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THE MEN'S HOUSE, LOWER FORT GARRY
ITS FURNISHINGS AND PLACE WITHIN THE
HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY POST ENVIRONMENT

by
GREGORY THOMAS

(1978)
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Hudson's Bay Company Post Environment
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April, 1978
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Men's House Study
To complement the other buildings at Lower Fort Garry, it was decided to restore and interpret the Men's house to the fur trade period; circa 1855-70. In 1973, Philip Goldring completed a brief background study of the building's occupation as a living quarters for the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. In April, 1977, Pat Lockwood, curator responsible for the men's house, requested further historical information on the period furnishings.

This study focuses upon the possible furnishings of a Hudson's Bay Company servant's quarters as well as the material culture of the men housed in that establishment. It does not attempt to analyse the structural history of the men's house. As the historical documentation on Lower Fort Garry before 1870 is limited, a comparative approach was adopted.

I would like to thank the staff at the Hudson's Bay Company Archives for permission to consult and quote from the archival collection in the Provincial Archives of Manitoba. The guidance and assistance of Mrs. Shirlee A. Smith, Hudson's Bay Company archivist, and Ms. Garron Wells, assistant archivist, was greatly appreciated. I should also like to thank the staff at Hudson's Bay House in Winnipeg for permission to use the Hudson's Bay Company's photo collection for research purposes.
Introduction

Throughout its diverse history Lower Fort Garry has served several masters and performed numerous disparate functions. Initially constructed by the Hudson's Bay Company to act as the administrative centre of the Northern Department and the handsome residence of its ubiquitous governor, Sir George Simpson, the stone fort was soon relegated to a less important position when headquarters were moved to the more strategic post at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine: Upper Fort Garry. A logical transhipment rendezvous for the interior brigades, Lower Fort Garry recovered to become a short term barracks for the British Sixth Regiment of Foot and then an extensive agricultural and industrial complex from 1855 to 1870.

These comparatively rapid changes in function while still a Hudson's Bay Company establishment complicated Lower Fort Garry's physical and architectural evolution. The Men's House or Servants Quarters is an excellent example. Traditionally, the Hudson's Bay Company followed a distinctive pattern once they had decided to build a post. As soon as they cleared the vegetation from the chosen site the company servants began to erect living quarters for the officers, a warehouse for the goods and, in more remote locations, a palisade around the inner "plantation." After those structures were inhabitable if, as yet, barely liveable, the carpenters and joiners would turn their attention to the construction of living quarters for the post's tradesmen and labourers. At many company forts, the building of rudimentary storage facilities and living quarters were completed within
one summer season. At Lower Fort Garry, however, the surviving men's house was not erected until about 1852, more than twenty years after the construction of the Big House and Retail Store by Pierre Leblanc and his workers.¹

One can only speculate upon why the Hudson's Bay Company waited twenty years before its governing committee authorized the construction of a residence for the servants. Although there is no archaeological or photographic evidence to support it, documentary evidence does exist which suggests a men's house may have stood at the stone fort before the distinctive "columbage pierrote" structure built in the early 1850s. An 1839 inventory of "Articles in Use" at Lower Fort Garry contains a separate heading under "Men's House."² While the list only mentions the presence of two tin kettles, one square head axe and one pine table, the clerk responsible for this particular inventory definitely recognized the men's house as a physical entity separate from the other structures.³

The presence of an earlier men's house at Lower Fort Garry was only logical. If the Simpson's, their domestic servants and the resident company officers occupied the Big House, and the clerk was housed in the retail store, where did the others live? Although the complement of permanent servants in residence at the stone fort was probably reduced after the headquarters was moved to Upper Fort Garry in 1835, tradesmen and labourers were necessary to operate the retail store, support the construction of the warehouse, walls and bastions and contribute to the organization of the York boat brigades. Furthermore, in the hierarchical social structure of the Hudson's Bay Company, the servant class usually did not share the mess room with the commissioned officers. For instance, when William Lane, merely a clerk, assumed control of the Lower fort upon the departure of the Colviles, he ate alone in the Big House.⁴

While the existence of an earlier men's house at Lower Fort Garry is an interesting historical proposition, this
study will focus upon the interpretation of the existing building which, for nearly twenty years, provided living quarters for unmarried male servants and, perhaps for married employees as well. Like so many structures at Lower Fort Garry, the historical evolution of the men's house is difficult to document. As Philip Goldring pointed out in an earlier study, there is no surviving documentation describing in detail the use of the servants quarters during the lower fort's most active period; but some historical sources do identify the structure as the company's men's house. Other sources refer to the building as the "community kitchen," and while it is not clear how common this practice was, the substantial fireplaces and bakeovens located in the structure's annex were probably involved in the preparation of food for a considerable number of people, including all the servants and contracted labourers, who were fed by the Company but did not mess at the Big House. It is likely the lower storey of the men's house provided a kitchen, eating area and general recreation space, while the upstairs (which was evidently partitioned before 1870) may have served as bedrooms.

This study will concentrate upon the delineation of the interior arrangement and furnishings of the Lower Fort Garry men's house in the 1852-70 period. Because there is an almost total dirth of contemporary descriptions of servant quarters, one must piece together possible interior layouts by the collaboration of Hudson's Bay Company inventories and account books with narratives by company officers, missionaries and the various independent visitors to Rupert's Land. Obviously, one must accept comparative material with an open mind to its potential limitations. While the men's houses at major depots such as York Factory and Fort Simpson may have had physical similarities and identical functions, the furnishings were often radically different. For material
possessions to reach the servants at York Factory, they were assembled and transported directly from the British Isles by ship to the bay post on an annual basis. Meanwhile, goods destined for servants at Fort Simpson on the McKenzie river, more than one thousand miles inland, were automatically limited in quantity, size and delicacy by the sheer logistics of transportation.

Essentially, when the historian studies the possessions, furnishings, and lifestyle of a particular group in a definite time period, he is examining the material culture of a society. In terms of numbers, the permanent servants of the Hudson's Bay Company were a significant body. In fact, in the period from 1821 to 1900, they represented approximately forty per cent of the total work force. Despite this numerical significance, we know comparatively little about the material culture of the Hudson's Bay Company servant class. Scholarly interest in the fur trade traditionally has concentrated upon the central political and economic issues. Only in recent years have students of the fur trade begun to examine fur trade society in depth. This lack of interest in the company servant rests in part with the fact that in Rupert's Land in the eighteenth and nineteenth century these servants' were not unusual or particularly newsworthy. Most of the tradesmen and labourers were Orcadians, Hebrideans, Scots, Canadians or mixed-blood natives of Rupert's Land. As they were generally men of minimal or no education, they rarely left any historical record of their experiences in the Hudson's Bay Company and the fur trade. Consequently, when they do appear in the writings, it is often to illustrate a diversion from the routine or conversely, the orderliness which dominated the post environment. A servant was particularly worthy of mention only if he had refused an order, broken the terms of his contract or committed some social misdemeanor. It is the bias inherent in this kind of reporting that the
historian must recognize if he is to emerge with an accurate interpretation of the Hudson's Bay Company servant.

Certainly, the ramifications of the Hudson's Bay Company labour system are tremendously complex. In the past year two Parks Canada historians, Philip Goldring and Carol Judd, began a major quantitative and qualitative analysis of the Hudson's Bay Company "servant" class in the nineteenth century. Basically, they are looking at two areas of consideration. First of all, who were the servants, where did they come from, how long did they stay and why? Secondly, what was it like to be a servant of the Hudson's Bay Company, how exactly did they work, and what was the nature of their recreation? A long term project, the study will have important implications for historic sites designated for the interpretation of the Canadian fur trade. At Lower Fort Garry, for instance, a majority of the animators portray individuals who belonged to the servant class. While we know certain specific facts about these personalities, the major servants study should alleviate the lack of information concerning the servants position within fur trade society in the nineteenth century. For instance, it should determine conclusively whether the rise of a "country-born" company servant like George Davis from labourer to postmaster at Lower Fort Garry can be interpreted as a normal progression or an isolated incident.

This study of the Lower Fort Garry men's house will examine similar questions to those of Goldring and Judd, but in less detail and within a much tighter chronological framework. One cannot isolate the servant living in the servant quarters from the major social and economic issues confronting the Hudson's Bay Company and the Red River settlement between 1850 and 1870. The fur trade in Rupert's Land was in decline by the middle of the nineteenth century. As early as 1842 chief factor Donald Ross had prophesied that "unless we can discover a gold or silver mine somewhere.....the golden age of the fur
trade may be considered to have passed among the things that were, and never more to be. The Hudson's Bay Company refused to believe it. Confronted by rebelling tripmen on the York boat brigades and increasing numbers entering the free trade movement, the London committee had reorganized its hiring system in the British Isles and promised better working conditions for its permanent and contract employees. Frustrated by the Red River settler's seeming inability to provide reliable quantities of agricultural produce, Sir George Simpson had decided to exploit the agricultural potential of Lower Fort Garry. These two corporate decisions, both made in the late 1850s, are an example of the factors the historian must identify and discuss in this period.

The first section of this study will examine the Hudson's Bay Company post environment with particular emphasis upon the status, role and routine of the servant class. The second section will concentrate upon the men's living quarters in detail. Because the men's house probably served as a kitchen, eating area, bedroom and general recreation space, the historian must distinguish between the personal possessions of the company servants and the company's equipment, provisions and furniture. What goods were built or manufactured locally as opposed to those imported from England or America? What was the quality of the furnishings in the men's house?

From the careful evaluation of such questions, a comprehensive picture of a Hudson's Bay Company's men's house, its inhabitants and furnishings should emerge.
From its inception in 1670 the Hudson's Bay Company supported a network of resident posts throughout its vast territories. Built and operated under the guidance of commissioned officers of the company, the daily functions of these scattered establishments ultimately depended upon the cooperation of the permanent and temporary "servants;" the salaried employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. Traditionally, the Hudson's Bay Company labour force has been viewed as an orderly and cooperative group. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, the presence of outmoded wage and tariff scales, increasingly arduous working conditions and the opportunities of the free trade movement combined to create serious unrest within the lower echelons of the company's service. Not only was the "golden age" of the fur trade passing into oblivion, the Hudson's Bay Company, already harassed by other internal pressures, was in danger of disintegration from within.

The fur trade has been examined productively from several scholarly viewpoints. Historians have tended to examine it in terms of Western European expansion and the emergence of Canada as a second transcontinental nation in North America. Meanwhile, anthropologists and some geographers have emphasized the impact of the fur trade upon the different Indian peoples and have studied their responses in various periods. Recently, scholars have turned their attention to the inhabitants of the trading posts who drew upon several cultural heritages to establish the basis of a community life around the numerous activities that market the conduct of the fur trade. In his doctoral dissertation on "The Country-Born in
Red River, 1820-1850," John Foster argues that despite the varying physical and social circumstances in which the inhabitants of each of the Company's posts found themselves, the basis for a similar way of life, linking the residents of the different posts, did exist. In essence the community life of the residents represented various cultural elements from Great Britain adapted to a novel set of physical and social circumstances. Using the labourers and tradesmen of the Hudson's Bay Company as a case study, this section will focus upon their role within the post environment. Hopefully, this will shed some light on the reasons behind the deteriorating labour situation in the 1850s and 1860s.

The Hudson's Bay Company operated on a hierarchical chain of command with the head office in London. At an annual public meeting the Company's stockholders elected a Board of Directors, called the "Governor and Committee," which was ultimately responsible for the management of all aspects of the fur trade. This group relayed its decisions to the overseas governor who was made to understand perfectly that "you must always consider yourself as the representative of the Governor and Committee in the country and look to them for your instructions upon every point connected with the business...." The overseas governor, who happened to be George Simpson from 1826 to 1860, in turn travelled extensively throughout most of the geographic area under his command. The overall operation of the Company, however, was not Simpson's responsibility alone. It was discussed by the governor, chief factors, and selected chief traders at an annual council, usually held in early June. The chief factors and traders, also shareholders in the Company, were responsible for the supervision of the employees and the conduct of the fur trade in their districts.

The chain of command was also a dominant factor at the company establishments throughout Rupert's Land. The pyramidal structure of the trading post community, from labourer to commissioned officer, was based on occupation. The unskilled
labourers, some hired in their late teens, formed the base of the pyramid. Before 1870 the majority of permanent labourers and tradesmen were British-born, principally from the Orkney Islands, although, as Foster pointed out, during the manpower shortages of the Napoleonic wars a number of mixed-blood sons of officers and servants were enlisted. Servants were also hired in Lower and Upper Canada but on a smaller scale and generally to man the company brigades. In 1851, for instance, the council for the Northern Department planned to hire fifty labourers from Europe, twenty-five from Canada and ten "unmarried" servants from the growing labour pool available at Red River. For the most part the men hired in the Orkney Islands proved to be capable servants. Prepared for a life of hardship by the harsh climate and endemic poverty of their native environment, adaptable to the ways of Rupert's Land by virtue of their age and interest, they were without peer in performing the manual tasks necessary for the successful conduct of the trade. The commissioned officers at company posts were particularly interested in men who would follow orders. For this reason Chief Factor John Charles, a very experienced trader, was adamant in his preference for Orkneymen over Scots, whom he considered a nuisance:

of the Boatmen as half sailors that are engaged for the Department, we prefer the Orkney men to the Scotch for of the little they know the Orkney men are the most efficient of the two, neither would we wish to have tradesmen from the Highlands.....so independent of their being rather refractory subjects they are unwilling to work at anything but their trade....

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century the Hudson's Bay Company retained a network of hiring agents throughout the British Isles and in Canada. While the Orkney islands provided a large number of servants, these agents signed a variety of nationalities to service contracts. These legal agreements, generally for a three to five year
period, were on an escalating pay scale. Generally, the wage scale was low; particularly for those men falling within the "labourer" category. For the 1750-1850 period, labourers generally were paid from 15 to 20 pounds a year in British sterling. The Company rationalized this low rate of pay on the basis of free transportation, lodging and rations for the servants while in Rupert's Land. Ultimately, however, the low rate of pay was to cause dissension within the lower ranks of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Above the unskilled labourers in terms of occupational status at the company posts were the semi-skilled and skilled tradesmen. The skills of both the old and new worlds were represented. European trades such as that of the blacksmith and mason shared a status similar to the interpreter and slooper. In the list of servants for the Lower Red River District in 1852, Belonie Gibeault, a mason with twenty years experience earned £30 a year while George Davis, the mixed-blood interpreter at Lower Fort Garry earned the same amount. John Cox, a slooper at the stone fort for thirty years earned £30 that same year while William Drever, a skilled carpenter, earned £35 per annum. The list of recruits brought out on the Prince Rupert from the Orkney Islands in 1835 illustrates that salary scale of the company servants.

1. Flax dresser for Red River hired at £40 per annum.
2. Blacksmiths for Red River hired at £30 per annum.
2. Boatbuilders for Red River hired at £25 per annum.
1. Tinsmith for Red River hired at £30 per annum.
1. Labourer for Red River hired at £17 per annum.
20. Labourers for Red River hired at £16 per annum.

As the list indicates, servants who practised a trade were often hired and imported on the basis of their talents and training. They had not acquired their skills in Rupert's Land. Thus they tended to be a decade older than the unskilled youths when they made their appearance at the trading post. Furthermore, for many tradesmen, employment with the Company also
served the purpose of building a "stake" before returning home. This operation suggests that in comparison with many of the British-born unskilled youths the tradesmen may have enjoyed better socio-economic circumstances in their homeland and have had stronger ties with their families in Great Britain.¹⁷

Occupying the lowest rank of all contracted employees, the labourers had little opportunity for advancement except within their own class. The rank of postmaster was usually as high as they could aspire.¹⁸ Their menial tasks demanded only physical fitness and strength and the pay was too poor to allow them any real savings. They often married Indian women and re-engaged for several terms with the Company. Alternately, they were also allowed, upon the expiration of their contracts, a small grant of land at Red River or their passage back to Britain. If a servant wished to leave the country before his term expired he was required to pay his own passage.¹⁹

The social pyramid of the trading post was led by officers of various ranks, from youthful writers and apprentice clerks to the officers in charge, the Indian trader.²⁰ The trader was responsible for the successful conduct of the trade in his region as well as the welfare of the individuals under his charge. His interest extended not only to the inhabitants of the post but to the Indian bands in the surrounding hinterland. With particular privileges and responsibilities went a style of life that revealed the Indian trader's concept of himself as a man with few peers. His status was demonstrated in numerous ways that emphasized the "social distance" between himself and the servants.²¹ The absence of physical labour in his daily routine, his competence with the written language, his preeminence in the trading ceremony and the cherished privilege of separate living and dining quarters were a few of the ways that served to reinforce his status in the trading
post. His style of living was the epitome of the "good life" in Rupert's Land.

Other factors besides occupational status were important influences in determining the Hudson's Bay Company post environment. Among the most significant was the premium placed upon the number of persons involved. The difficulty and expense involved in transporting goods and in provisioning posts underlined the fact that only a limited number of men could be profitably employed at any particular post. For this reason families were not encouraged in the Company's service. Robert Clouston, a clerk at York Factory, launched a tirade against the company's attitude to married servants in a letter to his father-in-law Donald Ross; "the Company did not recognize families - they were merely tolerated...." There is a paucity of information in the official journals referring to families or family life. The Governor and Committee only became actively aware of the existence of particular children when requests for permission to send boys home for education, or when the father, having returned to Britain, made arrangements to provide for the family he had left behind. For the most part even the existence of the mothers was ignored.

