsequently, other posts were built in new locations or where an older one had been abandoned. The French needed forts which could be used as bases for western exploration, as well as to attract the Indians and thus prevent them from taking their furs northward to Hudson Bay.

The Kaministiquia region gained more importance when the North West Company was forced to transfer its first inland depot at Grande Portage to the site of Fort William in the first years of the 19th century.

During the following two decades of occupation of the new site, Fort William was the main depot for all goods and foods destined for the

northwest trade. The NWC had established the famous summer *rendezvous* where the partners, clerks, interpreters, guides, and *voyageurs* from inland posts and from Montreal met in large numbers. This was the occasion for discussing the business of the trade, receiving goods from Montreal and furs from the interior posts, and preparing orders for winter.

After 1821, the union of the NWC with the Hudson's Bay Company brought changes in the administration of the fur trade which greatly affected the future of Fort William. Michipicoten, Moose Factory and York Factory were, henceforth, the terminals for the transportation route to England by way of Hudson Bay, while Fort William kept its important role of serving as a production centre for the district in foods, and in canoes for westbound travellers. After 1836 it became particularly important as a fishing centre for the HBC.

The HBC finally terminated its operations at Fort William in 1881. Of the entire Fort, only one building remained after the Canadian Pacific Railway completed its initial installation on the site. It was the solitary, mute remnant of building and rebuilding and of the vast changes that took place on the site over the years.

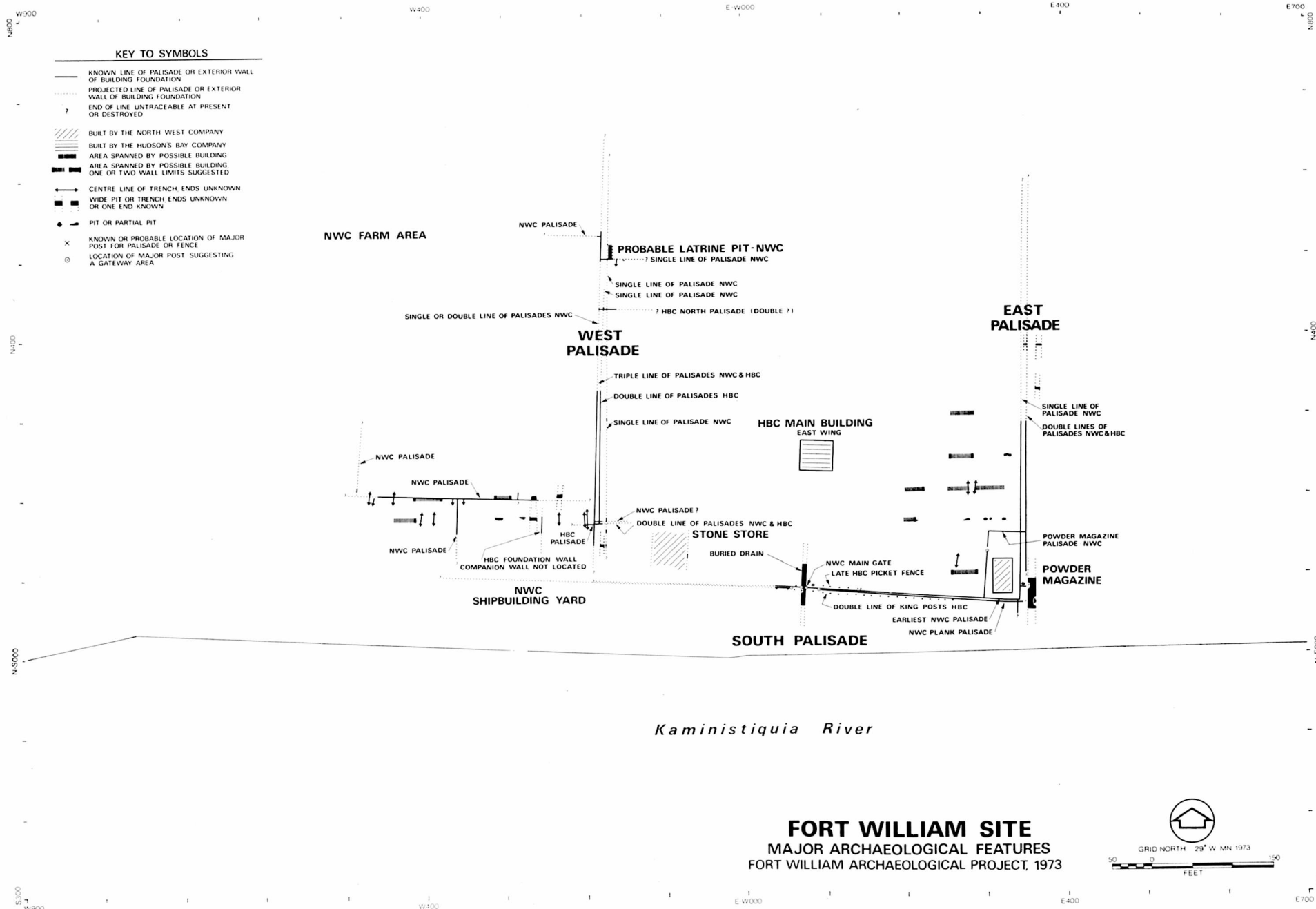
Since much of the data on food-related objects can be studied from a quantitative point of view, it is necessary to evaluate the whole occupation of the Fort William site in terms of the number and kind of people who lived there. An exact population count is not possible at this stage of research, however general indications can be given for the periods with which we are mainly concerned.

The entire occupation of Fort William can be broken down into three major periods:

NWC 1802-1821

During the NWC period, usually a partner, a clerk and a number of *engagés* remained at Fort William all year round. As far as can be determined at present, the permanent staff totalled approximately 20. These men were provided with living quarters by the Company. Although it is unclear how many would have had families, it is known that by Company decree in 1806 families were required to live outside of the Fort area.

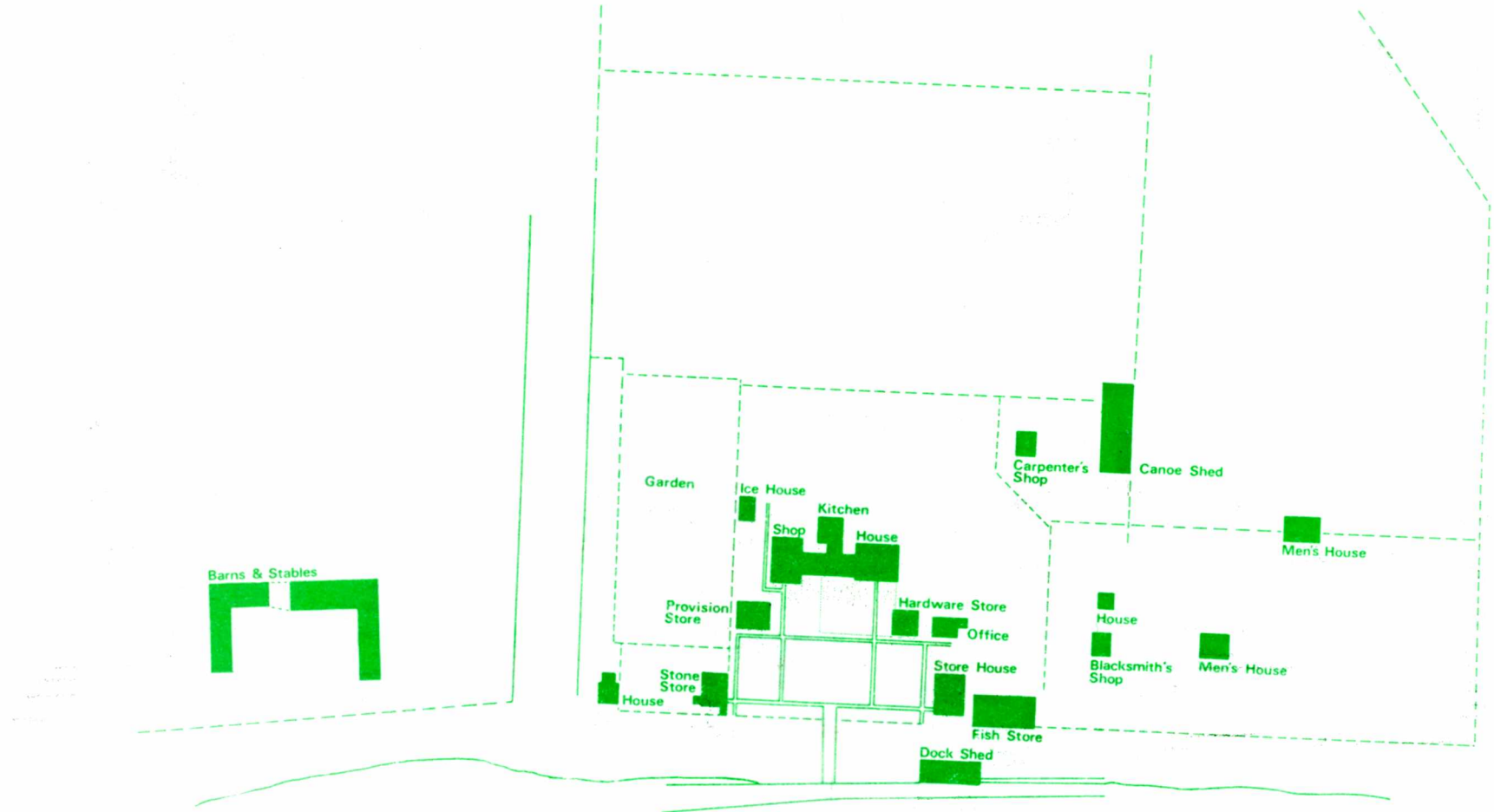
During the summer months, throughout the period of the *rendezvous*, the year-round population increased dramatically reaching as high as 2,000 for a two-week period in midsummer and tapering





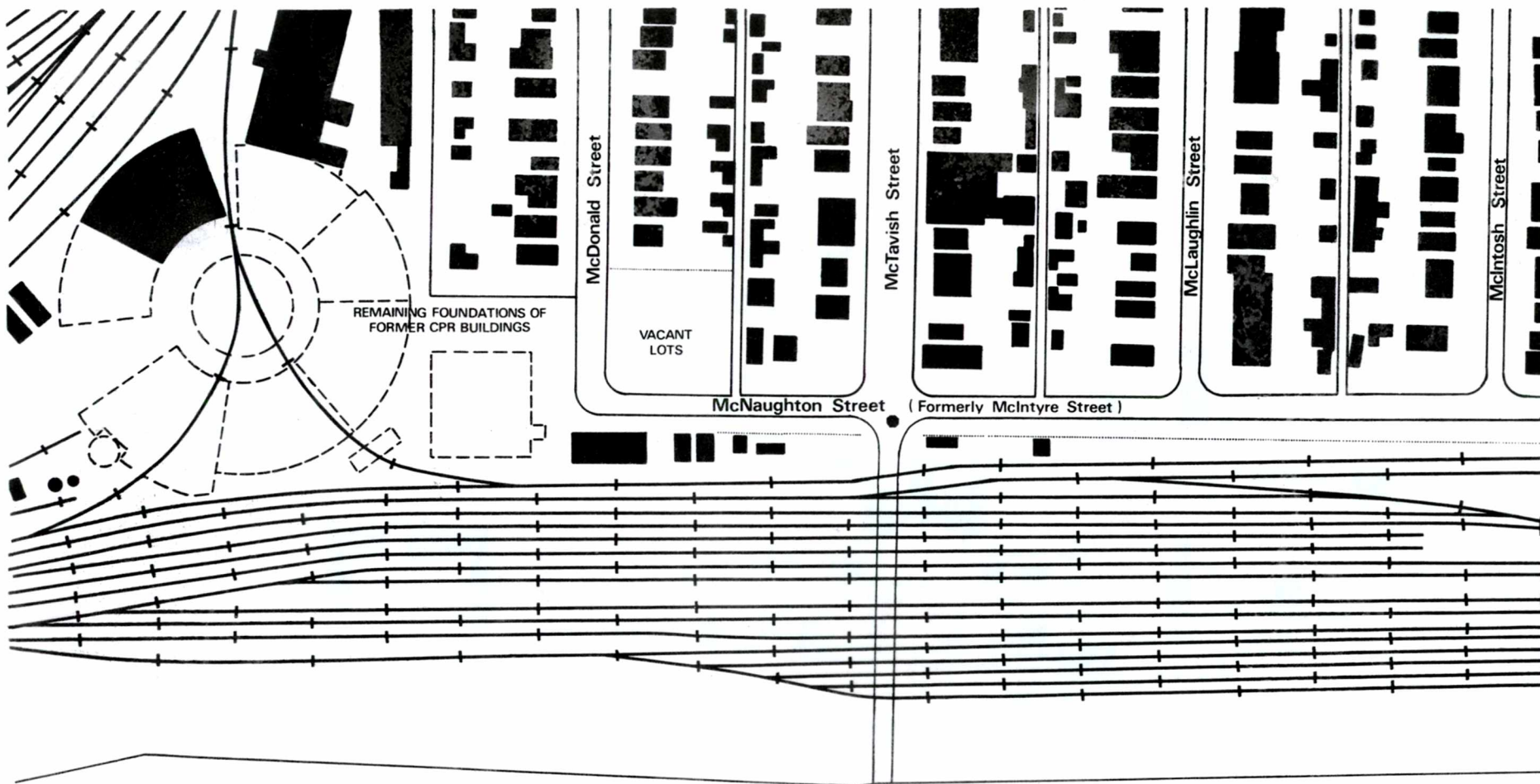
FORT WILLIAM SITE
NORTH WEST COMPANY
 SELKIRK'S PLAN, 1816-17, ONTARIO ARCHIVES
Italics indicate interpretations of Selkirk's Writing



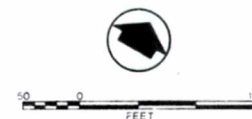


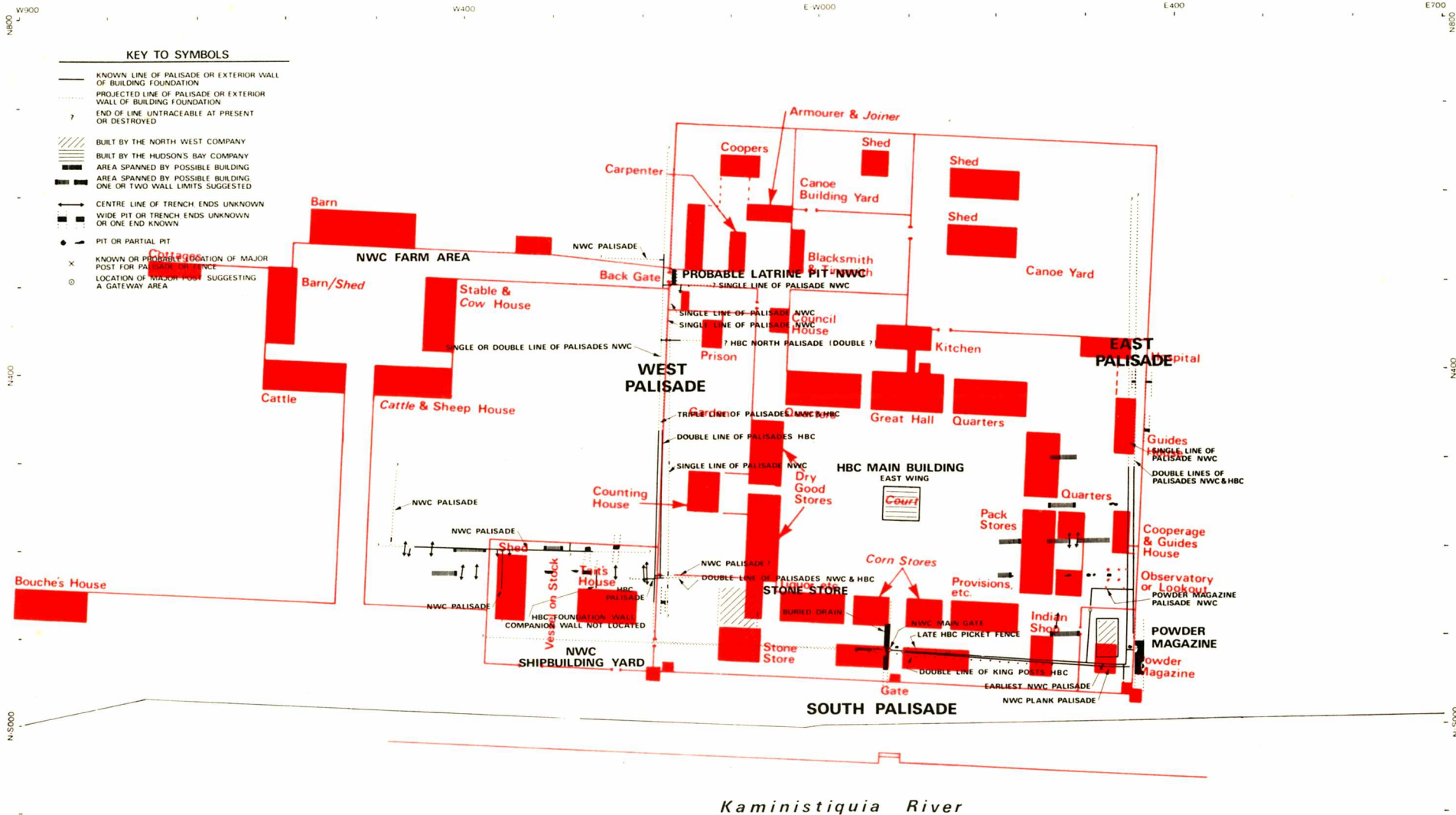
FORT WILLIAM SITE
HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY
PLAN OF FORT WILLIAM, ca. 1875
THUNDER BAY HISTORICAL MUSEUM SOCIETY





FORT WILLIAM SITE
PRESENT DAY FEATURES
 AFTER LAKEHEAD PLANNING BOARD, 1959





off until September when only those who were to "winter" at Fort William were left. Of this transient population, at least 100 partners, clerks, guides and interpreters slept and ate within the palisades. The remainder camped outside the Fort to the east and west.

HBC 1821-1883

After 1821 the great summer influx of people ceased. From then until 1883 when the HBC leased the site to the CPR, the year-round population decreased erratically. A leveling-off appears to have occurred between the 1830s and 1850s when approximately 15 people were employed year round. But by 1875 the Post was manned by only a Factor and four men¹.

