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A HISTORY OF THE UPPER ATHABASCA VALLEY  
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

by Gerhard Ens and Barry Potyondi

1986

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## Abstract

This report examines the society of the Upper Athabasca Valley during the nineteenth century. It does so through three discrete but nonetheless closely related studies. All attempt to compensate for the paucity of historical evidence about the nineteenth century Valley by focussing on activities at Jasper House and by the introduction of available comparative data.

The first section of the report situates the history of Jasper House within that of the western Canadian fur trade as a whole. In contrast to previous studies, this report establishes conclusively that Jasper House, which began as a transmontane transshipment depot in 1813, evolved into a significant fur trading establishment after 1830. This explains, for the first time, why it continued to operate more than three decades after cessation of its transportation role.

The second section discusses structural techniques and technology in the Upper Athabasca Valley by reference to its historical demography. Geographic isolation, decades of inter-marriage, a stable economy, and a limited range of

building tools contributed to the adoption of fur trade precedents in local architecture.

The third section examines the material culture of the society that lived in the Jasper House area until being expelled upon reservation of the area for national park purposes at the beginning of the twentieth century. While differentiation on the basis of race/ethnicity was initially apparent, those differences were reduced sharply by the growing and persistent significance of the fur trade as an economic force. By mid-century, few distinctions could be drawn on the basis of material objects in this increasingly homogenous society.

## Jasper House and the Transmontane Fur Trade, 1810-1907

### The North West Company's Columbian Enterprise

The first Jasper House was constructed in about 1813 to serve as a transportation depot for the transmontane fur trade of the Montreal-based North West Company. During the early years of the nineteenth century, the Nor'Westers bid aggressively to monopolize the fur trade of the Columbia River basin. Ultimately they succeeded, and Jasper House became their principal post in the mountains. Although its function and its location would change in the years to come, Jasper House would always remain one of the most significant fur trade posts on the east slope of the Rocky Mountains.

Jasper House facilitated crossing of the Rockies. This function became important only as penetration of the western slope turned into a realistic possibility for the North West Company after 1804. In that year, it absorbed the New North West Company (better known as the XY Company, from the marking used on its fur bales), an upstart firm formed six years earlier by dissident wintering partners. Prior to this, the Nor'Westers had been obliged to conduct a trade

offensive on too many fronts to commit valuable resources to capture of the transmontane trade. Within a year of the amalgamation, however, the united Nor'Westers were in a purposeful and expansion mood and sought avenues to the Pacific across a wide front.<sup>1</sup>

The Nor'Westers' Columbian initiative began formally in 1805, when Simon Fraser and John Stuart were dispatched up the Peace River. They followed the Pacific coast route pioneered by Alexander Mackenzie in 1793, via the Parsnip River to the headwaters of the Fraser. While Fraser did establish a number of posts on the western slope of the Rockies, in the district soon known as New Caledonia, he failed to find a feasible water route to the coast. Eventually he reached the Pacific in 1808 by way of the river that later bore his name, but its difficult rapids and portages defeated all hope for an easy line of communication to the coast.<sup>2</sup>

While Fraser gambled on the unknown watercourses of the western slope, the North West Company hedged its bet by investigating North Saskatchewan River access to the coast. In 1806, the Company sent a freeman named Jaco Finlay to blaze a trail through Howse Pass, which led from the headwaters of the Saskatchewan to the Columbia River. One year later, David Thompson, the Company's premier explorer and surveyor, was chosen to advance through the pass.

Hostile Peigan Indians, fearing the arms parity that their transmontane enemy the Kootenays might gain from the spread of the trade across the mountains, repeatedly attempted to block Thompson's passage via this route. Thompson did manage to establish several defensive and trading posts on the western slope during the next couple of years, but he failed to reach tidewater.

During the same period the Hudson's Bay Company -- the chief commercial rival of the Nor'Westers -- launched its own Pacific offensive. Joseph Howse (after whom the pass was named) was sent across the Rockies with disappointing results similar to those of Thompson. Returning with furs in the summer of 1811, Howse was caught up in warfare between the Peigans and the Flatheads, and only his skill in dealing with Indians enabled him to bring out his trade. The discouraging report that he subsequently tendered to his employer about the obstacles to transmontane commerce led the Hudson's Bay Company to abandon the Rocky Mountains as a trade frontier.<sup>3</sup>

Notwithstanding such difficulties, the North West Company remained committed to finding a practicable route to the Pacific. When it became known in 1810 that John Jacob Astor, head of the largest American fur trading concern, was attempting to reach the Pacific by an overland route, the Nor'Westers immediately dispatched David Thompson to establish their presence on the coast before Astor. Again

foiled by Peigan hostility in the Howse Pass area, Thompson turned north and followed the more difficult Athabasca Pass route. He reached the upper Columbia early in 1811, but not before Astor's men had built Fort Astoria at the mouth of the great river.

The only immediate gain from Thompson's efforts was the establishment of a passable, if more difficult, transmontane route to the Pacific coast. Not until 1813, when the Astorians sold their Columbian assets to the North West Company, did the Nor'Westers gain full possession of the Columbia River and the coastal trade.<sup>4</sup> By then, the Athabasca Pass had become entrenched as the chief route<sup>5</sup> through the mountains.

Jasper House was built as one small but necessary depot along this transcontinental fur trade conduit. At first, trade returns had been sent eastward to Rainy Lake, but with the acquisition of Fort Astoria in 1813 both in-bound and out-bound Columbian goods were moved via Cape Horn.<sup>6</sup> Between 1816 and 1820 goods were even imported from Boston. But if the heavy goods and fur returns were shipped on the Pacific Ocean, many items for individual posts in the Columbia, all communications from the inland headquarters at Fort William, and most men staffing the posts were brought across the mountains by canoe brigades that came over the Athabasca Pass via Jasper House.

These brigades would leave Fort William and arrive on Lake Winnipeg by way of Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods, and the Winnipeg River (see figure 1).<sup>7</sup> They then travelled up the North Saskatchewan River to Cumberland, where they headed north on the Sturgeon-weir River to the Churchill River, which they followed to Ile-à-la-Crosse. Here the Columbia brigade separated from the Athabasca (or northbound) brigade, and ascended the Beaver River through Lac La Biche to the Athabasca River, before travelling on to Lesser Slave Lake.

It was at Lesser Slave Lake that the outfits (or annual trade good packages) for the Athabasca River District (as distinct from the northerly Athabasca District) and the Columbia were made up.<sup>8</sup> In late autumn, the Columbia brigade paddled up the Athabasca to Jasper House, which was then situated at the outlet of Brule Lake. There preparations were made for the portage through the Athabasca Pass by pack horses to the Boat Encampment on the banks of the Columbia River. At this place, a second canoe brigade waited to carry the outfit down the Columbia for distribution to the various posts. In late April, this trip over the pass was retraced by men on snowshoes.

This arduous portage over the 1736 metre Athabasca Pass, which was followed by a steep descent of 1066 metres to the Boat Encampment, made Jasper House a critical depot. There pack horses were tethered and provisions stored,

without which the transport of large quantities of commodities and furs would have been impossible. Even Thompson, on his first journey through the pass, had been forced to build a number of log huts in which to store his goods and provisions and to provide shelter for the men who cared for the horses over winter. This small camp, built and commanded by William Henry, was called William Henry's<sup>9</sup> House.

By 1814 this post had been abandoned and replaced by one on the western shore of Brule Lake. It was variously called Jasper's House and Rocky Mountain House. Built by<sup>10</sup> Francois Decoigne of the North West Company in 1813, Jasper House was established "to facilitate the mountain crossings of those employees who are on their way to the Columbia River or returning from it."<sup>11</sup> Resident at the post in 1813 were an interpreter, a horsekeeper, two<sup>12</sup> hunters, and two engagés. By 1817 Jasper House was under the charge of Jasper Hawse (from whom it took its name), who had under him two Canadiens, two Iroquois, and three hunters. The post consisted of one building, described by Ross Cox as "a miserable concern of rough logs, with only<sup>13</sup> three apartments, but scrupulously clean inside." Its status as a portage depot would not diminish until after the union of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821.



Jasper House and the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821-1870

The Saskatchewan District

For several years after the union of the companies, the transmontane depot of Jasper House remained within the northerly administrative district of Lesser Slave Lake (see figure 2). After George Simpson's major re-organization of the western trade in 1825, however, Jasper House became a significant post within the Saskatchewan District. Its significance derived principally from the functional specialization of posts within the district.

With most of its posts strung out along the north branch of the Saskatchewan River, the Saskatchewan District was important both as a fur field and as a provisioning district that provided pemmican and country produce to the brigades of the Northern Department. The district's sheer size through the period to 1870 ensured it at least second<sup>14</sup> place (behind Mackenzie River) in value of fur returns. Its "forts des prairies," which straddled the boreal forest and parkland vegetation zones, were admirably situated for exploitation of wintering buffalo herds that were needed to feed the brigade crews.

Most of the posts in the Saskatchewan District were built between about 1795 and 1821, during the heyday of

trade competition. In the main, each had a primary function within the larger sphere of trade. They might be wintering posts, provision posts, district posts, or portage posts.

Wintering posts were the basic trading unit. Located near Indian hunting grounds, they were generally manned during the winter months only, hence the name. Competition and the depletion of fur resources contributed to frequent changes in the location of these posts, which were designedly small and impermanent. Some, especially those on the Saskatchewan River, might also fulfill other functions, such as the provisioning of the brigades. An added role like this often gave a post more stability than it would ordinarily have had.

Fort George and Buckingham House, rival forts established on the North Saskatchewan in 1792 to exploit unharvested fur fields, were of the latter type. For five years after local fur-bearing animals had been depleted, they remained open as collection points for the provisions needed by the spring brigades. Similarly, the various Rocky Mountain Houses that were built as wintering posts on the upper reaches of the North Saskatchewan served a strategic trade purpose. Despite poor returns from the Peigans and from the less important Kootenay whom they had been constructed to serve, these posts remained open. In this way, the possibility of conflict at Fort Edmonton

between the incoming Peigans and the locally-predominant Cree and Assiniboine was averted. These posts also served<sup>15</sup> as a bulwark against the incursions of American traders.

Where natural obstacles precluded easy canoe passage, transshipment stations were constructed to allow the transport of goods in stages. Fort Assiniboine is a good example of the portage post. Built in 1823 as a trading<sup>16</sup> centre to replace the post at Lesser Slave Lake, Fort Assiniboine became an important portage post once George Simpson made Fort Edmonton the main depot for the Columbia brigades, Lesser Slave Lake, Fort Assiniboine, and Jasper House.

In 1824 Simpson ordered a trail cut between Edmonton and Fort Assiniboine, and within a year the latter was the point at which the Athabasca canoes were exchanged for pack horses to Edmonton or the reverse. Situated on the north bank of the upper Athabasca River, below the McLeod branch, Fort Assiniboine also served as an important wintering post for valuable furs of all kinds were to be had in the<sup>17</sup> region.

Fort Edmonton, commanded by a chief factor or trader, was the district, or principal administrative post of the Saskatchewan District. It also functioned as a provision collection depot, as a trading post, and as the central station for the Columbia brigade, Fort Assiniboine, Lesser Slave Lake, Jasper House, and Rocky Mountain House. As

such, it was functionally the most diverse of Saskatchewan District posts.

In the period 1830 to 1850 the labour requirements of the Saskatchewan District fluctuated between 67 and 80 men, with up to a dozen recruits coming in annually for training. Fort Edmonton, with its varied administrative, provisioning, and transportation functions, retained the largest number of men in the district. When Father Pierre-Jean de Smet wintered at Fort Edmonton in 1845-6, he noted that the number of servants (including women and children) was about <sup>18</sup> eighty. The Saskatchewan District's volume of trade, extent of the fur fields, and remoteness from York Factory and the Red River Settlement also dictated the retention of a sizable number of craftsmen, most of whom resided at Fort Edmonton. As early as 1830 there were three blacksmiths, two boat-builders, a carpenter, and a cooper in the <sup>19</sup> district. By 1850 there were four carpenters.

It did not always follow, however, that a post's function and importance determined the number of resident men. Rocky Mountain House, located in Peigan and Blackfoot territory, was thought to need a large garrison for defense of the fort, even though the trade volume did not warrant <sup>20</sup> the presence of so many men. On the other hand, the important transshipment points of Fort Assiniboine and Jasper House, located amid small bands of peaceful Indians,

possessed only small complements of men. Neither post ever required more than a chief trader, an interpreter, and a few <sup>21</sup>engagés to hunt game and care for the horses.

While the functional diversity of many Saskatchewan District posts inadvertently enhanced their self-sufficiency, they nonetheless remained highly inter-dependent. The unrelenting need to secure and to move fur returns to market and to transport goods to the District's posts was the main reason for this inter-dependence. This was the one function that no post could fulfill by itself.

To cite but one example, the likelihood of securing large quantities of furs in hostile Indian territory was significantly reduced without adequate manpower, but large numbers of men could also strain local provisions beyond acceptable limits. Only the functional specialization of another post as a provisioning depot, and the transportation connection between it and the wintering post, made the difference between commercial success and failure.

Efficient transportation, then, was the single most important requirement of the fur trade. It provided a vital link, both among the individual District posts and between the Saskatchewan hinterland and metropolitan markets. Jasper House, as a transmontane transshipment point that connected the posts of critical river basins, was consequently assured on-going significance within the water-based trade.

Jasper House as a Transmontane Portage Depot

With the union of the companies in 1821, the new Hudson's Bay Company took in many former Nor'Westers, took over the Columbia and New Caledonia fur trade districts, and adopted the old North West Company route over the mountains. As late as 1823 the brigades destined for the Columbia basin and Lesser Slave Lake followed the Beaver River to Lesser Slave Lake. There outfits continued to be assembled for Fort Assiniboine, Jasper House, and the posts of the Columbia.<sup>22</sup> The only change was that the goods now came from York Factory instead of from Montreal.

During his travels of 1824-5, George Simpson began to rationalize the organization of the western fur trade districts and their transportation systems with the same efficiency that he had brought to bear upon the rest of the Northern Department (see figure 3). He immediately abandoned the Beaver River brigade route, and combined the Lesser Slave Lake/Columbia brigade with the Saskatchewan brigade.

Ratified by the Northern Department Council in 1825, Simpson's decision permitted the use of York boats instead of large canoes. This decreased costs and increased the security of the Saskatchewan River posts. One brigade of seven boats from York Factory now allowed 45 men to do the

work of the 75 required under the old system. Henceforth the two brigades that had forked at Cumberland House would continue together on the North Saskatchewan to Fort<sup>23</sup> Edmonton.

From Edmonton, the Lesser Slave Lake brigade and the Columbia express would reach the upper Athabasca River via a horse road which Simpson ordered cut through the bush in<sup>24</sup> 1824. From Fort Assiniboine the outfits for Jasper House and the Columbia posts were transported by boat up the Upper Athabasca to Jasper, where waiting horses carried the outfit over the Athabasca Pass to the Boat Encampment on the<sup>25</sup> Columbia. These changes to the transportation linkages of the Hudson's Bay Company only reaffirmed the significance of Jasper House as a portage depot. The chief difference was that Jasper House now received its outfit from Fort Edmonton and was part of the Saskatchewan District.

The importance of Jasper House as a transshipment station increased when Simpson proposed that New Caledonia be supplied from the Saskatchewan District by way of the Yellowhead Pass. After 1822 the Hudson's Bay Company had abandoned the old Nor'Westers' supply route to New Caledonia via the Columbia, Thompson, and Fraser rivers, and had instead shipped its New Caledonia supplies (largely leather and grease) from Fort Chipewyan via the Peace River and Rocky Mountain Portage. This route was too difficult for

York boats and required as many as six large canoes to transport the 130 pieces which constituted the New Caledonia outfit of 1824.<sup>26</sup>

As an alternative, Simpson suggested the use of overland transport from Fort Edmonton to Fort Assiniboine, and of boats from there to Jasper House. Horses were again used through the Yellowhead Pass as far as the headwaters of the Fraser River.<sup>27</sup> Jasper House thus became the transshipment point for both the Columbia and the New Caledonia brigades. This new route to New Caledonia was used from 1826 to 1829, again in 1836, and then from 1849 to 1853.<sup>28</sup>

By 1827 it was standard practice to transport most of the leather bound for New Caledonia from Edmonton to Jasper House in summer over the new overland route. The rest of the outfit was shipped to Jasper in the fall. The two brigades would then separate at the Miette River, with the Columbians going over the Athabasca Pass and the New Caledonians through the Yellowhead Pass.<sup>29</sup> The relocation of Jasper House from Brule Lake to a meadow farther upstream in 1829-30 merely placed the post closer to the important portage over the height over land.

Jasper House thus remained a crucial link in the transportation system of the Hudson's Bay Company until 1853, when the Company completely reorganized its operations west of the mountains. The post provided provisions for



passing brigades and cared for as many as 350 horses separated into different herds throughout the Upper Athabasca Valley.<sup>30</sup> After 1855, by which time neither the Athabasca nor the Yellowhead pass was used by the Hudson's Bay Company, Jasper House had an inventory of 248 horses.<sup>31</sup>

Between 1821 and 1855, Jasper House was customarily occupied year-round. The winter post master would come out with the Columbia brigade in October and remain at the post all winter, taking care of the horses, trading furs, repairing canoes, crafting snowshoes, and hunting. In this, he was assisted by a horsekeeper, a few hunters, and some freemen engagés. He generally left for Fort Edmonton in May with the Columbia brigade.<sup>32</sup> In the summer, a post master and a few men were appointed to care for the horses and to hunt for the next autumn's provisions. The latter activity usually consisted of an extended hunting trip through the mountains, securing as many provisions as needed to supply the brigades and reduce the amount of subsistence hunting at Jasper House in the winter.<sup>33</sup>

#### Jasper House as a Trading Post

Initially established as a transmontane transportation depot, Jasper House evolved into a significant winter fur trading post by the late 1820s.<sup>34</sup> In fact, when Jasper ceased to have any utility as a transportation station, in

the 1850s, it was kept open because of its substantial fur returns (see appendix A). Unfortunately, in the absence of complete records, the nature of fur trading activity at Jasper House can only be sketched.

Certainly the valley of the upper Athabasca, in which Jasper House was located, has had a venerable trading history. For many years the North West Company had had trading posts on the Upper Athabasca River southwest of Lesser Slave Lake,<sup>35</sup> and the Hudson's Bay Company established a trading post in the upper Athabasca Valley soon after 1821. And while Jasper House appears to have been used only as a horse station in 1821, there is evidence to suggest that a "Henry House," farther upstream from Jasper and occupied at various times by William Henry, Michel Klyne, and Felix Larocque, was an active trading post.

In September of 1822, William Connolly of Lesser Slave Lake reported that William Henry's wintering post on the Smoky River had so upset the traders of the Peace that Connolly recommended its abandonment in favour of the old Rocky Mountain House on the upper Athabasca.<sup>36</sup> Presumably, Connolly was referring to Larocque's House, a small post farther upstream that was often called Rocky Mountain House, although in the absence of more detailed information there is no means of being certain about this. As a result, the

Northern Department Council did re-establish the Rocky Mountain House.<sup>37</sup> When Henry arrived in the fall of 1822, his outfit from Lesser Slave Lake included five bales of dry goods, guns, ammunition, a keg of spirits, one and a half pieces of tobacco, a keg of sugar, kettles, and traps,<sup>38</sup> thus leaving no doubt about his intentions. Without the use of provisions gathered in summer for the outbound Columbia brigade,<sup>39</sup> however, Henry would not have lasted the winter.

Those Iroquois freemen who had frequented Henry's Smoky River post were disappointed when it closed. In response, they decided they would no longer cross the mountains to hunt for beaver, as the Rocky Mountain House was too far to go for wintering supplies. William Henry felt sure, however, that the twenty-three hunters who patronized his upper Athabasca River post would be quite willing to cross the mountains if the Smoky River post were re-established in the autumn of 1823. His feelings were no doubt influenced by the futility of attempting to man a post in an area where large game was scarce. He had been forced to desert the post in winter and to follow the hunters deeper into the mountains in order to escape starvation.<sup>40</sup>

Because it was clear that the Rocky Mountain House on the Upper Athabasca was also too far from the hunting grounds of the Beaver, William Connolly recommended in 1823 that the Smoky River post be re-established. Not only would the post outfit the fur hunters, it would collect sufficient

provisions for the Athabasca Portage depot.<sup>41</sup> As a result, the Northern Department Council ordered the Smoky River post re-occupied<sup>42</sup> for the convenience of the freemen and Iroquois.

The numerous Indians and freemen who frequented the Smoky River post strained local game resources, and Connolly was forced to send many of them to Fort Assiniboine and to Henry House.<sup>43</sup> When Alexander Ross came through the Athabasca Pass in 1825, he described Henry House as a little group<sup>44</sup> of wood huts under the command of Felix Larocque. Simpson, who passed through in the spring of the same year, recorded that trade was active at the post, then manned by one clerk and eight men. But Henry House held no place of importance in Simpson's re-ordered district, and he resolved to close it, confident that its furs would find their way<sup>45</sup> either to Fort Assiniboine or to Fort Kamloops.

Until this time, Jasper House had been only a temporary horse station for the convenience of the Columbians. But with the closure of Henry House in 1825, the fur trade of the area devolved upon it. By the fall of 1827, Jasper House was occupied year-round in response to the influx of a large number of furs. From returns reconstructed from Michel Klyne's Jasper House journals (1827-30),<sup>46</sup> it is possible to suggest that the beaver returns at Jasper, in good years, represented at least 13 per cent of total beaver

returns in the Saskatchewan District. A large number of martens were also traded (see appendix A).

Trade was conducted mainly with freemen and Iroquois (as the post journals distinguished them) who, by 1827, had taken to congregating around Jasper House on a regular basis.<sup>47</sup> A local band of Assiniboine (or Stoney) and a small band of Shuswaps from west of the mountains also contributed to the trade.<sup>48</sup> Trade items included alcohol, ammunition, tobacco, buffalo robes, knives, axes, files, flints, and guns. The Assiniboine usually wintered near Jasper House, hunting marten, and in spring went down the Pembina River to hunt beaver. The Iroquois and freemen generally took their winter supplies on credit from Jasper in late autumn and wintered in the Smoky River area. The Shuswap customarily came to Jasper once a year but Klyne, the post master, also sent someone across the mountains through the Yellowhead Pass, specifically to trade with them.

Little is known about Jasper House between 1831 and 1857, except that it remained open. Traffic through the mountains suffered greatly once the Company began to ship goods across the Panama isthmus in 1848. This eliminated the arduous and dangerous voyage around Cape Horn and shaved more than three months from existing transportation schedules. Most importantly, it created a more direct link between the London headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company

and the Columbia district. This contributed to the establishment of a separate administrative department on the west side of the mountains and ended all Company traffic through the Athabasca and Yellowhead passes after 1855. Consequently, Jasper House lost all utility as a portage depot.

As later events proved, the closure of Jasper House in 1857 was directly related to this change in transportation and had little to do with the level of trade at the post. Fur returns had certainly dropped off during the previous year when the Iroquois freemen associated with the post left the region due to a scarcity of game and fur bearing animals, but this was a periodic phenomenon in this locality. In 1857 Simpson, who had never appreciated Jasper as a fur trading post, wrote that "the small post of Jasper House, situated in the Rocky Mts. and chiefly intended to facilitate the communication with the west side/<sup>49</sup>now discontinued/will be abandoned." Simpson then ordered the Jasper horses sent to Edmonton and the Indians and freemen<sup>50</sup> informed that the post would soon be abandoned.

One year later, however, Jasper House was re-opened because of its fur trading potential. In the interval, Simpson had been informed that furs previously collected at Jasper House were finding their way into the hands of free traders at Lac Ste. Anne, rather than being taken to the

Company's other posts, as he had hoped.<sup>51</sup> Henry John Moberly, a young servant of the Hudson's Bay Company who had incurred Simpson's displeasure,<sup>52</sup> was placed in charge of the isolated post. Having previously spent one summer at Jasper, Moberly himself was convinced that the Iroquois freemen could be induced to return. With an outfit of 40 horses, and accompanied by his wife, a cook, a horsekeeper, and six Iroquois, Moberly returned to Jasper House in<sup>53</sup> 1858.

The profitability of any fur trade post lay in the ratio of fur returns to expenses. The low operating costs of Jasper House ensured that it remained profitable most of the time. The only personnel needed to carry on its trade were an interpreter at thirty pounds and a man at 17 pounds<sup>54</sup> Sterling. By Christmas of 1858, freemen families were arriving at Jasper House with their hunt of furs and provisions and, in the spring of 1859, Moberly sent down<sup>55</sup> 19 packs of furs. Even though Moberly left Jasper House in 1861, the post remained open throughout the 1860s because<sup>56</sup> of its good returns and economical operation. In fact, from 1865 to 1868 beaver returns at Jasper constituted between ten and thirteen per cent of the total beaver returns of the Saskatchewan District; and throughout the 1860s its marten returns represented from ten to forty per cent of the District total (see appendix A). The only operational difficulties at Jasper were transporting goods

in (19 to 20 days by pack horse along a bad road) and the struggle to provide adequate winter provisions.<sup>57</sup>

#### Competition and Decline of the District Fur Trade

During the 1870s, the profitability of the fur trade in the Saskatchewan District decreased steadily. Greater competition and the general economic depression were the principal factors in this decline. After the railway reached the Mississippi River, merchants in St. Paul combined river, rail, and cart transport to enable them to penetrate deeply into the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company. By 1854, these free traders had reached the gates of the Athabasca.<sup>58</sup> More competition surfaced after 1857, as unsuccessful miners abandoned the goldfields of the Fraser River and the Cariboo for the fur trade.<sup>59</sup> George Simpson, writing to London in 1858, noted that the opposition in the Saskatchewan District was very strong and carried on at many points. At Lac La Biche, a free trader named Pambrun had carried off a number of fine furs, and at Carlton trading families by the name of McGillis and Mackay had collected a large number of buffalo robes, wolves, and martens.<sup>60</sup> Then, with the abrogation of the Hudson's Bay Company charter in 1869, the district was legally opened to all business interests.

The Hudson's Bay Company introduced several inter-



related policies to check the growth of competition. It raised its fur tariff at competitive points and increased the number of its traders at various sub-posts. However successful these measures of countering opposition, they also contributed further to the decline in profits. To offset this decline, the Company decided to centralize operations, introduce more stringent economy measures, and streamline the transportation system.<sup>61</sup>

This retrenchment and rationalization had a significant impact on personnel policy, as wages were reduced and, more importantly from the perspective of Jasper House, rations were reduced for employees and their families. By 1873, rations were provided for a family of two children at most.<sup>62</sup> In the case of Jasper, which had always been difficult to provision, this policy effectively eliminated any chance of keeping the post open year-round. By the 1870s, an agent came from Fort Edmonton twice each year,<sup>63</sup> and by 1874 Jasper House was being operated as a sub-station of Lac Ste. Anne. This centralization radically affected Jasper House and by the middle of the decade the post was considered unfit to live in.<sup>64</sup> The absence of a permanent post master also led to a significant theft of goods cached at Jasper House, prompting the Hudson's Bay Company to seek a better system of securing untenanted structures.<sup>65</sup>

As centralization increased, fur trade districts were

enlarged and less reliance was placed on trade in the more remote districts. The Hudson's Bay Company also adopted a policy of equipping the most trustworthy free traders in an effort to secure furs through them, albeit at less profit.<sup>66</sup>

When the Company finally closed Jasper House, in 1884, its trade passed to John McDougall, a free trader from Edmonton. But even with his reduced operational costs, McDougall was soon considering abandonment of the post, as the trade was "too much over done, all through the Northwest."<sup>67</sup> Better times for Jasper and district, concluded McDougall, would have to await a rail link to Edmonton.

#### The Waning Fur Trade of the Upper Athabasca Valley

The closure of Jasper House in the mid-1880s brought no immediate economic change to the Upper Athabasca Valley. The Metis inhabitants of the region continued to hunt and trap, and simply took their trade articles to Lac Ste. Anne each spring and summer. Not all upper Athabasca Valley people participated equally in the continuing fur trade. Those desirous of a more settled existence had moved to Lac Ste. Anne after 1850, settling around the mission and signing Indian Treaty Six in 1878, as it provided an opportunity to establish farms. Those who remained along the eastern slopes, in the upper Athabasca Valley and in the Smoky River district, did so out of a preference for the

traditional way of life.

The one partial exception to this pattern was Lewis Swift, a drifter from Ohio, who came to the upper Athabasca Valley in 1892.<sup>68</sup> Yet even he was more of a conformist to the traditional Valley way of life than an innovator. With his common-law Metis wife, Swift squatted on the abandoned site of Jasper House.<sup>69</sup> Finding the post deserted and in poor repair, he modified one of the buildings enough to make it useful as a trade store. In 1894, Swift foresook Jasper House for Henry House Flats, about 6.4 kilometres north of the confluence of the Athabasca and the Miette rivers. There he developed a horse ranch, a farm, and a small trading operation. Soon Swift was joined by a number of Metis or freemen families who had previously been associated with Jasper House. Their colony stretched down the Valley from Swift's place, on both sides of the river, and included about 100 people.<sup>70</sup> Many were descendants of Henry John Moberly. The most enterprising among them farmed and ran small trading stores.

To see Swift as a harbinger of a new Valley economy, however, would be to exaggerate the degree to which his farm represented a break with the past. By 1900 Swift had broken only a little more than four hectares, and nine years later<sup>71</sup> he was still cultivating the same meagre plot. Beside Swift's small farm, only a total of 13.36 hectares were cultivated by the 100 Metis who settled along the Upper

Athabasca, hardly an imposing tract of land.<sup>72</sup> The real economy of these farms derived from the horses which were leased to early tourists and mountain climbers who ventured into the area and needed the services of guides and outfitters. These were roles that the Metis ably filled, ones which stemmed directly from their traditional hunting and trapping activities.

Thus, by the time the Jasper area was reserved from settlement in 1907, the traditional way of life in the upper Athabasca Valley had changed little. It, and the structures associated with it, were still tied closely to an increasingly anachronistic fur trade pattern of activity.

## Nineteenth Century Building in the Upper Athabasca Valley

### Historical Demography of the Upper Athabasca Valley

Architecture is foremost a cultural statement, and it is with this in mind that the historical demography of the upper Athabasca Valley in the nineteenth century is explored in the following pages. Archaeologists have traditionally suggested that the prehistoric peoples preferred to reside outside the mountains and, that while it is true that a number of later Indian tribes hunted the large game that ranged east of the continental divide, it was rare for them to remain for any length of time in the mountains.<sup>1</sup> Fur trade records further seemed to indicate that the region was without a permanent population until trading posts were established.<sup>2</sup> In recent years, however, extensive archaeological research has unequivocally disproven the first allegation, while even the earliest fur traders had only fragmentary knowledge of native occupation patterns. In view of this, the rapid shift from traditional native structures to ones imitative of fur trade architecture in the upper Athabasca Valley during the nineteenth century is all the more striking.

Even before trading posts were established, native groups from the east had moved periodically into the region as an indirect result of the new commerce. In response to the development of inland trading posts in the eighteenth century, Cree and Assiniboine bands moved westward to maintain their role as middlemen in the trade. These bands traded directly with the European companies and thereby controlled access to weapons, which enabled them to displace<sup>3</sup> indigenous groups.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the upper Athabasca Valley was the hunting ground of a native group referred to as the Swampy Ground Stone Indians. According to a map sketched by a Bungee (Ojibwa) chief in 1809, these Assiniboine were located near the eastern edge of the Rocky Mountains between the Summerberry (Pembina) River and an unnamed tributary (the McLeod) of the "Athapscow" River (see figure 4). They were recent arrivals, and the Bungee chief also indicated that their former country was much farther to<sup>4</sup> the east.

During the same century, this drainage area also saw the influx of other eastern Indians. Among them were the various Ojibwa groups (Saulteaux, Courteoreille, Bungee, and Nippissing) and Iroquois. Many of the latter had come west as employees of the Montreal-based North West Company and the New North West (XY) Company at the turn of the

nineteenth century. While most of the Iroquois under contract to the fur trade companies returned to their eastern homeland at the expiration of their service agreements, some, along with Saulteaux, Ojibway and French-Canadians, became freemen and remained in the west as trappers. Through intermarriage with white traders and members of other Indian bands, they created a sub-population group parallel in social character and linked by affinal ties to the majority Indian population. Ultimately,<sup>5</sup> however, they became known as Metis.

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Table 1: Athabasca River District Population, 1805

	Men	Women	Children
White	37	12	15
Indian	55	38	66

[Note: In this census, the Indian wives of whites and their Metis children are enumerated as whites.]

Source: Elliot Coues (ed.) New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest, Volume I, p. 282.

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### Regional Settlement Patterns

With the establishment of Jasper House around 1813, the Indian population of the region stabilized and set a pattern of native occupation that was to endure for the next

century. Jasper House provided a new sense of geographic identity to those Indians who were already part of the fur trade economy.

The only extant post journals, dating from 1827 to 1830, provide the earliest indication of the Indian population around Jasper House.<sup>6</sup> At that time Jasper House was not only a crucial link in the transmontane transportation system of the Hudson's Bay Company, but was evolving into an important fur trading post. Those trading at the post included local bands of Swampy Ground Assiniboine, Shuswap, and freemen of both French-Canadian and Iroquois origin.

The Shuswap were the smallest band. Originally from the Columbia Lakes areas, and a part of the Salish linguistic group of British Columbia, the Shuswap of Jasper House were an isolated band occupying the country between Jasper and Tête Jaune Cache on the western slope.<sup>7</sup> Known by white traders and travellers as Rocky Mountain Shuswap, their name for themselves was Texqa' Kallt ("people of the upper reaches proper") or Xexha 'llt ("those at the top").<sup>8</sup>

Separated from the main body of the Shuswap tribe by hundreds of kilometres of impenetrable forest, the Jasper House band was virtually isolated. When first discovered by men of the Hudson's Bay Company, these Shuswap lived by hunting big horn sheep, mountain goats, and marmots.



According to Milton and Cheadle, the Jasper House Shuswap had at one time numbered 30 families, but by 1863 numbered<sup>9</sup> only 30 individuals.

During the 1820s, the Shuswap traded at Jasper House in small groups of two to seven hunters and lived in fear of the Thickwood Stoneys and Metis.<sup>10</sup> This fear was legitimate, as George Simpson recorded that the Stoney and Metis had years earlier massacred a number of Shuswap as they camped on the way to Jasper House.<sup>11</sup> The Hudson's Bay Company valued the trade of the Shuswap and Michel Klyne, post master at Jasper House from 1827 to 1835, annually sent<sup>12</sup> a man through the Yellowhead Pass to trade with them. George Simpson hoped to entice them to trade at Jasper so that he could close an unprofitable post on the Thompson River, which they were accustomed to frequenting. So great was Simpson's desire to attract them to Jasper House that, on learning in 1824 that freemen, Kootenay, and Saulteaux were preparing for a war expedition against the Shuswap, he threatened to refuse the belligerents any ammunition that winter if they did not desist. The threat was effective, and the freemen promised no more aggression against the Shuswap. In fact, in 1830 Shuswap and Assiniboine Indians<sup>14</sup> met at Jasper House to make peace.

This band of Shuswap continued to frequent the Jasper House area as long as the post remained open,<sup>15</sup> and in 1873 there were still 17 men, 14 women, and 40 children on the

eastern slopes.<sup>16</sup> Over the years, their involvement in the fur trade and proximity to the Iroquois and French-Canadian freemen also resulted in a great deal of acculturation. On passing through the region in 1858, James Hector met a Shuswap chief named Capot Blanc, a long-time Jasper House<sup>17</sup> guide, who spoke a mixture of French, Cree, and English. By 1900, when James Teit did fieldwork among the Shuswap, he described those of Jasper House and Tête Jaune Cache as "mixed a great deal with the Iroquois and Cree."<sup>18</sup> While they spoke Shuswap, they were also proficient in Cree and understood a good deal of Canadian French. Teit estimated<sup>19</sup> their number at 70 persons.

The Assiniboine (or Stoneys) were another group of Indians who came to Jasper House to trade, starting in the 1820s.<sup>20</sup> As many as four local bands hunted in the area, including the Bull Band and a band headed by a chief named "Grand Bastard." These were the "Swampy Ground Stone Indians" identified by the the Bungee chief in 1809. Alexander Henry described them as Swampy Ground Assiniboine who inhabited the "strongwoods" (forests) west of Fort<sup>21</sup> Augustus along the Pembina River. Excellent beaver<sup>22</sup> hunters, they dressed and behaved much like the Cree. The chief of the Bull Band that traded at Jasper House in the 1820s was in fact known as the "man who speaks Cree."<sup>23</sup> Since the post master Klyne could not speak Assiniboine, he

relied heavily on the presence of the chief in trade  
<sup>24</sup>  
 matters.

Only fragmentary population figures are available for these Stoney Indians. In the 1790s, Alexander Mackenzie reported about 200 Wood Assiniboiné west of Fort George and Fort Augustus,<sup>25</sup> and in 1809 Alexander Henry noted 30 tents<sup>26</sup> of Swampy Ground Assiniboiné along the Pembina River. By 1823, the Hudson's Bay Company Indian census for the Saskatchewan District listed 60 tents of Strongwood Assiniboiné at McLeod's Post, including 60 men, with ten<sup>27</sup> tents of Strongwood Cree totalling 20 men. Over the years these Stoney decreased in number, perhaps due to disease. In 1846 Father Pierre-Jean De Smet reported 50 lodges of Assiniboiné of the forest who hunted near the headwaters of<sup>28</sup> the Saskatchewan and Athabasca rivers. At that time, they traded chiefly at Fort Assiniboiné.

After the western treaties were concluded, the Stoney Indians continued to hunt and trap along the eastern slopes and across the mountains from their reserve at Morley. These activities were, however, confined mainly to the<sup>30</sup> summer months. In 1910 the last Indians hunting near Jasper Park were removed by the Royal North West Mounted<sup>31</sup> Police.

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Table 2: Partial Saskatchewan District Indian Population, 1873

	Men	Women	Children
Cree	561	547	1693
Stoney	210	230	540
Shuswap	17	14	40
Halfbreed	53	53	155
Metis	382	411	1361
White	27	7	7

Source: Public Archives of Canada, RG 10, Volume 3604, File 257.

Note: this census excludes data for several bands not associated historically with the Upper Athabasca Valley.

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Iroquois and French-Canadian freemen constituted the most important trading group at Jasper House. In fact, in 1827 the post master refused to trade with a group of five Assiniboine because the few goods he possessed were intended for the local freemen and Iroquois. He also noted that if the Iroquois ever deserted the post, the returns would be very meagre.<sup>32</sup>

Iroquois men had come west both as fur company employees and as trappers without formal contracts. Their services, as well as those of several Ojibwa bands, were much in demand during the years of rivalry for the rich Athabasca fur trade.<sup>33</sup> Between 1796 and 1815, the Montreal-based fur trading concerns hired hundreds of these people,<sup>34</sup> who followed the canoe brigades to the North West. The Iroquois were equally known as excellent voyageurs and

trappers. They applied themselves with alacrity and benefitted substantially from the importation of steel traps, which more traditional Indians were reluctant to use.<sup>35</sup> Most of the Iroquois and French Canadians whose trade contracts were not renewed returned to the east, but a number preferred to remain in the Indian country to hunt and trap as freemen. Those who stayed were usually tied to the North West by their Indian wives and children. One of their preferred haunts was between Lac La Biche and Jasper House.<sup>36</sup>

The freemen's lack of competition on the eastern slopes about Jasper House and Smoky River was due to the fact that they were willing to open a new beaver-rich, if game-poor, area.<sup>37</sup> The district report for Lesser Slave Lake in 1823 reported that the 20 freemen who traded at Jasper House were "with the exception of two Canadians all Iroquois, and halfbreeds."<sup>38</sup> They hunted about the headwaters of the Smoky River and across the mountains, trapping about 48 beaver per man in that year.

These Iroquois and Canadian freemen inter-married with local native groups and, in large measure, adopted their way of life. They did not, however, become submerged in the local populations and tended to associate almost exclusively with one another, forming their own bands.<sup>39</sup> One such Iroquois freeman was Joachim Tonatanhan, who signed in

Montreal in 1818 to work the Athabasca District for the North West Company. In 1857, Father Albert Lacombe formalized Tonatanhan's country marriage of many years to a Jasper area native woman. In the years since, his descendants have come to be known by his first name,<sup>40</sup> Joachim.

This pattern of inter-marriage was quite evident at Jasper House when Father De Smet passed through in 1845. He reported that "on the banks of Lake Jasper we met an old Iroquois called Louis Kwaragkwante, or Walking Sun,<sup>41</sup> accompanied by his family, thirty-six in number." Fourteen years later, James Hector observed that the Iroquois he had met at Jasper House

were originally trappers in the service of the NWCo, and on the junction of that Co with the Hudson Bay Co [sic], they turned 'freemen' as those are termed in the country who are not in the service of the Company, and have since tented about like Indians, trading the skins and furs they procure at Jasper House. There are about 30 tents of them, and they all talk the Cree language besides their own, and have latterly intermarried a good deal with the Cree half-breeds [sic] of Lac Ste. Anne.(42)

#### Jasper House Society: The Emergence of an Indigenous Metis Sub-Population

There is no doubt that by the middle of the nineteenth century the main inhabitants of the Jasper House area were Metis people of Iroquois descent. When Father Lacombe came to Jasper House in the 1850s, he did so ostensibly to

minister to the 30 to 40 Metis families who had been baptized by Father De Smet in 1845 and who were still resident in the area.<sup>43</sup> This sub-population came into existence mainly through the union of Jasper House freemen and Cree women, as the wives of those freemen who had their children baptized at Jasper in 1838 were recorded as either Cree or Metis.<sup>44</sup> Native inter-marriage seems, however, to have been general in the area, as Teit records much inter-marriage among the Rocky Mountain Shuswap, Cree, Iroquois, and Canadien.<sup>45</sup>

These Metis or freemen bands pursued a way of life and a subsistence pattern similar to that of the indigenous Indian hunters and trappers of the region. Jasper House and Smoky River freemen, like local Indians, had to hunt, trap, fish, and follow a system of flexible band membership as an adaptation to the seasonal variation in resources. Consequently, these freemen-Metis bands utilized a wide area stretching north and south along the eastern slopes between the Peace and Athabasca rivers, and eastward toward Lesser Slave Lake (see figure 5). In 1858-9, Hector commented that the habits of these freemen differed little from those of the Indians. They lived in huts built of pine trees, or wigwams of buffalo skins. They were, he wrote,<sup>46</sup> distinguished only by their European dress.

As Trudy Nicks has shown, the behavioral distinction

drawn between Indian and white in the North West was a  
 fiction, which probably only the government believed.<sup>45</sup>  
 Economically, however, there was a sharp distinction which  
 the freemen themselves were wont to point out. They saw  
 themselves as fur trappers, quite distinct from the society  
 of the trading post. To quote Nicks again:

The families resulting from these unions  
 constituted a new population distinguished not so much  
 by degree of biological admixture, as by economic  
 specialization as fur trappers. Linguistically and  
 culturally these groups were akin to Indian cultures,  
 but economically they were tied much more completely to  
 the fur trade. (48)

This economic specialization was probably also the factor  
 that tied these Metis to the Jasper House-Smoky River  
 district, despite its lack of game.

These freemen-Metis bands were perpetuated in the early  
 contact period through inter-marriage. As Nicks states,  
 the second-generation freeman population seems to have  
 become endogamic in the first half of the nineteenth  
 century.<sup>49</sup> Inter-marriage among families was common and  
 often resulted in the exchange of sibling groups as marriage  
 partners (see figure 6). Males from outside these units  
 almost invariably were fur company employees, freemen, or  
 their descendants.<sup>50</sup> In the Jasper House area, these  
 included French-Canadian and Anglo-Celtic men with the  
 surnames Finlay, Berland, Fraser, Cardinal, Beauchamp,  
 Bidoux, Auger, La Plante, Larocque, Moberly, and McDonald.<sup>51</sup>

By the mid nineteenth century, the ethnographic



diversity of the upper Athabasca Valley was diminished not only by common involvement of the various groups in the fur trade and by inter-marriage, but also by the growing numerical superiority of the Metis population. While related to the Metis specialization in the fur trade, this disproportion may also have been influenced by the Metis' greater resistance to the epidemics that ravaged local Indians.<sup>52</sup>

Estimates of the size of the freeman-Metis population around Jasper House are available, but they were usually low as the observers were seeing only a part of a widely dispersed population (see table 3.)

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Table 3: Freeman-Metis Population at Jasper House

1823	20 freemen trade at Jasper House
1838	35 baptisms at Jasper House
1846	44 baptisms at Jasper House
1853	30-40 families of Iroquois Metis at Jasper House
1859	30 tents of Iroquois freemen trading at Jasper
1879	6 families of Iroquois at Jasper House
1882	13 families of Iroquois at Jasper House
1907	100 Iroquois Metis settled near Jasper House

Sources: Trudy Nicks and Kenneth Morgan, "Grande Cache...", p. 169, and various primary sources.

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However, the distribution of births over a series of cohorts reveals a growing freeman population in the Jasper area (see

table 4.)

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Table 4: Distribution of Birth by 25-Year Cohorts for  
Grande Cache-Jasper House Resident Populations  
(excluding 11 ante-natal deaths)

	BIRTH LOCALITY		
	Grande Cache	Jasper	Grande Cache/Jasper
Pre-1825	---	14	18
1825-49	---	80	22
1850-74	6	84	21
1875-99	21	81	27
1900-24	26	63	14

Source: Trudy Nicks, "Mary Anne's Dilemma...", p. 9.

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After the initial influx of newcomers to the area, population growth appears to have been largely the result of natural increase.<sup>53</sup> While the establishment of the Lac Ste. Anne mission west of Edmonton in 1842 drew some of the Jasper area Metis back to the Saskatchewan River district, many remained near Jasper House, where they could follow a hunting and trapping way of life.

It was only at the beginning of the twentieth century that the outside world began to intrude on the Jasper House area. The creation of Jasper National Park in 1910 brought about the eviction of the Metis squatters from all homes and traplines within the new park boundaries. Metis squatters in the park, including the Moberly, Findlay, and Joachim

families, received a cash settlement for all buildings and other improvements, and relocation to the Grand Cache or Entrance-Edson areas, where other Metis already lived. There they continued their hunting, trapping, and guiding way of life until the middle of the century.

#### Domestic Structures of the Upper Athabasca Valley

Until the last decade of the nineteenth century, local Indians and Metis were the only inhabitants of the upper Athabasca Valley who resided in dwellings built with accommodation as their principal function. All other buildings in the Valley were commercial in origin, and only secondarily residential. But because the sub-population of the Valley had never really experienced a pre-contact stage (having become resident due almost solely to the trade), the traditional architecture of the trade soon had a profound influence on local domestic structures.

Traditional native dwellings, such as skin tipis and bark huts, were easy to build and therefore well suited to a way of life based on procuring provisions and furs on the wooded eastern and western slopes of the Rocky Mountains. No better example of their suitability can be cited than the rapid adoption by even French-Canadian freemen of these structures as their own. As the ethnographic diversity of the upper Athabasca Valley diminished, however, and an

identifiable Jasper House society emerged in the mid nineteenth century, there was a marked shift to derivative log structures in the area.