With a premium attached to the number of employees at a particular post, breadth of knowledge rather than knowledge in depth was emphasized. Thus the blacksmith at Lower Fort Garry, Norman Morrison, was also expected to serve as an armourer and tinsmith. The carpenter in the Lower Red River in the 1850s, William Drever, might also serve as a cooper and cartwright. This caused considerable misunderstanding among those tradesmen who had signed up with specific old world skills. They resented this jack-of-all-trades philosophy. Because of the seasonal nature of some occupations it seems likely that the acquisition of additional skills was encouraged. Skills such as those of the tripman or guide blended well with trades associated with life at the trading post. Other skills such as that of interpreter and one of the old world trades
proved readily compatible. Consequently, the emphasis on the breadth of knowledge and competence tended to moderate the distinctions implicit in a social structure derived from a hierarchy of occupational status. In addition such an emphasis provided greater opportunity for an individual to "get ahead." For the competent and ambitious servants such as Lower Fort Garry clerk William Lane or George Davis, several opportunities were open leading to relative wealth and recognition which, perhaps, would have been beyond their grasp had they remained in the homeland.

The nature of service in the fur trade focussed attention upon the society of the adult males of the company fort. The fact that most were far from their own families and communities and that the nature of work in the trading post placed an emphasis on cooperative effort, served to heighten the importance of the new society. Criteria that stressed manly accomplishments constituted the means of determining an individual's position in this group. Physical strength and endurance as well as quickness of wit, eye and hand were of prime importance for the labourer and the tradesman.

Membership in the adult male society of each trading post was fluid. Death, retirement, the appearance of new recruits and transfers between posts served to change the membership in the company of men at a particular post. Yet a core of old hands remained who formed friendships that lasted over many years. Lower Fort Garry had a core of servants who spent lengthy periods at that establishment. There was the slooper, John Cox, the gardener, James Voller, the interpreter-postmaster, George Davis and others. According to Professor Foster the social structure that arose from the association of adult males in the trading post was as important in regulating social interaction as was the structure derived from occupational status.

Foster recognizes a third means, the interrelated with the others, by which the fur post inhabitants structured their
community. The kinship connections that resulted from the marriages of officers and servants to Indian and mixed-blood women created links within the post, with other posts and with surrounding Indian bands. The significance of kinship as a means of regulating social behaviour appears to have been related to the length of time a particular post had been in existence. Posts on Hudson's Bay and in the immediate hinterland occupied for more than four generations reflect extensive intertwining of family connections. Comparatively new establishments in the interior such as Lower Fort Garry reflect more diffuse patterns. In such posts it appears likely that marriages between British-born servants and officers and Indian women would occur with much more frequency than in posts by Hudson Bay. While family connections between officers and between officers and senior servants appear to have been intensive, the same was not as true for servants in the lower ranks. Two factors may have a bearing on this distinction in the extent of family connections between the senior and junior ranks of the servants. The first factor was wages. A senior tradesman could earn over twice the annual wages of an unskilled youth. The relatively low wages of the unskilled youth served to limit his "eligibility" as an attractive mate. Less able to afford the good things in life in terms of the post storeroom, he would find it difficult to keep a mixed-blood daughter of an officer in the manner to which she had become accustomed.

Foster identifies certain distinctive social values around which the adult males of the company posts appear to have oriented their lives. An important focal point was property. Property was conceived not only as a means to financial security and material well-being but as the means of establishing an individual as a person of achievement and influence and as worthy of respect in his community. In addition it was an essential means of ensuring that one's children had an opportunity to enjoy similar economic and social rewards.
Numerous sources attest to the care which the Orkney servants devoted to their financial interest. As early as 1811 William Auld noted that "orkneymen and scotchmen are by nature cautious and careful, the lower-classes prudent in the management of their own property." It was for this reason that the fine rather than physical coercion proved to be the most effective means of disciplining refractory servants. The servants had little choice but to be careful. There was no pension plan for the servants — no security for their family.

The fundamental bond between the Company and the men of property was economic. Both servants and officers who did not spend all their annual wages left the balance to accumulate with the Company or had the Company invest it for them. Little of the spirit of the entrepreneur emerged in these transactions as most appear to have chosen bonds, particularly British consols, bearing interest at three and one-half per cent.

Service with the Hudson's Bay Company for nearly two centuries was the basis of the good life in Rupert's Land. In the trading post such necessities of life as food, lodging and some clothing were provided. The individual did not have to concern himself with the daily cares that preoccupied those who were not employed by the Company. In addition he might hope that long years of faithful service would be rewarded with a small pension. After 1821 the situation, for many company servants, remained advantageous. Gradually, however, there crept into the officer's correspondence a growing alarm about the company's labour force. Granted, it was not an emergency situation or a major revolt, but it was increasingly evident that the Bay tradition, the root of fur trade society in Rupert's Land, was on the wane.

After 1830 the Bay tradition, particularly the unanimity which had existed between the officers and servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, began to break down. This was the result of a variety of circumstances, and the unrest was more prevalent in some districts than in others. Peter Skene Ogden,
commenting on the servant situation in his jurisdiction, New Caledonia, believed "the servants of this district.....have been represented as the most worthless, dishonest, dissolute set of beings" but, at the same time, he admitted that they endured "hard duty, food of an indifferent quality and no variety." Essentially, the company's attitude and policy towards the servant class lacked flexibility, consistency or innovation. The Governor and committee in London, particularly after 1850, when Sir George Simpson began to spend less time in Rupert's Land, simply lacked solutions to the problems. If they did decide to act, it was more often than not a piece-meal measure designed to alleviate the problem but only temporarily.

The dominant characteristic of the post environment was the relentless routine. Throughout the various seasons of the year, the daily practices of the permanent servants followed a familiar pattern. The working hours at Norway House, for instance, were strictly regulated by the ringing of a bell. Awakened at five, the men turned out to work until breakfast at seven. At eight o'clock the tradesmen turned to their particular occupation and the labourers began the menial tasks about the establishment: cleaning the yard, filling the ice house, packing furs, securing wood for fuel and lumber, and a myriad of other mind-deadening tasks. At one the servants returned to the men's house mess for the dinner break of an hour and then returned to their occupations until half past six when the bell signified the end of the working day.

During the course of the year there were very few pauses in this monotony. At Christmas and New Years the men were issued extra rations and noisy celebrations were held in their residences. A high point of the year, however, was the dispersal of the private orders which arrived every autumn from the major company depot and from Great Britain. Living at isolated outposts year after year, the servants valued the yearly arrival of the "luxuries" very highly. The company, however,
exercised a fluctuating philosophy with regard to luxury goods. In a period of prosperity the company encouraged the consumption of luxury items. In a letter to Alexander Christie in December, 1830, Governor Simpson emphasized that "a fair proportion of every luxury as well as necessaries be first put into the men's shops, likewise of the articles of finery, so that the people may have an opportunity of spending their money as when they are compelled to save their wages they become dissatisfied and troublesome." Four years later, however, Simpson instructed York Factory chief trader James Hargrave "to reduce their demands in woolen and other expensive goods, to the extent of from 15 to 20 per cent, as the state of the trade cannot afford the increasing demands that are annually made in our stores from all parts of the country." This inconsistency could not help but disturb the morale of servants at company posts throughout Rupert's Land.

The servants were also victimized on some occasions by the clerks and commissioned officers at the posts. In a very revealing letter to Donald Ross, York Factory clerk Robert Clouston described an alarming accounting procedure practised in some districts:

In the accounts sent up to Council every year of the servants.....no mention is ever made of their balances, which is unfortunate for some people, who advance their men twice the amount of their wages: on the West side the mountains in particular, this custom prevails to a great extent.... this of course leads to loss in many instances as it encourages desertion, when that way of closing off a debt is so easily effected.....

This system of over-extending the credit of the servants on their yearly purchases was also common in the Saskatchewan district. This reluctance or inability to keep the servants within the limits of their income also distressed Ross, who was chief factor at Norway House. In a letter to Simpson, he pointed out that "on our low scale of wages, the difficulty of keeping Canadians within their income is really more formidable than anyone can be aware of." Obviously, by the 1840s the salaries
paid by the Hudson's Bay Company were not keeping pace with European or Canadian wage scales, nor were they comparable to the escalating price of goods in Rupert's Land. If the tradesmen and labourers were spending a large proportion of their annual incomes at company sales shops, they were not putting aside funds for their eventual retirement from the service. In 1857, Sir George Simpson testified before the British parliamentary committee set up to investigate the renewal of the Hudson's Bay Company license. He stated that £300 a year was set aside from the profit of the trade to pension old and deserving officers. Servants were not entitled to participate in that fund but on the recommendation of the Council, servants incapacitated by age were "superannuated" and maintained at the posts as supernumeraries, fulfilling some small duties in return for food and clothing. There was, therefore, no established retirement fund for the salaried employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. As many servants left the company's employ without adequate funds, they were generally compelled to obtain some means of alternative employment. In Rupert's Land, this was limited to the buffalo hunt, agriculture, or the fur trade. As the retiring servants' work experience was in the fur trade, a number of ex-employees joined the free trade movement.

The tariff structure of the Hudson's Bay Company was another potential grievance of the Hudson's Bay Company servants. A quick perusal of servant accounts in the 1850s suggests that the labouring classes were spending a large percentage of their annual wages at the post sales shops on necessities such as clothing, utensils, guns, axes, ammunition, blankets and other manufactured items. The officers and clerks frequently ordered clothing, books, special foodstuffs and similar luxuries directly from England, but for the men in the lower ranks the sales shop was the only available source for the goods required to augment the rather sparse rations dispensed by the company. Pricing at company sales shops was in accordance with tariffs
established by the council of the particular department, and there is little doubt that the complicated rates discriminated against the servant on a fixed income.\textsuperscript{47} For instance, according to the standing rules and regulations of 1843, clerks and servants were to pay 50 per cent on the prime cost of all imported goods and twelve and one-half per cent on the depot cost of country-made articles supplied during the summer, and all subsequent supplies without distinction of articles, to be sold at 50 per cent on the depot summer sales tariff to servants. The officers, on the other hand, were to pay the depot inventory tariff for all goods bought during the summer and 25 per cent thereon for all subsequent supplies. Furthermore, they could purchase country and colonial produce at actual cost throughout the year. Clearly, the financial burden was on the clerks, tradesmen and labourers and not the subsidized officer class. Curiously, the servants refused to complain officially about the discriminating tariff structure, but they were more vocal when it became apparent that the store keepers at York Factory had not paid proper attention to their private orders.\textsuperscript{48}

As early as 1842 chief factor Donald Ross, in a lengthy letter to George Simpson, lamented the "spirit of discontent, in some cases amounting to actual insubordination," which "had begun to show itself among the Company servants in the country."\textsuperscript{49} An outspoken critic on so many issues concerning the fur trade, Ross cited four internal reasons for the deteriorating situation. His biases are most evident.\textsuperscript{50}

1) the withdrawal of twenty 'of our older gentlemen.'
2) the introduction of so many of the natives of the country into the service, particularly from the settlement, has produced a very injurious effect in this respect.
3) the excellent voyageurs both summer and winter, their disposition is too 'restless' to render them 'steady or industrious' servants about the 'establishments'.
4) the detrimental influences caused by the introduction of the class styled 'apprentice postmaster.'

Obviously, Ross believed that the labour problems were a product of internal dissension at the post themselves.
Actually, the Hudson's Bay Company's problems with their labour force were both external and internal. By the 1850s the company's agents in the British Isles were not recruiting servants with the necessary requirements. Increasingly servants were sent back a year after their arrival. Either they were "invalids" to begin with and unable to fulfill their duties, or they had violent tendencies. In 1850, for example, John McKinnon of the Lewes Islands was found guilty of assault with an axe. Furthermore, five of the servants sent to York that year from the Shetland Islands were "of such diminutive size" and landed in such a "sickly condition as to be quite unfit for the labouring duties of the country."

In the 1850s the Hudson's Bay Company turned to Norway as an alternative source of labour. Unfortunately, the Norwegian servants were for the most part unhappy in Rupert's Land. At Moose Factory, they complained that "at home we were promised free house and boarding which our contract will show, in this house for men, where wind and snow goes right through from one end to the other and we must bring our blankets as well as other bed clothes,....Let us now view the provisions a piece of pork or sometimes equal peas, beef so salty and rusty as it is not eatable and many half rotten geese...." The situation became gradually more tense at Moose Factory. During the New Year holidays in 1859 a "melee" broke out involving the "Norwegians and halfbreeds." "The former, who are over-ready with their knives, it is supposed drew them in the course of the dispute, whereupon the halfbreeds had recourse to cudgel, iron bars, etc., whereby several severe wounds were inflicted but fortunately no lives were lost...." The officers found "the Norwegians collected in their own quarters with guns loaded and primed for immediate use." Afterwards, the two "classes" of servants were kept in different sections of the fort. On the basis of this and other incidents, Chief Factor Roderick McKenzie recommended that the Norwegians be permitted to leave the country. An alarmed Sir George Simpson agreed,
and by 1860 the majority of the Norwegian servants had gone.

By 1859 the London Committee, admitting to the "unqualified failure" of the Norwegian labour experiment, decided to change the terms of the servants contract to "induce" a "sufficiency of labourers and mechanics" from the Orkney, Shetland, the western isles and the mainland of Scotland to join the company's service. Sir George Simpson, in two letters to the Company secretary, Thomas Fraser, outlined the reasons for the change:

I trust the liberal wages and other advantages held out may induce some able-bodied and respectable men to engage as the business of the Interior labours under great difficulty from the inefficiency and misconduct of the hands lately sent out. Simpson sincerely believed that "the advance in the rate of wages and the allowance of tea and sugar" would bring to the Indian country a "trustworthy class of servants, having no interest in common with the natives and Halfbreeds." In England, Thomas Fraser was stressing the need to improve "the food and comforts" supplied to the servants during the servant's period of service.

The need to improve the wages of the servants was long overdue. Newly recruited labourers were to receive £22 per annum; the first salary increase in fifty years. The other inducement was a gratuity of tea and sugar to labouring servants to a value of £2 per annum. Some company officials did not support this concession to the labouring class. In the same letter in which he admitted to the need for better wages and allowances, Simpson was concerned that the quota of tea and sugar would "greatly increase the cost of inland transport; we must, therefore, endeavour, as far as practicable, to commute it for a money payment."

The improved terms did not resolve the problems confronting the Hudson's Bay Company. The same old complaints emanated from different regions of the Northern Department after the company came under the control of the International Finance Company and Alexander Dallas became the overseas governor.
At Cumberland House, Roderick McKenzie, the trader in charge, complained bitterly that most of the tradesmen "stoutly maintained that they were not obliged to do any kind of work that did not agree with their notions and that they were only engaged to do 'one kind of work'". At Norway House, meanwhile, three rebellious servants embarked on board some Red River freight boats without permission. That same summer the new recruits sent down from York Factory refused to go beyond Norway House.

The governor and committee in London were at a loss for a solution. In a reply to chief factor, James Clare, they at least recognized the dilemma, but offered only a partial solution:

The insubordination among the servants alluded to in your letter of the 13th September is much to be regretted but it is difficult to suggest a remedy to the discontent which will occasionally occur among men who have entered upon a novel service in a country...so different from those which they have left. It is hoped that the abandonment of the Iverness Agency will have a good effect. The worst class of servants were picked up there.....The Orkney, Shetland and Stornoway men are far better calculated for the Company's service.

The officers in the field had a much more realistic grasp of the situation. By the late 1850s the men who traditionally had manned the company's brigades in Red River could get "full employment" and good pay at haymaking and other agricultural pursuits. Furthermore, they were well aware of the physical debilitation brought on by too many years manning the oars in the annual sprint to Portage la Loche. Consequently when chief factor William McTavish sent to Lower Fort Garry to see if crews could be acquired for three boats destined for York Factory, he received no reply.

The labour unrest within the Hudson's Bay Company labour force during the 1860s was most visible within the company brigades. There were a variety of theories put forward to explain the rebellious conduct of the brigades. Some officers believed the rebellious conduct was directly related "to the maddening
When the crews were issued their allotment of liquor at York Factory they proceeded a few miles upriver and indulged in a rowdy celebration. On some occasions this practice led to the damaging of cargoes and the loss of valuable time. In 1862 John Graham, chief trader, wrote in desperation to the London Committee:

The Portage brigades are quite unmanageable. The crews will not regard their contracts however stringent, when once off on the voyage, will only carry what cargo suits themselves. Their guides are mere ciphers, and have no influence whatever over the crews. Mr. Clare has doubtless reported their rebellious conduct at York Factory during the past season and really some steps should be taken to get rid of their going there at all.

The considerable unrest within the brigades is difficult to explain precisely. The commissioned officers were punishing the men but apparently with little success. In 1865 the "European servants" refused to go inland and the officer in charge, J. Wilson was forced to send seven men home after putting them off work, withholding all luxuries from their rations and preventing access to the sales shop. The traditional fine also proved ineffective. Labour discord was a major reason why the Hudson's Bay Company gradually replaced the brigade system with steamboats and schooners. The switch to the Minnesota route as the main thoroughfare was motivated by personnel factors as well as technological innovation.

The gradual collapse of the brigade system does not necessarily indicate that the labour unrest was also prevalent at the company posts. From a supervisory point of view, it was very difficult for the company officers to impose disciplinary measures upon the tripmen. If they did not obey the brigade leaders, the only recourse was to withhold the wages and gratuities of the employer either at Norway House, York Factory or in the Red River. At company posts the permanent and temporary servants were under the immediate control of the officer in charge. The Lower Fort Garry daily journal for 1868-70 gives a clear indication that the labourers and tradesmen attached to the post
pursued their prescribed duties without resistance. Resentment at the posts usually centred around tradesmen who felt they were not fulfilling responsibilities involving their particular skill. If the servant was a trained carpenter, he resented any suggestion that he clean the yard, cut firewood or some other manual task. Lower Fort Garry, of course, was in an advantageous position. Not only was there a surplus of work for the skilled tradesmen, the fort could also draw upon a willing and numerous labour force to complete the seasonal tasks.