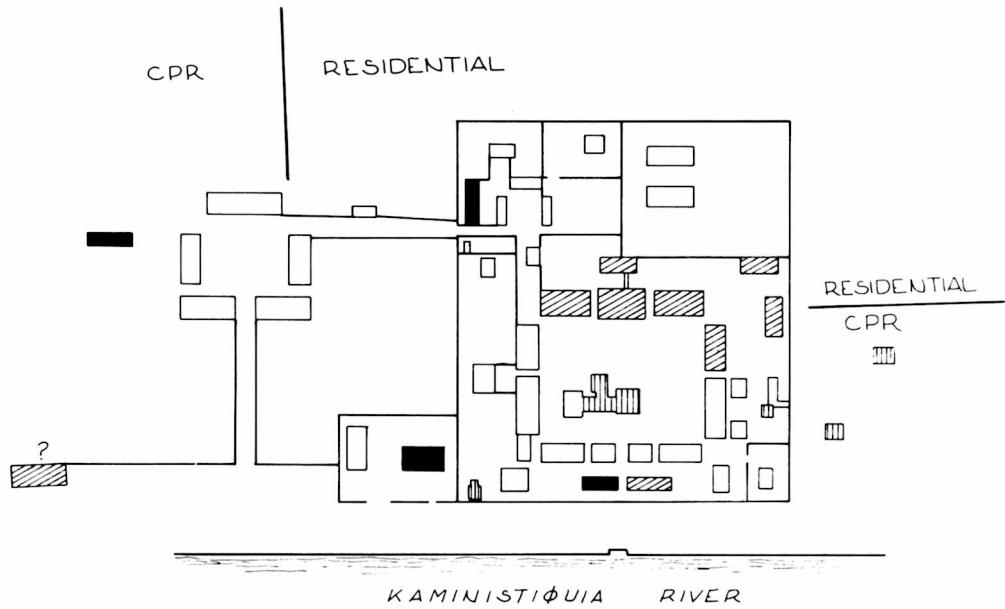
The HBC also provided living quarters for employees, but it is not known exactly what regulations governed families or how many there may have been. The early part of the HBC period saw continued use of the NWC living areas that were already established. A major shift occurred in the 1830s when the HBC began dismantling and rebuilding.

CPR 1883-Present

The history of the CPR's use of the site is sketchy at best due to the unavailability of records from the period. The railway may have temporarily used HBC buildings to house some of its crews and work gangs. At the same time, private homes began to spring up to the north of the HBC post. Very shortly after the CPR began to use the site, all of the HBC buildings except for the Stone Store were dismantled. It would appear that both the railway and the new residents once again salvaged and transformed the wood and stone from the earlier period, and in some cases just moved entire buildings.

It does not seem that the entire area of the HBC post was capped with railway fill until some time after 1902-3 when the Stone Store was dismantled - until that time, when a track was needed, a single railbed was laid.

In the sketch below, the NWC's year-round living areas are shown in black; their summer living areas are indicated by diagonal shading; and the vertical shading indicates the post-1840 HBC living areas. The horizontal line indicates the approximate position of the boundary between present-day CPR and residential properties.



The Archaeological Context

The food-related artifacts excavated at the Fort William site are as important for the reconstruction of many aspects of life at the Fort, as they are to understanding the numerous traces left in the ground by a century of occupation. It may come as a surprise to many that very little is known about food activities and objects, and about the people who were part of them. Although archival research and archaeological excavations made on the site of Fort William provide us with important information, many questions remain unanswered. In fact, more questions than answers emerge from the Fort William data. Our only purpose here is to give a general idea of the situation of food-related objects. Before the full significance of the data can be realized, more time will be necessary for detailed analysis and study.

With the basic objectives of confirming or refuting Lord Selkirk's 1816 plan of Fort William, excavations on the site were carried out in two phases: from 1968 to 1970 there were small-scale survey excavations, and from 1971 to 1973 more extensive work was done including some selected intensive excavations. Of the entire NWC site, approximately one-half was accessible for excavation: that portion lying within the CPR cleaning yard which was covered with 17 sets of railway tracks and which was in daily use. An estimated 3% of the total NWC site area was excavated, largely in the area of the NWC palisades.

The excavations produced primarily negative information relative to reconstruction objectives. The continual construction of new buildings and repair of older ones during both the NWC and HBC occupations made

impossible the positive identification of most NWC features extant in 1816-17 which was the period chosen for reconstruction. With the exception of four stone foundations, excavation evidence of buildings was lacking and points to the conclusion that in most cases log sills were set on the ground as foundations, a conclusion supported somewhat by evidence in the HBC journals. These sills would likely have been quite shallow, rotted quickly and been easily removed in subsequent use of the site once their superstructures were gone.

The Artifacts in General

Continual changes to the site from 1800 to the present also produced a spatially scattered assemblage of artifacts which were found in a very fragmented state. Consequently, the potential of the artifacts for solving specific archaeological problems was considerably diminished.

The NWC and HBC occupations of the site are largely represented by a very thin layer of soil directly beneath the railway fill. The continual use of the site means that artifacts were often horizontally and vertically mixed throughout the 80-year period prior to the deposition of the layer of CPR fill. Thus in most cases, it is impossible to associate assemblages of artifacts from particular features or areas with distinct time periods or with distinct uses that the feature or area may have had.

In addition to the limitations inherent in the artifact collection from the site, the location and nature of the excavations imposed two further restrictions upon the conclusions that can be drawn from the total assemblage. As figure 3 shows, most of the excavations lie within the CPR yard and outside most of the NWC living area. Although most of the HBC living area lay within the present railyard, excavations concentrated on NWC features which were peripheral to the HBC Post. Secondly, no feature could be completely excavated because of the railway tracks, nor was any feature excavated to the fullest extent possible allowed by the tracks due to the limitations dictated by time and objectives. Consequently no assemblage of artifacts recovered helps us to determine who used a feature or for what purpose.

Documentary information on food-related objects at Fort William is contained in two main types of records: inventories, and account ledgers including a Day Book kept during the winter of 1816-17. Enumerations of goods and food were presented in inventories of buildings or in inventories of goods sent to and from Fort William. Issues of food and objects to designated individuals appear in account

ledgers. The Day Book and inventories dating from the NWC period form the bulk of the material examined in the preparation of this publication.

Additional documentary material in the form of travellers' narratives and similar papers contain much information on a wide variety of subjects, but none deal specifically with the usage of food-related objects at Fort William with the exception of two presented in the following text.

The General Framework

Food-related objects were given priority over other groups of artifacts because they represent the majority of archaeological finds at Fort William, and are related to the activity which involved the greatest amount of the people's and companies' concerns at the Post. First, attention will be focused on the food-related artifacts archaeology has provided. Secondly, attention will be given to archival documents which present a 'first hand' account of food-related objects in use and being stored. The ultimate objective is to arrive at an idea of the food-related activities of the people who lived and worked at Fort William.

In this text, the data used are drawn from the analysis of ceramic artifacts excavated between 1971 and 1973, and of glass artifacts excavated in 1972 and 1973. This selective use of the data, as well as the limitations discussed above, should be borne in mind by the reader at all times.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL PICTURE

Artifacts and Archaeology

Before dealing with the Fort William artifacts in any detail, some preliminary clarification is needed about ceramics and glass as materials, and about food-related objects. Food-related objects are those directly associated with the storage, preparation and consumption of foods. Many categories of these objects had to be excluded from the present study, as was the case with scythes, and containers for corn, etc. Ploughs and other agricultural implements are also food-related objects, as are tables, tablecloths, and fireplaces, but all of these are more difficult to integrate into this study. Although time and space have influenced the selection of ceramics and glass over other categories, there is another reason for the choice. Before the advent of plastics, two of the most important materials used in the making of objects for domestic use were ceramics and glass. Both have excellent qualities for use in food-related activities.

Some ceramic artifacts proved to be meaningful in relation to their archaeological context; and in some instances, it was possible to make use of information provided by the glass artifacts. Prerequisite to understanding any significance of the artifacts is a fairly accurate idea of their distribution. To be considered first are the ceramics from archaeological excavations in the 1971 to 1973 seasons. The ceramics were associated with specific NWC features or areas pre-dating CPR operations on the site: the South, East and West Palisades, the eastern

range of buildings, and the Shipbuilding Yard. Ceramic artifacts represented from 13% to 22% of all the artifacts unearthed in each of these areas. Glass artifacts, excluding window glass, are represented in similar proportions. What these figures mean is that at least one-third to one-half of all the artifacts found in these areas are related to food activities.

Another important fact emerges from the distribution of food-related objects over the whole site. Half of all the ceramics, 53.4%, and approximately half of all the glass artifacts were found in direct association with the three palisade areas:

South Palisade	25.1%
West Palisade	19.4%
East Palisade	8.9%

In addition, nearly 40% of all the ceramics were unearthed in the eastern range of buildings. Excavations in the Shipbuilding Yard yielded only 7% of all the ceramics. The glass artifacts follow approximately the same distribution, except that the smallest quantities of glass were found in the East Palisade area as opposed to the Shipbuilding Yard in the case of the ceramics.

The significance of such a pattern of distribution of artifacts is somewhat difficult to interpret. The difficulty arises from the fact that very little excavation was done in areas other than the palisades, though this may very well be the place where most artifacts were discarded. To what extent excavation of a larger number of building locations would change the picture of food-related artifacts at Fort William will probably never be known.

The general distribution of all the 1971 to 1973 ceramic sherds shows very clearly that the site was thoroughly disturbed. The author divided the excavations into arbitrary 5' x 10' units to see how, in plan, the different kinds and quantities of ceramics were distributed throughout the excavated areas of the Fort. Of 147 units, 80.2% contained between one and ten ceramic fragments. This means that each unit contained less than 1% of the total number of fragments found on the site. The remaining each yielded between 11 and 153 sherds, with the majority falling at the lower end of that range.

A similar impression is received when one examines the distribution of ceramic artifacts relative to the most important areas and features of the site. Out of 34 features important enough to be analysed in detail, only 23 yielded any ceramics, and 14 of these contained less

than 8 sherds. Eight units had between 11 and 44 sherds and one unit contained 285. These 34 features were selected because of the many artifacts associated with them, and it should be stated that there were other features without many artifacts.

This analysis of the quantitative distribution of the present collection of artifacts indicates that there is little significant relationship between the artifacts and their provenience or spatial location whether the latter are arbitrary units or archaeological features. This substantiates the previous statements concerning the limitations of the collection and indicates that the artifacts would best be examined *per se* as a collection rather than in terms of their archaeological context.

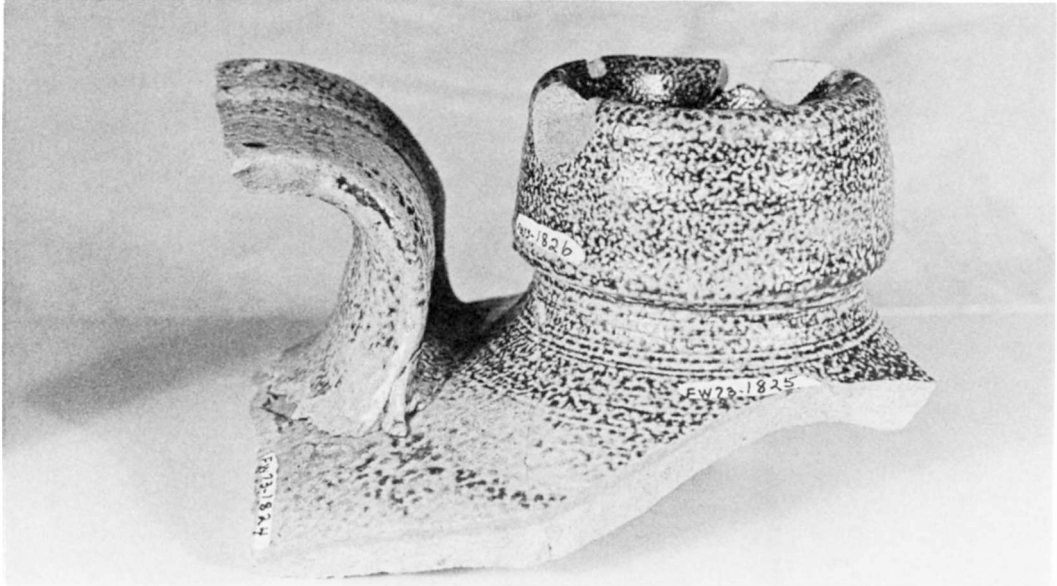
Had features or units been found with reliable quantities of artifacts, amongst other things, it would have been possible to identify periods of usage of certain types of objects in the particular Fort William conditions. Such information would have permitted assessment of the position of food-related objects at Fort William compared with other fur trade establishments in other parts of Canada.

This is not to suggest that the archaeological collection of food-related artifacts at Fort William is without value. On the contrary, they *can* be used to assess certain aspects of life at the Fort, but obviously to a lesser extent than at a less disturbed archaeological site which has been more extensively excavated.

Food Storage

Food-related objects can be divided into three main functional categories: storage objects, preparation utensils, and tableware. Only the first and last categories will be discussed here because ceramics and glass relating to food preparation are practically non-existent in the Fort William collection.

Food storage vessels of ceramic are represented mainly by coarse stoneware sherds and account for a little more than 5% of all the fragments found between 1971 and 1973. Because of its highly fragmented state, the collection did not always permit positive identification of original shapes. However, it seems that jug-shaped, liquid-containers predominated in use during the NWC and early HBC periods. The same applies to the later period of occupation although there is evidence



4 Portions of a salt-glazed stoneware jug, typical of the NWC and early HBC occupation of Fort William. (FW73-1823 et al., T6/W255-W250, 16" - 19"; from wall foundation in Shipbuilding Yard; reduced to 85% of size)

pointing to the presence of large, cylindrical objects.

Of the glass food-related archaeological artifacts from the 1972 and 1973 excavations, compilation shows that 83% of that material is associated with food-storage. This leaves glass tableware a very modest role at Fort William.

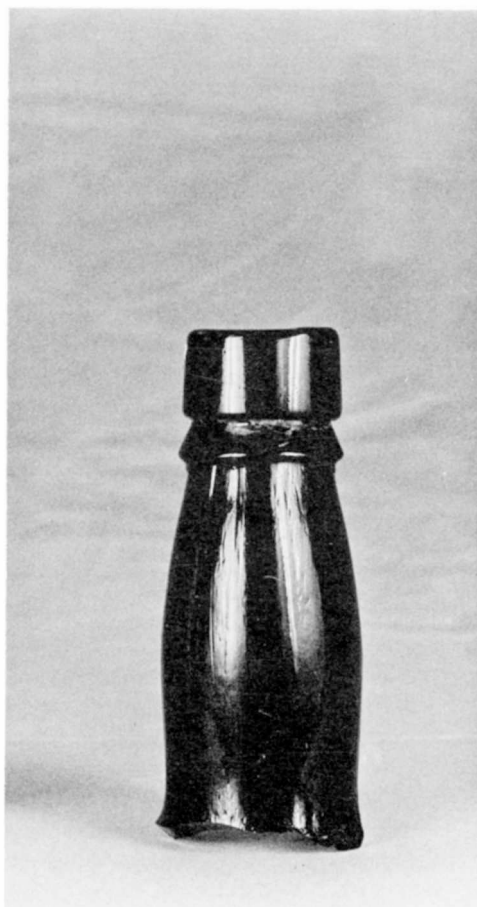
Storage glass is in much greater quantity during the second half of the 19th century than in the NWC period when the Fort was at its peak. In fact, two-thirds of the food-storage glass artifacts are from the second half of the 19th century. Furthermore, only 7 out of 54 storage glass artifacts recovered during the 1972 and 1973 excavations, can be assigned to the NWC period of occupation.

Bottles account for the vast majority of food-preserving and storage objects of glass manufacture. Other shapes represented include pickling jars.

There is always a great danger in making an exclusive association between food-usage and the large category of liquid storage containers, and this association seems to occur more frequently with ceramics and glass than with metals. Objects of different shapes lend themselves to



5 A rare example of an essence-of-coffee bottle, dating from the latter part of the 19th century (FW71-3474, found during City's excavation of McIntyre Street which runs across the area of the NWC's Great Hall and Quarters Buildings; reduced to 70% of size)



6 A neck fragment from a typical bottle in use after 1840 (FW71-2490, T6/W220-W215, 19" - 36"; from the area of the Shipbuilding Yard immediately to the west of the West Palisade; reduced to 70% of size)

many different uses and are employed in an unexpectedly large number of ways. Given their great popularity and variety of size, glass bottles frequently have multiple uses. As Paul McNally, who identified the 1973 glass collection points out:

Determining precisely what function a bottle served is a task rendered difficult in direct proportion to the bottle's age. At the turn of the 19th century, when there were very few specialized bottles manufactured for specific uses, the common bottle could be used for any number of purposes. Collectors and historians of glassmaking have tended to

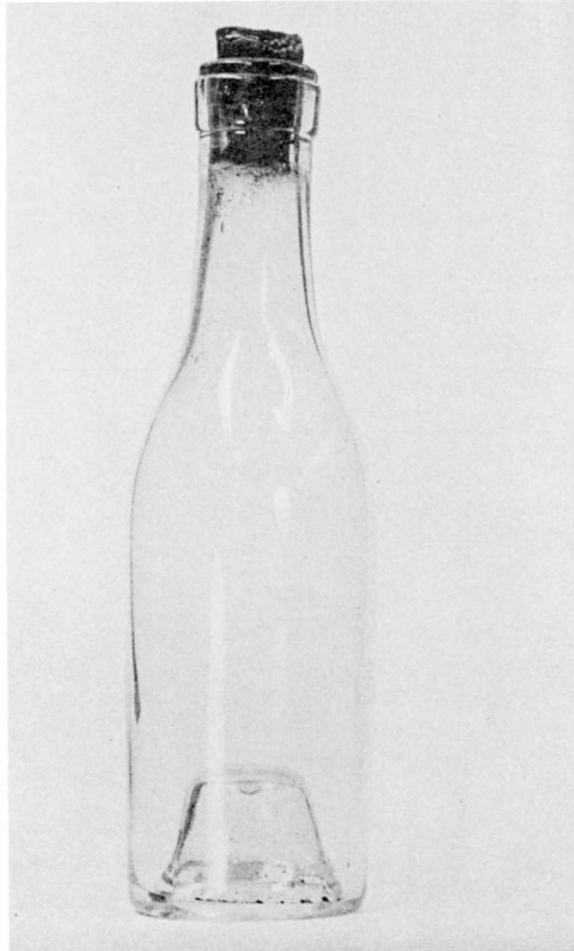
name shapes in such a way as to presume their function. To take the two most common instances: the plain, roughly cylindrical bottle often called a 'wine' bottle; and square-sectioned bottles often called 'gin' bottles, or 'Holland gins', or 'taper gins'. Strictly speaking, such nomenclature is erroneous and misleading, even though such names might indicate the primary function of a bottle shape, for they preclude numerous usages to which bottles evidently were put, and others to which they might very well have been put. Consequently, careful students of glass prefer to call plain, cylindrical bottles just that, and to call square-sectioned bottles 'case bottles', because their shape was ordained by the cases in which they were packed. The somewhat weaker shape of the case bottles was not a drawback when packed, and allowed the bottles to fit snugly without wasting space or requiring extra amounts of packing material. It is important to remember that for the users of bottles, they were the Tupperware of the age.