Due to the economic specialization of the Jasper House Metis within the fur trade, they formed a geographic attachment to the upper Athabasca Valley and Smoky River region. Within that tract, individuals and families had favourite hunting territories. These developments can only be sketched due to a paucity of primary information, but it is suggested that this new territoriality led to a greater degree of permanence in native housing of the Jasper area.

The earliest fur trade accounts of native structures in the upper Athabasca Valley emphasize the traditional character of Indian shelters, regardless of tribe or band. In 1808 Alexander Henry, describing the Ojibway who had moved from Michilimackinac to the eastern slopes of the Rockies to hunt beaver, noted that their manner of living was entirely that of their own nation: they erected bark huts for the summer months, and huts of birch-rind and rush mats for the winter.<sup>54</sup> The French-Canadian and Iroquois freemen of the area, whose lives differed little from those of the local natives, also built cone-shaped bark or leather lodges of moose or buffalo skins.<sup>55</sup> Even as late as 1858, the summer hunting lodges of the Jasper House Metis were constructed of dressed moose skins stretched over poles. According to Henry J. Moberly, these tents accommodated

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eight to ten people comfortably.

By the 1820s, however, native log dwellings of the roughest sort began to receive mention in the fur trade accounts. In 1828, two local freemen (Tappage and Beauchamp) were plastering their winter dwellings.<sup>57</sup> It should be noted that not only were French-Canadian freemen well acquainted with the techniques of log construction, but the Iroquois in the east had long been building log cabins of both round and square logs.<sup>58</sup> A crucial factor in the construction of native log dwellings, therefore, must have been access to building tools such as the felling axe which became available as soon as fur trading posts were established in the region.

By 1858 even the isolated Rocky Mountain Shuswap had begun to construct log cabins in place of their traditional structures. Their partially-buried winter houses,<sup>59</sup> as well as their summertime bark and rush mat lodges gave way by mid-century to log structures modelled on those of the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>60</sup>

Crude log structures could be found throughout the North-West. Usually constructed in the winter hunting grounds, where the trapper or hunter resided for several months, these buildings were impermanent and designed primarily to protect the inmates from severe weather. Descriptions of such structures are remarkably similar,

whether the reference is to Metis hivernant sites on the plains or to the shelters of fur trappers in the Rocky Mountains. Father Petitot described one such wintering house as

a log hut without gables like a gigantic coffin, having by way of a door a piece of bison parchment, stretched on a frame, with windows of the self same parchment, and a roof consisting of poles laid flat, and covered with hay and earth. (61)

These primitive, one-room structures were roughly corner timbered, and usually abandoned in the spring as the freemen-Metis moved on to new hunting grounds. It was only with the depletion of game and fur bearing animals, and with the possibility of new economic opportunities in the final years of the nineteenth century, that the Metis of Jasper House settled more permanently and built more elaborate houses.

#### The Tradition of Log Construction in the Fur Trade

The architecture of the fur trade in Canada exhibits remarkable consistency over time and space. With the exception of a few stone forts, most posts were constructed in a style variously known as Red River Frame, Hudson's Bay style, poteaux et pièce coulissante, and pièces sur  
<sup>62</sup>pièces. Regardless of the particular name used, this type of construction consists primarily of equally-spaced uprights tenoned into a sill, with horizontal logs slid

between the uprights. It was widely accepted as a building technique because it was versatile, economical, and easily undertaken. It made use of short, small logs, which was important outside of heavily wooded areas, but placed no restrictions of building size. A single man with a few portable tools could do most of the work himself.<sup>63</sup> Albeit with some regional variation, this method of building was used in the fur trade across the North American continent for several hundred years.

Originating in the medieval bulhouse construction of Denmark, pièce sur pièce (post-on-sill) log construction was brought to North America by the first French settlers.<sup>64</sup> Initially, they built their houses as did their ancestors of northwestern France in the middle ages; that is, they filled a wooden frame of upright studs with stone rubble and mortar, in a manner known as colombage. A generation later, the Canadians started to employ squared timber laid horizontally between the posts, instead of stone rubble.<sup>65</sup> This technique became known as pièces de bois sur pièces de bois, which was subsequently shortened to pièces sur pièces. Soon, it was the preferred method of building in central New France.<sup>66</sup>

After the North West Company was formed in 1778 and began to expand outward from Quebec, the style quickly became an integral element of the fur trade of the North West.<sup>67</sup> Even Astoria, built in 1801 by John Jacob Astor's

American Fur Company at the mouth of the Columbia River, was almost surely built in this style.<sup>68</sup> The reason is not hard to find. Astor had hired many former North West Company employees who, without question, exerted a profound influence on methods of construction. McDouglas, a former Nor'Wester, was placed in charge of building operations, and all available evidence points to pièces sur pièces<sup>69</sup> construction.

As westward migration of eastern groups became more common, other traditions were also transferred to the North West. One such movement involved settlement of the Oregon and Columbia River region during the 1840s. These settlers, coming from the Ohio Valley, built log cabins with Swedish and German antecedents,<sup>70</sup> characterized by a distinctive corner timbering method. In Canada, the westward movement of Ontarians after 1870 also introduced different log construction methods, which eventually displaced the traditional Hudson's Bay style.<sup>71</sup>

#### Fur Trade Construction in the Saskatchewan District

Jasper House was typical of Saskatchewan District posts in that it was built amid frantic competition for the trade of the region. It is fair to say that prior to the amalgamation of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, the selection of post locations and



construction techniques employed were expedient at best. As one study of fur trade architecture in Alberta has argued, the constant manoeuvring for trade advantage and the rapid depletion of local fur resources resulted in posts that were not built to last.<sup>72</sup> Often thrown up with winter rapidly approaching, these posts were modifications of the traditional post-on-sill form of construction.

Both historical and archaeological evidence suggest that almost all pre-1821 posts built in the Saskatchewan District, regardless of company, used the post-in-ground technique. This method is similar to post-on-sill, but the grooved posts are set directly into pits in the ground rather than on a sill (see figure 7). Rapid decay was inevitable, but this was never a concern in an era when posts were customarily abandoned after only a few years of operation. Speed of construction, rather than longevity, was the chief concern of the builders.

In 1799 both the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company established posts (Rocky Mountain House and Acton House, respectively) on the North Saskatchewan River. Archaeological research at both sites indicated that nearly all the structures of each post were built in the post-in-ground manner, a technique that leaves characteristic pits and post stubs or post mould behind.<sup>73</sup> Similar work at Fort Edmonton III, which was built in 1810, revealed that all

four excavated buildings utilized post-in-ground construction.<sup>74</sup> This dominant construction technique answered the need for quickly-erected, but not particularly durable, trade structures.

After the amalgamation of 1821, which introduced greater stability to the fur trade, the Hudson's Bay Company began to build more deliberately, with expectations of permanence and an eye to economy. Because they were built to last, these posts had upright logs resting on sills. The construction of the second Jasper House in 1830 could well reflect the Hudson's Bay Company's desire for a post of greater permanence on the upper Athabasca. This would have been in keeping with the evolution of Jasper House into a significant trading post at that time. Similarly, the renovation of Jasper House in 1858 may be seen as a deliberate response to the competition of free traders in the region.

#### Local Climate and Available Building Materials

In a region of seasonal climactic variation such as the North West, weather and vegetation played important roles in the type of building techniques that fur traders employed. At the same time, the homogeneity that characterized those natural factors within the northern reaches of that region ensured that its posts did not differ significantly.

The impact of precipitation, prevailing winds, and cold are all easily detected in the typical fur trade post. The heavy snowfalls of the winter season, especially in the mountains, dictated steeply sloped roofs that would not give way under the extreme weight of accumulated snow. Consequently, hipped or gabled roofs predominated.<sup>75</sup> Walls had to be chinked annually, with clay if possible, to keep out the wind and driving rain. Heating was critical, of course, and the stone chimney was a ubiquitous feature of these fur trading posts.

Because fur bearing animals inhabit woodland areas, posts were almost always constructed of logs. With the exceptions of stone and mud fireplaces, occasional sod roofing, and parchment or glass for windows, a typical post consisted entirely of pine or spruce. Poplar was used only where there was no alternative. While timber in the upper Athabasca Valley was smaller and more scattered than on the western slope,<sup>76</sup> there were mixed stands of poplar and cottonwood, black and white spruce, Douglas fir, lodgepole pine, cedar, and birch.<sup>77</sup> These served well in the construction of sills, wall, partitions, and doors. Fieldstone, widely available in areas with glaciated landforms, served as chimney and hearth material. Clay for mudding chimneys and chinking walls could be found in nearly any river bank.

Climate was even more instrumental in the selection of

a site for Jasper House, which was initially built as a transmontane transportation depot where horses were kept. In fact, both Jasper House locations were within a specific micro-climate of the upper Athabasca River Valley. The climate in the vicinity of Brule and Jasper lakes was remarkably different from that of the mountains proper. Indeed, to botanist David Douglas, who passed through the area in 1827, the Jasper House locale seemed another hemisphere.<sup>78</sup> Winters were generally mild with snow seldom remaining long.<sup>79</sup> It was thus an excellent place to raise horses.

#### Contemporary Fur Trade Building Technology

Construction of simple log structures required few tools, and an experienced hand could easily erect a serviceable cabin with nothing more than an axe and auger. Nonetheless, there is evidence that fur trade artisans in the Saskatchewan District had a wide variety of carpenter's tools at their disposal. While few records exist through which to determine the technology available in the upper reaches of the Athabasca Valley when the first Jasper House was built in 1813, the Saskatchewan District inventories relating to the construction period of Jasper House II (1830) list a large number of building tools (see appendix C) that were in common use. These included assorted adzes,

augers, axes, chisels, braces and bits, gimlets, hammers, planes, and saws. It is not known if a carpenter was ever resident at Jasper House, but most post masters and fur trade employees were competent builders. By 1850, it is certain that there were four carpenters in the Saskatchewan District,<sup>80</sup> although they were probably stationed permanently at Fort Edmonton.

It is also known that by the time Jasper House was repaired or rebuilt in the late 1850s, most available types of building tools could be found at Jasper House itself (see appendix C). Thus, by the 1850s the Hudson's Bay Company had provided its Jasper House artisans with tools enabling them to transform mere carpentry into craftsmanship.

Typical Commercial Structures of the Saskatchewan District  
Extremely little is known about the main structures and outbuildings that comprised the first and second Jasper Houses. Comparative information from the Saskatchewan District as a whole does, however, provide considerable insight into the typical North West fur trade construction techniques and technology of the nineteenth century.

The plan of a Hudson's Bay Company post was "invariably a square, enclosed [sic] by...trees or pickets,"<sup>81</sup> and oriented toward a river, lake, or trail. This orientation ensured that the post was readily accessible from the

highways of trade and enhanced the odds that abundant food supplies could be obtained nearby. In locales populated by hostile Indians, most posts were situated in a clearing to reduce the chance of surprise attack.

Fort Victoria (figure 8) illustrates the basic layout of a Hudson's Bay Company fort. The main buildings included the central officer's residence (the Clerk's Quarters), facing the main gate; houses for the men, a trading shop with attached fur press room, a stable, blacksmith shop, and dairy. A 3.6 metre (12.0 foot) palisade enclosed the<sup>82</sup> buildings in an area of about 0.2 hectares (0.5 acres). The Hudson's Bay Company post at Lesser Slave Lake, built over forty years before Fort Victoria, had an almost identical layout (see figure 9).

Larger, more permanent posts such as the last Fort Edmonton also possessed this square layout, although in more imposing proportions. Sprawling over nearly a hectare (2.0 acres), Fort Edmonton was surrounded by 6.1 metre (20.0 foot) capped palisades with interior galleries, a watch tower, and four massive projecting bastions. The Big House, or Factor's residence, was three and a half storeys high and more than 24 metres (80.0 feet) in length. Other buildings within the palisades included a row house almost 46 metres (150 feet) long that housed the men's quarters, separate clerk's quarters, an Indian house, fur store, ice house,

blacksmith shop, stable, kitchen, and even a house and chapel for the resident missionary.<sup>83</sup>

Post-on-sill construction was predominant in Hudson's Bay Company posts after 1821. Vertical posts were mortised into a round or square sill log or timber at intervals of about three to three and a half metres (10.0 to 12.0 feet). The posts were grooved on two opposing sides, and the wall was built up as tenoned filling pieces (usually squared logs) were slid into place between the grooved uprights. A wall plate completed the frame, with windows and doors set between minor uprights or beside one of the major uprights (see figure 10). Both sills and wall plates were draw lapped at the corners and held together by the corner-post tenons. Ground floor joists were dovetailed into the sill and upper floor joists or beams were secured to the top plate. Roof structures of various types were then built upon the wall plate.<sup>84</sup> There was virtually no limit on the size of structures that could be erected by this method, as sills and plates could be extended indefinitely by splicing or lapping.

There is some evidence to indicate that other construction techniques were used by both the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company. En pile, or poteaux en terre construction, most commonly associated with palisades, was also employed. This simple method consisted of little more than round posts or squared timbers placed side by side

in the ground to form walls, and was commonly used in New France for barns and stables (see figure 11).<sup>85</sup> Remains of en pile bastions have been excavated at both Rocky Mountain House and Acton House on the North Saskatchewan River.<sup>86</sup> Archaeological evidence from Fort George also indicates that en pile construction was used in the walls of several buildings.<sup>87</sup>

Corner lapping and notching cannot be dismissed entirely as construction techniques in the North West fur trade.<sup>88</sup> Evidence of a corner lapped Hudson's Bay Company building dating to 1817 has been excavated near Lake Athabasca.<sup>89</sup> Dovetail cornering, used extensively in Quebec in the nineteenth century,<sup>90</sup> was also employed from time to time. In 1832, a missionary at Lac du Flambeau in western Wisconsin noted that most voyageur homes were built in the post-on-sill manner, but that "a few buildings are reared in the old Yankee manner of building log houses, that is of round timbers locked together at the ends."<sup>91</sup> Later, the Hudson's Bay Company began using dovetailing in some of its posts, but this practice seems to have been confined to areas where large logs were available. At Dunvegan, a new factor's house was constructed in such a way in the 1870s,<sup>92</sup> as were several of the buildings at Fort St. James.<sup>93</sup>

Based on fur trade journals and published studies, it is possible to establish, at least in a general way, the



customary sequence of events in the construction of a post in the Saskatchewan District in the nineteenth century. Once a site was chosen, a clearing was made, trees were cut and hewed in proper lengths, and a storehouse and shop were erected. The first major structure to be put up was usually the trading house. In most cases, this was a large, two-storey building with a trading room, a storage room, a master's residence, and men's apartments.<sup>94</sup> The work was done with haste.

At Chesterfield House, built by Peter Fidler at the mouth of the Red Deer River during the autumn of 1800, the first structure consisted of a trading room and adjoining victual shed. This building, measuring 3.9 by 9.1 metres (13.0 by 30.0 feet), was completed by Fidler and his 18 men in just nine days. Only after the important trade goods were secured did the men began work on the other buildings.<sup>95</sup> At larger posts, the next building to be erected might have been the blacksmith's shop, which contained to all-important forge. Men's cabins and the stockades would be the last structures to be worked on. At Chesterfield House, the men moved into their own house only three weeks after beginning it.<sup>96</sup>

Once the walls of a building were up, they were chinked and plastered with mud, inside and out. This practice usually meant filling the spaces between the logs with a mixture of mud, straw, or buffalo hair.<sup>97</sup> An alternative

consisted of chinking with bark, over which mud was applied.<sup>98</sup> In rare cases, the exterior walls were sided and then whitewashed.

The type of roof on a post building was usually a function of the season and of available tools and manpower. In many cases, the first roof was little more than small sticks or poles resting on the wall plate and ridge pole, covered with grass and mud. In about a year, this makeshift covering might be replaced by a more permanent bark roof. Roofs were also widely covered with split or sawn boards, and until 1840 cedar bark or board roofs predominated in the fur trade. After 1840, shingles came into increasingly common use on better buildings in the North West.<sup>99</sup> At Fort Edmonton, bark roofs were used as late as 1859, with double board roofing coming into its own in the early 1860s. Both techniques were displaced by wooden shingling in the late 1860s.<sup>100</sup>

The interior of a post building was typically divided by partitions made of hewn timbers or sawn planks. Plank flooring was also used in most buildings, which meant that men were almost continually sawing timber in a saw pit during the construction period. Sometimes, these planks were grooved to allow for easier installation.<sup>101</sup> They were generally planed smooth. In 1810 Alexander Henry reported his men smoothing all the planks for a 6.1 by 3.7 metre

(20.0 by 12.0 foot) building at Rocky Mountain House.<sup>102</sup>

Parchment was used in windows when glass was not available, and doors were made of sawn or split timber.<sup>103</sup> Doors were usually hung on wrought-iron hinges. Locks were generally restricted to use in the doors of the trading room.<sup>104</sup>

Within most buildings, a cellar was excavated. These were invariably cribbed. At Buckingham House, built in 1792, this cellar cribbing consisted of split logs, with the scaled round side inward and the flat unscaled side facing the coarse sand of that locale.<sup>105</sup> By the 1830s cellars at Fort Edmonton were constructed with an interior wooden frame lined with boards.<sup>106</sup>

Typically, chimneys were built on the gable ends or on the sides of the building once the main structure was completed. In larger structures, they were also widely installed on interior partitions. Both chimneys and fireplaces might be constructed of stones and clay or of wattle and daub, or of a combination of these materials. Those made of stones and mortar demanded more skill and time. At Chesterfield House, Fidler detailed four men to collect stones for the chimneys, a task which took several days to complete. Three other men were, at the same time, constantly working on the chimney.<sup>107</sup> At Rocky Mountain House, it took three men five weeks to complete five chimneys in 1810.<sup>108</sup>

The wattle and daub method, which was used often at Red River Settlement, consisted of weaving a willow frame over upright logs which surrounded a chimney flue of poles. On this framework, long "cats" (rolls of natural-length hay mixed with clay, about 100 mm in diameter and 460 to 610 mm in length) were laid in place, course upon course as in brickwork until the fireplace was finished and the chimney carried through the roof. The willow framework was then burned out, and whole was finished with a smooth coat of clay.<sup>109</sup> Fireplaces built in this manner were high and narrow, and logs were consequently burned upright in the hearth. Even when stone fireplaces were constructed, chimneys were often still of the wattle and daub variety.

Posts were nearly always enclosed by a stockade or palisade wall with two bastions at diagonally opposite corners.<sup>110</sup> Walls were usually constructed of peeled, pointed logs fitted in ribbands (horizontal girths fastened with treenails). Standing perhaps 3.7 metres (12.0 feet) above the ground when in place, the ends of these logs were buried in trenches. Palisade gates consisted of either a single door hinged to a post, or of a folding or double affair hung from two gateposts. Bastions, or watch towers, might also be constructed with vertical logs (en pile) as an extension of the palisade.<sup>111</sup>

These hastily built posts, usually constructed with the

rudest of tools out of whatever materials came to hand, deteriorated rapidly. When a post was annually reopened for the trading season, repairs or reconstruction became the immediate priority. In 1832 Donald Ross pointed out what he considered to be "the greatest evil...attending wooden buildings in this country;" that is, "the necessity of using green and unseasoned Timber -- which shrinks to such a degree that the proper bearing of every part of the building soon gets disordered however well laid at first."<sup>112</sup> The effect was, as Smyth has noted, that deterioration happened so rapidly and that repairs or replacements were so frequently required that a post which existed over a long period of time could appear remarkable different in different periods.<sup>113</sup>

#### Fur Trade Structures of the Upper Athabasca Valley

The extremely limited historical records pertaining to fur trade and other structures of the upper Athabasca Valley preclude detailed structural analysis of any local buildings. Instead, an attempt has been made to locate documented structures with as much precision as possible, and to provide, where possible, a tentative analysis of some of their structural features based on scattered historical references, a few photographs, and comparative information from other Saskatchewan District structures of the same era.

## Henry House I

During his attempt to find a practicable route through the Rocky Mountains to Pacific tidewater in 1810, David Thompson ordered William Henry to build some log huts in which to secure their goods and provisions and to establish a horse camp on the upper Athabasca River.<sup>114</sup> While there is some disagreement about the exact location of these buildings due to the disparate latitudinal readings provided by Thompson,<sup>115</sup> the consensus is that Henry's House must have been between Lake Edith and Old Fort Point at the junction<sup>116</sup> of the Athabasca and Miette rivers.

On the basis of Arrowsmith's map, Elliot Coues placed Henry House on the right (or east) bank of the Athabasca River, directly opposite the mouth of the Miette.<sup>117</sup> While there remains disagreement about this conclusion,<sup>118</sup> the only detailed description of building this camp does agree with Coues' conclusion. An unpublished article, allegedly<sup>119</sup> based on the journal of one Marcel Dubois, who is said to have helped Henry build the camp, states that Henry and his men cut timber for two buildings at the junction of the Athabasca and Miette rivers. There Henry's company erected a storehouse and living quarters on a bluff overlooking the rivers' confluence. The principal reason for locating at this site was the presence of an upstream "prairie" (meadow)

that contained good pasturage and could be seen from the upper bluff.

According to Dubois, Henry's two buildings were 4.9 by 7.3 metres (16.0 by 24 feet) and 6.1 metres square (20.0 by 20.0 feet), respectively. The smaller of the two served as the men's house, while the other was used for storage and as the quarters of William Henry and his brigade master. There was no palisade.

The buildings were built by standing logs on end, much in the manner of the en pile or poteau en terre style. Each building was of double-wall construction, a method not unknown in the Saskatchewan District, with the outside face sealed with glacial mud from the river. This double wall technique may have consisted simply of lining the interior of the wall, or it may have been a deliberate method such as that used in the ice-house built at Fort Edmonton in 1823, which was "built with double walls about a foot distant from each other and the intermediate space filled with earth, so as to prevent the rays of the sun from penetrating through it."<sup>120</sup>

Henry's House was short-lived because of its injudicious location above the point where canoes were able to navigate the Athabasca. This necessitated the inconvenience of sending horses downstream to meet any ascending brigade. By the time Gabriel Franchère came through the Athabasca Pass in 1814, the house was no longer

121  
in operation.

#### Jasper House I

With the closure of Henry's House after 1812, the North West Company established a regular provision depot for the Columbia brigades passing through the Athabasca Pass. Built on the west side of Brule Lake in 1813, at its point of discharge into the Athabasca River, this post later became known as Jasper's or Jasper House after Jasper Hawes, the clerk who took charge of it in 1817.<sup>122</sup> When Franchère stopped there in 1814, he commented that

the post of the Rocky Mountain -- in English Rocky Mountain House -- is situated on the edge of the little lake [Brule] that I have mentioned, in the middle of a woods, and is almost entirely surrounded by steep rocks....This establishment was in the charge of a Mr. Decoigne. He does not collect many furs for the company, which built the post only to facilitate the mountain crossings of those of its employees who are on their way to the Columbia or returning from it. (123)

Three years later, Ross Cox described Jasper House as "a miserable concern of rough logs, with only three apartments, but scrupulously clean inside."<sup>124</sup> He also noted that an old clerk named Jasper Hawes was in charge of two Canadiens, two Iroquois, and three hunters, and that the post was located at 53°18'40".<sup>125</sup>

When the Hudson's Bay Company took over Jasper House as part of the 1821 amalgamation, it retained the post primarily as a temporary summer house for the convenience of



the Columbians.<sup>126</sup> Four years later, it was still only a transportation depot and certainly smaller and less important than Larocque's House farther upstream.<sup>127</sup>

Within a few years, Jasper House had eclipsed Larocque's establishment in importance. On his journey through the valley in 1827, David Douglas passed a small hut called Rocky Mountain House prior to arriving at Jasper House on the following day.<sup>128</sup> In all probability, this was Larocque's House. And, even though Jasper House consisted of nothing more than "three small hovels,"<sup>129</sup> it was by then the only trading post in the area, with a substantial annual trade and a year-round staff.<sup>130</sup> Its importance was further enhanced after 1826, when the Company began to ship leather to New Caledonia via the Yellowhead Pass.

The newfound significance was undoubtedly a factor in the relocation and rebuilding of Jasper House in 1830. A "miserable concern of rough logs" intended for the convenience of servants crossing the Athabasca Pass in summer would hardly have sufficed as a winter trading post. Furthermore, as Stuart has pointed out, the three small hovels put up by unskilled builders in 1813 would probably have reached the limit of their useful life by 1829-30.<sup>131</sup> Some confirmation of this is found in the Jasper House journal of 1829, in which it is reported that a chimney had fallen down, nearly killing a child.<sup>132</sup>

### Larocque's House

Variouslly called Rocky Mountain House, Henry House, and Miette House, Larocque's House was first referred to by George Simpson in his journal of 1822. Simpson indicated that Henry's wintering post on the Smoky River was interfering with Peace River trading operations and that, as a result, the post had to be relocated to the "old" Rocky Mountain House.<sup>133</sup> Henry subsequently reoccupied the Rocky Mountain House on the Athabasca, but found it impossible to winter there for lack of provisions.<sup>134</sup> The next probable reference to this post dates from 1823, when John Work reported that some canoes had been taken farther upstream from Jasper House to the old Henry House at the head of navigation on the Athabasca.<sup>135</sup> By 1825 Simpson had decided to locate the regional wintering post deeper in the mountains, and he consequently sent Larocque (then at Jasper) to winter at Cranberry Lake in the Yellowhead Pass.<sup>136</sup> Finding that location impractical, Larocque returned to a post on the west side of the Athabasca River at Cottonwood Creek.<sup>137</sup> Here Alexander Ross found Larocque in charge when he passed through with Simpson's party in 1825. Ross described Larocque's House as "a neat little group of wood huts suited to the climate of the country, rendered comfortable and filled with cheerful and happy

inmates." <sup>138</sup> At that time, the post had one clerk and eight  
<sup>139</sup> men.

Simpson had no intention of retaining a post in this  
<sup>140</sup> area, however, and in 1825 he directed that it be closed.  
 Though no longer constituting a trading post after 1826, the  
 dwellings continued to be used by brigades because of their  
 location at the head of navigation on the Athabasca, where  
 the Columbia and New Caledonia brigades went their separate  
<sup>141</sup> ways.

In 1928 the site of Larocque's House may well have been  
 found by Ida M. Thompson, at a point just to the southeast  
 of the railway underpass east of Jasper townsite. There  
 were two large holes that she argued were the cellars of  
 Larocque's House. Approximately 3.0 metres square (10.0  
 feet) and 0.9 to 1.2 metres (3.0 to 4.0 feet) deep in 1928,  
<sup>142</sup> these holes had been about twice as deep in the 1890s.  
 Basing her calculations of these dimensions, Thompson  
 estimated that the original buildings were at least 5.5  
 metres (18.0 feet) square and "perhaps several times that as  
 the structure would extend two feet at the very least on  
<sup>143</sup> each side of the cellars." She also found the remains of  
 a stone chimney beyond the edge of each of the cellars. No  
 additional information has come to light to confirm or deny  
 the validity of these conclusions.

## Jasper House II

Michel Klyne's Jasper House journals provide the only clue as to the reasons for relocating the post from Brule Lake to the north end of Jasper Lake. Each of the post master's references about going to build the new post in the spring of 1830 is coupled with a reference to going to check up on the horses pastured near the new site.<sup>144</sup> In all likelihood, the relocation of Jasper had to do with the better pasturage available there for the post horses.

These journals provide little information about the construction of the post, except that it was built sometime between March and December of 1830.<sup>145</sup> The builders were probably Klyne and a few men from the Columbia who seem to have been wintering at Jasper House.<sup>146</sup> Some of the freemen<sup>147</sup> of the place also helped to cut wood for the houses.

From Klyne's cryptic references, it is possible to deduce that three buildings were erected before December of 1830. A store and a house appear to have been built by Klyne himself in March of 1830,<sup>148</sup> with a small dwelling house added during October and November for a Mr. Heron and family who wintered at the establishment.<sup>149</sup> This was, in all probability, Francis Heron who was to take a brigade over the Yellowhead Pass to New Caledonia in 1829, but could not get through due to the lateness of the season.<sup>150</sup>

While there is no record of the tools Klyne had at his

disposal, those generally in use in the Saskatchewan District at this time are known to have included a wide variety (see appendix C). It is also known that the quality of workmanship evident in Hudson's Bay Company posts differed from location to location, largely in accordance with the intended functions of each post. Jasper's contemporary role as a transportation depot, just beginning to evolve into a wintering trading post, would have ruled out the presence of any construction tradesmen and therefore anything but the crudest of structures.

There is no extant structural information about the post for the 1830s, but the shortlived character of most hastily-constructed establishments does suggest a decade of extensive repairs and perhaps renovations.

The next glimpse of Jasper House dates from the mid-1840s when, within the space of two years, both Henry J. Warre and Paul Kane passed by, leaving both written and iconographic records of the post. Kane's description of Jasper House in his journal of 4 November 1846 confirmed that it still consisted of three structures -- "miserable huts," he called them -- under the charge of Colin Fraser:

The dwelling-house is composed of two rooms, of about 14 or 15 feet square each. One of them is used by all commers [sic] and goers. Indians, voyageurs, and traders, men, women, and children being huddled together indiscriminantly; the other room being devoted to the exclusive occupation of Colin and his family, consisting of a Cree squaw and nine interesting half breed children. Once of the other huts is used for

storing provisions in, when they can get any, and the other I should have thought a dog kennel had I seen many of the canine species about. (151)

Although the drawings made by Kane and Warre cannot be used to determine precise details,<sup>152</sup> they do suggest the orientation, layout, and basic structural attributes of the post.

Kane drew a pencil sketch of Jasper House on the spot and then, more than a year later, redid the same scene as a watercolour (figure 12). Both illustrations look almost straight east,<sup>153</sup> and it is thus possible to establish that only one of the buildings was situated parallel to the Athabasca River. In front of it (that is, closer to the river) were two other structures, which look smaller. Both were situated perpendicular to the river. The more panoramic of Warre's two sketches (figure 13), in which Pyramid Mountain to the south is visible, clearly shows the same basic orientation and layout. A plan of the site, reconstructed from these drawings, is shown in figure 14.

On the basis of these drawings, a few structural conclusions may be offered. There is no doubt at all that the main building, which Kane estimated at approximately 9.4 by 4.6 metres (30 by 15 feet), was built in the Red River frame style of logs at least partly squared. At the same time there is, of course, no way of determining whether it was a post-in-ground or a post-on-sill structure. The building was one storey high, with a moderate gable roof,

whose boards were held in place by both vertical and horizontal poles.<sup>154</sup> Although far from a certainty, three chimneys may be visible on the west elevation of the roof, near its junction with the wall plate.

The only significant difference between Kane's two drawings concerns the number of wall sections in the main building. His 1845 pencil sketch shows eight sections, while his 1847 watercolour indicates six. Having been done on site, the pencil sketch is probably the more reliable representation, and its shorter sections may simply reflect the difficulty of securing tall timbers in the area or the greater ease of construction that smaller log sections afforded a small work crew, or both of these practical concerns.

Warre's drawings further indicate that the main building had a pair of small windows situated about halfway up the north elevation, near the wall plate, and at least two similarly placed on the west elevation. It is entirely possible that these windows were of glass, which was then widely used throughout the Pacific Northwest and is, in fact, listed in the Jasper House inventory for 1856 (see appendix C). Both the window near the south corner on the west elevation and that on the west corner of the north wall are cross-hatched in a manner suggestive of contemporary small panes.

Information about the other Jasper House buildings of circa 1846 is much more difficult to extract from the Kane and Warre drawings. Not much more can be said than that the two most visible were again one storey in height, and had roofs matching that of the main building. A centrally-placed door can be discerned in the one to the northeast of the main building. On the extreme left of Warre's close-up sketch (figure 15), adjacent to the tipi, a possible third outbuilding is barely visible. All that seems clear is that it had a shed roof rather than the gabled roof of the other structures. This would suggest that it was a minor structure at best, which may explain why it was not mentioned in contemporary accounts.

In 1858, after Jasper House had been closed for a year, Henry J. Moberly came out from Fort Edmonton to reopen the post as a trading centre for the upper Athabasca Valley. On his arrival at the site, he found that

the buildings, so long untenanted, badly needed repairing, the chinks between the logs re-mudding, the chimneys patching, and the windows fitting with new parchment -- glass in those days being unknown. These and sundry other jobs occupied some time. (155)

One study has speculated that Moberly's arrival signaled the start of another building phase at Jasper House and that it is possible the new post master completely rebuilt the post with wood from Klyne's decrepit and outmoded buildings.<sup>156</sup>

It is more likely that Moberly's observations merely indicate the degree to which a post could deteriorate when



left untenanted for a year. There is equally little merit in the proposition that the buildings were "probably inappropriate to the [fur trading] functions now proposed for them."<sup>157</sup> By 1858 Jasper House had been an important fur trading post for two decades.

There is some evidence to indicate that, in fact, Moberly arrived at a post which had been rebuilt perhaps as recently as 1856. This hypothesis is supported by the inventory of goods at Jasper House for that year, which lists enough building tools to have constructed a finely finished establishment. The tools included screw and shell augers, carpenters' foot adzes, assorted chisels, files, rasps, saws, axes, gimlets, hammers, planes, screws, and panes of window glass (see appendix C). In view of the small demand that surely existed among the local Indians and freemen for most of these building tools, it is reasonable to argue that they would not have been present at the post in such variety unless construction was being undertaken. If this reasoning is correct, Jasper House was probably rebuilt between 1846 and 1856.

Moberly's sketch-plan of Jasper House, done when he was 94 years old, must be approached with the same caution that should attend consideration of all his works. According to this plan (see figure 16), the main structure faced the Athabasca River and had the same number of chimneys on its

west elevation as that drawn by Paul Kane. It was, however, considerably larger, measuring 13.4 by 6.7 metres (44.0 by 22.0 feet). It was divided into three rooms: a cook's house, 6.7 by 4.3 metres (22.0 by 14.0 feet), on the north end (marked #1); a public hall, 6.7 by 4.9 metres (22.0 by 12.0 feet), in the middle (marked #2); and a clerk's house, 6.7 by 4.3 metres (22.0 by 14.0 feet) on the south end (marked #3).

Moberly also placed two other structures on the site. One, located perpendicular to the main building at its southeast corner, was a combined trading room and meat shop measuring 3.7 by 7.9 metres (12.0 by 26.0 feet). The trading room (marked #4) was 3.7 by 4.9 metres (12.0 by 16.0 feet), while the adjoining meat shop (marked #5) measured 3.7 by 3.0 metres (12.0 by 10.0 feet). According to Moberly, this building had no chimney.

The third building was still closer to the river, near the southeast corner of the trading room/meat shop. This was the servants' house, measuring 3.7 by 4.3 metres (12.0 by 14.0 feet), with a single chimney on its south elevation.

The only other detailed view of Jasper House in this period was penned by Dr. James Hector, the acutely-observant geologist with the Palliser Expedition, who remained in the area for a brief while in 1859. Hector noted that Jasper House

is beautifully situated on an open plain...as the

valley makes a bend above and below, it appears to be completely encircled by mountains...the little group of buildings which form the "fort" have been constructed, in keeping with the picturesque situation after the Swiss style, with overhanging roofs and trellised porticos. The dwelling house and two stores form 3 sides of a square, and these with a little detached hut, form the whole of this remote establishment. (158)

This description differs in that Hector counts four buildings rather than Moberly's three and places them around a square instead of in the right-angled layout that the old fur trader depicts. Once again bearing in mind the rapid deterioration of fur trade structures, it is possible that the building that Hector had seen to the left of the main building was dismantled before Moberly vacated the post in 1861.

Apparently some of the buildings described and sketched by Hector and Moberly were still extant in 1872,<sup>159</sup> when Sandford Fleming and his party passed Jasper House on their way to the Pacific coast. George Grant, secretary to the Fleming expedition, observed only "two log houses, the largest propped up before and behind with rough shores."<sup>160</sup>

The houses were untenanted, locked and shuttered, as the agent from Edmonton only came up to trade twice a year. From the photographs taken by Horetzky, the expedition photographer, it is possible to recognize the building -- though much the worse for wear -- which Hector described as in the Swiss style. For Hector's "overhanging roofs and trellised porticos," read verandah with regular columns.

Only the trellis, or lattice-work, is not in evidence.

That the building should be deteriorating by 1872 is quite understandable. Although Jasper House continued to function as a trading post throughout the 1860s, it was not always open year-round. In 1864 W.J. Christie commented to John McAuley, the resident post master at Jasper, that he might not have anyone winter at Jasper during the next season but would instead send a man up twice a year to trade.<sup>161</sup> It would depend, suggested Christie, on the volume of trade McAuley was able to conduct that winter. On the other hand, the excellent returns of the 1868 outfit prompted Richard Hardisty to send Joseph Macdonald to winter at Jasper in the next year.<sup>162</sup> But as year-round occupancy was always an uncertainty in these years, and as increasing competition from free traders drove the Company to ever more severe retrenchment, there would have been little reason to keep Jasper House in good repair. In fact, just two years after Horetzky took his photographs the Company was informed that Jasper House was no longer fit to live in, and that no firewood could be had within a quarter mile of the post.<sup>163</sup>

Horetzky's photographs (figures 17,18 and 19) are an excellent source of structural information about the main post-1846 building.<sup>164</sup> This one storey, gable roofed structure is clearly of Red River frame construction. Built of squarely hewn timbers in six roughly equal sections, the building's east elevation had three regularly-spaced

doorways that correspond to Moberly's three interior partitions. The front also had three shuttered windows and a wooden verandah extending across its full length. The verandah roof was supported by four evenly-spaced unscaled poles tenoned into the roof structure. Three shuttered windows were located on the south elevation, two on the main floor and one in the attic or loft. The west elevation contained an off-centre doorway, and was propped up by eight poles. Most of the chinking was already lost from between the horizontal logs on this side of the building. Although only two chimneys are visible, extending well above the roof near its junction with this wall, a break in the vertical roof boards suggests the position of a third, which would correspond to Moberly's sketch. Finally, the roof itself is an excellent example of the board-on-board vertically-sheathed roofing that became common at Fort Edmonton in the 1860s.

After Jasper House was closed by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1884, it was probably still used by private traders and passers-by, although no records exist for this period. It was not until the arrival of Lewis J. Swift in 1891 that these buildings again emerge from obscurity. According to his wife, Swift found one end of the main building burned off in 1891. He cut off about 2.4 metres (8.0 feet) and rebuilt the destroyed end of the house. Here

he and his wife lived for a few years and operated a trading store in the smaller building nearer the river.<sup>165</sup> What, if any, other changes Swift may have made to the site is unclear. In 1898 James McEvoy of the Geological Survey of Canada reported that that original building at Jasper had long been destroyed by fire but that a structure of more recent date still stood to mark the spot.<sup>166</sup> This assertion is contradicted by Swift's own report of 1910, to the effect that Jasper House had been torn down by a party of Grand Trunk Railway surveyors headed by one Mr. Stevens.<sup>167</sup>

From this fragmentary and often inconsistent evidence, it seems most probable that the main Jasper House structure, repaired by Swift in 1891, was standing in some form until 1910.

Since then, a number of site inspections have been undertaken. A 1925 Historic Sites and Monuments Board sketch of the site (see figure 20), which was scheduled for commemoration as a national historic site, shows the remains of three buildings, two of which correspond generally to those in Moberly's sketch. Four years later, Ida Thompson also examined this site and found the outlines of three buildings. By her reckoning, the main building had originally measured 15.3 metres (50.0 feet) long and had been constructed in the Red River frame style. Another structure cornered the main building a few metres to the south, nearer the river. The last, and by far the smallest

building, which she named the Okemow House, was still  
 farther back and to the north of the main structure. <sup>168</sup>

#### Other Specific Non-Fur Trade Structures

There are several other specific structures that are known to have been built in the upper Athabasca River Valley in the nineteenth century that can be commented upon briefly. These are the Athabasca Depot, the Lewis Swift ranch, and the Ewan Moberly buildings.

#### Athabasca Depot

In the early 1870s the superiority of the Yellowhead Pass as a railway corridor was being confirmed by survey crews. At that time, several camps were established in the upper Athabasca Valley to facilitate the work of these crews. Walter Moberly, the brother of Henry John Moberly, selected a point on the west side of the Athabasca River, somewhat south of and opposite to the mouth of the Maligne River, as the location of his main camp. On 5 October 1872 Moberly recorded in his diary that he was

encamped on flat of Athabasca River about 1 1/2 miles below junction of Athabasca and Yellowhead Pass trails and just below Mr. [Sandford] Fleming's camp. No. 48. McCord had pick [sic] out this place for a depot as timber for building and wood and water [were] convenient -- he has got the walls of [a] log structure up. (169)

Further on in his diary, he noted that the new camp -- called Athabasca Depot, -- was about two and a half kilometres (4.0 miles) below the mouth of the Miette River.<sup>170</sup> On 2 November, less than a month after Moberly's first visit to the camp, two storehouses of hewn timber had<sup>171</sup> been completed, each with a fireplace.

According to Ida Thompson, who visited the site in 1928, the depot

consisted of 3 buildings forming three sides of a square (the open side on the Athabasca) situated on a flat in a clearing half an acre or less in extent....At the back of the square and facing the river, was the outline of the main building or living quarters, approximately 45 feet by 20 feet, with the ruins of a fireplace at each end. On the south, or right hand side, one could discern the outline of a storehouse 30 feet by 20 feet, with the remains of a fireplace on the end next to the central building. On the opposite side of the square facing the storehouse, or to the left of the living quarters, the stables stood. They were about 54 feet by 20 feet, with a small blacksmith shed and forge on the end next to the river....Along each side of each building, except for spaces opposite doors, were trenches several feet deep from which dirt had been taken for the roofs. (172)

Judging from the dimensions of these buildings, the largest must have been constructed in the Red River frame style. This, as well as the layout of the complex, could have been due to the fact that a number of local French<sup>173</sup> Metis assisted McCord in constructing the depot.

When the survey crews abandoned the depot after 1873, a man named Carey bought it and all the foodstuffs, implements and other supplies it contained for \$1,000. He traded the provisions to local Indians for furs and then built some



boats to convey the hardware down the Athabasca, eventually  
<sup>174</sup>  
 transporting it to Edmonton.

Years later, as Mary Schaffer observed, a fire swept  
 over the site and destroyed most of the remaining  
<sup>175</sup>  
 structures.

#### The Swift Ranch

The first known permanent domestic structure in the upper  
 Athabasca Valley was built by Lewis Swift in 1895. An Ohio-  
 born drifter and backwoodsman, Swift first came to the  
 District of Alberta in the 1880s while in his 30s and  
 eventually selected the upper Athabasca Valley as a place to  
<sup>176</sup>  
 settle. After operating a trading post at the site of  
 Jasper House from 1891 to 1894, he shifted to Henry House  
 Flats on the site now known as the Palisades. There he  
 constructed his first house and a small trading post, and  
<sup>177</sup>  
 began to raise horses. Over the course of the next five  
 years Swift's ranch gradually became the focus for a small  
 Metis colony on both sides of the Athabasca River. By 1907,  
 there were about 100 people living there.

Swift's status as a mature American at the time of his  
 immigration to Alberta raises the possibility of American  
 precedents in the construction of his log ranch buildings.  
 The practice of building with logs had been brought to the  
 United States by Scandinavian and German immigrants in the

seventeenth century. Although there were variations in the techniques used by different Scandinavian peoples, all employed similar methods of dressing logs and corner timbering styles. Saddle-notched round logs and full dovetailed hewn logs were common in wall construction (see figure 21). Fireplaces tended to be set in a corner, with the chimney made of sticks and clay.

The Germans who settled in the Delaware Valley of Pennsylvania had their own tradition of log construction. While their corner timbering was similar to that of the Scandinavians, they tended to use gable end or centrally-placed chimneys and off-centre doorways. In contrast to the Swedes and Finns, who roofed with long split timbers, the Germans shingled.

The westward migration of American peoples tended to dilute the cultural distinctions that were evident on the eastern seaboard. By the time log construction techniques reached Swift's Ohio Valley a distinctively American method<sup>178</sup> of building with logs had emerged. Most settlers in that region of the country were of Scotch-Irish descent, and they wedded local log construction methods to their particular version of rural Georgian cottage architecture. The result was characterized by long, low structures with gables equal to the width of the building, low eaves, chimneys centred on the gable wall, and a central front door.<sup>179</sup> The degree of

finish on the logs, the type of corner notching, roofing and chimney technique all depended on the use and permanency of the structure in question.

Eventually, two styles of corner notching came to predominate in Ohio: steeple notching and half-dovetail,<sup>180</sup> though rough cabins were usually saddle-notched. Full dovetail cornering was not often used because of the care it required.<sup>181</sup> Fireplaces were usually placed on the gable ends, with chimneys on the outside of the wall.<sup>182</sup> The customary orientation was southward to maximize the amount of heat and light from the sun, but buildings also commonly faced lakes or rivers.<sup>183</sup> It was possible for three men to build a rough cabin in one or two weeks. When built by just one person, cabins were of necessity lower because of the difficult in raising logs to a height of more than six to eight tiers.<sup>184</sup> The average size of Ohioan log cabins were about 5.5 by 7.3 metres (18.0 by 2.0 feet)<sup>185</sup>

Barns were usually longer than other structures, and in common with other outbuildings, were made of rough unpeeled logs, undaubed and unchinked for ventilation. When weatherproofing was required, straw was stuffed between the logs or long planks were nailed over more pronounced gaps.

As a former resident of Ohio, and an experienced backwoodsman, Swift would likely have carried these traditions with him to his new frontier in the Rockies. The first building he constructed on his ranch (situated on SE-

15-46-1-W6) in 1895 was a rough house measuring 4.3 by 6.1 metres (14.0 by 20.0 feet).<sup>186</sup> This cabin, on the west side of the Athabasca River, faced northward towards a small creek. With no help but that which his wife might provide,<sup>187</sup> and with few tools, Swift fashioned a low-walled house built of round, horizontally-laid logs which were saddle-notched at the corners. As the woods near his place included mainly poplar and cottonwood, and only a few large Douglas firs, these would have been the principal materials<sup>188</sup> he used.

The house walls, six tiers high, rested upon a foundation of what appears from photographs to have been built-up clay and sand. The very low pitched roof was initially covered with poles with dirt thrown on top, and<sup>189</sup> the floor was of split or sawn timber. At the front of the building, the roof projected over the gable and formed a stoop. In fact, all of Swift's various buildings seem to have had roofs which extended well over the gable ends.

Over the years, the Swifts added a number of outbuildings to the site, including two log storehouses: one measured 3.7 by 4.3 metres (12.0 by 14.0 feet) and had a cellar and the other measured 5.5 by 7.9 metres (18.0 by 26.0 feet) and had a thatched roof. Although Swift cultivated several hectares, his main occupation (outside of trading) was raising horses, and by 1909 he had built a log

stable measuring 9.1 by 12.2 metres (30.0 by 40.0 feet). All these buildings used saddle-notched round logs (see figures 22 and 23).<sup>190</sup> The only other building that Swift erected prior to 1909 was a chicken house (4.7 by 5.5 metres) with a dirt roof.