Lack of specific documentation related to Lower Fort Garry restrict our understanding of how Lower Fort Garry conformed to the post environment discussed in this section. Because the Red River settlement provided such a readily available labour pool the Hudson's Bay Company restricted the number of permanent servants in the Lower Red River district which included Lower and Upper Fort Garry. For instance, the district statement for Outfit 1862 lists only twenty permanent tradesmen and labourers and the majority of these men were retained at Upper Fort Garry. However, we can isolate a number of the servants who resided at the Lower Fort during the 1850-70 period. Some of these men probably lived in the men's house.

In terms of the fur trade in Rupert's Land, Lower Fort Garry was an attractive posting for the company servant. The employee enjoyed comparatively comfortable living quarters, an ample and varied diet and access to the benefits of the Red River settlement. For those reasons, in part, the lower Fort seems to have had a smaller turnover of servants, particularly those who qualified as tradesmen. John Cox, an Orkneyman from St. Ola, spent a large majority of his fifty year service as a slooper stationed at Lower Fort Garry. When he was too old to work on the sloop he was retained by the company as a handyman about the fort. Another longtime resident of Lower Fort Garry was Montreal-born mason, Belonie Gibeault, who signed his first contract in 1825. In 1867 he was still working for the
company in the Lower Red River district at a salary of £30 per annum. Another tradesman who spent a considerable part of his career at Lower Fort Garry was the blacksmith, Norman Morrison. A native of Stornoway in the outer Hebrides, he signed his first five year contract in 1859 and retired "free" in 1871.

Contrary to popular beliefs, some local residents did become valued clerks and tradesmen at Upper and Lower Fort Garry. George Davis, listed in the Company books as a "native," joined the service as an interpreter and shopman at Lower Fort Garry in 1849 and rose to clerk status by his retirement in 1871. Of mixed blood, Davis married chief factor Ballenden's maid servant, Catherine Birston, at the lower fort in February 1855. Other "natives" of Rupert's Land who worked as tradesmen at Upper and Lower Fort Garry after 1850 were William Baillie, a tinsmith earning £40 a year, blacksmith Louis Carrier, interpreter James Sinclair and carpenter Thomas Beads.

The men who resided at Lower Fort Garry as labourers are more difficult to identify. It appears that the company tended to transfer labourers from one district to another at a greater rate than tradesmen. By the 1850s men frequently served only one contract before returning home. George Deboos, a native of Middlesex, England, engaged as a labourer at Lachine in 1857, spent five years at Lower Fort Garry and then retired to Europe. Roderick Campbell, the author of The Father of St. Kilda, worked at the lower fort for many years before he was elevated to tradesmen status. York Factory chief factor James Clare described Campbell as a "quiet steady lad of good character who probably in time with training would prove valuable at store or shop duties." More often than not, however, the labouring class were only mentioned in the post journals or correspondence when they fulfilled some job function or if they were in trouble. On March 9, 1869, Samuel Cook, "one of our servants" at Lower Fort Garry, was "taken up for
rape." John Sabiston, a labourer who engaged at Strommess in 1852 and retired to Red River in 1867, was fined £10 in November, 1868 for selling spirits to an Indian. Nor was Lower Fort Garry immune from unsuitable "new hands," hired periodically by the company's European agents. In October-1868, "a young hand who came out by the ship" arrived at the lower fort by Morgan's boats and "turned out perfectly insane." Despite these aberrations, however, the labouring class generally maintained a low profile. They signed their contracts, performed their duties and generally accepted the traditional post environment, with little registered complaint.

At the same time, as a major transhipment centre, Lower Fort Garry was also prone to the considerable unrest prevalent in the company's brigades after 1855. In October, 1868 Mr. Flett, the trader in charge at the lower fort, was obliged to hire two men to watch Andrew Mowatt's boat and cargoes, "his men being all more or less drunk." That same month, "so many of the men had left Mr. A. Mowatt's boats," Flett decided to store the cargoes at Lower Fort Garry "rather than depend on these unfortunate fellows to take property to the Upper Fort." As the hiring centre for the Portage La Loche brigades, the officer in charge also had to sort out the wages of the tripmen. The Upper Fort clerk, A.E. Pelly, wrote William Lane to request "a few Winterers......as plenty of men can be got here but I think generally those from the lower end of the settlement are preferable." Obviously, Lower Fort Garry was not isolated from the changing conditions in the fur trade after 1855. For the most part, however, Lower Fort Garry conformed to the normal pattern of Hudson's Bay Company establishments. The hierarchical social and economic structure remained intact from commissioned officer to youthful labourer. Even when the fort was under the control of William Lane, a mere clerk, he dined alone in the Big House while the tradesmen and labourers ate in the men's house.
Social contact between the commissioned officers and the servants outside the working environment was limited to Christmas, New Years and special occasions such as the marriage of Catherine Birston and George Davis. Within this tightly structured post environment, the Hudson's Bay Company was able to control and maintain a competent working force despite the obvious signs of decline in the Rupert's Land fur trade.
II The Lower Fort Garry Men's House: Its Furnishings

Introduction
The men's house or houses were an integral part of the Hudson Bay Company's post environment. From the smallest outpost to the largest depot some form of accommodation was provided for the company's employees and Lower Fort Garry was no exception. In the early 1850s the distinctive colombage pierroté structure, or timber frame with stone infilling, was erected by the company's workers. By 1858, when the men's house was first photographed by Humphrey Hime of the Hind expedition, the structure was complete as it appears today.¹

There are no surviving photographs however, of the interior of the Lower Fort Garry men's house. The furnishing of the building, therefore, has to be based on comparative historical documentation. Essentially, the furnishing of the men's house should reflect the socio-economic status of its inhabitants and the Hudson's Bay Company's policy regarding the living accommodation of its employees. The labourers and tradesmen who occupied the servant's quarters did not have large incomes to expend upon material possessions. Nor did the "Honourable" company provide them with more than the bare necessities. As late as 1876 conditions for servants were still so primitive that a carpenter, newly arrived at Fort Ellice ate a supper of "tea, sugar, bannock, pemmican and dried meat" and had to sleep with a friend on one buffalo robe spread "on the rough slab floor of the men's house."²

Despite the company's attitude and the generally low status of the tradesmen and labourers, men appointed to Lower Fort Garry enjoyed certain advantages. One of two company posts in
the Red River settlement, Lower Fort Garry was one of the least isolated establishments in Rupert's Land. By the 1850s manufactured goods and provisions arrived annually from Great Britain and Canada by way of York Factory and St. Paul. Furthermore, the stone fort's sales shop was supplied to cater not only to the company servants, but to the growing community living in the parishes of St. Andrew's and St. Clement's. Lower Fort Garry, moreover, had also served as a military barracks for the Sixth Regiment of Foot during its residency in the Red River Colony. Upon their departure, they had transferred control of a considerable collection of equipment and furnishings to the Hudson's Bay Company, some of which may have found its way into the men's house. Thus, the furnishings of Lower Fort Garry's men's house should also attempt to reflect the variety of influences in operation during the 1855-1870 period.

In an excellent study of living quarters at Hudson's Bay Company posts John A. Hussey, argues that the accommodation of officers, clerks and servants were, on the whole, extremely plain or, as he so aptly phrased it, "unpretending but not indecent." Using Fort Vancouver as a case study, he points out that most company employees reached the western posts by way of long overland journeys by boat from Hudson Bay or Canada. Personal possessions were limited to material they could contain within their travelling cassettes and a couple of additional bundles. If they exceeded a certain number of pieces, the company charged them exorbitant rates for additional baggage. Therefore, bulky household furniture rarely found its way to the more isolated regions of Rupert's Land. For the most part, the Company provided the "essential" furnishings for the men's living quarters. What was meant by "essential" was determined by the employee's rank and the importance of the post. For instance, despite the departure of the Simpsons several years before, in 1839 the Big House at Lower Fort Garry remained handsomely furnished with stuffed sofas, easy
chairs, carpets, and side boards jammed with pewter and china. This was in sharp contrast to the servant's bed room which was limited to two pine box beds and four buffalo robes.

For those servants below the rank of postmaster the furnishings provided by the company were very limited. In 1841 traveller Duflot de Mofras noted that the rooms of the subordinate officers and clerks at Fort Vancouver contained no more than "a little table, a chair or bench and a camp bed of boards, infested with insects, with two wooden covers." The situation was similar at the firm's major depot in North America, York Factory. In his impressionable account of life in Rupert's Land, young clerk Robert Ballantyne described the rooms in York's "Bachelor Hall."

The first I [room] entered was very small just large enough to contain a bed, a table and chest, leaving little room for the occupant to move about in....none of those bedrooms were carpeted, none of them boasted a chair — the trunks and boxes of the persons to whom they belonged answering instead; and none of the beds were graced with curtains.

Despite the lack of furniture and accessories, Ballantyne recognized that the room had "a somewhat furnished appearance, from the number of greatcoats, leather capotes, fur caps, worsted sashes, guns, rifles, shoebelts, snow-shoes, and powder horns with which the walls were profusely decorated." It would appear then, that although the living quarters were relatively destitute in terms of furniture, at least the men were allowed to decorate the interior with their personal possessions.

If the clerks were deprived of certain comforts, the lower grade of servant, the tradesmen, tripmen and labourers, possessed even fewer amenities. Robert Ballantynes' writings are an excellent source. When he arrived at Upper Fort Garry he recorded valuable descriptions of the men's houses at that important administrative headquarters. One of them:

was large, and low in the roof, built entirely of wood, which was unpainted.....The men's beds were constructed after the fashion of berths on board ship, being wooden boxes ranged in tiers round the room. Several tables and benches were strewn mis-
cellaneously about the floor, in the centre of which stood a large double iron stove, with the word 'carron' stamped on it. This served at once for cooking and warming the place. Numerous guns, axes, and canoe paddles hung around the walls or were piled in corners, and the rafters sustained a miscellaneous mass of material, the more conspicuous among which were snow-shoes, dog-sledges, axe-handles and nets.¹⁰

With the exception of the bunks, tables, benches and the dominant Carron stove, the furnishings were practical items used by the servant during the daily routine. There is no mention of more refined furniture or decorations.

If the men's houses at larger depots such as Upper Fort Garry were austerely furnished, the living facilities at smaller posts were even more modest in their decor. At Norway House in the autumn of 1864 "all hands" were "set to work" one day clearing out the interior arrangements of the men's house in order to cleanse it of bugs, "with which it was swarming."¹¹ At Fort Qu'Appelle in 1867 there were five dwellings for servants. All were covered by a single roof but separated by log walls carried up to the ridge line. Except in the interpreters quarters at one end of the row, which was sealed and partitioned into rooms with boards, the beams were open or covered by poles, over which hides were laid to serve as a ceiling. Most of the doors and windows were made of parchment stretched on a frame. Each partitioned dwelling contained a large fireplace which, as Isaac Cowie recalled, was required for lighting as well as heat, since "tallow was too much in demand in the making of pemmican to permit of its being used luxuriously in making candles merely to light the men's house."¹²

The furnishing of the men's house at Lower Fort Garry is complicated by the fact that many buildings designated as the "men's house" also served as accommodation for married servants and their families. George Simpson McTavish's memoir of the fur trade, *Behind the Palisades*, contains a description of Churchill Factory which confirms this point:

The men's house or married quarters was a one-storied wood building, how old it is impossible to say, but
while the exterior looked fair enough with its win­
ter porch, protected doors, the inside was somewhat of a maze and more like a rabbit warren is supposed to be, both in the excess of occupants, and the turn­nings and tortuous twists one had to undergo in passing from one end to the other. The building had been par­titioned to suit the exigencies of different families. The interior, even in daylight, was dark, the windows being on a small scale. As all cooking and lighting had been going on for generations the walls were black and ingrained as wood smoke. 

The permanent servants residing at Lower Fort Garry may have lived with wives and children in the men's house. The Hudson's Bay Company, however, preferred to ignore the exist­ence of families and they are rarily identified in company documents. Since only one section of the men's house is to be furnished and interpreted, it will be useful to consider only the unmarried male servants quarters. Then, when the north side of the building is furnished, it could possibly represent the living quarters of a married servant.

At many company establishments the servants were allowed to live outside the stockade. Except for a few domestics and other employees whose duties required them to be at the central buildings, all of the "servants" at the Columbia depot resided in houses of varying sizes and descriptions in or near the "village," a cluster of dwellings on the plain south and west of the palisaded enclosure. These structures were not provided by the company but were erected by the men themselves at their own expense and, for the most part, during non-working hours. The post journals record some instances where the single men were allowed to gather building material and firewood for the married servants dwellings. Hussey emphasized that at Fort Vancouver these dwellings differed greatly in size and quality. Some were constructed in "Red River frame," while others were built in "American cottage fashion," framed and weather-boarded. It is highly probable that married servants at Lower Fort Garry built their own homes outside the Fort walls.

The prevailing simplicity, both in the dwellings of the
commissioned officers and servants, was not entirely a matter of isolation, difficult transportation and restricted wages. It was a direct result of Hudson's Bay Company policy. It is well known that Sir George Simpson was an ardent supporter of financial retrenchment. In his constant search for means to cut the cost of operations his attention was drawn to an inquiry from the field as to "what descriptions of articles are to be furnished from the Depot on outfit to the District for Table Furniture." Simpson's solution was characteristic:

The Table appointments throughout the country have hitherto been upon much too large a scale, far exceeding the consumption of most respectable families in the civilized world, and I think you may safely reduce the usual supplies by 50 per cent - the descriptions to be of the cheapest, vizt. Tin plates: E ware cups and saucers, no table cloths, which with towels are considered private property. No E ware dishes: a few tumblers which answer for wine glasses. Knives and forks ought to last at least half a dozen years - in private families they sometimes last 20.16

It is very difficult to estimate the success of Simpson's restrictions. Certainly the company inventories suggest that they were not complied with in all respects. At Fort Vancouver, "luxuries" such as cut glass salt cellars, wine decanters, "flat E ware dishes," wine glasses and Diaper table cloths were ordered for the Big House pantry.17 While the commissioned officers were in a financial position to attain quality furnishings with their personal funds, the labourers and tradesmen definitely lacked the necessary funds. As long as the Hudson's Bay Company continued to restrict the outfits to the districts the furnishings of the servant quarters would remain practical and generally sparse.

At this point, we must examine the men's house at Lower Fort Garry more specifically. On the basis of what is known about the post environment and drawing upon comparative descriptions of other company servants quarters, one can arrive at some relatively accurate historical propositions with regard to the
furnishing of the interior.

The Lower Fort Garry men's house will consist of three main interpretive areas. The remainder of this section will examine, in turn, the kitchen area, the central living and eating area and finally the sleeping quarters. As the building has been renovated on several occasions throughout its history, this layout is only an historical approximation of the original.

The Kitchen - Men's Mess
The kitchen area in the Lower Fort Garry men's house should complement the kitchen in the basement of the Big House. As the latter was equipped to feed the commissioned officers, clerks and important guests of the company, it was furnished on a lavish scale. It contained the good cutlery, dishes, and cooking utensils.18 The mess area in the men's house should be, above all, utilitarian. It provided meals for the four to six permanent servants who resided there as well as the potentially numerous work force who worked at the stone fort on a seasonal or daily basis.

It was common practice for the Hudson's Bay Company to build the kitchen as a separate structure from the Big House or place it in the rear of the latter and connect it by a passageway.19 The fear of fire was the major reason for the isolation of the cooking facilities. The location of the servant's living quarters near the kitchen facilities for the commissioned officers was another common company practice. In 1840 Letitia Hargrave, wife of the chief trader at York Factory, mentions that the "men servant rooms" were located "off the kitchen."20 While at Fort Qu'Appelle in 1867 Isaac Cowie described a similar situation where "behind and connected by a short passage with the "Big House" was another building divided by log partitions into a kitchen and cook's bedroom, and into a nursery for Mr. McDonald's children and their nurse."21

The labourers and tradesmen of the Hudson's Bay Company
prepared and ate their meals within their own residence. The responsibility for the cooking in the men's house was shared among the occupants or provided by local settlers. In the Company's documents there is no record of a "cook" appointed as a permanent servant to the Lower Red River district for the 1850-70 period. If there were a trained cook in the area, one can rest assured that in the 1850s and 1860s he would have been seconded to Upper Fort Garry. Although there were women working at the Lower Fort Garry during the 1860s they were either in the Big House kitchen, scrubbing floors in various residences, or working in the fields adjacent to the fort. In the 1868 company records for Lower Fort Garry, a Gilbert Smith was paid 2/6 a day to cook for the men and that same year John Simmons and Jacob Spence also performed this duty. It appears that at periodic intervals local settlers were hired at a salary of 2/6 per day to cook temporarily for the residents of the men's house. This development is yet another example of the close relationship between Lower Fort Garry and the growing community parishes of St. Andrews and St. Clements.