In the case of small-necked bottles, which are the vast majority of glass containers in any archaeological collection, function was only restricted by their unsuitability for most solids. Hence, a 'wine bottle' could store anything from milk to lamp fuel. In the early use of glass, rather than buying goods packaged in glass, a consumer would take his empty bottles to a merchant and have them filled with what it was he needed: wine or spirits, oil or whatever. An example of that situation is the scarcity of bottles in the HBC posts between Montreal and Red River, described in 1844 by the Reverend George J. Mountain:

... it may be supposed that common things are by no means common in places like these. At one of the posts, where we brought away some milk, there was no such thing as an empty bottle to be had, and the vessel which we borrowed for the purpose was left at the next Fort with a strict charge that it should be returned by the first opportunity²

Even when it became the practice to bottle wine and spirits at the place of production, and market the product in bottles, a tendency increasing during the 18th century and commonplace in the 19th century, it was still normal for many consumers, such as large households or fur trade companies, to buy supplies of spirits or oil in quantity, by the keg which was tapped as needed. Consequently, even to determine whether a bottle was associated with comestibles, or not, is impossible in the case of the common, utilitarian bottle forms. Naturally, as the 19th century

progressed, increasing development of specialized packaging in glass for unit merchandising led to special forms of bottles which may be recognized as to function with increasing definiteness.



7 A bottle of such small dimensions that it would have been more suitable for medicines or flavouring essences. The turn-mould technique used to shape the bottle indicates that it postdates the 1870s. (FW73-266, N085/E080, 7 3/4"; from area of NWC Main Gate; actual size)

Tableware

Tableware and kitchenware are two of the three main terms used to

describe food-related objects. As the name implies, tableware indicates objects used during the eating of meals: plates, cups, forks, bowls, glasses, pitchers, etc. Kitchenware refers to objects used in the preparation of food, usually in the kitchen, and includes items such as frying pans, cooking pots and butcher knives.

Ware is a term meaning a kind, or category, of ceramic, and designates varieties found within the three large families of ceramics: earthenwares, stonewares, and porcelains. For further classification and definitions of ceramic types the reader should consult Appendix A.

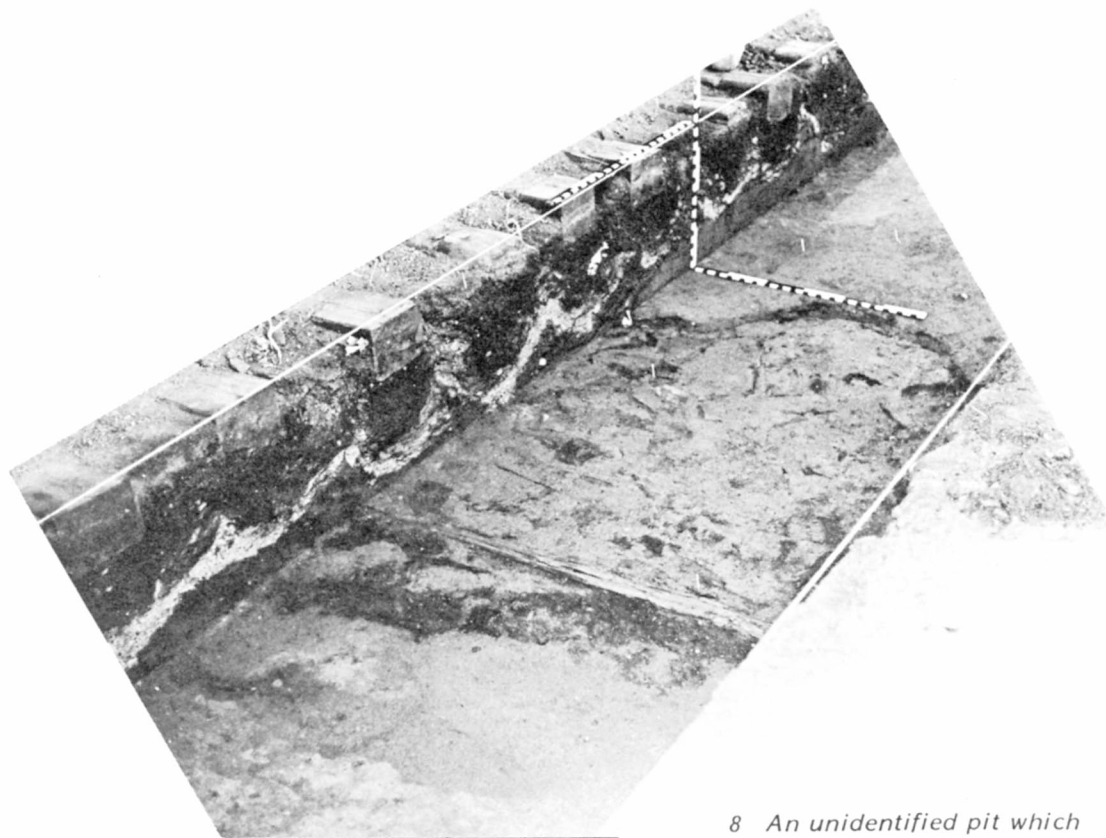
Archaeological artifacts considered as tableware, as opposed to those used to store and preserve foods, are among the most numerous of the Fort William collection. In addition, the large majority of these are ceramic. Figures 8 and 9 show a rare concentration of ceramic plates and bowls as found in the course of excavating.

Artifacts of glass which were meant to be used at the table were very few, with the remains of only 14 possible objects. This figure represents approximately 13% of all the food-related glass.

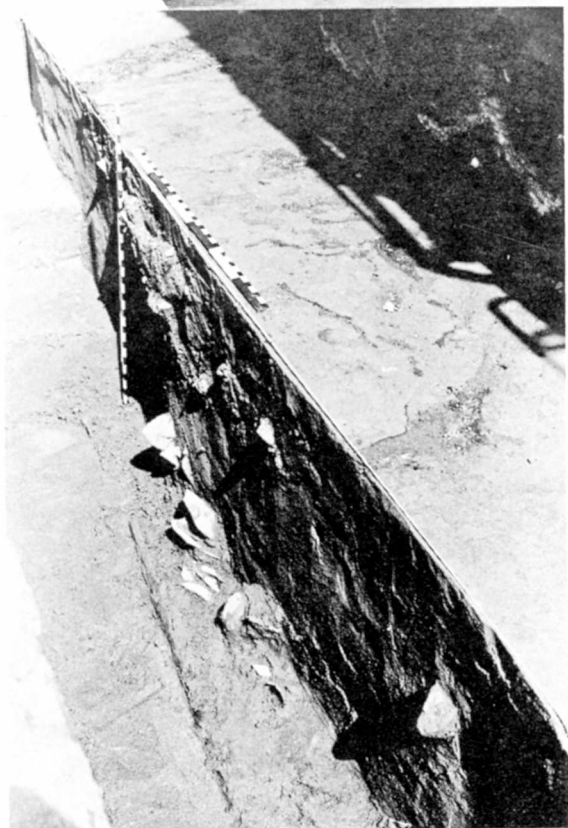
These glass artifacts varied little in their basic shapes and possible uses. Positively identifiable sherds are the remains of four tumblers, three stemmed wine glasses, and one spooner. The last object, a common tablepiece in the 19th century, was meant to hold tablespoons, and its beaded, embossed decoration indicates that it dates from the end of the 19th century to the very early 20th century.

The glass tableware found were mostly drinking vessels, such as the tumbler and wine glass above. Both the cheapest and most expensive varieties of tumblers are indicated. One of the Fort William wine glasses is representative of the simplest and cheapest stemware available from Great Britain during the last quarter of the 18th and first quarter of the 19th centuries. Fragments from such glasses are fairly common on Canadian historic sites.

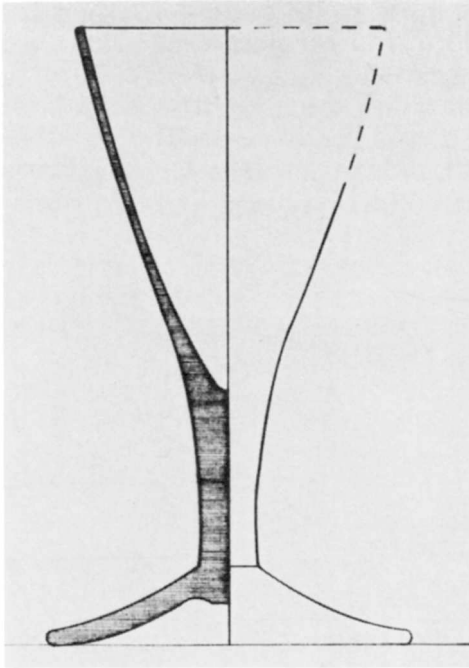
In situations limited to archaeological information, it is ceramic artifacts that give the best idea of tableware in use. The ceramic tableware of Fort William is represented by six shape categories: plates, platters, saucers, cups, bowls, and pitchers. Their distribution within the categories is shown in Appendix A. For practical purposes only the plates, saucers, cups, and bowls will be discussed here; the other two shape categories are too under-represented.



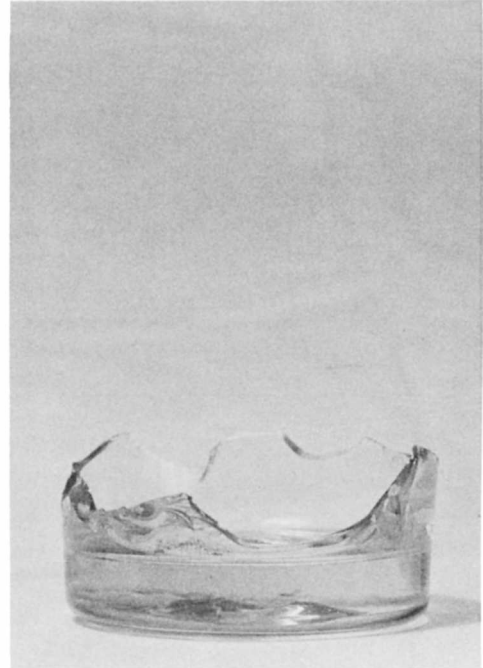
8 An unidentified pit which appeared to intrude upon, and therefore, post-date an early line of palisade in the area of the NWC's Shipbuilding Yard. (view west)



9 South profile of the cross-sectioned pit showing ceramics and other artifacts in position. The reconstructed bowl in figure 12 came from this pit. (view east)



10 Cross-section and profile of a typical wine glass from the 1780-1830 period. (After McNally³; reduced to 75% of size)



11 The base of a British lead glass tumbler typical of the 18th and 19th centuries and common to Canadian historic sites with occupation earlier than the 1850s. (FW73-183, N085/E105, 5¼"; from South Palisade trench fill; reduced to 75% of size)

One of the most interesting phenomena at Fort William related to artifacts is the distribution of bowls, cups, and saucers. First of all, the number of cups and saucers is very similar, and these two shapes represent close to 11% of all the ceramic sherds recovered. Secondly, the bowls are nearly numerically equal to the cups and saucers, totalling almost 13% of all the ceramic sherds. We need to consider now the relative period of usage of each shape.

When these objects are grouped by wares, it is seen that there are no creamware or pearlware cups and only one pearlware saucer from the NWC and early HBC occupations of the site. The earliest of any Fort William cups and saucers date from the 1820s or early 1830s.

On the other hand, the bowls offer a very different picture. More than a third, and possibly one-half of all the bowls date from the NWC and early HBC periods up to the 1830s. Figure 12 shows the typical shape of one of these bowls. Furthermore, the number of bowls then decreases

to a point where less than 20% of the bowls can be dated from the middle of the 19th century up to the early 20th century. In addition, the proportion of bowls to other shapes, in each of the ceramic types, decreases steadily and quickly, after the late 1830s.

It is possible to make a general statement about the tableware liquid-containers. The earliest part of the occupation was represented by a



12 A reconstructed small pearlware bowl with polychrome handpainted decoration. (FW72-768 et al., T8/W269-W257, 51"; from the excavation shown in figures 8 and 9; actual size)

large number of bowls alone, and this number decreases as the quantity of cups and saucers begins to increase during the 1830s. This trend continues into the second half of the 19th century when there are very few bowls and a large number of cups and saucers.

The trend is established in the 1971 to 1973 finds, and assumes even greater proportions when the 1968 to 1970 archaeological ceramics are assessed. In fact, as indicated previously, the early creamware and pearlware account for less than five percent of all sherds while the greatest amount of material dates from the middle of the 19th century to the early 20th century. No systematic assessment has been made of the proportion of bowls, cups, and saucers relative to other shapes,

but the trends observed in the 1971 to 1973 material seem to be valid.

The phenomenon has a certain number of possible explanations. Bowls and cups with saucers can both be used in the consumption of liquids, with or without using a spoon. For the most part, the bowls are fairly small, but are still larger than the early cups. It appears that cups were gradually substituted for them, until very few bowls were used at all. It is also possible that the bowls were not related to beverages, and that whatever purpose they served gradually declined until they were one of the least important tablewares. Archival documents may not provide the final answer, but could narrow the field of possibilities.

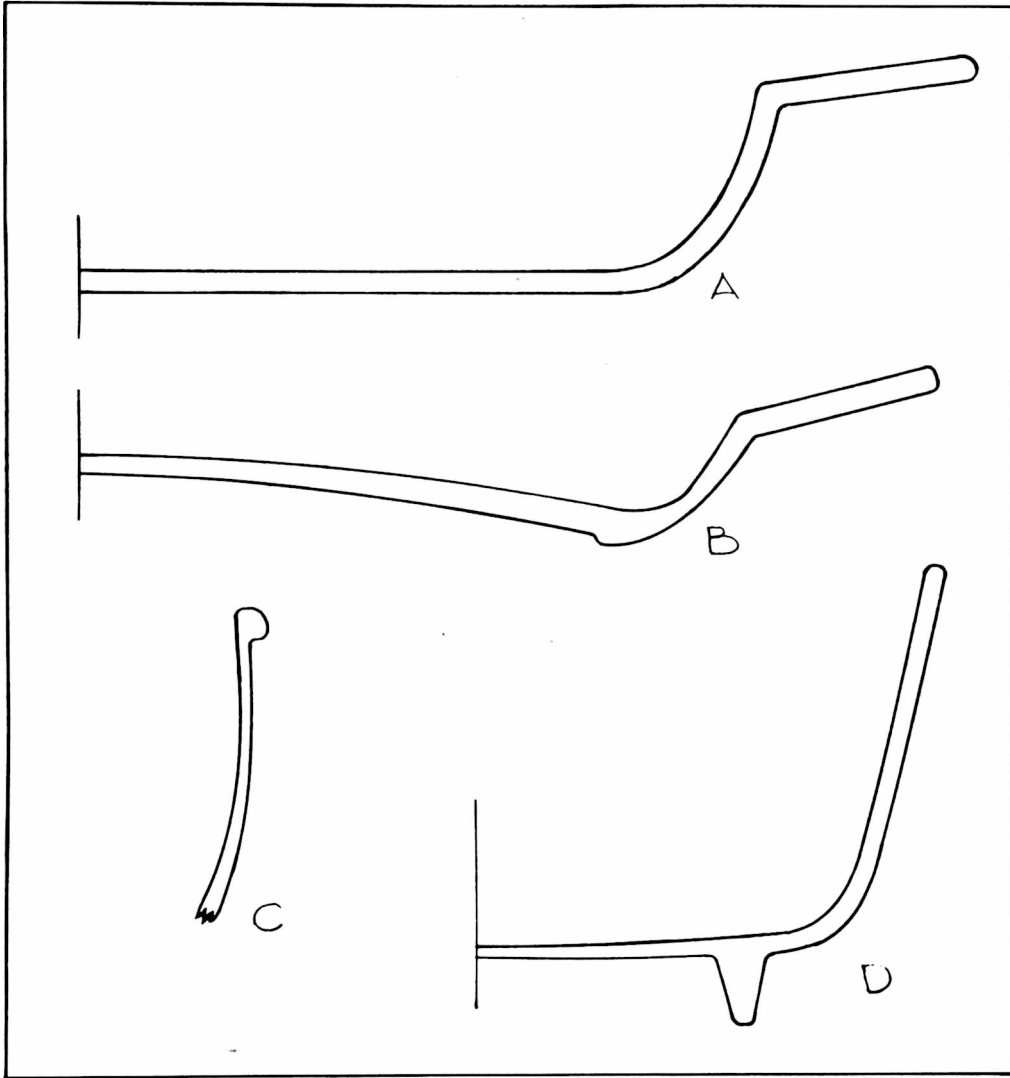
Apart from plates, the other tablewares present little of particular interest. Numerically, plates are the most important of the food-related objects, and make up 28% of all the ceramic sherds from the 1971 to 1973 excavations. The next most important group is the bowls, which are represented by 13% of the sherds.

The height, depth, and diameter of a plate are the characteristics which help in determining its function. The term 'soup plate' is often used to refer to deep ones, but is restrictive. Certainly, deep plates are well suited to the consumption of soup, but can be used for any other part of the meal as well. The shallow plates shown in figure 13, although quite common, were more restricted in use.

Ceramic tableware varies in appearance due to the techniques used to decorate surfaces, to the subject-matter of the decoration, and to the style in which the decoration was presented. Basically, decorations are applied, either with a brush dipped in a suitable colouring agent, or with the help of transfer prints or decalcomanias. It is also possible to have ornaments showing in positive (or cameo) relief on an object which has been shaped in a mould bearing the negative impression of the ornament.

Other Food-Related Objects

Because food-related artifacts made of other materials such as wood or metal were relatively rare and difficult to identify, only ceramics and glass have been used as the focus of study. Damp, acidic soil conditions prevailing at Fort William influenced the state of preservation of iron artifacts, many of which were completely corroded or affected beyond recognition. Of the 342 metal pieces from the 1972 excavations, 269



13 Cross-section views of plates and bowls shown actual size. The majority of ceramic sherds from the NWC occupation of Fort William were plates and bowls.

A The deep plate often referred to as a 'soup plate', is a typical creamware shape for the period. Although it is of the same quality as the other creamwares of Fort William, this particular one is marked WEDGWOOD, a very rare occurrence on any archaeological site. (FW72-1020 et al., T8/W269-W257, 51"; from the excavation shown in figures 8 and 9)

B The shallow plate was also fairly common. Whether of creamware, or of pearlware as is this one, the early plates had very similar shapes and dimensions. (FW72-743 et al., T8/W269-W257, 51"; from the excavation shown in figures 8 and 9)

C A measure made of creamware. This type of object is frequently found on fur trade sites. (FW72-3303, T7/E340, 13½" - 35"; from western East Palisade trench)

D A very typical bowl made of creamware. (FW72-784 et al., T8/W269-W257, 51"; from the excavation shown in figures 8 and 9)

were so fragmented and corroded that they could be classified only as 'Miscellaneous Unidentifiable Fragments'. These figures do not include 750 nails, but give some notion of the difficulty of working with the Fort William metal artifacts.