Between 1909 and 1911 Swift also built a second stable and added to the rear of his house, thus increasing its dimensions to 11.0 by 4.7 metres (36.0 by 14.0 feet).<sup>191</sup> Photographs indicate this addition was constructed of logs hewn on two sides, but no conclusions about the corner timbering can be drawn.

After Jasper Park was established in 1910, the federal government attempted to dislodge Swift along with others who were henceforth termed squatters. In Swift's case, the issue was complicated immensely by his application for patent, which had occurred prior to establishment of the park. Swift apparently was willing to sell, but could not reach a settlement with the government. He refused to move<sup>192</sup> and ultimately received title to the property.

Between 1911 and 1935, when Swift sold his property to A.C. Wilby, he added few other buildings to his site. In all that time, the value of his improvements were deemed to have increased only \$600. Wilby razed all of Swift's buildings.<sup>193</sup>

### The Ewan Moberly Buildings

Between 1897 and 1902 four Metis families built substantial residences on both sides of the Athabasca River near Swift's ranch. All were log houses, and one of the most imposing among them was the home belonging to Ewan Moberly. This home is the best documented of an obscure group, and serves as a point of departure for discussion of the hypothesis that there is an indigenous Metis architecture.

Three major studies of buildings of Metis construction in the Canadian west<sup>194</sup> have unanimously concluded that, in general, the Red River frame construction which predominated among the Metis of Red River Settlement<sup>195</sup> was little used west of the Red River for domestic structures. Most extant buildings of Metis origin on the Canadian prairies are corner-timbered log buildings with dovetailed notching.<sup>196</sup>

Although many reasons have been advanced for this architectural divergence, few conclusions have been reached. One of the most reasonable suggestions is that Red River frame construction simply required too many tools, tools of a sort not likely to be available in distant, isolated locales. As well, the most significant advantage of Red River frame construction -- the ability to build large structures even with small logs -- was scarcely a matter of importance to Metis whose houses averaged 6.82 by 5.43 metres.<sup>197</sup> The real benefits of Red River frame construction only became apparent when a complex of large

buildings were being erected. In this context, it is apposite to note that when Metis put up larger buildings, such as the church at Batoche, they usually reverted to Red River frame construction.

The majority of Metis buildings which have been studied were one and half storey, rectangular, gable-roofed structures with the sole entrance on either of the gable ends or on the long side. Foundations consisted either of randomly placed fieldstones or a wooden sill placed directly on the ground. Logs were usually hewn and corner timbered, with dovetailing common in houses and saddle-notching in outbuildings. Exterior walls were sometimes finished with a mixture of clay and straw before being whitewashed, sometimes left bare, and sometimes covered with siding of various kinds. Shingled gable roofs of moderate pitch predominated. Most early fireplaces and chimneys were of clay cat and daub or stone, but by the early twentieth century this technique had yielded to stoves and pipe chimneys.<sup>198</sup>

It must be noted that this type of structure was not significantly different from non-Metis buildings in the same locale. The single study that has attempted to compare Metis and non-Metis buildings has concluded that the central difference was that Metis buildings tended to be slightly shorter and slightly wider. It also found that Metis houses

were more prone to have their walls finished, whereas those  
 199  
 of non-Metis structures were usually left bare.

The Ewan Moberly house, a one and a half storey structure of squarely hewn logs dovetailed at the corners, fits well into this typology of Metis architecture. Unfortunately, the typology itself says nothing of the structural precedents for such construction. This is particularly important in light of the fact that Ewan Moberly was born and raised in the upper Athabasca River Valley as the son of Henry John Moberly. It is suggested that Moberly adopted a variant of traditional fur trade outbuilding architecture. Similar small buildings could be found at nearly any trading post and, after 1870, it was common for even principal fur trade structures to be built  
 200  
 of squared, dovetailed logs. Metis artisans of the upper Athabasca, having no need for large structures and lacking a variety of tools, adopted those fur trade building techniques most applicable to house construction: hewn logs dovetailed at the corners.

The Ewan Moberly buildings are located approximately 9.3 kilometres (15.0 miles) from the Jasper townsite on the present road to Celestine Lake, on SW-17-47-1-W6. Built near an open glade below Cobblestone Creek, on the left side of the Athabasca River, the two remaining buildings are surrounded by mixed stands of poplar, white spruce, Douglas fir, and lodgepole pine. They are set on a moraine that



runs into the trees and ends at a nearby spring.<sup>201</sup>

These buildings, which Moberly erected in 1898, reflected his adaptation to the new economic opportunities in the Valley. In addition to hunting and trapping, Ewan also traded staple goods in a small way, raised horses, and acted as a guide and packer to both the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk Pacific railways, to survey parties, and to exploration parties.<sup>202</sup> Few records exist about the construction of his buildings, but it is known that by 1910 he had built two houses for his family of ten, a storehouse,<sup>203</sup> five stables for his 60 horses and eight cattle.

The main house, which still stands, is an unusually large one and a half storey log cabin measuring 6.7 by 7.3 metres (22.0 by 24.0 feet). This suggests it may not have been the first house that Ewan built on the site. It was made of squarely hewn logs dovetailed at the corners. Its gently pitched gable roof was constructed of vertical board over horizontal poles and was covered with wood shingles. Doors were placed in the middle of each gable end with the front gable facing west.<sup>204</sup> Window openings were cut in the middle of the north and south walls, and small attic windows were placed above each door. The floors were sawn boards.

Immediately to the east of this building stands a smaller structure built of hewn saddle-notched logs. According to two different accounts, this was an older

dwelling house that the family used for storage after the  
 large house was completed.<sup>205</sup> Moberly stated that the "old"  
 house was 18.0 by 21 feet (5.5 by 6.4 metres) and had a mud  
 roof.<sup>206</sup> A doorway faced the main building on the west and  
 a window faced north. Other structures on this site in 1909  
 included a storehouse (4.9 by 6.1 metres), and five stables  
 (each approximately 6.1 by 10.7 metres) built of logs with  
 dirt roofs.<sup>207</sup>

In 1966 Jasper National Park employees found the  
 remains of these latter buildings. Sixty-one metres north  
 of the two extant structures were the remains of one  
 building and about 15 metres west of this was the depression  
 of another.<sup>208</sup>

### Conclusion

Although distinctions could certainly be drawn among upper  
 Athabasca native, Metis, and trading structures during the  
 early decades of the fur trade, by mid-century those  
 differences had been largely eradicated by general adoption  
 of construction techniques adapted from the fur trade. The  
 limited size of the labour pool in the mountains and the  
 paucity of sophisticated building tools unquestionably had  
 much to do with this trend. And, although impossible to  
 prove conclusively with the limited data available, it is  
 posited that the shift toward greater structural uniformity

also stemmed from the custom of inter-marriage in a relatively small population. Only the buildings erected by American-born Lewis Swift were markedly different in character, and his example, so far as is known, was emulated by no one. Even the Ewan Moberly buildings, constructed after those of Swift and in proximity to them, found their inspiration in earlier structural examples. In the upper Athabasca Valley, that fur trade precedent was of paramount importance in determining the character of local construction throughout most of the nineteenth century.

## The Material Culture of Jasper House Society

### Introduction

Material culture may be taken to encompass the physical expressions of a society -- all the concrete works of a single people or community from a specific place during an identifiable period. Since nearly all occupation of the upper Athabasca Valley in the nineteenth century was tied to the fur trade, it is on artifacts relating to that economic activity that this section dwells. It begins with consideration of the seasonal round in which the artifacts were used, and then proceeds to a more specific discussion of functional categories and individual objects.

### The Seasonal Round of Activities at Jasper House

Although few records from Jasper House are extant, the daily journals of 1827-30 offer a glimpse into the organization and activities of the local society.<sup>1</sup> Jasper House was usually manned by a post master or clerk, a few hunters, a horsekeeper, and some local freemen who were<sup>2</sup> often engaged for specific tasks, such as canoe building.

During the period 1827-30, Michel Klyne was the post master. He had been an interpreter in the Lesser Slave Lake district, and was sent to Jasper House because he was the most experienced trader in the district.<sup>3</sup> While Jasper was not a large trading post, its importance in the transportation system of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the difficulties of provisioning the post, necessitated the residence of an experienced clerk. Klyne, who had variously served the Company as a labourer, a canoe builder, and a fisherman, was ideally suited to the position. He was not only to organize and supervise the activities of the post and to carry on trade, but also to build, repair, and help provision the establishment.

Due to the prevalence of marriage "à la façon du pays" (according to the custom of the country) between European fur traders and native or Metis women, Jasper House was occupied by both employed Company servants and their wives and children. All postmasters who had spent considerable time at Jasper are known to have had large Metis families. Alexander Ross noted that Klyne "was a jolly old fellow with a large family."<sup>4</sup> Colin Fraser, post master from 1835 to 1849, also had a large family. Indeed, his desire for posting to another establishment had much to do with the difficulty of providing for such a large family at Jasper. These marriages proved advantageous to the fur traders not only for the alliances they helped secure with local bands

of Indians and Metis, but for the pool of labour they created. Metis and Indian wives usually proved excellent artisans, while the children could perform less demanding tasks. For example, Michel Klyne is known to have delegated some of the trading missions to the Shuswaps to his elder sons, and when a chimney of the post collapsed in 1829, he rebuilt it with the help of a number of native women.

Typically, the annual round of activities at Jasper House began in the autumn, when the Columbia and Caledonia brigades arrived from Fort Edmonton in early October with the post's outfit. These arrivals greatly increased the local population, and preparations were hurriedly made to convey the brigade crews over their respective portages with the horses kept at Jasper for that purpose. Haste was important, as any lengthy stay of many men strained the limited food resources of the post.

By the time the winter outfit arrived, the freemen and Metis of the place were usually already waiting to trade the furs they had trapped during the summer and to outfit themselves for the more intensive winter hunt. While at the post, several of the freemen were usually engaged by Klyne to hunt for provisions and to build some canoes prior to their departure for the winter fur fields.

Following the departure of the brigades in October, Klyne traded with the Stoney Indians and freemen of the

post, kept a close watch on the horses, repaired the buildings, built snowshoes and canoes for the spring brigades, and collected firewood for the winter months. In November he also organized a trading party that travelled to the Yellowhead Pass to visit the Shuswap there.

Care of the horses was a full-time task in the winter, as the herds had to be moved regularly from one meadow to the next. When game was scarce, there was also the increased danger of wolves attacking the horses, which meant that wolf traps had to be set and more diligent surveillance kept.

Next to the trading and caring for the horses, hunting was the most important winter activity. Once the freemen had been sent off in late October and early November, Klyne would engage one or two hunters to supply the establishment with fresh meat during the winter. This was not an easy task, and the threat of starvation was never absent. During the three years for which Jasper House journals exist, every winter brought another food crisis. Not only did the occupants of the post live from hand to mouth, but during the months when hunting was poor, Klyne was obliged to give freemen and Indians families dried provisions from the stock kept for the spring brigades.<sup>5</sup> In 1859, Dr. James Hector of the Palliser expedition reported that the two or three Iroquois hunters attached to Jasper House were sent off every morning before daybreak and seldom returned before

late afternoon. In winter, he observed, the post lived off mountain sheep, which had to be hunted daily because large quantities of meat were difficult to bring down from the mountains.<sup>6</sup>

As the end of December approached, a number of freemen families, who wintered close by, returned to Jasper House for more supplies and stayed over for the annual Christmas and New Year's celebrations. On those occasions, Klyne distributed free rations of alcohol. While no detailed description of the New Year's "regale" exists for Jasper House, it was probably celebrated with the customary eating and drinking and firing of two broadsides in the early morning of New Year's Day.

There were no significant departures from this winter routine until the arrival of spring. Activity around the post increased markedly as Indians and freemen returned from their winter hunts. In May, men and horses were sent to meet the Columbia express coming from the west, and Klyne would follow this brigade to Fort Edmonton. During the summer either Klyne or another clerk and a hunter would keep the post open, hunting and attempting to lay away provisions for the coming winter.<sup>7</sup> Henry J. Moberly, put in charge of Jasper in the summer of 1855, gave some indication of the magnitude of these summer hunts in his reminiscences. His hunting party consisted of four hunters and four meat



haulers, with their respective families, a cook, and an<sup>8</sup> interpreter, for a total of ten lodges and some 150 horses.

This pattern of activities is believed to have continued without significant alteration until Jasper House was closed in 1856-7. When it re-opened a year later, the seasonal round was much the same as before, except that the cessation of mountain brigades freed the post residents from their customary horse husbandry. This also meant that Jasper's winter outfit could be sent up from Fort Edmonton later in the fall. The clerk assigned to Jasper now arrived at the beginning of November instead of in October, which eased the strain of provisioning. To further assist with provisioning, Moberly imposed a ban on all freeman hunting<sup>9</sup> within 30 miles (48.4 kilometres) of the post. In addition, the post did not always remain open during the summer months.

#### Fur Trade Goods: Availability and Function

By the early nineteenth century, freemen trappers and Indians of the Jasper House area enjoyed the best trade<sup>10</sup> goods available at district posts. This was true in terms of both quantity and quality. As an integral element of the Columbian enterprise as early as 1810, the local Indians would have had access to North West Company trade goods bound for the Columbia. Once a permanent trading post was

established on Jasper Lake in 1830, French-Canadians, Metis, and Indians of the locality would also have been able to obtain the best goods of the Hudson's Bay Company.

There are no outfits or inventories relating to Jasper House during the period extending from the 1830s to the 1850s. It may be argued, however, that the goods available at that post were very similar to those at Fort Assiniboine. That post was comparable to Jasper House not only in size and function, but was patronized by many of the same freemen and Indian bands.<sup>11</sup> In addition, both posts were of course supplied from the same central depot, Fort Edmonton. All references to trade goods available at Jasper House in the 1820s and 1830s are derived from Fort Assiniboine records and from the book debts of servants at Jasper House. Taken together, these sources suggest that the goods available on the eastern slope were representative of those commonly found at Saskatchewan District posts.

The inventories available for Jasper House during the late 1850s and 1860s further emphasize the typicality of its trade goods (see appendix D). While Jasper trade goods could not compare in volume and diversity with those of Fort Edmonton, they did include most types of available trade goods. The chief differences can be explained by the absence of gardens, domestic animals (other than horses), and a blacksmith shop at Jasper House.

### Clothing and Ornamentation

The clothing worn by the French-Canadian voyageurs and Iroquois and Metis freemen<sup>12</sup> of the upper Athabasca Valley represented a regional variation of that worn by fur traders and trappers throughout the rest of the North West. This similarity was to a large extent a function of the eastern fur trade origins of the Iroquois and French-Canada freemen who resided near Jasper House and of the uniformity of Hudson's Bay Company trade goods in the North West. Any distinctions may be explained as ecological adaptations to the wooded eastern slope of the Rockies and to the traditions of the Wood Assiniboine, Shuswap and Cree bands with whom the freemen had intermarried.

According to James Hector, the freemen and Metis around Lac Ste. Anne differed from those of the Jasper House area only in their dress, which was largely European in derivation.<sup>13</sup> The prototype of their typical attire was the costume of the French-Canadian voyageur, which had been described by a missionary in 1832 as combining both European and native elements. The customary costume included

short shirt, a red woolen Cap, a pair of deerskin leggins [sic] which reach a little above the knees, and are held up by a string securred [sic] to a belt about the waist, the azion ("breech cloth") of the Indian, and a pair of deerskin moccasins without stockings on the feet. The thighs are bare. (14)

Add a blue capot, the inevitable pipe, a gaudy sash, and the

outfit of the voyageur would be complete. The only significant variation in the costume concerned headgear. Some Metis wore top hats wrapped in ribbons into which plumes were stuck, and in winter two-peaked hats (called wide-awakes) were worn. In winter, a painted, quill-worked, fur-trimmed leather coat was usually adopted.<sup>15</sup> This voyageur's style of dress spread to the North West and was adopted by the Metis almost intact.

Indeed, available descriptions of mid-nineteenth century Metis clothing suggest very little variation from the typical voyageur outfit. H.M. Robinson described noted Metis James McKay as dressed

in a blue cloth capot (hooded frock-coat) with brass buttons[,] red and black flannel shirt, which also served for a waistcoat, buff-leather moccasins on his feet, black belt around his waist, trousers of brown and white striped homemade woolen stuff. (16)

The Metis, Robinson went on to write, were also given to wearing leggings of "dark blue cloth, extending to the knee, and tied at the top with a gaudy garter of worsted work, and having a broad stripe of heavy bead or silk work running down to the outer seam."<sup>17</sup> In 1854 P.F. Tytler elaborated on the costume of the Metis who, "restrained by no Parisian code of fashion,"

dress in light blue cloth capotes [sic] fastened around the waist with bright scarlet or particoloured worsted sashes. Very broad and conspicuous belts of the same colour, ornamented sometimes with white beads, across their breasts and backs, to which they append powder horns and shot pouches. Leggings [sic] of variously coloured clothes, all more or less ornamented by the

women, with beads on silk thread according to taste, cloth their legs. Moccassins [sic], garnished with porcupine quills, dyed red, blue, and yellow, defend their feet, and nightcaps, on nature's own covering, all of which are covered profusely with tinsel hat-cords, gold and silver tassels, ribbons of every hue in the rainbow.... (18)

The wearing of the red sash, known as the Assumption belt<sup>19</sup> after the Quebec town in which they were made, was yet another tradition derived from the dress of the voyageur. The Metis also wore a wide variety of hats of all shapes, sizes, and materials: the fashionable top hats mentioned before, fur caps, broad-rimmed felt hats, and cloth foraging caps with peaks.

The clothing of Metis women, though not as remarkable or as colourful as that of the men was, according to the Earl of Southesk, "picturesque about the headdress, which is sometimes a dark shawl, or blanket worn as a hood, sometimes a crimson or yellow silk handkerchief."<sup>20</sup> The shawls worn by younger women were often more brightly coloured than those of the older females. Their stayless and shapeless<sup>21</sup> dresses consisted of blue and white cotton gowns, and on special occasions they might wear brightly coloured skirts, which revealed richly embroidered leggings that had been beautifully worked in beads, silk, and moose hair with<sup>22</sup> flowery patterns.

Although these general descriptions of typical Metis clothing say little about regional variations, they do point to the common elements of fur trade and Metis apparel in the

North West. In fact, as late as the 1870s, Metis of the St. Albert district, north west of Edmonton, were still wearing clothing of this type. Victoria Callihoo has written that

Our clothing was from cloth brought by the H.B. Co. We had large overcoats from Buffalo skins, and outer leggings were made from H.B. Co. blankets. These leggings reached up to the waist. A buckskin string was tied to one's belt. Women...like the men...wrapped their feet with an oblong piece of flannel. Women wore leggings. They were worn below the knee. They were made of black velvet and were beaded on one side, the outside of the leg. When we women did outside work, or made trips in winter, we wrapped our knees with flannelette. Women had no coats, but wore shawls. (23)

Even Indian clothing was much affected by fur trade goods. By 1840 or 1850, it is agreed, manufactured fabrics had generally replaced fur and buckskin in native costumes. Capots, or blanket coats, took the place of skin coats, and blankets and stroud cloth were often trimmed with cut  
24  
edges. The peaked hoods of these Indian capots were ornamented with long tassels, bells, or feathers, and the capots were frequently secured with a finger-woven sash that  
25  
provided pockets in which small objects could be carried.

Despite the tendency of observers to homogenize Metis and Indian clothing styles, some regional differences are discernible. When the Earl of Southesk travelled through the Rocky Mountains in 1859-60, he met a group of Iroquois Metis attached to Jasper House and noted that

these hunters are fine looking men; dressed either in the usual fringed leather hunting shirts, or in blue cloth capots. Their caps are of blue cloth, small, with a leather shade, and covered with streamers of

ribbons, chiefly black, blue and red. (26)

The preference for fringed leather shirts had much to do with the dense woods of the area, which took a heavy toll of cloth shirts. In addition, the dark blue cloth caps were known as "Saskatchewan caps," suggesting they were a regional affectation.<sup>27</sup> (Indeed, these clothing descriptions correspond remarkably well to the apparel of the men in Horetzky's 1872 photographs of Jasper House.) Southesk also noted that the moccasins of the Saskatchewan District were slightly different from those of Red River. For example, the instep was usually covered with embroidery of beads of dyed horse hair. In Red River, the same part of the moccasin was much larger and placed much lower on the foot. Saskatchewan District moccasin toes were also more pointed<sup>28</sup> and the ankle covering much higher.

It seems clear that home manufacture of clothing was common practice among the local Metis and Indians when Jasper House was first established. In 1817 Ross Cox declared that the Metis women of the eastern slopes were expert seamstresses, who made coats, trousers, vests, gowns, shirts, and shoes.<sup>29</sup> This observation is borne out by the absence of finished clothing in the outfits of the late 1820s and early 1830s (see appendix D). Only post masters and a few servants were able to afford manufactured clothing. Michel Klyne, for example, ordered a cloth surtout coat, an English vest, and men's bound shoes.

Similarly, Antoine Auger, at first a mid-man (or milieu, a voyageur term corresponding to the position one occupied in a canoe) for the Company at Jasper House and later a freemen in the same area, ordered cloth trousers, a Valentin vest, Canadian pumps, corduroy trousers, a Swandown vest, Louisel hat-cords, and a silk hat cover in 1828 and 1829 (see appendix D).

By the 1860s, however, a definite shift to manufactured goods had occurred among post clientele. The extant inventories not only list many more manufactured articles than were available three decades before, but a great variety of such articles as well (see appendix D). Presumably the homogeneity that had prevailed among home-made clothing preferences now extended to manufactured articles.

#### Beadwork and Other Decorative Work

Elaborate ornamentation was a distinguishing feature of clothing among the Metis, who were known as the "flower  
<sup>30</sup>  
 beadwork people." While beadwork had long been a tradition among Algonkian Indian groups, floral beadwork was a distinctively Metis innovation. Metis women kept alive their native heritage of costume decoration, using shells, seeds, and quills to adorn clothing adapted from European styles, but in a way that resulted in more tailored garments



31

than those worn by natives. According to Brasser, this unique patterning was developed from experimentation among the Red River Metis:

In quillwork, beads and silk embroidery, a decorative art style emerged that made use of a larger number of small design elements in a wide variety of colours. In the early stages, that is, up to the 1840s, rigidly geometric design elements of aboriginal origin predominated, but a floral style became increasingly popular thereafter. (32)

This new floral style was the product of Roman Catholic missions and schools which encouraged Metis and Indian girls to do beadwork and embroidery and which introduced new designs to them. <sup>33</sup> Whether the agents of diffusion of the floral pattern were Metis traders, <sup>34</sup> or the missionaries who came to teach across Western and Northern Canada, <sup>35</sup> it had reached the Metis of the Jasper district by the mid-nineteenth century. While in the mountains, the Earl of Southesk noted that

the embroidery of men['s] moccasins with flower patterns is not to be commended, it has a tawdry, effeminate appearance; but, indeed, I have seldom seen any bead embroidery of good taste, except among pure Indians, who, for such works prefer geometric devices to imitation of natural objects. (36)

Brasser has concluded that this obvious distinction arose from the fact that Metis art was strictly decorative and market-oriented, while Indian designs were primarily symbolic in inspiration. <sup>37</sup>

Silk embroidery and ribbon appliqué work were also common decorative techniques among the Jasper House Metis.

Ribbon appliqué appears to have originated with the Huron and Iroquois in the early sixteenth century as a method of<sup>38</sup> decorating blankets. This type of work was used by Jasper House Metis to enhance all manner of clothing and accessories and was even used to decorate gun covers, such as the one presented to the Earl of Southesk by an Iroquois Metis woman of Jasper House. That particular item was made of moose leather, "ornamented with fringes and narrow braiding of red and black cloth, after the picturesque<sup>39</sup> fashion of the country." This tradition continued well into the twentieth century, and when Mary Schaffer came through the upper Athabasca Valley in 1908 she purchased a number of richly embroidered and beaded clothing articles from Suzanne Chalifoux, the Metis wife of Lewis Swift, who had

quantities of silk embroidery on the softest buckskin I have ever seen. Her silks she dyed herself, and her patterns were of her own designing....Gloves, moccasins and beautiful coats. (40)

Seven years later, Mrs. A. B. Arends, an early Jasper resident, recorded that Mrs. Swift was still practising this traditional craft. She

delighted us with her beautiful beadwork. She made slippers, gloves, jackets and vests out of animal hides, and worked out designs for beading these garments that were fantastic....(41)

### Trade Beads

While the type of beads available at Jasper House is not well documented, there is evidence to suggest some change in bead preference over time (see Table 5).

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Table 5: Beads Likely Available at Jasper House

1820s & 1830s*	1850s & 1860s
China beads	Coloured Seed beads
Fine necklace beads	Cut necklace beads
Cut glass beads	Cut glass white beads
Com: blue beads	Yellow & steel coloured metal
White enamelled beads	bands
Agate beads	White enamelled beads
Com: round beads	Amber cut beads
	Cut glass crystal beads

\*Note: information for the 1820s and 1830s is derived from Fort Assiniboine records.

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Archaeological evidence from Saskatchewan District posts in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century suggests considerable uniformity in bead types. There was a preponderance of small beads of drawn tubing, known as embroidery beads,<sup>42</sup> with a concentration of blue and white beads.<sup>43</sup> The China beads that were probably available at Jasper in the 1830s were often found west of the mountains, but were virtually absent from Fort George and other Alberta

sites that have been investigated.<sup>44</sup> The significance of this is not apparent.

#### Buttons, Earrings, Brooches, Rings, and Bells

Buttons were common trade articles used both for decorative and fastening purposes (see figure 24). One study of Indian trade goods has noted that

the most popular type of brass button which was distributed far and wide among the plains, mountain and coastal Indians was the thin, flat brass button, in varying sizes from the large coat buttons to the small sleeve, and waist coat fasteners. When issued, these were usually gilt and presented a very flashy appearance and...were used almost entirely for ornaments by the Indians, unless attached to garments traded or sold to the tribesmen. (45)

Brass buttons were also almost invariably found on the blue capots worn by the Metis. At Jasper House, two button types are listed in the surviving inventories: gilt plated vest buttons and metal coat buttons (see appendix D).

Silver trade goods were also common in the North West, and had been used by the North West Company from its founding. There is also evidence to suggest that silver became a popular item in the trade of the Hudson's Bay Company. The first reference to trade silver being imported by the Hudson's Bay Company was in 1790, when 100 pair of silver earrings were shipped to Albany and 50 pair to Eastmain.<sup>46</sup> Demand for such items increased rapidly after the turn of the nineteenth century, and subsequently trade

silver could be found at any fur trade post along the  
<sup>47</sup>  
 Saskatchewan River.

At Fort George, on the North Saskatchewan, a number of silver brooches in a wide variety of styles have been found during archaeological investigations. These are typical of  
<sup>48</sup>  
 Iroquois brooches from the eastern part of North America. Brass or copper rings, and silver earrings, were also found at the site.

Brass finger rings were probably available at Jasper House during the 1830s, and by the late 1850s "yellow metal finger rings", "mosaic gold finger rings," and glass drop earrings could have been obtained there. The only mention of brooches at Jasper referred to six stone and gilt brooches ordered by an engagé, Antoine Auger, in 1829.

Hawk bells have been found at many Saskatchewan District fur trade sites, and it has been speculated that  
<sup>49</sup>  
 these were used as garment ornaments. James Howard, an expert on Ojibway culture, has noted that such bells were often used as ornaments on the peaked hoods of the capots of  
<sup>50</sup>  
 both Ojibway and Metis. Bells were, however, also hung on dogs and horses, suggesting a use other than ornamentation. In fact, the Earl of Southesk commented after seeing a Jasper Metis woman riding a mare with two bells around its neck, that these were "not mere ornaments, but are meant to  
<sup>51</sup>  
 scare away wolves, and very generally did so." This would

account for the large number of hawk bells found in the inventories of the 1820s and 1830s, when Jasper House was still an important transportation depot with hundreds of horses, and the decided lack of bells after 1857, when the post's role as a depot had ceased.

#### Subsistence/Hunting

Jasper House was a difficult post to provision because of the absence of large numbers of game animals in the area. The post master brought in dried provisions for trade purposes, as well as for consumption by residents of the post and by the annual brigades. Subsistence was rendered even more difficult by the fact that Jasper had a poor fishery and no garden. In 1850, when Colin Fraser requested a transfer to a post where provisioning was not such a problem, he complained "I several times tried to grow turnips here but could never succeed and our fishing lake is not sufficient to be depended on...."<sup>52</sup> Although the fishery was never adequate to the needs of the post, nets and fish line were nonetheless regularly sent up with the Jasper House outfits.

Unlike many Saskatchewan District posts, Jasper House also had no domestic animals that could be used as food. The post had many horses, but these were vital to the Company's transportation system and were only used as a source of meat in times of starvation. Wild game thus took

on added significance, and Jasper residents tended to survive or starve in direct relation to the success of the post hunters. Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, who stayed briefly at the post in 1846, provided an indication of local meat consumption. Due to the large number of people present (54 persons), Colin Fraser moved the camp to the nearby lake to take advantage of the fishery, poor and unreliable though it may have been. During a 26-day period at this location, Father De Smet recorded that the residents consumed 12 moose, two reindeer, 30 large mountain sheep (bighorn), two porcupines, 210 hares, one beaver, two muskrats, 24 bustards, 115 ducks, 21 pheasants, one snipe, one eagle, one owl, 30-50 whitefish daily, and 20 trout.<sup>53</sup>

To supplement and break the monotony of a diet consisting almost wholly of meat, a number of spices and luxury items were imported during the entire time the post was open. These items included tea, pimento, chocolate, pepper, salt, mustard, and sugar. Tea was not only a customary ration of Hudson's Bay Company employees, it was also a popular trade item. It was especially popular among the Metis, who consumed it in large quantities. At one winter camp, tea consumption averaged over 19 kilos (42 pounds) per head.<sup>54</sup>

Tea had become popular in Great Britain during the last half of the seventeenth century, and began to show up in fur

trade inventories by the mid-eighteenth century. By 1747 James Isham had brought at least some tea to Hudson Bay and, eight years later, Lawrence Ermatinger was sending Hyson tea to Michilimackinac.<sup>55</sup> It was in the nineteenth century, however, that tea came into its own as a trade item. In 1831 the Hudson's Bay Company ordered 30 chests (1145.4 kilograms) of Congou tea, 20 chests (581.8 kilograms) of Hyson tea, and eight chests (254.5 kilograms) of Souchong tea. By 1850 the Northern Department alone was importing<sup>56</sup> more than three times this amount.

Tea is listed as a trade item at Jasper House in the earliest records available for the area. Imported were Hyson tea (a Chinese green tea), Congou (a general term for all Chinese black teas), and Souchong (large leaf black tea from south China, picked before the Congou tea crop). It came loosely packed in thin, paper-lined lead foil boxes which fit, in turn, into boxes of thin wood with ornamented labels. When the lead boxes were filled, a sheet of lead was soldered on top and the wood covering fastened over the whole. The lead lining was a very hard alloy often used for type lead and gun shot.<sup>57</sup>

#### Trade Guns

When Jasper House was erected in 1813, the standard trade gun of both the North West and Hudson's Bay companies was a



full-stock, English flintlock known as the "Northwest Gun." This standardized firearm had first appeared in the late eighteenth century, in response to demands by Indian consumers for an inexpensive gun that would stand up to the rigors of the wilderness, where a broken part might mean the disablement of the piece for as much as a year.<sup>58</sup> To satisfy their native customers, Montreal merchants beseeched English gunsmiths for the lightest, cheapest type of serviceable hunting musket that could be produced.<sup>59</sup> Once the Northwest Gun standard had been adopted, the firearm underwent almost no change over the years it was in common use.<sup>60</sup>

The Northwest Gun did not take its name from the fur trade company that first introduced it to the frontier. Rather, the name appears to have been a reference to its commercial destination.<sup>61</sup> It was also known as the Indian Gun, the Hudson Bay Fluke, and the Mackinaw Gun. This was the firearm always used in the Jasper House area. When David Thompson crossed the mountains by way of the Athabasca Pass in 1811, his trade goods included eight "NW Guns,"<sup>62</sup> valued at 16 beaver apiece.

Before the amalgamation of the North West and Hudson's Bay companies in 1821, the English gun manufacturers who supplied the Montreal merchants were largely Birmingham firms (chiefly Barnett), while the London firm of Wilson was the main supplier to the Hudson's Bay Company. After the

union, the Hudson's Bay Company ordered its guns from both firms.<sup>63</sup> Their products were almost identical, so much so, in fact, that contracts for Northwest Guns were no more specific than to require that the requested guns were "equal to Barnett's" or "in all respects to be of good quality for the trade." The only distinguishing feature was the length of the barrel.<sup>64</sup> By 1821, the standard lengths were 30 inches (762 mm), 42 inches (1067 mm), and 63 inches (1600 mm).<sup>65</sup> The two shorter firearms dominated the Jasper House market.

Charles E. Hanson has ably described the salient features of the Northwest Gun.<sup>66</sup> The lock had a convex outer surface that followed the general outline of British sporting flintlocks, as prescribed by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1683. The side plates sported a distinguishing dragon or sea serpent emblem. This plate was not engraved, but rather cheaply cast in relief design in iron moulds. Another characteristic mark of these guns was the extra large trigger guards needed to permit a mittened hand to pull the trigger. The unrifled barrel was octagonal for the first 18 mm or so, then became sixteen-sided before terminating in two or three circular ridges. About 7.6 mm farther up, another pair of circular ridges were turned on the barrel, with the remaining extent being round and quite thin. Other notable features included a standard caliber of

about .60, a full stock, a squared butt with flat brass plate, and ribbed brass ram guides.

Northwest Guns had their own characteristic marks. Those ordered by the North West Company had a sitting fox-like animal facing right and enclosed by a circle was stamped on the lock plate below the pan and often on top of the barrel near the breach. Around the time of the 1821 union, the Hudson's Bay Company adopted another fox motif, commonly called the tombstone fox because it appears in relief within an indented rectangular cachet shaped like a plain grave marker. This sitting fox faces left and has an upstanding tail. Beneath it are the letters "E.B.," in all likelihood the viewer's mark or inspection mark. The usual placement of this mark was on the lock, just in front of the cock. In later guns, it was found upon the flats of the barrel.<sup>67</sup>

Northwest Guns were standard issue until 1860, after which they slowly declined in popularity. Despite the introduction of percussion firearms to the trade in 1861, the Northwest flintlock remained the weapon of choice among the Hudson's Bay Company's northern and western customers for years because of its reliability and simplicity. In fact, single-barrelled fusils were still being used in remote parts of Canada in the early twentieth century.<sup>68</sup>

Almost all references to trade guns at Jasper House specify "Indian" or "Northwest" guns of three-foot (914 mm)

and three and a half foot (1067 mm) lengths. Also listed as gun accessories and ammunition were wire gun worms, low India ball shot, B.B. patent ball shot, black gunflints, kegs of gunpowder, and powder horns. The only guns not of the Northwest type were referred to as fine steel mounted single and double barrel guns. These turn up in quantities of one or two, and were in all probability not trade guns at all, but rather special firearms intended for Company employees of means. As S.J. Gooding has pointed out, arms associated with the Hudson's Bay Company can be conveniently divided into two classes -- firearms for employee use and<sup>69</sup> firearms made especially for trade purposes. By the late 1850s small numbers of percussion caps also began to turn up in the Jasper House inventories, indicative of the slow shift to percussion firearms that was occurring throughout the North West.

#### Axes, Knives, and Dags

Axes were important in clearing trails, in building rough shelters, in hunting, and in warfare. At Jasper House, axes were recorded as small, half, and large round head types. In all probability, these were the "French" trade axe preferred by French-Canadian trappers, a type also known as a staple of the Indian trade. Their common sizes were one pound (454 g) hatchets, two and a half pound (1135 g)

half axes, and five pound (2270 g) axes.<sup>70</sup> In 1811, David Thompson reported the three half axes in his possession as<sup>71</sup> being worth four beaver pelts each.

Despite the British manufacture of many of these axes, and their sale to Indians through the Hudson's Bay Company, they are commonly designated "French trade axes," a name that pertains to a style rather than national origin (see figure 25).<sup>72</sup> In its choice of trade axes, the Hudson's Bay Company had been much swayed by the popularity of the "French" axe and, in 1763, specified that its axes were to be "such as are usually sent from thence [Biscay] for France<sup>73</sup> to serve the Indians in and about Cannada."

From available records, it seems that even the larger felling axes destined for the Indian trade were mounted upon short helvies and were almost always referred to as hatchets, implying that they were wielded with one hand. Over time, however, the trend was toward a practical, lighter belt axe<sup>74</sup> of the "French" style.

Knives, no less than firearms, were essential to the Metis and freemen beaver hunters of the Jasper House locale, and were hardly less valued by the local Indians. They were used not only in defense, but for skinning animals, building canoes, eating, and so forth. The most common knives at Jasper House were scalping knives and dags.

The scalper was ubiquitous. While the name implies a

highly specialized knife, it was actually nothing more than a poor quality butcher knife (see figure 26). As Russell has written, "ordinary cheap butcher knives[,] dubbed scalping knives, were shipped by the hundreds of thousands from England's cutlery works, and after 1830, from American<sup>75</sup> knife factories to western trading posts...." The Indian used his scalping knife for almost any purpose other than scalping. When not in use, it was often carried in a sheath attached to a belt.

Other common trade knives at Jasper were seven and nine inch (177.8 and 228.6 mm) daggers, known as dags (see figure 27). These short-blade stabbers were in great demand by the northern mountain Indians. They were generally English products distributed through the North West and Hudson's Bay companies, and represented the survival of a medieval knife form. Some authorities have speculated that dags were popular with Indians because their basic form was so close<sup>76</sup> to that aboriginal knife of flint or obsidian.

Ordinarily, these blades were traded just as they came from the manufacturer, with the handles fashioned by the Indian or Metis purchaser. Most Indians who carried dags drilled a hole through the handle in order to attach a wrist-cord. Essentially, the dag was a fighting knife which the northern Indian would keep at hand. Contemporary observers noted that dags commonly dangled from the warrior's left wrist, which was concealed by a buffalo robe

or blanket.<sup>77</sup> Certainly George Simpson, going down the Columbia in 1824, was impressed by the dags "which hung by a thong to the wrist of nearly every male."<sup>78</sup>

Clasp knives were also commonly listed in the Jasper House inventories of the 1860s. Regardless of their national origin, these knives had in common a single folding blade controlled by a spring (see figure 28). Often there were protruding catches over the tangs of these blades that engaged the spring and insured that the blade remained open in use. The French clasp knife, often referred to as the Spanish type, almost always had a one-piece horn handle with no lining. The name of the French manufacturer was usually stamped on the blade. On the other hand, the handle on a typical English clasp knife was lined. Those recovered at Michilimackinac had "Alla fold" marked on the blade.<sup>79</sup>

Crooked, or curved, knives were also traded at Jasper House (see figure 29). These were important in carving wood and building canoes. With a crooked knife and an axe, Indians and Metis could produce canoes, paddles, axe and adze handles, spoons, bowls, snowshoe frames, and other necessary articles.

Other knives listed in the Jasper House inventories, but not identified, were Yew and Roach handled knives and Cartouche knives.

### Traps

Few beaver traps are listed in Jasper House inventories, even though the area was a prime beaver locale (figure 30). Beaver trap chains and springs do turn up with more frequency, as does castoreum, the bait used in beaver traps. There is also abundant evidence that great quantities of beaver pelts were secured by Indian and white trappers without the benefit of beaver traps. The essential tools for this old style winter beaver hunt were ice chisels, axes, and a strong net (all regularly available at Jasper House).

Hunters located beaver burrows along the shores of a beaver pond and then, with axe and chisel, cut through the ice above the mouth of the burrow, making an opening large enough to permit passage of a beaver's body. The net was pushed into this hole and spread over the muddy bottom below the entrance. The hunters would then begin to destroy the beaver house with axe and hatchet, causing the panicked beaver to flee over the waiting net. The hunter placed at that door of the house would snatch the net upwards, pulling the animal onto the ice, where it could be killed with a club.

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### Transportation

The role of Jasper House in the transportation networks of



both the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company was significant. There horses were pastured for use on the portage through the Athabasca Pass, and were exchanged for canoes for the passage downstream to Fort Assiniboine and, eventually, Fort Edmonton. Unfortunately, surviving inventories provide few clues about the artifacts associated with this function. There are isolated entries regarding single rein bridles, but paradoxically all date from the period in which Jasper's role as a transportation depot was ended. There are also references to the hawk bells which, as mentioned earlier, were used to discourage wolf attacks.

Post journals provide only a marginally better notion of those artifacts associated with transportation at the depot. There are references to building dog sleighs, canoes, and snowshoes. All these activities would have necessitated iron awls or needles to string the strips of rawhide, usually deerskin, on the wooden frames. Indian awls were, in fact, heavily represented in trade inventories of the day (see Household Goods section). Related to the building of canoes were the crooked knives already discussed.

Journal entries also refer to the collection of bark, which would have been used to construct canoes, although no elaboration of this process has been found.

Architectural and Construction Items

While the tools used in the building and repair of Jasper House between 1830 and 1860 have been considered in the structural history section of this report, a number of points should be clarified. The numerous building tools at Jasper House in 1856 were not trade items, and most do not recur in the other inventories of Jasper House or Fort Assiniboine. In addition to tools, wood screws and squares of window glass were listed, although nails and hinges are conspicuously absent. The latter were available at Fort Edmonton throughout the period in question, however, and nails were found at all fur trade sites that have been excavated along the North Saskatchewan River. From this evidence, it is reasonable to conclude that nails and hinges were also in use at Jasper House throughout the period, even though not specifically mentioned in the one extant inventory.

Those building tools used as trade goods at Jasper House included bastard files, hand saws, and possibly augers. Axes and ice chisels have already been discussed as they pertained to hunting beaver, but these and other cutting tools were equally crucial to the construction of Metis structures in the area.

The numerous files found in Jasper House inventories were undoubtedly used to sharpen axes, knives and saws.

It is also known that Indians frequently fashioned custom-made knives from files.<sup>81</sup>

### Household Goods

Some idea of the basic household goods of a small fur trading post can be gleaned from Robert Clouston's description of the Pembina post in 1846. In addition to a short bedstead, its furniture consisted of

two tables, one covered with coarse blue cloth -- a writing desk and appurtenances, a tabo. box, pipe, fire steel, martin-skin cap and beaverskin mittens, thereon: three 4-legged stools, a travelling case and basket -- an old packing case with hinges on it for a cassette and a pile of firewood....An old guncase containing books, paper, a dressing-case, shoe brush, and a piece of soap far gone in a decline -- hangs over the covered table: a shelf above the door supports a candlestick, a tin dish with some cold steaks, mixed with lumps of clay from the walls, some plates, a tin tea pot, a broken glass used as a salt cellar, and a bottle of mustard: along the wall are suspended a slate, a looking glass, a pair of white leggins....(82)

Household goods at Jasper House also reflected the presence of the master's family. J.E. Brazeau's private indents for 1851 included a reference to a children's spelling book. The kitchen was stacked with tin pots, copper and tin kettles, dinner knives and forks, as well as dessert knives and forks, earthenware basins and saucers and tin porringers. The kettles and pots also served as trade items.

The previous references to embroidery and leatherworking lead one to the conclusion that some fine

sewing tools were in evidence at Jasper House. In fact, Jasper inventories regularly listed (as trade goods) assorted needles, sewing threads (glovers, Brown thread, W.C. and B.C.), scissors, and brass thimbles. Because rawhide, dressed skins, gut and bark entered into some much of the trapper's daily routine, it was frequently necessary to sew, lace, and bind with sinew or rawhide thongs. To facilitate threading the needle through such tough materials, awls were used first. By the late eighteenth century, all trading companies were in the habit of supplying awls that were offset in the middle (see figure 31).<sup>83</sup>

The Jasper House fur trader and his family were not without imported hygienic supplies. Regular soap (brown and Windsor), as well as shaving soap, were regularly listed in small quantities, as were razors, looking glasses, and horn and ivory combs.

Fire steels were an essential article of both everyday life and the trade. Traders, as well as the Indians and Metis, made fire with flint and steel, which were usually carried in a small bag. A sharp blow with the conveniently-shaped steel upon a piece of flint produced sufficient spark to ignite a small bed of "punk" (fine fibers of wood). The tiny, smouldering fire was coaxed into a big flame by gentle blowing, and kindling was then added to build up the

fire even more. Through crude and troublesome, this method was a vast improvement over the fireplow and firedrill used previously by the Indians.<sup>84</sup> An ordinary fire steel was about 76 mm (three inches) long, with an opening big enough to admit three fingers when gripped for striking.

Principal trading establishments were supplied with assorted medicine chests, containing instruction books and lancets. Smaller outposts such as Jasper House were sent only an assortment of simple medicines, and each clerk was expected to know how to bleed a patient. This, and various salts, castor-oil, apodeldoc, friar's balsam, and phebolomy, enabled most post servants to preserve their good health and to attend to most common accidents.<sup>85</sup>

Most of these medicines are listed in the inventories of Jasper House of the 1860s, which also contain references to Turlington's balsam, Essence of Peppermint, Peppermint lozenges, spirits of hartshorn, castor-oil, Basilicon ointment, calamine ointment, adhesive plasters. blister plasters, purges and vomits. Many of these came in small glass bottles, which have been found regularly at Saskatchewan District post sites. Small glass vials were also sent to Jasper House, ostensibly for mixing purposes.

#### Personal/Leisure

Tobacco was not only an important trade item; it was also

intimately linked to leisure in the fur trade. Paul Kane, describing life in winter at Fort Edmonton in 1846, said that "evenings were spent round their large fires in eternal gossiping and smoking."<sup>86</sup> A "pipe" of tobacco also served the voyageur as the standard measure of the interval of respite from paddling the canoe. Once every hour, paddling would cease and each man was allowed to light his pipe. Smoking thus came to be associated with rest and leisure, and a beaded tobacco pouch and clay pipe were a fur trader's constant companions.

Among the Indians of North America, the use of tobacco was originally related to ceremonial and ritual functions, but pipe smoking as a pastime was soon adopted from the Europeans.<sup>87</sup> Despite the fact that tobacco was grown in North America before Europeans discovered it, all trade tobacco was imported. As early as 1684, Brazil tobacco was the preferred type. It was twisted into the form of a rope of more than 50 mm in diameter, and then wound into a large roll from which lengths were measured off for trade with Indians. The usual trade tariff was one foot (305 mm) of Spencer's twist for one beaver, but large amounts of tobacco were also given to the Indians as presents.<sup>88</sup> Carrot (plug) and twist (locally referred to as niggerhead) tobacco were universally preferred to leaf tobacco. Jasper House inventories list Canadian twist, negrohead, and flat plug tobaccos. Some traders, such as Michel Klyne, also imported

Japanese tobacco boxes in which to store their tobacco.