The diet of the servants in the men's house compared favourably with their superiors in the Big House by the 1860s. They did not have the benefit of the "luxury" items but the staple diet of the men contained ample nutrition. In a recent analysis of Canadian pioneer cooking, Rebecca Schecter argues that while the British employees would have retained the eating habits of the old country whenever possible, the different ecological conditions in North America and the problems involved with the importation of food supplies from Great Britain forced the fur traders to make considerable cultural adaptations. The most significant changes in the eating habits of the British people in the eighteenth and nineteenth century were the introduction of vegetables into the daily diet of the working class, the dramatic rise in the popularity of white bread, and the replacement of malt ales and liquors with tea as the predominant drink.
These new trends in the British diet were apparent in varying degrees in Rupert's Land by the nineteenth century. Threatened annually by scurvy at posts on the bay, once it moved inland the Hudson's Bay Company encouraged the production of agricultural produce at its posts. However inhospitable the climate and terrain, by 1850 most company establishments supplemented the meat staple with vegetables from their own gardens. At Norway House and the Red River posts early horticultural experiments were producing limited quantities of fruit to vary the normal menus. While malt and liquor was always popular among company servants, the consumption of tea increased rapidly; particularly after 1860 when the annual supplement of tea and sugar to employees was increased to placate deteriorating labour relations.

Throughout its history, however, the Hudson's Bay Company depended on the local environs for a considerable proportion of its food. Fish, for example, was all-important: "whitefish is the mainspring of our existence," wrote George Simpson in 1821, after his first winter in the Athabasca district; "a sufficient quantity of fish should be taken in the fall for the maintenance of the people during the winter; they cannot expect meat except by way of treat on particular occasions." At Lower Fort Garry fishing was probably started as soon as the fort was established. In the 1860s sturgeon were caught in gill nets in the vicinity of the fort and at Lake Winnipeg. According to the post records, these fish comprised a main dietary source for the servants at Lower Fort Garry in the early 1860s.

York Factory documents have survived which provide a month by month analysis of rations issued to the servants from outfit 1851 to outfit 1862. Weekly accounts recorded the quantity of flour, prepared barley, french beans, corn meal, oat meal, white peas, caroline rice, pork, fresh beef, salted beef, lake fish, river fish, fresh and salted ducks, fresh venison, dried meat, plover, partridge and rabbits that was distributed to the
fort's work force. For the year 1859 the rations at York Factory were as follows:

- 25 rations prepared barley
- 25 rations oatmeal
- 58 rations salt pork
- 37 rations salt beef
- 39 rations lake whitefish
- 32 rations river whitefish
- 2 rations fresh ducks
- 8 rations fresh geese
- 36 rations salt geese
- 43 rations fresh venison
- 54 rations pemmican
- 7 rations fresh partridges
- 50 days grain
- 185 days fresh meat
- 131 days salt meat
- 366 days rations

Naturally, the diet of the men at York Factory varied throughout the year and annually, depending upon the availability of provisions. By 1859, they consumed a considerably higher proportion of meat and fowl than the traditional fish staple. In fact, a majority of the game and fish shot or caught by company employees and local Indians was salted and stored in cellars for future consumption. Unfortunately, little is known about the actual preparation. The effective choice was probably between roasting, spit-grilling and boiling.

The record of expenditures charged to the men's house mess at Lower Fort Garry have survived for the period of May, 1861 to March, 1862. Again, at this smaller post, the consumption of meat, fowl and fish comprised a major part of the servant's diet. As the stone fort maintained a comparatively substantial agricultural and livestock operation, there was a larger quantity of fresh beef and mutton distributed to the mess.
In September, 1861 ducks appeared on the menu. Curiously, while the account lists fresh eggs, butter and cheese, there is no mention of vegetables. It is possible that the men had their own gardens. Although he does not appear in the company's engagement register, a James Voiler did serve as a gardener at Lower Fort Garry during the 1860s. On the other hand, his responsibilities may have been limited to the ornamental plantings in the establishment.

The records for 1861 show that the servants attending the men's house mess enjoyed a relatively varied and nutritious diet. Rice, currants, raisins and biscuits were provided to complement the meat and the fowl. They washed the meal down with souchong and hyson tea, or varied allotments of brandy, sherry, port wine and whiskey. The men were also provided with a generous assortment of spices which ranged from mustard and curry powder to mushroom ketchup and Harvey's sauce. For dessert there were orange chips, caraway seeds, raisins, chocolate and in February, 1862, even a rare pound of coffee. This surprisingly sophisticated array of food and condiments is further evidence of the increasing quantity of products available at company posts by 1860, particularly in the Red River area.

Furnishings: Kitchen-Mess Area

An inventory of "articles in use" for the Lower Fort Garry men's house is not available. On the basis of comparative evidence, however, one can establish what may have been contained within the mess area of the servant quarters. The Hudson's Bay Company provided the basic furniture, cooking utensils and cutlery. Any luxuries were provided by the men themselves.

The mess and kitchen facility was dominated by practical items for the preparation of the servants' meals. It was a common company practice to keep a large water cask in the kitchen area. Constructed of wood and holding as much as twenty-five
gallons, the cask held the water used for cooking and washing. The water was dispersed in wood buckets, often made of pine staves with willow, ash, oak or metal hoops.\textsuperscript{34} The water cask also served as a precautionary measure in case of fire. Most company mess areas also contained at least one large square headed axe for chopping wood for the stoves or fireplaces. For cleaning purposes the company servants used hand scrubbing brushes and what were referred to as broomhead brushes. These tools were probably made at Lower Fort Garry out of local materials.

The buckets, casks, and wooden boxes were usually built by the fort's cooper. To make a wooden bucket, staves were split from a block of wood, shaped and finished, and cut uniform lengths.\textsuperscript{35} They were grooved near one end to accommodate the round bevel-edged bottom. The bucket was made inside a tub, which had a raised false bottom and an iron hoop ring about three quarters of an inch high, which held the staves until a hoop was placed over them. The handle was then stapled or fastened with wooden pegs.

The actual preparation of the food in the men's house took place either in the fireplace, on a stove, or in the bakeoven in the building's annex. The bakeovens were probably reserved generally for the preparation of hard-tack biscuit.\textsuperscript{36} These facilities served a considerable number of people, including all the servants and contracted labourers who were fed by the company but did not mess at the Big House. For the 1868 outfit, there were sixty-three temporary servants working at Lower Fort Garry at various times of the year.\textsuperscript{37}

The Hudson's Bay Company provided the men's mess houses with a variety of implements associated with the cooking and heating process. The men's houses and kitchen at Churchill, for instance, contained fire tongs, iron fire pokers, roasting jacks and fire shovels.\textsuperscript{38} The Big House kitchen at Lower Fort Garry accommodated an iron punch and fire shovel while Upper Fort Garry was provided with one iron fire tong, one pair of
bellows, and one pair of iron fire dogs. By the 1860s most if not all of these cooking accessories were probably also in use at Lower Fort Garry men’s house. Since these items do not appear in the inventory of goods sent from England via York Factory and St. Paul, they were probably shaped on the site by the resident blacksmith.

The Hudson’s Bay Company preferred to distribute rations on a weekly or monthly basis. This practice eased the pressure on the clerks who were already responsible for an elaborate accounting system. It did mean, however, that the kitchens at the fort required storage space for supplies such as flour, grease, sugar and salt which may have been stored in some form of wooden cask or keg. Every autumn at the larger company establishments, the tradesmen were given a winter project to produce a wide variety of tools and articles to be used about the fort. An example of the York Factory “work books” is reproduced in the appendices, and contains a list of storage items produced at the post itself.

The mess in the men’s house should also contain simple wooden shelves and cupboards to store the wide variety of cooking utensils and cutlery. As the trading posts carried a substantial quantity of iron, copper and tin kettles, pots and other cooking accessories, the men’s house did not lack for these items. Increasingly, however, the cooking utensils and cutlery issued to the servants were made of tin by the blacksmiths and tinsmiths located at the larger posts such as York Factory and Upper Fort Garry. At York Factory, for instance, the work book for the resident tinsmith registered a list of twenty-seven items made from tin, ranging from covered tin kettles to tin cheese boxes and even tin steak dishes. Instead of importing large quantities of finished products from England, by the 1860s the Hudson’s Bay Company was obviously acquiring the raw materials and manufacturing the item.

The cutlery and table appointments assigned to the men’s house at Lower Fort Garry were probably not of the highest
quality. As mentioned earlier, in 1844 Sir George Simpson had laid down some firm restrictions on the quality of "table appointments" in the Northern Department. Earthenware dishes were to be replaced by tin plates, table cloths were to be "abandoned" and knives and forks were to last at least six years. But unless the commissioned officers seriously enforced this very specialized sort of directive, it was very difficult to implement. By the 1860s the post inventory records the extensive use of earthenware dishes, saucers and plates at Hudson's Bay Company posts. Whether the more expensive cutlery and tableware found its way to the men's house is doubtful unless the men purchased the goods themselves. Hence, the men's house kitchen should contain a comprehensive supply of cutlery and cooking accessories of mixed quality. Copper kettles should be complemented by a variety of tin pots and pans.

Isaac Cowie's study of the Hudson's Bay Company speculated that the fireplaces in the men's houses served for lighting as well as heat. He contends that tallow was too much in demand for the preparation of pemmican to allow for its use in candle making. This was not the case at Lower Fort Garry. The expenditures for the men's house record the consumption of ten pounds of tallow candles every two months. The men also used a candle known as the "Belmont," imported by the Company from Great Britain. For the most part, however, the servants prepared their own candles with a simple device known as a "candle mould" made of sheet iron or tin. Candle moulds came in singles, doubles, fours and twelves. The tallow was melted in a pan and then put into the prepared moulds with wicks stretched down the centre, plugged at the small end and tied to a crosswire at the top. After setting, the plugs were removed and the candles drawn out by their wicks.
The Main Living and Dining Area

The main room on the south side of the Lower Fort Garry men's house will represent the living and eating area of the inhabitants. Once again, the lack of detailed descriptions leaves this space open to historical speculation with regard to furnishing. One must remember that a rather rigid caste system was observed throughout the Company's service. The tradesmen, labourers and voyaguers who lived in the men's house were not permitted to enter the quarters of the "gentlemen" (officers, clerks, and postmasters), for social purposes, except upon invitation. The chaplain at Moose Factory had this point driven home to him in 1843 when he requested permission for one of his parishioners, a "servant" and his wife, to spend several hours in the chaplain's apartment before they embarked for England. "The only reply I can give to your favor," Chief Trader Robert Miles answered stiffly, "is that the officers' residence cannot be made a place of rendezvous for the company's servants and their families." Therefore, for a considerable proportion of every day and particularly during the long winter months, the servants were restricted to their quarters or those of the married labourers and tradesmen.

Robert Ballantyne's description of the living quarters in the men's house at Upper Fort Garry continues to be the most detailed contemporary description:

Several tables and benches were strewn miscellaneous about the floor in the centre of which stood a large double iron stove, with the word "Carron" stamped on it. This served at once for cooking and warming the place. Numerous guns, axes and canoe-paddles hung round the walls or were piled in corners and the rafters sustained a miscellaneous mass of material, the more conspicuous among which were snowshoes, dog-sledges, axe-handles and nets. One cannot deny that young Ballantyne, particularly in his
first narrative, Hudson Bay, was prone to paint a romantic and generally optimistic picture of life at Hudson's Bay Company posts. In this particular description, however, he does capture the atmosphere that the Lower Fort Garry men's house should attempt to convey to the visitor. Essentially, it is one of unpretentious clutter. The tradesmen and labourers who lived in the men's houses could not afford extravagant possessions. Nor did the company provide them with the best furniture; but the accessories of their lifestyles—guns, fishing nets, snowshoes—were strewn about the living quarters.

**Furnishings:**
The furnishings of the living quarters were either provided by the company or built by the men at Lower Fort Garry. Transporting household goods from one post to another was discouraged. In fact, according to the "standing rules and regulations of the company," servants were only allowed to transport inland on private order one and one-half pieces. 48 If they exceeded that allowance they paid as much as 16 pence per piece to transport the goods to Red River.

The Company provided the men with long pine tables for eating and leisure activities. 49 If chairs were not available, long wooden benches would suffice. Table cloths and candlesticks were probably not available. If chairs were not provided by the establishment, the tradesmen built rudimentary ones with available materials. The presence of two dozen brass chair nails on the men's house expenditure record suggests that this may have been the case at Lower Fort Garry. 50 The stove was undoubtedly the dominant feature in the main living area. While the Churchill men's house had a "Canada" stove, the more common type was the "Carron," manufactured by the Carron Company at Falkirk, Stirlingshire, Scotland. 51 Established in 1760, the company's Carron stove came in several sizes and shapes, but the form most favoured by the fur trade was an
oblong box mounted on short, curved legs. It came in six pieces, which could be disassembled for easy transport and storage. For this reason Carron stoves were found at posts throughout the Hudson's Bay Company's field of operations. It should also be noted that the stoves generally stood on a thin platform of metal or stone to protect the floor from fire. When the stoves were near walls, there were also protective shields or heat reflectors against the walls.

The floor and walls of the men's house should be as bare and austere as possible. Carpets were considered to be a luxury in Rupert's Land and rarely appear on company inventories. There were some servants at a higher level who coveted them. Robert Clouston, a clerk at York Factory, believed a carpet was a necessary luxury for "it does not cost much, and the comfort is great compared with a cold wooden floor only a few inches above the frozen ground." As Lower Fort Garry was an important transhipment point, a buffalo robe or fur pelt may have been purchased by the inhabitant. Curtains were another commodity the company did not provide. The presence on the expense accounts of canvas and brown sheeting suggest that the men may have fashioned their own curtains out of available materials.

The decoration of the walls is also open to speculation. Robert Ballantyne remembered numerous guns, axes and canoe-paddles hanging about the walls of the Upper Fort Garry men's house. Isaac Cowie, while describing the clerks "Bachelor Hall" at York Factory recalled "the blaze of barbaric decorations" on the wall. "They consisted of Indian silk and bead and wool work of every hue, which adorned the attire of these 'veterans' from head to foot, also their gun-coats, shot pouches, firebags and snowshoes, all of which were hung up around the room, alongside of coloured prints of prize fighters, race horses, hunting scenes, ships and yachts." Another observer of fur
trade society, H.M. Robinson, noticed that despite the general lack of comfortable furnishings in the officers and servants quarters, individuals sometimes gave their quarters "an artistic air."

Obviously, the officers could more readily afford to decorate their quarters. But, within reason, the tradesmen and labourers possibly adorned the walls with small objects either of local design and handwork or imported from Great Britain.

As the men spent a considerable portion of their leisure hours in the quarters, the main living area should house some period games. H.M. Robinson, in his Great Fur Land, mentions that "games too, are in great demand, and every apartment possess its well-thumbed pack of cards, its rude cribbage-board, and sets of wooden dominoes.....Parties not studiously inclined often pass the spare house in exercising their skill upon one of these musical instruments." In post inventories, including those from Lower Fort Garry, the cards described were generally of the "highland" or "mogul" variety. Other games do not appear on the inventories. One may assume that they were either imported by the servants in their private orders or manufactured at the post. As for the musical instruments, brass jews harps were sold at most sales shops and at major depots strings for violins were available although not the violins themselves.

By the 1860s the men's house at Lower Fort Garry probably contained some reading material, and since most of the servants were capable of signing their contract, it can be assumed that the men's house contained some books and newspapers.

The Sleeping Quarters
The sleeping quarters in the men's house should contain the bare essentials provided by the company as well as the personal effects of the inhabitant. The furnishings should give the impression that the facilities were crowded particularly as the servant had to store his personal possessions within a comparatively small space.
The servants in the Lower Fort Garry men's house slept either in bunks or on individual bedsteads. As there is no structural evidence to suggest that bunks were built along the wall, the bedrooms should hold several bedsteads. At both Fort Ellice and Upper Fort Garry the men slept in rough bunks ranged around the walls of the sleeping accommodations. By the 1850s, however, Lower Fort Garry probably had more sophisticated sleeping accommodation. Upon the departure of the sixth Regiment of Foot, a considerable portion of their supplies and equipment was transferred to the Hudson's Bay Company and it is likely some of these government stores found their way to the men's house. Although it describes a clerk's sleeping apartment, Ballantyne's memoir is also relevant to a men's house:

The different sleeping apartments around were..... extremely characteristic of the pursuit of their different tenants. The first I entered was very small—just large enough to contain a bed, a table and a chest, leaving little room for the occupant to move about in.....none of these bedrooms were carpeted; none of them boasted a chair—the trunk and boxes of the person to whom they belonged answering instead, and none of the beds were graced with curtains.60

The floor of the men's bedrooms at Lower Fort Garry should also be bare. The usual bedcover was a plain white Hudson's Bay Company blanket, preferably three or three and one-half points. A perusal of York Factory accounts shows that "new hands from Europe" favoured the plain white blankets with three points.61 If pillows were in evidence, they were made by the men themselves.

In one corner of the sleeping apartment was a rudimentary washstand basin and jug. The inventories also list a considerable quantity of shaving boxes with "looking glasses,"62 as a grooming aid. Lighting in the bedroom was probably by tallow candles although tin lamps sometimes appear in the "articles in use."

The plainness of the furnishings was somewhat relieved by
the displayed possessions of the occupant and by such decorative items as the servants might possess. The most conspicuous object, perhaps, was the cassette or small wooden trunk used by company employees for carrying personal effects throughout Rupert's Land. Ordinarily a tradesman or labourer would have had one of these useful articles that were often built at major depots by company carpenters and joiners. One experienced employee, G.S. McTavish, commented upon the importance attached to this equipment when he wrote that this "dovetailed constructed trunk, made honestly," served as the container of the servant's "personal wealth in clothes, relics or souvenirs of civilization, and when the lid was closed, as an extra seat." Malcolm McLeod, the son of a fur trader, recorded an excellent description of a cassette:

Trunks made of best and well seasoned pine, and made as strong and light as dovetailing, grooving, iron binding, and great workmanship can make them. The stuff throughout, is three quarters of an inch thick. The dimensions are two feet four inches in length, and one foot four inches in width and depth, and beveled on top to the extent of nearly an inch, leaving the sides about fifteen inches and a quarter deep, of this depth, the cover takes from four to three and a quarter inches. Of the "cassettes" used in the country, this is the largest size, and the smallest does not vary more than an inch, in any way. They are well painted, and are proof against any accident but fire.