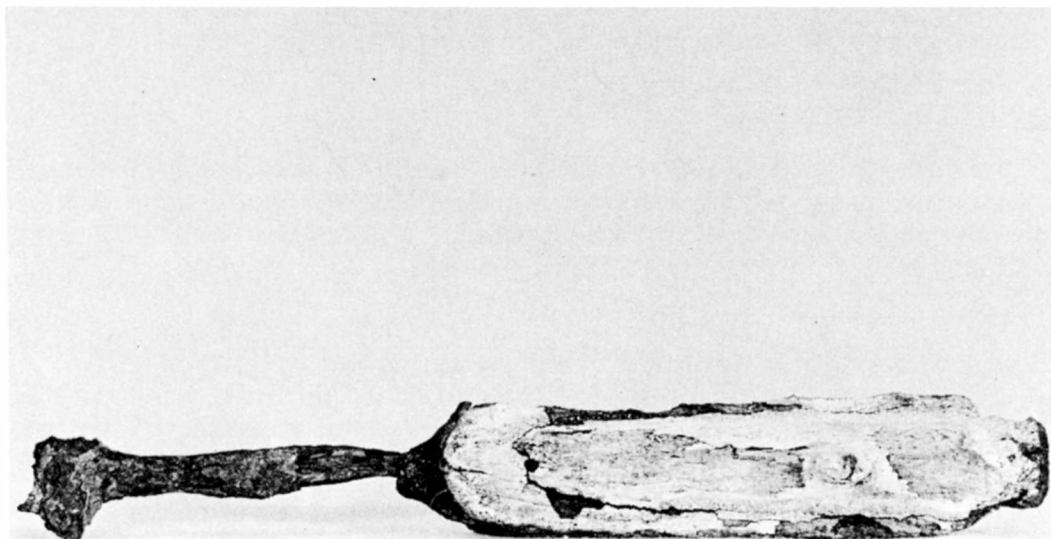
Of the metal fragments which could be identified, 30 were of brass or copper and might have come from kettles. The 182 iron fragments could have belonged to almost any iron artifact. Most of the Fort William metal artifacts have this vagueness about them.

Even the more positive side of the situation is not very informative. Of all the artifacts recovered in 1972 and 1973, only those found in the latter year provided some samples of food-related objects. Of the less than 30 identifiable artifacts from the whole 1973 collection, only three are related to food, and these are the remains of a brass or copper kettle-lid, a wrought-iron fork with a decorated bone handle, and a knife blade. The lid and fork fragments are shown in figures 14 and 15.

The greatest difficulty encountered with metal artifacts is that they serve for long periods of time, and when discarded are often used for other purposes. As in most other archaeological situations, it is clear that metal artifacts in general are of very little help in solving excavation



14 A copper or brass teakettle lid, one of the few identifiable metal artifacts which have at least partially resisted breakage and corrosion. (FW73-218, N085/E095, 9½"; from the area of the NWC Main Gate; actual size)



15 The remains of a fork with a bone handle. (FW70-200, N055/E358, from the area outside of the Southeast Corner of the Fort; actual size)

problems, and are of little use in inferring the state of certain activities, such as the food-related ones.

THE DOCUMENTARY RECORD

Objects in Inventories

While the archaeological excavations provide an idea of objects used and discarded during the site's occupation, a complete understanding of some of the basic implications of food-related objects at Fort William is still far away. Documents dealing with life and affairs at the Fort may be added to the excavation results to help round out the picture. Inventories are the most exhaustive descriptions available of the kinds of objects of interest here. Unfortunately, such documents exist only for the years 1816, 1820 and 1821.

One year before the merging of the NWC and the HBC, the Inventory of 1820 allows examination of food-related objects in three different locations: the Kitchen, the Mess House Cellar, and the Dairy⁴. In the Kitchen, the following food-preparation objects are listed:

- 1 *large Copper Boiler*
- 4 *Iron Pots*
- 1 *fish Kettle drainer*
- 2 *Sauce pans*
- 3 *Frying do* (ditto)
- 2 *large kitchen Forks*
- 2 *Fish pans*
- 2 *Water Buckets*
- 3 *Tin Kettles*

- 2 *pepper mills*
- 1 *Brass Pistol and Mortar*
- 80 *Cords Fire Wood*
- 50 *Bushels Potatoes*

Listed elsewhere in the Inventory, under the heading "Mess House Cellar", is another group of objects used on or near the table. The order of the Inventory suggests these objects were kept in a cupboard in the cellar.

- 9 *Wine decanters*
- 6 *Glass Tumblers*
- 9 *Wine Glasses*
- 6 *Table Cloths*
- 3 *Brass Candlesticks*
- 13 *Knives*
- 1 *large Knife*
- 13 *Forks*
- 3 *large Forks*
- 8 *Spoons*
- 16 *Blue Tea Cups*
- 2 *Tin Wine Coolers*
- 3 *Japd quart Mugs*
- 7 *" Tumblers*
- 14 *" half Gill do*
- 5 *Glass Salt Cellars*
- 1 *Pewter Bason*
- 1 *pepper Box*
- 1 *Vinegar Cruet*
- 64 *queensware Plates*
- 9 *Dishes*
- 1 *Bread Basket*
- 2 *Wooden Trays*
- 3 *Soap Spoons*

The last group of food-related objects described in the Inventory are in the Dairy:

- 2 *Cream Kettles*
- 2 *Milk do*
- 31 *Milk Pans*
- 2 *Wooden Dishes*
- 2 *Strainers*
- 1 *Funnel Churn*
- 1 *Barrel do*
- 1 *Butter print*

The Naval Store is the last place one would expect ceramic tableware to be kept. Curiously, and for reasons not yet understood, tableware *was* kept there in 1816, 1820, and 1821. The records describe "36 flat earthenware Plates", "Oval Dishes 6/20, 24/18, and 6/15 inches long", "32 queensware dishes", and "25 Earthenware Dishes New".⁵

This unusual state of affairs might mean that all equipment used on board ships, including food-related articles, had to be obtained specifically from the Naval Store. However, there must be another explanation as the plates are the *only* food-related objects listed in that store. In fact, their listing occurs between screwdrivers and old rasp files, and between jointers, planes and a spinning machine. All the other objects in the store are tools and various pieces of rigging equipment. Saucers filled with water are known to have been used to check the level of masonry or woodwork, but that does not explain the very large number of plates.

Descriptions in the documents are very interesting and important, but in view of life at Fort William as a whole to whom do they apply? It is most likely that items mentioned in the above documents were used by those making use of Mess House facilities and rarely, if at all by *engagés*, Indians and *voyageurs*.

For a glimpse of some of the food-related activities of the *voyageurs* we can examine the oil painting shown in figure 16. It was painted by Frances Ann Hopkins who travelled the fur trade route with her husband Edward, secretary to Sir George Simpson, Governor of the HBC. Another one of her paintings is shown in figure 17. Of note is the metal cup dangling from the belt or sash of the canoeman directly in front of Mr. and Mrs. Hopkins, and the metal teakettle resting on the cargo to the rear. It is not known if the latter was used for tea or not, but if it was, it was likely for the convenience of the special passengers.

Objects Issued

During Selkirk's 1816-17 occupation of Fort William, the Day Book lists 47 ceramic objects issued between October and May. Some of these are described as earthenware, others as queensware. Specifically, they are "31 earthenware bowls; 4 earthenware plates; 4 earthenware dishes; 4 large tea cups, queensware", and, "4 pint Basons, queensware".⁶ (*The use of the latter is not known, but it is likely not related to wash-basins.*)



16 *Voyageurs at Dawn, or Bivouac of a Canoe Party, Frances Ann Hopkins: Note the extremely long-handled frying pan, the bucket, two different types of cups on the chest, and the large pan near the paddles; near the centre of the picture is a bark container of Indian origin. (courtesy Public Archives of Canada)*

Although the names of *engagés* and freemen appear with food rations, none of them was ever issued with such ceramics or with glass objects. However, it is not known to what extent the patterns of food-related activities were disrupted, if at all, during the troublesome year of 1816-17 when Lord Selkirk occupied the Fort.

One important group of the glass objects is mentioned in the 1820 Inventory: tumblers. Around 1820 these would undoubtedly be of lead glass, plain, and made without moulds, and are given in three sizes: half pint, gill, and half gill. A gill is equal to five fluid ounces, or to a quarter pint, British measure. The term can also mean a half pint, either in loose usage, or, in certain regions, a half pint of ale.

If the gill is a quarter pint, then the smallest of these tumblers was only dram size. It is clear that there were many of these small tumblers on hand. When referring to alcoholic beverages as opposed to medicines, 'dram' indicates a small portion. A modern equivalent would be 'shot'. No doubt these vessels were associated with hospitality rites at the Fort. There was the traditional issue of drams to all and sundry at Christmas, and there were other occasions when a controlled quantity of liquor was meted out, such as during the *régale* at the time of the *rendezvous*. A ceramic equivalent of such a measure is shown in figure 13C.

Bottles are infrequently mentioned in inventories or journals since liquors were normally listed and issued by the keg. An exception to this were expensive beverages, especially "Tenneriffe Wine", brandy, and port wine of which occasional mention is made. Several bottles of each were issued to Lord Selkirk in September and October of 1816, for example. The only mention of bottles in the long 1820 Inventory is "4 Bottles India Rubber".

The same 1820 Inventory lists a few items of finer glass for table use in the Mess House Cellar: "9 Wine decanters, 6 Glass Tumblers, 9 Wine Glasses, 5 Glass Salt Cellars, 1 Vinegar Cruet".

Surprising, and slightly mysterious, are occasional references to "flacons", most notably "Cask 112, 33 double flint flacons" sold to the Earl of Selkirk, in May, 1817⁷. Presumably, this is a misspelling of 'flacon', a small stoppered bottle, especially a smelling bottle, which would be made of flint or lead glass, and should not be confused with 'flagon' which is a large liquor bottle not made of flint or lead glass. Since it is doubtful that Lord Selkirk had use for 56 smelling bottles, the term must refer to stoppered storage bottles of clear, lead glass.



17 Canoe Manned by Voyageurs, Frances Ann Hopkins (courtesy Public Archives of Canada)

Activity of Local Artisans

Although the excavations failed to provide significant information of metal and wooden food-related objects, they should be discussed insofar as they relate to the ceramics and glass. Not only are these important in the food-related situation, but they also play a significant role in other activities at the Fort.

Most ceramic and glass containers were imported from England. But containers for food could be produced at the Fort as well, to satisfy the needs of the district or the Post itself. In the 1821 Inventory, a total of 4,569 objects were produced by the Fort William tradesmen. Of these a total of 728 objects or 17% were related directly to food activities:

Wood:

120 kegs of 9 Gals for Sugar
 80 " " " " for liquor full bod ... (bound)
 80 " " 2 " for Butter &c full "
 40 " " 1 " for liquor
 30 Small Tinnets

(Tinnets are small wooden containers in which thirty to forty pounds of butter, grease, or tallow was kept. In the 17th century these were usually made of pine or oak, and were often kept beside the butter churn⁸.)

Tin:

100 North Canoe Kettles
 4 Nests Tin Do 18 Ea: 10 Gals Downds
 40 Kettles 2 Gals
 12 Tin Tea Kettles
 12 " " Pots ...
 12 Quart Pots
 40 Pint "
 60 Tureens
 60 Oval Dishes assorted
 70 Canoe pans

Iron Works:

60 Pair Fish Spears

On the basis of the 1820 and 1821 Inventories the relative value of tin tableware, such as teapots and assorted oval dishes, was comparable to glass, but remained more expensive than queensware. Probably because metal objects were more durable than ceramics, they were preferred by the *engagés* and freemen.

Only occasionally do the inventories mention pewter, leaving the impression that pewter was imported and not very common. This is likely related to the overall decline in the use of pewter early in the 19th century.

In 1839, a cooper was making a number of wooden tureens. These tureens appear only in the dairy and in large numbers, up to sixty. Many tureens were made of tin, but it is not known if the wooden ones were made as substitutes when tin was unavailable.

Tin as a Preferred Material

Tin tureens constitute one of the most exclusive aspects of food-related objects at Fort William. The word does not mean 'soup tureen'; it is derived from the French '*terrine*', which in Quebec, is an object with a diameter of ten to twelve inches and sloping sides. Tureens were used for a variety of purposes, one of which was as the dairy utensil known as a 'milk pan'. Cream needed for butter-making would form on top of the milk left in tureens for a period of ten to twelve hours. Tureens were common objects on farms.

In Lower Canada, tureens were made of ceramic by Canadian artisans using local clays and very basic techniques of shaping and decorating. Their work, lacking a certain sophistication, belongs among the coarse earthenwares. As the cheapest ceramic objects available, they are found in important quantities in both archaeological sites and documents of Lower Canada in particular.

Out of the 1,342 ceramic fragments excavated between 1971 and 1973 there were twelve coarse earthenware sherds. Few of these were large enough to be identified and could have belonged to shapes other than tureens. There is no mention of earthenware tureens in any of the Fort William documents.

There is, then, a clear preference for tin over cheaper materials like ceramics, at least in the case of tureens. This preference might also affect other groups of food-related objects.

Drinking Vessels

The most intriguing aspect of all food-related objects centres around containers for hot beverages and liquid foods: wine glasses, glass tumblers, bowls, cups and saucers, and "japanned" pots and mugs. The mugs are listed in quart, pint, half-pint, half gill, and tumbler sizes. A distinction may be made between "tin potts" and "Japd pots", in that the former are plain and the latter are lacquered, or coated, with enamel and may or may not be decorated.

Tumblers are relatively common and most likely were used to serve alcohol. The 1820 Inventory indicates that they have twice the value of wine glasses which may reflect a restricted and specialized usage.

Ceramic drinking vessels, the cups and bowls, are not fully understood. If the cost of an object has any bearing on its use, then it should be noted that queensware plates, either deep or flat, were the cheapest of the ceramic tablewares. They were equivalent in price to *one* wine decanter or twice the value of *one* glass tumbler. "Blue tea cups" were double the cost of plates, and the queensware bowls were valued at slightly more than *three* times the cost of plates.

Differences in the prices of these objects cannot be explained by the fact that the bowls had special decoration because all such archaeological finds were without decoration. It is not known whether these finds are truly representative or not. Furthermore, the "Blue tea cups" were certainly pearlware cups and were cheaper than the bowls; and these cups were *decorated*, either with transfer-prints or hand-painted designs in blue or polychrome.

Apart from the listings, such objects are rarely discussed in other documents. There is one account of a traveller's arrival at Fort William on August 16th, 1817, just in time for breakfast.

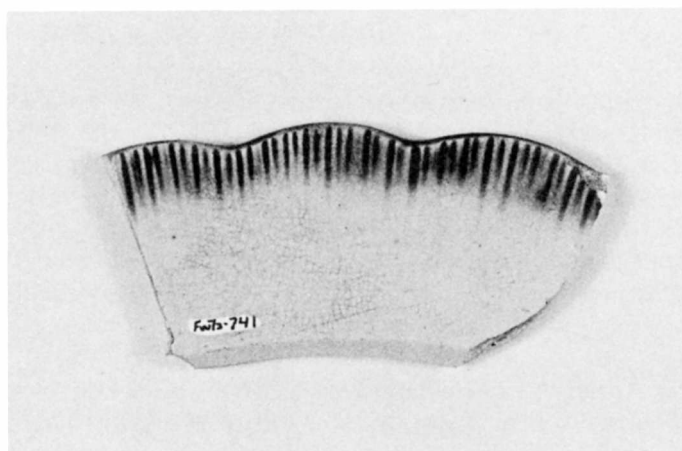
We instantly repaired to the Salle à manger, and over a bowl of coffee, fresh eggs, excellent hot cakes, and prime cold venison, quickly forgot our late privations⁹.

The traveller most likely drank his coffee from a queensware bowl like those found on the site and mentioned in the inventories. Three elements in that account are of importance in interpreting the use of bowls: they were used at breakfast, they were in the *salle à manger* or the dining-hall in the Mess House, and they were used for a beverage that was hot. The latter is a custom that can still be encountered in Europe.

Bowls and cups of the early 19th century were similar in shape, except that the cup was smaller and had a handle. The presence of handles is not essential to an object used in drinking hot beverages. In fact, there were handleless teacups available during the NWC occupation. The term 'bowl' should be understood, then, as a designation of shape rather than of use.

A Note on Decoration

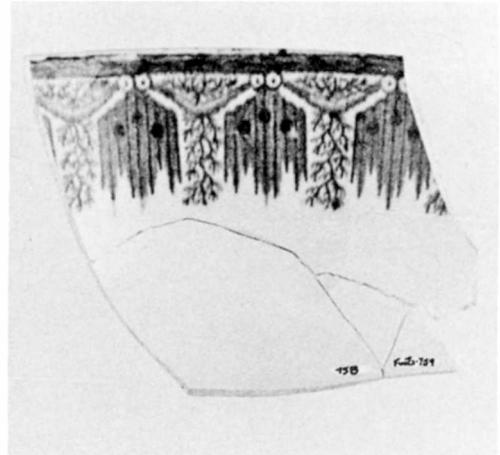
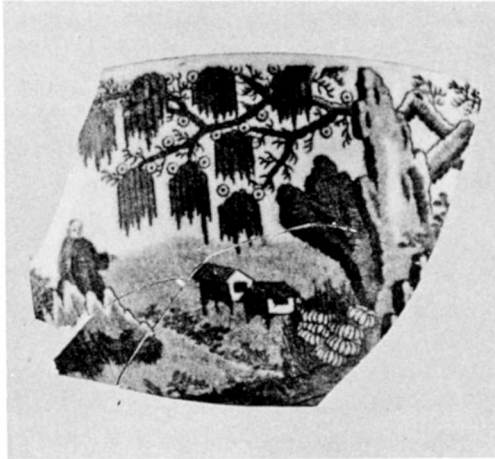
Early in the occupation of Fort William, those who used or cleaned ceramic dishes saw mostly undecorated creamware bowls and plates. The very soft curves of their shapes, their lightness of weight, and their pale yellow appearance, made them more venerable than similar objects of other materials. Also popular during the NWC period, the pearlwares were similar to the creamwares in shape. As figure 18 shows, pearlware plates were all decorated by fine rim impressions filled with blue or green colour.



18 A rim fragment from a pearlware plate decorated with green-filled impressions. (FW72-741, T8/W269-W257, 51"; from the excavation shown in figures 8 and 9; actual size)

The light grayish-blue tinge of the pearlware glazes was reminiscent of the much-esteemed porcelains. This is also the reason why the first pearlwares had oriental styles and subjects and were decorated with a brush dipped in cobalt to give bright blue lines. Later, more intricate patterns would be obtained by the use of transfer prints which could

show involved patterns and realistic-looking scenes or objects, as figures 19 and 20 show. These photographs show the inside and outside of the rim-sherd of a pearlware bowl.