Tobacco was generally smoked in clay pipes imported as both trade goods and as the personal property of traders. According to Adrian Oswald,

pipes were made in two piece molds. The earliest known molds are of brass and belong to the seventeenth century. The clay is rolled into blanks to shape. These are dextrously threaded by wire pieces down the stem, placed in the mold which is clamped in the press. The handle of the press is pulled down and a stopper enters the mold forming the bowl of the pipe. This is now cut and trimmed, the pipes are packed in soggers and fired, many gross at a time at one operation. (89)

Although pipe fragments are a very common artifact in most historic archaeological sites in North America and have been subjected to many studies, those from Saskatchewan sites are so fragmentary as to render them incapable of analysis.<sup>90</sup>

Fragments from Fort George (c. 1792-1800), for example, belong to a relatively short-stemmed molded pipe with the bowl set off at a slightly obtuse angle to the stem. These pipes had a small cylindrical spur or foot projecting from the bottom of the bowl. One the back of the bowl were the letters "T.D.," encircled by a more or less round rope-like cartouche or wreath. "T.D." also appears on the spur of one of the two measured examples from Fort George. These initials were perhaps the mark of the manufacturer (possibly Thomas Dormer of London), but there is evidence that "T.D." may also have been merely a generic trademark for all trade clay pipes.<sup>91</sup>

At Rocky Mountain House (1794-1864), clay pipe bowl specimens are distinct from those recovered from other forts of the same era. The "T.D." clay pipes at Rocky Mountain House date from after 1800 but before 1850, when bowls came increasingly to look like those of modern briar pipes. All are attributed to the period of Hudson's Bay Company occupation. Both heel-less pipes and pipes with a heel spur<sup>92</sup> have been found (see figure 32).

Correspondence was an important activity in remote fur trading establishments, and Jasper House was no exception to this rule. Lead pencils, steel pens, black ink powder, foolscap books and paper were all regularly sent to this post, where they undoubtedly did service in both private and corporate matters.

Finally, a common leisure activity at all posts was drinking alcoholic beverages. Large quantities of rum and Madeira wine were regularly shipped to Jasper House in kegs. Rum was a common ration given to fur trade servants, and at times like Christmas and New Year's extra portions were doled out. Daniel Harmon, spending his first Christmas in the North West, noted that "this day being Christmas, our people have spent it as usual drinking and fighting."<sup>93</sup> Rum<sup>94</sup> was also most popular among the freemen of the place.



### Conclusion

Lacking more information about the way of life at Jasper House and the exact goods that were brought into the little post, it is difficult to make definitive statements about the material culture of the establishment during the nineteenth century.

All that seems clear is that although social position made some difference in the nature of the goods sought, it is the uniformity of purchases over time that is more remarkable. Even though the economic function of Jasper House changed greatly between 1827 and 1858, few differences are apparent in the nature of imported goods. This suggests that, however much the initial selection of goods may have been related to post function, practical concerns eventually gave way to customary practice. Thus, for example, hawk bells continued to be imported even though the important transportation role of the post had diminished beyond recognition. As was the case with racial/ethnic and structural distinctions, differences in local material culture tended to be less and less evident as the century wore on.

Appendix A

Selected Saskatchewan District Fur Returns, 1827-1874

## A-1: Reconstruction of Jasper House Fur Returns, 1827-1831

Traded From	Outfit 1827/8	Outfit 1829/30	Outfit 1830/1
Freemen & Iroquois	690 beaver 509 marten 11 dressed skins 1 mink 1 keg castoreum	129 lynx	379 beaver 2 marten 1 lynx
Assiniboine (or Stoney)	79 beaver 186 marten 14 dressed skins	5 beaver 260 marten 1 otter 6 lynx	236 beaver 30 marten 4 dressed skins
Shuswap	130 beaver 30 marten	90 beaver	80 beaver
<hr/>			
TOTAL	899 beaver 725 marten 25 dressed skins 1 mink 1 keg castoreum	135 lynx 95 beaver 260 marten 1 otter	695 beaver 32 marten 1 lynx 4 dressed skins

Source: HBCA, B94/a/1-3.

Note: During the years 1823 to 1825 the average number of beaver traded annually in the Saskatchewan, Lesser Slave Lake, Fort Assiniboine district was 7,063. In an attempt at conservation, the Council of the Northern Department decreed that the returns of Outfit 1826 were not to exceed 5,171 beaver.

- Minutes of Council, June 1826, p. 169.

## A-2: Fort Assiniboine Fur Returns, 1832 and 1836/7

	1832	1836/7
Large black bears	48	51
Cub black bears	20	34
Large brown bears	9	26
Cub brown bears	4	5
Large grizzly bears	8	7
Cub grizzly bears	4	--
Large beaver	328	548
Small beaver	290	304
Castoreum (pounds)	17	--
Fisher	8	29
Coating (pounds)	5/16	--
Cross Fox	1	1
Lynx	28	254
Marten	316	1136
Mink	4	12
Muskrat	1090	1057
Otter	27	58
Swans	65	36
Wolverine	11	8
Wolves	6	3
Large Elk Skins	238	--
Small Elk Skins	13	--
Large Moose Skins	--	389
Small Moose Skins	--	43
Large Parchments	8	--
Swan Quills	275	--
Pemmican (bags)	--	11

Sources: HBCA, B8/d/2 fo. 13 and HBCA B8/a/3 fo. 14.

## A-3: Jasper House Fur Returns, Outfit 1858

Black Bears	18
Brown Bears	6
Grey Bears	13
Beaver	352
Buffalo Skins	1
Fisher	3
Cross Fox	18
Red Fox	12
Silver Fox	6
Lynx	200
Marten	563
Moose Skin (dressed)	1
Mink	2
Otter	5
Wolverine	15

Source: HBCA B60/d/127

## A-4: Partial Saskatchewan District Fur Returns, Outfit 1860

	Jasper	Rocky Mtn. House (Saskatchewan R.)	Total District
Badgers	--	35	261
Black Bears	26	28	437
Brown Bears	2	19	118
Grey Bears	18	30	144
Large Beaver	331	136	3399
Small Beaver	105	164	2296
Beaver Coating (#)	--	--	--
Castoreum (#)	30	--	291
Fisher	--	7	241
Silver Fox	2	--	14
Cross Fox	2	2	43
Red Fox	--	13	296
Kit Fox	--	43	514
Lynx	62	114	696
Marten	359	29	2611
Mink	13	--	297
Muskrat	--	--	22071
Otter	8	--	128
Goose Quills	--	--	--
Swan Quills	--	--	--
Skunks	--	--	39
Swan Skins	--	3	30
Wolves	5	475	1514
Wolverines	20	9	192
Prime Buffalo Robes	--	428	2014
Common Buffalo Robes	--	--	67
Whole Dressed "	--	--	74
Large Moose	5	18	135
Small Moose	1	3	4

Source: HBCA B60/d/150

## A-5: Partial Saskatchewan District Fur Returns, Outfit 1861

	Jasper	Fort Assiniboine	Total District
Badgers	--	--	284
Black Bears	26	18	416
Brown Bears	3	8	82
Grey Bears	14	--	59
Large Beaver	258	559	4072
Small Beaver	239	218	2736
Beaver Coating (#)	--	--	--
Castoreum (#)	--	20	319
Fisher	--	--	237
Silver Fox	--	--	11
Cross Fox	3	1	61
Red Fox	--	--	322
Kit Fox	--	--	499
Lynx	3	2	182
Marten	152	71	1447
Mink	--	--	237
Muskrat	--	--	18313
Otter	6	4	116
Goose Quills	--	--	2
Swan Quills	--	--	--
Skunks	--	--	30
Swan Skins	--	--	24
Wolves	--	--	1172
Wolverines	23	2	113
Prime Buffalo Robes	--	--	2090
Common Buffalo Robes	--	--	30
Whole Dressed "	--	--	236
Large Moose	3	25	129
Small Moose	--	--	22

Source: HBCA B60/d/150

## A-6: Partial Saskatchewan District Fur Returns, Outfit 1862

	Jasper	Fort Assiniboine	Total District
Badgers	--	--	181
Black Bears	23	25	582
Brown Bears	8	11	131
Grey Bears	10	--	124
Large Beaver	290	242	4151
Small Beaver	279	308	2849
Beaver Coating (#)	--	--	--
Castoreum (#)	36	7	263
Fisher	2	--	244
Silver Fox	--	1	7
Cross Fox	2	--	29
Red Fox	1	--	236
Kit Fox	--	--	398
Lynx	15	--	131
Marten	642	213	3011
Mink	3	4	503
Muskrat	11	175	26753
Otter	7	10	132
Goose Quills	--	--	--
Swan Quills	--	--	--
Skunks	--	--	33
Swan Skins	--	--	15
Wolves	8	2	4274
Wolverines	19	2	137
Prime Buffalo Robes	--	--	5682
Common Buffalo Robes	--	--	472
Whole Dressed "	--	--	147
Large Moose	36	35	307
Small Moose	4	8	39
Deer Skins	31	--	N/A

Source: HBCA B60/d/150



## A-7: Partial Saskatchewan District Fur Returns, Outfit 1863

	Jasper	Total Saskatchewan District
Badgers	--	245
Black Bears	43	525
Brown Bears	8	108
Grey Bears	12	95
Large Beaver	484	5891
Small Beaver	456	4271
Beaver Coating (#)	--	--
Castoreum (#)	88	345
Fisher	2	319
Silver Fox	2	47
Cross Fox	--	324
Red Fox	1	622
Kit Fox	--	6
Lynx	17	168
Marten	1045	5508
Mink	3	892
Muskrat	--	16188
Otter	8	138
Goose Quills	--	22
Swan Quills	--	16
Skunks	--	--
Swan Skins	--	--
Wolves	--	1874
Wolverines	26	121
Prime Buffalo Robes	--	3688
Common Buffalo Robes	--	394
Whole Dressed "	--	--
Large Moose	16	--
Small Moose	3	N/A
Deer Skins	10	N/A

Source: HBCA B60/d/150

## A-8: Partial Saskatchewan District Fur Returns, Outfit 1864

	Jasper	Fort Assiniboine	Total District
Badgers	--	--	158
Black Bears	9	39	404
Brown Bears	--	11	138
Grey Bears	2	--	62
Large Beaver	166	654	6238
Small Beaver	122	142	4015
Beaver Coating (#)	--	15	N/A
Castoreum (#)	12	--	400
Fisher	--	--	261
Silver Fox	1	--	11
Cross Fox	4	--	45
Red Fox	2	--	441
Kit Fox	--	--	461
Lynx	25	16	981
Marten	930	141	6003
Mink	8	14	404
Muskrat	--	20	4986
Otter	3	10	204
Goose Quills	--	--	--
Swan Quills	--	--	--
Skunks	--	--	14
Swan Skins	--	--	15
Wolves	--	--	4459
Wolverines	15	1	123
Prime Buffalo Robes	2	--	N/A
Common Buffalo Robes	--	--	--
Whole Dressed "	--	--	--
Large Moose	51	53	N/A
Small Moose	6	--	N/A
Deer Skins	--	14	N/A

Source: HBCA B60/d/150

## A-9: Partial Saskatchewan District Fur Returns, Outfit 1865

	Jasper	Fort Assiniboine	Total District
Badgers (Prime)	--	--	133
Badgers (Common)	--	--	--
Black Bears (Prime)	26	23	532
Black Bears (Common)	--	--	1
Brown Bears (Prime)	--	5	82
Brown Bears (Common)	--	--	--
Grey Bears (Prime)	10	1	36
Grey Bears (Common)	--	--	--
Large Beaver	1058	589	7460
Small Beaver	519	315	4543
Castoreum (#)	65	30	385
Fisher	6	6	115
Silver Fox	5	--	23
Cross Fox	9	2	82
Red Fox	4	--	278
Kit Fox	--	--	474
Lynx	144	405	4184
Marten	828	118	2712
Mink	7	3	413
Muskrat	--	20	4716
Otter	1	16	187
Skunks	--	--	10
Swans	--	--	13
Wolves	--	1	1620
Wolverines	8	1	46
Large Moose	28	109	448
Small Moose	5	13	101
Deer Skins	--	5	104

Source: HBCA B60/d/150

## A-10: Partial Saskatchewan District Fur Returns, Outfit 1866

	Jasper	Fort Assiniboine	Total District
Badgers (Prime)	--	--	213
Badgers (Common)	--	--	--
Black Bears (Prime)	8	30	510
Black Bears (Common)	--	2	5
Brown Bears (Prime)	5	5	114
Brown Bears (Common)	--	--	--
Grey Bears (Prime)	7	--	83
Grey Bears (Common)	--	--	--
Large Beaver	950	592	7229
Small Beaver	134	100	3003
Castoreum (#)	52	14	311
Fisher	9	6	173
Silver Fox	4	--	68
Cross Fox	6	1	225
Red Fox	16	--	456
Kit Fox	--	--	508
Lynx	428	947	14755
Marten	722	141	1810
Mink	16	10	742
Muskrat	--	--	5913
Otter	6	17	231
Skunks	--	--	55
Swans	--	2	13
Wolves	4	7	1313
Wolverines	23	4	106
Large Moose	49	151	717
Small Moose	3	19	71
Deer Skins	17	13	119

Source: HBCA B60/d/150

## A-11: Partial Saskatchewan District Fur Returns, Outfit 1867

	Jasper	Fort Assiniboine	Total District
Badgers (Prime)	--	--	165
Badgers (Common)	--	--	--
Black Bears (Prime)	21	36	662
Black Bears (Common)	--	--	4
Brown Bears (Prime)	1	8	156
Brown Bears (Common)	--	--	--
Grey Bears (Prime)	4	--	98
Grey Bears (Common)	--	--	--
Large Beaver	1232	468	6914
Small Beaver	33	24	3183
Castoreum (#)	76	--	233
Fisher	6	10	505
Silver Fox	7	1	35
Cross Fox	11	8	189
Red Fox	14	4	748
Kit Fox	--	--	422
Lynx	181	634	11307
Marten	235	74	2011
Mink	2	21	2247
Muskrat	--	1	4826
Otter	11	5	258
Swans	3	--	14
Skunks	--	--	127
Wolves	4	7	3530
Wolverines	9	6	236
Large Moose	58	102	618
Small Moose	3	22	62
Deer Skins	1	--	61

Source: HBCA B60/d/150

## A-12: Partial Saskatchewan District Fur Returns, Outfit 1868

	Jasper	Fort Assiniboine	Total District
Badgers (Prime)	--	--	418
Badgers (Common)	--	--	--
Black Bears (Prime)	19	51	840
Black Bears (Common)	--	--	24
Brown Bears (Prime)	1	16	239
Brown Bears (Common)	--	--	4
Grey Bears (Prime)	10	2	179
Grey Bears (Common)	--	--	3
Large Beaver	1251	459	10375
Small Beaver	247	110	3915
Castoreum (#)	91	28	675
Fisher	3	7	411
Silver Fox	1	--	25
Cross Fox	8	--	90
Red Fox	5	1	358
Kit Fox	--	--	605
Lynx	137	142	4963
Marten	150	166	1321
Mink	--	5	859
Muskrat	--	10	7408
Otter	23	9	192
Skunks	--	--	216
Swans	--	--	16
Wolves	4	1	1518
Wolverines	21	6	277
Large Moose	85	108	555
Small Moose	9	23	62
Deer Skins	16	15	250

Source: HBCA B60/d/150

## A-13: Jasper House Fur Returns, Outfit 1874

Large Prime Black Bears	3
Large Prime Brown Bears	1
Large Prime Grey Bears	2
Large Prime Beaver	130
Small Prime Beaver	57
Prime Fisher	4
Prime Cross Foxes	5
Prime Silver Foxes	1
Common Silver Foxes	1
Prime Lynx	22
Common Lynx	2
Prime Marten	3
Prime Mink	4
Prime Muskrat	5
Prime Otter	4
Prime Wolverine	12
Prime Wolves	6
Large Dressed Mooseskins	31
Small Dressed Mooseskins	9
Large Reindeer Skins	9
Large Cabrie Skins	2
Babiche (#)	5
Sinews (#)	2

Total Value: \$1733.10

Source: Glenbow-Alberta Institute and Archives,  
M477, Richard Hardisty Papers, Box 4, Folder 118,  
Item 710.

## Appendix B

### Demographic Statistics



## B-1: Population of the Athabasca River District, 1805

	Men	Women	Children
White	37	12	15
Indian	55	38	66

Note: In this census, the Indian wives and Metis children are enumerated as whites.

Source: Elliot Coues (ed.) New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest, Volume I (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1897), p. 282.

## B-2: Indian Census: Edmonton District, 1822-23

	Tents	Men/Tent	Total
Edmonton House			
- Blood Indians	300	4	1200
- Piegan Indians	550	4	2000
- Fall Indians	450	4	1800
- Sarcee Indians	90	2	180
- Thickwood Indians	20	2	40
- Freeman			14
Mcleod's Post			
- Strongwood Assiniboine	60	1	60
- Strongwood Cree	10	2	20
Batoshes Old Fort			
- Strongwood Cree	)		
- Saulteaux	)	total of 60	
- Freeman	)		

Source: HBCA, B60/e/5, Edmonton District Report, 1822-3, fo. 4.

## B-3: Indian Census: Edmonton House, 1823-4

Tribe	Tents	Men/Tent	Total
Piegan	600	4	2400
Blackfoot	500	4	2000
Blood	400	4	1600
Fall	400	4	1600
Sarcee	90	2	180
Thickwood	30	2	60

Source: HBCA, B60/e/6, Edmonton District Report, 1823-4, fo. 3.

## B-4: Upper Athabasca Valley Population, 1873

	Men	Women	Children
Cree	561	547	1693
Stoney	210	230	540
Shuswap	17	14	40
Halfbreed	53	53	155
Metis	382	411	1361
White	27	7	7

Source: PAC, RG 10, Volume 3604, File 257.

## B-5: Jasper House Freeman, 1827-28

This list includes only those mentioned in the Jasper House Journal, 1827-8 HBCA B94/a/1). All spellings are as given in the journal.

Name	Duties
Loyer	fished and cared for horses
Jacqo	in charge of horses, winter of 1827-8
Laroque	unknown
Mr. Dease and family	unknown
Morrigeau	unknown
Edouard Berland	unknown
Begauchamp	unknown
Beauchamp	unknown (perhaps same as preceding)
Bidoux	unknown
Antoine Auger	unknown
Apisasis	post hunter
Jacques Cardinal	horse keeper (probably same as Jacqo above)
James Findley	unknown
Pinchinas Finley	unknown
Antoine Cardinal	unknown
Le Depui	unknown
Le From francois	unknown
Courtepatt	unknown

## B-6: Jasper House Freeman, 1829-30

This list includes only those mentioned in the Jasper House Journal, 1829-30 (HBCA, B94/a/2). All spellings are as given in the journal.

Name	Duties
Loyer	unknown
Pinchinas Finlay	unknown
Louis the Iroquois	unknown
Baptiste Berland	unknown
Dick Coulin	unknown
Laplante	unknown
Antoine Auger	unknown
Antoine Cardinal	unknown
Apissasis	unknown
James Finlay	unknown
Mr. Pambron and family	unknown
Little Jacquo	unknown

## B-7: Jasper House Freeman, 1830-1

This list includes only those mentioned in the Jasper House Journal, 1830-1 (HBCA, B94/a/3). All spellings are as given in the journal.

Name	Duties
Loyer	unknown
Antoine Cardinal	unknown
James Finlay	unknown
Dick Coulin	unknown
Morrigeau	unknown
Ignace the Iroquois	unknown
Francois Berland	unknown
Boy Bourdignion	unknown

## Appendix C

### Building Tools



## C-1: Building Tools: Saskatchewan District

## Building Tools in Use: Outfit 1826/7

6 carpenter's adzes  
 1 cooper's adze  
 22 shell augers  
 2 screw augers  
 1 broad axe  
 6 large square head axes  
 5 half round head axes  
 1 pick axe  
 2 braces and bits (carpenter)  
 2 braces and bits (blacksmith)  
 7 firmers chisels  
 2 turning chisels  
 3 hot and cold chisels  
 1 mortise chisel  
 12 assorted files  
 2 carpenter's gauges  
 4 spike gimlets  
 16 assorted gimlets  
 3 firmers gouges  
 2 grid tins  
 1 grind stone  
 6 tin swivels  
 11 pit saws  
 1 sash saw  
 4 tenon saws  
 2 turning saws  
 1 brass pounder  
 2 wall pieces  
 2 claw hammers  
 2 cinch hammers  
 1 coopers hammer  
 6 smith's hand hammers  
 3 smith's sledge hammers  
 68 assorted hinges  
 5 caulking irons  
 1 cinching iron  
 1 half square head axe  
 17 large round head axes  
 3 assorted bead planes  
 6 grooving planes  
 5 hand planes  
 5 jack planes  
 6 jointer planes  
 1 panel plane  
 3 philister planes

3 rabbet planes  
 2 sash planes  
 2 trying planes  
 2 screw plates with taps

Building Tools Supplied: Outfit 1826/7

1 shell auger  
 6 large round headed axes  
 240 half round headed axes  
 12 small round headed axes  
 240 small round headed axes  
 12 large square headed axes  
 1 dozen flat bastard files (6")  
 8 dozen flat bastard files (7")  
 13 dozen flat bastard files (8")  
 3 dozen flat bastard files (10")  
 3 dozen flat bastard files (9")  
 3/4 dozen flat bastard files (12")  
 2 round files (7")  
 3 flat smoothing files (10")  
 3 round smoothing files (10")  
 2 rasps  
 6 cross-cut saws  
 32 pit saws  
 3 tenon saws  
 1 claw hammer  
 a compass saw  
 a caulking iron  
 clinch nails  
 flat nails  
 spike nails  
 1 hand plane  
 1 tack plane  
 6 stem and stern plates and nails  
 1 grafting saw  
 2 quart squares  
 14 gallons tar

Source: HBCA, B60/d/21, Saskatchewan District Accounts,  
 1826/7

## C-2: Building Tools in Use, Saskatchewan District: 1829

7 carpenter's adzes  
3 cooper's adzes  
4 round adzes  
6 blacksmith anvils  
5 carpenter's broad awls  
6 canoe awls  
25 shell augers  
4 screw augers  
2 American axes  
a carpenter's broad axe  
18 large square head axes  
12 large round head axes  
13 half round head axes  
5 small round head axes  
1 pick or Matoc axe  
1 carpenter's brace and bits  
23 carpenter's assorted chisels  
3 pairs carpenter's compasses  
12 assorted files  
18 assorted small gimlets  
2 spike gimlets  
7 carpenter's gouges  
3 iron wall pieces  
3 carpenter's claw hammers  
5 clenching hammers  
9 smith's hand hammers  
4 sledge hammers  
6 pairs assorted hinges, large  
2 nail bores or stakes  
5 assorted bead planes  
8 pairs assorted grooving planes  
11 hand planes  
9 jack planes  
3 carpenter's jointers  
2 cooper's jointers  
2 OG [ogee] jointers  
3 panel jointers  
1 plough jointers  
3 rabbet jointers  
1 carpenter's 2 foot rule  
6 cross-cut saws  
3 cooper's frame saws  
7 hand saws  
4 pit saws (old)  
2 pit saws (good)  
1 sash saw  
4 tenon saws

4 turning saws  
2 saw-sets  
1 mason trowel

Source: HBCA, B60/d/30, Saskatchewan District Inventory,  
1829

## C-3: Inventory of Building Tools at Jasper House, 1856

flat bastard files (6", 8", 10")  
smooth files (6", 8")  
squares of window glass  
carpenter's foot adzes  
screw augers  
shell augers  
large square head axes  
braces and bits  
assorted firmers chisels  
assorted mortise chisels  
assorted socket chisels  
armourer's files  
flat bastard files (12", 14")  
round bastard files (12", 14")  
flat smooth files (8", 10")  
round smooth files (6", 10")  
assorted rasps  
rat tail rasps (8", 9")  
cross cut saws  
hand saws  
pit saws  
boxhead gimlets  
spike gimlets  
carpenter's claw hammers  
carpenter's clench hammers  
plane irons  
grooving planes  
hand planes  
jack planes  
jointer planes  
rabbet planes  
sash planes  
trying planes  
dovetail saws  
carpenter's frame saws  
grafting saws  
keyhole saws  
tenon saws  
assorted wood screws

Source: HBCA, B60/d/118, Saskatchewan District Inventory, 1856.

## C-4: Building Tools Inventory, Saskatchewan District, 1859

101 round head axes (half)  
 104 round head small axes  
 8 square head large axes  
 18 square head half axes  
 22 square head small axes  
 4 screw augers (1")  
 1 shell auger (1/2")  
 2 shell augers (7/8")  
 1 shell auger (1 1/2")  
 1 hand scribbing [scrubbing?] brush  
 1 white wash brush  
 1 marking brush  
 1/6 dozen cast steel firmers chisels (3/8")  
 7/12 dozen cast steel firmers chisels (1/2")  
 1/4 dozen cast steel firmers chisels (assorted)  
 7/12 dozen socket chisels (1/2")  
 1/12 dozen socket chisel (5/8")  
 1/4 dozen socket chisels (assorted)  
 1/4 dozen large brass locks cocks  
 1/6 dozen midge brass locks cocks  
 2 pair carpenters compasses  
 1/3 dozen armourer's files  
 3/4 dozen flat bastard files (12")  
 7/12 dozen flat bastard files (14")  
 1/2 dozen flat bastard files (8")  
 1/12 dozen flat bastard files (10")  
 1/12 dozen flat smoothing files (8")  
 1/2 dozen flat smoothing files (10")  
 1/4 dozen flat smoothing files (6")  
 1/4 dozen wood rasp 12" files  
 1/4 dozen wood rasp 8" files  
 2/3 dozen rat tail files (8")  
 1/4 dozen rat tail files (9")  
 1/2 dozen rat tail files (10")  
 2 - 3/4 dozen cross-cut saw files  
 1 - 5/6 dozen hand saw files  
 3/4 dozen tenon saw files  
 3 - 1/2 dozen boxhead gimbelts [gimlets?]  
 1/3 dozen spike gimbelts [gimlets?]  
 6 dozen hinges, 2 1/2" iron butt  
 1/4 dozen hinges, 3" iron butt  
 2/3 dozen hinges, 4" iron butt  
 1 1/2 C flat bore iron (1 1/2" x 5/16")  
 1 1/2 C flat bore iron (1 5/8" x 1/4")  
 1 keg patent cut nails (3 1/2")  
 1/3 keg 12 dy fine drawn nails  
 1/3 keg 13 dy fine drawn nails

2/3 keg 20 dy fine drawn nails  
2/3 keg 30 dy flat point nails  
1 keg 14 dy fine nose nails  
1/3 keg 18 dy fine nose nails  
2/3 keg 20 dy fine nose nails  
2 1/2 kegs assorted boat nails  
8 \_\_\_\_\_ [?] red ochre  
2 gallons L. [inseed?] oil  
1/8 c. brown paint  
42/112 c. white paint  
14/112 c. yellow paint  
14/112 c. green paint  
6 kegs pitch  
1 grooving plane (2")  
1 double iron hand plane  
1 \_\_\_\_\_ [?] philister plane  
1 plough plane  
1 rabbet plane  
54 \_\_\_\_\_ [?] prepared putty  
4 assorted turning saws  
4 gross assorted wood screws  
1 carpenter's steel square  
6 gallons slack varnish

Source: HBCA, B60/d/129, Saskatchewan District Inventory,  
1859

## Appendix D

### Trade Goods and Personal Items



D-1: Saskatchewan District Inventory of Articles in Use,  
1 June 1837

(Note: all building tools and hardware having no other function have been deliberately excluded from this inventory)

6 canoe awls good  
 6 large round head axes good  
 5 large round head axes half-worn  
 32 large square head axes good  
 6 large square head axes half-worn  
 10 half round head axes goods  
 1 half round head axe half-worn  
 6 small round head axes good  
 2 small round head axes half-worn  
 2 half square head axes half-worn  
 2 half square round head axes good  
 2 small square head axes half-worn  
 4 pick or Mattack axes good  
 2 pick or mattack axes half-worn  
 26 Buffalo appischisnons [?] good  
 40 Buffalo appischisnons [?] half-worn  
 7 earthenware 3/4 pint basins & saucers good  
 10 pairs leather horse bags good  
 10 pairs blksmiths bellows good  
 1 pair blksmiths bellows old  
 8 Blunderbusses good  
 8 Blunderbusses old want repairs  
 29 Musket bayonets good  
 8 musket spears good  
 15 bridles for horse harness good  
 1 crossing boat half-worn  
 15 new Inland boats good  
 3 old Inland boats much worn  
 1 wheel barrow good  
 3 wheel barrow broken and worn  
 3 brass candlesticks good  
 5 large tin candlesticks good  
 1 small tin candlestick good  
 5 carts for hauling wood good  
 3 carts for hauling hay good  
 2 carts for hauling dung good  
 3 horse carriages good  
 2 dog carriages good  
 7 assorted brass locks good  
 5 assorted brass locks much-worn  
 3 diaper table cloths good  
 5 Russia sheeting cloths good  
 16 cutlasses good

6 cutlass blades much worn  
 33 C.M. horse collars half-worn  
 6 C.M. dog collars good  
 4 C.M. dog collars half-worn  
 24 iron-bound casks good  
 12 new cassettes good  
 6 old cassettes half-worn  
 125 Rat darts half-worn  
 14 sawyers & coopers iron dags good  
 9 tin dishes good  
 2 Fort flags 8 yds. good  
 1 Fort flag 8 yds, much worn  
 5 pitch or dung forks half-worn  
 3 hay or dung forks half-worn  
 7 large tin funnels good  
 2 large tin funnels broken  
 1 small tin funnel broken  
 9 Indian guns 2nd hand serviceable  
 2 Indian guns com. much worn & broken  
 65 musket guns half-worn  
 5 iron swivel [?] guns half-worn  
 2 iron 2-pounders good  
 1 brass 3-pounders good  
 56 horse harnesses com. good  
 22 horse harnesses C.M. half-worn  
 6 dog harnesses C.M. good  
 4 dog harnesses C.M. half-worn  
 4 wooden tooth harrows C.M. half-worn  
 12 garden hoes C.M. good  
 23 garden hoes half-worn  
 2 iron hooks half-worn  
 1 soldering iron half-worn  
 4 pair iron hobbles for horses good  
 2 plough share & coulter irons half-worn  
 1 plough share & coulter irons much worn  
 1 open copper kettles good  
 4 open copper kettles half-worn  
 2 open copper kettles much worn  
 4 iron 6 gall. kettles much worn  
 3 iron 8 gall. kettles much worn  
 5 tin assorted kettles good  
 14 tin assorted kettles half-worn  
 14 tin assorted kettles much worn  
 1 copper tea kettle good  
 1 iron tea kettle good  
 1 iron tea kettle half-worn  
 4 iron marmitts [?] half-worn  
 1 steaming kettle half-worn  
 2 carving [?] forks no knives half-worn  
 9 coopers drawing knives half-worn  
 1 crooked knives good

28 table knives & forms half-worn  
 2 meat chopping knives good  
 19 large iron bound kegs good  
 12 small iron bound kegs good  
 2 iron ladles good  
 3 large tin lanterns good  
 20 assorted padlocks good  
 20 assorted padlocks much worn  
 16 stock locks serviceable  
 2 double cod-lines half-worn  
 3 fishing lines good  
 3 fishing lines half-worn  
 3 assorted mandrills for axes good  
 11 assorted mandrills for sundries good  
 5 tin candle moulds good  
 1 iron ball moulds good  
 12 nail moulds good  
 1 copper measure  $\frac{1}{2}$  gall. old standard good  
 1 copper measure  $\frac{1}{4}$  gall. old standard good  
 3 copper measure  $\frac{1}{8}$  gall. old standard good  
 2 copper measure  $\frac{1}{16}$  gall. old standard good  
 1 copper measure  $\frac{1}{32}$  gall. old standard good  
 1 tin imperial  $\frac{1}{4}$  gall standard good  
 1 tin imperial  $\frac{1}{8}$  gall. old standard good  
 1 tin imperial  $\frac{1}{16}$  gall. old standard good  
 1 tin imperial  $\frac{1}{32}$  gall. old standard good  
 1 tin imperial  $\frac{1}{64}$  gall. old standard good  
 1 patent corn mill good  
 1 patent corn mill worn & broken  
 1 wooden mallet good  
 1 caulking mallet much worn  
 1 brass mortar in pestle  
 2 fishing nets good  
 5 fishing nets half-worn  
 6 fishing nets much worn  
 1 Dutch oven half-worn  
 2 tin water pans for steaks good  
 11 iron frying pans good  
 22 tin [\_\_\_\_\_] assorted pans good  
 6 earthenware flat & soup plates good  
 12 tin flat & soup plates good  
 29 tin flat & soup plates much worn  
 2 tin water plates good  
 1 iron pitch pot much worn  
 8 Japd. tin quart pot good  
 2 Japd. tin pint pot good  
 1 Japd. tin pint pot half-worn  
 2 Japd. tin pint pot much worn  
 1 plain tin quart pot good  
 1 plain tin pint pot good  
 1 plain tin tea pot good

3 pokers for chimney fires good  
 28 bolts & rings for scythes good  
 1 iron rake good  
 3 fine sabre good  
 1 fine sabre wants repair  
 2 canvas boat sails good  
 4 canvas boat sails half-worn  
 4 canvas boat sails much worn  
 2 copper & brass & beam scales goods  
 1 copper & brass & beam scales broken  
 3 large wooden C.M. good  
 16 grass scythes good  
 12 grass scythes half-worn  
 10 grass scythes much worn  
 10 sickles good  
 5 sickles much worn  
 3 pairs smith shears much worn  
 10 tin iron table spoons good  
 7 tin iron table spoons half-worn  
 10 sleds for hauling firewood good  
 2 sleds for hauling firewood half-worn  
 7 sleds for horses & dog good  
 9 garden spades good  
 6 garden spades old & broken  
 8 iron shovels goods  
 1 iron shovel old & broken  
 3 beam steelyards good  
 5 beam steelyards half-worn  
 2 scythes and rog good  
 6 scythes and rog half-worn  
 2 scythes and rog much worn  
 1 set horse shoes good  
 1 milk strainer good  
 5 stamps HB good  
 2 skin scrapers good  
 46 wood pack saddles good  
 35 leather pack saddles good  
 25 leather pack saddles half-worn  
 4 leather riding saddles good  
 36 draught or hauling saddles good  
 5 pair snow shoes good  
 11 pair snow shoes old & broken  
 5 beaver traps good  
 29 beaver traps half-worn  
 54 rat-traps half-worn  
 1 wolf trap good  
 4 washing tubs good  
 99 tin tureen milk pans goods  
 1 tin soup tureen good  
 1 earthenware soup tureen good  
 12 boat iron tracking pins goods

2 weights brass & iron 14 pounds good  
2 weights brass & iron 7 pounds good  
2 weights brass & iron 4 pounds good  
2 weights brass & iron 2 pounds good  
2 weights brass & iron 1 pound good  
2 weights brass & iron 1/2 pound good  
2 weights brass & iron 1/4 pound good  
2 weights brass & iron 1/8 pound good  
1 weight brass & iron 1/16 pound good  
1 weight brass & iron 1/32 pound good  
5 pairs cart wheels good  
3 pairs cart wheels old & worn

Source: HBCA B60/d/53

## D-2: Saskatchewan District Inventory, 1 June 1837

19 gross Indian awls  
 48 1/2 bun[ches] agate beads  
 38 1/4 bun. aqua\_\_\_\_\_? beads  
 4 bun. flowd. glass beads com.  
 19 1/2 bun. fancy cut glass beads  
 14 1/2 lbs. com. blue beads light  
 9 lbs. white \_\_\_\_\_? beads  
 2 11/12 gross hawk bells  
 26 broad-scarlet belts  
 6 narrow fine belts  
 56 com. cold. belts  
 6 green blankets 3 1/2 points  
 2 plain blankets 4 pts.  
 4 plain blankets 3 1/2 pts.  
 15 plain blankets 3 pts.  
 16 plain blankets 2 1/2 pts.  
 43 plain blankets 2 pts.  
 18 plain blankets 1 1/2 pts.  
 23 striped duffle blankets 4 bars  
 37 striped duffle blankets 2 & 3 bars  
 10 fine striped blankets 3 1/2 pts.  
 2 fine striped blankets 3 pts.  
 6 fine striped blankets 2 1/2 pts.  
 1/2 doz. small shaving boxes #2  
 1 Japd. tobacco box B.G.  
 2 Japd. tobacco boxes plain  
 1/6 doz. sgle. rein smaffle [?] bridles  
 5 3/4 gross metal coat buttons  
 12 1/2 gross metal vest buttons  
 1 10/12 gross plated ball buttons  
 1/6 doz. highland bonnet caps  
 1/2 doz. grey milled caps  
 1/2 doz. scarlet milled caps  
 10/12 doz. white milled caps  
 4 blanket capots 3 1/2 ells  
 2 blanket capots 4 ells  
 7 blue 3rd cloth capots 4 ells  
 1 blue 3rd cloth capot 3 1/2 ells  
 4 grey Illinois capots 3 1/2 ells  
 7 grey Illinois capots 4 ells  
 18 com. Indian capots 1 ell  
 17 com. Indian capots 1 1/2 ells  
 29 com. Indian 2 ells  
 24 com. Indian capots 2 1/2 ells  
 50 com. Indian capots 3 ells  
 36 com. Indian capots 3 1/2 ells  
 25 com. Indian capots 4 ells  
 1 piece 2nd light blue cloth 23 1/2 yds.

1 piece 2nd brown cloth 23 1/2 yds.  
 1 piece 2nd green cloth 21 3/4 yds.  
 1 piece 2nd scarlet cloth 23 1/2 yds.  
 10 yds. 2nd dark blue cloth  
 8 yds. 2nd brown cloth  
 7 yds. 2nd green cloth  
 26 1/4 yds. 2nd scarlet cloth  
 3 brown 2nd surtout coats  
 1 blue chiefs laced coat  
 5 scarlet chiefs laced coats  
 9 1/4 doz. large horn combs  
 7 1/12 doz. fine ivory combs  
 131 2/3 yds. fine printed cotton  
 32 yds. furniture cotton  
 47 2/3 yds. com. blue striped cotton  
 86 yds. fine blue striped cotton  
 8 1/2 yds. fine red striped cotton  
 2 11/12 doz. hand dags 7 in.  
 4 7/12 doz. hand dags 9 in.  
 20 yds. blue duffle  
 18 yds. white duffle  
 11 5/12 doz. cold. cock feathers  
 1 gross 4d silk ferrets  
 139 1/2 yds. 4d. silk ferrets  
 2 5/6 doz. flat bastard files 6 in.  
 2 1/4 doz. flat bastard files 7 in.  
 2 1/2 doz. flat bastard files 8 in.  
 3 5/12 doz. flat bastard files 9 in.  
 10 1/2 doz. flat bastard files 10 in.  
 29 yds. com. red flannel  
 39 1/3 yds. com. white flannel  
 1 7/12 gross army lace garters  
 8 1/2 gross highland garters  
 7 3/4 gross scarlet garters  
 1 1/2 doz. book looking glasses  
 122 1/2 doz. P.C. looking glasses  
 1 fine sgle. barrel gun steel mntd.  
 58 com. Indian guns  
 5 900/1000 M. gunflints  
 1 5/12 doz. best bridle gunlocks  
 11 yds. E.W. India Gurraks [?]  
 11 1/6 gross wire gunworms  
 5 1/12 doz. 4/4 cotton handkfs.  
 6/7 pieces Indian silk handkfs.  
 3/4 doz. large blk. silk pln. handkfs.  
 1/4 doz. small blk. pln. handkfs.  
 11/12 doz. small fancy silk handkfs.  
 8 mens plated hats  
 50 mens wool hats  
 9 laced wool hats  
 1 3/4 doz. button hatcords

11 silk hatcovers assorted  
 3/4 cant Kirby hooks  
 56 powder horns  
 43 1/2 lbs. covd. copper kettles  
 44 lbs. open copper kettles  
 26 covd. tin kettles 1 pint  
 18 covd. tin kettles 1 quart  
 1 covd. tin kettle #1  
 1 covd. tin kettle 14  
 4 covd. tin kettle 9 in.  
 2 covd. tin kettles 10 in.  
 2 covd. tin kettles 11 in.  
 6 covd. tin kettles 12 in.  
 3 1/2 doz. Cartouche knives  
 15 1/2 doz. Roach knives  
 201 scalpurs knives  
 5 dble. cod lines 24 threads  
 1 sgle. cod line 24 threads  
 1 doz. small fishing lines  
 14 1/2 cents B.Y. needles  
 6 1/2 cents darning needles  
 3 cents glovers needles  
 2 3/4 cents W. Chapel needles  
 1 oz. mixed pins  
 7 tin Japd. quart pots  
 2 tin Japd. pint pots  
 1/2 doz. P.C. razors  
 3 cases fine strop razors 2 in.  
 1/2 piece 4d ribbon  
 1 1/4 piece 6d. ribbon  
 2 pieces 10d. ribbon  
 2/14 rolls 10d. ribbon  
 1 1/3 doz. com. gilt earrings  
 1 doz. fine gilt earrings  
 55 7/12 gross plain brass finger rings  
 1 1/2 doz. fine gilt finger rings  
 11/12 doz. mercers lined scissors  
 1/2 doz. com. womens scissors  
 25 yds. embossed serge  
 4 1/6 doz. 4/4 cotton shawls  
 4 5/12 doz. 5/4 cotton shawls  
 2 1/2 doz. 9/8 cotton shawls  
 23 mens fine printed cotton shirts  
 14 mens com. blue striped cotton shirts  
 20 mens fine blue striped cotton shirts  
 8 mens fine red striped cotton shirts  
 20 mens white flannel shirts  
 6 mens fine gingham shirts  
 21 boys com. blue striped cotton shirts  
 7 pairs mens bound shoes  
 71 5/12 doz. oval polished fire steels



2 1/3 piece H.B. blue strouds  
 22 yds. H.B. blue strouds  
 7 3/4 pieces H.B. green strouds  
 27 3/5 doz. H.B. green strouds  
 7 pieces H.B. red strouds  
 11 1/3 yds. H.B. red strouds  
 4 1/2 pieces H.B. white strouds  
 21 yds. H.B. white strouds  
 3 28/144 gross com. brass thimbles  
 4 3/4 lbs. all cold. thread  
 6 3/16 lbs. stitching thread assorted  
 10 pairs com. blue cloth trowsers  
 17 pairs fine blue cloth trowsers  
 1 pair 2nd grey cloth trowsers  
 5 pair 2nd drab & olive cord trowsers  
 36 skeins twine #1  
 2 skeins twine #5  
 16 skeins twine #9  
 18 lbs. met thread twine  
 41 1/4 lbs vermilion  
 8 blue 2d. cloth vests  
 1 2d. scarlet vests  
 1 plaid or tartan vests  
 3 quilting vests  
 14 com. swansdown vests  
 26 lbs. brass collar wire  
 1 lbs. brass ear wire  
 2 lbs. brass snare wire  
 2 3/4 lbs. cold. worsted  
 35/112 cut yellow soap  
 1 10/12 doz. turn screw fire steels

#### York Factory Made Articles

7 10/12 doz. polished tin hatbands  
 1 tin oval pan #6  
 1 tin oval pan #17  
 6 tin porringers 1 quart  
 8 tin porringers 1 pint

#### Iron Works

374 half round head axes  
 50 small round head axes  
 6 half square head axes  
 32 broad ice chisels  
 44 narrow ice chisels

Inland Advance 75 pct.

1 case rat traps

#### Whole Pieces

18 1/3 kegs gunpowder

54 lbs gunpowder

Inland Advances 43 3/4 pct.

85 galls. Dema. Rum

8 galls shrub

Inland Advances 133 3/4 pct.

17 1/4 cwt. ball shot

86 lbs ball shot

2 1/4 cwt. B & B ball shot

117 lbs. B & B ball shot

Inland Advance 9 1/4 pct.