A reasonably good idea of the personal possessions of a company servant can be gained from the Company's account books. For example, Joseph Breyiere, a servant at Fort Alexander, ordered the following items from the York Factory sales shop in 1860. One must remember that tradesmen and labourers were restricted in their purchase by the limitations of their salary scale. In 1860 the average labourer was earning £22 while most tradesmen fell within the £30 to £35 category. Joseph Breyiere's purchases were as follows:

1 plain white blanket, 4 pts.
1 plain white blanket, 3⅓ pts.
2 tartan 8/4 shawls
1 piece 5/4 printed cotton
8 yds. plain blue drugget
6 yds. striped blue drugget
8 yds. common blue striped cotton
10 yds. drab moleskin
2 prs. beaverteen trowsers
1 grey Illinois capot
3 common yacht shirts
4 fine blue striped cotton shirts
1 fine white flannel shirt
1 lb. all-weight thread needles
6 bars yellow soap
2 lbs. Java coffee
20 lbs. N.H. plug tobacco
4 doz. H.C. pipes
½ keg crushed sugar
1 fine pocket knife
1 coloured silk thread
6 yds. fine blue duffle
1 covered tin kettle
1 lb. green paint
1 can paint oil - 1 qt.
1 cassette lock, 3 ins.
6 yds. common white flannel
1 lb. black pepper
1 wooden cased looking glass mirror
assorted handkerchiefs
10 lbs. Congou tea
1/6 doz. coloured ½ pint basins and saucers
1/6 doz. forbuck dessert knives and forks
6 yds. fine blue duffle
1/6 doz. essence of peppermint

The large quantity of cloth ordered by Breyiere strongly suggests that either he was married or the men were sewing their
own clothes. A survey of servant orders from Fort Alexander follows a similar pattern. The lower echelon of the company's servants spent a large portion of their wages on clothing and related material. Every year they purchased a supply of capotes, shirts, handkerchiefs, trousers and shoes from the company stores. The Hudson's Bay Company did employ a tailor at York Factory but his energies appear to have been concentrated upon the preparation of outfits for the gentlemen of the service. Extracts from the tailor's account book are contained in the appendices of this report. The servants also showed a propensity for luxuries such as tobacco, tea, coffee, chocolate and sundries such as combs, knives and beads. Among the other items that might be found hanging on the wall, resting on tables, or standing in corners were guns of various types, powderhorns, shot bags, fishing gear, articles of Indian manufacture or natural curiosities such as rock specimens.

The domestic arrangement of the men's house at Lower Fort Garry should accurately reflect the socio-economic status of the tradesmen and labourers of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Company provided the basic furniture, kitchen implement and sleeping accommodations. The servants, through their private orders and purchases at the retail store, provided the additional furnishings. Essentially the overall impression one draws from the fur surviving contemporary descriptions of the men's house is one of unpretentious duties. While they may not have lived on a grand scale, the Hudson's Bay Company servant retained a modest number of personal possessions which he added to the decor of the living quarters.
Conclusion

The Red River tripmen took their familiar positions in the York boat and the Hudson's Bay Company brigade set out down the Red River. Cuthbert Grant led a group of Métis hunters across the White Horse plains to launch yet another hunting expedition. These are the familiar images of the fur trade in Rupert's Land. They conger up visions of movement and adventure, excitement and confrontation. Meanwhile, at Lower and Upper Fort Garry the officers supervised the servants as they packed the furs, cleaned the plantation, hoed the kitchen garden and carried out the many tasks associated with the operation of a Hudson's Bay Company post.

The study of the post environment is vitally important to our understanding of the Hudson's Bay Company and fur trade society. For instance, within a company post such as Lower Fort Garry, the traditional hierarchical social structure of the Hudson's Bay Company was expressed by the separate living accommodations of the officers and servants. Although the officer's quarters in the Big House and the servants residence, the Men's House, were only separated by a short expanse of grass and a walkway, they were worlds apart in terms of furnishing and comfort. While the servants gathered around the pine table adjacent to the cooking area, the dining room in the Big House was graced by tablecloths, brass candlesticks and imported tableware. After the meal, the officer in charge retired to read on the sofa in the parlour while the servants gathered about the Carron stove which dominated the main living area. Ready to retire, the chief trader retreated to the feather bed in a separate bedroom. Meanwhile, the labourers and tradesmen
were confronted by wooden bunks and bedsteads tightly packed into their communal sleeping area.

The restoration, furnishing and interpretation of the Lower Fort Garry Men's House should reflect the socio-economic status of its residents; the tradesmen and labourers of the Hudson's Bay Company. It should also take into consideration the special role of Lower Fort Garry during the 1855 to 1870 period. Built during the early 1850s, shortly after the departure of the Colviles, the Men's House was the main living accommodations for company servants involved with the development of the agricultural industrial complex and the fort's role as a transhipment centre. In that sense, Lower Fort Garry was in the mainstream of company development when the overall fur trade operation was in a state of decline. Furthermore, while the servants at many company posts suffered materially because their posts were isolated, this was not the case at the stone fort. As the Lower Fort sales shop served the lower part of the Red River settlement, a greater variety of consumer goods were available to the resident servants. This may have been reflected in the furnishings of the Men's House.

The Men's quarters at the Lower Fort may have housed the married servants and their families as well as the bachelor servants. While the Hudson's Bay Company did not recognize the families of their employees in the account books, their accommodation at company posts was a growing problem by the 1850s. At Churchill, for instance, chief trader Griffin complained that "the present establishment, numerically, ought to be reduced at least to one half its present complement - it is not so much the men themselves, as their already large and increasing families which make such a drag and so cripples the place - there are here at present three if not four full grown children to every man."\(^1\) Confronted by this pressure, the company did allow the servants at some posts to build their own homes outside the fort compound. This may have been the case at Lower Fort Garry where the Hudson's Bay Company owned a considerable
parcel of land surrounding the fort and its agricultural complex.

This furnishing study of the south side of the men's house has proceeded on the premise that it served as a living accommodation for unmarried company servants. Women were only present when the building required cleaning and scrubbing or during social occasions. The men did their own cooking or, as the fort day books suggest, local male settlers were hired to prepare meals on a temporary basis. As the company records do not always distinguish what servants were located at a specific post, it is sometimes difficult to determine what individuals actually lived in the men's house from 1855 to 1870. On the basis of the Lower Red River district statement we do know that the number of permanent servants at Lower and Upper Fort Garry was tightly restricted. Despite its labour intensive activities only five to seven permanent servants probably resided at Lower Fort Garry on a full time basis. Local settlers provided a large proportion of the labour force, particularly for seasonal activities.

The furnishing of the men's house kitchen, recreation and sleeping area should combine the bare necessities provided by the "Honourable" company with the material possessions belonging to the servants. As we discussed in chapter two, the determination of specific items to be found in a living quarters, whatever the status of the inhabitants, depends upon many factors. For instance, the Hudson's Bay Company provided the basic furniture, cooking utensils and sleeping apparatus. But, when Lower Fort Garry assumed control of stores left behind by the sixth Regiment of Foot, these items may have found their way into the men's house. The decoration of the walls is another case in point. In his description of the men's house at Upper Fort Garry, Ballantyne described the "numerous guns, axes, canoe-paddles hung round the walls" while the rafters "sustained.....snowshoes, dog-sledges, axe-handles and nets."² While this particular description captures the atmosphere of unpretentious clutter that the Lower Fort Garry men's house
should convey to the visitor, it does not take into account the cultural background of the servants. While the personal possessions that they were allowed to transport inland was restricted, perhaps they brought momentoes of earlier years in the Orkneys, Scotland, England and Canada. The whole question of to what extent the material culture of the company employees was influenced by their cultural background requires further historical analysis.

Lower Fort Garry was an attractive posting for the company servant. The employee enjoyed comparatively comfortable living quarters, an ample and varied diet and access to the benefits of the Red River settlement. For these reasons, in part, the Lower Fort seems to have avoided the growing unrest within the Hudson's Bay Company labour force after 1850. There is no evidence of the growing chasm between tradesmen and labourers caused by the former group's unwillingness to perform duties outside those of their specific trade. Nor was there any racial confrontation similar to the outbreak between the Norwegian and mixed-blood servants at Moose Factory.

The furnishing of the men's house will add another important dimension to Lower Fort Garry as an historic site. While the Big House provides an insight into the lifestyle of the officer class, the Men's house will represent the post environment from the perspective of the company servant. Despite their modest status within the company hierarchy, the servants played an essential role in the operation of the Hudson's Bay Company.
Endnotes

Introduction
2 Hudson’s Bay Company Archives (hereafter cited as HBCA), B.235/d/76, Lower Red River District Statement, Outfit 1839.
3 Ibid.
4 Public Archives of Canada (hereafter cited as PAC), MG19, A 40, W.D. Lane Correspondence Outward, 1851 - 1873, Lane to his mother, 22 August 1854.
6 Ibid., p. 160.

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4 John E. Foster, op. cit., p. 23.

5 HBCA, D.8/1, fo. 11, Governor and Committee to A.G. Dallas, 24 February 1862.

6 John E. Foster, op. cit., p. 28.

7 Ibid.

8 HBCA, B.239/k/3, fo. 16d, Minutes of Council, Northern Department, 1851.

9 John E. Foster, op. cit., p. 28.


11 John E. Foster, op. cit., p. 28.

12 Ibid., p. 30.


14 Ibid.


16 John E. Foster, op. cit., p. 31.

17 Ibid.

18 Carol Livermore, op. cit., p. 50.

19 Ibid., p. 51. In 1857 the Hudson's Bay Company had some 1200 permanent servants; most earned salaries of between 20 pounds and 40 pounds annually plus rations and lodgings.

20 John E. Foster, op. cit., pp. 33-34.
21 Ibid., p. 35.
22 Ibid., p. 39.
23 Provincial Archives of British Columbia (hereafter cited as PABC), A.E.R. 73, No. 5, Donald Ross Collection, Robert Clouston to Donald Ross, 28 September 1848, file 27.
26 HBCA, B.49/b/4, fo. 6, Roderick MacKenzie, Cumberland House, to Alexander Dallas, 18 September, 1863, "most of the tradesmen I had to do with stoutly maintained that they were not obliged to do any kind of work that did not agree with their notions and that they were not engaged to do one particular work."
27 John E. Foster, op. cit., p. 41.
28 HBCA, A.30/1-1/7, List of servants in Hudson's Bay, 1774-1841.
29 John E. Foster, op. cit., p. 47.
30 Ibid., p. 48.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid., p. 50.
33 Ibid., pp. 51-53.
34 HBCA, A.11/118, Auld to the Governor and Committee, September 26, 1811.
35 John Foster, op. cit., p. 56.
36 PABC, Donald Ross Collection, Peter Skene Ogden to Donald Ross, file 45.
37 Ibid., file 17, Letter 8, "Working Hours at Norway House." During the winter months the Hudson's Bay Company establishment followed a similar routine regulated by bells.
38 Provincial Archives of Manitoba (hereafter cited as PAM) William D. Lane Papers and Correspondence, Correspondence Inward, James Clare to William Lane, February 15, 1847. "At York it is the fashion for the clerks to club together
and lay in a stock of about 10 to 11 gallons of wine and spirits as we did this year and then give balls to the men and women who live about the place; altogether I think we had five dances. I can assure you that the morning after Christmas Day there was not one of us who can say that we had not been drunk the preceding night...."

[39] HBCA, B.239/c/2, fo. 37, December 18, 1830.
[40] Ibid., fo. 38, December 8, 1834.
[41] PABC, Donald Ross Collection, File 27, Robert Clouston to Donald Ross, 20 November 1848.
[42] Ibid.
[43] HBCA, D.4/34, fo. 6, G. Simpson to D. Ross, 29 December 1845. Writing to Donald Ross from Lachine Simpson commented: "The price of labour is so extravagantly high in this country that I am apprehensive we shall have few recruits from Canada next spring; so that it will be necessary to collect at Norway House for general service as many Orkneymen and natives of the country as can be procured."
[44] Ibid., E.18/5, fo.2, Parliamentary Select Committee on H.B.C. copy of proceedings.
[45] Ibid.
[47] Ibid., p. 190.
[48] HBCA, B.239/c/16, fo. 49d, 10 December 1852.
[49] PABC, Donald Ross Collection, file 176, Donald Ross, Norway House, to George Simpson, 15 August 1842.
[50] Ibid.
[51] HBCA, A.11/118, fo. 200, J. Hargrave to A. Barclay, 23 September, 1850.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid., A.12/10, fo. 70, Norwegian Servants, Moose Factory, to John Mackenzie, 9 January 1859.
54 Ibid.
55 Ibid., A.12/10, fo. 70, Norwegian Servants, Moose Factory to John Mackenzie, 9 January 1859.
56 Ibid., fo. 66d.
57 Ibid.
58 Ibid., fo. 67.
59 Ibid., B.239/c/11, fo. 95, Thomas Fraser, to J. Clare, 24 June 1859.
60 Ibid., A.12/10, fo. 5d, G. Simpson, to T. Fraser, 10 January 1859.
61 Ibid., fo. 52, G. Simpson to T. Fraser, 14 February 1859.
62 Ibid., B.239/c/11, fo. 95, Thomas Fraser to J. Clare, 24 June 1859.
63 Ibid., A.12/10, fo. 5d, G. Simpson to T. Fraser, 10 January 1859.
64 Ibid.
65 Ibid., B.239/c/14, fo. 107, Governor and Committee to A. Dallas and Council of Northern and Southern Departments.
66 Ibid., B.149/b/4, fo. 6, R. Mackenzie to A. Dallas, 18 September, 1863.
68 Ibid., B.239/c/15, fos. 74-74d, Governor and Committee to J. Clare, 25 June 1864.
69 Ibid., B.239/c/14, fo. 63, W. MacTavish to J. Clare, June 21, 1863.
70 Ibid.
71 Ibid., B.239/c/7, fo. 103d, G. Simpson to W. MacTavish, 11 June 1853.
72 Ibid., B.239/c/13, fo. 212d, J.A. Graham to Governor and Committee, 26 December 1862.
73 Ibid., B.239/c/16, fo. 107, J. Wilson to Governor and Committee, 1 December 1865.
74 Ibid., B.303/a/1, Lower Fort Garry Post Journal, 1868-1874.
75 Ibid., B.303/d/44, Lower Fort Garry Cost Payments for Labour, Outfit 1860.
77 Ibid., B.239/g/40, fo. 14, Northern Department, Abstract of Accounts, 1860-61.
78 Ibid., fo. 17, Northern Department, Abstract of Accounts, 1860-61.
79 Ibid., B.239/g/44, Northern Department, Abstract of Accounts, 1867-68.
81 PAC, MG19, A 40, IA, Lane Correspondence Inward, John Ballenden to Lane, 8 February 1855.
82 HBCA, B.239/g/40; B.239/g/44, Northern Department, Abstract of Accounts, 1860-61.
83 Ibid., B.239/g/40, fo. 15, Northern Department, Abstract of Accounts, 1860-61.
84 Ibid.
86 HBCA, B.303/a/1, fo. 21, 9 March 1869.
87 PAM, Red River Settlement: Assiniboia District of Lower District Court, 23 November 1868, 2nd Case.
88 Ibid., 9 October 1868.
89 Ibid., fo. 1d, 4 October 1868.
90 Ibid.
91 PAM, William D. Lane Papers, A.E. Pelly to W. Lane, 10 March 1852.
II The Lower Fort Garry Men's House: Its Furnishings

1 Philip Goldring, The Men's House, Lower Fort Garry, Historical and Structural Notes, op. cit., p. 192
2 Carol Livermore, op. cit., p. 192.
3 HBCA, B.239/c/4, fos. 345, 366, G. Simpson to A. Christie, 9 July 1848. "Statement of Government stores at Lower Fort Garry bought by the HBC and to be taken over as such, February 13, 1852."
   180 single rugs 2 dough knives
   1 iron tea kettle 20 tin meat dishes
   690 single sheets 13 metal basins
   2 iron pots 15 tin cans
   4 pewter pots 2 copper measures
   3 common shovels 2 pewter measures
   7 pick axes iron beams with chairs
   Assorted iron weights
5 HBCA, B.235/d/76, Lower Red River District Statement, outfit 1839.
6 Ibid.
8 Robert M. Ballantyne, Hudson's Bay or Every-day Life in the Wilds of North America, Hurtig, Edmonton, 1972, p. 147-148.
9 Ibid., p. 148.
11 HBCA, B.154/a/66, fo. 46, Norway House post journal.
John A. Hussey, op. cit., p. 16.

Ibid., p. 17.

HBCA, B.235/d/76, Lower Red River District Statement, Outfit 1839.


HBCA, B.303/d/44, Lower Fort Garry Labour, Outfit 1868 to 1871.

Ibid.


Ibid., p. 3.


George Ingram, "Industrial and Agricultural Activities at Lower Fort Garry," Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History, No. 4, pp. 81-83.

HBCA, B.303/d/3A, Lower Fort Garry Expenditures, 1861-62.