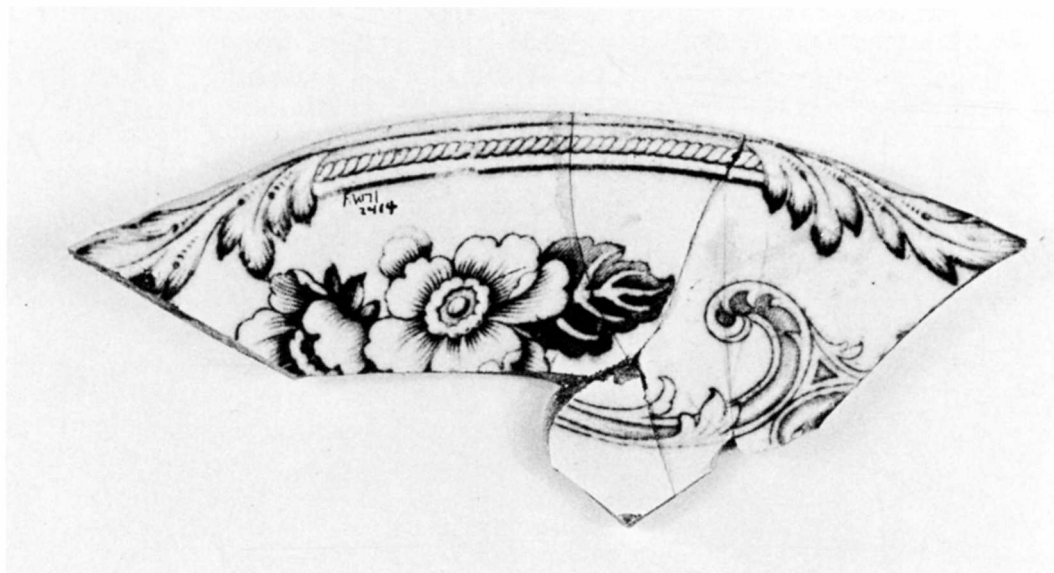
19 and 20 Exterior (left) and interior (right) transfer-print decorations on a pearlware bowl, showing oriental influence in the early 19th century (FW72-758 et al.; T8/W269-W257, 51"; from the excavation shown in figures 8 and 9; actual size)

Again, the Orient was the inspiration for many of the scenes and motifs used on pearlwares. Eventually, British rural or pastoral scenes replaced the oriental themes and continued to be used during the 1830s which marked the end of popularity for the pearlwares.

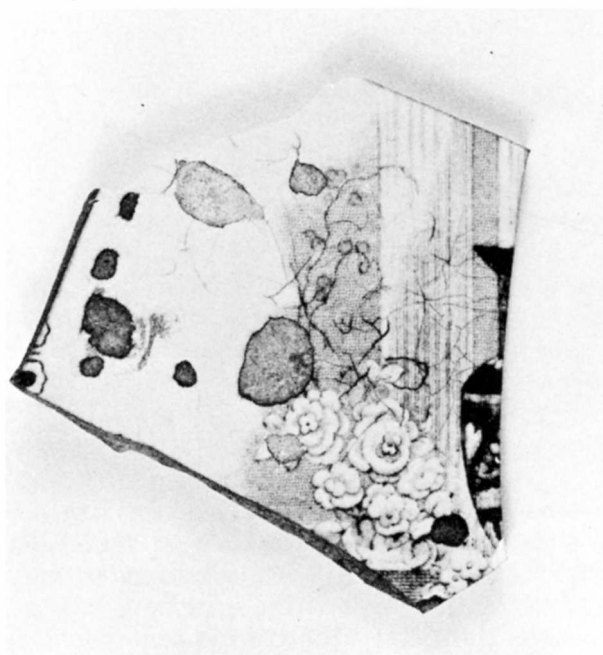
In all decoration, the use of yellow, brown, green and blue made even simple patterns very attractive.

The porcelains of the NWC and very early HBC periods had the most delicate shapes. Some were decorated with transfer-prints or with brushwork. A few of the Fort William bowl sherds show faint traces of gilded embellishment.

The HBC occupation of Fort William occurred during a decisive period in the manufacture and use of ceramics. After the 1820s, the use of transfer-prints for decoration was solidly established, and these became very popular. Ceramics became whiter and heavier than the creamwares or pearlwares, though they continued to bear decoration of the transfer-print type. Technological innovations allowed development in the strength and weight of the objects with the result that their forms also appeared



21 Plate fragments decorated with grayish-purple transfer-print. (FW71-2414 et al., T6/W213-W211, 19" - 39"; from the area of the Shipbuilding Yard immediately to the west of the West Palisade; reduced to 85% of size)



22 Plate fragments decorated in a grayish, light-green transfer-print. (FW72-1558 et al., T2/E350-E355, 13½" - 14½"; from the eastern East Palisade; actual size)

heavier. The fragments shown in figures 21 and 22 are examples of this.

By the middle of the 19th century, tablewares called "stone china" and "ironstone" were tremendously popular. They were made thicker than the earlier wares. Their heavy weight was due to the fact that they were literally a form of refined white stoneware. They were shaped in a mould which often had high or low relief decoration, impressing these patterns into the surface of the object. This is the category into which twenty-five percent of the sherds found at Fort William between 1971 and 1973 must fall.

SOME OBSERVATIONS

The intention has not been to provide the reader with details of the ceramic and glass collection in terms of decoration or shape characteristics. Rather, the discussion has been directed towards arriving at an idea of the organization and meaning of food-related artifacts.

It is important, first of all, to assess the chronological importance of the collection with regard to the different occupation periods at Fort William. The chart in Appendix A gives the general description of the 1971 to 1973 collection of ceramics. Numerically, all the sherds can be divided into two roughly equal groups: a first group dating between 1800 and the 1840s, and a second group dating from the 1840s to the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Such a state of affairs contradicts what might be hypothetically expected; that is, since the later part of the occupation had both fewer year-round and temporary inhabitants, there should be fewer food-related objects than in the first three decades of the century. This apparent contradiction may partially be explained by:

- ... the relationship between the areas excavated and the respective living areas of the NWC and HBC - almost all excavation was done to the south of the NWC summer living area, but close to the HBC living areas;

- ... the nature of the excavations themselves - i.e., of the three separate NWC living areas that lie within the railwayard, only the

one in the Shipbuilding Yard was excavated to any extent as well as to any depth below the CPR fill; most of the early ceramic material came from these excavations;

... the change in methods and routes of transportation on Lake Superior during the 19th century which would increase the availability of ceramics and decrease the importance of wares that were durable; and

... the changes that occurred in the popularity and manufacturing of ceramics and other goods in the 19th century - although the NWC occupation represents the greater proportion of site usage in terms of people, this usage lasted only one-third as long as did that of the HBC, and was at a time when the quantity of material goods per person and per household was likely less than in the later part of the century when mechanization and mass production techniques increased substantially in Europe and elsewhere.

In contrast with ceramic collections from other HBC sites of the same period, only two sherds made by Copeland and Garrett were found at Fort William. This firm was the main, or only, supplier of ceramic objects for the whole of the HBC from at least 1836 onward. Why more objects made by the firm under that name, or any of their successive names, were not found poses many questions which cannot be answered until more is known of the HBC's patterns of distribution of goods and where and how Fort William fit into them. After 1836, what did the ships, that carried fish to commercial American markets, carry to Fort William? After 1863, when Fort William was supplied via Montreal instead of York and Moose Factories, what proportion of goods came from Europe and what proportion were obtained in North America?

In order to fully understand the Fort William artifact collection, or one from any other fur trade site, present knowledge and understanding of the sources, use and exchange of material goods must be greatly increased. Knowledge of the process of disposal of discarded material is needed in order to assess how representative the collection is of the material goods that were actually used on the site. The only hint available at present about disposal methods at Fort William is that periodically the HBC journals record that the men are sweeping out the Fort. This suggests that discarded material accumulated on the surface within the palisades which in turn suggests that when something was no longer wanted it was simply thrown outside as was the practice elsewhere at the time. Broken bits of ceramics, etc., that were not trampled into the surface would then tend to become scattered and/or removed during the sweeping process. We have no idea where "swept out" material was deposited, although the likeliest place is the river. Dredging activities of this century have eradicated anything that would prove or disprove this hypothesis.

Although archaeologically there were several indications that refuse had been disposed of in a palisade trench before or during the process of backfilling, no refuse middens or clearly identifiable trash pits were found. However, in view of where the excavations were located, this does not cancel out the possibility that such methods were employed by either company.

A much more comprehensive idea of the day-to-day and year-to-year living reality of the site is also needed before a realistic appraisal can be made of the artifact collection and its significance. Certainly 1821 cannot be seen as a sharp dividing line between periods of occupation at Fort William. After the two companies merged, the personnel and the stock of material goods continued into the HBC period. There is no way of estimating how long this stock lasted and when it would have begun to be replaced. There are indications that some items from the NWC period were simply stored for years until eventually they were taken intact from the site as souvenirs. But precisely what range of objects this phenomenon refers to is not known.

Very little is known about the relationships between assemblages of particular types of material objects and social groupings, to say nothing of how these may have changed through time. How accurately does the spatial distribution of artifacts reflect groupings of people? What are the principles of any interrelationships that may exist between people, material goods and buildings? What is culturally acceptable to specific groups of people? Although Fort William had large stocks of queensware in 1821 which would have supplied the diminishing HBC population for a long time, would it occur to a freeman, for example, to choose a queensware plate even if it were available to him?

The phenomenon of "cultural lag" is another area where much remains to be known relative to the fur trade period. Even if a particular type of ceramic is popular in England or Lower Canada, how much time elapses before the same wide distribution of the object occurs at Fort William? Unless this is known, not only of ceramics but all material goods, dating archaeological features by means of artifacts can never be accurate.

Terminology is yet another area where much is still to be learned. Precisely what sort of an object is meant by words or expressions that are no longer in use or that have a different meaning today? The fact that 70 canoe pans, made at Fort William, were there in 1821 tells us very little unless we also know who used them, and for what purpose.

Until much more research into the whole milieu of people, material

culture and environment has been done, artifacts and inventories will continue to tell us far less than they potentially are able to tell us, and will continue to leave us with questions for which no answers currently exist. Excavating and retrieving artifacts is only a very small beginning step in a much larger process of exploration.

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ABBREVIATIONS

HBCA	Hudson's Bay Company Archives
PAC	Public Archives of Canada

References designated "HBCA" are published by permission of the Hudson's Bay Company

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- 4 PAC, HBCA (microfilm), MG 20, F 4, vol. 30, "Inventory of Sundry Goods, liquors and Provisions &c remaining at Fort William Spring 1820"
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[illegible]

*A chart showing the correlation between the type and shape of ceramics found in the 1971 to 1973 excavations at Fort William
Dates are approximations only and represent periods of manufacture, not of use.*

APPENDIX A

Ceramics: Classification and Terminology

The following is the system used to classify the ceramic artifacts found on the Fort William site.

EARTHENWARES

- Coarse
 - soft
 - hard
- Refined
 - light
 - white/bluish tinge translucent glaze: pearlware
 - creamy to white/yellowish glaze: creamwares
 - medium
 - white/transparent glaze
 - hard
 - white/transparent glaze
 - buff/transparent glaze: common yellow
 - buff/brown even glaze: Rockingham
 - buff/brown mottled glaze: Rockingham
 - medium to hard/transparent glaze

STONEWARES

- Coarse
 - well-petrified
 - gray body/salt-glazed: blacking bottles
 - medium petrified (granular)
 - buff body/salt-glazed
 - buff body/salt-glazed and Albany slip
- Refined
 - white/salt-glazed

white/liquid transparent glaze
 brown/reduced metallic-appearance glaze: Nottingham and
 related types

PORCELAINS

Biscuit
 Hard glaze
 Artificial

GLOSSARY OF CERAMIC TERMINOLOGY

EARTHENWARES are made from clays of all colours, but have varying degrees of porosity, and of refinement of body and shape.

Coarse earthenwares, as the name suggests, are made of common clays, and their production is not given as much attention as with other wares. The body often shows the presence of non-plastic inclusions in the form of sand. All of them are shaped by throwing on the wheel, and their decoration, when present, is technically rather primitive or simple. They have been made into a great variety of shapes, even including tableware. But, such is not the case in the 19th century, when the great majority of coarse earthenwares appear mainly in utilitarian shapes such as jugs, jars, and milk pans. The latter are referred to as tureens in the Fort William documents. In the province of Ontario, it is only toward the middle of the 19th century that these objects started being manufactured on a large scale.

Pearlware is a refined, light earthenware with a very white body covered with a light, grayish-blue lead glaze. In other respects it is very similar to creamware, except for the decoration which includes underglaze transferprint techniques and more hand painting. This results in an appearance more like that of porcelain.

Creamware or Queensware is also a refined, light earthenware, and has a white or slightly creamy body covered with a lightly-tinted yellowish lead glaze. Its medium porosity accounts for the fact that they are the least dense of the refined earthenwares at the end of the 18th and early 19th centuries. The shapes are thinly potted by means of throwing and turning, pressing or jiggering. They belong among the tablewares although certain shapes were intended for kitchen use.

Common yellow ware is a refined earthenware, fairly compact and standing at the harder end of the refined earthenwares. The body is a buff colour, and the transparent glaze is sometimes yellowish.

Rockingham is a refined, hard earthenware having a buff body covered with either an even brown glaze or a mottled brown glaze. It was used for some kitchenware as well as for decorative pieces. It was manufactured in both the United States and Canada during the last half of the 19th century when it had reached the peak of its popularity.

Medium to hard white earthenwares are hard to describe in absolute terms, however, the main criterion is to use the hardness-porosity-density qualities of each sherd. These categories do not always represent objects of the same period, but were set up during the sorting phase of analysis in order to see the associations between sherds more clearly. In general, these wares have a white body with a transparent glaze which, at times, may be slightly bluish in tint. This pale colouring in the glaze is different in hue from the pearlware blue. Medium to hard earthenwares are generally thicker than other medium porosity earthenwares such as the creamwares and pearlwares, with the hardest often the thickest.

Undetermined white earthenwares includes all of the objects which could not be catalogued with certainty. For the most part the Fort William pieces are unrecognizable due to having been burnt at some time during the Fort's occupation by a cause or reason unknown at present. In a few cases, a broad dating could be arrived at by considering the types of decoration on the small number of fragments bearing any.

STONEWARES can also be made of clays of all colours, but they are vitrified and denser than the earthenwares. Consequently, their porosity is either non-existent or minimal. Shapes and body-refinement exist at different degrees.

Coarse stonewares are usually well or partially vitrified. Many exhibit a body with a granular texture, or show the conchoidal fractures characteristic of vitrified materials. Their colour varies in the gray and buff ranges. They are covered with a salt glaze which leaves a very thin film of glaze having the texture of an orange skin. These glazes are either transparent or coloured in browns with iron or manganese oxides. Another group bears a "dipped glaze", that is to say, a glaze applied in the liquid form before the firing as opposed to throwing salts in the kiln during the firing, as is the case with salt glazes. The "dipped" or liquid glazes are usually thicker, have a more even surface, are transparent, and are usually found on buff or gray bodies.

The Albany slip's basic trait is the presence in the interior of a vessel of a very dark brown or near-black slip, in this case a vitreous substance rendered opaque. The exterior is covered with a transparent salt glaze of medium thickness. As indicated, it is a coarse, medium petrified stoneware having a buff body.

Refined white stonewares include all wares called "ironstone", "stone china" and other refined types. They are not vitrified as are most of the other coarse stonewares, but are very compact, dense, and are covered with a thick glaze. Fractures always look vitrified, with sharp edges and very regular breakage planes. The thick potting of the shapes is obtained exclusively by pressing and casting. Shapes are mainly for tablewares and some kitchenwares.

Nottingham is a refined, brown stoneware with a glaze which appears metallic. It is thinly-potted, and is often decorated with roul-

etted motifs. The Nottingham pieces found at Fort William were made in imitation of the famous, original Nottingham wares of British origin.

Semi-porcelains are probably best grouped with the refined stonewares.

They are more thinly shaped than the other refined white stonewares, but are restricted to tableware, and are more elaborately decorated. Confusion may arise when objects carrying the label "semi-porcelain" on the back are inspected; this type of labelling was often used in the attempt to gain in prestige, and has little to do with the qualities of the object. Most semi-porcelains are from Great Britain, although some may have come from the United States. They are representative of the last quarter of the 19th century and early 20th century.

PORCELAINS are exclusively white, are totally vitrified, and are usually made into dinner and tea sets. The body is of a fine grain, often translucent, but also opaque, and is covered with a hard glaze. The shapes are restricted to table use, or for purely decorative purposes, as in the case of biscuit toys or statuettes.

APPENDIX B

Faunal Material Excavated at Fort William

James A. Burns, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto

This Appendix is a compilation of excerpts from four reports by Mr. Burns in which he identified each fragment of bone material recovered from the 1968 to 1973 excavations and commented upon the possible significance of the collection.

The reader should bear in mind that archival records gathered to date do not indicate where or how the NWC or HBC disposed of food refuse; nor were any specific garbage pits or refuse middens identified in the process of excavating the site. There was some evidence that refuse was occasionally deposited in palisade trenching before it was back-filled. However, it is likely that most table scraps were fed to chickens, pigs and dogs and/or used as compost for the kitchen garden. Gulls, ravens and other natural scavengers would also clean up meat and vegetable remains. Thus a certain amount of bone material would tend to be scattered over large areas instead of concentrated in particular spots. In turn, it would be trampled into the surface or eventually removed to somewhere outside of the palisaded area when the men were "sweeping out the fort".

Introduction

Most of the sample was in good shape with very few pieces exhibiting the effects of erosion due to soil acidity. Several portions were rust-stained due to their proximity to iron objects. One or two bones had been chewed by carnivorous animals, probably indicating canine activities.

A number of the bones had been exposed to the influence of fire. At least 13 mammalian bones had been calcined by exposure to excessive heat, including one fragment of beaver; as well, one avian and two fish bones had been so treated. A further 13 mammalian bones may in fact have been burnt but the signs are contradictory. Whereas the inner surfaces were blackened, the external surfaces were greyish-to-brownish. Their status is as yet uncertain.

Evidence of butchering was also present in the collection. Sawn bone was noted primarily in connection with domestic species – cow and pig.

Table I shows the distribution and frequency of the vertebrate species represented in the material excavated from the Fort William site. In the report that follows the table, no inferences about spatial distribution have been attempted except in special cases where data permit. The rather complicated history of the site forbids simplistic statements until more is known of the pure archaeology of the matter.