478 carrots

116 lbs. Irish roll tobacco

24 1/2 rolls Canadian twist tobacco

182 lbs. Canadian twist tobacco

#### Fixed Price Articles

1 1/12 doz. blk. Cdn. foxtail feathers

46 hatbands \_\_\_\_\_? on copper

57 yds. ovice and tinsel lace

1 pair 2nd scarlet cloth leggings

2 doz. C.M. Skin scrapers

2 doz. C.M. Knives

1/6 doz. C.M. crooked knives

#### Stores New Not Valued

1 assorted shell auger

1 assorted screw auger

1/12 doz. assorted brass bar cocks

1 8/16 lbs. ball wick cotton

2 11/12 doz. circle feathers

1/3 doz. assorted armourers files  
11/12 doz. flat and half round bastard files 14 in.  
3/4 doz. assorted rasp files  
1/3 doz. rat tail files  
1/4 doz. Smith's rubber files  
1/3 doz. cross cut saw files  
3/4 doz. hand saw files  
3 1/4 doz. Pitt saw files  
7/12 tenon saw files  
13 Indian flags 2 yds.  
6 1/16 doz. assorted gimlets  
1 carpenters clench hammer  
45/112 cwt. flat bar iron  
55/112 cwt. nail rod iron  
1 Smiths hand hammer  
1/2 set table knives and forks  
1 large tin lantern  
1 double bolt padlock  
8 deep tin tureen pans  
1 grafting saw  
1/4 doz. tin iron table spoons  
22/112 cwt. german steel  
7 large sq. hand axes  
1 hand vice

Source: HBCA, B60/d/52

## D-3: Fort Assiniboine Inventory, 1 June 1832

2/3 gross Indian awls  
 2 bun. agate beads  
 5 3/4 lbs. com. round beads  
 20 com. Nar. cold. belts  
 2 plain blankets 3 pts.  
 1 plain blanket 2 1/2 pts.  
 5 plain blankets 2 pts.  
 1 plain blanket 1 pt.  
 2 striped duffle blankets 4 bars  
 5 striped fine blankets 3 pts.  
 2 striped fine blankets 2 1/2 pts.  
 1/6 gross met. coat buttons  
 3 blanket capots  
 3 ? assorted capots  
 8 Indian capots 1 ell  
 13 Indian capots 1 1/2 ells  
 15 Indian capots 2 1/2 ells  
 1 Indian capots 3 ells  
 5 Indian capots 3 1/2 ells  
 2 Indian capots 4 ells  
 18 yards 2nd scarlet cloth  
 1 5/6 doz. large horn combs  
 1 doz. ivory combs  
 1 1/6 small hand dags  
 1/3 doz. large hand dags  
 1/12 doz. flat bast. files 7 in.  
 1 1/3 doz. flat bast. files 9 in.  
 1 doz. flat bast. files 10 in.  
 2 yards com. white flannel  
 3/4 gross highland garters  
 1/8 plain scarlet garters  
 1 7/12 doz. p.c. looking glasses  
 1 com. Indian gun  
 1 1/2 cont. gunflints  
 1/6 gross wire gunworms  
 5/12 doz. 4/4 cotton handkfs  
 1 mans com. wool hat  
 10 powder horn  
 1/4 cont. Kirby hooks  
 2 doz. Roach knives  
 3 1/4 scalping knives  
 8 1/2 lbs. Ofs. copper kettles  
 1 tin covd. #6 copper kettles  
 2 1/3 brass finger rings  
 1 embroidered robe #3  
 5 com. striped cotton shirts  
 4 com. white flannel shirts

2 1/2 doz. fire steels  
18 1/2 yds. H.B. plain blue strouds  
1 yd. H.B. plain green strouds  
12 1/2 yds. H.B. plain red strouds  
5 yds. H.B. plain white strouds  
1 yd. com. N.C. blue strouds  
8 yds. com. N.C. blue strouds  
1/8 lbs. all colour thread  
1 skein twine #9  
2 lbs. best Mixed Vermilion  
3 lbs. brass collar wire  
15 round head half axes  
20 round head small axes  
1/6 doz. tin hatbands  
1 tin pan #7  
1 tin pan #8  
59 lbs. gunpowder  
6 3/8 gall. Dema. rum  
38/112 cwt. ball shot  
4/112 B.B. ballshot  
44 lbs. English twist tobacco  
1/4 doz. assorted gimlets  
1/6 doz. fancy stock locks

Source: HBCA, B8/d/2, fo. 3

## D-4: Fort Assiniboine Outfit from Fort Sanspariel, 1832

1 gross Indian awls  
 5 round head half axes  
 30 round head small axes  
 4 bun. colored agate beads  
 1/2 gross hawk bells  
 3 plain blankets 3 pts.  
 8 plain blankets 2 1/2 pts.  
 1 plain blankets 2 pts.  
 3 plain blankets 1 1/2 pts.  
 3 plain blankets 1 pt.  
 8 striped duffle blankets 2 & 3 bars  
 2 striped fine blankets 2 1/2 pts.  
 13 Indian capots 1 ell  
 2 Indian capots 1 1/2 ells  
 10 Indian capots 2 ells  
 2 Indian capots 3 ells  
 1/2 lbs. best wick cotton  
 3/4 doz. small hand dags 7 in.  
 2 doz. flat bastard files 6 in.  
 2 doz. flat bastard files 8 in.  
 1/12 doz. cross cut saw file  
 1/12 doz. hand saw file  
 1/12 doz. pit saw file  
 1/2 gross highland garters  
 1 doz. book looking glasses  
 2 bags mixed gunflints  
 1 gross wire gunworms  
 1 carpenters claw hammer  
 1/12 doz. com. penknives  
 1/2 cent brown thread needles  
 1/4 cent darning needles  
 1/4 cent. W.C. needles  
 1 white fish net 80 fin 5 1/2 in M.  
 1 gross plain brass finger rings  
 2 mens white flannel shirts  
 5 doz. Or. pol. firesteels  
 1/2 pd. H.B. white strouds  
 1 lb. all colored thread  
 1 skein twine #1  
 1/2 skein twine #5  
 1 lbs. net thread  
 3 lbs. vermilion  
 3 lbs. Canada chocolate  
 4 lbs. raw coffee  
 1 square mustard  
 1 lbs. blk pepper  
 1/2 lbs. pimento

4 lbs. Hyson tea  
2 lbs. Souchong tea  
stationery: 1/6 of amount as YF invoice  
medicines: 1/8 amount of assortment sent as YF invoice  
3 bags ball shot  
1/2 bag BB ball shot  
1/3 bask. op. cop. kettle 10 K.  
1 case Indian guns  
1/2 case beaver traps  
2 kegs gunpowder  
1 keg Dema. rum  
1/4 keg shrub  
1/2 keg loaf sugar  
1 keg mixed sugar  
1/8 keg vinegar  
1/4 keg Madeira wine  
1 two gallon keg molasses  
1 two gallon keg port wine  
1 1/2 roll twist tobacco  
7/12 doz. large horn combs  
11/12 doz. small ivory combs

Source: HBCA B8/d/2, fo.6

D-5: Fort Assiniboine to Saskatchewan District, September  
1836

2 shell augers  
 1 gross Indian awls  
 10 half round head axes  
 30 small round head axes  
 1 large round head axe  
 6 bun. flow. china beads  
 1 doz. fine necklace beads  
 1 bun. cut glass beads  
 3 lbs. com. blue beads  
 1 lb. white enamelled beads  
 1/12 doz. caith basins  
 1 gross hawk bells  
 6 narrow cold. belts  
 6 narrow scarlet belts  
 12 plain blankets 3 pts.  
 10 plain blankets 2 1/2 pts.  
 1 plain blanket 2 pts.  
 3 plain blankets 1 1/2 pts.  
 8 plain blankets 1 pt.  
 2 striped duffle blankets 3 bars  
 3 fine striped duffle blankets 3 pts.  
 5 fine striped duffle blankets 2 1/2 pts.  
 2 gross plated ball buttons  
 1 tin candlestick  
 12 Indian capots, 1 ell  
 3 Indian capots, 2 ells  
 3 Indian capots, 3 ells  
 5 Indian capots, 3 1/2 ells  
 3 Indian capots, 4 ells  
 6 beaver trap chains  
 1/6 doz. \_\_\_\_\_? chisels  
 15 pairs ice chisels  
 2 1/2 doz. large horn combs  
 2 1/2 doz. ivory combs  
 1/2 lb cotton wick  
 1/2 doz. hand dags 7 in.  
 1/2 doz. hand dags 9 in.  
 1 doz. flat bastard files 6 in.  
 1/12 doz. flat bastard files 8 in.  
 1/12 doz. hand saw files 8 in.  
 1/12 doz. Smith files 10 in.  
 1/12 doz. Rasso [?] files  
 1/12 doz. rat tail files  
 1 1/2 gross high garters  
 1/4 dozen assorted gimlets  
 1 bag gunflints



1 gross gunworms  
 1 claw hammer  
 1/12 doz. 4/4 cotton handkfs  
 10 powder horns  
 1 doz. Cartouche knives  
 2 doz. Roach knives  
 4 doz. scalping knives  
 8/12 doz. pen knives  
 1 double cod line  
 1/12 doz. double pad lock  
 1/12 doz. stock pad lock  
 1 set tin candle mould  
 1 cont. brown thread needles  
 1/2 cont. glovers needles  
 1/2 cont. white \_\_\_\_\_? needles  
 1/4 \_\_\_\_\_? tin pans  
 1/4 gross hunters pipers  
 1 Japd. pint pot  
 3 gross brass finger rings  
 1 hand saw  
 1 doz. 5/4 cotton shawls  
 3 com. striped cotton shirts  
 2 com. white flannel shirts  
 5 com. boys cotton shirts  
 1/4 doz. iron \_\_\_\_\_? spoons  
 5 pairs beaver trap springs  
 3 doz. oval. po. firesteels  
 1 piece HB blue strouds  
 1 piece HB white strouds  
 1 gross brass thimbles  
 8 skein twine #1  
 2 skein twine # 5 & 6  
 6 lb. net thread  
 1 hand vice  
 5 lb vermilion  
 3 lb. brass collar wire  
 1/2 lb. brass snaring wire  
 1 lb. pepper  
 1/4 lb. pimento  
 3 lb. Hyson tea  
 2 lb. souchin tea  
 1 square mustard  
 1 keg mixed sugar  
 1 bag flour  
 1/2 \_\_\_\_\_? \_\_\_\_\_?  
 1 ten gall. keg shrub  
 1 ten gall. keg M. wine  
 3/2 bags ball  
 1 bag BB shot  
 1 blae carrots Tobacco  
 6/84 case yellow soap

3 kegs gunpowder  
 1/4 keg salt  
 1 keg Dem. rum  
 2 rolls twist tobacco  
 2 doz. Roach knives  
 2 doz. scalping knives  
 1 doz. fire steels  
 1 gross scythes  
 4 com. Indian guns  
 18 lb. open copper kettle  
 1 gross Indian awls  
 10 narrow cold. belts  
 3 narrow scarlet belts  
 2 plain blankets 22 pts.  
 1 grey capot 3 1/2 ells  
 1 grey capot 4 ells  
 3 com. Indian capots 3 ells  
 2 com. Indian capots 3 1/2 ells  
 2 com. Indian capots 4 ells  
 1 Eng. made \_\_\_\_\_? coat  
 1/4 doz. hand dags  
 1 doz. P.C. looking glasses  
 1 bag gunflints  
 1 doz. 5/4 cotton shawls  
 1 ft. HB green strouds  
 2 lb. vermilion  
 8 lbs. net thread  
 2 bales dried meat  
 2 bales backfat  
 1 doz. \_\_\_\_\_? fire steels  
 1 doz. skin scrapers  
 1 parchment moose skin  
 1 1/2 lb. twist tobacco  
 1 beaver trap  
 1 beaver trap spring  
 1 buffalo robe  
 30 balls & powder

Source: HBCA, B8/d/3. fo. 5

D-6: Saskatchewan Servant Book Debts, 1828-9

Advances to Michel Klyne

2/3 yd plain white strouds  
 1 lb twist tobacco  
 1 pint shrub  
 2 1/2 lbs covered copper kettle  
 1 flat bastard file 12"  
 1 ivory comb  
 6 large moose skins  
 6 large moose skins  
 1 yew handle knife  
 1 flat bastard file 8"  
 6 yds. gartering  
 4 lbs. twist tobacco  
 1 horse

Source: HBCA, B60/d/28

## D-7: Saskatchewan Servant Book Debts, 1829-30

## Advances to Michel Klyne

1 1/2 pints of rum  
2/3 lbs ball  
1/2 lb gunpowder  
1 blue 2nd cloth surtout coat  
1 fine blue cloth Eng. vest  
1 powder horn  
1 pair mens bound shoes  
1 Yew handle knife  
1 plain tin pint pot  
1 plain Jap. tobacco box  
1 dressed buffalo skin  
8 large dressed moose skins  
1 Yew handle knife  
6 yards gartering  
1 large horn comb  
6 lbs. twist tobacco

Source: HBCA, B60/d/32

## D-8: Saskatchewan Servant Book Debts, 1828

## Advances to Antoine Auger

1 grey cloth capot  
 1 pair corduroy trousers  
 1 swansdown vest  
 1 fine striped cotton shirt  
 1 cotton handkerchief  
 1 com. wool hat  
 1 pair Canada pumps  
 6 Luisel hat cords  
 1 silk hat cover  
 1 pair mens white cotton hose  
 1 fine narrow coloured belt  
 \_\_\_\_? sugar  
 \_\_\_\_? ferrets  
 3 yards plain blue strouds  
 2 yds plain green strouds  
 4 yards com. blue strouds  
 6 yds. com. striped cotton  
 1 plain blanket 3 pts.  
 1 striped blanket 2 1/2 pts.  
 1 fine cotton shirt  
 2 com. cotton shirts  
 1 9/8 cotton shawl  
 12 yards ferrets  
 1/2 \_\_\_\_? coloured thread  
 20 Glo. and 20 BC needles  
 Soap  
 2 large horn combs  
 1 pair tailor scissors  
 1 roll com. highland garters  
 1 powder horn  
 4 scalping knives  
 1 oval tin pan  
 1 tin pot  
 1 tin kettle (2 gallons)  
 1 pair sheeting trousers  
 2 loaves bread and butter  
 2 1/2 yards white duffle  
 2 oz. white enamel beads  
 3 brass thimbles  
 9 yards cord and silk twist

Source: HBCA, B60/d/26

## D-9: Saskatchewan Servant Book Debts, 1829

## Advances to Antoine Auger

1 Illinois grey capot  
1 pair fine cloth trousers  
1 valentin vest  
1 com. cotton shirt  
1 com. cotton handkerchief  
1 pair Canadian pumps  
2 loaves of bread  
2/4 2 [?] butter  
8 1/4 lbs. loaf sugar  
1 lb tea  
1 large blanket HB  
1 plain blanket 2 1/2 pts.  
3 yards HB plain blue stroud  
3 yards com. white stroud  
2 1/2 yards grey mixed cloth  
3 com. striped cotton shirts  
6 yards com. striped cotton  
6 yards printed cotton  
1 Indian capot 1 1/2 each  
1 Indian capot 2 each  
3 yards com. white flannel  
2 4/4 cotton shawls  
1 9/8 cotton shawls  
2 4/4 cotton handkerchieves  
6 stone and gilt brooches  
1/2 lb coloured thread  
9 yards 4 [?] ferrets  
2 yards hair ribbon  
2 1/2 yards 16 [?] ribbon  
1/2 roll army lace garters  
25 assorted needles

Source: HBCA, B60/d/31

D-10: Saskatchewan District Book Debts, Outfit 1837/8

Advances to Colin Fraser

3 large moose skins  
2 flat bastard files  
4 lbs twist tobacco  
2 large moose skins  
6 yards scarlet garter  
1 high bonnet cap  
1/2 lb. twist tobacco  
2/3 yard HB white stroud  
4 yards army lace garter  
sugar loaf  
1 large moose skin  
2 large moose skins  
2 large moose skins  
2 doz. hawk bells  
4 doz. com. brass finger rings

Source: HBCA, B60/d/55

D-11: Saskatchewan District Book Debts, 1840

Advances to Colin Fraser

2 large moose skins  
6 lbs. twist tobacco  
1 large blk. silk handkerchief  
2 lbs. twist tobacco  
1 small moose skin  
1 rat tail file  
1 half bastard file 10"  
2 lb. copper kettle  
1 steel mounted gun  
1 large moose skin  
2 large moose skins

Source: HBCA, B60/d/65



D-12: Saskatchewan District Book Debts, Outfit 1857/8

Advances to Henry John Moberly

1 reindeer skin  
 2 lbs. negrohead tobacco  
 1 buffalo skin  
 1 bag R.R. flour  
 1/2 lb. ball shot  
 1/2 lb. Canadian twist tobacco  
 1 lb. negrohead tobacco  
 1 doz. clay pipes  
 4 lbs. negrohead tobacco  
 3 yards fine red flannel  
 2/3 yards HB blue stroud  
 1 cotton handkerchief  
 1 moose skin  
 1/2 buffalo skin  
 1 pocket knife  
 8 yards silk ferrets  
 1 moose skin  
 1 buffalo skin  
 1 reindeer skin  
 1 dozen clay pipes

Source: HBCA, B60/d/123b

D-13: Saskatchewan District Book Debts, Outfit 1859/60

Advances to Henry John Moberly

1/2 lb flat plug tobacco  
 1 lb Congou tea  
 5 lbs. crushed sugar  
 3 lbs. flat plug tobacco  
 1 single rein bridle  
 1/2 doz. hunters clay pipes  
 10 lbs. crushed sugar  
 4 lbs. Congou tea  
 3 1/2 yds BB web garters  
 1 large dressed red deer skin  
 1 1/2 pints proof rum  
 1 fine ivory comb  
 20 lbs crushed sugar  
 1/3 lbs. flat plug tobacco  
 1 1/2 lbs. flat plug tobacco  
 1 lb. flat plug tobacco  
 6 yards coloured ribbon

Source: HBCA, B60/d/132

D-14: Saskatchewan District Servants' Equipments,  
Outfit 1861

Equipment of J.E. Brazeau

2 plain blankets 4 pt.  
 2 green blankets 3 1/2 pts.  
 6 bun. coloured seed beads  
 3 bun. white seed beads  
 1/2 doz. earthenware basin and saucers  
 3 gross narrow wor. braid  
 1/2 doz. dinner knives & forks  
 1/2 doz. dessert knives & forks  
 2 pieces 7/8 printed cotton  
 15 yards striped cotton  
 15 yards white shirting cotton  
 15 yards blue striped cotton  
 15 yards blue plain druggets  
 16 yards Gala plaid tartan  
 1 yard 2nd scarlet cloth  
 2 yards green silk gauze  
 40 yards 10 oz. colored ribbon  
 1 roll 8 oz. black hair ribbon  
 1 roll 4 oz. black silk ferrets  
 2 rolls 4 oz. colored silk ferrets  
 2 oz. colored silk thread  
 1 oz. black silk thread  
 1 oz. cochineal  
 1 doz. com. cotton handkerchieves  
 1/2 doz. spotted muslin handkerchieves  
 6 India bank silk handkerchieves  
 2 black silk handkerchieves  
 6 patent leather cap peaks  
 1 doz. brown Windsor soap  
 2 rolls shaving soap  
 18 lbs. yellow soap  
 2 lbs. all colored linen thread  
 1/2 doz. broad Holland tape  
 1/6 doz. narrow Holland tape  
 1/4 doz. Turlington's Balsam  
 1/4 doz. Essence of Peppermint  
 1 lb. black pepper  
 1 lb. candy sugar  
 2 lb. peppermint lozenges  
 15 yds. com. white flannel  
 9 yds. blue cloth  
 9 com. Yacht cotton shirts  
 3 pair long swanskin drawers

4 pair mens grey worsted half hose  
3/4 cent co. C. needles  
15 lbs. Hyson tea  
15 lbs. Congou tea  
2 kegs crushed sugar  
1 box figs  
25 lb. Negrohead tobacco  
8 doz. clay pipes  
2 papers B.C. pins  
14 lbs. Carolina rice  
3 fine dressing combs  
1 pair fine shop razor  
1 bag Red River flour  
3 oz. Turkey sponge  
1 lb. colored worsted  
2 yds. bleached diaper  
3 yds. huckabuck  
4 yds. Red River cloth  
3 Tartan wool 8/4 shawls  
1 double breasted tweed vest  
1 com. grey cloth capot  
2 pair Beaverteen trousers

Source: HBCA, B60/d/139

D-15: Saskatchewan District Servants' Book Debts,  
Outfit 1861/2

Advances to J.E. Brazeau

1 lb. Negrohead tobacco  
 1 lb. ball shot  
 8 lb. Congou tea  
 1 lb. gunpowder  
 4 lb. BB shot  
 1 lb. F.P. tobacco  
 1 lb. com. beads  
 1 lb. com. beads  
 1 bun. barley corn beads  
 1 1/2 roll colored silk ferrets  
 1 1/12 yds. cheese cloth  
 1 lb F.P. Tobacco  
 1 tin pot 1/2 pint  
 1 yd. scarlet cloth  
 1 lb. F.P. Tobacco  
 1 lb. Congou tea  
 1 tin teapot, 1 quart  
 1 1/2 yds. white shirting material  
 2 small red deer skins  
 1 Valentin vest  
 1/2 Lib. Com. colored beads  
 1 pair scissors  
 2 lbs. F.P. Tobacco  
 1 lb. F.P. Tobacco  
 1 large dressed moose skin  
 12 yards purple merino  
 3 yards 7/8 printed cotton  
 5 lbs ball shot  
 2 lbs. gunpowder  
 1/4 C. W.C. needles  
 1 c. glovers needles  
 10 yards plain blue druggets  
 1 threshers grey felt hat  
 1 gross patent scythe  
 1/2 c. glovers needles  
 1 c. W.C. needles  
 1 tartan wool 8/4 shawl  
 1 Mavors spelling books  
 3 yards com. grey cotton  
 2 spotted muslin handkerchieves  
 1 large dressed red deer skin

2 tin porringers 1/2 pint  
3/4 yard second green cloth  
4 yds. com. grey cotton  
1 lb. Congou tea  
1 large dressed moose skin  
6 lbs. crushed sugar  
2 lbs. Congou tea  
2 lbs. Congou tea  
2 lbs. crushed sugar  
1 large dressed red deer skin  
3 lbs. crushed sugar  
4 yds. purple merino  
1 lb. Congou tea  
4 lbs. crushed sugar  
6 yds. black silk ferrets  
1 single breasted tweed vest  
1 lb Congou tea  
2 lbs crushed sugar

Source: HBCA, B60/d/140

## D-16: Jasper House Inventory, June 1857

8 bushels amber cut beads  
 1 1/2 doz. cut necklace beads  
 3 scarlet worsted 4 inch belts  
 1 medium Assomption belt  
 1 single bridle  
 4 gilt vest buttons  
 1 com. foraging cloth cap  
 2 worsted highland bonnets  
 8 percussion caps  
 2 1 1/2 pt. white capots  
 2 2 pt. white capots  
 2 2 1/2 pt. white capots  
 2 yards light second blue cloth  
 20 yards scarlet cloth  
 1 13/4 doz. large horn combs  
 2/3 doz. small ivory combs  
 28 yards blue striped cloth  
 1/4 doz. coloured cock feathers  
 1 doz. flat bastard files 6"  
 5/6 doz. flat bastard files 8"  
 5/6 doz. flat bastard files 10"  
 1/4 gross army lace garters  
 1 gross highland garters  
 1 fine steel mtd. double barrel gun  
 2 fine steel mtd. single barrel gun  
 1/2 bag gunflints  
 1 gross gunworm wire  
 2/7 piece silk handkerchieves  
 1/3 doz. tinsel hatcords  
 20 lbs. open copper kettle  
 1/3 doz. Rouch [Roach?] handled knives  
 2/3 doz. scalping knives  
 1 embossed #2 robe  
 1/12 doz. tartan shawls  
 1 mens com. blue striped cotton shirt  
 1 men com. yacht cotton shirt  
 7/12 doz. fire polished oval steels  
 1 lb. linen thread  
 1 pair fine blue cloth trousers  
 10 skein 3 strand #1 twine  
 6 lbs. net thread  
 1/2 bag ball shot  
 2 1/2 bales negrohead tobacco  
 1/2 case knives  
 1 keg gunpowder  
 11 small round head axes

5 half round head axes  
4 large square head axes  
13 narrow ice chisels  
2 tin pans #3  
2 tin porringers

Source: HBCA, B60/d/122



## D-17: Jasper House Indents, 1859-60

1 pairs thick green blankets 3 1/2 pts.  
 1 pairs thick green blankets 3 pts.  
 1 pair blue band. plain blankets 3 1/2 pts.  
 7 1/2 pairs blue band. plain blankets 3 pts.  
 7 1/2 pairs blue band. plain blankets 2 1/2 pts.  
 3 pairs Aurora red blankets 2 1/2 pts.  
 2 1/2 pair fine HB blankets 3 pts.  
 1/4 pieces 6/4 strong thick white duffle each 40 yds.  
 2 pieces HB plain blue strouds each 23 yds.  
 1 piece HB plain Aurora red strouds each 23 yds.  
 1 piece HB plain red strouds each 23 yds.  
 1 piece 6/4 stout 2nd dark blue cloth ea.  
 1 piece 6/4 stout 2nd light blue cloth ea.  
 2 carpenters best foot adzes No. 3  
 1/12 doz. best eyed screw augers 1/2 in.  
 1/12 doz. best eyed screw augers 3/4 in.  
 1/6 doz. best eyed screw augers 1 in.  
 1/6 doz. best eyed shell augers 1/2 in.  
 1/6 doz. best eyed shell augers 3/4 in.  
 1/6 doz. best eyed shell augers 1 in.  
 1/12 doz. best eyed shell augers 1 1/4 in.  
 1/12 doz. best eyed shell augers 1 1/2 in.  
 1/12 doz. best eyed shell augers 2 in.  
 5 bunches yellow & steel col. metal beads  
 2 gross plated bale buttons C258  
 1 gross strong wire gunworms C640  
 1 dozen wound pewter cased looking glasses 3 1/4 in dia.  
 1/2 cents Glovers needles #1 in 25 s.  
 1 cents stamped white chapel needles in 25 s.  
 2 gross real Mosaic gold finger rings C392  
 3 doz. best tempered polished fire steels  
 2 gross steel & brass thimbles assorted sizes  
 1 doz. flat bastard files 6 in. 815  
 3 doz. flat bastard files 8" 817  
 1/2 doz. flat bastard files 10" 819  
 1/2 doz. best tempered hand dags rod. pts. 7" #5 1/2  
 1/2 doz. best tempered hand dags rod. pts. 9" #5 1/2  
 1/2 gross riveted hardwood wach [?] handle  
 1 gross best imitation buckhorn handle  
 1/2 doz. womens com. steel scissors #109  
 1/4 gross worsted army lace garters  
 1/4 gross worsted fine highland garters  
 1/2 dozen mens blue cloth foraging caps with peaks and  
     straps 6 3/4 to 7 3/8 diameter  
 2 lbs bright brass ear wire No. 16  
 1 lbs. annealed brassed snare wire No. 32  
 2 bags low India ballshot ea. 3/4=66 cwt.

1 bag BB patent ballshot ea.  $3/4=16\ 1/2$  cwt.  
 1 lbs flour mustard in  $1/2$  lb packets  
 4 kegs crushed sugar in 75 lb packets  
 3 lbs. best mixed vermilion in  $1/4$  lb. bags  
 10 white and transparent neat powder horns to contain  $3/4$  lb. ea.  
 1 lb. coloured worsted  
 10 skeins best three strand twine #1  
 1 skein best three strand twine #5  
 1 skein best three strand twine #9  
 2 water tight cooper hoopd. kegs TPF gunpowder  
     each  $66\ 2/3$  lbs = 50 barrels  
 $1/2$  chest good Congou tea averg. each 84 lbs=2200 lbs  
 1 doz. small toothhorn combs  $3\ 1/2$  in.  
 1 doz. small tooth ivory combs  $3\ 1/2$  in.  
 5 com. North West Guns 3 feet  
 5 com. North West Guns  $3\ 1/2$  feet  
 5 mens thick blanketing capots  $3\ 1/2$  with hoods  
 5 mens thick blanketing capots 4 with hoods  
 2 mens fine blue cloth capots  $3\ 1/2$  with hoods  
 2 mens bine [?] blue cloth capots 4 with hoods  
 4 mens com. blue mixd. cloth capots  $3\ 1/2$  ells with hoods  
 4 mens com. lt. blue cloth capots 4 ells with hoods  
 6 Indian com. white cloth capots 1 ell with cape  
 6 Indian com. white capots  $1\ 1/2$  ells with cape  
 3 Indian com. white cloth capots 2 ells with cape  
 5 Indian com. white cloth capots  $2\ 1/2$  ells with hoods  
 5 Indian com. white cloth capots 3 ells with hoods  
 5 Inbdian com. white cloth capots  $3\ 1/2$  ells with hoods  
 5 Indian com. white cloth capots 4 ells with hoods  
 6 mens strong Yacht or rowing shirts  
 4 youths com. blue striped cotton shirts  
 4 boys com. blue striped cotton shirts  
 4 children com. blue striped cotton shirts  
 4 pairs men drab Beaverteen trousers  
 2 pairs mens fine dark blue cloth trousers  
 2 pairs mens strong ligh blue cloth trousers  
 2 pais fine light blue mixed cloth trousers  
 2 pairs drab corduroy trousers  
 2 pairs assd. checkd. Gambroon trousers  
 5 pairs strong raven Duck trousers  
 2 pair dark tweed trousers  
 2 mens fine blue cloth vests  
 2 [\_\_\_?] anticorrosive percussion caps asst. sizes  
 8 cents good black gunflints  
 $1/2$  gross 4. oz. Stalion coloured silk ferrets  
 $1/4$  gross 8 oz. double black hair ribbon  
 1 piece 6 oz. colored sarsnet Ribbon dark blue  
 $1/2$  piece 10 oz. light blue green pink & yellow ribbon  
 $1/2$  piece 10 oz. Ingrain blue pink & yellow ribbon  
 2 serons [?] Canada twist tobacco 84 ins. p. lb., each seron

to contain 95 lbs. net  
 2 bunches cut glass crystal beads  
 1 1/2 doz. 1 quire stiff marble foolscap labelled  
 1 1/12 doz. 3/4 quire stiff marble foolscap labelled  
 1/2 doz. 1/2 quire stiff marble foolscap labelled  
 1/6 doz. walkdens black ink powder  
 1/4 doz. com. black lead pencils

Source: HBCA, A28/33.

## D-18: Jasper House Outfit, 1861

1 gross Indian awls  
 2 bunches white cut glass beads  
 1 doz. cut glass necklace beads  
 12 bun. colored seed beads  
 2 lbs. fine white enamel beads  
 5 bun. gold & steel beads  
 10 colored worsted belts 2 in.  
 5 scarlet worsted belts 2 ins.  
 1 pair plain green blankets 3 1/2 pts.  
 1 pair plain green blankets 3 pts.  
 1 pr. plain white blankets 3 1/2 pts.  
 7 1/2 pr. plain white blankets 3 pts.  
 7 1/2 pr. plain white blankets 2 1/2 pts.  
 2 1/2 pr. plain white blankets 2 pts.  
 2 1/2 pr. plain white blankets 1 1/2 pts.  
 2 1/2 pr. plain white blankets 1 pt.  
 3 pr. scarlet blankets 3 pts.  
 2 1/2 pr. fine striped blankets 3 pts.  
 2 1/2 pr. fine striped blankets 2 1/2 pts.  
 1/4 doz. single rein bridles  
 2 gross gilt ball vest buttons  
 2 gross plated ball vest buttons  
 1/2 doz. fine cloth foraging caps  
 2 M. percussion caps  
 5 blanketing capots 3 1/2 ells  
 5 blanketing capots 4 ells  
 2 fine blue cloth capots 3 1/2 ells  
 2 fine blue cloth capots 4 ells  
 4 com. grey mixed capots 3 1/2 ells  
 4 com. grey mixed capots 4 ells  
 6 Indian white cloth capots 1 ells  
 6 Indian white cloth capots 1 1/2 ells  
 3 Indian white cloth capots 2 ells  
 5 Indian white cloth capots 2 1/2 ells  
 5 Indian white cloth capots 3 ells  
 5 Indian white cloth capots 3 1/2 ells  
 5 Indian white cloth capots 4 ells  
 23 yards 2nd dark blue cloth  
 1 doz. small horn combs  
 1 doz. small ivory combs  
 1 piece 4/8 printed cotton  
 1/2 doz. hand dags 7 in.  
 1/2 doz. hand dags 9 in.  
 32 yds. plain blue cotton druggets  
 1/4 peice plain white duffle  
 1/4 gross 4d. colored ferrets  
 1/4 gross 4d. Ingrain ferrets

1 doz. flat bastard files 6 in.  
 3 doz. flat bastard files 8 in.  
 1/2 doz. flat bastard files 10 in.  
 1/2 doz. round rat tail files 6 in.  
 1/4 doz. round rat tail files 8 in.  
 1/4 doz. hand saw files  
 1/2 piece com. red flannel  
 1/2 piece com. white flannel  
 1/4 gross army lace worsted garters  
 1/2 doz. rod. metal cased looking glasses  
 5 com. Indian guns 3 feet  
 5 com. Indian guns 3 1/2 feet  
 1 gross wire gunworms  
 4 doz. assorted 9/8 cotton handkerchieves  
 10 powder horns 3/4 lbs.  
 44 3/4 lbs open cooper kettles #19  
 1/2 cent glovers needles  
 1 cent W.C. needles  
 1 doz. patent leather cap peaks  
 1 doz. roll Pomatum  
 1 piece 6d. ingrain ribbon  
 1 piece 10d. colored ribbon  
 1 doz. glass drop earrings  
 2 gross yellow metal finger rings  
 1/2 doz. womens com. scissors  
 1/4 doz. 5/4 tartan wool shawls  
 1/2 doz. 8/4 tartan wool shawls  
 20 mens. com. blue striped cotton shirts  
 6 mens fine blue striped cotton shirts  
 3 mens fine red striped cotton shirts  
 6 mens com. Yacht striped cotton shirts  
 4 mens com. red flannel shirts  
 4 youths com. blue striped cotton shirts  
 4 boys com. blue striped cotton shirts  
 4 childrens com. blue striped cotton shirts  
 3 doz. oval polished fire steels  
 1/2 piece com. white strouds  
 1/2 groiss brass steel top thimbles  
 2 lbs. all coolored linen thread  
 4 pairs mens Beaverteen trowsers  
 2 pr. mens fine blue cloth trowsers  
 2 pr. mens com. grey cloth trowsers  
 2 pr. mens fine grey cloth trowsers  
 2 pr. mens drab cord. trowsers  
 2 pr. mens grey Gambroon trowsers  
 2 pr. mens inferior tweed trowsers  
 5 pr. mens duck sheeting trowsers  
 10 skeins 3 strand twine #1  
 1 skein 3 strand twine #5  
 1 skein 3 strand twine #9  
 3 lbs. best mixed vermilion

2 fine blue cloth vest  
2 lbs. brass ear wire  
1 lb. brass snaring wire  
1/2 lb. colored worsted  
1/2 lb. ingrain worsted  
1 lb. mustard  
1/4 cwt. English salt  
43 lbs. Congou tea  
1 marble covd. foolscap book 1 gre  
1 marble covd. foolscap book 3/4 gre  
1 marble covd. foolscap book 1/2 gre  
1/6 doz. black inkpowders  
1 gre ruled foolscap paper  
1/4 gross Gallots steel pens  
1/2 doz. com. black lead pencils  
1/6 oz. Turlington's balsam  
1/4 lb. spirits of hartshorn  
1/2 lb. castor oil  
1/4 lb. Basilicon ointments  
1/4 Calamine ointments  
1/4 doz. essence of peppermint  
1/4 yd. adhesive plaster  
1/4 lb. blister plaster  
1/4 lb. strengthening plaster  
1 doz. purges  
1/6 doz. com. glass vials 1/2 oz  
1/6 doz. com. glass vials 1 oz.  
1/6 doz. com. glass vials 2 oz.  
1 doz. vomits

Source: HBCA, B60/d/1, fo. 75

## D-19: Goods Stolen from Jasper House, Winter of 1874-5

4 each fine cloth capots 3 1/2 ells  
 2 each grey cloth capots 4 ells  
 3 each grey capots 3 1/2 ells  
 6 each fine striped blankets 3 pts.  
 3 each plain white blankets 3 1/3 pts.  
 1 each plain white blankets 1 1/3 pts.  
 3 pr. drab corduroy trousers  
 5 pr. inferior tweed trousers  
 6 pr. drab Beaverteen trousers  
 4 pr. com. grey cloth trousers  
 25 yds. striped druggets  
 7 yds. striped cotton  
 12 yds. 2nd scarlet cloth  
 14 yds. HB blue strouds  
 5 each Crimean shirts  
 7 each Yacht shirts  
 4 each com. striped cotton shirts  
 4 each com. striped boys cotton shirts  
 60 yds. 9/8 printed cotton  
 3 each black silk handkfs.  
 7 each cold. silk handkfs.  
 1 each tartan 8/4 shawl  
 2 each tartan 5/4 shawl  
 3 each felt hats  
 4 each white cloth capots 1 1/2 ells  
 2 each scarlet worsted belts 2 in.  
 2 each cold. -worsted belts 2 in.  
 2 each scarlet worsted belts 4 in.  
 1 each plain white blanket 1 pt.  
 80 lbs. crushed sugar  
 28 lbs tea  
 52 lbs C.T. tobacco  
 20 1/2 lbs shot  
 8 pr. earrings  
 3/4 [\_\_\_\_\_] garters  
 2 1/12 doz. new worsted braid  
 8 each files 8 in.  
 3 each files 6 in.  
 4 each fine clasp knives  
 2 boxes matches  
 9 doz. ball buttons  
 4 each tin kettles  
 1 each tin kettles  
 21 lbs powder

Source: GAIA, M477, Richard Hardisty Papers, Box 4, Folder 118, Item 709.

## D-20: Saskatchewan District Inventory, 1 June 1860

24 2/3 gross Indian awls  
 5/12 doz. colored earthenware basins & saucers  
 28 bunches colored agate beads  
 4 bun. white agate beads  
 3 bun. com. barley-corn beads  
 18 bun. amber cut glass beads  
 2 bun. ruby cut glass beads  
 2 bun. white cut glass beads  
 1 5/6 doz. cut glass necklace beads  
 89 1/2 lbs. com. round asst. colored beads  
 22 bun. colored pigeon egg beads  
 4 bun. colored seed beads  
 11 bun white seed beads  
 5 bun. gold & steel beads  
 21 lbs. fine white enamel beads  
 1 5/6 doz. white metal dog bells  
 2 3/4 gross yellow metal hawk bells  
 38 colored worsted belts 2 in.  
 6 colored worsted belts 4 in.  
 35 scarlet worsted belts 2 in.  
 18 scarlet worsted belts 4 in.  
 40 scarlet worsted belts 6 in.  
 1 Broad L'Assomption belt  
 5 narrow L'Assomption belts  
 4 green blankets 4 pts.  
 3 green blankets 3 1/2 pts.  
 4 green blankets 3 pts.  
 1 dark blue blanket 3 pts.  
 2 light blue blankets 3 pts.  
 3 light blue blankets 2 1/2 pts.  
 3 plain white blankets 4 pts.  
 1 plain white blanket 3 1/2 pts.  
 43 plain white blankets 3 pts.  
 185 plain white blankets 2 1/2 pts.  
 69 plain white blankets 2 pts.  
 61 plain white blankets 1 1/2 pts.  
 36 plain white blankets 1 pt.  
 5 plain scarlet blankets 3 pts.  
 3 plain scarlet blankets 2 1/2 pts.  
 12 fine striped blankets 3 pts.  
 12 fine striped blankets 2 1/2 pts.  
 2 striped duffle blankets 3 bars  
 1/4 doz. Japd. tobacco boxes & B. glass [?]  
 1 5/6 doz. Japd. tobacco boxes plain  
 1 double rein bridle



3 single rein bridles  
 2/3 gross metal coat buttons  
 23 1/6 gross gilt ball vest buttons  
 4 1/4 gross plated ball vest buttons  
 2 gross narrow worsted braid  
 1/6 doz. com. cloth foraging caps  
 12 3/4 doz. highland com. worsted caps  
 2 3/4 m. anticorrosive percussion caps  
 4 blanketing capots 3 1/2 ells  
 2 blanketing capots 4 ells  
 2 fine blue cloth capots 3 1/2 ells  
 2 fine blue cloth capots 4 ells  
 3 grey mixed cloth capots 3 1/2 ells  
 1 grey mixed cloth capot 4 ells  
 10 Indian white capots 1 ell  
 30 Indian white capots 1 1/2 ells  
 22 Indian white capots 2 ells  
 3 Indian white capots 2 1/2 ells  
 23 Indian white capots 3 ells  
 30 Indian white capots 3 1/2 ells  
 11 Indian white capots 4 ells  
 1 1/6 doz. highlanders playing cards  
 36 yds. 2nd dark blue cloth  
 36 yds. 2nd light blue cloth  
 16 1/3 yds. 2nd dark green cloth  
 151 yds. 2nd scarlet cloth  
 9 fine blue cloth frock coats  
 4 chiefs scarlet laced coats  
 1/6 doz. fine dressing combs  
 2 doz. large horn combs  
 4 1/6 doz. small horn combs  
 8 1/2 doz. small ivory combs  
 52 1/3 yds. 7/8 printed cotton  
 2 1/2 yds. 6/4 blue striped cotton  
 24 yds. fine white shirting cotton  
 6 1/2 doz. hand dags 7 in.  
 5 2/3 doz. hand dags 9 in.  
 7 yds. white duffle  
 1/3 doz. black foxtail feathers  
 2 3/4 doz. colored cock feathers  
 2 1/2 gross black silk ferret  
 3 gross colored silk ferrets  
 6 doz. flat bastard files 6 in.  
 15 5/12 doz. flat bastard files 8 in.  
 4 7/12 doz. flat bastard files 10 in.  
 4 Guernsey woolen frocks  
 1 red HB ensign flag 2 yds.  
 1 red HB ensign flag 4 yds.  
 1/2 gross BB 10 diaper garters  
 10 3/4 gross Army lace worsted garters  
 5 gross fine highland garters

1/4 gross plain coloured worsted garters  
 3 1/4 gross plain scarlet worsted garters  
 1/4 gross striped scarlet worsted garters  
 13 2/3 doz. round metal cased looking glasses  
 23 com. Indian guns  
 2 fine steel mounted double barrel guns: flintlocks  
 9 fine steel mounted single barrel guns: flintlocks  
 4 cents mixed gun flints  
 21 3/4 kegs TPF gunpowder 66 2/3 lbs.  
 8 5/6 gross wire gunworms  
 15 1/6 doz. com. cotton handkfs.  
 11/12 doz. harness muslin handkfs.  
 1/7 piece India bandd. silk handkfs.  
 1/7 piece corah [?] bandd. silk handkfs.  
 12 com. wool hats  
 1/4 cent cod hooks  
 1/2 cent front hooks  
 7 large powder horns  
 32 1/4 lbs. covered copper kettle  
 85 3/4 lbs. open copper kettles  
 1/3 doz. cartouche knives  
 4 11/12 doz. com. pocket knives  
 1/12 doz. fine pocket knives  
 118 doz. Roach handle knives  
 137 scalping knives  
 2/3 doz. strong hunting knives  
 1/6 doz. com. pen knives  
 7 m. brass tack nails  
 1/2 cent B.T. needles  
 3 cent darning needles  
 2 cent Glovers needles  
 1 cent W.C. needles  
 3 [\_\_\_\_\_] iron frying pans  
 5/6 doz. roll Pomatum  
 1 gross Homilies clay pipes  
 1/4 doz. Japd. tin quart pots  
 2/3 doz. Japd. tin pint pots  
 1/3 doz. Japd. tin 1/2 pint pots  
 1/1/2 doz. com. paper cased razors  
 1 piece 4 oz. colored ribbon  
 2 3/4 pieces 6 oz. colored ribbon  
 3 1/4 piece 10 oz. colored ribbon  
 26 gross yellow metal finger rings  
 16 embossed robes #1  
 15 embossed robes #2  
 12 embossed robes #3  
 63 kegs Demerara rum 8 galls.  
 1 3/4 kegs English salt 8 galls  
 1 1/2 doz. tailors small scissors  
 3 5/12 doz. womens com. small scissors  
 1 5/6 doz. womens fine small scissors

1/6 doz. printed cotton 5/4 shawls  
 1/4 doz. fawn cachemere 6/4 shawls  
 1/3 doz. scarlet whittle 8/4 large [?] shawls  
 1/6 doz. tartan wool 8/4 shawls  
 46 mens com. blue striped cotton shirts  
 8 mens fine blue striped cotton shirts  
 4 mens fine red striped cotton shirts  
 2 mens com. white flannel shirts  
 5 youths com. striped cotton shirts  
 3 boys com. striped cotton shirts  
 12 childrens com. striped cotton shirts  
 50 1/2 bags ball shot 3/4 cwt.  
 3 1/3 bags BB ball shot 3/4 cwt.  
 45 lbs. hard yellow soap  
 4 1/3 doz. oval polished fire steels  
 776 yds. HB blue strouds  
 480 yds. HB red strouds  
 271 yds. HB white strouds  
 1 1/2 kegs shrub 8 [\_\_\_?]  
 126 yds. com. NW blue strouds  
 135 1/4 yds. com. plain white strouds  
 1/2 doz. broad Holland tape  
 1/2 doz. mid Holland tape  
 2 yds. fine dark tartan  
 3 1/2 yds. Gala plaid tartan  
 2 lbs. all colored linen thread  
 1/4 lbs dark blue line thread  
 3/4 lbs white stitching thread  
 2 doz. white cotton reel thread  
 13 lbs. Congou tea  
 238 carrots tobacco  
 2270 lbs. Canada twist tobacco  
 1137 lbs. negrohead flat plug tobacco  
 1 pr. beaverteen trousers  
 1 pr. fine blue cloth trousers  
 4 pr. drab corduroy trousers  
 2 pr. inferior tweed trousers  
 26 pr. duch shirting trousers  
 83 skeins twine #1  
 124 skeins twine #2  
 61 skeins twine #3  
 21 skeins twine #5  
 41 skeins twine #9  
 25 skeins twine #10  
 32 lbs. net thread twine  
 1 1/6 gross brass steel end thimbles  
 49 1/4 lbs. bright vermilion  
 12 fine blue cloth vests  
 1 dble. breasted vest  
 2 fancy quilting vests  
 13 fancy valentin vests

21 lbs. brass collar wire  
 18 lbs. brass ear wire  
 8 3/4 lbs. brass snaring wire  
 1/6 lbs. iron binding wire  
 1/2 lbs colored worsted

#### Stationery

2 half bound folio books 2 gres  
 4 half bound folio books 1 1/2 gres  
 1 half bound foolscap book 4 gres  
 2 half bound foolscap book 2 gres  
 3 marble covered folio books 1 gres  
 1 1/2 doz. black smithpowder  
 1 1/12 doz. red smithpowder  
 1/2 gre pink blotting paper  
 7 gre ruled folio paper  
 2 gre ruled foolscap paper  
 1 1/2 gre folio post 66 lines fscap size paper  
 3 1/2 gre French engagement paper  
 1/12 doz. steel ruling pens  
 1/6 gross Gillots [?] steel pens  
 1/2 gross collegiate steel pens  
 1 1/4 doz. Windles steel pens  
 1/6 doz. com. red lead pencils  
 1/12 doz. green office ribbon  
 1/4 doz. pink office ribbon  
 3 boxes colored Wafer 1/2 oz.  
 3/4 lbs. black sealing wax  
 1/2 lbs. red sealing wax  
 3 lbs. fancy sealing wax

#### Medicines

1 lb rock alum  
 1/2 lb borax  
 1/2 lb. roll brimstone  
 1 lb. flour of brimstone  
 1/2 lb. gunn camphor  
 3/8 lb. root ginger  
 1/2 lb. Gum Arabic  
 1/2 lb. spirits of hartshorn  
 1/6 lb. soap liniment  
 1 lb. white lint  
 1/8 lb. Spanish liquorice  
 1 lb. carbonate of magnesia  
 1 lb. castor oil  
 1/2 lb. Basilicon ointment  
 1 lb. calamine ointment

1 lb. citrine ointment  
 1/6 lb. saturine ointment  
 1/6 doz. essence of peppermint  
 1/2 yard spread adhesive plaster  
 1 1/2 lb. blistering plaster  
 1 lb. strengthening plaster  
 1 1/2 oz. sulphate of Quinine  
 2 lbs. Epsom salts  
 1/2 lb. Senna leaves  
 1/2 lb. carbonate of soda  
 2 1/2 oz. strychnine  
 1 lb. tartaric acid  
 1/2 lb. tincture of Lavender  
 1 1/4 lb. tincture of opium  
 1 3/4 lb. blue vitriol  
 1 1/3 doz. vomits  
 1 rupture truss

#### New Stores

6 asst. screw augers  
 4 asst. shell augers  
 1 dble block 5 ins.  
 1 single block 5 ins.  
 1 Miog. paint brush  
 1 small paint brush  
 1 hand scrubbing brush  
 1 white wash brush  
 1/6 lb. red chalk  
 3 lb. white chalk  
 1/12 doz. firmers chisels 1/6 in.  
 1/6 doz. firmers chisels 1/2 in.  
 1/6 doz. firmers chisels 3/4 in.  
 1/6 doz. firmers chisels 1 in.  
 1/12 doz. firmers chisels 1 3/4 in.  
 1/4 doz. miog. brass lock cocks  
 1 pr. carpenters compasses  
 2 yds. wire bolting cloth  
 4 1/2 lbs. Ballwick cotton  
 2/3 box armourers asst. files  
 1 1/12 doz. flat bastard files 12 in.  
 2/3 doz. flat bastard files 14 in.  
 1/2 doz. 1/2 round bastard files 10 in.  
 1/2 doz. round bastard files 12 in.  
 1/6 doz. flat smoothing files 8 in.  
 1/12 doz. flat smoothing files 10 in.  
 1/4 doz. 1/2 round smoothing files 8 in.  
 1/12 doz. 1/2 rounds smoothing files 10 in.  
 1/4 doz. flat wood rasp files 12 in.  
 1/12 doz. 1/2 round wood rasp files 12 in.