Ibid., B.239/d/1036, York Factory Rations, outfit 1851, to outfit 1862.

Ibid.

HBCA, B.303/d/3A. See appendices for a complete list of the items changed to the men's house mess during this period.
Each spring the oven in the bake house, located in the north-west bastion, and the men's house was prepared for the making of "biscuit for exportation," and from March through June some company servants were occupied by this task.
51 John A. Hussey, op. cit., p. 144.
52 Ibid., p. 145.
53 HBCA, B.303/d/34, fo. 3, Lower Fort Garry accounts, This inventory for Lower Fort Garry lists "rush mats" under the expenses for the officers. They may have been used instead of carpets. They may also have been manufactured locally.
54 PABC, Donald Ross Collection, file 27, Robert Clouston to Donald Ross, August 22, 1849.
55 HBCA, B.303/d/3a, Lower Fort Garry Expenditures, 1861-62.
56 Isaac Cowie, op. cit., p. 102-103.
58 Ibid., p. 102-103.
"You will ask what kind of beds are used here. I can tell you what kind of bed they made for us after we arrived, & have since found it a fashionable bed for this country. The bedstead is in the form of a bunk with rough board bottoms, upon which were laid about one dozen of the Indian blankets. These with a pair of pillows covered with calico cases constitute our bed sheets and covering. There are several feather beds in the place, but they are made of the feathers of wild game."
60 Robert M. Ballantyne, Hudson's Bay, op. cit., p. 156.
61 HBCA, B.239/d/904, York Factory accounts, New Hands from Europe, outfit 1856.
62 Ibid., B.239/aa/105, Inventory,"Articles in use," York Factory, June 1, 1843.
63 G.S. McTavish, Behind the Palisades, op. cit., p. 156.

66 See Appendices, HBCA, B.153/d/193, fos. 145d-147.


Conclusion

1 HBCA, B.239/c/16, fo. 125d, C. Griffin to J. Wilson, 31 December, 1865.

Appendix A
Lower Fort Garry - Inventory of Articles in Use
June 1st, 1839

Summer Mess Room
1 side board
6 ass. chairs
2 quart flint decanters
1 quart flint square
7/12 doz. coloured earthenware flat plates
7/12 doz. coloured earthenware dessert plates
1 single 3 foot stove
1 large dining table
1 pair tongs

Blue Bed Room
1 feather bed
1 pine bed stead
1 basin stand with basin
1 chair
1 large mahogany frame looking glass
1 pine table with drawers

Parlour
2 chairs
1 easy chair
1 wire tender
2 sofas
1 round table
1 square table
1 pair tongs
Governor's Bed Room
1 feather bed
1 chair
1 chest of drawers
1 basin stand with basin
1 bed stead
1 elm table with 2 drawers

Green Bed Room
1 elm chair
1 basin stand
1 sofa bed stead
1 pine table with green cloth cover

Corner Bed Room
1 hand broom brush
3 ass. arm chairs
1 pine basin stand
1 bed stead
1 pine table with drawers

Bed Room
1 feather bed
2 buffalo robes
1 basin stand with basin
1 bed stead
1 pine table with drawers

Passage
1 double stove - 3 ft.

Winter Mess Room
1 pine cupboard
2 pint bottles
7 ass. chairs
1 col. ware dish
Winter Mess Room (cont'd)
1 1/6 doz. flat plates
1/3 doz. col. ware dessert plates
7/12 doz. col. ware soup plates
1 single 3 foot stove
2 pine tables
1 small pine table
1 pair tongs

House Garret
1 voyaging case containing:
1 set cruets
3 flint pint squares
2 tin canisters
1 tin canister (salt)
1 tin tea pot
2 knives and forks
2 flint tumblers, 1/8 pt.
1 Voyage case containing:
2 flint squares, 1/8 pt.
¾ doz. jap. tumblers, 1 pt.
¾ doz. jap. tumblers, 1/8 pt.
2 ass. tin canisters
5 knives and forks
5 table spoons
7 tea spoons
2 small gimlets
2 earthenware pint mugs
3 tin plates
1 large earthenware dish
1 tin tea kettle, 6 qts.
1 cast iron tea kettle
9 muskets
1 set wooden measures (1/8 and 1 bus.)
1 large frying pan
2 tin dishes
House Garret (cont'd)
1 butter tinnet
2 tin tumblers, 1/8 pt.
1 tin meat box
1 pit saw
3 tents
1 set cariole harness

Cellar
2 Japan office candlesticks
4 pickling casks
1 churn
1 grindstone
3 assorted pickling tubs
1 pair steelyards 2 cwt.

Ice House
1 pair steelyards 2 cwt.
1 round head axe

Travelling Case
1 large tin box
1 cork screw
1 tin box for pepper
1 tin box for salt
1 tin box for bread
3 tin plates
1 tin candle box
2 butter tinnets

Old Kitchen
1 large brown ware dish
1 tin lamp
1 plate rake
1 pine table
1 saddle stand
Sales Shop
1 pair tailor's small scissors
2 scalping knives
2 tin cased inkstands
1 pine desk
1 piece patent India rubber
1 ruler
2 pairs beams and scales

Carpenter Shop
4 sledge hammers
21 iron jumpers
9 new iron jumpers
3 iron ramrods
4 crow-bars
4 crow-bars at Monkmans
4 pick axes
4 iron needles
23 iron chisels (to cut stone)
1 bastard file, 10 ins.
5 wooden mallets
108 small iron wedges
14 asst. garden spaces
6 asst. shovels
7 steeled garden hoes
1 masons square
1 plumb rule
1 tackle

Kitchen
1 large square head axe
2 hand scrubbing brushes
2 broom head brushes
2 water buckets
1 large water cask
Kitchen (cont'd)
4 common chairs
1 ice chisel
5 asst. tin dish covers
4 col. earthenware dishes
2 white earthenware dishes
1 hoop driver
1 steak dish with cover
1 hand saw file
2 asst. carpenters' claw hammers
1 steeled garden hoe
1 grid iron
3 asst. iron tea kettles
7 asst. wrot iron tea kettles
6 asst. tin covered tea kettles
1 open copper tea kettle
1 covered copper tea kettle
1 brit metal soap ladle
1 tin lantern with glass
4 sets tin candle moulds
2 pairs pincers
1 camp oven 2 gns.
1 large frying pan
2 tin sauce pans
1/6 doz. col. ware flat plates
1/6 doz. col. ware soup plates
3/4 doz. col. ware dessert plates
1/4 doz. tin col. ware steak plates
1 tin pint porringer
3 Japanned quart pots
1 Japanned pint pots
1 iron punch
1 plate rake and dresser
1 hand saw
1 cork screw
Kitchen (cont'd)
1 fire shovel
1 garden spade
1 doz. tinned iron table spoons
1 doz. brit. metal iron table spoons
2 doz. brit. metal tea spoons
1 tin strainer
2 pine tables
3 asst. wood tubs

Pantry
1 shell auger
1 screw auger
1/12 doz. large brass lock cocks
1/6 doz. large brass night cocks
1 pine baking trough
1 carpenters brace 34 bits
2 black pint bottles
1 5/6 doz. basins and saucers
1 tin canister
2 1/2 doz. dessert forks
3 pairs carving knives and forks
1 tin lantern
11/12 doz. oval tin pans
3 tin tea pots, 1 qt.
4 hand towels
4 pairs snufflers with trays
7 asst. pint tumblers
11 asst. brass candlesticks
5 table cloths
5 asst. earthenware dishes
3 oval salt flints
1 8/12 doz. wine glasses
1 nutmeg grater
1 vegetable grater
Pantry (cont'd)
2 earthenware jugs, 1 qt.
2 earthenware jugs, 1 pt.
1 tin tea kettle, 2 qt.
1 1/3 doz. table knives and forks
1 doz. deep tin pans
1 1/3 doz. white ware plates
1 pair small scales
4 pairs snufflers with trays
2 small waiters trays
2 soup tin tureens

Back Shop
1 set liquid measure
4 asst. tin funnels
2 plain tin pint pots
2 plain tin ½ pint pots
1 plain tin quart pot
1 scalping knife
1 tinnel iron table spoon
1 tap borer
1 gimlet

Shop Garret
5 asst. tin kettles
1 ice chisel
1 cariole

Men's House
2 asst. tin kettles
1 square head axe
1 pine table

Stables
4 sets ox harness
1 pitch fork
Stables (cont'd)
1 dung fork
1 iron shovel
1 hay cart

Provision Shop
15 asst. axes
  l  l  l  l  l  l  l  l  l  l
1 large beam and scales
weights
1 tin pan
2 trowels
4 steeled garden hoes
1 scalping knife

Hay Yard
6 ox sledges

Sundries
1 hay cart at John Lyons'
1 hay cart at David Marcus'
1 north canoe
1 Indian canoe
1 wooden canoe
3 lime boxes
2 sand boxes

Servant's Bed Room
2 pine box beds
4 buff robes

Inventory of Articles in Use - Upper Fort Garry, June, 1839

Dwelling House
4 pairs window curtains
4 window blinds
Dwelling House (cont'd)
15 pine chairs
2 pine tables
2 arm chairs (stuffed bottoms)
1 small side board containing -
  4 flint quart decanters
  4 flint pint decanters
  5 quart squares
  1 small glass tumbler
1 large side board containing -
  17 cups and 26 saucers
  3 blueware basins
  24 brit. metal teaspoons
  20 brit. metal tablespoons
  1 cruet stand with 4 flints
  3 carving knives and forks
  2 table knives and 13 forks
  12 large blueware plates
  3 dessert knives and 30 forks
  7 table cloths
  4 towels
  1 large Japanned tea tray
  1 med. Japanned tea tray
  1 small Japanned tea tray
  12 glass tumblers
  16 wine glasses
  1 pewter pot, 1 qt.
1 double 3 ft. Carron stove
1 pewter pot, 1 pt.
2 salt stands
1 cruet stand with 4 flints
8 dessert plates

Sitting Room
2 stuffed sofas with covers and pillows
Sitting Room (cont'd)
2 stuffed arm chairs
6 stuffed chairs
2 round tables
1 square table
1 table cover
1 small chest drawers
1 large frame looking glass
2 prs. window curtains with hangings
1 carpet
1 hearth rug
1 3 ft. Carron single stove

Yellow Bed Room
1 bedstead and feather bed
1 table
1 looking glass
2 chairs
1 arm chair
1 press
1 wash hand stand
1 small step ladder

Blue Bed Room
1 bedstead with curtains
2 tables and covers
1 arm chair
1 wash hand stand
2 window curtains with hangings
6 chairs
1 feather bed and pillow
1 basin and ewer
1 book case containing following books:
   24 vols. History of England
   1 vol. Account of North America
Blue Bed Room (cont'd)

Book case containing the following (cont'd):

- 5 vols. Burn's Justice of the Peace
- 1 vol. Tomlin's Law Dictionary
- 2 vols. Conversations on Chemistry
- 2 vols. Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire
- 6 vols. Tales of Fashionable Life
- 2 vols. Blairs' Sermons
- 2 vols. Paley's Evidence
- 4 vols. Thompson's Seasons
- 1 vol. Crabbs' Poems
- 2 vols. Crabbs' Tales
- 5 vols. Burns' Works
- 4 vols. Akins' Milton
- 1 vol. Odyssey of Homer
- 4 vols. Peter Pindar's Work
- 4 vols. J. Jarvis's Don Quixote
- 4 vols. Chambaud's French and English Dictionary
- 12 vols. Robertson's Works
- 2 vols. Paley's Moral Philosophy
- 2 vols. Pinkerton's Geography
- 12 vols. Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire
- 1 Brookes' General Gazetteer
- 1 vol. Topographical Dictionary
- 1 vol. Select Law Treatises
- 4 vols. Voyages Around the World
- 1 vol. Remarks on the Internal Evidence
- 1 Map North America
- 2 vols. Buffon's Natural History
- 3 vols. Lives of the Poets
- 9 vols. Shakespeares's Plays
- 2 vols. The Boroughs (Crabbs)
- 1 vol. The Farmer's Boy
Blue Bed Room (cont'd)
Book case containing the following (cont'd):
   1 vol. Illiad of Homer
   2 vols. Letters of Junius
   2 vols. Grahames' Poems
   4 vols. Hook's Roman History
   2 vols. Raynals' History
   1 vol. Daley's Trust of the Scripture History
   2 vols. Hutton's Dictionary
   1 vol. Mendoza Ross's Tables of Navigation
   4 vols. Wales Astronomical Observations
   7 vols. British Classics
   3 vols. Vince's Astronomy
   1 vol. Royal Astronomer
   3 vols. Philosophical Transactions
   1 vol. Watkin's Biographical Dictionary
   1 small compass
   1 telescope

Green Bed Room
1 bedstead with curtain and pillows
1 table
1 chair
1 arm chair
1 window curtain
1 wash hand stand and ewer
1 flint tumbler

Office
1 Carron stove, 3 ft.
6 feet stove pipes and 1 knee
2 chairs
2 desks
1 large press
2 stools
Attic Rooms
4 tables
5 bedsteads
6 wash hand stands
1 chair
5 pillows

Office Bed Room
2 bedsteads with curtains
5 chairs
3 tables
2 wash hand stands
1 press
1 tumbler
1 feather bed

Kitchen
5 tin dish covers
2 steak dishes and covers
1 soup tureen
2 cullanders
1 grater
1 tea pot
2 beer cans
2 Japanned tea trays
1 coffee mill
1 pepper mill
7 large cold earthenware dishes
6 small cold earthenware dishes
2 small white earthenware dishes
2 tin pans
4 tin deep dishes
2 cast iron ovens
2 brit a metal soup ladles
1 meat saw
Kitchen (cont'd)
1 tin can, 2 gns.
3 tin kettles
1 tin pan
2 wrought iron tea kettles
1 fish iron tea kettle
1 cast iron, 4 gallons
1 iron boiler
1 tin kettle
1 pair iron tongs
2 frying pans
1 gridiron
19 col^d^ earthenware soup plates
10 large col^d^ earthenware plates
23 large dessert earthenware plates
3 asst. white ware plates
2 carving knives and forks
21 table knives and forks
34 dessert knives and 16 dessert forks
18 brit a metal table spoons
2 tin iron metal table spoons
2 tin tea kettles
3 coloured earthenware milk jugs
1 tin kettle
2 copper kettles
1 roasting machine
1 pair bellows
1 pair iron fire dogs
7 iron chairs
4 tables
4 chairs and 1 wooden bench
4 small tin saucepans
5 brass candlesticks
3 prs. steel spring snufflers
Pantry
1 tin beer can
1 tin kettle, #9
2 brown ware dishes
1 tin lantern
1 blue ware dish
2 white ware dishes
3 small plates
1 soup plate
1 dog chain and collar
1 tin funnel

Kitchen (cont'd)
4 brass paps
2 frying pans
1 tin oval kettle
1 tin kettle
1 large deep tin dish
2 water buckets
2 water casks
2 bed steads
1 table
1 press

Servant's Room
1 bed stead
2 presses
1 table
1 wash hand stand
1 window curtain
1 chair
1 sugar cannister
1 tea cannister
1 pair scales and beam
1 weight, 1 lb. 1 weight, ½ lb. (belonging to Shop)

Pantry
1 tin beer can
1 tin kettle, #9
2 brown ware dishes
1 tin lantern
1 blue ware dish
2 white ware dishes
3 small plates
1 soup plate
1 dog chain and collar
1 tin funnel
**Staircase**
1 stove (Carron), 3 ft.
36 feet stove pipes
1 window curtain and hangings
1 ash pan for stove

**Cellar**
1 doz. cups and saucers
4 cold earthenware jugs
18 glass tumblers
1 cruet stand - 4 flints
2 salt stands
20 wine glasses
54 large coloured earthenware plates
10 coloured earthenware plates
1 earthenware service completed (Gov. Simpson's)
1 broom head brush
1 pap borer
13 glass bottles
1 pr. pincers
1 doz. chains

**Shop Garret**
5 bed steads
4 tables
4 chairs
5 wash hand stands
5 deep tin dishes
5 tin pint pots
1 water bucket
4 tin candlesticks

**Whole Piece Room**
1 (List of books)
Men's Kitchen
5 tin assorted kettles
2 water buckets
1 table
2 wooden benches
2 copper kettles
1 axe
3 iron chairs

Fur Store
68 feet stove pipes

Bastions
2 mounted guns complete
64 musket and bayonet

Old Office Rooms
3 bedsteads
2 wash hand stands
2 tin pint pots
2 tin candlesticks
2 pairs snuffers
2 water buckets
3 tables
6 chairs

Carpenters Shop
2 carpenter's adzes
3 carpenter's axes
2 pr. grooving planes 3/4 in.
3 pr. grooving planes, 1 in.
3 pr. rabbit planes
2 pr. bead planes, 1/8 in.
1 pr. bead grooving plane, 1/2 in.
1 pr. bead grooving plane, 3/8 in.
1 o.g. grooving plane, 1/2 in.
Carpenters Shop (cont'd)
1 o.g. grooving plane \( \frac{1}{2} \) in.
1 o.g. grooving plane, 10/8 in.
1 o.g. grooving plane, \( \frac{1}{2} \) in.
1 sash philister plane, \( \frac{3}{4} \) in.
2 hollowing planes 10/8 and 14/8 in.
1 bead plane, 1/7 in.
1 Philister plane
1 Fletting plough plane
1 jointer plane
2 trying planes
4 jack planes
1 hand plane
4 claw hammers
1 turkey oil stone
1 carpenters frame saw, 36 in.
3 tenon frame saws
3 sash saws
3 hand saws
2 tin squares
6 socket chisels
2 firmers chisels
1 pr. carpenters iron compasses
1 pr. carpenters brass compasses
1 pr. coopers iron compasses
2 bench holders
2 braces and bits
5 assorted augers
1 grindstone
2 carpenters dogs
3 arm chairs
1 tap borer
1 garden rake
1 copper glue kettle
3 prs. carpenters pincers
1 carpenters spoke sheave
Carpenters Shop (cont'd)
1 screw driver
1 bushel measure
1 - $\frac{1}{2}$ bushel measure
2 wire screws

Council Room
25 muskets with bayonnet
2 arm chairs
6 chairs
4 benches
2 benches with backs
1 table
1 - 2 foot stove
1 ash pan

Jail
1 claw hammer
1 hand vice
1 pr. pincers
1 frame saw, 36 ins.
24 muskets and bayonnets
32 feet stove pipes and 1 knee
1 tinned ash pan
1 - 2½ ft. single Carron stove

Men's House
2 bedsteads
5 chairs
1 sofa bed
7 wooden benches
2 tables
2-3 feet Carron stoves
2 tin kettles
2 tin candle moulds
3 water buckets
Men's House (cont'd)
6 feet stove pipes and 1 knee

Shop Garret
5 bedsteads
4 tables
4 chairs
5 wash hand stand
5 deep tin dishes
5 tin pint pots
1 water bucket
4 tin candlesticks

Whole Piece Room
1 (list of books)

Servants Room
1 bedstead
2 presses
1 table
1 wash hand stand
1 window curtain
1 chair
1 sugar cannister
1 tea cannister
1 pair scales and beams
1 weight, 1 lb.
1 weight, ½ lb.