Domestic Animals

Almost 70% of the mammal bone consisted of cow – a fact which is not surprising in view of its value as a source of meat and milk. The archival records show that cattle were kept by the North West Company at both Grand Portage and Fort William, and that the Hudson's Bay Company continued to keep a dairy herd. Records also show that cows were present at Michipicoten as early as June, 1781 (G. Forma, pers. comm.).

The second largest collection of domestic mammal remains was pig. There is nothing remarkable about these bones although it may be mentioned that one skull bone bore signs of immaturity, a fact quite in keeping with the practice of slaughtering hogs at about six months of age. Although there are records of domestic pigs at Fort William it

SPECIES	NUMBER OF BONES	
MAMMALS		
DOMESTIC COW	164	
DOMESTIC DOG	101	
CANIS SP. (DOG/WOLF)	6	
DOMESTIC HORSE	1	
DOMESTIC PIG	35	
DOMESTIC SHEEP	7	
DOMESTIC SHEEP/GOAT	28	
ARTIODACTYLA SP. (HOOFED MAMMAL)	1	
BEAVER	10	
BLACK BEAR	1	
CERVIDAE SP. (DEER/CARIBOU/MOOSE)	1	
DEER MOUSE	23	
FISHER	1	
LYNX SP. (LYNX/BOBCAT)	1	
MARTEN	19	
MUSKRAT	2	
RAT SP. (RATTUS)	66	
RED FOX	1	
SNOWSHOE HARE	42	
LEPORIDAE SP.	3	
cf. DOMESTIC RABBIT	1	
UNIDENTIFIED	504	
TOTAL MAMMALS	1018	58.3%
BIRDS		
DOMESTIC CHICKEN	5	
DOMESTIC TURKEY	1	
BUFFLEHEAD	2	
CANADA GOOSE	1	
COMMON LOON	2	
EIDER (SOMATERIA SP.)	1	
GREENWINGED TEAL	2	
HERRING GULL	1	
HOODED MERGAUSER	2	
HORNED GREBE	3	
LESSER SCAUP	1	
MALLARD/BLACK DUCK	2	
PASSENGER PIGEON	5	
RINGNECKED DUCK	4	
RUFFED GROUSE	3	
SANDPIPER (SCOLOPACIDAE SP.)	1	
SCAUP SP. (AYTHYA)	1	
WHITEWINGED SCOTER	1	
UNIDENTIFIED	27	
TOTAL BIRDS	65	3.7%
FISH		
LAKE STURGEON	24	
cf. NORTHERN PIKE	1	
PICKEREL (STIZOSTEDION SP.)	91	
SUCKER SP. (cf. CATOSTOMIDAE)	65	
TROUT SP. (SALMONIDAE)	14	
WHITEFISH SP. (COREGONIDAE)	2	
UNIDENTIFIED	467	
TOTAL FISH	664	38.0%
TOTAL VERTEBRATES	1747	100.0%

TABLE I DISTRIBUTION AND FREQUENCY OF ALL VERTEBRATE ANIMAL CLASSES FROM FORT WILLIAM (1968-1973)		
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may be asked if the pig bones were derived from farm animals or were the remains of salt pork. Identified among the small bone sample taken from the survey of the island across from the Fort in 1968, were both cow and pig.

There are problems involved in the identification of another domestic species which may be either goat or sheep. In the first place, no reference skeletons of goat were initially available to the writer. Corollary to this may be the lack of major distinctions in the osteology of the two genera, *Capra* and *Ovis*. Experts in Old World (Near East) archaeological faunal identification more often than not include a goat/sheep category due to the difficulties involved in distinguishing the post-cranial bones.

Since Fort William records frequently mention sheep but do not refer to goats, those bones assigned to the dual category are likely sheep. By way of comparison, H. G. Savage has identified sheep in the faunal material at Fort St. Joseph near Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario (Emerson et al.). In contrast, the Michipicoten Post (Hudson's Bay Company) near Wawa, Ontario, yielded one goat tooth to date (Burns). Additionally, archival records concerning the latter Post mention only goats (1823 account) along with cattle, horses, and domestic fowl. (G. Forma, pers. comm.)

Horse bone is limited to a tarsal bone from the right hock joint. This was the only horse bone found on the site but it is known that the NWC had used horses both at Grand Portage and Fort William. No horse remains were identified at Fort St. Joseph (Emerson et al.) but the Hudson's Bay Company post at Michipicoten revealed evidence that the animal was introduced at least by 1817 (Burns).

Six portions of bone have been referred to the genus *Canis* but whether they are dog or wolf remains uncertain. For instance, two tibiae were recovered which compared favourably in length and other features with a large, adult, male wolf, but the diameter relative to the length was much greater than the wolf specimen. Too, the anterior tuberosity upon which inserts the extensor tendon was longer in relation to the total tibia length than was the case in either dog or wolf. The discrepancies in these bones are probably major enough to disqualify wolf. The difference may have been inborn by selective breeding as in a large dog of the St. Bernard type or equivalent.

Table II shows comparative data taken from an Alsatian police dog and a wolf. The measurements are not standard but are governed by those obtainable from the fragmented archaeological specimens. As can be

seen, there is little pattern. The specimen in question is shorter in stature than either the Alsatian or wolf but is of a stockier build than either. There is always the possibility of hybridization of domestic and wild stock to produce an intermediate form. With access to Indian dogs, the possibility becomes even greater. Such native dogs are not large by most standards but they are sturdy and strong. The skeletal differences between dogs and wild canines is next to impossible to discern and in cases of suspected cross-breeding the chances of specific identification are exceedingly slim. It is felt, however, that the Fort William specimens do not derive from a full-blooded wolf.

MEASUREMENT	CM FORT WILLIAM SPECIMEN 1	CM ALSATIAN 2	CM WOLF 3
LENGTH R. TIBIA	21.0	23.4	24.6
DIAMETER R. TIBIA	1.8	1.4	1.7
LENGTH OF TUBEROSITY OF R. TIBIA	7.1	6.2	6.3
GREATEST WIDTH OF R. FIBULA	0.8	0.7	0.7
WIDTH OF R. TALUS	1.9	1.5	2.0
WIDTH OF L. CALCANEUS	1.2	0.9	1.0
DEPTH OF L. CALCANEUS	1.6	1.4	1.6

1 1971, BAGS 291 AND 308, FROM AREA OF NWC SHIPBUILDING YARD, JUST WEST OF WEST PALISADE.

2 *CANIS FAMILIARIS*. FEMALE ADULT. ROM # 14888. LENGTH: 61; TAIL: 15; HIND FOOT: 9.

3 *CANIS LUPUS LYCAON*. ADULT, PROBABLE FEMALE. ROM # 32-11-30-1, PERRY SOUND DISTRICT, ONTARIO. NO DATA.

TABLE II COMPARATIVE METRICS OF CANIS SP. BONES

Excavation of the West Palisade in 1972 revealed a nearly complete dog skull with virtually complete dentition and a similarly endowed pair of mandibles; even the ear ossicles were preserved and recovered. The creature in question is easily of the collie or other fairly large sheep-dog variety. The dentition leaves no doubt that it is dog and not a coyote or wolf.

Two suspected burials of spaniel-sized dogs were discovered, one just outside the southeast corner of the Powder Magazine in 1969 and one just inside the West Palisade in 1970. The former consists of limb, extremity, and vertebral portions as well as the skull and mandibles of the dog. It is a spaniel-sized, male animal, fully adult, perhaps quite old. There is some gerontomorphic change in the fusion of a fibula to its respective tibia. Also, one of the metatarsals shows signs of arthritic disease. It appears that the dog was given purposeful interment since it was found within the decayed fragments of a box-like structure.

The second suspected burial included similar parts of the skeleton.

The size and age (adult) are also similar to the other dog.

Wild Animals

Except for one specimen, the larger non-domestic *artiodactyls* (hoofed animals) are not represented in the Fort William faunal collection. This absence is consistent with historical records available to the Project which indicate that by the early part of the 19th century, moose, deer and caribou were extinct along the entire north shore of Lake Superior from Sault Ste. Marie westwards. They do not seem to have returned until the turn of the present century.

The single specimen from a hoofed animal is a curious object which probably derived from a portion of antler with an artificial perforation near the rounded end. (FW73-1988) One edge is somewhat grooved and the piece is gently curved in the plane perpendicular to the hole. It is definitely an artifact; its use may have been as a handle for a utensil.

There is little trace of animals like lynx, fisher, marten, fox, beaver and muskrat at the Fort. However, in light of the fact that the Fort acted as a fur-trading post and transfer point, little evidence of the bones of fur-bearing animals can be understood. Only pelts would have been brought to the post, the skinning having taken place elsewhere. The Michipicoten Post produced several portions of skunk, lynx, and marten (Burns). Besides the inevitable snowshoe hare, the faunal remains at Fort St. Joseph included fox, muskrat, bear, and caribou (Savage in Emerson et al.).

Specimen FW72-3795 is noteworthy – it appears to be a coprolite that contains fragments of bone, four of which are beaver. It must be noted, however, that at least the four beaver bones are calcined from burning. Since this is an unlikely state for bones ingested by animals, there is probably an explanation for the formation of this bony conglomerate which discards the coprolite hypothesis.

Although there is no record of domestic rabbits at Fort William, a single bone may be assignable to the rabbit genus *Oryctolagus*, although the majority seem to fit snowshoe hare. The difficulty arises from the great skeletal similarity of the members of the family; we may reasonably expect to find only the snowshoe hare and domestic rabbit, since the cottontail is out of range at Thunder Bay.

According to one source (Peterson), the northern race of snowshoe hare (*Lepus americanus americanus*) is measurably smaller than the more southerly sub-species (*L. a. virginianus*) to which belong the two specimens in our comparative collections; most likely we are dealing with the smaller hare representatives.

The partial skeleton of a mouse has been identified as *Peromyscus* cf. *maniculatus*. This common animal, known as a deer mouse, would be a regular member of the forest fauna in the neighbourhood of the Fort. Indeed, mice seem to have been regular members of the Fort itself: the 1824 Journal records that "mice and other small animals ... have hitherto destroyed a great deal from the Corn not being properly secured."

Of extreme interest zoologically is the remains of an Old World rat (*R. rattus*) excavated in 1970 in the South Palisade trench fill near the surface. With complete skull and mandibles there is no doubt that this animal is the Black Rat, famous carrier of plague, and not its near relative, the Norwegian Rat (*R. norvegicus*). Certain of the bones are anomalous with the suggestion of rachitic disease.



Rat bones from South Palisade trench. (FW70-81 et al.; reduced to 75% of size)

The animal may have reached the Fort in any of a number of ways and although its first documented arrival was in Toronto in 1830 (Peterson), it may be that the date should be set earlier. The first evidence of the Black Rat in Ontario was collected at Strathroy in the southwestern portion of the province in 1927 (Peterson), but apparently it never took hold in the wild. Serious shipping in Lake Superior started soon after the turn of the 19th century, providing transport from Sault Ste. Marie to the western end of the Lake and passage on board would have extended

the rat's range at least from the Soo. Dr. C. S. Churcher identified the faunal remains from the Hudson's Bay Company Post at Fort Albany, which was dated by its excavator, Dr. Walter Kenyon, at about 1700 AD. Amongst the domesticants, Churcher found the remains of dog, pig, cow, and sheep, as well as a species of *Rattus*; unfortunately, he could not pin down the species.

Birds

Avian remains were scant. Domestic birds are represented by one turkey and five chicken bones. Of note, are the latter. No skeletal elements are duplicated; two opposite ulnae recovered apparently represent two different varieties of chicken. The one ulna and a carpometacarpus are referable to the large male Plymouth Rock in the Royal Ontario Museum collection. The second ulna compares well with a female Leghorn – a somewhat smaller breed. The size and proportions of a lower leg bone indicate a fowl larger than the small White Leghorn, yet smaller than the Plymouth Rock variety; problems of hybridization make definite identification impossible.

It is interesting to note the presence of eiders which are indicated by only one humeral portion. These birds breed along northern marine coasts and Hudson Bay and usually winter in Alaska or on the north-east coast down to Newfoundland (Godfrey). Additionally, Savage (pers. comm.) feels that the specimen is not particularly remarkable as eiders do visit the Great Lakes regions in winter given open water. The remainder of the migratory fowl are mostly within their summer breeding range at Fort William and some may even winter there. The Canada geese, scaups, and buffleheads would be spring or fall migrants and the grouse is a year-round standby.

The extinct passenger pigeon is represented by five bones, one of which appears youngish, the remainder being fully adult. Previously it was believed that the butchered pigeon humerus found at the Michipicoten post (Burns) was the farthest north archaeological specimen recorded (Savage, pers. comm.). Subsequently it came to the attention of the writer (Savage, pers. comm.) that Walter Kenyon, of the Royal Ontario Museum, excavated passenger pigeon bones from the site of Fort Albany on James Bay. The presence at Fort William of passenger pigeon lends further support to Godfrey's statement that they bred west to the Lake of the Woods and north to Moose Factory. Such information from Fort William is important in tracing the distribution of this now extinct species.

Fish and Shellfish

The identified fish bone accounts for 34% of the total complement of fish; many of the remainder are unidentifiable rib and spine portions, although the few skull bones may be attributable to trout or whitefish. Difficulties in identification were encountered since several genera contain numerous species which are not well covered by existing collections at the Royal Ontario Museum. With the addition of a sturgeon skeleton to the collection of the Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto (kindly donated by the Fort William Project) it has been determined that those very skeletal elements which showed up in the Fort William material were of the type that cannot be specifically identified, being scutes and fulcra. Most of the sucker remains are vertebrae, while pickerel has been listed mostly by recognition of skull bones.

The pickerel present in the collection is probably the Yellow Pickerel (or Walleye) but a similar pickerel-type - the Sauger - may be indicated. Similarly, the trout-whitefish family is represented by the genera *Salvelinus* and *Coregonus* and probably the Lake Trout (*S. namaycush*) and the Lake Whitefish (*C. clupeaformis*); several other forms are possible. The vertebrae of Sucker sp. are not diagnostic enough to distinguish species. On the other hand, the Lake Sturgeon (*Acipenser fulvescens*) is the only freshwater species of three sturgeon varieties in eastern Canada (Scott). All of these identified species were probably available in the area of the Fort. Sturgeon may have been more relished than the scant remains indicate because the primitive cartilaginous skeleton is subject to quicker decay than the bones of less ancient fish. Indeed, only the bony plates and several skull portions of sturgeon survived.

Lieutenant von Graffenried is quoted (Bertrand) in regard to the procurement and storage of fish at the Fort. Plentiful in autumn, the fish are caught and frozen or salted down over the winter. Further, "... Lake Trout weighing from 30-60 lbs. were caught here..." Scott records that presently lake trout rarely exceed five pounds, although one Lake Superior fish weighed over 63 pounds - a North American angling record. Only a couple of vertebrae attributed to Trout sp. were of a good size.

Amongst the aquatic remains are four portions of freshwater bivalve molluscs (*Pelecypoda*; *Unionidae*). One of the items is fairly certainly a clam of the genus *Elliptio* and the others may be also (Dr. E. E. Watson, pers. comm.). They represent the most common variety of clam in Ontario, and may be found in most rivers and small lakes.

Two other valves are definitely marine and are attributable to the genus *Crepidula* cf. *C. fornicata*, commonly called a Boat Shell or Slipper Limpet (Dr. E. E. Watson, pers. comm.). It may be found almost anywhere on the Atlantic coast from southwestern Newfoundland south to Florida and Texas (Bousfield). Although it can reach a diameter of two inches it is doubtful that it would be collected for food purposes; and its presence at Fort William is unexplained at present.

Three portions of shellfish have been tentatively identified as oyster; the ridging formations and the slight hint of a purple muscle scar on one fragment suggest oyster. There are several accounts of feasts at Fort William (during both periods of occupation) at which great quantities of native game, fowl and fish of local and imported origin, were consumed along with certain delicacies from the Old World. Oysters are not specifically mentioned but the menu might well have included this kind of luxury.

Conclusions

The present analysis, of course, does not account for that portion of the diet based upon vegetal remains; grain, potatoes and other cultivated crops formed a not inconsiderable part of the total dietary intake. While our present sample could not argue for abundant use of domesticated beasts in the kitchens, it would appear that reliance was heavy on domestic sources of animal protein. An overall accounting shows a contribution of 234 cow, pig, sheep, and goat bones out of a total of 514 identified mammal bones, or 46%. Chickens were likely kept for eggs.

The whole gamut of palatal delights is indicated by the variety of birds and, less importantly, mammals of wild type. Wild food species are few and it would be hard to believe that hares were not more prized than the remains indicate. (Five of the 46 hare bones identified are from a single paw.) The amount of fish bone argues for a position of some importance in the diet economy of the Fort and this is supported by the documentary record.

One remarkable feature of the avian assemblage at Fort William is its diversity of species, totalling 17. By comparison again with Fort Michilimackinac this is low, since Cleland identified 28 different species from the combined occupations. Savage identified 21 species or families of birds from Fort St. Joseph. If nothing else, the majority of non-domestic avian species in the collection indicates that duck hunting was an important recreational pastime presumably for variety

in conjunction with domestic fare.

Such conclusions compare favourably with the results achieved by Cleland in his analysis of materials from the garrisons at Fort Michilimackinac. He writes: "The Europeans are shown to have relied heavily upon food supplies brought into the Straits area" (p.8). Table 4 of Cleland indicates by a "pounds-of-meat" calculation that the French garrison relied on domestic species for over 32% of their meat, while the later, better supplied British garrison's reliance on this source rose dramatically to over 78%. The garrison at Fort St. Joseph near the Soo apparently also relied heavily on domestic species. Pig, cow and sheep accounted for over 41% of the identified mammalian bone refuse (Emerson et al.). Had the stratigraphy of the Fort William site been more clearly defined, a comparison between North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company faunal remains might have reflected differences in company policy regarding food supplies as well as the changing ecology around the Fort.

Acknowledgements

The writer extends thanks to the Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, for permission to use their skeletal reference collection during the identification process. To Dr. E. E. Watson, Toronto, special thanks are due for the time given to identifying the marine shell remains. In addition, thanks go to Dr. Howard Savage, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, who has been of great assistance in many ways, including the reading of the report manuscripts and the offering of helpful suggestions.

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APPENDIX C

An Alternate View of Artifacts

Elizabeth Redfern and Rose Wark, Research Assistants,
Fort William Archaeological Project, Thunder Bay, Ontario

For the last two years, Mrs. Wark has been responsible for and has handled every one of the 15,000 fragments in the Fort William artifact collection. Ms. Redfern spent three summers digging on the site and one summer digging in libraries and archives, as well as two winters assisting with various lab and research work.