1/6 doz. 1/2 round wood rasp files 8 in.  
 1/12 round rat tail files 6 in.  
 1/12 doz. smiths rubber files  
 7/12 doz. cross cut saw files  
 2/3 doz. hand saw files  
 1 1/6 doz. pit saw files  
 1/4 doz. tenon saw files  
 2 1/3 doz. assd. borehead gimlets  
 1/6 doz. assd. spike gimlets  
 11 1/2 doz. sq. window glass 7 1/2 x 8 1/2 ins.  
 1/2 doz. flint wine glasses  
 1/6 doz. iron butt hinges 2 1/2 ins.  
 1/4 doz. iron butt hinges 3 ins.  
 2/3 doz. iron butt hinges 4 ins.  
 20/112 cwt flat bar iron 2 5/8" x 1/2"  
 36/112 cwt flat bar iron 1 1/2" x 5/16"  
 18/112 cwt flat bar iron 1 5/8" x 1/6"  
 27/112 cwt hoop iron 2 ins.  
 12/112 cwt round bolt iron 3/8 in.  
 90/112 cwt round bolt iron 1/2 in.  
 40/112 cwt nail rod iron 1/4 in.  
 102/112 cwt nail rod iron 5/16 in.  
 73/112 cwt nail rod iron 3/8 in.  
 83/112 cwt nail rod iron 1/2 in.  
 1/12 doz. carving knives & forks  
 5 lbs. powdered blacklead  
 2 dble cod lines 30 threads  
 11 dble cod lines 26 threads  
 10 single cod lines 26 threads  
 1/6 doz. wood stock locks 8 in.  
 1/12 doz. wood stock locks 10 in.  
 8 m. 8 oz. fine clasp nails  
 7 m. 14 oz. fine clasp nails  
 2 m. 20 oz. fine clasp nails  
 2 patent cut nails 3 1/2 in.  
 2 1/2 m. patent cut nails 4 in.  
 7 m. 12 oz. fine drawn nails  
 4 m. 14 oz. fine drawn nails  
 18 m. 20 oz. fine drawn nails  
 1 m. 30 oz. flat point nails  
 3/4 cwt 40 oz. flat point nails  
 13 m. 18 oz. fine [drawn?] nails  
 19 m. 20 oz. fine [drawn?] nails  
 4 galls. prepared linseed oil  
 1/4 cwt. white paint  
 1/4 cwt. yellow paint  
 1/4 cwt. blue paint  
 1 dble iron hand plane  
 1 [\_\_\_\_\_] plough plane  
 1 rabbet plane  
 5/12 doz. earthenware cold. dessert plates

3/4 doz. earthenware cold. flat plates  
 1/2 doz. earthenware cold. soup plates  
 35 lbs. prepared putty  
 1 cwt. staple rope 1 in.  
 1 cwt whale line rope 2 in.  
 3/4 lb. rosin  
 1 carpenters 2 feet 2 fold rule  
 21 lbs saltpetre  
 1 turning saw 3 feet  
 18 patent grass scythes  
 2 pair steel spring sniffers  
 1/4 doz. Britd. metal table spoons  
 1/12 doz. Britd. metal tea spoons  
 2 doz. lind. iron table spoons  
 1/2 doz. lind. iron tea spoons  
 1 carpenters steel square 6 ins.  
 3 scythe stones  
 1 Russia sheeting tents 15 ells  
 1/2 doz. flint 1/2 pint tumblers  
 3/4 keg port wine 8 gall.

#### Articles in Use

7 carpenters adzes  
 2 coopers adzes  
 2 blacksmiths anvils  
 15 apichements [?] "Buffalo"  
 10 asst. screw augers  
 11 asst. shell augers  
 3 Indian awls  
 2 carpenters brad awls  
 2 round head half axes  
 45 square head large axes  
 4 square head half axes  
 1 cast steel armourers axe  
 4 broad squaring axes  
 1 grooving axe  
 6 pick axes  
 6 saddle bags  
 1 wheel barrow  
 13 earthenware basins & saucers  
 11 wooden beadsteads  
 1 blacksmiths bellows  
 12 countersink belts  
 2 dble blocks  
 1 blunderbuss  
 3 tap borers  
 14 nail borers  
 3 carpenters braces and bits  
 1 blacksmith brace

1 single reign bridle  
 9 cart bridles  
 1 broom head brush  
 2 marking brushes  
 3 large paint brushes  
 3 miog. paint brushes  
 6 water buckets  
 2 milk buckets  
 3 brass bedroom candlesticks  
 3 brass table candlesticks  
 2 tin flat candlesticks  
 1 horse carriage  
 1 dog carriage  
 2 box carts  
 49 open carts  
 28 asst. chairs  
 16 asst. firmers chisels  
 15 asst. mortise chisels  
 6 asst. socket chisels  
 25 asst. cold chisels  
 22 broad ice chisels  
 2 huckabuck table cloths  
 3 brass lock cocks  
 76 C.M. horse collars  
 10 C.M. ox collars  
 5 pair carpenters compasses  
 2 pair coopers compasses  
 3 sets bed curtains  
 17 sets window curtains  
 2 large earthenware dishes  
 2 small earthenware dishes  
 4 iron glass coated dishes  
 1 tin with cover dishes  
 1 [\_\_\_\_?]  
 10 iron dags pr. sawyers  
 8 iron dags pr. carpenters  
 19 asst. files  
 1 smiths rubber file  
 1 HB flag 6 yds.  
 3 tin funnels  
 3 hay frames  
 6 carpenters gouges  
 5 boxhead gimlets  
 6 flint wine glasses  
 3 grindstones  
 16 com. Indian guns  
 1 fine dble. barr. gun  
 2 iron swivel gun  
 6 carpenters claw hammers  
 3 carpenters clench hammers  
 1 coopers hammer



4 smiths hand hammers  
 2 smiths sledge hammers  
 1 smiths bench hammer  
 13 sets bag harness  
 86 sets horse harness  
 12 sets ox harness  
 1 harrow  
 22 garden hoes  
 1 coopers inshave [?]  
 6 caulking irons  
 4 branding irons HB  
 1 soldering iron  
 1 grid. p. iron  
 1 colored earthenware Ing. [?] 1/4 gall.  
 3 colored earthenware Ing [?] 1/8 gall  
 2 wrot iron kettles 6 gall.  
 7 wrot iron kettles 8 gall.  
 5 wrot iron kettles 15 gall.  
 14 open copper kettles  
 18 open tin kettles  
 1 tin tea kettle 2 gn.  
 1 tin tea kettle 1 gn.  
 1 wrot iron tea kettle 1 1/2 gn.  
 1 pr. carving knives & forks  
 12 pr. dessert knives & forks  
 26 pr. dining knives & forks  
 1 coopers crumb knife  
 7 coopers drawing knives  
 1 Britd. metal soup ladle  
 1 tin lantern  
 1 chalk line  
 4 dble. cod lines  
 2 sgle. cod lines  
 1/3 doz. padlocks  
 3 caulking mallets  
 24 mandrills  
 1 coffee mill  
 1 steel corn mill with fly wheel  
 2 tin candle moulds  
 2 pr. nippers  
 1 sturgeon net  
 45 whitefish nets  
 1 sein 45 fins net  
 3 camp ovens  
 4 iron frying pans  
 2 tin oval pans  
 8 tin round pans  
 13 tin tureen pans  
 2 brad planes  
 6 goving [grooving?] planes  
 6 hand planes

6 jack planes  
 2 jointer planes  
 1 ogee plane  
 1 philister plane  
 3 plough planes  
 1 rabbet plane  
 3 sash planes  
 5 Irving planes  
 26 earthenware flat plate "dessert"  
 18 E-ware soup plates "dessert"  
 12 E-ware flat plates "dinner"  
 4 blacksmiths screws with taps  
 4 ploughs  
 3 tin Japd. quart pots  
 2 tin plain quart pots  
 1 tin plain pint pots  
 1 tin quart porringer  
 6 tin pint porringers  
 6 tin 1/2 pint porringers  
 1 iron poker  
 6 blacksmiths punches  
 1 carpenters punch  
 1 coopers punch  
 5 iron garden rakes  
 1 wooden garden rake  
 2 mahogany rulers  
 5 carpenters rules  
 36 pack saddles  
 6 riding saddles with stirrups  
 2 cross cut saws  
 1 dovetail saw  
 2 frame saws  
 7 hand saws  
 1 keyhole saw  
 7 pit saws  
 3 turning saws  
 4 tenon saws  
 1 pr. copper scales  
 1 pr. iron beam scales  
 17 grass scythes  
 1 pr. blacksmiths shears  
 36 sickles  
 1 iron fire shovel  
 10 garden shovels  
 3 pr. snuffers  
 9 garden spades  
 1 carpenters spokeshave  
 12 Britd. metal table spoons  
 6 Britd. metal tea spoons  
 5 tind. iron table spoons  
 9 tind. iron tea spoons

- 2 steel squares
- 2 wooden squares
- 3 ink stands
- 5 wash hand stands
- 2 tin strainers
- 2 Turkey oil stones
- 4 steelyards
- 4 sheet iron stoves 2 feet
- 5 single cast iron stoves 2 1/2 feet
- 1 cooking cast iron stove 3 feet
- 1 dbble. cast iron stove 3 feet
- 2 regulation swords
- 3 pr. snowshoes
- 15 asst. pine tables
- 10 pr. blacksmiths tongs
- 2 pr. fire tongs
- 10 beaver traps
- 9 rat traps
- 1 Japd. tea tray
- 2 wooden troughs
- 17 flint glass 1/2 pint tumblers
- 4 salting vats
- 2 blksmiths bench vices
- 1 blksmiths hand vice
- 2 brass weights 4 lbs.
- 1 brass weight 2 lbs.
- 2 brass weights 1 lb.
- 2 brass weights 1/2 lb.
- 2 pr. cart wheels

Source: HBCA, B60/d/134, fo. 1

## Endnotes

Jasper House and the Transmontane Fur Trade, 1810-1907

1. E.E. Rich, The Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870, Volume 2, (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1959), p. 232.
2. A. S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1870-1, 2nd Edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 477.
3. E.E. Rich, The Fur Trade and the North West to 1857 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), pp. 215-16.
4. E.E. Rich, The Hudson's Bay Company, op. cit., p. 232.
5. See David Smyth, "The Yellowhead Pass and the Fur Trade," B.C. Studies, 64 (Winter 1985-6).
6. G. C. Davidson, The North West Company (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1918), pp. 164-66. See also Morton, op. cit., p. 711.
7. Morton, op. cit., p. 711.
8. For more details on the route, refer to Morton, op. cit., pp. 711-12; Eric Ross, Beyond the River and the Bay (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), pp. 136-8; and Eric Morse, Fur Trade Canoe Routes of Canada/Then and Now (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), pp. 71-101.
9. William Henry was the son of Alexander Henry the Elder of the North West Company. He joined the Montreal concern as a clerk in 1801 and was in Thompson's party when he crossed the Rocky Mountains in 1811. In 1812 he was in the Columbia District, in charge of a post on the Willamette River. He returned to Fort William in

1817 and was then sent to Lesser Slave Lake District, where he ran a post whose location shifted between the Athabasca and Smoky rivers. He retired to Canada in 1823.

10. Gabriel Franchère, Narrative of a Voyage on the North-west Coast of North America during the Years 1811, 1812, 1813, and 1814 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1969), p. 162n. Decoigne, who reportedly built the first Jasper House on Brule Lake, joined the North West Company in 1799 and served on the North Saskatchewan River, the South Branch, and at Jasper House. He was dismissed in 1814 for breaking into a depot and taking two pieces and for extravagance. He was then hired by the Hudson's Bay Company for the Athabasca expedition since he had been the best trader of the North West Company. He brought out 25 packs of excellent furs during his first year (1815-16) at Lesser Slave Lake. He spent the winter of 1816-17 in Peace River, where he was forced to surrender his post to the Nor'Westers. He resigned in 1818.
11. Gabriel Franchère, Adventure at Astoria, 1810-14 (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), pp. 142-3.
12. "Minutes of the North West Company, July 1814," in W. Stewart Wallace (ed.), Documents Relating to the North West Company (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1934), p. 285.
13. Ross Cox, The Columbia River (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 299.
14. Eighteen per cent of the Northern Department's returns in 1840 and 13.2 per cent in 1855. These figures are from Philip Goldring, Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson's Bay Company, Volume II (Ottawa: Parks Canada Manuscript Report No. 412, 1980), p. 104.
15. David Smyth, The Fur Trade Posts at Rocky Mountain House (Ottawa: Parks Canada Manuscript Report No. 197, 1976)
16. Richard McCarty, "Fort Assiniboine, Alberta, 1823-1914: Fur Trade Post to Settled District," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1976), p. 12.
17. Morton, op. cit., p. 701. See also Appendix A of this report.

18. Pierre-Jean DeSmet, Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet, S.J. 1801-1873, Volume II, edited by Hiram Chittenden (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1905), p. 531f.
19. Goldring, op. cit., p. 105.
20. Smyth, The Fur Trade Posts at Rocky Mountain House, op. cit., p. 22.
21. See R. Harvey Fleming (ed.), Minutes of Council of the Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-31 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1940); Hudson's Bay Company Archives (hereafter HBCA), B94/a/1-3, Journals of Jasper House, 1827-30; HBCA B8/d/2, Fort Assiniboine Accounts, 1832; HBCA B8/d/3, Fort Assiniboine Accounts 1836/7.
22. Morton, op. cit., p. 711. Also see HBCA B155/a/6, Lesser Slave Lake Journal, 22 September 1822, p. 15.
23. George Simpson Journal, 10 October 1824, in Frederick Merk (ed.), Fur Trade and Empire, revised edition (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 26.
24. Ibid., p. 27.
25. Morton, op. cit., p. 700; HBCA B94/a/2, fo. 1d, Jasper House Journal 1829/30.
26. Merk, op. cit., p. 350n.
27. Ibid.
28. Smyth, "The Yellowhead Pass and the Fur Trade," op. cit.
29. Ibid. Also see HBCA B60/a/25, fo. 6d, Fort Edmonton Journal, 18 June 1827; fo. 1d, 27 May 1827; fo. 1, 20 May 1828; and fo. 5, 22 June 1828.
30. Henry John Moberly, When Fur Was King (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1929), p. 52.
31. HBCA B60/d/114, fos. 1-20, Fort Edmonton Account Book, 1855.
32. HBCA B94/a/1-3, Jasper House Journals, 1827-30.
33. Hector's Journal, 18 September 1858, in Irene M. Spry

- (ed.), The Papers of the Palliser Expedition, 1857-1860 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1968), p. 329. Also see Fleming, op. cit., pp. 237, 255, and 275.
34. Simpson's Journal, op. cit., 10 October 1824, p. 29; see also Morton, op. cit., pp. 700 and 715.
  35. Ross, op. cit., pp. 137-8.
  36. HBCA B115/a/6, pp. 15-16, Lesser Slave Lake Journal, 27 September 1822. The exact location of the Smoky Lake post is unknown.
  37. Fleming, op. cit., p. 18.
  38. HBCA B115/a/6, p. 31, Lesser Slave Lake Journal, 8 November 1822.
  39. Ibid.
  40. Ibid., 6 January 1823, p. 43.
  41. HBCA B115/e/4, p. 4, Lesser Slave Lake District Report, 1822-3; also see HBCA D4/2, fo. 28, correspondence of G. Simpson to McIntosh, 15 February 1823. The Athabasca Portage Depot probably refers to Jasper House I.
  42. HBCA B115/a/6, pp. 52-3, Lesser Slave Lake Journal, 1823; also see Fleming, op. cit., p. 46.
  43. Ibid.
  44. Alexander Ross, The Fur Hunters of the Far West, Volume II (London: Smith, Elder Co., 1855), p. 202.
  45. George Simpson's Journal, 27 April 1825, op. cit., p. 147.
  46. Michel Klyne, a Dutch Canadian born about 1783, entered the service of the North West Company in or about 1798. He was listed as a voyageur in the Athabasca River District in 1804. In 1821 he was retained by the Hudson's Bay Company and was employed as an interpreter in the Lesser Slave Lake District. Considered a useful and honest servant, and one of the most experienced traders in the District, he was given summer charge of Rocky Mountain house on the Athabasca when William Henry retired in 1823. He was in charge of Jasper House in 1827 and remained so until 1834, when he retired with his large family to the Red River

Settlement.

47. Edward Ermatinger, "Edward Ermatinger's York Factory Express Journal," in Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd Series, Volume 6 (1912), p. 83.
48. Jasper House Journals, 1827-30, op. cit. The following account of Jasper House trade is reconstructed from the daily entries in these journals.
49. HBCA D4/77, fo. 958d. George Simpson to the Governor and Committee, 30 June 1857, Norway House.
50. Brenda Gainer, The Human History of Jasper National Park (Ottawa: Parks Canada Manuscript Report No. 441, 1981), p. 43.
51. HBCA D4/78, fo. 855. George Simpson's Correspondence Book, Simpson to Governor and Committee, 24 June 1858.
52. See When Fur was King, op. cit., pp. 94-5. By his own account, Moberly worked hard to convince his superior of the viability of trade at Jasper House. His reasons for doing so were perhaps not altogether a result of his affectation for the Company's welfare. As chief trader at Lac La Biche, Moberly had been extravagant in trade, had resorted to violence too often (usually getting the worst of it), and was in debt due to gambling. As a result, George Simpson ordered him to come out with the Saskatchewan brigade to Norway House during the next summer. See HBCA, D4/54 fo. 182d. Letter of George Simpson to H.J. Moberly, 23 June 1857.
53. Moberly, op. cit., p. 57.
54. Ibid., p. 98.
55. Ibid.
56. HBCA B60/e/9, fo. 2, Edmonton District Report, 1862.
57. Ibid.
58. A.A. den Otter, "Transportation and the Transformation: The Hudson's Bay Company, 1857-1885," Great Plains Quarterly, Summer 1983, p. 172.
59. H.A. Innis, The Fur Trade in Canada, revised edition, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 363.



60. HBCA D4/78, fo. 855. Simpson's Correspondence Book, Simpson to Governor and Committee, 24 June 1858.
61. Innis, op. cit., p.331.
62. Ibid., p. 354.
63. George M. Grant, Ocean to Ocean (Toronto: James Campbell and Sons, 1873), p. 232.
64. Glenbow-Alberta Institute and Archives. M477, Richard Hardisty Papers, Box 3, Folder 97, Item 555, John Brown to Hardisty, 3 February 1874.
65. Ibid., Box 5, Folder 140, Item 827, J.A. Grahame to Hardisty, 5 January 1876.
66. Innis, op. cit., p. 371.
67. James G. MacGregor, Edmonton Trader: The Story of John A. McDougall (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963), p. 162.
68. Jasper-Yellowhead Historical Society, Historical Files, T.C. Young File.
69. Ibid.
70. Edmonton Bulletin, October 1899.
71. Public Archives of Canada, RG 84, Volume 1472, File J-16-3/1, Statutory Declaration of L.J. Swift, 4 September 1909.
72. Ibid., File J-16-1, Memorandum on Squatters' Claims, 18 December 1937.

#### Nineteenth Century Building in the Upper Athabasca Valley

1. Jack Elliott, Jasper National Park and Ya-Ha-Tinda Ranch Archaeological Survey (Ottawa: Parks Canada Manuscript Report No. 44, 1970), p. 51; and Ross Anderson and B.O.K. Reeves, Jasper National Park Archaeological Inventory (Ottawa: Parks Canada Manuscript Report No. 158, 1975), p. 192.
2. Trudy Nicks, "Mary Anne's Dilemma: The Ethnohistory of an Ambivalent Identity," in Canadian Ethnic

Studies/Etudes Ethniques au Canada, Special Issue: The Metis: Past and Present, XVII: 2 (1985), pp. 106-7.

3. For more information on this, see A.J. Ray, Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Hunters, Trappers, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1670-1870 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).
4. Gertrude Nicks, "Demographic Anthropology of Native Populations in Western Canada, 1800-1975," unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, 1980, p. 13.
5. Ibid., p. 14. The term Metis, as used in this study, is a generic term encompassing all communities associated with niches in the fur trade to which neither indigenous Indian households nor European households had responded. It includes both the historical Metis who arose in the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes trading system, and in its extension to the Pacific and Arctic coasts, who chose to see themselves as collectively distinct from Indian neighbours and the 'white' community. It also includes those individuals of mixed Indian and European ancestry who held similar views as to their relations with Indians and with whites. This broad categorization facilitates analytical conceptualization, while permitting differentiation of separate Metis communities. This usage is not affected by the fact the historical actors may have used other terms to identify particular Metis communities, terms such as Country-born, Hudson Bay English, half-breed, freemen, etc.

For a more detailed discussion of this semantic problem, see John E. Foster, "The Metis: The People and the Term," in Prairie Forum, 3: 1 (1978) and the introduction to Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. H. Brown (eds.) The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1985.)

6. HBCA, B94/a/1-3, Jasper House Journals, 1827-31.
7. Frederick Merk (ed.) Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal, revised edition (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 21n.
8. James Teit, The Shuswap, in Franz Boas (ed.) Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History -- The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Volume II, Part VII, p. 455.

9. Viscount Milton and W.B. Cheadle, The Northwest Passage by Land, 9th edition (London: Cassel and Company, 1901), pp. 235-7.
10. Simpson's Journal of 27 April 1825, in Merk, op. cit., p. 146.
11. Simpson's Journal of 21 September 1824, in Merk, op. cit., pp. 21-2.
12. Ibid., p. 22.
13. HBCA, B94/a/1-3, Jasper House Journals, 1827-1831.
14. Ibid., entries for 11-12 April 1830.
15. Henry John Moberly, When Fur Was King (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1929), p. 107.
16. PAC, RG 10, Volume 3604, File 257, Census of the Saskatchewan District, 1873.
17. Hector's Journal, 18 September 1859, in Irene M. Spry (ed.) The Papers of the Palliser Expedition (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1968), pp. 455-6.
18. Teit, op. cit., pp. 455-6.
19. Ibid., p. 460.
20. Nicks, "Demographic Anthropology...", op. cit., p. 20.
21. Elliot Coues (ed.), New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson, Volume II (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1897), p. 523.
22. Ibid., p. 242.
23. HBCA, B94/a/1, fo. 14d. Jasper House Journal, 28 April 1827; and B94/a/2, fo. 5d. Jasper House Journal, 6 November 1829.
24. HBCA, B94/a/1. fo. 12. Jasper House Journal, 10 March 1828.
25. Nicks, "Demographic Anthropology...", op. cit., p. 24.
26. Coues, op. cit., Volume II, p. 523.

27. HBCA, B60/e/5, fo. 4. Edmonton District Report, 1822-3.
28. Hiram Chittenden (ed.) Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S.J., 1801-1873, Volume II (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1905), pp. 508-9.
29. Sullivan's journal, 19 July 1858, in Spry, op. cit., p. 251.
30. PAC, RG 10, Volume 3855, File 80143.
31. Jasper-Yellowhead Historical Society, William Shovar File.
32. HBCA, B94/a/1, fo.5. Jasper House Journal, 31 October 1827; and B94/a/1, fo. 2, Jasper House Journal, 2 October 1827.
33. Trudy Nicks and Kenneth Morgan, "Grande Cache: The Historical Development of an Indigenous Alberta Metis Population," in Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown (eds.) The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985), p. 165.
34. Trudy Nicks, "The Iroquois and the Fur Trade in Western Canada," in Carol Judd and Arthur J. Ray (eds.) Old Trails and New Directions (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), p. 86.
35. Ibid., p. 91.
36. Merk, op. cit., p. 20n.
37. Nicks, "Demographic Anthropology...", op. cit., p. 56.
38. HBCA, B115/e/4, fo. 3d. Lesser Slave Lake District Report, 1822-3.
39. Nicks, "The Iroquois and the Fur Trade...", op. cit., p. 94.
40. Nicks and Morgan, op. cit., p. 167.
41. Chittenden, op. cit., pp. 536-7.
42. Hector's Journal, 28 January 1859, in Spry op. cit., p. 367.
43. PAA, Alberta Lacombe Papers, Box 1, Item 6, A. Lacombe,

- "Notice historique sur les Missions du Lac Ste. Anne, St. Albert,...1842-64," p. 14; and Box 22, Item 54, A. Lacombe, "Memoirs," Cahier I, pp. 37-9.
44. Nicks, "Demographic Anthropology...", op. cit., p. 56.
  45. Teit, op. cit., pp. 455-6.
  46. Hector's Journal, 8 March 1858 and 9 February 1859, in Spry, op. cit., pp. 221-2 and p. 377.
  47. Nicks, "Mary Anne's Dilemma...", op. cit., p. 107.
  48. Ibid., p. 106.
  49. Nicks, "Demographic Anthropology...", op. cit., p. 66.
  50. Nicks and Morgan, op. cit., p. 168.
  51. HBCA, B94/a/1-3, Jasper House Journals, 1827-31.
  52. Nicks, "Demographic Anthropology...", op. cit., p. 60.
  53. Nicks and Morgan, op. cit., p. 169.
  54. Coues, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 448.
  55. Hector's Journal, 8 March 1858 and 28 January 1859, in Spry op. cit., pp. 221-227 and p. 367; HBCA B115/e/1, Lesser Slave Lake District Report, 1819-20, fo. 4d.
  56. Moberly, op. cit., p. 53.
  57. HBCA, B8/a/1, Fort Assiniboine Journal, 23 October 1828.
  58. C.A. Weslager, The Log Cabin in America: From Pioneer Days to the Present (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1969), pp. 59-62.
  59. These underground houses were entered from the top and consisted of four rooms. The upper or top room was called the head room and consisted of the space next to the high land or mountain into which these structures were built. The opposite room next to the water was a kitchen or storehouse. The 'under room' was the space under the ladder, and the 'bottom room' consisted of the space at the foot of the ladder. See Teit, op. cit., p. 492.
  60. Ibid., p. 496.

61. Quoted in Dana-Mae Grainer and Brian D. Ross, "Petite Ville Site Survey, Saskatchewan," Parks Canada Research Bulletin, No. 143 (September 1980); for other descriptions, see James Moodie, "The Saint Albert Settlement: A Study in Historical Geography," Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Alberta, 1965; Rev. Clovis Rondeau, La Montagne de Bois (Quebec, 1923); Maurice Doll and Robert S. Kidd, "The Buffalo Lake Metis Site, Report on Project 75-26, Field Season 1975," Alberta Culture, Provincial Museum of Alberta, 1976.
  
62. Other names for the building style include poteaux sur sole (post-on-sill) and poteaux en coulisse (grooved posts). Descriptions of this type of construction may be found in Marius Barbeau, "The House that Mac Built," The Beaver (December 1945); Fred Kniffen and Henry Glassie, "Building in Wood in the Eastern United States: A Time-Place Perspective," The Geographical Review, LVI: 1 (January 1966); T. Ritchie, "Plankwall Framing: A Modern Wall Construction with an Ancient History," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, XXX: 1 (March 1971); Jill Wade, "Log Construction at Red River," Canadian Antique Collector (November-December 1972); A.J.H. Richardson, "A Comparative Historical Study of Timber Building in Canada," Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology, V: 3 (1973); and Peter Moogk, Building A House in New France (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977).
  
63. Moogk, op. cit., p. 34.
  
64. Jill Wade, "Red River Architecture, 1812-1870," Unpublished MA Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1967, p. 6.
  
65. Moogk, op. cit., pp. 23-30.
  
66. Ibid., p. 32.
  
67. Wade, "Red River Architecture...", p. 6; Moogk, op. cit., p. 32.
  
68. Thomas R. Garth Jr., "Early Architecture in the Northwest," The Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 38: 3 (July 1941), p. 218.
  
69. Ibid.

70. Ibid., p. 230.
71. Wade, "Red River Architecture...", p. ii and p. 24.
72. D.R. Babcock, "Fur Trade Architecture in Alberta: The First Century (1778-1878)," a paper presented to the Banff Conference on Log Structures in Canada, 27 October 1977.
73. D.N. Steer and H.J. Rodgers, 1975 Archaeological Excavations at Rocky Mountain House National Historic Park, (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1976); W.C. Noble, "The Excavation and Historical Identification of Rocky Mountain House," Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History, No. 6 (Ottawa: National Historic Sites Service, 1973).
74. Gertrude C. Nicks, "The Archaeology of Two Hudson's Bay Company Posts: Buckingham House (1792-1800) and Edmonton House III (1810-13)," unpublished MA Thesis, University of Alberta, 1969, pp. 83-5.
75. Wade, "Red River Architecture...", pp. 40-6.
76. James McEvoy, "Report on the Geology and Natural Resources of the Country Traversed by the Yellowhead Pass Route," Geological Survey of Canada Annual Report for 1898, pp. 5d to 44d.
77. Ibid., pp.43d-44d; PAC RG 84, Volume 1630, File J-325.
78. David Douglas, Journal Kept by David Douglas During His Travels in North America, 1823-1827 (London: Royal Horticultural Society, 1914), p. 73.
79. HBCA, B60/e/9, Edmonton District Report, 1862, fo. 2; George Grant, Ocean to Ocean (Toronto: Coles Publishing reprint, 1979) p. 232.
80. Philip Goldring, Papers on the Labour System of the Hudson's Bay Company, op. cit., Volume II, p. 105.
81. Provincial Archives of British Columbia (hereafter cited as PABC), Add. Mss. 485, Robert M. Rylatt Papers, 1871 diary, p. 164.
82. Babcock, op. cit., pp. 2.
83. Ibid., pp. 2-3.
84. Ibid., pp. 5-8.

85. Moogk, op. cit., p. 32.
86. Noble, op. cit., p. 69.
87. Robert S. Kidd, Fort George and the Early Fur Trade in Alberta (Edmonton: Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta, Publication No. 2, 1970), pp. 41-3.
88. Babcock, op. cit., p. 17.
89. Karlis Karklins, "The Old Fort Point Site: Fort Wedderburn II," Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1981).
90. Moogk, op. cit., p. 29.
91. Quoted in Grace Lee Nute, The Voyageur (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1955), p. 189.
92. Douglas R. Babcock, "The Factor's House, Fort Dunvegan," unpublished report prepared for Alberta Culture, August 1985.
93. Babcock, "Fur Trade Architecture...", p. 18.
94. David Smyth, The Fur Trade Posts at Rocky Mountain House (Ottawa: Parks Canada Manuscript Report No. 197, 1976), p. 73.
95. Alice M. Johnson (ed.), Saskatchewan Journal and Correspondence: Edmonton House, 1796-1800; Chesterfield House, 1800-1802 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1967), pp. 268-71.
96. Ibid., pp. 268-90.
97. Wade, "Red River Architecture...", p. 50.
98. Jack Wolk, "The North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company Forts: 1810-1830," Manitoba Archaeological Quarterly, 6: 3 (1982), p. 41.
99. Garth, op. cit., p. 222.
100. Smyth, op. cit., pp. 103-10.
101. Wolk, op. cit., p. 41.
102. PAC, MG 19 A 13, Alexander Henry Journal, 1799-1816,



Volume II, p. 975.

103. Garth, op. cit., p. 220.
104. Johnson, op. cit.
105. Nicks, "The Archaeology of ...", op. cit., p.44.
106. Smyth, op. cit., p. 89.
107. Johnson, op. cit.
108. Alexander Henry Journal, op. cit., p. 975.
109. Provincial Archives of Manitoba [hereafter cited as PAM], MG 2 C30, "A Note on the Use of Clay Plaster Construction in the Earliest Years of Red River Settlement," dictated by Angus Matheson Henderson.
110. Garth, op. cit., p. 227.
111. Smyth, op. cit., pp. 73-4.
112. G.F.de T. Glazebrook (ed.) The Hargrave Correspondence, 1821-43 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1938), p. 99.
113. Smyth, op. cit., p. 74.
114. Richard Glover (ed.) David Thompson: Narrative of His Explorations in Western American, 1784-1812 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1962), p. 318.
115. In 1811 Thompson took two readings on consecutive days to establish the location of Henry's Camp. The first (52° 53' 24") suggests a point in the vicinity of Jasper Park Lodge, while the second (52° 45' 05") would put the camp somewhere between Lake Edith and Lake Annette. Thompson's third reading (52° 55' 16"), made in 1812, is a point just north of Lake Edith.
116. Brenda Gainer, The Human History of Jasper National Park (Ottawa: Parks Canada Manuscript Report No. 441, 1981), p. 46.
117. Coues, op. cit., Volume II, pp. 641-42n.
118. Gainer, op. cit., p. 45.
119. The article, "Marcel Dubois: The First Brigades," is found in the historical files of the Jasper-Yellowhead Historical Society at Jasper. Although unsigned, it

was almost surely written by W.G.P. Allen, the author of Through the Pembina Valley, 1790-1912 (1972), as pages 88 through 99 of the latter work are almost identical to those of the article on Dubois.

Following completion of the Pembina Valley local history, Allen moved to Seattle where he died in the 1970s. According to D.R. Babcock, historian with Alberta Culture, Mr. Allen contacted him in Edmonton in the early 1970s, claiming to have a number of original documents relating to the construction of Edmonton House and to the fur trade of the district. Allen would not, however, allow the City of Edmonton or Babcock to use or copy the documents. When Allen died, the City of Edmonton Archives attempted again to secure these documents from Allen's estate, but without success. At the present time, the authors have been unable to locate the widow of Mr. Allen.

The historical evidence about the existence of Marcel Dubois is inconclusive. L.R. Masson, editor of the two-volume Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord Ouest, lists both a J.B. Dubois and Jos. Dubois as voyageurs at Fort des Prairie in 1804 (pp. 397-9). Alexander Henry also has a number of references in his journal of 1810 to a Dubois at Fort Augustus, who was employed variously at building boats and cutting wood. (see PAC, MG 19 A13, Volume II, pp. 880-920.

120. Quoted in Smyth, op. cit., p. 89.
121. Gabriel Franchère, Journal of a Voyage on the North-West Coast of North America During the Years 1811, 1812, 1813, and 1814 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1969).
122. Ibid., p. 162n.
123. Gabriel Franchère, Adventure at Astoria, 1810-14 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), pp. 142-3.
124. Ross Cox, The Columbia River (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 289.
125. Ibid.
126. Journal of George Simpson, 11 October 1824, in Merk, op. cit., p. 30.
127. Alexander Ross, The Fur Hunters of the Far West (Lon-

- don: Smith, Elder, 1855), Volume II, pp. 203-4.
128. Douglas, op. cit., pp. 261-2.
  129. Ibid.
  130. HBCA, B94/a/1-3, Jasper House Journals, 1827-31.
  131. Richard Stuart, "The Site of Jasper House: An Historical Survey," unpublished report prepared for Parks Canada, 1985, n.p.
  132. HBCA, B94/a/2, Jasper House Journal, fo. 6, entry of 8 November 1824.
  133. Simpson's Journal of 27 September 1822, in Merk, op. cit., pp. 15-16.
  134. HBCA, B115/a/6, Lesser Slave Lake Journal, 1822, p. 31.
  135. Gainer, op. cit., p. 36.
  136. Simpson's Journal of 11 October 1824, in Merk, op. cit., p. 30.
  137. Gainer, op. cit., p. 138.
  138. Alexander Ross, op. cit., Volume II, p. 202.
  139. Simpson's Journal of 27 April 1825, in Merk, op. cit., p. 147.
  140. Ibid.
  141. Gainer, op. cit., p. 48.
  142. Ida M. Thompson, "Where Was Henry House?" Alberta Historical Review, 8: 4 (Autumn, 1960), p. 26.
  143. Ibid.
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151. Paul Kane, Wanderings of An Artist (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1968), pp. 105-6.
152. That Kane's sketch and painting disagree on the number of wall sections in the largest building may well indicate that the artist had little interest in accurate representation. See also Stuart, op. cit., which takes a different view.
153. Private conversation with Rod Pickard, Parks Canada archaeologist in charge of Jasper House excavations, 29 November 1985.
154. For a detailed discussion of this roof type, see Joan Halloran, "Wooden Forts of the Early Northwest: Fort William," APT Bulletin, VI: 2 (1974), p. 55.
155. Moberly, op. cit., p. 95.
156. Stuart, op. cit.
157. Ibid.
158. Hector's Journal of 31 June 1859, in Spry, op. cit., p. 360.
159. Between 1859 and 1872 other travellers passed through Jasper House, but their accounts add little about the character of the post. Milton and Cheadle only viewed the post from the mountains across the river, and it is not possible to conclude anything on the basis of their rudimentary sketch. Similarly, W.R. Hind's watercolour, which uses approximately the same vantage point, is too vague to be used with confidence.
160. Grant, op. cit., p. 232.
161. HBCA, B60/b/1. fo. 37d, Edmonton Correspondence, 1863-4, W.J. Christie to John McAuley, 10 May 1864.
162. HBCA, B239/c/118, fo. 215d. York Factory Inward Correspondence from Richard Hardisty, Edmonton House, 6 January 1869.

163. GAIA, M477, Richard Hardisty Papers, Box 3, Folder 97, Item 555, John Brown to Hardisty, 3 February 1874.
164. In his description of Jasper House in 1872, William Moberly, a CPR surveyor, reported that the building described by Hector in 1859 had been razed and replaced by a one-room log structure of more recent date. Based on the absence of any mention of any other construction, the apparent age of the buildings photographed by Horetzky, the similarity of this building to that described in Hector's account, and the fact that Moberly was there only two months after Horetzky, it must be conjectured that Moberly's comment represents nothing more than unconvincing speculation.
165. Thompson, op. cit., p. 21.
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168. Thompson, op. cit., p. 19.
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170. Report quoted in Thompson, op. cit., p. 25.
171. Rylatt Papers, op. cit., entry of 2 November 1872.
172. Thompson, op. cit., p. 144.
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177. PAC, RG 84, Volume 1472, File J-16-3, T.C. Young to J.A. Wood, 29 November 1939.
178. Donald A. Hutslar, "The Log Architecture of Ohio," Ohio History, 80: 3/4 (1971), pp. 177-8. Also refer to the first few chapters in Weslager, op. cit.

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180. Ibid., p. 210.
181. Ibid., p. 250.
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193. Ibid., Transfer of Land Agreement, 1935: Swift Property; also see Swift file, JYHS.
194. Diane Payment, Structural and Settlement History of Battoche Village (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1977); A. Powter, Metis Log Building in Saskatchewan (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1977); Commonwealth Historic Resource Management Ltd., Historic Building Technology of Metis Communities, unpublished report prepared for Parks Canada, Prairie Region, 1985.
195. Wade, "Red River Architecture...", op. cit.
196. Historic Building Technology of Metis Communities, op. cit., p. 88.
197. Ibid., p. 83.
198. The preceding paragraph is a summary of Powter, op.

- cit., pp. 7-12 and Historic Building Technology of Metis Communities, op. cit., pp. 67-120.
199. Historic Building Technology of Metis Communities, op. cit., p. 128 and p. 83.
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  201. PAC RG 84, Volume 1630, File J-325, Report on Moberly Buildings, 1966.
  202. Ibid.
  203. Ibid.
  204. Ibid.
  205. Ibid., and JYHS, Moberly File.
  206. PAC RG 84, Volume 1472, File J-16-1.
  207. Ibid.
  208. Report on Moberly Buildings, op. cit.

#### The Material Culture of Jasper House Society

1. The following account of the seasonal round of activities is reconstructed from the only extant Jasper House journals, 1827-31. See HBCA, B94/a/1-3.
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7. Ibid., 18 September 1858, p. 329.
8. Henry John Moberly, When Fur Was King (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1929), pp. 51-3.
9. Hector's Journal, 8 February 1859, op. cit., p. 377.
10. Trudy Nicks, "Mary Anne's Dilemma: The Ethnohistory of an Ambivalent Identity," Canadian Ethnic Studies/ Etudes Ethnique au Canada, XVII: 2 (1985), p. 112.
11. HBCA, B94/a/1-3, Jasper House Journals, 1828-31; HBCA B8/a/1-3, Fort Assiniboine Journals, 1828-31. Fort Assiniboine was established by the Hudson's Bay Company as a winter trading post in 1823, and became an important portage post two years later, after George Simpson decided to make Edmonton House the main depot for the Columbia District. Fort Assiniboine then became the transshipment point where the Athabasca canoes were exchanged for pack horses to Edmonton, and vice-versa. Not only were fur returns from Jasper House and Fort Assiniboine comparable, but the size of the staff at each post was similar.
12. The following analysis of the clothing worn by the inhabitants of the Upper Athabasca Valley takes as its focus the point made earlier, that by the mid-nineteenth century the ethnographic diversity of the region had diminished and that the population was largely Metis.
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19. Julia D. Harrison, Metis: People Between Two Worlds (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1985), p. 29.
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22. Observed by Milton and Cheadle at Fort Carlton and quoted in Harrison, op. cit., p. 30.
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33. Ibid.; Jan Morier, "Metis Decorative Art and Its Inspiration," Dawson and Hind, 8: 1 (1979), p. 31.
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35. Nicks, op. cit., p. 112.
36. Earl of Southesk, op. cit., p. 233.

37. Brasser, "In Search of Metis Art," op. cit., p. 227.
38. Brasser, Bou'jou Neejee! op. cit., p. 38.
39. Earl of Southesk, op. cit., p. 181.
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## Figures

FIGURE NO.: 1

SUBJECT: Main canoe/portage routes of the North West  
Company until 1821.

DATE:

PHOTOGRAPHER/

ARTIST: Drafted by G. Purpur

SOURCE:

REMARKS:

# MAIN ROUTES OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY UNTIL 1821

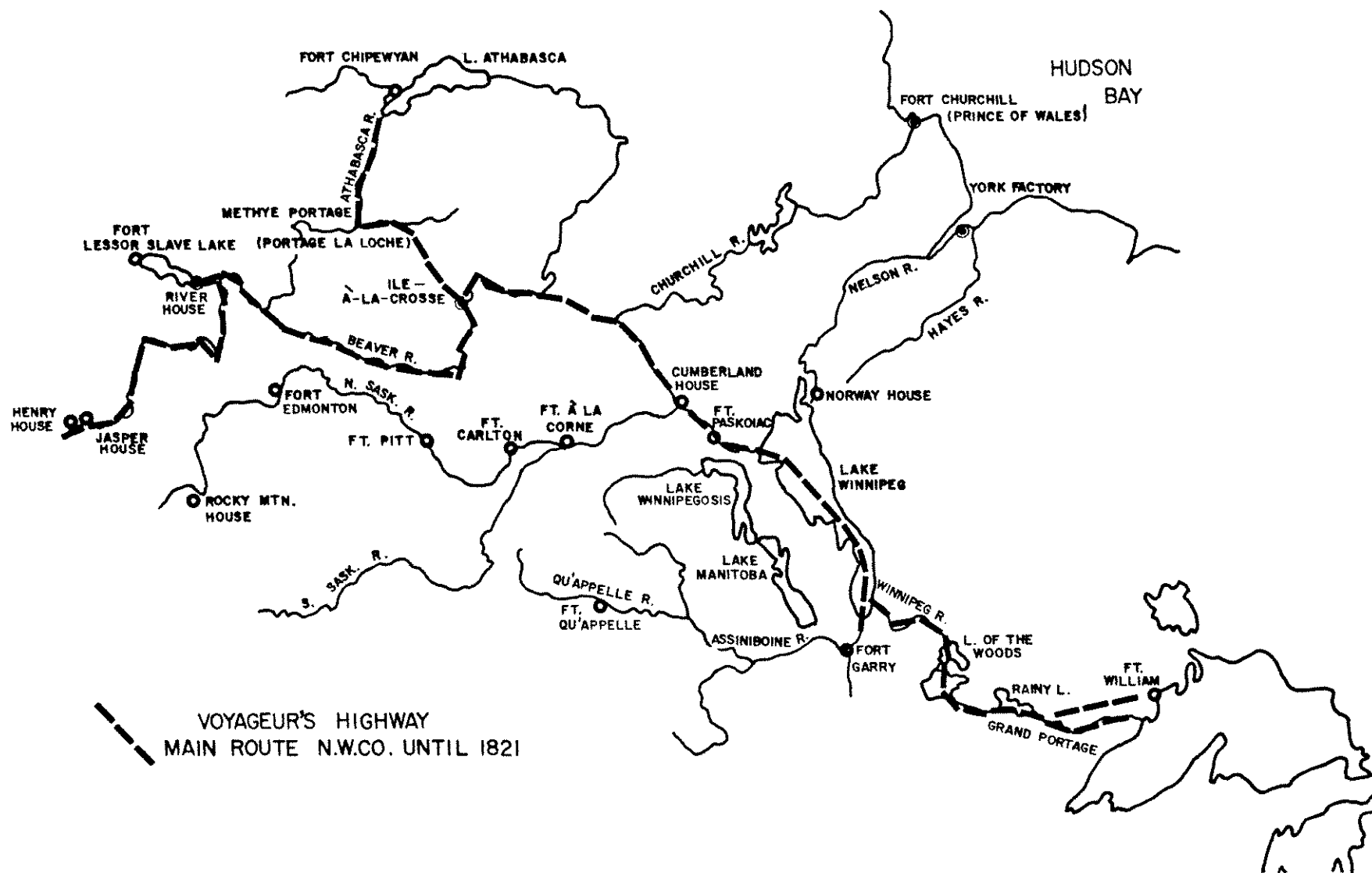




FIGURE NO.: 2

SUBJECT: Detail of the Arrowsmith Map of 1824, showing  
the Administrative Districts of the Hudson's Bay Company in  
the Jasper House Region

DATE: 1824

PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST: Arrowsmith

SOURCE: Hudson's Bay Company Archives, G4/31

REMARKS: Jasper House I is believed to be shown on  
this map as "Rocky Mountain He."



FIGURE NO.: 3

SUBJECT: Map showing the extent of the Saskatchewan District of the Hudson's Bay Company after the administrative reorganization undertaken by George Simpson in 1825.