Old Office Rooms
3 bedsteads
2 wash hand stands
2 tin pint pots
2 tin candlesticks
2 pairs snuffers
2 water buckets
Old Office Rooms (cont'd)
3 tables
6 chairs

Fort Yard
1 wheel barrow
3 box carts
1 water cart
1 garden spade
2 light field pieces (6 pounders)

Tool Room
7 garden spades
2 iron shovels
3 wooden snow shovels
6 garden hoes
3 carpenters adzes
1 dung fork handled
1 dung fork no handle
1 pick axe
2 hay forks
29 carpenters bits
1 tap borer
6 assorted paint brushes
¼ doz. pit saw files
¾ doz. cross cut saw files
1 doz. tenon cut saw files
¾ doz. assorted files
1 doz. gouges
¾ doz. gimlets
4 carpenters gages
1 carriole harness complete
1 ox harness complete
1 ox collar
2 blacksmith sledge hammers
Tool Room (cont'd)
2 masons sledge hammers
3 masons flat sledge hammers
2 masons pick sledge hammers
5 carpenters claw hammers
3 hand planes
1 water bucket
2 white wash brushes
39 stonemason chisels
4 firmers chisels
4 socket chisels
5 mortise chisels
1 ice chisel
11 square load axes
2 grooving adzes
6 assorted sheel augers
1 screw augers
5 assorted augers (no handles)
5 pr. butt hinges, 2 in.
1 pr. butt hinges, 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) in.
2 shinging hammers
10 double plane irons
3 single sash plain irons
2 hand plane irons
1 cast iron kettle
2 tin kettles
2 plumb lines and leads
2 brass levels
8 linstocks
6 stonemasons mallets
20 stonemasons pincers
1 Philister plane
2 cross cut saws
2 hand saws
9 bead planes
Tool Room (cont'd)
3 single sash planes
2 prs. grooving planes, 1 in.
1 pr. grooving plane, ½ in.
1 pr. grooving planes, 1/8 in.
2 o.g. grooving planes
1 rabbit plane
1 double jack plane
1 large grooving plane
1 pr. carpenters pincers
3 lbs. putty
2 wooden riddles
2 dovetail saws
1 key-hole saw
4 carpenters squares
2 riding saddles
1 mason's trowel
2 plasterers trowel
1 pr. tinsmiths' scissors
1 pr. cannon wheels
1 large tackle and blocks
1 stocklock saw
1 can Copal varnish

Shop
1 tin cased inkstand
1 glass inkstand
1 beam and tin scales
1 weight, 4 lbs.
1 weight, 2 lbs.
1 weight, 1 lb.
2 weights, ½ lbs.
2 weights, 1/8 lbs.
1 weight, 1/16 lb.
1 weight, 1/32 lb.
Shop (cont'd)
1 beam and scale with sugar scale
4 weights, 4 lbs.
2 weights, 4 lb.
3 weights, 2 lbs.
1 weight, 1/8 lb.
1 weight, 1 lb.
4 tin sugar scoops
4 tin sugar scoops, 1 lb.
1 copper measure, 1 gal.
1 copper measure, 5 gal.
1 copper measure, 4 gal.
1 copper measure, 1/8 gal.
1 copper measure, 1/16 gal.
1 copper measure, 1/32 gal.

Articles for Boats
2 large round head axes
1 med. round head axe
1 med. square axe
3 travelling cases
17 boat oil cloths
1 tenon saw
6 sets straps
6 sets halyards
6 caulking irons
4 large tin kettles
1 small tin kettle
2 large tracking lines
8 small tracking lines
7 boat masts
37 boat oars
3 sets tent poles
1 jack plane
1 hand plane
Articles for Boats (cont'd)
8 boat rudders
4 canvas sails and yards
1 leather sail and yard
4 sheeting tents
List of articles, where they are and in what quantity:
1. officer's dwelling house
2. kitchen and servant's rooms
3. kitchen pantry
4. Indian house
5. Men's House #1
6. Men's House #2
7. Launch House
8. Carpenters and Coopers shop
9. forge
10. provision shed
11. trading room
12. tool room
13. oil shed
14. blubber house
15. House garret
16. outside

Items in Men's House #1
2 large square head axes
no double or single bedsteads
no books listed
no water buckets
1 - 24 gal. water cask
no chairs listed
no cupboards
Items in Men's House #1 (cont'd)
no curtains
1 painter form
1 midsized cast metal kettle
1 stove pipe
no dishes or cutlery
12 sheet iron stove pipes
1 Canada stove, 2 feet
2 pine tables
3 bread pans - no handles
1 baking trough
1 fire tong

Men's House #2
4 large square head axes
no double or single bedsteads
no books listed
no water buckets
1 - 24 gallon water cask
no chairs
no cupboards
no curtains
1 midsized cast metal kettle
1 open tin kettle, #4
1 open tin kettle, #8
1 stove pipe knee
2 tin lamps, 1 spout
6 short iron stove pipes
1 Canada stove, 3 feet single
2 pine tables
5 bread pans, no handles
no dishes listed
2 bakery troughs

Kitchen and Servants Room
1 large square head axe
Kitchen and Servants Room cont'd
1 double bedstead
1 baking board with roller
2 large painted water buckets
1 small painted water bucket
1 - 10 gal. water cask
2 chairs, no arms (pine)
1 iron roast dish with handles
1 cooks fork
4 painted forms
1 large tin funnel
3 iron kettle hooks
3 roasting jacks
1 large grid iron
1 small grid iron
1 sowering keg
1 cast metal kettle, large
1 small cast metal kettle
2 oval large kettles
1 open copper kettle
1 covered copper kettle
1 opened tin kettle, #4
1 covered oval tin kettle
1 stove pipe knee
1 tin lamp - 1 spout
1 large frying pan
5 sheet iron stove pipes
1 tin quart pot
3 buffalo prime robes
1 fire shovel
1 tin kitchen strainer
1 Canada stove, 3 feet
1 baking trough
1 fire tong
1 washing tub
**Kitchen and Servants Room** (cont'd)
2 small washing tubs
2 painted hand wash tubs
1 water bucket Yoke

**Officers Dwelling House - Churchill Factory**
2 feather beds
1 single bedstead
4 bible printed books
3 common prayer books
3 New England testament bibles
2 small painted water buckets
3 musquito blinds
2 pine stuffed arm chairs
6 pine stuffed chairs without arms
2 bed printed cotton curtains
5 window curtains - printed cotton
1 cupboard with shelves and drawers
1 stove fender
1 plaster spreading iron
3 stove pipe knees
1 lancets in case
1 map North America
1 stove pan
1 tin painted pail with cover
6 sheet iron stove pipes
1 iron fire poker
1 rein deer robe
1 covered sofa stuffed with Bolsters
2 wooden painted spittoons
2 painted wash stands
2 Canada stoves, 2½ feet
4 pine painted tables
1 pine work table
Appendix C - H.B.C.A., B.239/aa/105
Inventory of Articles in Use at York Factory, 1843

Men's Kitchen
1 large square head axe
3 iron bound water barrels
2 small benches or stools
2 iron bound water buckets
1 brass candlestick
1 iron sawyers dog
2 flesh forks
9 kettle hooks
2 Digester kettles
4 tin kettles of various sizes
1 tin soup ladle
1 tin lamp, 1 spout
3 tin baking pans
10 iron stove pipes
2 stove knees
1 watering pot
1 cast iron single stove
3 plain common Pine tables
1 baking trough
1 washhand tub

Winter Pantry
2 large square head axes
2 tin basins
3 iron bound water barrels
1 common bedstead
Winter Pantry (cont'd)
3 large mess table benches
2 old small cooper boilers
1 copper boiler with brass cork
1 tin boiler
1 whitewash brush
2 iron bound water buckets
1 brass candlestick
1 tin candlestick
1 Windsor chair with arms
1 iron meat chopper
1 butter churn
1 milk colander
10 tin dish covers
2 large and small painted cupboards
1 paste cutter
4 large earthenware dishes
3 midsize Earthenware dishes
4 brownware milk dishes
2 large tin dishes
3 Midling tin dishes
1 round deep tin dish
1 iron Fireplace dog
1 flesh fork
1 carving fork
1 midsize copper funnel
1 small copper funnel
1 spike gimlet
8 kettle hooks
3 roasting hooks
1 brass kettle
4 Digester kettles
1 wrought iron kettle
3 tin kettles
2 tin tea kettles, 6 quarts.
Winter Pantry (cont'd)
2 earthenware soup tureens
1 baking trough
2 large bathing tubs
3 wash hand tubs
1 large kitchen knife
2 table knives and forks
2 tin soup ladles
1 pewter ladle
2 coffee or pepper mills
2 large Dutch ovens
2 tin milk pails
2 tin frying pans
4 sauce pans
10 small and square tin pans
4 assorted pudding or rice pans
4 water pans
3 beef steak pans
14 iron stove pipes
1 stove knee
2 tin coffee pots
1 tin cheese toaster
2 iron bread toasters
1 butter stamp
1 tin water pot, 4 quarts
3 tea pots, 1 quart
1 fire poker
1 fire tong
1 bakers rake
6 hand towels
earthenware cups and saucers
1 serviceable hand saw
1 roasting screen
1 iron shovel
1 bakers shovel
Winter Pantry (cont'd)
1 milk skimmer
1 small hand sledge
1 gardener spade
1 tin table spoon
3 iron kettle stands
Appendix D  -  Inventory William Lane Papers

This inventory of goods was not dated but probably describes the goods at the White Horse Plains Post where Lane was located from 1855 onwards.

**Clerks Room**
- 1 pr. window curtains
- 1 pr. window blinds
- 1 jug and basin
- 1 saucer
- 1 half round table

**Sitting Room**
- 1 small chair
- 1 large square pine table
- 1 small square white wood table
- 1 sofa

**Bed Room No. 1**
- 1 small square table
- 1 small chair
- 1 large white wood bedstead
- 1 - 2 foot stove with ashpan
- 3 lengths stove pipes
- 1 knee pipe

**Bed Room No. 2**
- 1 small bedstead
- 1 old arm chair
- 1 half round table
- 1 wash hand stand
Men's House - Upstairs

7 pairs snowshoes - 5 broken and 2 good
3 broken pickaxes
2 broken hatches
1 grooving axe
1 broken pitsaw
1 wooden pit saw handle
11 tin kettle covers
36 broken scythes
2 old scythes
1 good scythe
3 iron wedges
1 window sash
59 broken hay forks
21 broken dung forks
3 good hay forks
11 broken shovels
5 broken spades
25\(\frac{3}{4}\) pairs wheel bushings
88 lbs. useless iron
19 lbs. hoop iron
2 old ploughshares
2 broken woodlocks
3 broken padlocks
6 broken augers
1\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches shell augers
1 broken candle mould
1\(\frac{3}{4}\) pairs butt hinges
3 chain hooks
1 broken hoe
2 American axes
3 hatchets
1 length stove pipe
1 broken knee pipe
1 broken scale
Men's House - Upstairs (cont'd)
2 broken wooden rakes
6 American scythe handles
2 cow bells

Men's House - Downstairs
1 old cooking stove
5½ lengths stove pipes
1 stove knee
1 old wooden square table
2 old beds
1 old saddle pad
1 old saw frame
2 tin kettles No. 9 old
1 old lantern
3 old axes

Mr. Lane's House
1. Sitting room
2. Bedroom No. 1
3. Bedroom No. 2
4. Kitchen
5. Mess Room
6. Cloak Room
Appendix E

Expenditures at Lower Fort Garry, Mess and Men's House, 1861-1862

**June, 1861**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mess - Men's House</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 yd. cheese cloth</td>
<td>12½ pts. Rum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 single cod line</td>
<td>30 lbs. grease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>¾ oz. nutmeg</td>
<td>24 lbs. dried meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 doz. brass chair nails</td>
<td>2 ox heads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 geese</td>
<td>1 ox heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 lb. grease</td>
<td>1 ox liver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127½ lbs. ham</td>
<td>1885 lbs. pemmican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159½ lbs. mutton</td>
<td>503 lbs. salt pork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53 lbs. pigeons</td>
<td>181 lbs. sturgeon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>¼ gn. company salt</td>
<td>6 lbs. suet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 lbs. sturgeon</td>
<td>12 lbs. tripe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 lbs. suet</td>
<td>1 lb. tongue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**July, 1861**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mess - Men's House</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 cakes Windsor soap</td>
<td>5/8 gn. rum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 lbs. fresh beef</td>
<td>12½ lbs. brown sugar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49 lbs. fish</td>
<td>4 lbs. Congon tea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112 lbs. flour</td>
<td>68 lbs. fresh beef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 lbs. ham</td>
<td>531 lbs. salted beef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 lbs. mutton</td>
<td>15½ lbs. biscuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>817 lbs. flour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>523 lbs. pemmican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>318½ lbs. pork</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### August, 1861

**Mess - Men's House**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>425 lbs. fresh beef</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 lbs. fish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>392 lbs. flour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 lbs. flour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 lbs. grease</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 lbs. ham</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 lbs. mutton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Men**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 gn. Rum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/4 gn. Shrub</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 1/2 lbs. brown sugar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/4 lb. crushed sugar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 1/2 lbs. tea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 lbs. fresh beef</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>242 lbs. salted beef</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 lb. biscuit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>516 lbs. flour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160 lbs. dried meat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>262 lbs. pemmican</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>259 lbs. salted pork</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### September, 1861

**Mess - Men's House**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 single cod line</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258 lbs. fresh beef</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 ducks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 doz. eggs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47 lbs. fish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126 lbs. flour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 lbs. grease</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 lbs. mutton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Men**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32 1/2 lbs. brown sugar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 1/2 lbs. tea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76 lbs. fresh beef</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 lbs. salted beef</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 lbs. biscuit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>432 lbs. flour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>239 lbs. dried meat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227 lbs. pemmican</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>321 lbs. salted pork</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### October, 1861

**Mess - Men's House**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 broomhead brush</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 lbs. tallow candles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/4 lb. grey cotton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 smoothing iron</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 lb. block lead</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 brass cased door lock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sauce pan, 1/4 gn.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Men**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 large American axes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/8 gal. Demers Rum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/16 gal. Shrub</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121 lbs. crushed sugar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 lbs. brown sugar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 lbs. congon tea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
October, 1861
Mess - Men's House (cont'd)
3/8 gn. brandy
1/2 lb. orange chips
1/2 lb. curry powder
4 lbs. currant
1/2 lb. mustard
2 lbs. raisins
10 lbs. rice
43 lbs. crushed sugar
1/8 gallon vinegar
9/16 gallon sherry
1/3 sturgeon
19 lbs. ham
196 lbs. flour
1 bottle sherry
19 ducks
6 lbs. mixed tea
3/8 gal. Port wine
12 lbs. suet
18 lbs. mutton
17 lbs. grease
42 fish
211 lbs. fresh beef
3 doz. eggs.