In this Appendix, they draw on their experiences with the artifact and documentary material to approach the Fort William artifacts from a point of view that differs from the basic archaeological approach of measurement, description, identification and classification. They briefly explore another dimension of artifacts starting with the premise that each fragment represents an object that once existed in a living world of people just as each piece of material culture in the world around us does today. In the first part, Mrs. Wark has recorded some of the thoughts and questions that ran through her head as she worked with the material. In the second part, she and Ms. Redfern have linked a series of artifacts with documentary excerpts which illustrate directly or indirectly a living situation in which such an artifact played a part.

Although the artifacts shown were found on the Fort William site, and were part of the complex and constantly changing whole that we so casually think of and refer to as "Fort William", they were, in many cases, made elsewhere and carried over oceans, lakes, rivers and portages to that place. Similar objects were dropped off at prior points on the route or continued westward through Fort William to different

destinations. Regardless of where it was made each one traced its own history until the point in time when it was broken or discarded and came to rest as an 'artifact' awaiting the archaeologist's trowel. The documentary excerpts are therefore not confined to Fort William, but are drawn from the general period when such an artifact was in use in order to give us a glimpse of one moment of the past and the living context in which the fragment or one similar to it once existed.

Thoughts and Questions

To a nonarchaeologist visiting the laboratory, the conglomeration of bits of glass, sherds of crockery, rusty metal, pieces of bone, rock, pipe stems, etc. spread out on the tables probably look like 'junk' and mean very little. Unless one sees an arrowhead or complete clay pot, which immediately says 'Indian', and is readily defined as 'old', the bits and pieces would not arouse much interest. Yet I am sure there are many people, who, like myself, have an insatiable curiosity about the past. Especially are we curious about the past of our own land. We would like to know what kind of people inhabited these 'Americas' in the days when this continent was new. Their way of life holds for us a deep and enthralling interest.

To me these bits and pieces excavated from the site of Fort William, tell a story. Each bit tells me a little more and collectively they paint a picture of the past. Each piece is intricately woven into a tapestry, mainly drab perhaps, but with a bit of glowing colour here and there, giving us a view of the whole, a life style of people long past.

When I hold a piece of ceramic in my hand, I do not see a piece of broken crockery. It is not even important to me whether it is a piece of the finest china or the lowliest stoneware. I see a plate, a cup, a bowl and I wonder what sort of person used it. Did the bowl hold a hearty stew, with vegetables grown in a plot of ground wrested from the wilderness and tilled with handmade tools? I can see a succulent filet of pickerel or whitefish on the plate, for Lake Superior abounded with these. Did the cup hold a hearty measure of strong tea, or maybe a toddy of rum to warm a man's 'innards' after a hard day's work or a long voyage? Did this sherd belong to a stone crock used to store precious staples?

These rusty pieces of metal and nails were forged by the blacksmith in his "smithy": handwrought nails, hinges, latches, hooks and chains, hammered out of bars of iron. These pieces of barrel-strapping used by the cooper to make sturdy kegs and barrels for storing fish and

other staples. And while they worked at their trades they may have puffed away on their clay pipes, clenching them between their teeth extra hard and breaking off yet another piece of stem.

Here is a gunflint and a piece of lead shot making me realize that not only were weapons a necessity for the hunting of game for food, but that perhaps there were things to fear, to defend oneself against, in this primitive land.

The bits of glass include a bottle base and neck, obviously from a type of liquor bottle and I think of friends, visitors and notables being entertained in the Great Hall; music from a violin accompanied by a jews harp and the wine, rum and scotch flowing freely. I am also forced to think of the men drinking themselves into oblivion, that they may forget for a while at least their lonely and hard existence. And the Indians who have imbibed too freely the traders' wine and are lying about their campfires outside the Fort. This too has the whiteman's fur trade brought about.

In this collection of glass are pieces of window pane through which an anxious wife or friend may have peered, awaiting the arrival of a long overdue companion or perhaps the annual ship that would bring news and goods from home. It may have been the window in a store or shop through which a clerk watched the winterers and *voyageurs* bring packs of furs and bales of goods.

Here is a copper tinkling cone, probably fashioned from one of the traders' copper kettles. It once adorned an Indian's buckskins, making a pleasant musical tinkle with every step taken.

Here is an awl, a piece of bark, a flint scraper and an arrowhead: almost all the tools an Indian needs. For with these he can fashion a canoe, build his home and hunt his food. Think of it! These people, who long before the whiteman came, had adapted to their environment with what nature provided: fashioning a canoe from bark stripped from a birch with a stone knife; using an awl hammered out of native copper to punch holes in the bark so that it may be laced together with spruce roots and made water-tight with pitch from the same tree - the whole resulting in a light craft, easy to portage, capable of carrying heavy cargo, and fast, enabling them to travel great distances in search of game.

Here are fragments of wood: a post, a picket, a plank or perhaps part of a log; and I see a palisade, a fence of pickets enclosing a garden, a

storehouse, a cabin. I hold a fragment of brick with bits of mortar still attached and immediately I see the smoke rising from numerous chimneys and envision the huge stacks of wood needed to stoke fireplaces and woodstoves through the long cold winters.

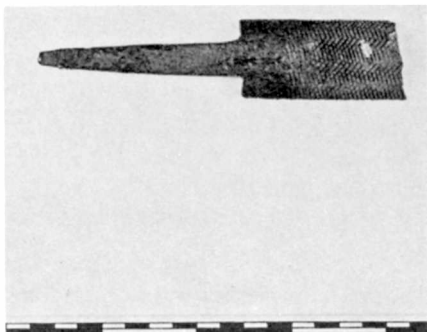
And here are pieces of bone. I know not from which animal they derive. It could be a horse, a cow, a beloved pet. What breed were they? Where did they come from? How did they arrive here?

A sherd of mirror, a fragment of jewelry, a cologne bottle. These are evidence of the presence of ladies and make me wonder what induced them to take up life in this new land. Hardy spirits they must have been, for it could not have been easy to leave family, friends and all the familiar things of home behind. Evidence shows that they brought with them a few of their treasures, the 'finer' things of life.

A child's shoe, a fragment of slate, a marble: these are mute testimony that children lived here. I wonder what games they played - hide and seek among the buildings? Hop-scotch? Did they have swings, and who taught them their A B C's?

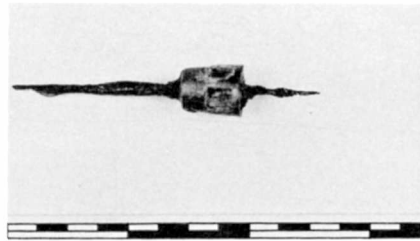
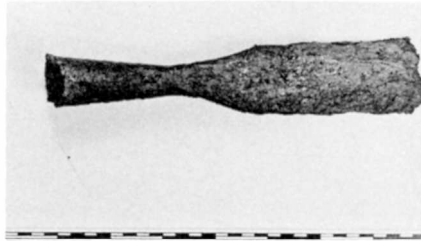
These are some of the thoughts that go through my mind as I sort, clean and catalogue these artifacts. Each piece is another clue to the past, each bit related to another and forming, when complete, a story of people and events. They make me wonder and think. They make me ask questions and search for answers. They make me want to know more and more ... and more.

Glimpses into the Past



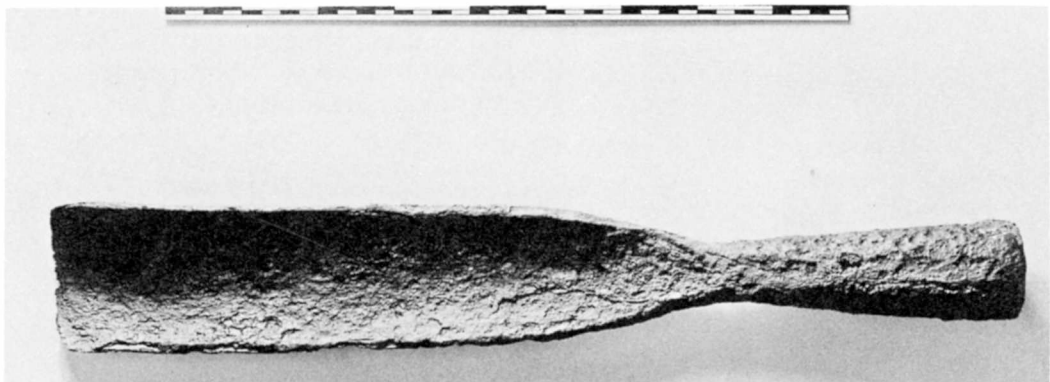
There is one thing that ought not to be omitted by the first light canoe that leaves this spring - that is, some files for the pit saws... There is a great deal of wood to be sawed, and I see that we are going to be forced to stop the work for lack of files.

*Father Provencher,
St. Boniface, 1819*

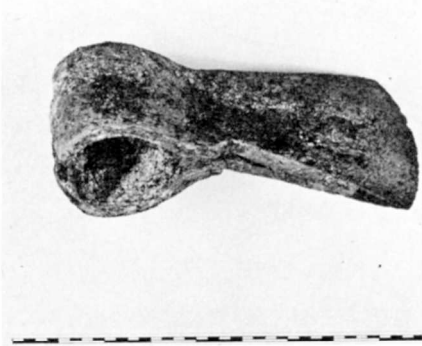


I have however strong hopes that you will agree with me in all I have said, and see the justice and necessity of this most valuable district being more amply supplied in future than what it has hitherto been. ... Tools ... we have our Boats to make and with what, such a beggarly and useless assortment of old trash I never set my eyes on before, neither oil stone to set a plane, Iron but I shall not begin to enumerate what we have not got & what we absolutely require, it will take up to much space, in a word we want every thing that Carpenters & Coopers' work with, look to the Indent for '42 and that will point out in detail what we so much stand in need of, and pray let us have them, it will be the last demand I shall make of such articles for this District, or perhaps' for any other in the Country.

John Lewes, Fort Simpson, 1840



ALL SCALES SHOWN ARE INCHES AND QUARTER INCHES



Duchamp & James Johnson employed as before. Davilleau is occupied steeling large Axes with Tremby the freeman to assist him.

Fort William Journal, 1831

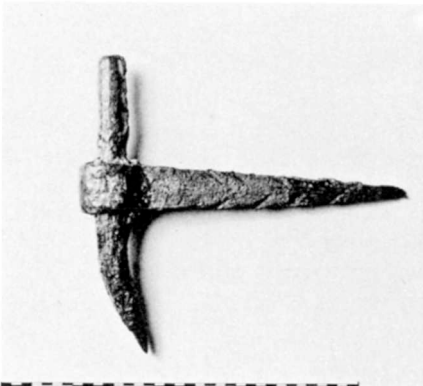
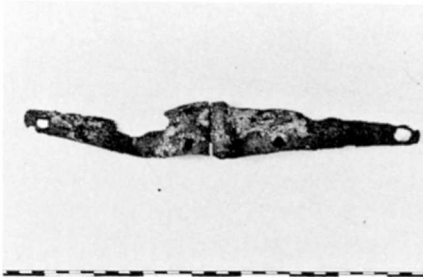
Mr John Swanston sent here for 50 Half Axes a few days ago from the Depot, which with the 50 that I forwarded last summer agreeably to instructions from Mr C.F. Bethune for the current outfit makes 100 there being no small Axes in the Depot is the reason he applied for so many half Axes, indeed he will require them all as the most of them are too weak in the eye & no steel...

Donald McIntosh, Fort William, 1836



Weather as Yesterday. Men finished the Store & put all the provisions & Goods under Lock & Key a happy Circumstance in time of Danger.

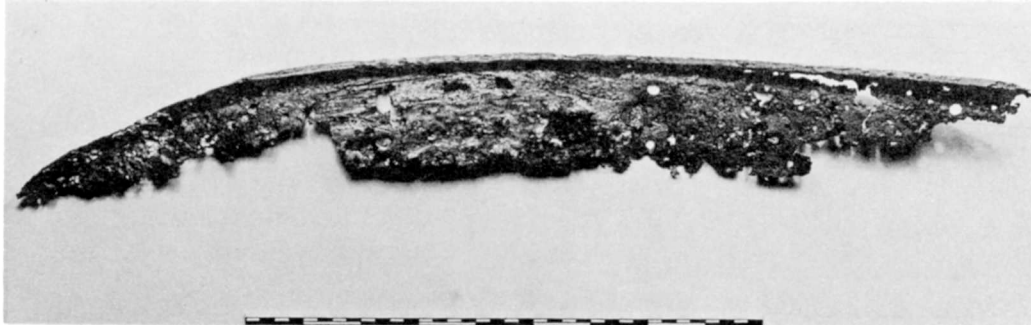
*Thomas Connor,
Cross Lake and Snake River
Region, 1804*



Fort Utensils, missing

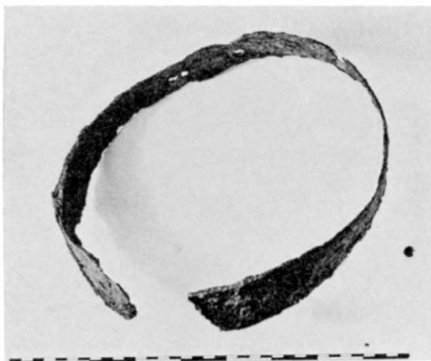
- 1 Small Closet do (Lock)
- 1 Trunk do (Com)
- 3 Blacksmiths Rubbers
- 5/12 doz Paint Brushes
- 1½ " Socket Chissels
- 1/12 " Cast Steel do
- ¼ " do Gauges
- 1/12 " Wrought Iron Hinges 1½ in.s
- 2/3 " " " " 1¼ "
- 1/2 Pair But Hinges 2 hand
- 5¼ Gross Wood Screws
- 19 Paires Window Glass - 8½ x 9½
- 7/12 Doz: Chalk Lines
- 1/12 " Mackerel do
- 88 lbs 282 Nails
- 13 " assorted do
- 358 Old Nails
- ½ Ct Tinmans Rivets
- 2 Single Plain Irons
- 7 Double " do
- 1 M. Bricks
- 1 Stock Lock 8 in.s
- 1 Pair Sliding Tongs
- 1 " Cutting Plyers
- 1 " Flat nose do
- 1 " Round do "

*Schedule of Property at Fort William
with the priced Inventory, Schedule
B, Fort William, 1817*



The men sharpened and handled scythes, in readiness for monday mowing...

Fort William Journal, 1827

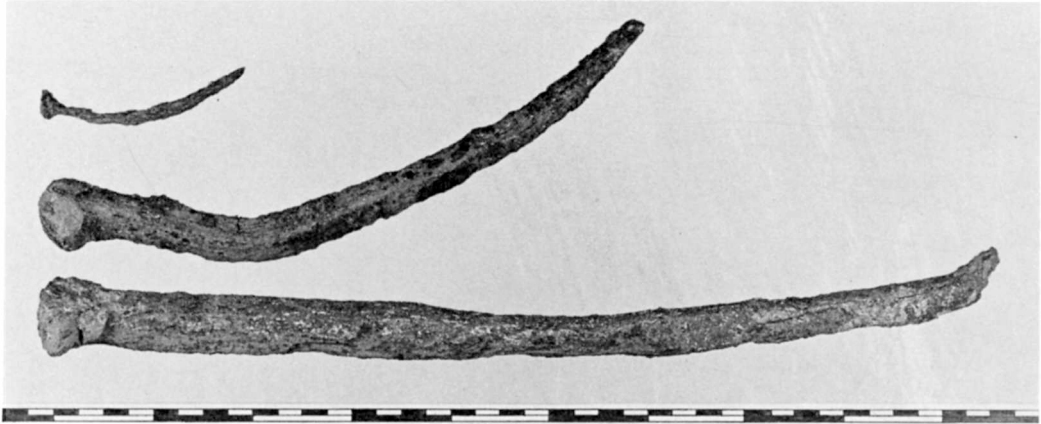


Old Collin expects to make 120 fish Casks before the Fall fishery sets in, there is no doubt but Michel Collin can fill that number at Shagoinas Islands, providing he has Salt enough -

*Donald McIntosh,
Fort William, 1836*

If you could procure 200 Barrels to Salt Fish for the market they will be required for this Post next Fall; exclusive of the 400 which Antoine Collin expect(s) to make. It would be advisable that you would order a new Set of Coopers Tools for this Post also; there are only 3 Coopers Hollowing adzes & 4 Hollowing Knives in the Depot here at present; as the Drawing knives which are here are not of any use. We would require at least three.

Donald McIntosh, Fort William, 1837



From this camp, we have covered 15 leagues in spite of the time we lost to burn the old barge in order to procure nails according to Mr. James Sutherland's orders.

Jean Baptiste Lemoine, Pointe de Meuron, 1817

The two Iroquois collecting old Nails out of the Planks &ca in the Boat Yard...

Fort William Journal, 1824

Gave out the Large Spike Nails in the Marine Store -- to be streigthened by the Blacksmiths -- as there is a liklihood of some of that description being required for vessel...

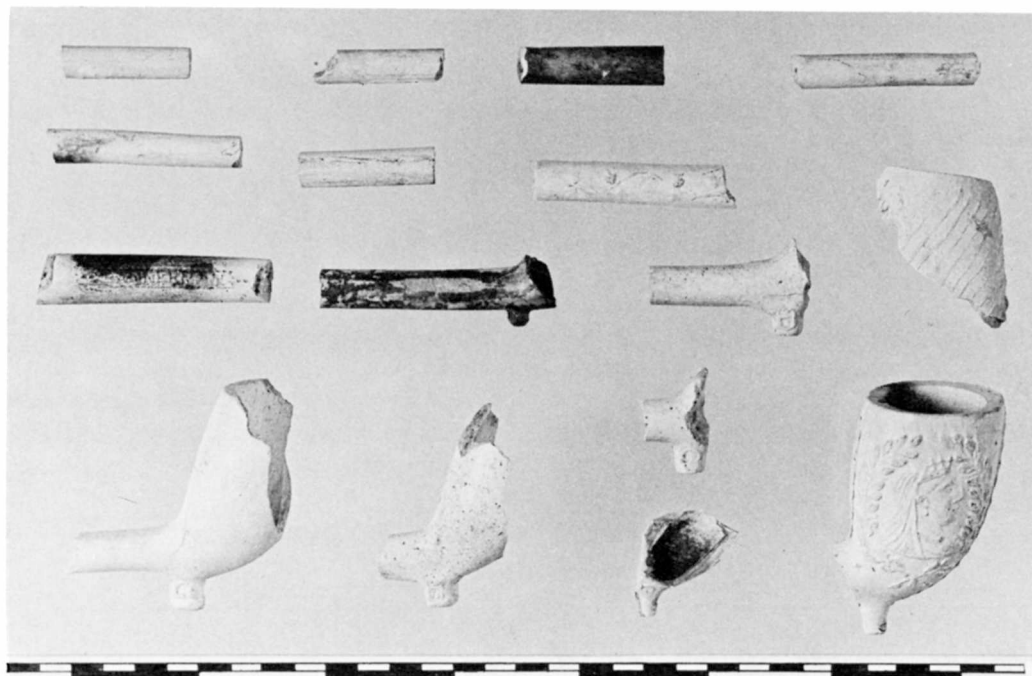
Fort William Journal, 1824

Pointu began to stretch Iron for boat nails with Deschamps....