DATE:

PHOTOGRAPHER/

ARTIST: Drafted by G. Purpur

SOURCE:

REMARKS:

EXTENT OF THE SASKATCHEWAN DISTRICT AFTER SIMPSON'S RE-ORGANIZATION  
1825

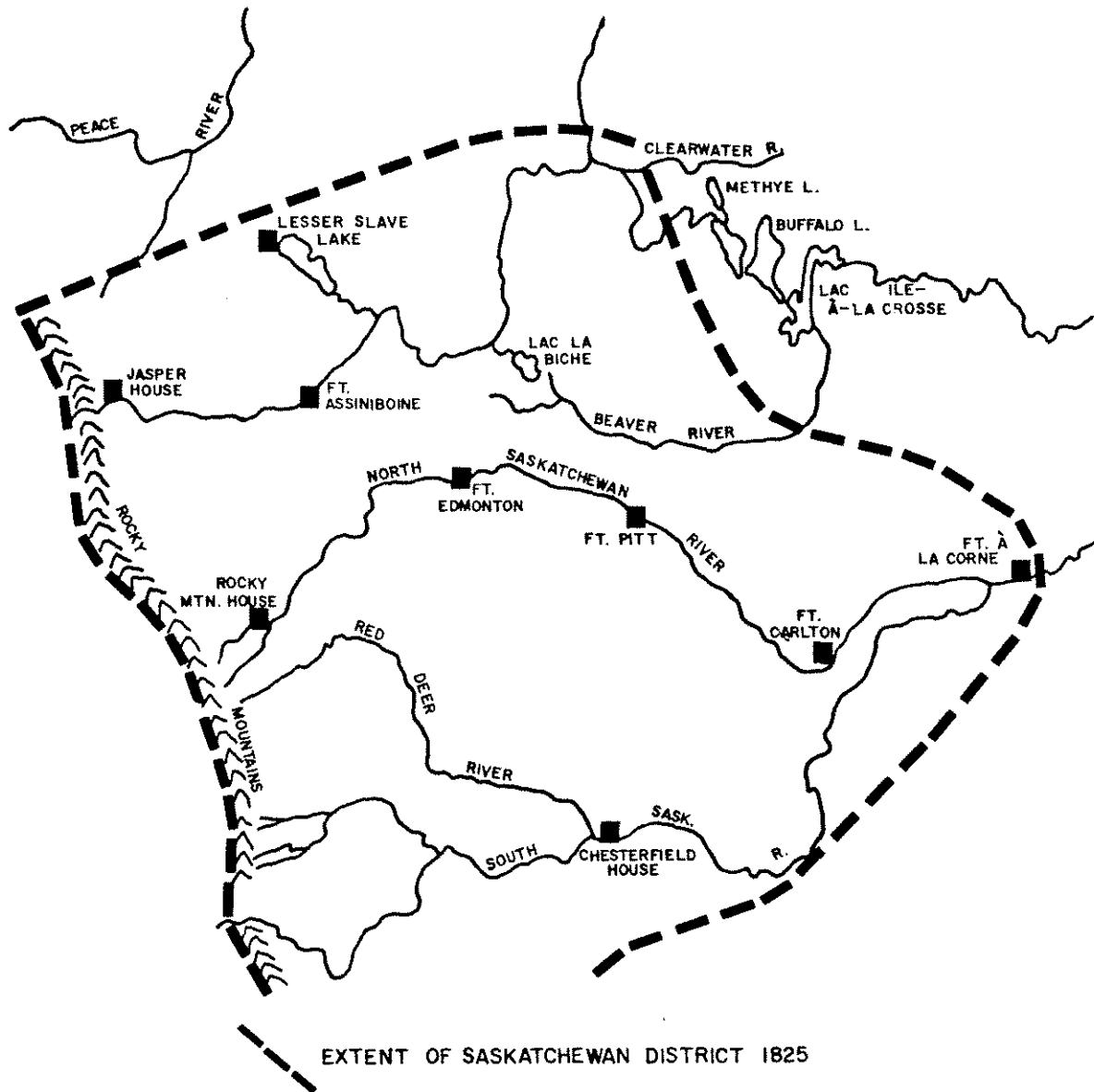


FIGURE NO.: 4

SUBJECT: The upper Athabasca Valley, after a sketch by Chynky es un, a Bungee chief.

DATE: 1809

PHOTOGRAPHER/

ARTIST: Facsimile of a sketch by Chynky es un.

SOURCE: Hudson's Bay Company Archives, E3/4 fo. 15

REMARKS:

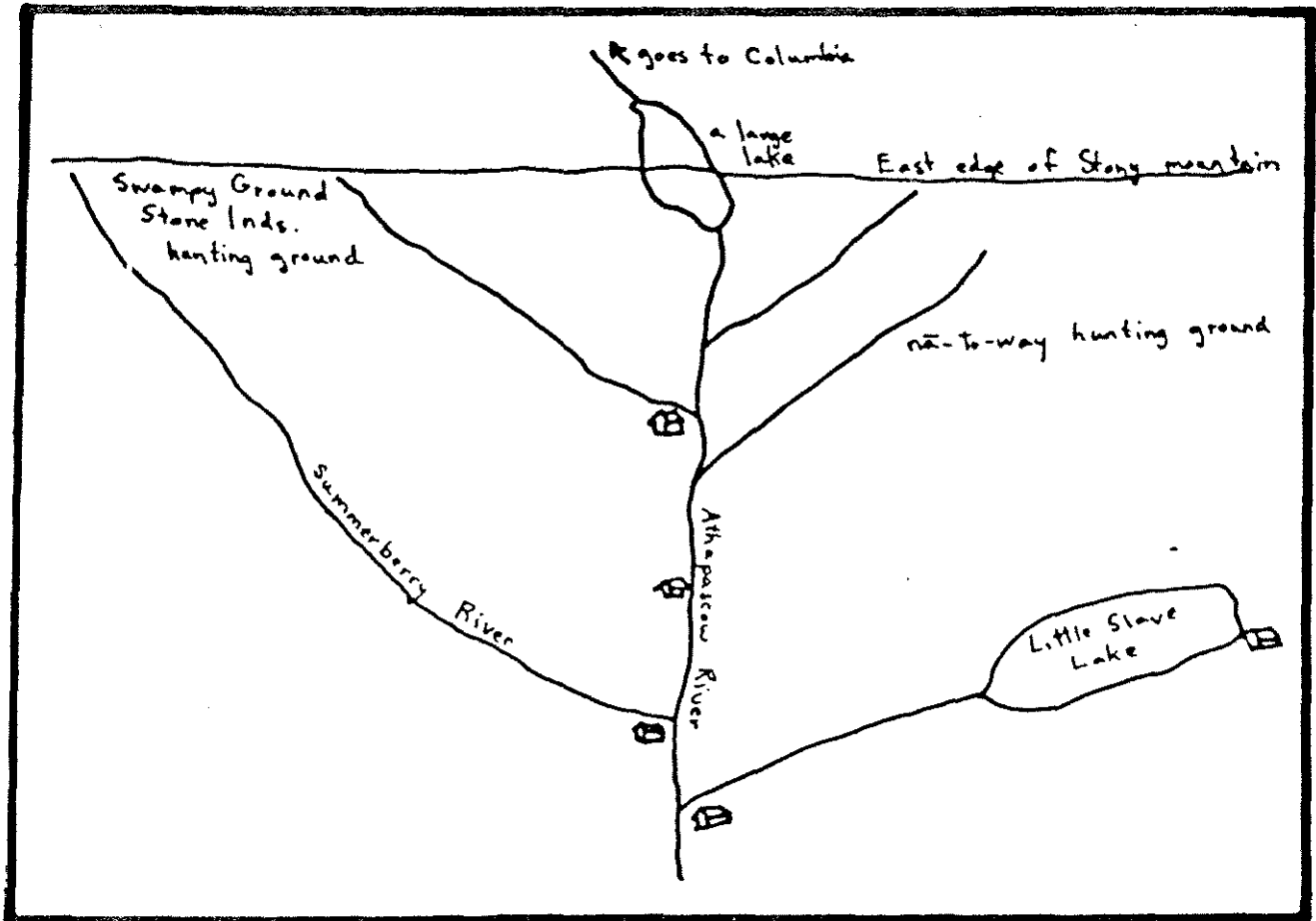


FIGURE NO.: 5

SUBJECT: Map of Northern Alberta, showing the estimated hunting and trapping area utilized by the Jasper House-Smoky River freemen.

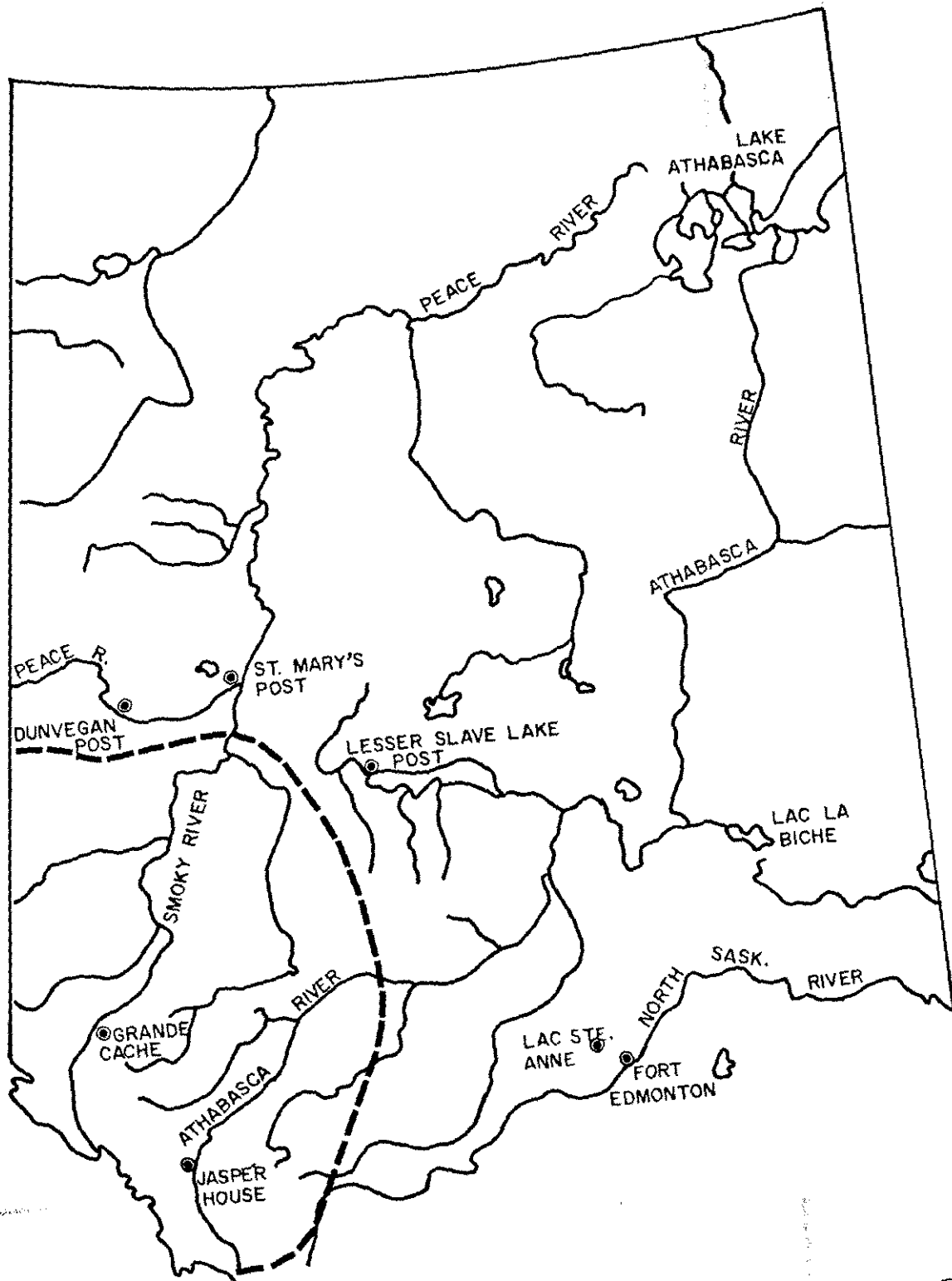
DATE:

PHOTOGRAPHER/

ARTIST: Redrafted by G. Purpur

SOURCE: Trudy Nicks and Kenneth Morgan, "Grande Cache: The Historic Development of an Indigenous Alberta Metis Population," in Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown (eds.), The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985), pp. 163-181.

REMARKS:



NORTHERN ALBERTA— AREA UTILIZED BY THE JASPER HOUSE SMOKY R. FREEMEN  
 --- ESTIMATED LIMITS OF HUNTING AND TRAPPING AREA



FIGURE NO.: 6

SUBJECT: Marital alliances in contemporary and ancestral generations of the Grande Cache metis population.

DATE:

PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST:

SOURCE: Trudy Nicks and Kenneth Morgan, "Grande Cache: The Historic Development of an Indigenous Alberta Metis Population," in Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown (eds.) The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985), pp. 163-181.

REMARKS: The illustration shows the close marital relationships that developed in the ancestral generations of the Moberly and Joachim families of Jasper House. Such a pattern of inter-marriage gave rise to the sub-population referred to in the text as Jasper House society.

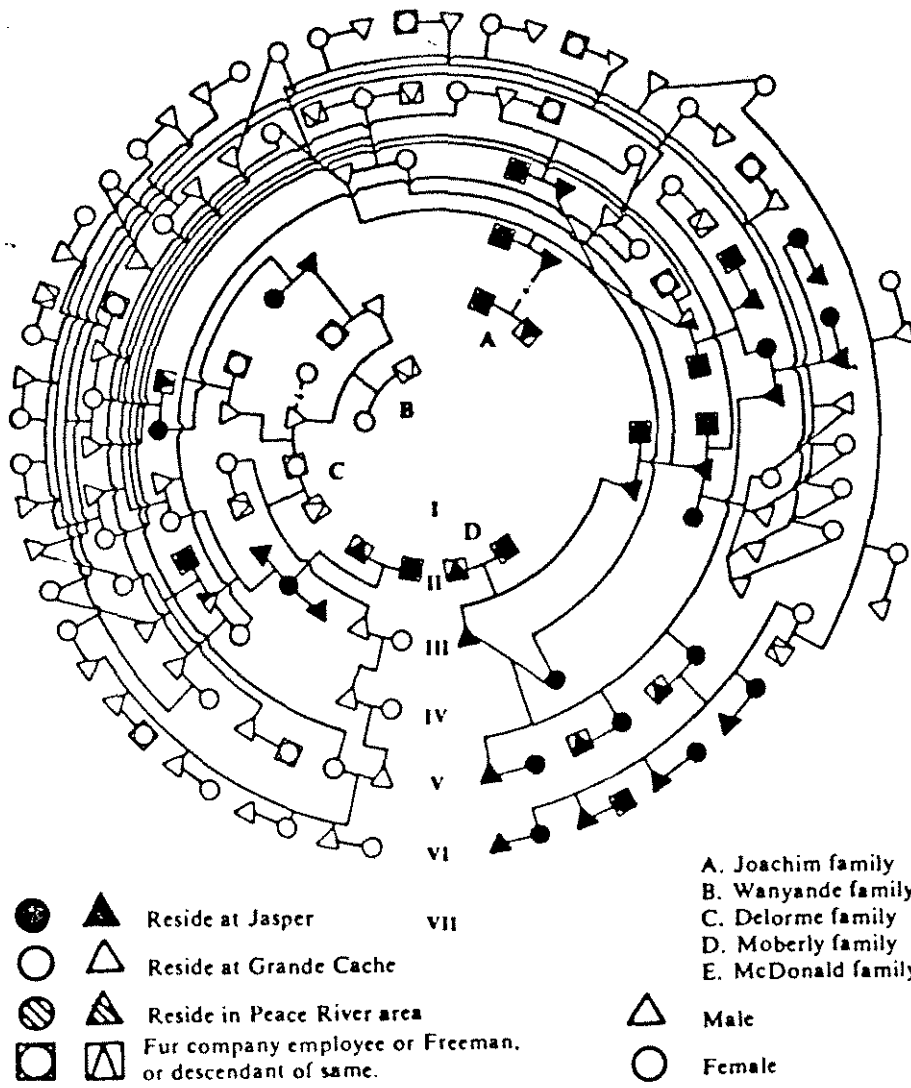


FIGURE NO.: 7

SUBJECT: Illustration showing the difference between post-in-ground and post-on-sill construction.

DATE:

PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST:

SOURCE: D.R. Babcock, "Fur Trade Architecture in Alberta: The First Century (1778-1878), unpublished paper presented to the Banff Conference on Log Structures in Canada, 27 October 1977.

REMARKS:

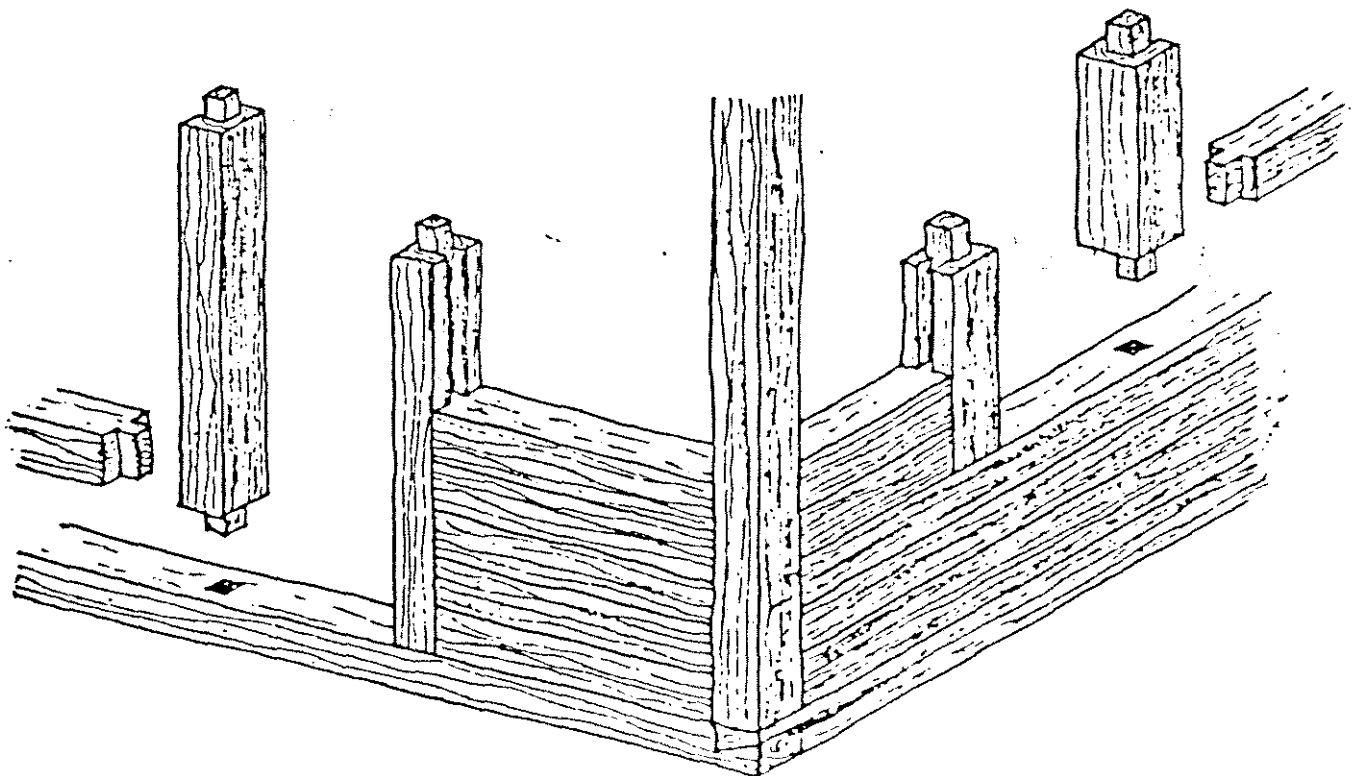
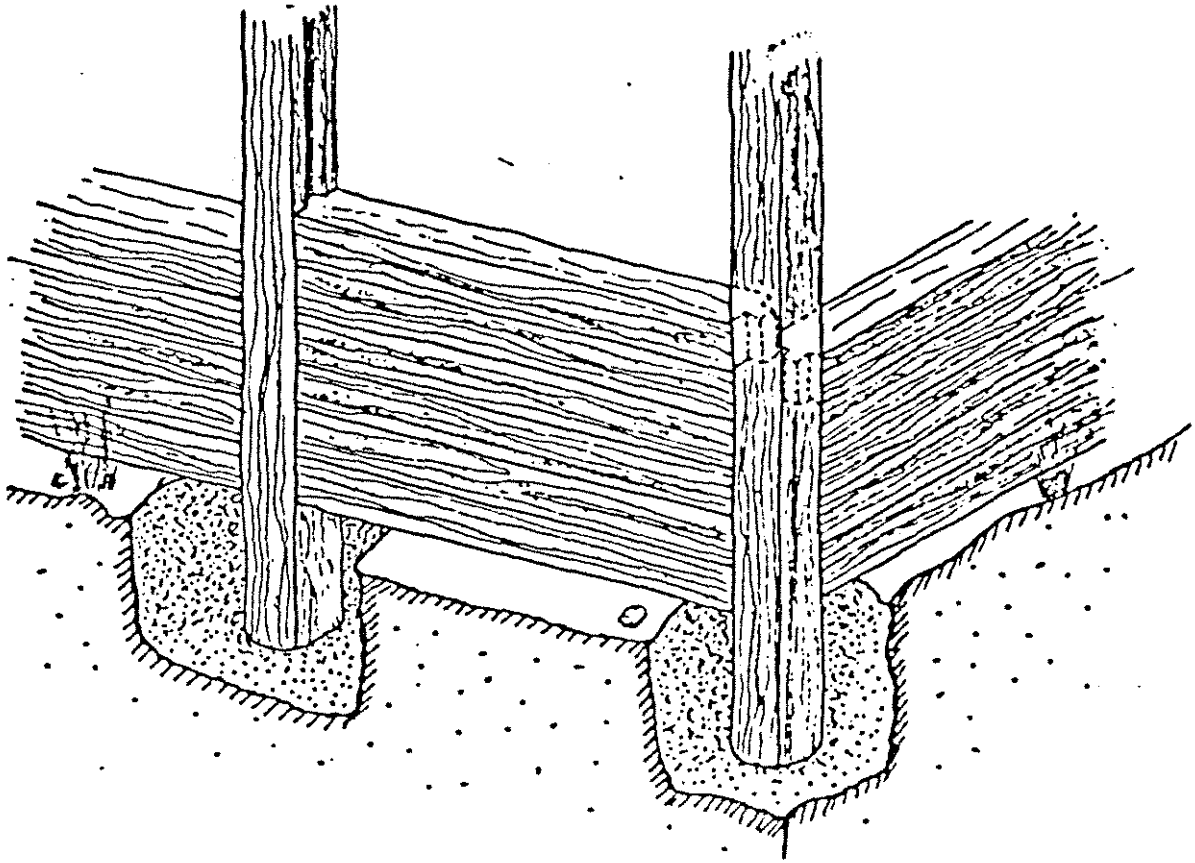


FIGURE NO.: 8

SUBJECT: Fort Victoria, 1864

DATE: 1864

PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST:

SOURCE: D.R. Babcock, "Fur Trade Architecture in  
Alberta: The First Century (1778-1878)," unpublished paper  
presented to the Banff Conference on Log Structures in  
Canada, 27 October 1977.

REMARKS:

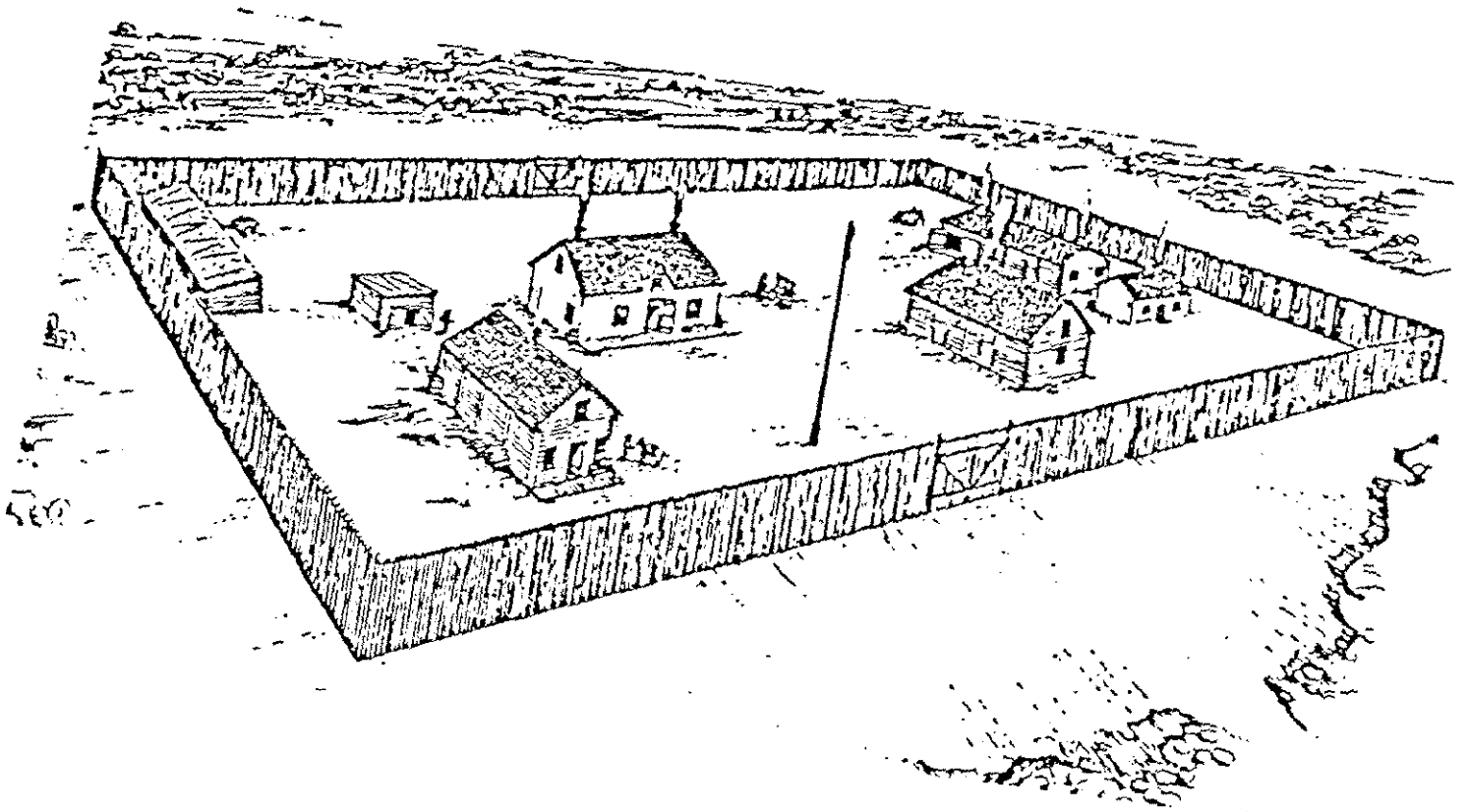


FIGURE NO.: 9

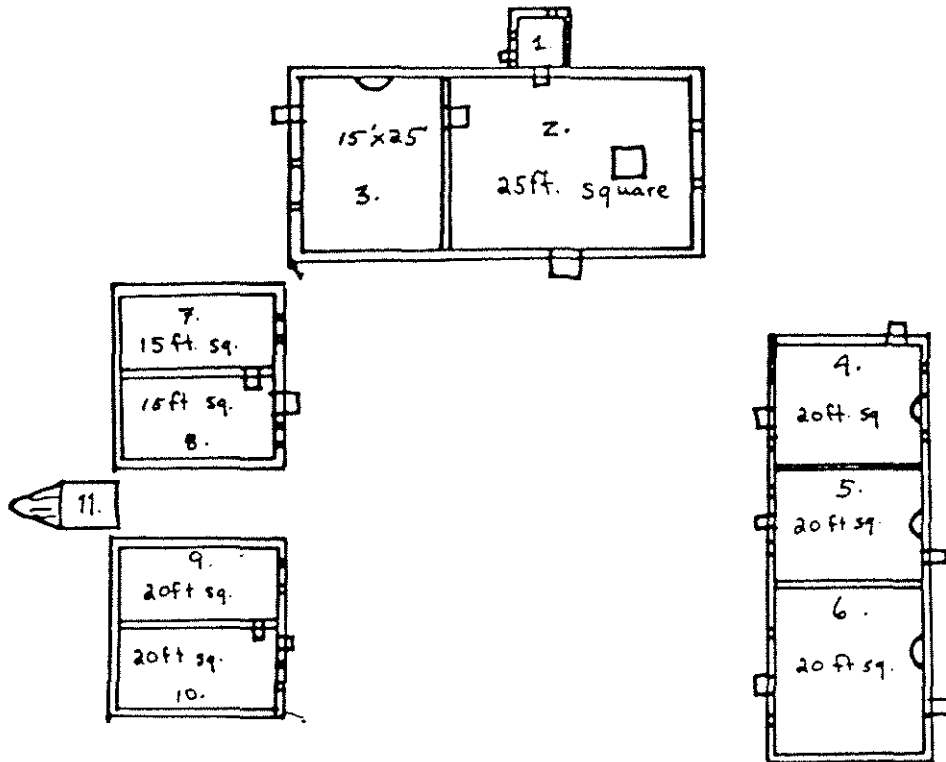
SUBJECT: Lesser Slave Lake Post

DATE: 1820-1

PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST: Facsimile drawing

SOURCE: Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B115/e/2,  
fo. 4d.

REMARKS:



1. The Kitchen
2. Hall
3. Master's Chambers
4. Officers' Chambers
5. Men's House
6. Interpreter's House
7. Hunter's Store House
8. Provision Store
9. Dry Goods
10. Trading Room
11. Gate



FIGURE NO.: 10

SUBJECT: Schematic drawing of post-on-sill  
construction.

DATE:

PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST:

SOURCE: D.R. Babcock, "Fur Trade Architecture in  
Alberta: The First Century (1778-1878)," unpublished paper  
presented to the Banff Conference on Log Structures in  
Canada, 27 October 1977.

REMARKS:

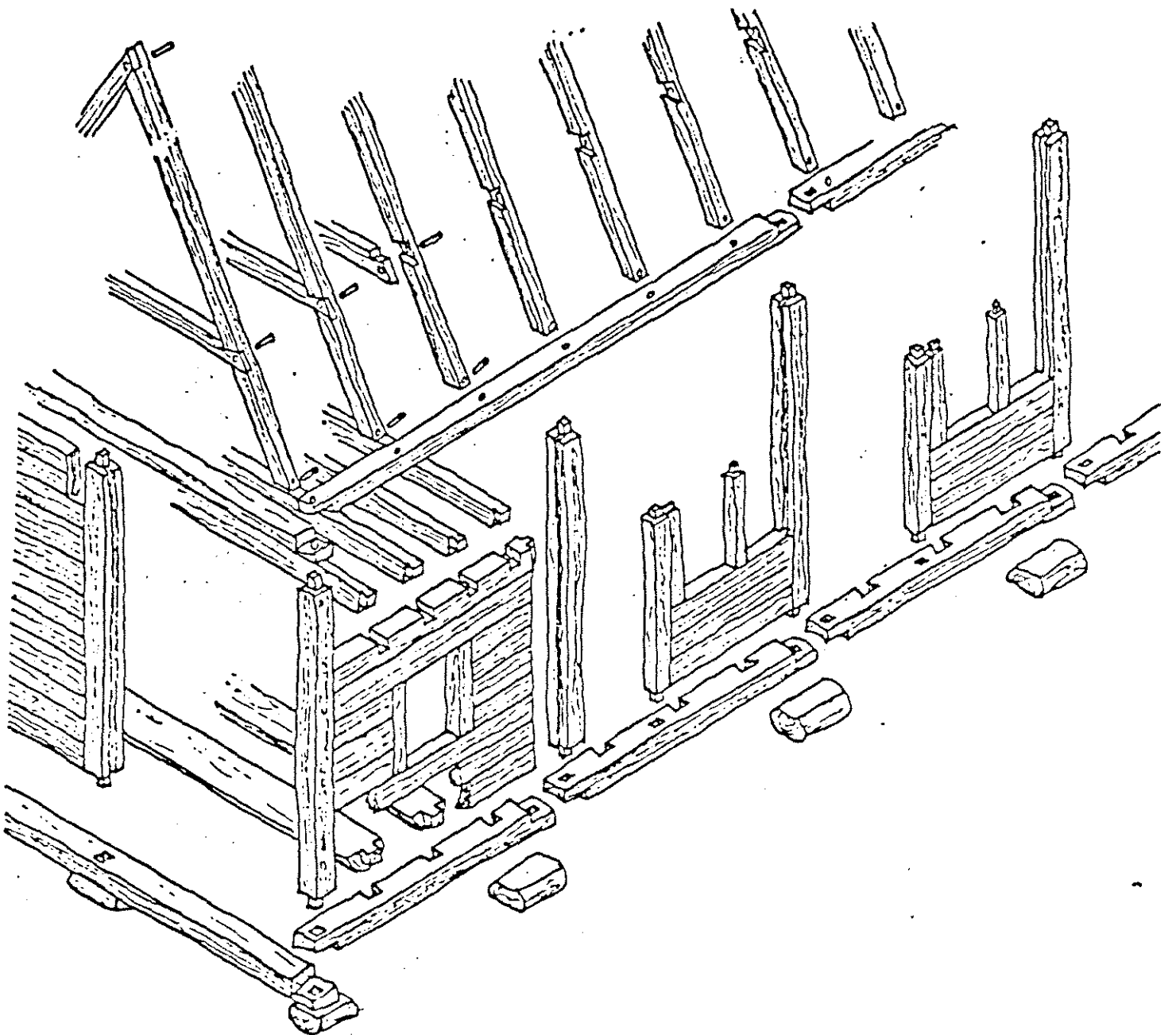


FIGURE NO.: 11

SUBJECT: En pile construction

DATE:

PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST:

SOURCE: D.R. Babcock, "Fur Trade Architecture in  
Alberta: The First Century (1778-1878)," unpublished paper  
presented to the Banff Conference on Log Structures in  
Canada, 27 October 1977.

REMARKS:

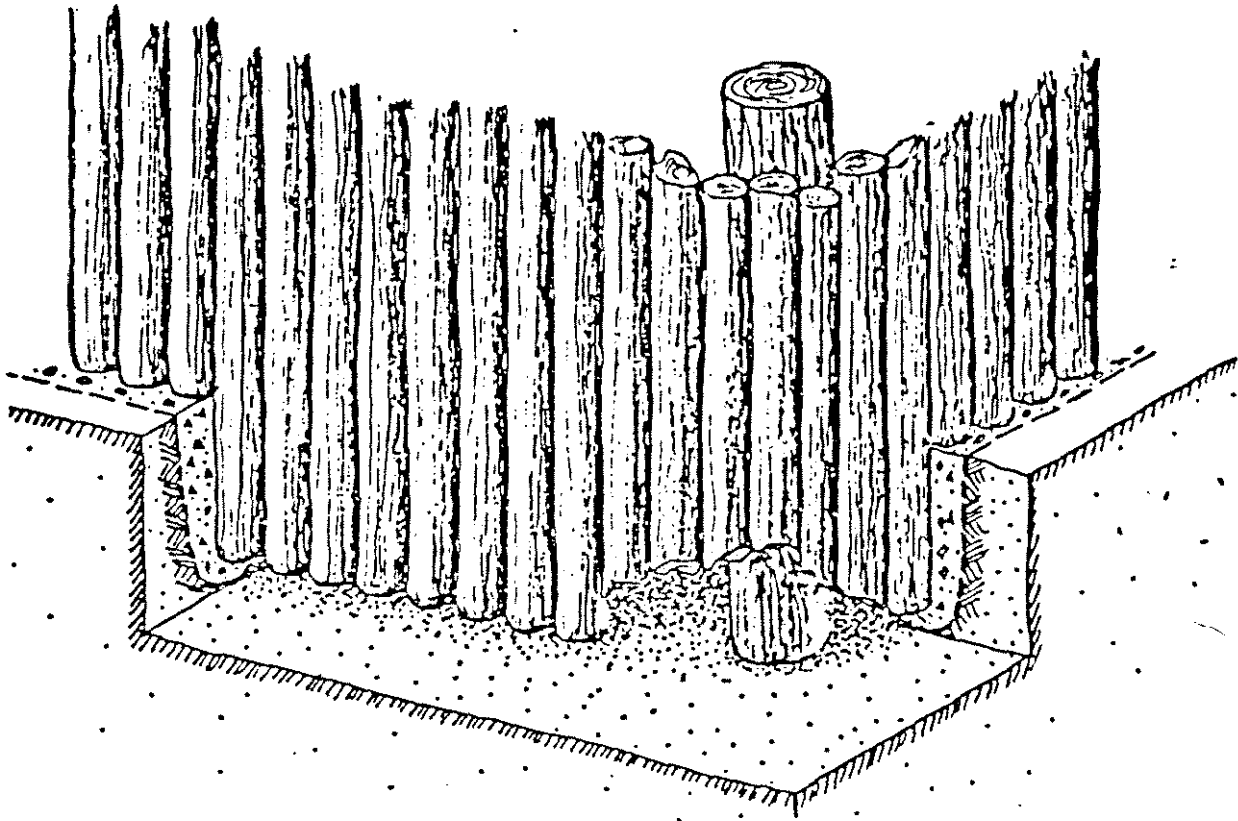


FIGURE NO.: 12

SUBJECT: Jasper House II, 1846

DATE: This watercolour, based on an 1846 sketch,  
was painted in 1847.

PHOTOGRAPHER/

ARTIST: Paul Kane

SOURCE: Stark Museum of Art, Orange, Texas, 31.78/136  
PWC 25.

REMARKS: The view is almost directly to the east.

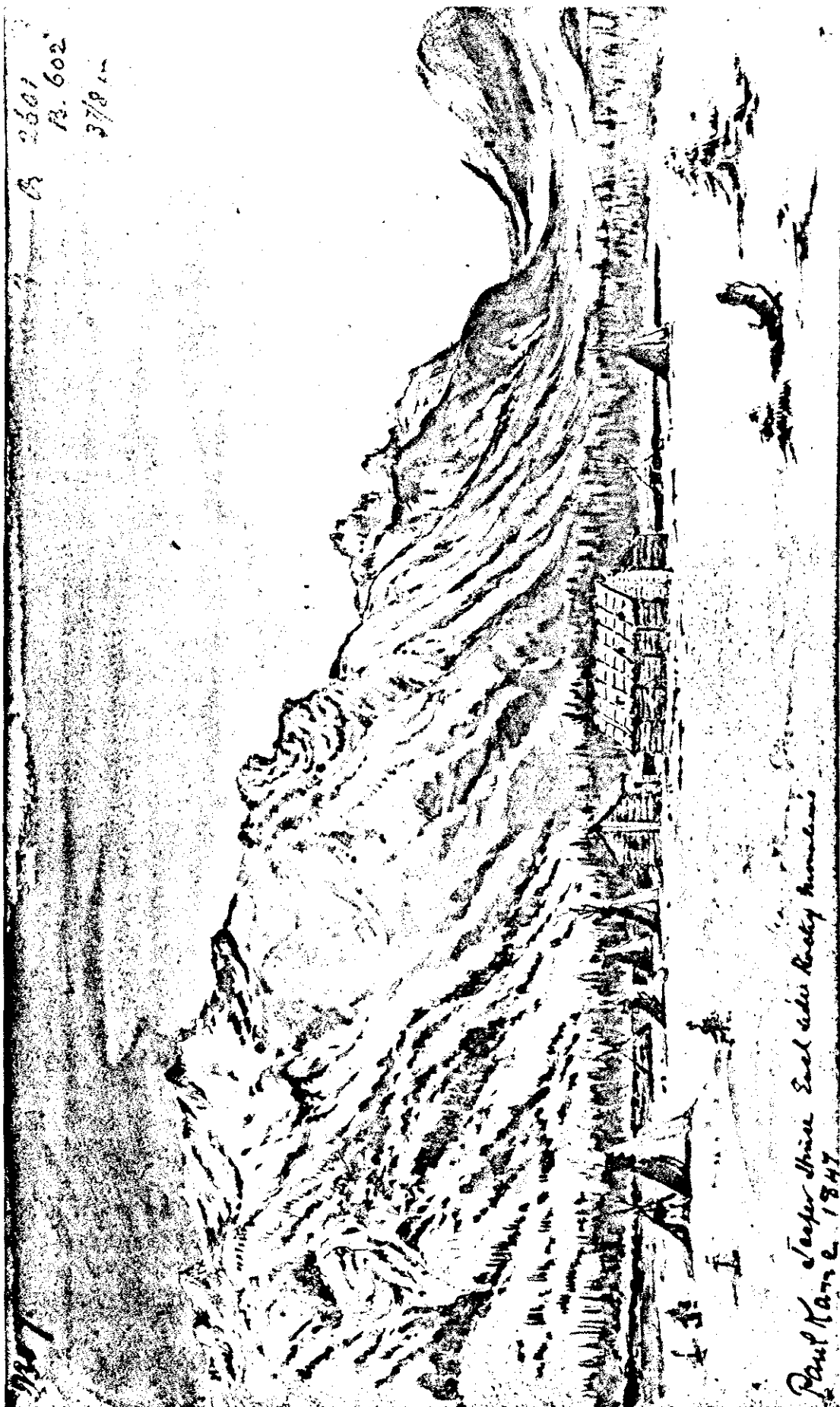


FIGURE NO.: 13

SUBJECT: Jasper House II

DATE: 1846

PHOTOGRAPHER/

ARTIST: Henry J. Warre

SOURCE: Royal Ontario Museum, Negative No. 65 CAN 78,  
Catalog No. 956.83.7

REMARKS: The view is more or less to the south.  
Pyramid Mountain is shown in the background.

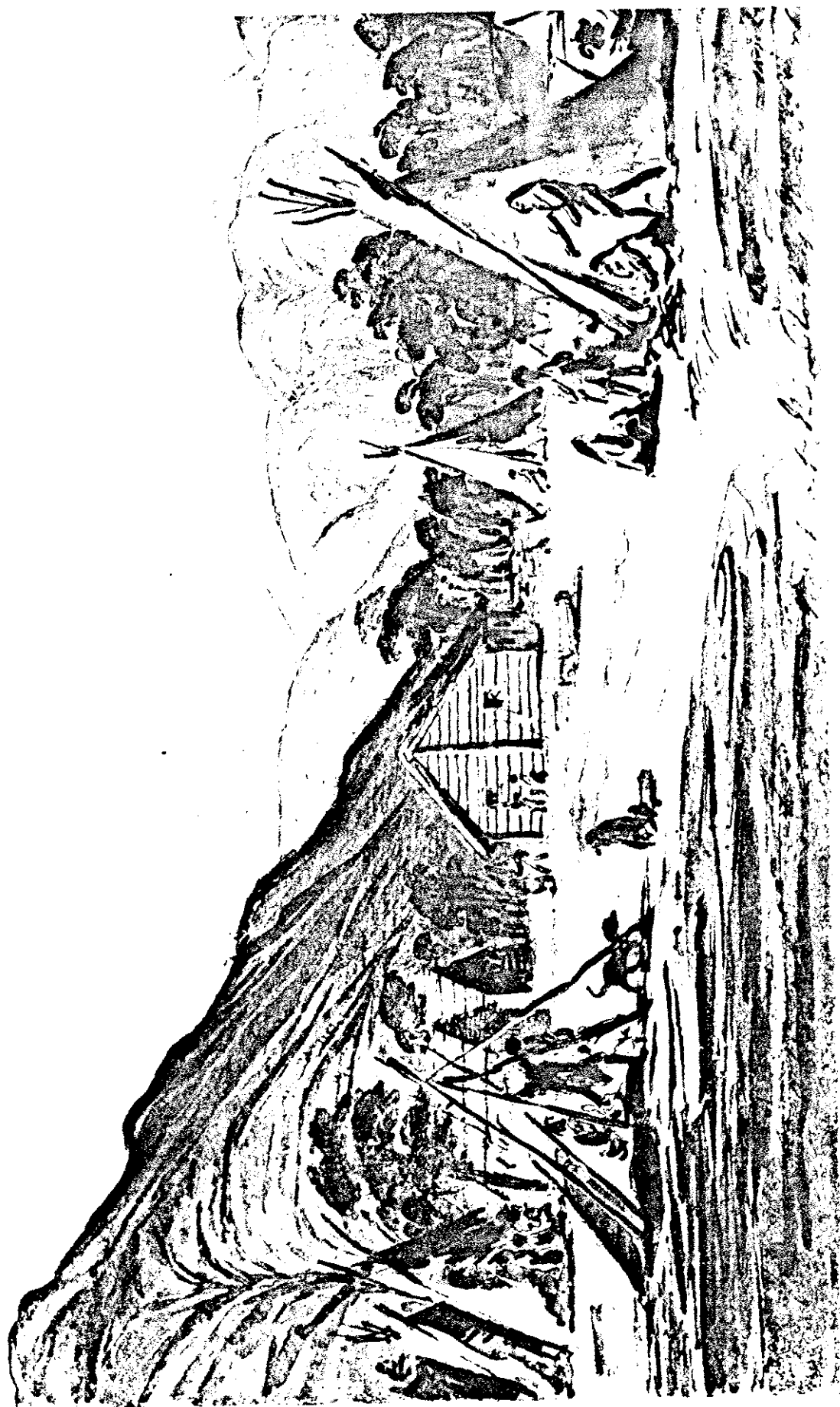




FIGURE NO.: 14

SUBJECT: Jasper House II plan, 1846

DATE:

PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST:

SOURCE: Reconstruction of Jasper House II plan, based  
on drawings and paintings by Paul Kane and Henry J. Warre.

REMARKS: The plan is not to scale.