November, 1861
Mess - Men's House
1 foot scubbing brush
10 1/2 lbs. tallow candles
1 Japanned tin tea pot
9/16 gal. brandy
3 lbs. currants
1/2 lb. mustard
9 lbs. nutmeg
November, 1861
Mess - Men's House (cont'd)
3 lbs. raisins
5 lbs. rice
1 lb. saleratus
19 fish
112 lbs. flour
23 lbs. suet
37 lbs. crushed sugar
6 lbs. Hyson tea
2 lbs. souchong tea
3/8 gal. port wine
3/8 gal. sherry wine
1 bottle sherry
298 lbs. fresh beef
12 1/2 lbs. butter
13 1/2 lbs. cheese
3 ducks
4 lbs. grease
1 tongue
22 lbs. mutton

December, 1861
Mess - Men's House
1 bath brick
21 lbs. tallow candles
10 yds. bleached diaper
4 panes glass
1 yd. brown sheeting
3 lbs. arrow root
3/4 gal. brandy
4 lbs. currants
3/4 lb. curry powder
1 bottle Mushroom ketchup
3 1/2 lb. mustard
12 nutmegs
4 3/4 lbs. raisins
December, 1861
Mess - Men's House (cont'd)
8 lbs. rice
1 bottle Harvey's sauce
1/8 lb. carraway seed
40½ lbs. crushed sugar
3 lb. Congou tea
1½ lbs. hyson tea
3 gal. port wine
11/16 gal. sherry wine
191 lbs. fresh beef
8 lbs. butter
23 fish
336 lbs. flour
19 fowl
15 lbs. mutton

February, 1862
Mess - Men's House
9 lbs. Belmont candles
5 lbs. tallow candles
2 yds. canvas
1/6 doz. horndressing comb
9 yds. white cotton
1/4 yd. brown sheeting
2 yds. green strouds
2 lbs. arrow root
1½ pts. brandy
1 lb. chocolate
1 lb. coffee
3 lb. mustard
6 nutmegs
2 lbs. raisins
6 lbs. cornstarch
2 lbs. soumchong tea
February 1862
Mess-Men's House (cont'd)
½ gal. whiskey
½ gal. Port wine
33 lbs. crushed sugar
6 lbs. hyson tea
7/8 gal. Sherry
½ gal. co. salt
½ lb. company soap
265 lbs. fresh beef
59 fish
224 lbs. flour
15 lbs. grease
22 lbs. mutton

January, 1862
Mess-Men's House
1 lb. stone blue
15 lbs. tallow candles
3 2/3 lbs. Belmont candles
1 lb. starch
3/8 gal. brandy
1 oz. cloves
3 lbs. currants
½ lb. mustard
4 lbs. rice
33 lbs. crushed sugar
4½ lbs. hyson tea
1½ lbs. souchong tea
1/8 gal. vinegar
1/8 gal. whiskey
5/8 gal. port wine
15/16 gal. sherry wine
232 lbs. fresh beef
36 fish
January, 1862
Mess - Men's House (cont'd)
112 lbs. flour
5 fowls
29 lbs. grease
12 hams
66 lbs. mutton

March, 1862
Mess - Men's House
6 lbs. Belmont candles
3 lbs. yellow soap
11 lbs. dried apples
3 lbs. arrow root
3½ pint brandy
2 lbs. chocolate
1 oz. cloves
4 lbs. currants
1/12 doz. ess of Lemon
12 nutmegs
½ lb. castor oil
1 lb. raisins
2 lbs. rice
5 lbs. sage
45 lbs. crushed sugar
2 lbs. Hyson tea
2 lbs. souchong tea
1/8 gal. Port wine
11/16 gal. sherry
180 lbs. fresh beef
2 lbs. biscuit
62 fish
112 lbs. flour
4 lbs. grease
28 lbs. ham
55 lbs. mutton
Appendix F - Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Tailors' Work Book, York Factory, Outfits 1830-1834, B.239/d/448

This account book lists the clothing pieces made by the tailor the type and quantity of material used and the time spent in production.

fo. 3 Gentleman's cloaks - 10 gamblet cloaks
14 days labour
cloth and trimmings:
100 yds. blue camblet
50 yds. scarlet coating
2 yds. padding cloth common grey
2 yds. black twist
½ lb. black threads
2 doz. button moulds, large
2 skeins black silk
2½ yds. blue velvet

fo. 3d. Chief's coats - 11 Scarlet coats - 10 Blue coats
30 days labour
cloth and trimmings:
30 yds. scarlet cloth
25 yds. blue list
60 yds. lace
50 yds. gartering
12 yds. scarlet twist
10 yds. black twist
1½ doz. common coat buttons
7 1/3 doz. vest buttons
½ lb. red thread
½ lb. black thread
fo. 5 Gentleman's superfine cloth surtouts - 9 superfine cloth surtouts
18 days labour
cloth and trimmings:
22 yds. superfine blue cloth
9 yds. white fine cotton
5 5/8 yds. canvas
3 3/8 yds. common grey padding cloth
9 yds. black twist
27 skeins best black silk
1/4 skein black thread
12 doz. covered button moulds
2 1/4 lbs. soap
2 1/2 yds. black linen
6 1/2 yds. shalloon

fo. 6d Gentleman's bonnets - 7 fine tartan bonnets
1 day labour
cloth and trimmings:
4 2/3 yds. tartan
2/3 yds. black velvet
2/3 yds. canvas
1 1/4 yds. black linen
6 yds. blue ribbon
7 skeins black silk
7 skeins black thread

fo. 1 ld Blue capot 4 Ells - 18 made in 21 days
cloth and trimmings:
45 yds. 2d blue cloth
18 yds. twist
13 3/4 yds. white cotton shirting
1 1/4 yds. brown linen
1 gross best gilt coat buttons
1/4 lb. black thread
List of what the tinsmith made at York Factory and the materials used:
covered tin kettles
oval tin pans tin pomatum boxes
tin cans
oval tin pans
tin cased inkstands
tin lamps, one spout
open tin kettle
tin flour scoop
tin dish covers
tin oil ladle
tin cannisters
tin wafer boxes
tin lantern
tin cheese boxes	
tinned sauce pans
candle moulds
tin porringers
tin candlesticks
tin coffee pots	
tureen tin pans
tinned tin steak dishes
octagon tobacco boxes
tin slop pail
tin pans for paint
polished tea pots
tin wash hand basin
cruet stands
Appendix H  Norway House Servants Debts Books, Outfit
1860-1861

David Anderson - salary £22 - servant - Norway House
Debts for period August 1, 1860 - January, 1861 - £ 23/0/4

9½ lbs. tea - 12/9
15 lbs. tea - 7/8
2 Corah cotton handkerchiefs - 0/1/0
1 lift white stitched thread - 0/0/8
1 fine cloth capot - 4 ells - 1/13/3
1 blanket capot - 3½ ells - 0/17/11
8 bars yellow soap - 9/2
2 large moose skins - 1/0/0
1 yacht shirt - 3/2
1 rein deer skin - 0/5/0
1 band silk handkerchief - 3/8
40 yds. printed cotton - 1/2/0
1 med. black silk handkerchief - 6/0
7 yds. quilled cotton - 0/5/3
2 common cotton shirts - 5/4
5½ yds. white cotton - 0/2/11
2 earthenware cups and saucers - 0/1/0
15 yds. drugget - 0/17/1
2 earthenware flat plates - 0/0/8
1 cashmere shawl - 0/8/2
1 pr. green tartan trousers - 15/5
1 tartan 8/4 shawl - 0/8/5
1 pr. cord trousers - 9/2
6 yds. orleans - 0/6/2
1 pr. beaverteen trousers - 8/2
7 yds. red flannel 0/10/20
2 assumption belts - 2/5/2
3 yds. white flannel - 0/4/0
2 papers assorted needles - 0/0/6
2 plain blankets 3½ pts. - 1/12/2
1 lift white thread - 0/0/8
1 plain blanket - 2½ pts. - 0/7/4
6 reels white thread - 0/1/0
½ yd. huckaback - 0/1/3
1 lift coloured thread - 0/0/8
5 bunches seed beads - 0/1/3
1 lift dark blue thread - 0/0/4
¼ lb. wax - 0/1/0
1 fine ivory comb - 0/0/11
2 tinned iron tea spoons - 0/0/2
1 dressing comb - 0/1/2
1 pr. women's fine scissors - 0/2/1
2 small brain combs - 0/1/5
1 mirror looking glass - 0/1/5
2 dessert knives and forks - 2/4
1 yd. black velvet 0/1/6
1 deep tin pan - 0/1/6
1 pr. women's booteens - 6/9
1 string cut N.L. beads - 0/0/7
1 yd. fine black cloth - 12/7
¼ lb. white enamel beads - 0/0/5
1 gallon molasses - 0/6/0
1 bunch agate beads - 1/6
5 lbs. butter - 7/6
2 doz. black hooks and eyes - 0/0/2
1 yd. green silk gauze - 3/0
2 doz. white hooks and eyes - 0/0/2
1 pr. men's shoes - 0/8/0
1 pr. men's white ½ hose - 0/1/10
3½ lbs. tobacco - 5/3
1 yd. white duffle - 0/4/3
1 pr. swanskin drawers - 0/5/5
2/3 yds. H.B. strouds - 4/1
2/3 yds. highland garters - 0/0/2
½ lb. coloured worsted - 0/2/4
4 yds. black hair ribbon - 0/0/8
11 yds. coloured hair ribbon - 0/3/9
1 frying pan - 9 ins. - 0/1/8
1 large tin tureen pan - 0/1/6
7 yds. fine merino - 1/10/11
Appendix I  York Factory, Winter Works, Outfit 1853-54,

I  Blacksmith produced the following items in the winter of 1853-54.
2 grooving axes
2 pick axes
600 round head half axes
1500 round head small axes
150 square head large axes
150 square head small axes
200 square head half axes
25 beaver chains
300 narrow ice chisels
3 hay forks with rings
5 iron handles for water buckets
10 iron handles for quart sauce pans
10 iron handles for ½ gal. sauce pans
25 large steeled garden hoes
6 small light garden hoes
2 plough share irons
40 polished irons
3 sets rudderband irons
5 sets irons for meat tinned kegs
5 sets irons for biscuit tinned kegs
5 doz. right hand crocked knives
5 doz. left hand crocked knives
40 iron tracking pins
70 boat stern iron plates
70 boat iron steer rings complete
40 pairs fish spears
10 rat trap springs extra
60 pairs beaver trap

II fo. 3 Boatbuilders
2 new Inland boats
1 repaired Inland boat
1 new stone boat

III fo. 4 Carpenters
12 doz. oak tent buttons
10 pine bead cases
6 pine gun cases - 3' guns
35 pine gun cases - 3½' guns
35 pine gun cases - 3½' guns (English)
55 pine ironwork cases
65 pine large packing cases
50 pine small packing cases
60 pine assorted rough packing cases
15 pine soap cases
3 pine beaver trap cases
3 pine rat trap cases
20 pine long pipe cases
35 pine window glass cases - 3 doz. square
10 pine window glass cases - 1 doz. square
10 large painted cassettes # goods
12 small painted cassettes # goods
5 doz. oak tent pickets
280 lbs. putty in 35 bags each 7 lbs.
280 lbs. putty in 10 bags each 3½ lbs.
8 oak dog sledges
3 sets tent poles #12 ell tents
3 sets tent poles #15 ell tents

fo. 5 Coopers
20 dry casks for open copper kettles
3 dry casks for covered tin kettles
30 dry casks for open tin kettles
40 dry casks for flat plug tobacco
250 dry kegs 8 gal. for pitch and sugar
15 dry kegs, 8 gal. for nails
12 dry kegs 2 gal. for groceries
5 iron bound liquor kegs - 24 gallons
70 iron bound liquor kegs - 8 gallons
15 iron bound liquor kegs - 6 gallons pine heads
40 iron bound liquor kegs - 2 gal pine heads
120 iron bound liquor kegs - 2 gallons pine heads
55 iron bound liquor kegs - 1 gal. pine heads
45 iron bound liquor kegs - 1 gal. pine heads
5 iron bound tinnet kegs - 8 gal. for meat
3 iron bound tinnet kegs ½ cwt. for biscuit
10 iron bound tennet kegs 1 gal. for butter
5 iron bound water buckets

fo. 10 Storesman
gallons shrub
30 Osnaburg biscuit bags
100 Osnaburg corn bags
80 sheeting flour bags
5 Hessens tent bags
3 Hessens tent picket bags

fo. 13 Women
30 Osnaburg biscuit bags
100 Osnaburg corn bags
80 sheeting flour bags
3 Hessens tent bags
3 Hessens tent pickets

fo. 6 Invalids - Lake Whitefish nets;
6 river whitefish nets
3 cwt whitefish nets
5 cwt ball shot
fo. 8 Painters
5 provision baskets
10 large cassettes for goods
10 small cassettes for goods
6 bed oiled cloths
10 boat oiled cloths
5 tent oiled cloths
5 water buckets
5 meat tinnets kegs 8 gns.
3 biscuit tinnets

fo. 9 Sailmakers
550 canvas baskets to be covered
14 canvas boat sails for Inland boats
74 large boat sails

fo. 11 Tinsmith
6 tin candle boxes
6 tin cheese boxes
5 tin meat boxes
5 doz. plain oval tin tobacco boxes
2 doz. tin vial boxes (1 oz.)
2 doz. tin vial boxes (2 oz.)
28 tin cans \( \frac{1}{2} \) gal (oil)
10 tin cans \( \frac{1}{2} \) gal (oil)
12 tins cans 1 gal. (oil)
5 tin cans 2 gal. (oil)
2 tin cans 3 gal (oil)
5 flat tin candlesticks
5 tin cannisters (1 lb.) mustard
80 covered tin kettles - gal. #1
80 covered tin kettles 1 gal. #2
20 covered tin kettles 2 gal. #4
15 covered tin kettles 3 gal. #6
8 covered tin kettles 6 gal. #12
3 nests covered tin kettles \( \frac{1}{2} \) and 1½ gal. 3K
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Photograph 1
Kitchen - Lower Fort Garry Men's House
This photograph shows the wash stand in the men's house kitchen complete with the assorted washing and laundry accessories. As space was limited, the men's toilet was probably a communal affair at Hudson's Bay Company servant quarters.
(Parks Canada, Lower Fort Garry Collection)
Photograph 2
Shelving and storage area in the Lower Fort Garry Men's House Kitchen
Shelving and other storage facilities were made at the fort or by the larger group of tradesmen located at Upper Fort Garry. Some of the items stored in this area were cooking spices and sauces, sugar, matches, candles, balls of wick and twine, stove enamel and other tin containers with miscellaneous items. The cabinet on the right would contain table furnishings such as cutlery, tin plates, glass jars, tin bread pans, and cooking utensils such as food cutters, metal scoops, wooden spoons and other accessories for food preparation.
(Parks Canada, Lower Fort Garry Collection)
Photograph 3
The cooking area in the Lower Fort Garry Men's House
The labourers and tradesmen living in the men's house did
their own cooking and on occasion local settlers were hired
to prepare meals. The stove shown in the photograph is a
conquest stove and oven. On and below the stove are cooking
vessels such as kettles, pots, a bread warming pan, a frying
pan, ash bucket and ash shovel. As yet we have no specific
documentary evidence concerning the exact make of the original
stove in the men's house.
(Parks Canada, Lower Fort Garry Collection)
Photograph 4
Lower Fort Garry Men's House kitchen.
This photograph shows the table accessories and utensils. The Hudson's Bay Company provided these items for the employees's quarters. Accessories such as water buckets, storage barrel and wooden tubs were built at the company post by the cooper, carpenter or tinsmith.
(Parks Canada, Lower Fort Garry Collection)
Photograph 5
The main living and recreational area in the Lower Fort Garry Men's House
This room included the mess hall and sitting area for the servants. Most of the furniture in the area would have been built locally or at the post. The single Carron stove provided heat for the sleeping areas as well as the dining and sitting room. The checkers game on the barrel was a popular pastime along with cards and backgammon. The floors and walls of the men's house were probably relatively bare other than accessible and practical items such as buffalo rugs.
(Parks Canada, Lower Fort Garry Collection)
Photograph 6
South-east Bedroom in Lower Fort Garry Men's House
This room has been interpreted to illustrate the hierarchical status of the Hudson's Bay Company work force. The bedroom represents the quarters of a tradesman and his apprentice. This photograph shows the wooden bedstead with the Hudson's Bay Company blanket and pillow. The corner shelf holds the servant's personal belongings such as medicines and toiletries. The clothes hanging from the wall were purchased either at the retail store at the fort or imported by way of the annual private orders from England.
(Parks Canada, Lower Fort Garry Collection)
Photograph 7
South-east bedroom of Lower Fort Garry Men's House
A broader profile of the room, it illustrates the very functional nature of the furnishings. The wooden cassette was used to store personal possessions and was well adapted to boat and overland travel.
(Parks Canada, Lower Fort Garry Collection)
Photograph 8
Washing area in south-east bedroom.
This room looks out onto the fenced Big House garden and the warehouse building. The items hanging on the peg rack above the apprentice trademan's bed are a fish creel, bed peg, violin, boot hook and assorted clothing apparel.
(Parks Canada, Lower Fort Garry Collection)
Photograph 9
Portable writing desk in the south-east bedroom of the Men's House.
The tradesman required a convenient and easily transportable writing desk to do his personal correspondence and work account. Candles provided the necessary lighting although the candlesticks were probably made of tin and not brass. (Parks Canada, Lower Fort Garry Collection)
Photograph 10
North-east bedroom of the Lower Fort Garry Men's House
The labourers, occupying the lowest rung in terms of wages, status and living conditions, probably shared their sleeping quarters. Personal items found on the walls included snow-shoes, l'assomption sash, a double barreled percussion shot gun, a musk ox skeleton and an Indian puzzle pouche. Small chest, and cassettes were used to store their possessions. (Parks Canada, Lower Fort Garry Collection)
Photograph 11
Profile of sleeping area of north-east bedroom, Lower Fort Garry Men's House
Clothing and other personal possessions were located near the bed. The carpet bag hanging on the wall was used for brief journeys; the best one's had iron rims with a lock and key. The corner shelve contains assorted personal possessions such as a spy glass, playing cards, needle packages, powder horn and shot.

(Parks Canada, Lower Fort Garry Collection)
Photograph 12
North-east bedroom of Lower Fort Garry Men's House
Notice the short beds, the travelling chest, the wooden creel, twine and boat jack on the floor. The men's house furnishings were characterized by the lack of ornamentation and its generally unpretentious appearance.
(Parks Canada, Lower Fort Garry Collection)