Fort William Journal, 1828

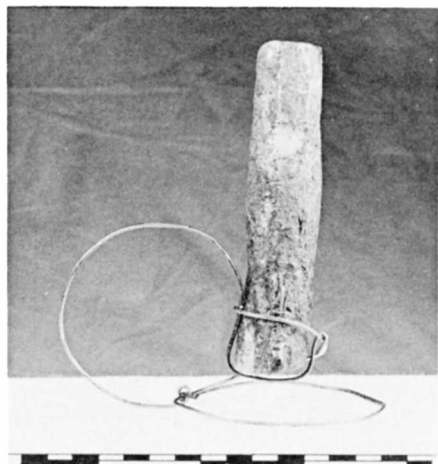
The Weather was so cold to day that the Men building the Store could not work outside, they were employed within Doors collecting shingle Nails out of the roofing of the old Stores. The other men all employed as usual.

Fort William Journal, 1849



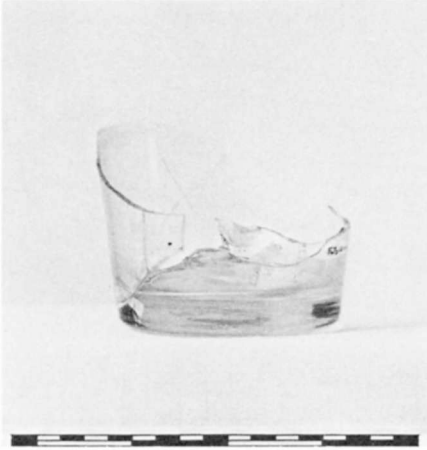
Leaving pointe au père we paddled two pipes and put to shore to give the men time to clean themselves, while we breakfasted -- this done a short pipe brought us to Pointe au Chapeaux around which we got a sight of the long wished for Grand Portage.

John MacDonell, Lake Superior, 1793



... besides myself -- there are four of the labouring men in the garret, at present snoring away like lusty fellows -- (as it is now about 11 p m) and I am writing by candle light, but at a great risk -- as there are some thirty kegs Gunpowder down on the lower floor -- but if I do not write now -- I will not have time to morrow, as I intend sending off the Moose people as soon as possible to morrow morning, ...

*Dugald MacTavish,
Moose River Long Portage, 1837*



January 1st . . . Every new day brings some new wants all my glass tumblers is gone (broke) please send me Four to Norway House, either plain or cut will be equally acceptable.

Edward Smith, Fort Chipewyan, 1836



The rain & fog cleared away I got the people at last collected & crossed by two's & three's - except the guide & I man - I sent message after message for the guide if he detained us hear an hour after we embarked & was at last carried drunk on board & kept taking off his hat repeatedly after to all the N Westers as we passed them. -

Miles McDonnell, Fort William, 1816



I must now before I finish about Outfits and Equipments, point out to you, with a view of moving your sympathy to the destitute state of McKenzies River in the articles of table furniture, I am sure if you could but see us for a moment, and be an eye witness to our beggarly display that you would not only pity us, but instantly say yes, yes, your wants are great, and shall be supplied, look therefore to my Indent it will point out how you can relieve us, and in doing so I beg that the greatest care and attention be paid to their packing, for they will be in

hands' none of the most carefull or tender, the portage La Loche Boys' are a sett of rough & terrible fellows' caring little for the contents of packages. All their aim is to get through the voyage as quick as possible their cry is the D--l take the hindermost helter, skelter, bing, bang, the pieces here & there on the portage, pieces containing the most brittle ware are as tenderly dashed on the rocks' as two or three pieces of bar iron fasted together, consequently to ensure the safety of any Earthenware sent in, the greatest care is necessary in the packing its confoundedly vexing and galling after taking a piece from YF to this, to find on opening every thing broke useless.

John Lewes, Fort Simpson, 1840

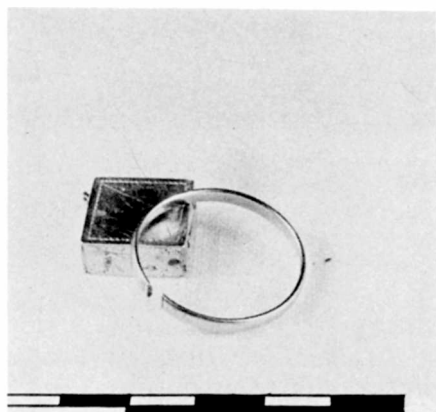


We are plagued by great numbers of mice, which destroy almost everything but metals; our strouds and blankets are nearly all damaged, and they even carry off our beads. At night we see them running in droves over the floor; they are not shy in the least. They often awake us by scampering over our faces and playing on our beds.

Alexander Henry, Park River, 1800

Two men . . . arrived from Portage la Prairie, with two kegs of potatoes, and a cat for les souris (the mice).

Alexander Henry, Park River, 1803



Contract of marriage drawn up and executed between Louis Bouchard of the parish of Maskinongé in the province of Lower Canada, party of the first part, and Charlotte Fainiant of Fort William in the province of Upper Canada with the consent of her parents, party of the second part.

The said Louis Bouchard willingly binds himself and promises faithfully in the presence of God and the church to protect, cherish, and support the said Charlotte Fainiant as his lawful wife, in sickness as in health, during the term of his natural life, and, on the first good opportunity, to have their marriage solemnized according to the custom of civilized countries, and, moreover, the said Louis Bouchard, in case the said Charlotte Fainiant survives him, willingly binds himself to transfer and bequeath for the exclusive use and benefit of the said Charlotte Fainiant and any children born of this marriage all the property - in cash, furniture or other goods - of which the said Louis Bouchard dies possessed, and in case the said Louis Bouchard dies without having fulfilled faithfully the articles

and settlements mentioned above - to marry the said Charlotte Fainiant - he consents and willingly binds himself to bequeath and have paid to the said Charlotte Fainiant all the credit and cash that he now has or may have in the future in the hands of the honorable Hudson's Bay Company, and out of his wages the said Louis Bouchard consents to leave a tenth part in the hands of the Company each year he remains in their service for the express purpose of making a small provision for the benefit of his family in case of his accidental death.

Drawn up and executed at Fort William, Lake Superior District, on the afternoon of October 18, 1828, and signed - except for Louis Bouchard who, having declared that he was unable to sign his name, made his ordinary mark after the document was completed.

Witnesses

Benj. McKenzie

Duncan Haggart

His

Louis X Bouchard

Mark

Marriage Contract, Fort William, 1828



Lake Superior is the largest and most magnificent body of fresh water in the world: it is clear and pellucid, of great depth, and abounding in a great variety of fish, which are the most excellent of their kind. There are trouts of three kinds, weighing from five to fifty pounds, sturgeon, pickerel, pike, red and white carp, black bass, herrings, &c. &c. and the last and best of all, the Ticamang, or white fish, which weighs from four to sixteen pounds, and is of a superior quality in these waters.

*Alexander Mackenzie,
Lake Superior area, 1793*

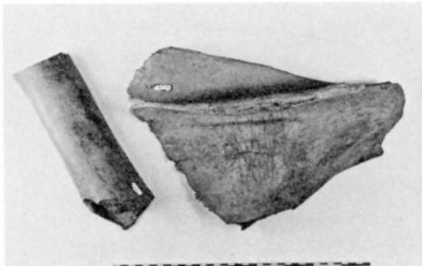


Sunday ... Great flocks of pigeons flying about which is seldom seen at this season of the year (September)...

Monday ... We killed a number of pigeons in course of the day, at least 100...

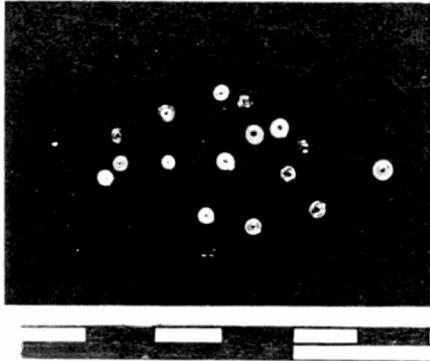
Tuesday ... We again killed a good many pigeons today...

Fort William Journal, 1828



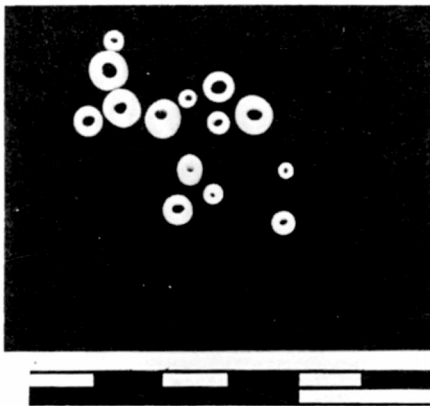
... Deschamps & Brisebois slaughtered 4 cows which weigh an average of about 380 lbs each -

Fort William Journal, 1827



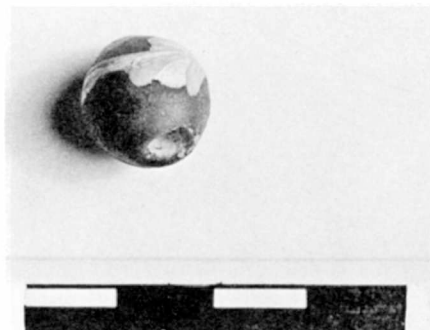
I made them Presents of some small Articles but they were fonder of the Beads than anything else I gave particularly Blue Ones. One of them to whom I had given a Knife asked me to change it for three Branches of Beads which I did to please him.

*Alexander Mackenzie,
Mackenzie River, 1789*



The process of embroidering ammunition pouches displays much ingenuity. They (Cree Indians) make a kind of tambour frame, with sinews stretched in parallel lines by a bow. Across these they interweave beads and quills into gay and sometimes elegant patterns.

*Robert Hood,
First Franklin Expedition, 1819-21*



The Enamel Beads of this season are a perfect dead stock in both our Indian and Sale shops--being too large--instead of selling them at 12 skins p lb. I shall never be able to sell them at 1 skin a pound--have you none smaller to send us.-

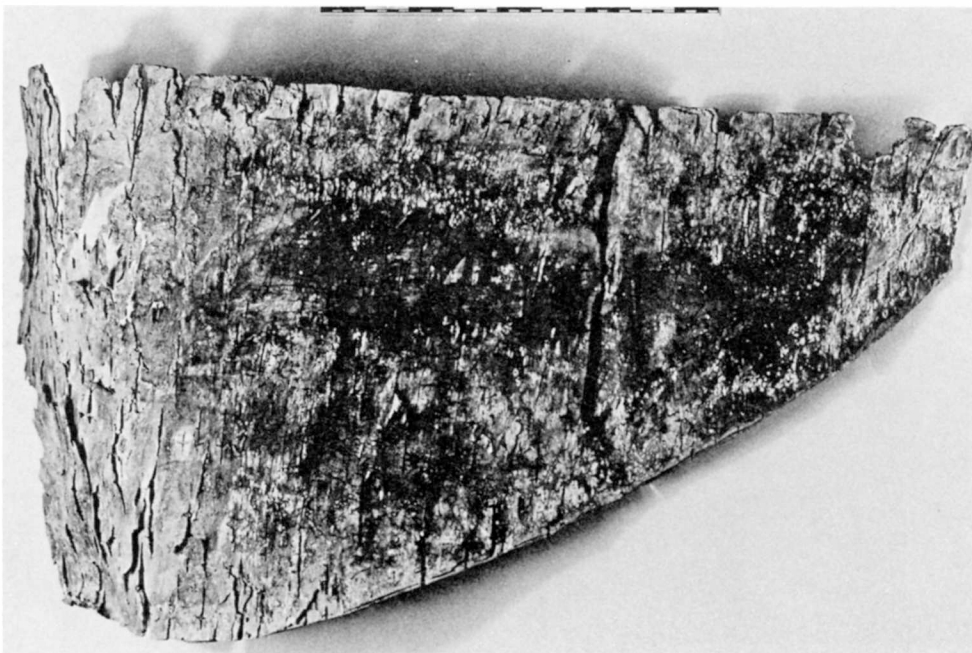
Donald Ross, Norway House, 1838

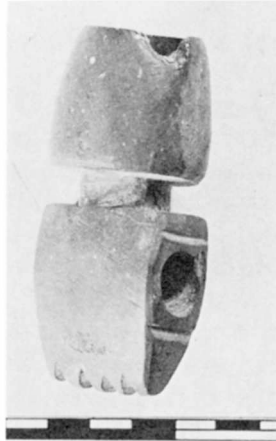
The bark of the birch-tree forms the covering for the wigwam or hunters' camp - gives utensils in which flour is kneaded and water boiled - is the papyrus on which the Indian pioneer sketches with native plumbago hieroglyphics (which are left in cleft sticks at the portage landing) for the guidance of his following tribe - and makes the resinous torch for lighting the portage, the camp, or the night-fisher's spear; while the green wood from which it is stripped burns as readily on the campfire as the dry of any other tree.

H. Y. Hind et al., 1863

... Michel Collin arrived with his canoe bark - Old Collin's lady, Vuisina's wife and her mother likewise arrived they brought 84 rolls bark, but from what I can judge, there are very few Rolls of good amongst the whole...

Fort William Journal, 1827





There is a deep bay running North-West on the right, that is not included, and is remarkable for furnishing the natives with a kind of soft, red stone, of which they make their pipes; . . .

*Alexander Mackenzie,
Lake Superior area, 1793*

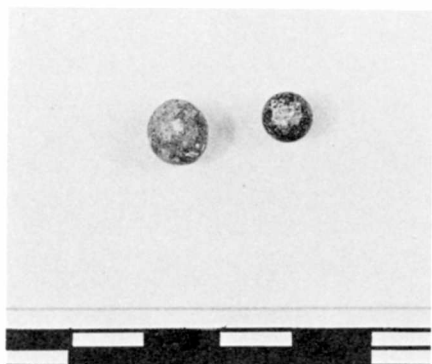
The pipe of an Indian is generally from two and a half to three feet long. This, and a pouch made of the skin of some animal, in which he carries his *kinnikanic*, a kind of fragrant weed that has a leaf like our box wood, and is gathered from a vine, or his tobacco, or both, are his constant companions. The first thing he does on sitting down, is to take out of this pouch some of these leaves, and if he has it, some tobacco. The tobacco he holds between his finger and thumb, and cuts it slowly with his knife into small particles, which drop into the palm of his hand, then rubbing them there with his fingers into powder, he presses it into the bowl of his pipe. By means of a steel and flint, he strikes fire into a bit of spunk, and lights his pipe. He then rests the bowl on the ground, or the stem on his knee, and putting the other in his mouth, smokes until he envelopes himself with these fumes, which, if the wind should happen not to blow, is soon done.

Thomas McKenney, Sault Ste. Marie, 1826



The calumet, or Indian pipe, which is much larger than that the Indians usually smoke, is made of marble, stone, or clay, either red, white, or black, according to the custom of the nation, but the red is mostly esteemed. . .

John Long, Pays Plat, 1777



... the Indians totally neglect their ancient customs; and to what can this degeneracy be ascribed but to their intercourse with us, particularly as they are so unfortunate as to have a continual succession of opposition parties to teach them roguery and destroy both mind and body with that pernicious article, rum? What a different set of people they would be, were there not a drop of liquor in the country! If a murder is committed among the Saulteurs, it is always in a drinking match. We may truly say that liquor is the root of all evil in the North West.

*Alexander Henry,
Pembina River, 1803*

The old Indians when speaking of their ancestors wonder how they could live, as the beaver was wiser, and the bear stronger than them, and confess that, if they were deprived of the gun, they could not live by the bow and arrow and must soon perish.

*David Thompson,
York Factory area, ca. 1800*

References

ABBREVIATIONS

FWJ	Fort William Journal
HBCA	Hudson's Bay Company Archives
PAC	Public Archives of Canada
PAM	Provincial Archives of Manitoba
TBHMS	Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society

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APPENDIX D

List of Detailed Artifact Reports

At the close of each of the 1971 to 1973 field seasons, the artifact material from the site was sent to various specialists who were asked to:

- (a) establish a standardized cataloguing format for their particular material;
- (b) provide the Project with whatever information could be ascertained about each artifact; and
- (c) provide the Project with a written report which outlined the technological background of the type of material and/or general comments regarding the significance of the artifacts examined.

The effectiveness of this procedure was limited by the fact that specialists in the identification of material from historical sites are few in number: in almost all cases they undertook the job for the Project in addition to regular full-time jobs. Understandably then, the archaeologists did not always have the reports at the time they were needed. In addition, the specialists themselves were not familiar with either the historical background of Fort William or the archaeology of the site. The complexity of the latter defied any attempts to provide the specialists with a quick and simple summary that could be readily assimilated in the brief amount of time they were able to give to the material. Consequently, neither the specialists nor the artifacts were able to contribute as much as they potentially might have to the overall understanding of the site – it was left to the archaeologists to assimilate the specialists' reports and determine the archaeological

significance of the material as best they could. This was facilitated as much as was possible under the circumstances by the quality of the specialists' reporting and by their willingness to engage in written or telephone discussions of particular problems.

The following are the reports prepared for the Project. The 1968 to 1970 survey material was only forwarded to specialists who had time to examine it. Where the 1971 to 1973 excavation years are omitted, either none of the material specified was excavated or the material was identified but no written report was submitted. All reports are now on file with the Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Historical Planning and Research Branch.

BEADS

Karlís Karklins:	1972 Excavations
	1968-72 Excavations
	1968-73 Excavations

BRICK AND MORTAR

Michael McLeod with Murray J. Vibert:	
	1972 Excavations
	1973 Excavations

CERAMICS

Jean-Pierre Cloutier:	1972 Excavations
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FAUNA

James A. Burns:	1968-70 Excavations
	1971 Excavations
	1972 Excavations
	1973 Excavations

FLORA

Michael McLeod with Claude Garton:	
	1971 Excavations
	1972 Excavations
Helen Donis-Keller:	Survey of Present Flora on Island No. 1

GLASS

Robert Rosewarne:	1972 Excavations
Paul McNally:	1973 Excavations

KAOLIN PIPES

Susan Schultz:	1968-73 Excavations
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METAL

Peter Priess:	1972 Excavations
Robert Barron:	1973 Excavations

NATIVE CERAMICS

Richard Schultz:	1972 Excavations
	1973 Excavations

SOILS (CHEMICAL AND/OR POLLEN ANALYSIS)

Dr. John H. McAndrews:	1972 Excavations
Dr. Jaan Terasmae et al.:	1973 Excavations

WOOD

Helen Donis-Keller:	1971-73 Excavations
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