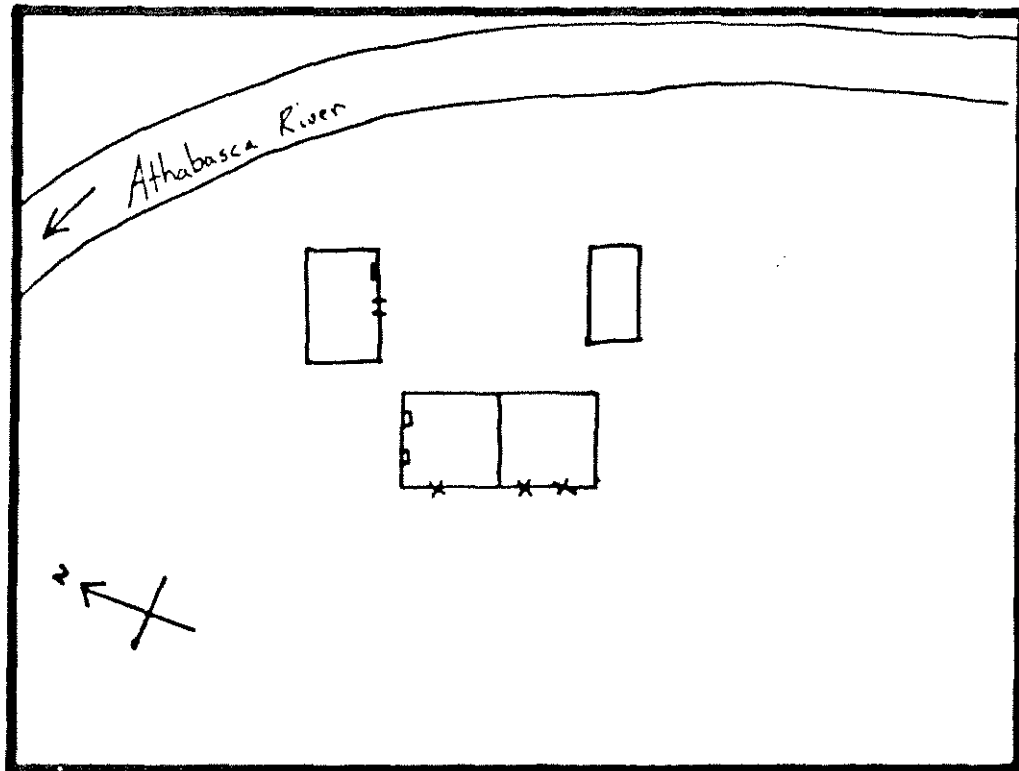


FIGURE NO.: 15

SUBJECT: Jasper House II

DATE: 1846

PHOTOGRAPHER/

ARTIST: Henry J. Warre

SOURCE: Royal Ontario Museum, Negative No. 62 AA 311,  
Catalog No. 856.83.6

REMARKS:

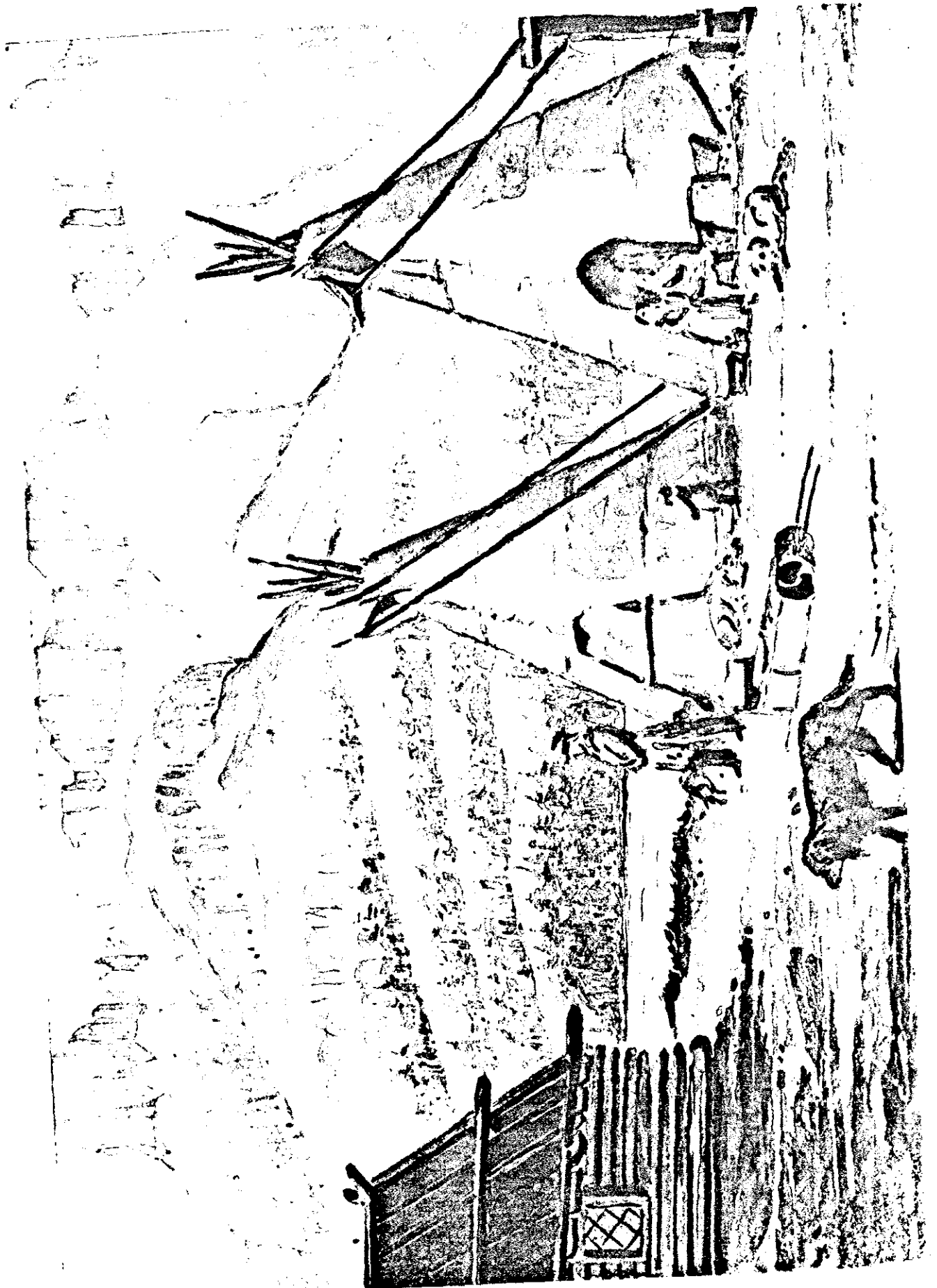


FIGURE NO.: 16

SUBJECT: Jasper House II plan, c. 1858-61

DATE: The plan was drawn in 1928.

PHOTOGRAPHER/

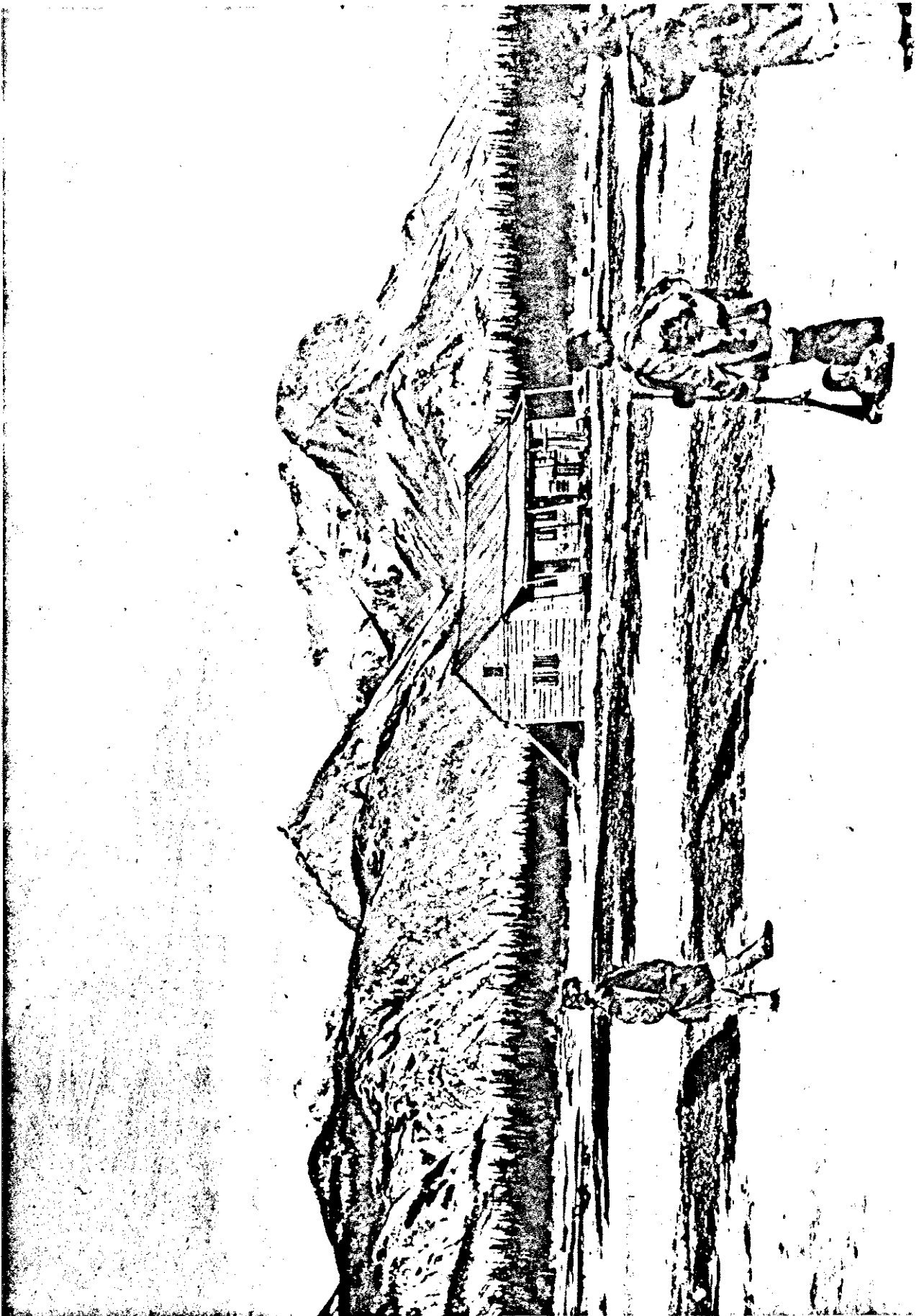
ARTIST: Henry John Moberly

SOURCE: Public Archives Canada, National Map  
Collection, F/550/Jasper/1928, No. C-102462

REMARKS:



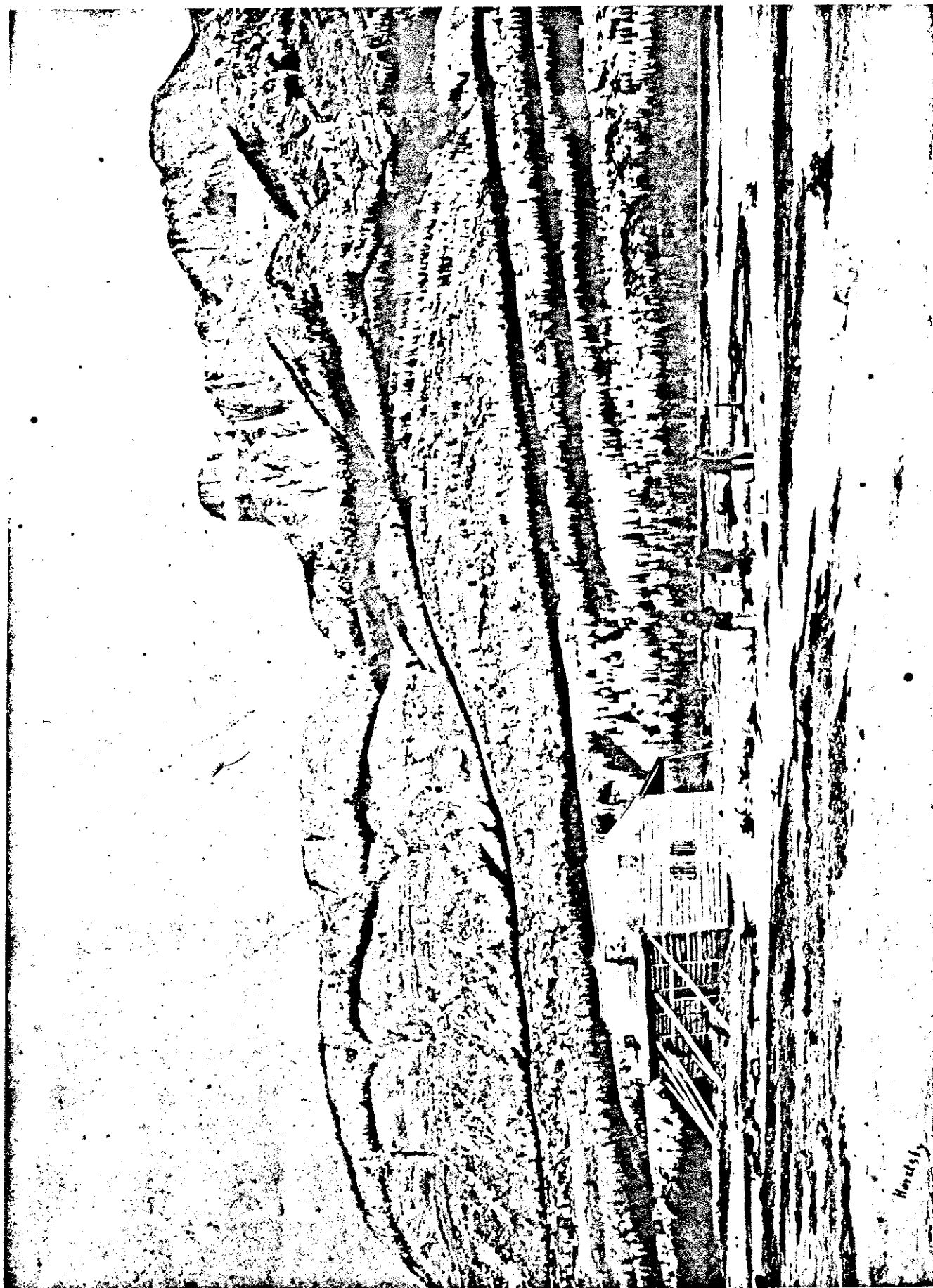
FIGURE NO.: 17  
SUBJECT: Jasper House II  
DATE: 1872  
PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST: Charles Horetzky  
SOURCE: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, NA-382-5  
REMARKS:



Herby  
Ches



FIGURE NO.: 18  
SUBJECT: JASPER HOUSE II  
DATE: 1872  
PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST: Charles Horetzky  
SOURCE: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, NA-1408-12  
REMARKS:



Hardy

FIGURE NO.: 19  
SUBJECT: JASPER HOUSE II  
DATE: 1872  
PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST: Charles Horetzky  
SOURCE: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, NA-382-4  
REMARKS:

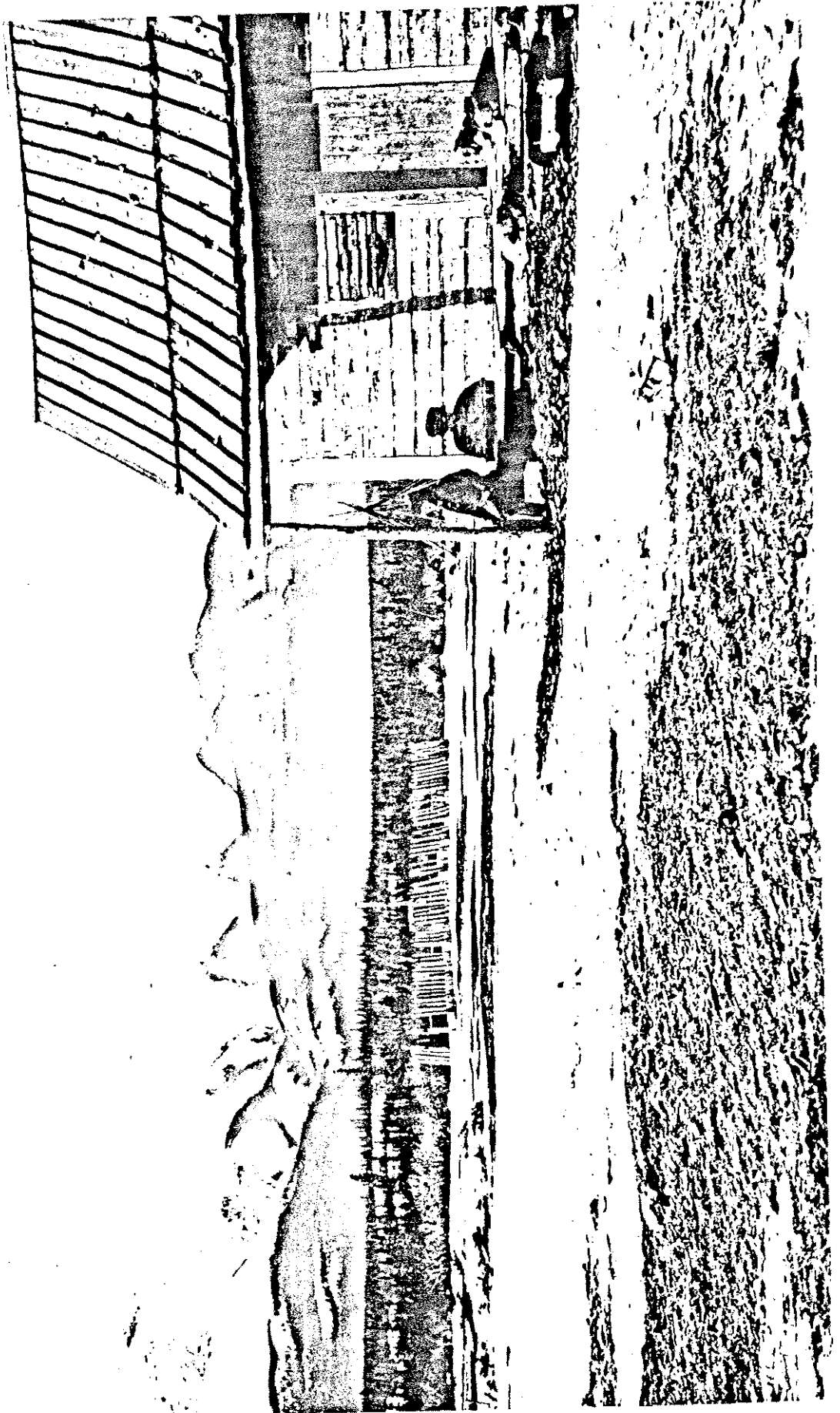


FIGURE NO.: 20

SUBJECT: Presumed site of Jasper House II, c. 1925

DATE: c. 1925

PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST: Unknown

SOURCE: Public Archives Canada, RG 84, Volume 1389,  
File HS-10-20/1.

REMARKS: This facsimile of a hand-drawn sketch is  
taken from the cover of a 1925 Historic Sites and Monuments  
Board file dealing with the possible commemoration of Jasper  
House.

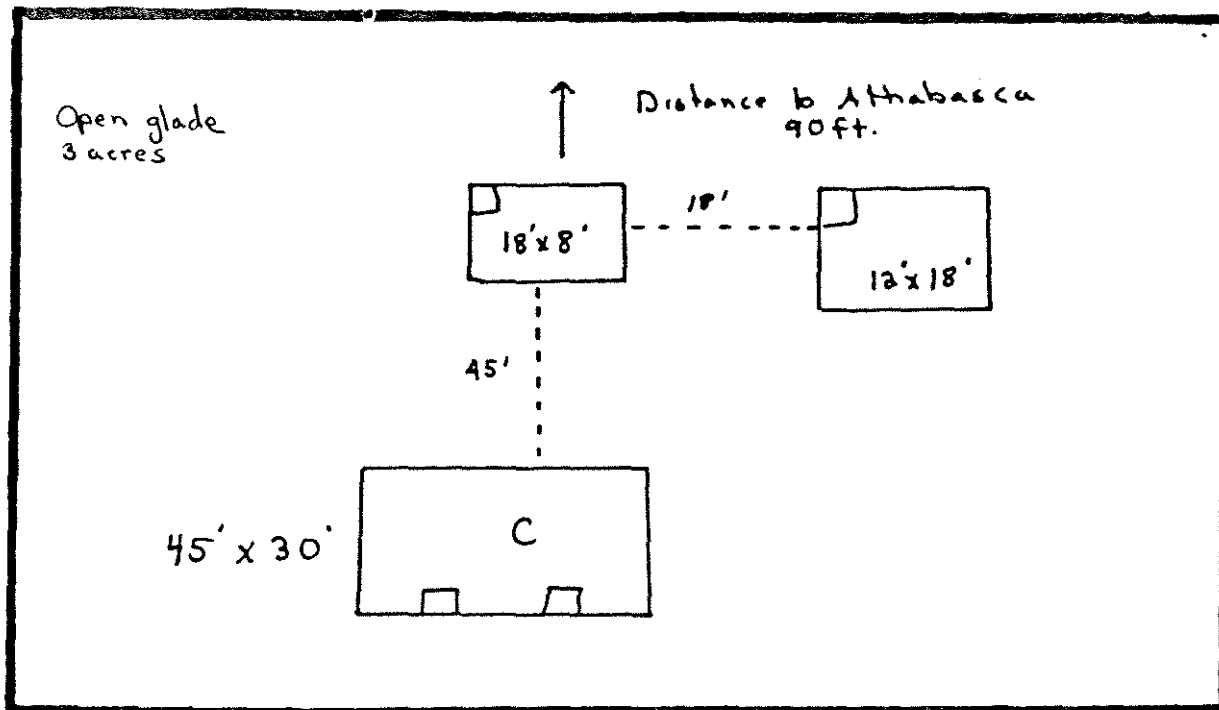


FIGURE NO.: 21

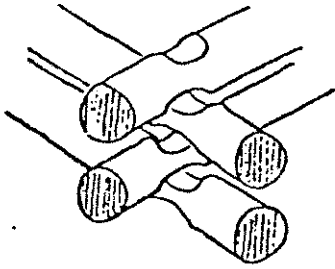
SUBJECT: Corner notching styles, Ohio Valley

DATE:

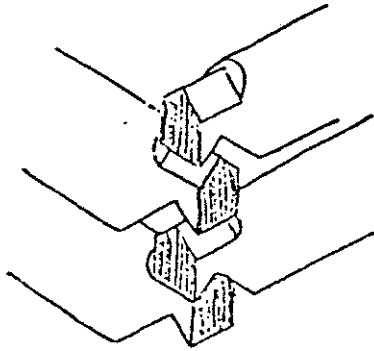
PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST:

SOURCE: Donald A. Hutslar, "The Log Architecture of  
Ohio," Ohio History, 80: 3/4 (1971), pp. 172-271.

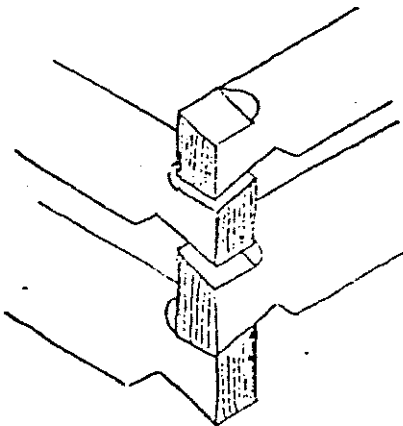
REMARKS:



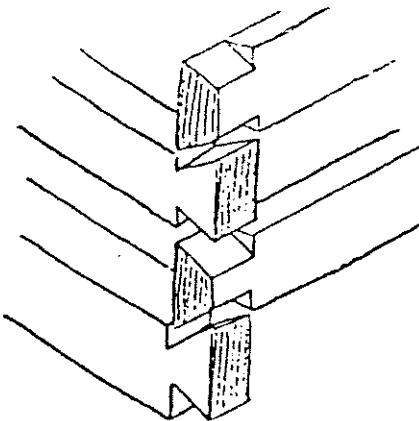
*Saddle notching. This very rudimentary form of notching is usually associated with the primitive log cabin. The logs were customarily left round, 6 to 8 inches in diameter being average. In Canada this notching style was termed "hog pen."*



*Steeple or inverted-V notching. Steeple notching was used on almost all structures in Ohio until about 1825 when it was apparently dropped in house building unless the house was to be sided. This style of notching allowed logs of varying dimensions to be used together, 12 to 24 inches in diameter, although the width was usually 8 inches.*



*Half-dovetail notching. This is the most common type of notching found in Ohio. For an unknown reason this style was rarely used in the state during the first quarter of the 19th century and it is seldom found on structures other than houses or small outbuildings. Half-dovetailing permitted a close joining of logs though the logs were never of large dimension; 8 by 12 inches was average.*



*Full-dovetail notching. While rare in Ohio, this was a fairly common style of notching in the eastern states in the 18th century. Notice that adjacent wall logs are notched differently. Walls built in this fashion were often so tightly joined they did not require chinking and daubing.*



FIGURE NO.: 22

SUBJECT: Lewis J. Swift's Ranch, Henry House Flats

DATE: Unknown

PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST: Unknown

SOURCE: Provincial Archives of British Columbia,  
Negative No. F-4516, Catalog No. 11087

REMARKS:

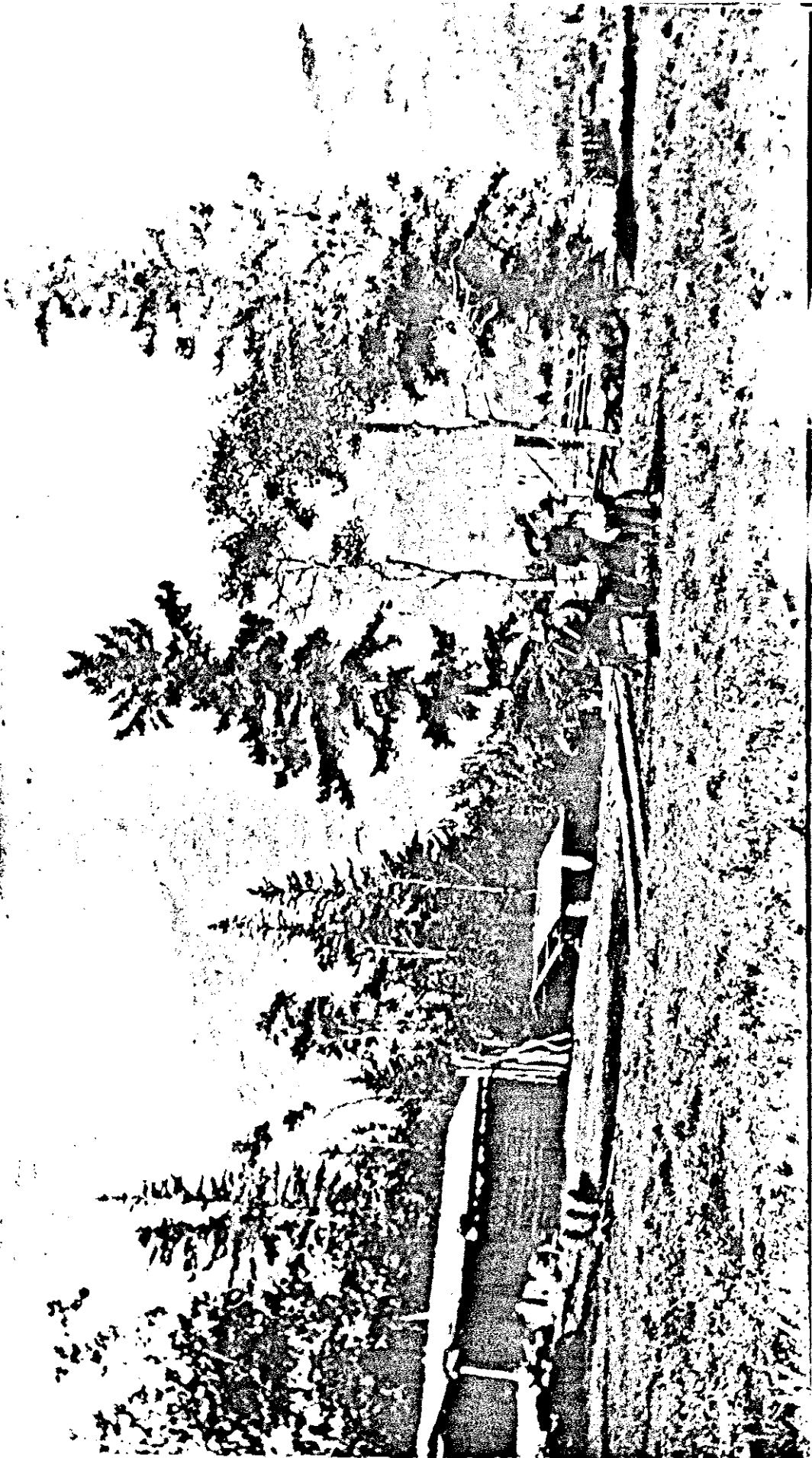


FIGURE NO.: 23

SUBJECT: Lewis J. Swift's Ranch, Henry House Flats

DATE: 1909

PHOTOGRAPHER/

ARTIST: Yellowhead Survey Pictures, 1909

SOURCE: Original from Mrs. F. Seibert; copy from  
Jasper-Yellowhead Historical Society Collection, No. 44/33.

REMARKS:



FIGURE NO.: 24

SUBJECT: Decorated and plain button types

DATE:

PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST:

SOURCE: W.C. Noble, "The Excavation and Historical  
Identification of Rocky Mountain House," Occasional Papers  
in History and Archaeology. (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1973)

REMARKS:

Decorated and plain buttons. *a*, Hudson's Bay Company; *b*, gilt; *c*, double gilt; *d*, plated; *e*, decorated copper; *f*, copper and pearl; *h*, plain brass, type D; *i*, plain brass, type G; *j*, plain iron, drilled eye; *k*,

plain iron with cast boss; *l*, plain iron with wire eye.

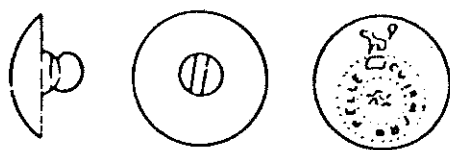
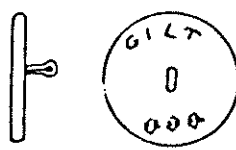
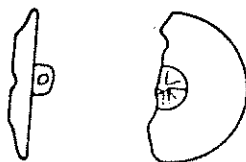
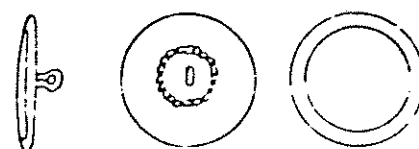
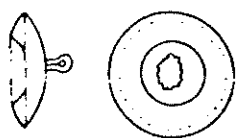
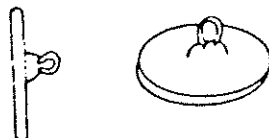
*a**b**c**d**e**f**g**h**i**j**k**l*

FIGURE NO.: 25

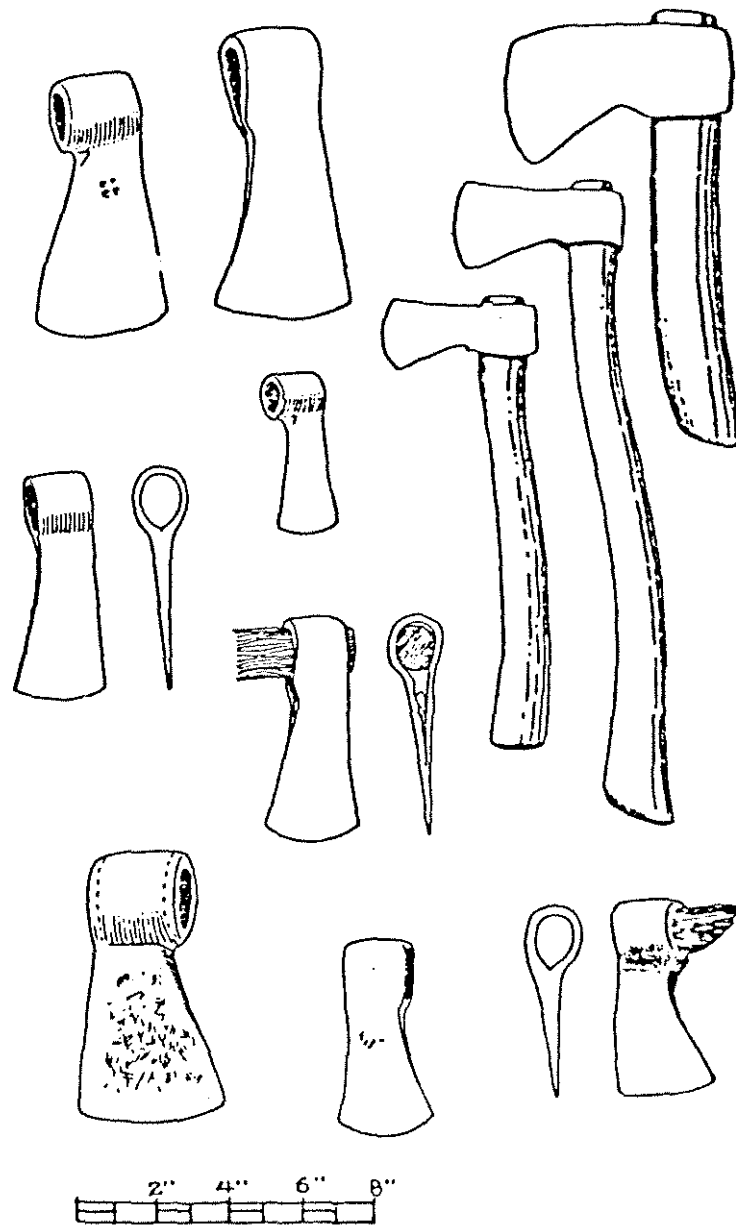
SUBJECT: Trade axes of the "French" type.

DATE:

PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST:

SOURCE: Carl P. Russell, Firearms, Traps, and Tools  
of the Mountain Men (Albuquerque: University of New  
Mexico Press, 1977).

REMARKS:



*Trade Axes of the "French" Type.*

The drawing is by William Macy, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, St. Louis.



FIGURE NO.: 26

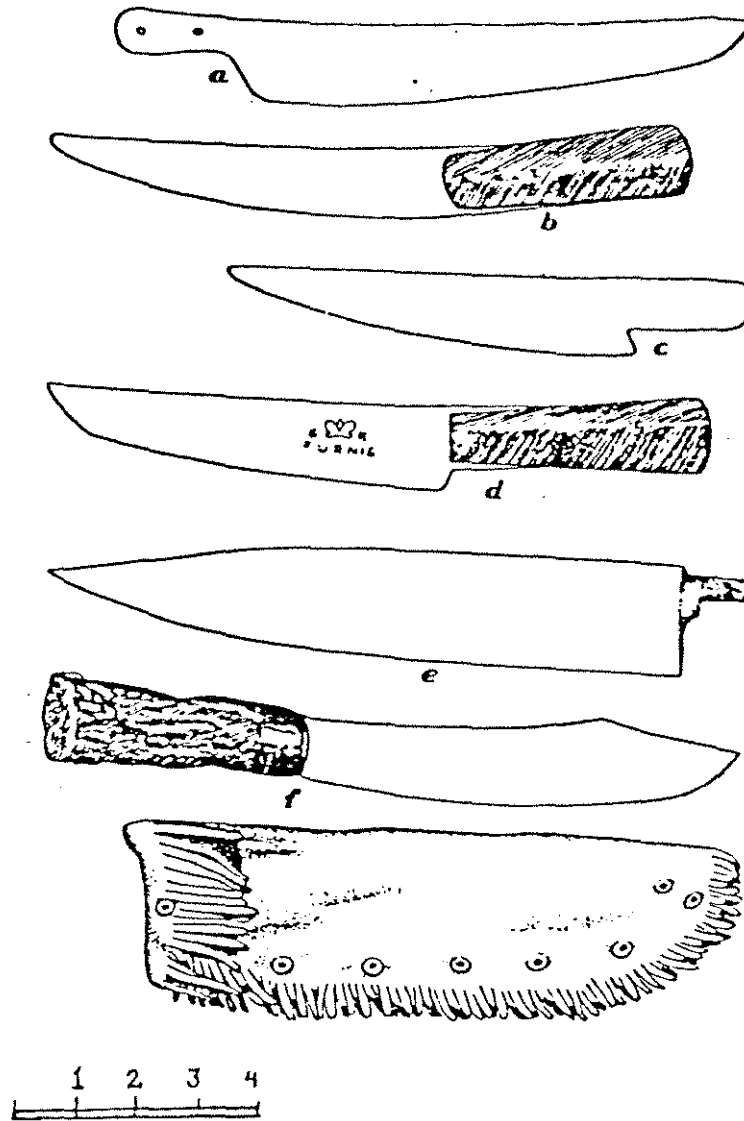
SUBJECT: Scalping Knives

DATE:

PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST:

SOURCE: Carl P. Russell, Firearms, Traps, and Tools  
of the Mountain Men (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico  
Press, 1977)

REMARKS:



"Scalping Knives."

*a*, Washington Historical Society, Tacoma, No. 116. *b*, National Park Service, Yellowstone Museums, No. 7169. *c*, Allen County-Fort Wayne Historical Society, Indiana. *d*, National Park Service, Grand Teton Museums, Wyoming. *e*, from Fluvanna, New York. It was done after Beauchamp: *Metallic Implements*, p. 72, Pl. 35, Fig. 170. *f*, Wyoming State Museum, No. C-1231-1. Drawing by William Macy, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, St. Louis.

FIGURE NO.: 27

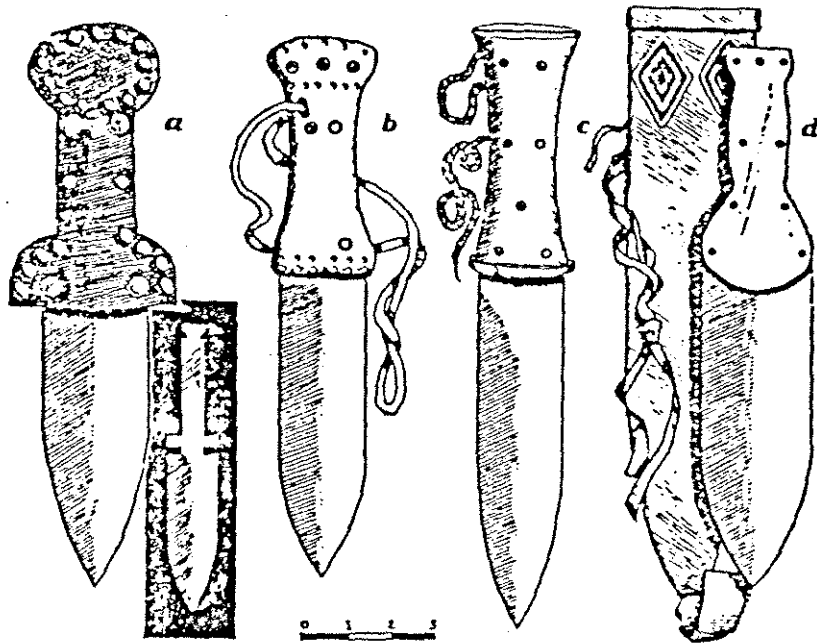
SUBJECT: Dags

DATE:

PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST:

SOURCE: Carl P. Russell, Firearms, Traps, and Tools  
of the Mountain Men (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico  
Press, 1977)

REMARKS:



*Dags.*

*a*, Northern Plains dag, Museum of the American Indian, New York. *b*, Northwest coast dag, Maryhill Museum, Washington. *c*, Columbia River dag, Maryhill Museum, Washington. *d*, Blackfoot dag with beaded sheath, item No. 729, U. S. National Museum. Glen Dines drawing.

FIGURE NO.: 28

SUBJECT: English clasp knife

DATE:

PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST:

SOURCE: Redrafted from an illustration in Carl P.  
Russell, Firearms, Traps, and Tools of the Mountain Men  
(Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977)

REMARKS:

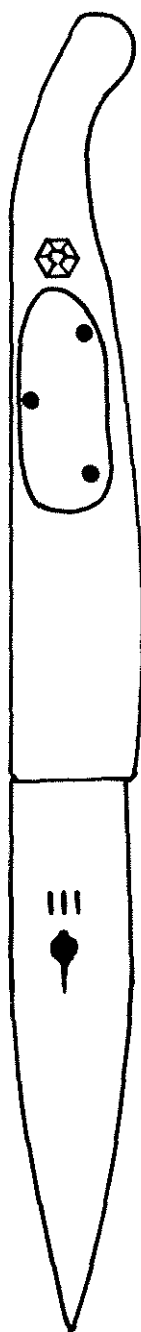


FIGURE NO.: 29

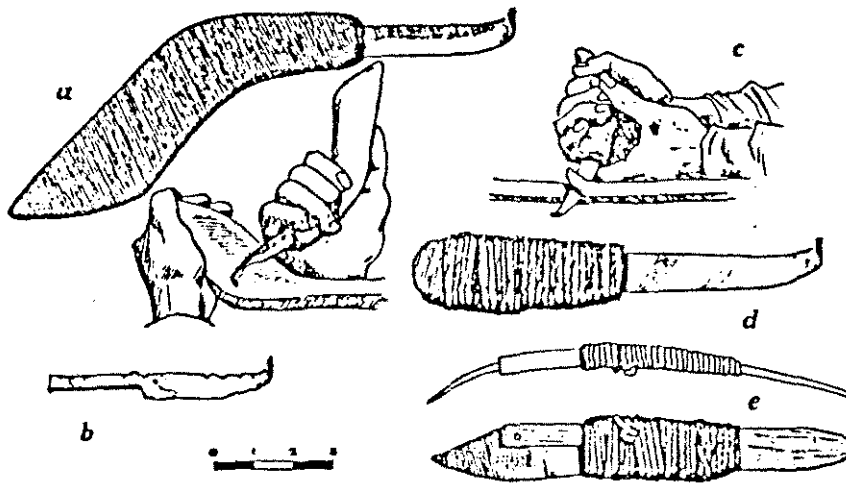
SUBJECT: Crooked knives

DATE:

PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST:

SOURCE: Carl P. Russell, Firearms, Traps, and Tools  
of the Mountain Men (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico  
Press, 1977)

REMARKS:



*The Crooked Knife.*

*a*, Mistassini knife from northern Quebec; the drawing is after Rousseau: *The Beaver* (September 1949). *b*, crooked knife recovered at the Astorian site, Okanogan; the drawing is after Grabert: "Interim Report." *c*, Southern Cree knife; the drawing is after L. L. Rue: *The Beaver* (Autumn 1961). *d*, Canadian crooked knife; the drawing is after *Rod and Gun in Canada* (February 1947). *e*, Northwest Coast-type crooked knife; Oregon Historical Society, Portland. Drawings by Glen Dines.



FIGURE NO.: 30

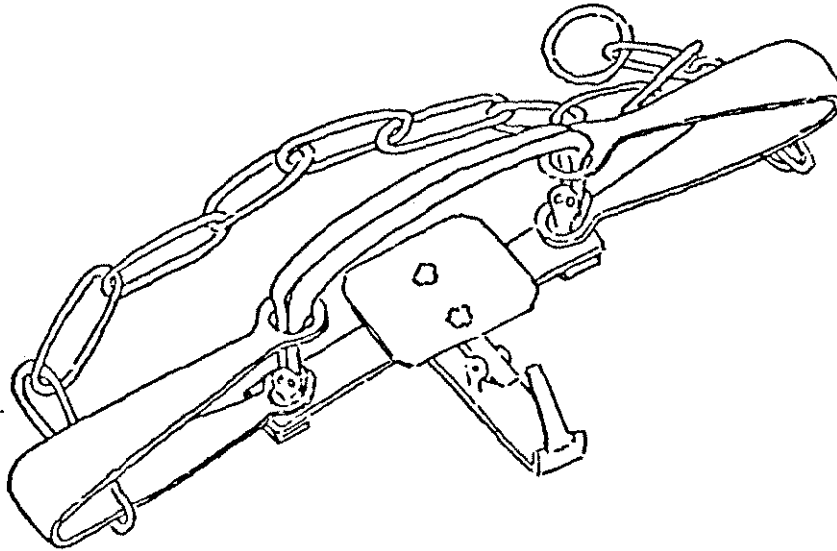
SUBJECT: Hudson's Bay Company Beaver Trap

DATE:

PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST:

SOURCE: Carl P. Russell, Firearms, Traps, and Tools  
of the Mountain Men (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico  
Press, 1977)

REMARKS:



*Hudson's Bay Company Beaver Trap from Vicinity of  
Rupert House.*

Hand-forged and marked on the cross under the pan "Kenneth McLeod." Weight of trap, 3 pounds, 8 ounces; with chain, the total weight is 4 pounds, 7 ounces. The jaws are  $7\frac{3}{4}$  inches long and they stand  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches above the base. In size and general style this Hudson's Bay Company trap resembles the early handmade Newhouse beaver trap, and many of its parts are similar to corresponding trap fragments recovered at the historic Hudson's Bay Company site, Fort Vancouver—similar but not identical. The Rupert House specimen stands as another testimonial to the proposition that in the later day of individual hand-crafting a standard design for beaver traps was recognized, north and south. That standard design persisted after the advent in the 1850's of machine-made traps and continues in the No. 4 trap of today. This specimen is in the Dr. R. S. Shankland Collection. The sketch is based upon a photograph and detailed description provided by Dr. Shankland.

FIGURE NO.: 31

SUBJECT: Needles and Awls

DATE:

PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST:

SOURCE: Carl P. Russell, Firearms, Traps, and Tools  
of the Mountain Men (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico  
Press, 1977)

REMARKS:

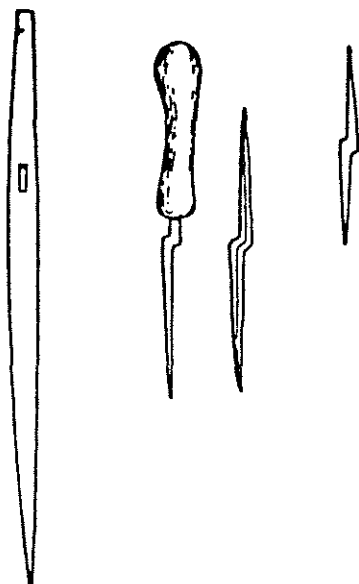


FIG. 83. *Some Small Implements Much Appreciated by Indians.*

Certain small iron tools were inexpensive but of prime importance in the Indian's daily work. Such were the various needles and awls supplied by the white man. Often the trader carried a generous supply of these easily transported items in order that he might win favor through the presentation of simple valued gifts that had cost him little more than the trouble of packing them. Drawing by William Macy, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, St. Louis.

FIGURE NO.: 32

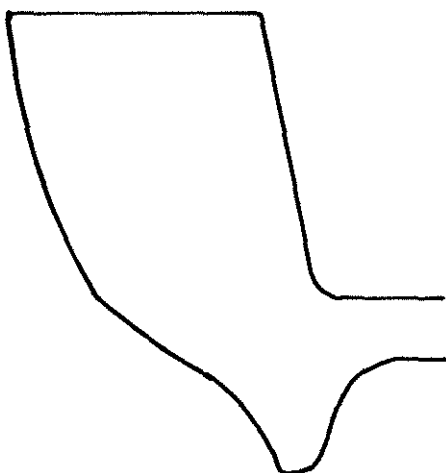
SUBJECT: Clay pipe styles

DATE:

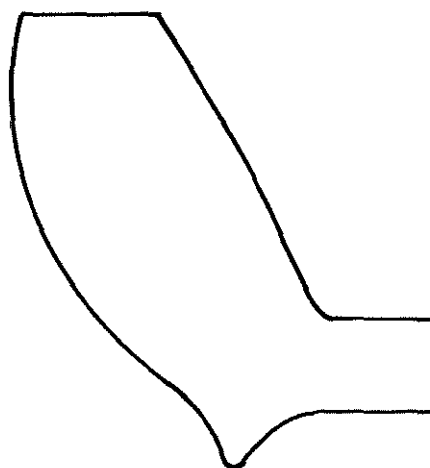
PHOTOGRAPHER/  
ARTIST:

SOURCE: Redrafted from an illustration in Carl P.  
Russell, Firearms, Traps, and Tools of the Mountain Men  
(Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977)

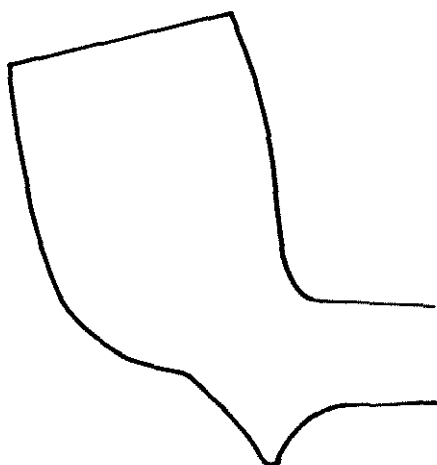
REMARKS:



1750 - 1810



1800 - 1840



1820 - 1850